The archbishops of Armagh and Drogheda's 'faire house', 1613-1783

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THE BUILDING STOCK OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVEN-teenth century was in large measure medieval. Over the previous four decades, when the kingdom's thirty-six cathedrals and roughly 600 parish churches came under Protestant control, material changes had been generally internal and subtractive: devotional images were removed, roods demolished and walls whitewashed. Funerary monuments to Protestant magnates appeared, though Catholic dynasts sought to retain burial rights, some constructing mortuary chapels on an impressive scale. However, be-tween 1603 and 1641, new buildings were erected, including cathedrals (as at Derry, 1628-33, and Dromore, from 1609), and glebe houses and parish churches, principally in the Dublin region, that varied in architectural ambition.[1] Thanks to scholars such as Stuart Kinsella, Rolf Loeber, Rachel Moss and Roger Stalley, this process is now reason-ably well understood, and recent investigations of the structures substantially changed by Protestantisation, such as Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, St Mary's Cathedral in Limerick, and the parish churches of counties Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny and Tipperary, have demonstrated the potential that remains in the archival record and make a strong case for further regional studies.[2]

Nonetheless, aside from a handful of now rather dated antiquarian pieces and the necessarily brief entries in the volumes of the *Art and Architecture of Ireland* series (2015), current research has tended to neglect the history of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century bishops' palaces in contrast to the generous coverage given to the great architect-designed mansions of the Georgian episcopate.[3] This is partly a problem of there being no single, obvious corpus of evidence, as well as a result of the poor survival rate among the build-ings in question; another reason may be that the habitations of the Tudor and Stuart senior clergymen are not taken to constitute a distinctive building type. Rather, until now, they have been seen as reflecting the status of the Protestant prelacy as part of an Anglo-Irish landed order with representational and practical needs little different to those of the secular elites, which have themselves been the focus of extensive enquiry.[4]

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1 – Willem van der Hagen, VIEW OF DROGHEDA
1718, oil on canvas, detail showing archbishop's palace in raking perspective to left of Laurence Gate
(reproduced in Ned McHugh, IRISH HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS, NO. 29 – DROGHEDA (Royal Irish Academy, 2019))
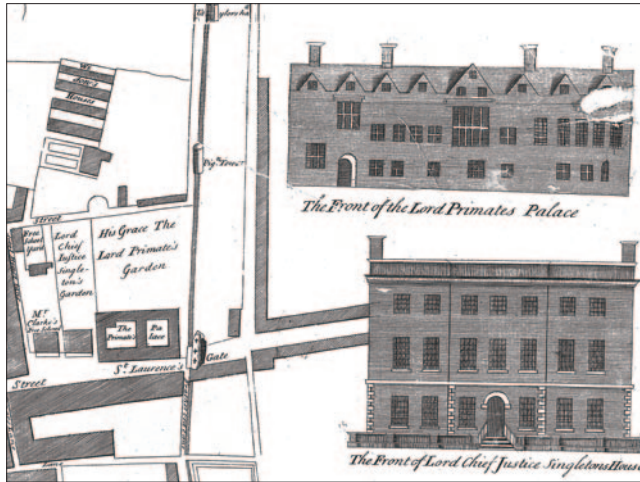
2 – Joseph Ravell,
A MAP OF THE TOWN AND
SUBURBS OF DROGHEDA, *1749*
detail showing the archbishop's
palace in elevation and outline plan;
Singleton House of c.1735-40 is
shown below the palace vignette

3 – Revell, A MAP OF THE TOWN
AND SUBURBS OF DROGHEDA
detail showing the palace; note that
Singleton House is excluded, and its
probable predecessor illustrated
instead

(both courtesy Drogheda Museum,
Millmount)

As a scoping exercise in preparation for a wider treatment of the subject, this article assembles the evidence for the architecture and uses of the lost archiepiscopal palace at Drogheda, built in *c*.1613-15 (Plates 1-3, 10-12, 16, 17). Focussing on the archiepisco-pates of Christopher Hampton (1613-25), James Ussher (1625-56), and John Bramhall (1660-63), but especially on the better-documented Ussher, it is argued that while the palace was probably unexceptional as an elite residence, it nonetheless incorporated elements that asserted the primatial status of its chief occupant.

ARMAGH, DROGHEDA AND THE ARCHBISHOPS ON THE BOYNE

B Y THE LATER REFORMATION ERA, THE ARCHDIOCESE OF ARMAGH RAN DIAGONALLY south from Magherafelt in the county of Coleraine (Londonderry after 1613) to the border of counties Louth and Meath, demarcated by the River Boyne, thus taking in central Ulster and the northern region of the Pale.[5] The metropolitan see contained nine subordinate dioceses, covering all of Ulster, much of north Leinster, and part of the midlands down to Clonmacnoise. The city of Armagh was, and remains, the official centre of the senior archdiocese in both successions, descending lineally, according to tradition, from the church founded by St Patrick. The great anomaly of Armagh is that the medieval archbishops since the late thirteenth century did not base themselves there, or visit it regularly. The hostility of the Gaelic chieftains towards the Old English kept in favour the strategically important, fortified town of Drogheda (or Tredagh) on the Boyne as the centre of diocesan administration and as home of the primate.[6]

The rebellions of the O'Neills in the sixteenth century further cemented Drogheda's status as the archiepiscopal seat. This was unchanged by English victory in the Nine Years' War at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 and the Flight of the Earls in 1607, when the leading figures of Ulster's Catholic nobility departed for Europe. Armagh would be opened up to plantation and its cathedral restored, but Drogheda's ascendancy, aided by its proximity to the state administration in Dublin, prevailed. The main parish church of the town, St

Peter's, built in *c*.1200 and extended in *c*.1500, acted as pro-cathedral; funeral entries for the archbishops designate it as 'the Cathedrall Church of Drogheda', and it was here that the courts of the archbishops convened and most diocesan ordinations were carried out.[7] The archbishops held manorial lands and castles at Dromiskin and Termonfeckin for seasonal occupancy, while in Drogheda a house was leased by the archbishops from the Corporation.

Although the status of the archbishops of Armagh relative to the metropolitans of Tuam and Cashel was incontrovertibly one of superiority, their relationship with their Dublin counterparts was a vexed issue, with contradictory rulings on the matter made by Edward VI and Queen Mary, until the matter was settled, in 1634, in Armagh's favour by Lord Deputy Sir Thomas Wentworth. The outcome had an air of inevitability: in 1616 and 1620 Armagh had been granted the office of almoner of Ireland and prerogative of faculties, much to the chagrin of the Dublin incumbent, Lancelot Bulkeley. This was part of a longer pattern of patronage-conferring powers that tended to validate Armagh's position as the Irish counterpart to Canterbury, points that were reinforced by James Ussher's historical scholarship on the ancient churches of Britain and Ireland. Legally there were now no further grounds for ambiguity, and this may have motivated the embellishment of the Drogheda palace during Ussher's archiepiscopate.[8]

Prior to this, the ambitious late Elizabethan archbishops of Dublin had retained and occasionally made improvements to the thirteenth-century palace of St Sepulchre adjacent to St Patrick's Cathedral. It was an uneven complex of buildings surrounding an open courtyard, knitting together a hall, chapel, parlour and assorted chambers, precise knowledge of which is still emerging (Plate 4).[9] Among the rural habitations for the archbishops of Dublin were Swords Castle and Tallaght Castle, a collection of residences frequently supplemented by the privately owned houses of the individual archbishops, such as the enormous flanker-cornered tower built in Rathfarnham by Archbishop and Lord Chancellor Adam Loftus in the early 1580s.[10] Long exiled from Armagh, the lord primates of All Ireland had made do with St Peter's as their cathedral, Dromiskin and Termonfeckin as country abodes, and a Drogheda town house as their palace. The fortunes of the Jacobean

building erected in about 1613-15 shall be discussed here, factoring in the architectural enterprises by the archbishops elsewhere in the diocese, chiefly in Armagh. Like any residence contoured around the needs of a seigneurial grandee, it was more than a static and inert backdrop to the affairs of church and state and, as such, warrants careful appraisal.

ASPIRATIONS IN ARMAGH AND A NEW PALACE IN DROGHEDA

H ENRY USSHER, OF VENERABLE OLD ENGLISH STOCK, EDUCATED AT CAMBRIDGE, Oxford and Paris, and a key figure in the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, was translated to the archiepiscopate of Armagh in 1595. Disappointed by the low revenues of the see, in 1610-11 he received 33,000 acres in the diocese to supplement his income.[11] His Drogheda house, of which little is known, stood at the east end of Laurence Street, on the fringe of the walled town to the north of the Boyne (Plate 6).[12] It was from this building that the Primate attracted the enmity of local Catholics for patrolling the borough in layman's disguise, seeking out mass-houses, entering on one occasion a 'littill chappell wher the friers did sai mass: he broke the doore and be chaunce he found a cuppe of tinne, and the Lord thought it was sillver, he clapt it up and gaye it to his sonne to keepe', adding a 'shute of vestments' (later stolen back through the windows of St Peter's) to his haul.[13] From an official perspective, Ussher's brigandage gave less pause for thought than his large-scale letting and granting of church lands to government officials and members of his family, which led to a stern rebuke from the King and Lord Deputy Chichester (himself a beneficiary of the impropriations).[14]

If Henry Ussher's conduct did little for the dignity of his office, this stands in contrast to the work of his successor, who took advantage of plantation policy in Ulster to improve the material circumstances of the established church. Christopher Hampton, unlike Ussher, was English (although raised in a family of staple merchants in Calais), and lacked strong local connections. Nonetheless, after bringing the diocese of Derry to some level of financial stability in 1611-13 by forbidding the removal of timber, Hampton set about 'replanting and reedifying' the historic ecclesiastical capital in Armagh by issuing sixty-year leases of plots to tenants who undertook covenants to build 'according to the form of English houses', using brick or stone for the walls and oak for the floors and roofs, to be sourced from the archbishop's lands.[15] References to 'English' building styles,

with their connotations of civility as opposed to the squalor and barbarity associated with the 'cabins' of the natives, are typical of British colonial discourse in the province.[16] The results, however, were initially mixed: by Hampton's death in 1624, only eight such houses out of a total of 123 rated for ground rent were finished, one of them by the archbishop's agent and great-nephew Richard Chappell, indicating that the leasing terms and retention of older houses deterred new building. This situation was further exacerbated by the existence of two adjoining baronial liberties offering more flexible leases to newcomers.[17] Hampton's patronage was seen to better effect in the ecclesiastical buildings of the city. Using personal funds, the archbishop's 'old house at the West end of the Cathedrall' was rebuilt and extended, and the cathedral, in ruins since its burning by Shane O'Neill in 1566 and conversion to a magazine in 1595, was restored with a crossing tower (absent in Richard Bartlett's perspective view of the city made in c.1602, Plate 5). Windows were inserted into the north and south walls, and galleries installed, following recent English precedent and that of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin.[18] Burned again in 1642, it remained unrepaired until the Restoration era.[19]

As with almost every Archbishop of Armagh since the fourteenth century, Hampton resided for much of the year in Drogheda. In 1613 he took a lease on a plot immediately to the west of the Anglo-Norman barbican of St Laurence Gate, guarding the vista onto the axis of Laurence and West streets (Plates 7-8). It is unclear if this was the site of the previous palace.[20] In any case, the site of the intended archiepiscopal residence ran almost half the length of Laurence Street in the area now occupied, respectively, by Palace Street, two Georgian town houses, a nineteenth-century commerical building

6 – Barnaby Goche,
MAP OF DROGHEDA
(north is at the bottom)
1574, ink on paper
(courtesy National Archives, Kew)

opposite

4 – Gabriel Beranger,
VIEW OF THE PALACE OF
ST SEPULCHRE, DUBLIN
1765, watercolour
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

5 – Richard Bartlett,
MAP OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH
AND CHARLEMONT FORT ON THE
BLACKWATER RIVER
watercolour, c.1602
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)
d.etail of the cathedral
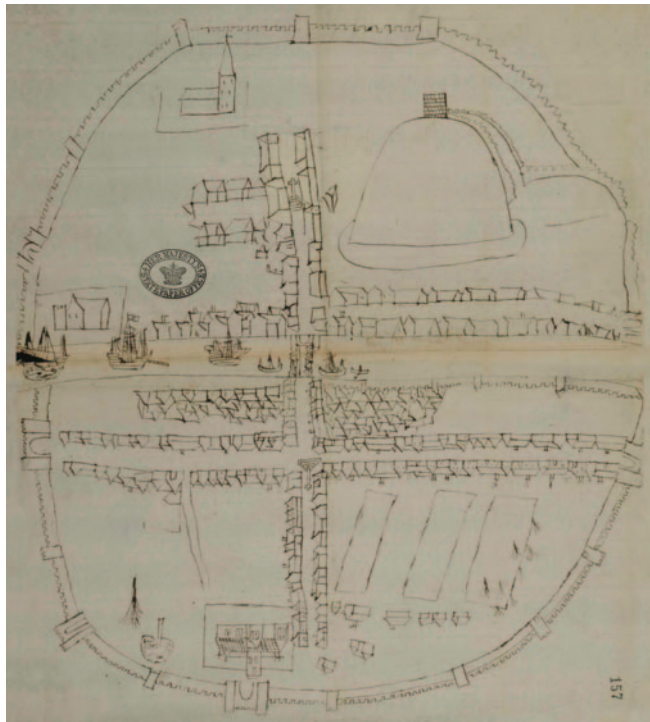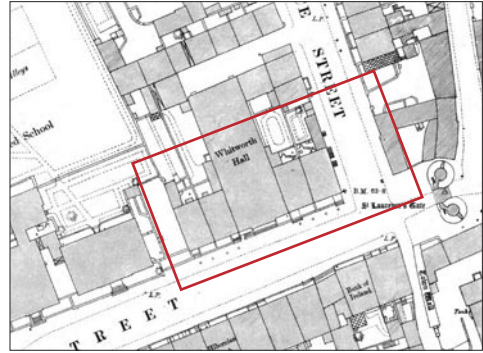
known as Whitworth Hall, and another pair of eighteenth-century houses across a laneway from a modern replica of the mansion of Lord Chief Justice Singleton. The total span of the site is almost forty metres; in depth, it covered the rearward expanse of Whitworth Hall to about fifteen metres, demarcating an area of continuing archaeological potential. Hampton's other acquisitions included a 'house garden and orchard' adjoining the cemetery of the church, presumably for the wife and children of his brother Francis.[21] Hampton himself – as was noted with approval by the government – remained unmarried and was therefore less likely to impropriate these lands for himself or his family.[22]

In 1615 the archbishop acquired a patent for his new domicile, which in 1616 was rated for the First Fruits clerical tax at £2 per annum.[23] The royal visitation of 1622 gives the overall cost of the work thus far, mentioning 'a fayre house now built by the now lo. Primate wch. hath cost his lop. allreadie £2,064 1s. and more buildings his lop. intends to add unto the said house to wch. house there is a large garden walled with stone at the charge of the now Archbp'.[24] The garden, ensconcing the northern and eastern flanks of the palace, adjoined the town wall.[25] The English landowner and Cheshire magistrate Sir William Brereton, travelling through Drogheda in 1634 and stopping at the palace to make the acquaintance of James Ussher, confirms that this 'neat, handsome, and convenient house, built within this twenty years by Primate Hampton' was 'foursquare of wood, rough-cast and not high'. He adds that the palace was one of the main points of interest in a town of 'divers fair, neat, well-built houses, and houses and shops well furnished, so as I did conceive this to be a rich town'.[26] Drogheda was certainly neat and well-built, judging from the visual evidence for the town's early-modern domestic architecture. One of the last timber-framed houses to survive into the nineteenth century, built on the corner of Laurence Street and Shop Street in 1570, and known from a picturesque engraving published in the *Dublin Penny Journal* in 1832 (Plate 9), had projecting oriel windows, diamond and cross motifs to the interstices, and a meticulously crafted street-side lintel over the ground storey (now in the National Museum of Ireland), carrying the names of the owner and artificer in raised lettering interspersed with crosses.[27] An original sepia-wash view in the Highlanes Gallery, Drogheda, by Robert Armstrong, dated 1823, shows the plainer adjacent elevation. The Drogheda historian and poet L.C. Johnston, writing in 1826, lived to see the dereliction or demolition of Elizabethan and Jacobean timber houses of more or less similar size and decorative finish.[28]

The key visual source for Archbishop Hampton's palace is Joseph Ravell's *Map*

9 – Bathe House, Drogheda
engraving from DUBLIN PENNY
JOURNAL, 15th September 1832
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

opposite

*7 – Laurence Street, Drogheda,
today, looking east towards
Laurence Gate*
(courtesy www.theirishaesthete.com)

*8 – Probable extent of
archbishop's palace*
*detail of Ordnance Survey, 1870
Co Louth, sheet XXIV 115, showing
Laurence Street area of Drogheda
(courtesy University College Dublin)*

of the Town and Suburbs of Drogheda of 1749, which combines a perspective view, a plan, and several vignettes of its major buildings, from the Tholsel of 1566 to the Palladian town houses that had recently been erected.[29] It is in broad agreement with the portrayal of the palace in a panoramic landscape painting by Gabriele Ricciardelli, tentatively dated to 1750-55 (Plate 10). The 'front of the Lord Primates house' shown by Ravell (Plate 2), which had been 'rough cast', or coated with gravel render, perhaps intended to suggest a more elaborate construction in stone, is a long, slightly asymmetrical two-storey structure with ten openings on the ground storey and twelve to the *piano nobile* (Plate 3).[30] Archaeological analysis carried out in 1999 has established that the timber cage-work of the palace, arranged around courtyards in the manner of English gentry houses of the 1580s and '90s, stood on a stone plinth recycled from medieval walling and had brick floors to the ground level, which lacked a basement.[31] The closest Irish counterpart seems to have been the timber house the Earl of Cork positioned on high ground next to and slightly forward of Dublin Castle to its north.[32]

10 – Gabriele Ricciardelli,
VIEW OF DROGHEDA
c.1750-5, oil on canvas
*detail showing archbishop's palace,
left of Laurence Gate*
*(courtesy Drogheda Municipal Art
Collection, Highlanes Gallery)*

11 – Francis Place,
VIEW OF DROGHEDA FROM THE
BALL'S GROVE
1698, pencil and wash on paper
(courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge); detail showing
Laurence Gate in distance and
archbishop's palace to its left

12 – Willem van der Hagen,
VIEW OF DROGHEDA
1718, oil on canvas
(courtesy Beaulieu House)
the archbishop's palace is to the left
of Laurence Gate in the centre of the
painting (compare with Plate 8)

opposite

13 – Wenceslaus Hollar,
VIEW OF ARUNDEL HOUSE FROM
THE SOUTH
1646, engraving
(courtesy Robartes Library,
University of Toronto)

Ravell and Ricciardelli show that the street front of Hampton's palace was flush, without jetties, its surface merging without visible eave plates into fenestrated cross gables. Of the latter, Ravell shows eight, while Ricciardelli, perhaps insisting on symmetry, shows seven. The chimney stacks, numbering four on Ravell's vignette, but three in Francis Place's 1698 view of Drogheda from the east, are surely stone or brick, rising from the core or inside edge of the range (Plate 11).[33] The palace was rated for seven hearths in 1662, following repairs by Primate Bramhall, a realistic number for a building of five ranges, and twice the average for the Drogheda houses in the same tax schedule, leaving aside those that had just one. The palace chimneys in the Ravell map correspond to those in a raking view of the building in another landscape painting dated 1718 (Plate 12), but the treatment of the attic does not, showing three large, steeply pitched gables to the street partly concealing a

different cruciform roof structure. This painting, by Willem van der Hagen (fl. 1720-45), also has different fenestration, with three long openings to the ground storey, and omits the sash windows (if that is what they are) along the eastern half of the range. These differences point to significant changes made between 1718 and 1749, but the accuracy of the image is doubtful: the 1718 painting grossly exaggerates the size of the central archway of Laurence Gate and seems to misrepresent its upper stages, while the street-ward gables of the palace differ in height and number from Place's drawing. Revell, who was based in Drogheda and who faithfully delineates the other, surviving, buildings, includes a big square window in the centre of the Laurence Street block, with multiple lights in two registers. Checked against the plan, in which the window is aligned with the range lying on the centre cross range, this is likely to be the 'Great window of the hall of His Grace's Palace' mentioned in 1715 when Archbishop Lindsay asked for permission to add a forestairs, and in style it is unlikely to be a creation of the eighteenth century.[34]

The palace's footprint, consuming almost an entire urban block, has a similar role in street formation to buildings such as Staple Inn in Holborn, London (Plate 14), although this dates to the 1580s and is articulated with oriels and several sets of jetties, and is arranged around a single substantial courtyard. Other surviving or reliably illustrated English equivalents in an urban setting are surprisingly sparse at this rarefied social level and for the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The sizeable and richly decorated half-timber houses, arranged in vertical stacks, customarily belonged to affluent merchants and civic dignitaries rather than churchmen or the nobility.[35] An obvious exception is Arundel House on the Strand in London, at the time the home of England's largest collection of classical antiquities and situated on the city's most prestigious thoroughfare.[36] The house, engraved in two plates by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1646 (Plate 13), was centred on a flat, two-storey timber range that formed most of one side of a court – an ensemble that challenges easy assumptions about what sort of habitation was appropriate for a celebrated Jacobean man of letters. The strand block of Durham House, the London palace of the bishops of Durham, was likewise a wooden structure of *c*.1600, projecting slightly out from a courtyard to the front of a medieval hall.[37] Existing great town houses with shallow or no jetties are less common in the Home Counties than in Wales and the West Midlands along the Severn Valley; the gentry houses of Herefordshire in and around Ledbury, for example (Plate 15), bear some external resemblance to the building in Drogheda, and the similarity, coincidental or not, highlights the need for research on
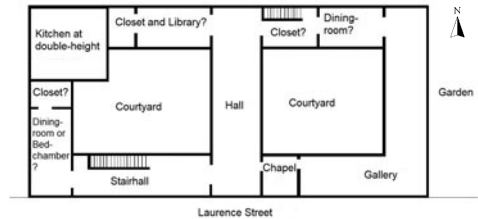
14 – The Staple Inn, Holborn, London, c.1585
(courtesy Chris Watts)

15 – Ledbury Park, Hertfordshire, c.1610
restored 1820, postcard (author)

16 – Conjectural first-floor plan of the
archbishop's palace, Drogheda (drawing by author)

regional connections in the building trades between Britain and Ireland for the period immediately prior to 1641.[38]

With the British typologies in mind, the plan of Drogheda's palace merits closer investigation (a conjecture is shown in Plate 16). As Sir William Brereton was not a close acquaintance of Ussher, his itinerary concentrates on the public rooms, whose function and apparent sequence do not deviate from custom. He describes a

> handsome, plain, though long and narrow hall, two dining rooms; one little neat gallery which leads into the chapel, which also is pretty little plain and convenient chapel, whereinto there lead two ways, the one at the great door out of the hall or court, the other, which is more private, out of the gallery.[39]

The 'long and narrow hall' is probably the first-floor room on the transverse range behind the large central window (Plate 2), and extends to the back of the palace (a plan shared with late Tudor country houses, acting on royal precedent). The line of windows on the elevation implies that the gallery is either to the west, extending to just above the palace entrance, or on the east, illuminated by five long rectangular windows with a different fenestration pattern.[40] The range to the east has a single square window preceding the sequence of longer openings. It may be the chapel window, since that room, following Brereton's description, would be positioned in an enfilade with the hall and the gallery and provide a link to both. An analogous plan on the west side of the street range is more difficult to reconcile with Brereton's description. If the chapel is the room with the larger window over the entrance, on a higher sill than its neighbours, it would not be accessible directly from the hall, and Brereton later indicates that the gallery partly overlooked the garden to the east and north, suggesting an L-shaped corridor terminating to the north on a window. The crooked gallery type can be found, built over an openwork loggia, in houses like Gorhambury in Hertfordshire and, less daringly, on top of an ordinary residential

range at Barrington Court, Somerset, resolving the need for extra length.[41]

The conjectural layout of the palace suggested here covers only part of the build-ing, displacing the dining rooms into either the west side of the street range, the return ranges, or the into the range lying parallel to the garden. Multiple closets, wardrobes, and bedchambers are requisites of any house of this kind, and several such rooms, whether Hampton's, Ussher's, or those of servants and followers, must have filled parts of the ground storey and the attic. The space dedicated to Ussher's collection of ten thousand books and several hundred manuscripts is unidentifiable, though convention would place a library above the ground floor in a room or rooms with adequate light, suggesting the south-facing part of the palace to Laurence Street, following the example of collegiate institutions, or the parallel range to the palace rear, further removed from the clamour and pollution of the town. European Renaissance architectural theory, echoing Vitruvius, stipulated that libraries should never face south in order to avoid direct sunlight. If this was a concern, the return ranges may have been preferred. However, the theory was not always applied. It was the south range of the Elizabethan quadrangle in Trinity College that was used to house its library, though avoiding damp caused by the river Liffey to the north may have been more of a factor.[42] The projection in the north-west corner of the Drogheda palace plan is a possible location for a stairwell, opening onto the larger court and the first floor or, as likely, the palace kitchen built at double-height in fire-resistant stone, with the main stair occupying the same chamber as the entranceway on Laurence Street, also providing access to the larger courtyard.[43]

On balance, the safest supposition about the plan of the palace is that its functional divisions situate it within broader English or Welsh developments. Historians of early-modern domestic architecture, manners, and the household have emphasised the transition in *c*.1560-1620 from functional diversity and medieval openness centred on a great hall to a stronger demarcation of space along hierarchical lines with increased scope for pri-vacy, observing little real difference in intention between the urban and the rural.[44] It is crucial to remember, however, that the master-carpenters and masons responsible for new houses were capable of innovation as circumstances called for it, and that their adherence to convention was by no means absolute.[45] Regional influences aside, we will probably never know who actually constructed the Drogheda building.

Early modern domestic spaces did not exist in the abstract, and their meanings were in large measure a function of the objects and images arranged within them.[46]An intriguing aspect of the palace's early history is that Archbishop Hampton left 'pictures' of his ecclesiastical predecessors to future incumbents, but omits to mention how many he owned, or where they were placed.[47] The very fact of their existence indicates that this essentially vernacular town house bore the stamp of episcopal patrimony, the extent of which is further clarified in Brereton's narrative. In one of the dining rooms, Hampton's coat of arms, presumably attached to the wall, is impaled with the heraldry of the diocese of Armagh, a configuration characteristic of episcopal seals and funeral hatchments.[48] The motto beneath it, '*Fac tu similiter*'[49] invokes Jesus's command to behave charitably towards the destitute in the parable of the Good Samaritan.[50] How this pertains specifically to Hampton is not clear, other than in a vague sense of what he might identify as a virtue in himself and as a reminder to his co-religionists.

Brereton's account of the palace also provides an exceptionally rare visitor's description of an Irish urban garden of the period (its location relative to the palace is indicated in Plates 2 and 16), which gives further information about the iconography of the building: 'Here is a pretty neat garden, and over against the window in the gallery end, upon a bank, these words, in fair great letters, are written: "O man, remember the last great day". The bank is bare, the proportion of the letters is framed and cut in grass.'[51] The words are from the Gospel of John, explaining how Jesus, present at the feast of Tabernacles where the Jews gave thanks for God's intervention in the wilderness, is the cure for spiritual thirst. As a statement of Christian belief, this is unremarkably orthodox. The means of its presentation is harder to explain. The designed gardens of Elizabethan England typically incorporated axes with regular knots and parterre, inspired by multiple horticultural and intellectual influences. The formal garden was a rhetorical performance, its underlying geometry mirroring on the ground the structure of the divinely ordered cosmos (so the theory goes), marking it out as a privileged place of spiritual enrichment and contemplation, as well as pleasure, in a terrain where nature had been brought into harmonious union with art.[52] The obvious, and frequent, metaphor for the garden was Eden.[53] Garden ornamentation could also express a subject's loyalty to the crown through abstruse but decipherable symbolism, or emphasise dynastic connections and ambitions, deploying elements from heraldry.[54] Irish gardens of the period have received fleeting attention. In an article published in the *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* in 1995, Patrick Bowe demonstrates how the geometrical plantings proposed for Trinity College, invoking precious stones, were a tribute to Elizabeth I and encapsulated her virtues.[55] Although lettered balustrades are an occasional feature of Elizabethan and Jacobean country mansions (Hardwick Hall, built in 1590-97 for the countess of Shrewsbury, carries its builder's initials on the roofline), and epigrams, names or dates on timber buildings were relatively common, the direct grafting of texts onto the topography of a garden, as at Drogheda, is infrequent. So too is the simple expedient of clipping giant words into a lawn, a method that categorically rules out the continuing presentation of the lettering unless dressing is continually carried out. In the absence of material for comparison, the motto's medium may matter less than its content, adding to the palace's presentation as a building of semi-religious character and not just the grand provincial dwelling of a bishop.

Brereton, a member of the English gentry and himself the inheritor of a contemporary timber mansion at Handforth, Cheshire, had evidently been welcome to explore or be guided through the palace in Drogheda, and the most numerous mentions of it occur during the primacy of James Ussher, nephew of Archbishop Henry Ussher, and translated from the diocese of Meath to Armagh in 1625.[56] In March 1626 Ussher was attended 'at Drogheda in his palace' by the Catholic physician Dr Thomas Arthur to treat an unspecified illness.[57] It was also in Drogheda in 1627 that Ussher 'procured a meeting of all the Prelates at my House' to frame an objection to increased toleration for Catholics, an assembly which in all probability took place in the hall.[58] This meeting has additional resonance because it took place in a town where the activities of the Franciscan friars, returning to Drogheda in 1610, had become defiantly public.[59] Earlier in 1627, the Scottish Presbyterian Robert Blair was invited by Ussher to Drogheda, 'where his ordinary residence was, and where he would be more at leisure to be better acquainted with me'. The

level of spatial intimacy is difficult to judge, as the mild-mannered Ussher is assumed to have lacked the prim formality and remoteness usually ascribed to his peers, and Blair claims to have withheld normal gestures of social deference while remaining courteous.[60] In any case, Ussher's occupancy of the palace was interrupted by visits to England, seasonal retreats at the manor in Termonfeckin (he was apparently indifferent to Dromiskin), or excursions to Dublin on administrative business or scholarship, as well as a period in 1626 on Lambay Island, escaping the plague.[61] Unable or unwilling to lodge at Trinity College or the palace of the Archbishop of Dublin when in the capital, Ussher took a suburban house on Hoggen Green, in the shadow of the College, 'where he intends to build and reside for the most parte in regard to the affection hee bareth to the cittie, he being borne and bred in it'. Here he enclosed a neighbouring plot of waste ground with a wall for what was, in all likelihood, a garden.[62]

Ussher's living arrangements in Drogheda are more clearly documented from the middle of the 1630s, when his position as defender of the Calvinist tradition in Irish Protestantism and the historical independence of the church was undermined, resulting in his withdrawal from ecclesiastical government. The adoption of the English canons at convocation in 1634, forced through by Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth and the Bishop of Derry, John Bramhall, had proven bitterly disappointing for Ussher. As a result Ussher turned to scholarship and his books in county Louth, telling his friend Samuel Ward, master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 'I am now at last retired from Dublin to my old place, where I begin at length, *Redire in gratiam cum veteribus Amicis*.'[63] There, in 1634, Nicholas Bernard, then Dean of Kilmore, was reacquainted with Ussher after a gap of eight years; his adversary Bishop Bedell of Kilmore snidely commented on how Bernard was 'now living in Drogheda and often at my Lord Primate's table', hinting that one was a bad influence on the other, and that an invitation to the palace implied favouritism.[64]

That the palace had become a key location for Ussher's later Irish years is further indicated by the observations of those who visited. Sir William Brereton, for one, noted that the townsfolk were able to 'make their o'n way' to the chapel for the afternoon sermon on Sundays ('the common door being open', see Plate 2), where the primate kept 'a pair of small organs'; the 'pair' probably referred to the double-action of the bellows in a single instrument, a luxury that most Irish parish churches and cathedrals lacked.[65] Others were met with hostility, or thought so. The incoming provost of Trinity College, William Chappell, assumed that he had offended Ussher by failing to wait on him in Drogheda just as the last provost had done, an inauspicious and premonitory start to a career fraught by deep-seated theological, ideological and personal rivalries.[66]

In 1638 Lord Deputy Wentworth was impressed at the appearance of the palace but less beguiled by the Primate's devotional regimen, telling William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, how,

> I was one night with his Grace at Drogheda, where his Lordship made me a very noble Welcome, found there the best House I have seen in Ireland, built by Primate Hampton, yet not so much as a Communion-Table in the chapel, which seemed to me something strange, no bowing there I awarrant [*sic*] you.[67]

17 – Robert Newcomen, 'Plot of the town and county of the town of Drogheda',
1657, pencil, ink, and wash on paper (courtesy Louth County Council)
detail view showing the eastern elevation of archbishop's palace, diagonally to the right of Laurence Gate

This is the last known description of the palace while Ussher was still in Ireland.[68] In the spring of 1640, he was obliged to relocate to London for the study of biblical chronology and the presentation of convocation's subsidies to the King. He would not return.[69]

In Ussher's absence from Drogheda, responsibility for the palace fell to Dean Bernard, who was also instructed to minister from St Peter's, an arrangement that gave way to scandal when Bernard was found to have siphoned off the town rentals due to the lay vicars choral.[70] Bernard, however, was more assiduous in protecting Ussher's property. As reported in the dean's self-justifying account of the four-month siege of Drogheda in the winter of 1641-42, 'one of the chiefest Cares that lay upon me even more than my Life was that great Treasure of my Lord Primate's Library, which I had the Happiness to be trusted with in his Absence.' Bernard's main anxiety was that the collection would go up in smoke, since

> We heard of the daily Rudeness of the Vulgar in burning and cutting in Pieces the Papers and Books of such of the Clergy already made a Prey of (especially the Bishop of Meath's and the Lord Conway's Library) the Manuscripts howsoever invaluable yet by their mean clothing likely to be least respected by such illiterate Hands.[71]

Bernard's funeral sermon for Ussher, printed in 1656, adds to this imagery reminiscent of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, with appropriate glosses:

> when we were besieged four months by those Irish Rebells, and when they made no question of devouring us, the Library which I had the custody of, the Priests and Friars without talked much of the prize they should have of it, but the barbarous multitude of burning it, and of me by the flame of the Books, instead of Faggots under me.[72]

Although the destruction of private libraries was apparently rare during the rebellion, rumours about the immolation of English bibles and 'Protestant books' in Armagh and county Cavan, may have reached as far as Drogheda.[73] Still, despite government concerns about the security of the palace, it survived the siege of 1641-2. So too did Ussher's library which was safely shipped to Chester. The soldiers of the New Model Army who captured the town in September of 1649 do not appear to have caused the building serious damage.[74]

The palace largely slips from the record during the Interregnum. Its east elevation is shown on Robert Newcomen's perspective map of the town in 1657 (Plate 17), giving a sense of the building's considerable depth and the irregular arrangement of its return elevations, at least on this side. The other evidence points to considerable disarray in the administration of the town. In 1650 the corporation had to call in all outstanding rents, suggesting widespread arrears, or simple abandonment of town properties.[75] The palace may have been used for the billeting of the garrison, or as additional lodgings for the various Presbyterian and independent ministers installed at St Peter's.[76] What is apparent is that the area in general was in poor condition, inevitable for a ransacked town built primarily from wood. Besides the gutted nave of St Peter's, still ruinous by the 1690s, the empty remains of four houses on Laurence Street were recorded as late as 1659, a significant number for a relatively short thoroughfare.[77] In 1660, the palace returned to its previous role following the restoration of the monarchy and episcopate.

THE LATER HISTORY

JOHN BRAMHALL, APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH IN 1660 AND ORDAINED IN 1661, had settled in Drogheda before the end of that year, recording that Drogheda had become his 'ordinary residence'.[78] He pressed the government for a promised £10,000 deduction from the military establishment to repair St Peter's church, as well as the cathedral in Armagh and St Patrick's, Dublin.[79] Progress was slow: in his will of 1663, his 'firm purpose and resultion' is 'to advise with my friends, to prescribe some course for the accomplishing of that pious worke', and he bequeathed £500 'over and above those summes which I shall bestow upon them in my life-time', adding that 'although I found all the churches and mansion-houses belonging to my See either ruined or inclining to ruin, yet I have, as the time would give me leave, repayred the house at Drogheda, and provided tim[b]er for the house at Termonfeekan.' Since Termonfeckin had been sacked in 1641 and abandoned, the furnishings Bramhall goes on to list must be those in Drogheda, namely 'the hangings of the Presence Chamber, and all the chairs and stools and tables in it, and all the ranges throughout the house where I found not one'.[80] The 'presence chamber' may be the hall (Plate 16), or Ussher's old library or a dining room; the reference to 'hangings', which contemporary practice suggests are decorative wall drapes, bring to mind the semi-courtly ethos of taste and display of Bishop John Cosin of Durham, whose palaces at Durham Castle and Bishop Auckland blended fine décor, portraits of Protestant divines and the royal family, and textile-covered walls, all testaments to confidence in the position of the restored church, not to mention the level of

18 – Chair of Archbishop Bramhall
1661, oak, St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh
(photo courtesy John McCafferty)

19 – Joseph Tudor,
A NORTH PROSPECT OF BLESSINGTON, A SEAT OF THE EARL OF BLESSINGTON
c.1750, engraving by John Brooks, undated (private collection)

splendour usual for a bishop in what was seen as a triumphant return to the 1630s.[81]

Bramhall died in Dublin in 1663 following a largely ineffectual primacy.[82] His successor, James Margetson, had been a high-church co-traveller before the civil wars and, as Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, saw to completion the reordering of the cathedral's chancel on sacramentalist lines with a raised altar.[83] As Archbishop of Armagh, Margetson was less starkly partisan than Bramhall and definitely more active in the work of church repair, managing to restore completely the Armagh cathedral by reroofing the nave, raising the height of the crossing tower, and adding to it battlements and a weathercock carrying his initials.[84] In Drogheda, he sought, and failed to secure, a royal grant to rebuild St Peter's, his persistence in the matter causing some irritation to the lord lieutenant.[85] In the end, the church was repaired by the parishioners themselves.[86] Margetson's letters of the 1660s and 1670s place him in Drogheda with reasonable consistency, including amicable meetings with the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunkett.[87] The Drogheda palace seems to have fallen short in terms of perceived security, as in 1666 Margetson took the lease of part of Laurence Gate (Plate 7) so that 'if any Rebellion happen, the same is to be made use of it for a guard-house, as formerly, if it shall be thought fit'.[88] By Margetson's death in 1678, the palace chapel had been 'furnished and provided ... with books and other necessary ornaments of the same, made of crimson damaske', bringing to this more intimate place of worship some of the finery cultivated earlier by Bramhall, whose furnishings had been retained.[89]

Archbishop Michael Boyle, appointed to Armagh from Dublin in 1679, had channelled his considerable wealth into the upkeep of St Sepulchre's Palace (Plate 4) and the creation of the Wicklow borough of Blessington, the hinterland of his country retreat and the usual source of his later correspondence as primate.[90] Blessington House (Plate 19) provides an important context for the state of Irish architecture following the Restoration, and has implications for what came before. Destroyed in 1798, it was a medium-sized country mansion of the sort formulated in the 1650s by Sir Roger Pratt at Coleshill, with a 'double-pile' plan of parallel ranges bridged by a corridor, a tall hipped roof, dormer windows, and graceful proportions derived from French and Italian examples.[91] The

building type had probably been introduced to Ireland at Eyrecourt, county Galway, in 1665, and was the template for the compact country house until the 1720s.[92] Within this framework, which takes in urban houses of similar style, such as Molyneux House in Dublin (1711) and the 'Red House' in Youghal, built in 1703 by the Uniacke family (Plate 20), the Drogheda palace clearly belonged to an obsolete craft tradition. Half-timber housing was still a common sight throughout the country, but in the era of pilastered breakfronts and plaster garlands, it was hardly in keeping with architectural fashion among a decidedly unsentimental class of Protestant landowners keen to embellish their now secure Irish properties.[93]

Accordingly, the eighteenth-century works at the Drogheda palace consisted of small, incremental improvements that merely postponed the inevitable. As mentioned above, Primate Lindsay wished to attach a forestairs in 1715, and Hugh Boulter, archbishop in 1724-42, carried out repairs to the palace, probably to the roof (compare Plates 1 and 2), and bought provisions to support his residence there during diocesan visitations.[94] Drawn to Dublin by the business of government and the opportunities for high living, Boulter asked if he could move to the vice-regal lodgings at Chapelizod, near the Phoenix Park, 'as I cannot hope to make use of my house at Drogheda', which eight years earlier Bishop Nicholson of Derry, travelling from Dublin to his new diocese, had compared unfavourably to the bishop of Carlisle's rambling medieval palace at Rose Castle, Cumbria.[95] From this point on, the Irish primates hardly ever ventured to Drogheda, and preferred, like Boulter, the new thoroughfare of Henrietta Street in the airy and genteel suburbs of north Dublin.[96] The die was already cast before Archbishop Robinson made Armagh his permanent berth in 1765, because five years earlier the empty primate's palace had been converted to cavalry stables.[97] A detailed map of Drogheda made by George Taylor and Andrew Skinner in 1778 (Plate 21) seems to show that the linking cross ranges of the palace have been removed and replaced with plantings. Evidence of building work at the site is given in an auction advertisement in *Saunder's Newsletter* in 1781, stating that a 'large Piece of Ground in the Town of Drogheda commonly called and known by the name of The Palace, on which there are several new houses and other

20 – The 'Red House', North Main Street
Youghal, Co Cork (1703)
(courtesy A.F. Borchert)

21 – George Taylor and Andrew Skinner,
MAP OF THE TOWN AND COUNTY OF DROGHEDA
1779, pencil, ink, and wash on paper
(courtesy Louth County Council)

valuable improvements made', had been leased in 1766 by the bankrupt George Darley for a term of 41 years.[98] According to the council book of the corporation, the remains of the palace had been completely demolished by 1783.[99]

For the 'improving clergy' of Georgian Ireland, the terraced town house and bespoke Palladian villa had replaced an archaic inheritance that no longer offered the correct aesthetic for a politician-bishop with an appetite for stucco garlands, teapots and mahogany. This story of abandonment and redundancy should not be allowed to overshadow the palace's former modernity, grandeur or its carefully cultivated iconography, which hinged around inscription and heraldry, paintings, and provision for hospitality. Symbolically, however, its eminence owed mainly to its association with the metropolitans of Armagh, particularly James Ussher, whose activities and associations there indicate that it was not so much passively occupied like any convenient place of rest and study, but consciously harnessed as a home for the Godly. It will take considerable further effort to establish if the houses of the other Irish prelates of the early Stuart period – men that varied in means as well as motivation – may bear a similar interpretation.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

PRIA   *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
JCLAS   *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*
JCLAHS *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological & Historical Society*

1   R. Usher, 'The parish churches of the Church of Ireland, 1600-1800', in R. Loeber, H. Campbell, L. Hurley, J. Montague and E. Rowley (eds), *Art and Architecture of Ireland, Volume IV: Architecture 1600-2000* (Dublin, New Haven and London, 2015) 157-63; C. Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002) 59-84, 97-134; C. Tait, 'Colonising memory: manipulations of death, burial and commemoration in the career of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork (1566-1643)', *PRIA*, vol. 101c, 2001, 107-34; R. Moss, 'Continuity and change: the material setting of public worship in the sixteenth century', in T. Herron and M. Potterton (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, 1494-1660* (Dublin, 2011) 182-206; R. Moss, 'Piety and politics: funerary sculpture in Cashel 1500-1640', in R. Stalley (ed.), *Limerick and South-West Ireland: medieval art and architecture* (Leeds, 2011) 158-75; R. Loeber, 'Sculptured memorials to the dead in early seventeenth-century Ireland: a survey from "Monumenta Eblanae" and other Sources', *PRIA*, vol. 81c, 1981, 267-93; R. Gillespie, 'Irish funeral monuments and social change, 1500-1700: perceptions of death', in *idem* and B.P. Kennedy (ed,), *Ireland, Art into History* (Dublin, 1994) 155-68; P. Cockerham and A.L. Harris, 'Kilkenny funeral monuments 1500-1600: a statistical and analytical account', *PRIA*, vol. 101c, 2001, 135-88; C. Diamond, 'The Cathedral System of Ireland in the Stuart Period, 1603-91', PhD thesis (University of Dublin, 2007) 112-52.

2   In addition to the above: S. Kinsella, 'An architectural history of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin c.1540-1870', PhD thesis (University of Dublin, 2009); O. Horsfall Turner, 'Ruin and reparation: medieval parish churches in seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Ossory', in R. Stalley (ed.), *Irish Gothic Architecture: construction, decay, and reinvention* (Dublin 2012) 161-99; K. Wiggins, '"That zealous and worthy prelate", Bishop George Webb of Limerick', *History Ireland*, X, no. 2, 2002, 21-25; E. Cotter, 'Architectural change and the parish church in post-Reformation Cork', in E. Fitzpatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) 266-76.

3   R. Loeber, 'Bishops' palaces', and R. Moss, 'Ecclesiastical residences', in Loeber et al (eds), *Art and Architecture of Ireland, Volume IV*, 351-52. For eighteenth-century coverage: T. Barnard, 'Improving clergymen, 1660-1760', in A. Ford, J. McGuire and K. Milne (eds), *As By Law Established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995) 136-51: 142-44; N. Figgis, 'The Roman property of Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th earl of Bristol and earl of Derry, 1730-1803', *Walpole Society*, vol. 55, 1990, 77-103; W. Laffan, 'Mitres and mansions', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2011, 106-11; A. Laing and N. Turner, *Clerics and Connoisseurs: the Rev. Matthew Pilkington, the Cobbe family, and the fortunes of an Irish art collection through three centuries* (London, 2001); A.P.W. Malcomson, *Primate Robinson, 1709-94* (Belfast, 2003) 36-35; J. Peill, 'Heirlooms of Newbridge House', *Irish Arts Review*, XX, no. 2, 2003, 98-103; W. Roulston, 'Accommodating clergymen', in T. Barnard and W.G. Neely (eds), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2006) 106-27.

4   Loeber, 'Bishops' palaces', 315. Information about the nobility's outlay on its houses and possessions is sensibly consolidated in J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: the Irish*

aristocracy in the seventeenth century (New Haven and London, 2012) chs 13-14. Architectural questions receive closer analysis in J. Fenlon, 'Moving towards the formal house: room usage in early modern Ireland', *PRIA*, vol. 111c, 2007, 114-68, while the essays of Rolf Loeber provide invaluable insights into elite living conditions across the period, partly collected in *Irish Houses and Castles, 1400-1740* (Dublin, 2019) especially chs 2-5, and complemented, with less architectural emphasis, by T. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004) 21-78.

5   The standard works are A. Gwynn, *The Medieval Province of Armagh, 1470-1545* (Dundalk, 1946), and H.A. Jeffries, P*riests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518-1558* (Dublin, 1997).

6   K. Simms, 'The Archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills 1347-1471', *Irish Historical Studies*, XIX, no. 73, 1974, 38-55.

7   National Library of Ireland, MS GO 357, 126, funeral entry for Christopher Hampton, d. 3rd January 1624; *ibid*., MS GO 66, 39, funeral entry for Henry Ussher, d. 2nd April 1613.

8   J. McCafferty, *The Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-41* (Cambridge, 2007) 87-89.

9   D. O'Donovan, 'English patron, English building? The importance of St Sepulchre's archiepiscopal palace, Dublin', *Medieval Dublin*, IV, 2003, 253-78.

10   G. Madden, 'Rathfarnham Castle', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1987, 22-26; F.E. Ball, 'Descriptive sketch of Clondalkin, Tallaght, and other places in west county Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, ser. 5, no. 9, 1899, 93-108: 99-101; R.A. Stalley, 'The archbishop's residence at Swords: castle or country retreat?', *Medieval Dublin*, VII, 2006, 152-76.

11   T. Clavin, 'Ussher, Henry', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8772 (consulted 10th April 2020).

12   E. McHugh, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 29: Drogheda/Droichead Átha* (Dublin, 2019), text, 65; will of Henry Ussher, 2nd April 1613, repr. in W.B. Wright, *The Ussher memoirs, or, genealogical memoirs of the Ussher families in Ireland* (Dublin and London, 1889) 17-18.

13   R. Walsh (ed.), 'Persecution of Catholics in Drogheda, 1606, 1607, and 1611', *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. 6, 1917, 64-68: 68.

14   James I to Sir Arthur Chichester, 24th October 1612, in C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, 1611-14* (London, 1877) 551-52.

15   R.J. Hunter, 'Towns in the Ulster plantation', *Studia Hibernica*, XI, 1971, 40-79: 58-62.

16   N. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1550-1650* (Oxford, 2001) 187-205; K. Pluymers, 'Taming the wilderness in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland and Virginia', *Environmental History*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2011, 610-32; J.P. Montaño, 'Cultural Conflict and the Landscape of Conquest in Early Modern Ireland', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, no. 40, 2017, 120-41.

17   C. McCullough and W.H. Crawford, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 18: Armagh* (Dublin, 2007) 2-3; L.P. Murray (ed.), 'A rent-roll of all the houses and lands belonging to the see of Armagh: with a description of the same drawn up in the time of Primate Hampton (circa 1620)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. 8, 1941, 99-120: 100.

18   Hunter, 'Towns in the Ulster plantation', 65; Murray (ed.), 'A rent-roll of all the houses and lands', 99; National Library of Ireland, MS 2654/4, Plan of Armagh City and Charlemont Fort on the Blackwater River, 1602; Kinsella, 'Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', 180.

19   W. Harris (ed.), *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1739) I, 122-2; Diamond, 'Cathedral system', 12, 49, 121.

20   McHugh, *Drogheda*, text, 65.

21   National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/168/206, will of George Fairfax, dated 14th December 1632.

22   *ibid*., PROB 11/129/142, will of Susanne Dowcra, dated 9th October 1641; A. Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic question, 1603-23', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland, III: early-modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976) 187-232: 228.

23   J. D'Alton, *The History of Drogheda with its Environs*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1844) II, 213.

24   T. Fitzpatrick (ed.), 'The Royal Visitation of 1622', *JCLAS*, VI, no. 1, 1925, 4-11: 7.

25   *Appendix to municipal corporations (Ireland), part II, conclusion of the north-eastern circuit, and part of the north-western circuit* (London, 1835) 854.

26 E. Hawkins (ed.), 'Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland, MDCXXXIV-MDCXXXV, by Sir William Brereton, Bart.', *Remains historical and literary connected with the palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester, published by the Chetham Society, Vol. 1* (Manchester, 1844), full volume: 134-35. On Brereton: J. Morrill, 'Sir William Brereton's English wars of religion', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1985, 311-32, noting (314) that Brereton, a puritan, admired Ussher and other bishops of Calvinist stripe.

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28 L.C. Johnstone, *History of Drogheda, from the earliest period to the present time* (Drogheda 1826) 52-54.

29 C. Casey, 'A Map of the Town and Suburbs of Drogheda', *JCLAHS*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1992, 361-63.

30 The later architecture of Drogheda is examined in Aisling Durkan's important dissertation, 'Regional splendour and mercantile ambition: the Drogheda town house in the eighteenth century', PhD thesis (University of Dublin, 2020).

31 A. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: from castle donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London, 2008) 197-9; D. Murphy, 'Former Drogheda grammar school, Laurence's Street, Drogheda, Louth', excavation report 1999:574, 1999, https://excavations.ie/report/1999/Louth/0004475/ (consulted 12th April 2020).

32 J. Fenlon, 'Moving towards the formal house', 160, 167; J. Lyttleton, '"A godly resolucion to rebwilde": Richard Boyle's patronage of elite architecture', in C. Rynne and D. Edwards (eds), *The Colonial World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork* (Dublin, 2018) 121-48.

33 C. McNeill (ed.), 'Hearth money rolls of Co Louth', *JCLAS*, VI, no. 2, 1926, 79-87: 86.

34 T. Gogarty (ed.), *Council Book of the Corporation of Drogheda – vol. I, from the year 1649 to 1734* (Drogheda, 1915) 325, 16th May 1715.

35 C.W. Goss, *Sir Paul Pindar and his Bishopsgate Mansion* (Cambridge, 1930); J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven and London, 2006).

36 See M. Guerci, 'The Strand Palaces of the early seventeenth century: Salisbury House and Northumberland House', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 2007).

37 G.H. Gater and E.P. Wheeler, *Survey of London: Volume 18, St Martin-in-the-Fields II: the Strand* (London, 1937) 84-98.

38 R. Scourfield and R. Haslam, *Buildings of Wales: Powys; Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire and Breconshire* (2nd edn., New Haven and London, 2013) 92-93; S. Pinches, *Ledbury, A Market Town and its Tudor Heritage* (Chichester, 2009) 27-32.

39 Hawkins (ed.), 'Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland', 135.

40 On the placement of the hall, see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London, 1978) 114.

41 R. Coope, 'The long gallery, its origins, development, use and decoration', *Architectural History*, vol. 29 (London, 1986) 43-72: 55-6.

42 J.V. Luce, *Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin 1992) 4. The orientation of libraries is addressed in E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (New Haven and London, 2001) 155.

43 The situation of the kitchen, with its implications for planning and practical needs such as ventilation, is covered by S. Pennell, '"Pots and pans of history": the material culture of the kitchen in early-modern England', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1998, 201-16.

44 L.C. Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2007); Fenlon, 'Moving towards the formal'.

45 See A. Quiney, 'The lobby-entry house: its origins and distribution', *Architectural History*, vol. 27 (London, 1984) 456-66: 466.

46 The method here owes to S. Flavin, 'Domestic materiality in Ireland, 1550-1730', in J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, II, 1550-1730 (Cambridge, 2018) 321-45.

47 National Archives of Ireland, Acc 999/575/185, will of Christopher Hampton, 24th December 1622 and 29th November 1624.

48 M. Aston, 'Bishops, seals, mitres', *Studies in Church History: Subsidia 12* (Cambridge, 1999) 183-226.

49 'Go and do thou likewise', as worded in the 1611 Bible, Luke 10:37.

50 E. Hawkins (ed.), 'Travels in Holland ... and Ireland', 135.

51 *ibid.*, 135. The Drogheda garden is mistakenly identified as a feature at Termonfeckin Castle in E.G. Malins and D. FitzGerald, *Lost Demesnes: Irish landscape gardening, 1660-1845* (London, 1976) 126.

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