



*1 – Central gallery at Mount Stewart, county Down
(courtesy The National Trust; photograph: Anderson & McMeekin Photography)*

William Vitruvius Morrison's scheme for Mount Stewart, county Down: was it ever realised?

ANNE CASEMENT

ABOUT 1803, ROBERT STEWART, 1ST EARL OF LONDONDERRY, REQUESTED George Dance to design a replacement for the existing west wing of Mount Stewart, but for the time being to retain the old house to the east. He clearly envisaged a moment in the not-too-distant future when the existing house would fail and it would become necessary to add on to Dance's work.¹ By the time the Dance extension and the ancillary work to the gardens and grounds had been completed in 1819,² Robert was in his eightieth year, and the rebuilding of the existing house was not to occur during the remainder of his lifetime.

Following his death in 1821, his estates, together with the marquessate bestowed upon him in 1816, were inherited by his elder son Robert, Lord Castlereagh, the architect of the Congress of Vienna, who, thus, became the 2nd Marquess of Londonderry and whose life was to end tragically in suicide in 1822. The title and estates then became the property of Robert's half-brother Charles, the 3rd Marquess, who had distinguished himself as an army officer of exceptional bravery and daring during the Napoleonic Wars. He also enjoyed success as a diplomat, attending the Congress of Vienna in his capacity as Ambassador to Austria. Charles's first wife, Lady Catherine Bligh, had died unexpectedly in 1812. In 1819, at the age of forty, he married for a second time, this time to Lady Frances Anne Vane-Tempest, the only child of Sir Henry Vane-Tempest and his wife Anne Catherine McDonnell, who was Countess of Antrim in her own right. Frances Anne was a mere eighteen or nineteen at the time of the marriage, and a considerable catch, as she was heiress to her father's sizeable estates and colliery interests in county Durham. In 1834 she also inherited part of the Antrim estate from her mother.

There is a popular and widely held belief that upon his second marriage

Charles became one of the wealthiest men in Britain,³ and that this income was available to be spent on his Irish property. An annual income from his wife's estates of as much as £175,000 has been quoted by one commentator,⁴ but a figure of between £35,500 and £50,500 at about the time of his marriage is more accurate.⁵ Under the terms of the marriage settlement, Charles was expected to provide for his wife's mother, aunt and children of the marriage. In addition, great stress was laid on the need to apply his wife's income to the improvement of her collieries. It has been estimated that the settlement only provided resources for him to bring the collieries into good working order, to look after family dependants and to spend £14,000 on his social life. Little or nothing was available to pay off Vane-Tempest debts, to support his political patronage in Durham, or to spend on Vane-Tempest residences.⁶ Furthermore, the income from the mines, although at times prodigious, was subject to dramatic fluctuations as economic circumstances changed.⁷ Lord Londonderry's financial position in Durham thus forced him to rely heavily on his Irish income to meet his personal expenditure, and to contribute to the lavish, almost royal, lifestyle he and his wife enjoyed. From late 1834 onwards he received a monthly allowance of £600 from the income of his Irish estates.⁸

The terms of the 3rd Marquess's marriage settlement, and the tremendous demands placed on Durham income, demonstrate that English funds would not have been available for Irish purposes,⁹ and the estate papers and financial records indicate that all expenses at Mount Stewart were to be financed from Irish funds.

As his military career revealed, Charles was a man who clearly relished challenge and was unperturbed by obstacles and difficulties. In the early years of his marriage he turned his energy to developing his wife's colliery interests, and to providing her with homes befitting the couple's wealth and status. Between 1822 and 1831 the modest Vane-Tempest home of Wynyard Park in county Durham was rebuilt to designs by Philip Wyatt. In 1822 Holderness House was purchased to provide the couple with a town house in London, and by 1825 it had been sumptuously rebuilt by Benjamin Dean Wyatt and Philip Wyatt. Seaham Hall, another Vane-Tempest property in county Durham, was completely refurnished, and considerable sums were also spent on the construction of Seaham Harbour.¹⁰ The rebuilding of Mount Stewart, a house the family seldom visited, was almost certainly a very low priority. In October 1823 Frances Anne's own journal records that: 'The old house [at Mount Stewart] was in a terrible state and had been all painted and newly furnished. We only remained to give all orders and then proceeded to Mamma at Glenarm.'¹¹

A recent analysis of the collection of letters in the Durham Record Office written to the 3rd Marquess by his agent for county Down, John Andrews,¹² has revealed many allusions to work taking place in the house and on the demesne at

Mount Stewart during the thirty-five years of John Andrews' agency from 1828 to 1863.¹³ Unfortunately, this series of letters is tantalisingly incomplete. Certain periods are copiously documented, whilst for others no letters exist at all, presumably because the Marquess was either resident at Mount Stewart at the time, or because he was absent from his Durham residences, staying either in London, with friends, or abroad. His correspondence during these stays was perhaps not included in the material transferred to the Durham Record Office. Frustratingly, there are often no letters for the periods when important events regarding Mount Stewart house must have been taking place.

Following the completion of building work to the Londonderrys' English properties, the family may have felt able to contemplate the rebuilding of Mount Stewart, and may indeed have commissioned an architect to produce designs. In 1834 the solicitor to the Durham trustees, Richard Groom, lost confidence in Lord Londonderry's ability to manage the Durham estates. He decided that the estates should be run by a committee dominated by trustees and principal creditors, and that Lord Londonderry should relinquish all control and live on his Irish rents.¹⁴ In 1835 Lord Londonderry was offered the St Petersburg embassy by Sir Robert Peel, though he was subsequently forced to resign the post due to parliamentary opposition to his appointment.¹⁵ Such changes in the family's financial position and expected place of domicile may have led to a dramatic change of plan respecting building work at Mount Stewart, and all that was finally decided upon were urgent improvements, particularly to Lord and Lady Londonderry's accommodation. A plan of the house in 1803-04 by George Dance shows Lord Londonderry's room on the north side,¹⁶ but remarks made by John Andrews in 1847 respecting the refitting and redecoration of Lord and Lady Londonderry's apartments indicate that such accommodation was, by that time, in existence on the south front.¹⁷

A system of accounts for Mount Stewart was initiated by Robert Stewart in 1781, and meticulously kept until 1819. Account-keeping then lapsed, or was continued in a very fragmentary way, until the commencement of John Andrews' agency in 1828, when it was resumed in the best manner. John Andrews was the eldest son of a prosperous family of millers, linen bleachers and drapers in the nearby town of Comber, and a talent fostered by the family firm had resulted in his becoming a skilled correspondent and keeper of accounts.¹⁸ A series of summary accounts prepared by him in May 1843 for the period 1 January 1835 to 31 December 1842 includes the heading 'New Building'.¹⁹ It reveals that during this period sums totalling £1,244 were spent for this purpose, the bulk between 1836 and 1838. Thus directed, a careful search of the corresponding Mount Stewart journal and cash book showed that very similar sums were spent during these years on the regular payment of workmen's wages.²⁰ In addition, between 1837 and 1843, out of the surplus



income of the estate, the 3rd Marquess paid modest amounts for interior work such as decorating, plastering, plumbing, gilding and upholstery, and fixtures such as furniture, chimney pieces and room paper.²¹ This clearly suggests that the work consisted not merely of the creation of bricks and mortar but of furnished rooms. The cessation of building work may relate to the fact that Lord Londonderry and his family went abroad in late 1839.²²

Testimony that a substantial, well-furnished home resulted from this work



2 – North front of Mount Stewart, county Down
 (courtesy Anthony C.W. Merrick)

can be found by comparing contemporary descriptions of the house. The *Ordnance Survey Memoirs* (1832-34, 1837) were of the opinion that it was ‘plain and small for a nobleman’s residence’,²³ but the *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837) referred to the ‘splendid residence ... a spacious mansion’,²⁴ and the *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (1844-45) noted that ‘its apartments are numerous and splendid’.²⁵ Apart from these three sources, no descriptions, maps or plans of the house have been found relating to this period in its history. The modest sum of £1,244

spent on building work renders it extremely unlikely that this work would have involved the construction of the outer shell of the present house, the fitting out of the public rooms being postponed, as for instance was the case at Castle Coole, county Fermanagh.

In his second article on Mount Stewart, published in *Country Life* in 1980, Gervase Jackson-Stops clearly set out the conundrum regarding the creation of the present Mount Stewart house (Plate 2): although it is unequivocally attributed to the Irish architect William Vitruvius Morrison in an account of his life written by his brother John, the Mount Stewart journal and cash book does not record payments for 'Mount Stewart New Building' until 1845, seven years after the architect's death. Had the commission come (and the work been undertaken) in the 1820s or 1830s, Morrison would have been an obvious choice. In 1824 he recased Glenarm Castle, county Antrim, for Lady Londonderry's mother, Lady Antrim; in 1823 he was engaged on Ormeau, a large house to the south of Belfast, for the Marquess of Donegall;²⁶ and his travels in France and Italy had given him a command of classical architecture which no other Irish architect could offer, for although a European tour was a well-established part of the education of British architects, it was a complete novelty for professional architects in Ireland, who, with the exception of Edward Lovett Pearce, had never before been given the encouragement and patronage necessary to further their education abroad.²⁷ However, Jackson-Stops states that his search of the estate accounts revealed no payments to William Vitruvius Morrison during this period.²⁸ A further search by the present author among the entries in the ledger for bills paid by Mount Stewart or by Lord Londonderry during the period 1828 to 1837 also failed to detect payments to William Vitruvius Morrison, or indeed to any architect. Nor, to date, have any plans been discovered for Mount Stewart that can be attributed to William Vitruvius Morrison.

The Andrews letters confirm the evidence of the account books that substantial building work took place in the mid-1840s. They also include fascinatingly detailed descriptions of the progress of the work to the house, particularly as it neared completion in 1847 and 1848. In April 1841 John Andrews wrote: 'We [himself, the land steward and the Londonderrys' builder/architect Charles Campbell of Newtownards] have also been consulting about Mt Stewart House, and perhaps on your Lordship's arrival in London may require some more precise instructions as to what exactly is to be done.'²⁹ Wynyard Park was substantially damaged by fire in February 1841, and Lord Londonderry was informed that the building insurance had not been renewed.³⁰ Presumably as a consequence of this, John Andrews was caused to observe in May of the same year 'it fortunately turned out well that I exercised my own discretion in the case of the proposed works at Mount Stewart'.³¹

The dearth or total absence of Andrews letters for the years 1843, 1845 and

1846 hinders attempts to understand why the building of the present house finally began in 1845-46. The spending of about £3,000 a year during the period 1846-49³² to create a house described by visiting local gentry as 'ranked among the first of Irish mansions'³³ has frequently been cited as an example of the 3rd Marquess's insensitivity and self-absorption. The work was taking place at a time when the local economy was in turmoil as a result of the failure of the potato crop in 1846 and subsequent years, resulting in some cases in extreme hardship and near starvation, and calls for rent reduction and reform of the land tenure system.

It is also widely held that the building of the house and demesne wall were the Londonderrys' response to a government initiative to relieve the effects of the Great Famine by encouraging landlords to undertake schemes on their estates to increase local employment.³⁴ The estate ledgers and Andrews letters cast great doubt on this assumption. Indeed, the recommencement of the building work at this time, although subsequently seen to be injudicious in view of the ravages wrought to the solvency of the Londonderrys' Irish estates by the Great Famine, and the social unrest and economic depression of the succeeding years, was, in all likelihood, motivated by a significant and quite natural change in family circumstances.

On 30 April 1846, the forty-one-year-old Lord Castlereagh, Lord Londonderry's only son by his first marriage, and heir to his Irish estates, married the widow of the 6th Viscount Powerscourt. As was customary on such occasions, the family estates were resettled, and Lord Londonderry and Lord Castlereagh were given power to charge the Down estate with the sum of £12,000, all or part of which might be 'laid out or applied in rebuilding, repairing or improving the family mansion at Mount Stewart and its outbuildings, pleasure grounds and appurtenances'.³⁵ Part of the £12,000 was repaid in 1850, with £4,623 obtained from the sale of land for the construction of a railway between Belfast, Comber and Newtownards.³⁶ The remainder of the total cost of building and furnishing the house, and constructing the stable yard and lake, which amounted to over £10,000 more than the original loan of £12,000, was met by Lord Londonderry personally out of the surplus income of the estate (that is, it was drawn against him in the Down estate accounts and offset by sums credited to him from the surplus income of the estate), and from the balance of a loan from one of John Andrews' relations.³⁷ Additional impetus to commence work on the present house may have resulted from the appointment in 1845 of Lord Castlereagh as Lord Lieutenant of county Down, and the completion of restoration work at Wynyrd Park (Plate 3) (the official housewarming took place in 1847) and the expensive works at Seaham Harbour.³⁸

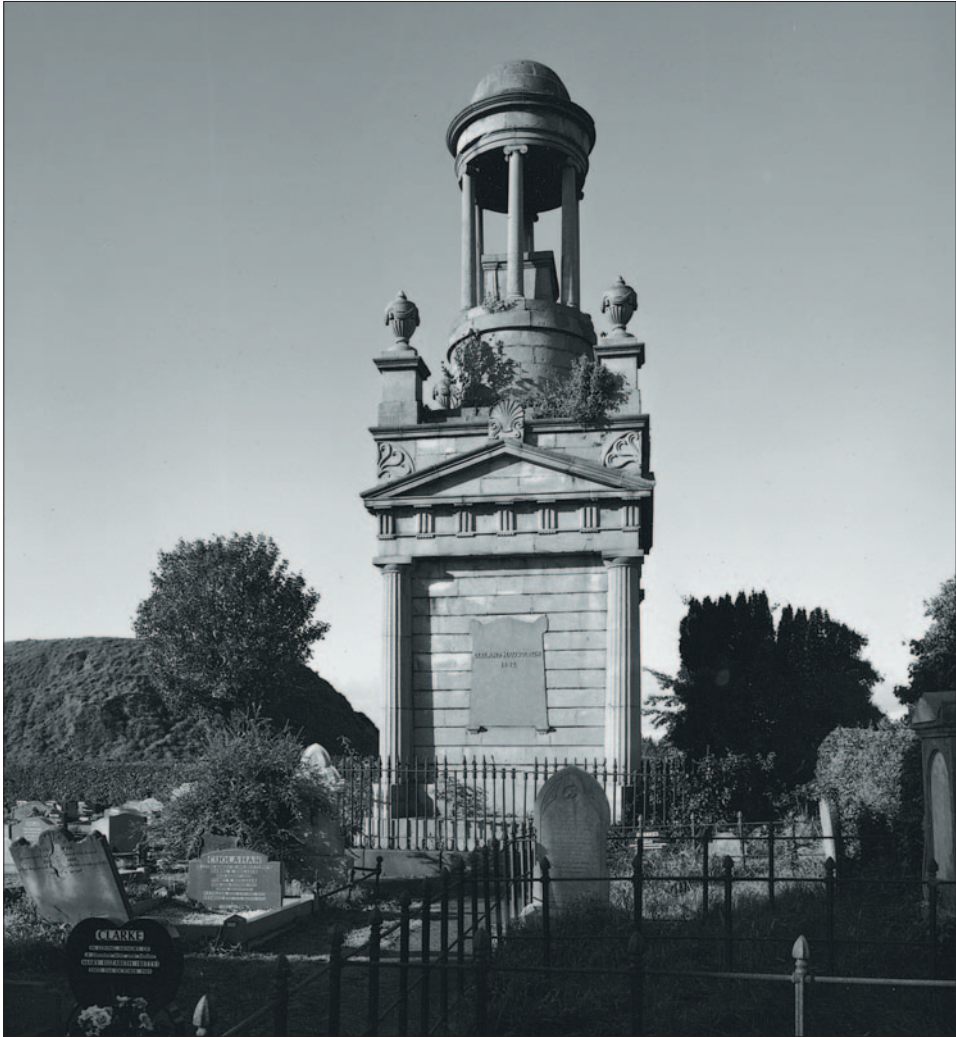
That such building work was not primarily intended to provide unskilled manual work for destitute local men is clearly illustrated in a letter written in 1847 when John Andrews remarked: 'Campbell ... assures me he never had the superin-



*3 – North front of Wynyard Park, county Durham
(courtesy 9th Marquess of Londonderry)*

tendence of more regular or better conducted men, and as the works at Springvale present ready employment for best hands, he fears to lose those on whom he relies for superior work.’ He continued:

Our soup kitchens are so far adequate to relieve the want which the work-house cannot meet. ... The railway works ... are taking the labourers whom the farmers ... have been throwing off, and the weaving in Newtownards is tolerably brisk, so that on the whole our situation is comparatively an envi-



4 – Cleland Mausoleum, Dundonald, county Down
(courtesy Anthony C.W. Merrick)

able one, but our workhouse contains 750 in the body of the house, and nearly 100 in the fever hospital.³⁹

Records left by John Andrews also provide information of assistance in assessing the likelihood that William Vitruvius Morrison was the architect of the present house. Although the Londonderrys' builder/architect Charles Campbell, and the numerous other skilled personnel and businesses who worked on the house or provided materials for its construction and furnishing, are meticulously named in the

Andrews letters and Mount Stewart journal and cash book, no reference has been found to an architect or builder other than Charles Campbell. This renders extremely unlikely the possibility that the project might have been superintended by William Vitruvius Morrison's father and partner, Richard, as John Morrison admitted was sometimes the case.⁴⁰

Jackson-Stops states that Campbell was originally a carpenter who was employed at Mount Stewart during the minor alterations which took place in 1825.⁴¹ The journal and cash book confirms he was also responsible for the building work carried out between 1836 and 1838.⁴² In addition, he played a part in other developments in nearby Newtownards, the focus of the Londonderrys' county Down estate. He subsequently made the transition from craftsman to 'Architect of Ann Street, Newtownards',⁴³ and could easily have been the architect of the stable block at Mount Stewart, which, although simple in form, displays originality in the design of the windows and treatment of the *oeil de boeuf* motif in the centre of the pediment.⁴⁴

Jackson-Stops also credits Campbell with being the architect of the Cleland Mausoleum at Dundonald, county Down,⁴⁵ although his source for this claim has yet to be located (Plate 4). The mausoleum was erected in memory of the wealthy, if notorious, Samuel Cleland, who died in 1842. He was the son of Lord Londonderry's former agent, from whom Lord Londonderry had borrowed very substantial sums.⁴⁶ It is one of the largest in Ulster: a vast neoclassical edifice consisting of an underground vault, surmounted by a cubic structure acting as the pedestal for a cupola, supported by a peristyle of classical columns.⁴⁷ This pleasing composition, described by McParland as 'modish and reasonably learned in its use of the Greek Doric order', has similarities with the Tomb of the Julii at St Remy, which the architect could easily have seen in a pattern book.⁴⁸ It predates the construction of Mount Stewart, and shows that by this time Campbell (if it was he) was clearly at ease with classical forms and decorative elements.

Campbell also superintended the building of Garron Tower, the castellated mansion which Lady Londonderry created in 1848 on land she had inherited from her mother on the Antrim coast (Plate 5). He may even have been its architect. The original drawings for Garron Tower are lost, though plans for subsequent additions by Lewis Vulliamy and Charles Lanyon do exist. Indeed, until recently it was widely believed that Lewis Vulliamy was the architect of the original house.⁴⁹ However, in a letter to Lady Londonderry, Campbell stated that, 'I retain no copy of the specifications given to your Ladyship, except a few notes in my memorandum book. ... Your Ladyship has the specifications yourself for I require none, being the architect and director of the works myself.' This statement, together with the lack of plans, has been used to promote the idea that Campbell was indeed responsible for the design. Letters written by Lady Londonderry's agent after Campbell's death note



5 – *Garron Tower, county Antrim*
 (courtesy Michael O'Connell)

that his son William had failed initially to give up the plans of the tower, but that they were finally given to his father's creditors,⁵⁰ which perhaps explains their subsequent loss. That plans were produced by Campbell seems in little doubt, for in January 1847 the ever-precise and meticulous John Andrews wrote to Lord Londonderry: 'I propose sending a box by Liverpool tomorrow, containing ... a portfolio from Campbell containing his plans of the proposed Tower in Antrim.'⁵¹ Having examined the existing correspondence, Charles Brett concluded in his recent book, *Buildings of County Antrim*, that Campbell was probably given an oil painting, model and various plans, and left to get on as best he might.⁵²

Campbell's reputation may have suffered in much the same way as that of many other builder/architects, whose profession was effectively outlawed in the constitution of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland (founded in 1839 and reinstated in 1863), which states that:

No person shall be eligible for admission to the Royal Institute who shall at the same time be acting in the double capacity of architect and builder ... it being a fundamental rule of the Royal Institute that it is contrary to the inter-

ests of the public and the profession that both capacities should be united in the same person.

The question therefore arises as to whether Campbell alone was responsible for the design of the present Mount Stewart house. That he personally supervised and controlled every aspect of the building work from 1845 onwards appears, from the Andrews letters, to be beyond doubt. Whether he was working to plans provided by himself or another architect, such as William Vitruvius Morrison, is still a matter of speculation.

Ann Martha Rowan, the editor of *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison*, has never encountered a case where a building was falsely attributed to William in the catalogue of his work produced by his brother John. Nonetheless, as this catalogue was published in 1844, before the commencement of building work at Mount Stewart, the entry can only at best reflect the fact that Morrison had, at some point, received a commission from Lord Londonderry. This may indeed have been the case: although John Morrison generally included a brief description of the architectural style of each house he listed, he gave no details whatsoever concerning Mount Stewart.

Jackson-Stops notes certain stylistic features at Mount Stewart, such as the portico on the north front with its Ionic capitals (Plate 2), nearly identical to those at Oak Park, county Carlow, and Baronscourt, county Tyrone;⁵³ the vast central hall, with its skylight dome and obvious enjoyment in the use of the orders; and the drawing room, with its screens of Ionic columns, close in feeling to the library at Ballyfin, county Laois (Plate 6), are characteristic of William Vitruvius Morrison.⁵⁴ In *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison* the authors note that although the giant entrance portico and the sequence of rooms into which it directly leads are characteristic of the Morrisons' work, the need to build in harmony with an existing wing designed by George Dance, the delayed execution of the scheme, and the effect of later alterations all combine to dilute the Morrisonian aspect of the house, which lacks, in particular, the sumptuous plasterwork found at Ballyfin, Oak Park and Baronscourt.⁵⁵ The absence of elaborate plasterwork might be explained by reflecting that the house was by no means the family's principal residence, William Vitruvius Morrison was not available to produce specifications for such work (although his father might have substituted for him), there were difficulties financing the project, and the work had exceeded the budget. The need to keep costs down may also be reflected in the use of paint rather than scagliola in the decoration of the columns in the hall and drawing room.

McParland is of the opinion that there is no evidence to suggest the involvement of Morrison except, perhaps, in the design of the portico. Indeed the run-of-



6 – *Marquis de Massigny de la Pierre, library at Ballyfin*
c.1840, watercolour, 46 x 64 cm (courtesy Sir Christopher Coote)

the-mill treatment of the exterior façade, poor interior layout, and design of its plasterwork argue strongly against any involvement by him.⁵⁶

Brett notes that there is a tradition that the Morrisons carried out work at four other houses near Mount Stewart – Greyabbey House, Clandeboye House, Carrowdore Castle and Quintin Castle – though he stresses that in every case this is unauthenticated or disbelieved by architectural historians.⁵⁷ The existence of such traditions could be thought to support the belief that the Morrisons were involved at Mount Stewart, but equally likely they could be based on a false assumption, as in the case of Greyabbey, where the Morrisonian-like Greek key pattern mouldings are believed to have been executed during the time the Morrisons were busy ‘down the road’ at Mount Stewart.

The cessation of payments for workmen’s wages, which were made almost without fail on a fortnightly basis from August 1837 to November 1838 (though one



7 – Central gallery at Wynyard Park, county Durham
 (courtesy 9th Marquess of Londonderry)

final payment was made in April 1839), could be construed as providing evidence to suggest the involvement of the Morrisons in the earlier work to the house. William Vitruvius, never a man of good health, died in October 1838, aged only forty-four. However, as has already been pointed out, the small sums spent make it extremely unlikely that this work comprised the building of the capacious galleries characteristic of the Morrisons.

The diluted nature of the Morrisonian influence at Mount Stewart may also be related to the way architecture was practised at the time. Upon receiving a commission for a design for a house, an architect would initially generally produce no more than plans and elevations, the design of the interior not being specified until building was scheduled to commence or under way. The architect frequently had no involvement in the actual construction of the house, this responsibility being undertaken by a local contractor or person customarily employed by a family to carry out



8 – Central gallery at Mount Stewart

(courtesy The National Trust; photograph: Anderson & McMeekin Photography)

such work. Such appears to have been very much the practice of the Londonderry family. The implementation of the Dance scheme was undertaken by a skilled local builder and craftsman, John Ferguson. Thomas Prosser acted as executant architect and builder at Wynyard Park,⁵⁸ and Charles Campbell at Garron Tower.

Mount Stewart has much in common with Wynyard Park, the splendiferous mansion designed by Philip Wyatt for the Londonderrys in county Durham, commenced around 1822 but not completed until the following decade.⁵⁹ A large top-lit central gallery, incorporating an octagonal hall with a first-floor gallery lit by a dome filled with stained glass, is a characteristic feature of both, and in *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison* the authors note that the gallery at Mount Stewart (Plates 1, 8) has some affinities with its counterpart at Wynyard (Plate 7).⁶⁰ The journal and cash book shows that Campbell made several journeys to meet Lord Londonderry at Wynyard, including two in 1845



9 – *Unknown artist, Mount Stewart Christmas 1856, pencil and ink, 55.2 cm x 75 cm*
 (collection: Mount Stewart, county Down; courtesy The National Trust; photograph: Chris Hill)

when building work commenced at Mount Stewart. He would thus have been quite familiar with its layout and the style preferred by his employer.

Thus, despite evidence to suggest the involvement of William Vitruvius Morrison, the possibility that the house was fundamentally the work of Charles Campbell cannot be entirely ruled out. John Andrews' letter of 26 September 1847 includes the tantalising phrase:

As to the required conveniences in the servants' part of the house, your Lordship will recollect that they were all designed in Campbell's original plan but were swept away, in order to make room for the capacious galleries which were decided upon, and in consequence they must be supplied in part by other arrangements.⁶¹

The Andrews letters contain no phrase so crucial to establishing the identity of the

architect as this one, and yet its full meaning and implications are frustratingly difficult to determine. Considerable weight must be placed on the fact that although the ever-precise Andrews associates Campbell with a particular plan, he accredits none with the design of the 'capacious galleries'. Pertinent to this debate, also, is the consideration of whether a set of plans produced by Morrison, or indeed another architect, would have failed to include provision for the necessary services. The internal organisation of the house is remarkably confused and illogical, and the treatment, for instance, of the ante-rooms adjoining the principal rooms is mediocre in the extreme, suggesting most strongly that it was not designed by an architect, certainly not one of the calibre of William Vitruvius Morrison.

Finally, attention must be paid to the likely involvement of Lord Londonderry in the building of the present house. Unlike his father and elder brother, he had not undertaken the grand tour. Nonetheless, in the course of his military and diplomatic careers he had become acquainted with many cultures, including those of France, Austria, Spain, Portugal and the Low Countries. After their marriage, he and his wife travelled to Europe, Russia, the Middle East and North Africa.⁶² He was evidently keenly interested in technology, and his close personal involvement in the operation of the Durham collieries and associated railways, and the construction of Seaham town and harbour, shows that he was quite capable of coming to grips with the principles and problems associated with enterprises involving a high degree of technological expertise.⁶³ His interest in architecture is clearly borne out in Worsley's account of the building of Wynyard Park, where it states that 'Letters, drawings and accounts all show the major part Londonderry played in the planning and erection of the house', and 'Londonderry's memoranda book also shows how closely he concerned himself with the work in hand when he was at Wynyard.'⁶⁴ Lord Londonderry's widow, responding to an address she received from the Antrim tenantry following his death, declared: 'You have considered how forlorn and wretched I must feel, deprived of him who designed and created this mountain fortress [Garron Tower].'⁶⁵ Allowing for a generous measure of wifely pride and exaggeration, this would nonetheless indicate that Lord Londonderry was intimately involved in the construction of this house also. The Andrews letters reveal that Lord Castlereagh also had an input into the design and layout of Mount Stewart, certainly with respect to the domestic offices.⁶⁶

We are thus left with several possible scenarios, of which three seem to merit most consideration: that Morrison did indeed provide plans for Mount Stewart, but that his scheme was never implemented; that some of his plans for the exterior and public rooms were incorporated into a final design produced by Campbell; or that the entire building was the work of Campbell, an earlier design by him being subsequently modified to incorporate features such as the entrance portico and capacious

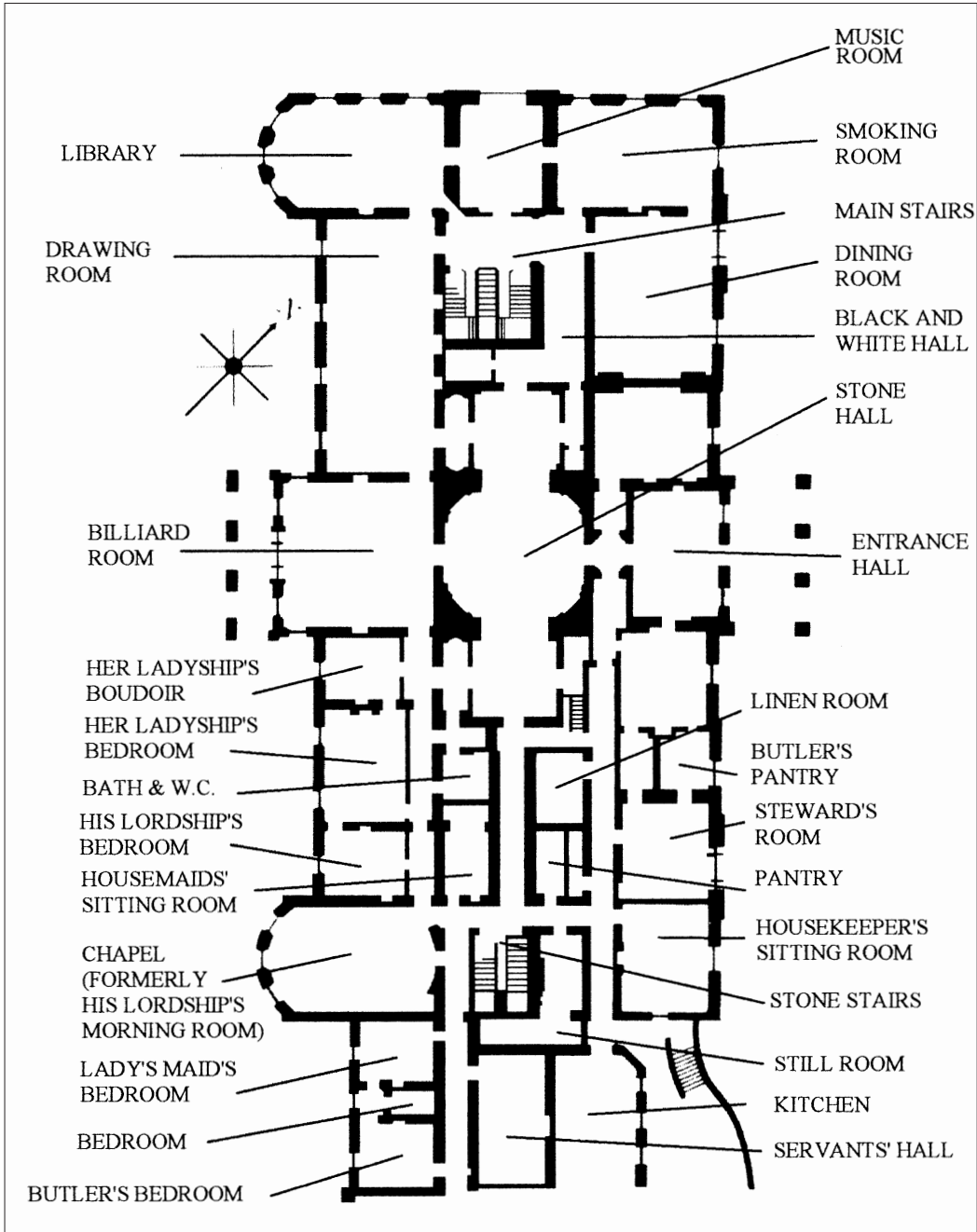
galleries, which were modelled on designs by other architects or from Wynyard Park. In the last two instances, the influence of Lord Londonderry should not be underestimated.

In the light of the available evidence, it would seem most likely that onto a set of plans produced by Campbell after building work ceased in 1839, and prior to its resumption in 1845, were superimposed changes to the exterior and nature of the public rooms, perhaps to designs by another architect, such as Morrison.

Jackson-Stops notes that, as the 1st Marquess had predicted, the enlargement of the house involved ‘a building to range in conformity’ with the Dance wing. The original house was almost completely rebuilt and extended to the east to create a symmetrical building the full width and height of the Dance extension, culminating at the east end in ancillary offices. The new public rooms on the ground floor comprised a grand sequence of apartments (Plate 10), many top-lit, approached via an Ionic portico to the north. The now-redundant Dance *porte cochère* on the north front was replaced with a tripartite bracketed window frame, echoing the ‘Wyatt window’ above it, and Dance’s shallow pediments on the north and west were raised on plinths to give them greater emphasis. At the same time, a new loggia of coupled Ionic columns was built in the centre of the long south front, and a balustrade was erected all around the building, partly concealing the shallow-pitched roofs, to give coherence to the design as a whole.

Inside the front door, a relatively simple rectangular vestibule led into the central hall – an octagon with a gallery and skylight dome containing stained glass. Double pairs of Ionic columns, painted to resemble dark-green marble, framed the vistas to rectangular spaces on each side, again top-lit. Like the gallery at Holderness House, the room was probably intended for sculpture. The plasterwork in the dome, particularly the very individual form of scrolling acanthus just below the lantern, is typical of Morrison’s late Greek Revival style. To add to the sense of drama, the doors opposite the entrance led through into a billiard room the whole height of the house, lit by another glazed dome, and with a gallery supported by four large columns. From the outside, this dome gave a much-needed central emphasis to the long south front.

Between the billiard room and Dance’s west wing lay the drawing room. The central section had been the drawing room of the original house,⁶⁷ into which two adjoining rooms had been incorporated, separated from the central section by pairs of Ionic columns, to form a splendid new drawing room overlooking the grounds to the south (Plate 9). A dining room occupied the same large space on the north front, and was divided into unequal parts by a double pair of Ionic columns.⁶⁸ To the east of the billiard room lay Lady Londonderry’s private apartments, comprising a boudoir, dressing room and bathroom, and beyond them Lord Londonderry’s bed-



10 – Mount Stewart, use of ground-floor rooms in 1905
 (courtesy Lady Mairi Bury; drawn by Rebecca Casement and Phillip Rush)

room and sitting room, complete with fine bow window, matching that at the south end of the Dance extension.

The rebuilding of the house was accompanied by the building of a new stable block a short distance to the east, and improvements to the grounds and estate. Landscaping work was carried out around the house to conceal the new offices, and the long terrace on the south side of the house also appears to date from this time. A lake was created to the north of the house, perhaps inspired by the completion of such a feature at Wynyard Park in the 1830s,⁶⁹ but prompted also by the possibility it afforded of providing an ample water supply for the house.⁷⁰

THE COMPLETION OF A FINE COUNTRY HOUSE – EVENTS AT MOUNT STEWART IN THE LATE 1840S

Although the collection of letters written by John Andrews only contains one written during 1845 and 1846 when building work commenced, there are many for 1847 and 1848. These provide a vivid and precise picture of the final stages of work to the interior of the house, and the construction of the massive entrance portico and stable yard. Even as late as spring 1847, the completion of the building work was by no means guaranteed. A combination of a shortage of funds, rising interest rates, and the effects of the potato failure of 1846 made the future of the project very uncertain. In February Lord Londonderry wrote to John Andrews offering to stop the building work if the agent thought it judicious.⁷¹ In March John Andrews conceded that although the sum secured for the project to date – from an existing loan and the £4,206 already advanced by the Trustees as part of the £12,000 loan – was already overspent, he hoped the payment of about £4,000 for land sold for the building of a local railway, which was expected shortly, would enable him to see the building work successfully through to completion. He did, however, make the proviso that the construction of the new stable yard beside the house should be deferred till work to the house was finished.⁷² Charles Campbell visited Lord Londonderry in late March, just before his Lordship's departure for Paris, in order that a final decision could be taken as to all works to be executed.⁷³ A loan of half the railway purchase money had been obtained by May,⁷⁴ and the works then progressed most satisfactorily.

It appears from the Andrews letters that Lord Londonderry planned to pay his first visit to the new house in November 1847. In late September John Andrews wrote:

I have had also several consultations with Campbell. On Friday again we were in Belfast selecting Grates and Chimney Pieces, and looking after

Papers, and yesterday we had another inspection and consultation at Mount Stewart, in conjunction with Mrs Tidman [the housekeeper]. The result of all I shall proceed to detail.

Presuming on the full time to the 1st November being allowed, our consideration was given to the best arrangements for Lady Londonderry's comfortable accommodation; and I would beg to recommend that the plan of converting your Lordship's Morning Room into a Bed Room be abandoned. As I stated in my letter of the 19th there can be no doubt of the apartments destined for her Ladyship being perfectly dry, warm, and healthful. There are two or three [illegible] which I feared, and still apprehend might extract the Color from Paper, but even that may be prevented by various means, and I think I can answer for it that there will not be the slightest matter to apprehend by the first of November, when fires shall have been for some time burned, which they will certainly be; and there will be the great advantage in her Ladyship occupying her own apartments that she can pass to them through the Centre Gallery, which, as I have said will be well heated with stoves, and enter by a Mahogany door, whereas if your Lordship's Morning Room with its appendages were substituted, the entrance must either be through the rooms which your Lordship would then be occupying, or through the passage beyond the Centre Gallery, which cannot by possibility be in the same finished or heated or comfortable state, nor can your Lordship's Rooms be at all rendered so light and commodious and pleasant as those now designed for her Ladyship's use. Under all these circumstances I cannot hesitate to recommend that her Ladyship's own apartments be fitted up for her use, and those of your Lordship reserved for yourself as heretofore.

Then as to the fitting up of her Ladyship's apartments, I must own I shrink from acting in any matter in which taste is concerned. Lord Castlereagh so much approved of what we had already done as to Chimney Pieces and Grates, that I have ventured to select those Articles in some hope that they may be approved. The Carpets and Draperies in use in the former apartments are also being prepared and will answer for the new. As to papers I feel quite incompetent to make a choice. We had selected a paper for your Lordship's own morning Room, supposing it was to continue as such, but from what you now say as to white and gold, of which I saw nothing in Belfast, I shall not allow it to be put on till I procure a pattern of it tomorrow morning, and send it.

For Lady Londonderry's Bed Room, Dressing Room and Bath Room, I hit upon two papers, called French, which I thought might answer. Of these, I send to day, in a Roll, two patterns, but I very much wish Lady Londonderry,

or your Lordship, could choose these papers, and yet I fear that if sent from London even on the 12th October, they could scarcely be put on, and all smell removed, should your Lordship even allow the longest day first spoken of. I must therefore leave this matter, in connexion with the arrangement of the apartments, for your Lordship's decision. Meantime all works will be diligently pressed forward, and on receipt of final orders every thing practicable shall be done for the best. Campbell will send dimensions of all apartments.

We next come to the Dining Room and Great South Drawing Room. The Dining Room may be made fit for occupation to some extent. There are no Chimney Pieces at present in Belfast suitable for so large an apartment. There are three opens for fireplaces in this Room. Chimney Pieces, which would be suitable ultimately to other parts of the House, could in the mean time be set up in it. The former dining Room Carpet would cover the large section of the Room, from the Drawing Room end to the Pillars; and the large Screen set behind the Pillars would cut off the smaller section at the Kitchen end, till proper Carpeting could be provided for the whole. This at best however will only be a make-shift, but it would be impossible to have anything complete in time.

As to the large South Drawing Room I greatly fear nothing can be done to secure the use of it at this time. No Chimney Pieces or Grates could now be had for it here. It would seem a great pity, on so large and fine a Room, to provide any temporary Carpetings or Draperies, and even such would, though but for a temporary purpose, involve unavoidably a very large expense. I must therefore hazard the advice that this Room be let alone till Lady Londonderry and your Lordship shall see it and decide upon its fittings. The winding up of all is that I do expect and feel confident that by the first days of November all substantial comfortable accommodation may be provided, and though the superior elegancies of the new apartments cannot by that time be fully enjoyed the satisfaction of having every thing as you could wish, on next year's visit will be best secured by a little forbearance on this.⁷⁵

John Andrews was overruled regarding the postponement of work to the South Drawing Room or South Gallery, but his advice respecting the location of Lady Londonderry's apartments was heeded. Work progressed steadily throughout October, despite escalating costs. Another full report was submitted at the end of the month:

Campbell having told me yesterday in Belfast, that Mrs Tidman had a long letter of instructions, I went down to Mt Stewart, and we have ... arranged in all respects as far as possible, in accordance with your Lordship's wishes.

South Gallery

I understand your Lordship to have given up the intention of sending a person from London to [illegible] the walls, and that you intend it to have a coat of distemper color of one of the shades returned, but lest I should be mistaken in that understanding and particularly as the Chimney Pieces will not have arrived till I can hear again, I shall not allow the Walls of it to be touched till then.

The Chimney Pieces of the Dining Room are positively promised for Wednesday next, and the Room shall then receive a coat of distemper of the shade ordered. Gridwood promises all dispatch with the Carpet, but the Looms being yet at work upon it in Kidderminster, it cannot possibly be ready before your Lordship's arrival, but I hope it will very soon after. It will require nearly 300 yards, and the cost will be about £75. When Campbell spoke of 200 yards, he thought the Brussels Carpeting was yard wide. Gridwood says he never made a Carpet for so large a room, and that no House in London would have so much in stock of any pattern, and that this is a new registered pattern. I almost regret to take off the Morocco at present on the Dining Room chairs, but as your Lordship's orders are peremptory, I shall have red Morocco ordered by Gridwood, it not being obtainable in Belfast.

Lady Londonderry's apartments are getting into fine order, with fires constantly burning. I hope they will be quite ready for the fine Paper. I presume the White and Gold Paper at 33d per yard is intended for the Boudoir. Mrs Tidman was talking of Chintz as before, but I cannot suppose this costly paper is for any other use.

Your Lordship will be so good as to make this sure.

Lord Londonderry's Morning Room

Your Lordship has said nothing to me about buying a Carpet for this Room, but in the directions to Mrs Tidman you say I am to do so. The former Carpet was a plain Kidderminster. I suppose you would be content with the same, of best quality. May I request general instructions as to the colors you would like, and the style of pattern, and I shall get Mrs Andrews to help me to choose it.

Neither has your Lordship decided respecting a paper for this room. You did not approve the Pattern sent, and I thought you would have sent one from London. In this too I will await instructions. The old paper is taken off. Mrs Tidman is getting on with the arrangement of the Bed Rooms. The

Kitchen is receiving its finishing coat of plaster. The stucco work of the Central Dome is completed and the Glazing is done for the present with plain glass. The lower part of the Central Gallery is nearly finished. The front Vestibule is finished, with Oak Floor, and Fire Places. The oven is built in the Bake House. Great exertion is being used, Large Money is flying, and I hope all will be satisfactory and approved.

PS I observed at Wynyard that the fine Oak Floors were not all covered with Carpets, a considerable Margin being left around the Walls, but Mrs Tidman says that even though Oak all should be covered. Is this so?⁷⁶

The intended visit was confidently expected to take place, despite the ill-health of Lord Londonderry's daughter Lady Adelaide, and in mid-November John Andrews reported with pleasure: 'This morning I took down Mrs Andrews to admire (as I may truly say) the arrangements, as far as completion has been practicable, and as far as our taste and judgement go, every thing has been admirably done.'⁷⁷

Unfortunately, Lady Adelaide's state of health continued to give cause for concern, and in late November a decision was taken to postpone the visit. In early December John Andrews reported:

I have been at Mount Stewart twice within the last few days. I believe almost every thing from London has now arrived. On Saturday morning no less than two men from the Chimney Piece and Billiard Table Manufacturer [an unnamed London firm] made their appearance, but one of them has been attacked with Rheumatic Gout and is very ill, and the other gets on at a snail's pace, a perfect contrast to the amazing agility of the little nimble decorator.

I think the Chimney Pieces will be extremely pretty. There may be a question whether the Fire Places are large enough, but the man says that an amazing heat will radiate from the fire blocks and side plates.

The late heavy rain has now well nigh filled the Lake.⁷⁸ There is not the least danger of its doing any harm. Its utility as an unfailing source of supply to the Mansion will be unquestionable. On the question of taste no one is entitled to judge for another; and I shall say nothing.⁷⁹

On New Year's Day 1848, John Andrews spent the morning at Mount Stewart:

The Chimney Piece and Billiard Table men have finished their tedious operations, and are gone. Fires are kept burning in the New Grates and in all Lady Londonderry's and your Lordship's apartments. The paper hangars [sic] will

proceed to put on the New Papers on Monday the 10th, the walls being now in perfect order.

Coates's men are proceeding with the stained glass. [From his base in Castle Street, Belfast, Francis Coates produced a series of strongly coloured windows, the most remarkable of which still occupy the chancel lights in St John's Church of Ireland, Upper Kilwarlin, county Down.]⁸⁰ The new dining Room with three fires is drying out, but the Walls will not be in a state to receive any color. Your Lordship can decide, on this visit, as to its finish and color, and all will then be satisfactory on your next. I think nothing that your Lordship desired will be absolutely wanting, but the coloring of the Dining Room.⁸¹

The inaugural visit took place shortly afterwards during February and March, and Lady Londonderry also travelled to county Antrim to lay the foundation stone for Garron Tower. Work then commenced on the construction of the massive stone portico of the house, and the stable yard:

He [Campbell] will write a full report tomorrow, and the reason of its being delayed was his desire first to obtain the estimate for the Ballustrading, which your Lordship ordered, and he only succeeded in obtaining one this week. He has been most anxious to obtain the materials for the great Portico, but Stones of the necessary size are most difficult to be obtained. I went with him to the Quarry, and united with him in urging Dugan [the owner of a quarry on nearby Scrabo Hill, where the sandstone for the Dance wing and Victorian house had been obtained] in the strongest manner. I do believe the man is anxious to do all that he can. He had made great preparations in the Winter and early Spring by shipping, and has now got a good many large stones, which are being sent down to Mount Stewart, but it is right your Lordship should fairly be apprised, that it does not seem within the bounds of possibility that the great Portico, which is a most serious work, can at all be completed within any thing like the time your Lordship contemplates.⁸²

By mid-June Andrews was able to report that:

The Carpenter and Stucco Work of the interior rapidly approaches completion, and the Marble Painters are making a beautiful job of the Columns. Dugan is also sending down huge blocks of stone for the Portico, and I do believe is using all energy to procure them, but to obtain them of sufficient dimensions is most difficult. ... Stone of smaller dimensions can be had in

any quantity, and I have no doubt Dugan will complete the erection of the Ballustrade enclosure within the time fixed.⁸³

The official opening of the house was to take place in November 1848. By September the work was drawing to a close:

I was yesterday morning at Mount Stewart. The preparations for your Lordship's reception are being pressed forward. The Stone work of the South Portico is finished except the fluting of the Columns, which is in progress. The Stones are being raised upon the Columns of the Grand entrance Portico, but they have not yet got from the Quarry all that are required to complete them; and in despite of every effort some will remain on the space before the House, but every effort will be made to remove every thing ragged that can possibly be got out of the way. The Stucco work of the East Wing is drawing rapidly to a close. The offices in the yard are getting on rapidly, but though Campbell and Mr Millan [stonemason employed by the Londonderrys] promise every exertion, I plainly see they will not be finished on your arrival. The Marble Painters have finished the Columns and Pilasters in the Centre Gallery, South Gallery, and Dining Room, and are now engaged with these in the Billiard Room.⁸⁴

By the end of the month Andrews was able to write:

As to Mount Stewart, I hope Campbell's men will be almost out of the House when your Lordship arrives. Mr Millan gets on in the Yard. The Stable is roofed, and the Coach House is rising. The small offices will also soon be at the height, but I fear the yard will not be quite finished by the 15th. I hope it may be nearly so by the end of the month. Dugan has applied increased forces to the Quarry, and has some hopes of getting the five stones still required for the Columns. He has been drawing down the ballustrading for some time, and commences setting it tomorrow, and I hope the return from Antrim may find it within a few days of being complete. He says it will take a month to set it, but if he shall finish it within that time, it will be realizing even more than we expected from him. Mr Battam will be out of the House on Monday. He has left many specimens of shades of Color for the walls of the Great Gallery, and by his advice the dirty spotted walls of the Stair Case have been got to a uniform color, so as to look clean for the present, till they can be newly plastered, which will be necessary. The Chandeliers in the South Gallery are hung, and look most handsome, nothing too large for so

very capacious an apartment. The stoves are fixed and the man gone; but Mr Battam has raised his warning voice against using them rashly. He says that from their great Power, if fires be put on without consideration, the heat will rise to a degree that will rend the Columns, and every thing composed of Wood within their reach. Care shall be taken to observe all due moderation till your Lordship's arrival. The Dining Room is finished in the handsomest style I have ever seen. I am sure the South Gallery, which Battam was just entering upon, will be much improved. The Billiard Room will also be in fine keeping with the rest; but the upper Columns cannot be finished by the 15th. The Capitals were being cast when I was there. This detail touches upon most matters of preparation in the Artists' departments. Stewart [land steward and gardener at Mount Stewart] had commenced his. He was engaged upon the grounds around the South Front, and I hope he may be enabled to transplant to the North as many large Trees and Shrubs as may completely cover the Yard Wall and Offices, and the bare stems of the Trees standing to the East, which have been left exposed by the removal of the clothed shrubs which formerly stood before them.

On the whole, though there will still be many unfinished Points, I cannot but hope that every thing will be advanced to the full measure of your Lordship's expectations, and that nothing of comfort at any rate shall be wanting.⁸⁵

A hundred guests were invited to the official housewarming, and exhibited a display of beauty and fashion seldom surpassed in county Down. Supper was laid out in the fine new dining room, and Lord and Lady Londonderry were 'unceasing in their efforts to promote the comfort and enjoyments of their guests'. The dancing continued into the early hours of the morning, accompanied by the band of the 13th Regiment. John Andrews and his wife were among the guests invited to celebrate the completion of the splendid suite of spacious apartments.⁸⁶ Although the occasion must have given the agent considerable satisfaction, this might have been tinged with discomfort for a man renowned for his unkempt appearance: 'for tawdry shirts he often wears, the slovenly – John Andrews'.⁸⁷

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

- DRO Durham Record Office, Papers of the Marquesses of Londonderry and their families, Irish correspondence
- PRONI Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, the personal records of certain members of the Stewart family, and papers accumulated in the administration of their Irish estates

- ¹ London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Survey drawings, alternative designs & correspondence for alterations & additions for 1st Marquess of Londonderry 1803-4, D3/9/1b, Letter 3, Lord Londonderry to Dance, n.d.
- ² Anne Casement, 'Mount Stewart Landscape Study', 2 vols (unpublished, National Trust, Northern Ireland Region 1995) I, 21.
- ³ Trevor McCavery, 'The Famine in County Down', in Christine Kinealy and Trevor Parkhill (eds), *The Famine in Ulster: the regional impact* (Belfast 1997) 99-127, 101.
- ⁴ Trevor McCavery, *Newton: A history of Newtownards* (Belfast 1994) 130.
- ⁵ R.W. Sturgess, 'The Londonderry Trust, 1819-54', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, X, 5th series (1982) 179-92, 180.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, 180, 182.
- ⁷ R.W. Sturgess, *Aristocrat in Business: The Third Marquis of Londonderry as Coalowner and Portbuilder* (Durham 1975) 99.
- ⁸ Anne Casement, 'The management of landed estates in Ulster in the mid-nineteenth century with special reference to the career of John Andrews as agent to the 3rd and 4th Marquesses of Londonderry from 1828 to 1863' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast 2002) 10-11.
- ⁹ *ibid.*, 13.
- ¹⁰ H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Londonderrys: A Family Portrait* (London 1979) 29-30, 35-36.
- ¹¹ Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, *Frances Anne: The Life and Times of Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles Third Marquess of Londonderry*

- (London 1958) 130.
- ¹² DRO, D/Lo/C/158, Andrews, John (Agent at Comber Co. Down), 268 letters, 1836-44 and 1849-53 on rent collection, estate accounts, Co. Down election 1852 etc; and D/Lo/C 512, Andrews, John (Agent at Comber Co. Down), 62 letters, 1846-48, on poor relief, finances etc.
- ¹³ Anne Casement, 'The management of landed estates in Ulster in the mid-nineteenth century with special reference to the career of John Andrews as agent to the 3rd and 4th Marquesses of Londonderry from 1828 to 1863' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast 2002).
- ¹⁴ R.W. Sturgess, *Aristocrat in Business: The Third Marquis of Londonderry as Coalowner and Portbuilder* (Durham 1975) 92.
- ¹⁵ Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, *Frances Anne: The Life and Times of Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles Third Marquess of Londonderry* (London 1958) 179-85.
- ¹⁶ London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Survey drawings, alternative designs & correspondence for alterations & additions for 1st Marquess of Londonderry 1803-4, D3/9/5, Ground floor plan & W elevation, n.d.
- ¹⁷ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (33), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 26 September 1847; D/Lo/C 512 (35), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 23 October 1847.
- ¹⁸ Anne Casement, 'The management of landed estates in Ulster in the mid-nineteenth century with special reference to the career of John Andrews as agent to the 3rd and 4th Marquesses of Londonderry from 1828 to 1863' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast 2002) 57.
- ¹⁹ DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (111), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 20 May 1843.
- ²⁰ PRONI, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H1/6, Journal and Cash Book 1828-1850.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H2/7, Ledger 1828-1850.
- ²² Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, *Frances Anne: The Life and Times of Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles Third Marquess of Londonderry* (London 1958) 209.
- ²³ Angelique Day and Patrick McWilliams (eds), *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland Vol. 7: Parishes of County Down II 1832-4, 1837* (Belfast 1991) 69.
- ²⁴ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London 1837) I, 674.
- ²⁵ *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, 3 vols (Dublin, London and Edinburgh 1844-45) II, 808.
- ²⁶ Ann Martha Rowan (ed.), *The Architecture of Richard Morrison (1767-1849) and William Vitruvius Morrison (1794-1838)* (Dublin 1989) 99, 140.
- ²⁷ Kevin V. Mulligan, *Ballyfin, County Laois, Architectural History First Report*, 2 vols (2002), I, 30 (on CD-rom).
- ²⁸ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58, 755-56.
- ²⁹ DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (14), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 20 April 1841.
- ³⁰ Giles Worsley, 'Wynyard Park, County Durham – II', *Country Life*, CLXXX, 1980, 664-69, 668.
- ³¹ DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (16), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 4 May 1841.
- ³² PRONI, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H2/7, Ledger 1828-1850, 186, 197, 204, 214, 219, 234.
- ³³ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (37), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 13 November 1847.

- ³⁴ James S. Donnelly Jnr, *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London 1975) 108-09.
- ³⁵ PRONI, D/654/F, Marriage Settlements; D/654/F/31, Settlement of estates, Marquess of Londonderry with Viscount Castlereagh, 10 April 1846, 36.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H2/7, Ledger 1828-1850, 213.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H2/8, Ledger 1850-1864, 118.
- ³⁸ H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Londonderrys: A Family Portrait* (London 1979) 49; Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, *Frances Anne: The Life and Times of Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles Third Marquess of Londonderry* (London 1958) 226, 229.
- ³⁹ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (21), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 14 May 1847.
- ⁴⁰ John Morrison, 'Life of the late William Vitruvius Morrison, of Dublin, Architect', in John Weale (ed.), *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, I, part 1, paper 3 (1844) 1-8, 5.
- ⁴¹ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58, 756.
- ⁴² PRONI, D/654/H, Estate Accounts; D/654/H1/6, Journal and Cash Book 1828-1850.
- ⁴³ *Post-Office Belfast Annual Directory for 1843-44* (Belfast 1843) 373.
- ⁴⁴ Edward McParland to Anne Casement, 2003, pers. comm.
- ⁴⁵ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58, 756.
- ⁴⁶ Anne Casement, 'The management of landed estates in Ulster in the mid-nineteenth century with special reference to the career of John Andrews as agent to the 3rd and 4th Marquesses of Londonderry from 1828 to 1863' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast 2002) 128.
- ⁴⁷ James Curl, *Mausolea in Ulster* (Belfast 1978) 14-15.
- ⁴⁸ Edward McParland to Anne Casement, 2003, pers. comm.
- ⁴⁹ C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of County Antrim* (Belfast 1996) 107.
- ⁵⁰ Jimmy Irvine, 'Lady Frances Anne Vane's County Antrim Estate', *The Glynnys*, III, 1975, 18-26, 24-25.
- ⁵¹ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (5), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 18 January 1847.
- ⁵² C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of County Antrim* (Belfast 1996) 107; C.E.B. Brett, *Historic Buildings, Groups of Buildings, Areas of Architectural Importance in the Glans of Antrim* (Belfast 1970-71).
- ⁵³ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Baronscourt, Co. Tyrone – II', *Country Life*, CLXVI, 1979, 162-65, 163.
- ⁵⁴ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58, 755-56.
- ⁵⁵ Ann Martha Rowan (ed.), *The Architecture of Richard Morrison (1767-1849) and William Vitruvius Morrison (1794-1838)* (Dublin 1989) 132, 134.
- ⁵⁶ Edward McParland to Anne Casement, 2003, pers. comm.
- ⁵⁷ C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of North County Down* (Belfast 2002) 81, 94, 101, 109.
- ⁵⁸ Giles Worsley, 'Wynyard Park, County Durham – II', *Country Life*, CLXXX, 1986, 664-69, 664.
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 664-66.
- ⁶⁰ Ann Martha Rowan (ed.), *The Architecture of Richard Morrison (1767-1849) and William*

- Vitruvius Morrison (1794-1838)* (Dublin 1989) 134.
- ⁶¹ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (33), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 26 September 1847.
- ⁶² H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Londonderrys: A Family Portrait* (London 1979) 18-21, 37.
- ⁶³ R.W. Sturgess, *Aristocrat in Business: The Third Marquis of Londonderry as Coalowner and Portbuilder* (Durham 1975) 9, 100.
- ⁶⁴ Giles Worsley, 'Wynyard Park, County Durham – II', *Country Life*, CLXXX, 1986, 664-69, 665.
- ⁶⁵ Frances Anne Vane Londonderry, 'Answer', *Downpatrick Recorder*, 2 September 1854, 3.
- ⁶⁶ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (33), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 26 September 1847.
- ⁶⁷ London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Survey drawings, alternative designs & correspondence for alterations & additions for 1st Marquess of Londonderry 1803-4, D3/9/5, Ground floor plan & W elevation, n.d.
- ⁶⁸ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58, 757-58.
- ⁶⁹ Giles Worsley, 'Wynyard Park, County Durham – I', *Country Life*, CLXXX, 1986, 614-17, 617.
- ⁷⁰ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (46), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 9 January 1848.
- ⁷¹ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (12), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 16 February 1847.
- ⁷² *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (17), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 14 March 1847.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (20), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 24 March 1847.
- ⁷⁴ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (21), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 14 May 1847.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (33), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 26 September 1847.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (35), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 23 October 1847.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (37), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 13 November 1847.
- ⁷⁸ Created at a cost of £977 by flooding a former gravel pit north of the house. Water from the lake was lifted by means of a horse-drawn pump to a reservoir on top of a nearby hill, which enabled it to reach the cisterns above the ground floor of the house, from where it could be pumped to those above the second storey.
- ⁷⁹ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (40), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 8 December 1847.
- ⁸⁰ Colin Hatrick, 'Subduing the Light', in Terence Reeves-Smyth and Richard Oram (eds), *Avenues to the Past: essays presented to Sir Charles Brett on his 75th Year* (Belfast 2003) 27-32, 28.
- ⁸¹ DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (45), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 1 January 1848.
- ⁸² *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (54), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 25 May 1848.
- ⁸³ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (55), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 13 June 1848.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (59), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 3 September 1848.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, D/Lo/C 512 (61), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 29 September 1848.
- ⁸⁶ 'Festivities at Mountstewart', *Downpatrick Recorder*, 2 December 1848, 2.
- ⁸⁷ Sidney Andrews, *Nine Generations – A History of the Andrews Family, Millers of Comber*, edited by J. Burls (n.p. 1958) 122-23.