



Early Georgian elegance: Henry, Baron Ferrard, and the remodelling of Beaulieu House, county Louth

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FATE HAS NOT BEEN KIND TO THE CAROLEAN HOUSES OF IRELAND. THE REV HENRY Maxwell's innovative Finnebrogue, county Down, of the 1660s was so thoroughly reinvented as a *piano nobile* Georgian mansion in the 1790s that scarcely a trace of its original appearance remains.¹ Colonel John Eyre's Eyrecourt Castle, county Galway, has long been a mouldering ruin, its showpiece staircase consigned to packing cases in the Detroit Institute of Arts.² Burton House in county Cork, designed in 1671 by Thomas Smith for Sir Philip Perceval, was burned in 1690.³ At Castle Coole, county Fermanagh, the eighteenth-century rejection of Carolean classicism was so complete that Colonel Margetson Armar commissioned Richard Castle to draw up detailed designs for refashioning John Curle's modest Queen Anne house of 1709 as a fashionable Palladian villa.⁴ In the event, Castle's plans were not implemented, but in 1797 the house was accidentally destroyed by fire. Neglect, wanton destruction, and the propensity of later generations to remake what their forebears had constructed has left few houses intact.⁵ Even the best preserved of them all, Beaulieu House in county Louth, built in the early 1680s by Sir William Tichborne and his wife Judith Bysse, was subject to significant internal alteration in the 1720s, which has given it the notable early Georgian interiors which survive to this day (Plate 1).⁶

Henry Tichborne's (Plate 3) motives in modifying a house so recently rebuilt by his parents were twofold. First, the internal fitting-out of several of its rooms remained to be finished. Second, influenced by the new architectural ideas being promulgated at the time by, among others, his older maternal half-brother, the diplomat, Whig politician

1 – Entrance hall at Beaulieu House, county Louth

The north wall of the entrance hall as it is today, featuring the painted quatrefoil heraldic frieze added to the fireplace by Lord Ferrard (whose arms are in the centre) and extended by subsequent owners of the house, Willem van der Hagen's overmantel painting of Drogheda commissioned by Ferrard, the timber cornice added by Ferrard in 1722, and the Lincrusta frieze applied in the early twentieth century. (photos by Dermott and Wendy Dunbar unless otherwise stated)

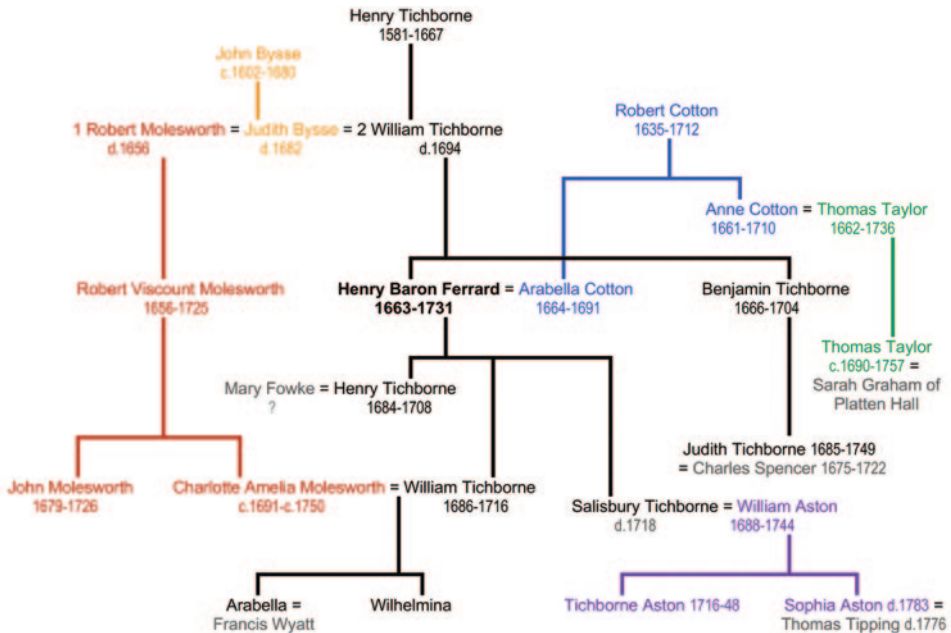


2 – Robert Viscount Molesworth (1656-1725)
Peter Pelham after Thomas Gibson
1721, mezzotint (Wikimedia Commons)



3 – Robert Molesworth's younger maternal half-brother Sir Henry Tichborne, Baron Ferrard (1663-1731)
unknown artist, oil on canvas, 60 x 75 cm
(Beaulieu House collection © Cara König-Brock)

4 – Family tree showing key family relationships of Sir Henry Tichborne, Baron Ferrard



and architectural evangelist, Robert Viscount Molesworth (1656-1725) (Plates 2), he was determined to make some radical alterations of his own.⁷ Two letters written by Tichborne, as Lord Ferrard, to Molesworth on 22nd July and 4th September 1722 provide glimpses into the changes then in hand, which, contrary to the inferences drawn by some, constituted significantly less than a complete remodelling of the house.⁸ They also report that the tradesman responsible for overseeing this work was surnamed ‘Curle’. This is unlikely to have been the bricklayer/mason John Curle, who is first recorded over fifty years earlier in 1670 in neighbouring Drogheda, and more likely to have been Curle’s bricklayer son, Francis, then in his fifties, who had been baptised on 29th September 1670 and died at Beaulieu on 27th June 1724, just as Ferrard’s alterations were nearing completion.⁹

Once these early improvements had been completed, little more was done to Beaulieu until a century later when the kitchen was banished to a purpose-built range of its own, agricultural buildings were added to create a rectangular yard, and picturesque lodges were constructed in conjunction with a thorough re-landscaping of the greater part of the demesne.¹⁰ Internally, however, the house remained largely as Ferrard had left it. The family’s limited means coupled with their growing respect for the house’s original fabric meant that Beaulieu’s Carolean and early Georgian character was preserved. It was not immune to wear and tear or the advance of fashion, but for the next three hundred years the house itself remained fundamentally unaltered. It also remained in the ownership of descendants of the family that had built it. In these respects, history has been kinder to Beaulieu than any of its Irish counterparts.

THE BACKGROUND TO LORD FERRARD’S EARLY GEORGIAN IMPROVEMENTS

THE FUTURE LORD FERRARD HAD GROWN UP IN THE OLD PRE-1641 HOUSE BUILT BY A cadet branch of the aristocratic Plunketts, and appropriated by the founder of the Irish branch of the Tichborne family, Sir Henry Tichborne (1581-1667), in 1649.¹¹ Ferrard will have been approximately eighteen when, in 1680/81, the household moved out and work began reconstructing the house in the then fashionable Dutch style. Its designer is likely to have been the Drogheda-based bricklayer/mason John Curle, then probably in his early forties.¹² Work will have been well advanced but hardly finished in November 1682 when Ferrard’s mother died, whose inheritance from her father may have been fundamental to funding the work.¹³ The following year, the twenty-year-old Henry made a prestigious marriage to Arabella, daughter of Sir Robert Cotton of Combermere in Cheshire, and, with Beaulieu presumably still unfinished, began his early married life there, where several of his children were born and baptised. His wife was the younger sister of Anne, the wife of Sir Thomas Taylor of Kells, county Meath (Plate 4), and through this marriage a familial link was established between the Tichborne and Taylor households at Beaulieu and Kells. In a small world where personal recommendation mattered, this connection helps to explain why John Curle, once his employment on the construction of Beaulieu had ended, relocated to the town of Kells, then being re-

stored under Taylor's auspices from a state of dilapidation, and where, in 1697, he was admitted as a freeman of that parliamentary borough.¹⁴ Curle's description in the Kells corporation book as 'of Bewly' indicates that his reputation as the builder of Beaulieu had accompanied him.¹⁵

When, in 1694, the future Lord Ferrard inherited the newly rebuilt Beaulieu House from his father (Plate 5), several of its rooms evidently lacked wainscoting and awaited finishing. Nevertheless, the new owner was in no hurry to expend more money on the house, nor in a financial position to do so. Acquiring the estate and then rebuilding the house will have cost his grandfather and, especially, his father dear, and Ferrard's four brothers and sister also had to be provided for, hence funds will have been scarce. Indeed, without a windfall inheritance from Sir William Tichborne's wealthy father-in-law, chief baron John Byssie, the house might never have been built in the first place.¹⁷ Financially, the Beaulieu estate was too small to yield more than a modest annual revenue. Over twenty-five years later, Lord Perceval, a man of moderate political views, described Whig Lord Ferrard (Plate 3) as 'a person of very mean parts, and of so small a fortune that, as soon as he got his title he petitioned for a pension to support it'.¹⁸

By then, of course, John Curle had departed to Kells, and with no resident master mason to hand, no great fortune of his own or sinecure public office from which to profit, Beaulieu's new owner was in no position to embark upon further home improvements. He also had more pressing priorities: as well as a growing family to rear and provide for (three of whom, Henry, William and Salisbury, survived to a marriageable age), he had his political career to advance. He was Mayor of Drogheda in 1694, Sheriff of county Louth in 1691 and 1706, and Member of Parliament for the county from 1695-99 and from 1710-13.¹⁹ Nor did his creation as a baronet in the baronetage of England in 1697 (leading him to add the augmentation of the Red Hand of Ulster to his arms (Plate 15 A and B) or his elevation in 1715 to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Ferrard spur him into carrying out further work to the house. On the contrary, it was not until half-a-dozen years later, after his niece, Judith Tichborne, had in 1718 made a prestigious marriage to Charles

*5 – The entrance front of Beaulieu House,
as it may have appeared when Henry Tichborne inherited it in 1694
(drawn by Shane Cusack)*



Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and de facto Prime Minister (Plate 4), and following the premature death the same year of Salisbury Aston, the last of his adult children, that Ferrard embarked upon a fresh programme of refurbishment at Beaulieu.²⁰ These alterations, undertaken well into the reign of George I, when Ferrard was nearing sixty, were substantial, and, in the insertion of a third staircase and creation of a double-height entrance hall, quite radical.

It would be surprising if Ferrard did not consult his adoptive male heir, his be-reaved son-in-law, William Aston of Richardstown, Ardee, before commencing this work. Aston appears to have been living with Ferrard at Beaulieu since 1715, and in Ferrard's will, dated 1730-31, is described as 'my worthy son-in-law' in one place and 'my son' in another.²¹ It was to him and his issue male that Ferrard bequeathed all his estates. He was a key political ally of Ferrard, and in 1721 – a date which fits the timing of Ferrard's alterations to the fabric of the house – had been newly elected to parliament for Dunleer, county Louth, en route to following in Ferrard's footsteps as MP for Louth in 1727.²² Aston's architectural views are unknown, but in due course it was he who, as a famine-relief scheme, re-landscaped the shallow valley across the lane to the west of the house.²³

By 1721-22, when Ferrard's reworking of the house began, his parents' once-fashionable new house was forty years old and architectural tastes were changing. Although a widower of advancing years with limited means and no surviving children, Ferrard was evidently determined to bring it up to date to reflect his newly enhanced rank and social position, and create a seat worthy of his politically prominent Aston successors. To implement his plans he appears to have turned to the fifty-year-old master bricklayer Francis Curle, the son of its original builder, who had known Beaulieu as a child when his father had been working there more or less full time.²⁴ It would be Francis's last contract, for he died as work on the house was nearing completion. He is commemorated by a well-lettered wall tablet, probably originally erected in the old church of St Brigid but since removed to the churchyard at Beaulieu.²⁵ That tablet is a measure of the regard in which Francis and his father were both held. So, too, is the fact that in September 1722 Ferrard had sought Francis's advice respecting building work that his strong-minded Molesworth brother was proposing to undertake to his own house and grounds at Breckdenstown, county Dublin.²⁶

THE IMPROVEMENTS

EXTERNALLY, FERRARD AND FRANCIS CURLE KEPT BEAULIEU HOUSE LARGELY AS their respective fathers had left it, complete with the pre-1697 Tichborne arms in pride of place above the front door.²⁷ The sole conspicuous change was the replacement of the original mullion-and-transom casement windows with newly fashionable exposed-case sliding sash windows. Originally, these were of nine-over-nine panes and had the broad astragal bars characteristic of the early Georgian period, as exemplified by the three surviving windows on the upper inside wall of the entrance hall installed in 1722 and those with small panes in the east front that still illuminate the late-seventeenth-



6 – The central roundel of the early Georgian dining-room ceiling at Beaulieu House

7 – The central roundel of the staircase ceiling containing the arms of Gustavus Hamilton within an armoury at Stackallan, county Meath

(photo by James Carney, reproduced with permission of Carmel Naughton)

opposite

8 – The central oval of the early Georgian drawing-room ceiling with trompe-l'œil painting by Willem van der Hagen at Beaulieu House





century dog-leg stairs.²⁸ All other sash windows, mostly of six-over-six panes, are later replacements and have the larger panes and narrower astragals of the late Georgian period. In England ‘the modern sash window, whether weighted or not, came into use during the second half of the seventeenth century’.²⁹ Its adoption in Ireland swiftly followed. In the 1680s the windows at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham had all been mullion-and-transoms, whereas, at the same date, those in the Duke of Ormonde’s apartments in Kilkenny Castle were sashes, and by 1700 sashes were used in the Rubrics ranges at Trinity College, Dublin, and by 1703 in Marsh’s Library, Dublin.³⁰ Ten years later, Stackallan House in county Meath appears to have had sash windows from the outset.³¹ By then they were fast coming into vogue almost everywhere, so it is unsurprising that Ferrard would have been keen to make a feature of them when updating Beaulieu, expensive though this will have been.³² In all other essential respects the external appearance of his parents’ house remained unaltered, including its overall rich redness (Plate 5), as represented in Willem van der Hagen’s *c.*1718 painting of the entrance front framed by trees and viewed from a distance.³³ The cladding of its flat wall surfaces with drab grey render occurred much later.

Internally it was a different story, for at the cost of much noise, dirt and disturbance and the constant traffic of men and materials in and out of the house, it was here that Ferrard made the greatest changes. Intriguingly, this work was probably initiated during the credit crisis which gripped Ireland in 1720–21 following the financial debacle of the South Sea Bubble (in which affair Viscount Molesworth claimed to have lost £2,000).³⁴

Thus, by 22nd July 1722 Ferrard was able to write, ‘as for my improvements within doors they are near finish’.³⁵ Prominent among these improvements was the completion in replica of his father’s wainscoting scheme of painted deal, which itself was essentially the same as that employed in the refectory of Sir William Robinson’s Royal Hospital Kilmainham (1680-84). Where his father left off and he took over is unclear, although rooms in the south range were plainly the last to be finished, for, in some jubilation, on 4th September 1722, Ferrard wrote to his brother, ‘yesterday I turned the joiners [*sic*] and carpenters out of the south end of my house I am now painting and hope in three weeks’ time to begin to furnish’.³⁶ The joiners were evidently local men, for, in retrospect, Ferrard regretted that he had not ordered the wainscoting made-to-measure from Dublin and had it shipped to Beaulieu, since ‘besides noise and dust I am confident I should have saved forty pounds and had my work sooner dispatch’.³⁷ Plainly, his finances were tight and he was impatient to see the work finished.

For Ferrard to have been able to contemplate refurbishing, the messy work of adding timber cornices and rich compartmental plasterwork ceilings of refined execution to the dining room in the north range and drawing room in the south range must already have been undertaken (Plates 6 and 8). The basic design of the ceiling in the dining room repeats that erected ten years earlier over the staircase hall at Stackallan, namely, a rectangle with quadrants at the corners and a large roundel at the centre, outlined with prominent naturalistic bands of foliage and flowers moulded in high relief, but with the difference that the central roundel at Stackallan contains the arms of the house’s builder, Gustavus Hamilton, framed by a plaster armoury of cannons, helmets, guns, pikes, banners, and other military paraphernalia worked in low relief (Plates 6 and 7). At Beaulieu this essential design is repeated with greater elaboration in the rectangular drawing room, where the centrepiece is oval and contains a bespoke architectural *trompe-l’œil* painting commissioned by Ferrard from the Dutch artist Willem van der Hagen, who was active in Ireland from shortly before 1720, which depicts a classical rotunda open to the sky (Plate 8).³⁸ These decorative additions transformed the drawing room into the elegant room which it has remained ever since, with the dining room its plainer but otherwise equally handsome sibling (Plates 6 and 7).

Thus far, Ferrard’s improvements were largely cosmetic. In contrast, his decision to install a new grand staircase required the creation of a double-height staircase hall where none had existed before. This was achieved by stealing space from the common parlour on the ground floor, eliminating the small dressing room or bedroom above it, removing the floor between them, and constructing a new ceiling with bold timber cornice over the whole. ‘I have taken up the loft for my great stairs’, wrote Ferrard on 4th September 1722. He might have added that a large new round-headed window had also been opened in the house’s rear wall to provide the necessary illumination. The stairs themselves were ordered ready-made from Dublin, thereby ensuring their quality and sparing him further ‘noisy work in the house’.³⁹ In contrast to the existing sturdy closed-string staircases of a generation earlier, they proceed no further than the first floor, are wide and gentle of ascent (and better suited to women attired in fashionable paniered skirts), of cut-string construction, and boast three slender balusters per tread, plus Corinthian newel posts and swan-neck handrails with matching dado (Plates 9 and 10).

In September 1722 he was daily expecting their delivery. Once installed, they gave this modest house its third staircase, and, for the first time, functionally separated the stairs used by the family from those used by their staff, which, as the building designed in 1709-10 by John Curle for Colonel James Corry at Castle Coole demonstrates (where the prominently placed great stairs ascended no further than the first floor and the subordinately placed service stairs alone ascended to the attics), would have been the norm had the whole house been built at this time (Plate 11).⁴⁰ Paradoxically, in an arrangement still to be seen in the Williamite house of Rathaspick, county Wexford, these stairs would have provided a suitably grand approach to his parents' first-floor great chamber, except that, by the time the stairs had arrived, that chamber had in all probability been eliminated.

Converting the original single-height entrance hall with great chamber above into a single, striking double-height space was Ferrard's most audacious intervention in the existing fabric of the house, and to this day remains the house's most idiosyncratic and memorable internal feature (Plates 1 and 12). Its creation demonstrates Ferrard's willingness to sacrifice space in order to achieve a grand effect. In July 1722, workmen were on the threshold of 'putting up the cornish [*sic*] round the Hall and making the windows which are to go round it'.⁴¹ These internal glazed windows are the hall's most unexpected feature and provided light to the otherwise windowless bedroom corridor behind them. At Gloster in county Offaly, where a few years later a double-height entrance hall was similarly created by the removal of an intervening floor, a trio of arched balconies provided a more felicitous solution to the need to admit light to the adjoining interior first-floor space (Plate 13). Awkwardly, these corridor windows at Beaulieu, which once overlooked a forecourt, fail to mirror the spacing of those on the opposite west wall (Plate 12). A horizontal undulation in the wall below them at a height above the floor of around 4.5 metres, and just above the matching cornices of the grand portal that faces the front door and the fireplace surround at the northern end of the hall (themselves survivors from when the hall was a single-height space), marks the scar left by the removal of joists and a floor. At Gloster the equivalent imperfection is cleverly masked by a Vitruvian scroll frieze (Plate 13).⁴²

BEAULIEU'S DOUBLE-HEIGHT HALL IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

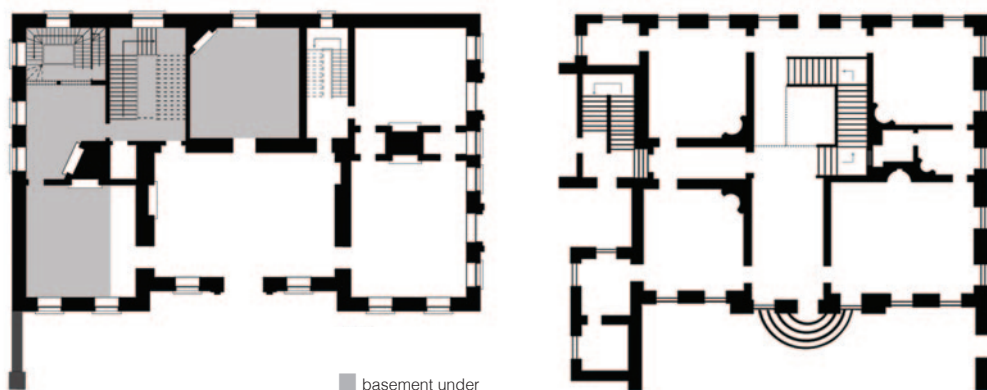
WHENCE CAME THE RELATIVELY NOVEL IDEA FOR CREATING SUCH A DRAMATIC space? Sir Roger Pratt's Kingston Lacy in Dorset (1663-65) and William Hurlbut's Ragley in Warwickshire (1677-83) both boasted double-height entrance halls, but both were far larger and grander houses than Beaulieu, and such an arrangement was certainly unprecedented in an Irish house of Beaulieu's modest scale.⁴³ As Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire observe, 'Two-storey halls make a fine show at the entrance, though they are expensive to heat and of course take space from the upper floor ... so they are most often found in larger houses ... and are perhaps felt to be de rigueur in the very grand.'⁴⁴ They cite Buntingsdale in Shropshire (c.1720) and Moor Park in Hertfordshire (1720) as examples, both of which marginally predate Beaulieu, but



9 – Lord Ferrard's new staircase hall at Beaulieu House viewed from below, with its round-headed window, timber cornice, and Dublin-made cut-string staircase of 1722-23



*10 – Lord Ferrard's new staircase hall at Beaulieu House
viewed from the first-floor landing*



11 – The ground-floor plans of (left) *Beaulieu House* (1680-81) as modified by Lord Ferrard in the 1720s, and (right) *Castle Coole* (1709), as drawn by John Curle.

(*Beaulieu* drawn by Shane Cusack and the author; *Castle Coole* redrawn by the author from David J. Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Design for Castle Coole, Co Fermanagh', in Terence Reeves-Smith and Richard Oram (eds), *AVENUES TO THE PAST: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO SIR CHARLES BRETT ON HIS 75TH YEAR* (Belfast, 2003) 136).

opposite 12 – *Beaulieu House's* original single-height Carolean entrance hall converted to a double-height entrance hall by Lord Ferrard, c.1720-25.

The grey band midway up the walls marks the position of the floor of the former great chamber. The original plaster doorcase which frames the entrance door in the west wall survives in situ behind a replica timber doorcase added when a glazed vestibule door was inserted in the early twentieth century. At the same time, the doors in the facing doorcase in the east wall were replaced with a pair of semi-glazed doors displaying the Montgomery crest and motto in coloured glass. (reconstruction by the author from photos by Dermott and Wendy Dunbar).

Platten Hall in county Meath, built at the opening of the new century for Alderman John Graham, provides a clearer precedent and would have been known at first hand by Ferrard.⁴⁵ Apart from the fact that it was just a few miles away on the other side of Drogheda, in 1714 Ferrard will have gained an entrée to its household when his wife's nephew, Sir Thomas Taylor of Kells (Plate 4), married Sarah Graham of Platten. Seeing Platten will have alerted Ferrard to the striking impression that such a spacious entrance could make at the very time when the proposed Palladian-inspired designs by Giacomo Leoni and Alessandro Galilei for similar halls at Clandon Park in Surrey and Castletown, county Kildare, were generating much discussion within informed circles.⁴⁶

Galilei was a protégée of Ferrard's brother and nephew Robert Viscount Molesworth and his son John Molesworth (from 1711-14, British envoy to the court of Tuscany, and subsequently minister at Venice, Geneva and Turin). Both men were key members of the so-called 'New Junta for Architecture', who were active in striving to steer British architecture away from the Dutch-inspired Baroque classicism, of which John Curle had been such a dedicated exponent, towards the Italianate neoclassicism of the Palladian revival, which, by the 1720s, was gaining adherents on both sides of the Irish Sea.⁴⁷ To that end, John Molesworth had, in 1714, brought Galilei back to London with him, whence, in 1717, Robert Molesworth brought Galilei to Ireland.⁴⁸ There, Galilei prepared initial designs for William Conolly's proposed great house of Castletown. Meanwhile, the Molesworths were giving encouragement to their kinsman, the budding



young architect Edward Lovett Pearce (a first cousin of Sir John Vanbrugh), who, upon his return from an Italian study tour in 1724, was to give built expression to the New Junta's opinions, first at Castletown (where he took over from Galilei), then at Bellamont Forest, county Cavan, probably at Gloster House, and ultimately at Parliament House in Dublin.⁴⁹ Ferrard did not belong to the New Junta, but, as a close relative of its Molesworth protagonists, he can hardly have been unaware of their views or, through them, of Galilei's designs for Castletown, including its intended double-height entrance hall. Through the simple expedient of removing an intervening floor and eliminating the room above, he found that he could create a similar space at Beaulieu (Plates 1, 11 and 12), a device soon after replicated with greater decorative finesse, probably by Pearce, at



13 – *The early Georgian double-height hall created by the removal of an intervening floor at Gloster, county Offaly (photo © Tom and Mary Alexander)*

Gloster (Plate 13).⁵⁰ The designs for Castletown had long been in gestation and under protracted discussion, but construction was delayed until July 1722, by which time creation of the far simpler hall at Beaulieu was at an advanced stage.⁵¹ Paradoxically, Carolean Beaulieu thereby became a harbinger of the sea change in taste that occurred over the next few years as Palladianism took hold in Ireland.

The halls at Castletown and Gloster had paved floors and were finished with handsome plaster decoration. Originally, Beaulieu's hall floor may also have been solid (the current sprung timber floor dates from an early twentieth-century refurbishment of the house), but Ferrard's resources seem not to have risen to elaborate plasterwork and, for effect, his hall relied upon its lofty height (its proportions more the result of accident than design), the monumental scale and design of its pre-existing portals and chimney piece (Plates 1 and 12), strong natural lighting from its five west-facing windows, and the application of good carved and stuccoed decoration. Additional architectural interest was created by the doorways, framed by deep arches and embellished with decorative woodwork left and right of the classical portal on the hall's inside wall, that on the left leading directly to Ferrard's spacious new stair hall and that on the right to his parents' humbler dog-leg stairs.

HERALDIC AND OTHER IMAGERY

WITH LOFTY NAKED WALLS TO FILL AND, AT THIS DATE, FEW PICTURES TO POPULATE them, Ferrard commissioned a virtuoso wood carver to fill the tympana of these two arches with finely carved displays of musical instruments, emulating perhaps that over the east doorway in the refectory of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham and of a quality equivalent to a similar composition on the organ case in St Michan's church, Dublin, which has been attributed to the master carver Henry Houghton (d.1727).⁵² Above these tympana, each arch was crowned with a profusion of delicate scrolling foliage, also executed in wood, surmounted by a grotesque supporting a mono-



14 – One of the pair of carved wooden overdoors supporting the coronet and monogram of Sir Henry Tichborne, Baron Ferrard, and the two pairs of matching grotesque plaques in the entrance hall

gram of entwined mirror-image Fs (for Ferrard), ostentatiously topped by the baron’s coronet of which Ferrard was inordinately proud. Elsewhere in the hall, two pairs of free-standing grotesque panels complemented this scheme (Plate 14).

Within the larger central tympanum facing the entrance doors, and beneath the existing plaster cartouche depicting the impaled arms of his parents, Ferrard placed a carved representation of his own post-1715 baronial arms, resplendent with supporters, baron’s coronet, crest and mantling, whose eleven quarterings proclaim a pedigree extending back to the thirteenth century (Plate 15A).⁵³ He had been a baronet since 1697, and, accordingly, his arms are consistently differentiated from those of his father by the addition of a baronet’s Red Hand of Ulster. The heraldic messaging within the hall, along with the material in which it is expressed – wood rather than plaster – distinguishes the double-height hall as his work and not his parents’. Four free-standing heraldic cartouches, also of wood, feature the arms of close family members (Plate 15 B-E),⁵⁴ beginning with his own arms impaled with those of his wife, Arabella Cotton (Plate 15B). Next are those of his first-born son, Henry Tichborne, the husband of heiress Mary Fowke (whose father’s arms are placed within an inescutcheon) (Plate 15C), who tragically drowned when cross-

ing from Liverpool and was buried at St Peter's churchyard, Drogheda on 28th May 1708, followed three months later by his infant daughter Mary.⁵⁵ He was succeeded as heir by his brother, Captain William Tichborne (captain, first, in Pearce's Regiment of Dragoons, and then in Viscount Mountjoy's Regiment of Dragoons), whose arms are impaled with those of his wife and first cousin, Charlotte Amelia Molesworth, daughter of Viscount Molesworth (Plate 15D).⁵⁶ Elected MP for his father-in-law's borough of Philipstown in 1715, he nevertheless was dead by August or September 1717 along with his infant son, but was long survived by his wife and their two daughters and coheireses, Arabella and Wilhelmina (Plate 4).⁵⁷ Unconventionally, Ferrard's daughter and William's sister, Salisbury, was another coheiress. She, too, had predeceased her father, dying in January

APPENDIX – Plate 15

The arms and their correct heraldic blazons are:

A Henry, Baron Ferrard: Beneath a baron's coronet and thereupon a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling gules and argent, and for crest – on a chapeau gules turned up ermine – a demi vol erect per fess or and vair, an escutcheon quartered:

top row – 1 TICHBORNE OF BEAULIEU (Baron Ferrard, extinct 1731), Vair a chief or, a mullet for difference, charged with his badge of Ulster as a baronet (Argent a hand sinister coupé at the wrist extended in pale gules); 2 LYMERSTON, Argent, three eagles displayed gules a bordure azure charged with eight bezants; 3 SYFREWAST, Azure two bars gemel argent; 4 LOVE-DAY, Azure, three bars dancettée or.

middle row – 5 DE RAKE, Gules a saltire or between four boars' heads coupé of the last; 6 WANDESFORD, Or a lion rampant double queued azure armed and langued gules; 7 MARTIN, Argent a chevron gules between three talbots passant sable; 8 WALLIS, Gules, a fess ermine.

bottom row – 9 RYTHE, Per pale gules and sable, a cross crosslet fitchée or between four fleurs-de-lis argent; 10 BYSSE, Sable, three escallops in pale argent; 11 TICHBORNE (OF HAMP-SHIRE), Vair a chief or.

The whole is supported by two lions guardant gules armed and langued azure and beneath the escutcheon is the family's motto – *Pugna pro patria* (fight for one's country).

B Lord Ferrard and his wife Arabella Cotton – beneath a baron's coronet, FERRARD (see above) impaling COTTON, Azure a chevron between three hanks of cotton, paleways argent.

C Henry Tichborne, eldest son of Lord Ferrard and husband of Mary Fowke – TICHBORNE OF BEAULIEU (see above), with a label for the eldest son, with the paternal arms of his wife, Mary

FOWKE (Vert a fleur de lis argent, a mullet on a crescent for difference), in an inescutcheon.

D Captain William Tichborne, since 1708 the eldest surviving son of Lord Ferrard, and his wife Charlotte Amelia Molesworth – TICHBORNE OF BEAULIEU (see above), with a label for the eldest surviving son, impaling MOLESWORTH, Vair a bordure gules charged with eight crosses crosslet or.

E William Aston and his wife Sophia Tichborne, late daughter of Lord Ferrard – beneath a chapeau with the crest of a bull's head coupé, ASTON, Argent a fess and in chief three lozenges sable, impaling TICHBORNE (see above). Below the escutcheon is the Aston family's motto – *Pro aris et focus* (for hearth and home).

Donal Burke, Consultant Herald of Arms at the Genealogical Office, National Library of Ireland, has verified these blazons with reference to the following: NLI GO Ms 61, Arms B, 68; NLI GO Ms 79, Funeral Entries, 17, 210; Francis Joseph Baigent, 'On the Family of De Lymerston and its Heiress, the Foundress of the Tichborne Dole', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 11, no. 4, 1855, 277-302: 287; Sir Bernard Burke, *The general armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; comprising a registry of armorial bearings from the earliest to the present time* (London, 1884); W.A. Scott Robertson, 'Richard Tichbourne's House of Crippenden in Cowden', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 14, 1882, 153-56; Henry St George, *The visitation of London: anno domini 1633, 1634 and 1635*, ed. Joseph Jackson Howard, 2 vols (London, 1880-83), II, 289; George J. Armytage and W. Harry Rylands (eds), *Staffordshire pedigrees based on the visitation of that county by William Dugdale Esquire, Norroy king of arms in the years 1663-1664, from the original manuscript written by Gregory King (successively rouge dragon and Lancaster herald) during the years 1680 to 1700* (London 1912), 93. Note that in several cases these correct those given in Burke, *General Armory*.



A



B



C



D



E

15 – Beaulieu House, the carved wooden arms of Sir Henry Tichborne, Baronet 1697 and Baron Ferrard 1715, and those of his immediate family in the entrance hall.
(for their identification and heraldic specification see Appendix, opposite)



*16 – Jacob Lucas’s armoury of 1725
above the entrance door of the entrance hall at Beaulieu House*

1718, hence her husband William Aston (described as ‘of Beaulieu’ in 1715), became Ferrard’s successor.⁵⁸ Consequently, his are the fourth in this quartet of arms, impaled with those of his wife, Salisbury Tichborne (Plate 15E), and it was to their children, first their son Tichborne Aston, and then his son William Aston, and, when the Aston male line expired, finally their daughter Sophia, who married Thomas Tipping in 1741, that Salisbury’s share of the estate in due course passed.⁵⁹

This quartet of arms, plus the coroneted arms of Ferrard, were replicated on five painted wooden shields framed by quatrefoils that were added to the fireplace to form a frieze (Plate 1). By 1850 four others had been added, as Beaulieu descended by marriage and inheritance to the Tippings, the Montgomerys and the Johnston-Montgomerys, with two more added after that. Above them, van der Hagen’s topographical painting of Drogheda (c.1718) depicts the town heroically defended by the first Sir Henry Tichborne in 1641-42, and of which Sir William Tichborne and the future Lord Ferrard were respectively mayor in 1672 and 1694.⁶¹

To complete this heraldic and iconographic scheme, and fill the void left above the front entrance doors by the removal of the floor above (Plate 12), Ferrard installed a monumental semicircular overdoor with a radius of 1.6 metres, featuring an armoury of cannons, guns, weapons, armour, banners, trophies and much else, including the barbican gate and walls of Drogheda (Plate 16). Created primarily of plaster, and signed and dated ‘Jacob Lucas sculp 1725’, it resembles that on the east front of the Royal Hospital carved forty years earlier by Jacques Tabary.⁶² More tellingly, it echoes the plaster armoury incorporated a dozen years earlier into the ceiling above the staircase at Stackallan in celebration of the martial exploits of that house’s builder, Gustavus Hamilton (Plate 7). Since Stackallan is probably by John Curle, its armoury is likely to have been known to his son, Francis. Sadly, if Francis suggested the adoption of such a scheme at Beaulieu, he died before the idea was made a reality. Here, the overdoor’s iconography celebrates firstly the famed defence of Drogheda by Ferrard’s grandfather and founder of the fam-

ily's Irish fortunes, the first Sir Henry Tichborne, secondly, William III's victory over James II at the Battle of the Boyne almost half-a-century later, thirdly, the family's support of both the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession, fourthly, Ferrard's own elevation to first a baronetcy and then a peerage, and lastly, the expectation that upon Ferrard's death, with the male Tichborne line extinct, Beaulieu would be inherited by his son-in-law, William Aston, and thereafter descend in the Aston male line. Thus, a side drum is emblazoned with the arms of the first Sir Henry Tichborne, a standard displays a baronet's Red Hand of Ulster (symbolising the title conferred on Ferrard in 1697), banners bear the monograms WR and GR for William III and George I (who, respectively, bestowed the baronetcy and peerage upon Ferrard), one shield bears Ferrard's own baronial crest (*on a chapeau gules turned up ermine a demi vol erect per fess or and vair*) and family motto, *pugna pro patria* (fight for your country), and another the motto of his Aston successors, *pro aris et focus* (for hearth and home).

These multiple heraldic and iconographic references to Ferrard and his illustrious forebears and immediate successors, in combination with the scale and position of this monumental overdoor, leave little doubt that it was he and not his parents who created this dramatic double-height space.

LATER ALTERATIONS

BY JUNE 1724, WHEN FRANCIS CURLE DIED, FERRARD'S REMODELLING OF BEAULIEU was nearing completion. The house's original Carolean character had not been lost, but several concessions to early Georgian taste had been made, and its principal rooms exhibited an elegance they had not formerly possessed. Space had been sacrificed, but Ferrard's own family had been tragically curtailed in size, hence there was little danger of the building becoming inadequate to the needs of its reduced household. In making these alterations, what Ferrard could achieve was constrained by the limitations of his modest income, and his letters to Molesworth, whose own losses in the South Sea Bubble had left him even shorter of funds, reveal his concerns about money and the cost of everything. The difficulty was that, by itself, the Beaulieu estate was too small to support the lifestyle of a nobleman, and it was fortunate for the house that in 1731 Ferrard's peerage expired with him. Neither of Ferrard's sons survived him, one granddaughter via his son William was childless and the other unmarried, and hence, upon his death, Beaulieu passed via his deceased daughter Salisbury to her bereaved husband, William Aston (Plates 4 and 15E), and thence, when the Aston direct male line died out, to their daughter Sophia, from whom it passed to the Tippings, and eventually the Montgomerys. Never again was it a nobleman's seat, and hence there was little incentive, and no financial imperative, to effect further substantial changes to what, after all, was already a handsome and comfortable house, well suited to its owners' standing within county Louth society and their roles as high sheriffs, members of parliament, and, latterly, clergymen.

Van der Hagen's painting of Drogheda shows Beaulieu on the eve of Ferrard's improvements, standing on an eminence overlooking the Boyne estuary and framed by mature trees.⁶³ It was a landscape, like the house, inherited from the Plunketts, and it was



17 – The Beaulieu demesne in 1766 as depicted on Matthew Wren's county map of Louth (Gandon Archive)

18 – The Beaulieu demesne as depicted on the 1st edition 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1835 (© Tailte Éireann, copyright permit no. MP 002024)



they who had begun the demesne's ornamental plantings which, in 1653, Ferrard's grandfather and father had been instructed to respect.⁶⁴ Ferrard then continued and extended these plantings in accordance with the formal taste of the times. In June 1721 he rhapsodised 'this place does indeed look very sweetly, and the new plantations I have made begin to shew themselves, God send us peace to enjoy them.'⁶⁵ Shortly after his death, Beaulieu impressed an observer as 'a demesne well planted and enclosed', and in 1766 Matthew Wren's *A topographical map of the county of Louth* provided an unusually detailed bird's-eye view of the demesne's layout (Plate 17).⁶⁶ By then the house, with the adjoining ancient church and churchyard of St Brigid to the south, had become the central focus of a well-established formal landscape of drives and vistas, developed over the previous hundred years or more. When Austin Cooper visited on 12th June 1783 he described it as 'a fine old improvement laid out in the old fashioned style with long avenues of lofty trees, ponds, terraces etc'.⁶⁷ A linear axis extended from across the ponds to the west of the entrance gates to the front of the house, and continued eastwards from the rear of the house through a plantation of woodland, where it formed the principal axis of a formal arrangement of intersecting rides, and afforded a distant prospect of the sea 'thro' the lofty avenues of trees' which Austin Cooper considered 'truly picturesque'.⁶⁸ In the opposite direction, the walls and towers of Drogheda could be seen from the house's upper floor.⁶⁹ From the south front, another straight vista led down a succession of grassed terraces to the tidal Boyne and its passing vessels. The single service range of c.1680, a garden, an orchard and, no doubt, other service buildings not shown on the map (which, after all, is a county map and not an estate map), were concentrated on the north side of the entrance avenue and house, where they were overlooked by none of the more important rooms.

In 1766 the demesne's formal layout was entirely characteristic of its era, but by 1835, as revealed by the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map, the formal plantings and straight rides to the east of the house had been swept away and replaced by sinuous paths and naturalistic plantings in accordance with the contemporary taste for informality (Plate 18).⁷⁰ The extension of the demesne across the lane to the west of the house, with its ponds dug out on the instruction of William Aston in the mid-eighteenth century, was treated similarly, and two picturesque lodge buildings added in the cottage orné style.⁷¹ The author of these re-landscapings was the Revd Alexander Johnston Montgomery (1782-1856), who was said to have 'delighted in fine scenery and landscape gardening, and in a long life ... enjoyed to the utmost the beauties of his fine old place, Beaulieu'.⁷² As both of his wives – Margaret Johnston, whom he married in 1809 and whose surname and arms he adopted, and Charlotte Forster, whom he married in 1827 – were described as heiresses, he was the first resident owner of Beaulieu for some time to have been possessed of both the motivation and the means to make material improvements to the property.⁷³ His willingness to take liberties with the historic layout of the demesne nonetheless contrasts with his reluctance to compromise the house's architectural integrity.

Apart from replacing almost all of Ferrard's sash windows with late-Georgian sashes, and in the process opening two north-facing windows in the dining room and closing two draughty east-facing windows in the south-east first-floor bedroom, Revd Johnston Montgomery's sole major change to the house was the removal of the kitchen

from the position it had long occupied in the basement to a new purpose-built range which formed the eastern side of the informal stable yard which he was developing. Little more was done until the opening of the twentieth century, when Richard Johnston Montgomery (grandson of the Revd Johnston Montgomery) and his wealthy first wife, Maud Robinson, upgraded the kitchen range, built a billiard room onto the rear of the house, clad it and the rest of the house in grey cement render, and embarked upon a general internal modernisation and refurbishment, with the installation of improved heating and plumbing, the replacement of some fireplaces, the introduction of new decorative wooden floors to several of the main reception rooms, the addition of vestibule doors to the front entrance, and a comprehensive redecoration. Internally, these early twentieth-century improvements changed the mood of some of the rooms, especially the entrance hall, but by making the house more comfortable and convenient, helped it to survive as a private family home occupied by descendants of its original builder.

A CAROLEAN HOUSE WITH FINE EARLY GEORGIAN INTERIORS

BEAULIEU'S HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL UNIQUENESS HAVE LONG BEEN APPRECIATED, although confusion has arisen as to exactly when and by whom it was built.⁷⁴ These uncertainties can now be resolved. Dendrochronology has confirmed beyond doubt that the house as it stands today is a rebuilding of the early 1680s and is thus reaffirmed as the best preserved undefended Carolean house in Ireland.⁷⁵ Forty years later, Henry, Baron Ferrard, with the assistance of the original architect's bricklayer son, Francis Curle, completed their respective fathers' work and created the existing notable early Georgian interiors. The principal legacies of this later building phase, begun in 1720/21 and probably completed by 1725, are threefold: first, the handsome dining room and elegant drawing room with their wainscoting, timber cornices, fine decorative plaster ceilings, and, in the case of the drawing room, the *trompe-l'œil* ceiling painting by van der Hagen; second, the spacious new stairwell and Dublin-made grand stairs; third, the dramatic double-height entrance hall adorned with virtuoso wood carvings, a vainglorious display of heraldry, and Jacob Lucas's iconographic plaster armoury. Creation of this hall was Ferrard's most original and daring achievement, and in an Irish context merits recognition as a pioneering exercise in the creation of such a Palladian-inspired entrance. Architecturally, it was in the van of taste and ahead by the narrowest of margins of the equivalent but more accomplished entrance halls at Castletown, Gloster and Bellamont Forest, in all of which Edward Lovett Pearce had a hand. What linked them, of course, was the influence of the architecturally informed Robert, Viscount Molesworth, the half-brother of Ferrard and the patron of Pearce. Molesworth's letters to Ferrard, and whatever architectural advice and suggestions they may have contained, have not survived, but the detail contained in Ferrard's extant letters to Molesworth imply that the latter had a genuine interest in the project, and demonstrate Ferrard's intention to keep his brother fully informed about the progress being made. They also provide a crucial record of the changes then being made to this unique Irish Carolean house.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

IA&DS	<i>Irish Architectural & Decorative Studies</i> (Irish Georgian Society)
NIAH	National Inventory of Architectural Heritage
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
RCBL	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts

- ¹ A.P.W. Malcomson, *The Maxwells of Finnebrogue and the gentry of county Down, c. 1610-c.1960: a resident and responsible élite* (Belfast, 2023) 107-19.
- ² John O'Connell and Rolf Loeber, 'Eyrecourt Castle, county Galway', *The GPA Irish Art Review Yearbook*, 1988, 40-47.
- ³ Mark Bence-Jones, *A guide to Irish country houses* (2nd edn, London, 1988) 50.
- ⁴ David J. Griffin, 'Richard Castle's design for Castle Coole, county Fermanagh', in Terence Reeves-Smith and Richard Oram (eds), *Avenues to the past: essays presented to Sir Charles Brett on his 75th year* (Belfast, 2003) 135-42.
- ⁵ Rolf Loeber, 'Irish houses and castles 1669-90', in Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Irish*

houses and castles, 1400-1740: a collection of the late Rolf Loeber's essays and articles published in his memory (Dublin, 2019) 164-211: 185 (originally published as Rolf Loeber 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period: an unremembered past recaptured', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XVI, nos 1 and 2, 1973, 1-69).

- ⁶ Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Carolean splendour: re-dating the construction of Beaulieu House, county Louth', *IA&DS*, 25, 2023, 6-31.
- ⁷ Hugh Mayo, 'Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark: its roots and its impact', unpublished PhD thesis, Odense University, 2000.
- ⁸ RCHM, *Report on manuscripts in various collections*, VIII (London, 1913) 214-418, contains the much-abridged printed calendar of the Molesworth papers. Those on pages 343 and 346 are especially relevant; microfilm copies of these letters are available in the NLI, pos. 3753: Henry, Baron Ferrard to Robert, Viscount Molesworth, 22nd July 1722; Ferrard to Molesworth, 4th Sept 1722 (Edward McParland generously shared his transcriptions of this correspondence). For the suggestion that Beaulieu is largely early Georgian and not Carolean in date, see Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan, *The buildings of Ireland: North Leinster* (London, 1993) 156; Hugh Montgomery Massingberd and Christopher Simon Sykes, *Great houses of Ireland* (London, 1999) 80-91; Arthur Gibney, *The building site in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2017) 100, 156; Rolf Loeber, Hugh Campbell, Livia Hurley, John Montague, and Ellen Rowley (eds), *Art and architecture of Ireland, Volume IV, Architecture 1600-2000* (Dublin, 2015) 352; NIAH, <https://www.buildingsofireland.ie/buildings-search/building/13902509/beaulieu-house-beaulieu-coulouth> (acc. 29th Aug 2021).
- ⁹ RCBL, St Peter's Drogheda Parish Registers 1653-1702, combined register P.0854.01; Campbell, 'Carolean Splendour', 23; note 23 below.
- ¹⁰ Below, 23-25.
- ¹¹ Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Tichborne acquisition of the Plunkett estate of Beaulieu', *Journal of the Old Drogheda Society*, 7, 1990, 62-63.
- ¹² Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 21-24.
- ¹³ Judith's burial took place on 23rd Nov 1682; RCBL, St Peter's Drogheda Parish Registers 1653-1702, combined register P.0854.01; Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 13.

- ¹⁴ *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*, 'Curle, John', <https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/1380/Curle-John> (acc. 27th Nov 2021); NLI, Headfort Papers, Records of the Corporation of Kells, Michaelmas 1697, MS 25.446/2; Anngret Simms with Katharine Simms, *Kells: Irish Historic Towns Atlas 4* (Dublin, 1990) 3-4.
- ¹⁵ NLI, Headfort Papers, Records of the Corporation of Kells, Michaelmas 1697, 25.446/2.
- ¹⁶ O'Sullivan, 'Tichborne acquisition', 62-64.
- ¹⁷ Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 13-14.
- ¹⁸ PRONI, T3315/3, ff 93, cited in Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800*, 6 vols (Belfast, 2002) VI, 391; John Bergin, 'Perceval (Percival), Sir John', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. The relevant *Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland* contain no record of such a pension ever having been granted.
- ¹⁹ George S. Montgomery, *A family history of Montgomery of Ballyleck, county Monaghan, now of Beaulieu, county Louth, Convoy, county Donegal* (Belfast, 1850) 82; Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, VI, 390-91.
- ²⁰ G.E. Cokayne, *Complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 8 vols (London, 1887-98: 1890) III, 329.
- ²¹ NLI, D.10.550, Copy of the will of Henry, Baron Ferrard, 18th Mar 1730/31. I am grateful to Dr Brian Casey for identifying this source, to Ms Ciara Kerrigan, Assistant Keeper, NLI, for providing a copy of it, and to Dr Anthony Malcomson for sharing this information.
- ²² *ibid.*; Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, III, 115.
- ²³ John D'Alton, *The history of Drogheda* (Dublin, 1844) 395.
- ²⁴ Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 22-23.
- ²⁵ 'Hear Lieth | The Body of Francis | Curle Bricklayer son | of John Curle Bricklayer | Who Departed This | Life The 27th | Day of June 1724 | Aged 55 Years' (in fact, he was three months short of 54).
- ²⁶ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 4th Sept 1722.
- ²⁷ 'Over the great door outside are the arms of Tichburne who built this house', Liam Price (ed.), *An eighteenth century antiquary: the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper (1759-1830)* (Dublin, 1942) 96; Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 11-13.
- ²⁸ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 22nd July 1722.
- ²⁹ Nathaniel Lloyd, *A history of the English house, from primitive times to the Victorian period* (London, 1931) 118-19.
- ³⁰ Gibney, *Building site*, 219.
- ³¹ Casey and Rowan, *North Leinster*, 486.
- ³² Gibney, *Building site*, 223-26.
- ³³ Reproduced in Ned McHugh, *Drogheda: Irish Historic towns Atlas 29* (Dublin, 2019), and Campbell, 'Carolean splendour', 6.
- ³⁴ Patrick Walsh, *The making of the Irish Protestant ascendancy: the life of William Conolly 1662-1729* (Woodbridge, 2010) 183-85; Patrick Walsh, 'Irish money on the London market: Ireland, the Anglo-Irish, and the South Sea Bubble of 1720', *Eighteenth-century life*, 39, no. 1, 2015, 131-54: 147-48; NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Molesworth to Jack Molesworth, 20th Oct 1722; Ferrard to Molesworth, 14th June 1721.
- ³⁵ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 22nd July 1722.
- ³⁶ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 4th Sept 1722, quoted by Montgomery-Massingberd and Simon Sykes, *Great houses of Ireland*, 85.
- ³⁷ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 22nd July 1722.
- ³⁸ Colin Murphy, *Stackallan House 1712* (no place, no date) 30; Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters 1600-1940* (New Haven and London, 2002) 68-71.
- ³⁹ RCHM, *Manuscripts in various collections*, 343; Appendix 1, letter of 22nd July 1722.
- ⁴⁰ Griffin, 'Richard Castle's design for Castle Coole', 135-37.
- ⁴¹ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 22nd July 1722.
- ⁴² Roger White, 'The fruits of public service: Beaulieu, Drogheda, co. Louth, Ireland: the home of Cara Konig-Brock', *Country Life*, 28 Oct 2015, 40.
- ⁴³ Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and plan in the country house: from castle donjons to Palladian boxes* (New Haven, 2008) 150-52; Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English country houses: Caroline 1625-1685* (London, 1966) 234, 238.
- ⁴⁴ Gomme and Maguire, *Design and plan*, 271.
- ⁴⁵ Bence-Jones, *Irish country houses*, 232.
- ⁴⁶ Ian Nairn, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *The buildings of England: Surrey* (2nd edn., Harmondsworth, 1971) 507-09; Walsh, *Irish Protestant ascendancy*, 181-85.

- ⁴⁷ Edward McParland, ‘Sir Thomas Hewett and the New Junta for architecture’, Giles Worsley (ed.), *The role of the amateur architect: papers given at the Georgian Group symposium 1993* (London, 1994) 21-26; Edward McParland, *Public architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven and London, 2001) 9-11.
- ⁴⁸ Elisabeth Kieven, ‘An Italian architect in London: the case of Alessandro Galilei (1691-1737)’, *Architectural History*, 51, 2008, 1-31.
- ⁴⁹ Edward McParland, ‘Pearce, Sir Edward Lovett’, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/index.php/biography/pearce-sir-edward-lovett> (acc. 2nd Jan 2022); McParland, ‘Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for architecture’, in T. Barnard and J. Clarke (eds), *Lord Burlington*, 151-65; NIAH, ‘Gloster House, Glasderry, Offaly’, <https://www.buildingsofireland.ie/buildings-search/building/14942015/gloster-house-glasderry-more-shinrone-offaly> (acc. 22nd Jan 2021)
- ⁵⁰ White, ‘Fruits of public service’, 40; NIAH, ‘Gloster House, Glasderry, Offaly’, <https://www.buildingsofireland.ie/buildings-search/building/14942015/gloster-house-glasderry-more-shinrone-offaly> (acc. 22nd Jan 2021).
- ⁵¹ Walsh, *Irish Protestant ascendancy*, 181-85.
- ⁵² Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, ‘Reflections on some eighteenth-century Dublin carvers’, in Reeves-Smith and Oram, *Avenues to the past*, 49-53.
- ⁵³ ‘Over the door from this [back hall] to the great hall are the arms of Lord Ferrard’, Price (ed.), *An eighteenth century antiquary*, 96; Campbell, ‘Carolean Splendour’, 11-13
- ⁵⁴ For the family relationships see Plate 4. In 1783 Austin Cooper observed ‘over every door some family coat of arms’, Price (ed.), *An eighteenth century antiquary*, 96.
- ⁵⁵ RCBL, St Peter’s Church of Ireland, Drogheda, Burials Register 1702-1899, <https://www.ireland.anglican.org/cmsfiles/pdf/AboutUs/library/register/StPeterDrogheda>, 265 (acc. 10th Jan 2023).
- ⁵⁶ Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, VI, 392.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*; RCHM, *Manuscripts in various collections*, 272; Montgomery, *Family history*, 82.
- ⁵⁸ Beaulieu archive A/1, deed of 15th Jan 1715 from Lord Ferrard to William Aston of Beaulieu.
- ⁵⁹ RCBL, St Peter’s Church of Ireland, Drogheda, Burials Register 1702-1899.
- ⁶⁰ Montgomery, *Family history*, 65 and Plate 1.
- ⁶¹ Crookshank and Knight of Glin, *Ireland’s painters*, 68-71.
- ⁶² According to Dr Conor Lucey, the name ‘Jacob Lucas’ features in none of the standard sources: C.P. Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1967) 99-112; Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain* (London, 1975); Geoffrey Beard, *Stucco and decorative plasterwork in Europe* (London, 1983); Christine Casey, *Making magnificence: architects, stuccatori and the eighteenth-century interior* (New Haven, 2017); McParland, *Public architecture*, 54-56. The Knight of Glin and James Peill, *Irish furniture: woodwork and carving from the earliest times to the Act of Union* (New Haven, 2007) 35, 37-40.
- ⁶³ Campbell, ‘Carolean splendour’, 6.
- ⁶⁴ O’Sullivan, ‘Tichborne acquisition’, 64.
- ⁶⁵ NLI transcript, pos. 3753, Ferrard to Molesworth, 14th June 1721.
- ⁶⁶ James Garry, ‘Townland survey of county Louth: Beaulieu’, *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological & Historical Society*, 19, no. 4, 1980, 278-79; Matthew Wren, *A Topographical Map of the County of Louth* (London, 1766).
- ⁶⁷ Price (ed.), *An eighteenth century antiquary*, 96.
- ⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 97.
- ⁶⁹ Finola O’Kane, *Landscape design and revolution in Ireland and the United States, 1688-1815* (New Haven and Dublin, 2023) 29-30.
- ⁷⁰ Garry, ‘Townland survey’, 278-79.
- ⁷¹ Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1837) I, 189.
- ⁷² Montgomery, *Family history*, 72.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*, 71-72.
- ⁷⁴ Thomas U. Sadleir and Page L. Dickinson, *Georgian mansions in Ireland* (Dublin, 1915) 17; Bence-Jones, *Irish country houses*, 34; Mark Girouard, ‘Beaulieu, Co. Louth’, *Country Life*, 22nd Jan 1959 (reprinted in Seán O’Reilly, *Irish houses and gardens from the archives of Country Life* (London, 1998) 126-33); Desmond Guinness and William Ryan, *Irish houses & castles* (New York, 1971) 241-44.
- ⁷⁵ Campbell, ‘Carolean splendour’.