

**Anglo-Irish Architectural Exchange  
in the early eighteenth century:**

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**Patrons, Practitioners and *Pieds-à-terre*.**

**Volume I: Text.**

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  
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## **Declaration:**

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Melanie Hayes

## Summary:

This wide-sweeping contextual study sets out to bridge the gap between the formal architectural histories of London and Dublin in the early Georgian period, establishing the links between the vibrant architectural cultures of the two capitals at a significant time for the development of Dublin's domestic architecture. Crossing the divide between historical and architectural concerns, this thesis draws together a web of contextual and circumstantial material, adding thick layer of social, economic and political history to the formal narratives, to establish the connective tissue with which to flesh out the bare bones of the buildings. In so doing, it offers new insights into the exchange of architectural taste between London and Dublin, the routes by which this took place, and the major protagonists involved.

Hitherto, the historiography of Dublin's domestic architecture has been largely locally based. This thesis broadens the scope of enquiry, exploring the wider cross-cultural context in which the transmission and assimilation of emerging tastes in domestic urban architecture took place, specifically the relationship between the pioneering residential developments on the Gardiner estate in Dublin, primarily at Henrietta Street (*c.*1725-50s) and to a lesser degree Sackville Street Upper (*c.*1750s), and the almost contemporary residential expansion in London's West End. Moving away from purely stylistic and connoisseurial discussion of the buildings, the people behind the development process, the close-knit group of architects, developers, builders and residents involved in Luke Gardiner's developments are at the core of this study, which seeks a fuller understanding of their cross-cultural experience, which in turn informed taste and influenced residential developments in Dublin.

This study combines rigorous archival research and documentary investigation with more archeologically driven analysis of the architectural forms, attempting to relate the paper evidence to the buildings. In the face of the very limited documentary sources for Dublin's early Georgian architecture the net is cast wider, interrogating a broad range of primary material from both Ireland and Britain, from major archival holdings to those of smaller county record offices, digitised resources and original manuscripts to maps, prints and drawings, and a large range of newspapers and other anecdotal material. In drawing together the various strands of evidence and tangential lines of connection, and weaving this rich contextual material around the skeletal framework of the buildings, a fuller picture of the multifaceted development process, building history and the functionality of Dublin's early Georgian houses emerges.

The heavy debt owed to British architectural exemplars and development practices becomes clear, while the divergences from and alterations to these imported models prove equally illuminating, offering insights into the means by which they were transmitted and the particular concerns which informed the designers and builders of Dublin's new mode of domestic architecture. The negotiation which took place between imported ideals and local precedents and

practice highlights the distinctive characteristics of the Dublin houses, and in so doing situates these Irish examples within the wider scholarship on urban domestic architecture. A similar migration of new ideas and fashionable tastes in household furnishings and fittings, of the material culture of London's *beau monde*, points up the emulative nature of Dublin's metropolitan elites with respect to the domestic interior, but also the currency of imported taste in the art of self-fashioning and aggrandisement.

The intricate array of connections, and indeed, the first-hand knowledge which Ireland's leading architects, Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle, and prominent building-developers, Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, had with British practice and practitioners prove crucial, placing these major players in Dublin's domestic urban expansion at the front-line of British architectural developments, and pointing up the importance of empirical investigation as one of the chief routes by which architectural influence spread. The utility of two dimension representation in the transmission of new ideas also becomes apparent, the importance of architectural tracts and treaties but also of unpublished collections of architectural drawings, while the routes by which these paper sources reached Ireland highlights the combined agency of the architects, developers and their clients in the dissemination of new architectural taste.

These individuals, and the dual Anglo-Irish context they negotiated, emerge as the key concerns of this thesis. Its major contribution lies in highlighting the close-knit and interconnected nature of the group responsible for the promotion of the new architectural taste in Dublin, and the integral importance of the cross-cultural networks in which they operated as routes of influence, but even more so in bringing major new protagonists, of the first significance to Dublin's residential development to the fore. Money men, building operators and cultural brokers such as Thomas Lill, Caspar White and Andrew Crotty come forward as consequential players, while the pivotal role of such little known but immensely influential civilising agents and conduits of architectural taste as Thomas Carter and Henry Boyle, Viscount Shannon and Jean Ligonier, Viscount Duncannon and William Graham, Henry, Earl of Thomond and most significantly Sir Gustavus Hume come to light, establishing the central importance of these peers and patrons of architecture and their cross-channel connections as the bridge which sustained Anglo-Irish architectural exchange.

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## Abbreviations:

<b>BL</b>	British Library
<b>BOE</b>	Bank of England
<b>DIA</b>	Dictionary of Irish Architecture
<b>GSR</b>	<i>Records or The Georgian society records of eighteenth century domestic architecture &amp; decoration in Dublin</i>
<b>HCAR</b>	Heritage Council Architecture Research
<b>HMC</b>	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<b>IAA</b>	Irish Architectural Archive
<b>NAI</b>	National Archives of Ireland
<b>NA, Kew</b>	National Archives, Kew
<b>NAS</b>	National Archives of Scotland
<b>NLI</b>	National Library of Ireland
<b>Norfolk CRO</b>	Norfolk County Records Office
<b>PHA</b>	Petworth House Archive, West Sussex Records Office
<b>PRONI</b>	Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
<b>RD</b>	Registry of Deeds, Ireland
<b>RCBL</b>	Representative Church Body Library
<b>RIA</b>	Royal Irish Academy
<b>TCD</b>	Trinity College Dublin
<b>UCD</b>	University College Dublin
<b>V&amp;A</b>	Victoria and Albert Museum

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## **Anglo-Irish architectural exchange, an introduction.**

‘All matters of importance have recourse to that place, all princes and all persons of account make their repair thither...All such as aspire and thirst after offices and honours run thither overcome with emulation ...’<sup>1</sup>

In the early decades of the eighteenth century a regular traffic crossed back and forth over the Irish Sea, a constant movement of individuals and items but above all of new ideas between the two kingdoms. Letters and missives containing local news and the latest accounts from abroad, cargos of books and printed ephemera, of paintings and drawings, and fashionable household furnishings were shipped in great quantities across the Channel, while the most significant load aboard these packet vessels was their passengers. Scores of individuals made the fraught sea passage between Dublin and West Chester during this period of peace and prosperity. From there some would have set out for their estates in Britain, and others yet to visit friends and relatives in the Northern counties, but it was to the South, by and large, that the majority of travellers were bound, making the arduous journey along almost two hundred miles of rough and often hazardous road to London. As the nerve centre of political, economic, and indeed court life the British capital drew visitors from every sector of society; not only peers and politicians, but merchants and commercial businessmen, tradesmen and building practitioners alike. There, these cultural agents absorbed new ideas and were exposed to the latest tastes in architecture and aesthetics, in particular the burgeoning mode of domestic architecture which had emerged on the newly developed residential estates of London’s West End in the early years of the 1720s.

Less than a decade after these residential developments in London similar tendencies emerged on the other side of the Irish Sea in Dublin. Luke Gardiner’s pioneering enterprise at Henrietta Street, the earliest and most intact group of Dublin’s early Georgian town houses, led the way. Contemporaneous with Dublin’s new Parliament House these ambitiously large brick-fronted terraces exhibit the firmest instances of imported British influence, not only in the surviving facades and what can be discerned of the original layout and internal elaboration, but also in the elegant street setting and aspects of the development model employed. Indeed, No. 9 Henrietta Street is an almost direct transcription of a known London model, of Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell’s design for Algernon Coote’s town house on Old Burlington Street. And yet, the route by which this influence reached Dublin, and the negotiation which took place at the point of intersection is unclear.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Peterson (trans.), *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities, divided into three books* by Sig. Giovanni Botero (London: R. Oeckould and H. Tomes, 1606), p. 65.

Ireland's leading architects of the period, Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle are associated with the design of several of the earliest houses on Henrietta Street, for which rare and largely unexamined paper evidence is preserved in the Elton Hall collection. It is widely known that both architects were in Britain in the 1720s, just prior to development at Henrietta Street, yet this crucial British context to their early careers and professional formation remains shadowy. Edward Lovett Pearce, the architect of Ireland's premiere Neo-Palladian building, the Parliament House, was indebted to British Palladianism, particularly the works of Lord Burlington and his circle. Yet, despite a tantalising range of circumstances and shared connections, including a Burlingtonian plan amongst Pearce's papers, and notwithstanding considerable efforts to the contrary, no documented link between Pearce and Lord Burlington has been discovered.

The same is true of another important Anglo-Irish connection, that between Pearce and his kinsman Sir John Vanbrugh. For though they were closely related, and Pearce appears to have inherited elements of Vanbrugh's style, and even more persuasively his architectural drawings, no other direct connection between these architects has been identified to date. Though a number of rare and illuminating drawings relating to town houses are preserved amongst Pearce's papers in the Elton Hall collection,<sup>2</sup> including identifiable built examples at Nos. 9-12 Henrietta Street, no focused attempt has been made to examine Pearce's urban domestic practice. Furthermore, despite evidence of Pearce's own (rather limited) English practice, and his awareness of contemporary developments there, no detailed comparative study has been made of Pearce's town house designs with British examples.

There is a similar lack of clarity regarding the genesis of Pearce's professional association with the German architect Richard Castle. Although Castle was certainly employed as Pearce's draughtsman at the Parliament House from at least 1728, a set of drawings for a proposed royal palace at Richmond in Surrey strongly suggest that their collaboration predates this period, and that it was first established in Britain. Castle's own writings place him in London in the middle years of the decade, and yet, Castle's British experience, the circles in which he moved and the exemplars he encountered there have still to be elucidated. Stylistically both Pearce and Castle's known works demonstrate a clear tendency towards a similar range of British sources; to the Jonesian Palladianism of Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell but also the more eclectic continental influences and baroque forms of Vanbrugh and the Scottish architect James Gibbs, yet detailed exploration of the British connections of Pearce and Castle is needed in order to understand more fully the genesis of their domestic work in Ireland.

There are also notably gaps in our understanding of the interconnected group of developers and residents who collaborated with and patronised these architects, and in so doing played a significant role in the dissemination of new architectural taste. One of the most prominent speculative developers of the day, the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner is something of an enigma and the

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<sup>2</sup> V&A, Drawings from the Elton Hall Library, otherwise the Elton Hall collection E.2124:1-254-1992.

broader context in which he operated is little understood. Over the course of his career Gardiner rose to a position of great wealth and prominence amongst Ireland's governing elite, enjoying an influential range of connections and developing a large property empire on the North-side of Dublin City. The means by which he achieved this success, however, and the network of associates which helped him along the way remain shadowy. Similarly, although Gardiner's ambitious schemes at Henrietta Street and later at Sackville Street adopted cutting-edge forms and sophisticated financial development practices, the models he drew on in the process and the extent to which he relied on established precedents have yet to be elucidated. Additionally, the building craftsmen employed at Gardiner's development at Henrietta Street remain largely anonymous, while the building chronology for these pioneering houses requires revision.

As the premier residential street in the city, Henrietta Street attracted some of the most influential power brokers from church, military and state, and it cannot be a coincidence that construction of these palatial town houses commenced at just the same moment as the new Parliament House, both serving as very visible manifestations of the wealth and ambition of Ireland's governing elite. Far from wide-eyed provincials these were men (and women) of sophisticated and cosmopolitan taste. Many had significant interests in Britain and were frequent visitors there during the crucial period in the capital's domestic development, where they moved in elite and cultured circles. As such the importance of the residents of Dublin's new town houses as conduits of architectural taste between the two capitals requires consideration.

Hitherto, the historiography of Dublin's domestic architecture has been largely locally based. This thesis attempts to broaden the scope of enquiry, exploring the wider cross-cultural context in which the transmission and assimilation of emerging tastes in domestic urban architecture took place, specifically the relationship between Dublin and London in the early Georgian period. It seeks to build a bridge between the histories of domestic architecture in both capitals, connecting the formal historiographies and adding a thick layer of social, economic and political history between. Moving away from purely stylistic and connoisseurial discussion of the buildings, it focuses to a large extent on the people behind the development process, the architects, developers, builders and not the least the residents, seeking a fuller understanding of the cross-cultural experience which in turn informed taste and influenced residential developments in Dublin.

This study aims to reverse the traditional emphasis on form by bringing the principal protagonists of this process to the fore, highlighting important new figures such as the business associates of Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, Arthur Hill, Thomas Lill, and Albert Nesbitt, and previously unknown building operators such as Caspar White and Robert Ball. It endeavours to flesh out the sketchy portraits of prominent cultural brokers Thomas Carter, Henry Boyle and Andrew Crotty, William Graham and Viscount Mountjoy. Particular attention will be paid to such little known yet significant architectural patrons, Viscount Shannon, the Earl of Thomond and Sir Gustavus Hume, examining the close-knit and interconnected nature of this group and the importance of the cross-cultural networks in which they operated as routes of influence. Although

people take centre stage architecture is not forgotten; instead this study attempts to weave this rich contextual material around the skeletal framework of the buildings, to offer a fuller picture of the multifaceted development process, building history and indeed the functionality of Dublin's early Georgian houses.

This task is far from straight forward. Historians of Dublin's early eighteenth-century built heritage, and of its social and material culture for that matter, have long been hampered by the paucity of surviving documentary evidence from this period. The lack of documents pertaining to the networks of developers and patrons responsible for the emergence of the ambitious domestic architecture in early eighteenth-century Dublin, in particular to the building and builders of at Henrietta Street, not to mention firm evidence of how these buildings were fitted out and functioned is particularly problematic, while lingering uncertainties over the architects involved, and their links to British practice further complicates matters. Indeed, over half a century of scholarly research has failed to establish a clear line of connection between Ireland's Palladian practitioners and their British counterparts. There are few known documents relating to Gardiner's development enterprises, no building records or tradesmen's accounts have been identified, while there is little surviving material in the way of personal correspondence to flesh out the sketchy portrait of this developer and his residential developments. In the face of such limitations this study will attempt to throw the net wider, interrogating a broad range of primary material from both Ireland and Britain, from major archival holdings to those of smaller county record offices, digitised resources and original manuscripts to maps, prints, and drawings, and a large range of newspapers and other anecdotal material, drawing together what are often loose strands of evidence and tangential lines of connection. Given the conditional nature of the evidence, definitive conclusions are hard to come by. This therefore is primarily a contextual work, a stepping stone which seeks to establish the connective tissue between the cultural and architectural histories of Ireland and Britain during the early Georgian period.

### **State of Knowledge:**

What we know of domestic architecture in Dublin and London in the early Georgian period requires critical summation in order to situate this study and to underscore the novelty of its approach. In recent years, the historiography of Irish eighteenth-century architecture has largely focused on public building projects and matters of urban planning, while Dublin's early Georgian domestic architecture remains a relatively neglected topic. The *Georgian Society records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin*, the first volume of which was published in 1909, though outdated in approach and in the scope of its findings, remains the most detailed examination of the topic to date. A comprehensive review of subsequent secondary material reveals a concentration of brief accounts of Dublin's domestic development, contained within broader, often more populist surveys of the city's built environment. Biographical,

connoisseurial and formalist approaches have dominated analysis. Coverage has tended to centre on large bespoke houses by known architects, at the expense of the more modest, speculatively built terraced housing, and lesser known producers. The predominant formalist view has privileged questions of style over more practical considerations of building history, such as the modes of planning adopted, methods of construction and materials used, and the production and producers of interior decoration. Major residential developments, such as Henrietta Street and Sackville Street, are often dealt with as part of larger surveys of the city's urban development, and detailed analysis of planning models adopted and their impact on the resulting buildings is lacking. The tendency toward brief biographical and genealogical accounts of the occupants of these houses stops short of analysing their determining role in the building's genesis, as conduits of architectural taste and culture, or indeed considering how these houses were used. More recently a number of specialised studies and short essays have provided valuable insights into many neglected aspects of the Dublin's eighteenth-century town house architecture. British scholarship on urban domestic architecture highlights the need for a comprehensive and inter-disciplinary examination of the subject.

In his seminal bibliography of Irish architectural history Edward McParland stated that 'The Georgian Society Records of 1909 to 1913 remains unmatched, among studies of domestic architecture in Dublin, for their range of subject matter and depth of research.'<sup>3</sup> More than two decades on this is still the case. The wealth of photographic plates and illustrations, including many of lost buildings, make them an invaluable resource, not to mention the many references to now destroyed documentation contained therein. The main objective of the Society was to provide a record of Ireland's rich and rapidly disappearing examples of Georgian domestic architecture. This monumental undertaking was achieved to an extent. The broad topographical account of Dublin's domestic architecture in the first four volumes of the series describes many of the city's most important domestic buildings and residential streets. The most noteworthy examples and their finer attributes are discussed and illustrated, and their occupants noted.

The accounts however, are descriptive rather than analytical, while the coverage itself, as Desmond Guinness noted in 1969, is somewhat disordered.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the systematic topographical approach adopted by its British counterpart, the pioneering *Survey of London* series, which moves 'gradually from street to street in a spidery effect,'<sup>5</sup> the coverage in the *Records* is patchy. There are jumps and shifts in the chronology, topography and scope of the accounts, which make it hard to assess the significance of these buildings within the larger picture of the city's architectural

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<sup>3</sup> Edward McParland, 'A bibliography of Irish architectural history,' in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 26, No. 102 (Nov, 1988), p. 162. The full published title was *The Georgian Society, Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin*, 5 volumes (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1909-13, reprinted Shannon, 1969). These volumes will hereafter be referred to as *Records*.

<sup>4</sup> *Records*, vol. I, p. vii.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Mulvin, 'To catch a glory': a consideration of the four volumes published by the Georgian Society of Domestic Architecture, 1909-1913' (MA Thesis, UCD, 2006), p. 44.

heritage.<sup>6</sup> Where the *Survey of London* provided comprehensive narratives of the building history of each house, tracking changes in their fabric and occupants over the years, and relating these structures to their wider built environment, the coverage in the *Records* is uneven. A number of (what are now considered) significant houses and sometimes whole streets are summarily dealt with, and even in cases omitted entirely from the account. The fabric of No. 42 Sackville Street Upper, for example, a building of great architectural merit and significance, was not considered worthy of description.<sup>7</sup>

The heavily connoisseurial approach of the Society privileged the ‘great’ houses over more modest terraced examples and there is little attention given to the craftsmen who built and embellished the majority of these buildings. Such marginal treatment of the terraced house has persisted in architectural literature since the early eighteenth century, due to its lowly status as ‘impolite’ or vernacular architecture.<sup>8</sup> There is also a distinct lack of attention given to either the treatment of the facade or the floor-plans of these terraced houses in the *Records*, though Mahaffy did note the characteristic distinction between the plain exteriors and rich interiors of Dublin houses.<sup>9</sup> Here again, the accounts are patchy and vagaries such as ‘a very fine house’ with ‘much good plasterwork’ abound.<sup>10</sup>

Maurice Craig’s groundbreaking text *Dublin: 1600-1800*<sup>11</sup> was a landmark in the scope and the quality of its research. Craig adopted a similar approach to John Summerson’s *Georgian London*, offering an insightful overview of the evolution of the city’s built environment during this golden age of development.<sup>12</sup> In the author’s own words it was ‘conceived more as a ‘portrait’ than a history.’ It concentrates ‘on the visible features of its subject,’ on the major public edifices and to a lesser extent domestic building. Like the *Records* Craig favoured the grander houses, designed by

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<sup>6</sup> For example in volume four accounts of ‘seven of the larger and more important Dublin mansions 1697- 1792 are given alphabetically rather than chronologically, as would be usual for a survey of architectural development. The methodology shifts from a chronological account in volume one, to a more topographical narrative in volume two (this is the closest in format to the *Survey of London*’s Chelsea edition which was published in the same year as volume one of the *Records*) to essay style treatments.

<sup>7</sup> In 1969 Guinness hinted at the arbitrary nature of the selection process, see *Records*, vol. I, p.vii.

Other sources have made the case for political motivation in this process, see Mulvin, ‘To catch a glory,’ pp. 14-15; Mark Crinson, ‘Georgianism and the tenements, Dublin 1908-1926,’ *Art History*, vol. 29, issue 4 (Sept. 2006), pp. 625-659, for the ‘Georgianism’ of Dublin’s Georgian town houses in the early twentieth century, and the selective nature of the *Records* account of the same.

Mulvin, ‘To catch a glory,’ pp. 29-30 also suggests more practice criteria for determining inclusion in the *Records*, noting how at the Society’s meeting on April 18<sup>th</sup> 1908 Cosgrave appealed to young architects and students “to assist in this work by making sketches,” which suggests the artists were not assigned to a specific group of streets and perhaps chose the locales for Volume I as they were the most accessible.’

<sup>8</sup> Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (New Haven/London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), pp. 138-139.

<sup>9</sup> *Records*, vol. III, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Records*, vol. III, p. 82, such vagaries predominant the account of Sackville Street Upper.

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860: the shaping of a city* (Dublin: A. Figgis, first published 1952, revised edition 1980).

<sup>12</sup> John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Pleiades Books, 1945), there are now 10 editions of this publication, with revisions.

or for known personages. Though he includes an account of the late eighteenth-century domestic development in the North and South-east quarters, no detailed analysis of Dublin's earlier residential development is provided. Craig remarks on plan types, on the impact of building regulations on facade design, and unique characteristics of these elevations such as patent plaster reveals and the uniform severity, but otherwise the standard terraced house is largely brushed over. Eschewing 'aspects of social and economic history'<sup>13</sup> Craig's connoisseurial bent ensured a brief introduction to the major players in the city's metamorphosis, to private developers and the leading practitioners of the day.

Numerous accounts of the city's architectural heritage have built upon Craig's ground work. While these broad surveys treat Dublin's eighteenth-century domestic architecture as part of the city's wider development, they serve to highlight the importance of the topic in Irish architectural historiography. Again they focus on brief accounts of bespoke houses at the expense of the standard terrace, or detailed analysis of the buildings and their builders. Desmond Guinness' wonderfully illustrated *Georgian Dublin* of 1979,<sup>14</sup> designed to display the richness and importance of Dublin's Georgian architectural heritage to a broad audience (and as such assist in its preservation), charts the development of Georgian domestic buildings in the introduction. Guinness followed Craig in noting the most salient and characteristic formal features of exterior and interior treatment of these buildings, and raised an important new point of contrast between the elaboration of speculatively developed houses, which 'tend to have plainer interiors' and those 'town houses for nobles built of stone;' a distinction which has been qualified in more recent literature.<sup>15</sup>

Fredrick O'Dwyer's *Lost Dublin* attempts to recover and record the visual and historical essence of some of the best examples of the city's lost architecture from the period in question, including a brief treatment of the destroyed houses on Sackville Street.<sup>16</sup> Peter Pearson's *The heart of Dublin* makes a detailed tour of the city's built environment, and delves into the history of a number of previously neglected residential districts such as Capel Street and its environs.<sup>17</sup> Christine Casey's *Dublin*<sup>18</sup> provides a concise account of the city's domestic architecture during the early Georgian period, which collates the latest findings in architectural scholarship. It considers

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<sup>13</sup> Craig, *Dublin*, preface.

<sup>14</sup> Desmond Guinness, *Georgian Dublin* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979). Guinness produced several other volumes on the city's Georgian architecture, as well as number shorter treatments and articles, including the earlier publication *A Portrait of Dublin* (London: Batsford, 1967).

<sup>15</sup> Guinness, *Georgian Dublin*, introduction. Jacqueline O'Brien with Desmond Guinness, *Dublin, a grand tour* (London: Abrams, 1994) builds on aspects of Guinness' earlier account, offering more detail on architects, artists and craftsmen involved in the development of some of Dublin grandest domestic set-pieces.

<sup>16</sup> Frederick O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> Peter Pearson, *The heart of Dublin: resurgence of an historic city* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Christine Casey, *Dublin: the city within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005). This volume is part of the comprehensive *Buildings of Ireland* series.

the formal and stylistic developments evident in the major residential streets and buildings, while highlighting such previously under-explored aspects as the planning and interior treatment of the early eighteenth-century town house. Most recently David Dickson's *Dublin, the making of a capital city* offers a synthetic account of Dublin's early Georgian residential expansion, set within the broader context of the city's economic and socio-political development.<sup>19</sup>

While the majority of these studies contain brief accounts of Luke Gardiner's developments at Henrietta Street and Sackville Street the focus is once again on the grander bespoke houses and their noble inhabitants. More detailed discussion of Henrietta Street's development history is set out by Nuala Burke and followed in Cathal Crimmins' practice-driven study on the building forms.<sup>20</sup> This treatment raises the important point as to the debt owed to British examples, evident in the planning and design of a number of houses in this street. Several valuable accounts examine the socio-political and economic factors which affected the early development at Sackville Street, though these treatments are brief and little attempt has been made to relate the findings to the resulting buildings.<sup>21</sup>

In the past few decades a new trend or direction in the study of urban architectural history has emerged. This approach moves away from reductionist discussions of form and style towards what Stewart calls 'the whole picture.'<sup>22</sup> In Britain serious attempts have been made to rehabilitate the position of the town house in architectural history, to redress the imbalance in terms of coverage, particularly of terraced and speculatively built housing, and of previously neglected aspects of their building development in the literature. Irish scholars have engaged with this process, and fruitful new research is emerging in the form of specialist studies and shorter treatments in broader ranging compendiums. The most recent of these, a collection of essays resulting from the proceedings of an earlier conference, *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house*, edited by Christine Casey, brings emerging avenues of inquiry to light.<sup>23</sup>

Elizabeth McKellar's groundbreaking study, *The Birth of Modern London* examines domestic development in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century London, exploring its place

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<sup>19</sup> David Dickson, *Dublin, the making of a capital city* (London: Profile Books, 2014), pp.105-151.

<sup>20</sup> Nuala Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800: A study in urban morphogenesis' (PhD Thesis, TCD, 1972); Cathal Crimmins, 'Henrietta Street: a conservation study,' (B. Arch thesis UCD, 1987).

<sup>21</sup> Edward McParland, 'The Wide Street Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late 18<sup>th</sup>–early 19<sup>th</sup> century' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 15. No.1 (January–March 1972), 9-10; Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800'; Dickson, 'Large-scale developers; Eamon Walsh, 'Sackville Mall the first one hundred years' in *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850*, ed. D. Dickson (Dublin, 1987); Maura Shaffrey, 'Sackville Street/O'Connell Street.' *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988), pp. 144-156. Dickson, *Dublin*, pp.163-4.

<sup>22</sup> Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).

within the wider context of the modern city's evolution.<sup>24</sup> McKellar's rigorous analysis challenges the established orthodoxy of the 'Summerson model' of speculative development, positing a more much complex and multifaceted practice than hitherto established. She examines the development of a new prototype of urban housing established in London, which was subsequently adopted all over the country and beyond, in terms of production and producers, and the economic concerns behind the process. She concludes that the quintessential building forms of the early Georgian period did not represent a major break from the past, but came about through a synthesis of earlier vernacular models, the influences of 'polite' classical architectural forms and the conditions under which they were produced.

In Dublin the ground-work for such an approach was laid by Nuala Burke's pioneering and wide-ranging study of the historical geography of Dublin City 1600-1800,<sup>25</sup> which deals with the makers as well as the making, while subsequent investigations by McParland and Dickson demonstrate the impact of socio-political and economic conditions on large-scale urban development.<sup>26</sup> Niall McCullough's research, which focuses on the physical evidence of the city, explores similar ideas to McKellar's study, such as the relationship between diverse house forms and the development of Dublin's urban plan,<sup>27</sup> whereas Brendan Twomey's work on the speculative building enterprises around Smithfield at the beginning of the eighteenth century explicitly draws on McKellar's findings.<sup>28</sup> Twomey's thorough analysis of the documentary evidence proposes of a similarly complex system of finance and development model at play in Dublin to that utilised in London.

The builders and building process, subjects traditionally assigned to the margins of architectural history as the concerns of craft not Architecture, take centre stage in Arthur Gibney's authoritative 'Studies in eighteenth century building history.'<sup>29</sup> Utilising a broad range of material, Gibney provided a detailed examination of the operational patterns of craftsmen and the characteristics of building materials and processes used in Ireland. This shed new light on the previously obscure practices and practitioners in the Irish building industry, while his analysis of the relationship between 'imported architectural concepts and the constructional systems,'

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<sup>24</sup> Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: the development and design of the city, 1660-1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800.'

<sup>26</sup> Edward McParland, 'Strategy in the planning of Dublin, 1750-1800' and David Dickson, 'Large-scale developers and the growth of eighteenth-century Irish cities,' in *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish perspectives on Urban Developments, 1500-1900*, eds. P. Butel and L.M. Cullen (Dublin: Department of Modern History, Trinity College Dublin, 1986. Dickson, *Dublin*, pp.139-144, 162-171.

<sup>27</sup> Niall McCullough, *Dublin an urban history: the plan of the city* (Dublin: Anne Street Press, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Brendan Twomey, *Smithfield and the parish of St Paul, Dublin, 1698-1750* (Dublin, 2005) and 'Financing speculative property development in early eighteenth-century Dublin,' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 29-45.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history' (PhD thesis, TCD, 1998).

specifically the precedent of London practice with that already established in Ireland set Irish eighteenth-century building history in a wider context.<sup>30</sup> James Ayres' analogous volume, a wide ranging and comprehensive study of the building trade in the Britain, permits comparisons between Irish and British practice. Ayres portrays the Georgian city as 'the product of the jostling interests of landowners, investors and speculative builders,'<sup>31</sup> and points to the impact of methods and materials on the form of the buildings. This account highlights the importance of an empirical understanding of building process during this period and the integral role of craftsmen or master-builders in the dissemination of new models in building practice.

In the last decade there has been a growing interest in Britain in exploring the speculative development process and the producers behind it, with studies of such enterprises in mid-century Bath and London.<sup>32</sup> Conor Lucey's ongoing research into the negotiation of decorative styles at the level of the building trades in Dublin addresses similar concerns, dealing with the complex and inter-connected nature of the relationships which existed between the individuals involved and the impact of these relationships on the forms produced in the last three decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> These studies provide a strong basis from which to explore the intricate network of relationships which existed between the landowners, speculative builders, craftsmen and the patrons or occupants of the houses.

Another previously neglected yet crucial concern of architectural history which has undergone a resurgence of interest in recent years is the planning of urban domestic buildings. British scholarship is again at the forefront of this revisionist research. Kelsall's pioneering foray into the subject in 1974 has been built upon in the past decade by the research of Neil Burton, Peter Guillery and Elizabeth McKellar. These scholars have challenged the established 'canon' of the 'Summerson plan,' attempting to dispel the notion of a single plan-type (the rear staircase plan), so prevalent in the common terraces of Georgian London that it did not even require discussion. Instead they offer a much more diverse picture of the modes of planning adopted in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with a range of plan-types and varied arrangements occurring at the same times and places across the Georgian city. They explore the impact of physical constraints and patterns of use, and argue for the combined influences of polite and traditional vernacular models (including the open-well staircase plan which persisted in large-scale town house planning in Dublin up to the middle of the eighteenth century) on the evolution of

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<sup>30</sup> Gibney's work on buildings materials has been built upon in recent years, by Susan Roundtree and Tony Hand in particular. For specific treatments of building material for town houses see Susan Roundtree, 'Brick in the eighteenth-century Dublin town house,' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 73-81; Tony Hand, 'Supplying Stone for the Dublin house,' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 82-97.

<sup>31</sup> James Ayres, *Building the Georgian city* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Garnier, 'Speculative housing in 1750s London,' in *Georgian Group Journal*, vol. xii (2003) and 'Grafton Street, Mayfair,' in *Georgian Group Journal*, vol. xiii (2002).

<sup>33</sup> Conor Lucey, 'Classicism or commerce? The townhouse interior as commodity' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 236-248.

eighteenth-century planning.<sup>34</sup> Irish scholarship is moving in a similar direction. Patricia McCarthy's recent PhD 'The planning and use of space in Irish houses 1730-1830' draws on the evidence of inventories to discuss the planning of both country and town house architecture in Ireland,<sup>35</sup> while David Griffin makes valuable use of surviving architectural drawings to discuss the mode of planning and room use in a mid-century town house.<sup>36</sup> Niall McCullough's investigations, and Tony Duggan's reconstructions of the plan types utilised in the development of Parnell Square from 1753 show a similar diversity of forms and the effects of building conditions as found in London.<sup>37</sup> Despite the widespread acknowledgment of the reliance of Irish examples on British models, Duggan's work and an essay by Guillery in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house*, are the only attempts to consider the ground plans of Dublin town houses in the context of Britain.<sup>38</sup>

Notwithstanding the tendency to focus on matters of form and style, the facade of the terraced town house has received little attention in traditional architectural histories. Stylistic analysis of bespoke houses or larger architectural compositions has dominated the discourse, while the standard terraced elevation is considered largely in terms of its relationship to the overall streetscape. Notions of uniformity have overshadowed the real diversity of forms, however subtle. British texts have begun to explore hidden facets of the town house facade, attaching symbolic meaning and functions such as self presentation to these forms.<sup>39</sup> In Irish scholarship McCullough briefly explores the gradations on the faces of Dublin's historic houses,<sup>40</sup> while Christine Casey's essay 'The Dublin domestic formula,' which considers the striking dichotomy between the severely restrained facades of Dublin's town houses and their elaborately decorated interiors, posits more practical considerations and economic conditions as determining factors in terraced facade

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<sup>34</sup> McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 155. For such works on planning see also Frank Kelsall, 'The London house plan in the 17th century,' in *The Journal of the Society for Post-medieval Archaeology*, vol.8 (1974): 80-91; Neil Burton and Peter Guillery, *Behind the facade: London house plans 1660-1840* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006) and Peter Guillery, *The small house in eighteenth-century London, a social and architectural history* (London, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Patricia McCarty, 'The planning and use of space in Irish houses 1730-1830' (PhD thesis, TCD, 2009).

<sup>36</sup> David Griffin, 'Richard Castle's designs for Doneraile House, Kildare Street, Dublin,' *Martello* (spring, 1990) pp. 1-6, and 'The building and furnishing of a Dublin town house in the 18<sup>th</sup> century' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 38 (1996-1997), pp. 24-39.

<sup>37</sup> McCullough, *Dublin an urban history* and 'The Dublin house' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp.14-28. Anthony Duggan, 'Parnell Square : an analysis of house types in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* vol.37 (1995), pp.13-30, included valuable reproductions of these plans, reproduced in altered form in Mary Clark and Alastair Smeaton (eds.), *The Georgian squares of Dublin: an architectural history* (Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Peter Guillery, 'Plan form: some comparative thoughts from London' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 249-257.

<sup>39</sup> Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*; Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed doors: At home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> McCullough, 'The Dublin house,' pp. 21-24.

design.<sup>41</sup> In the past decades McDonnell, Casey and Lucey have made advances in the study of the richly elaborated interiors of even the more standard speculatively built houses. These scholars have moved beyond the laudatory descriptions of the Georgian Society and have built on pioneering connoisseurial studies by Con Curran on Dublin's plasterwork,<sup>42</sup> engaging in a thought provoking examination of these forms. They focus not only on style but technique, on the methods of production and the producers, and the wider context in which interiors were produced. McDonnell and Casey have sought to place Irish plasterwork in its broader European context, examining the international sources which informed Irish practice,<sup>43</sup> while Casey and Lucey have raised the important questions over the extent to which the producers or the users of these houses were the determining agents behind the aesthetics choices for these interiors.<sup>44</sup>

An emerging trend in British histories of urban development shows a more wide-ranging inter-disciplinary approach, drawing on political, economic and social history, and on material cultural and gender studies to explore new aspects of architectural history. The role of those people behind the building process: of the developers, designers, producers and users of the buildings comes to the fore. McKellar's socio-economic approach promotes the role the developers and producers of London's late seventeenth-century domestic buildings in the broader development of the city. Similar work has been done in Irish scholarship to explore the role of the developers and speculators in Dublin's early eighteenth-century domestic building enterprises. Attempts have been made to recover biographical details, particularly on the shadowy origins and early career of the most influential of these developers, Luke Gardiner.<sup>45</sup> Shorter treatments of his extensive speculative activities are dealt with in broader volumes on Dublin's urban development.<sup>46</sup> Yet, despite the large collection of Gardiner family papers at the N. L. I. , the multitude of property transactions recorded in memorials at the Registry of Deeds and surviving bureaucratic and anecdotal evidence of Gardiner's high profile public career and prominent position in the cultural

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<sup>41</sup> Christine Casey, 'The Dublin domestic formula' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 46-58.

<sup>42</sup> Constantine Peters Curran, 'Dublin plaster work' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Seventh Series* vol. 10, No. 1 (Mar. 31, 1940), pp. 1-56, and *Dublin decorative plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1967).

<sup>43</sup> Joseph McDonnell, *Irish eighteenth-century stuccowork and its European sources* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1991); Joseph McDonnell, 'Patrons and plasterers: the origin of Dublin rococo stuccowork' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 223-235; Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds.), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe, ornament and the early modern interior* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Christine Casey, 'Boiseries, bankers and bills: a tale of Charlemont and Whaley' in *Lord Charlemont and his circle: essays in honour of Michael Wynne*, ed. Michael McCarthy (Dublin, 2001), pp. 47-59; Lucey, 'Classicism or commerce?'

<sup>45</sup> Edith M. Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes, volumes 1-5* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2002); Anthony Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements: government and governing elite in Ireland, 1725-75* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); Helen Andrews and John Coleman, 'Luke Gardiner I,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009). Anthony Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements: politics, fashion and architecture in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015)

<sup>46</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800'; Dickson, 'Large-scale developers'. pp. 115-116. Dickson, *Dublin*, pp.140-143, 162-165.

life of the capital there is no published biography. Anthony Malcomson's richly documented biographies of Gardiner's protégé Nathaniel Clements move in this direction, in particular the second volume which deals explicitly with Clements' cultural and architectural activity and fleshes out the growing portrait of this developer and arbiter of taste and his circle.<sup>47</sup>

The inadequate coverage of the practitioners and producers of Dublin's early Georgian town houses has already been alluded to. The building tradesmen who produced the majority of these domestic structures are largely overlooked in the literature, owing in part to the lack of surviving evidence of their activities, but also due to the pervading connoisseurial approach which dominated the discourse for much of the twentieth century. Moves to redress this imbalance are slowly being made, yet much work is required to gain a clear picture of their role in this multifaceted building process.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, much valuable research has been carried out in the later decades of the last century to recover the biographical details of Ireland's two most prominent architects of the period, the 'elusive Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' and the equally shadowy German architect and engineer, Richard Castle.

While such scholarship has managed to wrest him from obscurity,<sup>49</sup> Pearce has largely frustrated the monumental efforts made by Maurice Craig and Edward McParland to trace his early life and the formative period of his career.<sup>50</sup> Numerous attributions have been given to Pearce, including a range of domestic buildings in Ireland and to a lesser extent in Britain,<sup>51</sup> but despite the evidence the Elton Hall drawings and a range of circumstantial connections no focused attempt has yet been made to consider Pearce's urban domestic practice, nor the impact of contemporary

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<sup>47</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*. Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements: politics, fashion and architecture*.

<sup>48</sup> Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history'; Mary Colley, 'A list of architects, builders, surveyors, measurers and engineers extracted from Wilson's *Dublin directories* from 1760 to 1836' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 34 (1991); Christopher Woodward, *The building of Bath* (Bath: Building of Bath Museum, 1995); Christopher Woodward, 'In the jelly mould': craft and commerce in 18<sup>th</sup> century Bath,' in *Georgian Vernacular* (1995); Anne Crookshank and The Knight of Glin, 'Reflections on some eighteenth-century Dublin carvers' in *Avenues to the past: essays presented to Sir Charles Brett on his 75<sup>th</sup> year*, eds. Terence Reeves-Smyth and Richard Oram (Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2003); Conor Lucey, *The Stapleton Collection* (Dublin: Churchill House Press, 2007); Lucey, 'Classicism or commerce?'

<sup>49</sup> Maurice Craig, 'The Quest for Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 12 (1996), pp. 27-34 notes that in 1949 almost all that was known about Pearce was contained in Thomas Sadleir, 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. 10, No. 5 (1927), pp. 231-44.

<sup>50</sup> Craig, *Dublin*; Craig 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 17 (Jan-Jun 1974), pp. 10-14; Edward McParland, *Public architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

<sup>51</sup> Christopher Hussey, '12 North Audley Street, London: the residence of the Dowager Lady Aberconway,' in *Country Life* (15 November 1962), pp. 1212-1216 (David Griffin later discovered an analogous plan of a room at Summerhill, another Irish country house associated with Pearce which further supports this attribution); Howard Colvin and Maurice Craig, Drawings in the library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (Oxford: Roxburge Club, 1964); Maurice Craig, 'Bellamont Forest, Co. Cavan,' in *Country Life* (21 and 28 May, 1964); Desmond Fitz-Gerald, Knight of Glin, 'New Light on Castletown,' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 8, (Jan-March, 1965), pp. 3-9; Craig 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce. Williams, 'The Elusive Sir Edward Lovett Pearce; Edward McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the Deanery of Christ Church Dublin' in *Decantation's*, ed. Agnes Bernelle, (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1992); Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The Ballroom at Dublin Castle,' in *Decantation's*; Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600-1840*, 4th edition (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

British architectural culture on his output.<sup>52</sup> Exploration of Pearce's English family connections for evidence of architectural influence and for the means by which he came by the Richmond Palace commission is needed. The same holds true for Richard Castle, to whom too much has been attributed. Indeed, there is a tendency in Irish architectural histories to 'give all the really first class buildings to Pearce and distribute the rest to Cassels and a few un-named followers.'<sup>53</sup> Castle's country house practice has received more attention in the literature than his urban buildings, save certain palatial town houses which are more analogous to country house designs.<sup>54</sup> Recent investigations by Dechant and Calderon into Castle's origins have yielded fascinating results,<sup>55</sup> and yet the crucial period prior to Castle's arrival in Ireland in the late 1720 remains hazy.

In recent years the concerns of the users or occupants of urban domestic buildings have come into focus in British scholarship.<sup>56</sup> Rachel Stewart's text is largely concerned with the experience of the consumer, of perception of the town house and the value attached to these buildings, both real and symbolic.<sup>57</sup> Similarly Amanda Vickery's gender-based social history explores the range of functions fulfilled by the eighteenth-century town house, beyond those of practical use. Moving away from the West End mansions of grandees, Vickery focuses on the provincial town houses of the middling sort, exploring the lives played out in these arenas, and drawing out such abstract concepts as the division between private and public, and male and female spheres within these houses.<sup>58</sup> Stobart and Owen's collection examines the wider social and cultural value attached to urban property and inheritance in this period, and provides insights into settlement patterns and the importance of neighbourhood.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Sources which touch upon Pearce in the context of British architecture and architectural circles include Maurice Craig, 'New Light on Jigginstown,' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 33 (1970), pp. 107-110; Edward McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for Architecture' in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art, Life*, eds. T. Barnard and J. Clark (London: Continuum, 1995), pp. 151-166; McParland, *Public architecture*, pp. 183-5, p. 191, p. 199.

<sup>53</sup> Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: from the earliest times to 1880* (London; Batsford, 1982), p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> Desmond Guinness and William Ryan, *Irish houses and castles* (London and Dublin: Viking Press, 1971); Brian De Breffny and Rosemary Ffoliott, *The houses of Ireland: domestic architecture from the medieval castle to the Edwardian villa* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975); Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*; Jacqueline O'Brien and Desmond Guinness, *Great Irish houses and castles* (London: Abrams, 1992); David Griffin, 'Leinster House and Isaac Ware' in Agnes Bernelle, ed., *Decantation 3...* pp.60-70; David Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall at Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow.' *Georgian Group Journal* vol. v (1995):119-124. Casey, *Dublin*, pp. 498-503.

<sup>55</sup> Loreto Calderon and Konrad Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. C. Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 174-196.

<sup>56</sup> McKellar, *The birth of modern London*, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*.

<sup>58</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed doors: At home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Jon Stobart and Alastair Owens (eds.), *Urban fortunes, property and inheritance in the town 1700-1900* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000).

In Irish scholarship several sources have elucidated the social, economic and political conditions of the period, which are essential to understanding the physical development of the city during the early years of the eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Toby Barnard's body of work on the material culture of the Protestant ascendancy focuses more specifically on urban housing. Barnard explores the function of the Dublin town houses of this class, both in the real or physical sense, as lodgings during their urban sojourns,<sup>61</sup> offering insights into the settlement and occupancy patterns of their inhabitants,<sup>62</sup> and their symbolic or conceptual role as 'something more than mere shelter,' 'a stratagem-albeit costly and cumbersome-to contrive the grand figure.'<sup>63</sup> The focus is on people, largely on the user's perspective, and highlights the determining role these individuals played in the aesthetic choices for their houses. Barnard notes the importance of fashion and emulation, and most pertinently of foreign travel in the spread of new architectural and aesthetic ideals. Yet while he does attest to the importance of Britain, specifically London, as the nucleus for political and social betterment and cultural enrichment, he does not explicitly deal with the multitude of town houses occupied by Irish peers and gentry throughout London's West End during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Clark and Gillespie's *Two Capitals* is one of the few volumes to consider the interaction between London and Dublin during the period in question.<sup>65</sup> Yet, while this collection offers valuable insights into the areas of convergence and divergence between the two cities, and Toby Barnard's essay stresses the 'cross influences' in terms of urban architecture, these narratives stop short of drawing out the particular lines of connection and 'vectors of communication' between the capitals.

This review has demonstrated that while there has been much thorough and thoughtful scholarship on the early Georgian domestic architecture of Dublin and London significant gaps remain, in particularly the connective tissue between the two closely connected capital cities.

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<sup>60</sup> Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), an authoritative study of the municipality of Dublin, noting the integral role of civic politics in the physical development of the city. Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English* (New Haven and London, 2012) notes the important role of Ireland peers and nobility as cultural brokers, importing ideas from London.

<sup>61</sup> Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure, lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004). Toby Barnard, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents, 1641-1770* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

<sup>62</sup> For the importance of regional affinities see Toby Barnard, *The abduction of a Limerick heiress, social and political relations in mid eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998) and Barnard, *Making the grand figure*. For stages of life and occupying a town house see Toby Barnard, 'The worlds of a Galway squire: Robert French of Monivae, 1716-1779,' in *Galway: history and society*, eds. R. Gillespie and G. Moran (Dublin, 1996), pp. 271-96, reprinted in Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008) pp. 143-66; Barnard, *Making the grand figure*; Toby Barnard, 'The artistic and cultural activities of the Caldwells of Castle Caldwell, 1750-1783' in *Irish architectural and Decorative studies*, vol. 10 (2007), pp. 90-111. See also Constantia Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges* (Dublin: G.G. Harrap, 1936); T. Mooney and F. White, 'The gentry's winter season' in *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850*, ed. D. Dickson (Dublin, 1987), pp. 1-16.

<sup>63</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*. Barnard, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents*. See also D.M. Beaumont, 'An Irish gentleman in England-the travels of Pole Cosby c1730-35,' in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 149 (1996), pp. 37-54.

<sup>65</sup> Peter Clark & Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Oxford & New York: The British Academy, 2001).

## **Scope of enquiry:**

The debt to British culture and architectural taste, readily evident in surviving fabrics and in the social and material culture of early Georgian Dublin, has been widely acknowledged, and yet no sustained attempt has been made to situate Dublin's ambitious residential developments within the wider British context. This study attempts to fill the gap between Dublin's domestic architecture and the burgeoning architectural culture of early Georgian London, seeking points of correlation between the domestic developments in the two capitals, pointing up the exemplary models at play and the possible means by which they were transmitted. It focuses largely on the pioneering residential developments on the Gardiner Estate on the North-side of Dublin City, specifically Henrietta Street (c.1725-50s) and to a lesser degree Sackville Street Upper (c.1750s), as early exemplars for Dublin's large-scale terraced architecture, and as enterprises which involved the majors players in Dublin's residential development in the first half of the eighteenth century. It attempts to set these schemes within the broader cross-cultural context in which they were created, against the backdrop of the almost contemporary residential expansion in London's West End. The large-sale domestic enterprises on the Burlington and Grosvenor Estates, in particular, provide the foil for these Irish developments. It is the individuals who negotiated these dual arenas, however, that are of major concern of this study, the influential networks they operated in, and the intricate lines of connection they established.

Chapter one will focus on the large numbers of Irish grandees who visited, and indeed resided in London during the early decades of West End expansion. It attempts to create a portrait of this broad grouping of individuals who were united by shared ties to Ireland, and to draw out their cultural experience in the British capital. In doing so, it seeks to highlight the importance of these peers and patrons of architecture as conduits of taste and architectural influence. New protagonists of pivotal importance to Dublin's domestic architectural history are examined, in particular Henry, Earl of Thomond, and Sir Gustavus Hume.

Chapters two and three build upon this picture, providing the connective tissue between the British and Irish architectural culture. Chapter two seeks to weave a clearer picture of the sketchy yet crucially important British context for the early careers of Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle. Drawing together a disparate array of circumstances and threads of connection which these architects enjoyed, this account seeks to shed new light on the formative period of their careers, the circles in which they moved, the people they knew and places they visited, and most importantly, the architectural models they encountered in Britain. The importance of British architects such as Roger Morris and James Gibbs is considered, as is the scientific and military engineering milieu surrounding the royal court.

Chapter three is concerned with the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner and his circle. Delving into the socio-political and cultural context in which this speculative developer and his associates operated, it draws out the influential networks they negotiated on both sides of the Irish Sea,

highlighting the dual importance of public concerns and cultured interests in advancing Gardiner's speculative enterprises and growing business empire. The practical facets of Gardiner's pioneering domestic developments at Henrietta Street, and to a lesser extent at Sackville Street will also be considered, including such under-explored aspects as the development model adopted, the leasehold system employed, and the financial considerations of such enterprises.

In the fourth chapter the buildings themselves take centre stage. Examining a key group of houses on Henrietta Street, it seeks out the principles and practices which informed their design. Comparison will be made between these and other contemporary Dublin examples, and their counterparts in Britain, in an attempt to determine the debt owed to imported architectural models, as well as the effect of local conditions, and in so doing draws out the particular characteristics of Dublin's early Georgian terraced architecture. Those individuals behind the building process will be considered, seeking new insights into the practitioners involved and the broader context in which they operated.

The fifth and final chapter looks behind the red-brick facade of the early Georgian town house, seeking a window into the lives carried on within. As the principal orbit to which Ireland's elites looked in emulation the fashionable taste of London's *beau monde* and the manner in which they furnished and fitted out their *pieds-à-terre* were an essential source of influence in Anglo-Irish architectural exchange. This chapter draws together a diverse range of comparative material from Britain and Ireland in an effort to gain a clearer understanding of how these spaces functioned, not simply in terms of physical layout and daily use, but also the less tangible symbolic role they played in the lives of their occupants. In so doing it will consider the extent to which the residents of Dublin's early Georgian houses were typical of contemporary metropolitan elites. The people who lived in, visited and commented on these buildings are fundamental to this study; focusing largely on the close-knit group of early residents at Henrietta Street, this chapter will move beyond the physical spaces to bring a rich and varied array of material to bear on the lives lived within these houses.

## Chapter 1.

### **The Irish in London: prominent peers and patrons of architecture.**

‘...most of the Hibernian forces are filed off except such as are stationed here and seem to have dropped the most ancient kingdom all to its money.’

Andrew Crotty, London, to Henry Boyle, Dublin. July 1731.

In the early decades of Hanoverian rule large numbers of Ireland’s elite visited London, in search of preferment within the administration, to further their education, for ‘superior’ medical treatment, or simply to enjoy the social season and the patronage of the royal court. Others were more permanently stationed in the British capital, where they moved in the first circles of cultured society and were exposed to the latest trends and taste in British domestic design. More than sixty Irish grandees have been discovered amongst the early residents of London’s West End during the initial decades of its development, many of them prominent figures, politicians, peers and patrons of architecture, while countless others enjoyed more temporary sojourns in the British capital.<sup>66</sup>

Several had close connections within Lord Burlington’s architecturally minded circle, including one of Henrietta Street’s earliest residents, Thomas Carter, Master of the Rolls; others to Lord Percival, the figurehead of the Irish in London, who provided the introduction into leading cultural networks, and helped maintained intricate lines of communication between the two capitals. Other Irish peers such as Viscount Duncannon and the Earl of Thomond aligned themselves with eminent British families such as the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset and Northumberland, while one of the most significant but little known figures in Irish eighteenth century architectural history, Sir Gustavus Hume was intimately connected with the inner court circle of George I. Several of these grandees occupied houses of architectural pretension, Palladian set-pieces by Lord Burlington, Colen Campbell, Henry Flitcroft and Giacomo Leoni, and many more subscribed to popular architectural treatises and tracts. The vast majority of the Irish in London, however, lived in modest speculatively built terraced houses, of a relatively plain and standardised design, but in the most fashionable streets, alongside the most eminent figures in British society, and in close proximity to the foremost architectural exemplars.

This chapter brings these and other protagonists to the fore, attempting to create a portrait of this migrant group and their cultural experience in the British capital, drawing out their significance as potential conduits in the spread of new architectural taste. In mapping out the built environment they were exposed to, not simply the new mode of domestic architecture in London’s West End but the sophisticated building works and courtiers villas surrounding the royal courts at

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<sup>66</sup> See Appendix A for a tabulated list of these residents.

Hampton and Richmond, and by exploring the social and political arenas in which they moved, this study will attempt to situate these influential individuals within London's burgeoning architectural culture, at a significant time for Dublin's residential development. In the process it seeks to uncover contemporary opinion on what constituted good urban architecture.

### **1.1.1 The 'Irishness' of the Irish in London: matters of ethnicity and identity.**

In the early eighteenth century matters of ethnicity, nationality and identity were far more fluid than the modern conception of these terms.<sup>67</sup> According to Ohlmeyer, 'only the Gaelic-speaking Catholic natives regarded themselves as being truly 'Irish,' whereas identity was 'slippery,' and the same individual could enjoy multiple identities, as the circumstances required.<sup>68</sup> In 1729 Thomas Prior published a pamphlet, chastising Ireland's large numbers of absentee landowners for spending their time, and Irish incomes, abroad. Therein Prior divided this group into three categories:

1. 'Those who live constantly abroad and are seldom or never seen in Ireland.'
2. 'Those who live generally abroad and visit Ireland, now and then, for a month or two.'
3. 'Those who live generally in Ireland, but were occasionally absent at the time the said list was take, either for Health, Pleasure, or business...'<sup>69</sup>

Throughout this and the following chapters the term 'Irish' will be used in the broader sense, encompassing those born in Ireland, those of Irish descent and even those with more tenuous links to the kingdom, who held Irish titles and estates. Like Prior, it will include those absentee Irish who made their permanent homes in Britain, as well as those more occasional visitors to the British metropolis. More than ethnicity or nationality this loose grouping of the Irish in London were united by their shared political and economic interests in Ireland.

Of the fifty plus Irish residents listed in Appendix A the vast majority were holders of Irish peerages and estates, Irish MPs or office holders (including military offices on the Irish establishment), the recipients of Irish pensions, and the dependents of the same. Although they may or may not have been of Irish birth or descent, or indeed may or may not have had a physical presence in the country, these individuals derived the majority of their income from Irish sources,

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<sup>67</sup> See McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 6; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 6-7.

<sup>68</sup> Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 7. McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 6, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Prior, *A list of the absentees of Ireland, and the yearly value of their estates and incomes spent abroad : with observations on the present state and condition of that kingdom* (Dublin: R. Gunne, 1729).

therefore they had a major stake holding in the economic and political affairs of Ireland.<sup>70</sup> It is this stake holding which distinguished this synthetic group from those individuals who may have held Irish peerages or titles but had little financial or political interests in the country. The Irish grandees in London, it will be seen, came together, particularly at times when their collective interest were under threat, forming communities of sorts, and established often far reaching (though not necessarily exclusive) socio-political and economic networks, which criss-crossed the Irish Sea. The aim of this chapter, however, is not to explore Irish identity, or indeed how or why these networks formed, but to rather the experience of this group in London, in particular the built environment they were exposed too, the new ideas in domestic design which they encountered and cultural networks in which they operated.

### 1.1.2 ‘The polite end of town:’<sup>71</sup> The Irish in London’s West End.

The opening decades of the eighteenth century saw London spread its reach westward. With peace and prosperity under a new royal house came a building boom which transformed the face of the metropolis. There, in the airy situation of the West End one eye witness described an...

amazing scene of new foundations, not of houses only, but as I might say of new cities, new towns, new squares, and fine buildings, the like of which no city, no town, nay no place in the world can show...<sup>72</sup>

The fields and market gardens of aristocratic landowners were overlaid with a network of wide, regular streets; elegant squares emerged, around which neat rows of brick-built houses sprang up with great rapidity. Here, to the ‘polite end of town,’ Britain’s elite flocked from the crowded city with its narrow winding streets, from the crumbling palaces of the Strand, from the isolation of their country estates; and with them came the Irish in great numbers. A putative journey through the residential districts of London’s West End will serve to map out the built environment inhabited by this migrant group and point up the significance of their choice of habitations.

In February 1719, during a time of crisis for the Irish administration, when the judicature of the Irish House of Lords was under threat, over twenty absentee peers joined together to assert

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<sup>70</sup> A number of sources were consulted and cross referenced in order to establish the criteria for inclusion in this grouping, viz. Prior, *A list of the absentees of Ireland*; Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes, volumes 1-5*; John Burke and John Bernard Burke (eds.), *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England* (London: Scott, Webster, and Geary, 1838); John Burke, *A general and heraldic dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British Empire, vol. I-III*. 5th edition (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley 1832); Burke, John. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 4*. London: Henry Colburn, 1838); Landed Estates Database; Charles Dalton, *George the first’s army 1714-1727, vol. I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1910).

<sup>71</sup> James Ralph, *A critical review of the publick buildings, statues and ornaments, in and about London and Westminster...* (London: J. Wilford, 2nd ed., 1734), p. 26

<sup>72</sup> B. H. Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street; the early history of the neighbourhood* (London: Murray, 1952), p. 172. Extract from an eyewitness account: development of Mayfair in 1725 printed in *Applebee’s Original Weekly Journal* (4 September 1725), quoted in Wheatley, vol. ii, p. 187.

their collective interest.<sup>73</sup> The majority of these lords were long-term residents of London and though they retained loose economical and political ties to Ireland, many held significant positions within the British administration. The older, more easterly parishes' of St. James and St. Anne's proved popular amongst this group in the early decades of the century, where several of the leading figures lived in close quarters to one another, in the same neighbourhoods (fig. 1.1). The fashionable squares of Mayfair were not yet developed, and these parishes attracted London's elite due to their proximity to the royal court and parliament. Many of the streets had been laid out in the late seventeenth century as speculative developments, following the great fire. Little evidence of the buildings survive with which to assess their architectural merit, yet the records of their Irish occupants allow us to situate these Hibernian absentees within the orbit of their distinguished British neighbours.

One such prominent peer was Philip, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Wharton, a powerful yet libertine Tory politician, who was eventually outlawed for his Jacobite sympathies in 1729, but still held an influential position at court in 1719. About 1716 he had leased a large house fronting Piccadilly, on Richard Bull's land. The house was demolished in 1730 to make way for Sackville Street, and only a brief description made in 1723 survives, of a 'very noble House,' 'separate from Piccadilly by a Wall, with green-grown trees before the Gate, a Port Cocher [*sic*], and good Court-yard within.'<sup>74</sup> South of Piccadilly, next to St. James's Palace was Pall Mall, 'a fine long Street... [where] the Houses on the South Side have a pleasant Prospect into the King's Garden.'<sup>75</sup> Here, Wharton's cohort Viscount Percival (later the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Egmont), and his family occupied No. 104 from 1719 until its demolition 1761. As the figure-head of the Irish 'community' in London, Percival regularly received his countrymen here, amid the 'Theatres...Chocolate and Coffee Houses, where the best Company frequents.'<sup>76</sup> Little is known of the house, except that it stood on the south-side of the street, close to the Duke of Schomberg's fine seventeenth-century mansion, and alongside the Star and Garter Inn.

Further south towards Whitehall lay Spring Garden, a small thoroughfare in the North-east of St James' Park where Lord Percival's kinsmen and close acquaintance, the Southwells, had held property since 1699. Strype described it as 'a very large open Place with good built Houses, well

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<sup>73</sup> PRONI T3315/1, correspondence of the 1st Lord Percival: 25 February 1719, Percival to William King, Archbishop of Dublin, refer to a petition to King George signed by 'Lords Catherlough [Wharton], Inchiquinn (*sic*), Barrymore, Shelburne, Grandison, Down, Molesworth, Hillsborough, Castlemaine, Tyreconnell, Limerick, Allington (*sic*), Gowran, Ranelagh, Carbery, Percival, Lanesborough, Southwell, Belmont, Allen, Fitzwilliam [Earl] and Carpenter.

<sup>74</sup> F.H.W Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London, xxxi-xxxii: parish of St. James Westminster part II: north of Piccadilly* (London: Athlone Press, 1963), pp. 342-366.

<sup>75</sup> W. Stow, *Remarks on London, being an exact survey of the cities of London and Westminster...vol. ii*, improved by John Strype, (London: T. Norris & H. Tracy, 1722), p. 81.

<sup>76</sup> John Macky, *A journey through England, vol. I* (London: J. Hooke & T. Caldecott, 1714), p. 107.

inhabited, some of which are large, with good Gardens.<sup>77</sup> Between 1730 and 1755 the site was redeveloped, first by Sir Edward Southwell, a clerk of the Privy Council and former secretary to the Duke of Ormonde, and later his son, although residential building did not commence until the 1750s due to unexpired leaseholds.<sup>78</sup> At the nearby Whitehall Robert, 1st Viscount Molesworth, a prominent whig, steadfast Hanoverian, and founding member of the clique, the ‘new Junta for Architecture,’ leased a substantial plot of ground adjoining the Privy Garden in 1719. This may have been the same site where his son General Richard Molesworth had a house in the 1720s. Although the Molesworths maintained deep ties to Ireland and Irish politics, during the 1720s and 1730s the senior members of this family were largely London-based, where they moved in the first circles.<sup>79</sup>

North of Pall Mall, the aristocratic enclave of St. James’ Square was home to another close acquaintance of Lord Percival, Henry Temple, Lord Palmerston, who leased the newly refurbished house at No. 3 from 1717 until his death in 1757.<sup>80</sup> Although no longer extant, a drawing taken from Kip’s and Nicholl’s views of c.1722 shows an impressively large-scale building, of four storeys with five bays to the front, its tall proportions and segmental fenestration typical of that period.<sup>81</sup> By the late 1720s St. James’s Square was waning in popularity amongst London’s nobility, and was described by Ralph in 1734 as ‘scandalously rude and irregular’ having ‘not any one elegant house in it.’<sup>82</sup> Yet, in 1721 Lord Palmerston had many neighbours of note including the Dukes of Chandos, Dorset, Kent, Norfolk, Portland and Southampton, as well as seven earls, a countess, a baron, and a baronet.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> W. Stow, *Remarks on London*, vol. ii, p. 76 refers to ‘Sir Robert Southwell’s, where the Duke of Northumberland dwells’. The Duke of Northumberland appears to be a title in the Jacobite peerage (alternative titles created and used by Jacobite supporters after 1689; these were recognised by France, Spain, and the Papacy but not under British law) which was awarded to the Duke of Wharton in 1716, and as such this reference may refer to this individual, thus strengthening the ties between this group of Irish peers in London.

<sup>78</sup> G. H. Gater and F. R. Hiorns (eds.), *Survey of London xx: parish of St. Martin-in-fields part III* (London: London County Council, 1940), pp. 58-65, notes that in 1723 Edward Southwell obtained the lease of the open stable yard and a long triangular strip of land next to St James Park on the West, and by the time of his death in 1730 was in possession of the greater part of the ground here. Between 1730 and 1755 Edward Southwell, the younger, re-developed much of site of Spring Garden.

<sup>79</sup> See Cox and Norman, *Survey of London xiii*, pp. 214-220. NLI Molesworth papers, n.4082, p.3753, letters to and from Richard, 3rd Viscount Molesworth, 1727-44, includes various letters to and from ‘Lord Molesworth at his house at Scotland Yard near Charing Cross.... For Robert Molesworth and the New Junta see Edward McParland, ‘Sir Thomas Hewett and the new junta for architecture,’ *Georgian Group Symposium: the role of the amateur architect* (1993), p. 21. Other members of this family can be found living in London during various periods, Captain Molesworth lived at 17 Buckingham Street, St Martin’s in Fields from 1726–34; Sir John Molesworth had a house in Pall Mall in 1757 while the 3rd Viscount’s widow, Mary Jenney Molesworth resided at 49 Brook Street in 1763.

<sup>80</sup> Richard Burridge, *A new review of London* (London: J. Roberts, 1728), lists this square as Lord Palmerston’s town residence; Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xix-xxx, pp. 56-76 notes Lord Palmerston’s presence here in 1721.

<sup>81</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xix-xxx, pp. 83-88.

<sup>82</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xix-xxx, pp. 56-76.

West of St James Square, at the borders of Piccadilly and Green Park, was Arlington Street, ‘one of the most beautiful situations in Europe, for health, and convenience, and beauty.’<sup>84</sup> Many of the deep plots which overlooked the park were redeveloped here in the 1730s, when the street became popular among government ministers. The prime minister Robert Walpole lived here, as did his successor Henry Pelham, for whom William Kent designed a remarkable town house in the 1740s at No. 22 (fig. 1.2). Behind its restrained and extremely modest three-bay façade, removed from the street behind iron railings and paved forecourt, Kent created some of his most spatially exciting and sumptuous interiors. Next door, at No. 21 the Venetian architect, Giacomo Leoni, designed a fine four-bay town house (fig. 1.3) for Richard Boyle, Viscount Shannon in 1738, a figure of particular significance for this study, while Ireland’s first peer, James Fitzgerald, 20th Earl of Kildare (Viscount Leinster of Taplow in the British peerage) was a resident here in 1747, following his marriage to Lady Emily Lennox.<sup>85</sup>

North-east of St James’ (fig. 1.4) was Soho Square, the centre-piece of St Anne’s Parish (fig. 1.5). The houses were generally of mixed architectural character, and like St. James’ were criticised by James Ralph for their ‘irregularity,’ having ‘not the least pretensions to taste or order.’ Commenting on the house of another Irish peer, Viscount Bateman, who resided here from c. 1734-1748,<sup>86</sup> Ralph noted:

My Lord *Bateman*’s house, on the South Side, is built at a good deal of expense, and was meant for Something grand and magnificent; but I am afraid the architect had a very slender notion of what either of them meant...if the lower order could boast of beauties ever so exquisite, the upper is so *Gothique* and absurd, that it would destroy them all.<sup>87</sup>

Ralph’s comments prompt a word of caution on the reliability of contemporary commentators, none came without bias. While earlier writers, such as Strype and Macky seem preoccupied with the grandeur of the Capital and its residents, Ralph’s commentary was coloured by his Palladian prejudice, and concern for regularity. It was the newly laid out residential districts of Mayfair which drew the bulk of Ralph’s praise, and it is to this fashionable quarter, at the borders of Soho and Piccadilly that this itinerary now progresses.

There in 1717 the *Weekly Medley* observed:

Round about the new square, which is building near Oxford Road, there are so many other edifices that a whole magnificent city seems to be risen out of the ground, that one would

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<sup>84</sup> Burridge, *A new review of London*; David Watkin *et al.*, *A house in town, 22 Arlington Street its owners and builders* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1984), p. 104.

<sup>85</sup> The English registry, for the year of our Lord, 1749 (Dublin, 1749), p. 7, Arlington Street listed James Fitz-Gerald’s town residence in 1746/7. Several other Irish peers, namely the Hon. John Bligh (later 1st Earl of Darnley), Lord Tyrconnell, Lord Fitzwilliam and the Earl of Cholmonderly were all listed amongst the elite residents of this street in the first decades of the century.

<sup>86</sup> *The court kalendar compleat*, for the year 1748 lists this as Viscount Bateman’s town residence.

<sup>87</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 72.

wonder how it should find a new set of inhabitants. It is said it will be called by the name of Hanover Square.<sup>88</sup>

But find them it did. From the pioneering development of Hanover Square in 1717 to completion of Berkeley Square in the 1740s, Britain's *beau monde*, and their imitators, flocked to Mayfair's 'airy and elegant'<sup>89</sup> residential districts (fig. 1.6). Here, Irish grandees figured prominently, with over fifty members of this migrant group identified as early residents. There, they occupied fashionable new houses in the best streets and squares, in close proximity to influential members of Britain's governing elite.

From the outset General Lord Scarborough's sophisticated scheme at Hanover Square included one of Ireland's most prominent peers among its earliest residents. These were 'mostly of the military order,'<sup>90</sup> and alongside Marlborough's most distinguished veterans, including no less than seven generals, was the renowned Irish soldier, General Lord Carpenter. A royal favourite who had received a peerage for his faithful service to the crown, Baron George Carpenter had enjoyed a long and distinguished military career, serving alongside Lord Scarborough in the Williamite Wars in Ireland, under Marlborough in Spain and later as Governor of Majorca in place of the Duke of Argyle.<sup>91</sup> He was also a man of some diplomatic skill and was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the German Emperor at the court of Vienna in 1715.<sup>92</sup> He occupied a prominent position amongst the Irish in London and maintained strong family ties in Ireland. Lord Shelburne was also named as an early resident of Hanover Square, before moving to Berkeley Square in the 1750s.<sup>93</sup> Little of the Square's original fabric survives, and it is not possible to assign specific houses to these residents.

The few surviving original houses show an 'unusually demonstrative' German style, which, according to Summerson may have been a compliment to the new Hanoverian dynasty (fig. 1.7).<sup>94</sup> Contemporary comment, however, was more concerned with the 'particular manner' of the square's plan. This was rectangular in shape with paired streets running off it symmetrically, one of which, the funnel shaped St. Georges Street, widened into the square and offered an oblique view of St. Georges church. This 'vista,' according to Ralph 'was calculated to give a noble view of the square

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<sup>88</sup> Extract from 'Hanover Square and neighbourhood,' *Old and New London: Volume 4* (London, 1878), pp. 314-326.

<sup>89</sup> Extract from 'The parishes of the Liberty of Westminster,' *A New History of London: Including Westminster and Southwark* (London, 1773), pp. 717-738.

<sup>90</sup> 'Hanover Square and neighbourhood,' pp. 314-326.

<sup>91</sup> George Carpenter was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, County Kilkenny in 1719.

<sup>92</sup> *Historical Register*, p. 28, entry for Feb. 10th 1732.

<sup>93</sup> 'Hanover Square and neighbourhood,' pp. 314-326.

<sup>94</sup> See John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Praeger, 1945, revised 1970), p. 99. As little of the fabric survives Summerson drew on Malton's commentary in 1792 to make this claim. He asserts that the main feature of this German style was the windows, which were connected into long vertical strips by means of aprons of rusticated stone. Scarborough's loyalty to the new monarch is evident from the names of the streets on his estate.

itself at the entrance,' and may have been planned by the master-builder Thomas Barlow.<sup>95</sup> Ralph's approval of the whole, however, did not extend to its parts:

We have only to lament, that the buildings themselves are not more worthy [of] this pains to shew them to advantage. The west side of Hanover Square is uniform, argues a very tolerable taste in architecture, and deserves a good deal of approbation; but all the rest are intolerable and deserve no attention at all.<sup>96</sup>

In the decade following the square's redevelopment architectural 'taste' shifted toward the Palladian style, and these seemingly unusual and now lost examples of Germanic domestic architecture fell beneath notice.

South of Lord Scarborough's development was Lord Burlington's estate. This drew a number of prominent Irish figures, mainly long-term absentees such as Algernon Coote, Earl of Mountrath and General George Wade, who like many of the tenants on this estate were architectural *aficionados* and moved in Burlington's circle. The estate was laid out from 1718 in a grid-pattern of parallel streets terminated by perpendicular cross-streets; of these Old Burlington Street is the most significant. Here, in 1722 General Wade commissioned Burlington to design a town house befitting his status as a newly elected member for Bath. Wade, born in Kilavally, County Westmeath was 'a man of sundry talents and interests.'<sup>97</sup> A close associate of Burlington's, he was not just a distinguished soldier but a connoisseur and collector, a patron of Italian opera and an avid *bibliophile* who subscribed to John Gay's *Poems*, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725) and Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727). Little is known about the building of his house at No. 29 Old Burlington Street, which commenced about 1723. It was demolished in 1935 without full records being taken. However, the few surviving photos, combined with the two sets of drawings, one by Campbell (fig. 1.8), and another by Burlington's draughtsman Henry Flitcroft (fig. 1.9), allow a reconstruction of this *virtuoso* exercise in Palladian design.

The 'invention' of this small *palazzo*, although assigned to Lord Burlington in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725), is generally recognised as a reproduction of Palladio's 'design for a small palazzo' (fig. 1.10).<sup>98</sup> And whereas contemporary commentators, such as Ralph, praised General Wade's house, 'which tho' small, and little taken notice of, is one of the best things among the new buildings,'<sup>99</sup> a number of incongruities are evident in its design. For instance, the three-storey, five-bay street-front, which was enlivened only by a un-moulded pedestal at first-floor level

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<sup>95</sup> Barlow is known to have planned the site of St George's church for Scarborough and was responsible for planning the Grosvenor development.

<sup>96</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, pp. 73-74

<sup>97</sup> Pamela Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's town architecture* (London: RIBA Heinz Gallery, 1995), p. 60.

<sup>98</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, pp. 495-517. This fact was noted by Count Algarotti writing to Lord Burlington in 1751, when he referred to 'the façade of Palladio which you have had executed for General Wade's house.' Summerson, *Georgian London*, p.101 noted that the 'rusticated garden front [was] cribbed from a Palladio drawing.

<sup>99</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 73.

and a plain plat-band at the cornice, displayed a severe brick facade to the street (fig. 1.11), while in contrast, the stone-faced garden front received much greater elaboration (fig. 1.12). This was articulated with plain shafted pilasters of the Doric order (an appropriate choice for its military occupant), supporting a full classical entablature, complete with *metopes* of alternating *bucrae* and *paterae*, and was punctuated by moulded window surrounds and a central *Serliana*. Other commentators, such as Horace Walpole, noted the impractical nature of No. 29's planning, which was seemingly 'worse contrived on the inside than is conceivable, all to humour the beauty of the front.' According to Walpole the only instruction Wade gave to Burlington concerning its design was that he provide a place to hang Ruben's large cartoon of *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*. But, as Burlington apparently 'found it necessary to have so many correspondent doors,' there was no wall space big enough to hang it!<sup>100</sup>

The adjoining house at No. 30 Old Burlington Street was also commissioned by an Irishman, Algernon Coote, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Mountrath about 1721, when Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell made two sets of designs for Lord Mountrath (fig. 1.13). Although he seems to have lived permanently in Britain, Coote was a member of both the British and Irish parliaments and was made a Privy Councillor of Ireland in 1723. He was also an associate of Lord Burlington, and had been involved in the parliamentary committee in 1717/18 which reported favourably on Burlington's bill to develop his estate. Though he was named as a tenant of the estate from 1720-1, Coote did not take possession of the intended house. He moved instead to St James' Square in 1722, and the first occupant of No. 30 Old Burlington Street was Sir Michael Newton, c.1726.<sup>101</sup> The reason for this change of heart is unclear. Money does not seem to have been the issue, as Coote had married Lady Diana Newport in 1721, an heiress 'as rich and as tipsy as Cacofogo in the comedy.'<sup>102</sup>

The house was demolished in 1930, and only a sliver of the front wall remains. Its chief significance lay in the splendid interiors, some of which are preserved at Buxted Park, Sussex and Godmersham in Kent, and the fact that the façade, at least, was designed Lord Burlington.<sup>103</sup> The drawing by Henry Flitcroft, but inscribed in Lord Burlington's hand, 'For Ld Mountrath, London' shows a large-scale freestanding house, three-storeys by five-bays wide, presumably of brick with stone dressings. Many of its distinguishing features, the engaged Ionic doorway supporting a triangular pediment, the eared architraves, broken by triple keystones, and the blind balustrade

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<sup>100</sup> Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's town architecture*, p. 70; Horace Walpole, *Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol. 1 (London : Rodwell & Martin, 1820), p. 172.

<sup>101</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, p. 505, notes that Lord Mountrath's tenancy was presumably made on presumably according to Sheppard, on the strength of some preparatory lease. Burlington's lawyer, Jabez Collier's account at Hoare's bank shows £1,200 being paid to Coote in 1724, with smaller sums at later dates, perhaps in repayment for money outlaid on No. 30 Old Burlington Street.

<sup>102</sup> Horace Walpole, *The Yale editions of Horace Walpole's correspondence*, vol. 43, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 135, Walpole to to Montague, 1752.

<sup>103</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, pp. 505-6, notes that the wooden balustrading of the staircase at No. 30 Old Burlington has been re-used at Buxted Park, Sussex; another room probably from this house is now at Godmersham Park, Kent, and contains a splendid chimney-piece.

beneath the round headed central window, would become recurrent Palladian motifs.<sup>104</sup> Internally too, there were several features which would prove popular in the more grandiose of terraced town houses, for instance the columnar screen in the entrance hall, and the grand open-well stair in an oblong compartment behind. The stair hall exemplifies the controlled splendour of early Palladian decoration (fig. 1.14). Here, Vitruvian scrolls and tabernacles in plaster are set alongside wreaths, acanthus scrolls, festoons and *putti*, ornamenting the wall surface. The ceiling decoration, which contained a rich plaster boss and spandrels celebrating the Order of Bath, demonstrates that this aspect of the interior, if not all its decoration was carried out under the aegis of Sir Michael Newton, Knight of Bath, who paid £2,200 for the lease and spent £1,151 in fitting out the house in 1725.<sup>105</sup>

Early residents of this street would also have had first-hand knowledge of Colen Campbell's highly influential terrace at Nos. 31-34 Old Burlington Street (fig. 1.15). Here, the continuous astylar façade, which suppressed any articulation of the party walls and was governed by the proportions of an implied order, served as the prototype for eighteenth-century terraced house design. Indeed in 1734 Ralph recommended this range as the model for emulation, noting that the houses were:

Beyond comparison in the finest taste of any common buildings we can find... they have all the elegance that can be given to such a design, and need no ornament to make them remarkable. In a word, I would recommend this now as a sample of the most perfect kind for our modern architects to follow...<sup>106</sup>

Internally these houses also showed some innovations. The ground-plans of the four houses were arranged in mirrored pairs, with the back and front rooms divided by a transverse wall from double height front stair-halls.<sup>107</sup> No. 31 contained a grand staircase, which though dressed with typically Palladian decorative motifs, showed an essentially baroque handling of space (fig. 1.16). William Kent, who may have worked with Lord Burlington at neighbouring No. 30, was responsible for the sumptuous decoration of No. 32 and 34, and included the influential schemes for these interiors in his *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727, fig. 1.17). His clients were Richard Arundell, a close associate of Burlington's at No. 34, and Henry Pelham, Lord of the Treasury, who was not only a friend of Kent's, but also brother-in-law to Arundell, at No. 32 Old Burlington Street.

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<sup>104</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, p. 506, notes that surviving photographs show that the facade was altered slightly in execution.

<sup>105</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, pp. 505-6.

<sup>106</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 73.

<sup>107</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, p. 513.

The Burlington Estate was home to several other Irish residents of note,<sup>108</sup> but it was Sir Richard Grosvenor's contemporary development to the west, which proved most popular amongst the Irish in London. Between 1725 and 1760 over forty Irish grandees gravitated to the principal streets of the Grosvenor Estate. Many factors contributed to the popularity of this district. Its proximity to St James' would have been important, as was its healthy 'airy' situation, due to the prevailing westerly wind.<sup>109</sup> The estate's infrastructure, in the form of its grid pattern of wide, regular streets which allowed ease of movement around the West End, amenities such as the Grosvenor Chapel in South Audley Street, and perhaps even more so, its affordability (the scale of ground rents were good deal lower than surrounding districts),<sup>110</sup> would have increased the development's natural attractions (fig. 1.18). But it was fashion, by and large, and the growing importance of emulative consumption amongst elite society, that was the major driving force behind the Grosvenor Estate's popularity. Recognising this in 1725 Sir Richard Grosvenor assembled his tenants to 'treat them to a splendid entertainment at which the streets newly laid out around Grosvenor Square had been given names,'<sup>111</sup> a marketing exercise which certainly appears to have paid off.

A number of influential peers took houses at Grosvenor Square, the centre-piece of the estate, in its early years of development. Amongst them was the prominent Irish general, George Carpenter, who moved here in 1727 from Hanover Square.<sup>112</sup> His Irish brethren followed. Of the thirty-five titled early residents on Grosvenor Square, seven were Irish peers or their relations, including such prominent men as Algernon Coote, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Mountrath who moved here from St. James' Square in 1731 and William 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Inchiquin who lived at No. 33 from 1731-6.<sup>113</sup> Lady Gowran, widow of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Gowran, was one of eleven titled female rate payers, and several other Irish widows retained the lease of their husband's houses after their

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<sup>108</sup> Lady Caroline Mountjoy, who was on visiting terms with Lady Percival, lived at No. 11 Clifford Street from c. 1731-38; William Conolly, nephew to Speaker Conolly had a house in Clifford Street in 1743. Alan Broderick, 2nd Viscount Middleton, lived at 7 New Burlington Street from 1738-47, where his widow remained until 1755; Lady Fitzwilliam lived at No. 17 Cork Street from 1749-60, while Countess Fitzwilliam the wife of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl lived at No. 2 Old Burlington Street from 1754-69; see Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, pp. 566-572; *The court kalendar compleat*, for the year 1743 for the residents of this estate,

<sup>109</sup> See Cecil Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife, being the life and letters of the Hon. Mrs Edward Boscawen from 1719 to 1716* (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1940), p. 69, following her move to North Audley Street in 1748 Frances Boscawen noted in her journal, 'I don't carry the children to Hyde Park as usual, for I... imagine 'tis not necessary in this airy Audley Street.'

<sup>110</sup> See F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London xxxix: the Grosvenor estate in Mayfair part I general history* (London: Athlone Press, 1977), pp. 17-19.

<sup>111</sup> Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, *Letters of a grandmother, 1732-35*, ed. Gladys Scott Thomson (London: Jonathan Cape, 1943), p. 80, who draws on a reference in Charles Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury vol. I*, p. 168. On June 7<sup>th</sup> of the same year Lady Hervey noted in a letter sent from Bath that 'We had a breakfast on Saturday given by Mr. Byng, at which I believe there were at least fifty or threescore people. Sir Richard Grosvenor gives one to-morrow.' See Mary Lepel, *Letters of Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey*, ed. John Wilson Croker (London: J. Murray, 1821), p. 182, Letter from Lady Hervey to Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, June 7, 1725.

<sup>112</sup> F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London xl: the Grosvenor estate in Mayfair, part II the buildings* (London: Athlone Press, 1980), pp. 112-117. General Carpenter joined fellow veterans, Generals Wills, Handasyde and Lord Scarborough, and the Earl of Albemarle as early military residents of the Square.

<sup>113</sup> See Appendix A for a fuller list of early Irish resident of Grosvenor Square.

deaths.<sup>114</sup> The general trend on the square was towards long term occupancy, of at least ten years or more, due perhaps to the grand scale of the houses. This trend was followed by Irish residents, who in some cases retained the same houses for several generations. For instance, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Carpenter inherited his father's house at No. 40 in 1732 and passed the same to his son in 1749, at which time the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron's widow moved to No. 24.<sup>115</sup> Irish peers were again prominent among the later residents of the square, several of whom inhabited houses that had been previously taken by Irish lessees, suggesting a practice of recommendation among this group.<sup>116</sup> Amongst these were such prominent patrons of the arts as James, Earl of Kildare (later Duke of Leinster) and the 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Abercorn.<sup>117</sup>

But what of the houses? While Grosvenor Square itself was the largest and most regular in London's West End and the buildings around it were grand in scale, many with four-bay street fronts, the relatively plain brick edifices were unadventurous in plan and elevation. Built-up piecemeal, mainly by tradesmen, aside from Simmons's symmetrical east-range (fig. 1.19) and Edward Shepherd's attempt at a palace-front on the north-side (fig. 1.20) there was no architectural composition or unity to the square. Ralph's commentary in 1734 is characteristically scathing noting that though...

'tis generally understood to be the finest of all our squares...it has so few advantages to recommend it...there is no harmony or agreement in the parts which compose it...The triple house on the north side is a wretched attempt at something extraordinary...the east side is the most regular of the four...but then even this is not in taste...The other two sides are little better than a collection of whims, and frolicks in building...<sup>118</sup>

Other sources, however offer a more balanced, or at least more complimentary view. John Gwynn named Grosvenor Square as the model for future West End development, while an early commentator, who wrote under the pseudonym Gonzales, asserted that 'the buildings generally are

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<sup>114</sup> See Julie Schlarman, 'The social geography of Grosvenor Square: mapping gender and politics, 1720-1760,' *The London Journal: a review of Metropolitan society past and present*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003), p.18 who notes the prevalence of female occupancy at Grosvenor Square, particularly widows who acquired the Grosvenor Square residence. upon their husbands deaths; Sheppard, *Survey of London xxxix*, pp. 24-29, names Lady Gowran and Baron Carpenter among the 'noble lenders' who offered mortgages to developers on the Grosvenor Estate. Oliver St George's widow occupied No. 44 after his death in 1731 until 1747, while the Earl of Mountrath's widow continued to pay rates at Nos. 20-21 from 1744-66.

<sup>115</sup> John Fitzpatrick, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Gowran (latterly Earl of Upper Ossory) occupied his mother's house at No. 16 following her departure in 1744.

<sup>116</sup> In 1738 the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Inchiquin moved from No. 33 to No. 24; a decade later the Earl of Blessington occupied No. 24 from 1747-9, while the Dowager Lady Carpenter paid rates here from 1751-62. Other distinguished Irish residents of this later phase include Lady Anne Connolly, mother of Thomas Connolly of Castletown.

<sup>117</sup> There is surprisingly little evidence of the Earls Kildare in London. The 18<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kildare occupied No. 2 Duke Street in 1683, while the 20<sup>th</sup> Earl was a brief resident in Arlington Street in 1747, and at No. 14 Downing Street in 1754, where he was succeeded by brother-in-law Henry Fox from 1755-6. No evidence of Robert Fitzgerald, 19<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kildare, a prominent architectural patron who commissioned Richard Castle to remodel Carton in the 1730s, has been discovered. Fitzgerald did have a number of close connections in London's West End. His brother-in-law, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Inchiquin lived at Grosvenor Square, while his wife's kinsman Henry, Earl of Thomond was a long term resident of Dover Street.

<sup>118</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, pp. 76-7.

the most magnificent we meet with in this great town, though the fronts of the houses are not all alike.<sup>119</sup>

The layout of the houses were also unadventurous with the conventional arrangement of off-centre entrances into grand-scale halls, such as the double-height stair halls found at Nos. 6 and 44. This apparent contentment amongst the early residents of London's West End to inhabit relatively plain and architecturally unremarkable houses, so long as the address was good, is surely significant, and worth bearing in mind when considering a peculiarity of Dublin's later domestic development. All of the original houses occupied by Irish peers have been demolished, and there is little surviving evidence of any great architectural interest save No. 6 Grosvenor Square (demolished in the 1950s), which was occupied by Lady Anne Connolly from 1751-55 and was built c.1727 as part of John Simmons's east-range, while the Earl of Mountrath's house at No. 20 (demolished 1933) formed one of the outer elements of Edward Shepherd's tripartite composition, mirroring the façade of No. 18.<sup>120</sup> Little is known of the interiors of these houses. No. 40 (demolished), contained a staircase seemingly painted by Francesco Riari for Lord Carpenter's son and successor here, whereas a similar painted staircase existed in the stair hall at No. 44, home of Oliver St George (1730-1).<sup>121</sup>

The principal streets leading off Grosvenor Square also attracted large quantities of genteel Irish residents in the first decades of their development. Though not built on such a grand scale as Grosvenor Square, these streets were still a very fashionable address. As at Grosvenor Square the houses were unremarkable, and it seems to have been fashion, and the desire to settle close to ones acquaintance, that drew the Irish to these streets. Brook Street, the main thoroughfare between Grosvenor and Hanover Squares, which was described in 1735 as 'for the most part nobly built and inhabited by People of Quality,'<sup>122</sup> had nine Irish residents in its first four decades. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Mountjoy was one of the streets earliest inhabitants, occupying the large four-bay house at No. 41 from 1725-28, while another prominent Irishman, Sir Gustavus Hume, occupied No. 51 from 1727-9, then recently built by George Pearce, a plumber from St. Martin's who was involved in a number of developments around the city and West End. Although the name Pearce is intriguing, no connection between George Pearce and Edward Lovett Pearce or his Fulham

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<sup>119</sup> John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (London: Gregg, 1766), p.21. Don Manoel Gonzales, 'London in 1731,' *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Consisting of Authentic Writers in Our Own Tongue* (London: Osborne, 1745), p. 142; Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 112-117 referres to Gwynn, who cited the 'reason' for building the Square in such an irregular manner was that if uniformly designed 'it would too much have resembled an Hospital.'

<sup>120</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 112-117 notes that in 1738 Mountrath bought the lease of No. 21 (demolished 1933), also built under the aegis of Shepherd by his brother the plasterer John Shepherd. Mountrath threw the two houses into one, extending the elevational scheme of No. 20 across No. 21, thus putting Shepherd's design out of balance.

<sup>121</sup> The stair-hall at No. 44 is believed to have been painted at the initiative of the builder Scott, as similar work was found in other houses he was associated with. The identity of the painter is unknown, though Mr. Desmond Fitz-Gerald suggested John Laguerre (d. 1748).

<sup>122</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 1-2, who drew on Robert Seymour, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster; vol. II* (1735), p. 666.

relatives can be established.<sup>123</sup> The individual houses occupied by Irish grandees were standard three-storey over-basement, brown-brick structures with red-brick dressings and wooden door-cases. One of the most intact examples, No. 70 (fig. 1.21) was occupied by Brigadier Robert Murray, son of the 1st Earl of Dunmore from 1727-38.

Friendship and family connections may have acted as encouragement to settle here. For example, Capel Moore, son of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Drogheda, lived at No. 71 from 1729-1737, alongside his sister and brother-in-law Sir Gustavus Hume at No. 51 and his nephew's widow Charlotte, Countess of Drogheda, who resided at No. 64 from 1731-5. Schlarman notes the importance of family connections to the social geography of the Grosvenor estate,<sup>124</sup> while according to Stobart neighbourhood also 'appears to have been important as a focus for friendship groupings.' References to 'my neighbour' appear in a significant number of wills in relation to both executors and legatees,' whereas proximity was also important in maintaining friendships during this period.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, when seeking new London lodgings in 1724 the Hon. Mrs. Harcourt remarked:

I should choose Westminster, to be near my friends there, rather than any other part of the town, if I can meet with a house not too large for me, nor in too close a place.<sup>126</sup>

These early residents of Brook Street also lived in close proximity to some of the leading architects of the period, and were thus well acquainted with their domestic output. For instance, Capel Moore lived opposite two modestly scaled town houses designed by Colen Campbell in the mid-1720s, a three-bay structure at No. 78 (rebuilt 1873-5) and Campbell's own house at No. 76 (fig. 1.22). Here, though just two bays wide, Campbell's system of carefully calculated proportions and 'correct' classical detail are typical of his controlled elevations.<sup>127</sup> Though altered in 1871, Campbell's engaged Ionic porch remains, as does the pendentive dome which topped the stair-well. The wall treatment in the back parlour, with its sunken paneling and carved door-cases is a simplified version of Campbell's proposed design, illustrated in his 1729 edition of *The Five*

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<sup>123</sup> A comprehensive trawl was undertaken of genealogical records for St. Martins parish, surrounding parish in the city of London and at Fulham; the London Companies apprenticeship registers and Freeman's registers at the LMA. There appear to have been at least two generations of 'George Pearces' who served as plumbers around St. Martins. George Pearce, possibly senior, was involved at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; and at the Grosvenor Estate Workhouse in 1727. A George Pearce of St. Olave's parish was interred at All Hallows Barkin, by Tower Hill in 1728. A George Pearce, plumber, possibly junior was involved in building at Spring Gardens about 1735, at Sackville Street in 1737 and Argyll Street in the late 1730s, where he collaborated James Gibbs and Roger Morris. George Pearce (plumber of St Martin's and Joseph Pearce (bricklayer of St. Martin's), financed and built at large house at No. 1 Greek Street in the early 1750s.

<sup>124</sup> Schlarman, 'The Social Geography of Grosvenor Square,' p. 20.

<sup>125</sup> See Jon Stobart and Alastair Owens (eds.), *Urban fortunes: property and inheritance in the town 1700-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 188 for discussion of these social networks in Britain during this period, particularly the importance of proximity to friendship during this period.

<sup>126</sup> *Harcourt Papers*, vol. II, pp. 192-193, Elizabeth Harcourt, to her brother Sir John Evelyn, 27 Aug. 1724.

<sup>127</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 2-21, notes that the site of the house, and that of its neighbour at No. 78 (formerly 28), were part of the large 'take' of ground agreed for by Edward Shepherd in 1723; on 1 April 1726 both of these plots were leased, at Shepherd's nomination, to Campbell in consideration that he 'hath at his own costs and charges erected and built or is erecting and building two brick messuages' there.

*Orders of Architecture* (fig. 1.23).<sup>128</sup> Such restrained Palladian design provided a foil for the bolder work by the plasterer and master-builder Edward Shepherd further down the street. Shepherd's own house at No. 72 (fig. 1.24), next-door to Brigadier Robert Murray, with its red brick façade, articulated with quoins and emphatic rustication was more Baroque in its effect, closer to the style of Vanbrugh, while its interior was spatially more inventive. No. 66 Brook Street, which was built on the corner opposite Sir Gustavus Hume's house, contains some of Shepherd's most vigorous, Baroque style plasterwork (fig. 1.25).

At Upper Brook Street, or Little Brook Street as it was originally known, female inhabitants predominated and amongst these the Irish contingent was once again strong. Lady Vane, widow of the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Vane occupied a corner house here from 1739-4; Lady Mary Jenney Molesworth, widow of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Molesworth resided at No. 49 from 1759-63, and the 'adopted' Irish woman Mrs Mary Pendarves, later Mrs Delany leased No. 48 from 1733-41, during the 'high society' period of her life. Sheppard proposed that it was 'perhaps owing to this strong feminine presence here that houses were often to be had on lease for short-term occupation.'<sup>129</sup> In 1752 Lady Burgoyne, newly arrived in town, attested to such a practice in her intention of hiring a ready furnished 'Lodging house' in Upper Brook Street.<sup>130</sup> Men too required shorter term lodgings in the capital and this street was also home to such eminent Irish peers as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Doneraile, Arthur Mohun St Leger, who resided at No. 19 (1742-4) and William Monckton, latterly 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Galway who leased No. 23 from 1751-7.<sup>131</sup> These houses too were un-remarkable. The piecemeal development of the street between 1728 and 1759 was reflected in the varied scale and treatment of the buildings. Frontages ranged from fifteen to fifty-one feet with even greater variation of depth. Most were standard three-storey over-basement brick terraced houses, often with garrets to the attic storey. One of the most intact survivors on the street is No. 23 (fig. 1.26), the modestly scaled house occupied by William Monckton. Here, the arrangement of a top-lit central staircase with closets alongside serving the front and back rooms remains, as does the original wall treatments in a number of rooms.

Moving next to Grosvenor Street, a certain regionality amongst Irish residents is apparent, with a notable concentration from the north-eastern counties taking houses here. These included such eminent figures as Baron Ranelagh, a Cole from County Fermanagh who resided at No. 58 from 1726-1754; Lady Hillsborough of County Down who leased No. 7 in 1725 and again from

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<sup>128</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 2-21.

<sup>129</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* Sheppard draws on Bod. Lib., MS. North d.6, ff. 111, pp.118-19.

<sup>131</sup> Lady Vane's son William 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Vane occupied No. 39 Upper Brook Street briefly in 1742, and may have taken his mother house following her death that year.

1728–9, and Sir William Parsons of Birr in County Offaly who lodged at No. 66 in 1739.<sup>132</sup> Toby Barnard notes a similar tendency occurring around Mary Street and Capel Street in Dublin in the early eighteenth century, where a north-western contingent was also strong.<sup>133</sup> Shared political interests and careers were also important in determining where to settle. Several commentators have noted that the Grosvenor Estate was decidedly ‘whiggish,’ in contrast to the predominantly Tory development on the Cavendish-Harley estates in Marylebone, though there were certainly exceptions to the rule.<sup>134</sup> Grosvenor Street was popular with military men, and included several high ranking Irish officers among its early residents. Henry Pleydell Dawnay 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Downe lived at No. 47 from 1753-60 and the Lieutenant-General Charles Butler occupied No. 53 from 1726 until his death in 1758. Here the grandeur of scale and execution of the ‘finely conceived five-bay façade’ may account for his long occupancy.<sup>135</sup> A similarly strong contingent of Scottish inhabitants can be found among the early residents of this street, which on the one hand stressed the importance of regional ties in settlement patterns, but on the other, given the prominence of Scottish officers in the British military, suggests professional links may also have been a determining factor.<sup>136</sup> Indeed professional connections formed the basis of other regional groupings in the British capital, for instance among Irish residents of the middle orders, such as the legal fraternity which congregated around the Inns of Court, specifically around Essex Street and the Middle Temple or the mercantile stronghold around Moorgate, in the heart of the old city.<sup>137</sup>

Baron Conway's house at No. 16 Grosvenor Street (fig. 1.27), built by the carpenter-turned-architect Thomas Ripley about 1725 was one of the largest and best preserved on the estate.<sup>138</sup> Although the treatment of the brown-brick façade with gauged red-brick dressings to the windows in the upper storeys is typical of the original architectural character of the street, the large-

<sup>132</sup> Additionally Viscount Vane of Dungannon in County Tyrone was a resident of No. 49 from 1735-1736; Francis Seymour-Conway, Baron Conway of Killultagh, County Antrim who occupied No. 16 from 1740-63; Sir John Bellew of Barneath in County Louth, who occupied No. 30 from 1747-51. Other Irish peers who resided on this street included John Villiers, Earl Grandison, resident at No. 49 from 1727-35; Wilmot Vaughan 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Lisburne lived at No. 39 in 1744; John Monckton, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount of Galway resided at No. 63 in 1748.

<sup>133</sup> See Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure, lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 276.

<sup>134</sup> Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 3: North-West* (New Haven and London, 1991), p. 635; Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxi-xxxii, p.458.

<sup>135</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, p. 33, notes there were five high ranking military officers listed as rate payer in 1735.

<sup>136</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 48-57; Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (Dublin: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 178, notes that in the ‘first half eighteenth century, a quarter of all regimental officers and about a fifth of all colonels in the British army were Scots,’ Butler’s older brother, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Ormonde had been an eminent officer, known for assisting fellow Irish men in their military careers, and one of his protégés, Colonel Richard Waring, the younger brother of the amateur architect Samuel Waring, is also believed to have resided on this street in the first half of the century.

<sup>137</sup> See Craig Bailey, *Irish London: middle-class migration in the global eighteenth century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), pp. 78-79, pp. 163-165; Craig Bailey ‘The Nesbitts of London and their networks,’ in *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, ed. David Dickson *et al.* (Gent: Academia Press, 2007), p. 236.

<sup>138</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 48-57 who notes that Walpole’s eldest son, the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Walpole, was first occupant here, though Ripley seems to have retained the leasehold, as he sold the house to Baron Conway in 1740 for £5,000.

scale and broad proportions of this five-bay house is less characteristic of London's terraced houses, and in fact closer to Dublin examples. Indeed, there are certain similarities evident between the disposition of this facade and the design for a five-bay town house, attributed to Richard Castle, in particular the alternate use of straight and segmental arched fenestration and the employment of an emphatic cornice at attic level, so typical of Castle's works (fig. 1.28). As at Grosvenor Square, little evidence of the original interiors of these houses survives, though a rare and illuminating description of such a standard town house interior is offered by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1732, in her account of her daughter, Lady Russell's, newly decorated house in Grosvenor Street:

I have been this morning to see your house, and I really think that it is a very good one. Though several people have larger rooms, what you have is as much as is of any real use to anybody, and the white painting with so much red damask looks mighty handsome. All the hangings are up in the four rooms above the stairs except some pieces that are to be where the glass don't cover all the wainscot... [but] the red won't be finished time enough to have the rooms thoroughly clean and to be rubbed dry before you come to town. And if you come into a room that is but just washed, you will get a cold...<sup>139</sup>

Berkeley Square, built up from 1738 was the last of Mayfair's major residential developments. A fashionable address from the first, the square attracted many distinguished residents. The houses here followed established Palladian conventions, with relatively restrained astylar facades, governed by rigorous proportional control, though more pronounced attenuation than 1720s examples. Brick colour had changed too, from red or pinkish hues to more mellow grey or yellow tones, while a new tendency to treat the ground floor with rusticated stucco or stone is evident from this period. Internally the largely standardised rear staircase plan, with a narrow dogleg stair compartment on the return elevation, predominated. At Berkeley Square there were several exceptional examples, including Kent's idiosyncratic design of No. 44 Berkeley Square (fig. 1.29) for Lady Isabella Finch, 'the most poetic and inventive three-bay terraced house in London.'<sup>140</sup> Here Kent combined Baroque complexities with decoration in the Palladian idiom, concealed behind a restrained facade. The astonishing and dramatic stair-case, with twin wings returning round the sides of a circular well, was 'more admired than imitated' (fig. 1.30).<sup>141</sup>

The pair of houses adjoining at Nos. 45-46 Berkeley Square (fig. 1.31) are of particular interest to the present study. Their design of about 1745 is attributed to the Burlingtonian Henry

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<sup>139</sup> Duchess of Marlborough, *Letters of a grandmother*, pp. 76-7. Extract of a letter from Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Russell, Monday 25<sup>th</sup> September 1732.

<sup>140</sup> Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 34.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

Flitcroft.<sup>142</sup> Behind the pair of sophisticated mirrored stone facades, each four bays wide with chamfered rustication to the ground floor, there is a somewhat *retardataire* plan for the mid-1740s. Almost half the ground-floor space is given over to a two-bay entrance hall with a grand open-well staircase behind, yet rather incongruously, the rear closet wing, of two-storeys ending in a canted bay with simple Venetian motif, is innovative for this date. No. 46 was built for the Irish peer Edward Bligh, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Darnley, whose family were to occupy this house from 1745 to 1835.<sup>143</sup>

Although he held an Irish peerage, and vast estates around Rathmore and Athboy in County Meath, Lord Darnley was largely English-based. He was educated at Westminster and Geneva, and was elevated to the British peerage as Baron Clifton in 1722, succeeding his mother Baroness Theodosia Hyde. His English seat was at Cobham Hall, Kent, a fine red-brick Elizabethan mansion which saw various interventions, by Webb in the seventeenth, and Wyatt in the eighteenth centuries. In London Lord Darnley was a member of the Royal Society and served as a Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick Prince of Wales from 1742 until his untimely death in 1747. Writing to Lord Darnley's sister, Lady Anne Bligh, who had then just returned to Dublin from England, Letitia Bushe remarked:

I am sorry you are not to have more of your Brother's company... but I suppose he values his seat in the English House more than that of ours ...<sup>144</sup>

The Blighs did maintain Irish connections, however, and in 1736 Edward's sister, Lady Mary, married William Tighe, a cousin of Edward Lovett Pearce, who had been involved in the building of Pearce's new theatre.<sup>145</sup> The couple lived mainly at the Tighe's estate at Rosanna County Wicklow, where a fine brick house was built in the mid-1740s (fig. 1.32).<sup>146</sup> Darnley's younger sister, Lady Anne Bligh, was also married to an Irishman, firstly Robert Hawkins-Magill of County Down, and secondly, Bernard Ward, Viscount Bangor.<sup>147</sup>

Many factors attracted the Irish in London to particular districts. The growing importance of fashion, and of creating and maintaining social networks with those of shared kin, interests, and perhaps even ethnicity may account for the concentrated groups of Irish around the West End. More practically too, contemporary sources note the difficulty in procuring lodgings in London. Many new arrivals in the capital, English Provincials, Scots, Welsh and Irish alike, were required to

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<sup>142</sup> Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, p. 500 note that No. 45 was mortgaged to Flitcroft by its lessee, John Devall, mason, in 1744/5.

<sup>143</sup> See B. H. Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street; the early history of the neighbourhood* (London: Murray, 1952).

<sup>144</sup> PRONI D2092/1/6, Letters from Letitia Bushe to Lady Anne Bligh, Dublin, 1739-1940. No date given.

<sup>145</sup> John C. Greene and Gladys L. H. Clark, *The Dublin stage, 1720-1745* (London: Lehigh University Press, 1993), p. 18, notes that on 8 May 1733, Richard Tighe laid the first corner stone of a new theatre at Rainsford Street. He was assisted by his son William, who laid the third Stone and his cousin, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, who laid the fourth.

<sup>146</sup> Turtle Bunbury, *The landed gentry & aristocracy of County Wicklow* (Dublin: Irish Family Names, 2005).

<sup>147</sup> Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes, vol. VI* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2002), p. 212.

stay at inns until a house could be found and there are regular references to visiting Irish having their mail directed to ‘such and such’ an inn or coffee house.<sup>148</sup> Even when temporary lodgings could be procured these were often unsuitable. The aforementioned Lady Burgoyne waited three weeks in the capital before she occupied her lodging house in Upper Brook Street, which then proved to be ‘a most horrid Place’ and ‘so excessively small.’<sup>149</sup>

For many visiting Irish, the first port of call would have been to friends or family. Here, they would have sought temporary lodgings, or advice on more permanent locations.<sup>150</sup> Pole Cosby, who visited the capital in 1722 in search of a wife, went first to his ‘Uncle Philips,’ before taking lodgings in Greek Street, and even then he dined with his uncle everyday thereafter.<sup>151</sup> When Lady Molesworth’s house at No. 49 Upper Brook Street was burnt to the ground in 1763, her brother, Captain Usher, and her brother and sister-in-law, Mr and Mrs Coote Molesworth, were all staying overnight, whereas Marmaduke Coghill stayed at his friends, the Southwells’, house at Spring Garden during his short trip to London in 1735.<sup>152</sup>

In Dublin similar problems were resolved by female relatives who were regularly ‘called on to inspect possible properties and even haggle over prices.’<sup>153</sup> In London Mrs. Francis Boscawen remarked on such a ‘disagreeable employment of house-hunting’ for her brother-in-law in 1748,<sup>154</sup> while Gertrude Savile and her mother were similarly employed by her brother and his Irish wife in 1727.<sup>155</sup> In 1728, when Henry Boyle of Castlemartyr, County Cork and his wife Lady Harriet Boyle, sister to Lord Burlington, came to London for Lady Harriet’s confinement they took

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<sup>148</sup> For example see PRONI T1023/20, Letter from Ed. Maxwell c/o Abington’s Coffee House, c.1730; See Toby Barnard, *The Irish in London and “The London Irish,” ca. 1660–1780,* *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol. 39, no. 1 (January 2015), p. 19 for scarcity of London lodgings, and discussion of a similar tendency among the lower orders, who established unofficial networks arounds inns such as George in Aldersgate Street and the Three Cups in Bread Street, “where the Irish commonly set up.” Bailey, *Irish London*, p. 15, pp. 77-79, p. 217, notes how newly arrived law students also looked to their established Irish brethren to recommend lodging houses and for other practical advice in navigating the metropolis. The Grecian Coffee House, located immediately next to the Middle Temple, was a popular Inn among Irish Law students, and indeed with the Irish mercantile community of the near by ‘Irish Walk.’

<sup>149</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 199-200, who draws on Bodleian Library, MS. North d.6, ff. 111, 118–19.

<sup>150</sup> See Toby Barnard, ‘The Irish in London and “The London Irish,”’ p. 17 & p. 19, on Irish connections as the first port of call for recommendations.

<sup>151</sup> See D. M. Beaumont, ‘An Irish gentleman in England, the travels of Pole Cosby c.1730-35,’ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. CXLIX (1996), pp. 37-54 for his discussion of the travels of Pole Cosby to England, and its importance of such trips in influencing the mental, social and cultural milieu of the Protestant elite in Ireland. See Bailey, *Irish London*, pp. 131-132 for discussion of similar tendencies among middle-class Irish migrants to London.

<sup>152</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 210-221, which refers to Horace Walpole’s Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, vol. VI, 1960, ed. W. S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith and George L. Hann, pp. 138–41; Marmaduke Coghill. *Letters of Marmaduke Coghill 1722-1738*, ed.D.W. Hayton (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2005), pp. 168-9.

<sup>153</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 298.

<sup>154</sup> See Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral’s wife*, p.129, Frances Boscawen to her husband Edward Boscawen, 29 Nov. 1748.

<sup>155</sup> Gertrude Savile, *Secret comment: the diaries of Gertrude Savile 1721-1757*, ed. Alan Saville (Devon: Kingsbridge History Society, 1997), p. 89.

lodgings at King Street, in close proximity to their kinsman at Burlington House,<sup>156</sup> and in 1731, when Lady Harriet returned to the British capital her brother's agent, Andrew Crotty,<sup>157</sup> made enquires into suitable accommodation for her, upon which Cornelius Fitzpatrick offered to the rent her his house, or part of it for the duration of her visit.<sup>158</sup> This practice was evidently followed by the Irish in London, who by locating or recommending lodgings near their own for their family and friends, created these pockets of Irish residents in the grand estates of Mayfair. There, they lived in close proximity to some of the most eminent public figures and cultural brokers of London's *beau monde*, whose neighbouring houses offered influential models for residential developments in Dublin.

### 1.1.3 West End exemplars: detached mansion-houses and Palladian set-pieces.

As well as their immediate neighbours in the terraced houses of Mayfair, the Irish in London's West End lived at close quarters to some of the capital's most noteworthy mansion houses, built by the first peers of the realm. Among the grid-like network of terraced streets and squares of Mayfair were such significant Palladian set-pieces as Burlington House, designed and rebuilt by Gibbs and Campbell from c.1716-1720 (fig. 1.33); Queensbury House, a large scale 'country house' in the city, designed by Giacomo Leoni for John Bligh 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Darnley c.1721 (fig. 1.34); Devonshire House, another example of Kent's restrained town architecture built for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Devonshire from 1734-40 (fig. 1.35), and Pembroke House for the amateur 'Architect Earl,' Lord Pembroke, who collaborated with Campbell on its design c.1724 (fig. 1.36).<sup>159</sup> Little contemporary comment on these houses survives, however the limited observations made in architectural tracts are suggestive of how these houses were viewed, at least by practitioners.

Campbell's façade of Burlington House, completed from c.1717-20, was praised by several contemporaries. The recessed seven-bay front, with engaged Ionic columns above a rusticated base derived from Jones's Queen's House at Greenwich, and was favourably described by the poet John Gay in 1716 as 'Burlington's fair Palace...Beauty within, without Proportion reigns,' though this may have been merely a compliment to the poet's patron, Lord Burlington, beneath whose 'Eye declining Art revives.'<sup>160</sup> Ralph, who dedicated his *Critical Review* to Burlington, simply commented on the surrounding walls 'covering the house entirely' and the 'grand entrance' which

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<sup>156</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/11/7A, Letter from Andrew Crotty, Lismore, [Co. Waterford], to Henry Boyle, King's Street, St James's, London. 9 Feb. 1727/8.

<sup>157</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/2/76A, Letter from Andrew Crotty, London to Henry Boyle, 14 Sept.1731, asking for notification of the date on which Boyle's wife, Harriet, sister of Lord Burlington, proposes to set out on her journey to England, so that he may make the necessary arrangements for her transport and accommodation.

<sup>158</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/11/32, Letter from Cornel[ius] F[it]zpatrick, London, to Henry Boyle, 16 Oct.1731.

<sup>159</sup> For a full account see Steven Brindle, 'Pembroke House, Whitehall,' *The Georgian Group Journal* vol. viii (1998), pp. 88-113.

<sup>160</sup> See Clare Brant and Susan E. Whyman, *Walking the streets of eighteenth-century London: John Gay's trivia (1716)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

was ‘august and beautiful.’<sup>161</sup> Queensbury House was sufficiently complete externally by 1722 to be commended by Macky as ‘a very noble one, the Columns and Windows of the Corinthian Order, of Free-Stone, belonging to Mr. Blythe ...’<sup>162</sup> In 1734 Ralph commented:

I can find no other fault with the Duke of Queensbury’s house but that ‘tis badly situated...in a lane that is unworthy of so grand a building...[and] that it wants wings... The fabric is evidently in the stile of *Inigo Jones*, and not at all unworthy the school of that great master...<sup>163</sup>

Kent’s abbreviated Palladian design for Devonshire House in Piccadilly, illustrated in the 1767 edition of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was never considered a success. The severity of its featureless eleven-bay façade prompted one contemporary critic to remark: ‘It is spacious, and so are the East India Company’s Warehouses.’<sup>164</sup> Similarly, Pembroke House, according to Walpole, was ‘madly built, as my Lord was himself,’ a comment prompted by its puzzling plan, which evidently could not have functioned as a residence. No service stair appears on the plan nor was it clear where servant slept or kitchens were housed, while the saloon and gallery, central rooms which spanned the depth of the house, looked like rooms of parade, but were of small dimensions.<sup>165</sup> The majority of such commentary, however, comes from prescriptive texts, and as with similar critiques of London’s terraced houses, it is unclear if these opinions were shared by the general populace and the occupants of these buildings. An opposing view was voiced in 1732 by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, herself a patron of architecture and critic of Lord Burlington’s Palladianism, who made the barbed recommendation:

I think the best advice I can give you as to finishing any house, is to look upon the buildings of my Lord Herbert’s or Burlington’s, the last of which I think is yet more ridiculous than the first, because his cost an immense sum of money and has nothing in them handsome or of any usage.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 33.

<sup>162</sup> Macky, *A journey through England*, vol. I (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1722), p. 191.

<sup>163</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 72.

<sup>164</sup> Watkin *et al.*, *A house in town*, p. 21, draws on E. Beresford Chancellor, *The private palaces of London past and present* (1908).

<sup>165</sup> See Brindle, ‘Pembroke House,’ who posits that such unusual features in British planning may have derived from the *androne* of a Venetian palace. This plan appears to be from Campbell’s rebuilding in 1724, though the level of input on the part of the ‘architect earl’ Pembroke is unclear.

<sup>166</sup> Duchess of Marlborough, *Letters of a grandmother*, p. 41, extract from a letter written from Scarborough, July 9th 1732.

### 1.2.1 The Irish in London: living ‘out of the world there’?<sup>167</sup>

In 1722 Archbishop King sneeringly remarked upon the low regard in which the Irish absentees in London were held, living ‘as it were out of the world there, and convers[ing] only in a very sneaking private way with one another, without making a figure or having any interest.’<sup>168</sup> While the Irish in London’s West End do appear to have formed groups of a distinct ‘Hibernian’ colouring, were they really so cut off from fashionable British society? Would these Irish grandees have gained admittance into the richly cultured circles of the capital, or infiltrated the entrenched political ranks at St. James’, and more importantly would they have seen beyond the street fronts of the noble residences which surrounded them?

Again we are hampered by a lack of surviving evidence, and a general view of the position occupied by these Irish grandees in London is hard to come by. We do know that Dean Swift was part of the artistic set which congregated in Burlington House in the early 1720s,<sup>169</sup> while Lady Percival was on visiting terms with Lady Burlington.<sup>170</sup> Barnard attests to the elevated levels reached by visiting Irish in such institutions as Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Society of Dilettanti, and the literary salons.<sup>171</sup> We have seen that General Wade and Lord Mountrath moved in the same circles as Lord Burlington, whereas John Bligh, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Darnley was, like Burlington, an original subscriber to the Royal Academy of Music, as well as to a number of important architectural tracts.<sup>172</sup> Although he never occupied Queensbury House, surrendering it to the Charles Douglas 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Queensbury in 1722, following the death of his wife, Bligh was related to the Duke through marriage and maintained this connection after his wife’s death. Moreover, as a Groom of the Bed Chamber to the Prince of Wales in the 1720s Bligh’s son, Lord Darnley, was directly connected to the inner most court circles.

The royal court in London was a crucial arena for Ireland’s elite, intent upon advancement; it was the ‘nerve centre’ which provided ‘access to influential political and patronage networks and to prestigious social circles.’<sup>173</sup> In June of 1731, when the court had moved from St. James’ Palace

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<sup>167</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 336.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* King’s opinion was heavily biased, and these jeering remarks were made as part of an ongoing campaign by King and other so called Irish patriots to take absentee landowners to task for neglecting their responsibilities in Ireland, and removing their wealth from that Kingdom.

<sup>169</sup> Edward Walford, and Walter Thornby, *Old and New London*, vol. iv (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878), p. 262.

<sup>170</sup> See Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival, vol. i, passim*, for various entries in Percival’s diary, including one of Wed. 8 May 1734, made following his son’s loss of an election due to the perceived treachery of Sir Robert Walpole, which noted ‘My wife went up [from Charlton] and visited Lady Burlington upon it’; while on Wed 7<sup>th</sup> July 1736 Percival wrote ‘My wife returned from visiting the Duchess of Marlborough and Countess of Burlington.

<sup>171</sup> Barnard, ‘The Irish in London,’ p. 15.

<sup>172</sup> John Bligh is listed as a subscriber to the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* published in 1717 and to Leoni’s *Alberti* in 1726.

<sup>173</sup> Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 12.

to their summer residences around Richmond a visiting delegation of Irish dignitaries travelled there, bent on such promotion:

On Monday last the Right Hon. the Lord Duncannon, Lord Southwell, Thomas Carter and several other Persons of Distinction, arrived here from Ireland; and on Tuesday they paid their Compliments to his Majesty at Richmond.<sup>174</sup>

At only twelve miles from London and easily accessible by water, Richmond had long been a favoured summer retreat for the Hanoverian monarchs. Although various schemes for building a royal palace here had come to nothing, King George II and Queen Caroline enjoyed two royal residences in Richmond Park in 1731: Ormonde Lodge, a seventeenth-century house set on the north-edge of Deer Park, which had been purchased from the Duke of Ormonde in 1719,<sup>175</sup> and the newly completed *villa suburbana*, White Lodge, in the New Park (fig. 1.37). Numerous courtiers had houses around Richmond, including the first minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who rebuilt Thatch House Lodge in Richmond Park c.1727, and as Egmont's diary makes clear, many others made day trips here to pay court to the King and Queen, during the summer recess.<sup>176</sup> In the week of the Irish delegation's visit to Richmond the King celebrated his accession day at the nearby Palace of Hampton Court, where such nobility as Lord Burlington, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Percival were in attendance, and where Devonshire kissed 'hands for the place of the Privy Seal' and Burlington 'for the office of Captain of the Band of Pensioners.'<sup>177</sup>

Thomas Carter, an examiner at the Court of Chancery, was a prominent figure among this party of delegates. He had attended the Middle Temple in London from 1708-1710, and was a regular visitor to the Britain thereafter. He enjoyed close connections to Lord Burlington's circle through his close friend Henry Boyle, and as shall be seen in subsequent chapters, even visited Burlington's agent during the visit of 1731.<sup>178</sup> Later that year Carter was appointed to the prestigious office of Master of Rolls, presumably the objective of his visit to court, and at about the same time he commissioned a new town house at Dublin's Henrietta Street.

A man of ambition and aspiring taste such as Carter, who drew on a direct London model for his Dublin house, could surely not have failed to be impressed by the splendid new residences being built around Richmond, not only those in the royal parks but the nearby villas of Marble Hill House (c.1729), and Orlean's House at Twickenham. The latter was home to Carter's sister-in-law Lucy Claxton, and her husband James Johnston, former Secretary of State, who had built a brick villa overlooking the Thames in 1710, adding the sumptuous Octagonal Room, by James Gibbs and

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<sup>174</sup> *London Journal*, Saturday, June 12, 1731, Issue 620.

<sup>175</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *London 2: South* (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 507.

<sup>176</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival*, for example, see vol. ii, p.190, entry for Thursday 7 Aug. 1735; see also Saville, *The diaries of Gertrude Savile*, p. 52, entry for 16 Aug.1727, regarding her visit to 'the Kings Gardens' at Richmond 'where by good luck he was walking with a great train after him.'

<sup>177</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. i, p. 192, entry for Fri., 11 June 1731.

<sup>178</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/11/25, Letter from Andrew Crotty, London, to Henry Boyle, 31 July 1731.

the Luganese *stuccatori*, Guisepe Artari and Giovanni Bagutti, about 1720 (fig. 1.38). Johnston was a close confidant of George I and regularly hosted royal visitors in this lavish entertainment space, notably King George in 1724, and Queen Caroline, who dined there with Mrs Johnston in 1729.<sup>179</sup> Carter would also have frequented London's legal quarters, during his time at the Middle Temple, and later in his official capacity at the Kings Bench, where he surely would have encountered the restrained monumentality of Roll House in Chancery Lane, the official residence of his British counterpart, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, which was built by Colen Campbell in 1718, as a gift of the King (fig. 1.39).<sup>180</sup>

Another prominent member of the Irish delegation, Brabazon Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon was also a frequent visitor to the British capital, where he too enjoyed connections in the first circles of society. He was closely related through marriage to General Baron Carpenter,<sup>181</sup> a prominent figure amongst the Irish set in London, and a close friend to both General Wade and Lord Percival, through whom he would have gained admission to the capital's cultural networks.<sup>182</sup> Lord Duncannon's specific agenda for this visit is unclear, though his long term bid for preferment at the British court is self-evident. He also held English estates, at Sysonby near Leicester and Staunton in Nottinghamshire through his wife Sarah Margetson, which required his attention, if not his actual presence during such sojourns in Britain.<sup>183</sup> In 1739 Viscount Duncannon made a most influential alliance with the illustrious Cavendish family, through the marriage of his son, William Ponsonby (styled Lord Duncannon, and later 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bessborough), to Lady Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Devonshire. Later that year Duncannon superseded Henry Boyle as a Commissioner of the Revenue, and was further elevated in the Irish peerage, to the Earldom of Bessborough. In 1743 the Ponsonby-Cavendish alliance was cemented further with the marriage of John Ponsonby and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish. Later that decade, in 1749, Brabazon Ponsonby was made a peer of Great Britain, as Baron Ponsonby of Sysonby, and succeeded to the British House of Lords.<sup>184</sup>

By his marriage into the powerful Cavendish family William Ponsonby would not only have gained admission to Devonshire House in London, but also to the first circles in British

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<sup>179</sup> Miranda Stearn & Mark De Novellis, *Orleans House: a history* (Richmond: Orleans House Gallery, 2008), pp.10-17.

<sup>180</sup> See Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus III*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>181</sup> *St. James's Evening Post*, May 31, 1733-June 2, 1733, Issue 2807, reported that an express had arrived the previous day at Lord Carpenter's [2nd Baron] house at Grosvenor Square to bring him news of his sister, Lady Sarah Duncannon's death.

<sup>182</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival, vol. I*, passim. In his will dated 31 December 1731, George, Lord Carpenter bequeathed a ring 'to my friend, Lt. Gen. Geo. Wade. See Vere Langford Oliver, *The history of the island of Antigua* (London, 1894) p. 117.

<sup>183</sup> William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Leicestershire, and the Small County of Rutland* (1846, Reprint, London: Forgotten Books, 2013), pp. 264-5 notes that Brabazon Ponsonby occasionally resided at Sysonby. See also Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/S/9/20, 28 Nov. 1729, for property transactions involving Lord Duncannon at Staunton, Nottinghamshire.

<sup>184</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, p. 79.

society. Through his father-in-law's agency Ponsonby rose from being secretary to Devonshire (then Lord Lieutenant in Ireland) in 1741,<sup>185</sup> an MP for Derby in 1742, to a Lord of the Admiralty in 1744.<sup>186</sup> He and his wife lived at Cavendish Square from 1742,<sup>187</sup> a fashionable address in Marylebone (but one that does not appear to have been popular amongst the Irish), from where it is safe to presume, they would have paid frequent visits to nearby Devonshire House in Piccadilly. Certainly they made regular trips to Devonshire's country seat at Chatsworth in Derbyshire.<sup>188</sup> William Ponsonby was also admitted to his father-in-law's elevated social circle, frequenting St James' to play at hazard with members of the royal family and attending such grand entertainments as that given by the Duke of Newcastle's at Clermont in 1746, in honour of the Prince of Hesse. The place setting for this exclusive event survives, which shows Lord Duncannon seated with honour amongst the Dukes of Devonshire, Newcastle and Dorset, the Earls of Stair, Harrington and Chesterfield and 'Sir John Legonier [*sic*]' (fig. 1.40).<sup>189</sup>

But is this typical of the position occupied by Irish grandees in London? Toby Barnard, echoing Archbishop King's comments, remarks that 'those living in England suffered rebuffs as provincials with incomes and manners inadequate to their pretensions.'<sup>190</sup> Their seemingly second-class status, combined with a shared political and economic agenda created a solidarity amongst 'the gentlemen of Ireland' in London; who not only resided near each other but also occupied the same social orbit, frequenting the same hostelrys, clubs and societies where they enjoyed the patronage of prominent members of the Anglo-Irish community, such as Viscount Percival, Sir Edward Southwell and Lord Palmerston.<sup>191</sup> According to Barnard these men not only bestirred themselves in the British parliament and at court to promote Irish interests, but also 'welcomed

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<sup>185</sup> William Ponsonby attended his father-in-law to Ireland in 1741, during which sojourn he was returned as a member of parliament for Kilkenny County, see *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Tuesday, September 15, 1741, Issue 2152; and again in 1743, see *General Evening Post*, October 8, 1743-October 11, 1743, Issue 1569.

<sup>186</sup> See *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*, Saturday, December 1, 1744, Issue 157 which notes that Lord Ponsonby was appointed secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Limerick, Lord of Trade at this time.

<sup>187</sup> See *London Gazette*, May 29, 1742-June 1, 1742, Issue 8123 for a notice issued by Ponsonby from this address. His first born son, who died young, was baptised at Marylebone in 1741, while another child was born at Cavendish Square in 1749, see *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, September 26, 1749-September 28, 1749, Issue 567. It is not clear if the Ponsonbys occupied the same house all this time.

<sup>188</sup> The couple were married from Chatsworth in 1739, see *Daily Gazetteer*, Saturday, July 7, 1739, Issue 1262. Later reports such as one in 1749 note the couple returning to London from such a visits, see *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, August 12, 1749-August 15, 1749, Issue 548.

<sup>189</sup> See *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*, January 8, 1746-January 10, 1746, Issue 422; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*, January 9, 1747-January 12, 1747, Issue 578 for reports on gaming parties at St James'; *London Evening Post*, June 10, 1746-June 12, 1746, Issue 2902 for the seating plan for the Duke of Newcastle's dinner at Clermont.

<sup>190</sup> Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland*, p. 30.

<sup>191</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 332. Barnard, 'The Irish in London and "The London Irish,"' p. 18. David O'Shaughnessy, "Tolerably Numerous": Recovering the London Irish of the Eighteenth Century, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol. 39, No.1 (January 2015), p. 6 notes the tendency among Irish middle-class migrants, 'people of disparate backgrounds,' to form networks that could 'variously sustain their identity, advance their professional aspirations, and allow them to orient themselves in the premier city of Europe.'

travellers from the old country, visitors, who by lodging with acquaintances from Ireland ... helped sustain groups with a distinct Irish tone.<sup>192</sup>

Lord Percival was particularly industrious in his 'self appointed' role as 'guardian and spokesman for Irish interest in the Capital,'<sup>193</sup> and his diaries and letters offer valuable insights into this group. Viscount Percival was a prominent public figure, who moved fluidly between multi-centred world of the Georgian metropolis.<sup>194</sup> He enjoyed cordial relations with the first minister Robert Walpole and his brother Horace, on whom he called regularly and dined with on a number of occasions. He was similarly on good terms at court, enjoying the support and attention of both the King and Queen, and the Prince of Wales. He was a constant attendant at both courts in London, and regularly paid his respects at Richmond, Windsor and Hampton Court during the summer recesses. As a major landowner with extensive estates in the province of Munster Percival had a heavily vested interest in the political and economic affairs of Ireland, as well as a more general concern for the well being of the country, and he though he rarely set foot on Irish soil, he used his prominent position in Britain to further Irish interests, particularly in times of crisis.<sup>195</sup> We have seen the great energy with which he rallied his fellow Irish peers in 1719, and similar efforts are evident again in 1730/1 during the Wool Bill, which threatened Ireland's exports and its self-determination or control over the same. During this affair Viscount Percival met with other influential Irish peers in London on a regular basis. For example, on Wednesday the 24th of February 1730/1, he 'went at nine o'clock to Lord Limerick's house, where he met Lord Middleton, Lord Grandison, Ned Southwell...etc,' while on the 15th of March the same gentlemen met at Viscount Percival's house in Pall Mall.

Similarly Percival was at the forefront of the movement for the defence of the privileges of the Irish peers and peeresses when the programme was being arranged for the marriage of the Prince of Orange to the Princess Royal of England in 1733. In this drawn-out affair Percival negotiated with high ranking officials, from Lord Grantham, Walpole, and John Antis, the principal herald at arms, even petitioning the King himself on behalf of the Irish peers. Percival, now the Earl of Egmont, also met regularly with the Irish Lords involved, principally the Earl of Inchiquin,

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<sup>192</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, pp. 330-331.

<sup>193</sup> Coghill. *Letters of Marmaduke Coghill*, p. xii.

<sup>194</sup> See Peter Clark, 'The multi-centred metropolis: the social and cultural landscapes of London, 1600-1840,' in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Two capitals*, p. 255 for further discussion of the multi-centred and fragmented social landscape of Georgian London.

<sup>195</sup> Barnard, 'The Irish in London and "The London Irish,"' p. 18 notes the role these absentee landlords in furthering Irish interests in London.

Lord Carpenter and Lord Southwell, both in public places and at their homes.<sup>196</sup> The affront to their position in society was felt just as keenly by the Irish peeresses in London, and it was reported that on the 13th of November a number of these prominent ladies met at Lady Tilney's to debate the matter.<sup>197</sup> It was this shared investment in the status of the Irish peerage, and the associated political and economic benefits, that inspired such 'solidarity' amongst the Irish in London.

Lord Percival regularly associated with members of this circle. 'Cousin Ned' and 'my young cousin Southwell' were constant visitors to Pall Mall, as were Capel Moore and Lord Palmerstown. Contrary to Bishop King's remarks, these Irish men did not 'converse only in a very sneaking private way with each other,' but mixed with the first circles of British society. On the 8th of January 1729 Percival noted how he 'passed the evening at my cousin Southwell's, where there was music and a great deal of company, Duchess of Norfolk, Lady Gage, Lady Isabella Scot, Earl of Cholmly, [and the ] Duke of Dorset.' On 17 March 1730/1 he 'dined with the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [where] there were Mr Conolly, Lord Grandison, Mr Macartney, Mr Mathews, Mr Skeffington, Sir Richard Mead, Lord Allen, [and] Mr Fox.'<sup>198</sup> Lord Percival also helped to foster a sense of community amongst the Irish in London by regularly entertaining visiting Irish grandees. 'Mr Donnellan, and Bishop Clayton and his lady' visited his house in Pall Mall on several occasion in the spring of 1729/30, as did a 'Mr St Lenger [Ledger]' in January 1729.

The Percivals' country seat at Charlton, just a few hours from the capital, at which the Prince and Princess of Wales had dined in 1733,<sup>199</sup> also hosted the migrant Irish. In the summer of 1731 Lady Londonderry and Lady Donegal dined there, as did 'Mr Coot, of Ireland, with my brother and sister Percival and Mrs Donnellan.'<sup>200</sup> The following summer the Percivals received visits from Lord Mountjoy and Mr Hambden,<sup>201</sup> Dr. Delany and his new wife, 'Mr. Arthur Hill of Ireland' and 'Mr Singleton, Prime Sergeant of Ireland.'<sup>202</sup> Percival in turn 'visited Mr Cox, the

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<sup>196</sup> For example, they met at the Smyrna Coffee house on the 2 Nov. 1733; on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November Percival visited Lord Tilney and Lord Inchiquin at their homes. On November 4<sup>th</sup> Percival met Lord Carpenter at the Coffee House and at Lord Carpenter's house (in Grosvenor Square) on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November. On the same day he called at 'Lord Inchiquin's, Lord Gage's, Lord Pomphrets and Lord Tilney,' and the next day Lord Tullamore called to Pall Mall. On the 11 November, 'E. Of Tilny, E. Of Egmont, Ld. Viscount Middleton, Ld. Visct. Gage, Ld Southwell, Ld. Tullamore, Ld. Carlow, Ld. Carpenter, Ld. Galloway and Ld. Kilmurray' met at Lord Tilney's. On Thursday 7 February 1733 Percival notes that 'The Lords [Irish peers] summoned to meet at 12 o'clock this day at the Half Moon tavern, Pall Mall. See Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. ii, 1734-1738*, p. 47

<sup>197</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, p. 430, entry for 14 Nov. 1733, these included Lady Carpenter, Lady Mountjoy, Lady Shannon, and Lady Egmont .

<sup>198</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, p. 238, entry for Wednesday 17 Mar. 1730/1.

<sup>199</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, entry for Wednesday 17 Mar. 1730/1, pp. 180-81. The prince wrote later to Lord Percival noting that he had 'used it as his own, was over the house, and found nothing missing...'

<sup>200</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, p. 241, entry for 20 May 1731.

<sup>201</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, p. 252, entry for Friday 26 May 1731.

<sup>202</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. i*, p.284, entry for Monday 10th July 1732. On the 22 July 1732 Percival 'went to wish Dr Delany joy on his marriage to Widow Tennison... [Who] had a jointure of 2000 per annum,' see p. 287.

clergyman, of Ireland' in January 1733 and his friend and correspondent Dr. Marmaduke Coghill during the latter's trip to London in September 1735, when he lodged at Sir Edward Southwell's house in Spring Garden.<sup>203</sup> Again, while Lord Percival can be seen to promote solidarity amongst the Irish in London, he also acted as intermediary, introducing Irish visitors into British society, where they doubtlessly experienced the latest ideas current among the cultured set.<sup>204</sup> Viscount Percival's Friday evening concerts at his home in Pall Mall exemplify this. Here, the many Irish attendees mingled with such British grandees as the Earls of Shaftesbury and Grantham, Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir John Evelyn, Horace Walpole, the Duchess of Somerset, and Countess Torrington.

Clubs and charitable societies were also popular social outlets for the Irish in London, where they could meet and share ideas both with members of this circle, or rather as Bailey has found with the middling Irish in London, 'overlapping but separate Irish circles,'<sup>205</sup> and the larger British society. Richard Edgeworth, when training as a barrister in London 'consorted with others from Ireland; he dined regularly with an uncle and joined 'clubs'-small groups of Irish men who met in particular hostelries, the members of at least one of which, the Bulls Head, were reunited in Dublin a decade later.<sup>206</sup> The 'Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland' had a corresponding London branch who had their inaugural meeting in 1735 at the Crown and Anchor tavern near the Strand, and while Irish absentee such as the Earl of Orrery and Sir Edward Southwell tended to act as proprietors,<sup>207</sup> such well-wishing British grandees as the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Pembroke and the Archbishop of Canterbury were also members.<sup>208</sup>

Coffee houses also served as places of rendezvous, where the Irish in London gathered to converse about matters of business and culture. One contemporary noted 'that a man is sooner ask'd about his Coffee-house than his lodgings...[Here] they smook Tobacco, game and read Papers of Intelligence.'<sup>209</sup> Lord Percival would 'spend every day two hours in the evening at the Coffee House, with pleasure and improvement.'<sup>210</sup> His regular haunt, the Smyrna, on the north-side of Pall Mall was a favourite amongst London's political and literary clientele, and the Irish set. Here, according to the Irish writer and politician Richard Steel, those who had 'a mind to be

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<sup>203</sup> Coghill, *Letters of Marmaduke Coghill*, pp. 168-171, refers to this visit where Coghill was also conveyed by the Duke of Dorset, one time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to an audience with the Queen, and later visited Lord Carteret.

<sup>204</sup> See Barnard, *The Irish in London and "The London Irish,"* p. 18 for discussion to the Percival's and Southwells as points of entry for visiting Irish into London society.

<sup>205</sup> Bailey, *London Irish*, p. 111.

<sup>206</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.* Barnard, *The Irish in London and "The London Irish,"* p. 26.

<sup>208</sup> These British lords are listed, among others, as yearly members or subscribers in 'An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin ... (London, 1737).

<sup>209</sup> Anthony Hilliar, *A brief and merry history of Great Britain* (London, 1730) pp. 21-2, quoted in Markman Ellis (eds.), *Eighteenth-century coffee-house culture, vol. I restoration satire* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), p. xii.

<sup>210</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival vol. I*, p. 118, entry for 19 Sept. 1730, Bath.

instructed in the noble sciences of music, poetry, and politics,' would repair 'betwixt the hours of eight and ten at night.'<sup>211</sup> Swift was also a regular visitor to the Smyrna Coffee-house, where he 'sat a while, and saw four or five Irish persons, who are very handsome, genteel fellows.'<sup>212</sup>

Far from 'being out of the world there' the Irish in London appear to have been actively involved in its cultured circles. Many of the Irishmen noted above were prominent patrons of the arts and architecture, and were part of the capital's leading subscription networks, with large quantities of Irish subscribers to London's most popular literary and architectural publications. Volume two of Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, for example, not only listed twenty three Irish peers and gentlemen among its subscribers, but illustrated 'a new design for Lord Percival (fig. 1.41),' the 'noble lord, who has universally encouraged all Arts and Sciences, and that of architecture in a most particular manner.'<sup>213</sup> Leoni's *Alberti* (1726), attracted ten Irish peers,<sup>214</sup> whereas Gibbs' *A book of architecture* (1728) had eight Irish subscribers, including his early patron Lord Percival, whom he had met in Rome in 1709.<sup>215</sup> William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, published the previous year in 1727, not only attracted such prominent London-based Irish subscribers as Lord Burlington's agent Andrew Crotty, Lord Percival and Sir Edward Southwell, but these networks, it appears, extended across the Irish Sea, to their associates in Dublin: to Thomas Carter, Henry Boyle and Luke Gardiner.<sup>216</sup>

### 1.3.1 The Irish in London: absentee peers and patrons of architecture.

Indeed the generality of our country folk, who spend a little time here, and get into any tolerable acquaintance, seem to forget they have any other country, till a knavish receiver or their breaking tenant put them in mind of it.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Henry C. Shelley, *Inns and taverns of Old London* (London: L.C. Page & Co., 1909), p.124, refers to Richard Steel's remarks, published in the *Tatler*, in the early eighteenth century.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.* Shelley draws on Swifts 'Journal to Stella,' published in *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1843, p. 173.

<sup>213</sup> Campbell *Vitruvius Britannicus vol. II*, p. 95-7. 'Irish' (or those holding Iris titles) subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* volume II included the Earl of Arran; Earl of Burlington (2 copies); John Bligh; Earl of Cholmonderly (2 copies); Earl of Coningsby [*sic*]; Viscount Castlecomer; Lord Colrairie [*sic*]; Lord Castlemaine (3 copies); Lord Carpenter; Lord Viscount Gage; Lord Middleton; Late Duke of Ormond; Earl of Orrery; Lord Percival; Dr Pratt Provost of Dublin; Duke of Queensbury; Lord Shelburne; Rt. Hon. Edward Southwell; Sir William Stewart; Lord Viscount Tyrconnel; Duke of Wharton; Lord Bishop of Waterford and the Earl of Thomond. Additional Irish subscribers to Volume III in 1725 included Lord Darnly [*sic*]; Lord Fitzwilliams [*sic*]; Lord Kingsale; Colonel Legonier; William Monck of Ireland, Esq. and Mr John Williamson of Dublin.

<sup>214</sup> These were the Earl of Arran; Earl of Burlington (two setts, one large paper); Earl of Chomondley; Earl of Darnley; Earl of Inchiquin; Lord Visc. Kerry; Lord Visc. Limerick; Lord Percival; Earl of Shelburne and Visc. Tyrconnel.

<sup>215</sup> See Roberts, *Egmont, Diary of Viscount Percival, vols. 1-2*, introduction. The 'Irish' subscribers to Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* were: Lord Colrairie [*sic*]; the Earl Fitzwilliams [*sic*]; Col. Ligoniere [*sic*]; Lord Malpas; Lord Percival; Lord Palmerston; Lord Southwell, and the Earl of Thomond.

<sup>216</sup> Irish subscribers to Kent's *Design of Inigo Jones* included: Lord Burlington (2 setts); Countess of Burlington; Andrew Crotty; Coll Ligoneer [*sic*]; Lord Inchiquin; Lord Percival; Edward Southwell; Lord Thomond; Henry Boyle (2 setts); Thomas Carter; Luke Gardiner; and Lord Bishop of Waterford.

<sup>217</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Letters written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D. D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin...* (London: Davies, 1768), p. 80, Mrs Anne Donnellan, London, to Dean Swift, Dublin, 19th Jan. 1734.

One such prominent absentee peer, who would prove significant to Dublin's residential development, was Henry O'Brien, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Thomond. From the time of his marriage to Elizabeth Seymour, eldest daughter of the 6th Duke of Somerset in 1707, until after his wife's death in 1734, Thomond seems to have determinedly cultivated his British interests and connections. He was returned as MP for Arundel in Hertford in 1713,<sup>218</sup> and created Viscount Tadcaster of York in the British Peerage in October 1714.<sup>219</sup> He received marks of royal favour, carrying the Sword of State before the king at St James' Chapel in January 1717,<sup>220</sup> while in October 1717 Thomond was among a select group of nobles awarded honorary degrees from the King at Cambridge (where his father-in-law was Chancellor).<sup>221</sup> In 1722 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and *Custos Rostulorum* of Essex.<sup>222</sup> In contrast, Thomond appears to have distanced himself from his Irish connections, refusing to stand with his fellow Irish peers when their interests were under threat. His name was conspicuously absent from the 1719 petition, though he had been sworn to the Irish Privy Council in 1714,<sup>223</sup> and again in 1730/1 during the Wool Bill crisis. Perhaps most telling, during the debacle over the procession at the Princess Royal's Wedding in 1734, Thomond was alone among the Irish peers in choosing not to boycott the event. Lord Percival notes attempts by the Irish lords to bring Thomond round, but '...his Lordship, it seems had been worked on by English peers, who strenuously oppose our pretensions to any rank at all.'<sup>224</sup> Rather damningly, Percival remarked 'the Earl of Thomond, who by walking as Viscount Tadcaster of England when Earl of Thomond in Ireland, gave up our rights as far as in him lay.'<sup>225</sup>

Lord Thomond maintained a number of British establishments. His town residence was in Dover Street, a speculative development of c.1683 on Albemarle Ground, south of Mayfair. There are few original survivals here and little evidence of Thomond's house. A draft lease of 1741, discovered within the Petworth Collection, situates the property on the 'Westside of Dover Street,' bounded by the Earl of Oxford's previous residence on the north and Lord Cornwallis's house on the south.<sup>226</sup> A set of inventories of the house, taken in 1725/6, 1738, and 1741 (see appendix b) indicate that it was a standard three-storey over basement structure, with rooms in the garret, of an

<sup>218</sup> See *Post Boy*, September 1, 1713-September 3, 1713.

<sup>219</sup> See *Daily Post*, Thursday, April 30, 1741, Issue 6754.

<sup>220</sup> See *Weekly Packet*, January 26, 1717-February 2, 1717, Issue 239, which notes that the particular occasion was on the anniversary of the Martyrdom of Charles I in January 1717.

<sup>221</sup> *London Gazette*, October 8, 1717-October 12, 1717, Issue 558; *Weekly Packet*, October 12, 1717-October 19, 1717, Issue 276.

<sup>222</sup> *Post Boy*, March 13, 1722-March 15, 1722, Issue 5093.

<sup>223</sup> *Post Boy*, October 5, 1714-October 7, 1714, Issue 3029.

<sup>224</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, Diary of Viscount Percival*, p. 409-10, entry for 2 November 1733.

<sup>225</sup> Roberts, *Egmont, Diary of Viscount Percival*, pp. 409-10, entry for 15 March 1734.

<sup>226</sup> Petworth House Archive, PHA 13718. This tripartite deed of indenture was made between Robert French and William Inchiquin as executors; Charles, Duke Somerset, Lord John Gower and Palmer, as guardians of personal estate of Percy Wyndham O'Brien, an infant under 21, and Anthony Duncomb of Downton in Co Wilts, who leased the property for seven years for £200 per annum.

average scale, probably three-bays in front.<sup>227</sup> The layout too seems indicative of late seventeenth-century planning, with the principal reception rooms located on the ground floor, where the hall, parlour and ‘Gallery’ were found, and the semi-public ‘state’ bedchamber, with its ‘crimson velvet bed,’ and ‘my lady’s’ dressing rooms, with their profusion of walnut seating, to the first floor.<sup>228</sup> The gallery appears to have been the most substantial room and like the other public spaces was finely fitted out with an abundance of exotic and highly fashionable walnut furniture, and dressed with rich damask silks.<sup>229</sup> Though the inventories indicate that alterations took place in the 1730s (perhaps following Lady Thomond’s death in 1734) when a dining room was added to the first floor, and then later moved to the ground floor, no record of the tradesmen or architect involved survive amongst Thomond’s accounts.<sup>230</sup>

Similarly at Lord Thomond’s country seat at Shortgrove in Essex there is little evidence of architectural pretension, though Thomond is believed to have added wings to the late seventeenth-century mansion he bought from Giles Dent, a London merchant, in 1712. Nothing of the original structure survives, but the evidence of various inventories indicate that this was a substantial house of three-storeys over basement with connecting out-offices (see appendix c).<sup>231</sup> The rooms were fitted out with equal concern for fashion and grandeur as found at Thomond’s town residence, showing the same marked preference for walnut furniture, damask and velvet dressings, and for ‘Japanned’ and ‘India’ imports. What is more, it is clear that Lord Thomond intended upon building works at his paternal family seat, Great Billings, Northamptonshire, but seems to have been curtailed by a lack of funds. Thomond’s vast estates, particularly those in Ireland, had been greatly mismanaged during his minority, and a ‘Computation’ made for Thomond in 1713, ‘of what may be owing on Biling’ noted that ‘The Earl cannot think of building a new house in the room of the old ruinous old.’<sup>232</sup>

By the 1720s Thomond’s affairs were in better order, and in 1728 he was further endowed with a gift of Stud House at Hampton Court, originally the official residence of the Master of the

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<sup>227</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond’s house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex. 1725-1727; PHA 11154 Inventories 1741: ‘An inventory of the Goods in the Earl of Thomond’s House Domised by the Earl of Carlingford valued and appraised by Mark Foreward appraiser in 1738; PHA 10933 Accounts of George Morgan in connection with the inventorying and sale of the goods of Henry, Earl of Thomond 1741-1742.

<sup>228</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond’s house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex. 1725-1727.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>230</sup> PHA 14788: Accounts of receipts and expenditure 1736-1741, 1744-1749, probably for the Earls of Thomond. Contains a number of tradesmen’s bill and those for petty expenses, but nothing relating to building of any kind.

<sup>231</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond’s house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex. 1725, 1727; PHA 7360, Inventory of the Earl of Thomond’s goods at Shortgrove, Essex July 1736.

<sup>232</sup> Northamptonshire Record Office, E (GB) 299, September 1713. ‘To the Earl of Thomond.’

Horse, from his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset.<sup>233</sup> Built in the early eighteenth century, alongside various courtiers' pavilions on the trident of radiating avenues in Home Park, this lodge offered Thomond an occasional retreat from town, in the centre of court culture. An inventory taken in 1741 (appendix d) shows it to have been a modest, two-storey structure, which by 1741 was sparsely furnished and seemingly rarely used.<sup>234</sup> Thomond continued to maintain its upkeep, however, and following his demise in 1741 his executor, Robert French, was called upon to settle a 'small debt due to Edward Loton a carpenter at Hampton...'<sup>235</sup> This property, moreover, serves to demonstrate the close connection between Lord Thomond and his wife's family. During the controversy of 1716, when the Duke of Somerset's rivalry with Lord Sunderland, and the scandal surrounding his son-in-law Sir William Wyndham, a suspected Jacobite who was imprisoned in the Tower, forced the Duke to retire from public life, Thomond supported his in-laws interests. He, along with the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Rochester and Lord Gower set bail for Wyndham in June of that year.<sup>236</sup> These connections were maintained in the ensuing years, and as well as a shared interest in public matters, both Thomond and his father-in-law had a passion for horse racing. They were regular attendees at Newmarket,<sup>237</sup> while the Duke bred horses at Stud House.<sup>238</sup> Thomond and his wife would doubtlessly have been frequent visitors at the Duke's various residences, at Bradley House in Wiltshire, illustrated by Colen Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* Volume II (fig. 1.42); at Petworth House in West Sussex (fig. 1.43), and notably at Syon House and Northumberland House in London (fig. 1.44). In 1738, just when Somerset commenced the

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<sup>233</sup> The 6th Duke of Somerset was a favourite of Queen Anne. He was made master of horse in 1702, an office he retained until 1716. As such, Stud House must have been granted to Somerset prior to 1716, though it is unclear how he retained this property on retirement, nor how he was able to give it to his Son-in-law, the Earl of Thomond in 1728, as was indicated by contemporary newspaper reports. *London Evening Post*, September 12, 1728-September 14, 1728, Issue 120; *London Evening Post*, September 17, 1728-September 19, 1728, Issue 122, notes Lord Thomond's intention to live here.

<sup>234</sup> PHA 11154: Inventories 1741, 'An inventory of the Household Furniture of the Right Honble the Earl of Thomond, taken in Studhouse Hampton Court this 6 June 1741.' Compared to Thomond's other residences and the valuation of the goods contained therein was a modest £80.12.6.

<sup>235</sup> PRONI, D2092/1/5, Letter from J. Cartwright, Bury Street, St James's to Robert French, Dublin, 24 Nov. 1741. In 1717 payment was made 'Edward Loton, carpenter, for repairing the espalier fence 44l. 3s. 1d., at Hampton Court Gardens. See *Calendar of Treasury books, Volume 31: 1717* (1960), pp. CXCI-CCXXXIII; Edward Loton, carpenter, of Hampton Wick. received £180 8s. 2d. on 21 Mar 1735, for 'repairs at Hampton Court Park, Richmond Park, and Datchet Bridge.' See *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, Volume 3: 1735-1738* (1900), pp. 98-106 This may have been the same Edward Loton, Carpenter of Hampton upon Thames, whose will was proven in 1756. See NA Kew, PROB 11/822/411, Will of Edward Loton, Carpenter of Hampton upon Thames, Middlesex, 20 May 1756).

<sup>236</sup> See *Weekly Packet*, Saturday, June 23, 1716. Robert Wilson-North and Stephen Porter, 'Witham, Somerset: from Carthusian monastery to country house to Gothic folly,' *Architectural History* vol. 40, (1997), pp. 81-98, which describes Sir William as 'a leading Tory and a friend and active supporter of Viscount Bolingbroke.

<sup>237</sup> *Daily Post*, Wednesday, October 5, 1720, Issue 316. This was probably one of many trips. Prior to the King's visit to Cambridge University in 1717 he had been at New Market. In 1715 at Newmarket the Earl of Thomond had a cock match against John Bromley Esq., while the Duke of Somerset ran his grey filly against the Duke of Devonshire's bay. See *Weekly Journal With Fresh Advices Foreign and Domestick*, Saturday, April 2, 1715. In October 1725 Thomond is noted arriving in town from Newmarket.

<sup>238</sup> The *General Stud Book* lists the Duke of Somerset as the owner of a number of racehorses in the 1720s and 30s which appear to have been stabled at Hampton Court including Red Rose Bald Charlotte; Blacklegs; Hampton Court Childers, Chiddy, Cinnamon, Cupid, Greylegs, and Westbury. See 'Thoroughbred Bloodlines' (1996) [bloodlines.net](http://bloodlines.net) [accessed October 2011].

rebuilding of this ‘noble and spacious’ Jacobean mansion on the Strand, Thomond deposited his valuables here for safe keeping before setting out for Ireland.<sup>239</sup>

Thomond also maintained close connections with his brother-in-law, Sir William Wyndham, who remained in public life, though in a much more diminished role following his arrest in 1715, and served as an MP until his death in 1740. In 1731 they visited Bath together,<sup>240</sup> while in 1738 Thomond named Wyndham as an executor of his will.<sup>241</sup> The Wyndhams occupied No. 27 Southampton Street, on the Duke of Bedford’s ground from 1720-8,<sup>242</sup> and lived at No. 48 Grosvenor Square from 1738–92, next door to Baron Baltimore.<sup>243</sup> Somerset, Thomond and Wyndham were also part of the same subscription networks, and were named as subscribers to Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1722); Kent’s *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727) and Gibbs’ *A book of architecture* (1728). Interestingly, James Gibbs remodelled Witham Park in Somerset for Wyndham c.1717,<sup>244</sup> while in the 1720s Gibbs was employed by Lord Thomond’s next-door neighbour, Lord Harley (another Tory), at his house in Dover Street.<sup>245</sup> Another tantalising thread in this web of connections links James Gibbs and the Swiss-Italian *stuccatore*, Paolo Lafranchini, who worked together in London the 1730s.<sup>246</sup> In 1739 Paolo Lafranchini was brought to Ireland, where he was employed by Thomond’s kinsman at Carton House, County Kildare. His brother, Pietro Lafranchini, who remained in London, worked at Northumberland House in the late 1740s.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> PHA 11154, Inventories 1741 which contains ‘A List of the serl pieces of Plate which did belong to the Rt honble Henry Earl of Thomond, left at his Grace the Duke of Somersetts at Northumberland House Oct 14th 1738.’ See G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler (eds.), *Survey of London XVIII: parish of St. Martin-in-fields part II: The Strand* (London: London County Council, 1937), pp. 10-20 for a detailed discussion on Northumberland House. Roger Morris surveyed Northumberland house in 1738, while fellow Palladian Daniel Garret was employed here in the 1740s.

<sup>240</sup> *Grub Street Journal* (London, England), Thursday, January 21, 1731, Issue 55.

<sup>241</sup> See RD 104/ 260/ 72871. Sir William’s first son Charles succeeded his uncle as the Earl of Egremont, while his second son Percy Wyndham inherited Thomond’s estates and titles, and adopted his surname O’Brien, as a clause in Thomond’s will stipulated.

<sup>242</sup> F.H.W Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London xxxvi: Covent Garden* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 207-18 The house which was erected in 1706 was four storeys high, of four bays, built in a tawny-coloured brick with dressings of fine red brick and painted stone or, more probably stucco.

<sup>243</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London xl*, pp. 112-117.

<sup>244</sup> See Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 341; Wilson and Porter, ‘Witham, Somerset,’ pp. 81-98. Friedman notes that in June 1716, shortly before his release from the Tower, Wyndham wrote, ‘I design to make up as soon as I can the time I have lost in my building, and am therefore going immediately into the Country.’

<sup>245</sup> Friedman, *James Gibbs*, p.21 notes that Gibbs and William Talman and Kent, were members Vandykes Club also called the club of St Luke for ‘Virtuosi [in] London, which was an offshoot of the Virtuosi formed by Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford just before 1720.

<sup>246</sup> Friedman, *James Gibbs*, p. 123, drawing on Palumbo-Fossati (1982) notes that the Ashmolean papers, ASH II 104-6, contains design for ‘unexecuted domestic ceilings with Gibbs architectural framework flamboyantly ornamented in another hand; a note in Italian refers to Paulo Franchini’s willingness to execute work for £85 provided the client paid for scaffolding. Payments to ‘la Franchine’ totalling £105.10.0 are in Drummonds ledgers 1731, p. 165 and 1736, p. 105.

<sup>247</sup> Gater and Wheeler, *Survey of London XVIII*, p. 15 note that ‘The new gallery, erected circa 1749 ... was ornamented with a modillion cornice and decorated frieze and had a coved and panelled ceiling containing classic figures, all of which were ‘richly gilted.’ The plasterwork was by Pietro Franchini... The decorations were in all probability designed by Robert Morris.’

One of the most significant figures encountered amongst the early eighteenth-century Irish residents of London's West End was Sir Gustavus Hume. This little known, yet hugely important architectural patron was instrumental in bringing the German-born architect, Richard Castle, to Ireland around 1728. Hitherto thought to have been resident in County Fermanagh prior to Castle's arrival, it is now clear that Hume was in London, where he had moved with his wife Lady Alice Moore in 1701.<sup>248</sup> Hume held the sought-after position of Groom of the Royal Bedchamber from 1715 until the King's death in 1727, enjoying direct access to the inner (German) court circle of George I.<sup>249</sup> His letters reveal the close contact he enjoyed with George I, particularly after 1717, when a dispute with the Prince of Wales forced the King out of his habitual seclusion.<sup>250</sup> Hume noted how the King then dined in public every day, 'with as much company as his table will hold.' Here, Hume enjoyed a place amongst the 'fifteen guests, invited daily...foreign ambassadors...peers and other persons of distinction.'<sup>251</sup> Demonstrating his intimate acquaintance with the King's temperament, Hume remarked that 'the freer the conversation [was] the more to the King's mind...Thus I was put in mind of Hannover and pirmont [*sic*].'<sup>252</sup> Later he noted the 'ease and quietness' enjoyed by the King and his courtiers on a hunting expedition at Hampton Court.<sup>253</sup>

Far from a retired country squire, Hume was a sophisticated and well travelled courtier. As well as sojourns to the popular resorts of Pyrmont (1714), Bath (1716), Spa (1723), and Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen 1714 & 1723) to improve his health,<sup>254</sup> Sir Gustavus also travelled on more official business. He visited Germany prior to and following the George I's accession to the English throne, in 1714 and 1716. Commenting on Hume's presence in Hanover in June 1714, the influential German minister Monsieur Robethon wrote to Lord Polwarth:

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<sup>248</sup> National Archives of Scotland, GD158/1136; a letter from Doro(thy) Hume, (relict of the rev. George Hume, Tully), Dublin, to Marchmont, 27 Jan. 1701/02 notes that 'I came from Iniskilling along with Sir Gustavus Hume and his lady, who left us about 3 months ago for London where we here they are well.

<sup>249</sup> See John M. Beattie, 'The court of George I and English politics, 1717-1720,' *The English Historical Review* vol. 81, no. 318 (Jan., 1966), pp. 26-37; John M. Beattie, *The English court in the reign of George I.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Sir G Hume was appointed Groom of Bed Chamber on the 15<sup>th</sup> June 1715. The other grooms, Kerr, Tyrrell, Dormer, Howard, Breton, Feilding and Honeywood had all been appointed in September/October 1714, while Finch gained this post in 1719 and the Hon R.S. Herbert on the 25 May 1723.

<sup>250</sup> HMC MSS Polwarth, vol. I, p. 318, Letter of 7 February 1717, Hume wrote to Lord Polwarth, that 'The King locks himself up as formerly and is never seen but at night in the drawing-room'. According to Beattie (1966: 27) in the first two years of the Kings reign 'he took advantage of very few of the innumerable rights and courtesies to which he was entitled.

<sup>251</sup> HMC MSS Polwarth, vol I, p. 320. Letter of August 5<sup>th</sup> 1717 Hume to Polwarth.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>253</sup> HMC MSS Polwarth, vol. I, p. 378, Sir Gustavus Hume to Lord Polwarth, London, 25<sup>th</sup> Oct 1717; see also, p. 47 Sir Gustavus Hume to Lord Polwarth 1716, July 28 Hanover, wherein Hume noted that the 'King arrived [in Hanover] in perfect health the 26<sup>th</sup>' and, p. 256, Sir Gustavus Hume to Lord Polwarth, London, 31st May 1717, wherein Hume notes that the King 'grows fat from want of exercise but enjoys perfect good health.

<sup>254</sup> NAS, GD158/1279, 2 June 1723. By 1723 Sir Gustavus' own health was declining. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June he wrote to his cousin Lord Polwarth from Aix la Chapelle, noting that his health has 'been badly of late that my journey hither was necessary on that account. My wife and son are my companions;' See also NAS, GD158/1279, 5 August 1723 wherein Sir Gustavus wrote from Spa describing the 'tormenting pain' and 'violence of the cholick' in his stomach.

We've been here 5 or 6 days [with] Sir Gustavus Hume, Your Graces relation, man of wit, and of merit.<sup>255</sup>

Hume joined a multitude of British peers who travelled to the German court in these years, to pay their respects to the future monarch. Notably, he followed in the footsteps of such architectural enthusiasts as Sir Andrew Fountaine, who had visited in 1701 and Sir John Vanbrugh who travelled to Hanover in the capacity of *Clarenceux* King of Arms, as part of a special envoy led by Charles Montagu (later a patron of Colen Campbell) in 1706.<sup>256</sup>

Sir Gustavus Hume was a man of no great rank or fortune, and it would appear that he obtained this distinguished position, not from any Irish connection, but through the agency of his Scottish kin, the Humes of Polwarth in North Berwick. His cousin Alexander, Lord Polwarth (later the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Marchmont), a prominent Whig supporter who was instrumental in securing the Hanoverian succession, and had gained royal favour (and the ear of the German ministry) for his role in quashing the 1715 Jacobite rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders,<sup>257</sup> seems to have been particularly influential in this regard. Sir Gustavus, acknowledging these services, wrote from Hanover on 28th July 1716:

I am so full of the sense of all my dear Lord Polwarth's favours that I cannot mention anything else till first I have return'd you ten thousand thanks for them.<sup>258</sup>

He duly repaid his kinsman's efforts, acting as Lord Polwarth's eyes and ears at court throughout latter's absence, when he served as plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark from 1716-1721. Their surviving correspondence demonstrates the importance of Sir Gustavus' Scottish connections, regularly relaying family affairs and news of 'our friends in Scotland' to his kinsman.<sup>259</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly Hume did not subscribe to any of the major architectural publications of this period,<sup>260</sup> but his interest in the subject is borne out by his subsequent patronage in Ireland. He did, however, occupy a number of houses in London, which are likely to

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<sup>255</sup> J. Murray, J (ed.), *A selection from the papers of the earls of Marchmont, in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, vol. II* (London, 1831). This text has been translated from a letter transcribed in French by Rose.

<sup>256</sup> See Barbara Arciszewska, *The Hanoverian court and the triumph of Palladio; the Palladian revival in Hanover and England c1700* (Warsaw: DiG, 2002), p. 291 for a discussion of British travellers to Hanover and the dissemination of Palladian architecture.

<sup>257</sup> Henry Paton, Henry (ed.), *Historical manuscripts commission report on the manuscripts of Lord Polwarth preserved at Mertoun House Berwickshire vol. I* (London, 1911), p. vi notes that Alexander Hume travelled to Hanover in 1709 where, 'he became acquainted with the Elector ...and warmly espoused the cause of his succession.' In 1712 Lord Polwarth again travelled to Hanover, and maintained contact with Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, writing to her from Edinburgh on the 6 January 1714 pledging to support her and her decedent's interests.

<sup>258</sup> HMC MSS Polwarth, vol. I, p. 47, Sir Gustavus Hume to Lord Polwarth, Hanover, 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1716.

<sup>259</sup> See *Polwarth*, vol. I & II, *passim*.

<sup>260</sup> Sir Gustavus Hume did subscribe to a number of British publications including Geeraert Brandt, *The history of the Reformation and other ecclesiastical transactions in and about the Low-Countries, from the beginning of the eighth century* (London: 1720); John Gay's first volume of *Poems on several occasions* (London:1720); Charles King's *The British merchant; or, commerce preserv'd* (London:1721); Piere Coste, *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne* (London:1724); Attilio Ariosti, *Alla Maesta di Giorgio Re* (London: 1728) and Chevalier (Andrew Michael) Ramsay, *The travels of Cyrus* (1730).

have influenced his thinking upon the subject of domestic architecture. He was listed as a prospective tenant of the Burlington Estate in the early 1720s, though he does not appear to have taken up residence here. Rather, he leased No. 4 Kensington Terrace from 1721-24. This house formed part of an irregular range of five houses, built in the 1690s on the future site of Kensington High Street.

While little evidence of the original structures survives, these suburban houses seem to have been large and commodious. No. 4 occupied the widest plot in front, and like its neighbour at No. 5 it seems originally to have been freestanding. Hume and the other early residents of these houses would have been drawn to Kensington by the periodic presence of the court.<sup>261</sup> The importance of the palace at Kensington during this period is indicated by its planned refurbishment, first under Wren and Vanbrugh in 1717, and later by Benson and Campbell, who redesigned a suite of rooms there *c.* 1719. This was the only significant building project of George I's reign, involving many of the leading architectural practitioners of the period, and its notable that Hume was living nearby at Kensington Terrace, and would have been at Kensington Palace in the course of his court duties, during this time, just when William Kent was completing the celebrated interior decoration (and furniture design) of the King's new suite of State Apartments (fig. 1.45).<sup>262</sup>

While Hume does not appear to have associated regularly with Irish circles in London, he was closely involved in the family affairs of his wife, Lady Alice Moore, in the British capital. In 1723 he was party to a property transaction, concerning ground at Spital Fields, along with his wife's kinsmen the Hon. Robert Moore and Henry Moore D.D.<sup>263</sup> In 1724, in a letter regarding the dire financial straits of Hume's brother-in-law, Henry Moore, 4th Earl of Drogheda (who leased houses in James' Street and Conduit Street in the early 1720s), his Lordships London-based agent, William Wilcock, stressed how he 'pleads on behalf of [Lord Drogheda's] family that remain in London... but has not seen Sir Gust. Hume.'<sup>264</sup> What is more, in 1727 following the death of George I, Hume took a house in the newly developed Brook Street, on the Grosvenor Estate. Here, in this fashionable enclave, amongst his wife's kin, Hume was significantly positioned in the thick of London's vanguard of domestic development, surrounded not only by influential residents, but by distinguished architects such as Shepherd and Campbell. We know that Richard Castle was in England in 1725, when he subscribed to Campbell's third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is surely in this context, in the burgeoning architectural culture of London's West End, that Richard Castle first came in contact with his future Irish patron Sir Gustavus Hume.

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<sup>261</sup> Hermione Hobhouse, *Survey of London XLII: Kensington Square to Earl's Court* (London: London County Council, 1986), pp. 99-116.

<sup>262</sup> Adam Bowett, 'George I's furniture at Kensington Palace' *Apollo*, Vol. CLXII, No. 525, New Series (November 2005), pp. 37-47.

<sup>263</sup> Corporation of London Records Office, COL/CCS/CO/13/002, 18 June 1723. Deed between 1. Hon. Robert Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, Esq., and Jane his wife one of the coheirs of George Bohun 2. Hon. Henry Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, DD and the Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume of Kensington, Middx. Bart.

<sup>264</sup> RIA, Caldwell Collection, 12 R 39/130, Letter from W. [William] Wilcock, London, to [Andrew Caldwell], 16 January 1724.

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In the early decades of the eighteenth century scores of Ireland's elite gravitated towards London in search of preferment or position within the Hanoverian administration. This chapter has sought to uncover the experience of these 'Hibernian forces' in the British capital and to draw out the significance of the built environment they encountered there. In the process important new protagonists, of some significance for Dublin's residential development have come to the fore, while intricate lines of connection between the architectural cultures of the two capitals have emerged. Large quantities of Irish grandees have been discovered among the early residents of London's West End, where they lived in the most fashionable streets, shoulder to shoulder with the most eminent public figures and cultural brokers of London's *beau monde*, and alongside some of the foremost examples of domestic architecture. However, like their British neighbours, the majority of 'Irish gentlemen in London,' were content to occupy relatively modest, unremarkable brick-terraced houses, often speculatively built and of a relatively plain or standardised design, so long as the address was good. This tendency would have find parallels in Dublin's residential development, particularly amongst the residents of Henrietta Street's plain brick terraces of the late 1730s.

Through their shared interests and agendas the Irish in London formed close socio-political networks, while the practice of locating or recommending lodgings near their own for their family and friends created pockets of Irish in the grand estates of Mayfair. Yet these groups were not exclusively 'Hibernian' in colouring, nor, as suggested, did the Irish in London live 'out of the world there.' Rather, Ireland's peers and gentry mixed in the first circles of British society and through the agency of figureheads such as Lord Percival, Edward Southwell and General Carpenter infiltrated the capital's foremost cultural and associational networks, and were exposed to the latest trends and tastes in British architectural culture.

Far from uncultivated provincials, these were cosmopolitan and often architecturally minded individuals: several commissioned grand town residences from leading architects of the period and many others subscribed to popular architectural publications, forming far reaching subscription networks which spanned the Irish Sea. The central importance of this group, not only as conduits of taste, but in the dissemination of new ideas in domestic design is borne out by the activities of such prominent peers and patrons of architecture as Thomas Carter, the Ponsonbys, Lord Duncannon, Henry Earl of Thomond and perhaps most crucially, Sir Gustavus Hume. As the patron credited with bringing the German architect Richard Castle to Ireland, Hume's intimate connections within the inner German circle surrounding George I are of the utmost significance. It is to this arena that the next chapter returns to consider the impact of the broader British context on another important group in this Anglo-Irish architectural exchange, Ireland's leading architects, Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle.

## Chapter 2.

### Exemplary practice: Pearce, Castle and the British context.

As there is no Undertaking so entirely new as to bear no relation to some other Work now in Being, it is requisite to examine what Methods have been taken with those that have Succeeded best, what Resemblance they bear to the Case in Hand, and what Improvements may be made upon them.<sup>265</sup>

Richard Castle, *An Essay toward supplying the city of Dublin with water*, 1735.

For Richard Castle, like many of his contemporaries, the close examination of proven exemplars was essential to informing new practice. The impact of such exemplars, specifically recent British models, is readily evident in Dublin's domestic architecture of the early decades of the eighteenth century. The two principal proponents of this new architectural idiom, Richard Castle and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, are known to have visited Britain during the 1720s, where they were exposed to, and in some instances evidently examined, the latest developments in domestic architecture and design. Here, Pearce enjoyed a fledgling architectural practice, while it was also in this arena that Castle is believed to have been introduced to his first Irish patron, and in all probability to Pearce himself. And yet, little is known about this hugely important context for the architects' early careers and architectural formation, and forays into the subject have been hampered by the scarcity of firm documentation.

Threads of evidence when drawn together form a web of connections and circumstances that illuminates this vitally important backdrop for Irish domestic architecture of the early eighteenth century. Just as in a tapestry, dominant strands emerge to create a framework for the lesser threads of evidence. Pearce's family connections in Britain, from the Lovetts of Middle Claydon and their eminent relations, to the Pearces of Norfolk and their Vanbrugh kin, prove paramount. Key figures include General Thomas Pearce, John Buxton and Erasmus Earle, conduits to influential architectural circles and exemplars, while Pearce's military connections also prove crucial, providing the link to eminent architectural patrons such as General Viscount Shannon and General Jean Ligonier, and in turn to leading architects and developers. The significance of military engineering and the scientific milieu surrounding the royal court will be considered, and the likely context in which Richard Castle emerged in Britain. Other evidence suggests compelling links to such prominent architects as James Gibbs and Roger Morris. This chapter sets out to explore these connections, interrogating a range of primary and secondary material, to seek a greater understanding of the context in which Pearce and Castle operated in Britain, the circles in which they moved, the people they knew and places they visited, and most importantly, the buildings and designs which would inform their later Irish practice.

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<sup>265</sup> Richard Castle, *An Essay toward supplying the city of Dublin with water* (Dublin: Syl. Pepyat, 1735), p. 23.

## 2.1. Pearce and Castle: a British connection?

On the 7th of March 1727/8, in the closing lines of his memorandum accompanying the ‘Designs for a Parliam.<sup>1</sup> House in Dublin,’ Edward Lovett Pearce took the opportunity to recommend his draughtsman Richard Castle to the building committee. This is the first firmly documented instance of the professional association between Pearce and Castle, and of Castle’s presence in Ireland. The date is significant, as not only does it mark the commencement of works at the Parliament House, but also saw the beginnings of the pioneering domestic development at Dublin’s Henrietta Street. Pearce, by this time, must have been sufficiently acquainted with Richard Castle to entrust him with the execution of this important commission, while Castle, then working in the wilds of County Fermanagh, was still a stranger in the kingdom, unknown to the committee of potential patrons in Dublin. Both men are known to have visited Britain, and London specifically, in the preceding years.

A set of designs by Pearce, but in Castle’s hand, for a proposed royal palace or Lodge at Richmond in Surrey, offers the earliest evidence of their collaboration. These drawings, which are preserved in the Elton Hall collection at the V&A are believed to have been executed in 1727/8, shortly after the accession of George II.<sup>266</sup> Not only do they offer evidence of collaboration between Pearce and Castle, but stylistically they demonstrate the influence of contemporary British architecture on these architects. Here, the combined sources of Vanbrugh, Campbell and Gibbs are readily apparent. ‘Vanbrugh,’ according to McParland, ‘is brought to mind... by the architectural treatment of the passageways on the ground floor...by the first floor gallery with its distended central space...and by an entrance vestibule flanked by twin staircases (fig. 2.1).’<sup>267</sup> Echoes of the Scottish architect Colen Campbell, and through him or perhaps his published treatise, those of Inigo Jones are also felt. The Richmond Lodge facade (fig. 2.2) is indebted to the experiments of Jones at Whitehall (fig. 2.3), while there is some similarity between the composition of the Richmond elevation and Campbell’s east-front at Houghton, Norfolk (fig. 2.4). Both have a seven bay centrepiece, advancing end-bays complete with *Serliana* and apron balustrades accenting the *piano nobile*.

The detailing in the Richmond drawings, however, is more robust than that of Campbell’s restrained Neo-Palladian manner. The vigorous, almost mannerist handling of the ground storey on the Richmond elevation, the emphatic projecting keystones, grotesque masks and heavily rusticated surrounds, motifs which recur in a number of projects associated with Pearce, are more resonant of the baroque tendencies in James Gibbs’ eclectic style. While it could be argued that Pearce was looking directly to antique sources, by way of Palladio, it is significant that Gibbs’ St-Martin-in-

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<sup>266</sup> Howard Colvin and Maurice Craig, *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce* (Oxford: Roxburge Club, 1964), p. xlii, 15 (no.103); McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 183.

George II ascended the throne in June 1727. McParland notes that Richmond Lodge was settled on Queen Caroline in 1727 ‘and in the following year we hear from the paymaster of the Kings Works Hugh Howard, that ‘at Richmond ... the Queen intends a house in the room of the Old one but this is not yet resolv’d on....’

<sup>267</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 183.

the-Fields was just completed at this time (fig. 2.5), while his illustrated treatise was published in 1728. Gibbs' involvement in the detailing of Houghton Hall (fig. 2.6), a prominent Norfolk estate not far from the Pearce family seat at Whitlingham, is even more thought-provoking.<sup>268</sup> As shall be seen, there is a marked affinity, not only in the detailing, but more generally in the continental eclecticism of James Gibbs and Richard Castle.

The stylistic similarities between Pearce and Castle's work often makes definitive attribution difficult, particularly in their collaborative output, and it is often unclear through which party the various sources were distilled. What is clear is that the architectural models evident in the Richmond drawings, those of Vanbrugh, Campbell and Gibbs (with a definite continental strain) reoccur throughout the later works of Pearce and Castle. That the Richmond drawings are undated thwarts the historian bent on identifying the exact moment of genesis of their professional relationship. The accompanying text, however, indicates that their proposed scheme was solicited. Who then, provided the royal connection necessary to gain such an exalted commission?

### **2.1.1. Richard Castle: exemplary engineering.**

Despite much recent and ongoing investigation, the circumstances of Richard Castle's early career resist elucidation. The scant documentary evidence available, primarily that gleaned from Castle's own writings, combined with an element of circumstantial conjecture, does however, serve to place Castle in Britain in the middle years of the 1720s, just prior to his arrival in Ireland. Furthermore, Castle's subsequent work, both paper and built projects, clearly demonstrates the influence of contemporary British architecture on his formation. So what may confidently be said about these early years before Castle came to Ireland?

The fruits of recent research by Calderon and Dechant provide fascinating insights into Castle's origins. Born David Richardo (later modified to David di Richardi), he was one of four sons of an English-born and English-speaking court Jew, Joseph Richardo, who was employed as the royal inspector of mines at Augustus, Elector of Saxony's court in Dresden. There he oversaw 'supplies, purchases and manufacture to and from foreign places ...of munitions...metals and materials,' and also spent much time in the Netherlands.<sup>269</sup> We learn from testamentary documentation of 1730 that Castle was a royal lieutenant in a corps of engineers, while his brothers, Captain Johann Samuel di Richardi, Captain Benjamin di Richardi and Lieutenant-Major

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<sup>268</sup> John Harris, 'Who designed Houghton?' *Country Life*, CLXXXIII (March 2, 1989), pp. 92-4.

<sup>269</sup> Loreto Calderon and Konrad Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green,' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 174-196.

Daniel von Richardi were also of a military background.<sup>270</sup> Castle's 'Essay on Artificial Navigation,' of c.1730, which alludes to his travels through Europe prior to this date, demonstrates his keen interest in military engineering, fortifications and navigation.

From this source we can reconstruct Castle's journey from Dresden, on the main road-route through Leipzig, Halle, heading north-west through Hanover (where the German-born British monarch George-Louis was Elector), to reach the Baltic port of Hamburg in Northern Germany. This thriving trade town was home to a significant number of German Jews in the early eighteenth century, and marked the gateway to the Dutch trading route in the Baltic. From Hamburg, Castle informs us, he travelled in a flat bottomed ship known as a 'Dutch Smaack,' used for transporting heavy cargo to Amsterdam.<sup>271</sup> Here, he remarked on the 'the great Sluice at Amsterdam, near the Hooyee Maark' and referred to a number of engineering projects he saw in Holland, to canals, bridges and fortifications. He also noted navigation works in France, specially those at Nogent - Sur-Seine.<sup>272</sup> This town in North-central France, where a large seventeenth-century stone bridge spans the river, is considered the highest point navigable upstream on the Seine. From here large ocean going vessels could travel through Paris, along the canalised section to the Seine Maritime, reaching Le Harve, and from thence across the English Channel. Richard Castle arrived there c. 1725, bound for England.

In England Castle's evident interest in navigation continued. His 'Essay...' mentions seeing works on the River Severn at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire.<sup>273</sup> This river was used primarily in the transportation of grain and malt to the port of Bristol. Regular passenger travel had been established from here by 1703, while ships called Trowes were built at Tewkesbury during this period, and large quantities of these vessels were sent via Bristol to Ireland.<sup>274</sup> The nearby manor of Tewkesbury Barton was inherited by William Capell, Earl of Essex in 1721, the year in which the annual horse-races on Severn Ham were established, and attended by the Prince of Wales, who presented a gold cup.<sup>275</sup> Other places of interest in the vicinity include Badminton House, Gloucestershire (fig. 2.7), the principal seat of the Dukes of Beaufort, where in the middle years of the 1720s the 3rd Duke employed the services of the builders Francis and William Smith of

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<sup>270</sup> Calderon and Dechant, 'New Light...', pp. 192-4 note that documents pertaining to this family in the Saxon archives refer to Captain Johann/Joseph Samuel de Richardi, who owned the *Vorwerk Neugarden* in the mining town of Altenberg in Saxony. Daniel von Richardi is described in 1763 as Lieutenant Major and Chevalier Garde, of Golmicau,' while documents appertaining to the sale of the family home in 1731 refer to Benjamin de Richardi as a Captain in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

<sup>271</sup> NLI MS 2737, 'An essay on artificial navigation by Richard Castle written in connection with the construction of the Newry canal.' Illustrated, c.1730, '2nd proposition (section, no page numbers).'

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid*, 5th proposition.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>274</sup> 'The borough of Tewkesbury: Economic history,' *A History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. 8 (1968), 137-146, accessed 20 March, 2012, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

<sup>275</sup> 'The borough of Tewkesbury: Social life and buildings', *A History of the County of Gloucester: vol. 8* (1968), 122-131, accessed 21 March, 2012, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

Warwick to alter the north-front of the house, and James Gibbs designed the end pavilions. Dyrham Park House, near Bristol in Gloucestershire was another important stately mansion, belonging to William Blathwayt, Secretary at War to William III. The Huguenot architect Samuel Hauduroy built the west front here c.1692, while the east front was completed in 1704 by William Talman (fig. 2.8), architect of Chatsworth. Kip's view of 1712 (fig. 2.9) shows a large-scale Dutch-style water garden to the right of the *parterre*, complete with rather sophisticated looking hydraulic features, and another large water pond behind the house. Features, we may speculate, that would have interested Richard Castle.

Castle's interest in water supply and hydraulics is borne out by another treatise published by him in 1735, *An Essay Toward Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*.<sup>276</sup> Therein, Castle notes that the 'plain practical principles' were 'collected from some Remarks I have made in my Travels on the best Works of this Kind, now Subsisting.' These exemplars include 'several works Abroad of this Kind...that were existing at the time I left London,' viz. 'The Machine at London Bridge, New River Water, York Buildings [and] Chelsea Water-Works.'<sup>277</sup> The latter two examples are of particular interest. The York Buildings Company, which according to Castle 'rais'd the Water by a Fire-Engine from the Thames and conveys it into a reservoir near Mary-bone fields,'<sup>278</sup> was pioneering in its use hydraulic technology. The original 'Fire-Engine' was in fact an early steam engine patented by the military engineer Thomas Savery. It was known as the 'Miner's Friend; or An Engine to Raise Water by Fire,' as it was used for pumping water out of mines. Its successor, the Newcomen Engine, was installed at York buildings in 1726, to provide adequate water-supply for the new domestic development on the Cavendish Harley Estate at Marylebone.

The Chelsea Water Works Company, which was incorporated under an act of 1722 and obtained a royal warrant in 1725 to build a reservoir at the eastern edge of Hyde Park, supplied households on the newly developed Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair with water (fig. 2.10). The Grosvenor Estate landlords, who obtained the supply for their tenants, had a stake in this company. Water for the reservoir came from a system of basins and canals which connected to the Thames on the Grosvenor's Pimlico property, by means, according to Castle, of a 'Sluice' in the Tuthill Fields.<sup>279</sup> Castle's remarks not only show his familiarity with the newly developed West End of London, significantly with the Grosvenor and Cavendish-Harley Estates, but also demonstrate a level of technical knowledge of these works that could only have come from close inspection and consultation with the proprietors and technicians involved.

The Huguenot scientist Jean Théophile Désaguliers was an adviser to the York Buildings Company on steam technology. He also served as chaplain to James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos,

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<sup>276</sup> Castle, *Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*, *passim*.

<sup>277</sup> Castle, *Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*, p. 23.

<sup>278</sup> Castle, *Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*, p. 24.

<sup>279</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London: vol. xxxix: The Grosvenor Estate*, pp. 29-30.

who was one of the investors in the company, and employed his skill as a hydraulic engineer on the Duke's elaborate water-garden at Cannons, Middlesex in the early 1720s, eliciting the professional admiration of Nicholas Hawksmoor.<sup>280</sup> Désaguliers also engaged in research into water pipes, gave lectures at the Royal Society which were attended by the royal family, and ran a course in mechanical and experimental philosophy, including experiments in hydrostatics, at his house in Channel Row Westminster c.1723 and in 1725. His volume *A Course of Experimental Philosophy* was published in 1734, the year before Castle's own essay on water supply, and covered many similar subjects areas.<sup>281</sup> It is worth noting that until recently Richard Castle was believed to be of Huguenot origin, and certainly he had ties to this community. The family of his Huguenot wife Jane Truffet, came to Lisburn in Ireland *via* London, while Castle himself is believed to have acted as a sponsor at a Huguenot baptism in London c.1725.<sup>282</sup>

Even more suggestive is the fact that John Molesworth, one-time envoy to Turin and host there to Edward Lovett Pearce, was nominated as a commissioner in the 1722 act for setting up a company to supply Westminster with water, while he in turn appointed his fellow member of the 'New Junta for architecture,' Sir Thomas Hewett as a governor.<sup>283</sup> The Molesworths were certainly part of this 'West End' scientific milieu. Robert 1st Viscount Molesworth was an active member of the Royal Society in London, as was his son General Richard Molesworth, while their interest in hydraulics is borne out by the extensive water-works in the gardens at their estate in Brackenstown, County Dublin, carried out by another New Junta member, and close associate of John Molesworth's, Alessandro Galilei, c.1718. The Florentine architect and hydraulic engineer also worked at Cannons, seemingly in building an orangery alongside James Gibbs, who was engaged in remodelling the house for the Duke of Chandos up until 1719. Galilei was also employed with Nicholas Dubois in developing areas of Brewer Street and Cork Street on the Burlington Estate in London, prior to 1720.<sup>284</sup>

Matters of military engineering, navigation and hydraulics were clearly an important aspect of Richard Castle's professional formation. But what of architecture? Sadly there is no (known) documentation of the architectural models which he encountered over the course of his travels. The

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<sup>280</sup> Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a patron: the patronage and collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674-1744)*, (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2007), p. 84. Hawksmoor commented 'I cannot but own that the water at Cannon's... is the main beauty of that situation and it cost him dear.'

<sup>281</sup> Jean Théophile Désaguliers, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy* (London, 1734). Subscribers to this volume included several Irishmen, namely Trevor Viscount Hillsborough, Col. John Parsons and the Earl of Thomond. Castle was certainly aware of recent experiments in mechanical philosophy and specifically hydrostatics, but as his treatise makes clear, did not give much credence to such 'merely speculative Notions,' Castle, *Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*, p. 2.

<sup>282</sup> I am indebted to David Griffin for this information. No trace of original reference in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* has been located nor the original baptism record in the French Protestant Church of London (Eglise Protestante Francaise de Londres), originally in Threadneedle Street, now in Soho Square.

<sup>283</sup> HMC *Reports on manuscripts in various collections*, vol. viii (1913), pp. 199–274, 359.

<sup>284</sup> Elisabeth Kieven. 'Galilei, Alessandro,' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 12, 2013, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.elib.tcd.ie/subscriber/article/grove/art/T030459>.

sale of Castle's household effects in 1752, which included 'his curious and valuable collection of books in Architecture, fortification & all parts of polite literature,' points to his varied interests in these subjects, though regrettably the catalogue of titles contained therein has not been discovered.<sup>285</sup> Castle's surviving works, however, combined with a few tantalising documentary references offer clues as to his formative influences. In 1725 'Mr Richard Castle, Gent' subscribed to Colen Campbell's third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which was sold from the author's house 'in Middle Scotland Yard, Whitehall; And by Joseph Smith, at the Sign of Inigo Jones' Head, near Exeter-Change, in the Strand.'<sup>286</sup> This influential compendium contained a range of buildings in the Palladian style favoured by Campbell, among which were his own Jonesian examples (fig. 2.11), as well as the illustrations of Jones' own works at Greenwich Hospital and Amesbury (fig. 2.12), had a clear influence on Castle's later output (fig. 2.13). The volume also contained many Baroque style buildings, such as Hawksmoor's Castle Howard, and several works by Sir John Vanbrugh (fig. 2.14).

The influence of Vanbrugh on the Richmond Palace drawings has been noted, and though no documented connection has been discovered, it has been suggested that it was in Vanbrugh's office, which was located at his house (fig. 2.15) in Whitehall from 1709, that Vanbrugh's kinsman Pearce first met Richard Castle.<sup>287</sup> Vanbrugh's house, dubbed 'Goose-Pie House' because of its squat proportions and idiosyncratic elevation, was located in the administrative heart of Whitehall Court, in close proximity to a range of government offices and chambers. Colen Campbell's aforementioned house at Scotland Yard was nearby, while perhaps more notably General Richard Molesworth, brother of John Molesworth, military superior and kinsman to Pearce, also had a house in Scotland Yard in the 1720s.<sup>288</sup> In addition, Colen Campbell, along with his assistant Roger Morris, was employed in the vicinity at this time, in building the 'Architect Earl,' Henry Herbert's new Palladian mansion, Pembroke House at Whitehall.<sup>289</sup>

An even more tentative, yet tantalising thread of connection to London's Palladian circles is suggested by an entry in the customer ledgers of Hoare's private bank, where on January 14th 1725, on the teller floor at the Fleet Street branch in London, a 'Mr Castle' opened an account,

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<sup>285</sup> The *Dublin Journal*, Sat May 23<sup>rd</sup>–Tues. May 26<sup>th</sup> 1752.

<sup>286</sup> Colen Campbell, *The third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus: or, The British architect* (London: Smith, 1725), title page. Mr Richard Castle, Gent. and Mr Richard Castell are the last two subscribers under 'C' in this volume.

<sup>287</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 185; Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1977), p. 443 notes Vanbrugh had fitted up an office in the Whitehall house in 1709.

<sup>288</sup> NLI Molesworth papers, n.4082, p.3753, letters to and from Richard, 3rd Viscount Molesworth, 1727-44, includes various letters to and from 'Lord Molesworth at his house at Scotland Yard near charing cross...'

<sup>289</sup> For a full account see Steven Brindle, "Pembroke House, Whitehall," *The Georgian Group Journal* vol. VIII (1998): pp. 88-113.

directly before a transaction was conducted by Roger Morris.<sup>290</sup> As well as his collaborative works with Campbell, Morris was the co-designer, with Lord Pembroke, of Marble Hill (fig. 2.16): a compact Palladian villa built from 1724 for Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, and mistress of George II, at Twickenham. In 1727 Morris was appointed Clerk of Works at White Lodge in Richmond, for George I (fig. 2.17), and in 1728 he was connected with the interior work at No. 30 Old Burlington Street, a house of Pearcean significance.<sup>291</sup> Pearce and Morris, as we shall see, were to have direct dealings in the early 1730s. But beyond this circumstantial evidence there is little else to connect Richard Castle with Palladian or Burlingtonian circles in London.

Castle's drawing style, it has been noted, was very close to that of Henry Flitcroft, draughtsman to Lord Burlington, while a debt to Campbell's Burlington House is evident in Castle's entrance elevation of Leinster House in Dublin (fig. 2.18). Earlier British models, however, also appear to have influenced Richard Castle's later domestic output. Writing in the 1750s Richard Pococke likened Castle's facade of Westport House, County Mayo, designed c.1730 for Mr. John Browne, (fig. 2.19), to Bedford House, in London. He writes:

It is much like Bedford House in Bloomsbury Square, except that it has a pavilion in the middle over the Attick Story, in which there is a large Convenient Bed chamber for the young people, of the size of the hall...<sup>292</sup>

Bedford House (demolished 1800) was built as Southampton House from 1638-40. The architect of this 'detached *hotel particulier*, with rustic, *piano nobile* and attick storeys, hipped roof and dormers' is unknown, although affinities to Jones and Webb have been noted.<sup>293</sup> The house was altered in the mid-1730s, but it is interesting to note that a pre-1733 plan for Bedford House, held at the archive of Woburn Abbey, shows the adoption of the double-pile ground plan, 'with a square entrance hall, flanked by a pair of two-bay rooms.'<sup>294</sup> the plan type so favoured by Castle in his country house designs of the 1730s and 1740s. Furthermore, a surviving summary of building accounts for the redecoration of the interior of Bedford House include a payment of £324 10s to 'Paul Lafranchini,' the Swiss-Italian *stuccodore*, for work between January 10th and February 16th

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<sup>290</sup> Hoare & Co. Bank, Customer Ledger 27, fo. 403. Three notes were lodged between January and October of this year against this account, all of which were cashed within days. Unfortunately, no other details or information on this account holder is recorded. It is interesting to note, however, that entries in the customer ledger would have been added from the day book in the order transactions were carried on the teller floors. I am indebted to Pamela Hunter, archivist at Hoare and Company Bank Museum and Archive, both for her assistance in examining these ledgers and for explaining such daily banking operations at this time.

<sup>291</sup> Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, 'Roger Morris,' pp. 705-709.

<sup>292</sup> Richard Pococke, *Richard Pococke's Irish tours*, ed. John McVeagh (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), p. 88: entry on the 11th August 1752.

<sup>293</sup> Giles Worsley, 'The 'best turned' house of the Duke of Bedford,' *Georgian Group Journal* vol. vi (1996), pp. 63-64. Bedford House (as Southampton House was known after 1705) was completely overhauled between 1733 and 1736 by the fourth duke of Bedford. It is possible that Castle had seen plans for this prior to construction of Westport House, but as the major alteration to the exterior during 1730s involved the addition of the west wing, not the main facade it is more likely that Castle drew on the seventeenth-century design for inspiration.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

1736, just a few years prior to his collaboration with Richard Castle at Carton in County Kildare.<sup>295</sup> Similarly, a comprehensive trawl of all extant domestic buildings, illustrated in the forty plus volumes of the *Survey of London* reveals close stylistic similarities between the transitional-style terraces found around Clifford Street, on the Burlington Estate and Castle's urban domestic designs, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 4. The elongated proportions of the facades are close to Castle's town house designs, as is the employment of segmental arched fenestration, which at Clifford Street is marked out with gauged rubbed-brick surrounds (fig. 2.20).

Of all the other contemporary British practitioners, the work of the Scottish architect, James Gibbs is most clearly comparable to that of Richard Castle. Gibbs, we should remember was the original architect of Burlington House, while he was the most prolific and popular domestic architect active during the period when Castle was in London. A Catholic with a large Tory client-base, Gibbs was employed extensively on the Cavendish-Harley Estate in the 1720s, and made a design for the Duke of Chandos' monumental town house, which was intended to take up one entire side of Cavendish Square. Between 1723 and 1727 Gibbs took long leases on four houses, at No. 5 and Nos. 9-11 Henrietta Street, which stood opposite the Marylebone Chapel, a restrained brick-faced chapel of ease which Gibbs had designed for Edward Harley in 1722 (fig. 2.21). Gibbs occupied the house at No. 5 from 1731 until his death in 1754. Although the houses at Henrietta Street no longer survive, a contract of 1723 refers to a narrow 25ft wide building here, of red and grey brick, while a lease of 1724 describes:

A uniform and continued Building ...with straight or Compass Arches and Returns of Jambs of the windows to be Rubbed Brick or Stone, The Parapet Walls to be coped with Stone and other proper ornaments.<sup>296</sup>

These houses were probably of a similar, fairly plain-brick style to those on adjoining Welbeck Street (fig. 2.22), which was built-up concurrently in the 1720s, while the arched windows with rubbed-brick surrounds, again closer to early eighteenth-century models than Palladian exemplars, may have been similar to those on the side elevation of Gibbs' chapel opposite.<sup>297</sup> No. 11 Henrietta Street, built from 1723-7 is particularly important. Behind the restrained brick-facade and modest scale plan, was a splendid interior, complete with elaborate wood carving and a fine stucco ceiling, executed in the late baroque manner by the Luganese *stuccatori* Giuseppe Artari and Giovanni Bagutti, which has been recreated in the V&A (fig. 2.23). As well as stylistic similarities, and the tendency to employ Swiss-Italian *stuccatori*, another thread connects Gibbs and Castle, namely one Johann Borlach, Gibbs' draughtsman. As Casey notes, 'Borlach...was a Dresden Jew of English

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<sup>295</sup> Worsley, 'The 'best turned' house,' p. 69. This plasterwork appears to have been in the ballroom in the new west wing.

<sup>296</sup> Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 29.

<sup>297</sup> I am indebted to Dr Olivia Horsfall Turner, Victoria and Albert, for bringing these examples to my attention.

ancestry whose career trajectory has uncanny parallels with that of Richard Castle.<sup>298</sup> Borlach's brother, Johann (Jan) Gottfried Borlach, was an acclaimed Saxon mining engineer who was employed during this period at the Royal salt-mines in Poland and moved in the same intellectual orbit as Désaguliers.<sup>299</sup> That two Dresden Jews, of English ancestry, with connections in Saxony's royal mining works, both in *Hanoverian* London in the mid-1720s and both moving in engineering and architectural circles, were unconnected seems highly improbable.

The Hanoverian monarch, George I, was a soldier king, with a great interest and experience in military matters. The majority of his court appointments in Britain went to military men, including the important position of Master of the Ordnance to the solid Duke of Argyll in 1725, and the surveyorship of 'Gardens and Waters' to Sir (previously Captain) John Vanbrugh in 1715. The King's interest in scientific and engineering projects is borne out, not only from his attendance at the Royal Society, but by the extensive hydraulic works undertaken in the Great Garden at the royal residence of Herrenhausen in Hanover (fig. 2.24). The focal point of the garden, the great fountain, which was inaugurated in 1719 during a visit by George I, was the highest fountain in European courts, and was based upon the ideas of the Saxon-born scientist Gottfried Leibniz. George I certainly extended his patronage to those of German origin, he was attended by German servants at St James', his closest advisers came from the German Chancery in London, while the German-born composer Handel was a royal favourite, famously composing *Water Music* at George I's request for the great Thames River Pageant in July 1717. A contemporary newspaper report has been discovered, which rather inexplicably yet intriguingly notes that:

Four persons, who Work'd in the Mines in Germany, and are Excellent Musicians, are newly arrived from thence, and Play before His Majesty every Evening while His Majesty is at Supper.<sup>300</sup>

It is surely within this context that we must consider Richard Castle's sojourn in Britain? That his first known patron in these islands, Sir Gustavus Hume, was intimately connected to the royal court, reinforces the proposition. Hume, as noted in the previous chapter, occupied an important position within in the household of King George I, as a Groom of the Royal Bedchamber. Hume's letters reveal the close contact he enjoyed with the monarch, he attended the King at his various royal residences, even accompanying him to Hanover in 1716. In the previous year Hume had been sent to Dublin as one of the 'stewards appointed to celebrate his majesties birthday.'<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Christine Casey, 'Grand tour: the passage of migrant craftsmen from Lake Lugano to County Kildare' in *Irish provincial cultures in the Long eighteenth century: making the middle sort*, eds. Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. 58.

<sup>299</sup> Johann/Jan Gottfried Borlach worked at Leipzig, Saxony c.1716. He was brought from Saxony as an expert consultant to the royal salt mines in Wieliczka near Krakow in this period and designed the August Passage, built from 1723-1743 at the Bochnia salt mine. Here, his greatest achievement was to regulate routes in the mine by ensuring their straightening and levelling. See Johannes Mager, *Johann Gottfried Borlach :ein biografischer Abriss anlässlich seines 300. Geburtstage* (Halle: Bad Dürrenberg, 1990).

<sup>300</sup> *Daily Journal*, Monday, July 10, 1721, Issue CXLV.

<sup>301</sup> BL Add MS 61639, f161f, Gustavus Hume to J. Robethon. Dublin May 17<sup>th</sup> 1715.

Correspondence from this period between Hume and Jean Robethon, Hanoverian Secretary of State in the German Chancery at London, offers further evidence of Sir Gustavus' close connection to the royal court, and specifically the German Chancery. It also serves to delineate Hume's role in establishing a militia force in County Fermanagh during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, while his letters contain regular reports to Robethon on the military position of those loyal to the King in Ireland, and their great need for arms and ammunition to support his cause.<sup>302</sup>

It is pertinent, therefore, to consider Sir Gustavus Hume's architectural connections. Surprisingly, apart from his patronage of Richard Castle (and subsequent recommendations to his circle of acquaintance) there is little evidence of Hume's interest in this area. Certainly, Hume was placed in the thick of the cultural milieu at court and lived in one of the most fashionable newly developed streets in Mayfair, yet no direct connections to any of the architecturally minded-circles or practitioners active in London at this time have been discovered, nor is he listed amongst the subscribers to any of the major architectural publications of the day.<sup>303</sup> He did however, patronise the Ulster-Scotch mathematician and surveyor William Starrat during this period, evidently acting as the subscription agent for Starrat's scientific volume, *The doctrine of projectiles demonstrated and apply'd to all the most useful problems in practical gunnery c.1730*. An advertisement in *Pue's Occurrences*, following Hume's death in 1731 noted:

Whereas a considerable number of Rt Hon. And Hon. Lords & Gentlemen subscribed for Wm Starrat's Bk of Gunnery, on a paper presented them by the late Rt Hon Sir Gustavus Hume Bart. Which paper is by his death lost or mislaid. This is therefore to give notice, that all such subscribers as are pleased to return their names with an account of the subscription paid by them to Darley Clarke, Esq. in the Custom Hse or to Mr Samuel Powell printer Crane Lane Dublin before the 25<sup>th</sup> April next.

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<sup>302</sup> BL Stowe MS 228: Hanover Papers vol. VII. f121 Letter to Jean Robethon in Sir Gustavus' hand, Dublin, September 24<sup>th</sup> 1715. Wherein Hume notes 'We have formed four militia regiments from the Protestant inhabitants of the County Fermanagh, there will be such efforts made in all parts of the north as I hope will be of singular service in case of need, but we are almost entirely destitute of arms and ammunition...'

f142 Letter to Jean Robethon in Sir Gustavus' hand, Dublin October 8<sup>th</sup> 1715, notes 'What I have writ with relation to our affairs in this kingdom I hope by your care will be speedily laid before his majesty, and it were to be wished that men so willing to fight as ours are (especially in the north) should not be under any kind of incapacity, at least of defending themselves and their country from any sudden invasion or ensuing rebellion.'

<sup>303</sup> These include: Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 3 vols. (London, Campbell, 1717-1725); Giacomo Leoni, ed. & Nicholas Dubois, trans., *The Architecture of A. Palladio, in four books* (London: John Watts, 1715-1720); Giacomo Leoni, ed., *Della architettura di Leon Battista Alberti*, 3 vols. (London: Edlin, 1726); William Kent, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (London: Kent, 1727); Giacomo Leoni, *Some designs for buildings both public and private...* (London: Leoni, 1728); Robert Morris, *An essay in defense of ancient architecture* (London: D. Browne, W. Bickerton, J. Pote and J. Walthoe, 1728); James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London: William Bowyer, 1728); Colen Campbell, *Andrea Palladio's five orders of architecture* (London: Samuel Harding, 1729).

The list of subscribers to this volume is a veritable role-call of Pearce and Castle's early patrons, and includes the architects themselves.<sup>304</sup> Though not a professional soldier, Hume was clearly interested in military matters, in arms and munitions, and in water engineering and navigation. In 1727, when still resident in London, Hume was one of the commissioners of an act brought before the Irish Parliament 'to encourage the draining and improvement of Bogs, and unprofitable low ground, and for easing and Dispatching the inland Carriage and Conveyance of Goods,' essentially an act to make several rivers and bogs navigable.<sup>305</sup> An estate map of Castle Hume from 1768, which illustrates the modestly scaled classical house designed by Castle c.1729, shows a significant amount of marsh and bog ground throughout the estate, while the house and surrounding gardens (complete with 'Fish Pond'), stood at the edge of a long peninsula, which projected out into waters of Lough Erne (fig. 2.25).<sup>306</sup>

Was Richard Castle brought to Castle Hume for his architectural talent alone, or was it his expertise in water engineering and navigation that initially recommended Castle to Sir Gustavus Hume? We know that Pearce was acquainted with Hume, however loosely. They were both MPs in the Irish House of Parliament, and though Hume was still listed as an absentee in 1729, he did attend parliament on occasion during this period, probably more often after George I's death in 1727.<sup>307</sup> The aforementioned act ultimately led to the navigation works on the Newry canal, which Pearce and subsequently Castle directed. Furthermore, one of Pearce's early patrons, 'Mr Creighton' (probably General David Creighton, as his son Abraham did not succeed to the Crom estate until 1728), for whom Pearce designed a folly or gazebo on Gad Isle in Lough Erne, was intimately connected to Gustavus Hume.<sup>308</sup> In 1715 Hume had written to the German-minister Robethon, recommending Brigadier David Creighton, 'a very particular friend of mine' for military preferment, which was soon forthcoming.<sup>309</sup> In 1716, during a Royal visit to Hanover, when Hume

<sup>304</sup> *Pue's Occurrences* Sat. 31 March-Tues. 3 April 1733.

Subscribers to William Starrat's *The doctrine of projectiles demonstrated and apply'd to all the most useful problems in practical gunnery* (Dublin: S. Powel, 1733) included Henry Brooke; William Conolly; Lord Bishop of Clogher; **Mr. Castle**; Lord Duncannon; National. Clements; Abraham Creighton; William Graham, Esq.; Sirens Ralph Gore; Arthur Dobbs; Right Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume Bart.; Robert French; Arthur Hill; Earl of Kildare; Lord Mountjoy (x6); Thomas Lill; Lords Molesworth (x2); Hercules Rowley; Hon. General Pierce; **Sir Edward Lovett Pierce [sic], Surveyor and engineer gen. x2**; Viscount Tyrone; Right Hon. Gen. Wynne x 2; Richard Wingfield. Starrat, as well as being a mathematician and surveyor, was also a poet in the Scots language, and an associate in that regard of Sir Gustavus Hume's kinswoman, Lady Grisel Bailie.

<sup>305</sup> *Acts and statutes made in a Parliament begun at Dublin, the twenty-eighth day of November, Anno Dom. 1727* (Dublin, 1729/1730), p. 32.

<sup>306</sup> PRONI D496. Estate map is complete with legend which lists at No. 1. 'House Gardens Fishpond etc' measuring 3 acres: 1 rood: 6 perches.

<sup>307</sup> Prior's 'List of the absentees of Ireland,' (1729) listed Hume as one of the 2nd class of absentees, i.e., 'Those who live generally abroad and visit Ireland, now and then, for a month or two,' by. At this time Hume still paid rates at his Brook Street home in London, but also visited the Dublin parliament on occasion where he voted for a number of bills including the afore mentioned act for the 'draining and improvement of bogs...'

<sup>308</sup> V & A, E2124.110-1992, Pearce album contains a plan and elevation of a hexagonal gazebo to be built on a sunken island at Crown (Crom) Castle, County Fermanagh.

<sup>309</sup> BL Stowe MS 228: Hanover Papers vol. VII. f142: Letter to Jean Robethon in Sir Gustavus' hand, Dublin October 8<sup>th</sup> 1715.

accompanied the King, Brigadier-General Creighton was appointed as one of the General Officers on the Irish establishment, as were Major-General Owen Wynne, Hume's close friend and future patron of Richard Castle, and Lieutenant-General, Viscount Shannon, future patron to Pearce.<sup>310</sup> In 1719 Brigadier-General Creighton was appointed Master of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, alongside General Thomas Pearce, the architect's uncle, who was a governor of the hospital at this time. Between 1719 and 1722 William Starrat, perhaps at Hume's recommendation, carried out a survey of the Creighton estate at Crom, County Fermanagh.<sup>311</sup> Finally, there is another important reference to connect Hume (and as such Castle) to this scientific milieu. Writing to Mons. Robethon (a French Huguenot by birth) from Dublin in 1715, Hume remarked:

I have seen you friend Mons Degalsiere [*sic*], who is well but has lost his wife. I will recommend him very warmly to the Bishop of Millmore (*sic*).<sup>312</sup>

Could this be the Huguenot scientist, chaplain and royal favourite Dr. Jean Théophile Désaguliers?

## 2.2. Sir Edward Lovett Pearce: a British practice?

According to Howard Colvin, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's connections were chiefly with Ireland, and his British practice was limited.<sup>313</sup> And yet, as the Richmond palace scheme and much of his later output make clear, contemporary British taste exerted a significant influence on Pearce's architectural formation. As with Castle, the early years of Pearce's architectural career, in particular the period around the mid-1720s, remains shadowy. We do know, however, that Pearce visited Britain on a number of occasions during this period, where he was involved in several architectural commissions, enjoyed significant connections within influential military and architectural circles, and was exposed to the latest exemplars in British domestic design. Pearce's family, on both sides, came from Britain, and though they had seemingly settled in Ireland by the early eighteenth century they maintained estates and strong ties to London, Norfolk and Buckinghamshire. Pearce's paternal family connections are particularly important as they provide direct links to the architect Sir John Vanbrugh, to the rich architectural milieu in County Norfolk, and to prominent military patrons. Pearce's Lovett relations, moreover, had ties to the eminent court circle surrounding Queen Caroline. While a range of sources have dealt briefly with these British connections, their significance and intricate nature calls for further elaboration in order to fully comprehend the importance of the military and engineering connections which formed the basis for Pearce's career.

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<sup>310</sup> William A. Shaw and F. H. Slingsby eds., *Calendar of Treasury books, vol. 30* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1938).

<sup>311</sup> PRONI D1939/2/19. As well as this survey of Crom for David Creighton, Starrat also conducted surveys of other neighbouring Fermanagh estates, including Col. Mervyne Archdale's estate which bounded Castle Hume in 1720, see PRONI D605/1, and Henry Brooke's (kinsman to Hume) estate at Colebrooke in 1722, see PRONI D998/21/1.

<sup>312</sup> BL Stowe MS 228: Hanover Papers vol. VII. f152 Letter to Jean Robethon in Sir Gustavus' hand, Dublin, May 17th 1715. In a letter of October 20<sup>th</sup> 1715 Hume again referred to Robethon's friend, 'Mons. Desgaloniers.'

<sup>313</sup> Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' pp. 793-94.

The Pearces were originally from Sussex but settled in Middlesex in the late-sixteenth century.<sup>314</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century Edward Lovett Pearce's paternal grandfather Edward Pearce, a gentleman of Parson's Green in Fulham, had purchased the manor of Whitlingham, near Norwich in Norfolk. This became the Pearces' primary seat in Britain. Edward Pearce baptised and brought up his children here and was buried there himself in 1683.<sup>315</sup> In his will of 1682 he left several bequests including property on London Bridge, stock in the East India company, as well as significant tracts of land around Whitlingham.<sup>316</sup> His widow Mary remained in Norfolk after this time, residing in the Lower Close at Norwich, until her death in 1728, though the Whitlingham estate, as we shall see, remained an important focus of the family for several generations.<sup>317</sup> It was through the marriage of the aforementioned Edward Pearce and Mary, daughter Sir Dudley Carleton and Lucy Croft, that the Pearce-Vanbrugh connection came about.

These kinship ties were maintained over the next few generations. In his will proven in 1683, Edward Pearce made reference to an indenture of trust made for the Whitlingham estate, wherein William Vanbrugh of London merchant, and their mutual kinsmen, John Ferrers and Bishop Croft, were named as Pearce's trustees.<sup>318</sup> In the same year, John Vanbrugh (b.1664, d. 1726) was in India, working for the East India Company at their trading-post at Surat, where his uncle, Edward Pearce, had previously been governor.<sup>319</sup> In May 1719 Edward's widow Mary

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<sup>314</sup> For genealogical information on Edward Pearce of Fulham see Francis Blomefield, 'Hundred of Henstede: Witlingham', *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: vol. 5* (1806), pp. 455-457, accessed 20 September, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=78207&strquery=Pearce>.

<sup>315</sup> Chris Scarre and Judith Roberts, 'The English Cemetery at Surat: Pre-Colonial Cultural Encounters in Western India', *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 85 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 455 notes Edward Pearce, ex Governor of Surat was buried at Whitlingham.

Francis Blomefield, 'City of Norwich, chapter 41: Of the Cathedral Church and its Precinct,' *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: vol. 4: The History of the City and County of Norwich, part II* (1806), pp. 1-46, accessed 20 September, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=78111>. Inscriptions stones in the treasury above the chapel of St Luke, Norwich Cathedral record memorials to the following Pearce kin: Bridget, Daughter of Edward Pearce, Esq. by Mary his Wife, died on Easter-Day Morn' 1667; Anne Pearce her Sister, March 27, 1668; Lucy, Daughter of Mr. Tho. Breton of London Merchant, by Lucy his Wife, died Sept. 20, 1667, and is buried by her Cousin Bridget Pearce. Thomas Pearce was baptised 1 March 1669/1670 at St Mary-in-the-Marsh Norwich near his father's Whitlingham estate.

<sup>316</sup> NA, Kew, PROB 11/374/340, Will of Edward Pearce, Gentleman of Witlingham, Norfolk, 11 Nov. 1682, proven 10 November 1683.

<sup>317</sup> Norfolk CRO, Consistory Wills, 43 Thacker. Mary Pearce died at 93 on 9th July 1728, she left everything to 'the possession and discretion' of her surviving son Lt. Gen. Thomas Pearce.

<sup>318</sup> Downes, *Vanbrugh*, p. 22; NA, Kew, PROB 11/374/340, Will of Edward Pearce. The tripartite indenture was dated 28 November 1668 and was made in trust for Pearce's dependents, his wife and children. The names chosen for Edward and Mary Pearce's surviving children, listed in this will, viz. three daughters Mary, Lucy and Elizabeth Pearce; and five sons Edward, Dudley, Thomas, Carlton and Croft clearly reflect their Pearce/Carleton lineage and as such the close ties within these families.

<sup>319</sup> See John Goodall, 'Guide to Sir John Vanbrugh', *Country life*, vol. 148 (13 November 2008), accessed 18/09/2013 <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/culture/article/281655/Guide-to-Sir-John-Vanbrugh.html#G2RrUODXmhUc04WT.99>; Robert Williams, 'A factor in his success; architect John Vanbrugh', *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 5031 (3 Sept, 1999), which discusses documents relating to the East India Company held at the British Library and the evidence therein of Vanbrugh's whereabouts between 1683 and 1685, when he was dealing in silks and cottons in and around Surat on the west coast of India. For Edward Pearce, governor at Surat see 'Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in India (1616–2000)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oct 2005), online edition, accessed 18 Sept. 2013 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93241>.

Pearce (Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's grandmother) received a visit at Norwich from Sir John Vanbrugh's three sisters Betty, Robin, and Victoria, whose travelling expenses were paid for by their brother John.<sup>320</sup>

According to Lady Verney 'two of the Irish soldier friends introduced by Colonel Lovett ...Edward and Thomas Pearce'..although principally identified with military affairs in Ireland, 'were really connected with Whitlingham, Norfolk.'<sup>321</sup> Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's father, Major-General Edward Pearce was brought up at Whitlingham, and educated as a child under Mr Mazy at Norwich, before going up to Caius College Cambridge in 1675.<sup>322</sup> On his father's death in 1683 Edward Pearce inherited the Whitlingham estate. He later became a distinguished officer in the British army, serving on the Irish establishment for much of his career, and married Frances Lovett, daughter of a Dublin-based merchant, Christopher Lovett, c.1690. It is not clear if the Lovett Peaces resided permanently in Ireland from this point. Certainly Major-General Pearce was abroad a great deal during his son's childhood, serving as a field officer on the Peninsula during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714).<sup>323</sup> The exact date and place of Edward Lovett Pearce's birth is still unknown, but it is entirely possible that he was born, and perhaps even educated in England.

Pearce's maternal relations, through whom he was connected with several architecturally minded families in Ireland, such as the Cootes, the Tighes and the Medhops, moved in prominent circles in Britain. The Lovetts were an ancient Norman family, who held their seat at Liscome Park, at Soulbury in Buckinghamshire since the thirteenth century. Pearce's grandfather Christopher Lovett had travelled in Turkey as a merchant venturer in his youth, before settling in Dublin after 1660 as a linen merchant, at Blind Quay (now Lower Exchange Street).<sup>324</sup> His second son, Col. John Lovett, who was described as 'of Liscombe and Corse,' had maintained close ties with Britain. Here, he served as an active officer, an MP, and, it appears, as a practicing architect. In 1708, Lovett (in collaboration with Mr. J. Rudyerd) designed Eddystone Lighthouse, a timber structure built outside Plymouth Sound, which was destroyed by fire in 1755. This project, according to Downes, provides a loose connection to Sir John Vanbrugh, as the builder of the

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<sup>320</sup> Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, p. 445. Although he does to appear to have travelled with them, John Vanbrugh's account book shows he gave his sisters money for their journey to Norfolk in May 1719.

<sup>321</sup> Margaret Maria, Lady Verney ed., *Verney Letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> cent. from the mss. at Claydon House, vol. 1* (London: E. Benn, 1930), p. 259.

<sup>322</sup> John Venn ed., *A biographical history of Gonville and Caius college: 1849-1897 vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 454; John Venn ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A biographical list of all known students vol. 1* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.2011),p. 328.

<sup>323</sup> See Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes, vol. VI* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2002) p. 33; also Dalton, *George the first's army 1714-1727, vol. I*, p. 142. Edward Pearce commanded regiments in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough; formed a Dragoon regiment there by 1706 and served at Valencia and the Battle of Almanza 25 April 1707.

<sup>324</sup> Downes, *Vanbrugh*, p. 156. Verney, *Verney letters*, p. 138, pp. 347-8, also p. 192, p. 205, p. 363.

original lighthouse, which was destroyed by storm in 1703, Henry Winstanley, was the clerk of works at Audley End, where in 1708 Vanbrugh was also employed.<sup>325</sup>

In 1703 Col. Lovett had married (secondly) a local Bucks. lady, the Hon. Mary Verney, daughter of Viscount Fermanagh of Middle Claydon. Surviving correspondence alludes to the intimacy between the Lovetts, Pearces, Verneys and Tighes in England, and specifically refers to General Edward Pearce, who was 'often staying at Claydon.'<sup>326</sup> Claydon House, originally built in the fifteenth century, was enlarged at some point in the early eighteenth century by the 1st Viscount Fermanagh, but since altered.<sup>327</sup> The Lovett seat was located nearby at Liscombe Park (fig. 2.26), and though it was in the possession of his cousin during his lifetime Col. John's did maintain close ties to this estate, which his son Robert Lovett (first cousin to Pearce), eventually inherited.<sup>328</sup> The house was described by Lady Verney c.1703 as 'the ancient seat of my husband's family, being only about twelve miles from my father's,' it was 'very old, very gloomy...but has a venerable appearance.'<sup>329</sup> Its was built in the second-half of the sixteenth century, and though was much altered in the two following centuries the essential plan of a quadrangular building enclosing a regular large court yard survives; one side of which is composed of a fourteenth-century chapel, where services were still performed in the eighteenth century.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> See Downes *Sir John Vanbrugh*, and McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 121, p. 179.

R. J. Arden Lovett, *Ecclesiastical memorials of the Lovett family* (Osten: E. Van de Water. 1897), 5 includes an inventory of paintings in the Lovett ancestral home at Liscombe Park amongst which there was a portrait of Christopher Lovett- son of Col. John, with a representation of Eddystone Light House in the background. There is also a portrait of Col. John Lovett at Liscombe, while amongst the Verney letters preserved at Claydon House there is correspondence between Col. John Lovett and his father-in-law, Viscount Fermanagh, regarding the building of the lighthouse.

<sup>326</sup> Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, D-X1069/2/153, letter of 5 Mar 1706/07, Lord Fermanagh, London to his wife Elizabeth at Middle Claydon contains news of 'Mrs. Pierce, Dick & Fanny Lowley, Pegg Wright, the Luttrells and others...

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, D-X1069/2/152, letter from Middle Claydon, *n.d.* regarding John's friendship with Mr. Tigh. Thanks for paying Mr. Lovett and for paper, pens and wax...

Lovett, *Memorials of the Lovett family*, p. 36 notes that the Verney correspondence at Middle Claydon included a letter from Viscount Fermanagh to Frances (nee O'More) Lovett, on the occasion of her son Col. John's death in 1710, wherein his father-in-law notes his grief and great loss, Col. John 'being a most dutiful son the kindest of Husbands, a loving Father and a true friend'. I am grateful to Dr McParland for pointing out the reference, and indeed the importance of this connection to General Edward Pearce.

<sup>327</sup> 'Parishes: Middle Claydon,' *A History of the County of Buckingham: vol. 4* (1927), pp. 32-35. Claydon was known as Gifford's Farmhouse in 1732. The present house was almost entirely rebuilt on a grand-scale in the later century, to designs by Adam, yet some seventeenth-century detailing survives.

<sup>328</sup> See Burke and Burke (eds.), *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England*, pp. 323-4; *The New Baronetage of England* (London: W. Miller and E. Lloyd, 1804), p. 732.

Lovett, *Memorials of the Lovett family*, notes that Col. John Lovett was buried at Soulbury Church at Liscombe on 2nd May 1710. There is also a brass to Col. John Lovett M.P. ob.1710 and his wife Mary Verney, ob. 1769 in Soulbury Church. Portraits of the Right Hon. Christopher Lovett, and his Lady, Frances More, by Sir G. Kneller; Col. John Lovett, Lady Verney, Col. John Lovett's wife, as well as as well as the aforementioned portrait of Christopher, son John Lovett are kept at Liscombe.

According to McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 177 Col. John Lovett lived at Kilruddery in Wicklow. He also possessed estates in the city of Dublin, which in 1711 his executors, Mary Lovett and Richard Tighe, sought permission for his son and heir Robert, an infant, to grant building leases upon. Entry for 8 February 1711, *Journal of the House of Lords: vol. 19: 1709-1714* (1767-1830), p. 217.

<sup>329</sup> Burke, *Extinct and dormant baronetcies of England*, p. 324.

<sup>330</sup> Lovett, *Memorials of the Lovett family*, p. 5.

Other buildings of interest in the vicinity include ‘Lovett’s charity school’ which was built in the adjoining village of Soulbury in 1724, a substantial brick-building with some finely carved door-hoods (fig. 2.27).<sup>331</sup> Palladianism was introduced into Buckinghamshire in this period by Henry Flitcroft, who remodelled the entrance Hall at Chicheley in 1722 (fig. 2.28), a sophisticated scheme, complete with a finely carved arched columnar screen, chequered marble floor and robust (yet controlled) classicising embellishment to the wall panels and door surrounds, which would prove so prophetic for later Pearcean interiors. Colen Campbell worked on the garden buildings at Hall Barn, creating a spectacular ‘great room,’ attached to the house there in 1724 (fig. 2.29). In 1726/7 Lord Burlington provided designs for a *piéd-à-terre* for Lord Bruce at Round Coppice Iver Heath (demolished).<sup>332</sup>

We know from correspondence that Col. John and Mary Lovett regularly resided in London in the early years of the eighteenth century, though no specific town house can be associated with this family. Following Col. John’s death his widow seems to have resided primarily in Britain, where she had close links with her English kin, and where her children, Edward Lovett Pearce’s first cousins, were educated.<sup>333</sup> Colonel John Lovett, who as a soldier-turned-architect would have served as a role model to his young nephew, and certainly kept abreast of developments in Pearce’s military career, died in 1710.<sup>334</sup> His death was followed by that of Pearce’s father, Major-General Edward Pearce, who died in 1715, when it is believed Pearce was still in his teens. Who then was the guiding hand in Edward Lovett Pearce’s advancement in his military and later architectural career? There is a decided military colouring to Pearce’s early architectural patrons and associates, particularly those in Britain, while several others seem to spring from family ties. One common thread of connection, which can be traced throughout all of these, was Pearce’s uncle Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce, a figure of key importance for Pearce’s career.

Like his older brother, Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce served for most of his career on the Irish military establishment. He was elected to the Irish Parliament for Coleraine from 1703-13 and Limerick City 1727-39; he was appointed Mayor of Limerick in 1727, and Governor of Limerick in 1729, and 1732-8. He served as a governor of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham in 1725 and sworn as a privy councillor in 1737. And yet Thomas Pearce was an Englishman, and remained

<sup>331</sup> William Page, *A History of the County of Buckinghamshire: vol. 3* (London: St. Catherine Press, 1925), p. 414.

<sup>332</sup> Page, *A History of the County of Buckinghamshire*, p. 68.

Chicheley Hall was built between 1719 and 1723, with the interior fittings completed in 1725. The Baroque style exterior is attributed to Francis Smith.

<sup>333</sup> Verney, *Verney letters vol. ii*, p. 42, p. 49, p. 65. *Lady Fermanagh*, 25 May 1716 notes Mary Lovett and little Bess are in London, attending a physician. On the 5th May 1717 Elizabeth Verney, writing from Chelsea notes ‘my Sister Lovett is expected to here to stay a few days.’ Mary Lovett also regularly resided at Stanford, Northamptonshire home of her relatives of Sir Thomas and Lady Cave.

The London *Post Boy*, April 7-9, issue no. 2729, reported that a ‘Mr Lovett’ had left a cloak in a Hackney coach traveling from the Palace-yard to his house in Charles Street Westminster, next Door to the Three Crowns.

<sup>334</sup> See McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 177, who notes that in 1708 Lovett commented that Gen. Edward Pearce had “Comm. for his Son to be a Capt.,” citing Verney, *Verney letters*, p. 262. Lovett is clearly referring to Gen. Edward Pearce’s purchase of a child coronary for his son in 1707.

firmly tied to Britain. He married Mary Hewes, daughter of William Hewes of Wrexham, in North Wales.<sup>335</sup> Thomas Pearce sat as a member of the British parliament for Ludgershall, a borough of Wiltshire from 1710-13, where he was classed as a 'Tory in the Hanover list,' brought in on the coat tails' of another Tory general, John Richmond Webb. Thomas Pearce resided at Chelsea during this period, before going out to Portugal as deputy commander-in-chief of the forces.<sup>336</sup> It is not clear if the Pearces maintained a London residence after this time. Thomas Pearce appears to have been stationed at the garrison town of Limerick from 1715 as military Governor, though his regiment was in Gibraltar in 1717, and it is unlikely that his wife and young family would have accompanied him to Limerick where the situation was volatile.<sup>337</sup> Thomas Pearce also maintained strong connections, as we shall see, in Norfolk, the county of his birth, and inherited her share in the Whitlingham estate from his mother in 1728, which he ultimately passed to his daughter Anne in 1739.

Though an extremely distinguished, and active field officer, Lieutenant-General Pearce was something of a renegade. In 1713 he was the object of an official complaint for having taken it upon himself to bring his men into the field after the cessation of hostilities, but was later excused by the ministers on the grounds that he had not received his orders in time, and was not punished on his arrival back in England.<sup>338</sup> In October 1713 the Treasury was told that he had been arrested 'for bills drawn by him...for money he took up in Portugal,' and the paymaster of the forces was obliged to settle his account, yet the following February (the then) Major-General Pearce returned to Whitehall, where he 'had the honour to kiss Her Majesty's Hand and was very graciously received.'<sup>339</sup> According to Hayton, Thomas Pearce 'survived the Hanoverian succession, and in 1724 he was even granted an addition of 6s. 8 3/4d. per day as a Major-General on the Irish establishment, 'as he has distinguished himself by his vigilance and care.'<sup>340</sup> Thomas Pearce, it would seem had powerful connections.

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<sup>335</sup> Charles Manners, *The mourners: a sketch from life* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1787), p. 325. A William Hewes paid hearth tax on a house in Soho in 1662. No evidence of either family name appears in the *Survey of London* in the early eighteenth century, but surely this was where Thomas Pearce met Mary Hewes and Anne Pearce was born? A Mary Hewes daughter of William Hewes was baptised at Croydon in Surrey on 3 Feb 1666 (Croydon, Surrey, England: St John the Baptist: 1653-1723, film number 994331).

<sup>336</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, S. Handley and D. W. Hayton eds., *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1690-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 119.

<sup>337</sup> See Dalton, *George the first's army*, p. 142; Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament, vol. vi*, pp. 35-6 notes that Major-General Pearce received £1,000 from the government to repair the fortifications at Limerick, on Mar 18, 1718 and a further £250 to finish repairs on April 4, 1719.

<sup>338</sup> Cruickshanks et al. *The history of Parliament*, p. 119.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*; *The London Gazette*, 21 Feb 1713, Whitehall.

<sup>340</sup> See Cruickshanks, *The history of Parliament*, p. 119. There were also reports in February 1727 that Thomas Pearce had unlawfully assumed 'the Power and Office of Mayor of this City [Limerick],' and was suggested that 'Military Force, and other undue Practices were made use of by the Mayor at the Election, to terrify the Voters. In September that year these allegations were proved 'to be frivolous and groundless', and occasioned 'an universal Joy in the Citizens, who for a long season have laboured under heavy Oppressions from the Tyrannical Government of a certain Family, till rescued by the present Mayor.' See *Daily Journal*, Saturday, February 25, 1727, Issue 1909; *Daily Journal*, Friday, September 1, 1727, Issue 2070.

He had been a supporter of the Duke of Ormonde, under whom he received much preferment and regarded the Duke's dismissal as viceroy in 1707 as a 'personal affliction.'<sup>341</sup> His other great military patron, the Duke of Argyll, was a powerful ally in Hanoverian Britain. Argyll, to whom, Dalton purports, 'George I owed his undisputed ascension to the British Crown,'<sup>342</sup> commanded great influence in the military and at the royal court. His intimacy with the future George II led Mary Cowper to remark in 1715 that:

Lord Townshend, Baron Bernstorff, Mr. Walpole, and Lord Sunderland, were all afraid of the Duke of Argyll, whose Favour with the Prince made them fear that one Day he would get the Better of them.<sup>343</sup>

Argyll was a highly distinguished officer, eventually becoming Chief of the British Army in 1742. Like the Duke of Ormonde, he nurtured the careers of several officers on the Irish establishment, including Thomas Pearce, Richard Molesworth and Jean Ligonier.<sup>344</sup> The Duke also had significant architectural connections. He was kin to Colen Campbell, who due to his relation to 'this August house' included 'A new Design for the Duke of Argyle' in *Vitruvius Britannicus vol. III*.<sup>345</sup> He subscribed to all the major architectural publications of the period, including Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Kent's *Inigo Jones* (1727) and Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* (1728).

More significantly, Argyll patronised Sir John Vanbrugh, who made an unexecuted design for Inveraray Castle for the Duke c.1720, preserved in the Elton Hall collection. He was a great promoter of the Scot James Gibbs, who dedicated his *Book of Architecture* to Argyll in 1728, noting the early encouragement and great protection he received from the Duke. What is more, Roger Morris carried out several commissions for his patron and friend the Duke of Argyll, notably at Combe Bank in Kent c.1728 (fig. 2.30), where the detailing is remarkably similar to later Pearcean designs (fig. 2.31),<sup>346</sup> and collaborated with Gibbs in developing Argyll Street in Westminster for

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<sup>341</sup> See Cruickshanks, *The history of Parliament*, p. 119. Thomas Pearce attributed his commission as Brigadier to Ormonde's influence.

<sup>342</sup> Dalton, *George the 1st's Army*, p. 7.

<sup>343</sup> Countess Mary Clavering Cowper, *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, 1714-1720* (London: John Murray, 1865), entry for Nov. 1715.

<sup>344</sup> Dalton, *George the 1st's Army*, pp. 7-9, Argyll was created Duke of Greenwich (1718); Master-General of the Ordnance (1725); Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (1726); Colonel of the Horse Guards (1733) and Field Marshal (1736). Richard Molesworth campaigned in Catalonia under the command of the Duke of Argyll from June 1710, and was in garrison with his regiment in Port Mahon, Minorca, where Argyll was governor in 1713. Ligonier, too was patronised by Argyll, serving under him in the Spanish Wars and at Minorca. Lord Chesterfield noted in 1733 that Ligonier was still 'in the train of the Duke of Argyll...one of the most powerful men in the land,' *Letters to and From Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, vol. ii (London: John Murray, 1824), p. 601.

<sup>345</sup> Campbell, *The third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus*, plate 19-20. Therein Campbell notes 'I have inscrib'd this Design to this illustrious Name, whose great actions have filled the World with Surprise and Admiration... And as it's my greatest Honour to receive my blood from his August House...'

<sup>346</sup> Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, 'Roger Morris,' pp. 705-709 suggests that Morris owed his post as Master Carpenter to the Office of Ordnance in 1731 to his patron and friend John Campbell, Duke of Argyll, for whom he had been extending Adderbury House, Oxfordshire.

the Duke in 1736.<sup>347</sup> Furthermore, in 1725, George I had made Argyll Master General of the Ordnance, responsible for all British artillery, engineers, fortifications, and other military building works. The Duke of Argyll, then, was ideally placed to assist Thomas Pearce's nephew in his architectural ambitions in Britain.

Sir John Vanbrugh was also suitably placed within the British architectural sphere to assist his young kinsman, but while scholarly tradition has it that Pearce received his architectural training under Vanbrugh, and there is much circumstantial evidence pointing to their professional connection, as yet no firm documented link between these two architects has been discovered.<sup>348</sup> This is both remarkably puzzling and extremely frustrating; Vanbrugh left fairly detailed accounts of his professional practice, while Pearce was not shy about architectural name-dropping, for example in the Parliament House memo he drew on the lineage of Vitruvius and Palladio, but not his kinsman. Close family ties, and the definite stylistic debt to Vanbrugh evident in aspects of Pearce's work, not to mention the fact that Pearce 'inherited' Vanbrugh's architectural drawings, however, are persuasive circumstances enough, and there are yet other threads of evidence, which fill out our sketchy picture of this hugely important familial and professional connection.

By patent of October 20th 1715 the recently knighted Sir John Vanbrugh made a grant of arms and crest, at the petition of Thomas Pearce of Whitlingham, Norfolk. Vanbrugh enjoyed this privilege as Clarenceux King of Arms since 1704, but in actual fact he was only responsible for making grants within the southern counties of England and obviously made an exception for his first cousin.<sup>349</sup> Similarly, as Thomas Pearce had only recently 'succeeded' to the Whitlingham estate, following the death of his brother Edward, his petition for arms must have been processed with great expediency.<sup>350</sup> Here then, at a time of great significance in Vanbrugh's architectural career, when he had been restored to his position as Comptroller of the Board of Works and resumed building at Blenheim, and when Thomas Pearce's 'patriarchal' influence on his nephew was on the ascent, we have a clear documented connection between Vanbrugh and his Pearce cousins.

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<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.* In 1736 Gibbs, Morris and Phillips ( Thomas Phillips , carpenter?), agreed to build 'One New Street of dwelling Houses to be called Argyll Street' on ground in Westminster belonging to John Campbell, Duke of Argyll.

<sup>348</sup> See Maurice Craig, "Sir Edward Lovett Pearce," *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* vol. 17 (Jan-Jun 1974): 10-14; Maurice Craig, *Architecture in Ireland: from the earliest times to 1880* (London, B. T. Batsford, 1982); Maurice Craig, "The Quest for Sir Edward Lovett Pearce," *Irish Art Review Yearbook* 12 (1996), pp. 27-34; Edward McParland, "Edward Lovett Pearce and the Parliament House in Dublin," *Burlington Magazine* vol. 131, no. 1031 ( Feb. 1989), pp. 91-100 ;McParland, *Public architecture*, for such attempts.

<sup>349</sup> Coll. Arm. MS Grants 6, p. 214. A copy of this patent, with the full text of the grant and a painted illustration of the Pearce arms and crest exists at the College of Arms in London. I am extremely grateful to Timothy Duke, Chester Herald at the College for confirm this information. The grant patent was signed by both Vanbrugh and Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms. See Walter H. Godfrey, with Air Anthony Wagner, 'Norroy King of Arms', *Survey of London Monograph 16: College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street* (1963), pp. 101-118, accessed, 23 September, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118256> on the process involved.

<sup>350</sup> The exact date of death for Major-General Edward Pearce is not known, but seems to have taken place between July, when a treasury grant was made to him as Colonel of his regiment of the Foot, and October 1715. Grants of arms were made to specific places. For example a grant was made to Pearce of Fulham, presumably Edward Pearce I, during the visitation of Middlesex in 1668.

The Vanbrughs, like their Pearce kin, were military men, and moved in similar military circles. Though John Vanbrugh's active career as a soldier was short-lived, he remained interested in military affairs, and close to prominent officers such as Marlborough, while his two younger brothers Captain Charles Vanbrugh (b.1680, d.1740) and Captain Philip Vanbrugh (b.1682, d. 1753) were active and successful officers in the Navy. In December 1714 Charles Vanbrugh was made commander of *HMS Surlings*, an English frigate stationed in the West Indies. That same year he was involved in an incident over the illegal transport of liquor from Barbados, but, like his cousin Thomas Pearce, Charles Vanbrugh seems to have influential military connections, and avoided the reprimand requested by the French.<sup>351</sup> In 1716 Captain Philip Vanbrugh was appointed commander of *HMS Charles Galley*, and was sent to Gibraltar, where interestingly, his cousin Thomas Pearce's regiment were stationed at this time.<sup>352</sup> In 1718 Philip Vanbrugh served in the fleet of Admiral Byng (made First Lord of the Admiralty in 1727), who had won renown during the War of Spanish Succession, in particular at the battle of Vigo in 1702, where Thomas Pearce had commanded a force.

Sir John Vanbrugh enjoyed a close relationship to his much younger brothers. From 1715-1717 John and Charles Vanbrugh shared a house in Duke Street,<sup>353</sup> while during the early 1720s Vanbrugh built houses for his brothers, 'the Nunnery' (fig. 2.32) for Philip, and Vanbrugh House, or the 'mince-pie house' for Charles (fig. 2.33), near his own residence Vanbrugh Castle at Greenwich (fig. 2.34). This 'Vanbrugh colony,' built on a 12 acre site at Maze Hill which Sir John had leased in 1718, was an opportunity for the architect to indulge in his taste for medieval revival, castle and fortress style architecture. Vanbrugh also designed a similar style house for Sir William Sanderson (d. 1727), a baronet of Norfolk descent, nearby at Coombe in Greenwich c.1718, in which Charles Vanbrugh is believed to have lived during this period, when on leave from his naval service on the continent.<sup>354</sup> Later, while his Greenwich house was under construction in 1721-23, the newly married Captain Charles Vanbrugh took a house at Queen Square, St. Margaret's in Westminster (now Queen Anne's Gate), to which his brother John paid regular visits from his nearby house at Whitehall.

It is most remarkable, though perhaps simply coincidence, that this house and the other original examples in Queen Square which date from c.1704 are articulated at the party walls with a rare blind-panel device (fig. 2.35), which is decidedly similar to that employed by Pearce for his

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<sup>351</sup> Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh: a biography* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1987), p. 171.

<sup>352</sup> *The London Gazette*, 27 August 1717, issue no. 5567, Whitehall, reported from 'Hampton-Court, Aug 26 1717 It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that all the Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot now at Gibraltar, do immediately repair to their respective Posts, upon Pain of His Majesty's highest Displeasure, and particularly those of Major-General Pearce's Regiment, except such as have Leave from His Majesty to the contrary.'

<sup>353</sup> Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, p. 84, p. 177. It is not clear why Vanbrugh did not occupy his own house at Whitehall at the time. Perhaps this house was taken during the period when Vanbrugh was removed from the Board of Works, and so may have lost the privilege of the House in Whitehall, but he was apparently reinstated by this point. Perhaps John Vanbrugh paid the rates on the Duke Street house for his brother while he was absent on military service.

<sup>354</sup> Geoffrey Beard, *The work of John Vanbrugh* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), pp. 112-114.

facade design at Nos. 11 and 12 Henrietta Street, c.1730 (fig. 2.36). A thorough search of extant visual sources, of the thousands of examples of the city's domestic architecture illustrated in the *Survey of London* volumes, and field work carried out around Westminster, reveals that these houses at Queen Square, in which a Vanbrugh lived, are the only surviving instances where such a blind panel device is used in this manner, in London. It is also noteworthy that at the time when Captain Vanbrugh was living here, his cousin Captain Pearce would have been in London, en-route to the Continent and the Grand Tour. We know that Pearce was in Britain again in 1726, when he was granted military leave on the 28th of March to go to Britain for three months, just two days after Sir John Vanbrugh's death. This evidence, combined with his inheritance of Vanbrugh's architectural drawings has prompted McParland's plausible conclusion that Pearce, as an architecturally minded cousin was charged with closing up Vanbrugh's office at this time, and if so surely this was carried out in consultation with the architect's brothers, beneficiaries of his will? <sup>355</sup>

Another eminent connection in the British capital, shared by both the Vanbrughs and Pearces was their cousin, Lucy Claxton and her husband James Johnston. As noted, the Johnstons moved in the first circles surrounding the Hanoverian court. James Johnston was said to keep 'a very great rank, and frequently has Mr. Walpool [*sic*] and the greatest courtiers with him at his country house near London.'<sup>356</sup> He was a close confidant of George I and both he and his wife were great favourites of Queen Caroline, whom they entertained on at least one occasion at Orleans House at Twickenham in the late 1720s. Pearce's close family link to these eminent individuals, he was first cousin to Lucy Claxton, is of the utmost interest considering both their intimate connection to the Queen and the proximity of their house to Richmond Park where Pearce's proposed design for a royal palace was to be built. It is more than plausible that Pearce waited on his cousin here during his visits to London, where he would not only have encountered the splendour of Gibb's Octagonal Room (fig. 2.37), and indeed Morris' Marble Hill House, which was only a stone's throw from Orleans House, but may also have gained the introduction to the exalted circles necessary for the Richmond Palace scheme. A drawing for an octagonal gazebo, a room for 'Mr Creighton,' which is preserved among Pearce's papers in the Elton Hall collection, lends weight to this suggestion (fig. 2.38).

There is yet another thread of a Vanbrughian colouring connected to Pearce. In the early 1730s Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce built a diminutive castle style house at 'his retirement' in County Wicklow.<sup>357</sup> Although significantly altered, the original eighteenth-century house at Altidore is still discernible and is in the same vein as the castle style architecture favoured by Sir John Vanbrugh (fig. 2.39). By the 1730s several British architects, including William Kent and Roger Morris, were exploring this 'castle' idiom, and Kent's innovative design of Esher Palace for

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<sup>355</sup> McParland, *Public Architecture*, p. 185.

<sup>356</sup> John R. Young, "Johnston, James (1655–1737)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>357</sup> Jeremy Williams, "The elusive Sir Edward Lovett Pearce," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 17 (2001), pp. 104-5.

Henry Pelham (brother to the Duke of Newcastle, paymaster of the forces and later Prime Minister of Britain) made in 1730 also employed castellated octagonal towers. It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that General Thomas Pearce should choose to build in the style propagated by his kinsman. Other sophisticated models are also suggested by General Pearce's Wicklow estate. Writing in 1752 Richard Pococke described Altidore (Altadora) as:

the retirement of the late General Pearce, who affected to build it as a thatched cabin, and erected a tower to make it look like a village with a church to it...<sup>358</sup>

The ruins of a hermitage to the south of the present house may indicate the site of this 'thatched cabin,' which was evidently a precocious folly or garden building, similar perhaps to William Kent's pioneering designs of thatched garden buildings from the early 1730s, such as the rustic hut or cabin complete with a conical thatched roof at Esher, or Merlin's Cave for Queen Caroline in the Royal Gardens at Richmond in 1735 (fig. 2.40). Altidore has been loosely attributed to Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, more due to circumstantial than formal evidence, and though the house itself lacks the skill and finesse of Pearce's autograph works there are several circumstances which suggest he was involved in the project, in some capacity. The proximity to Pearce's Tighe relatives who had an estate nearby at Mount Usher where they erected a 'fine finished box and plantations,' and to Lord Allen's estate at Arklow, combined with the architect's intimate relationship with Thomas Pearce, his uncle and by now father-in-law, certainly strengthen the possibility of Pearce's involvement. Perhaps even more conclusively, in June 1731 Edward Lovett Pearce of the City of Dublin purchased the town land of Upper Ballyhorsey, County Wicklow for the sum of £200.<sup>359</sup> Three months later he transferred this same property to his uncle the 'Hon Liet Thomas Pearce,'<sup>360</sup> where upon the 'mansion house Altidore,' was built.<sup>361</sup>

### 2.2.1. Norfolk connections.

Edward Lovett Pearce and his uncle were certainly closely connected, and enjoyed shared cultural interests. While Lieutenant-General Pearce does not seem to have been as 'bookish' as his nephew he was interested in the sciences and was a founding member of the Dublin Society in 1731.<sup>362</sup>

Both subscribed to a similar range of publications: to Randal Smith's *A collection of select*

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<sup>358</sup> Richard Pococke, *Pococke's tour in Ireland in 1752* (Dublin: Hodges Figs, 1891), p.161.

<sup>359</sup> RD 65/493/46602, Deeds of lease & release, 18th & 19th June 1731, between Humphry Mathews of Tinny Park in the County of Wicklow and Edw. Lovett Pearce of the city of Dublin, reciting that 'Humphry Mathews, in consideration of £200 sterling to him paid by the said Edw Lovett Pearce of the city of Dublin, Esq. did grant ...unto the said Edw Lovett Pearce ...the town and lands of Upper Ballyhorsey situate lying and being in the parish of Delgany and the county of Wicklow aforesaid, then in the tenancy and occupation of Coll. Thomas Bligh or his under tenants.

<sup>360</sup> RD 65/493/46603, Deeds of lease & release, 3rd & 4th Sept. 1731, between Edw Lovett Pearce City of Dublin Esq. and Hon Liet Thomas Pearce, Kingdom Ireland, conceding the property named in the previous deed.

<sup>361</sup> RD 246/532/159493, Deed of Lease, 24 Mar 1766, between Henry Brownrigg and Rev. Edward Tottenham, concerning lands of 'Ballyhorsey o'wise Altidore with mansion house of Altidore & offices.' This mentioned an earlier deed of 1749, in which Thomas Bligh was mentioned.

<sup>362</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p.180.

*aphorisms and maxims; with several historical observations* (Dublin, 1722); William Starrats' *The doctrine of projectiles* (Dublin, 1733); and John Breval's *Remarks on several parts of Europe, relating chiefly to their antiquities and history* (London, 1726/38).

Edward Lovett Pearce and his uncle also had a shared connection to Norfolk. Though Edward was the legal heir to the Whitlingham estate he was seemingly still a minor when his father died in 1715, and Thomas Pearce, who was granted arms for Whitlingham at this time, may have acted as a trustee for his nephew's interests. Thomas Pearce also held a financial stake in the lands about Whitlingham, under the terms of his father's will, and received his mother's share in 1728. In the 1720s Edward Lovett Pearce and his uncle were both involved in the management of the estate in some regard. A survey of part of the estate showing the 'Upper Dyal Hill' and 'Lower Dyal Hill,' preserved in the Elton Hall collection (fig. 2.41), was taken in 1726 at Pearce's direction, and sent to him in Dublin. The accompanying letter from the Pearces' agent John Jermyn also references an account sent to 'the General.'<sup>363</sup> It is not clear if the manor house was occupied by the family during this period. A newspaper report of 1718 notes that though the land belonging to Whitlingham had been let out, the house which contained 'an handsome hall or parlour six good chambers and other conveniences fit for a gentleman' was 'still to be disposed of with all the garden ground courtyard stable.'<sup>364</sup> Edward Lovett Pearce married his first cousin Anne (d.1749), daughter of Thomas Pearce sometime around 1725. While no record of this marriage has been located, it is entirely possible that it took place in Norfolk, where both parties had strong connections. Anne Pearce, and her daughters were the eventual heiresses of Whitlingham, and following the death of her husband Anne removed there for some time.<sup>365</sup> In April 1736 the *Dublin Evening Post* reported that:

Whereas Lady Ann Pearce's affairs in England requires her being in Norfolk for some time in May next, And She being determined to satisfy all those who have any demands on her as administratrix to the [will of] Sir Ed. Lovett Pearce, Surveyor and Engineer General, this is therefore to pray and require all creditors to bring in their bills to ....at her house in Cuff-Street...<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> V&A, E.2124.251-1992. The accompanying letter of 16 May 1726 from Pearce's agent John reads 'Sir, I have sent the plan of the two fields taken according to the directions you left with Mr Sporle. I have by this post wrote to the General to give him an account why the assignment is not sent over. Your tenant Burman has paid me his rent. Mr Rolfe has not yet made up the account. The old lady continues in status quo...'

<sup>364</sup> *Norwich Gazette*, 2 Jan 1718. A modest house known as Whitlingham Hall, situated on the outskirts of what is now known as Whitlingham Country Park, near Norwich, could possibly be the Pearce ancestral manor house. It is believed to date from the 1700s, with alterations about the mid C18 and C19, but its scale conforms to the 1718 newspaper description of the Whitlingham manor house, with app. 5 reception rooms and 9 bedrooms, with original flagstone floors, sash windows, and cornicing and roses to the ceilings.

<sup>365</sup> Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and Anne Pearce had four daughters, Mary, Anne, Frances, and Henrietta. Following Anne Pearce's death in 1749 it was reported that 'By her death an Estate of 100l. a Year in England, and a considerable personal Fortune in Ireland, descend to her four Daughters.' See *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, July 29, 1749 - August 1, 1749, Issue 542.

<sup>366</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, Tues. April 6–Sat 10 1736.

We know that Edward Lovett Pearce was in County Norfolk in the mid-1720s, when he carried out a number of architectural commissions for local Norfolk families. About 1725 he collaborated with his distant kinsman, the amateur architect John Buxton (1685-1731) on a design for the front of Buxton's house at Shadwell, near Rushford.<sup>367</sup> Shadwell Lodge, as it was originally known, was intended as a retreat from the harsh climate at the Buxtons' ancestral seat, Channons Hall at Tibenham, Norfolk (demol. 1786).<sup>368</sup> It was set amongst the rolling hills of the Norfolk countryside, about 25 miles to south-east of Norwich and the Pearce's estate at Whitlingham. The house which was built in 1727-9 was altered greatly in the nineteenth century, but a surviving watercolour of the original lodge shows it to have been of a similar conservative nature to Buxton's other architectural projects, Earsham and Bixley Hall, being a compact square block of three storeys, with a hipped roof and faced in red-brick (fig. 2.42).<sup>369</sup> The emphatic use of quoins at the corners, which accentuate the block-like character of the building, as well as the arrangement of the stringcourse at Shadwell bear comparison to elements of Pearce's, and perhaps more so Richard Castle's facade designs from the early 1730s (fig. 2.43).

John Buxton held few public offices, and seemed to have taken little interest in the political affairs of the county.<sup>370</sup> He was, however, a major in the Norfolk militia, treasurer of Norwich Castle prison and Deputy Lieutenant there in 1731. It seems likely that it was through this military connection, as well as that of kinship, that he was acquainted with Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce and his nephew Captain Pearce.<sup>371</sup> The Buxtons also had a long-standing connection with Cambridge, in particular with Gonville and Caius College, of which Major-General Pearce was an old-boy.<sup>372</sup> John Buxton, furthermore, like Edward Lovett Pearce, was somewhat of an antiquarian. He was also a committed *bibliophile* and scholar of the Italian language, which he encouraged his son Robert to learn when at Cambridge, and though he did not possess many Italian books he recommended reading 'Serlio's *Architecture*' and Vasari.<sup>373</sup> Buxton subscribed to a range of

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<sup>367</sup> Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, p. 206, p. 745; Buxton MSS, Cambridge University Library; Mark Girouard, 'Shadwell Park, Norfolk,' *Country Life*, 2 Jul 1964. McParland, *Public Architecture*, pp. 190-1.

<sup>368</sup> Alan Mackley ed., 'John Buxton, Norfolk gentleman and architect: letters to his son, 1719-1729,' *Norfolk Records Society*, vol. 69 (2005), p. 80: Letter from John Buxton to son Robert, 21 Feb. 1725/6.

<sup>369</sup> Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, 206. Buxton remodelled the fortified medieval structure at Channons Hall c1723-4, which was demolished 1786. Earsham Hall, the only extant example of Buxton's work, which he completed c1721 and sold soon after to Col. Windham, is also plain red-brick building, with recessed centre and hipped roof, while an engraving of Bixley Hill, Norfolk (demol. c1900) which Buxton designed for his cousin, Sir Edward Ward shows a similar architectural character.

<sup>370</sup> Mackley 'John Buxton,' p. 20.

<sup>371</sup> See 'History of the Buxton family,' Cambridge University Library: Dept. of Manuscripts, Buxton Papers.

<sup>372</sup> See MS 740/785: Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge where there are documents relating to Rushford (Norfolk) and to Edmund Gonville's foundation there, as-well as history of Rushford College from the Conquest to the sixteenth century, compiled by Robert Buxton c. 1570. While John Buxton was educated at the ancient grammar school at Bury St Edmund, several of his ancestors and his son and grandson attended Cambridge university. See 'Pedigree of the Buxton family,' Cambridge University Library: Dept. of Manuscripts, Buxton Papers.

<sup>373</sup> Mackley 'John Buxton,' pp.133-4: Letter from John Buxton to son Robert, 27 October 1724, 57-8; Letter from John Buxton to son Robert 12 April 1728.

publications, including Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* in 1727, along with his fellow Norfolk antiquarian and amateur architect Sir Andrew Fountaine. He was also acquainted with Sir Robert Walpole, another Norfolk *connoisseur*, on whom he called when in London in 1717, while in August of that year he dined with the first ministers brother, Horace Walpole in London and in Bath.<sup>374</sup> Buxton, who by the 1720s had gained a reputation as an architectural *virtuoso*, kept abreast of local developments, and also in the burgeoning career of his kinsman. In July 1728, noting Pearce's presence 'last week in ye county,' Burton made the well rehearsed remark on his architectural progress, writing that Pearce was beginning to 'be taken notice of as an architect &... will soon make a figure in that profession and he follows it *con studio, con dilligenza* and *con amore*.'<sup>375</sup>

During this period Pearce was also employed by another prominent Norfolk family, the Earles, surveying their seat at Heydon Hall, to the north-east of Norwich. A plan of proposed alterations to the Elizabethan house, in Pearce's hand, is preserved in the Elton Hall collection. The drawing, which Cornforth purported was made prior to Augustine Earle's succession to the property in October 1728,<sup>376</sup> proposed an altered layout to the entrance hall, and the insertion of a grand open-well staircase approached through a typically Pearcean columnar screen (fig. 2.44). The drawing style is sketchy, particularly the curved quadrant to the garden-front, and the accompanying notes suggest this was a preliminary drawing, still at the ideas stage, and intended for another to execute. No alterations are known to have taken place at this time, though the Norfolk-born architect Mathew Brettingham did carry out work here in the 1740s.<sup>377</sup> Pearce's introduction to the Earles certainly seems to stem from military connections, this time by way of his maternal uncle Colonel John Lovett, who in 1704 described Lieutenant General Earle as 'a particular friend of mine,'<sup>378</sup> while Augustine Earle, as Kevin Oliver points out, also served in Pearce's father, Major-General Edward Pearce's regiment and was later promoted to the rank colonel.<sup>379</sup>

A man of some influence in the county and in administrative circles in London, Augustine served as a one of his Majesty's Commissioners of Excise for many years, living at Bedford Row

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<sup>374</sup> Mackley 'John Buxton,' p. 20.

<sup>375</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 191.

<sup>376</sup> John Cornforth, 'Heydon Hall, Norfolk –II, The Seat of Capt. W. H. B. Bulwer-Long,' *Country Life*, 29 July 1982, pp. 320-32.

Blomefield, *Topographical History of County Norfolk*, 246 notes that Erasmus Earle, died 28th October 1728 at Bath, without issue. He was succeeded by his brother Augustine Earle, 3rd son of Erasmus Earle and Eleanor Castle of Raveninham.

<sup>377</sup> V&A E.2124.83-1992: Plan of Heydon Hall, Norfolk showing proposed alterations. Inscribed in ink The butlers pantry will be best under the great stairs, me<sup>m</sup>: the landing place of the little stairs ought to be four feet and then a passage may be maid under the great stairs from kitchen. Inscribed in ink and pencil with dimensions. Inscribed on the back Plan of Heydon and Halfe a quire of quarto Quill the same as this a stick of the best indian ink.

<sup>378</sup> IAA, 2008/044, Verney cited in Kevin Oliver, 'Sir Andrew Fountaine' (B.A. thesis, TCD, 2011).

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*

in London in this capacity in the 1750s. He was also a man of scholarly and antiquarian taste, who along with Erasmus Earle and Peter Le Neve, Norry King at Arms, was one of the first Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was a great promoter of learning, as John Holmes' dedication of 1737 notes, known for his 'Candour, generous Encouragement, and Penetration in Judging of everything, that may tend to the Advancement of Education and the Improvement of Youth.'<sup>380</sup> Apart from their shared patronage of Pearce no documented link between Buxton and Earle has been discovered, though it seems safe to speculate that these Norfolk *virtuosi* moved in similar circles. The Earles of Heydon were certainly connected, through marriage, to the Fountaines of Salle, Norfolk, and as such to amateur architect Sir Andrew Fountaine and his circle.<sup>381</sup>

In the 1720s Fountaine was much occupied with alterations to his seat Narford Hall in West Norfolk (fig. 2.45),<sup>382</sup> where in 1718 he had built a new library wing, now much altered, to house his large collection of antiquarian and architectural books, manuscripts and prints.<sup>383</sup> An early proponent of the Neo-Palladian style, Fountaine is believed to have acted as a mentor to the Earl of Burlington in the early stages of the earl's architectural career, while he was also connected through the Leicester House set, to Henry Herbert, the architect Earl of Pembroke, and his associates Colen Campbell and Roger Morris, all of whom are believed to have assisted Fountaine at Narford.<sup>384</sup>

Furthermore, two members of this circle, Campbell and Herbert, were involved in yet another, even more prominent Norfolk-based project during this period, working at nearby Houghton Hall in the north-west of the county. Houghton was one of the finest and most influential architectural projects of the 1720s and in the vanguard of the Neo-Palladian movement. Here Walpole, the *defacto* prime minister of Britain employed the country's leading architectural practitioners, James Gibbs, Colen Campbell, Thomas Ripley, and William Kent in creating this grandiose edifice, a monument of his taste and wealth. Lord Herbert designed a water tower for Robert Walpole c1729/30. Many elements of their work here resonate in Pearce's later domestic

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<sup>380</sup> Augustine Earle, along with a notably quantity of Norfolk gentry and clergy, subscribed to Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *History of his own time* (1723/4); to George England's *An enquiry into the morals of the ancients* in 1735.

John Holmes dedicated his *The history of England: being a compendium, adapted to the capacities and memories of youth at school* to Earle in 1737, and notes his presence as one of the distinguished visitors to his 'performance' at 'Holt Grammar School.'

In the preface to *The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain* of 1755 Holmes expresses his gratitude to Earle among his other patrons whose 'Kind Recommendation and encouragement of the sale of my Books, having within a few years sold about six thousand Latin Grammars, and near Four Thousand Greek Grammars, with This Treatise and the rest in due Proportion.'

Isaac Overley dedicated his volume *The young gauger's instructor; being the most plain and easy introduction to that art* of 1749 to Augustine Earle and the other Commissioners of Excise.

<sup>381</sup> Christopher Hussey, "Heydon Hall, Norfolk, The Seat of Mrs. Granville Duff," *Country Life* (22 December 1923), pp. 900-908.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>383</sup> Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a patron: the patronage and collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674-1744)*, (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2007), p. 121.

<sup>384</sup> John Harris and Robert Hardsky, *A Passion for Building: the Amateur Architect in England 1650-1850* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007), p. 62. In Robert Morris's *An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture*, 1728, Fountaine's name is grouped with Burlington and Pembroke as the 'practitioners and preservers' of architecture.'

buildings, in particular the detailing of the facades and pavilions (fig. 2.46) as has been noted, as well as Kent's celebrated interior schemes. By the summer of 1728, when Pearce was certainly in England and specifically in Norfolk, in search of materials for the Parliament House and as McParland notes 'keeping abreast with latest developments abroad,' Houghton was nearing completion.<sup>385</sup> The main block, including Gibbs' dramatic domes, had been built and all but the last cupola gilded (this took place in 1729). Internally Kent's work on the main rooms was gathering pace: Artari's celebrated stucco-ceiling of the double-height 'Stone Hall,' which derived from Jones' Queens House at Greenwich, was complete by the spring of 1728, with the Great Staircase, and the 'Common Parlour' soon thereafter (fig. 2.47).<sup>386</sup>

Importantly, in the summer of 1728, a Norfolk newspaper reported on the 8th of June that Sir Andrew Fountaine was to direct 'the building of a palace at Richmond.'<sup>387</sup> Fountaine was a great favourite of Queen Caroline's; he was her vice-chamberlain and tutor to her son the Duke of Cumberland. As Oliver plausibly suggests, Fountaine was ideally placed to provide Pearce with the royal introduction for the Richmond Palace commission, while he also raises the possibility that Fountaine acted as a mentor to Pearce in these early years of his career.<sup>388</sup> Certainly, through his web of Norfolk connections, the interlaced threads of his architectural commissions, his kinship and military ties, we can place Pearce in the thick of the county's vibrant architectural milieu in the middle years of the 1720s, and in the way of first class buildings, an experience which clearly impacted on his later domestic output.

### **2.2.1. Military Matters.**

A dominant theme now begins to emerge in this picture of Pearce and Castle's early careers, namely the essential importance of military connections for these architects. In this they followed established precedent. From William Robinson to Thomas Burgh, and indeed to Pearce himself, the position of Surveyor General of Ireland, the chief architectural office in the land, was held by a military engineer; while in Britain the influence and patronage of Board of the Ordnance, and its military directors infiltrated civil architecture at all levels, both at the Board of Works and in private practice. Indeed, in this period the now distinct roles of architect, military and civil engineer were inextricably linked. This is evident in the published announcement of Pearce's appointment as Surveyor-General in 1731, in which 'Captain Pearce's' military credentials, as-well as his influential connections, are emphasised:

Dublin, Jan 19, 1731

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<sup>385</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 121.

<sup>386</sup> John Cornforth, *Houghton, Norfolk* (Derby: Heritage House Group Ltd, 2007), pp. 10-34.

<sup>387</sup> NNML, *Norwich Gazette*, vol. 22; issue no. 1123. I am indebted to Kevin Oliver for pointing this out.

<sup>388</sup> Kevin Oliver, 'Sir Andrew Fountaine,' pp. 57-8.

We hear that the Letters Patent are passing the Great Seal of this Kingdom, containing a Commission from his Majesty, constituting and appointing **Capt. Pearce, Nephew to General Pearce**, a Gentleman of Great Abilities and Experience, to be Engineer and Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Forts and Buildings in the Kingdom of Ireland...<sup>389</sup>

General Thomas Pearce was instrumental in securing the surveyorship for Pearce, over the heads of the incumbent 2nd and 3rd engineers of Ireland, recommending his nephew to the Chief Justices and in turn Lord Lieutenant Dorset in 1730.<sup>390</sup> In 1718 Thomas Pearce had been involved in building or rather military engineering operations, when he commissioned repairs to the fortifications at Limerick,<sup>391</sup> while in 1732, as director of the Newry Canal project, Edward Lovett Pearce proposed a scheme for using foot forces to build the canal between Lough Neagh and Newry.<sup>392</sup> Such engineering projects, in particular navigation works, were extremely important in Ireland, as they facilitated both improved transportation (including military) and trade, particularly in the northern counties, where landowners sought to promote the developing flax and linen industry. These works received considerable investments, and provided lucrative opportunities for Pearce and Castle in the early 1730s. Their early architectural patrons too, were military men; General Wynne, Colonel Newburgh, Brigadier Creighton to name a few, and the same was true of Pearce's practice in Britain.

At Ashley Park in Surrey (demolished 1925) Pearce is believed to have made additions to the late Elizabethan manor house of the 'peripatetic soldier and courtier,' Richard Boyle, 2nd Viscount Shannon (c.1675-1740), an Irish peer of English birth. Part of the illustrious Boyle family, Shannon was a most significant arbiter of taste and figure of great importance to this study.<sup>393</sup> An undated plan preserved in the Elton Hall collection shows a proposed extension to the north-wing of the old H-plan house (fig. 2.48), comprising a new office and servant's range with a connecting corridor to a kitchen and laundry block. Stylistically this attribution is problematic. The drawing according to Harris 'might be Pearce after Vanbrugh, or by a draughtsman copying their designs,' while the house itself was 'encased and re-fenestrated in a style 'unmistakably' that of either Sir John Vanbrugh or Pearce working in his style.'<sup>394</sup> Certainly, Vanbrugh comes to mind in the 'ordnance manner' of semi-circular bowed ends and the arcuated massing on the east-front,

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<sup>389</sup> *London Evening Post*, February 2-4 1731; issue no. 440.

<sup>390</sup> PRONI T3019/54: The Lord Justices, Dublin Castle, to Dorset. Transmitting the petitions of John Corneille, second engineer of Ireland, and Lewis Marcell, third engineer, that Corneille succeed the late Thomas Burgh as first engineer and that Marcell fill the position vacated by Corneille. The Justices also report that Lt-gen Pearce has recommended capt. Edward Lovett Pearce for the first engineer's position. Capt. Pearce, a member of the House of Commons, is now in London and will present his credentials to the Lord Lieutenant in person.

<sup>391</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. vi, p. 35.

<sup>392</sup> PRONI T3019/95: The Lord Justices, Dublin Castle to Dorset, 10 June 1732.

<sup>393</sup> See Howard Colvin and Maurice Craig, eds., *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce* (Oxford: Roxburge Club, 1964) and John Harris, 'Ashley Park, Surrey,' in *Decantations: a tribute to Maurice Craig*, ed. Agnes Bernell (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1992).

<sup>394</sup> Harris, 'Ashley Park, Surrey,' p. 83.

reminiscent of Vanbrugh's own house at nearby Esher (later Claremont, see fig. 2.39 & 2.49), while Pearce's hand is also evident in the Burlingtonian Palladianism of the long gallery. Harris' suggestion that Pearce continued the work initiated by his kinsman here, after Vanbrugh's death in 1726, is strengthened by the involvement of Vanbrugh's clerk 'Arthur,' whom Pearce referred to in the memorandum accompanying his plan. Shannon bought Ashley Park in 1718, by which time Vanbrugh had sold Esher to the Earl of Clare, though Vanbrugh did remain in the area, carrying out work there c.1714-20, when he added substantial wings to the house and constructed the fortress-like Belvedere on the adjoining hillside (fig. 2.50). Vanbrugh and Shannon, furthermore, were also connected through their shared membership of the whig *Kit Kat Club*, a political and convivial club which afforded Vanbrugh many of his later architectural patrons.

Ashley House was let to William Pulteney between 1724 and 1725 and the alterations are thought to post-date this period. We know Pearce was in Britain in April-June 1726 and again in the summer of 1728,<sup>395</sup> and once the original survey was taken he may well have supplied plans (and direction) for Ashley Park remotely. We can therefore, tentatively place Pearce in Surrey at some point in the mid-1720s, in the vicinity, not only of Vanbrugh's Claremont, but also of other important domestic buildings of the period. Colen Campbell's Mereworth Castle (fig. 2.51), an adapted form of Palladio's Villa Rotunda, built in 1723 was fifty miles to the South in Kent, while about thirty-five miles to the west Roger Morris built the aforementioned Combe Bank, c.1726.

Another notable estate, only ten miles from Ashley park, was Clandon near Guildford, where the Venetian architect Giacomo Leoni designed a substantial brick-faced Palladian mansion for Baron Thomas Onslow c.1726 (fig. 2.52) Onslow, was in fact the maternal uncle of John Molesworth's wife Mary Middleton, and represented his niece's interests following her husband's demise.<sup>396</sup> At Clandon, as at Pearce's Bellamont Forest, each of the four red-brick faces of the block-like structure presented a different elevation, variously elaborated with stone dressings, including angle quoins to the ends and a stringcourse directly beneath the first floor windows. Elements of the original south and west fronts (less the nineteenth-century Porte Cochere), moreover, bear more than a passing resemblance to the new front for Marmaduke Coghill's house at Drumcondra, Dublin, which Pearce designed c.1727 (fig. 2.53). The Luganese *stuccodore*, Artari, was responsible for many of the fine interiors at Clandon including the wonderfully plastic, high-relief stucco-work in double-height entrance hall (fig. 2.54).<sup>397</sup>

The Vanbrugh link aside, Pearce was also connected to Lord Shannon through military circles, and once again through his uncle General Thomas Pearce. Shannon served on the Irish military establishment for many years. Like Thomas Pearce he had enjoyed the early patronage of

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<sup>395</sup> Harris, 'Ashley Park, Surrey,' p. 80.

<sup>396</sup> NA Kew C 11/1038/15 Molesworth v Pulteney, 1730.

<sup>397</sup> Avray, Tipping, 'Clandon Park, Surrey,' *Country Life*, vol. 62, no. 1599, 1927 Sep 10, p. 366-372; vol. 62, no. 1600, 1927 Sep 17, p. 398-404; vol. 62, no. 1601, 1927 Sep 24, pp. 434-440; John Cornforth, 'Clandon Park revisited,' *Country Life*, vol. 146, no. 3796, 1969 Dec 4, pp. 1456-1460; vol. 146, no. 3797, 1969 Dec 11, pp. 1582-1586

the Duke of Ormonde, and their subsequent careers followed a similar trajectory. Both men had distinguished themselves at the storming of Vigo in 1702, and served on the Spanish peninsula throughout the remainder of the War of Spanish Succession. Shannon entered the British Commons for Arundel in 1708, then sat successively for Hythe and East Grinstead from 1710, at the same time as Thomas Pearce was returned for Ludgershall. Following the Hanoverian succession these officers were transferred to the Irish establishment, where they prospered. Shannon was appointed Lieutenant General of Staff in 1716 and Commander-in-chief in 1720.

Viscount Shannon, furthermore, was part of the younger branch of the illustrious Boyle family. He was cousin to Lords Burlington and Orrery, and moved in the same exalted circles. In 1702 he married Mary Sackville, widow of Lionel Boyle, 3rd Viscount Orrery and natural daughter of Richard Earl of Dorset. Despite the opinion of Budgell, that ‘this noble Lord’s education has been chiefly in a Camp, [and] I have never heard, that he has a more than ordinary Share of Learning,’<sup>398</sup> Shannon was a member of the politically and culturally prominent ‘set of wits,’<sup>399</sup> the Kit Kat Club, along with his father-in-law Dorset and kinsman Lord Burlington. And while there is little evidence of his subscribing to literary or architectural publications, Shannon not only extended his patronage to Vanbrugh and/or Pearce at Ashley Park, but also engaged the services of Giacomo Leoni to design his Arlington Street house in the late 1730s. Viscount Shannon is among the chief contenders to have served as the conduit between Edward Lovett Pearce and the Burlington circle in Britain.

Certainly he provides the connection to another Neo-Palladian practitioner, Roger Morris. In 1730/1, once again in Britain, Pearce is documented as having arbitrated a dispute between Viscount Shannon and Roger Morris over work at Ashley Park.<sup>400</sup> It is not clear what the nature of this work was, and it may well have involved the extension proposed in the Elton Hall plan. At this time Morris was busy in London, finishing his own house at No. 61 Green Street (fig. 2.55), to which he moved from the Harley estate in 1730. This extremely broad, and somewhat plain-brick house was an attempt by Morris ‘to express the idiom of the Palladian villa in the language of London street architecture.’<sup>401</sup> The 75ft frontage, then larger than any other house on the Grosvenor estate, was divided into a tripartite composition, with a slightly advanced three-bay centre-piece and taller and narrower flanking members, somewhat reminiscent of Morris’ design for the Duke of Argyll at Combe Bank in Kent. The original entrance hall, which like other Palladian villas stretched across the three-bay centre, opened on one side, through a columnar screen, into a double height open-well stair-hall. Perhaps even more pertinently, Morris was also

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<sup>398</sup> Eustace Budgell, *Memoirs of the life and character of the late Earl of Orrery, and of the family of the Boyles* (London: Oliver Paine, 1732), p. 258.

<sup>399</sup> Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in Britain, vol. III, revised edition* (London: Bohn, 1862), p. 179.

<sup>400</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London vol. xl*, pp. 188-9 notes that the attribution to Pearce is greatly strengthened by evidence of ‘Pearce’s presence in England between 1730-1 as arbitrator in a dispute between Viscount Shannon and Roger Morris over work at Ashley Park, Surrey (cites information from Dr. Maurice Craig, 1981, and from records of the Exchequer).

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*

employed on the interiors of No. 30 Old Burlington Street, originally designed by Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell for Algernon Coote, Earl of Mountrath, for which a un-autographed sketch of the basement plan survives in the Elton Hall collection, and which has great significance for Pearce's domestic practice in Dublin.<sup>402</sup>

These same military circles provide the connection to yet another of Pearce's well placed, and in terms of his domestic oeuvre, crucially important architectural patrons, Col. Jean Ligonier. One of the greatest soldiers of his day and chief adviser in military matters to George II,<sup>403</sup> Ligonier was a French-born Huguenot who had escaped to Ireland c.1698. He maintained close ties to Ireland for the rest of his life, serving on the Irish establishment for much of his career. He had strong family connections within the Huguenot settlement at Portarlington, while in Dublin he moved in the 'Castle circle,' and was a great favourite of Lord Lieutenant Dorset and his sons John and Lord George Sackville.<sup>404</sup> Ligonier maintained an Irish establishment at the Phoenix park in Dublin, where he was Chief Ranger from 1734-50, while in the previous decade he appears to have commissioned a plan for a 'new Entended House to be Built ...about 6 miles from Dublin' from Edward Lovett Pearce, whose estimated charges survive in the Elton Hall collection, although the house was seemingly never built.<sup>405</sup> Like many of his colleagues, however, there was a duality to Ligonier's existence; when not in active service he resided much of the time in Britain, where he enjoyed even more influential patronage and illustrious connections.

Ligonier was a close friend of Viscount Shannon, and like Shannon, and the Pearces for that matter, had fought with great distinction in the Spanish wars. Similarly, both Thomas Pearce and Ligonier enjoyed the patronage of the royal favourite, the Duke of Argyll. Ligonier served under his command in Spain and later as governor of Fort St. Philip in Minorca, and it was probably due to Argyll's influence that he was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to George I in 1724 and *aide-decamp* to George II in 1729. Though Malcomson notes that these appointments 'can have required only a token attendance on his sovereigns,'<sup>406</sup> by the 1720s the newly appointed Col. Ligonier was an established figure on the London court scene, where according to his biographer he 'won a reputation for gallantry in the drawing-room as well as the field.'<sup>407</sup> In 1721 one of Ligonier's cousins remarked that:

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<sup>402</sup> Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects*, 'Roger Morris,' pp. 705-709 see ft. 25. This work was carried out between 1729-31.

<sup>403</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>404</sup> Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier*, 50 notes that 'over in Ireland Ligonier became equally well known.' He was made Governor of Kilmainham Hospital, a Freeman of Kinsale and at least one tavern in Dublin was named 'Ligonier's Head'. Ligonier also took a great interest in the theatre and became a foundation subscriber to one of the houses'.

<sup>405</sup> V&A, Elton Hall Collection, E.2124.6-1992.

<sup>406</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>407</sup> See Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier*, pp. 48-9, where the author purports that this 'presupposes that he spent a good deal of time in England at this period and was often at Court, and able to carry out duties about the king's person.'

The Colonel has been in London for a fortnight...he is such a congenial spirit that the ladies demand his company quite as much as the men. He is well off from every point of view, lives comfortably in a house of his own, while his Regiment, which is still in Ireland, brings him twelve thousand guineas (French) a year...<sup>408</sup>

From 1719-1730 Ligonier leased a new-built town house on the Burlington Estate in Mayfair, at No. 10 Old Burlington Street.<sup>409</sup> Nothing survives of the original house, and most of neighbouring buildings have vanished without a trace. Yet, we can nevertheless, place Ligonier in one of the most architecturally important streets in London during the early years of construction, in close proximity to the foremost exemplars in Neo-Palladian urban domestic design; from Lord Burlington's diminutive Palladian palazzo at No. 29, the more monumental No. 30 with its sumptuous Kentian interiors, to Campbell's highly influential unified composition at Nos. 31-34 (fig. 2.56). Here, Ligonier was not only surrounded by influential military figures such as General Wade, Lieutenant-General Archibald Hamilton and Colonel William Egerton, but was also in the stronghold of Lord Burlington's cultural circle, with Richard Arundel, Henry Pelham, Lord Thomas Paget and Charles Dartiquenave, 'epicure and humorist' living nearby. Like his cultured neighbours Ligonier subscribed to a number of literary and architectural publications during this period, including Kent's *Inigo Jones* (1727) and Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* (1728).

In 1730 Ligonier moved to No. 12 North Audley Street, a newly built-up, and highly desirable street north of Grosvenor Square. Although this house and the adjoining block of five were built by the developer and master-craftsman Edward Shepherd, Maurice Craig has plausibly attributed the design of its sophisticated interiors to Edward Lovett Pearce. This attribution is made on stylistic and circumstantial grounds, on the basis of the 'Elton Hall' plan for Ligonier, on their Irish military connections, and persuasively, on formal similarities to other Pearcean projects. According to Hussey the 'contrasting shapes and grave Kentian style are too sophisticated for Shepherd alone...'<sup>410</sup> Certainly, the ingenuity of planning and the refined decoration of the house are unusual for such builder-operator ventures, and suggests the guiding hand of an architect from the outset.

Although altered, externally and internally, the early Georgian design is still discernible. Nos. 11 and 12 North Audley Street were both built by Shepherd (fig. 2.57), originally as two separate houses (although they were connected a various stages in their building history), but utilising an interlocking plan. This innovative plan-type allowed one house to gain a larger

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<sup>408</sup> Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier*, p. 49. See also Henrietta Howard, *Letters*, vol. II, 601: Lord Chesterfield, Scarborough, to Lady Suffolk 1733. Herein, Chesterfield referred to Ligonier as one of 'men of pleasure,' 'who attend upon the Duke of Argyll all day, and dance with the pretty ladies at night.' The other men of pleasure mentioned were Lord Carmichael and 'the famous Tom Paget' a Groom of the Royal Bed-chamber under George I.

<sup>409</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, vol. xxxii, pp. 556-7: W.C.L. rate-books of St James's parish M.D.R. 1730/4/243. Ligonier was one of the earliest tenants on the street signing a lease in 1719.

<sup>410</sup> Christopher Hussey, '12 North Audley Street, London: the residence of the Dowager Lady Aberconway,' *Country Life* (15 November, 1962), pp. 1212-1216.

footprint, at the expense of its neighbour, by borrowing space from the rear of the adjoining plot (fig. 2.58). Although the footprint of No. 12 was substantially larger than the adjoining No. 11, both houses presented similar scale elevations to the street, each of three bays in front and three-storeys over basement. The facades, which were refaced in the nineteenth-century, were probably brick-faced and possibly of a unified composition. Their square proportions were in keeping with the 1720s 'Palladian' terraced model, found throughout Mayfair.

Internally No. 12 was richly elaborated and spatially complex (fig. 2.59). The arrangement at the front was fairly conventional; a relatively wide, single-bay entrance hall, in which the original lozenge patterned black and white flag stones survive, was flanked by a square two-bay street parlour, complete with finely moulded pine paneling and a richly carved Kentian wooden chimney piece. Beyond this however, the complexity increased; an elaborate oval shaped stair compartment, with a finely carved cantilevered stone stair, adjoined on the right to a vaulted octagonal room, complete with deeply recessed niches on the diagonal axis, and at the rear to a domed and vaulted tripartite gallery, which stretched across the back of the two plots, borrowing ground from the rear of No.11 (fig. 2.60). Here, according to Sheppard, 'the proportions and detailing convey the impression of a more spacious room than is actually the case.'<sup>411</sup>

This interplay of contrasting shapes and communicating spaces is extremely sophisticated for this date, and not found again in a West End terrace for more than a decade, until the ingenuous arrangements of the 2nd-generation Palladian, Sir Robert Taylor. Such complex handling of space, the drama and spatial-excitement of the movement between swelling and contracting volumes, of dark into light, the variation of shapes, and use of coffered-domes and vaulting speaks of a firm-grounding in antique sources, and certainly evokes Pearce's planning at the Parliament House in Dublin, in particular the 'thermal' architectural language of the former House of Lords (fig. 2.61). It is worth remarking that both instances, at the Parliament House in Dublin, and North Audley Street predate similar explorations inspired by Roman *thermae*, by Lord Burlington and William Kent; at the York Assembly rooms (c.1730) and the 'Pantheon Scheme' for the proposed British Houses of Parliament in London (1733).<sup>412</sup>

There are other, more specific points of contact with Pearcean designs, which initially prompted the attribution of No. 12 North Audley Street to him. As Craig pointed out, the gallery is decidedly similar to a grotto which Pearce designed on the Allen estate at Stillorgan in Dublin (fig. 2.62), though, as the surviving plan makes clear, this contained seven compartments to the gallery's three; the proportions are alike, however, as is the combination of a large domed central compartment, flanked by smaller groin vaulted spaces. Pearce was also interested in the idea of placing an octagonal room at or near the centre of the house, as his sketch plans make clear, while

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<sup>411</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London vol. xl*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>412</sup> Frank Salmon, 'Public commissions,' in *William Kent; designing Georgian Britain*, ed. Susan Webber (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 329, Kent and Burlington's fascination with Roman Bath complexes drew on, or was fuelled by Palladio's drawings of Roman *thermae*, which were in Lord Burlington's possession and then being prepared for publication in *Fabbriche Antiche*, by Kent, Flitcroft and Isaac Ware.

the more recent discovery by David Griffin, that Summerhill, County Meath, a now demolished house believed to be by Pearce, had a room identical in plan-form and dimension to the drawing-room at No. 12 North Audley Street corroborates Craig's attribution.<sup>413</sup> Doubts over the attribution have been raised, primarily on account of Pearce's supposed absence from Britain during this period. Sheppard noted in 1980 that 'he appears to have lived permanently in Ireland from 1726 until his death in 1733 and there is no indication that he visited England during that time.'<sup>414</sup> We now know however, that Pearce was in Britain, certainly in Norfolk, in the summer of 1728, and as the purpose of his visit, as McParland points out, was to source materials for the Parliament House, it is unlikely that he would forego a London visit at this time.<sup>415</sup> The fact that Pearce seems to have imported British craftsmen, as well as materials for the Parliament House, namely Thomas Gilbert and Job Ensor, both are whom are believed to have worked at St Paul's in London, strengthens the probability that Pearce visited the British capital at this time.<sup>416</sup>

As Ligonier occupied his North Audley Street house from 1730, when he first paid rates, it is entirely likely that he would have sought plans for the elaborate interior at least two years earlier in 1728, when notably he was still in residence at Old Burlington Street.<sup>417</sup> We know Pearce was in London again in 1730/1731, arbitrating the Ashley Park dispute, while the recent discovery of official correspondence firmly places Pearce in London in December 1730, where he was lobbying for the position of Surveyor General.<sup>418</sup> Pearce, then it would appear, was in Britain at the beginning and end of the construction period of No 12 North Audley Street. The hypothesis that Pearce provided the designs for No. 12 remotely and left the execution to Shepherd, is probable. The contemporary practice of supplying architectural drawings by post or courier is referred to by the architect Thomas Hewett, who in 1725 describes sending plans for perusal by his patrons in

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<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.* These new developments are included in the updated online edition of the *Survey of London*, vol. xl <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>415</sup> Edward McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the Parliament House in Dublin,' *Burlington Magazine* vol. 131, no. 1031 (Feb. 1989), p. 92.

<sup>416</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 191, posits that William Borrowdale, Benjamin Simpson and Thomas Gilbert, three of the principal stone cutters employed at the Parliament House, who were admitted freemen of Dublin in 1730 and 1734, were then 'newly arrived from England,' for that purpose. No other record of Benjamin Simpson can be traced in Dublin or at the London Metropolitan Archives or Kew. William Borrardale, had in fact been working in Dublin since at least 1724, when he is listed as carrying out work at the Parish Church of St Michan's, in the Vestry minutes book. See RCBL St Michan's Vestry Book P276.5.1 1724-1760. Thomas Gilbert, a stone mason and later architect came from the Isle of Portland, where his family were involved in the quarrying and supply of Portland Stone, and among other ventures (including some in Dublin such as at Trinity College) were employed at St Paul's Cathedral, London. Job Ensor, a master carpenter came to Ireland sometime between 1724 and 1729 when he was employed at the Parliament House. Though no documentary evidence has been located, Ensor is believed also to have also cut his teeth at St Paul's, the largest-scale building project in these Isles during the period in question.

<sup>417</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London* vol. xl, pp. 100-101 notes that Ligonier paid Shepherd an annual rent of £105 until he bought the house for an unknown amount in 1735.

<sup>418</sup> PRONI T3019/54: Notes therein '...The Justices also report that Lt-gen Pearce has recommended capt. Edward Lovett Pearce for the first engineer's position. Capt. Pearce, a member of the House of Commons, is now in London and will present his credentials to the Lord Lieutenant in person.'

London ‘in a little box,’<sup>419</sup> while in Norfolk Pearce himself seems to have followed this practice, providing plans for another to execute. The much rehearsed remark from Mary Pendarves (later Mrs. Delany), who wrote to her sister in 1731: ‘You must send to Capt Pierce for a plan to build a house, and then I am sure it will be pretty and convenient,’<sup>420</sup> implies he did likewise in London.

There is a finesse to the decoration and architectural detailing in the ground floor interiors at No. 12 North Audley Street which suggests some form of collaboration between architect and craftsman. The gallery scheme in particular, with its profusion of detail and integrated elements: the carved ionic columns, so favoured by Pearce, which mark out the angles, the similarly enriched door-cases and window openings, and carved niches on the north-south axis speak of an architect’s involvement, as does the manner in which the fine plasterwork articulates the domed and vaulted ceilings, picking out the major structural elements, in the manner of the ancients (fig. 2.63). The use of square or rectilinear coffering in the dome, moreover, which derived ultimately from the Pantheon, clearly demonstrates the author’s familiarity with antique sources. This motif was surprisingly little used, and it is noteworthy that Pearce, a self professed student of ‘antiquities,’<sup>421</sup> also adopted such ‘Pantheon’ coffering in the former House of Lords in Dublin, at about the same time.<sup>422</sup>

Edward Shepherd, we must remember was a master-plasterer, and executed a number of noteworthy schemes around Mayfair during this period, yet his independent work tended toward a richer, more florid manner,<sup>423</sup> in contrast to the extremely controlled and reticent decoration found at North Audley Street. The vault in the octagonal room, in particular, with its broad frieze of festoons and medallions with classical heads (fig. 2.64), is almost Neo Classical in its spare refinement. This scheme is believed to be contemporary with the original building and if so shows a comparable handling to the ‘Grecian’ simplicity of Pearce’s colonnade at the Dublin Parliament House.<sup>424</sup> This tendency toward an archeologically derived Neo Classicism, moreover, was in keeping with the ambitions of the architectural clique, the New Junta, which formed in London about 1717 and which according to McParland, ‘provides the best context in which to set the emergence of Edward Lovett Pearce as an architect.’<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>419</sup> NLI, MS 38,599/14, Wicklow papers; Letter to Hugh Howard, Esq. at his House in Leicester Street near Leicester fields, London, March 8<sup>th</sup> 1725.

<sup>420</sup> Mary Delany, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mrs. Delany, vol. I*, ed. Lady Llanover (London, R. Bentley, 1861), p. 275, Mary Pendarves to Ann Granville, Northend, 27th May 1731.

<sup>421</sup> NLI D20,209; Note on designs for Houses of Parliament, Dublin, by E. L. Pearce, March 7, 1727-8.

<sup>422</sup> Palladio’s section of the Pantheon, which formed part of the larger complex of the Bath of Agrippa, was then in Lord Burlington’s possession, and as yet unpublished.

<sup>423</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London vol. xl*, pp. 2-21; *Survey of London vol. xxxix*, p. 115.

<sup>424</sup> See Edward McParland, ‘Edward Lovett Pearce and the new junta for architecture,’ in *Lord Burlington: architecture, art, life*, eds. Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (London: Continuum, 1995), pp. 160-161 for Pearce’s Grecian taste.

<sup>425</sup> McParland, ‘Edward Lovett Pearce and the new junta,’ p. 160.

It is interesting to note, however, that the concept of the interlocking plan seems to have come from Shepherd, rather than Pearce. In 1725 Shepherd designed a house, for his own occupation at No. 72 Brook Street (fig. 2.65), which utilised this unusual plan-type to gain a larger footprint and more spacious rooms in his house, at the expense of its neighbour. This plan could be adapted to the requirements of prospective customer, as occasion demanded, and as later happened at North Audley Street. In 1736 Shepherd employed an interlocking plan once more at No. 74 South Audley Street (fig. 2.65). Apart from a single instance at No. 54 Upper Brook Street in the early 1730s, where space was borrowed from the plot to the rear, these three houses, all built by Shepherd are the only documented examples from this period to utilise this plan-type. A sketch plan for two unidentified terraced houses of uneven areas (fig. 2.66), preserved in the Elton Hall collection,<sup>426</sup> appears to explore a similar idea, and as such strengthens the probability that Pearce worked closely with Shepherd in formulating the interior scheme at North Audley Street.

Edward Shepherd was an influential connection in London's building industry. He was one of the most important and prolific builder-developers in the West End, and was particularly active on the Grosvenor Estate, leasing large blocks of ground from the estate landlords, such as on Brook Street and North Audley Street in the 1720s, or South Audley Street in 1730s, on favourable terms. Here, following the standard development model of the time, he divided up the ground into regular building plots and subleased some to other contractors for construction, while he developed others himself in collaboration with the necessary building trades. In the mid-1720s this master-plasterer (as he was described in 1723) graduated to the title of 'architect.' Between 1723-5 he had been employed by the Duke of Chandos, supervising the completion of works at Cannons, while between 1724-8 Shepherd designed two houses on the north side of Cavendish Square for the Duke, in place of the mansion he had originally intended for this site.<sup>427</sup> From 1726 to 1728 building works at the Duke of Kent's new house at No. 4 St James' Square (fig. 2.67) were said 'to be directed by Edward Shepherd, Surveyor';<sup>428</sup> a house which bears a marked resemblance to Pearce's now demolished Christ Church Deanery in Dublin (c.1730, fig. 2.68).

In 1728, at the same time as North Audley Street was under construction, Shepherd designed a unified tripartite range on the north-side of Grosvenor Square (demol.), which Besse Molesworth reported in 1729, the Prince of Wales intended to take as his residence.<sup>429</sup> At nearby Brook Street in the 1720s Shepherd was involved in some capacity with the foremost Palladian architect of the day, Colen Campbell. Shepherd subleased ground to Campbell, on which the Scottish architect built his own house at No. 76, which he occupied from 1726 until his death in

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<sup>426</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.47-1992 Sketch plan of part of a terrace showing two houses of unequal size. Each has two staircases and a vaulted hall.

<sup>427</sup> John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Praeger, 1945, revised 1970), pp. 99-100.

<sup>428</sup> F.H.W Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London XXIX-XXX: parish of St. James Westminster part I: south of Piccadilly* (London: Athlone Press, 1960), pp. 90-1.

<sup>429</sup> NLI, Molesworth Papers, n.4082, p.3753; Letter from London Aug 14 1729 to Lord Molesworth, 'left at the post office in At Albans Hertfordshire.'

1729, and he developed a block of seven houses himself on the north-side of this street (fig. 2.69). Here in this hub of architectural activity, in the years around 1728, Pearce's collaborator worked and lived in close proximity to some of the capital's most fashionable town houses, and as noted in the previous chapter, directly opposite the houses of the prominent Irish patrons, Viscount Mountjoy and Sir Gustavus Hume.

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This British context, and the architectural models it offered was of the utmost importance to informing new practice in Dublin. Here, just at the moment of genesis of Dublin's new domestic architecture, two of the Ireland's leading practitioners, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle can be found. There, this chapter has shown, they enjoyed influential connections to the first circles of British society, one in the engineering and scientific milieu surrounding the royal court, the other in prominent military circles; connections which put them in the way of leading architects and craftsmen and exposed them to the latest exemplars in domestic design.

Dominant threads have emerged in this intricate web of connections. Sir Gustavus Hume's integral importance has come to the fore, not simply as an architectural patron but a cosmopolitan courtier, whose interest in military engineering provides the most probable link to Edward Lovett Pearce, and the context in which Richard Castle emerged in Britain. Tangential strands, George I's scientific interests, ties to the Molesworths and the New Junta, and to James Gibbs and his draughtsman the German Johann Borlach augment the sketchy picture of Richard Castle's time in Britain. General Thomas Pearce also comes forward as a significant protagonist, one whose powerful connections in military and architectural circles served to place his nephew in the thick of Britain's vibrant architectural culture in the formative years of his professional career. Pearce's Norfolk connections prove important, while direct links to Sir John Vanbrugh have been established, as well as looser connections to such royal favourites the Duke of Argyll and James and Lucy Johnston; these in turn place Pearce within the orbit of important architectural developments around Norfolk, Richmond and London's West End, where an oddity in construction of Henrietta Street houses associated with Pearce finds echoes, and influential domestic models have been identified.

One of the most significant of these connections to come to light, however, must be General Viscount Shannon, not only as the likely conduit to the Burlington circle in Britain, but also to the Palladian architect Roger Morris. The array of stylistic and circumstantial links between this British architect and both Pearce and Castle are compelling, and open a significant avenue for future exploration. The final figure in this complex picture, General Jean Ligonier exemplifies the intricate nature of such connections in this period. For not only was he linked to Pearce, by way of his uncle, and in turn linked Pearce to Edward Shepherd, but this architectural patron was also closely acquainted with Nathaniel Clements, architectural *aficionado* and Luke Gardiner's partner in the pioneering domestic development at Henrietta Street in Dublin. It is to these individuals and their role in developing Dublin's new domestic architecture, that we now turn.

## Chapter 3.

### Developing connections: Luke Gardiner and his circle.

...we want such a one as Mr. Gardiner to keep the others in order; as he is most zealously attached to his majesty by affection as well as by interest, and is a thorough man of business, and of great weight in the country...

Archbishop Hugh Boulter to the Duke of Dorset.<sup>430</sup>

The Right Honourable Luke Gardiner (a.1690-1755, fig. 3.1) was a self-made man who rose from humble beginnings to a position of great wealth and influence within Ireland's governing elite. He moved in the first circles of society and was connected to the best families in the kingdom, while his personal banking interests and shrewd property speculation brought him an immense fortune. Through these speculative enterprises Gardiner had a profound impact on the urban landscape of Dublin City, developing large tracts of land on the north-side of the river for residential building in the first half of the century (fig. 3.2). His pioneering schemes at Henrietta Street and Sackville Street, in particular, set the standard for Dublin's domestic architecture for centuries to come (fig. 3.3, 3.4). How did he reach such heights and who were the backers who helped him along the way? Despite his significance, Luke Gardiner is something of an enigma, his origins and early career are shrouded in mystery, and there has been little discussion regarding the networks in which he operated, or the impact of these connections on his burgeoning business empire.

This chapter will attempt to flesh out this picture, delving deeper into the socio-political context in which Gardiner and his associates operated, drawing out the astonishing web of connections they enjoyed on both sides of the Irish Sea. Key figures will be brought to the fore, from Gardiner's protégé Nathaniel Clements and his cross-channel contacts, to eminent financiers, discerning cultural agents and adroit money-men, while following the money illuminates the close-knit and reciprocal nature of elite Irish society. This is a study of two parts, however, and as well as the contextual background this chapter will delve into the business of Gardiner's domestic developments, examining such previously under-explored aspects as the development model adopted, the leasehold system employed, and the financial considerations of speculative building. Henrietta Street will form the focus, though comparative material concerning Sackville Street will also be utilised. Comparison will also be made to contemporary schemes in Britain and Ireland, in an attempt to establish how Gardiner's developments measured up both formally and financially to established models, and at the same time to contextualise his achievement.

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<sup>430</sup> Hugh Boulter, *Letters written by his excellency Hugh Boulter, DD, Lord Primate of All Ireland, volume II*, ed. Ambrose Phillips (Oxford: Clarendon. Press, 1770), p. 223, Archbishop Hugh Boulter to the Duke of Dorset, c.1737.

### 3.1.1. Building influence: Luke Gardiner and his circle.

Luke Gardiner was born sometime before 1690,<sup>431</sup> and though his parentage is unknown and no record of his birth has been discovered, he is believed to have been a native of Dublin City, probably of mercantile origins. The large volume of Gardiner family papers held in the National Library of Ireland contains little personal material, or for that matter details of Gardiner's business operations, and the details of his early life remain sketchy. He may have been the son of James Gardiner of the Coombe, or alternatively of William Gardiner, a Dublin merchant who received a grant of arms in 1683.<sup>432</sup> According to Malcomson the arms registered to a William Gardiner of Dublin closely resemble those used later by Luke Gardiner's descendants. This may be the same William Gardiner 'Gent.' then of Drogheda but originally from Lusk, who with his wife Honora was involved in a financial transaction with Luke Gardiner in 1713 concerning property in Kilkenny and Dublin. A number of documents relating to lands in Kilkenny are preserved in the Gardiner papers at the National Library of Ireland, suggesting a long-term family connection with the county and possibly between these individuals, though no firmer link has been established.<sup>433</sup>

Gardiner is popularly supposed to have started out in life as a domestic servant, working as a footman for Mr White at Leixlip Castle.<sup>434</sup> Yet, according to Malcomson, Gardiner began his career as a secretary or clerk, as his literacy and numerical proficiency would suggest, and was member of the household of John South (c.1668-1711), a Commissioner of the Revenue, from c. 1695-c.1697. Certainly Gardiner's subsequent skill as an administrator and financier point to some form of education or training in this area and belie menial beginnings. It was evidently through South's influence that Gardiner advanced on the initial rung of his ladder, gaining his first official post in 1708 at the revenue board, as secretary of the Dublin Ballast Office, worth the considerable sum of £75 a year.<sup>435</sup>

John South was a valuable connection to have in Dublin's government and administrative circles. He was the son of John South of Wiltshire, and probably of English birth. A sometime captain in the army, South was admitted to the bar at Gray's Inn in London in 1688, before serving as a 'commissioner for stating the accounts of the army' about 1693 and from c.1695-1711 as an

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<sup>431</sup> PRONI T3019/2636, Letter from Clements to Wilmot, 26 June 1755, notes that Luke Gardiner 'is now 75 years old.'

<sup>432</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 24.

<sup>433</sup> RD 24/215/13598, Gardiner, Thomas Lill & others to Gardiner. Though William was a Stewart family name it may be significant that on March 29 1718 Luke and Anne Gardiner of Cork Hill baptised a son, William Gardiner at St Werburghs.

<sup>434</sup> John Coleman, "Luke Gardiner (1745-98) an Irish dilettante." *Irish Arts Review* (1999), p. 161; p. 168 cites a reference in the Brinsley Ford Papers to Mr Patrick Hume's comments, and to the nineteenth century commentator Richard Madden's allusions to Gardiner's lowly origins. Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 24 fn. 6 refers to 'generally scurrilous comments' by Elizabeth, Countess of Moira in the Granard papers, Castle Forbes, County Longford.

<sup>435</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 24.

Irish Revenue Commissioner.<sup>436</sup> In 1695-6, the period in which Gardiner is believed to have been in his employ, South carried out an 'Enumeration of houses, hearths and people in Dublin,' and though there is no evidence of his direct involvement, Luke Gardiner would ultimately become responsible for this area of revenue collection when he was appointed examiner of the hearth tax rolls in 1711.<sup>437</sup>

During this period John South also stood for election as an MP in England, where he received the backing of Lord Haversham and the Pauletts, Dukes of Bolton.<sup>438</sup> South was connected to this eminent family through marriage,<sup>439</sup> and it seems that it was through this connection that Luke Gardiner came under the protection of Charles Paulett, 2nd Duke of Bolton, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1717-20. During the Duke of Bolton's tenure in Dublin Gardiner was appointed Register of the Royal Barracks (1718), and his influence with the Lord Lieutenant may in turn have brought him the favour of Speaker Connolly and Primate Boulter. Certainly Gardiner saw continued success in the 1720s when he was appointed a trustee of Royal Barracks (c.1722), Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Receiver General and Paymaster General in 1725, and Ranger of the Castleknock Walk in the Phoenix Park in 1728. In 1722, in honour of his recently deceased patron, Gardiner is believed to have named his pioneering development at Henrietta Street as a compliment to the Duke's widow (and John South's step-daughter) Henrietta Paulett.<sup>440</sup> While the South influence had given Gardiner his initial start, through his own talent, industry and perspicacity he built up other influential connections within Ireland's governing elite.

In 1711, the year in which he was appointed Examiner of the Hearth Tax Rolls and Keeper of the recently established Registry of Deeds, Luke Gardiner made an advantageous marriage to Anne Stewart, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Alexander Stewart and niece to William Stewart, 1st Viscount Mountjoy. Gardiner must surely have acquired a degree of prosperity by this point in order to make him a suitable candidate for such a match.<sup>441</sup> The Stewart connection not only brought Gardiner the aristocratic lineage that would lend him a veneer of nobility to mask his

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<sup>436</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, D. W. Hayton and Stuart Handley, *The House of Commons: 1690-1715, vol. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 577-78.

<sup>437</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 24 gives 1711 as the date when Gardiner was appointed as an Examiner of the Hearth Tax, while Helen Andrews' biography on Gardiner in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* notes this appointment as 1714.

<sup>438</sup> Cruickshanks, et al. *The House of Commons*, pp. 577-78. South stood, unsuccessfully at Gatton in Surrey in 1696; and at St. Ives in 1705 and 1708. South was returned as MP for Newcastle in Ireland in 1703, but this did not prohibit him standing for the British Commons at the same time.

<sup>439</sup> John South married Eleanor Needham, third daughter of Sir John Needham of Denbighshire, who had previously been mistress to James Duke of Monmouth. According to John Harold Wilson, *Court Satires of the Restoration*, p. 255 Eleanor, bore Monmouth four children, who had the surname Croft, one of whom was Henrietta Croft, wife of the 2nd Duke of Bolton.

<sup>440</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 24. Luke and Anne Gardiner also seem to have named their daughter after the Duchess of Bolton. They baptised Henrietta Gardiner at St Mary's on 22 August 1727.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.* Malcomson refers to comments made by Elizabeth Countess of Moira c.1785 that in the early years of the eighteenth century Gardiner amassed 'a property exceeding affluence' as a wine-merchant and it was alleged was a 'protestant discoverer.'

obscure origins but also the influential political patronage that came with the Stewart-Boyle interest. It would be another decade, however, until Gardiner entered the political fray and in this period he was busy utilising his connections in building up his financial and property empire.

Sometime around 1712 Gardiner set up a private banking operation with Arthur Hill at Castle Street. The Rt. Hon. Arthur Hill (fig. 3.5), latterly Viscount Dungannon, was described by Mrs Delany as ‘a very honest, hospitable, friendly, good man, with a *little pepper* in his composition.’<sup>442</sup> The second son of Michael Hill of Hillsborough, and younger brother to Viscount Hillsborough, Arthur Hill pursued an ambitious career in public office, sitting as an MP for Hillsborough (1715-1727), and County Down (1727-1761). He was an active parliamentarian, and served on a variety committees and sponsored numerous bills and legislation, much of which show a similar range of interests to those pursued by Gardiner. For example, Hill headed a number of road bills, as well as measures to promote the improvement of the lighting, paving and cleansing of Dublin’s streets, while he was also active in promoting the banking system in Ireland.<sup>443</sup> Through the influence of his step-father, Chancellor Alan Brodrick, Viscount Middleton, Hill was appointed to a number of important positions within the Irish administration. He was made Keeper of the Records in Bermingham Tower (1719-1733) and then successively Joint Registrar of Deeds and Conveyances (1734–6), Registrar of Deeds and Conveyances (1736–48), finally becoming Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in 1754.

In this capacity Hill smoothed the way for Gardiner, and his protégé Nathaniel Clements within the British administration, particularly during the turbulent period following their opposition to the money bill of 1753, when Hill vouched for Clements’ ‘future good behaviour’ in towing the government line.<sup>444</sup> As early as 1728, at the time when his mother and her husband Lord Middleton were resident in London, an ‘Arthur Hill Esq.’ ‘served as a Gentleman of His Majesties Privy Chamber.’<sup>445</sup> Though it is not certain that this was the same person, Hill did enjoy the patronage of

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<sup>442</sup> Mary Delany, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mrs. Delany, vol. III*, ed. Lady Llanover (London: R. Bentley, 1861), p. 514.

<sup>443</sup> For examples of Hill’s legislative interests see *Acts and statutes made in a Parliament begun at Dublin, the twenty-eighth day of November, Anno Dom. 1727* (Dublin, 1734).

<sup>444</sup> PRONI T3019/2343, Letter from the Duke of Dorset, Whitehall, to the Lord Justices, noting that Mr [Arthur] Hill had been in London where he was ‘fully apprised of the opinion of the Duke of Newcastle and His Majesty’s ministers...in regard to the necessity of having the influence of the Treasury fully exerted in the support of the government,’ therein Dorset sought assurances of Mr Clements ‘future good behaviour.’

<sup>445</sup> *The state of the Court of Great Britain, Under His most Sacred Majesty King George II, and His Illustrious Consort Queen Caroline* (London, 1728), p. 63.

<sup>446</sup> See PRONI T3019/156, wherein Hill’s favour with her majesty Queen Caroline is clearly demonstrated when a Queen’s Letter appointing Arthur Hill to the office of the Register of Lands in 1736 was sent to the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle. An annotation by Wilmot thereon explains that Hill held the office before [1718-33] and resumed it upon departure of Laurence Brodrick. The salary was £5,000 and ‘the perquisites’ were ‘considerable.’

Queen Caroline about this time,<sup>446</sup> he was also involved in financial transactions in Britain in the early 1730s, and was a frequent visitor to the British capital thereafter.<sup>447</sup>

Arthur Hill was also a dedicated patron of the arts, architecture and the culture of improvement, and occupied a prominent position in these circles. He was a founding member of the Dublin Society in 1731 as well as a long-term member of the Hibernian Society and of the Incorporated Society in Dublin.<sup>448</sup> Hill was a governor of various public bodies, including the Linen Board, the Workhouse, the Foundling Hospital, and the Blue Coat School.<sup>449</sup> As an Ulster landowner he had a vested interest in improving the region and served as a director of Tyrone collieries and the Newry canal, while he also oversaw the improvement of his own estate Belvoir, near Belfast, which he laid out from the late 1730s. Writing in 1740 Charles Smith described Belvoir as...

laid out lately in Taste; the Avenue is large and handsome, the Fruiterie, from an irregular Glyn, is now disposed in regular Canals, with Cascades, Slopes and Terraces, the Kitchen Ground inclosed with Espaliers with the best of the Gardens lying over the Lagan River which is navigable to this Place. The Offices are finished, but the House not yet built. A small Walk from Belvoir, is a neat well finished Church built at the Expense of the Right Honourable Lady Middleton. <sup>450</sup>

This was Knockbreda Church, a Palladian style estate chapel built for Hill's mother, Lady Anne Middleton (formerly Hill, née Trevor) by Richard Castle in the mid-1730s, for which Arthur Hill donated an acre of ground. Though the exact building date for the house at Belvoir (fig. 3.6,

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<sup>447</sup> PRONI D3710/1B, Arthur Hill to Benjamin Hoare, 26 April 1732, letter from Hill to Benjamin Hoare, of Hoare's Bank on Fleet Street, wherein Hill referred to property transaction involving a 'Mr Neale' who 'had procured for him a complete title to the lands,' for which he requested Hoare 'deliver the South Sea Bonds to Neale.' PRONI D778/72B shows that this was John Neale of the Parish of St George Hanover (perhaps the builder John Neale who had an account with Hoare's bank)? who along with Sir Adolphus Aughton of the same, conveyed lands in County Antrim to Hill.

Various newspaper reports refer to Arthur Hill's journeys to and from Britain in this period including, *The Daily Gazetteer*: Saturday, January 24, 1736, Issue 188; Saturday, February 21, 1736; Tuesday, March 2, 1736, Issue 212; Monday, March 8, 1736, Issue 217; Thursday, June 25, 1741, Issue 1879; *General Advertiser*, Tuesday, May 30, 1749, Issue 4554; *London Advertiser and Literary Gazette*: Wednesday, April 17, 1751; Issue 39; *General Advertiser*, Wednesday, June 3, 1752, Issue 5499.

<sup>448</sup> *Public Advertiser*: Friday, March 30, 1753, Issue 573, notes Hill acted as a steward at a meeting of the corresponding London branch of the Incorporated Society in the vestry room of St. Mary-le-bone in 1753.

<sup>449</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. IV, pp. 417-8.

<sup>450</sup> Charles Smith, *A topographical and choreographical survey of the county of Down* (London: Thomas Boreman, 1740).

demolished) is unknown, it would seem to date from around this period.<sup>451</sup> The fact that Richard Castle was working on the estate for Hill's mother, combined with the evidently sophisticated hydraulic features and water works being carried out at Belvoir during this period, not to mention their shared association through Luke Gardiner and the Newry Canal project, offers compelling grounds to associate Richard Castle with the design of Belvoir Park.

Hill was certainly known for his cultured taste and interest in architecture.<sup>452</sup> In 1760 John Carteret Pilkington described him as 'the most accomplished gentleman in Europe,' and lauded a visit to his country seat 'where painting, sculpture, architecture, books, musick, conversation, with the most hospitable treatment, conspired to shew the greatness of the gentleman...'<sup>453</sup> He subscribed to a large range of literary publications, including Starrat's *Doctrine of projectiles* (1733) and John Aheron's *A general treatise of architecture* (1754). In 1758 Hill succeeded to the Trevor estates in Britain bringing him a vast income and large property holdings, including the family seat at Brynkinalt in Denbighshire, and extensive ground around Knightsbridge in London's West End, upon which the Trevor's town residence, Powis House (fig. 3.7 demolished) then stood.<sup>454</sup>

As with his other business ventures, documentary evidence relating to Gardiner and Hill's banking operation appears to have vanished.<sup>455</sup> Similarly, an examination of surviving deeds and property titles show little evidence of Hill's involvement with Gardiner's speculative developments though both these banking and property enterprises commenced about the same time.<sup>456</sup> Gardiner's earliest recorded property development took place on the south quays in Dublin, where from 1712 he began acquiring land north of Lazy or Lazars Hill that had been previously leased by the

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<sup>451</sup> Brian Mackey, "The creation of Knockbreda Parish Church and Belvoir Park," *Knockbreda its monuments & people*, ed. Lydia Wilson (Armagh: Follies Trust, 2009), p. 12 notes that the earliest images of a house at Belvoir was a set of paintings by Jonathan Fisher dating from 1766, which illustrate a substantial two-storey house. There is an indication of a house at Belvoir in 1739 on the *Map of County Down* by Oliver Sloane, and it was described as an 'agreeable seat' by Harris and Smith in 1744. However, writing on the 1st of October 1758 Mrs Delany noted Belvoir was 'a charming place; a very good house, though not quite finished and everything very elegant.' Mrs Delany went on to remark that 'this place is much more furnished than Hillsborough,' indicating Belvoir was habitable in the 1750s. This may support Terence Reeves-Smyth's supposition that the house indicated in 1739 and mentioned by Harris and Smith in 1744 could have been a modest size dwelling, while the two-storey mansion illustrated by Fisher was probably built in the 1750s, and that the older house described in 1744 was subsequently adapted to form part of the north-east corner of the service courtyard on the south-side of the new house (Reeves-Smyth in Laffan, 2006).

<sup>452</sup> See Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington, wife to the Reverend Mr. Matthew Pilkington* (London, 1748) p. 291, who included Arthur Hill as one of 'Several Persons of Taste.'

<sup>453</sup> John Carteret Pilkington, *The real story of John Carteret Pilkington* (London, 1760), p. 123, p. 126.

<sup>454</sup> John Greenacombe (ed.), 'Trevor Square Area: Powis House and the Trevor Estate,' *Survey of London: vol. xlv: Knightsbridge* (London: English Heritage, 2000), pp. 95-97.

<sup>455</sup> Annie Fraser, "Messrs. Gardiner & Hill," *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 19, No. 4 (Sep., 1964): pp. 127-133.

<sup>456</sup> A comprehensive name search at the Registry of Deeds did not uncover any joint transactions involving Hill and Gardiner. NLI MS 36,606 n/2, Gardiner Papers, contains a deed of security to secure bond on £10,000 held on lands in County Meath and County Wexford, from Peter Bernard to Arthur Hill and Luke Gardiner. 5 Sept 1735 PRONI D778/84, shows Arthur Hill also took a mortgage on two lots of ground at Oxmanstown Green in 1738, but this may have been for his personal use. A number of deeds survive in PRONI D1137/1/32 relating to Lady Middleton's property on Marlborough Street and Strand Street in Dublin, which her son oversaw.

Corporation to other investors but which offered attractive terms of tenure and return.<sup>457</sup> The financing of these early enterprises is far from transparent. Gardiner appears to have gained an interest in John Mercer's holding in 1712 as a trustee for William Alcock (perhaps William Alcock of Wilton Castle in Wexford), though no funds changed hands, and Gardiner subsequently developed the dock here in conjunction with Mercer. Gardiner and Alcock were involved in a number of property transactions in this area towards the end of this decade, and Gardiner may well have acted as an agent, for some sort of remuneration or interest, for the investor, Alcock.<sup>458</sup>

In the same period Gardiner purchased the lease of Sir John Rogerson's adjoining plot in his own right, and succeeded in securing half of the funding from Dublin Corporation to reclaim the land and build what would become George's Quay.<sup>459</sup> In contrast to the hereditary landlord in London, or the Corporation in Dublin, private developers like Gardiner would have had to outlay some capital in the purchase of these and later holdings. What then was the source for this not inconsiderable outlay? The standard explanation is that Gardiner financed his speculative enterprises through the bank at Castle Street, and later by exploiting his position as Receiver General, investing state revenues held temporarily in his own private account.<sup>460</sup> Certainly in 1733, just about the time when the initial stage of development at Henrietta Street was nearing completion, Gardiner's conduct in relation to this revenue practice was called into question. In a letter to England, Marmaduke Coghill noted 'there is at present an objection made to Mr Gardiner's conduct in managing the appropriated funds, he is oblig'd by act of parliament when 5,000l. of those funds are in his hands to pay off so much of the debt, by which the principal is lessened and the Interest reduced, but this not being done as there directed, he is endeavouring to clear himself of it...'<sup>461</sup>

While his official post at the revenue secured Gardiner a steady income, the astute financier seems to have also supplemented this official source through the acquisition and granting of mortgages on various property holdings throughout the country. From about 1712 Gardiner had

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<sup>457</sup> These leases, some of which were granted for a term of years while others were for lives in perpetuity, must have offered Gardiner secure tenure, as in 1755 his will makes clear that much of these holdings were still in his possession. See NAI T/1325, copy will of the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, 16th August 1755.

<sup>458</sup> See NLI MS 36,543 /1-6, Ms 36,534/2-5, Gardiner Papers.

<sup>459</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 220, notes that in 1712 Mercer and Mary Kemys had been granted a lease for lives renewable on a block of ground here known as the Strand by Dublin Corporation. A legal action taken in 1729, by John Mercer's widow paints a very complex picture of the transactions involving Gardiner. Seemingly, Mercer, who found himself in financial difficulties in 1712, assigned his interest in this ground to Luke Gardiner, as trustee for William Alcock, for £600. Mercer's widow declared that no such sum was paid, nor deeds issued for this transaction, but that Gardiner and Mercer developed the wharf here, and that Gardiner and Alcock later issued deeds and conveyances of plots of this ground. Certainly there are several deeds contained in the Gardiner papers at the NLI involving Gardiner and Alcock for this ground, and Mercer was not party to them. See Grace Mercer, 'George Robinson, and Anne his wife, on behalf of themselves, and of William Court, a minor; appellants. Grace Mercer, relict of John Mercer, late of the city of Dublin, merchant, deceased, and her six infant children; respondents (London: 1730). For more on Gardiner's acquisition of Rogerson's holding see Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 230.

<sup>460</sup> See Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 220 and Helen Andrews' entry on Gardiner in the *DIB*. Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 141.

<sup>461</sup> Coghill, *Letters*, p. 137, letter 114, Marmaduke Coghill to Edward Southwell Jr., 20 Oct 1733. Coghill is referring to the Irish Loan Act of 1729 Geo II c 2, which 'had appropriated certain duties to a loan fund to be applied by the Vice Treasurer to discharge the interest on the Irish national debt...'

formed an association with Thomas Lill, a counsellor of the Court of the Exchequer and revenue official at the Custom House, where they were both employed.<sup>462</sup> Over the next thirty years Lill acted as Gardiner's legal representative in numerous property transactions, concerning holdings in Dublin and beyond. A number of memorials at the Registry of Deeds demonstrate how Lill, acting as a trustee for Gardiner, acquired or bought mortgages on various estates, and also granted mortgages, usually to tenants of Gardiner's, to facilitate the development of his holdings, and as a means of generating capital on the interest of such mortgages.<sup>463</sup> For instance in 1725, as Gardiner's trustee, Lill granted a mortgage or loan of £200 on a house lately built by Thomas Cogan, on a plot of ground on the west side of Bolton Street, which Cogan had previously leased from Luke Gardiner.<sup>464</sup> It was fairly standard practice during this period, in both Britain and Ireland, for ground landlords and property developers to assign mortgages to prospective tenants to enable them to acquire the lease of ground or houses, thus facilitating development. Though a trustee was not always party to such transactions, Thomas Lill, as shall be seen, certainly acted in this capacity on a number of occasions in the 1730s, assisting Gardiner in financing development at Henrietta Street.<sup>465</sup>

Another prominent contact within Ireland's governing elite and a director collaborator in Gardiner's speculative undertakings was Brabazon Ponsonby, 2nd Viscount Duncannon, and later 1st Earl of Bessborough. As noted, the Ponsonbys were a powerful family who held significant estates and occupied positions of great rank and influence in both Britain and Ireland. Brabazon Ponsonby had important connections in Britain and was a frequent visitor there. In 1728 Gardiner and Ponsonby formed a financial partnership of sorts in purchasing the estate of St. Mary's Abbey

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<sup>462</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 220, notes Gardiner's acquisition of mortgages, though she was referring to others acquired through the bank, with Arthur Hill. The first recorded transaction involving Gardiner and Lill was a deed of indenture, (RD 24/215/13598) of the 12th of May 1713, between Wm. Gardiner of Drogheda, Gent and his wife Honora (1), Luke Gardiner (2), and Thomas Lill (3), concerning a grant of lands in County Dublin and lands in County Kilkenny, held by Wm and Honora, in Honora's right. From the legal terms used there appears to have been some ongoing dispute, perhaps to Honora's claim on these lands. Lill seems to have been representing William and Honora's interests; the lands were to be repossessed at the suit of Thomas Lill, the demandant, on expiry of the relevant period (I am indebted to Aidan Redmond, Senior Counsel, for this opinion).

<sup>463</sup> For examples see NLI MS 36,593/1, deed for securing bonds of £1,200 with interest on property in Santry, a parcel of ground known as Ashengrove, Ballcurryes, and a plot of land at Killmore, County Dublin from Rev. John Clayton, Dean of Kildare and Thomas Barry to John Charles Terrot 29 May 1725; 29 May 1725. NLI MS 36,593/2, assignment of mortgage of £1,541 for remainder of 999 years, subject to equity of redemption charged on premises in Santry, a parcel of ground known as Ashengrove, Ballcurryes and a plot of land at Killmore, County Dublin, from John Charles Terrot to Thomas Lill in trust for Luke Gardiner, 27 Feb 1726. This demonstrates that in the course of a year, from purchase and subsequent sale of the mortgage Terrot made the sum of £341 pounds, seemingly the interest on the mortgage. This amount greatly exceeds the standard interest rate of 6 or 7% on mortgage-based finance, but as interest was calculated on a compound basis any unpaid interest incurred charges at a great rate. See Brendan Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 23 for such methods of calculating interest.

<sup>464</sup> RD 45/433/29906, memorial of deeds of lease and release, Cogan to Lill, Lill to Gardiner; RD 52/224/34316, Lill to Gardiner for similar examples around Lazy Hill.

<sup>465</sup> Lord Molesworth did not employ a trustee when granting mortgages on his property in Dublin City in 1712, nor did William Hendrick when taking out mortgages on other holdings to secure capital for development around Oxmanstown Green. See RD 11/371/4755, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 22 and 23 Sept 1712, between Rt. Hon. Robert Molesworth, Esq. and John Cooke of Cookesborough, County Westmeath, concerning property at Lord Chief Baron's yard near Damas Gate. See Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 18 on Hendrick's mortgages.

and the Grange of Clonliffe over a number of transactions between 1728 and 1729.<sup>466</sup> A large portion of this estate, which had been held by the Earls of Drogheda for more than a century, was sold at public auction or cant on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1728 where it was purchased by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, as a trustee for Gardiner and Ponsonby, for the sum of £16,000.<sup>467</sup> While the exact acreage involved is not given, the vast extent of the Abbey's lands (fig. 3.8) and the subsequent portion of the city centre which was developed into prime residential property by the Gardiners owes to the shrewdness and acuity of this acquisition.<sup>468</sup> Ponsonby, who conveyed his share of the estate to Gardiner in April 1730 for £21,230.34, seems only to have acted as the money man.

In 1729 Gardiner in turn appears to have acted for Ponsonby and his wife Sarah (formerly Colvill, nee Margetson) in some capacity, when he was involved in a transaction over Margetson property at Staunton, Nottinghamshire.<sup>469</sup> 'Andrew Caldwell and Francis Binden' were also party to this deed, though their role is unclear. Could this be Francis Bindon, the portrait artist and architect? Bindon certainly enjoyed the patronage of clientele such as the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, Archbishop Hugh Boulter, and the Earl of Thomond and in 1751 Brabazon Ponsonby recommended him as the 'Kings painter in Ireland at £100 a year salary.'<sup>470</sup> Bindon has also been ascribed the design of Ponsonby's seat at Bessborough House County Kilkenny, which was built from 1744, as well as Woodstock County Kilkenny, built for Ponsonby's son-in-law Sir William Fownes c.1745 (demol. fig. 3.9).<sup>471</sup> Francis Bindon was the son of the architect David Bindon, of Cloney, County Clare. He was also kin to Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, and to Samuel

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<sup>466</sup> A number of sources state that Gardiner bought up the estate of St Mary's Abbey between 1714-1729, yet no earlier deeds of purchase, prior to the aforementioned sale in 1728 have been discovered.

<sup>467</sup> NLI MS 36,502/8, assignment of premises and lands including that of the Stone Park, ground on the west side of the road or lane leading from the city of Dublin to Drumcondra Bridge, also the Bull Park, Lady Park on the east side of Drumcondra Lane, land along the strand, Ballybogh Lane, Liffey Street, Boot Lane situate in the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey from Bruen Worthington, John Moore, William Colvill, executors of the Charles Campbell deceased to the Rt. Hon Brabazon, 1st Viscount Duncannon and Luke Gardiner, Dublin 24 Aug 1728.

NLI MS 36,502/9, conveyance of the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey and the Grange of Clonliffe for £16,000 from the Rt. Hon Edward Moore, Earl of Drogheda and others to the Rt. Hon Brabazon, 1st Viscount Duncannon and Luke Gardiner, Dublin. 18 Feb 1729.

NLI MS 36,502/9 1, conveyance of a parcel of land in the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey for £200 from John Folie, Brett Norton, and Jeremiah Vickers to Luke Gardiner for the residue of the term of 97 years from 8 June 1729.

NLI MS 36,502/12-13, deeds of assignment for £11,000 for the residue of the term of 99 years from 1699, of the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey and the Grange of Clonliffe by the Honourable Robert and Capel Moore to the Rt. Hon Brabazon, 1st Viscount Duncannon and Luke Gardiner. 23 August 1729.

<sup>468</sup> Dickson, "Large-scale developers," p. 115 notes that it was Gardiner's policy to buy land from bankrupts. Financial difficulties with the Drogheda estate were apparent as this public sale was the result of a court case to settle the debts of the late Earl of Drogheda, see NLI MS 36,502/9. Charles Campbell, who had been appointed Seneschal of the Drogheda estates in 1707 was responsible for the development of their St Mary's Abbey holdings, around Moore Street, Henry Street and Drogheda Street in particular; his executors were party to conveyancing transactions.

<sup>469</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives DD/S/9/20 28 Nov. 1729, Francis Binden Esq. and Andrew Caldwell, Esq. from Luke Gardiner and Daniel Falkner, Esq. 1 messuage, 2 gardens, 50ac. land, 30ac. meadow, 50ac. pasture in Staunton: Brabazon, Viscount Duncannon and his wife Sarah vouched to warranty.

<sup>470</sup> PRONI T3019/1780. Wilmot papers, memorandum of 24th August 1751.

<sup>471</sup> Milton, *A collection of select views*, p.17 states that the 'House was built from the Designs and under the Inspection of David [sic. Francis] Bindon Esq.' William Tighe, *Statistical Observations relative to the County of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 and 1801* (London: RDS, 1802), p. 586 gives Bessborough, Woodstock and Castlemorris, County Kilkenny to 'David Bindon of Limerick.' J.P. Neale, *Views of...Seats*, II (1823), p. 66, attributed Richard Castle with the design of Bessborough. See also The Knight of Glin, 'Francis Bindon,' *BIGS*, 10, Nos. 2 & 3, Apr-Sep 1967, p. 11.

Burton, an early resident of Henrietta Street, with whom Bindon had travelled to Italy, staying in Padua in 1716. In the 1740s and 1750s he was associated with a number of buildings of Richard Castle's progeny, including Belan in County Meath and Russborough in County Wicklow.<sup>472</sup> Andrew Caldwell (1683-1730/1) was Dublin-based solicitor and land agent, who acted for both Henry Moore, 4th Earl of Drogheda and for Brabazon Ponsonby in the 1720s. He also had family ties to Charles Campbell, seneschal of the Drogheda estate, and appears to have operated out of the same premises in Capel Street.<sup>473</sup> In 1730 Ponsonby joined forces with Gardiner once again, this time entering into partnership with Gardiner and Hill to open 'a new and profitable Bank in this City,' for which a deed of mortgage on estates worth £4000 per annum was obtained.<sup>474</sup> Apart from providing financial backing, Ponsonby's level of involvement is unclear; by 1738, in any-case, the bank of Gardiner and Hill had been formally dissolved, ostensibly to allow Gardiner devote his attentions to his developing political career.<sup>475</sup>

In 1725, having been appointed Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Receiver General and Paymaster General, Gardiner entered the political sphere. He sat in the House of Commons initially as an MP for Tralee (1725-7), and subsequently for Thomastown (1727-55). Through these combined offices Gardiner became one of the most powerful politicians of the period, and by 1737 had been appointed to the Privy Council, following successful canvassing on the part of the Primate. As a Whig and a patriot Gardiner appears to have been a supporter of another self-made man, William 'Speaker' Conolly, whom he would have known from their shared time with the Revenue board where Conolly (who served alongside John South) had enjoyed a position of vast influence and patronage since before 1714.<sup>476</sup> Conolly's support would have been of crucial benefit to Gardiner, not only in politics but in his role as Deputy Vice-Treasurer. Gardiner and Conolly moved in similar cultured circles, both men were early patrons of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and were closely involved in the building of the new Parliament House. And while William Conolly ran his political empire from his large-scale town house on Dublin's Capel Street in the 1720s, where he was surrounded by his *camarilla* and cronies, Gardiner created a similar political enclave at his new

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<sup>472</sup> Glin, 'Francis Bindon', p. 11

<sup>473</sup> RIA Caldwell collection, RIA 12 R 39, vol. I. '1659-1730.' Jane Meredith, 'Andrew Caldwell: A Study of a 'Guardian of Taste and Genius' (M. Litt thesis, TCD, 2004).

<sup>474</sup> See the *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*: Saturday, July 4, 1730, Issue LXXXXI. This advertisement notes the afore mentioned individuals 'have taken proper Measures for opening a new and profitable Bank in this City, for the Welfare of the Kingdom, by giving two and a half per Cent for all Sums above 100 l. which shall be lodg'd with them and for better enabling them to carry it on, they have perfected a Deed of Mortgage of Estates to the Value of 4000l. per Annum, in order to raise the Sum of 50,000 l...' It is not clear whose property this deed of mortgage was raised against, but £50,000 was a vast sum to invest in any venture.

<sup>475</sup> *Records III*, p. 75. Gardiner was appointed to the Irish Privy Council on August 2nd 1737. This may not have been the entire reason for the bank's closure, as such a political role and a career in banking were not mutually exclusive. Brabazon Ponsonby had in fact served on the Privy Council since 1727.

<sup>476</sup> Patrick Walsh, *The making of the Irish protestant ascendancy: the life of William Conolly, 1662-1729* (Dublin: Irish Historical Monographs, 2010), pp. 126-27.

development at Henrietta Street in the following decade.<sup>477</sup> Following the lead of the Primate and Lord Chief-Justice, Archbishop Boulter, some of the most powerful and influential political brokers in the country set up residence here in the early years of its development. Their houses, according to Dr. Patrick Walsh, were built as ‘symbols of their wealth, power and prestige,’ and their interiors the ‘scenes for the drinking, lobbying and intrigue.’<sup>478</sup>

Luke Gardiner was famously a favourite of Archbishop Boulter, who not only secured his position as a privy councillor, but was fundamentally instrumental in ensuring the success of Gardiner’s Henrietta Street venture, as the first, and most influential resident of the street. Gardiner also enjoyed close links to many of the other eminent residents of Henrietta Street. For example, Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons (1733-56) and a member of the powerful Boyle family, the Earls of Cork, Orrey and Burlington who yielded great political influence through their patronage of the south-eastern parliamentary boroughs, was connected to Gardiner through marriage.<sup>479</sup> Boyle acted as both political broker and sometime estate agent for his cousin and brother-in-law Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington,<sup>480</sup> and was instrumental in securing Burlington’s political patronage for his ally and fellow resident, Thomas Carter.<sup>481</sup>

Indeed, writing to Edward Southwell in 1730, Marmaduke Coghill noted the existence of a ‘cabal’ amongst several Henrietta Street residents, *viz.* Thomas Carter, Walter Cary (the Chief Secretary), Primate Boulter and Luke Gardiner.<sup>482</sup> Thomas Carter, as an examiner at the Court of Chancery, Prothonotary of Court of the Kings Bench, member of the House of Commons, and from 1732 Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State and a Privy Councillor, was a powerful ally. Though known for his tricky personality, and propensity for making enemies (notably his neighbours Bishop (latterly Primate) George Stone and at times Archbishop Boulter) Carter was ambitious, wealthy, and an arch speaker.<sup>483</sup> He was a protégé of Chancellor Alan Brodrick (and later of his son St John Brodrick) who by way of his step-son Arthur Hill may have provided the connection to

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<sup>477</sup> See Walsh, *The making of the Irish protestant ascendancy*; Patrick Walsh “Claret, conviviality and the constitution: Henrietta Street and eighteenth-century,” <https://dublintermentexperience.wordpress.com/2013/07/14/patrick-walsh-on-claret-conviviality-and-the-constitution> [accessed October 30 2013].

<sup>478</sup> Walsh, “Claret, conviviality and the constitution,” section 1.

<sup>479</sup> Gardiner’s wife Anne Stewart was a niece of William 2nd Viscount Mountjoy, who in 1696 married Anne (d. 1741), daughter and heir of Murrough Boyle, 1st Viscount Blessington.

<sup>480</sup> Eustace Budgell, *An account of life character, and parliamentary conduct of the Right Honourable Henry Boyle* (Cork: G. Harrison, 1754), p. 18 notes that ‘The late Earl of Burlington...hearing such a Character of his Cousin and Brother-in-law, committed the Management of his Affairs to him in Ireland...’

<sup>481</sup> A series of letters between Carter and Boyle concerning parliamentary affairs and the Burlington patronage are preserved at PRONI, including D2707/A/1/2/10, 20 June 1727; D2707/A/1/2/14 27 June 1727; D2707/A/1/2/17A letter from Andrew Crotty, agent to Lord Burlington, London to Henry Boyle 13 July 1727.

<sup>482</sup> PRONI T2827/5, letters from Dr Marmaduke Coghill, Judge. See also Coghill, *Letters of Marmaduke Coghill*, p. 126, letter 101, Coghill to Edward Southwell, Jr., 5 April 1733 which notes ‘It is generally believed that there is some under hand management about our Irish affairs, and that the master of the Rolls carries this on with the Secretary and that the Primate and Mr Gardiner are in the secret...’

<sup>483</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. 1, p. 380; Hayton, *Marmaduke Coghill*, passim. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the reign of George II*, ed. John Brooke (1985), characterised Carter as ‘an able, intriguing man, of slender reputation for integrity.’

Gardiner.<sup>484</sup> Carter was also loosely related through marriage to both Luke Gardiner and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce; whereas Carter and Gardiner had shared financial interests, as grantees of an £400 annuity to the Earl of Ross, charged against lands in Wicklow in 1732.<sup>485</sup> Carter was also an associate of Brabazon Ponsonby, Lord Duncannon, with whom he made a joint visit to Britain in 1731 when they waited on the King at Richmond.<sup>486</sup> About the same time, in 1730/1 John Bourke recounted an incident in Naas, when ‘L[or] d Duncannon passed through the town in his coach with Harrison the commissioner, Luke Gardiner, and Cooper of the Chancery, returning from Tom Carter’s.’<sup>487</sup> This must have been Carter’s estate at Castlemartin, Kilcullen, County Kildare (fig. 3.10), about 16 miles south of Ponsonby’s own Kildare seat at Bishops court, and notably only a few miles from Jigginstown, a site of some interest to Lord Burlington in the previous decade.<sup>488</sup> Carter had purchased this estate from the banker Francis Harrison c.1729, who is said to have built the current stone-fronted house there c.1720.

Carter and Ponsonby were both governors of County Kildare and regularly attended their estates there. Bishops court, near Straffan, came to Ponsonby through his wife’s inheritance, and from the 1720s it was a regular venue for sporting activities, social ribaldry, and political intrigues, even hosting the Lord Lieutenant in the 1743 (fig. 3.11).<sup>489</sup> In the same year Ponsonby, in continued support of his associate Luke Gardiner, purchased the dwelling house built for Lord Thomond at Henrietta Street, which his son, Speaker John Ponsonby, subsequently occupied upon his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire in 1743.<sup>490</sup> Thus Luke Gardiner’s connections not only assisted in his political ambitions and advancement in public office, but also had a direct impact on the success of his speculative property developments. The

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<sup>484</sup> Peter Aronsson, ‘Thomas Carter,’ *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), notes that by September 1725 Carter had allied himself to Middleton's son St John Brodrick, who headed an influential party in the commons. PRONI D2707/A/1/2/10, letter from Thomas Carter to Henry Boyle, 20 June 1727, wherein Carter refers to Sinny (St John Brodrick) and Lord Hillsborough’s political patronage. PRONI. D2707/A/1/2/22, Letter from Thomas Carter to Henry Boyle, 12 August 1727, Carter notes he ‘sounded Ar[thur] H[ill] upon that head.’

<sup>485</sup> NLI MS 36,609/4, Grant of annuity, 21 March 1732.

<sup>486</sup> *London Journal*, Saturday, June 12, 1731, Issue 620.

<sup>487</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/2/57, letter from John Bourke, [MP for Naas borough], Palmerstown, [County Kildare], to Henry Boyle, Castlemartyr, County Cork, describing the disturbances following the irregular election of Alexander Graydon [formerly MP for Harristown borough] as sovereign of Naas.

<sup>488</sup> In 1726 Lord Burlington is believed to have commissioned Edward Lovett Pearce, through an unknown intermediary, to survey the ruins of Jigginstown, under the mis-apprehension that this building was designed by Inigo Jones. See Maurice Craig, ‘New Light on Jigginstown,’ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, third series, Vol. 33, (1970), pp. 107-110.

<sup>489</sup> Moore, ‘Bishops Court and its owners,’ *JCKAS*, 8 (1915-17), p. 10 quotes a letter from Ponsonby’s brother-in-law Arthur Weldon of Rahin to his wife, sent from ‘Bishops Court Feb. 18 1726, who notes ‘I went to bed last night at one of ye clock, was on horseback this morning at four, rid eight miles before daybreak, hunted a fox afterwards, came back afterwards here to dinner, and rid a coursing this afternoon till nightfall, and I thank God I cannot say I am much the worse for it...’

*Pue’s Occurrences*, 15 Oct, 1743.

The current house at Bishops court was built in 1790, though Noble and Keenan’s map of 1752 shows a substantial building on the site at that date. Its close proximity to Dublin, as well as the nearby houses (and social and political venues) such as Palmerstown, Carton and Castletown which was less than 8 miles from Bishops court, made this estate more convenient and suitable for entertaining company than Ponsonby’s County Kilkenny seat at Bessborough.

<sup>490</sup> RCBL P276.10.2, ‘St. Michan’s Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.’

intrinsic importance of social position and cultural connections to such advancement in the public sphere, to ‘making the grand figure,’ calls for a similar examination of the social and cultural context in which Gardiner operated.

### 3.1.2. Luke Gardiner and his circle: social networks and status.

Luke Gardiner was a man of taste and culture, a prominent patron of the arts, and a distinguished member of Dublin’s expanding cultural networks and burgeoning associational life. This cultural arena had a significant impact on Gardiner’s speculative property ventures. According to Kelly and Powell:

The feasting, toasting and general conviviality that took place within clubs was frequently combined with a visible public presence-manifest in charitable undertakings, processions, balls and other entertainments-that expressed not only the Irish clubman’s civic virtue, but also his status and position within the urban world.<sup>491</sup>

Gardiner’s concern for such public expression of his status is readily evident from the large number of boards and public bodies on which he sat. He was a Commissioner of Inland Navigation, and of the Tillage Act for Leinster, a trustee for linen and hemp manufacture, a governor of the Workhouse, of Dr Steeven’s Hospital, and Mercer’s Hospital and later a benefactor of Dr. Mosse’s Lying-in Hospital.<sup>492</sup> He was also an early member of the Dublin Society,<sup>493</sup> and was instrumental in establishing the Incorporated Society, together with Archbishop Boulter in 1731. This prominent Whig-based society, whose stated purpose was to found and run Protestant schools across Ireland, attracted members from the first circles of government and society, in both Dublin and in London. In 1739 Gardiner and his neighbour, Archbishop Boulter joined forces as joint-benefactors of a new charter school at Santry, ‘designed chiefly for the teaching of flax-dressing,’ which Gardiner endowed with an acre of ground, while Boulter gave £400 for its building.<sup>494</sup>

As well as his official positions in government Luke Gardiner received other marks of honour and favour. He had a degree of LLD conferred upon him, *honoris causa* by the

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<sup>491</sup> James Kelly and Martyn J. Powell (eds.), *Clubs and societies in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), p. 20.

<sup>492</sup> See John Watson, *The gentleman and citizen’s almanack* (Dublin, 1736); James, *The complete pocket companion: or, universal almanack* (Dublin, 1738) for a calendar of Gardiner’s governorships and agencies.

<sup>493</sup> Fergus Mulligan, *The founders of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin: Royal Dublin, 2005), ‘A list of members who joined the Dublin Society between 1731 and 1800’ lists Gardiner’s close associates Arthur Hill and Nathaniel Clements; other cultural brokers such as Viscount Molesworth, General Ligonier, General Pearce, Archbishop Boulter, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle, Robert Clayton Bishop of Kilalla, Hercules Rowley, Marmaduke Coghill, John Brown of Westport, Hayes St Ledger, Richard Wingfield; and Henrietta Street residents Viscount Mountjoy, The earl of Thomond, Henry Boyle, Thomas Carter, George Stone, Earl of Blessington, John Maxwell, Sir Henry King, Col Nicholas Loftus. Col. Richard St George and John Ponsonby.

<sup>494</sup> Thomas Fletcher, ‘A sermon preached at Christ-Church, Dublin, on the 23rd day of March 1745 before the incorporated Society,’ (Dublin, 1746), p. 32. This source also states that the Society also held thirty-one more acres from the Honourable Luke Gardiner at a [nominal] rent of £1 3 s. *per annum*.

University;<sup>495</sup> was appointed Master of the Revels in 1736 and played a prominent part in state and civic functions, even carrying the Sword of State before the Lords Justices at Christchurch Cathedral in 1752.<sup>496</sup> Gardiner was also favoured by the Viceregal court, hosting exclusive entertainments for several Lord Lieutenants at his Dublin residence.<sup>497</sup> Gardiner was a keen promoter of the arts, and of music and theatre in particular. He was a member of the Charitable Musical Society (for the relief of imprisoned debtors) which had its headquarters at Bull's Head tavern, Fishamble Street, where in the 1740s Richard Castle designed the new music hall (fig. 3.12).<sup>498</sup> Along with his protégé, Nathaniel Clements, and his kinsman (and fellow resident of Henrietta Street) Lord Mountjoy, Gardiner was also closely involved in financing Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's new Theatre Royal on Aungier Street (demol.).<sup>499</sup> This brick-built playhouse, according to Lady Anne Conolly, was 'the neatest prettist [*sic*] Theatre I ever saw, & vastly Convinient [*sic*] ...'<sup>500</sup> Gardiner would have been a regular attendee, particularly after 1736, when as Master of the Revels he was responsible for granting royal authority for all productions at the royal theatres.<sup>501</sup>

In fact, according to Flood, Gardiner was an amateur theatric of known ability and even built a private theatre at his suburban villa, Castleknock Lodge, in the Phoenix Park (c. 1728, now incorporated in the Ordnance Survey buildings fig. 3.13), which has been associated with Edward Lovett Pearce.<sup>502</sup> This is a puzzling building, and there are several inconsistencies and ungainly elements in the surviving 1730s fabric, in particular the unusual single pile plan (even more so given the scope of the site), which lack the sophistication of Pearce's autograph works. And yet their known association during this period, combined with the presence of the theatre-a tripartite

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<sup>495</sup> *Records III*, p. 75.

<sup>496</sup> See the *General Advertiser* (London, England), Tuesday, October 31, 1752, Issue 5620. The occasion was the anniversary of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, and also the 'day appointed by their Excellencies for celebrating his Majesty's coronation.'

The *Daily Post* (London, England), Tuesday, June 6, 1727, Issue 2403 records that in 1727 Luke Gardiner, Lord Santry and Richard Tighe invited the 'Lords Justices and other gentlemen to feast at the Thostle.'

<sup>497</sup> The *Daily Gazetteer*, Thursday, May 20, 1736, Issue 280 noted that the previous Sunday 'his Grace the Duke of Dorset and his Dutchess, dined with the Right Honorable Henry Boyle, Esq.; our Speaker; and Yesterday his Grace paid the like Honour to Luke Gardiner, Esq.; our Deputy Vice-Treasurer.'

The *Dublin Journal*, September 3, 1745, noted that 'Last Wednesday his Excellency the Earl of Chesterfield and his Countess with a great Number of Nobility and Gentry dined with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor; on Thursday with his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin; and Yesterday with the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardner, Esq.'

Though the venue is not stated these notices appear under the Dublin news section, while in instances where such entertainments took place outside of the city, or in a public place, the location was usually given.

<sup>498</sup> In 1733 Gardiner, along with fellow theatre-lover Col Ligonier, was one of the principal subscribers to the comedy 'All vows kept,' which was performed, by candle light at the Theatre Royal in Smock Alley. According to Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshall Lord Ligonier*, p. 40, Ligonier took a great interest in the theatre and became a foundation subscriber to one of the houses where the 'Associate Comedians of the City of Dublin' performed.

<sup>499</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 25.

<sup>500</sup> NLI P527, microfilm copy of the Wentworth letters. Lady Anne Conolly (née Wentworth), Dublin, to her sister Harriet, March 9th 1733.

<sup>501</sup> In 1739, by appointment of the Charitable Musical Society, and the 'authority of the Rt. Hon Luke Gardiner (as Master of the Revels) King Henry was performed at Smock Alley.

<sup>502</sup> William H.G. Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Dublin; Browne and Nolan, 1905).

space with apsidal vaults, complete with square and hexagonal coffering, has led to the suggestion that Pearce was responsible for the lodge's design.<sup>503</sup>

Gardiner and Pearce, who were loosely connected by marriage,<sup>504</sup> were certainly involved in a number of other building works at this time; not only at the new Parliament House, where as Deputy-Receiver General Gardiner was responsible for the financial management of this project,<sup>505</sup> but also at Gardiner's contemporaneous development at Henrietta Street. The fact that Pearce was engaged by Gardiner's business partner Brabazon Ponsonby during this period, to carry out a survey of the Bessborough estate, not to mention Pearce's agency in the purchase of the Drogheda estate in 1728 (a role often fulfilled by an estate surveyor and architect in Britain), serve to strengthen the probability of an association between these men.<sup>506</sup>

Gardiner also enjoyed other contacts within prominent architectural circles. His association with William Conolly, builder of Castletown, County Kildare and primer mover behind the new Parliament House has been suggested, and he was certainly acquainted with another distinguished architectural patron, Robert, Earl of Kildare. In 1739, the year in which Kildare engaged the services of Richard Castle and the Swiss-Italian *stuccatori* Paolo and Filippo Lafranchini at his seat at Carton, County Kildare (fig. 3.14), he and Gardiner were co-defendants in a legal dispute brought by Samuel Waring regarding the latter's recovery of property in County Monaghan, which Gardiner and Kildare had purportedly seized from him.<sup>507</sup> Through his wife, Anne Stewart, Gardiner was also connected to William 2nd Viscount Mountjoy, who not only lived in one of the most fashionable streets in London's Mayfair but from 1714-28 had served as Master-General of the Ordnance in Ireland. His son William 3rd Viscount Mountjoy was an early resident of No.11 Henrietta Street, a house of Pearcean progeny.

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<sup>503</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, pp. 300-302.

Gardiner's will indicates his attachment to this property, as a family heirloom, requiring (as he did of his Henrietta Street home) 'all the household goods and furniture that at my decease shall be in my house or lodge in the Phoenix park near Dublin shall go along with the said house or lodge and be enjoyed by there while the same shall belong to any of my family...' See NAI T/13251, copy will of the Right Honble. Luke Gardiner, p. 10.

<sup>504</sup> See John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, vol. 3 (London: Colburn, 1830), p. 731, Luke Gardiner's wife Anne Stewart provided the family connection to Pearce.

Anne Stewart's maternal grandfather William Tighe married Edward Lovett Pearce's maternal aunt Anne Lovett. Anne Stewart's paternal grandmother was Mary Coote, daughter of Richard, 1st Baron Coote of Coloony, and sister of Thomas Coote, whom Pearce's aunt Anne Lovett was also married (secondly); making Pearce and Anne Stewart (somewhat distant) cousins.

<sup>505</sup> See the memorial of Edward Lovett Pearce Esq. & certificate of Luke Gardiner Esq., 'Treasury Books and Papers: November 1730,' *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, Volume 1: 1729-1730* (1897), pp. 470-480, which records Pearce's memorial requesting additional funds to complete building work at the Parliament House, and the appended certificate from Luke Gardiner, Deputy Receiver General, to the Lords Justices of Ireland, of the amount paid to Captain Pearce, viz. 15,078l. 1s. 6½d. and of the further sum wanted to finish the new Parliament House, viz. 2,978l. 13s. 5½d.

<sup>506</sup> 'A memorial relating to the siting of Bessborough County Kilkenny,' attributed to Pearce, is preserved in the Elton Hall collection, V & A, E.2124.12-1992. Therein the site for the future Bessborough House, built in the 1740s is discussed.

<sup>507</sup> PRONI D562/2912 Samuel Waring of the City of Dublin, Gent, against The Rt. Hon. Robert Earl of Kildare and the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner of the City of Dublin. Copy of Pleas at the Kings Court, Easter term 1739.

Luke Gardiner's range of cultured interests and pursuits are readily evident from the array of publications to which he subscribed. As well as a keen interest in poetry, classical literature and Irish history, Gardiner subscribed to several publications of an architectural nature, and was seemingly part of the same subscriber networks as prominent arbiters of culture and taste.<sup>508</sup> He was one of the many patrons of Pearce and Castle's who subscribed to Starrat's *A Doctrine of projectiles* (1733), and to John Aheron's *A general treatise of architecture* (1754), while in 1727, when Henrietta Street was in its initial stage of development, Gardiner subscribed to William Kent's *Design of Inigo Jones*.<sup>509</sup> It is also interesting to note that Gardiner sat to the same artist as Lord Burlington (and Thomas Carter) the portraitist, Charles Jervas. Clearly, Gardiner kept abreast of the latest developments and architectural ideas on both sides of the Irish Sea, and though he does not seem to have travelled to Britain regularly, he did send his protégé and co-developer Nathaniel Clements in his stead.

### 3.1.3. Nathaniel Clements: 'a favourite of the famous Mr Gardiner.'

The Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Clements (1705-1777 fig. 3.15) was also a self-made man (though from a respectable Cavan-based family) who rose to a position of some prominence within British and Irish elite society. Clements held a remarkable array of public offices and agencies in Irish government, through which he amassed a great fortune and extensive estates, and yielded considerable parliamentary influence, during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>510</sup> According to Malcomson in 'almost everything he did, Clements followed in the footsteps of Gardiner.'<sup>511</sup> He was Luke Gardiner's protégé, both at the Treasury where he served from the 1720s,<sup>512</sup> and collaborated in Gardiner's speculative property developments at Henrietta and Sackville Street. Like his mentor, Clements was at once both a man of business, and an arbiter of culture and

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<sup>508</sup> For example, Gardiner subscribed to: *A miscellaneous collection of poems, songs and epigrams* (Dublin, 1721) along with Thomas Carter and Theo. Clements, Mr William Gardiner, Major- Gen. Thomas Pearce and the Hon. Edward Southwell; to *Bishop Burnet's history of his own time* (Dublin, 1724), as did Abraham Creighton, Nathaniel Clements, Viscount Duncannon, Luke Gardiner, Viscount Mountjoy, Viscount Richard Molesworth, John Maxwell, Charles Moore, Alexander Stewart, Robert Tighe; to *La Henriade. De Mr. de Voltaire* (Londres, 1728), along with Viscount Allen; Lord Primate; William Conolly, Marmaduke Coghill, Mrs Clayton, Earl of Thomond, as well as such eminent British subscribers as the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Devonshire; Sir Andrew Fountaine; the Earl of Burlington; the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury and the Duke of Dorset. In 1745 Charles Phipps dedicated his book, *The doctrine of vulgar and decimal fractions, explain'd and made easy to the meanest capacity* (Dublin, 1745) to Luke Gardiner.

<sup>509</sup> William Kent, *The designs of Inigo Jones, consisting of plans and elevations for publick and private buildings* (London, 1727). Other significant subscribers include the Earl of Arran; Earl of Burlington (12 sets); Henry Boyle, Esq. (2 sets); Mr John Bagutti; Colen Campbell; Thomas Carter, Esq.; Nicholas Dubois; Sir Andrew Fountain; Lord Herbert; Nicholas Hawksmoor; Earl of Inchiquinn; Coll. Ligoneer [*sic*]; Earl of Marchmont; Mr Roger Morris; Lord Pembroke; Henry Pelham; Duke of Queensbury; Lord Southwell.

<sup>510</sup> See Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite* for an in-depth discussion of Clements long and successful career in Irish government.

<sup>511</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 26.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*

taste.<sup>513</sup> As a high ranking government official, serving at the Treasury as Agent for the Pensions (c. 1725), Teller of the Exchequer (1728-1755) and Deputy Vice-Treasurer (1755-1777), Clements enjoyed an extensive network of powerful contacts on both sides of the Irish sea. In his dual role as a property developer and architectural *aficionado*, Clements utilised his regular official visits to Britain to keep abreast of the latest developments in British architecture and design.

In September 1728, when Henrietta Street was in the early stages of planning and construction, it was reported that Nathaniel Clements set out for London to ‘try to succeed his deceased brother in at least one of his employments.’<sup>514</sup> Yet, even prior to this there is evidence that Clements visited the British capital, where in 1727 he opened an account with Hoare’s Bank on Fleet Street,<sup>515</sup> and as numerous newspapers reports and surviving correspondence make clear, he was a regular visitor to London thereafter.<sup>516</sup> There Clements had influence within the commercial worlds of the British capital, not only through his paternal relations, who in common with such Ulster families as the Cairnses, Conollys, Gores and Nesbitts, had an interest through their Londonderry estates with the London Companies, but more so through his position at the Treasury, which brought him into regular contact with the major operators in the Dublin-London exchange markets.<sup>517</sup>

Clements’ principal contact there was Albert Nesbitt, ‘an eminent Irish trader,’<sup>518</sup> and the head of the London branch of this County Cavan dynasty, who through an advantageous marriage alliance had established himself high in the banking and mercantile networks of the metropolis.<sup>519</sup> Partnering with his brother-in-law Nathaniel Gould, an MP and one time advisor to Walpole, Albert Nesbitt established the bank of Gould and Nesbitt c.1730, which specialised in Baltic trade and the importation of wine from France. ‘Their forte,’ however, ‘was Irish exchange business,’ and the

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<sup>513</sup> Several newspaper reports refer to ‘elegant entertainments’ given by Nathaniel Clements at which ‘the Nobility and principal Gentry of this Kingdom’ were present, for example see *General Advertiser*, Monday, August 15, 1748, Issue 4307 which refers to ‘a most elegant entertainment’ given for the Lord Lieutenant Harrington and his family at Clements’ house at the ‘Deer Park.’

<sup>514</sup> Malcomson *Nathaniel Clements*, p. 23. In September 1728 Boulter recommended Nathaniel Clements for job of Substantive Teller/Agent to the Pensioners on his brothers death. On September 3rd 1728 Boulter wrote to Carteret reporting that he had ‘two or three gentlemen with me today to desire my recommendation in favour of his brother, Nathaniel Clements, to succeed him as agent to the pensioners (Boulter, *Letters i*, p. 254).

<sup>515</sup> Hoare & Co. Bank, Customer Ledger 29, fo. 147 Nathaniel Clements opened an account on 27 July 1727 when he lodged a note for £50, though he withdrew the same sum on August 1st.

<sup>516</sup> For example see the following for evidence of Clements cross channel excursions: *Daily Courant*, Tuesday, March 25, 1735, Issue 5921; *Daily Gazetteer*, Monday, August 3, 1741, Issue 1801; TCD Ms 1741/15 March 19th 1744/5; TCD MS 1741/22 May 2nd 1745 when Gardiner notes ‘My room is ready, fortunately, and my girls’ revenge to you is you delay it...’ TCD Ms 1741/22; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, April 13, 1749 - April 15, 1749, Issue 492. *General Advertiser*, Saturday, June 17, 1749, Issue 4572.

<sup>517</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 49.

<sup>518</sup> *Flying Post or The Weekly Medley*, Saturday, May 3, 1729, Issue 31; Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 51.

<sup>519</sup> Toby Barnard, *The abduction of a Limerick heiress, social and political relations in mid-eighteenth century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998) p. 42.

bank was patronised by high ranking members of the Irish community in London.<sup>520</sup> Though he remained in trade until his death in 1753 Albert Nesbitt also ‘pursued the political and social ambitions of a gentleman.’<sup>521</sup> Capitalising on the political connections of his wife’s family, notably to Robert Walpole, Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle, successive First Lords of the Treasury, Nesbitt entered political life in 1741 as MP for Huntingdon and later St Michaels (1747).<sup>522</sup> He subscribed to a number of popular publications,<sup>523</sup> and in 1747 moved from his residence on Coleman Street, an Irish mercantile stronghold where his banking house was located,<sup>524</sup> to a new house on Berkeley Row in Mayfair, as Berkeley Square was known in its unfinished state.<sup>525</sup> Clements’ accounting ledgers show increased activity with the bank of Gould and Nesbitt (Nesbitt & Co. from c.1738) from the early 1730s, while surviving correspondence demonstrates a degree of intimacy with the Nesbitts, beyond mere business acquaintance.<sup>526</sup> According to Malcomson Nesbitt ‘smoothed the way’ for Clements in the British metropolis, while conversely there is evidence of Gardiner and Clements putting Irish business in Nesbitt’s way.<sup>527</sup> Though it is highly probable that Clements visited Nesbitt at both of these residences, there is little direct evidence to support this. Nor for that matter has the location of Clements’ lodgings in London been discovered.

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<sup>520</sup> See Bailey ‘The Nesbitts of London and their networks,’ pp. 231-25 and L.M. Cullen, ‘The two George Fitzgerald’s of London 1718-1759,’ in *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe*, pp. 251-70 who deal with this prominent mercantile family, and note the close relationship between the Clements and Nesbitts. Both sources also demonstrate the broad range of Irish clientele who patronised this London based banking house, not only for remittance of Irish drafts but also extensively for transactions within England.

The Smythe papers at the NLI MS 41,578, includes correspondence from Jane Bonnell, née Conyngham, sister to Katherine Conolly, which contain numerous references to her own, and her sister’s banking operations with Nesbitt & Co.

Anne Laurence, ‘The emergence of a private clientele for banks in the early eighteenth century: Hoare’s Bank and some women Customers’ *Economic History Review*, 61, 3 (2008), pp. 565–586 offers interesting insights into early eighteenth century banking and the importance of social networks to their operations; she touches briefly on the Nesbitts.

<sup>521</sup> Bailey ‘The Nesbitts of London,’ p. 235.

<sup>522</sup> Aside from Elizabeth Gould, who married Albert Nesbitt, there were three other sisters, Frances, married to Sir Henry Cairnes; Sarah, married to Thomas Pelham, Jun. (c.1705-43), 2nd cousin to the like named Duke of Newcastle; and Mary, married to Alexander Nesbitt, a younger brother of Albert Nesbitt’s; after his death she married, secondly, Henry Gore in Fleming’s regiment. All the sisters seem to have had large fortunes. See Romney Sedgwick, ‘Pelham, Thomas, jun. (c. 1705-43), in *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick (London: The Stationery Office, 1970).

<sup>523</sup> Arnold Nesbitt is listed as a subscriber to George Anson’s *A voyage round the world, in the years...(1748)*, other subscribers of note include Henry Flitcroft; Theodore Jacobsen; Henry Pelham, and the Duke of Newcastle.

<sup>524</sup> Bailey, ‘The Nesbitts of London,’ p. 236 notes that Coleman Street had long been associated with textiles and linen, specifically the Ulster Linen industry.’ An account of a burglary at Nesbitts’ Coleman Street residence offers evidence of the manner in which this merchant lived. See Old Bailey Proceedings: account of Criminal Trials, 25th February 1736 (Harvard University Library, t17360225-33) wherein Nesbitt’s servant Thomas Best gave evidence that he had ‘laid the Cloath in the Parlour according to Custom. There were on the Table 4 Salts, four/Salt-Shovels and four [silver] Spoons...’

<sup>525</sup> Arthur Irwin Dasent, *Piccadilly in three centuries with some account of Berkeley Square and the Haymarket* (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 209.

<sup>526</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid*; PRONI T3019/1840, unsigned memorandum by Wilmot, 14 January 1752, regarding the exchange of Spanish gold in England.

There is some evidence, however, with which to recover Nathaniel Clements' experience of the British capital, and reconstruct a picture of the other important connections he made there. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1744/5 Gardiner wrote to Clements, then in London, regarding the purported invention by a Mr. Robert Phillips of Great Queen Street of machine-made fire grates 'for warming of large rooms, and preventing the inconvenience of smoke.' Clements was to...

enquire whether they answer, as also, the best manner the workmen use of flooring for you know, ours all gape. As you are an architect you should be master of all this; as also the ornamental way of lighting rooms...<sup>528</sup>

Although this rare reference is suggestive of Clements' role as an amateur architect, and of his involvement in Gardiner's developments, such remarks must be treated with caution. However, this valuable document, and several subsequent letters in which Gardiner relayed further commissions for decorative goods,<sup>529</sup> serve to demonstrate Clements' awareness of current building practices (and the means by which such empirically learned practice was transmitted) and his role as Gardiner's 'dogs-body,' or courier of architectural ideas and items from London to Dublin.<sup>530</sup>

Clements also carried out other commissions for Gardiner of a more official nature. In April 1745 Luke Gardiner wrote again to Clements, who was still in London, requesting 'If you see Mr Pelham, I beg my duty to him for his dispatch of this affair...'<sup>531</sup> While later, in 1754, Secretary Wilmot wrote to the Duke of Dorset from St. James' Street, London, describing a meeting between Clements and the Duke of Newcastle, noting 'Mr Clements is just gone from me. He is greatly alarmed at the conversation which he had with the Duke of Newcastle yesterday...'<sup>532</sup> According to Malcomson Clements would have been very well known in political and court circles in London, in

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<sup>528</sup> TCD MS T611, Letter 15 (MS 1741/15), 19 Mar. 1744/5. This well-known letter was first published by Desmond Fitzgerald in 'Nathaniel Clements and some eighteenth-century Irish houses' *Apollo*, Vol. 84 (Oct 1966), pp. 314-321, which purportedly 'offered proof' that Clements was an architect. It is interesting to note that Mr Philipps' machine 'for curing smoking chimney' was recommended, according to its inventor who placed an advertisement to such effect in the *Daily Journal*, March 10 1731, by such 'Persons of Honour,' as the Duke of Chandos, the Earl of Burlington, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Pembroke. In 1755 Nathaniel Clements was included amongst 'the nobility and gentry' who had used and give their names to recommend 'the Æolus, a new-invented portable machine, for exchanging and refreshing the air of rooms,' seemingly the same or a similar invention to Philipps' machine. See Thomas Tidd 'Considerations on the use and properties of the Æolus... (London: Reeves, 1755).

<sup>529</sup> See TCD MS T611, Letter 15 (MS 1741/15), Gardiner, Dublin, to Clements, London, 19 Mar. 1744/5 for discussion of 'two glasses' for the peers between the windows; TCD MS T611, Letter 16 (MS 1741/16), Gardiner, Dublin, to Clements, London, 22 Mar. 1744/5, wherein Gardiner wrote 'I am undone if you do not get me a Chimney Piece... Dear Nat adieu.' Fitzgerald, 'Nathaniel Clements,' p. 315 believed this inferred that 'Clements must have been Gardiner's arbiter of taste and probably he designed some houses that Gardiner was building.'

<sup>530</sup> According to Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, 26 (TCD MS 7258) Clements also acted as 'Gardiner's dogs-body, for example being reimbursed £75 by Gardiner in Jan 1737 'for sundry goods bought for him in London.' Clement's seems to have acted in this capacity for other individuals also, for example in 1764, following Clements' return from a visit to London (*Freemans Journal*, Dublin, Tuesday, September 4, 1764) William Brownlow's account book (PRONI D1928/4/3, Brownlow Papers) includes a number of payments to Clements for such sundry items, 'a tea kettle and coffee pot £5/13/9;' 'A toothpick case from Clements £1 14s. 1½d.'

<sup>531</sup> TCD MS 1741/19, 18 Apr. 1745, Gardiner to Clements.

<sup>532</sup> PRONI T3019/2439, Wilmot, St James's Street, to Dorset, 18 Oct 1754. This alarm was presumably a result of fallout from Clements and Gardiner's stance taken on the Money Bill.

particular to George II, the Duke of Cumberland, and to Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle,<sup>533</sup> an intimacy which probably came about through the Nesbitt influence.<sup>534</sup>

These scant records allow us to plot Clements' movement in the British capital. He visited Wilmot at St James' Street Westminster (fig. 3.16); 'a spacious Street, with very good Houses well inhabited by Gentry,'<sup>535</sup> which was famed for its coffee houses and clubs, the social and political rendezvous for London's governing elite. This street was also home to Charles Gardiner, eldest son and heir to Luke Gardiner in 1752.<sup>536</sup> Clements' official business in the capital would also surely have necessitated a visit to Kent's new Treasury buildings at Whitehall (fig. 3.17), while both the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham are known to have conducted their political affairs from their town residences. The Duke of Newcastle had occupied a large town house at Lincoln's Inn Fields since c.1705 (fig. 3.18), which Sir John Vanbrugh improved in 1714, while in the 1750s Henry Pelham's celebrated house at No. 22 Arlington Street hosted many a political gathering.<sup>537</sup> Arlington Street, the 'ministerial street,' was also home to several high ranking politicians including Sir Robert and Horace Walpole, who lived in the modest three-bay terraced house at No. 5.<sup>538</sup>

Perhaps more significant from Clements' perspective was the presence of Richard Boyle, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Shannon (one-time patron to Sir Edward Lovett Pearce) who, as noted, lived next door to Pelham at No. 21 from c.1738, in fine Palladian town house designed by Giacomo Leoni (fig. 3.19). Clements' ledgers (1737-39 entries) suggest that Gardiner acted as Shannon's agent in Ireland, in order to remit his pay and perquisites to England. Shannon, as an absentee military officer on the Irish establishment (if non-regimental and absent more than six months a year from the kingdom) was required to pay an absentee tax and as such would have required an agent who had 'the knowledge of an official insider' to interpret and perhaps manoeuvre around the tax. According to Malcomson, 'For all these reasons, senior military men, from Lord Shannon downwards, were potential clients of Gardiner and Clements.'<sup>539</sup>

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<sup>533</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 51.

<sup>534</sup> The Nesbitts, as noted above were connected to the Pelhams through marriage, while Mrs Albert Nesbit in particular was a close confidant of the Duchess of Newcastle, as is clear from a range of correspondence preserved in the Newcastle Papers at the British Library. In the 1750s, according to Malcomson, Arnold Nesbitt, Albert's nephew and heir, was Clements' 'principal contact and ally in London money market and go between with Pelham and Newcastle.' Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 51.

<sup>535</sup> John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Vol. II, p. 78.

<sup>536</sup> *Public Advertiser*, Saturday, December 2, 1752, Issue 564 notes that 'Yesterday, Charles Gardiner Esq. Son of Luke Gardiner, Esq. of the Kingdom of Ireland came with his family, from Bath, to his house in St James' Street.'

<sup>537</sup> Watkin, *et al. A house in town*, p. 106 notes that Kent combined 'certain conventions of the terraced house with those of the larger mansions...he placed the house not against the street but against the park, creating two full-height canted bays which gave views across it from all the back rooms.' No. 22 is now integrated in the Ritz Hotel.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid*, p. 104, draws on Horace Walpole wrote in 1768: 'from my earliest memory Arlington Street had been the ministerial street.'

<sup>539</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, pp. 33-34.

Another influential and architecturally minded military man to whom Clements was intimately connected was General Jean Ligonier, who, as noted, appears to have employed Sir Edward Lovett Pearce to design his new town house at North Audley Street *c.* 1728. It was around this time that Clements and Ligonier first came into contact, seemingly through Clements' role at the Treasury, where as Agent for the Pensioners he was responsible for remitting pensions to Huguenot soldiers or their families.<sup>540</sup> They became close friends and regular correspondents, particularly throughout the 1740s, when Ligonier was abroad fighting in Flanders and Clements was engaged in altering the grounds of the Rangers Lodge in the Phoenix Park. Ligonier had held this property since 1736 when he was appointed a ranger of the park, though Clements appears to have occupied the lodge from some point in the 1740s.<sup>541</sup> Correspondence between them tells of Clements' schemes for beautifying the lodge; in 1745 Ligonier wrote from his field office:

The design of the ha ha toward the wood, and taking in the mount, has long been in my head...As for the gravel walks, I was afraid it would make the place less rural and to[o] formal for a lodge. But you may, however, do as you think proper in it...<sup>542</sup>

In 1750/1 Clements, having succeeded Ligonier as a Ranger of the Phoenix Park, purchased the lodge from him for £5,000.<sup>543</sup> About this time Clements sought plans (fig. 3.20) for the re-design of the lodge from John Wood the elder, the architect responsible for developing much of the spa town of Bath in the first half of the eighteenth century, though the lodge was rebuilt to an altered plan by John Ensor, the executant architect of the Lying-in Hospital, in the mid-1750s.

It is not clear when Clements had first come in contact with Wood, but it is more than possible that the introduction was made through Ligonier, who was a regular visitor to Bath. That John Wood had worked with Edward Shepherd, the builder of Ligonier's house at North Audley Street, on the Grosvenor and Harley Estates in London in the closing years of the 1720s strengthens the probability of Ligonier's involvement. And though no documentary evidence to this purpose has been discovered, it is more likely that during his regular trips to London, in 1727 and 1728 specifically, Clements would have visited his good friend Ligonier at his house at Old Burlington Street. There, considering his interest in architecture and current involvement in Gardiner's development at Henrietta Street, he may well have been introduced to Edward Shepherd, who was then building Ligonier's new town house. Edward Shepherd was not only a prominent master-craftsman and builder, but was one of London's leading speculative developers, who leased large

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<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, notes a further connection between the Treasury and Ligonier in the form a biscuit contract negotiated for the use of the army; while another duty of the Deputy Vice-Treasurer was to means test the French and other charitable pensioners.

<sup>541</sup> Here, the *Daily Evening Post* reported in August 1748 'a most noble and grand Entertainment... was given by Nathaniel Clements, Esq. at his House in the Deer park' to many Persons of Quality and Distinction. The Lodge and Gardens were finely illuminated, and Fireworks play'd off... There were several fine large Tents erected near the House for the Reception of the Company, who were entertained there with the greatest Elegance.'

<sup>542</sup> TCD MS 1743/73 N.D. 2 Feb-19 May 1745. Ligonier to Clements.

<sup>543</sup> Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier; a story of the British army 1702-1770* (Oxford, 1958), p. 174.

tracts of building ground on the Grosvenor and Cavendish-Harley estates during this period, where he worked alongside the most preeminent architects of the day. He was particularly active on Brook Street on the Grosvenor Estate, where at least one absentee military officer, and therefore contact of Clements', General William Stewart, 2nd Viscount Mountjoy was a resident. There, Shepherd's successful speculative enterprises and the development practices to which he adhered would have stood as exemplars of the complex business of domestic development.

### **3.2.1. Speculative developments: the British model.**

The aristocratic model of estate development established in London in the seventeenth century pervaded British urban planning throughout the following century. While it appears to have derived ultimately from the system used at the Place Royale in Paris (1604)<sup>544</sup> the basic pattern for London's speculative development was established at Bloomsbury and St. James Square in 1660s and 1670s. There, according to John Summerson, the hereditary or noble landlord divided his freehold land into plots, which were let out in building leases to developers; they in turn sold sub-leases to speculative builders, who having raised capital on the strength of under-leases, constructed the houses. The landlord set out to maximise his return by carefully planned control of building and land use, keeping street frontage to a minimum, which resulted in narrow deep plots of land, and in turn ensured tall narrow houses.<sup>545</sup> Although more recent scholarship has shown Summerson's model of development to be somewhat simplistic, the reality being a much more complex 'web of financial and contractual arrangements with many intermediate levels and half levels,'<sup>546</sup> the basic principles system applied, and economic considerations and market forces were at the heart of this model.

Edward Shepherd's undertakings at Brook Street offer a particularly illustrative example of how this complex system played out in practice. On the 9th of November 1723 Shepherd made an agreement (a pre-lease contract or building agreement) with the estate landlord Sir Richard Grosvenor to take a large plot of ground on the north-side of Brook Street. As the lead developer of this enterprise Shepherd divided the strip into seven building plots of varying sizes (Nos. 66-78), assigning several of these sites to other building practitioners or sub-lessees, who constructed the houses thereon.<sup>547</sup> Shepherd developed the plots at Nos. 66-68 and No. 72 himself, though the bricklayer Thomas Fayram held an interest in the houses at Nos. 66-68 (fig. 3.21), as he had collaborated with Shepherd in their construction.<sup>548</sup> It was common practice for landlords to

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<sup>544</sup> Ayres, *Building the Georgian city*, p. 29.

<sup>545</sup> Summerson, *Georgian London*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>546</sup> McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 61.

<sup>547</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XL*, pp. 2-21, These included the architect Colen Campbell and carpenter Laurence Neale. Shepherds' stake in there holding is indicated by his being a party to the eventual leasehold agreements.

<sup>548</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 24-29, 172-195.

suspend ground rent during an agreed building period, between one and two years, charging a nominal peppercorn rent to encourage speedy development. Often the actual leasehold of the property was not made over to the developer or lessee until the end of this building period, when construction had reached a certain point, thus giving a rent-free period. This was the case at No. 66 Brook Street, where construction of a substantial house commenced in December 1723, shortly after the building agreement was signed. In January 1725, when it is believed the house was completed in carcass, Shepherd was granted the leasehold by Sir Richard Grosvenor. This lease was backdated to Christmas 1723, in effect giving Shepherd a two year rent-free building period, and ran for a term of 66 years (with a further 33 years added later).

Grosvenor would have benefitted from an improved ground rent at the time, and again later when the ground lease expired and could be renewed with greatly enhanced rents. The developer or individual builder had more short-term goals, their objective was to build a house, as quickly and cheaply as possible, then sell on the remainder of the leasehold before the building period was up, meaning his ground rent outlay was nil. According to Summerson, speculative builders aimed only to construct a brick and timber shell, with floors and a roof, and the occupant then fitted up the interior to his own taste.<sup>549</sup> This was certainly not always the case. Around January 1725, Shepherd secured a prospective tenant for No. 66 Brook Street in Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Derbyshire, but it was not until December 1729 that he sold the completed house, embellished with a profusion of plasterwork, to Curzon for £3,000. Shepherd had mortgaged the property prior to this, presumably to raise building finance, for the considerable sum of £2,100, thus he eventually made a profit of £700 on this venture.<sup>550</sup> This fragmented system of development ensured, in theory, that the cost of development was spread across all parties involved.

Alongside ‘the noble landlord with the greedy purse’<sup>551</sup> were numerous mercantile developers involved in smaller-scale speculative enterprises, who were even more concerned with the economic viability of the scheme. In contrast to the hereditary estate owner, they were required to outlay the initial capital in purchasing the ground. And unlike the noble landlord, who after the initial stage ‘usually exercised little control over development,’ the private developer tended to take a more hands-on approach. They not only planned and laid out the street but also often built or contracted to build the houses, thus retaining a firm financial control over the operation. This speculative building model was widely adopted throughout the British Isles, in the major provincial urban centres at Norwich, Bristol, Bath, and not the least in Dublin, where the group of private

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<sup>549</sup> Summerson, *Georgian London*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>550</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XL*, pp. 2-21.

<sup>551</sup> Summerson, *Georgian London*, p. 39.

developers active in the late seventeenth century relied heavily on this London model.<sup>552</sup> But how closely did Luke Gardiner follow this system when he came to develop Henrietta Street in the mid-1720s ?

### 3.2.2. The business of domestic development: Gardiner's speculative enterprises.

On the 12th of April 1721 Luke Gardiner purchased six acres of freehold ground in Drumcondra Lane from Thomas Reynell, son and heir to Richard Reynell, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench for the sum of £850.<sup>553</sup> Over the ensuing decade Gardiner laid out a new residential street on a portion of this ground, covering approximately three acres,<sup>554</sup> which was subsequently named Henrietta Street (fig. 3.22). This broad *cul-de-sac* ran perpendicular to Drumcondra Lane (later Bolton Street), along the main transport artery from the city to the well-populated estates of County Meath and the North. Here, Gardiner divided the sloping oblong site into thirteen building plots, measuring between 35ft and over 80ft in front, and stretching back 224ft to the rear on the north-side and 150ft (plus an additional 130ft beyond the lane) on the south.<sup>555</sup> A roadway of 50ft was laid between the building plots, while stable lanes of 22ft were set out parallel to the street along the rear boundary of the properties on both sides, feeding into lanes at the east-ends of the blocks

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<sup>552</sup> See Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 1: Norwich and the North-east*. Second Edition. (London: Yale University Press, 1997); Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 2: North-West and South* (London: Yale University Press, 1999 ); Foyle, Andrew and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Somerset: North and Bristol* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011). Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' pp. 214-216 and Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 10 who conclude that development model used in late seventeenth century Dublin was heavily influenced by the London model.

<sup>553</sup> RD 37/91/21494, memorial of deeds of lease and release tripartite, 12<sup>th</sup> /13<sup>th</sup> April 1721, between Richard Reynell, and his son and heir Thomas (1), Luke Gardiner (2) Thomas Carter and William Westbery (3), concerning a '...parcel of land called and known by the name of Ankasters Park.' RD 30/492/19234 29<sup>th</sup> April 1721, memorial of deed of lease between Reynells and Gardiner, conveying ' all the messuages, lands , tenements, heridaments and freehold estates of the Reynells...Abstracts from this deed has previously been cited in Cathal Crimmins 'Henrietta Street: a conservation study.' B. Arch thesis, UCD, 1987.

<sup>554</sup> This approximate measurement was arrived at by calculating the square footage of the main rectangular site on which all 13 houses, their respective gardens and yards, as well as the 50ft street and the two flanking 22 ft stable lanes were set out. The site was somewhat irregular, Rocque's map of 1756 shows a small triangle of ground in the South east corner of the site, bounding Boulter's holding, which was occupied by gardens of Fleming Hall, while the River Bradoge formed a natural, irregular boundary on the North. Furthermore, the stable lanes do not appear to have run the entire width of the site on either side, and garden sizes varied slightly. Calculations are therefore only approximate and values indicative. An approximate linear street frontage or width of the rectangular site was calculated using measurements given in surviving lease agreements, which were in turn compared to and supplemented with measured drawings of the site taken by Cathal Crimmins in 1987. The same sources were used to calculate the approximate length of the rectangular site. The square footage of the rectangular site was calculated as roughly 216,000sq. feet or 24,000sq. yards. 1 Irish/Plantation acre ( the standard unit of measure in Dublin in this period) equates to 7,840 square yards, therefore 24000sq. yards equates to slightly over 3 acres. See PRONI General Information Series Weights and Measures for conversion rates.

The other portion of ground gained in this purchase probably comprised of the ground to the front of Drumcondra Lane (Bolton Street), to the east of Henrietta Place, as well as ground on the opposite side of the street, where Gardiner also laid out more modest buildings from the 1720.

<sup>555</sup> For the purpose of this study 'Henrietta Street' will be taken to encompass the principal block of houses west of Henrietta Lane and Henrietta Place. On the south side of the street the plots on which the houses and gardens stood were shorter, measuring approximately 150ft in length. As a result each leaseholder was granted an additional plot of ground, approximately 130ft to the rear of the property beyond the stable lane, bordering Yarnhall, for stables and out offices.

(fig. 3.23).<sup>556</sup> As evident on Rocque's Map of 1756, the building plots were set out in a regular pattern of rectangular blocks (apart from Boulter's irregular site, which included the adjoining ground to the south-west), maintaining a straight building line to the front.

The Henrietta Street site constituted approximately half of the land purchased from Reynell, and as such can be calculated to have cost Gardiner roughly £425 or 0.47*d.* per square foot.<sup>557</sup> This was a substantial sum of money to invest, far in excess of Gardiner's official income in 1721, when a secretary at the Revenue Board could expect a salary of between £80 and £100 per annum, even considering the fact that Gardiner held a number of other official positions at this time, and would have supplemented this official income with the returns from other business ventures. It is worth noting that Gardiner was a subscriber to the putative Bank of Ireland in 1721 (the amount he pledged to subscribe is unknown), suggesting he was well off at the time.<sup>558</sup>

In the same decade, between August 1728 and August 1729 Luke Gardiner and Brabazon Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon paid out over £27,000 in purchasing the lands of the Lordship of St. Mary's Abbey and the Grange of Clonliffe.<sup>559</sup> While the exact acreage involved was not specified, and as such the portionable purchase price of the Sackville Street site is not quantifiable, this was clearly a vast financial undertaking, and making a return on this investment was paramount. Writing to Edward Southwell in 1735 Marmaduke Coghill noted that Gardiner had not yet cleared his debt from, 'his last purchase of my Ld. Drogheda,' 'and if he gets out of debt, I believe it will be as much as he aims at.'<sup>560</sup> These financial straits may account for the twenty year gap between the purchase of the ground and the development of Sackville Street c. 1749. In the interim Gardiner would have generated some income from leasing the rural farm and arable land incorporated in the estate which on the one hand did not yield as high rents as 'land fit for building,' but conversely did not require significant outlay.<sup>561</sup> Having outlaid so much capital in the initial purchase the economic considerations of these ventures must surely have been of prime

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<sup>556</sup> Anon., 'Old Dublin mansion-houses, in Henrietta Street, with accounts of the families of King, Earls of Kingston, Maxwell, Daly, O'Neill, Carter and Shane,' *Irish Builder*, Vol. XXXV, no. 804-5 (June 15, July 1, 1893), p. 136, 'Articles of agreement indented ...5th March 1724 ...between Luke Gardiner and Hugh Boulter.'

<sup>557</sup> This value was arrived at by dividing the purchase price, £850 sterling in half. The square foot value was calculated by converting £425 into 102,000*d.* (pence), and dividing that value by the square footage, 216,000 sq. feet.

<sup>558</sup> I am most grateful to Dr. Patrick Walsh for this information.

<sup>559</sup> NLI MS 36,502/8 Assignment of premises and lands including that of the Stone Park, 24 Aug 1728; NLI MS 36,502/9 Conveyance of the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey and the Grange of Clonliffe for £16,000 from the Rt. Hon Edward Moore, Earl of Drogheda and others to the Rt. Hon Brabazon, 1st Viscount Duncannon and Luke Gardiner, Dublin. 18 Feb 1729; NLI. Ms 36,502/9 11 Conveyance of a parcel of land in the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey for £200 from John Folie Brett Norton and Jeremiah Vickers to Luke Gardiner for the residue of the term of 97 years from 1706.8 June 1729; NLI MS 36,502/12-13 Deeds of assignment for £11,000 for the residue of the term of 99 years from 1699, of the Lordship of St Mary's Abbey and the Grange of Clonliffe by the Honourable Robert and Capel Moore to the Rt. Hon Brabazon, 1st Viscount Duncannon and Luke Gardiner. 23 August 1729.

<sup>560</sup> Coghill, *Letters of Marmaduke Coghill*, p. 161 letter 129, Marmaduke Coghill to Edward Southwell, Jr., 8 April 1735.

<sup>561</sup> NAI T/13251, copy of the will of the Right Honble. Luke Gardiner, dated this 16th August 1755, wherein Gardiner differentiated between land within the Lordships of Mary's Abbey and Grange of Clonliffe...part of the City or Liberty or County of Dublin ...which 'are or shall be fit for building' in terms of the tenure his heirs should offer.

concern. Where then might Luke Gardiner have looked to for a viable financial model, and how did he go about turning a profit?

### **3.3.1. Economic exemplars: financial model, ground plots and ground rents.**

Having purchased the ground at Henrietta Street Luke Gardiner set about developing this residential site in the established manner. The site was cleared and set out into building plots, upon which two opposing rows of brick terraces were constructed. However, this did not happen with the same expediency one would expect from such a speculative enterprise, indeed at Henrietta Street there was an extremely protracted period of development, commencing in and around 1721 and not finishing until the 1750s. This was at odds with standard British practice, and certainly did not yield a quick return on Gardiner's investment. Furthermore, in direct contrast to the very cornerstone of the British financial model the building plots at Henrietta Street, though deep and set out in strips running back from the street, did not maintain a minimum street frontage, thus maximising land values, but instead were extremely broad in scale, averaging a massive 40-60ft to the street front.

Comparative analysis of contemporary residential developments in Dublin and London clearly demonstrates that the palatial frontages at Henrietta Street were without rival in terms of scale (fig. 3.24). However, even more modest Dublin developments, such those at Dawson Street or Molesworth Street, where the average frontage was approximately 30ft, were broader than their standard British counterparts (see table 1).<sup>562</sup> Mayfair's most fashionable streets were, by and large, lined with comparatively modest-scale brick terraces, averaging about 25ft in front (fig. 3.25). Even at Grosvenor Square, the largest residential square in the West End, the majority of frontages were less than 45ft, averaging about 38ft to the square (fig. 3.26). This being said, there were large-scale aristocratic houses and even individual broad-terraced examples found in London's West End, where the best streets showed considerable variations in terms of scale. At Brook Street a single row of houses varied from 18ft in front at No. 61, to 30ft at No. 63 and a broad 50ft at No. 69; at Old Burlington Street there were several diminutive facades measuring only 16ft or 17ft in front built opposite General Wade's 61ft wide plot. Even at St. James' Square, where the plot sizes are generally broader than elsewhere in the West End, sizes ranged from a palatial 120ft to 27ft<sup>563</sup> It is the consistently large scale of the plots Henrietta Street and of Dublin's terraced streets in general which is remarkable.

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<sup>562</sup> The plot sizes on Molesworth Street, laid out in the 1730s, are closer to British proportions, with many frontages of 25 feet or less. This may be due to the more restrained ambitions of the Molesworth's, who's urban development was not on the same scale as Gardiner's, than a development principle.

<sup>563</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XXIX-XXXI*, pp. 57-58. The large plot sizes at St. James Square, which averaged 50ft in front, was a consequence of the original scheme to build thirteen or fourteen places around the square.

**Table 1: Comparative street frontages in Dublin and London, 1700s-1750s.**<sup>564</sup>

Place	Street	Development period	Average street frontage
London	Old Burlington Street	1720s	23-25ft
London	Cork Street	1710s	25ft
London	Brook Street	1720s	25ft
London	Grosvenor Square	1720s	38ft
Dublin	Dawson Street	1710s	30-36ft
Dublin	Molesworth Street	1730s	25-30ft
Dublin	Henrietta Street	1730s	48ft
Dublin	Kildare Street	1740s	30ft
Dublin	Sackville Street	1750s	36ft

How does one account for this significant divergence from the British model in Dublin's town house development? The standard explanation for Dublin's broad plot sizes is the precedent set by the Corporation in laying out St. Stephens Green in 1664 (fig. 3.27) Here, in an effort to generate revenue, broad building lots were laid out on municipal land with 60ft frontages to the street. Later private developers, possibly in an attempt to compete with Dublin Corporation, followed this example, and tended towards broader frontages than found in Britain. Yet, while there is evidence of several large individual plots in such developments, on Capel Street for example (fig. 3.28), none rival Henrietta Street for its overall palatial scale and grandeur. Clearly, Gardiner was intent on making a statement.

Luke Gardiner was an astute business man, and though other factors may have impacted on the planning of this development, profit was still the major consideration. While the exact profit netted in this venture is difficult to determine, an examination of the ground rents achieved in the early years of development offer some indication of its financial success (see table 2). Relative land values are also difficult to calculate, and ground rents were not standardised in either Dublin or London.<sup>565</sup> Yet, comparative analysis of a range of values in both capitals reveals that these large building plots at Henrietta Street yielded higher ground rents than other contemporary developments in Dublin, and were in fact on par with some of Mayfair's most fashionable streets.

<sup>564</sup> These values are approximate averages, calculated using information in surviving leases for Dublin properties, and lease tables published in the *Survey of London* for their British counter-parts. These examples were chosen due to the availability of comparative data. Sheppard, *Survey of London XXIX-XXXI*, pp. 57-58 makes it clear that standard terrace front in London's West End was approximately 25ft, noting that the 27ft wide front at No. 14 St James' Square was 'hardly wider than the normal terrace house.'

<sup>565</sup> Various factors, economic and otherwise, affected land values in this period. At St. Stephen's Green in Dublin, for example, the original ground rents were calculated at 1*d* per foot frontage on the North, east and west, but only a ½*d*. per foot on the South. These low rates may be more reflective of the need to generate income than actual land values.

**Table 2: Comparative linear foot rents in Dublin and London, 1710s-1750s.<sup>566</sup>**

Place	Street	Development period	Average linear foot rent	Average foot rent p.a. per 30ft plot
London	Cork Street	1710s	8s.6d.	£12-£13
London	Old Burlington Street	1720s	7s.	£10.10s.
London	Grosvenor Street	1720s	6s.	£9.0s.
London	Brook Street	1720s	5s.	£7.10s.
London	Grosvenor Square	1720s	6s.-8s.	£9-£12
Dublin	Molesworth Street	1730s	4s. 6d.	£6.15s.
Dublin	Henrietta Street	1730s	6s. 2d.	£9.0s.
Dublin	Kildare Street	1740s	5s.-6s.	£8-£9
Dublin	Sackville Street	1750s	5s.-6s.	£8-£9

The average ground rent charged by Gardiner at Henrietta Street was between 5s. and 6s. per linear foot, or an average £8-9 pounds p.a. per 30ft frontage.<sup>567</sup> These values were equivocal to the average linear foot rents achieved on the principal residential streets of the Grosvenor Estate in London during the 1720s. At Brook Street, for example, the average ground rent charged in the initial years of development was 5s. per linear foot, while at Grosvenor Street they averaged 6s. per foot frontage. On Grosvenor Square, the most fashionable address on the estate, ground rents averaged between 6s. and 8s. per linear foot, almost on par with Henrietta Street.<sup>568</sup> The scale of ground rents on the Grosvenor Estate were marginally lower than those at nearby developments for which comparable evidence is available. Although this probably reflected the size of the Grosvenor operation and the expedient need to secure a large volume of tenants, rather than its popularity.<sup>569</sup> At Albemarle Ground, a much smaller late seventeenth-century development by Piccadilly, rents ranged from approximately 5s. to 13s. 9d. per foot frontage, though the length of the plots varied.<sup>570</sup> On the Burlington Estate the ground rents ranged between 7s. and 16s. per foot frontage.

<sup>566</sup> These approximate figures are calculated for Dublin developments utilising information from surviving leases in the Registry of Deeds Land Index, specifically early leases on Henrietta Street and Sackville Street Upper. For Molesworth Street and Kildare Street a selection of early leases were drawn on, which included the necessary details regarding plots sizes and rents charged. For examples see RD 98/139/67920; RD 97/299/68403; RD 127/294/86824; RD 136/491/92202. British values were calculated using information from lease tables in the *Survey of London* volumes.

<sup>567</sup> An exact figure is difficult to compute as a number of leases for Henrietta Street are missing and others include the selling price of the actual house. No. 15 Henrietta Street, originally leased by Gardiner to Sir Robert King in 1748 does not fit this average, for example, as a higher ground rent of £23 per annum or 9 3s. per foot was charged, probably reflecting the particularly large additional plot to the rear, on the far side of the stable lane, which this and most other houses in this row, used for stabling and out-offices.

<sup>568</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 172-195 for Grosvenor estate lease tables.

<sup>569</sup> At Grosvenor Square, where large blocks were taken by a single developer the ground rent was seemingly discounted. For example the whole of the east side was leased by the carpenter John Simmons in November 1724 for the favourable rate of 6s. per foot frontage. See Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid.*

These relatively high values may have reflected Lord Burlington's ability to attract wealthy tenants, as well as fluctuating economic conditions. For instance, the average rents at the earlier development of Cork Street in the 1710s were slightly higher, at over 8s. per linear foot, than those achieved the following decade at the exclusive enclave at Old Burlington Street. Here Lord Burlington netted an average 7s. per foot frontage, similar values to those at Grosvenor Square, and again almost on par with Henrietta Street.<sup>571</sup>

By the late 1740s, when Gardiner came to develop Sackville Street and Mall, he seems to have altered his approach somewhat, adopting a model more in keeping with standard British practice. For though Sackville Street was still planned as a high class development, Gardiner's financial goals seem more short term; plot sizes were not so large as those on Henrietta Street, and were more numerous. There were forty-two buildings plots set out on opposing sides of the street (fig. 3.29),<sup>572</sup> with frontages of between 26ft and 36ft to the Mall (apart from two large plots leased to Richard Dawson on the south-east and south-west ends of the street, and to Nathaniel Clements on the north-west corner which were considerably larger). The development term was shorter, with the majority of houses constructed between 1749-1753. The average ground rent was 5s. per foot frontage on the east side (plots were shallower here, 180ft compared to 200ft on the west), equating to £7 10s. ground rent for a 30ft frontage, while on the west a rate of 6s. per foot frontage or an annual ground rent of £9 for a 30ft frontage was charged.<sup>573</sup>

According to Dickson it was Luke Gardiner's policy to charge ground rents at the highest rate the market would bear.<sup>574</sup> One could go further to say that Gardiner raised the land value or inflated the property market to these high rates through his ventures, then reaped the financial rewards. Certainly by the late 1740s, at a time of peace and economic renewal following a decade of war and famine, there seems to be a general increase in Dublin's land values. At Kildare Street, for instance, the average ground rent was £9 for a 30ft frontage (see table 2).<sup>575</sup> Evidently, there was great variation in the ground rents achieved at contemporary developments in both Dublin and London during the first half of the eighteenth century. While economic conditions and relative land values would have had an impact on these rents, it was market forces, involving a large measure of consumer choice, which would ultimately have determined these values, and driven the financial success of such operations. It was essential therefore, that Luke Gardiner attract suitable takers for these sites.

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<sup>571</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXI-II*, pp. 546-565 for Burlington estate lease tables.

<sup>572</sup> This figure is arrived at from analysis of surviving leases from the initial decade of development, and cross referenced with Rocque's Map of 1756. It does not include the north-east portion of the street after Findlater Place, or Magill's sandpit which were not developed as residential sites until the 1760s.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>574</sup> Dickson, 'Large-scale developers,' p. 116.

<sup>575</sup> For example see RD 136/556/93543, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 28 and 29 January 1749, between Rt. Hon Richard Lord Viscount Molesworth, and Rt. Hon. Mary Countess Dowager of Kildare, and other early deeds in the land index for this street.

### 3.3.2. Development incentives: tenure, building agreements and finance.

As well as charging competitive ground rents another method by which the landlord or speculative developer sought to entice potential tenants was to offer attractive tenurial terms in their leases. In Dublin the Corporation once again set the trend, offering increasingly longer terms of years, and usually included the right of reversion or renewal in their leases at St. Stephen's Green and Oxmanstown in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>576</sup> In an effort to compete, private developers followed suit; Humphrey Jervis, the principal private developer of the seventeenth century, who leased twenty acres of St Mary's estate on a five hundred year lease, granted terms of between thirty one and two hundred years, while in the early eighteenth century Joshua Dawson granted leases in fee farm, forever.<sup>577</sup> Robin Usher notes Dawson's influence in the 1720s, when Lord Ferrard encouraged Viscount Robert Molesworth to take Dawson's lead by offering lives-renewable leases as a means of encouraging building on Molesworth Fields.<sup>578</sup>

Gardiner certainly seems to have recognised the value of secure tenure. On his holdings at the south quays leases for four successive terms of thirty-one years, and some leases for lives renewable forever, were granted, while around Bolton Street in the 1720s he offered nine hundred and ninety-nine year leases.<sup>579</sup> At Henrietta Street most leases were for lives in perpetuity, renewable forever at a fine of a peppercorn; and the same practice was followed, by and large, at Sackville Street.<sup>580</sup> Such tenure was 'scarcely known' outside Ireland,<sup>581</sup> and may have come about as a result of the political conditions here.<sup>582</sup> In theory, all land in Ireland belonged to the sovereign, and was subject to dues and crown rents. There were two ways however, that ownership of land or the equivalent of freehold, could be granted, in 'fee simple' or 'lease in perpetuity.' The latter according to Johnston-Liik was a sort of 'halfway house, part sale, part lease,' which separated the beneficial ownership from the possession of an estate.<sup>583</sup> For most of the eighteenth century such

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<sup>576</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 137 notes that 'the commons, no longer used for pasture, were laid out for building and fee farm leases were granted forever at nominal rents.'

<sup>577</sup> See Robin Usher, *Dawson Molesworth & Kildare Street D2: A study of the past a vision for the future* (Dublin: Dublin Civic Trust, 2008), pp.16-18 and Heritage Council Architecture Research Casey 2006-abstracts of eighteenth century memorials of Dublin town house leases.

<sup>578</sup> Usher, *Dawson Molesworth & Kildare Street D2*, p. 17. His successor Viscount Richard Molesworth sought a parliamentary act in 1732, which allowed him issue leases at terms of 81 years, later extended to 99 years.

<sup>579</sup> RD 45/433/29906, Cogan to Lill, Lill to Gardiner for ground on Bolton Street. NAI T/13251, copy will of the Right Honble. Luke Gardiner notes that at the time of his death Gardiner still held the ground at the South Quays in leases for lives.

<sup>580</sup> Archbishop Boulter was granted his holding here in fee simple in 1729, while Lord Mountjoy was issued a twenty-one year lease in 1733, then a nine hundred and ninety-nine year lease five years later. Clements' agreement with Lord Thomond in 1739 was for a ninety-nine year lease to be issued on November 1<sup>st</sup> 1740, though as no evidence of this lease has been discovered it may not have been issued, as Lord Thomond died before the house was complete.

<sup>581</sup> Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin*, p. 21, who refers to the 'Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Law and Practice in respect of the Occupation of Land in Ireland,' commonly called the Devon Report.

<sup>582</sup> Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin*, p. 21. Anthony Malcomson, *John Foster: the politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 282-3.

<sup>583</sup> Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin*, p. 21,

leases in perpetuity could only be held by Protestants, as they were considered equivalent to freehold, and thus conferred franchise on the grantee; a lease for lives allowed the holder in turn to issue leases.<sup>584</sup>

In London's West End there was a similar trend towards a longer term of lease; those around Albemarle ground in the late-seventeenth century were granted for fifty years, while in the early eighteenth century leases on the Burlington Estate were for sixty-one or sixty-two years. Leases on the Grosvenor Estate were granted for sixty years, with further terms of years to be added when legal impediments were resolved. By the 1740s leases on Berkeley Square were for ninety-nine years. This form of tenure was believed to affect the built structures, with many commentators, contemporary and modern, stating that such houses were built to last only the term of years given in the original leases. From a developer's perspective the principal financial benefit of such enterprises lay in the distant future, when the first building leases fell in and they could grant renewals at a greatly enhanced rate. This practice differed from that found in Dublin, where by and large, such tenurial terms as leases for lives in perpetuity encouraged initial development and secured the best possible incomes at that time, without regard to future increases in value. Burke notes that 'these principles were laid down in Gardiner's will and practiced for a quarter of a century previous.'<sup>585</sup> This being said, under the terms of his will Luke Gardiner did stipulate that future lease renewals, so those not granted in perpetuity, be subject to a one-third increase.<sup>586</sup>

Another aspect of the British development model adopted in Dublin was the practice of sub-leasing plots to developers or builders, who carried out construction, therefore spreading the financial burden. At Henrietta Street, Luke Gardiner acted as both the landlord, leasing plots to owner occupiers directly, and as lead developer, either contracting with the owner-occupier to build houses, or engaging directly in speculative construction. For example, in March 1733 Gardiner, leased a 54.4ft plot of ground to Thomas Carter, 'whereon Mr Carter has built a large dwelling house,'<sup>587</sup> while in 1748 Gardiner agreed with Sir Robert King to make over the lease of a 'dwelling house with its offices and improvements,' which Gardiner was then 'building and finishing' on the south-side of Henrietta Street.<sup>588</sup>

Following a common practice established in Mayfair, particularly on the Grosvenor Estate where large tracts of land were granted to developers such as Robert Andrews, Thomas Barlow and

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<sup>584</sup> Malcomson, *John Foster*, pp. 282-3.

<sup>585</sup> Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800,' p. 222.

<sup>586</sup> NAI T/13251, Copy will of the Right Honble Luke Gardiner, dated this 16th August 1755 wherein it states that any of 'the part or parts of said Lordship of Mary's Abbey and Grange of Clonliffe which are now in lease and which have hitherto been set for Building or are now in streets or lanes or otherwise laid out for such improvement ... for any time or term whatsoever for lives or years with or without renewals so as the rent or rents to be served on every new lease to be made (instead of any as shall be so to be surrendered aforesaid) be one full third part more at least than the rent payable by the old lease or leases...

<sup>587</sup> RD 77/96/52951, deed of lease and release, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> March 1733, Gardiner to Carter.

<sup>588</sup> RD 136/297/91449, memorial of articles of agreement, April 14 1748, Gardiner to King to Gardiner.

Edward Shepherd, Gardiner granted a block of ground on the north-side of Henrietta Street to his protégé Nathaniel Clements in the 1730s, on which the latter subsequently developed five large scale houses (fig. 3.30).<sup>589</sup> Similarly, at Sackville Street Clements was granted a large piece of ground in the north-west corner where he built a number of houses, including his own residence, latterly known as Leirim House (fig. 3.31), while at the same time he appears to have a financial interest in several houses on the east-side of the street.<sup>590</sup>

There was an evident divide at Sackville Street, between the east-side of the street where the majority of leases were granted to owner-occupiers directly, and where the houses tended to be of a more elaborate bespoke design (fig. 3.32), while those on the west were mainly issued to tradesmen, who in turn constructed modest houses for sub-leasing. The financial risk involved in such speculative building may account for the more modest and economical treatment of these houses. For while the exact cost to build such houses is difficult to determine, McKellar concludes that ‘whereas the lead developers were dealing in sums of thousands and tens of thousands, the building undertakers were generally dealing in hundreds and sometimes thousands of pounds.’<sup>591</sup> Based upon evidence garnered from building agreements and mortgage finance an average cost of between £100-£500 pounds is given to construct a standard terrace house in London in the early Georgian period.<sup>592</sup> The limited evidence available for their Dublin counterparts would seem to

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<sup>589</sup> These grants were made at various times, seemingly after construction had commenced. No building related agreements have been discovered. See RD 81/352/57859, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1735, between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, for a plot of ground 36ft in front 224ft deep, on the north-side of Henrietta Street (No. 8). Carter’s lease of the ground at No. 9 in 1733, however, refers to Clements house, already built by this date.

RD 92/255/64501, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> September 1738, between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements for a plot of ground 40ft in front 224ft deep on the north-side of Henrietta Street (No. 7). This lease included a rent free building term of 18 months.

RD 109/246/75754, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 31<sup>st</sup> July and 1<sup>st</sup> August 1740, between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements for a plot of ground 60ft in front 224ft deep on the north-side of Henrietta Street (Nos. 5-6). Clements had previously agreed in 1739 to build a house thereon for the Earl of Thomond, and by August 1740 a structure of some sort was complete, as it was rated for parish tax in that year. See RCLB P276.10.2, ‘St. Michan’s Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.’

RD 116/115/7919, memorial of deeds of lease and release, on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> September 1744, between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements for a plot of ground 95ft in front 224ft deep on the north-side of Henrietta Street (Nos. 3-4.). According to parish cess return however, No. 4 was built c.1739/40. See RCLB P276.10.2, ‘St. Michan’s Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.’

<sup>590</sup> RD 160/294/107:531, memorial of two certain indentures, 10<sup>th</sup> & 11 April 1753, between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, concerning ‘All that piece or parcel of ground fronting to Gardiners Mall, 143ft 4in in front to said mall.’

RD 178/124/118080, memorial of deeds of release, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1755, between Henry Mitchell, Major Henry Gore, and Nathaniel Clements Witnessing that said Henry Mitchell and Henry Gore..assigned unto Nathaniel Clements all that lot or parcel of ground on the East side of Sackville Street, containing 31ft in breadth & 180ft in depth.

<sup>591</sup> McKellar, *The birth of modern London*, p. 64.

<sup>592</sup> McKellar, *The birth of modern London*, p. 64-65.

tally with this figure.<sup>593</sup> This being said the Henrietta Street houses were not standard undertakings. Archbishop Boulter paid £1,900 for his 'large dwelling house' in 1729, having previously agreed to pay £483 for the site<sup>594</sup> and in 1748 Gardiner claimed to have expended the considerable sum of £853 14s. 3d. in building the more modest speculative undertaking at No. 15 Henrietta Street.<sup>595</sup>

A further incentive which developers often utilised to attract tenants, specifically building tradesmen, was to offer favourable terms in building agreements. These were usually made prior to construction and specified a set building term when ground rents were suspended. This was generally two years on the Burlington Estate and between six months and two years on the Grosvenor Estate, while at Smithfield in Dublin one year rent-free building periods were granted, with fines if building was not complete in two years.<sup>596</sup> Joshua Dawson granted leases at a peppercorn of rent for the first three years in order to encourage investment in his venture on Dublin's south side, while Lord Molesworth tended to grant terms of two years. Gardiner offered a term of eighteen months to Clements for the plot of ground whereon he built his own house, No. 7 Henrietta Street, while at Sackville Street the only lease which specified a rent-free building term was that granted to Robert Robinson M.D. for his house at No. 42. Few other building agreements survive for either Sackville Street, or Henrietta Street, though it is highly unlikely that Gardiner would have allowed construction on his property without a formal agreement in place. It appears to have been Gardiner's policy to issue leases once houses were near the final stages of construction, as was standard practice in Britain.<sup>597</sup> As ground rent was not paid until this time the lessee in effect had a rent-free building term. For instance, Gardiner granted Clements the lease for the ground on which he built his first residence at No. 8 Henrietta in December 1735, though parish cess returns show that the house was actually built, and occupied, from at least October 1735.<sup>598</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> See RD 135/87/90522, deed of lease and release, 14 and 15 July 1747, between, Rt. Hon. James Earl of Kildare and Isaac Lancake, carpenter, concerning a 30ft plot of ground fronting Kildare Street. The following year Lancake mortgaged an interest in this ground and the house and out houses etc subsequently built there on for £400, plus interest RD 134/215/90655, deed of ease and release, 1 and 2 March 1748, Lancake to George Walker, tanner. RD 157/474/05525, memorandum of deeds indented, 17 Nov. 1752, Major Henry Gore to Henry Mitchell. RD 173/372/116581, memorandum of endorsed deed, 24 March 1755, Gore to Mitchell, refer to a mortgage granted on Gore's house on the east side of Sackville Street (which included all the plate and household furniture on the said house) for £381, 3s. 6d. at a rate of 5%.

<sup>594</sup> RD 63/29/42497, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 4th/5th Feb. 1729, between Luke Gardiner Hugh Boulter, Lord Arch Bishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. Anon., 'Old Dublin mansion-houses, p. 136, 'Articles of agreement indented ...5th march 1724 ...between Luke Gardiner and Hugh Boulter, wherein Boulter agreed to purchase the ground on which this house was built, as well as the three houses that were then built thereon for £483, in fee simple. He also agreed to pay 'such sums and some of money as the Work or Buildings now made & erected on the premises shall measure to be valued according to rates paid for such sort of work in the city of Dublin.'

<sup>595</sup> RD 136/297/91449, memorial of articles of agreement, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1748, between Luke Gardiner and Robert King of Rockingham County Roscommon Bart.

<sup>596</sup> Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 16.

<sup>597</sup> Summerson, *Georgian London*, pp. 26-28. Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>598</sup> RD 81/352/57859, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 1st and 2nd December 1735, between Luke Gardiner, Esq. and Nathaniel Clements, Esq. This lease ran from the 1st of November 1735. RCLB P276.10.2, 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books,' P276.10.2 The first surviving cess return for this street dates from the 29th of October 1735, though liabilities would have been assessed in the preceding months, and earlier returns may have shown this house to have been built and occupied well before 1735.

In addition to offering incentives for builders to develop individual properties for sub-lease, Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements would also have sought to promote their schemes with potential owner-occupiers directly. At Henrietta Street and on the east-side of Sackville Street the majority of the early tenants came from this group. In fact many of these individuals were associates of Gardiner and Clements, political, business or social connections who were directly instrumental in ensuring the success of these development enterprises. Their houses were commissioned directly, and tended to be of bespoke design and usually of a larger-scale than speculative ventures.

In February 1729, Primate Boulter purchased ‘all that large Dwelling House’ lately erected the south-side of Henrietta Street, which measured a massive 80ft in front.<sup>599</sup> The largest single plot on Sackville Street was leased directly to Alderman Richard Dawson in 1751, measuring a broad 66ft to the front of the Mall. Dawson enjoyed a range of connections to Luke Gardiner, as a city alderman, banker, revenue commissioner and fellow MP for County Kilkenny (St Canices).<sup>600</sup> He appears to have erected a large and sumptuously decorated dwelling (and compting) house himself, paying Gardiner the standard ground rent of £16 10s. p.a. for the plot.<sup>601</sup> In 1739 the Earl of Thomond commissioned Nathaniel Clements ‘to erect and build ...a good new dwelling house’ adjoining Clements own house on the north-side of Henrietta Street. It too was of a large-scale, 60ft in front and five bays wide, and of considerable internal pretension.<sup>602</sup> In erecting Lord Thomond’s house Clements agreed to ‘provide all the stuff and materials for said building in the cheapest and best manner.’ When building was complete, and a lease for 999 years signed, Thomond would be liable for ‘the yearly rent of eighteen pounds sterling...[a higher than average rate for this street] for the ground and a further yearly rent of six pounds for every one hundred pounds which Nathaniel Clements should make appear upon oath to have expended on the said building.’<sup>603</sup>

Thomond’s agreement with Clements highlights the increasingly sophisticated mortgage and finance markets emerging in Dublin’s building industry during this period, which according to Brendan Twomey looked to the complex system of credit at play in London’s building sector.<sup>604</sup> Gardiner and Clements, in common with many landlords and developers in London’s West End, and with William Hendrick in his speculative venture at Smithfield in Dublin, encouraged development by offering finance or mortgages to prospective tenants. Finance was usually granted to the owner-occupier directly, where the developer agreed to erect the house, the costs of which

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<sup>599</sup> RD 63/29/42497, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 4th/5th Feb. 1729, between Luke Gardiner Hugh Boulter, Lord Arch Bishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.

<sup>600</sup> See Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. I, p. 27; PRONI D3053, Dartrey papers.

<sup>601</sup> RD 150/341/102115, memorial of indented deeds of lease and release, 30<sup>th</sup>/31st May 1751, between Luke Gardiner Richard Dawson Dublin, Esq.

<sup>602</sup> RD 101/333/71481, memorial of articles of agreement of indenture, 13th July 1739, between Nathaniel Clements and the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Thomond.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>604</sup> Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 10. See McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, passim for discussion of the London mortgage market.

would be repaid at an agreed rate of interest per annum. Though mortgages could be obtained prior to or during construction it was more common to grant this finance once construction was nearing completion, or complete.<sup>605</sup> In May 1750 it was agreed that ‘Luke Gardiner should advance Joshua Cooper any sum of Money not exceeding five hundred pounds as should be necessary to finish the thereby demised Dwelling House [on Sackville Street]...’ In addition to the ground rent of £8 5s. p.a., the sum borrowed was to be repaid at a rate of 5% per annum, or £5 for every £100 expended.<sup>606</sup> A similar rate of 5% was given to Edward Bayly in 1750 for whom Gardiner agreed ‘with all convenient speed’ to erect and build the walls or shell of a dwelling house on a lot of ground in Sackville Street.<sup>607</sup> The tenants at Sackville Street seem to have got a good deal as two years previously, in April 1748 Sir Robert King also received finance for the building of his house in Henrietta Street from Gardiner, at the standard interest rate of 6% per annum.<sup>608</sup> Similar examples can be found on the Grosvenor Estate where finance was supplied to tenants, as a means of encouraging development.<sup>609</sup>

Thomas Carter chose another mode of finance, having already built his ‘large dwelling house’ at Henrietta Street, in 1733 he secured a mortgage on this property from Thomas Lill, a trustee or agent for Gardiner. Lill loaned Carter the sum of £1,600, presumably to cover cost of the building of the house as the lease and mortgage were signed within a day of each other.<sup>610</sup> By 1736 Carter had redeemed the mortgage on the property, repaying the principal sum and interest.<sup>611</sup> Gardiner thus made a financial gain, on the interest received from this loan, while also securing a prestigious tenant for his development. Gardiner also seems to have provided Nathaniel Clements with the necessary capital to develop his holdings on the north-side of Henrietta Street. During the initial period of development Clements’ ledgers show he obtained a series of short-term loans from Gardiner. On the 13th of July 1733 he repaid Gardiner a loan of £8,322. According to Malcomson the odd hundreds were probably interest,<sup>612</sup> and if so Clements got a very fair rate of just over 4%

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<sup>605</sup> McKellar, *The birth of modern London*, p. 62.

<sup>606</sup> RD 141/173/94892, memorial of indented deeds of lease and release, 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> May 1750, between Luke Gardiner and Joshua Cooper. RD 172/362/116812, memorial of endorsement on the back of deeds of release, 14<sup>th</sup> May 1750.

<sup>607</sup> RD 141/141/94728, memorial of indented articles of agreement, 8th May 1750, between Luke Gardiner and the Rev. Edward Bayly.

<sup>608</sup> Twomey, *Smithfield*, p. 23 notes a fixed annual rate of around 6% seems to have been the norm with half yearly interest payments and a lump sum repayment at the end of the terms, when the mortgage was either redeemed or renewed. In 1729 Gardiner granted William Graham building finance for his house at Henrietta Street at a higher rate of 7%. See NLI MS 36,516 /1, Gardiner papers. Articles of agreement between Luke Gardiner Esq. and William Graham, Esq., 23 Feb 1729.

<sup>609</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 6-9; 24-29.

<sup>610</sup> RD 76/88/52952, memorial of deeds of lease and release, 21 and 22<sup>nd</sup> March 173, between the Right Hon. Thomas Carter and Thomas Lill of the City of Dublin, Esq.

<sup>611</sup> RD 84/187/59270, memorial of deeds of lease and release tripartite, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1736, between Thomas Lill and Rt. Hon. Thomas Carter and Luke Gardiner.

<sup>612</sup> Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements, government and governing elite*, p. 26, who cites the evidence of Clement’s ledgers at TCD MS 7258 CL 1728-38.

on this loan. On the 25th of May 1734 Clements borrowed another £4,000, and on the 26th of July an additional £6,000, repaying the latter on the 3rd of May 1735.<sup>613</sup>

These were very considerable sums of money, far in excess of what Gardiner would have held of his own account. For example £1,500-£3,000 would have been a good annual income for a peer, while a Commissioner of the Revenue, one of the most lucrative government posts, earned a salary of £1,000 per annum.<sup>614</sup> As the loans were from Gardiner personally, as opposed to his private banking operation, it seems likely that he was using government balances in hand, which he held (temporarily) as Vice Deputy Treasurer. Similarly, as these sums appear too great for Clements to have repaid so quickly from his personal income, he too may have utilised state revenue to finance his private enterprises. It is unlikely that Clements invested the entire £18,000 borrowed in developing the sites at Henrietta Street. Yet these transactions serve to demonstrate the blurred lines which existed between the official roles and private interests of these developers; and how such speculative developments were an integral and integrated aspect of Gardiner and Clements' larger business concerns.

Clements in turn granted annuities (yearly payments to the investor, issuing out of a lump sum invested, which were usually connected to tangible assets or property) on the ground he had leased from Gardiner as a means of generating lump sums of capital which could subsequently be invested in property development. In 1746, in consideration of £1,050, Clements granted Walter Wolfe '...one annuity or yearly rent charge of £100 sterling to be yearly issuing out of all that lot of ground on north side of Henrietta Street,' while in 1757 he raised the same capital with an annuity of £100 'issuing out of that parcel of ground fronting Gardiner's Mall.'<sup>615</sup> Major Walter Wolfe was a renowned military man who had fought under Marlborough. He held property in Wicklow and in Dublin City, around Aungier Street. Wolfe also appears to have been part of the same social circle as Clements, while Wolfe's nephew, General James Wolfe, with whom he was a close correspondent, gained his prominent position in the military through the offices of Clements' friend, General Jean Ligonier.

### **3.3.3. Speculative investments: outlay and expenditure.**

Property speculation though lucrative was a risky business and while Gardiner and Clements' used a range of means to limit their exposure, these enterprises required sizeable investment at the outset. In addition to their outlay in land acquisition the residential developer was also responsible for a number of other aspects in the initial stages of development; for surveying the land, setting out the plots, preparing the site for building and the provision of certain services. According to *The*

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<sup>613</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>614</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Patrick Walsh for this information.

<sup>615</sup> RD 123/221/84318, memorial of indented deed of annuity, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1746, between Nathaniel Clements, City of Dublin Esq., Walter Wolfe, said city, Esq.; RD 189/223/125224 1, memorial of indented deed, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1757, between Nathaniel Clements, Esq. in consideration of £1,050 sterling paid by Walter Wolfe Esq. of the same city.

*City and county purchaser and builder* of 1680 the first task that fell to the potential purchaser of residential building ground was ‘to consider the quantity and quality of the thing you are about to purchase,’ stressing the importance of establishing its situation, proximity to water sources, soil type and air quality.<sup>616</sup> The services of a land surveyor would usually have been required to perform this task, incurring cost even before the ground had been purchased, while such an individual would certainly have been required in pegging out the ground into building plots.<sup>617</sup> It is not evident who Gardiner contracted to perform these tasks nor does the detail of these operations survive. However, it is clear that the building sites at Henrietta Street and Sackville Street adhered to contemporary prescriptions as to the suitability of situation. Both were situated on elevated sites, on the ridge of well-drained high ground in the north-east of the city, taking advantage of the prevailing south-westerly winds, which brought wholesome air from the Wicklow Mountains.<sup>618</sup> In both instances the well-drained gravelly soil, which excavations show did not require the insertion of wooden piles to underpin or shore up foundations, was ideal for building upon.<sup>619</sup>

O’Coinnaithe identifies a number of surveyors active in Dublin in the first half of the century,<sup>620</sup> who could potentially have been employed by Gardiner. John Green and Joseph Moland were surveyors to the estates of the archbishop of Dublin between 1710 and 1720. Moland, who was City Surveyor in 1713 also acted as a surveyor for Sir John Rogerson during this period, specifically at his holdings around the south quays.<sup>621</sup> James Ramsey, who was the City Surveyor during the 1720s and held property around Abbey Street also acted on Sir John Rogerson’s

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<sup>616</sup> William Leybourne, *The city and county purchaser and builder* (London: William Leach, 1680), pp. 2-11.

<sup>617</sup> See Finian O’Coinnaithe, ‘Land surveying in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dublin,’ (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2011) for detailed analysis of this subject. Lengthily descriptions of this process and equipment used, including mathematical instruments such as the theolodite, the circumferentor and the plain table, and more usually the Gunter chain and brass arrows, survive in a number of surveying manuals, such as *The Compleat Surveyor* (1722), or the *Practical surveyor* (1725). Ayres *Building the Georgian City*, 32 notes the contemporary use of this term ‘staking out,’ as well as ‘pegging out’ to describe the process of marking boundaries with arrows and poles in Britain.

<sup>618</sup> See Dickson, ‘Large-scale developers,’ p. 112. John Rutt, *Natural History of the County of Dublin* (Dublin, W. Sleater, 1772), p. 5 notes that ‘the gentle elevation to the north of the city which enables the foul city air to escape... [was] one reason, besides the nature of the soil, for the preference that has been given to habitations on the north to those on the South side of the river.’

<sup>619</sup> See published excavation reports by Ken Wiggins, Judith Carroll & Co. Ltd, 13 Anglesea Street, Temple Bar, Dublin 2 of the area around Bolton Street, 17 and 17a Henrietta Street and 10 Henrietta Place, Dublin, 315261 23492303E1935 in 2003 and 2004; Franc Myles, Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd, 2 Killiney View, Albert Road Lower, Glenageary, County Dublin, 2001:397, The Monument of Light, Nelson’s Pillar, O’Connell Street, Dublin 31592 23467 SMR 18:20 01E0871. Sackville Street Upper was above the high water line of the Liffey, and mudflats around Bachelors Walk where marshy-ground had been reclaimed in the late seventeenth century.

<sup>620</sup> Finian O’Coinnaithe, ‘Land surveying in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dublin’ (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2011), p. 35.

<sup>621</sup> O’Coinnaithe, ‘Land surveying,’ p. 39. RD 13/25/4565, Deed of lease, 16 Dec 1713, between John mercer, Merchant and John Green Merchant, lists Joseph Moland, City Surveyor as a witness to the deed. RD 9/384/3954, Deed of lease and release, 29 Apr 1713, conceding a piece of the strand between Lazy Hill & Rings End, lease for ever at £200 pa. to which Sir John Rogerson was a party, and Joseph Moland a witness. RD 32/94/19059, Deed of surrender, 8 Sept. 1721, between Walter Harris and John Rogerson, of the City of Dublin, concerning property at Castlelost, which Moland surveyed.

behalf.<sup>622</sup> John Magill, a carpenter who worked under Pearce and Castle in the 1730s as an overseer and measurer, was said to have ‘ingratiated himself with some men of Rank and Fortune, so as to be appointed Surveyor of their Estates, Estimator of the Prices of Buildings, &c.’<sup>623</sup> He was certainly connected to the Gardiner estate, leasing the gravel pit on Sackville Street from Luke Gardiner in 1752, as well as ground in the North Lotts, where he served with Charles Gardiner on the committee that managed the Lotts.<sup>624</sup> Edward Lovett Pearce’s association with Gardiner during the initial period of Henrietta Street’s development, specifically his role as the agent in the purchase of the Drogheda estate in 1728, raises the possibility of his involvement. It was not uncommon for prominent architects to fulfil the role of surveyor or overseer, James Gibbs assisted in this capacity at the Harley estates at Marylebone in the 1720s, as did Henry Flitcroft for Lord Burlington.<sup>625</sup> In 1730 Pearce was made Surveyor of Works and Fortifications in Ireland and carried out private estate surveys during this period, at Jigginstown in 1726 and at Bessborough in the 1730s.<sup>626</sup>

The surveyor also assisted the developer in setting out the street and building plots. Contemporary sources demonstrate the importance of regularity when ‘Planning Building Ground, and Dividing it into convenient Lots for Sale,’<sup>627</sup> of straight lines and right angles in street plans and cohesion and uniformity of building line in elevations.<sup>628</sup> This was done using simple equipment and basic systems of triangulation, such as the Gunter chain and ranging poles.<sup>629</sup> Mathematic instruments were also employed. The Theolodite, which measured angles simultaneously on both the vertical and horizontal planes became popular during the period in question. It was

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<sup>622</sup> RD 54/484/36500, Deed of indented lease, 18 April 1727, James Ramsey, City of Dublin, mathematical instrument maker did demise unto Thos. Cooke, same city, merchant all that new dwelling house with a garden stable and coach house behind the same situate on South side of Abby Street...RD 110/415/78365, 23 Jan 1743. James Ramsey witnessed a number of transactions involving Sir John Rogerson, names RD30/132/16859, Deed of release, 14 April 1720, between William Rogerson and Sir John Rogerson concerning property left to them by their Aunt Elizabeth Newcommen. RD30/76/16459, 4 Aug. 1720, between Sir John Rogerson and Thomas Vicars, concerning property on Rogerson’s Quay.

<sup>623</sup> Craig, *Dublin*, pp. 69-70 who draws on a critical account of Magill’s life, Anon, *The Life and Adventures of Buttermilk Jack* (Dublin 1760).

<sup>624</sup> Frederick O’Dwyer, ‘Building empires: architecture, politics and the Board of Works 1760-1860,’ *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, vol. V (2002), pp.112-113.

<sup>625</sup> Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), *passim*. Juliet West. “Flitcroft, Henry,” *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 18, 2014, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.elib.tcd.ie/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028585>.

<sup>626</sup> Maurice Craig, ‘New Light on Jigginstown,’ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 33 (1970), pp. 107-110.

<sup>627</sup> A. Nesbit, *Treatise on Practical Land Surveying* (York, 1810).

<sup>628</sup> Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, p. 31 notes a number of practical sources such Samuel Wyld, *The practical surveyor; or, the art of land-measuring, made easy* (London: J. Hooke and J. Sisson, 1725), as well as commentary by Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 30. Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland...in 1776, 1777 and 1778...* (Dublin, 1780) & Thomas Burgh, *A method to determine areas of right-lined figures universally* (Dublin, 1724), also stressed the importance of these principles.

<sup>629</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, Robert Ball’s account ledger for 1753-7. On July 26<sup>th</sup> 1753 Ball charged Mr George Furnace 3s ‘To 6 poles for enclosing ye field’ and [blank] feet of old oak & deal for ditto [no charge noted].

utilised in the 1720s at Hanover Square in London,<sup>630</sup> and was particularly useful in measuring sloping sites, such as Henrietta Street. Richard Castle claimed to have brought the first Theolodite to Ireland in the mid-1720s,<sup>631</sup> though Thomas Burgh also favoured this instrument, which he stated was made by Mr Gabriel Stokes in 1724.<sup>632</sup> There is little evidence of the cost of private land surveying in Ireland during this period. In 1747 the *London Tradesman* professed a surveyor could 'earn a Guinea a day when employed in laying out.' O'Coinnaith suggests an income of £125 for a mid-eighteenth-century surveyor in Ireland.<sup>633</sup> This was sizeable figure, compared to the average £30 per annum a skilled craftsman could expect to earn, and was certainly a considerable expenditure on the part of the developer.

Land clearance and levelling, the next step in the development process, involved further outlay for the developer, though the individual builder would have had to clear his plot of ground on a green field site of long grasses, sods, and generally of earth and other rubble.<sup>634</sup> Major site clearance involved a large labour force, while the removal and disposal of the subsequent building waste was a considerable undertaking. In October 1754 Robert Ball billed Mr George Stewart for '2 labs 3 days both clearing the ground around ye houses in Malb. St.'<sup>635</sup> Ball's notebooks also contain numerous entries for the removal of rubbish, for instance in July 1753 the master-builder Henry Darley was billed 6s 7d for the removal of '23 'Carts of Rubbish.' In Britain the scavengers who were hired to collect such waste often made use of this 'rubbish,' selling it on for the production of the very bricks used for building; bricks too were often produced onsite, thus negating the cost of removing building waste, and transport.

It was also common practice, in Britain and Ireland, to use the debris from site clearance (as well as from digging out foundations and cellars) to build up the street in front, creating raised bank of earth or 'terras' at street level, on which the road and pathway would be built, and thus giving the vertical layout to the eighteenth-century terraced house. For Gardiner, there was the added inconvenience and expense that neither site was entirely green-field. At Henrietta Street he had to contend with the demolition and clearance of three seemingly newly built houses before

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<sup>630</sup> See Samuel Wyld, *The practical surveyor; or, the art of land-measuring, made easy* (London: J. Hooke and J. Sisson, 1725), appendix. The Theolodite combined a number of earlier innovations, a telescope, a vernier for measuring the angles and a spirit level, it could be used in land and water surveys and as noted in the *Practical Surveyor*, in preparing perspective drawings of buildings, and was used in surveying Hanover Square in London.

<sup>631</sup> NLI MS 2737. Richard Castle, 'An Essay on Artificial Navigation,' c1730. The Theolodite was invented about 1720 by Jonathan Sission, a London instrument maker (who received a royal appointment in 1729).

<sup>632</sup> O'Coinnaith, 'Land surveying,' p. 144, who refers to Thomas Burgh, *A method to determine areas of right-lined figures universally* (Dublin, 1724), p. 13.

<sup>633</sup> O'Coinnaith, 'Land surveying,' p. 60, 68-9.

<sup>634</sup> See James Ayres, *Building the Georgian city* (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 32; Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history' (Ph.D thesis TCD, 1998), p. 15; NAI BRS/Dublin 43, Robert Ball's account ledger for 1753-7.

<sup>635</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7.

building could commence,<sup>636</sup> while at Sackville Street Gardiner took down all original houses on both sides from Henry Street and Earl Street to Great Britain Street in order to widen the area for the Mall.<sup>637</sup>

The next stage in the development process was the provision of services such as sewers, drains and water supply. In Britain the main sewers and drains were generally dug first before the foundations of houses, as drains usually ran down the centre of space reserved for roadway; the individual houses once excavated were connected by a series of smaller pipes to the common sewer or drain. Building agreements on the Grosvenor estate show that while Sir Richard Grosvenor made provision for such services he recouped his investment, charging the lessee for the use of any sewer built in front of his plot, usually at the rate of six shillings per foot. No such charges are mentioned in Gardiner's surviving building leases, nor is there any reference to the provision of services. At Kildare Street an agreement between two undertakers to share the costs of laying and maintaining the 'shore' which ran beneath both houses and connected to the 'main shore in Kildare Street,' indicates that the individual builder or householder here was responsible for these costs.<sup>638</sup>

The 'Sundry Accounts' books of St Mary's parish 1734-74 provide evidence of common or public sewers, which were maintained by the parish (on behalf of the Corporation) by means of taxes on solvent and dependent householders.<sup>639</sup> The Bradoge Sewer (part of the river which had been culverted into a sewer or drain in parts) served the parishes of St Mary's, St Paul's and St. Michan's, one branch of which was an open sewer in Channel Row (now North Brunswick Street), while the other ran through Church Street, with several subsidiary branches serving the streets around Henrietta Street. No mention is made of a sewer here, though the River Bradoge which flowed above ground on the north-west boundary of the Henrietta Street site may have served this function. At St Mary's parish the main sewer ran from Capel Street to Abbey Street and Jervis Street, which in turn connected to subsidiary sewers in Liffey Street, emptying into the River Liffey at the end of Swifts Row.<sup>640</sup> These sewers were little more than open clay trenches or channels with flat bottoms cut into the surface of the street, and were actually designed as drains to carry away surface water, not human waste, to nearby water courses.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>636</sup>Anon., 'Old Dublin mansion-houses, in Henrietta Street, p. 136, 'Articles of agreement indented ...5th march 1724 ... between Luke Gardiner and Hugh Boulter,' which refers to those 'three House...now built and walled in which said three houses were originally designed by the said Luke Gardiner for the use of Robert Percivall, Esq. Richard Nutall and John Power Gents.'

<sup>637</sup> *Records vol. III*, p. 76.

<sup>638</sup> RD 138/305/9329, Deed poll, 9 December 1749, between 'Edward Nicholson, City of Dublin Esq., Isaac Lancake, said city, Carpenter'.

<sup>639</sup> RCLB P.277.7.2, 'St Mary's vestry book 17 March 1739- 24 March 1761, On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1741.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>641</sup> See Michael Corcoran, *Our good health, a history of Dublin's water and drainage* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2005), pp. 22-23

A report carried out by the commissioners for the Dublin Improvement Bill a century later in 1848 stressed the want of a connected sewerage network in the city,<sup>642</sup> noting that cesspools instead of sewers were ‘very general, even in the best part of the city of Dublin.’<sup>643</sup> Corcoran’s history of Dublin’s drainage and water notes that the majority of houses in the first half of the eighteenth century relied on such primitive sanitations. These cesspools were essentially deep cylindrical pits, lined with bricks and covered with a removable slab which allowed them to be opened up and cleaned out periodically, though they were sometimes connected to the open sewers or street water channels, from which they discharged into the nearest watercourse or river.<sup>644</sup> At Sackville Street and the Mall ‘for want of sewers, the filth and water were received in pits, called cesspools, dug before the doors and covered in...’<sup>645</sup>

The provision of water supply, often the responsibility of the individual householder, seems similarly haphazard on the Gardiner estate. In Britain certain developers obtained a supply of water on behalf of the residents.<sup>646</sup> On the Grosvenor estate the supply came from the Chelsea Waterworks Company, which the Grosvenor family had an interest in, and householders were obliged to pay for this service, although it seemed far from adequate. Water levels were low and sporadic, and several households had to rely on private wells.<sup>647</sup> In Dublin, Corcoran notes that the Corporation built the new city basin at James’s Street in 1721, to supply ninety streets with piped water through wooden water mains (fig. 3.33). By the 1730s this Poddle supply was inadequate to serve the city, and many householders sank wells, used rainwater barrels or bought water from hucksters.<sup>648</sup> Richard Castle’s *An Essay Toward Supplying the City of Dublin with Water*, which purported that there was an adequate volume of water entering the basin to supply the whole city, but that this was mismanaged, showed that Henrietta Street did not receive a supply of piped water from the City Basin in 1735, though several smaller streets in the vicinity, such as Coleraine Street, Church Street and Linen Hall Street did.<sup>649</sup> This is very surprising, considering the prestigious

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<sup>642</sup> ‘Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesties woods, forests, and revenues, works and buildings. Local acts-preliminary inquires : 9 & 10 Cit.c 106. Dublin Improvements 1847-8. Report of the Surveying Officers 1st march 1848, passim, pp. 78-9.

<sup>643</sup> Dublin Improvements Report, p. 188.

<sup>644</sup> Corcoran, *Our good health*, pp. 22-23

<sup>645</sup> G.N. Wright, *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London, 1821), p. 8 quoted in Eamon Walsh, ‘Sackville Mall the first one hundred years,’ in *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850*, ed. David Dickson (Dublin, 1987), p. 40. Dublin Improvements Report, p. 165. Commissioner Burke noted the ‘great inconvenience experiences by the inhabitants of Sackville Street, Dublin from the want of perfect sewerage.

<sup>646</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>648</sup> Michael Corcoran, ‘Water, drainage, people and heritage,’ *Engineering Ireland* (March, 2007), p.2.

<sup>649</sup> In 1735 Richard Castle, and Gabriel Stokes, Deputy Surveyor General, were asked to produce schemes for Dublin’s water supply by Dublin Corporation’s Pipe Water Committee, which directed the City Stationer to print 500 copies of each scheme. Stokes then published a pamphlet commenting on Castle’s scheme, *Observations on a late essay of Mr Richard Castle* (1735). Therein Castle provided a table listing all streets which received a supply of water, Henrietta Street was not included.

nature of this development, not to mention Richard Castle's first hand knowledge of contemporary improvements in water technology made in London.<sup>650</sup>

Excavation works around the corner of Henrietta Street and Henrietta Lane have uncovered a stone-lined well, probably dating from the early years of the street's development, which contained a narrow timber pipe or sluice, used to 'carry water from any spring to supply a house with this necessary element.'<sup>651</sup> A similar scenario occurred at Sackville Street, where despite improvement to the north-side supply by this time, Gardiner did not obtain piped water for this street. In 1752 the residents had to petition the Corporation for their own supply, after which time a water main was seemingly laid from Great Britain Street down the middle of the Mall.<sup>652</sup>

Although Gardiner does not appear to have invested heavily in the infrastructure of these residential developments, at Henrietta Street he was obliged under the terms of an agreement signed in 1724 to 'procure that street to be paved...as other streets are by Michaelmas next.'<sup>653</sup> The term pavement then encompassed both the roadway and footpath. The original paving flags and curb stones at Henrietta Street, like much of Dublin's eighteenth-century pavements were made of local granite from the Dublin Mountains (fig. 3.34), as opposed to the Purbeck stone flags popular in London.<sup>654</sup> The roadway by contrast was probably constructed of a cheaper material, such as a consolidated and well compacted earthen surface, as stone setts tended only to be used on the more heavily trafficked streets.<sup>655</sup> Such small savings aside, these speculative developments were clearly considerable undertakings. This is further evident in the development of Gardiner's Mall at Sackville Street. Gardiner's Mall was described in 1755 as 'a Mall or Walking place,' laid out 'some years past' for the

'use pleasure and Accommodation of the Tenants and inhabitants of the several Houses on the East and West sides of the said Mall and their servants and Followers...'

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<sup>650</sup> Richard Castle, *An Essay Toward Supplying the City of Dublin with Water* (Dublin: Syl. Pepyat, 1735), *passim*. Castle held up methods practised in London as exemplars, such as 'obliging every house that has water there to have a cistern or cask with a ball cock in it.'

<sup>651</sup> Neve, *The city and country purchaser*, p. 3 notes that alder wood was 'extraordinary useful for *Pumps* and *Water pipes* ('troughs and sluices if large),' used to serve this function. See published excavation reports by Ken Wiggins, Judith Carroll & Co. Ltd, 13 Anglesea Street, Temple Bar, Dublin 2 of the area around Bolton Street, 17 and 17a Henrietta Street and 10 Henrietta Place, Dublin, 315261 23492303E1935 in 2003 and 2004, who note that this timber had a diameter of 0.19-0.22m, while a well discovered off Broad Street, Limerick contained a similar timber (Excavations 2002, No. 1212, 02E1531). The remains of the well were covered over and preserved in situ.

<sup>652</sup> Gilbert *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, p. x, p. 19, notes this petition by residents. Corcoran, 'Water, Drainage..' notes that James Scanlan, who was appointed engineer in 1739 improved the supply to the North-side in the 1740s by taking water from the Liffey at Islandbridge and pumping it through two six-inch wooden mains; a total of 185 streets then needed the service. The Mall wall also laid out by this time and it seems unlikely it was excavated to lay pipes.

<sup>653</sup> Anon., 'Old Dublin mansion-houses, in Henrietta Street, p. 136, 'Articles of agreement indented ...5th march 1724 ... between Luke Gardiner and Hugh Boulter.'

<sup>654</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 13-16, GBA 1, 23.

<sup>655</sup> 'Henrietta Street conservation plan: an action of the Dublin City heritage plan,' p. 45 notes that the structural difficulties encountered during the recent laying of the setts over the underground cellars suggest that the depth may never have been available to lay the thickness of a stone sett and hence the greater possibility of a thinner compacted earth surface.

This formal rectilinear promenading space provided an attractive amenity for potential residents. Measuring some 48ft in breadth, the Mall ran down the centre of Sackville Street, a broad boulevard which at 150ft wide and over 1050ft long leant an air of spaciousness and openness to the development. The Mall appears to have been walled in and ornamented with considerable taste from the first. Grace's view of c.1752 shows it lined with low granite walls and obelisks topped with oil-lamp globes (fig. 3.35), and it was planted with trees a few years later.<sup>656</sup> This classicising ornament followed the latest fashions in Britain (fig. 3.36), though the layout of the Mall differed from the usual square or circular plans of such spaces, and may have been owing to the exigencies of the site, which was surrounded on all sides by existing buildings.

The Mall was laid out at the desire of Luke Gardiner and Major Charleton Whitlocke, a prominent resident of the street, who had served under Lt. Col. George Sackville in the Flanders, and was later made a Commissioner and Overseer of the Barracks and other public works.<sup>657</sup> Construction was evidently carried out by Robert Ball, whose account books note numerous charges for 'ye building of/at ye Mall,' between 1753 and 1756. Though some of these charges may relate to houses on the street, the earliest of them refer to the provision of labour, to 'carts of sand,' 'tumblers of stones,' and 'loads of paving stone,' which signifies the substantial ground work involved.<sup>658</sup> The expensive materials required to ornament this space would have further increased costs. Yet, while Gardiner initiated the scheme and advanced the necessary capital he later recouped his investment twofold. Following the example of Sir Richard Grosvenor and Lord Berkeley in London, and for that matter of Dublin Corporation at Stephen's Green and Oxmanstown, Gardiner obliged early residents to pay a share in the construction of this amenity.<sup>659</sup> The conveyance of the Mall from Gardiner to Whitlocke in 1755 notes that:

Owen Wynne, Joshua Cooper, and Richard Dawson Esquires and the several other tenants and inhabitants of the rest of the [...] Houses on the East and West sides of the said Mall, have agreed to pay as and for their proportion of Capping or Covering the Walls of the said Mall with stone and Building Piers on the said Copeing and other the Expenses thereof. The Charge of doing of which was advanced by the said Luke Gardiner.<sup>660</sup>

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<sup>656</sup> *Records III*, p. 76. A number of obelisks of a very similar design have been preserved in the Rotunda Gardens, which may in fact be the original obelisks on the Mall, presumably removed prior to the dismantlement of the Mall in 1807 by the paving board. See O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin*.

<sup>657</sup> See *The court and city register for the year 1743* (London: T. Cooper, 1743); Robert Beatson, *A Political index to the histories of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: G. G. J. & J. Robinson, 1788), p. 228

<sup>658</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7.

<sup>659</sup> See Desmond McCabe, *St Stephen's Green*, for details of how initial leaseholders at Stephens Green were required, by way of the lease agreements, were obliged to pay ten shillings sterling' for every 12d rent payable out of each lot to form a common fund, 'to be disposed of for walling in the whole Greene.' In London Richard Grosvenor employed William Kent to design the monumental recreation space at Grosvenor Square, but obliged residents to pay a portion of construction costs.

<sup>660</sup> NLI MS 36,504/2, conveyance of the Mall in Sackville Street, 22 Mar. 1755, Luke Gardiner to Carleton Whitlocke.

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Luke Gardiner was a self-made man, who through his own talents, perspicacity, and determined cultivation of influential connections rose to a position of great wealth and consequence amongst Ireland's governing elite. He was also a man of taste, a prominent patron of the arts, and a distinguished member of Dublin's burgeoning associational networks. His residential developments at Henrietta Street and Sackville Street were pioneering in terms of their scale and grandeur of conception, and testify to the ambition and sophisticated vision of their instigator. Yet Luke Gardiner was first and foremost a business man and the financial concerns and considerations of these schemes were of prime importance. This chapter has shown that both Gardiner, and his protégé Nathaniel Clements employed a range of means to limit their financial exposure in their speculative enterprises. At the same time these astute business men utilised their prominent public positions and connections to ensure the success of these ventures. For while Gardiner and Clements had outlaid considerable capital in purchasing and setting out the sites, and more over in the beautification of these schemes, by investing in the creation of high-class residential developments, in spacious elegant settings, and offering security of tenure and financial incentives, these developers were able to attract elite tenants, and in turn charge premium values for these sites, eventually recouping their investment.

A fuller picture of Gardiner and his circle of noble backers and well-placed money men has emerged, in which such eminent figures as Brabazon Ponsonby and Arthur Hill, as well influential cross channel connections, Albert and Arnold Nesbitt and General Jean Ligonier have come to the fore and new protagonists, of direct relevance to Dublin's residential development, such as Gardiner's agent Thomas Lill and the eminent investor Major Walter Wolfe have been brought to light. Following the money, this chapter has sought a greater understanding of the financial model employed at Henrietta Street and to a lesser extent at Sackville Street and Mall, as well as the nuts and bolts of these enterprises. Close correlation between many of the development practises adopted by Gardiner and Clements and established British models have been identified, yet a persistent reliance on domestic practice and local precedent is also evident; an interplay which would ultimately result in the distinctive characteristics of Dublin's Georgian terraced houses. It is to these buildings that the next chapter turns.

## Chapter 4.

### Cross-currents in domestic design: Henrietta Street, Dublin, 1730-1755.

‘All that large new dwelling house...situated on the West side of Henrietta Street...’<sup>661</sup>

In the late 1720s a new mode of domestic architecture emerged in Dublin’s expanding urban landscape. Luke Gardiner's pioneering residential development at Henrietta Street led the way, offering the earliest surviving examples of the new classicising principles in domestic design. These palatial brick-fronted terraces are the firmest instances of the impact of imported models on Dublin’s domestic architecture, yet the route by which this influence reached Dublin and the alterations which took place in transit remain unclear. Ireland’s leading architects, Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle, whom we know had direct knowledge of British sources, are associated with the design of several houses on this street, while many of these houses were built for the country’s foremost architectural patrons, cultural brokers and arbiters of taste.

This chapter brings these buildings to the fore, examining a key group of houses on Henrietta Street in terms of plan, elevation and internal treatment. Comparison will be made to other contemporary Dublin examples, and their counterparts in Britain, in an attempt to determine the debt owed to imported architectural models and the means by which this exchange took place. But as a cross current runs counter to a stronger current this study will not simply examine the influence which the dominant British culture exerted, but will explore the negotiation which took place at the point of intersection and the significance of difference. Drawing on the physical evidence of the buildings as well a broad range of documentary material, not the least the drawings in the Elton Hall collection, it will advance important new evidence regarding the authorship of several of these buildings, shedding new light on the architects and craftsmen involved, and the broader context in which they operated. The chief routes of influence will be charted, while significant new protagonists such as Caspar White and William Graham come to light, as does the pivotal importance of Sir Gustavus Hume. In seeking out the principles and practices which informed their design this study aims to put flesh on the bare bones of the buildings and in doing so considers the particular characteristics of Dublin’s domestic architecture.

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<sup>661</sup> RD 63/29/42497 Memorial of lease and release, Sept. 4 & 5 1729, Gardiner to Lord Primate.

#### 4.1.1. Henrietta Street: phases of housing.

On a broad *cul-de-sac* site in the north-east quarter of the city two opposing rows of contiguous building plots were laid out in straight lines, fifty apart ‘between the reials [*sic*] to be set before the houses on either side.’<sup>662</sup> These houses maintained regular fronts and flush building-lines to the street, straight parapet rooflines above and a lack of articulation at the party walls, giving the impression of a single unbroken elevation (fig. 4.1). The plain astylar facades, punctuated by evenly dispersed rows of sash windows setback slightly into the red brick fronts and carved stone door cases at street level conformed to the latest ideals in urban domestic design. Yet beyond this the treatment of the houses at Henrietta Street is far from uniform. The long phase of construction, and varying modes of development employed is evident in the buildings. These can be divided into three distinct groups, offering a microcosm of sorts with which to examine the evolving characteristics of the Dublin’s early eighteenth-century domestic architecture.

The first group of houses (the Primate’s residence, Nos. 9-10, No.11-12) were built by the early 1730s, and were of palatial scale and bespoke design. Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle are associated with several surviving houses and these in turn bear the closest resemblance to British models, specifically to Neo-Palladian exemplars of the 1720s. The second group of houses (Nos. 8-3) were built from the mid-1730s on the north-side of the street by the developer and architectural aficionado, Nathaniel Clements. Although grand in scale, with fashionably fitted out interiors, the form of these plain-brick terraced houses has more in common with standardised speculative housing of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The final group of houses date from the late 1740s and early 1750s (Nos. 13-15). These were built as speculative enterprises by Luke Gardiner, seemingly by anonymous building-craftsmen, and the more modest treatment, if not scale, of these houses conformed to mid-century speculative housing practice.

#### 4.1.2. Henrietta Street: Pearce, Castle and the early 1730s houses.

‘Who but Cassels could have given dignity to a common brick front...?’<sup>663</sup>

Four early houses at the west end of Henrietta Street (Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12) have long been associated with Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle. No. 9 Henrietta Street, built c.1730 for the Rt. Hon. Thomas Carter, Master of the Rolls, is among the finest extant examples of large-scale brick terraced architecture, and occupies an important position in the history of the eighteenth-century Dublin town house (fig. 4.2). Not only is this one of the earliest surviving instances where

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<sup>662</sup> Anon., ‘Old Dublin mansion-houses in Henrietta Street, with accounts of the families of King, Earls of Kingston, Maxwell, Daly, O’Neill, Carter and Shane,’ *Irish Builder*, vol. XXXV, no. 804-5 (15th June, 1st July 1893), pp. 136-7, quotes from no longer extant articles of agreement of 5th March 1724, made between Luke Gardiner and Hugh Boulter.

<sup>663</sup> J.P. Prendergast, *The Irish Times*, 26 December 1887, quoted in Crimmins, ‘Henrietta Street, p. 27, noted ‘...yet this Cassels has done it by the fine cornice, by the centre window, by the door piece with interrupted ionic columns and fine architrave with cover frieze...’

imported Neo-Palladian ideals were applied to Dublin's domestic architecture, but it is also of an almost literal translation of a known British model. As noted, the plan and elevation of No. 9 Henrietta Street are a close transcription of No. 30 Old Burlington Street in London, designed by Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell for Algernon Coote, Lord Mountrath c.1721 (fig. 4.3). The derivative design for No. 9, though traditionally given to Richard Castle,<sup>664</sup> is now attributed to Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, largely on a circumstantial basis.<sup>665</sup> As such No. 9 stands as the most intact example of Pearce's domestic town architecture, while at the same time offers the most tangible link to Lord Burlington and his circle. The undocumented attribution to Pearce 'is generally accepted by virtue of the buildings quality,' his connection to the owner, Thomas Carter, and more significantly perhaps, by the discovery a basement plan of No. 30 Old Burlington Street amongst Pearce's drawings in the Elton Hall collection.<sup>666</sup> However, there are problems with this attribution, and certain 'oddities in the design,' which have raised questions over Pearce's authorship.<sup>667</sup>

The surviving fabric readily attests to the sophistication and skill of its designer. From the palatial scale of the five-bay, three-storey over basement street front, to the decorous ornament and impeccable proportions of the astylar red-brick facade, articulated by smoothly channeled rustication to the ground floor and restrained horizontal mouldings above (a rarity in the standard Dublin terraced house), the elevation is an exceptional example of terraced town house composition. There is a finesse too to the execution of the crisply carved *Scamozzian*-Ionic door-case and single-arched central opening on the *piano nobile*. This continues internally, in the grandeur of the entrance hall (fig. 4.4), with a Corinthian columnar screen leading to the double-height staircase compartment and finely crafted joinery and decorative plasterwork (fig. 4.5). Although there are several anomalous features evident, perhaps the hesitancies of seasoned craftsmen working in a new stylistic idiom, there is an overall cohesion to the design that speaks of an architect's guiding hand throughout. And who but Pearce could be responsible for a scheme of such quality?

Sir Edward Lovett Pearce was an architect of first rate ability. His contemporary design for the Parliament House was a pioneering and original exercise in Neo-Palladian public architecture and one of the finest European buildings of its day.<sup>668</sup> Pearce also had experience in the domestic

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<sup>664</sup> Sources from Prendergast, *The Irish Times*, 26 December 1887; Thomas Ulick Sadlier, 'Richard Castle, architect,' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. 11 (1911), pp. 241-5; *Georgian society records, II*, p. 16 and Craig, *Dublin*, p. 103 attributed the design to Castle.

<sup>665</sup> This attribution was first made by Colvin and Craig, *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall*, p. xliii-v and reasserted in later sources: Desmond Guinness, *Portrait of Dublin* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1967), p. 1967; Maurice Craig, "Sir Edward Lovett Pearce." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* vol. 17 (Jan-Jun 1974): 10-14; Jacqueline O'Brien and Desmond Guinness, *Dublin, a grand tour* (London: Abrams, 1994), p. 70; Christine Casey, *Dublin*, p. 196.

<sup>666</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 196.

<sup>667</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>668</sup> See McParland, *Public architecture, passim* for a thorough analysis of Pearce and the design of the Parliament House.

sphere, in Norfolk, and, if we accept the attribution, at North Audley Street in London. Closer to home he designed a new Palladian-front for Marmaduke Coghill's suburban house at Drumcondra, c.1727 (fig. 4.6), and the new Deanery at Christchurch for Dean Welbore Ellis c.1731 (demol. fig. 4.7). And yet, Pearce was not the only architect practicing in Dublin during this period who was capable of designing a building of this quality.

His 'lieutenant'<sup>669</sup> Richard Castle was also employed about this time on a number of prominent domestic commissions, including Castle Hume in Fermanagh c.1727, Hazlewood, County Sligo c.1731 (derelict. fig. 4.8) and Bishop's Clayton's town house at No. 80 Stephen's Green, a modest three-bay building completed by 1736, which evidently bore a close resemblance to British Palladian exemplars. At Powerscourt House in County Wicklow Castle re-modelled the earlier medieval structure for Richard Wingfield, 1st Viscount Powerscourt from c.1728-31.<sup>670</sup> Here, the saloon or Egyptian Hall (fig. 4.9), Ireland's largest and grandest domestic interior of the period, attests to the caliber of its designer. Castle's precocious scheme was contemporary with, if not earlier than Lord Burlington's Egyptian Hall at the York Assembly Rooms (1731-32, fig. 4.10) and was modelled on Vitruvius' Egyptian Hall in Palladio's *Quattro Libri*.<sup>671</sup>

Giacomo Leoni also included a scheme for an Egyptian Hall (fig. 4.11) in his 'Design for a country house in imitation of Andrea Palladio,' published in his 1728 compendium.<sup>672</sup> Although Leoni's proposed design (or detailed description) was more faithful to Palladio's interpretation in most respects (as was Lord Burlington's scheme), Leoni and Castle replaced the Corinthian order with Ionic columns on lower colonnades, while both gave greater elaboration to the ceiling than Lord Burlington did at York. Leoni proposed a cupola to offer 'greater Ornament than a plain cieling [*sic*],' while Castle introduced a richly compartmentalised ceiling, and utilised a number of decorative motifs, square and diamond shaped coffers from Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, (fig. 4.12 book IV plate XXIV) together with oak leaves and Greek fret.<sup>673</sup> Although Castle cannot be counted amongst them, a number prominent Irish individuals subscribed to Leoni's volume including Lords Limerick, Kerry, Orrery, Percival and Inchiquin, as did the Lord Lieutenant, John Carteret and the late Sir John Vanbrugh.<sup>674</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 191.

<sup>670</sup> David Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall at Powerscourt, County Wicklow,' *Georgian Group Journal* vol. v (1995), pp.119-124 gives 1731 as the start date for the remodelling of Powerscourt, yet Griffin's more recent unpublished research proposes the earlier date of c.1728. I am indebted to David Griffin for this information.

<sup>671</sup> Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall...' p. 119.

<sup>672</sup> James Leoni, *Some designs for buildings both public and private* (London: Leoni, 1728), plate 18. This compendium was included as a later appendage to Leoni's English translation of *Della architettura di Leon Battista Alberti libri X. Della pittura libri III. E della statua libro I. Tradotti in lingua Italiana da Cosimo Bartoli. Nova edizione divisa in tre tomi, da Giacomo Leoni, vol. III* (London, Thomas Edlin, first ed. 1726).

<sup>673</sup> Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall...' p. 119.

<sup>674</sup> See Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall,' pp. 120-121 for a fuller description of Castle's scheme.

Though modern scholarship has promoted the primacy of Pearce over Castle,<sup>675</sup> this was not always the case. In 1793 Castle was lauded as Ireland's leading architect of the period, when it was noted that 'before the arrival of Mr. Castles, there was scarcely a house that was designed or executed with taste, except one of Mr. Conolly's.'<sup>676</sup> In the last century the *Georgian Society Records* gave the best buildings to Castle and as late as 1949 Pearce was still an 'insubstantial figure.'<sup>677</sup> The lack of clarity as to the genesis and nature of Pearce and Castle's working relationship further complicates connoisseurial attribution.

We know that they worked together at the Parliament House, where Pearce recommended Castle as the talented draughtsman of his scheme, and an architect in his own right, while on other occasions they appear to have collaborated on projects, for example at Summerhill in County Meath in the early 1730s (fig. 4.13 demol.).<sup>678</sup> What is more, though their overall manner and handling is distinctive there are stylistic similarities evident in certain aspects of Pearce and Castle's independent work (fig. 4.14), which combined with the fact that they employed the same team of craftsmen (for example the carver John Houghton worked for Pearce at the Parliament House, and later in the 1730s for Castle at Trinity College; William Spencer, plasterer was employed at the Parliament House, Powerscourt, Bellamont Forest and possibly Henrietta Street)<sup>679</sup> means that stylistic attribution to either Pearce or Castle is far from straightforward. Indeed, as Andrew Saint argues, the intensely collaborative nature of architectural practice in general means attribution to one sole author is problematic, and projects, which clearly involved many hands, are often given to the 'big name,' at the expense of the often anonymous assistants.<sup>680</sup> Although this certainly rings true in the case of No. 9 Henrietta Street, connoisseurial considerations and an attempt at attribution is nevertheless worthwhile, as in this instance it allows us to draw out the myriad of architectural connections at play.

The circumstantial evidence for Pearce's authorship of No. 9 Henrietta Street is more compelling. Firstly, both Pearce and Thomas Carter were elected to the Irish House of Commons in

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<sup>675</sup> See Craig, 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' pp. 10-14 who highlighted the tendency in Irish architectural history. For Craig, Pearce was 'unquestionably the Inigo Jones of Ireland; he is also Ireland's Burlington'...while Castle was a 'less considerable figure.' McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 191 notes Castle was 'an experienced, cosmopolitan and vigorously original (if not always fastidious) lieutenant.'

<sup>676</sup> Anon., *Anthologia Hibernica*, 2 (Oct 1793), p. 242.

<sup>677</sup> Maurice Craig, 'The Quest for Sir Edward Lovett Pearce,' *Irish Art Review Yearbook* 12 (1996), p. 27; *Georgian society records*, I-III, *passim*.

<sup>678</sup> The Knight of Glin, 'Richard Castle, architect, his biography and works' in *BIGS* 7, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1964), pp. 32-38; Christine Casey & Alistair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland: North Leinster* (London: Penguin, 1993), pp. 491-2.

<sup>679</sup> Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall,' p. 123 notes that Pearce and Castle 'shared the same team of craftsmen, most of whom were taken over by Castle following Pearce's death.' TCD Mun/P2/68/8 records that Castle employed the carvers John Kelly and David Sheehan at Trinity College Dublin between 1735-8. Griffin, 'Richard Castle's designs for Doneraile House, Kildare Street, Dublin,' *Martello* (Spring 1990), pp. 1-6 notes that Castle (or his executant architect) employed these same (or same named) craftsmen at Doneraile House in the late 1740s.

<sup>680</sup> Andrew Saint, 'The conundrum of "by,"' in *Architectural history after Colvin*, eds. Malcolm Airs & William Whyte (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 67-69.

1727, where they were affiliated to similar political factions and moved in the same social circles. Pearce was also related to Carter, whose wife Mary Claxton was Pearce's paternal cousin. We have seen that Mary's sister Lucy Claxton married Secretary James Johnston, and was on intimate terms with the court of Queen Caroline, while the Claxtons and Pearces also shared kinship ties to Sir John Vanbrugh.<sup>681</sup> Pearce's uncle by marriage, more over, was Thomas Coote of Cootehill County Cavan, a cousin of Algernon Coote, Lord Mountrath, for whom No. 30 Old Burlington Street was designed. Though it should be noted that Coote never took up residence in Burlington Street, moving instead to St. James' Square c.1722, around the same time he was elected to the Irish Privy Council. The initial occupant, Sir Michael Newtown did not take up residence at Burlington Street until c.1725.<sup>682</sup>

As neither Lord Burlington's nor Colen Campbell's nuanced design for Coote's intended house were engraved, the architect of No. 9 Henrietta Street must have had first-hand knowledge either of the built fabric or the paper designs. It is likely that Pearce was in London around 1723, en-route to the Continent, while it seems even more probable that he was in close proximity to No. 30 during his sojourn in Britain in 1728, when his patron Jean Ligonier was living opposite at No. 10 Old Burlington Street. That the basement plan of No. 30 Old Burlington Street, preserved in the Elton Hall collection corresponds almost exactly (save the annotations to the basement plan) to Campbell's penultimate drawing of the ground plan for Lord Mountrath's house (fig. 4.15) strongly suggests that the author of the basement plan was more familiar with the paper designs of this model than the built structure. Campbell's ground plan was altered in execution, to include a more grandiose staircase and alternative room shapes (fig. 4.16).<sup>683</sup> Furthermore, as the Elton Hall basement plan does not appear to be in Pearce's hand, it seems likely that an intermediary was employed in recording Campbell's design.<sup>684</sup>

Campbell's assistant Roger Morris was employed at No. 30 Old Burlington Street in 1728, and we know that he and Pearce had dealings two years later, while the owner of the Henrietta Street house, Thomas Carter, and perhaps more so his friend Henry Boyle, enjoyed close connections to Lord Burlington. Henry Boyle was certainly in London during this period, residing at nearby King Street in February 1727/8, during his wife Lady Harriet Boyle's (Lord Burlington's

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<sup>681</sup> Downes, *Vanbrugh*, p. 133. Mary and Lucy Claxton were Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's first cousins. Their mother was Mary Pearce, sister of Generals Edward and Thomas Pearce. They were all related to the Vanbrughs through the Carleton line, their mother being Mary Carleton.

<sup>682</sup> See Pamela Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's town architecture* (London: RIBA Heinz Gallery, 1995), p. 72; Arthur Irwin Dasent, *The history of St. James's Square and the foundation of the West End of London* (London: MacMillan, 1895) lists Algernon Coote as rate payer of Derby House (later No. 33) St. James Square from 1722-1731.

<sup>683</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.100.1992, Basement plan of Lord Mountrath's house at No 30 Burlington Street, London, c.1721, now demolished. Inscribed in ink 'Servants Hall Stone, Laundry [*sic*] Stone, Entry stone, Butlers room boarded, Stewards Hall boarded and Wine Cellar.'

<sup>684</sup> Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's town architecture*, pp. 72-3.

sister) confinement.<sup>685</sup> Henry Boyle and his wife were again due to visit Britain, and their Boyle kin, in the winter of 1730.<sup>686</sup> What is more, throughout the 1720s both Henry Boyle and Thomas Carter kept up a regular correspondence with Lord Burlington's land-agent, Andrew Crotty. This well-travelled and well-connected Irishman, who enjoyed the confidence of Lord Burlington and even had a room at Burlington House, was ideally placed to put Carter in the way of his Lordship's designs.<sup>687</sup>

It was common practice in this period for architectural drawings to be displayed and shared amongst elite circles. Writing to another Irishman, Hugh Howard, in 1725 the architect Sir Thomas Hewett remarked, 'You may shew the Drafts to whom you please except Architects and Builders.'<sup>688</sup> That Pearce engaged in such practice is clear from his annotations to Palladio's *Quattro Libri* of c. 1723, wherein he claimed to have seen 'Palladio's original drawing' of the Villa Valmarana at Lisiera, while Lord Burlington had purchased a collection of Palladio's drawings in 1719/20, which he circulated amongst his circle in preparation for the publication of *Fabbriche Antiche* in 1730.<sup>689</sup> Moreover, in a letter to Henry Boyle in May 1727 Crotty alluded to such a role of cultural broker, and the possible means by which this model crossed the channel:

Mr Kent has finished his work and I should be glad to know whether I am to freight a Dutch flyboat or a South Sea bottom to convey your cargo of them to the coast of Ireland.<sup>690</sup>

This clearly implies that Boyle was the Irish subscription agent for William Kent's *The designs of Inigo Jones*, a publication which had received Lord Burlington's backing. Certainly in 1731, during his visit to London with Lord Duncannon, Carter is known to have met with Crotty.<sup>691</sup> But just how

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<sup>685</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/11/7A, 9 Feb. 1727/8. Letter from Andrew Crotty, Lismore, [County Waterford], to Henry Boyle, King's Street, St James's, London, expressing the hope that, by now, Boyle's wife has, as is rumoured, given birth to a son.

<sup>686</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/11/20. 22 Dec. 1730. Letter from Andrew Crotty, London, to Henry Boyle, the whole family, he says, 'is eagerly looking forward to the expected visit of Boyle and Lady Harriet in the winter.'

<sup>687</sup> Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (Dublin: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 225 notes that Crotty was a well paid and favoured employee who received grants of land as well as remuneration for his services as land-agent. He is known to have travelled throughout Britain and to the continent in this capacity. Subscription records indicate he emulated his master's cultural taste, subscribing to a similar range of publications as Lord Burlington.

<sup>688</sup> NLI Wicklow papers, MS 38,599/14: Letter to Hugh Howard Esq., his house in Leicester Street near Leicester Fields, London, 12 Jan. 1725. In a later missive of 19 Feb. 1725 Hewett conceded he was 'very glad you shewd the design and left it with the Duke of Devonshire, for his Grace and you are the only two, I know understand & relish the Fine ancient Tast...I think the more that sees this Design ( who are not modern quacks and may be a little acquainted and relish the fine tast) the better; especially since it is in your hands to explain it.'

<sup>689</sup> IAA RP.B.17 (7), copy of Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri*, annotated by Pearce; RIBA EW 72 : O13 (45), vol. 2 p.59. For Burlington's two purchases of Palladio's drawings see RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection.

<sup>690</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/1/8. 30 May 1727. Letter from Andrew Crotty, London, to Henry Boyle, in which he alludes to improvements being carried out at Castlemartyr.

<sup>691</sup> See PRONI D2707 for further correspondence between Carter, Boyle and Andrew Crotty, specifically D2707/A/1/11/25, Letter from Andrew Crotty, London, to Henry Boyle, 31 July 1731, wherein Crotty expresses disappointment at having been unable to meet Mr. [Thomas] Carter as often as he had hoped.

closely does No. 9 Henrietta Street follow its British prototype, and can comparison of the two schemes offer further insight into means by which this model was transmitted?

In terms of scale and overall composition No. 9 Henrietta Street's elevation is an almost direct transcription of No. 30 Old Burlington Street. Yet, there are several significant differences in the treatment of the facades. The most obvious of these is the elaboration of the ground-storey, which in contrast to the British prototype is articulated with smooth v-jointed rustication. This is a notable departure from the Burlingtonian model. Not only is this a rare instance of an Irish house receiving greater elaboration than its plainer British counterpart, but the Henrietta Street treatment is in fact the more conventional way of articulating a 'Palladian facade,' whereby the rusticated ground floor was treated visually as the basement of a temple. Although this practice initially derived from *Quattrocento* palazzi, Inigo Jones' Covent Garden Piazza was probably the direct inspiration. Here, Jones articulated his fronts with pilasters, while on the astylar terraced facade the squatter proportions and rustication to the ground floor storey signified its position as the plinth of the implied order.<sup>692</sup> Richard Castle regularly employed such a treatment in his town houses, for example in the facades of Nos. 80 and 85 St. Stephen's Green (fig. 4.17), while both his own and Pearce's paper projects will be seen to show an interest in such elaboration.

In other respects the articulation of the Henrietta Street elevation is plainer than its British prototype. The fenestration on all three levels lacks the lugged architraves which frame the windows of the Burlington Street house. And in place of the projecting rusticated voussoirs on the ground floor, and straight-headed pediments which emphasis the *piano nobile* at Burlington Street, the Henrietta Street house is content to hint at such a treatment, with low-relief rendered voussoirs on the ground floor and simple gauged bricks above: a more economical approach. Another divergence from the British model is the inclusion of dormer windows in the hipped roof of the Dublin house, while the proportions of the fenestration on the upper levels differ too. The windows at Henrietta Street are more elongated, in contrast to the square and double square openings favoured by the Burlingtonians. Finally, there is another significant point of contrast between the London and Dublin elevations, not previously noted. While both Burlington and Campbell's paper elevations of Lord Mountrath's house, and No. 9 Henrietta Street's facade as built, are crowned with a simple eaves cornice and hipped roof, photographs of the demolished house at No. 30 Burlington Street show that a heavy projecting entablature with a pulvinated frieze was applied to the front of this building, above the square attic windows. The Henrietta Street facade, therefore, seems closer to the (unpublished) drawings of No. 30 Old Burlington Street, than to the actual built structure (fig. 4.18).

In terms of the ground plan both houses conformed to the broad-plan type which derived from British seventeenth-century urban design, and ultimately from country house practice.<sup>693</sup> Both

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<sup>692</sup> Dan Cruikshank, *A guide to Georgian buildings in Britain and Ireland* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson: 1985), p. 31.

<sup>693</sup> See Frank Kelsall, 'The London house plan in the 17th century,' *The Journal of the Society for Post-medieval Archaeology* vol.8 (1974), pp. 80-91 for more on the evolution of this plan type.

were arranged around a three-bay, double-height entrance-cum-stairhall, which took up almost a quarter of the plan, with a transverse service-stair behind and three reception rooms to the principal floors (fig. 4.19). This plan type, though far from common, was adopted in a number of larger-scale town houses built in Mayfair in the 1720s, not only those by the Burlingtonians, but also in the grander examples by building tradesmen such as at No. 5 Old Burlington Street and No. 12 Grosvenor Square. The double-height stair compartment at both Burlington Street and Henrietta Street was entered through a columnar screen, though the Corinthian order is employed in place of Ionic at Henrietta Street. This popular Palladian motif was utilised in a number of later interiors associated with the Pearce and Castle, including the Ionic screen at Pearce's Christ Church Deanery (demolished fig. 4.20).

More significantly, the orientation of the stair at No. 9 Henrietta Street is reversed, meaning the stair begins on the right-hand wall, just inside the entrance, not as was the norm on the inner wall as at Burlington Street, an alteration which resulted in complications in circulation at first-floor level. Here too, a lack of alignment between the doorway to the suite of rear drawing rooms and the arched entrance to the transverse corridor creates a 'jarring note' (fig.4.21).<sup>694</sup> Such ill-considered features are unlikely to have come from the architect responsible for the Parliament House's sophisticated plan and circulatory system. It is worth noting that a similar solecism occurs in Richard Castle's interior of the west pavilion of the Old Library at Trinity College Dublin, where the stair begins directly inside the entrance, and reaches the first-floor landing right outside the doorway into the Long Room, suggesting that the intended orientation was reversed.<sup>695</sup> Another oddity, or at least *retardataire* element evident at Henrietta Street is the inclusion extremely deep chimney stacks at the party walls of Nos. 8-10 Henrietta Street (fig. 4.22).

There is some variance too in the treatment of the London and Dublin interiors. The grandiose open-well staircase at No. 9 Henrietta Street is constructed from Portland stone with a finely crafted wrought iron balustrade, in contrast with the carved timber stair at Burlington Street (fig. 4.23). The Irish example does follow Palladian prototypes however, and is similar to several schemes from the 1730s by Campbell and Flitcroft found around Mayfair (fig. 4.24). The original interiors at No. 9 Henrietta Street, specifically the rear parlour, adopted a similar ornamental repertoire as the British Palladians. The enriched classical detailing of the rectilinear moulded wall panels, Greek key fret and Vitruvian scroll motifs, oak leaf friezes to the carved Corinthian door-cases, as well as the typically Kentian chimney-piece (fig. 4.25) closely resemble the work of Campbell and Kent (fig. 4.26).

There are several interior elevations in the Elton Hall collection which demonstrate their author's interest in fashionable Palladian wall treatments (fig. 4.27), and similar forms were regularly employed by Pearce in his contemporary works. The low relief compartmentalised ceiling

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<sup>694</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 197.

<sup>695</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 402.

schemes at Henrietta Street (fig. 4.28), in particular, bear remarkable similarity to several of Pearce's autograph interiors. The square coffering and the pulvinated oak leaf frieze tied with ribbons, which elaborate the staircase ceiling at Henrietta Street are extremely close to aspects of the ceiling ornament at the former House of Lords (fig. 4.29), Dublin. Almost identical square coffers, complete with emphatic floral bosses or rosettes were also employed in the saloon ceiling at Bellamont Forest, County Cavan, designed by Pearce c.1730 for his uncle Thomas Coote. Here, as at Henrietta Street the static geometrical pattern of the ceiling panels was enriched with crisp, classicising foliate motifs, and framed by a robust modillion cornice. The marked similarity, in terms of form and handling between these contemporary schemes suggests the same hand was employed throughout. William Spencer, plasterer, was paid £341 11s. 6d. in 1730 for work at the Parliament House, Dublin.<sup>696</sup> He is also believed to have worked at Bellamont Forest, at Powerscourt House County Wicklow under Richard Castle, and at No. 10 Henrietta Street.<sup>697</sup>

The architectonic nature of the ceiling ornament at No. 9 Henrietta Street, though similar to work by the Burlingtonians in the early 1720s, differs from the opulent figurative plasterwork employed at No. 30 Old Burlington Street (fig. 4.30). Yet, as the London house was not decorated until sometime after Campbell and Burlington's work on the shell was complete, when the interior was embellished for Sir Michael Newton c.1726,<sup>698</sup> this is perhaps yet further evidence that the architect at No. 9 Henrietta Street was more familiar with the earlier plans for No. 30 Old Burlington Street, than the completed building.

#### **4.1.3. Nos. 10, 11, 12 Henrietta Street: 'Mr Gardiner's ...new houses.'**<sup>699</sup>

Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle are associated with the design of three other houses at Henrietta Street which belong to this early 1730s group. Architectural drawings relating to Nos. 10, 11 and 12 Henrietta Street are preserved among Pearce's drawings in the Elton Hall collection. A scaled and measured section of a three-storey building, showing rafters in the roof and a vaulted basement, inscribed 'Mr Gardiner,' (fig. 4.31) corresponds with the structure and dimensions of Luke Gardiner's house at No. 10 Henrietta Street.<sup>700</sup> The original four bays of this now much enlarged building were constructed around the same period as the adjoining No. 9, and its design

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<sup>696</sup> C.P. Curran, *Dublin Decorative Plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1967), p. 105

<sup>697</sup> Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall...' pp. 122-3.

<sup>698</sup> Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's town architecture*, p. 72. Sheppard, *Survey of London, XXXI-XXXII*, pp. 500-517.

<sup>699</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.204-1992.

<sup>700</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.171 1992. Section of 10 Henrietta Street, Dublin, showing vaulted cellars and roof rafters. Inscribed in pencil with ceiling heights. See Colvin and Craig, *Architectural Drawings in the library of Elton Hall*, p. xliv-v, p. 26 (no.171) for the attribution to Pearce.

was likewise attributed to Richard Castle, prior to the discovery of the Elton Hall drawing.<sup>701</sup> While the facade and much of the interior has been altered beyond recognition, two of the original schemes, the coved ceiling of the double height stair-hall (now crowning a truncated first-floor room) and the rear ground-floor parlour, show a similar preference for sophisticated Palladian ornament as seen at No. 9 (fig. 4.32). Yet although the same stylistic repertoire is employed the compartmentalised ceiling decoration with its flat-ribbed and slightly skewed strap-work lacks the finesse and elaboration of No. 9.

There are ‘gaucheries’ too in the execution of other elements, the old fashioned mouldings to the doors and chimney-bay and the ‘amusing oversized triglyphs’ at each end of the panelled window seat, which do not sit with the authorship, or at least hands-on supervision of either Pearce or Castle.<sup>702</sup> Castle’s close attendance on site was noted by his earliest biographer,<sup>703</sup> yet it must be remembered that both architects were in high demand during this period. Pearce in particular would have been occupied in completing the Parliament House. It is also worth noting that Gardiner’s lodge in the Phoenix Park, another building of this period associated with Pearce, showed a similar combination of sophisticated Palladian detailing and peculiarities in execution. It is possible therefore that the anomalous aspects in all of these properties were due to unsupervised craftsmen, unused to working in a new imported style.

The identity of these individuals is not known. Several elements, including an almost identical carved door-case in Nos. 9 & 10 (fig. 4.33), would indicate that the same craftsmen worked at both houses. The quality of this joinery suggests the involvement of such skilled native craftsmen as John Houghton and John Kelly. Houghton, a wood and stone carver, who worked at the Parliament House in the early 1730s, was responsible for the finely carved Ionic capitals and Kings arms, and probably aspects of the oak panelled interior and the exquisite wooden chimney-piece in the House of Lords chamber (fig. 4.34).<sup>704</sup> Richard Castle collaborated with both John Kelly and John Houghton in carving of the coat of arms and other decorations on the stone pediment at Carton, County Kildare (1739), whereas Kelly was employed by Castle at Powerscourt, County Wicklow (1735-8) and at the Dining Hall at Trinity (1740s).<sup>705</sup> In the 1720s in Britain, the architect John Wood employed migrant London tradesmen, skilled in the new Palladian

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<sup>701</sup> *GSR II*, pp. 13-14 dates construction to no later than 1730. No cess returns survive for this period to corroborate this assertion, though Carter’s lease of 21 March 1733 (RD 77/96/52951) refers to the neighbouring house as ‘belonging to and then in the possession of the said Luke Gardiner.’

<sup>702</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, pp. 197-8.

<sup>703</sup> *Anthologia Hibernica* 2 (Oct 1793), p. 242 noted that was ‘Mr Castles’ was ‘so clear in his directions to workmen, that the most ignorant could not err.’ See also Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin*, vol. ii. (London: Cadell and Davies, 1818), pp. 187-8 on Castle’s onsite inspections.

<sup>704</sup> Anne Crookshanks, *Irish sculpture from 1600 to the present day* (Dublin, Dept. of Foreign Affairs, 1984), p. 3; The Knight of Glin and James Peil, *Irish furniture: woodwork and carving in Ireland from the earliest times to the Act of Union* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 70-79.

<sup>705</sup> Griffin, ‘Richard Castle’s Egyptian Hall,’ pp. 122-123.

idiom, in the re-development of Bath.<sup>706</sup> Pearce did likewise, importing British practitioners as well as practices to build the new Parliament House at Dublin and it is more than likely that these skilled tradesmen were also employed on contemporaneous projects in the domestic sphere.<sup>707</sup> The Dublin Freeman's register shows an influx of new craftsmen in the late 1720s, most likely from Britain, which include such necessary domestic building trades as stone masons, carpenters and bricklayers.<sup>708</sup> One such individual, William Borradale, a stone mason of supposed British origin, who worked at the Parliament House in the 1730s was employed in close proximity to Henrietta Street in the mid-1720s at St Michan's parish church.<sup>709</sup>

The Pearce drawings in the Elton Hall collection contains a set of annotated drawings of varied window and doors treatments, which relate to Nos. 11-12 Henrietta Street (fig. 4.35).<sup>710</sup> The scaled drawings of blocked window surrounds, and door-cases with emphatic vousoirs and keystones, as well as the accompanying inscription, seem to be in Pearce's hand, thus firmly associating him with the design. The inscription also serves to identify the position of the 'Mr Gardiner's 2 new houses' adjoining 'the primates wall' on the south-west side of the street.<sup>711</sup> The dimensions of various elements given thereon conform to the surviving fabric of No. 11, the most intact of the two houses.<sup>712</sup> Stylistically they relate to other Pearcean examples, and in turn to the work of British architects James Gibbs and Roger Morris. The vigorous blocking and boldly graded keystones are comparable to the door-case employed opposite at No. 9 Henrietta Street, while the treatment in general is close to the ground-floor storey of the Pearce's proposed elevations for Richmond Lodge (fig. 4.36) and Cashel Palace (fig. 4.37). Due to a complicated building history it is unclear exactly how much of these designs were carried out at Nos. 11-12, yet two complete houses were built in early 1730, one of which retains elements of the Elton Hall drawings.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>706</sup> Christopher Woodward, "'In the jelly mould': craft and commerce in 18<sup>th</sup> century Bath," Neil Burton (ed.), *Georgian Vernacular* (papers given at a Georgian Group Symposium, 28 October 1995), *passim*.

<sup>707</sup> McParland, *Public architecture*, p. 191.

<sup>708</sup> Dublin City Library and Archive, 'Ancient Freeman of Dublin, 1564 to 1774.' See also Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history' (Ph.D thesis, TCD, 1998), p. 10.

<sup>709</sup> RCBL St Michan's Vestry Book P276.5.1 1724-1760. Fol. 4. entry for Feb. 2 1724 'To Wm Borradaill for stone cutters work in lowering the south west windows...'

<sup>710</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.204-1992. Section and 2 alternative designs for doorway with notes in ELP's hand. See Colvin and Craig, *Architectural Drawings in the library of Elton Hall*, pp. xliv-v, 30; Casey, *Dublin*, pp. 198-9.

<sup>711</sup> There are discrepancies in the sources as to which buildings these drawings relate to. Craig and Colvin state that the section (No. 171), inscribed 'Mr Gardiner' and the ground floor treatments (Nos. 204 & 205) 'relate to two houses belonging to 'Mr. Gardiner' and from a mention of the 'Primate's Wall' in No. 205 there remains no doubt that one of these houses is Luke Gardiner's house No. 10 Henrietta Street, which adjoined the Primate's wall.' However, Nos. 11 and 12 adjoined the Primate's property on the opposite side to No. 10. The DIA and the V & A catalogue note that all three drawings relate to Nos. 5, 11 and 12 Henrietta Street, though no other evidence connecting these drawings to No. 5 Henrietta Street has been discovered.

<sup>712</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 199.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid*. Both properties were substantially remodelled c.1782 by the Earl of Shannon, when the facade of No. 12, and the internal arrangement was altered considerably.

Articles of agreement made between Luke Gardiner and William Graham Esq. on the 23 February 1729 offer valuable evidence of Pearce's involvement in the building of these houses.<sup>714</sup> Therein, it is recited that Luke Gardiner demised 'all that New House' at No. 11 Henrietta Street to William Graham, Esq., for the 'yearly sum of eighteen pounds.'<sup>715</sup> Graham agreed to pay:

...the further yearly rent or sum of seven pounds sterling for each and every One hundred pounds that the said demised dwelling house, coach houses, stables and other Improvements made or to be made and erected on the said demised ground, [which] shall be rated and valued by Edward Pearce of the City of Dublin Esq.,[and] Caspar White of the same, Merchant.<sup>716</sup>

It was common practice on the newly developed estates in Mayfair for the architects or building operators involved to act in such a capacity, assessing the value of new built properties for the purpose of such financial agreements or in settling legal disputes that might arise over the same. The involvement of Caspar White, a Danish timber merchant, lends weight to the probability that Pearce fulfilled such a role at Henrietta Street, and at the same time offers rare evidence of the building tradesmen involved in Gardiner's development. Caspar White, who was naturalised in 1714 and became a city Alderman and Director of the Ballast Office in the 1720s enjoyed a number of lines of connection to Luke Gardiner.<sup>717</sup>

White had significant property holdings on the South quays, at Mercer's Dock and George's Quay, where Gardiner likewise retained an interest. White developed the adjacent 'Whites Key' [*sic*] and White's Lane here in the late 1720s.<sup>718</sup> He also had property at nearby Poolbeg Street, from where he operated 'Messrs Montgomery and White's' timber yard, supplying timber to the Ballast board for piling work throughout the 1720s.<sup>719</sup> In 1723 White leased ground on the

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<sup>714</sup> NLI MS 36,516 /1, Gardiner papers. Articles of agreement between Luke Gardiner Esq. and William Graham, Esq., 23 Feb 1729.

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid.* This agreement states that the dwelling house in question was situated on the west side of Bolton Street, but clearly identifies the site as that of No. 11 Henrietta Street, 'adjoining on the North to his Grace the Lord Primate's now dwelling house.' The dimensions of the plot also conform to those of No. 11 Henrietta Street, being 36ft in front, with an additional plot of ground of the same width fronting the stable lane at the rear.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>717</sup> See Acts of the Parliaments of Great Britain, part 8 (1714-1721), 1714 (1 Geo. 1 St. 2) c. 43. *Geo I*, 1714, naturalisation of Caspar White.

See Andrew O'Rourke 'Captain Johan Heitman. The Golden Lion and the Danish Silver Robbery' (Museet for Søfarts, Arborg, 1996), for Caspar White, a Danish merchant's role as agent to a Danish shipping company in the legal matter of stolen cargo in the early 1730s.

See Thomas Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, 7 vols. (Dublin: Dollard, 1889-98), Dublin assembly rolls, roll 20, 1723-4, m. 104 for White's role as Alderman and Director of Ballast Office from at least 1723.

<sup>718</sup> RD 41/263/25778, 5 Mar. 1723, ground at Mercer's Dock.

RD 57/40/37091, 12 Sept. 1727 notes 'Caper White of City of Dublin is developing ground being laid out as White's Key [Quay], next to George's Key [Quay], Dublin.'

RD 110/278/77233, 23 July 1743 refers to previous lease by White for a house on St Georges Key [Quay], Dublin, rear adjacent to Murphy's [ship] Yards & White's Lane.

<sup>719</sup> RD 55/12/35685, 7 Sept. 1727 refers to 'Casper White's yard' on Polebegg [*sic*] Street. Gilbert, *Ancient Records*, Dublin Assembly roll, 19, 19 Oct. 1722; m. 233, 1723; m. 394, 1727 includes account of payments by the Ballast Office to Messrs Montgomery and White.

south side of ‘Polebegg’ Street for building the new Lutheran church, to house the city’s German and Danish congregation.<sup>720</sup> In 1734 he mortgaged another plot of ground here to Thomas Lill,<sup>721</sup> Luke Gardiner’s agent, while William Montgomery, White’s business partner and kinsman was party to an earlier property transaction involving Gardiner in 1717.<sup>722</sup> White sat on the committee for piped water in 1725,<sup>723</sup> he was appointed one of the Masters of the City Works in 1727 and served on the committee for repair to the Tholsel in 1728.<sup>724</sup> He also appears to have shared Gardiner and Pearce’s interest in Dublin’s theatrical world, and was involved in building a wooden theatrical booth on Dame Street for Madame Violante, a tight rope performer in 1731.<sup>725</sup> What is more, in 1734 Messrs Montgomery and White supplied timber to Richard Castle for the Printing House at Trinity,<sup>726</sup> while the Elton Hall collection also contained a bill for timber, which Messrs Montgomery and White supplied to General Pearce, the architect’s uncle in 1730.<sup>727</sup> It is likely that these building materials were intended for General Pearce’s country retreat in Altidore, County Wicklow, which was built about this time, as the quantity and size of the timber are of a domestic scale. White and Montgomery also had family and business connections in County Wicklow.<sup>728</sup>

The agreement between Gardiner and Graham not only serves to confirm Pearce’s involvement at Henrietta Street, but also provides a more concise building date for Nos. 11 and 12

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<sup>720</sup> RD 41/182/25263, 31 Jan 1723, memorial of deed poll between Caspar White, City of Dublin merchant and Rev. Andrew Killingson. ground 63ft in front on the South side of Polebegg [sic] Street, St. Andrews. RD 45/431/29893, 4 May 1725, memorial of deed poll Caspar White and the Rev. Andrew Killingson covenant the aforementioned ground to the ‘German Church.’ See also Gilbert, *Ancient Records*, m. 306 1725.

<sup>721</sup> RD 76/231/53809, 20 and 21 June 1734, deed of mortgage by lease and release, White to Lill.

<sup>722</sup> NLI MS 36,543 /5, Gardiner papers, 7 Sept. 1717 memorandum of lease (refers to a pref 13 July 1716) for three lives renewable of a parcel of land on the strand at the back of Lazy Hill, by William Alcock to William Montgomery, merchant.

<sup>723</sup> Gilbert, *Ancient Records*, m. 318 1725, refers to committee on piped water presided over by Lord Mayor, Joseph Kane, Sheriffs William Walker and Caspar White.

<sup>724</sup> Gilbert, *Ancient Records*, 1727, m. 22 notes ‘William Walker and Caspar White, late Sheriffs, are appointed masters of the city works for the ensuing year.’

<sup>725</sup> See John C. Greene and Gladys H. Clark, *The Dublin Stage, 1720-1745* (London: Lehigh University Press, 1993), p. 25, refers to RD 66/35/44998, 8 Jan 1731, deed between George Ford carpenter conveyed to William Montgomery Merchant and Caspar White Alder man for £107 13s. 2d. ‘A booth lately erected on a piece of garden or Ground behind the house where Mr Magure the banker lately lived in Dame Street.’

<sup>726</sup> TCD Mun/P/2/68/28. Signed request by Richard Castle April 1734 to pay ‘Montgomery & White Dublin, baulks and carving of same...’ £69 1s. 6 1/4d. TCD Mun/P/2/68/29, 1734 lists further payments to this firm.

<sup>727</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.10-1992, 1730 ‘Generall Peirse To Messrs Montgomery White. A bill for building materials...’

<sup>728</sup> See RD 57/198/ 37995, 10 June 1728. RD 81/312/57672 Dec 1732 .Also unpublished genealogical research, ‘Hayes family of co Wicklow, Ireland. 1700s.’

Henrietta Street than heretofore documented,<sup>729</sup> dating the houses to early 1730, contemporary with those opposite at Nos. 9 and 10. Even more importantly, this agreement identifies the initial occupant of No. 12 Henrietta Street as ‘Sir Gustavus Hume, Bart.’<sup>730</sup> That this cosmopolitan courtier, lately returned to Dublin after a long residency in the British capital, was one of the earliest residents of Henrietta Street is of great significance.<sup>731</sup> Hume’s association with Richard Castle, moreover, who was employed about this time rebuilding Hume’s seat in County Fermanagh,<sup>732</sup> renders his early residency here, in a house seemingly designed by Edward Lovett Pearce, of the first importance.<sup>733</sup> The extent of Hume’s involvement in the design and building of No. 12 Henrietta Street is unclear. A comprehensive trawl of the names and land index at the Registry of Deeds has not uncovered the original lease or agreement between Hume and Gardiner.

It is clear that Pearce and Hume were acquainted from Pearce’s memo on the Parliament House, which directly refers to Hume and his patronage of Richard Castle.<sup>734</sup> As well as serving as members of the Irish House of Commons from 1727, Pearce and Hume enjoyed mutual links through the Creightons of Crum in County Fermanagh, patrons of Pearce, who intermarried with the Humes, and through General Owen Wynne, Commander-in-Chief of his majesty’s forces in Ireland and Sir Gustavus’ close confidant.<sup>735</sup> Wynne, presumably at Hume’s recommendation, was among the earliest patrons of Richard Castle in Ireland,<sup>736</sup> and in May 1731 Hume described Wynne’s country seat at Hazelwood, County Sligo as ‘almost completely finished.’<sup>737</sup> Additionally, on the 16th of July 1729 Hume paid ‘Pearse’ £32 10s. from his account with the Bank

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<sup>729</sup> *GSR II*, p. 29. Casey, *Dublin*, p. 199.

RD71/447/520088 Nov. 1733, lease between Gardiner and Lord Mountjoy, for No. 12 Henrietta Street refers to the previous occupant of this house, Sam. Burton.

RCBL St Michan’s Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.2 show that though there are no surviving cess returns for Henrietta Street until 1735, the first return of the 29th of October 1735 rated houses occupied by Luke Gardiner, Esq. Hon Tho. Carter Esq. Nat Clements, Esq.; S Side Rt Hon H Boyle Esq., Lord Mountjoy; & Lord Primate for the yearly valuation of minsters money due.

<sup>730</sup> NLI MS 36,516 /1, Gardiner Papers. Articles of agreement between Luke Gardiner Esq., William Graham, Esq., 23 Feb 1729...Graham’s new dwelling house was situated ‘next adjoining on the North to his Grace the Lord Primate’s now dwelling house, and on the South to the House or tenement now in the possession of Sir Gustavus Hume Bart.

<sup>731</sup> Sir Gustavus Hume was included in Prior’s list of absentees, taken in June and July 1729. See R. Prior, ‘A view of the present state of affairs in the Kingdom of Ireland’ (London, 1730), p. 7.

The Middlesex land registry, land tax records note that ‘Sir Gustavus Humes’ paid an annual rent of £60.9s for his house at Brook Street London in 1729.

<sup>732</sup> RD 72/12/49464, 6 Aug. 1729, Memorial of Lease and release tripartite, between ‘the Right Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume of Castle Hume in the County of Fermanagh Baronet and Richard Castle of Castle Hume in the County of Fermanagh gent of the first part...’

<sup>733</sup> Hume voted in favour of the 1727 Act ‘to encourage the draining and improving of bogs...’ He attended the first sitting of the commons in Pearce’s new Parliament House in 1731.

<sup>734</sup> NLI D 20,209 Note on designs for Houses of Parliament, Dublin, by E. L. Pearce, March 7, 1727-8.

<sup>735</sup> NAS GD158/437, copy will of Sir Gustavus Hume of Ca(stle)hu(me), Ireland. Containing affidavits, 1731.

<sup>736</sup> See Thomas U. Sadleir, ‘Richard Castle, architect.’ *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. 11 (1911), 243; The Knight of Glin. ‘Richard Castle, architect, his biography and works.’ *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* vol. 7, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1964), pp. 32-38. The Wynne Papers in the NLI do not contain any records relating to the building of Hazlewood.

<sup>737</sup> NAS GD158/1279, Hume to Polwarth, 22nd May 1731.

of England at Threadneedle Street in London, though it is possible that this was George Pearce, the builder and landlord of Hume's house at Brook Street, London.<sup>738</sup>

Luke Gardiner and Sir Gustavus Hume were also connected as MPs, and shared many common acquaintance in official circles. Sir Ralph Gore was one such individual, who as Chancellor of the Exchequer (1717-1733) and Speaker of the Commons (1729-33) worked closely with treasury officials such as Gardiner and Clements (who married Gore's niece Hannah), as well as the Surveyor General Edward Lovett Pearce (1730/1-33). Sir Ralph Gore was Hume's first cousin, sometime financial agent, and later trustee of Hume's estate, along with General Owen Wynne.<sup>739</sup> Gore was also party to a deed of 1729, pertaining to Sir Gustavus' property, which mentions 'Richard Castle, of Castle Hume.'<sup>740</sup> Additionally, although Hume was not party to the deeds of conveyance to Gardiner and Viscount Duncannon in 1728/9, he did share an interest in the Drogheda estates through his wife, Lady Alice Moore.<sup>741</sup>

In 1730 William Graham of Platten County Meath, the lessee of No. 11 Henrietta Street had, like Hume, only lately returned to Ireland from Britain, where he had contracted a marriage to Mary Granville, daughter of Lord Landsdowne. This took place in March 1729/1730.<sup>742</sup> Graham, who owned lands in Drogheda and County Louth, sat as an MP for Drogheda from 1727, the same year Pearce was returned for the Meath borough of Rathoath. He maintained strong ties to Drogheda, where he enjoyed such influential acquaintance as Chief Justice Henry Singleton, whose family was closely connected to the Grahams through marriage.<sup>743</sup> Singleton, who was also a close ally of Pearce's patron Marmaduke Coghill, built a large-scale red brick town house on Laurence Street, Drogheda opposite the Primate's palace (fig. 4.38) c. 1731. Although its authorship is unknown, this was clearly a sophisticated example of provincial domestic architecture for this date.

According to Mary Delany, Edward Lovett Pearce moved in the same social circles as the Grahams. Both parties were amongst the select group of attendees at Lord Mountjoy's ball, given for the Duke of Dorset in November 1730/1, while in March 1731 Mrs Delany noted Pearce was

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<sup>738</sup> BOE Account Holders ledgers. Sir Gustavus Hume, Bart. 1728-9 G-I fol 2484. Hume leased No. 51 Brook Street from George Pearce, no known relation to Edward Lovett Pearce, from 1727 until at least 1729.

<sup>739</sup> Letters in the Shropshire Archives, 112/1/1821-2 contain details of financial transactions, between Ireland and Britain, involving Gore, Hume and Richard Hill.

<sup>740</sup> RD 72/12/49464, 6 Aug. 1729 Deeds of lease and release, to which 'Richard Castle of Castlehume' was party.

<sup>741</sup> Hume was closely connected to financial affairs of his in-laws, a fact borne out by his involvement in Robert and Henry Moore's property transactions at Spitalfields in the 1720s, whereas Hume's brother-in-law and neighbour at Brook Street in London, Capel Moore, as executor to his mother Mary, late dowager Countess of Drogheda was party to the conveyance of the Drogheda Estates to Gardiner. See NLI MS 36,502 /3, 1726; NLI MS 36,502 /11-12, 1729.

<sup>742</sup> Thomas Prior, *A view of the present state of affairs in the kingdom of Ireland*, p. 8 includes William Graham Esq., the 3rd class of absentees ('those, who live generally in Ireland, but were occasionally absent at the time the said list was taken, either for Health, Pleasure, or business...'). His estate was valued at £3000 p.a., a fairly substantial sum for a commoner. This list was taken taken 'in the months of May and June 1729.'

<sup>743</sup> 'Extracts from the will of William Graham (c.1705/6-1748), of Platten Hall, County Meath, Ireland,' *The Irish Genealogist*, vol. I, no. 11, April 1942, p. 338.

due to dine at the Grahams,' following his knighthood.<sup>744</sup> Although no other direct connections have been discovered, Pearce did make a small plan of the fortified town of Drogheda, whereas Graham had links to military circles and mentioned the bequest of a ring and a gold piece by the late Brigadier General William Graham in his will.<sup>745</sup> William Graham's widowed mother, Charity Graham, was a tenant of his other neighbour, Archbishop Boulter, and Graham himself was a close friend of Nathaniel Clements, whom he mentions as such in his will.<sup>746</sup> These instances serve to highlight the intricate web of connections which existed between the early residents, developers, architects and builders at Henrietta Street. That Sir Gustavus Hume was a part of this close-knit circle heightens the probability of Richard Castle's involvement here in the early 1730s.

Nos. 11 and 12 Henrietta Street were substantially remodelled c.1782 by the Earl of Shannon, and although the disposition of No. 12 in particular has been greatly altered, it is still possible to reconstruct an idea of the original design. The quoined window surrounds at No. 11 survive, though the original door case was replaced in 1807. Conservation studies have indicated that the tripartite round-headed quoined door-case in Pearce's design would not have fitted in the entrance-bay as built, yet the blind panel to the right of the existing entrance, which is repeated on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> floors, appears to be original (fig. 4.39).<sup>747</sup> This unusual device was probably added to lend balance the elevation, and as such would suggest some form of tripartite opening below. The resemblance between these panels and those employed on a London house of Pearcean significance has been noted. At Queen Square in London these unusual blind panels were applied to an entire row of brick houses built in the early years of the eighteenth century, at the junction of the party walls (fig. 4.40). The ground-plans of these houses show that the brick piers were extremely broad at this point, evidently typical of late seventeenth century construction practice in London (fig. 4.41).<sup>748</sup>

Here, the builders of the new brick-shell and timber-frame houses, perhaps unsure of the innovative structural system, tended to over compensate at the boundary of two properties, building extremely deep walls, and often chimney stacks, to give extra rigidity at this juncture.<sup>749</sup> The application of a blind panel device at this point on the exterior, visually alleviated the solid mass of

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<sup>744</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p.317, Mary Pendarves, Dublin 11 March 1731/2. See also pp.342-43, Mary Pendarves, Dublin, 25 November 1731, wherein she refers to a ball given by 'Lord Montjoy' for 'the Duke and Duchess of Dorset and their retinue.' Mrs Graham, Miss Granville, Bishop and Mrs Clayton, Lady Allen, and 'Capt. Pierce' were among the twenty-four couples who received tickets for this entertainment.

<sup>745</sup> Extracts from the will of William Graham,' p. 338, mentions a ring and gold coins bequeathed to him by the late Brigadier-General William Graham. PRONI T. 524, 10, copy of will of Brig. Gen. W. Graham, July, 1746.

<sup>746</sup> 'Extracts from the will of William Graham,' p. 338, NLI MS 36,02123, Killadoon papers, Dec 1747. Deed poll wherein the Rt. Hon. William Graham of Platin, County Meath, conveyed to the Rt. Hon Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements his estate in County Louth until debts of the order of £1,575 were discharged.

<sup>747</sup> See Crimmins, 'Henrietta Street'; Dublin Civic Trust, unpublished report on 'Henrietta Street study: comprising an architectural inventory in 1997 and archival information. Casey, *Dublin*, p. 199.

<sup>748</sup> Neil Burton and Peter Guillery, *Behind the facade: London house plans 1660-1840* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006), p. 12.

<sup>749</sup> *Ibid.*

brick at the junction of each house, where the depth of the party walls would not permit an opening, lending balance to the rhythm of solid to void on the facade. These structural considerations (however unnecessary) do not seem to have applied at Nos. 11 and 12 Henrietta Street, as the blind panels did not sit at the point of solid party walls, yet they would have served a similar visual function, masking the wide piers at the entrance bay. It is also notable that the houses opposite, at Nos. 8-10, also employed such deep walls and chimney stacks at the partition walls.

The original plan of No. 11 Henrietta Street, still discernible in the surviving structure, is somewhat unsatisfactory (fig. 4.42). A conjectural reconstruction (fig. 4.43) shows a somewhat more pragmatic arrangement than No. 9, with a cantilevered stone stair, complete with a fine scrolled iron balustrade in the single-bay entrance hall. Yet, the broad piers in the entrance bay (necessary for the door-case arrangement in Pearce's drawing and the wide staircase) and the party-wall to the west, meant the windows in the front parlour were placed very closely together, with extremely narrow piers between, slightly off centre. Previous studies have also put forward conjectural reconstructions of the original facades of Nos. 11 & 12, based upon the Elton Hall drawings and evidence of the surviving fabric (fig. 4.44).<sup>750</sup> While there is little consensus as to the exact treatment of the elevation, it is clear that these houses were designed as a pair. The continuous horizontal mouldings which would have run across the twin facades are still evident at No. 11, the most intact of the two facades. Here the plat band and a fragment of the deep plain cornice continues across the party line to the front of No.12 (fig. 4.45).

The adoption of such a sophisticated composition in a Dublin town house of this period is extremely precocious. For though several similar examples by the British Palladians survive around London's Mayfair, only one pre-dates the Henrietta Street design.<sup>751</sup> This was Colen Campbell's unified range at Nos. 31-34 Old Burlington Street, which were in fact two sets of paired houses, with corresponding mirrored ground plans at Nos. 32-33 (fig. 4.46). A marked affinity between Campbell's scheme and the plan and elevation of No.11 in particular have been noted. Crimmin's reconstructive analysis, which presents No.11-12 as a mirror pair, asserts that both the ground plan and elevation at No.11 closely followed the proportional arrangement employed at No. 31 Old Burlington Street. Here, the proportions of the elevation, before its attic storey additions, fitted exactly in a square, measuring from the party walls, ground floor string course to removed cornice. Crimmin's survey showed that Nos. 11 and 12 formed a double square within the party walls, and the removed parapet.<sup>752</sup> Such a rigorous approach to proportion and geometric ratio certainly fits

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<sup>750</sup> See Crimmins, 'Henrietta Street' pp. 127-29, who notes that one of these conjectural elevations shows the door and window treatment proposed by Pearce, with the first floor centre treated as Nos. 119-120 St Stephens Green. Another shows the blind windows in No. 11 forming part of a *serliana*. I am indebted to Cathal Crimmins for providing copies of these reconstructions.

<sup>751</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, vol. xl, pp. 212-13. Two fine stone-fronted examples by Henry Flitcroft from the mid 1740s remain largely intact at Nos. 45-46 Berkeley Square. Though an additional storey was added to No. 45 in 1838 the original elevations were an exact mirror image of each other, as were the broad four-room ground plans. Another pair of houses built in Upper Brook Street by the mid-1730s also follow this arrangement.

<sup>752</sup> Crimmins, 'Henrietta Street: a conservation study,' pp. 125-6.

with our picture of Pearce as the designer of the Parliament House, where exceptional proportional control was exercised.<sup>753</sup>

The Elton Hall collection contains a roughly executed plan, attributed to Pearce, for an unidentified pair of houses of uneven areas (fig. 4.47) which clearly demonstrates the author's interest in the idea of presenting paired houses behind a single unified facade.<sup>754</sup> While the ground plans of these houses do not conform to Campbell's mirrored versions, rather the larger plan on the left borrows space from the rear of its neighbour in a similar manner to the intersecting plan employed at Nos. 11-12 North Audley Street, London, the fronts of the buildings are clearly unified by a central opening.

#### 4.1.4. Pearce and Castle's urban domestic architecture: paper projects.

In addition to these built examples the Elton Hall collection provides valuable evidence of both Pearce and Castle's unexecuted, or unidentified town house designs, hitherto largely unexamined. Of Pearce's paper projects a carefully finished and autographed scheme, a 'Plan and elevation of a small town house,' (fig. 4.48) is perhaps the most illustrative.<sup>755</sup> The draughtsmanship although impeccably executed seems somewhat studied. Pearce we must remember lacked Castle's fluent drawing style, and as Colvin and Craig point out, signed this polished example 'with obvious pride.'<sup>756</sup> It is not known if this unidentified house, which may or may not have been built, was intended for Dublin or London.<sup>757</sup> The neat proportions of the three-bay three-storey facade are certainly closer to London examples, in contrast to the larger-scale townhouse typically found in Dublin. The treatment of the elevation closely follows British Palladian prototypes, in its strict proportional and hierarchical arrangement.

Here is Pearce at his most Burlingtonian, with the vigorously rusticated ground floor-storey, and emphatically framed fenestration articulating the plain surfaces above. The functional hierarchy of the internal arrangement finds visual expression on the facade. Here, the alternating straight-headed and triangular pediments and console brackets to the first floor windows lend emphasis to the *piano nobile*, while the square architrave windows above denote the squatter proportions of attic-storey within. There are several built examples in London which employ a

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<sup>753</sup> See McParland, *Public Architecture*, pp. 180, 19, for Pearce's sensitivity to Palladio's proportions, and the geometrical rationale of the Parliament House.

<sup>754</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.47-1992, Sketch plan of part of a terrace showing two houses of unequal size. Each has two staircases and a vaulted hall.

<sup>755</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.140-1992. Plan and elevation of a small town house with a heavily rusticated ground floor. Scale 1 inch to 10 feet. Signed and dated in ink E:L: Pearce December the 6<sup>th</sup> 1731.

<sup>756</sup> Colvin and Craig, *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall*, pp. Liii.

<sup>757</sup> The DIA also identifies the plan and elevation (#140) as No. 8 Henrietta St, while Colvin and Craig list it as unidentified house, possibly in Dublin or London, maybe built or not.

similar treatment to this elevation though some date from the later century (fig. 4.49), whereas an unidentified design by Colen Campbell also bears some resemblance to Pearce's scheme (fig. 4.50).

The accompanying plan differs too from the built examples associated with Pearce in Henrietta Street. In place of the broad four-room plan type, Pearce adopted a more economical approach to the use of space, with a deep narrow plan running back from the street front in three distinct parts. This tripartite division is somewhat similar to the arrangement at No.12 North Audley Street, London, and the narrow dimensions are certainly closer to the typical British terraced house. Another folio in the Elton Hall album appears to depict an earlier stage of this design, with two more sketch-like versions of a three-bay terraced house plan (fig. 4.51), of similar dimensions to the autographed scheme.<sup>758</sup> These sketches, which include plans of the yard and stabling at the rear, further demonstrate Pearce's interests in contending with the constraints of an elongated terraced site. An inscribed section of a three storey house, of a similar tripartite arrangement to these plans may also have formed part of this scheme (fig. 4.52), and shows a similar preoccupation with the typically Palladian hierarchical arrangement of space as the elevation.<sup>759</sup>

Although the narrow plan-type with a centralised stair compartment was relatively common in the British capital, a comprehensive trawl of the drawing collection at RIBA, and contemporary published designs by Kent, Gibbs, Leoni and Campbell, reveals that Pearce's arrangement was quite distinctive. Only Colen Campbell's 'design for a town house of 3-bays' (see fig. 4.50) and perhaps more so Giacomo Leoni's designs for Viscount Shannon's house at No. 21 Arlington Street (1738, fig. 4.53), show a comparable interest in exploring such a deep plan. Both Pearce and Campbell's plans employed a similar and somewhat unconventional arrangement, whereby a sequence of small compartments or closet spaces were placed contiguously along the longitudinal axis of the narrow plan. The dimensions of Campbell's and Pearce's sketch plans are similar too, being approximately 30ft x60ft and 25ft x 65ft respectively, although Campbell gave over a third of his plan to an arcaded vestibule at the entrance. Leoni, on the other hand seemed more intent on maximising space in his extremely deep, elongated plan, which measures some 50ft in front and 105ft to the bow (70ft to the rear wall) at the rear. The use of a semicircular bow, which gave additional light and views across the park at the rear of Arlington Street was rarely found in British town house architecture prior to 1750s. Of the limited instances in which this device was used in the first half of the century the majority were by Vanbrugh and his followers in their

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<sup>758</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.65-1992. Plan for additional stabling to a house. Inscribed in ink in Pearce's hand 'with passage underground, yeard, Back Lane, coach houses and back yeard 20 sqrs.'

<sup>759</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.169-1992. 'The Sextion of y<sup>e</sup> Inside of y<sup>e</sup> House and each level titled in ink Logging in Y<sup>e</sup> Ruff; Y<sup>e</sup> Chambers Storry; Y<sup>e</sup> Halle Storry; Y<sup>e</sup> Sellars Storry.'

country house designs of the 1720s, by Pearce at Ashley Park in Surrey, and by Richard Castle at Carton House County Kildare in 1739.<sup>760</sup>

There are other points of comparison between Leoni and Pearce's plans. For example, both employ arcaded screens to the stair-hall and flanking compartments on the longitudinal axis, while there is loose resemblance in the style of draughtsmanship. Leoni, furthermore, placed an octagonal lantern in the attic storey at Arlington Street (fig. 4.54), an 8ft 'cupola' or opening which extended through the floors below, lighting the octagonal gallery in the 2nd floor chamber-storey and the great staircase the floors beneath. Pearce, notably, had employed an oval lantern above the chamber-storey at Bellamont Forest, County Cavan some years earlier (fig. 4.55). Leoni's designs for Viscount Shannon are signed and dated 25 May 1738. Yet, the fact that Pearce had previously worked for Shannon at Ashley Park, following Sir John Vanbrugh's death in 1726, combined with the stylistic similarities evident in these and other works, may suggest an earlier association between these architects. Neither Pearce nor Castle were listed amongst the subscribers to Leoni's 1726 publication, though Sir John Vanbrugh was, as was Edward Shepherd. In the early 1720s Leoni made designs for Thomas Scawen at Carshalton Park (the house was never built but the ruins of a grotto from this period survive), Surrey, less than 10 miles from Claremont and 14 miles from Ashley Park, where Vanbrugh and later Pearce were employed. In 1728, at the same time that Pearce was in Norfolk, Leoni began work on Moulsham Hall (dest.) near Chelmsford, situated along the north-east road route from London to Norfolk.

The Elton Hall collection also contains a number of designs for town houses which have been attributed to Richard Castle.<sup>761</sup> A set of two alternative elevations, a related ground-floor plan of a corner site and perhaps most significantly, an accompanying signed memorandum provide rare and illuminating evidence of Castle's urban domestic architecture.<sup>762</sup> Castle's 'Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed,' the contents of which have not previously been discussed, offer an exceptional opportunity to recover the architect's voice and to gain insights into the domestic design process. The two fluently drawn and impeccably finished facade designs support his biographers claim that 'Mr Castles was remarkably ready at drawing' (fig. 4.56, 4.57).<sup>763</sup> What is also striking in the two alternative schemes for grandly-scaled, five-bay, four-storey over basement elevations, is the *retardataire* nature of certain elements in their design. While both facades conform to Palladian

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<sup>760</sup> Richard Hewlings, 'Leoni's drawings for 21 Arlington Street,' *Georgian Group Journal*, vol. II (1992), p. 24 notes that the semi-circular bay was uncommon before 1750. Of the 37 built examples and designs by known architects the majority were by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor.

<sup>761</sup> See V&A Elton Hall collection catalogue, E.2124. Colvin & Craig, *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall*, does not discuss Castle's possible authorship.

<sup>762</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.176-1992, Attrib. Richard Castle. Elevation of a town house with five stories and a mansard roof. The basement level has smooth rustication whilst the ground floor rustication is banded.

Inscribed in ink 'The Level of the Street,' 'No 1' and numbered in ink with dimensions.

V&A E.2124.182-1992 Elevation of a town house with five stories. The ground floor has banded rustication and the front door has an entablature supported by volutes.

V&A E.2124.107-1992 Plan for a house connected with E.2124.182.

V&A E.2124.7-1992 'Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...'

<sup>763</sup> *Anthologia Hibernica* 2 (Oct 1793), p. 242.

strictures in terms of regularity and proportion, the inclusion of segmental windows in the ground floor-storey and dormer windows in the mansard roof of elevation No.1 (fig. 4.56) are more typical of late-seventeenth and very early eighteenth-century domestic design. The balustraded treatment of the parapet roof and the emphatically articulated corners of the alternative scheme (fig. 4.57, No. 2) are at odds with the Palladian practice of presenting a unified continuous terraced facade to the street. There is an eclecticism too to these designs which does not fit with the decorum typical of the Palladian facade, and is particularly apparent in the un-canonical panelled pilaster strips employed in the attic-storey of scheme No. 2. The date for these designs is un-known but as they were included in Pearce's papers it is likely they were made prior to 1733.

It is not clear if either of these schemes were executed, or for that matter where the intended site was located. The large-scale and ample proportions would seem to indicate that this was a Dublin town house though houses of similar style and scale were also built in Britain in the early years of the eighteenth century prior to the Palladian revival of the 1720s. The regular brick fronts were not yet governed by the strict proportions and elevational control of their successors. Although few of these transitional examples remain, there are several survivors from the 1710s around Clifford Street on the Burlington Estate (fig. 4.58).

Outside of London's West End it seems to have taken longer for the Palladian orthodoxy to take hold. A range of terraced houses of some pretension, which were built at Spital Square, in Spitalfields east London in 1724, still employed a number of retrogressive elements, similar to those in Castle's designs.<sup>764</sup> These brick houses had mansard roofs with dormers, gauged segmental-arched windows, and at No. 15 distinctive horizontally channelled stucco, made to resemble stonework (fig. 4.59). This house, which no longer stands, is of some interest. It occupied a large corner site, with at least one five bay front to the square, and had a plan of a somewhat similar arrangement to a ground-plan in the Elton Hall collection associated with Castle's facade designs, both being broad four-room plans, with central entrances, transverse service staircases, and openings in the side walls (fig. 4.60). What is more, Richard Castle's earliest known patron, Sir Gustavus Hume, along with his Moore in-laws had an interest in property only a stone's throw from Spital Square, on Paternost Row at Spitalfields Market.<sup>765</sup> Further-afield still, early instances of Bristol's brick-built houses, which no doubt looked to contemporary London exemplars, also bear some resemblance to Castle's mansard-roof design. We know Castle travelled in the vicinity of this important trading city in the 1720s, when he was examining inland navigation along the River

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<sup>764</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London*, vol. XXVII, p. 55-73 for the development of Spitalfields.

<sup>765</sup> Corporation of London Records Office, COL/CCS/CO/13/002, 18 Jun. 1723. Deed to lead the uses of a fine between 1. Hon. Robert Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, Esq., and Jane his wife one of the coheirs of George Bohun 2. Hon. Henry Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, D.D. and the Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume of Kensington, Middx. Bart. Concerning One-third part of the ground and tenements and one-third part of the market weekly held in Great Paternoster Row in Spitalfields, with all profits and all other messuages, etc., of the estate of George Bohun, deceased. COL/CCS/CO/13/B2/024, 24 Mar. 1743/44. Deed to appoint a receiver of rents from Spitalfields Estate 1. Hon. Robert Moore of Enfield Chase, Middx. Esq...Ground and market house, messuages, shops, etc., of Spitalfields market, Middx. and 133 messuages...and the market franchise and its profits.

Severn, and may well have seen such examples of Bristol's urban architecture as the newly completed houses surrounding Queen Square (fig. 4.61).

There are few surviving drawings for town houses of this period which compare to Castle's designs. Leoni's scheme for No. 21 Arlington Street (fig. 4.62) shows a certain similarity in terms of drawing style and finish. A set of un-autographed 'designs for a new house to contain Lord Cholmondeley's collection of paintings, Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, London,' of c. 1740, which are so close to Leoni's designs as to suggest his hand in them, also share certain stylistic features with Castle's designs (fig. 4.63). The fine penmanship, soft lines and subtle shading in all three sets of drawings is directly comparable. What is more, both Castle's design for a house with a mansard roof and the elevation of Lord Cholmondeley's house provide a rare depiction of the basement storey (shown below ground) in elevation. These are the only two instances of this unusual feature to emerge in a trawl of drawings in Irish and British collections.<sup>766</sup> It is interesting to note that the drawing style employed in all three sets, and perhaps more so the forms adopted in Castle's designs bear a marked resemblance to surviving eighteenth-century architectural drawings from Castle's native Dresden (fig. 4.64). We know that Leoni worked in Germany in the early years of the century at the Palatine court at Dusseldorf c. 1708, as self-professed 'Architect to the Elector Palatine' and claimed to have assisted the Venetian architect Count Matteo de Alberti in building the Elector's retreat at Schloss Bensberg, near Cologne (1705-1716).<sup>767</sup>

In the accompanying memo Castle makes clear that stylistic or aesthetic considerations were not the only determining factors at play in town house design. Practical concerns, such as the relative expense of the alternative treatments and materials employed were crucial. Discussing the alternative proposals for the facade Castle noted that:

The elevation marked No. 1 is rich and finer than that marked No 2 but the house being a corner house, three fronts must be made alike & therefore except what is left which is made of stone, this better to execute the Elevation No 2 because so much stone work is very expensive.<sup>768</sup>

This concern with economy extended to the external ornament, where the entrance doorway and moldings above were to be 'done in wood' and 'Painted in stone colour, [which] will last many years and save a great expense.'<sup>769</sup> Similarly, though Castle adhered to contemporary practices and the proportional systems of British Palladianism, he offered pragmatic reasons for doing so:

The roof may be made with garrets in it & a roof of this kind makes the garret rooms almost square & very convenient. But to save expense, the roof may be made flat with an

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<sup>766</sup> John Harris Curator Emeritus at the RIBA agrees that this feature was 'not common.'

<sup>767</sup> T. P. Connor, 'Leoni, Giacomo (c. 1686–1746),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., Oct 2007 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16474>[accessed 28 March 2014].

<sup>768</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.7-1992, 'Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...'

<sup>769</sup> *Ibid.*

attick story underneath, as in the Elevation No 2: the windows of this story are made square and must be so these rooms being only 10 foot or 11 foot, for the [L...?]oft, high and supposed to be only for servants...<sup>770</sup>

Internally Castle recommended ‘the Hall and the space of the great Stair case’ be ‘paved with marble or smooth stones’ and stair-case ‘done in stone with iron rail, or in Rt. [?] wainscot.’ The ‘two round pillars & the two opposite pilasters,’ of the partition screen in what seems to be a gallery above ‘may be done in Wood, of any one of the five orders, more suitable to the intended Expence [*sic*] in the building.’ This treatment can be found in the most fashionable Palladian interiors of the period, and many aspects, such as the carved columnar screen, marble flooring and wrought iron balustrades feature in a number of buildings associated with Pearce and Castle, such as Bellamont Forest, and notably at No. 9 Henrietta Street. The general disposition of the accompanying four-room plan with a projecting closet to the side (see fig. 4.60),<sup>771</sup> is comparable to the broad plan types employed at Henrietta Street, and shows a similar arrangement of the entrance-cum-stair-hall and transverse service stair behind. Discussing one of the proposed schemes for the first floor plan Castle noted:

The objection in the execution of the second manner will be, that the chimney of the dressing room has no true bearing; but a skill full bricklayer may, by the help of a good sound hard-stone ...which may be hidden in the thickness of the floor, secure the jamb of that chimney which will be a two great wheight [*sic*], because the funnel will bear upon the solid wall.

From these remarks we can infer that Castle was not only well-versed in the building practices employed in such timber-framed construction, but also in communicating such methods to the building tradesmen. In discussing ‘the Partitions between the bedchamber and the dressing room, & between the dressing-room & closet,’ which ‘may be trussed and tak't[?] to the floor up two pairs of stairs,’ Castle again offered hands-on, practical advice which ‘a skill full carpenter’ could follow.<sup>772</sup> Here, Castle seems to be referring to the system of framing floors used by English carpenters in the London terraced house. The trussed partition was an adaption of the roof truss, used to provide a structural partition which could in turn support floor loadings, and avoid sagging in the centre, and provided remarkable flexibility in planning, particularly in the alignment of rooms in the terraced house.<sup>773</sup> Although the builders of Dublin’s terraced houses, from at least the 1740s onwards seem

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<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>771</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.107-1992. According to David Griffin this plan is connected with E.2124.7 ‘Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...’ and E.2124.7 .176 Elevation of a town house with five stories and a mansard roof.’

<sup>772</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>773</sup> Gibney, ‘Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history,’ p. 85

to have abandoned the use of such framed floors,<sup>774</sup> Richard Castle's early town house designs were clearly influenced by both British buildings and building practices.

#### 4.2.1 Henrietta Street: 1740s plain brick terraces.

'Without the least affectation of ornament...'<sup>775</sup>

From the mid-1730s, and throughout the following decade the property developer and architectural aficionado Nathaniel Clements built a terrace of five houses adjoining No. 9 on the north-side of Henrietta Street. Although this range conformed to many of the sophisticated building practices established here in preceding decade, the more standardised forms and minimalist elaboration of these brick terraced fronts stood in contrast to the bespoke designed houses of the early 1730s. Clements's amateur architectural ambitions aside, no known architects have been associated with their design, nor have the building tradesmen involved been identified. Here the formal elements of these houses, both externally and internally, will be considered in an effort to determine the factors which affected their design.

The continuous astylar facade of this terraced range, which suppressed any articulation of the party walls and adopted conventional Palladian proportions, presented a regular red-brick-face to the street. Although the houses were built up piece-meal, an attempt at a unified composition, a form of 'palace facade,' can even be traced in the symmetrical arrangement. Of the five house-fronts Lord Thomond's house (now Nos. 5-6) stood broader and taller than its flanking members, forming the 'centre-piece' of this composition, with the adjoining properties descending on a gradient scale on either side (fig. 4.65).<sup>776</sup> In terms of planning these houses also followed established precedents, adopting what was by then the somewhat retrogressive, broad four-room plan type with double-height stair compartments, utilised in the earlier houses on this street.<sup>777</sup> Although No. 4 Henrietta Street has been altered, the original ground plans of this and the opposing house at No. 7 were almost mirror images of each other (fig. 4.66),<sup>778</sup> further indicating that Clements considered the development of this block of houses as one unified range. It is also worth noting that the general disposition of these plans is comparable to John Ensor's later ground plan for Doneraile House, Kildare Street, c.1746 (fig. 4.67), all showing a broad three-room plan with a

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<sup>774</sup> Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history,' pp. 85-89.

<sup>775</sup> Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 73.

<sup>776</sup> I am indebted to Nuada MacEoin for this observation.

<sup>777</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 36. While this broad plan type is rarely found in London houses after the 1720s, it prevailed in Dublin's large-scale houses, with their wide plot-sizes, well into the 1760s.

<sup>778</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 194.

two-bay entrance-cum-stairhall, a transverse service stair behind, and projecting closet to the rear elevation.<sup>779</sup>

Their sumptuous interior treatment followed the latest cosmopolitan fashions found in London's West End. Clements built No. 7 from 1738 for his own occupancy, moving from the smaller scale house next door in 1740.<sup>780</sup> His sophisticated taste is still evident in the treatment of the stair-hall, in the lugged plaster panels to the walls (a practical as well as economically driven fashion, as lime plaster acted as a fire retardant<sup>781</sup>) and the well composed compartmentalised ceiling of enriched geometric elements above (fig. 4.68). No. 4 Henrietta Street was built about the same time as a speculative venture, as it was occupied initially by Bishop George Stone, prior to his promotion to Primate and the Primate's residence in 1747. Yet its ample scale and grandiose double-height stair-hall is more in keeping with the earlier bespoke designed houses on this street.<sup>782</sup>

The exterior elaboration of this range of houses, by contrast, marks a notable departure from West End models, in the plain, even austere treatment of their facades. For while the typical early Georgian facade was known for its reticence and the decorous application of a limited ornamental repertoire, these Henrietta Street house fronts, 'grand and bare and somewhat grim,'<sup>783</sup> are almost entirely devoid of ornament. They lack the 'basic niceties of plat-band and cornice' and rely on the inherent properties of their brick facings, and carved stone door-cases to enliven the monotonous massing of the street elevation (fig. 4.69). Such plain terraced fronts are considered 'something of a Dublin speciality,' in particular the striking juxtaposition between the austere facade and sumptuous interior behind; and though the internal elaboration of the Henrietta Street houses is generally more controlled than the flamboyance of typical of the 1750s, this dichotomous treatment can be seen to have its roots here.<sup>784</sup> Writing in 1733 the English Lady Anne Conolly, nee

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<sup>779</sup> The closet projections at Nos. 4 and 7 Henrietta Street may be later interventions, as Rocque's Map of 1756 shows a bowed projection to the rear of No.4 but none to No. 7. That Rocque may have taken some artistic license here must also be considered.

<sup>780</sup> RCBL P276.10.3 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Book. The return for Henrietta Street, taken on Feb 14 1738 lists 'A new House,' next to Clements's residence at No.8, though no value is given, indicating the early stages of construction.

<sup>781</sup> See Robert Morris, *Lectures on architecture* (London: J. Brindley, 1734), pp. 111-12, who recommended staircase walls be of 'Stucco that no danger might prevent the Safety of getting down them, to avoid the Fury of the Flames.'

<sup>782</sup> RCBL P276.10.4 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Book. The return for spring/summer 1738/9 (date missing) and the subsequent entry for 27 Nov. 1739 list 3 additional entries for 'A new House' adjoining Nath. Clements' house at No.8, relating to Nos.7-4. Again no rate is given as construction seems only to have commenced. By early 1740 (no date, subsequent entry for June 1740 lists the same information) Coll St George was rated as the occupant of No. 8; Nath. Clements at No. 7; Lord Turnath (Thomond) at Nos. 5-6 and Nath. Clements as the developer of the unoccupied house at No. 4. P276.10.5, the return from early 1741 lists 'Bishop of Ferns' (as George Stone was then) as the ratepayer at No. 4. A letter by Stone to Clements on 31 Jan 1744/5 indicates he may have sub-let the property during this period (TCD MS 1741/9).

<sup>783</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 193.

<sup>784</sup> Cruikshank, *A guide to Georgian buildings in Britain and Ireland*, pp.38-9. British literature does point to a similar contrast in London, however it does not seem to be of the same degree. See Dan Cruikshank, and Neil Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London: Viking, 1990), pp. 128-9.

Wentworth, remarked on such a plain exterior treatment, though on this occasion it was the nation's foremost country house at Castletown, County Kildare:

...as to Castletown , tis so very unfinished without doors, I don't think the place very pleasant, tho the house is really a charming one, to be sure [?] The front is quite without ornaments of any sort, not even so much as Pediments over the windows...<sup>785</sup>

Recent studies have put forward arguments symbolic, economical and otherwise, for such 'minimal expression in the Dublin facade.'<sup>786</sup> But how exceptional were these plain brick terraces at Henrietta Street, and can any established precedent for this treatment in Britain be identified?

In 1734 the commentator James Ralph's praised Colen Campbell's reticent treatment of the brick-terraced range at Nos. 31-34 Old Burlington Street as being:

beyond comparison in the finest taste of any common buildings we can find... Without the least affectation of ornament, or seeming design of any remarkable elegance, they have all the elegance that can be given to such a design, and need no ornament to make them remarkable...<sup>787</sup>

There are numerous instances of restrained brick facades found throughout London's West End, and some of these are large-scale, bespoke designed houses. For example, about 1732 Henry Flitcroft designed a decidedly reticent though perfectly proportioned (the attic storey with its over-scaled windows is an addition) brick-facade at No. 36 Sackville Street Piccadilly (fig. 4.70).<sup>788</sup> The broad brick piers in the four-bay astylar elevation, and un-articulated fenestration show a definite affinity with Irish examples, though in Flitcroft's design the monotony of the plain brickwork is relieved by the addition of a simple band-course and projecting cornice above. This is one of a group of buildings from this period associated with Flitcroft and the speculative builder Benjamin Timbrell, which showed a marked preference for plain exteriors, and by contrast finely elaborated interiors, other illustrative examples being No.10 St. James' Square and Timbrell's No. 6 Duke of York Street (figs. 4.71).<sup>789</sup> Economy does not seem to have dictated such external restraint in these

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<sup>785</sup> NLI P527. Microfilm copies of British material including the Wentworth Papers. Lady Anne Conolly, letter of Nov. 3rd 1733, Baymore, to her father. The pediments now above the ground and first-floor windows may be a later addition to the facade, although no other evidence to this effect has been discovered.

<sup>786</sup> Casey, 'Dublin Domestic formula', p. 49. See *GSR I*, p. xi. for the earliest commentary on this Irish speciality. For the most up-to-date and comprehensive arguments see Casey, 'Dublin Domestic formula,' pp. 46-58.

<sup>787</sup> James Ralph, *A critical review*, p. 73.

<sup>788</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, vol. XXXI- XXXII, p. 196.

<sup>789</sup> *Ibid.* The fine plasterwork on the staircase compartment at No. 36 does not survive. The agreement between Timbrell and Sir William for No. 10 specified that the plasterwork on the staircase there should be executed 'in such and the same manner as Mr. Turners in Sackville Street which was built by the said Henry Flitcroft.'

instances.<sup>790</sup> There are several similar examples on the Grosvenor Estate, including Roger Morris' restrained tripartite composition at Green Street (fig. 4.72), and a rare early eighteenth-century survivor at No. 72 Park Street (fig. 4.73). The above examples, however, although plainer than contemporary Palladian set-pieces, were at once not quite so plain as the Irish facade, and were one-off instances as opposed to entire streetscapes.<sup>791</sup> It is the wholesale unarticulated treatment of entire rows of terraced houses in Dublin which was so remarkable.

If we look a little further than London's Mayfair, however, some such examples emerge. On the Cavendish-Harley estate at Marylebone ongoing-research for the forthcoming *Survey of London* volume has found evidence of several streets where such plain facades predominate. For instance, the original houses at Welbeck Street, a residential street of the mid-1720s built just off the fashionable Cavendish Square (fig. 4.74) show such a treatment. These speculatively built houses were of modest though somewhat elongated proportions; their original fronts were of plain reddish-brown brick, articulated only by simple gauged-brick arches to the windows. The stucco render to the ground-floor storeys is a nineteenth-century addition.<sup>792</sup> There is a plain uniformity too, to the modest-scaled houses at Craven Street (figs. 4.75), near the Strand, which Henry Flitcroft laid out in the early 1730s.<sup>793</sup>

Further-afield, the continuous plain brick-terraces at Great James's Street Holborn (fig. 4.76), and Spital Square in Stepney (fig. 4.77) are more directly comparable to Dublin's minimal frontages in their lack of elaboration. Behind the un-ornamented facade at No. 25 Spital Square (demol.) there is evidence of figurative stucco-work of c. 1734 of some interest (fig. 4.78).<sup>794</sup> All of the above examples, however, relate to the second class of houses, as set down in the London building acts, and are neither of the same scale nor grandeur as their Dublin counterparts. The somewhat tentative conclusion which can be drawn from a sweeping survey of London's plainer facades is that in terms of scale and internal elaboration the houses at Henrietta Street resemble the grandest examples in the best streets of Mayfair while the treatment of their exterior has greater affinity to the standard terrace facades built on the outskirts of London.

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<sup>790</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, vol. XXIX-XXX, pp. 118-9. Timbrell was paid £5,700 by Sir William Heathcote for No. 10. The building accounts include undated proposals by Timbrell for building the house in slightly cheaper and simpler form than that finally agreed on, while Heathcote even paid additional sums for work on chimney pieces and other craftsmen's work beyond what was provided for in Timbrell's agreement. He paid an extra £20 'to have the Stucco on the Stair Case to be done very well by an Italian.' At No. 6 Duke of York Street the reticent pink brick elevation was ornamented with a stone cornice and a parapet above, stone sills to the square-headed window openings, and an architraved stone door-case.

<sup>791</sup> Summerson, *Georgian London*, p. 126. Casey, 'Dublin Domestic formula,' p. 49 also notes such consistent, or 'relentless monotony' in Dublin's terraces.

<sup>792</sup> I am indebted to Dr Olivia Horsfall-Turner for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>793</sup> G.H Gater and E. P. Wheeler (eds.), *Survey of London XVIII: parish of St. Martin-in-fields part II: The Strand* (London: London County Council, 1937), pp. 27-39. The channelled stucco render to ground floor and the altered top floor height were c.1792 alterations.

<sup>794</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London XXVII*, pp. 55-73. The leases of Nos. 24, 25 and 26 were granted in December 1734. No. 25 was assigned to Peter James Douxsaint of Spitalfields, merchant, who still occupied the house in 1758. He was seemingly responsible for the embellishment of the interior with fine wood carvings and plasterwork here.

Nos. 5-6 Henrietta Street, built as one palatial residence for Ireland's second peer, Henry O'Brien, 8th Earl of Thomond, offers a particularly illustrative example of this treatment. Thomond's house formed the centrepiece of Nathaniel Clements' terraced range, and in terms of scale, planning and internal elaboration followed the grandest exemplars in London's West End, and indeed the early examples at Henrietta Street. Yet the broad, brick-terraced facade is plain in the extreme (fig. 4.79). Why then, one must wonder, would a high-ranking peer be content with a such a plain and unremarkable front to his grandiose scale town house? Lord Thomond was a man of great wealth, consequence, and taste. In 1738 he moved to Ireland from Britain, where he had spent most of his adult life. There, we have seen, he moved in the best circles of society and had first-hand knowledge of the latest models of domestic design. Thomond's visit to Ireland was originally intended as a temporary sojourn in order to pursue a number of long standing legal matters, notably his great case against James Hamilton.<sup>795</sup> Yet, by the following summer his plans had evidently changed. Just as his case was being decided in the courts Thomond seemed intent on re-establishing his position as Ireland's second peer and a 'great lover of his country.'<sup>796</sup> He played a prominent role in society, attending Katherine Conolly's influential gatherings at Castletown House and accompanied the Lord Lieutenant on state occasions with great pomp and ceremony.<sup>797</sup> On the 13th of July 1739, in a very tangible display of his status, patriotism, and attachment to Ireland, Lord Thomond had signed an agreement with Nathaniel Clements to build 'a good new dwelling house' at Henrietta Street.<sup>798</sup>

This was built as one very broad five-bay, four-storey over-basement residence, with a 60ft frontage to the street. At a time when building served as a highly visible embodiment of status and taste it is telling that Lord Thomond commissioned such a grandly-scaled building. And yet the building agreement shows little concern for exterior finish. This in itself was not unusual: the limited number of surviving agreements for contemporary Dublin houses, as with their British counterparts, contain few specifications for facade designs, usually only stipulating such vagaries as a 'good' or 'substantial,' 'new brick dwelling house, to be 'well made,' in a 'good workmanlike

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<sup>795</sup> *Daily Gazetteer*, Monday, October 16, 1738, Issue 1025, 'Yesterday the Right Hon. the Earl of Thomond set out with a great Retinue, from his House in Dover Street, for West Chester, in order to embark there for Ireland, where his Lordship is going to reside for a year.'

In September 1735 Thomond visited the country for some months to pursue outstanding legal matters. He was sworn a Privy Councillor of Ireland and played a conspicuous role in public ceremonies of state. See *General Evening Post*, September 13, 1735-September 16, 1735, Issue 306; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Tuesday, September 23, 1735, Issue 278; *Daily Gazetteer*, Saturday, May 29, 1736, Issue 288.

For his legal affairs see Dublin: King's Inns Library, House of Lords Appeals: Vol. 11 Thomond (Henry) Earl of, appellant Versus James Hamilton, John Hamilton and John Jacob; *St. James's Evening Post*, April 19, 1733-April 21, 1733, Issue 2789; *London Evening Post*, February 5, 1737-February 8, 1737, Issue 1440; *London Evening Post*, July 5, 1740 - July 8, 1740, Issue 1974.

<sup>796</sup> *Daily Post*, Thursday, April 30, 1741, Issue 6754.

<sup>797</sup> NLI MS 41, 577/2, Smythe of Barbarvilla papers. Mary Jones to her sister Jane Bonnell, London. *General Evening Post*, January 17, 1740-January 19, 1740, Issue 986.

<sup>798</sup> RD101/333/71481, 13th July 1739, memorial of articles of agreement of indenture between Nathaniel Clements and the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Thomond.

manner.<sup>799</sup> In Britain building contracts focused instead on such basic features as window surrounds and particularly on materials, implying, according to Stewart that ‘design and proportions were so standardised that they did not need spelling out...’<sup>800</sup>

The post-restoration brick-terraced house was an increasingly standardised product. Both internally and externally it comprised of a limited number of regularised, easily repeatable forms, structural components and decorative elements. This permitted more expeditious and economical modes of planning and construction, easier computation of costs, and quality control. Aesthetically the repeated use of standardised forms and products resulted in a remarkable degree of uniformity.<sup>801</sup> Even the materials employed lent an air of cohesion to these buildings. However, while the Dublin terraced facade seems to have closely followed British practice, using the same standardised products and materials as its London counterpart, and adopting similar modes of timber frame construction, there was a fundamental difference in the Irish treatment. A distinctive relationship of solid to void is discernible in the Dublin houses, where the insertion of standard sized sash windows into the widely space bays of their characteristically broad fronts left wide expanses of un-alleviated brick in between.<sup>802</sup> This in turn exaggerated the ‘cliff like’ massing of these unarticulated facades.<sup>803</sup>

Internally, by contrast, Thomond’s house was treated with some pretension. Though drastically altered when the house was sub-divided c.1830, analysis of the current structure, and comparison with contemporary models in Britain and Ireland, indicates that it conformed to a central-entry plan, with four rooms on the principal levels (fig. 4.80).<sup>804</sup> This plan type, though often propounded in prescriptive texts,<sup>805</sup> was rarely adopted, as it was wasteful of space and not practical for any but the broadest of sites.<sup>806</sup> The double-height stair-hall, with a grandiose Portland stone stair was probably similar to the treatment at No. 9, while the finely-carved wainscoting which survives in three rooms shows the same quality of craftsmanship as early building on the street. It is not known who was responsible for executing this work, nor for that matter for any of the construction.

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<sup>799</sup> Casey, *The Dublin domestic formula*, pp. 57-58, which draws on the Heritage Council Architecture Research, Casey 2006-abstracts of eighteenth-century memorials of Dublin town house leases. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 83. Sheppard, *Survey of London XXXIX*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>800</sup> Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, p. 120.

<sup>801</sup> McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 27.

<sup>802</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 37.

<sup>803</sup> *GSR I*, p. v.

<sup>804</sup> I am indebted to Nuada MacEoin for providing copies of the current ground-plan of these houses.

<sup>805</sup> Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London; Rivington. 1767), p. 322. Ware insists upon the Palladian ideal of a central doorway in all but the narrowest of houses, and advises on giving over the front part of the ground floor to a hall to avoid the difficult relationship with the front parlour.

<sup>806</sup> See Sheppard, *Survey of London XL*, p. 112.

Although Thomond's neighbours Luke Gardiner and Thomas Carter had commissioned the leading architect of the day to design their houses, this wealthy peer, it would appear, was content for a speculative developer, albeit one with an interest in architecture, to oversee the planning and construction of his town house. Clements was to receive '£500 as a gratuity or reward for his care and trouble in and about said building.'<sup>807</sup> There is evidence that Nathaniel Clements employed a number of known building tradesmen, several of whom had worked with Pearce and Castle earlier in the decade, at his own house No. 7 Henrietta Street. In July 1738 and March 1738/9 Clements' account ledger lists payments relating to the 'new house,' including 'Cash paid to' John Doyle; Mr Barcroft; Mr Murphy; Mr Lee; Mr Rawlings; Mr Hammond; Mr Fisher; Mr McCabe; Mr Shehan; Mr Ellis and Mr Kelly.<sup>808</sup>

Surely these are the likely candidates to have worked at Clements' contemporary building project next door? 'Mr Sheehan' and 'Mr Kelly' were most likely David Sheehan, the stone mason and John Kelly carver, who were regularly employed by Pearce and Castle in the 1730s, and later by John Ensor at Doneraile House. Alternatively, 'Mr Kelly' may have been the plasterer Hugh Kelly had worked at Powerscourt for Castle and at Parliament House, under Pearce.<sup>809</sup> 'Mr Hammond' was perhaps Simon Hammond, a mason and master builder who had worked as overseer of bricklayers at the Parliament House, and at Dr Steeven's hospital under Michael Wills in the 1730s.<sup>810</sup> 'Mr Ellis' was probably John Ellis, a carver who had supplied furniture for Clements' house at No. 8 in 1733.<sup>811</sup> Of the other lesser known individuals 'Mr Barcroft' was likely to have been Ambrose Barcroft, a timber merchant of Bachelors Quay;<sup>812</sup> 'Mr Rawlings' may have been John (otherwise Joseph) Rawlins, another timber merchant from St Catherine's Dublin, who witnessed a deed of annuity in 1746 between Nathaniel Clements' and Walter Woolfe, pertaining to Clements' interests at Henrietta Street.<sup>813</sup> 'Mr Fisher' was possibly Henry Fisher, a bricklayer who became a freeman of Dublin in 1733;<sup>814</sup> Paul Murphy, carpenter was admitted to the freemen's

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<sup>807</sup> RD 101/333/71481, 13 July 1739. Memorial of articles of agreement of indenture between Nathaniel Clements and the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Thomond.

<sup>808</sup> TCD MSS 7259: Clements Ledgers. 'New House' 1738 July to March.

<sup>809</sup> Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall...' p. 123.

<sup>810</sup> See DIA, entry for 'Simon Hammond.' Simon Hammond, bricklayer was also involved in property speculation around Abbey Street in the 1730s and 1740s, see RD 80/247/55720; RD 84/17/57715.

<sup>811</sup> A receipt for which is preserved in the Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1: Tradesmen's accounts. See Appendices 3.

<sup>812</sup> See 'Selected records transcribed from the Society of Friends (Quakers),' Ireland Genealogy Project Archives. Numerous memorials at the Registry of Deeds from this period refer to this individual. For instance RD 110/442/78585, 9 Mar 1742; RD 111/318/76772, 15 June 1743; RD108/403/76782, 16 June 1743.

<sup>813</sup> RD 123/221/84318, 24 October 1746, indented deed of annuity between Nathaniel Clements, City of Dublin Esq., Walter Wolfe, said city, Esq. The other witness to this deed William Coultherst, was party to a number of other deeds concerning John/Joseph Rawlins, timber merchant.

<sup>814</sup> Dublin City Library and Archive, 'Ancient Freemen of Dublin, 1564 to 1774, 'Fisher, Henry, son of Richard Fisher, easter 1733, by birth.

register at Christmas 1730,<sup>815</sup> while a Benjamin Lee, merchant and son of Henry Lee, a mason and bricklayer, became a freeman at easter 1738. The carpenter and measurer Simon Ribton, who had worked at Trinity College in 1734 and at St Mary's parish during this period, carried out a valuation of the 'Italian marble chimney pieces and tables now standings in the late Dwelling house of Nathaniel Clements, Esq. in Henrietta Street, Dublin' in 1739.<sup>816</sup>

Two surviving decorative schemes in the first floor drawing-room and street-parlour at Nos. 5-6 Henrietta are of this period. In the latter, in particular, the plasterwork is executed in a late Baroque manner (fig. 4.81), not dissimilar to the non-figurative elements of Paolo and Filippo Lafranchini's work in Dublin. The fact that Pietro-Natale Lafranchini, a third brother who remained in London when Paolo and Filippo migrated to Ireland in 1739 (possibly under Richard Castle's auspices), was employed about this time by Thomond's father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset at Northumberland House is most intriguing. It is unclear however, if the interiors schemes at Henrietta may be associated with Lord Thomond, as he never actually lived in the house. At the time of his sudden death in April 1741 Thomond still occupied lodgings in Jervis Street. Yet, a rare folio of household inventories taken just after his demise indicate that Thomond was set to move. The modest accommodation at Jervis Street contained a significant array of exotic and highly fashionable furniture, presumably intended to fit out his new residence, while 'a moving crate without furniture in the common hall' was at the ready.<sup>817</sup> By early 1740 some sort of structure was certainly complete at Henrietta Street as Thomond was rated for parish taxes in that year.<sup>818</sup> Given that lime-plaster took 12 months to dry before it could be painted and rooms made-ready for occupancy, the case for Thomond's involvement grows stronger.<sup>819</sup>

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<sup>815</sup> Clements' other debtors prove harder to identify as known building tradesmen.

RD 1/372/223, 30 July 1708, names a 'John Doyle son of Thomas Doyle, carpenter.'

Alternatively RD 100/94/69719, 7 June 1740 refers to John Doyle, City of Dublin, chair man as a witness to a deed of settlement on marriage of Susanna Cosgrave nee Byrne and William Quin, bricklayer.

Surprisingly few 'Mr Murphys' can be identified as tradesmen. One such is Charles Murphy, a carpenter of Bullock, c. Dublin, named in RD 41/126/24961, 8 Nov. 1720.

Towards the end of the century an Owen McCabe was head mason for the building of the Tower of Lloyd, Kells, County Meath, 1791, perhaps some relation to Clements' 'Mr. McCabe'?

<sup>816</sup> The Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1: Tradesmen's accounts: admeasurements [and valuation] of the [6] Italian marble chimney pieces and tables now standings in the late Dwelling house of Nathaniel Clements Esq., Henrietta Street, Dublin,' by Simon Ribton, 20 September 1739.

TCD Mun/P/2/66/1, bill from Simon Ribton for 'plastering work' done on the Provost's house roof, 1734.'

RCBL P.277/7/2, St. Mary's parish Dublin, account records, No. 4 1734-1774, 'Sundry Parish Accounts from 17<sup>th</sup> 1734 to the 27<sup>th</sup> March 1774' notes payments on 6 May 1735 to 'Simon Ribton for Measuring ye church windows (5s. 5d.) and on 20 Aug 20<sup>th</sup> 1740, 'sashing, glazing and painting' works at the parish church were 'measured by Simon Ribton sworn measurer.'

<sup>817</sup> PHA 11154: Inventories 1741. 'An Inventory & Valuation of some of ye household goods: belonging to the Late Honble Lord Thomond taken Dublin May 15<sup>th</sup> 1741.'

<sup>818</sup> RCBL P276.10.4 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Book. The return for spring/summer 1738/9 (date missing) and the subsequent entry for 27 Nov. 1739 list entries for 'A new House' at Nos. 5-6, though no rate is given as construction seems only to have commenced. By early 1740 (no date, subsequent entry for June 1740 lists the same information) Lord Turnath (Thomond). Entry of June 1741, which still lists Lord Thomond as owner of the property gives a voidance on ministers/watch money, as by this point Thomond had died.

<sup>819</sup> Conor Lucey 'Classicism or Commerce? The Town house interior as commodity,' in *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form, function and finance*, ed. Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) p. 236.

Although there is a lack on consensus in modern scholarship as to the client's agency in the design process, especially in the internal fit-out of such houses, in this case there appears to have been some collaboration.<sup>820</sup> The original agreement between Clements and Thomond stipulated that the 'said Dwelling house' was to be erected 'according to such plan as should be agreed on.' No such plan has been found, yet a small scrap of paper discovered amongst Thomond's documents at Petworth House offers a rare glimpse into the process which informed the design of such town houses. In May 1741 Lord Thomond's valet wrote to his lawyer Robert French from Jervis Street:

Sir, I send the two volumes of Gibbs' Architecture as your note desired—But be pleased to observe that these two Books are claimed by Mr Clements as his, and sent to Lord Thomond.<sup>821</sup>

Here then is evoked the collaboration which undoubtedly took place between developer and patron in the sharing of architectural ideas and in the use of architectural treatises, one of the chief routes by which British architectural influence had direct bearing on the Dublin town house. The similarity between the ornamental repertoire employed in several of Gibbs' 'Designs for Chimney-pieces' contained within this publication and elements of the surviving ceiling decoration at Thomond's house reinforces this proposition (fig. 4.82).

#### **4.2.3. Architectural publications and the transfer of ideas.**

The publication of architectural treatises and compendiums grew increasingly popular in Britain from the early eighteenth century. Leoni's *The Architecture of A. Palladio* and Colen Campbell's volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715, 1717, 1725) led the way, as early exponents of the Palladian 'taste.' They were followed in the 1720s by Leoni's *Della architettura di Leon Battista Alberti* (1726), William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727) and James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728), which promoted the eclectic style and varied output of their authors. Their popularity with the landed classes, evident in the long lists of titled and honourable subscribers, attests to the importance these volumes in the spread of new classicising ideals. A significant number of Irish subscribers are listed in these volumes, not only architectural patrons and aficionados, though these did comprise the majority, but also building developers and

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<sup>820</sup> McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 184 argues for consumer choice and control over the interior fit-out in London's late-seventeenth century terraced houses and notes evidence of buyers 'customising' interiors prior to moving in. James Ayres, *Building the Georgian city*, p. 36 and Sheppard, *Survey of London, XL*, pp. 231-8 both argue for houses being sold as carcasses and decorated by their subsequent occupant. Conor Lucey 'Classicism or Commerce?', pp. 236-8 stresses the builders agency in this process.

<sup>821</sup> PHA 11153 Correspondence of Robert French (Thomond's lawyer) of Dublin, concerning the estate of Henry, Earl of Thomond decd 1741-1745. Lord Thomond was listed among the original subscribers to Gibb's volume in 1728, though must have left this publication, with the majority of his possessions, in London.

practitioners.<sup>822</sup> And yet, the utility of such publications in actual built practice, particularly in urban domestic architecture, has been called into question.<sup>823</sup>

A comprehensive trawl of the major British architectural compendiums from the first half of the eighteenth century attests to the marginalised position of the standard town house in such volumes, at the expense of large-scale urban palaces, country houses and public buildings. Leoni's *The Architecture of A. Palladio*, which brought the Italian architect's sixteenth-century perspective on design domestic architecture to the British audience did deal with the construction of houses in town, illustrating a number of Palladio's designs, and showing his concern for practical matters of site and situation. Yet, these buildings were free standing town palaces, and held little relevance for the terraced house builder. Similarly, the coverage of town house architecture in Campbell's three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was limited to such large-scale seventeenth century examples as Old Burlington House, Montagu House, Powis House, and Lindsey House, which were more analogous to country house design, and to one off set pieces such as General Wade's house, Pembroke House and the new design of Burlington House.

James Gibb's *Book of Architecture* (1728) did not feature any town house designs which is somewhat surprising, considering his substantial urban practice. Both William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727) and Campbell's *The Five Orders of Architecture* (1729) illustrated several interior schemes and architectural details which can be related to their urban domestic practice. For example, Campbell included a scheme for his own house at No. 76 Brook Street, which was executed in a much simplified form,<sup>824</sup> and Kent illustrated several of his own designs for interior furnishings such as vases, candle-sticks, chairs etc as well a number of unidentified chimney-piece designs. Leoni's 'Some designs for buildings both public and private' (1728) included several town house designs.<sup>825</sup> Yet, despite Leoni's pragmatic tone, these designs were once again for one-off, large scale town mansions like Queensbury House, and of little utility to the builder of the standard brick terraced house.

A number of papers projects by second-generation Irish Palladians attest to the influence of such architectural compendiums in domestic design, if not building. The amateur Samuel Chearnley's *Miscellanea Structura Curiosa*, a unique and highly individualistic compendium of

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<sup>822</sup> In addition to the Irish residents in London, listed in Chapter 1, the following subscribers to well known architectural publications in the 1720s have been identified:

Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. III (London, 1725):

Lord Colraine [*sic*]; Lord Castlemaine ( 3 copies); Lord Middleton; Lord Thomond; Lord Bishop of Waterford Mr Richard Castle, Gent. William Monck of Ireland, Esq.

William Kent, *The designs of Inigo Jones* (London, 1727):

Henry Boyle (2 setts [*sic*]); Thomas Carter; Andrew Crotty; Luke Gardiner; Lord Thomond; Lord Bishop of Waterford.

James Gibbs, *A book of architecture* (London, 1728). Lord Thomond; Lord Vis. Tyrconnel.

<sup>823</sup> See Christopher Sykes, *Private palaces: life in the great London houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985), p. 90 on the limited coverage of town house architecture in Campbell, Gibbs, Kent and Leoni's compendiums; Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, pp. 140. 139-151 for a comprehensive review of this topic and the antipathy towards this building type; and McKellar, *The birth of modern London*, pp. 138-154.

<sup>824</sup> See Sheppard *Survey of London XL*, pp. 112-117.

<sup>825</sup> *Ibid.*

designs for garden buildings executed in the provincial town of Birr in the 1740s, includes a number of schemes for domestic projects, four of which are explicitly for town houses.<sup>826</sup> A far-cry from the pragmatism of built examples, and even for that matter the economic tone of Richard Castle's memo, Chearnley treats these modest-scale domestic buildings with the same degree of pretension that previous architectural publications reserved for town palaces and country mansions. Of the four alternative elevations and corresponding plans for a three-bay, three-storey over basement town house only the first (fig. 4.83), the simplest and most restrained design seems buildable and closest to built examples. The second elevation is comparable to Pearce's (unpublished) 'design for a small townhouse' (see fig. 4.48), though the other more elaborated designs appear out of step with contemporary practice, particularly in Ireland, and give little consideration to practicalities or economy. The eclectic range of sources evident, mixing English Palladian examples with late European Baroque, attests to them having been conceived in two dimensions, drawing on a range of British published sources.

A similar reliance on two dimensional representation over empirical investigation is evident in the designs of gentleman architect, John Aheron. Neither of two manuscript versions, nor his published work, *A General Treatise on Architecture* of 1754 include any specific designs or references to domestic town architecture. Yet his desire to emulate such early eighteenth-century architectural publications is readily evident both in the format of his work,<sup>827</sup> and his 'hybrid style,' an amalgamation of Palladian and late Baroque vocabulary.<sup>828</sup> Michael Wills, a craftsman-architect and son of the successful carpenter Isaac Wills, by contrast, shows a much more pragmatic approach in his competition entry for Dublin Society's architectural premium in 1745, which invited designs for 'houses from two and eight rooms on a floor.' Wills' entry included three schemes for town houses. These simple elevations in a reticent Palladian idiom with compact plans that consider the economic practicalities of building are executed in a neat lucid drawing style not dissimilar to that of the Pearce-Castle circle. An elevation and plan for a three-bay four-storey house (fig. 4.84) in particular, bears an even more marked resemblance to Pearce's 'design for a small townhouse,' demonstrating the currency of Palladian models, if not direct knowledge of Pearce's project.<sup>829</sup>

A number of British prescriptive texts, or treatises deal more explicitly with town house design than earlier illustrated volumes. The most comprehensive treatments are found in Robert Morris' *Lectures on Architecture* (1734) and Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (1756),

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<sup>826</sup> See Christine Casey, 'Miscellanea structura curiosa,' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1990-1991), pp. 85-9.

<sup>827</sup> See Christine Casey, "Such a piece of curiosity": John Aheron's 'A general treatise of architecture,' *Georgian Group Journal*, (1995), p. 65, for further discussion of Aheron's unique draughtsmanship.

<sup>828</sup> See Casey, 'Miscellanea structura curiosa,' p. 87 & Casey, 'Such a piece of curiosity,' pp. 67-9, which note that both Aheron and his contemporary Samuel Chearnley learned their craft from such architectural publications. Aheron seems to have drawn on exemplars from Sebastien Le Clerc, Frat de Chambray, William Kent and Colen Campbell.

<sup>829</sup> Not only are Wills' town house design similar to Pearce's but there is a marked correspondence between their plans for small villas as well, in particular in the depiction of a terrace motif that encloses the floor plans of these designs.

yet even in these the town house was usually discussed in negative or critical terms.<sup>830</sup> Some practical advice was given, however, for example Morris' prescriptions on matters of planning stated that :

the Chambers of Lodging rooms, require to be as far from the noise and Tumult of the Street as conveniently can be plac'd , and so near a Stair-case , that if any Accident by Fire (which too frequently) happens, an Easy Access may be had to it...<sup>831</sup>

For this purpose too, back staircases were to be of stone and the walls of stucco, while the kitchen and 'servile offices are best always to be some Distance from the main building.'<sup>832</sup> Ware offered advice on drainage and cesspools in town, but he used the large-scale mansion Chesterfield House to illustrate his point.<sup>833</sup> Similarly, while he included a section on the layout of 'common houses,' this was it was more descriptive than instructive, and seemingly of little practical use to those unfamiliar with the London model.<sup>834</sup> According to Ware:

the common houses in London are all built in one way, and that so familiar that it will need little instruction, nor deserve much illustration. The general custom is to make two rooms and a light closet on a floor, and if there be any little opening behind, to pave it...<sup>835</sup>

However, Ware did encourage students of architecture to make a model of the common house, conceding that :

This is the most trivial and familiar manner of building, but it is the most Universal. There may be many improvements made, and many things discovered in it, and there is no part of the science from which the common builder will draw so much advantage...<sup>836</sup>

Here we arrive at the crux of the matter. The 'common' terraced house was not only a standardised product, of easily repeated forms and empirically learned practice, but moreover it was not the usual province of the 'Architect.' These houses were built mainly by craftsmen, and were considered akin to the vernacular traditional models than 'polite' architecture. Although such compendiums and prescriptive texts played a role in the spread of new stylistic ideals and architectural taste, it was the plethora of builder's manuals and pattern books published during this period which had a practical impact on more standard Dublin town house. Imported publications

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<sup>830</sup> Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture* (London: J. Brindley, 1734-36.); Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (London: J. Rivington, 1756 2d ed. 1767).

<sup>831</sup> Morris, *Lectures*, pp.111-12.'

<sup>832</sup> *Ibid.* Stewart, *The townhouse*...p.150 takes this to indicate that Morris was talking about large town houses or mansions, yet even the some of the most modest scale terraces houses had their offices in out buildings beyond the garden at the rear the property, often reached by way of an underground passage.

<sup>833</sup> Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 279.

<sup>834</sup> Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, pp. 346-7.

<sup>835</sup> Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 345.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*

such as William Halfpenny's *The builder's pocket-companion* which included such technical specifications as the method of constructing timber-frame roofs and floors, brick arches and the correct classical mouldings for interior joinery were of far greater utility in the speculatively built terraces which pre-dominated in the 1750s.<sup>837</sup>

#### 4.3.1. Henrietta Street:1750s speculative building.

'Common houses' and 'common builders.'<sup>838</sup>

In the closing years of the 1740s and well into the next decade, reflecting the improved economic conditions and consumer confidence that followed the Treaty of Aachen in 1748, Dublin experienced a building boom in domestic housing. On the south-side of the city Molesworth Fields were built up in a grid of new residential streets, in close proximity to the newly constructed Kildare House. North of the river Luke Gardiner, no longer a young man but ever the entrepreneur, was also busy laying out new streets on his St Mary's estate, at Great Britain Street, Marlborough Street and Sackville Mall. Though few of the original buildings survive, and the evidence of their design is limited, the houses here appear to have largely conformed to the 'common type' outlined by Ware. They were mainly speculative ventures, built by tradesmen and master-builders such as the Darleys and Ensors, and this mode of development is reflected in the buildings. These were usually more modest in scale than earlier Dublin examples, closer to contemporary British models, and, by and large, they also adopted more pragmatic plans.

The standard two-room plan, which pervaded London's West End developments in the 1740s made a widespread appearance in Dublin during this period. This comprised of a narrow entrance hall, leading to a stair-case compartment at the rear, where a compact dog-leg stair was anchored to the party wall, and lit by a window (often a Venetian window in more elaborate schemes, a motif popularised in Dublin by Richard Castle) on the return (fig. 4.85). These were flanked by two adjoining reception rooms on the principal levels, often with a projecting closet to the rear. Shared chimney-stacks at the party walls and standardised interior elements such as doors, timber paneling and mouldings and stair balustrades (by now more usually painted deal than native oak) lent an air of uniformity or cohesion to these terraced houses. This more economical solution also lessened the financial risk to the building operator.

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<sup>837</sup> William Halfpenny, *The builder's pocket-companion* (London: R. Ware, 1747).

See Christine Casey, 'Books and builders: a bibliographic approach to Irish eighteenth-century architecture' (PhD thesis, TCD, 1991), p. 67. This study of the architectural book trade states that the Dublin book market was 'less interested in classical architectural theory and more concerned to stock books of practical value to builders, craftsmen and architects.' There are numerous newspaper advertisements from this period for such patterns books 'lately imported' by Dublin booksellers, for example, *The Public Gazette*, 23rd Sept. 1759 notes 'lately imported from London: *The Gentleman's or Builders Companion*...sold by W. Sleater at Pope's Head on Cork Hill.'

<sup>838</sup> Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 347.

Entries in a set of account books belonging to Robert Ball, a master-carpenter and timber merchant active around Sackville Street in the 1750s, offer evidence of such off-the-peg solutions. Therein such items as ‘a pair of four panels doors,’ ‘carved chimney mouldings,’ ‘dail [*sic*] wainscoting,’ and ‘base and plinth, small skirting and small architrave,’ are listed.<sup>839</sup> It is also clear from these notebooks that a number of building tradesmen, known to have been working at Sackville Street, joined forces in such ventures in a form of the barter system also practiced in Britain.<sup>840</sup> Here, Isaac Ware professed,

The common Builders of them [common houses] work jointly, one doing his share of business in the others house, according to their several subordinate professions...<sup>841</sup>

Robert Ball supplied large quantities of building materials and labour to a range of craftsmen, presumably in return for work in their respective trades. For though the products and services supplied are listed in some detail, the subsequent charges are regularly omitted from his accounts.<sup>842</sup> Ball seems to have had close links to a number of these craftsmen. For example, Alexander Thompson, a plumber who built two adjoining houses in the south-west side of Sackville Street *c.* 1752<sup>843</sup> and John Magill, lessee of the gravel pit at Sackville Street and developer of Clarendon Market which Ball supplied with large quantities of material.<sup>844</sup> George Stewart, a master-carpenter from Scotland, active around Kildare Street in 1749 who built two houses in Sackville Street *c.* 1752, shared an interest in a large plot of ground in Great Britain Street with Ball, while the latter’s notebook shows further collaboration between these craftsmen at

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<sup>839</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43 account book for 1753-7.

<sup>840</sup> See Summerson, *Georgian London*, p. 77. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, XXXIX, pp. 24-5.

<sup>841</sup> Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 347.

<sup>842</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7 costs are only included for several tradesmen where third party labour and expenditure was involved. For example Mr Alexander Thompson’s account for July 22 1753 listed an array of timber such as ‘To one joist 14ft long inch broad 2 in thick; To one piece of Norway timber 117 long 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  square... yet values are only given for: ‘To cash to Inchd’s men for drinks 0.0.67’ and ‘To cash for the ground lab. for ditto 0.0.67.’

<sup>843</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7 lists numerous entries for the supply of materials to Thompson from 1753, during the period the Sackville Street houses were under-construction. There are also other instances where more direct collaboration is evident. For example, in July 1753 Ball notes a supply of ‘Donollys Bricks for Mr Thomson Donollys Bricks for me.’

In Feb 1755, Ball Supplied Thompson with ‘dail wainscoting in ye house in Mary's abbey’ (no charge was listed). The next entry to Thompson, in April 1755 notes ‘Since Acc made up, To 3 shilling of dail.’ This would indicate that once construction was complete (Thompson finally secured a tenant, Charles Dunbar in May 1755), the barter of materials, presumably in exchange for plumbing work at Ball’s properties, was concluded; the value or account of their respective contribution was toted up and squared.

For Thompson’s lease see RD151/465/102169, 28<sup>th</sup> & 29<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1752, Gardiner to Thompson.

<sup>844</sup> RD 160/235/107178, 22nd & 23rd April 1752, Gardiner to Magill.

NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. ‘John Magil Esq., Aug 1756, ‘For Clarendon Market, 7 boards of cut dail and other timber...etc.’

nearby Marlborough Street in the 1750s.<sup>845</sup> Ball also had links to the carpenter Leonard Buckley who had served his apprenticeship under Robert Ball's father Benjamin, and remained close to the family thereafter,<sup>846</sup> whereas Ball's father-in-law Hugh Darley was one of Dublin's most prolific master-builders. Both Buckley and Darley leased plots on the west-side of Sackville Street in the early years of its development.<sup>847</sup>

This important group of building tradesmen have received scant attention and firm documentary evidence of their work practises is limited. A rare glimpse of the close-knit networks in which they operated, however, is offered in the vestry minutes of St. Mary's Parish. There on the 6th of August 1753 it was...

unanimously agreed that Mr Hugh Darley, Mr. Henry Darley, Mr George Stewart, Mr John Ensor, Mr Gilbert Plumer, Mr Simon Ribton, Mr Michael Dunne, Mr John Chambers, Mr Robert Ball and Mr George Semple be and they are hereby chosen [by] a Committee to consider whether making a seat or seats in the windows of the said church above stairs can be made without doing any damage or darkening the said church...<sup>848</sup>

#### 4.3.2. Speculative building at Henrietta Street.

At Henrietta Street, Luke Gardiner as both landlord and lead developer also engaged in speculative building practice. Three adjoining houses on the south-side of the street at Nos. 13-15 were built in the closing years of the 1740s. While their chronology has hitherto been in some doubt,<sup>849</sup> evidence gleaned from parish cess returns make it clear that Gardiner commenced building about 1747 when he was listed as the potential rate payer on these new houses.<sup>850</sup> By February 1750/1 a structure of

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<sup>845</sup> NAI. BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. 27 July 1753 'To George Stewart and Joshua Parker, Ye part of the hire of the carriage of the planks my part included £1.2.0.'

RD 138/468/93939, 29th and 30th Dec. 1749, Viscount Molesworth to George Stewart.

RD 73/448/11687, 15 April 1755 deed of assignment made upon the marriage of Robert Ball's and Sarah Darley, eldest daughter of Hugh Darley, included an interest in an 81ft plot of ground fronting Great Britain Street, held by Ball and George Stewart.

An entry for Oct 1754, notes Ball supplied 'Mr George Stewart' to 2 lab 3 days both clearing the ground around ye houses in Malb. St. Borrowed from you £3.0.0. Lent you ...£11.47. Stewart owned a number of plots on this street, while Robert Ball also lease ground on Marlborough Street from Luke Gardiner on 2 June 1753. See NLI MS 36,547/3.

<sup>846</sup> RD 155/569/105858, 4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> May 1752, Gardiner to Buckley. Therein Buckley named 'Robert Ball, city of Dublin carpenter & Benjamin Ball same city Iron monger' as lives. Robert Ball was later an executor of his will.

NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7, Mr Leonard Buckley Sept 15 1753 'To 1 piece of Norway no 7 33 ft.' Numerous similar entries are listed, no charges given.

<sup>847</sup> RD 150/383/102:431, 20<sup>th</sup> & 21<sup>st</sup> March 1752, Gardiner to Darley.

As well as supplying material to his father-in-law Hugh, Ball supplied to Hugh's brother, Henry Darley, also a master builder, in 1753 and 1754.

<sup>848</sup> RCBL. P.277/5/2, fol. 242, St Mary's Vestry Book 17 March 1739- 24 March 1761.

<sup>849</sup> See Eoin O' Mahony, 'Some Henrietta Street residents 1730-1849,' *Quarterly bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* vol. II, No. 2 (April-June 1959), pp. 16-17; Casey, *Dublin*, p. 199.

<sup>850</sup> RCBL St Michan's Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.8 lists three new entries for 1747 (no exact date given) for 'Luke Gardiner Esq.,' relating to the plots at Nos. 13-15. No rate is given. The same information appears in the return of Feb 1747/8.

some sort was complete on these sites, as they were rated for parish taxes (Nos. 13-14 were given a ‘voidance’ as the houses were unoccupied).<sup>851</sup> In April 1748 Gardiner had signed articles of agreement with Robert King pertaining to No. 15, which recited ‘that the said Luke Gardiner was building or finishing a dwelling house with stables coach house...’ By this time £853 14s. 3d. had already been expended in building, a very considerable sum to outlay.<sup>852</sup> King did not take up residence until 1750, when he was rated for parish taxes.<sup>853</sup> The adjoining house at No. 14 was occupied from March 1752, when Lt. Gen. Richard, 3rd Viscount Molesworth was listed as the rate payer.<sup>854</sup> Nicholas Hume-Loftus, 2nd Viscount Loftus was rated at No. 13 later that year.<sup>855</sup> Surprisingly, Loftus did not sign a lease on this property until July 1755, when he bought the house outright for £2621 18s. 9d.<sup>856</sup> Considering he had purchased the ground some thirty years previously, and started construction more than 5 years earlier Gardiner was clearly shouldering a sizeable financial burden and risk in this protracted speculative development, but can these economic concerns be traced in the buildings?

Surviving evidence for Sackville Street indicates a contrast between those houses purchased by owner-occupiers directly from the lead developer, which tended to be of bespoke design (though little variance is evident in the facade) and usually of a grander scale than speculative enterprises.<sup>857</sup> At Henrietta Street there is little difference externally between the speculative houses and Clements’ range opposite where a mixture of development models was employed. All show a plain economy associated with speculative development in their facade design and are of a similarly large-scale (fig. 4.86). All three of Gardiner’s speculatively built houses originally measured 49ft in front, with four broad bays of interlocking brickwork, rising

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<sup>851</sup> RCBL St Michan’s Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.9. The return of 26 Feb. 1750/1 lists ‘Blank 60 voidance’ for No. 13 & 14, indicating these houses were unoccupied, but built in carcase at least as they were rated, seemingly in accordance to their size. ‘Lord Kingsborough 60’ is listed at the rate payer at No. 15.

<sup>852</sup> RD 136/297/91449, 14 April 1748, articles of agreement between Luke Gardiner and Robert King.

<sup>853</sup> RCBL St Michan’s Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.9, 26 Feb. 1750/1 lists ‘Lord Kingsborough 60’ as the rate payer at No. 15.

<sup>854</sup> RCBL St Michan’s Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.10, 4th March 1752 lists Lord Molesworth as the rate payer for the first time. No lease between Gardiner and Molesworth has been discovered for this property, and the only previously published record pertaining to Molesworth’s residency was a reference to this property on Loftus’ lease of 1755.

<sup>855</sup> RCBL St Michan’s Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.10, 1752 (no exact date) lists ‘Loftus Hume 60’ as rate payer for No. 13.

<sup>856</sup> RD 178/721/17846, 9 & 10 July 1755, deeds of lease and release between Luke Gardiner and Nicholas Loftus.

<sup>857</sup> Oliver Grace’s and Joseph Tudor’s slightly alternative perspective view of Sackville Street and Mall, seemingly taken in the 1750s, offer the firmest evidence of the original street elevations. These show a similar austere treatment to all the facades, though there may have been a degree of artistic license involved as the layout of the plots does not conform to the evidence of leases, and Rocque’s map, of the same period. For example, there is a gap in the line of building on the right, which if taken from the North end of the street, facing towards the river, it is too far north to be Magill’s gravel pit, the only notable gap in building on the West side of the mall in this period. A southern view point is similarly problematic, as the all the house in this row were built simultaneous with the rest of the south-east block in the early years of the 1750s. Nor for that matter is the corner house large enough to be Dawson’s broad mansion.

four storeys over basement. They adopted a similar broad-plan type to earlier bespoke models, with grandiose double height stair-halls to the front, and finely elaborated interiors.<sup>858</sup>

Yet, there is degree of standardisation evident in the austere brick fronts, the plain wrought iron railings which survive at Nos. 13 and 14 and the pedimented Doric door-case at No.13 (similar to others door-cases in this street) which is more in keeping with speculative practice. Internally too, reconstructed plans indicate that these three houses shared chimney-stacks (fig. 4.87). And while much of the original interior schemes are lost, remnants of near identical wall panelling can be found in upper stair halls at Nos. 13 and 14 (fig. 4.88),<sup>859</sup> suggesting the same craftsmen were employed in both, following a standard model, or purchasing mouldings off-the peg. At Nos. 13 and 15 further evidence of the economic rationalism of their builders can be seen in the use of long spanning joist floors, in contrast to the more expensive British framed floor.<sup>860</sup>

The identity of the building operators involved in these houses, architects, master-builders or craftsmen has not been discovered. Yet, surely the group of well known and well connected tradesmen, then active in St. Mary's parish and on Gardiner's contemporary developments around Sackville Street are the most likely contenders. Robert Ball's notebooks indicate his employment by Gardiner during this period. In August 1753 Ball supplied Gardiner with '2 setts of carved chimney moldings'<sup>861</sup> and in October of that year with timber planks and 11 days 'work of a carpenter.'<sup>862</sup> In 1754 Ball worked on Gardiner's new chapel at Castleknock, while in 1755 he seems to have been involved in the construction of the Mall.<sup>863</sup>

Gardiner's practice of engaging tradesmen connected to official circles is evident from his employment of Alderman Casper White at No.12 Henrietta Street in 1730. The Darley family certainly enjoyed official patronage during the period. Hugh Darley was chosen by a committee from St. Mary's Parish 'to employ workmen to rebuild the watch house on Essex bridge now in a ruinous condition' in September 1740.<sup>864</sup> He worked at the old Four Courts in 1749 as a stonecutter

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<sup>858</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, p. 200. No. 15 is now half its original size, the two easterly bays having been demolished in 1950. RD 136/297/91449, agreement between Gardiner and King offers evidence of its original dimensions.

<sup>859</sup> Casey, *Dublin*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>860</sup> See Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history,' p. 89, wherein it is noted that the 'conclusion we must draw from the independence shown by Irish carpentry construction, is that artisans were largely influenced by the structural methods described in imported technical manuals' but adapted their 'Design to suit rational principles and local conditions.'

<sup>861</sup> NAI. BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. Entry for Aug. 11th 1753, 'Mr Luke Gardiner.'

<sup>862</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. Entry for Oct. 29th-Nov. 3rd 1753, 'Mr Luke Gardiner.' 'To 163 feet of sawing in Timber; To the carriage of ditto £0.0.10 To 47 or 4 f (full) days work of a carpenter,' 'To a stone of pitch and a quart of farr £0.2.0,' 'To 7 days work of 2 carpenters £0.14.0.'

<sup>863</sup> NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. Entry for Jan. 25th 1754, 'The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner.' 'Paid for ye cutting of 2 Cullumns [sic] £0.6.6,' 'Paid for the carriage of ye timber for ye back to my yard £0.1.1,' 'To sawing in timber in ditto 158 feet,' 'To the carriage of the altarpiece and floor of ditto to Castleknock £0.6.6,' 'To the altarpiece with carved capitals [illeg. hole in page]...' 'To 4 large columns and a entablature over ditto and all the front [?] In the back[?] Wainscot.' 'To 35 feet joist and flooring ye ye communion table and repairing the roof.' It is interesting that the only values here are for carriage, so perhaps a barter, in terms of rents, was at play here also?

<sup>864</sup> RCBL P.277.7.2, fol. 242, St Mary's Vestry Book 17 March 1739- 24 March 1761.

(alongside the bricklayer Simon Hammond and the carpenter John Chambers),<sup>865</sup> and supervised the rebuilding of the West Front at Trinity College from 1752. As well as Hugh Darley's building plots on Sackville Mall, his nephew Henry Darley was heavily involved in speculative building on the Gardiner estate later in the century.<sup>866</sup> Gilbert Plummer, another tradesman appointed by the St. Mary parish committee worked at Trinity College as a walling contractor under Richard Castle in 1740s and Hugh Darley in the 1750s.<sup>867</sup> John Magill, a carpenter-turned-surveyor, is believed to have worked under Pearce at the Parliament House, and as a measurer for Castle at Trinity in 1735.<sup>868</sup> George Stewart had worked at Dublin Castle and the Parliament House in the 1740s and 1750s under Arthur Dobbs. Stewart, Leonard Buckley and John Magill were all involved with the Board of Works in the 1750s.<sup>869</sup>

On a more local level Robert Ball and Alexander Thompson served as church wardens in St. Mary's parish from at least August 1751, a role which certainly benefited these tradesmen who received several parish commissions thereafter.<sup>870</sup> What is more, Thompson leased ground on the east-side of Bolton Street from Luke Gardiner in 1738,<sup>871</sup> as did the carpenter and timber merchant John Chambers, another member of the St. Mary's parish building knot, in 1743.<sup>872</sup> As well as working on the old Four Courts with Darley and Hammond in 1749, John Chambers was employed in repairing the Dublin Barracks in 1759.<sup>873</sup> He may also have been the Chambers of 'Chambers and Ball,' one of the contractors who submitted proposals for rebuilding St. Werburgh's in 1754.<sup>874</sup>

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<sup>865</sup> NA/PRO (Kew) SO 1.20 f.77 have reference to him working as a bricklayer on the Four Courts in 1749 (IAA, Edward McParland files, Acc. 2008/44).

<sup>866</sup> Numerous memorials relating to Darley's development here are preserved in the Registry of Deeds and are detailed in HCAR abstracts of eighteenth-century memorials of Dublin town houses leases. These attest to the extensive nature of their building activity, if not the detail of their building practices.

<sup>867</sup> See Gibney, 'Studies in 18<sup>th</sup> century building history,' p. 85; TCD Mun/P/2/81-6, 90, 91, 94, 97, 99, 104, 117, 118, 121-3, 130. A 'John Plummer' bricklayer was also employed by Castle at the Printing House in 1734, see TCD Mun/P/2/68/28, 32, 35, 37. John Plummer, bricklayer was admitted as a freeman of Dublin, by Act of Parliament, 1718. Gilbert Plummer was admitted by service at Christmas, 1727 (Dublin City Library and Archive, 'Ancient Freemen of Dublin, 1564 to 1774).

<sup>868</sup> See Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Building empires: architecture, politics and the Board of Works 1760-1860,' *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 5 (2002), pp. 108-175; TCD Mun/P/2/68/44, John Magill bill for measuring glazing work on at the Printing House was submitted 17 May 1735.

<sup>869</sup> O'Dwyer, 'Building empires,' pp. 108-175. Magill served as Commissioner and Overseer of Barracks from 1759.

<sup>870</sup> RCBL P.277/2/2, St. Mary's parish Dublin, account records, No. 4 1734-1774, 'Sundry Parish Accounts form 17<sup>th</sup> 1734 to the 27<sup>th</sup> March 1774,' fol. 190, 31 Aug. 1751 'Agreed that the church wardens...Mr Alexander Thompson, Mr John Furnace...and Mr Robert Ball be and they are hereby chosen by committee to enquire into the number of lamps sufficient for the said parish...' 28 May 1753 'And it is hereby agreed that Mr Robert Ball do make one seat under one of the windows in ye church agreeable to his bill of Scanting and Plan.' Thompson was previous employed in the parish, 20 May 1742, 'Paid Alex. Thompson £1.4.3 ½.' He was chosen as a 'sidesman' on the 21 April 1747.

<sup>871</sup> NLI MS 36,516/2, Gardiner papers. Lease for three lives by Luke Gardiner to Alexander Thompson, plumber, for ground at Drumcondra Lane, 9 June 1738. 20ft in front to Bolton Street, adjoining other property leased to Thompson.

<sup>872</sup> NLI MS 36,516/3, Gardiner papers. Lease for three lives by Luke Gardiner to John Chambers, carpenter, for ground at Drumcondra Lane, 13 Jan 1743. 30ft in front to Bolton Street, opposite Alexander Thompson's ground.

<sup>873</sup> See entry for 'John Chambers,' in Ann-Martha Rowan, *Dictionary of Irish architects*.

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid.*

Certainly Benjamin Ball, ironmonger and brother to Robert Ball was connected to Chambers. They acted as joint trustees to the will of Leonard Buckley in the 1770s, in the matter of Buckley's property at Gardiner's Mall amongst others.<sup>875</sup> John Chambers and Michael Dunne, carpenter, both served as representatives of the Guild of Carpenters on the Common Council of Dublin in the 1750s.<sup>876</sup>

John Ensor, another prominent master-builder appointed by the St Mary's committee, who had served as Richard Castle's assistant for two decades, was also involved in a number of houses on Gardiner's north-side developments around this time. The Ensor family, originally from Coventry in the British midlands came to Dublin about 1729, when Job Ensor, John's father was employed at the Parliament House. It is likely that John Ensor received his training as a carpenter here, and where he first came into contact with Richard Castle. He was certainly associated with Castle from 1734 when he worked at the Printing House at Trinity College and served as Castle's clerk and measurer throughout the next decade.<sup>877</sup>

In the late 1740s, when Castle was preoccupied with large-scale projects such as Leinster House and Carton, Ensor appears to have executed a number of Castle's smaller commissions in his stead. For example, both Castle and Ensor made designs for Doneraile House, at No. 45 Kildare Street, c.1748, though Ensor was paid for 'Directing & Drawing Different Designs for finishing the New House in Kildare Street' for the Hon. Hayes St Ledger (1748-53).<sup>878</sup> Simon Ribton, who had worked for both Clements and Castle in the 1730s was employed here by Ensor, as was David Sheehan and John Kelly.<sup>879</sup> At Sackville Street Ensor supervised the building of a pair of houses on the east side for Robert Handcock, c.1753 (Nos. 23-24), whose design is attributed to Castle on the strength of his having re-built the family seat at Waterstown, County Meath for Gustavus Handcock in 1749.<sup>880</sup> Ensor lived at the corner of Sackville Street and Britain Street, probably from about

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<sup>875</sup> RD 298/388/197808, 1 May 1773, indented deed of release; RD 300/367/200219, 26 March 1774, indented deed of release.

<sup>876</sup> See entries for 'John Chambers' and 'Michael Dunne,' in Rowan's *Dictionary of Irish Architects*. NAI BRS/Dublin 43, account book for 1753-7. Entry for Oct. 29th-Nov. 3rd 1753, Balls' entry for Aug. 1753 lists 'Mr Michal Dun timber,' no charge.

<sup>877</sup> See TCD Mun/P/2/68/4. Ensor's bill notes that £38 of the £65 due has been paid. The balance due £27, was received by Ensor on the 24 June 1736.

<sup>878</sup> See entry for 'John Ensor,' in Rowan's *Dictionary of Irish Architects*. Two ground-floor plans of the house as executed, probably by JE, in IAA, Guinness collection, Acc. 96/068.4/4-5; signed receipt dated 25 Jun 1753 among unsorted Doneraile MSS in NLI. In 1746 Susanna Este, wife of the Bishop of Waterford, wrote to Nathaniel Clements regarding Richard Castle's dilatoriness in completing the Bishops Palace in Waterford City, and noted Mr Ensor's involvement in Castle's project. See TCD Ms 1741-3, Clements Letters. John and his brother George Ensor were also involved in building developments in South Ann Street and Coote Lane/Kildare Place in the late 1740s and 1750s.

<sup>879</sup> TCD Mun/P/2/66/1, 1734 payments to Simon Ribton for work on the Provost's House. The Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1: Tradesmen's accounts for Henrietta Street. For Doneraile House see, Leo Batt, 'Doneraile House,' *Dublin Historical Record* vol. XVIII, no. 4 (Sep., 1963), p. 127.

<sup>880</sup> NLI MS 36, 013, Killadoon papers. A deed or ledger of account in this archive notes '...Disbursements made by Mr. [Robert] Handcock [of Westmeath] to the artificers of his [two] houses [on the East side of] ...Sackville Street,' comes to £3800, inclusive of interest, the work having been supervised by 'Mr. [John?] Ensor.'

1755, when he married Elizabeth Sican.<sup>881</sup> He was involved in the planning of Gardiner's nearby scheme for Rutland Square in 1755, where he subsequently built a number of houses.<sup>882</sup> He also executed Castle's design's for the Lying in Hospital in Great Britain Street (1751-7) following Castle's death in 1750, and it is very likely that we owe much of the town house building associated with Castle in these years to John Ensor.<sup>883</sup>

Many of these houses contain a number of elements, innovations to the 'common house' design, which are credited to Richard Castle. One of these is the closet projection to the rear elevation, which first made its appearance in Dublin houses associated with this architect at No. 85 St. Stephen's Green, at Doneraile House, and at No. 24 Sackville Street Upper.<sup>884</sup> Canted or bowed ends to these projections, which were first utilised in Castle's small country house designs of the 1740s, appear in Dublin's town houses in the early 1750s. Rocque's map shows a significant number of bowed ends to the Sackville Street houses (fig. 4.89), and while these can not all be associated with Castle, or even Ensor, they do serve to demonstrate the influence which the Castle's circle had on Dublin's 1750s town house architecture.<sup>885</sup>

At No. 3 Henrietta Street (fig. 4.90), the final house built on the street *c.* 1755, a number of these tendencies are evident.<sup>886</sup> This extremely broad four-bay, four-storey over basement house was built for Col. Owen Wynne, a Sligo land owner and MP, on ground held by his father-in-law John Maxwell, Lord Farnham. Maxwell, the resident of neighbouring No. 4, had purchase the lease of that house and the adjoining plot of waste ground (95ft in total) from Nathaniel Clements in 1747.<sup>887</sup> This site was left vacant until *c.* 1755, when following Wynne's marriage to his daughter

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<sup>881</sup> An Advertisement in the *Dublin Journal*, Oct 23-27<sup>th</sup> 1759 notes:

'To let or the interest sold, of a new house in Cavendish Street in which the Late Marcella KingEsq. It is completely furnished, with Chimney pieces, hangings, locks grates etc. Enquire of Mr Ensor at [his] new house at corner of Sackville Street and Britain Street.'

RD 177/321/118400, 19&20 Sept. 1755, deed of lease and release made in consideration of the intended marriage of John Ensor and Elizabeth Sican.

<sup>882</sup> RD 183/153/122328; RD 193/235/127640; RD 193/235/127640.

<sup>883</sup> See Glin, 'Richard Castle, architect...' *passim*, who attributes Castle with the design of a number of houses on Sackville Street including Nos. 9-10, 13, 16, 18, & 42.

<sup>884</sup> Casey, *Dublin*. p. 37. See ft.120, Nos. 4&7 Henrietta Street may also have been early examples of this feature.

<sup>885</sup> On the west side of the street bows are evident on No. 59, a large house built for Thomas Dawson, whose father Alderman Richard Dawson built the grand mansion opposite at Nos. 9-10, a house often associated with the Castle School; at No. 42, which is similarly associated with Castle; but also at the larger of the two houses adjoining No. 57 built by the carpenter George Stewart. Nos. 19 & 20 (supposedly the earliest house on the street) on the east side of the street are an early bowed pair, built for Cromwell Price and the Rev. Edward Bayly, Dean of Ardfelt respectively *c.* 1750. Castle is believed to have been involved with the adjoining house at No. 18, for Henry Bellingham, and another pair further down the street at Nos. 23-24 for Robert Handcock.

<sup>886</sup> RCBL St Michan's Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.12, return for 27<sup>th</sup> March 1759 lists 'Col Wynne' as the rate payer at No.3. The applotment books for 1755-1758 do not survive. Rocque's map of 1756 shows a bowed ground plan for No. 3, as well as a fully laid out garden. Some artistic license may have been taken here as the last surviving cess return (P276.10.11) 28th Jan 1755 does not indicate that building had commenced here.

<sup>887</sup> RD 132/208/89001, 14&15 Oct. 1747, between Clements and John Maxwell for ground (95ft) and a dwelling house (No. 4).

RCBL St Michan's Parish Dublin: Cess Applotment Books 1-12 1711-1762, P276.10.8, listed John Maxwell as the rate payer at No. 4 from 28 March 1748, though evidently had occupied the house sometime after the previous return in 1747.

Anne, Maxwell assigned the ground to his son-in-law. Wynne, a professional soldier and a man of some wealth and influence in his own right, was in fact the grand-nephew of one of Richard Castle's earliest patrons, General Owen Wynne, and eventually inherited Hazlewood in County Sligo.<sup>888</sup>

There is a finesse to the internal treatment at No.3, still evident despite its state of disrepair, which speaks of an architect, or at least a trained master-builder's guiding-hand in its design. The bowed first-floor room at the rear in particular (fig. 4.91), in terms of the quality of execution and the cohesion between the architectural and decorative treatment, is similar to other houses associated with Richard Castle and John Ensor. One such house, of considerable internal pretension was No. 42 Sackville Street, the lone survivor of Gardiner's development. The design of this three-bay town house, built *c.* 1752 for Dr Robert Robinson, state physician and professor of anatomy at Trinity College Dublin, is attributed to Richard Castle. And while his authorship is not certain the quality of this brick-terraced house, the stark grandeur of the well proportioned facade, the controlled movement through a sequence of spaces in the unusual two room plan, culminating in the splendid beauty of the bowed staircase elevation, complete with elaborate plasterwork and finely craft joinery throughout (fig. 4.92), can be seen as the culmination of earlier lessons in Dublin's domestic design.

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What conclusions can be drawn from this examination? Firstly, the new forms of Dublin's domestic architecture established at Henrietta Street in the late 1720s owed an obvious debt to imported models, specifically fashionable examples around London's West End. The adoption of these British principles and practices are most apparent in the early 1730s houses associated with Pearce and Castle. Specific sources which appear to have influenced these architects, in both their executed works and paper projects, have been identified, and in some cases the means of dissemination suggested. The congruence between the designs of Giacomo Leoni and Colen Campbell and those of Pearce and Castle has emerged, while an oddity in the design at Nos. 11 & 12 Henrietta Street finds parallels in a London model. The crucial importance of paper sources, both architectural books and drawings as conduits in the spread of architectural influence comes to the fore, most notably with regard to No. 9 Henrietta Street. At the same time alterations to the original models, however subtle, are evident in many cases, and these serve to draw out the particular concerns and consideration which beset their designers.

The same can be said of the later houses on this street, the red-brick terraces of the 1740s and 1750s, for while they still show a reliance on British practice, there are distinguishing characteristics to these Dublin houses, an economy of treatment that cannot merely be due to the exigencies of their development process. This is most apparent in the elaboration of the street elevation, which in terms of scale (and indeed internal embellishment) resembles the grandest

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<sup>888</sup> NAI T 12754, last will and testament of Owen Wynne (II) father of Col. Owen Wynne, 1755.

examples in London's West End, yet the treatment of their plain brick exteriors has greater affinity with the standard terrace facades, built on the outskirts of London. The craftsmen who built the majority of Dublin's mid-century town houses showed a similar concern for economic rationalism in their adaptations of established British practice. Several of the interconnected group of tradesmen who were involved at Henrietta Street have been identified, notably the timber merchant Caspar White, and other likely candidates, specifically the prominent building knot which was active on the Gardiner Estate during this period, have been suggested. At the same time the intricate nature of Dublin's building industry, the close knit networks in which these building tradesmen, but also the architects and developers operated has become clear, while the design and building of these town houses can be seen as a collaborative process, involving not only architects, building-developers and craftsmen but also the residents of these houses. The integral importance of several of these individuals, Henry Boyle, Lord Thomond, William Graham and most especially Sir Gustavus Hume to Dublin's domestic architectural development has come to light. It is to this group that we turn our attention.

## Chapter 5.

### **The early eighteenth-century town house: spaces for living, arenas for life.**

Formalism notwithstanding, houses are principally interesting because people live in them.<sup>889</sup>

Urban domestic buildings are far more than bricks and mortar, more than the judicious disposition of rooms or a finely finished facade: they are spaces for living in and the settings for life. This chapter looks behind the red-brick facade of the early eighteenth-century town house, seeking a window into the lives carried on within. A varied range of sources, from both Britain and Ireland, will be employed in an attempt to gain a clearer understanding of how these spaces functioned, not simply in terms of physical layout and daily use, but also the less tangible symbolic or conceptual role they played in the lives of their occupants. At the same time it will consider town houses and their contents within contemporary material culture, and the use of household possessions in the art of self-fashioning. As the nucleus of the ‘world of fashion,’ London and the cultivated taste of the *beau monde* were the arbiter to which Dublin’s upper classes looked in emulation, and consequently forms the backdrop to this account, while the people who lived in, visited and commented on these buildings are fundamental to this study. This chapter will not only focus on the user but will attempt to recover the user’s perspective. What did the elite occupant look for in a town residence? What manner of furnishings and fixtures did they chose in fitting out their houses? What factors governed these choices, and what do these possessions tell us about emulation and spread of taste in Anglo-Irish society? And moreover, to what extent were the early residents of Dublin’s Henrietta Street typical of contemporary metropolitan elites?

While the residents of Henrietta Street form the backbone of this chapter, the paucity of surviving evidence necessitates the use of comparative material. Key sources for Henrietta Street, such as an inventory of Luke Gardiner’s possessions taken after his death and several receipted bills pertaining to Nathaniel Clements’ houses are set alongside a range of directly related Irish material, as well as other more tangential British examples, in an effort to situate the Henrietta Street houses within the broader contemporary context. At the same time, a rich and varied array of material relating to the lives lived within these houses is brought to the fore, highlighting the role of such domestic spaces as the arenas in which influential networks came together, where social scheming merged with political manoeuvring, and the great events of life played out.

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<sup>889</sup> Peter Guillery, *The small house in eighteenth-century London, a social and architectural history* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), p. 10.

## 5.1. Spaces for living: form, function and layout in the early eighteenth-century town house.

‘Buildings in Town require *Contrivance*, more for Convenience than Grandeur.’<sup>890</sup>

Recovering a clear picture of how the early eighteenth-century Dublin town house functioned, the layout of rooms and how these spaces were used is a challenging task. Extant evidence, both documentary and structural is limited. Commentary on the everyday use is rare, and often only found in a throw away remark, or extracted from a household inventory. The scant surviving evidence, moreover, is often ambiguous and requires cautious interpretation. The physical fabric of the houses can offer clues as to how they were used. For example, the relative degree of decorative embellishments employed in different rooms or levels, carved timber mouldings, plasterwork or wainscotting denote the hierarchical function of space within the house, with greater elaboration given to the most important areas. Plasterwork schemes and carved chimney pieces may also suggest a specific room function. A bacchanalian theme, for instance, could indicate a dining room, such as found in the rear parlour at No. 6 Henrietta Street (fig. 5.1). Yet, such thematic correlation does not always apply. The presence of musical instruments in a stucco scheme, for example, did not necessarily signify a music room; such devices were regularly found in the stair halls of Dublin’s mid-century houses (fig. 5.2). At Henrietta Street few complete interiors remain intact and only fragments of the original schemes survive in the majority of cases. The abstract nature of the best preserved Palladian schemes, the fine interiors at Nos. 9 & 10 Henrietta Street, offer few clues as to function (fig. 5.3).

Architectural plans and drawings are useful in establishing room layouts, though few annotated plans of terraced town houses from this early period survive. John Ensor’s ground plan of Doneraile House in Kildare Street provides a rare and illustrative example (fig. 5.4). Paintings and engravings showing domestic interiors offer a glimpse of life within these spaces (fig. 5.5). However, as Hannah Greig’s analysis has shown, these images are largely fictitious, idealised spaces or an amalgamation of different aspects of an actual house brought ‘together within a single imagined interior,’ rather than a true snapshot from life.<sup>891</sup> Similarly, although descriptions of domestic interiors in eighteenth-century novels are a useful source in fleshing out our understanding of how such spaces were conceived of and used by their contemporaries (fig. 5.6), these fictional constructs may in fact have served a more symbolic role within an overall narrative, rather than being true representations of real interiors or scenes from daily life.

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<sup>890</sup> Robert Morris, *Lectures on architecture*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>891</sup> Hannah Greig, ‘The eighteenth-century English interior in image and text’ in *Imagined Interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, eds. Jeremy Aynsley, and Charlotte Grant, with Harriet McKay (London: V&A Publications, 2006), p. 112.

Inventories and other probate material are a valuable source in reconstructing an idea of the physical use of domestic spaces, the lists of possessions providing evidence of the various activities carried out in these houses. But again, care must be taken in interpreting this material. Analysis of both British and Irish sources has shown that such inventories rarely provide a complete picture of how these spaces were used, and can be misleading in specifying a single function to a room, when multiplicity was more common.<sup>892</sup> Add to this the small number of surviving examples for Irish houses of this period, and the limited cross-section makes qualitative interpretations and generalising statements difficult.

Anecdotal sources are extremely useful in recovering the user's perspective, and offering a glimpse of daily life in these houses. But even here caution is required. There is a notable bias toward the female point of view as women tended to write more about domestic concerns in their letters and diaries than male writers. And yet, the combined extrapolations from this diverse range of material permits analysis of how these spaces were ordered and used by their occupants, providing a window into life in the early eighteenth-century town house.

### **5.1.1. 'The nomenclature of the room.'**<sup>893</sup>

In general, the internal layout of the terraced Dublin town house in the first half of the eighteenth century followed British prototypes. These spaces conformed to established hierarchical conventions, whereby the ground-floor and first-floor rooms were given over to public use, and therefore received the greatest degree of elaboration in both decoration and furnishings. The first-floor rooms were the most impressive, with the grandest room or series of rooms at the head of the stairs, while front or street rooms were better than those at the rear.<sup>894</sup> The relative scale and proportions of the different levels were determined by these same conventions, as is clearly evident in Pearce's 'section of a house with four levels (fig. 5.7).' The first-floor, or *piano nobile* was the tallest, becoming progressively smaller in scale as one ascended or descended. The squattest rooms were in the basement and garrets, and usually given over for services and servants use. The overt social function of these town houses is similarly evident in their layout. According to Girouard the 1720s saw the rise of the 'social house,' when the 'enfilade was replaced by an elegant circuit of rooms arranged around a central staircase. These were all communal rooms for entertaining, and they ran into one another.'<sup>895</sup>

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<sup>892</sup> Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure, lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 84.

<sup>893</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London: vol. xxxix* p. 112.

<sup>894</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed doors: at home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2009), p. 34.

<sup>895</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English country house; a social and architectural history* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 145; John Styles and Amanda Vickery eds., *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830*. (New Haven and London: The Yale Centre for British Art, 2006), p. 10.

### 5.1.2. The ground-floor, parlour storey.

The standard terraced town house was entered on the ground-floor, through a wide doorway usually raised above the street level by a series of steps. This led directly into the main entrance hall, which as the initial reception or waiting area was often an impressive space, finely decorated with timber wainscoting or as the century progressed, plaster embellishments. Polished stone floors, in contrasting materials, such as the chequered black and white limestones at Nos. 9 and 11 Henrietta Street were popular (fig. 5.8). Inventories show that halls were relatively sparsely furnished, often with little other than a number of good quality chairs for callers awaiting summons to the reception rooms within. In 1733 Nathaniel Clements paid one John Ellis the sizeable sum of £3 9s. for ‘6 hall chairs with his crest,’ for his house at No. 8 Henrietta Street.<sup>896</sup> Lord Thomond’s London townhouse at Dover Street also contained ‘6 wooden chairs’ in the hall, as well as a rug and ‘a clock upon the stairs.’<sup>897</sup> Several inventories also included fire-arms in the entrance hall. For instance, the ‘Great Hall’ at No. 10 Henrietta Street contained ‘17 Musquet Bayonets,’<sup>898</sup> denoting the necessity of security at the threshold, while the presence of fold away ‘press beds’ indicates that servants slept in the entrance hall, in order to fulfil this function at night. Lord Thomond’s London house had a ‘press bed, feather bed, bolster & pillow, [and] 3 blankets’ in the hall,<sup>899</sup> while the house bought by Blaney Townley Balfour in Granby Row, Dublin in the 1760s contained an ‘Oak table bed in ye hall.’<sup>900</sup>

The entrance hall often incorporated the principal stair-hall which served the first-floor of the house. These lofty spaces were designed to create an impression on arriving guests, allowing a stately progression through the entrance hall and up to the reception rooms above. They had grand staircases of exotic timber or stone with wrought iron balustrades, elaborately decorated with carved panelling and stucco ornament to the ceiling and walls, and softly illuminated by costly wall lights or ‘lanthorns.’ The ‘Great Stairs’ at the Duke of Chandos’ mansion house at St James’ Square had a ‘glass lantern, iron chain and balance weight,’ and ‘a side lantern against the wall in [a] walnut tree frame,’ which were valued at the vast sum of £35 in 1725.<sup>901</sup> In the 1760s Blaney

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<sup>896</sup> The Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon), R/1: Tradesmen’s accounts, 12 Dec. 1733, contains a receipted bill from John Ellis for furniture and wood ordered by Clements from 11 March 1732/2 onwards, including ‘6 hall chairs with his crest,’ £3.9s.

<sup>897</sup> PHA 7359, Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond’s house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex, 1725-1727. Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 5. McCarthy, ‘From parlours to pantries,’ p. 114, notes the frequency with which wooden chairs appear in the entrance halls of Irish houses.

<sup>898</sup> NLI MS 36,617, Gardiner Papers, deed of indenture 1773, including ‘list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,’ taken in 1772. The deed of indenture includes a list of the late Luke Gardiner possessions which remained at No. 10 Henrietta Street in 1772, not a full inventory of the house at that time.

<sup>899</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 5.

<sup>900</sup> NLI MS 9349, Townley Hall Papers, domestic accounts, furniture inventory, lists of farm wages and utensils of Blaney Townley Balfour of Townley Hall, Drogheda 1776-7. Inventory of ‘Granby Row 1769 ‘the house & some furniture bought from Doctor Bessat [?] for £3,000.’

<sup>901</sup> Susan Jenkins, ‘“An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos’s seat att Cannons taken June the 19th 1725’ by John Gilbert,” *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, Vol. 67, (2005), pp. 93-192.

Townley Balfour's Granby Row house contained 'Staircase & hall Lanthorns' worth £8 2s. 4d.<sup>902</sup> No. 9 Henrietta Street, the most intact original interior in the street, has an exceptional example of such a grandiose double-height entrance-cum-stairhall (fig. 5.9), while the fragments of the stairhall decoration at No. 7 Henrietta Street demonstrates the element of 'show' in these spaces (fig. 5.10).

In the standard (first class) terraced house the ground-floor street parlour was entered directly off the entrance hall, and was the first room into which waiting visitors were ushered.<sup>903</sup> During the seventeenth and very early eighteenth century the 'Great parlour' had served as the principal reception room, as a combined sitting, eating and recreation space.<sup>904</sup> By the 1720s the adoption of Palladian conventions in planning, which dictated that the principal rooms should be on the first-floor or *piano nobile*, led to a diminished role for the ground-floor parlour in the functional hierarchy of the house. Although the street parlour was still given over to public use, these rooms tended to be of more intimate proportions than the first-floor rooms, and served a more informal function.<sup>905</sup> As early as 1705, during a dispute with her husband Lady Sarah Cowper noted she would rather 'Sit by a Cole Fire in the Parlour' to receive her afternoon callers than be forced to undergo the indignity of calling out for (an expensive wood) billet fire to be kindled in her newly decorated drawing room 'when the Ladies were there.'<sup>906</sup>

The parlour's social role, although diminished, did not vanish.<sup>907</sup> The street-parlour at the Balfours' modestly scaled town house at Stephen's Green served as their principal entertainment space. In addition to the '8 walnut chairs with tapestry seats,' it contained 'a mahogany card table,' and 'a tea table,' denoting its use for these fashionable social activities.<sup>908</sup> Tea drinking, or taking other hot beverages such as coffee and chocolate grew increasingly popular amongst elite society in the eighteenth century, and has been linked to a concurrent rise in sociability, particularly amongst women.<sup>909</sup> In towns afternoon visits became popular, when, as Lady Cowper makes clear, female callers would gather around the tea table in fashionably fitted out parlours or drawing rooms (fig. 5.11). In 1725, shortly after Archbishop Boulter and his wealthy wife, Elizabeth Savage, had

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<sup>902</sup> NLI MS 9349, Townley Hall Papers, Inventory of Granby Row, 1769.

<sup>903</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p.100, 104.

<sup>904</sup> Karen Lipsedge, *Domestic space in eighteenth-century British novels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 53-54.

<sup>905</sup> See Patricia McCarthy, 'From parlours to pantries,' in *The Dublin town house*, pp. 115-116 for similar findings.

<sup>906</sup> Anne Kugler, *Errant Plagiary: the life and writing of Lady Sarah Cowper 1644-1720* (London: Stanford University Press, 2002) p. 133.

<sup>907</sup> Lipsedge, *Domestic space*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>908</sup> NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers, account book relating to the affairs of the Balfour family of Castle Balfour, County Fermanagh, including: 'An inventory of Mrs Balfour's goods in her house at Stephens Green' taken 1741-3.

<sup>909</sup> For tea drinking and increased sociability in Britain see Jon Stobart and Alastair Owens, eds., *Urban fortunes: property and inheritance in the town 1700-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 44; Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 14, 273.

arrived in Dublin from London, the Primate's agent paid 18s. 'for a pound of Imperial tea for my Lady,'<sup>910</sup> while in 1748 Col. Owen Wynne paid the exorbitant sum of £20 1s. 3d. to 'Mr Geo. Ormsby for tea bought by him.'<sup>911</sup> Inventories include a vast array of paraphernalia related to this social activity, from tea tables, tea kettle stands and lamps, fine old china cups to silver coffee pots and chocolate jugs.<sup>912</sup>

The two-bay street parlour at Lord Thomond's Dover Street house contained a similar profusion of seating as found at the Balfours', as well as a number of tables and sideboards, indicating both the social function and how densely packed these relatively modest sized spaces were. Here, in 1725 there were:

8 walnut tree chairs with Russia bottoms, a stool for a castern, a paper screen in a walnut tree frame, a repeating clock, 2 wainscot tables, 2 marble tables, a carpit, [and] a matt for the sideboard.<sup>913</sup>

Similarly, the inventory of the late Luke Gardiner's possessions contained within the street parlour at No. 10 Henrietta Street, although presumably an incomplete list of the original furnishings, conforms to this picture of intense use. It contained:

1 marble table top, a large pier glass in a white frame [perhaps one of the two pier glasses which Gardiner had urged Clements to procure for him in London in 1744?<sup>914</sup>], a mahogany dining table, a chimney glass, a round mahogany pillar table, a needle work screen, 1 landscape of Powerscourt Waterfall, 2 pictures [of] King William & Queen Mary, 2 Sea-pieces over the doors, 1 large history piece, 2 flower pieces & 1 conversation piece in gilt frames, [and] 1 Bertuat by candle light.<sup>915</sup>

The original and almost completely intact rear parlours at Nos. 9 and 10 Henrietta Street are wonderfully illustrative examples of the decorative grandeur of these spaces. Like their counterparts to the front these rear ground-floor rooms were of relatively modest scale and intimate proportions. Yet their walls were finely articulated by moulded and painted panelling, their compartmentalised ceilings enriched with fashionable Palladian ornament (fig. 5.12), complete with a full classical entablature, which in turn offset the exquisitely carved joinery to the doors and windows, and the fine chimney pieces in exotic timbers or marbles (fig. 5.13). Amongst the items

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<sup>910</sup> TCD MS 6399, Richard Morgan's accounts, agent for Arch Bishop Hugh Boulter.

<sup>911</sup> NLI MS 5780, Rent and expense books of Owen Wynne's estate, 1737-61.

<sup>912</sup> For examples see PHA 7359; NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers; NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, which all include a separate lists of plate, amongst which tea and coffee related paraphernalia are found.

<sup>913</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of 'the House at London' 1724/5, p. 5.

<sup>914</sup> TCD MS 1741/15, Gardiner to Clements, in London, 19th March 1744/5.

<sup>915</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,' taken in 1772. 'Bertuat by candle light' may refer to the French painter Théophile Bigot, the Candlelight Master. Several works attributed to this artist were once in the collection of Justice James Murnaghan. I am indebted to Dr Philip McEvansoneya for this opinion.

in the incomplete list of Luke Gardiner's possessions found in the rear breakfast parlour at No. 10 Henrietta Street were:

1 Marble table top, a chimney glass, a pair of double brass branches, 2 crimson paragon window curtains, 1 large fruit piece in a gilt frame, 1 Dutch Massacre in Ditto, 3 landscapes over the doors and 3 family pieces.<sup>916</sup>

In the gilt parlour, also to the rear of the four-room ground-floor plan at No. 10 Henrietta Street a similar level of opulence is evident. Here there was:

1 large pier glass in a white carved frame, a marble table on irons brackets, 2 Kilkenny marble sideboards on iron brackets, a mahogany dining table, 1 landscape in a gilt frame over the chimney, [and] two pictures over the doors.<sup>917</sup>

The Balfours' more modest house at Stephen's Green, which had but two rooms on each of its three principal floors, with a closet projection to the rear, showed a similar concern for grandeur and profusion of goods. In addition to such expensive fixtures as 'a sconce & pair of scrolls [£6 5s.]' and 'a chimney glass [£4 7s. 6d.],' the two-bay rear parlour contained:

a mahogany dining table, 2 small ditto, 1 wooden sestern [*sic*] and 1 side board table mahogany, 1 landscape over the chimney, Ten little pieces of painting glas'd and fram'd, 2 prs. of scarlet window curtain, 21 small maps, and 12 leather bottomed chairs.<sup>918</sup>

However, comparison of the overall value of goods contained within the street parlour, with those of the rear parlour of the Balfours' town house indicates that a far greater expense was taken in fitting out the front room compared with that of the rear, with their contents valued by a 'Mr Coleman' at £63 and £37 2s. 8d. respectively. This reflects the greater importance given to the street parlour in the functional hierarchy of the house, as the initial space where visitors were received.<sup>919</sup> In 1733/4 Dean Swift recounted that an unknown caller was 'admitted into the street-parlour' of a friend's house in town, whereby the Dean left his 'company in the back room, and went to him.'<sup>920</sup> Letitia Pilkington was likewise 'shown into a little street-parlour' in the Deanery, where Dean Swift's housekeeper was waiting to receive her.<sup>921</sup>

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<sup>916</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>917</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>918</sup> NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers, 'An inventory of Mrs Balfour's goods in her house at Stephens Green' taken 1741-3.

<sup>919</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p.100, p.104.

<sup>920</sup> Jonathan Swift, *The works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin: accurately revised, in twelve volumes...* notes by Alexander Pope and John Hawkesworth (London: C. Bathurst, 1766), p. 216, Swift to the Duke of Dorset, Jan. 1733/1734.

<sup>921</sup> Jonathan Swift, *The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin in thirteen volumes...* notes by Alexander Pope and John Hawkesworth (London: John Donaldson, 1774), p. 1vi, accounts of Dr. Swift.

The presence of dining tables and side boards in the Balfours' rear parlour, and in the Gardiners' street and rear parlours clearly indicates that these spaces were also used for dining. These would have served for informal occasions, perhaps intended for daytime use, as the name given to the Gardiners' 'breakfast parlour' in 1772 suggests,<sup>922</sup> with more formal dining taking place on the first-floor. In 1744 Mrs. Delany referred to her 'eating parlour' on the ground-floor of her suburban house at Delville, which was a substantial sized apartment, as well as a 'small parlour' to the rear where 'we breakfast and sup.'<sup>923</sup> Prior to the 1740s, however, a designated dining space was rarely fixed.<sup>924</sup>

During the first half of the century function was generally more fluid, even *ad hoc* in urban dwellings, with rooms serving a variety of uses, often at once.<sup>925</sup> Barnard notes that during the 1730s a bed stood in the parlour of Bishop Francis Hutchinson's Dublin lodgings.<sup>926</sup> At Lord Thomond's Dover Street house the gallery on the ground-floor level served at once as a public space in which to entertain guests, and at the same time as a private setting for Lord and Lady Thomond to enjoy. Here, alongside the 'red damask couch with 3 pillows to it,' the '3 ombre [card] tables' and a 'round walnut tree card table,' was :

2 little Jappan'd stands...2 walnuttree elbow chairs with chequered bottoms, a little Russia bottom'd chair, [and] a little horse to hang Perriwigs upon...<sup>927</sup>

The ground-floor level of the terraced town house often incorporated a closet projection to the rear. These were small intimate spaces, in both form and function. 'Mr Balfors closet' at Stephen's Green was clearly his private domain. The inventory taken following his passing describes a 'Cubbard and Shelves,' presumably to house his collection of books and folios; a 'small escritoire,' for his personal papers and correspondence, as well as such costly items as a 'Gold headed Kane [£2 11s. 6d.],' '2 small silver headed swords [£4 6s.] and 1 mourning sword [£3].' A 'Brass lock to ye Door' denotes the private nature of this space, and the necessity to secure the valuables kept within. This inventory also implies that there was a smaller 'dark' closet off this room, for which there was '1 small iron lock to ye closet' and 'a basin & stand in ditto.'<sup>928</sup> Similarly, Luke Gardiner's closet at No. 10 Henrietta Street contained such everyday personal items as a 'large

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<sup>922</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner.' It is not clear if the names given to the various rooms listed in this inventory taken in 1772 were those by which they were originally known. The specification of 'breakfast-parlour' and 'ballroom' tended to be more common later in the century.

<sup>923</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 309, Mrs. Delany, Dublin, to Mrs Dewes, Bradley, 12 July 1744.

<sup>924</sup> See Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 65 for dining in parlours.

<sup>925</sup> See Guillery, *The small house in eighteenth-century London*, p. 66.

<sup>926</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 84. See Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 293-4 on beds in public rooms, and *ad hoc* use.

<sup>927</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of 'the House at London' 1724/5, p. 6.

<sup>928</sup> NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers, 'An inventory of Mrs Balfour's goods in her house at Stephens Green' taken 1741-3.

walnut bureau,' an 'old tea kettle stand,' an 'old corner table and a 'two leaf needle work screen.'<sup>929</sup> Yet, according to Barnard, 'the boundary between public and private space' in these houses 'was rarely demarcated in reality.'<sup>930</sup> This fluidity is evident from the list of goods contained within the inner closet to His Grace, the Duke of Chandos' ground-floor dressing room at St James' Square. This seemingly private space was splendidly fitting out with a 'large red Japan'd Buroe [£25],' 'a red Japan'd card table with door and drawers, the top lined with green velvet [£6],' and 'a black Japan'd tea table... [£1 5s.].' Alongside these fashionable accoutrements, with which to entertain the Duke's most intimate acquaintance the closet, or dark closet, also contained such personal paraphernalia as:

a cold and hoot [*sic*] bath, a large bathing tub and steps, a great square copper over the same for hoot water over that cistern with pipes to left in water both to the copper and bathing tubb [*sic*].<sup>931</sup>

A notable disjuncture between form and function is evident in aspects of the planning of these terraced houses. For example, in 1737 Mr Charles Ford describes a typical complaint which arose from the addition of a closet projection to the rear of such narrow structures. Writing to Dean Swift of his diminutive two-storey house in Little Cleveland Court, St. James' Ford remarked how...

The ground-floor is of small use to me; for the fore-parlour is flung into the entry, and makes a magnificent *London* hall. The back one, by their ridiculous custom of tacking a closet almost of the same bigness to it, is so dark, that I can hardly see to read there in the middle of the day. Up one pair of stairs I have a very good dining-room, which on the second floor is divided in two, and makes room for my whole family, a man and a maid, both at board-wages...<sup>932</sup>

### 5.1.3. The first-floor, *piano nobile*.

Moving 'up one pair of stairs' to the first-floor of the standard terraced town house one would typically have found a series or circuit of interconnecting reception rooms, fitted out with the greatest degree of splendour and expense of any area of the house. More modest sized town houses would generally have had a drawing room to the front and as the century progressed a dining room to the rear. Larger buildings, such as Luke Gardiner's house at No. 10 Henrietta Street had a greater

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<sup>929</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,' taken in 1772.

<sup>930</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p.100. See also Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, pp. 147-150.

<sup>931</sup> Jenkins, "'An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's seat,' pp. 93-192. Richard Castle also made provision for a bath in the Earl of Kildare's dressing room at Kildare (later Leinster) House in Dublin (1745).

<sup>932</sup> Swift, *Letters written by the Late Jonathan Swift*, p. 200, letter from CII. Charles Ford Esq. to Dr. Swift, 22 November 1737.

number and variety of reception rooms. Here for instance, the original four-bay house had a 'Ballroom,' two drawings rooms, with adjoining an antechamber and closet to the *piano nobile*.<sup>933</sup>

The function of the 'Ballroom' seems self evident, yet this name may have been a later designation. Although dancing would typically have taken place in the grand saloon, it served as the setting for a multitude of social activities. Charles Philips, *Tea Party at Lord Harrington's House, St James's* (fig. 5.5) although considerably staged, shows three distinct groups, gathered round small tables, engaged in alternative activities. The ladies are taking tea to the left of the picture, the two other mixed groups are playing at cards, while onlookers pursue the art of conversation, or perhaps even flirtation. This would have been typical of social gatherings in the early decades of the century. In 1723 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu remarked that:

assemblies rage in this part of the world; there is not a street in town free from them, and some spirited ladies go to seven in a night.<sup>934</sup>

These were relatively intimate affairs involving only eight or nine couples, compared to the 'routs' which became popular from the mid-century where hundreds or even thousands gathered.<sup>935</sup> They took place in the evening, and involved a number of different concurrent activities.<sup>936</sup> Supper or refreshments of some sort would have been served, and from the 1730s may have incorporated a ball or dancing. Mary Pendarves attended many such assemblies during her visit to Dublin in 1731/2, including one at Mrs Butler's, which she described in detail. Here the eight couples played at 'cards of all sorts...' and 'when that was over...

At ten o'clock was placed on little tables before the company as they sat, a Japan board with plates of all sorts of cold meat neatly cut, and sweet meats wet and dry, with chocolate, sago, jelly and salvers of all sorts of wine. While we were eating fiddles were sent for (a sudden thought)...<sup>937</sup>

In 1725 the principal entertainment space, the three bay 'Salone' at the Duke of Chandos' St James' Square mansion contained:

Twelve Elbow Chairs varnish black naistr backs, stuffit seats covered with figured Velvet & Crimson Shalloon seat to them, Two large Indian chests on frames, Two marble tables on guilt frames [and] a mathematical table with a globe under it.<sup>938</sup>

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<sup>933</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,' taken in 1772.

<sup>934</sup> Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharnccliffe (London: Richard Bentley, 1837), p. 183, Letter from Lady Mary Pierrepont Wortley Montagu to Frances Pierrepont, 1723.

<sup>935</sup> Christopher Sykes, *Private palaces: life in the great London houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985), p. 96

<sup>936</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>937</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 346, Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Ann Granville, 30 Mar. 1732.

<sup>938</sup> Jenkins, "'An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's seat,' pp. 93-192.

Similarly, in the ‘ballroom’ at No. 10 Henrietta Street there were ‘2 marble table tops with brass boarders,’ and ‘2 mahogany card tables’. In addition, this room appears to have housed Luke Gardiner’s valuable art collection with:

2 pictures of the Cartoons, gilt frames [£50], 2 whole lengths of George the 1st & the Duke of Bolton [Gardiner’s patron], gilt frames [£17], 1 ditto Lord Stafford and his secretary [£7], [and] two glass plates in the late Mr Gardiner’s frames [£17].<sup>939</sup>

The drawing room was generally the principal room on the first-floor of the standard terraced house. They were often named according to their decorative schemes in inventories, and offer little clues as to their specific uses. No. 10 Henrietta Street had both a ‘Yellow Drawing Room’ and a ‘Blue Drawing Room.’<sup>940</sup> At Lord Thomond’s Dover Street house the drawing room was referred to as ‘the Bleu Damask room,’ due to its ‘suite of Bleu Damask Hangings’ and ‘Bleu damask window curtains & valance.’<sup>941</sup> Although originally known as the ‘withdrawing room,’ being a smaller room off a dining space to which the ladies withdrew after eating, by the eighteenth century this seems to have become a more generic term. Like the saloon, drawing rooms would have served a variety of social functions, and were treated with an increasing level of grandeur and importance as the century progressed. As with the saloon and the parlours below, they contained a profusion of seating, cabinets to display collectables, writing desks, games and card tables. Amongst the contents of Lord Thomond’s ‘Bleu Damask’ room were:

A large India chest with a leather cover, a walnuttree Caddrill table with leather cover, [and] 12 walnuttree chairs with bleu damask seats all with Bleu Callimanco covers.

In addition to the ‘Two large pieces of history Tapestry hangin’s... [£240]’ the Duke of Chandos’ two-bay drawing room contained such valuable items as the ‘Twelve Japan’d back stools, stuffit & cover’d with red linen & needlework cases to ‘em [£96],’ ‘Two small cabinets on frames [£34],’ and ‘A Japan’d Umbro [*sic*] Table [£4].’<sup>942</sup> Although Lady Sarah Cowper proposed entertaining afternoon callers in her new ‘Drawing Room,’ which was ‘hung with Damask and furnish’d well enough,’<sup>943</sup> the drawing room tended to fulfil a more formal function, as spaces to retire to after dining and for evening assemblies.

At Doneraile house in Kildare Street the drawing room was the principal room on the *piano nobile* and was fitted out with an abundance of marble and mahogany, including a carved

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<sup>939</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, ‘list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,’ taken in 1772. This house had been extensively remodelled by the time this inventory was taken in 1772, and the goods listed, although they did belong to the late Luke Gardiner, may not necessarily have originally occupied these spaces.

<sup>940</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, ‘list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,’ lists but a few of Luke Gardiner’s original possessions, with only a carved pier glass and an Italian marble table and one or two pairing in gilt frames remaining in both rooms.

<sup>941</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 10.

<sup>942</sup> Jenkins, ‘“An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos’s seat,’ pp. 93-192.

<sup>943</sup> Greig, ‘The eighteenth-century English interior in image and text,’ p. 121.

‘Egyptian’ marble sideboard by David Sheehan.<sup>944</sup> The fashionable ‘pillar and arch’ wall paper, carved mahogany chairs, painted fire screens and the richly woven carpet depicted in Philip Hussey’s *An interior with a family* (fig. 5.14) give an impression of the grandeur of such fashionable Dublin interiors in the 1760s.<sup>945</sup> However, like the earlier image by Philips, this scene has a staged character, and the interior is a great deal sparser than those typically suggested by inventory evidence. William Hogarth’s *Marriage à-la-mode: the marriage settlement* of c.1743 (fig. 5.15), while satirical in subject, seems to offer a closer impression of the densely packed opulence of these interiors.

The formal dining room or ‘eating room’ was usually located on the first-floor, often connected to the drawing room. Prior to the 1740s dedicated dining rooms, designated solely for this purpose are rarely found, and as late as 1755 Mrs Delany demonstrated the lingering novelty of this new room designation, referring to her “‘dining room,’ vulgarly so called.”<sup>946</sup> In 1734 William Kent had designed one of the earliest, and most elaborate examples of such dining spaces at Devonshire House in London. More standard terraced houses followed suit,<sup>947</sup> and this fashion for fixed dining rooms seems to have promptly spread to Dublin. In 1736 Mary Jones remarked upon ‘Mrs Nisbits [Nesbit’s]’ new dining room at her Dublin house, which though ‘verry fine,’

was never furnished till letley [*sic*], I believe most of it was given by my sister, for as soon as she cam [*sic*] into it Mrs Nisbit went up and kissed my sister and thanked her...’<sup>948</sup>

Richard Castle’s memorandum accompanying his design for an unidentified five-bay town house, made prior to 1733, contains an early reference to a ‘dinning room,’ which he placed over the hall on the *piano nobile*.<sup>949</sup> This would become the conventional position, one which Isaac Ware took as default more than two decades later.<sup>950</sup> The valuation of the Balfours’ house at Stephen’s Green, taken in the early 1740s also, included a dining room on the first-floor. This room was second only to the street-parlour below in terms of expenditure, with its contents valued at the considerable sum of £40 16s. 5d.

While the embellishment of the dining room reflects the growing importance of this formal entertainment space in the functional hierarchy of the house, its position shows the remarkable lack of consideration given to everyday use when planning such town houses. The great distance

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<sup>944</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p.104.

<sup>945</sup> David Skinner, ‘Irish period wallpapers,’ *Irish arts review yearbook*, vol. 13 (1997), p. 56.

<sup>946</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 385, Mrs. Delany to Mrs. Dewes, 16 Dec. 1755.

<sup>947</sup> Lipsedge, *Domestic space*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>948</sup> NLI MS 41,577/1 Smythe of Barbavilla papers. Mary Jones, Dublin, to her sister Jane Bonnel, London, April 15th 1736.

<sup>949</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.7-1992, ‘Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed... notes ‘the two round pillars & the two opposite pilasters, which are to support the partition between the said stair case & the dinning room above.’

<sup>950</sup> Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 346.

servants were required to convey hot food from the kitchen in the basement two floors below meant it was often cold upon serving, necessitating the use of trivets, plate and food warmers (fig. 5.16). Similarly, servants were often forced to carry dirty dishes through the circuit of interconnecting reception rooms, passed the assembled company, and down the steep and narrow service stairs to the scullery below. It was not until later in the century, when room function became more specialised, that spaces specifically dedicated for dining moved to the ground-floor.<sup>951</sup>

As well as these overtly social spaces several inventories list the presence of bedchambers, antechambers and dressing rooms on the first-floor. This somewhat *retardataire* form of planning may have been a legacy of the seventeenth-century practice of locating a state bedchamber on the principal storey, with the series of progressively smaller, and more private apartments leading off it. Contrary to modern practice these grand formal chambers served a semi-public function, and were used to receive visitors, or hold morning levees. The Duke of Newcastle, who served as Secretary of State during the reign of George II was renowned for his levees at Newcastle House in Lincoln-Inn-Fields, where he would keep vast crowds waiting in the outer room or antechamber all morning, while he entertained his favourites in the inner sanctum of his closet.<sup>952</sup> Richard Castle included a bedchamber, dressing room and closet on the first-floor of his plan for a five-bay town house.<sup>953</sup> In the 1740s the Balfours' bedchamber at St. Stephen's Green was still located on the first-floor, perhaps reflecting this mature couple's outdated mode of ordering their house (they also gave pre-eminence to the front parlour, as was tradition), or may simply have been due to the exigencies of their modest size dwelling, as it was not fitted out with a great deal of expense.<sup>954</sup>

In addition to the 'Bleu Damask' drawing room the first-floor of Lord Thomond's town house at Dover Street included 'My Lords bed Chamber,' 'My Ladys little Dressing Room,' which included a 'dark closet,' and 'My Ladys Great Dressing Room' and 'Closet.' Although fitted out with a grandeur befitting a public space 'My Lords bedchamber' appears also to have functioned as a private sleeping room for Lord and Lady Thomond. Here, alongside a suite of 'Tapistry Hangings, a large chest with a leather cover, 6 walnut chairs with chequered bottoms, a chimney glass, [and] a pair of gilt Branches,' was a 'Crimson Velvet bed' complete with a 'feather bed, and bolster, 4 pillows, 4 blankets, a callicoe [*sic*] quilt, 2 mattress quilts, and '2 little carpets for the bedsides.'<sup>955</sup>

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<sup>951</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London: vol. xxxix* p. 112, for discussion of the more specialised functions later in the eighteenth century; NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers, 'An inventory of Mrs Balfour's goods in her house at Stephens Green' taken 1741-3.

<sup>952</sup> Sykes, *Private palaces*, p. 95.

<sup>953</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.7-1992, 'Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...'

<sup>954</sup> NLI MS 9534, Townley Hall Papers, account book relating to the affairs of the Balfour family of Castle Balfour, County Fermanagh, Valuation of the Goods in Stephens Green house as appraised by Mr Coleman: 'Bead Chamber one pr. stairs, £20 18s. 11d.'

<sup>955</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of 'the House at London' 1724/5, p. 7.

‘My Ladys Little Dressing Room’ (and dark closet) appears to have served as a private space, where Lady Thomond conducted her *toilette*. It was hung with ‘a suite of yellow Callimaco hangings’ and a ‘yellow Callimanco window curtains,’ this was a simple and inexpensive wool like fabric reserved for everyday use, often by the middling sort, while these rooms included such personal items as ‘a glass case, with a china jar and china bottles upon it’ and a ‘twilight table.’<sup>956</sup> In contrast ‘My Ladies Greater Dressing room’ was hung with ‘suite of Attless [satin, atlas weave] Hangings,’ and contained ‘a walnut seeteean attless seat & a bleu silk cover to it, 2 walnut-tree stools with blue silk covers, 8 walnut-tree chairs [and] a large writing table with drawers.’<sup>957</sup> Although the paradoxical nature of the engraving prohibits too direct a reading, Hogarth’s *Marriage à-la-mode: The Toilette* (fig. 5.17), gives an idea of the rich elaboration and public nature of such ladies dressing rooms in this period.<sup>958</sup> Similarly the ‘Anty Chamber,’ next to the ‘Bleu Drawing room’ at No. 10 Henrietta Street offers another example of the blurred line between public and private space in these houses. As well as ‘2 large landscapes in gilt frames’ which were valued at the significant sum of £22 15s. 10d. and a gilt framed painting of a ‘Dutch Market at £7’ this room contained a ‘Mahogany dressing table,’ worth only 15s.<sup>959</sup>

#### 5.1.4. The second-floor, chamber storey.

The second-floor of the standard terraced town house was given over to bedchambers, and their attendant closets spaces. Richard Castle placed what must have been four substantial sized ‘bedchambers, two light closets and two dark ones’ on the ‘two pair of stairs floor.’<sup>960</sup> These were generally for the family’s use, though the term family is meant in the broader sense of the word.<sup>961</sup> There were often designated bedrooms for poorer or unmarried relations, and occasional the higher rank of servant, as well those for the man and wife of the house and their children on these floors.

At Lord Thomond’s London town house, and in his country house at Shortgrove there was a bed chamber for a ‘Mrs Hancock,’ which in both cases was fitted out with some grandeur.<sup>962</sup> The second-floor at the Duke of Chandos’ St James’ Square house included rooms for ‘Coll. Watkins’ and ‘Doctor Baxter’ and for a ‘Mrs Bladen,’ which included a separate room for her servant.<sup>963</sup> The chamber storey at No. 10 Henrietta Street contained the ‘Late Mr Gardiner’s Bed chamber,’ ‘His

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<sup>956</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 8.

<sup>957</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 9.

<sup>958</sup> McCarthy, ‘From parlours to pantries,’ p.117 finds such duality in Doneraile House, Kildare Street.

<sup>959</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, deed of Indenture 1773, including ‘list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner.’

<sup>960</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.7-1992, ‘Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...’

<sup>961</sup> Stobart and Owens, *Urban fortunes*, p. 109 on the concept of the household family in the eighteenth century.

<sup>962</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of ‘the House at London’ 1724/5, p. 13.

<sup>963</sup> Jenkins, ‘“An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos’s seat,” pp. 93-192.

Dressing room,' 'Mrs Gardiner's Dressing room,' 'Mrs Gardiner's Bed chamber,' 'Miss Norman's Room,' 'Mrs Barnets Room' and the 'Nursery.'<sup>964</sup> Mr and Mrs Gardiner's rooms contained an array of fashionable and relatively expensive walnut and mahogany furniture. For instance, there were '6 mahogany chairs and 2 elbow ones' in the 'Late Mr Gardiner's Dressing room,' a 'small mahogany desk and bookcase [with] looking glass doors' in Mrs. Gardiner's bed chamber, and a 'mahogany clothes chest' in the passage. Miss Norman's room had a 'mahogany four post bed with chintz curtains' worth £6, which though clearly a fine example, highlights the relative expense of beds at this time. Beds were regularly among the most costly of items on household inventories, and like plate could be considered as heirlooms of sorts.<sup>965</sup> Writing to his newly married son in 1774 concerning the house at No. 15 Henrietta Street, which he seems to have vacated for the newly weds, the Earl of Kingston offered the use of his furniture, but noted that 'Your mothers Bed and chairs...are sent to Kingston & the bed and desk that are in Mr Tickles room.'<sup>966</sup> Miss Norman's room at No. 10 Henrietta also included such expensive items as a 'chimney glass in a gilt frame [£2 5s. 6d.]' and a 'walnut chest of drawers [£2 10s.],' suggesting the higher status of the occupant within the Gardiner household. By contrast 'Mrs Barnet's Room' contained somewhat cheaper mahogany furniture, a 'deal press [8s.],' an 'old settee [10s.]' and a 'night chair [£1].' This, combined with the fact that her room was located next to the 'Nursery' suggests Mrs Barnet was a nurse-maid or governess.<sup>967</sup>

During the 'season' town houses were intensely used, and the chamber storey would regularly have housed short-term or over-night guests. Testament to this, on the night of May 6th, 1763, when a tragic fire broke out at Lady Molesworth's modest-sized town house at Upper Brook Street in Mayfair there were at least fifteen people sleeping in the house. These were Mary Jenny Molesworth, her five daughters Mellosina, Mary, Harriet, Louisa and Elizabeth, her brother Captain Usher, her brother-in-law Coote Molesworth and his wife, together with at least six servants, including the children's governess and Captain Usher's man.<sup>968</sup> The young Lord Richard Molesworth was saved by being sent back to school overnight to make room for his visiting uncle Coote Molesworth and his wife; two of the younger daughters were sleeping in the garrets while

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<sup>964</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,' taken in 1772.

<sup>965</sup> Jenkins, "'An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's seat,' pp. 93-192; NLI MS 9349, Townley Hall Papers, domestic accounts, furniture inventory, lists of farm wages and utensils of Blaney Townley Balfour of Townley Hall, Drogheda 1776-7. Inventory of 'Granby Row 1769 'the house & some furniture bought from Doctor Bessat [?] for £3,000.'

<sup>966</sup> PRONI D4168/A/5/36. Letter from Robert, Viscount Kingsborough 27 May 1774, Lyons, proposing alterations to their house in Henrietta Street, responding to a letter from his father, Edward Earl of Kingston, Dublin 17 April 1774.

<sup>967</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, deed of Indenture 1773, including 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner.' Again the room designations here may relate to a later period than they had under Luke Gardiner's occupancy.

<sup>968</sup> Malcomson, *Clements archive*, xvii. Account by Coote Molesworth in his family bible, now in the possession of Athelstan Riley, Seigneur de la Trinite, Jersey.

the eldest was lodging with her mother on this occasion.<sup>969</sup> The regularity with which folding beds or those concealed within other items of furniture occur in household inventories is a further testament to the generality of such intense, if periodic use, and to the *ad hoc* nature of sleeping arrangements in these town houses.<sup>970</sup>

The chamber storey and the floors above were accessed using the secondary or back stairs. Robert Morris recommended bedchambers be placed at the rear of the house, away from the ‘noise and tumult of the street’ but more importantly within easy access of the back stairs. These, he advised, should be made of stone with plaster or stucco to the walls, to act as a fire retardant and allow a safe exit to the street in the event of such a catastrophe.<sup>971</sup> Stressing the ‘vertical way of living in the urban house’ the staircase became a primary feature of interior space,<sup>972</sup> and although the secondary stairs served a more utilitarian function to the grand staircase they were still used by the family and their overnight-guests, and as such parts of them at least would have shown a degree of elaboration or decoration. The ‘Back Stairs’ at the Duke of Chandos’ townhouse contained expensive ‘Indian Pictures, [and a] Glass Lanthorn, line and weight,’ valued at £20,<sup>973</sup> and there was an ‘eight day clock’ worth £6 in the ‘Back Hall’ at No. 10 Henrietta Street. Servants used these stairs and passages to access all areas of the house, once again exemplifying the lack of boundaries between public and private space. Although there were numerous cases of domestic servants being convicted for theft, for instance the fire at Lady Molesworth’s house was in fact arson, started by a servant to cover up his theft of the family plate,<sup>974</sup> servants had relatively easy access to valuables, and the small number of locks included in household inventories indicates that security (and privacy) was not a great concern within the walls of the house.

### 5.1.5. Servants quarters and service areas.

Inventories and architectural treatises suggest that servants’ quarters were generally located in the squatter attic rooms or garrets, and alongside the service areas in the basement. Richard Castle’s memorandum stated that the lower ceiling heights in the garret would suffice as they were ‘supposed to be only for servants,’<sup>975</sup> while the 9ft 10in high garret at the Duke of Chandos’ house had rooms for the ‘Maid’ the ‘Pages’ the ‘foot men’ and the ‘cook.’ Here too, there were several rooms for named servants, presumably of higher status; ‘Mr Martins room’ for instance had

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<sup>969</sup> *The Annual Register; Or, A View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1763* (J. Dodsley, 1764), p. 75.

<sup>970</sup> Dorothy George, *London life in the eighteenth century* (London: Harper & Row, 1925), p. 25; Guillery, *The small house in eighteenth-century London*, p. 30.

<sup>971</sup> Robert Morris, *Lectures on architecture* (London: J. Brindley, 1734), pp. 111-112.

<sup>972</sup> Schlarman, ‘The Social Geography of Grosvenor Square,’ p. 21.

<sup>973</sup> Jenkins, ‘An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos’s seat,’ pp. 93-192.

<sup>974</sup> Frank McKynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 85.

<sup>975</sup> V&A Elton Hall collection E.2124.7-1992, ‘Remarks upon the Plans here inclosed...

a closet to it, as well as a lumber room and servants' gallery, a work space which contained 'A powdering Trough, two wigg blocks and stand to brush cloths.' The basement of this substantial sized town house included rooms for the 'Gentleman of the horse,' 'the officers,' and a servants' hall. Grooms and coachmen had rooms above the stables to the rear.<sup>976</sup> At No. 10 Henrietta Street, and at Blaney Townley Balfour's house in Granby Row the house-keeper's room was found off the passage next to the kitchen, and there was a 'servants room over stables.' In reality, however, room function appears more flexible. Servants slept all over the house, often on makeshift trundle beds or fold away press beds.<sup>977</sup> As they had no children Lord and Lady Thomand's servants occupied the 2nd floor, garrets and basement rooms.<sup>978</sup> They also slept in the entrance hall, and perhaps other passages at the rear. The housekeeper's room at No. 10 Henrietta Street, befitting her rank among the servants, contained such relatively expensive bedding as a 'deal press bed [£1], a 'feather bed, bolster and 1 pillow [£4] and '3 blankets 1 cotton quilt [£1, 1s.]. Among the other marks of comfort and prestige was a double deal press, deal table, 4 old chairs, 3 painted pictures and an 'old baize screen.'<sup>979</sup>

There was also a dedicated space for the senior male servant at No. 10 Henrietta Street. Here, the 'Butler's Pantry' contained a similar array of bedding and utilitarian furniture to the housekeeper's room, with the addition of a number tools of the trade: '4 old knife cases, 1 square mahogany bucket, 1 round brass mounted bucket, a mahogany knife box and a copper capuchine [*sic*] plate warmer.' The 'Maids room,' by contrast was rather spartan, with only '2 deal box bedsteads; 2 feather beds & 2 bolsters; 6 blankets, 2 rugs and 1 deal press.'<sup>980</sup> There was a servants' hall in the basement, as was standard, and a 'servants room over the coach house' for the grooms, which contained '3 bedsteads' and a 'walnut table.' The stable below also contained a settle bed, perhaps for the stable boy or those tending horses at night.<sup>981</sup>

The offices, the kitchen, pantry, scullery, and china room were all housed in the subterranean basement areas of the standard town house (fig. 5.18), with coal, barrel and beer cellars located in the vaults below the areas at the front and rear. These vaulted storage spaces would have been relatively cool and dark, and were often used a cold room or a pantry, to store food away from the great heat generated by the kitchen stoves. Although there were usually windows to let light and air in from the area above, the basement rooms would generally have been dark spaces, filled with smoke and the odours of cooking, but warm, at least when the family was in residence (fig. 5.19). The housekeeper and butler's rooms tended to be in the basement, not

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<sup>976</sup> Jenkins, 'An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's seat,' pp. 93-192.

<sup>977</sup> See Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 38, for evidence drawn from early modern church records.

<sup>978</sup> PHA 7359: Inventory of 'the House at London' 1724/5, pp. 5-8.

<sup>979</sup> NLI MS 36,617 Gardiner Papers, 'list of goods at Henrietta Street house which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner,' taken in 1772.

<sup>980</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>981</sup> *Ibid.*

simply as these rooms would have been more comfortable than the draughty garrets, but to allow these senior servants to closely supervise such valuable items as the household plate, which was kept under lock and key in the china room, and the wine and food stores. A narrow service-stair connected these vital service areas with the house above, while the basement of the house was often connected to the stable yard at the rear of the property by means of an underground tunnel, leaving the ornamental gardens above for the family to enjoy.

### 5.1.6. Outbuildings, offices and gardens.

The necessity of integrating the outbuildings, service yards and gardens within the confines of the narrow terraced house site was clearly a task which beset their designers (fig. 5.20). Although the user's perspective is somewhat harder to recover, the importance of the outdoor spaces and service buildings to the occupants of these town houses is clear. Of the hundreds of the newspapers advertisements for the lease or sale of town houses in the first half of the eighteenth century the vast majority placed a far greater emphasis on the garden and surrounding outbuildings as selling points, than on the house itself. Descriptions of a 'convenient dwelling house' with so many 'rooms on each floor,' and of 'good new brick' or 'well sash'd' houses are regularly found, yet few other details of the form or layout of these buildings are noted.<sup>982</sup> One advertisement highlighted 'a very good kitchen and laundry and large commodious vaults,' another the 'good Vaults and Cellars within doors.'<sup>983</sup> In contrast, newspapers regularly stresses the quantity and size of stables and coach houses, the 'very convenient outhouses and offices,'<sup>984</sup> as well as the merits of the 'pleasant' 'airy' and 'large well planted gardens.'<sup>985</sup> An advertisement for the sale of General Stuart's house at Hanover Square included a lengthy description of the gardens, which were 'very neat and large, the terrace pav'd with black and white Marble,' and the commodious offices at the rear which had 'stables for eight horses, and Rooms for Servants.'<sup>986</sup>

In 1734 Mary Pendarves wrote to her sister of her pleasure with her garden at Little Brook Street, which was 'as big as your parlour at Gloucester' and though wanting her sister's hand to improve it 'after the new taste,' its 'dishevelled and undrest' state seemed more to her liking.<sup>987</sup> A decade earlier Henry Ingoldsby wrote of this emerging new taste in London, where 'they are

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<sup>982</sup> *London Evening Post*, March 10, 1730-March 12, 1730, Issue 358; *Daily Advertiser*, Friday, October 29, 1742, Issue 3725.

<sup>983</sup> *Daily Post*, Thursday, February 1, 1728, Issue 2609; *London Evening Post*, March 10, 1730-March 12, 1730, Issue 358.

<sup>984</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, Friday, October 29, 1742, Issue 3725.

<sup>985</sup> For representative examples see *Daily Post*, Thursday, February 1, 1728, Issue 2609; *London Evening Post*, October 17, 1728-October 19, 1728, Issue 135; *London Evening Post*, September 19, 1728-September 21, 1728, Issue 123. *London Evening Post*, January 6, 1730-January 8, 1730, Issue 325.

<sup>986</sup> *London Evening Post*, March 10, 1730-March 12, 1730, Issue 358.

<sup>987</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 131, Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville. L. B. Strt. [Little Brook Street, as Brook Street Upper was then known], 7th June, 1734.

arrived to such a perfection in gardening that a man twenty years ago a gardener scarcely knows anything of the matter.<sup>988</sup> As such he had ‘hired a new gardener’ for Carton, County Kildare and would ‘send him hence Tuesday next to Ireland.’<sup>989</sup> By the mid-century this imported taste was firmly established amongst Ireland’s elite, and Rocque’s map of 1756, even allowing for artistic license, shows several of the rear gardens laid out in the formal manner popular at this time, with manicured hedges of elm, gravel paths edged with clipped topiary, and ornamental planted centres (fig. 5.21). The Duchess of Somerset stressed the importance of having such a good garden in a letter to the Countess of Pomfret stating:

I am glad you have found a house to your mind, with a pretty garden. The latter I think is a chief ingredient towards the making any place pleasant.<sup>990</sup>

## 5.2. Spaces for living: possessions and self presentation in the early eighteenth-century town house.

‘Furnished with a mighty good taste.’<sup>991</sup>

The early eighteenth-century town house fulfilled a multitude of functions, not simply in terms of physical use, but also on a more conceptual level. A less overt, though fundamentally important role of the town house and its contents was its utility in the art of self-fashioning and the self-presentation of its occupants. According to Barnard, the Irish gentleman intent on making a ‘grand figure,’ campaigned on several fronts and various ‘devices were used to impress: house, furniture, collections of books, and *objects de vertu*, clothes and hospitality.’<sup>992</sup> This was the century of ‘taste,’ and a house in town offered the perfect arena in which to present not only one’s wealth and status, but also ‘taste’ to the world; the large red brick shells of Dublin’s terraced houses were essentially containers for their fashionable contents.<sup>993</sup> But what constituted good taste in the early eighteenth-century domestic interior? What material goods did the *beau monde* choose to fill their houses with, and how did their possessions and the spaces in which their were displayed assist in this self fashioning? Moreover, to what extent did Irish elites follow London fashions with respect to the domestic interior?

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<sup>988</sup> NLI MS 41,581/3, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, Henry Ingoldsby, London, to William Smyth, 19 Mar. 1723/4.

<sup>989</sup> NLI MS 41,581/3, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, Henry Ingoldsby, London, to William Smyth, 18 Jan 1723/4.

<sup>990</sup> Frances Thynne Seymour, *Correspondence Between Frances, Countess of Hartford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset) and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, Between the Years 1738 and 1741, vol I*, ed. W. Bingley (London: Richard Phillips, 1806), p. 147, letter from Frances Thynne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset to Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret, August 20, 1739.

<sup>991</sup> Delany, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mrs. Delany*, p. 100, Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville, 12 December, 1724.

<sup>992</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. xxiv.

<sup>993</sup> See Henry Stonecastle, *The universal spectator* (London, 1747), pp. 46-7, who noted ‘Of all our favourite Words lately none has been more in Vogue, nor so long held in Esteem, as that of TASTE.’ Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 18.

Upon the marriage of Lady Sunderland to Sir Robert Sutton in 1724 Mary Pendarves remarked that:

Her new house in George Street by Hanover Square is a very good one, and furnished with a mighty good taste...I hope she will be very happy; I think there is a great appearance of her being so: her house is charmingly furnished with pictures, glasses, tapestry, and damask, all superfine in their kind.<sup>994</sup>

While having a charmingly furnished house could not guarantee matrimonial happiness (in this case it did not, as Mrs Pendarves later made apparent<sup>995</sup>), it was clearly of great importance in establishing the bride's new status in life. The widespread demand for such luxury items as the 'pictures, glasses, tapestry and damask' is borne out by vast numbers of newspaper advertisements and auction notices for the sale of household goods. A taste for fine fabrics, for 'very rich damask and silks,' for 'velvets' 'mohairs' and 'chints [*sic*]' is evident throughout,<sup>996</sup> as was a rising fashion for furniture made from exotic materials, such as 'walnuttree' and mahogany. In 1733 Nathaniel Clements paid John Ellis £5 5s. for the 'mending and cleaning furniture and supply [of] two mahogany bookcases,' as well as the large sum of £19 9s. 5½d. to George Ribton for curtain material.<sup>997</sup> By the mid-century mahogany dining tables' 'walnut tree presses' (fig. 5.22) etc were almost common place amongst the elite classes, yet still much sought-after. Pier and chimney glasses were also highly desirable items, and as household inventories make clear, were among the most expensive decorative fixtures. Nathaniel Clements paid one Ralph Leland £17 for a 'a large tabernacle in the back parlor.'<sup>998</sup>

Indeed the upper classes went to great expense, and often debt, in fitting out their town residences. Writing from Dublin in 1728 Jane Bulkeley remarked that:

'Tis become a great fashion with us to do everything that is expensive. I believe there never was more vanity and more poverty in any nation than there is at this time in this kingdom...'<sup>999</sup>

Even such modest sized houses as the Balfours' Stephen's Green residence required considerable outlay. According to Mr. Coleman's calculations the furniture was worth £258 2s. 7d., while the

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<sup>994</sup> Delany, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mrs. Delany*, pp. 100-101, Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville, 12 December 1724.

<sup>995</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, pp. 319, 362, 376-377.

<sup>996</sup> For representative examples see *Daily Post*, Saturday, October 23, 1725; *Daily Post*, Wednesday, November 2, 1726, Issue 2218; *London Evening Post*, May 30, 1730-June 2, 1730, Issue 386.

<sup>997</sup> The Clements Archive, Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1: Tradesmen's accounts, John Ellis 4 June 1733, paid Oct 1734. Bill George Ribtons, curtain material, ordered Oct 1732-feb 1733 paid march 1734, £19 9s.5½d.

<sup>998</sup> The Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1: Tradesmen's accounts, Ralph Leland bill for chimney glass, for 'a large tabernacle in the back parlour [£1 7s.])scones and candlesticks and putting lass into a cedar frame,' between May-Dec 1733. £49 4s. paid 22 May 1734.

<sup>999</sup> NLI MS 41,580/4, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, 9 Apr. 1728. Jane Bulkeley to Mrs Bonnell.

auction of the plate once contained there fetched such large sums as £71 10s. paid for a silver tea kettle and stand. At the house purchased by Blaney Townley Balfour in Granby Row the dining room furniture alone was valued at £134 13s. 6d.<sup>1000</sup> However, there was more to ‘taste’ than wealth, and these advertisements and inventories also highlight the growing market for cultured commodities. References to a ‘Library of valuable books’ or ‘books in French and English,’ for pictures ‘by the best masters’ and collections of ‘prints and drawings,’<sup>1001</sup> as well as ‘plate, jewels medals and other curiosities,’ abound.<sup>1002</sup> A taste for the oriental is also evident from these sources, with numerous advertisements for ‘rare old China,’ for ‘Japan Cabinets, Chests and Screens and ‘Turkey Carpets (fig. 5.23).’<sup>1003</sup> Among the household goods of the Hon. Brigadier Fielding there was ‘a Pair of curious blue and white old China Jars near four foot high, and a six-leav’d India Screen.’<sup>1004</sup>

The sale of Lord Thomond’s household furniture in 1741 included many such items which denoted his wealth and taste: ‘curious cabinet-work in Walnut-tree, Mahogany, Abigazanz [sic], and other Indian woods,’ ‘a large collection of rare old Japan and China,’ ‘Curious fire-arms,’ and ‘his Lordships valuable Library of Books, most of which are the best editions...’<sup>1005</sup> By mid-century such luxury goods were not the prerogative of the nobility alone. The ‘Sale by Auction’ of ‘all the Household Furniture of Samuel Grey, Esq., one of His Majesty’s Commissioners of Excise, deceased, At his late house in Dawson Street,’ in Dublin consisted of ‘Crimson Silk Damask, Chintz, Needle Work, Tapestry, Vangran and Mohair Furniture...’ of ‘Japanned and Gilt Leather Screens, Japanned chests, Indian and other Kind of Cabinets, Persia, Turkey and Needle-work Carpets, Egyptian, Marble and gilt Tables...’<sup>1006</sup> Fashion, it seems, was the driving force behind this consumerism, and it was regularly noted that ‘the goods are all good and fashionable.’<sup>1007</sup> And yet other more practical considerations may also have influenced the choice of items purchased. For instance, one advertisement notes the all the household furniture ‘was very fresh and clean.’<sup>1008</sup>

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<sup>1000</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. xviii notes difficulty in determining the average incomes or outgoings of elite households in this period, yet these were clearly substantial sums considering a clergy man could expect to earn between £50 & £100 per annum; a revenue collector £80-100, while a good income for a peer was between £1500 & £3,000. I am indebted to Dr. Patrick Walsh for this figures.

<sup>1001</sup> *Daily Post* Wednesday, November 2, 1726, Issue 2218.

<sup>1002</sup> *Daily Post*, Saturday, October 23, 1725, Issue 1897; *Daily Post*, Wednesday, November 2, 1726, Issue 2218.

<sup>1003</sup> For examples see *Daily Post*, Wednesday, November 2, 1726, Issue 2218; *Daily Post*, Thursday, February 1, 1728, Issue 2609; *Daily Journal*, Saturday, March 14, 1730, Issue 2866.

<sup>1004</sup> *London Evening Post*, May 30, 1730-June 2, 1730, Issue 386.

<sup>1005</sup> *London Evening Post*, January 19, 1742-January 21, 1742, Issue 2215.

<sup>1006</sup> *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 2 June 1747.

<sup>1007</sup> *Daily Post*, Saturday, October 23, 1725, Issue 1897.

<sup>1008</sup> *Ibid.*

As Barnard makes clear, ‘things cannot be detached from the people who made, sold and bought them.’<sup>1009</sup> These commodities not only inform us about the demand for luxury goods in domestic interiors in the first half of the eighteenth century, but also tell us something more about the people who possessed or desired them. For example, the majority of household auctions were for the personal effects or estate of deceased individuals, the contents of their town residences, as opposed to the family heirlooms or hereditary property that was usually preserved at their country estates. Although a similar quality of goods could be found in both town and country, only moveable items of personal property seem to have been kept in town. These could be easily removed upon death, or simply migration at the end of the season, thus stressing the often temporary nature of the town dwelling. This is also evident in the decorative fixtures and finishes of these spaces, with the more expensive and permanent finishes, such as marble wall covering, pillars and piers, and richly gilded ceilings reserved for the hereditary country seat. By contrast, the town house seemed to function more as a fashionably dressed, but essentially rather cheap shell, or receptacle to display the outward trappings of wealth and status.<sup>1010</sup>

The household goods or chattels of spinsters and widows were regularly advertised for sale, highlighting the fact that while married women were precluded from ownership of real estate or hereditary property (they could only hold a life interest in an estate, to pass in turn to their male heirs), they could inherit or pass wealth in the form of their personal estate.<sup>1011</sup> Town houses and their contents often formed part of these personal estates, as the leasehold occupied an ambiguous place between real estate and personal property or chattels, and women regularly left a share in them to their daughters or female relatives. Lady Alice Hume left her personal property to her daughter Alice in 1750,<sup>1012</sup> as did Mrs Sarah Donellan, who in 1761 bequeathed her ‘personal estate’ which included ‘all the furniture of my said house in Sackville Street’ to her daughter Frances.<sup>1013</sup> Col. Owen Wynne left his ‘dearly beloved wife’ his ‘dwelling house and interest in Sackville Street, with all my estate and furniture therein.’<sup>1014</sup>

It was not only women who set such store upon their household possessions. Luke Gardiner regularly commissioned Nathaniel Clements, and probably others too, to purchase such goods during trips to Britain. In 1744 he wrote to Clements, who was then in London, requesting:

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<sup>1009</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. xxi.

<sup>1010</sup> See Jenkins, ‘“An inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos’s seat,” pp. 93-192. A comparison of the contemporary expenditure on building and fitting out the Duke of Chandos’ town house in St James Square, compared with his country seat at Cannons, even considering Cannons was one of the most lavish houses of the period, bears this out. See Schlarman, ‘The Social Geography of Grosvenor Square,’ p. 16 who stresses the importance of urban residences as indication of taste and social status.

<sup>1011</sup> Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, p. 54.

<sup>1012</sup> NAI Prerog Grant Book 1750, p. 128 ‘The last will and testament of the right Honble. Lady Alice Hume, late of the city of Dublin,’ 20 April 1750.

<sup>1013</sup> RD 212.66.138366, Memorandum of the last will and testament of Sarah Donnellan otherwise Ormsby late of the City of Dublin Widow Deceased ... 1761.

<sup>1014</sup> NAI T12754, copy will of Owen Wynne of Hazelwood in the County of Sligo, 23 May 1755.

If I could get a good copy of the Duke of Monmouth's picture, of [*sic*] each side of my chimney in my new room...[and] I had like to have forgot two glasses that will be wanted in the piers between the windows. I believe by this time you think that I have never a care on my head, when I trouble myself and you about these trifles...<sup>1015</sup>

A few days later Gardiner wrote again, entreating Clements for yet another of such trifles, 'I am undone if you do not get me a Chimney Piece...Dear Nat, adieu.'<sup>1016</sup> Even more illustrative, in his will of 1755 Gardiner specified that the contents of both his lodge in the Phoenix Park and his house at Henrietta Street should 'be deemed heirlooms' and 'enjoyed by there while the same shall belong to any of my family.'<sup>1017</sup> Gardiner's Henrietta Street residence clearly had considerable meaning for him.

These instances, moreover, not only highlight the debt owed to imported fashions in fitting out Dublin's town houses, but the actual importation of goods for this purpose and the means by which they arrived here. Clements was far from unique in fulfilling this role. There are numerous examples of the Irish abroad, acting as 'agents of civilisation,' in purchasing goods generally unavailable at home, importing the latests ideas and innovations in domestic building and interior design.<sup>1018</sup> Grand tourists regularly brought back souvenirs from their continental travels, with which to fit out their houses. Edward Southwell spent £150 on '5 marble tables, 2 landscapes of ruins [and ] a little suite of brass medals,' in Rome in 1726.<sup>1019</sup> The Earl of Orrery wrote of Bishop Clayton in 1737:

...we have a Bishop, who, as he has travelled beyond the Alps, has brought home with him, to the amazement of our mercantile fraternity, the arts and sciences that are the ornament of Italy and the admiration of the European world. He eats, drinks and sleeps in taste. He has pictures by Monte Carlo, Morat, music by Corelli, castles in the air by Vitruvius...<sup>1020</sup>

Yet it was to Britain, by and large, that the Irish elite looked in emulation during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1021</sup> According to John Bush the 'dress, fashions, language and diversions' of the

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<sup>1015</sup> TCD MS 1741/15, Mar. 19th 1744/5, Gardiner to Clements, London.

<sup>1016</sup> TCD MS 1741/16, Mar. 22nd 1744/5, Gardiner to Clements, London.

<sup>1017</sup> NAI T/13251, copy will of the Right Honble. Luke Gardiner, p. 10.

<sup>1018</sup> See Sykes, *Private palaces*, p. 18; PRONI D2707/A/1/1/, 6 June 1730 letter from Andrew Crotty London to Henry Boyle describing a number of such commissions.

<sup>1019</sup> BL Add MS 47031, 9 April 1726, Southwell to Percival. Jeremy Black, *The British and the grand tour* (London: Routledge, 1985), p.154.

<sup>1020</sup> Black, *The British and the grand tour*, p. 212, refers to *Cork and Orrery*, vol. I, pp. 206-7.

<sup>1021</sup> Toby Barnard, 'Grand metropolis' or 'The Anus of the World'? The cultural life of eighteenth-century Dublin,' in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Two capitals*, p. 204-5.

inhabitants of Dublin, 'are all imported from London.'<sup>1022</sup> In 1741 Katherine Conolly remarked rather disparagingly upon this dependance on British fashion, noting :

It is very strange that the people in England should be so fond of Irish things when here they run after English poplins to a degree of madness.

This did not prevent her from placing regular commissions with her sister Jane Bonnell who lived in London, for such items as 'a black chair' in 'neat steel' and 'velvet';<sup>1023</sup> damask from 'Mr Pearson,'<sup>1024</sup> marble for a monument, and a diamond ring set with her deceased husbands hair.<sup>1025</sup> Mrs Bonnell, an impoverished but well connected widow of cultured taste carried out numerous such commissions for her Irish family and friends. For instance, in 1726 James Coghill requested she purchase on his behalf 'gilt leather for his house' from Samuel William, leather gilder in St Paul's Churchyard, London, and 'oak tables marbled like agat, but without many colours.' Irish tradesmen also acted agents of taste, importing the latest fashion in furniture and fixtures, and architectural publications from Britain for sale in Dublin. Newspapers advertisements abound with these items, 'just imported from London.'<sup>1026</sup>

In 1738 Henry, Earl of Thomond moved to Ireland from Britain intent on making a grand figure in his native kingdom (fig. 5.24). Although he left the majority of his possessions in England, including a large collection of valuable plate at the home of his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, for safe keeping, he did bring with him a large household retinue, and more importantly a taste for the finer things in life.<sup>1027</sup> In the early years of his Irish sojourn Lord Thomond's accounts list the frequent passage of goods between the two capitals. These comprised of such personal luxuries as 'snuff' and 'sweet water,' a 'bottle for my lords Balsamik of Tinitur to goe to Ireland' and 'a box of my lords shirts to goe to Dublin.'<sup>1028</sup> Acquaintance or agents travelling between the capitals evidently acted as couriers in these instances, as there are corresponding payments to porters for delivering these items to 'Blossoms Inn' and a 'Mr Sakys,' and from thence 'to goe to Dublin.'<sup>1029</sup>

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<sup>1022</sup> John Bush, *Hibernia curiosa, a letter from a gentleman in Dublin (J. Bush) to his friend at Dover, giving a general view of the manners, customs, dispositions, &c. of the inhabitants of Ireland* (Dublin: Potts & Williams, 1769), p. 36 .

<sup>1023</sup> NLI MS 41,578/5, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, 23 Feb. 1729/30. Dublin & 25 April 1730, Katherine Conolly to Mrs Bonnell.

<sup>1024</sup> NLI MS 41,578/5, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, 11 Oct. 1735, Katherine Conolly to Mrs Bonnell.

<sup>1025</sup> NLI MS 41,578/6, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, 26 Aug. 1731, Katherine Conolly to Mrs Bonnell.

<sup>1026</sup> For examples see *Dublin Journal* Sat Dec 6-Tues. 9 1729; *Pues Occurrences* Tuesday Oct 16<sup>th</sup>-Sat Oct 20<sup>th</sup>, 1739; *The Public Gazette* Sept 23 1759; Skinner, 'Irish period wallpapers,' pp. 56-7.

<sup>1027</sup> PHA 11154: Inventories 1741, 'A list of the sevrl pieces of Plate which did belong to the Rt. Honble Henry Earl of Thomond, left at his Grace the Duke of Somersetts at Northumberland House, Oct. 14<sup>th</sup> 1738.'

<sup>1028</sup> PHA 14788: Accounts of receipts and expenditure 1736-1741.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid.*

At the time of his sudden death in April 1741, Thomond seems to have been preparing to take up residence at his new house in Henrietta Street, Dublin. An inventory of his lodgings at Jervis Street shows these rooms contained a large quantity of rich and fashionable furniture, seemingly intended for Lord Thomond's new town house. There was a good deal of mahogany furniture, including 'a round Mahogany table; a Mahogany Writing table with several drawers; a square Mahogany table containing a card table, and oval Mahogany dining table 4ft long.'<sup>1030</sup> There were '16 oak chairs with Crimson stamped shag bottoms, as well as prints of the 'Duke of Argile [*sic*], Admiral Vernon, Mr Nash, Mr Connelly [*sic*], Mr Handle and the Rev. Dean Swift.' Alongside these illustrious men the inventory also listed 'five pictures of young ladies in straining frames' and 'one young ladies picture in a gilt frame;' an additional bill from the court painter Francis Bindon included another eight such pictures of 'Miss Adams, Miss O'Brian, Miss Jackson ...etc.'<sup>1031</sup> These portraits appear to be the beginnings of a 'beauty room' for Henrietta Street, similar to that of Thomond's father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, whose collection of 'Petworth Beauties' were displayed in such a room at Petworth House in England (fig. 5.25). And while these items may not necessarily have come directly from Britain, Lord Thomond's fashionable tastes surely did.

### 5.3. The early eighteenth-century town house: arenas for life.

'Every man's proper Mansion house and home [is] the theatre of hospitality, the seat of self-fruition.'<sup>1032</sup>

The early eighteenth-century town house formed the backdrop to every stage of life, from birth and marriage, to sickness and death. It was the setting for social occasions, for political intrigues and affairs of the heart, and occasionally the darker side of life. It was the *locus* in which social and political networks came together, in which communities were formed and where kinship and ethnographic ties were strengthened. The town house provided more than mere shelter, these buildings fulfilled a multitude of functions, and were occupied for an equally broad variety of reasons. Young couples often took a house in town upon entering into the married state, where they could utilise these social spaces to establish their new position in society, and enjoy the delights of the season. Conversely, widows often relocated to town upon the loss of a spouse, to avoid the solitude of country life, and to make way for the next generation at their hereditary estates. Expectant mothers, and the ill and infirm often occupied town houses so they could be closer to expert medical care, whereas politicians and professionals required a convenient house in town, close to their places of business and where they could conduct such affairs after hours. The

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<sup>1030</sup> PHA 11154: Inventories 1741, 'An Inventory & Valuation of some of ye household goods: belonging to the Late Honble. Lord Thomond taken Dublin May 15 1741.

<sup>1031</sup> PHA 11155: Bills and accounts for goods and services supplied to Henry Earl of Thomond 1741.

<sup>1032</sup> Henry Wooton, *Elements of architecture* (1624), quoted in Amanda Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter: women's lives in Georgian England* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 195.

purchase of a house in town often coincided with advancement in the public and social spheres, and at the same time these dwelling houses could assist in the promotion of prestige and position in elite society. The following section deals these somewhat less tangible, but crucially important uses to which the town house was put. Focusing largely on the early occupants of Henrietta Street, it moves away from the physical spaces of the houses and the goods contained within, to examine the role of these domestic buildings in the wider business of life.

### **5.3.1. Neighbourhood networks at Henrietta Street.**

According to Barnard, social gatherings or groups of the elites of Protestant Ireland were composed 'of those who shared tastes, kinship, neighbourhood or philosophies.'<sup>1033</sup> These shared connections are readily apparent amongst the group of early residents at Henrietta Street (fig. 5.26). Kinship was perhaps the strongest bond in early Georgian Ireland, although given the limited pool from which to choose, most families in the upper echelons of society intermarried, and so were connected in some way.<sup>1034</sup> Luke Gardiner, a commoner of unknown but lowly origins enjoyed such links to several of his neighbours through his wife Anne Stewart's family. His loose family ties to Nathaniel Clements, his protégé and neighbour, have been noted. William Stewart, 3rd Viscount Mountjoy, 1st Earl of Blessington (fig. 5.27) who was first cousin to Mrs Gardiner was one of the street's most illustrious early residents.

About 1733 Lord Mountjoy moved to No. 12 Henrietta Street from his town house at No. 41 Brook Street in Mayfair, where he had lived a few doors down from Sir Gustavus Hume in the late 1720s.<sup>1035</sup> His former neighbour Hume was in fact the initial occupant of this very house from c.1729-31, which was then let to Samuel Burton for a brief interim period. In the same year as Stewart removed here, Gardiner assisted his kinsman in raising money on mortgage, and was also financially associated with him in the running of the new Theatre Royal at Aungier Street. Also in 1733 Viscount Mountjoy married Eleanor Fitzgerald, heiress of Castle Dod, County Cork, and had two sons in 1734 and 1736. Although he retained the lease of the Henrietta Street house until 1744, and enjoyed extensive Irish estates at Ramelton, County Donegal, and the Blessington estates in counties Wicklow and Kildare, Lord Mountjoy (or Lord Blessington as he was later known) spent much of his time abroad. According to Rev. Samuel Stone he devoted 'his sixty years of life to luxury and high living.'<sup>1036</sup>

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<sup>1033</sup> Toby Barnard, *The abduction of a Limerick heiress, social and political relations in mid-eighteenth century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), p. 49.

<sup>1034</sup> See Stobart and Owens, *Urban fortunes* p. 118, on the importance of kinship in urban social networks.

<sup>1035</sup> RD 71/447/52008, Deed of lease, 8 Nov. 1733, Gardiner to Lord Mountjoy; RCBL P276.10.2, 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.' Sheppard, *Survey of London: vol. xl*, pp. 21-2. The London land tax records rate Lord Mountjoy at No. 41 Brook Street in 1729/30, the records for 1731-33 have not been located.

<sup>1036</sup> Rev. Samuel Stone, *Stewart Clan Magazine*, Tome I, vol. 37 (February 1960).

He and his family travelled throughout the Continent, and spent time in the South of France, where his only surviving son died about 1760. Lord and Lady Blessington lived largely in Britain at this time, where they divided themselves between Mayfair, Bath and their country manor of Silchester in Hampshire.<sup>1037</sup> And yet they were not entirely removed from Irish affairs. Lord Mountjoy subscribed to numerous Irish publications during this period, to Chamber's *Cyclopædia* (Dublin, 1740), *Hudibras* by Zachary Grey (Dublin, 1744) and John Aheron's *A general treatise of architecture* (Dublin, 1754). He played a prominent part in state occasions, was an early member of the Incorporated Society, and a prominent freemason, elected Grand Master of Ireland in 1738.<sup>1038</sup>

Upon Lord Blessington's removal in 1744, Luke Gardiner's eldest son took up residence at No. 12 Henrietta Street where he remained until his father's death in 1755.<sup>1039</sup> At this time, as specified in Luke Gardiner's will, Charles moved to No. 10 Henrietta Street, leaving No. 12 for his younger brother Sackville. Like his father, Charles Gardiner was a prominent member of the Irish administration, serving as an MP and privy councillor. He held numerous public offices and honours and was instrumental in the development of Cavendish Row and Rutland Square: he commissioned the building of St. Thomas' church (demol.), and made extensive alterations to the house at Henrietta Street. Yet, like so many of his peers Charles Gardiner was not solely Dublin based. He travelled regularly to Britain in the 1740s and 1750s,<sup>1040</sup> and was in Bath in 1752, from whence he arrived with his family to their house in St James Street, London.<sup>1041</sup> He seems to have lived extravagantly, and it was noted in 1768 that the Gardiner estate was liable for debts of £9,923 run up by Luke Gardiner's son Charles.<sup>1042</sup> Perhaps for this reason Charles's infant son Luke Gardiner II was named as his grandfather's heir in 1755, with Charles holding only a life interest in his father's estate.<sup>1043</sup>

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<sup>1037</sup> Lord Blessington resided at No. 24 Grosvenor Square from 1747-9 and at a house in at Hill Street, on the Berkeley Estate in 1749, see entries the *Westminster poll-books*, votes in Westminster Elections, 1749-1820; Stone, *Stewart Clan Magazine*.

<sup>1038</sup> See the *General Evening Post*, January 17-19 1740, Issue 986; *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin* ... 25 June 1740; James Anderson, *The new book of constitutions of the most ancient and honourable fraternity of free and accepted masons* (Dublin, 1751, first published in London, 1738).

<sup>1039</sup> Helen Andrews and John Coleman, entry for 'Luke Gardiner,' *Dictionary of Irish biography*, notes that Charles Gardiner lived with his cousin William Stewart, Viscount Mountjoy at No. 12 Henrietta Street, prior to 1755, but this seems unlikely as Charles was only 13 when Viscount Mountjoy leased the property, in which he lived with his wife and children. Charles Gardiner was 24 years when he began paying the cess tax on No. 12 Henrietta Street, 3 years after his marriage to Florinda Norman. See RCBL P276.10.2, 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.'

<sup>1040</sup> *Daily Gazetteer*, Saturday, March 10, 1739, Issue 1160; *Daily Gazetteer*, Saturday, April 28, 1739, Issue 1202; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, September 6-9, 1755, Issue 1458, notes that Luke, Charles and Sackville Gardiner travelled to Bath.

<sup>1041</sup> *Public Advertiser*, Saturday, December 2, 1752, Issue 5646, reported that 'Yesterday, Charles Gardiner Esq. son of Luke Gardiner, Esq. of the Kingdom of Ireland came with his family, from Bath, to his house in St James's Street [London].'

<sup>1042</sup> Clements archive, Killadoon Papers (Killadoon), E7: draft conveyance from the trustees of the Gardiner estate to Nathaniel Clements, of a site in Gardiner's Mall, St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, 1768.

<sup>1043</sup> See NAI T/1325, copy will of the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, 16 August 1755.

Sackville Gardiner (fig. 5.28) was fortunate as a younger son to inherit an interest in his father's extensive property portfolio, including ground and houses at Henrietta Street and ground around Great Britain Street and Bolton Street, where he was later involved in their development with John Ensor and the Darley family.<sup>1044</sup> However, like his brother, Sackville Gardiner appears to have lived beyond his means. Within a month of his father's death he had taken out a mortgage on No. 12 Henrietta Street, which was then let to Ralph Howard,<sup>1045</sup> and in 1757 he duly mortgaged his entire interest in the Gardiner estates in Dublin and Wicklow in 1757, while abroad in London.<sup>1046</sup>

Another powerful dynasty on this street was the Ponsonby family. A close associate of Luke Gardiner's, in 1743 Brabazon Ponsonby, 1st Earl of Bessborough, bought the lease on the large house at Nos. 5-6, which Clements had built for Lord Thomond but had been vacant since completion.<sup>1047</sup> He promptly passed this to his son, the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby (fig. 5.29), upon his marriage into the illustrious Devonshire family, to Lady Elizabeth Cavendish in September 1743.<sup>1048</sup> As a revenue commissioner and later Speaker of the House of Commons John Ponsonby required a permanent town dwelling of some stature, and enjoyed a long residency at Henrietta Street, remaining here until his death in 1787. He and his wife frequently moved between town and country, visiting their estate at Bishops' Court, County Kildare, which Ponsonby commissioned James Gandon to redesign *c.* 1780. They also made regular journeys to their Devonshire kin in Britain.<sup>1049</sup>

John Ponsonby was a close companion of his cousin and later his neighbour Nicholas Loftus Hume,<sup>1050</sup> who was among the family party that travelled to Chatsworth for William Ponsonby's wedding to Lady Caroline Cavendish in 1739.<sup>1051</sup> Nicholas Loftus-Hume occupied No. 13 Henrietta Street in the 1750s, next door to the former residence of his father-in-law, Sir Gustavus Hume. Similarly John Maxwell, 1st Earl of Farnham, lived next door to his son-in-law

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<sup>1044</sup> *Records III*, p. 102; RD196/487/130831, deed of lease and release, 1 Nov 1758, concerning a house on the east side of Cavendish Row involving Gardiner, Ensor, Henry Darley and Dr. Mosse; RD 221/36/144961, 26 Dec. 1762, concerning 3 houses in Bolton Street.

<sup>1045</sup> RD 181/4/119204, deeds of lease and release, 25 and 26 November 1755, Sackville Gardiner to Margaret Meagher, widow, mortgage in consideration of £1,000 'all that dwelling house in Henrietta Street Dublin in which Charles Gardiner, Esq. lately dwelled and in which Ralph Howard, Esq. now dwells. RD 206/414/136661, deeds of indented lease and release, 23 Aug. 1760, Sackville Gardiner to George Gardiner...'

<sup>1046</sup> RD 184/470/123880, 29 Jan. 1757, deed of indenture between Sackville Gardiner, John Calcraft, Parliament Street, Westminster, Co. Middlesex, Esq. and John Paterson, Barbers Hall, London, Esq. duly executed by Sackville Gardiner in presence of James Meyrick, Dartmouth Street, Westminster, Co. Middlesex.

<sup>1047</sup> RD 116/16/79251, deeds of indented lease and release 15 & 16 Aug. 1743, Clements to the Earl of Bessborough.

<sup>1048</sup> PRONI T2760/5, 13 July G[eorge Stone, Bishop of] Kildare, Dublin, discussing John Ponsonby's impending marriage noted 'Lord Bessbrook [Bessborough] settles and puts him into immediate possession of £2,300 a year: an estate which he had lately purchased.

<sup>1049</sup> PRONI T2760/5, 13 July G[eorge Stone, Bishop of] Kildare, Dublin, notes Mr Ponsonby is at Chatsworth and to be married immediately to Lady Betty Cavendish.' *General Evening Post*, October 8, 1743-1743, October 11, 1743, Issue 1569.

<sup>1050</sup> Nicholas Loftus' mother was Anne Ponsonby, sister to Brabazon and aunt to John and William Ponsonby.

<sup>1051</sup> *Daily Gazetteer*, Tuesday, July 10, 1739, Issue 1264.

Owen Wynne, to whom he had leased the large plot of ground on which No. 3 Henrietta Street was built following Wynne's marriage to Anne Maxwell in 1754. Their neighbour at No. 9, Henry Boyle Carter had married Owen Wynne's sister-in-law Susanna in 1750, widow of his reprobate brother James Wynne.<sup>1052</sup>

Friendship was another strong bond which united the residents of this street. Although it is unclear if friends moved to the same neighbourhood, or rather residents became friends with their neighbours, Stobart notes the frequency with which 'my neighbour' was mentioned, as a witness, beneficiary, or trustee in testamentary documents.<sup>1053</sup> Charles Gardiner was a witness to Sir Robert King's will, which was purported to have been made during a drinking session at his house in Henrietta Street.<sup>1054</sup> Nathaniel Clements was a particular friend of William Graham, and was mentioned as such in his will of 1748. Their wives, Mrs Hannah Clements (née Gore) and Mrs Mary Graham (née Granville) also moved in the same circles, and were two of a party of four who visited Castletown, County Kildare in 1731/2.<sup>1055</sup> The friendship between Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, as well as with several of their neighbours at Henrietta Street has been noted. Clements was also a close acquaintance of General Richard St. George, of Kilrush County Kilkenny (fig. 5.30) perhaps through his role as Agent to the Pensions, and he sold his house at No. 8 to St. George in 1740,<sup>1056</sup> having previously removed to the larger new built house next-door. General St. George, in turn, was connected to General Richard Molesworth (fig. 5.31), who lived at No. 14 Henrietta Street from c.1751 until his death at Kensington in 1758.<sup>1057</sup> Both these military men had served as high ranking officers on the Irish establishment for many years, and sat together on the board of general officers to the Lords Justices.<sup>1058</sup>

General Molesworth had lived largely in London in his early life, where he kept a house in Scotland Yard, Whitehall throughout the 1720s and 1730s.<sup>1059</sup> Like his father and brother John, General Molesworth was a man of intellectual and cultured tastes. He was a long term member of

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<sup>1052</sup> Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes, volume VI* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2002), pp. 563-5, refers to the incident in 1745 when Col. Owen Wynne (II) 'was attacked on the road going from his seat in County Sligo to Dublin, by his eldest son James Wynne and six or eight ruffians armed...' They kidnapped Mrs James Wynne, who had been taken into her father-in-law's care, having been used so ill by her husband. Col. Wynne later took legal action against his son James Wynne.

<sup>1053</sup> Stobart and Owens, *Urban fortunes*, p. 118.

<sup>1054</sup> RD 176/83/117512, will of the Rt. Hon. Robert Lord Kingsborough.

<sup>1055</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 342, Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Dublin, 11 March 1731-2.

<sup>1056</sup> RD 106/229/73530, deeds of lease and release, 10 and 11 March 1741, Gardiner to St. George.

<sup>1057</sup> *London Evening Post*, September 26-28, 1751, Issue 3735, refers to the birth of a daughter to Lord and Lady Molesworth at their house in Henrietta Street. Richard Molesworth's will was proven at London on the 19 Oct. 1758, witnessed by Lady Mary Jenny Molesworth. See, PRONI D859/54 and NA PROB 11/841/130.

<sup>1058</sup> See PRONI T3019/552, 30 Aug. 1744, letter address to G[ervas] Parker, [Richard, 3rd Viscount] Molesworth P[hilip] Bragg, R[ichard] St George, [Board of General Officers], to the Lords Justices.

<sup>1059</sup> NLI Molesworth papers, n.4082, p.3753, letters to and from Richard, 3rd Viscount Molesworth, 1727-44, includes various letters to and from 'Lord Molesworth at his house at Scotland Yard near charing cross...'

the Royal Society in London and even published a military tract, *A short course of standing rules...* in 1745. In Dublin, General Molesworth was instrumental in the residential development of Molesworth fields from the 1730s, he was made Master of the Ordnance in 1740 and promoted to Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland in 1751.<sup>1060</sup>

In 1756 Henry Boyle Jun. wrote to his father regarding a servant ‘Rich[ar]d Hopkins’ whom he had engaged on his father’s behalf. Hopkins it transpired, had ‘lived with Gen[era]l St. George about 15 years, with Col Ponsonby 5 years, and with L[or]d Kingsborough till he died, and with L[or]d Molesworth two years and was discharged at his own request;’<sup>1061</sup> circumstances which not only signify the intricate nature of patronage in eighteenth-century Ireland, but also the intimate connections between these Henrietta Street residents. Indeed the majority of the early residents of this street moved in the same social circles; were part of the same subscription networks, sat on a similar range of boards and committees and joined the same clubs and societies. For instance, almost all of the initial residents at Henrietta Street, *viz.* Archbishop Boulter, Luke Gardiner, Thomas Carter, Nathaniel Clements, Sir Gustavus Hume, and Henry Boyle were party to the application for a Royal Charter for the Incorporated Society in 1730.<sup>1062</sup> John Maxwell, Henry Boyle, George Stone, Luke Gardiner and Archbishop Boulter were also founding members of the Dublin Society in 1731.<sup>1063</sup> Boyle, Gardiner, King, Loftus-Hume, Stone, St George and the Earl of Blessington all subscribed to John Aheron’s *A general treatise of architecture* (1754), as well as many other popular publications.<sup>1064</sup>

In addition to such formalised networks these individuals would have frequented the many coffee houses and taverns which had sprung up throughout the city, as part of its burgeoning associational culture in the first half of the century.<sup>1065</sup> The Dublin Society met at the Anne and Grecian on Essex bridge in the 1730s while Lucas’ on Cork Hill, close to Dublin Castle, was one of the city’s most fashionable haunts.<sup>1066</sup> A shared political persuasion was often found among the patrons of such establishments. For instance, the Oxmanstown coffee house on Church Street

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<sup>1060</sup> *Records II*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>1061</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/1/79, 19 June 1756, letter from Boyle to Shannon.

<sup>1062</sup> *A humble proposal for obtaining His Majesty’s Royal Charter to incorporate a society for promoting Christian knowledge among the poor natives of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 1730.

<sup>1063</sup> *A list of the members of the Dublin-Society named in the charter. Also of the members elected since the opening of the charter* (Dublin: RDS, 1750).

<sup>1064</sup> Among the many publications to which these individuals subscribed were: Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (London, 1719), to which Thomas Carter, the Earl of Thomond, John and Richard Molesworth, Major General Pearce and ‘Luke Gardiner of Dublin’ all subscribed. Thomson’s *A specimen of thought upon the gloomy region...* (Dublin, 1732) listed William Graham; Nat Clements; Luke Gardiner; Col Richard St George; Hon Col Leganier [*sic*]; Nicholas Loftus; Viscount Mountjoy; Lord Molesworth among the subscribers. *The odes, epodes, and carmen seculare of Horace* (Dublin, 1742) to which Henry Boyle, Thomas Carter, Luke Gardiner, Charles Gardiner, Sir Robert King, and Col St. George.

<sup>1065</sup> James Kelly, and Martyn J. Powell, eds., *Clubs and societies in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), p. 23, p. 49.

<sup>1066</sup> Constantia Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges 1714–1830* (London: Harrap & Co., 1936), p. 76; Maire Kennedy ‘Dublin coffee houses’ (Dublin City Public Libraries).

catered for Tories, while Whigs often frequented the Union Coffee House on Cork Hill, which was aptly renamed the Hanover in 1714.<sup>1067</sup>

Such shared Political interests or alliances were another strong basis for friendship and association amongst these residents. Thomas Carter and Henry Boyle (fig. 5.32), who had established a bond through the Boyle parliamentary interest in the early 1720s remained firm friends throughout their lives. Alluding to the reciprocal benefits of such alliances in a letter to Boyle in 1727 Carter remarked:

I will not say much of my obligations to you, few men lie under greater to any friend, but the easy terms of your friend[shi]p I must remark that your friends should act with hon[ou]r and sincerity.<sup>1068</sup>

Henry Boyle was godfather to Carter's younger son, while their respective eldest sons, Henry Boyle and Thomas Carter Junior later became friends and travelled to Britain together in the mid-1740s.<sup>1069</sup> Henry Boyle and Sir Robert King also corresponded on political matters, and Boyle may have been instrumental in securing King's peerage in 1748.<sup>1070</sup> The *coterie* of Primate Boulter, Gardiner, Carter and Brabazon Ponsonby has been noted. It is likely that Primate Boulter and Sir Gustavus Hume were also acquainted prior to their residency at Henrietta Street. Boulter was one of the forty-eight royal chaplains to George I (fig. 5.33), a role which brought him regularly to court, where Hume served as a Groom of the Royal Bedchamber. In 1719 Boulter had even travelled to Hanover with the King, and though no documents to this effect have been discovered, Hume may well have been one of the Royal entourage.<sup>1071</sup> Archbishop George Stone (fig. 5.34), who lived at No. 4 Henrietta Street from 1741 and subsequently at the Primate's house following his promotion as Archbishop of Armagh, was a close ally of the Ponsonby family, and supported their interests throughout the turbulent political years of the early 1750s.<sup>1072</sup>

As well as such alliances this street was the setting for great political rivalry. Carter was often at logger heads with both Primate Boulter, and later George Stone.<sup>1073</sup> Clements and Carter sided with the Boyle interest in their deep rivalry with the Ponsonby faction, with whom Primate

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<sup>1067</sup> Kelly and Powell, *Clubs and societies*, p. 43.

<sup>1068</sup> PRONI D2707/A/1/2/22, 12 Aug. 1727, Carter to Boyle.

<sup>1069</sup> *St. James's Evening Post*, February 11-13, 1746, Issue 5628.

<sup>1070</sup> PRONI T3200/1/6, 27 Jan. 1753, Henry Boyle to Sir Arthur Gore, refers to his correspondence with Kingsborough concerning political manoeuvrings in Counties Sligo and Roscommon. See also Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I, ed. A. C. Elias Jnr. (Georgia: University of Georgia Press Georgia, 1997), p. 360 for commentary on the probability that King purchased his peerage.

<sup>1071</sup> Kenneth Milne, 'Hugh Boulter,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Hume certainly travelled to Hanover with George I in the summers of 1716 and 1717, see HMC Polwarth MSS I 47,112. NAS GD158/1279, 28 July 1716. Hume was in London in Nov. 1719 when he carried out banking transactions at Hoare's bank on Fleet Street, and when his daughter Alice was born on 26 Sept 1719, and baptised 15 Oct. 1719. See Hoare & Co. Bank, customer ledger 18, fo. 19; *Westminster, London, England; St James' parish records*, 1693-1723.

<sup>1072</sup> RCBL P276.10.2, 'St. Michan's Dublin 1711-1965: Cess Applotment Books.

<sup>1073</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, p. 380.

Stone was allied in the 1750s. On the newly developed estates in London's West End a tendency has been identified whereby the residents of different neighbourhoods formed political enclaves, of a distinctly Whig or Tory following. The picture at Henrietta Street is not so clear-cut. For although the majority of the early residents was overtly allied to the Whig faction, several individuals had ties of a decidedly Tory colouring, which surely added to the underlying political fault-lines on the street.

For instance, William Graham, whose father-in-law Lord Lansdowne had been sent to the Tower as a suspected Jacobite and was then living in exile in France, lived next to the staunch Whigs and loyal supporters of Hanoverian succession, Archbishop Boulter and Sir Gustavus Hume. Lord Thomond, although technically not a resident of Henrietta Street, also had Tory links. His maternal relations, the Dukes of Beaufort, had been firm Tory supporters, while his brother-in-law William Wyndham was convicted as a suspected Jacobite in 1715. Thomond was a chief mourner at the Westminster funeral of another suspected Jacobite, the Earl of Orrery, while at Dover Street in London Thomond had lived next-door to the Tory leader, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford for many years. Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, always the political opportunists, had both advanced under Whig government. Yet Clements' father, and Gardiner's early patron John South had both received preferment under Queen Anne and the Tories in the 1710s. A shared political outlook amongst neighbours, therefore, does not appear to have been the prime motivation when choosing a neighbourhood to settle in. The close proximity in which the rival neighbours lived, and the intricate and interlinked nature of social and associational networks in which they operated must have made for some awkward assemblies and entertainments at Henrietta Street during these times of political factionalism.

### **5.3.2. Occupying the early eighteenth-century town house, stages of life.**

Domestic buildings formed the backdrop to every stage in life. Occupying a house in town, in particular, marked out several of these stages.<sup>1074</sup> As very tangible symbols of success, the taking or building a new house often coincided with advancement in the public arena. For instance, Henry Boyle moved to No. 11 Henrietta Street when he received the lucrative position of Commissioner of the Revenue in 1735.<sup>1075</sup> George Stone took the lease on No. 4 Henrietta Street upon translation to the See of Ferns in 1740/1. Richard Molesworth moved to No. 14 upon promotion to Commander-in-Chief in 1751, while John Ponsonby occupied Nos. 5-6 Henrietta Street about the same time he was made a Commissioner of Excise in 1743.<sup>1076</sup> John Maxwell purchased the large plot of ground on the north-side of Henrietta Street in 1747, having clawed his way back up the

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<sup>1074</sup> Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, p. 54.

<sup>1075</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. III, p. 241.

<sup>1076</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, vol. 5: 1742-1745 (1903), p. 423, noted Ponsonby's salary was £1,000 p.a.

ladder to success, following bankruptcy and near ruin in the 1720s.<sup>1077</sup> In April 1748 Sir Robert King signed an agreement to purchase the new house at No. 15 Henrietta Street from Luke Gardiner. Two months later, at the age of twenty-three, he was elevated to the peerage as Baron Kingsborough. King, who had distinguished himself with foreign travel in his youth, and was elected MP for his native Boyle in County Roscommon when only nineteen, had already gained a reputation for extravagance and high living.<sup>1078</sup> He was said to have borrowed the vast sum of £40,000 from Henry Macarrel in about 1748, and certainly began mortgaging his substantial Roscommon and Sligo estates from 1749.<sup>1079</sup> Ready money was clearly necessary for King to advance his position. In 1749 he was made Grand Master of the Freemasons, a role synonymous with wealth and prominence. He commissioned a leading portraitist, Robert Hunter, to paint a group of nine full length family portraits, wherein the handsome sitters (fig. 5.35), resplendent in magnificent apparel showed their newly elevated position to the world, while the array of luxurious household items and furnishings from this period, which were preserved at the family seat of Rockingham, County Roscommon, speak of the grandeur to which King aspired (fig. 5.36). The purchase of a fashionable town house in Henrietta Street was perhaps the most visible device utilised in this young man's bid for pre-eminence.

Young couples often took a house in town upon entering into the matrimonial state.<sup>1080</sup> Nathaniel Clements and Hannah Gore built their first home at No. 8 Henrietta Street in the early years of their marriage, which took place on January 31st, 1730. Newlyweds John Ponsonby and Elizabeth Cavendish were given the lease of Nos. 5-6 Henrietta in 1743, while Owen Wynne received a settlement from his father upon his marriage to Anne Maxwell, as well the lease of the ground from his father-in-law, which enabled him to build a monumental residence at No. 3 Henrietta Street.<sup>1081</sup> In February 1729/30 William Graham signed an agreement to take the new built (not yet complete) house at No. 11 Henrietta Street, a month prior to his marriage to the Hon. Lady Mary Granville, daughter of Lord Landsdowne, which took place on March 14th, 1729/30. Following a brief honeymoon in London where they enjoyed the whirl of the social season, attending the *ridotto* in April 1730 with Mrs Graham's cousin Mary Pendarves, the couple seemed anxious to return to their new Dublin residence.<sup>1082</sup> In late April Mary Pendarves remarked, 'I suppose my cousin Graham will be preparing for Hibernia, he seemed determined to go the

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<sup>1077</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. III, p. 224.

<sup>1078</sup> See Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. III, p. 236.

<sup>1079</sup> PRONI T3418/29 Abstract of Lord Dundas's title to his Roscommon and Sligo estate...

<sup>1080</sup> Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 106; Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>1081</sup> NAI T12754, copy will of Owen Wynne of Hazelwood in the County of Sligo, 23 May 1755, wherein it notes he encumbered his estate to the sum of £3,000, which was settled upon his son Owen Wynne upon his marriage, in 1754.

<sup>1082</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 253, Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Pall Mall, 4th April 1730.

beginning of May.<sup>1083</sup> In the early years of their marriage this Irish gentleman and an English peer's daughter utilised their fashionable town house at Henrietta Street in their bid to establish prominence in Dublin society. The couple were known for their lavish lifestyle, and in the following decade Graham was forced to mortgage his estate to cover his debts.<sup>1084</sup> Mary Pendarves recounted numerous social occasions she attended with the Grahams; the Duke and Duchess of Dorset's St. Cecelia's Day ball at Dublin Castle, where 'Capt. Pierce' was among the select group of twenty-four couples; visits to the Graham's country seat at Platten, County Meath where they had as much company as 'to dance every night;' and at their town house at Henrietta Street, where in late November 1731 Mary Pendarves attended a 'ball at Mrs Grahams,' and later in March 1731/1 a dinner with the newly dubbed 'Sir Edward Pierce.'<sup>1085</sup>

That Mary Pendarves referred to their establishment as 'Mrs Grahams' highlights the integral role played by married women within the elite household. Not only did the mistress of the house act as the household manager, and hostess on these important social occasions, but as numerous letters, diaries and personal account-books make clear, they were fundamental in the actual creation and fitting out of these domestic social spaces.<sup>1086</sup> As married women's names do not appear on leases or tradesmen's bills, even though they may well have been the commissioning agent, there is a tendency to overlook female agency in these matters.<sup>1087</sup> But, as Mary Delany makes clear in her rather tongue in cheek remarks in 1759, this was not the contemporary viewpoint:

Not hear of Mr and Mrs Clements!' Why she is finer than the finest lady in England.  
Dress, furniture, house, equipage –*excelling all!* Mr Clements is *her husband!*<sup>1088</sup>

Indeed, Nathaniel Clements' marriage to Hannah Gore, niece of Sir Ralph Gore who was then Speaker of the House of Commons, was crucial to his social and political advancement. Mrs Clements' taste and social standing were regularly alluded to. According to Mrs Delany there was a 'cleverness and elegance in everything about them,' while in 1747 her husband reported to Secretary Weston that Mrs Clements had carried out [Lord Lieutenant] 'Harrington's instructions

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<sup>1083</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 254, Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville, Richmond, 26 April, 1730.

<sup>1084</sup> NLI Ms. 36,021, Killadoon papers. Deed of conveyance wherein William Graham conveyed his Louth estate to Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements until debts in the order of £1,575 were discharged.

<sup>1085</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, pp. 323-324, Mary Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Dublin, Nov. 1731; p. 317 Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Dublin, Nov. 25, 1731; p. 329 Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Dublin, Dec 9, 1731; p. 342. Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Ann Granville, Dublin, March 11, 1731-2.

<sup>1086</sup> See Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter*, pp. 8-9, 29-30, 190.

<sup>1087</sup> Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 107, 125, 130-131.

<sup>1088</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 552, Mrs Delany to her sister Mrs Dewes, Delville, May 5, 1759.

concerning the wines and linen.<sup>1089</sup> And it was again ‘to Mrs. Clement’s Lodge in Phoenix park,’ that Mary Delany paid a visit in 1759, where she,

walked all over her home; she *very fine*, and very civil, but it rained so violently we could not see her improvements abroad...<sup>1090</sup>

In addition to the social season, women tended to travel to town for the period of their confinement, in order to avail of more expert and on-hand medical care than the country would have afforded, and it was in these town houses that many elite births took place. Lady Anne Conolly took a house in Dublin ‘for three months because she is to Leyin [*sic*].’<sup>1091</sup> Lord and Lady Mountjoy had two sons during their residence at No. 12 Henrietta Street.<sup>1092</sup> Mrs Graham’s son John was born here in the first year of her marriage in 1730.<sup>1093</sup> Whereas in September 1751 it was reported that ‘the lady of Lord Vis. Molesworth safely delivered at his house in Henrietta Street,’ not only establishing an earlier birth date for their youngest daughter Charlotte than hitherto given, but also an earlier date for their occupancy of this house.<sup>1094</sup>

As well as marking out these happier stages of life the town house was also the setting for sickness and death. Upon the premature death of his wife of smallpox in 1735 William Graham removed from his house at No. 11 Henrietta Street. Many others choose to occupy a town house upon the loss of a spouse.<sup>1095</sup> There were significant numbers of widows among the early residents of Sackville Street in the 1750s, including Mrs Echlin, Mrs Donnellan, Mrs Ormsby, and Lady Catherine Netterville, while Lord Thomond moved to Ireland and commissioned a new house at Henrietta Street following the death of the Countess of Thomond in 1734. In 1753 the tragic death of ‘two Children of the Right Hon. John Ponsonby’ occurred on the same morning at his house in Henrietta Street, presumably the result of illness.<sup>1096</sup>

In May 1731 Sir Gustavus Hume wrote to his cousin Lord Polwarth from his Dublin residence, describing his ill health:

My ailments this last winter hath pulled me down severely and though I do not labour under those accursed pains that so long tormented me yet I am seldom without some

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<sup>1089</sup> PRONI T3019/873, 21 May 1747, Clements, Dublin, to Weston.

<sup>1090</sup> Delany, *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, p. 565-6, Mrs Delany to her sister Mrs Dewes, Delville, May 5 & Sept. 22, 1759.

<sup>1091</sup> NLI MS 41,577/4 Smythe of Barbavilla papers. Mary Jones, Dublin to her sister Jane Bonnel, London, April 22, no year.

<sup>1092</sup> See Debretts, *Peerage*, p. 1069, William, Viscount Mountjoy was born 14 March 1734/5 but died in the lifetime of the father unmarried on 2 Feb 1754. Lionel Robert was born 12 April 1736, died young, c.1760.

<sup>1093</sup> Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament*, vol. iv, p. 302.

<sup>1094</sup> *London Evening Post*, September 26, 1751-September 28, 1751, Issue 3735.

<sup>1095</sup> Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, p. 136. Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, p. 38.

<sup>1096</sup> *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazette*, Saturday, March 31, 1753, Issue 1490.

degree of them. I wish I could accompany Mr Bailie [His cousin by marriage, and Lord Polwarth's brother-in-law ] and his family to Spa where possibly I might [ elig.] some benefit but I am grown so susceptible of cold that such an undertaking would be too hazardous....I am not even well enough to set out on a journey to Castlehume.<sup>1097</sup>

At this time Richard Castle was engaged in rebuilding Hume's ancestral seat at Castle Hume, County Fermanagh, following Sir Gustavus and Lady Alice Hume (née Moore's) return to Ireland in 1729 after many years in London. It was described soon after as a 'fine estate with one of the most beautiful and best houses in Ireland, lately rebuilt and this [elig.] now almost finished ...'<sup>1098</sup> Hume did in fact make the journey home to Castle Hume, but died here on the 12 October 1731, 'when he was 54 years old wanting 2 days.' He was 'buried in his father's grave 9 days after in a very solemn manner, suitable to his rank and fortune, in a church built by Sir John.'<sup>1099</sup> However, it was at Hume's Henrietta Street house that the last drama of his life played out.

On August 18th 1729, probably at the time he had moved from Brook Street in London to Dublin, Hume had made an amended and unperfected will. Therein, in addition to his real estate which he had settled upon his eldest daughter Mary, in trust for her heirs male, he devised unto his 'loving and beloved wife Lady Alice the best coach, all the plate and all manner of household furniture,' leaving the remainder of his personal estate to his younger daughter Alice.<sup>1100</sup> Although Hume had previously made General Wynne aware of its existence, in the aftermath of his sudden death in 1731 the whereabouts of this valuable document was unknown.<sup>1101</sup> A search of Hume's Dublin residence promptly ensued, where upon the orders of Owen Wynne one Richard Moore, an upholder of Capel Street Dublin testified that he :

was searching in the Escritoire of the said Sir Gustavus Hume which stood in his dressing room in his house in the City of Dublin for some of his papers of accounts, [when] he in one of the drawers of the said Escritoire found the writing here unto annexed importing the will of the said deceased...<sup>1102</sup>

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<sup>1097</sup> NAS, GD158/1279, 22nd May 1731.

<sup>1098</sup> NAS GD158/1394, 15 Jan. 1731/2, John Trotter to the Earl of Marchmont. This forms part of a fascinating account of Sir Gustavus Hume's death, and the subsequent controversy surrounding the settlement of his affairs by a Mr. John Trotter of Wood Street, who claimed to have been a family servant for many years.

<sup>1099</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1100</sup> NAS GD158/437.

<sup>1101</sup> NAS GD158/1394, 15 Jan. 1731/2, John Trotter to the Earl of Marchmont, wherein Trotter noted Sir Gustavus 'discoursed with Gen. Wynne last summer about amending his former will, and mentioned he had made a new one.'

<sup>1102</sup> NAS GD158/437, affidavit accompanying the said will, signed Rich. Moore *Jurat coram Nobis* 17 January 1731 Marm. Coghill. A second affidavit of 10 February 1731 concerning Gen. Owen Wynne's testimony is also enclosed.

The discovery of Hume's will at his Dublin town house in 1731, which was proven in the following year making his eldest daughter Mary Hume the heiress of a great fortune,<sup>1103</sup> set in motion a chain of events which would ultimately led to one of greatest legal battles of the century. One which would involve Hume's future son-in-law and grandson, sometime residents of the house next door at No. 13 Henrietta Street.<sup>1104</sup>

#### **5.3.4. The early eighteenth-century town house, social settings and political purlieus.**

The domestic household was the site of social and political power in eighteenth-century elite society; simultaneously serving as the setting for hospitable display and social advancement, a place to conduct business and the stage on which political intrigues, strategies and preferment were played out.<sup>1105</sup> The houses at Henrietta Street were no exception, indeed this fashionable street could be considered as second only to Dublin Castle as a centre for elite power and political manoeuvring during the first half of the century.

Having neglected his Irish interests for the majority of his life, upon removal to Dublin in 1738 Henry, Earl of Thomond seemed intent on re-establishing his position as Ireland's second peer and a 'great lover of his country.' Two years previously he had failed in his claim to the title of Marquis of Billing, in the peerage of Great Britain, while in Ireland his great cause against James Hamilton was still being decided in the courts.<sup>1106</sup> At this opportune time Thomond played a prominent role in Irish society. He attended Katherine Conolly's influential gatherings at Castletown House, where Mary Jones remarked, 'Ld. Tummond..is [a] verry well bread scivill man, but a wicked man both for wine and wemon...'<sup>1107</sup> He accompanied the Lord Lieutenant on state occasions with great pomp and ceremony,<sup>1108</sup> while it was reported:

The Earl of Thomond, to shew his regard to his Country, hath bought two of the finest Pieces of Dundalk Cambrick that have ever been made in this Kingdom.<sup>1109</sup>

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<sup>1103</sup> NAS GD158/1394, 15 Jan 1731/2, John Trotter to the Earl of Marchmont. noted 'My lord he died very rich, leaving a real estate free of debt worth about three thousand pounds ... and the estate chattel etc to the value of thirty-thousand pounds as some of his [elig.] relations now in the city and my [?] have reckoned up to.'

<sup>1104</sup> Josiah Brown, *Reports of cases, upon appeals and writs of error; in the High Court of Parliament: from the year 1701, to the year 1779*, vol. 7 (Dublin, E. Lynch, 1784), pp. 320-3.

<sup>1105</sup> Ingrid Tague, *Women of quality: accepting and contesting ideals of femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 99-100. Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 82. Stewart, *The town house in Georgian London*, p. 192; Vickery, *Behind closed doors*, pp. 18, 93-94, 146.

<sup>1106</sup> See *Daily Gazetteer*, Monday, November 29, 1736, Issue 445; Dublin: King's Inns Library, House of Lords Appeals: vol. 11; *London Evening Post* (London, England), July 5-July 8, 1740, Issue 1974, which refers to Thomond's great cause against James Hamilton.

<sup>1107</sup> NLI MS 41,577/4, Smythe of Barbavilla papers, July 3rd, no year.

<sup>1108</sup> *General Evening Post*, January 17-19, 1740, Issue 986.

<sup>1109</sup> *London Evening Post*, December 2-4, 1740, Issue 2038.

In an even more public display of his patriotism, and permanent attachment to his country Thomond commissioned Nathaniel Clements to build ‘a good new dwelling house’ at Henrietta Street. Its intended use as a social space, for entertaining and display is borne out, not only by its palatial scale (there were four large rooms to each floor, for a single man) and the splendid manner of the furnishings gathered at Thomond’s Jervis Street lodgings, but also by the vast quantities of wine and champagne which Thomond had ordered to fill his new cellars.<sup>1110</sup> Indeed, surviving grocery and wine bills corroborate Mary’s Jones’ colourful sketch of Thomond’s sociability. The butchers bill in December 1739 came to £22, while between April 20th and May 3rd 1740 Thomond ordered 48 ‘flasks of Champain,’ from Macarrel and King. It is no great surprise that upon his unexpected death in 1741 Mary Jones was to remark:

he was a loss to this poor kingdom for he was very resolved to live hear [*sic*] and he spent a great deal of money.<sup>1111</sup>

Hospitality was an essential element in maintaining social standing and political power. There was little distinction at this time between social and political engagements, both serving the same ends in terms of advancement, and these town houses were settings where business shaded into pleasure. The Clements’ splendid houses at No. 8 and subsequently No. 7 Henrietta Street played host to numerous such assemblies and entertainments. Many of these had an overt political tone, and were typically male dominated affairs, involving heavy drinking, much conviviality and toasting.<sup>1112</sup> Marmaduke Coghill described one particular drink-fuelled occasion:

Att Mr Clements’s house between the Speaker [Mr.Boyle] and the Secretary [Mr Cary]... [where] after the company had drank [*sic*] very hard. Mr Carey reproach’d Mr Boyle that he had not kept his Muster Squadron in better order...<sup>1113</sup>

Luke Gardiner certainly utilised the prominent social occasions held at his town residence to forward his considerable political ambitions. In May 1736 it was reported that:

Last Sunday his Grace the Duke of Dorset and his Duchess, dined with the Right Honourable Henry Boyle, Esq. our Speaker; and Yesterday his Grace paid the like Honour to Luke Gardiner, Esq. Gardiner, our Deputy Vice-Treasurer.<sup>1114</sup>

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<sup>1110</sup> See PHA 11155: Bills and accounts for goods and services supplied to Henry Earl of Thomond 1741. For instance, Thomond had ordered 12 barrels of ‘old Marg Clarrett’ at a cost of £276, which at the time of his death had been bottled and were ready in Macarrel’s cellars.

<sup>1111</sup> NLI MS 41,577/2 Smythe of Barbavilla papers. Mary Jones, Dublin to her sister Jane Bonnel, London, April 24th 1741.

<sup>1112</sup> See Patrick Walsh “Claret, conviviality and the constitution: Henrietta Street and eighteenth-century,” Dublin tenement experience, accessed October 30 2013.

<sup>1113</sup> Coghill, *Letters*, p.145, Coghill to Edward Southwell Jr., 4 Dec 1732, Dublin.

<sup>1114</sup> *The Daily Gazetteer*; Thursday, May 20, 1736; Issue 280, although the venue is not stated this notice appeared under the Dublin news section, and in instances where such entertainments took place outside of the city, or in a public place the location was usually given. Furthermore, as Henry Boyle’s seat was in County Cork his entertainment seems certainly to have taken place at Henrietta Street.

In the very week that this engagement took place Luke Gardiner and his son Charles were made ‘Master of the Revels in Ireland.’<sup>1115</sup> In 1745 when the new Lord Lieutenant Chesterfield came to Ireland Luke Gardiner once again played host to this distinguished guest:

Last Wednesday his Excellency the Earl of Chesterfield and his Countess with a great Number of Nobility and Gentry dined with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor; on Thursday with his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin; and Yesterday with the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardner, Esq.<sup>1116</sup>

In that same year Gardiner secured a most lucrative and powerful office, with a three-life grant of the surveyor generalship of customs.<sup>1117</sup>

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The early eighteenth-century town house fulfilled a myriad of functions, both public and private, physical and conceptual, often simultaneously. In terms of physical use these buildings were densely packed and intensely, if only seasonally used, and as such room function was fluid and flexible. Similarly, there were few distinct boundaries between public and private space and rooms were adapted to serve a dual function. This being said the overt social function of the town house was clear, not only in the structure and decoration of the different areas of the building, but in the material goods which were displayed within. In addition to everyday use this chapter has highlighted the role played by these domestic buildings in self-presentation and self-fashioning, as very tangible symbols of the wealth, status, and above all ‘taste’ of their occupants. Taste, it seems, extended to all areas of the building, and the gardens (and services areas) appear of equal consequence to their users, as the position of the dining room or the disposition of the facade. And it was to established British taste and fashions, that the occupants of Dublin’s town houses looked.

These finely fitted out town houses not only served as sumptuous space for living in, but also as the stages on which the great events of their life played out. The dwelling houses at Henrietta Street, in particular, were the site in which the close-knit and intricately connected group of Dublin’s leading power brokers came together, where peers and property developers, clerics and social climbers formed influential social and political networks, and where they utilised their domestic living spaces to further their ambitions and positions in the public world.

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<sup>1115</sup> *London Evening Post*, May 18-20, 1736, Issue 1327.

<sup>1116</sup> *The Dublin Journal*, September 3, 1745.

<sup>1117</sup> Andrews and Coleman, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

## **Findings, conclusions and scope for future endeavour.**

This wide-sweeping contextual study has set out to fill the gap between the formal architectural histories of London and Dublin in the early Georgian period and to establish links between the vibrant architectural cultures of the two capitals at a significant time in the development of Dublin's domestic architecture. Although findings are tentative and many questions still remain the endeavour has borne fruit. The figures who populate this study have proven of key importance as conduits of architectural exchange and a rich array of material concerning the circles responsible for the promotion of the new mode domestic architecture in Dublin has come to light.

A fuller picture has emerged of the intricate lines of connection between these individuals and the influential networks in which they moved on both sides of the Irish Sea, while several new protagonists of the first significance to Dublin's residential development have been brought to the fore. Bridging the divide between historical and architectural concerns, this study has pointed up the importance of the cross-cultural experience of this group, specifically the impact of the sophisticated built environment they inhabited, the architecturally minded circles they moved in and the new architectural taste they encountered in Britain during the early decades of the eighteenth century. This web of contextual and circumstantial material has in turn provided the connective tissue with which to clothe the bare bones of the buildings, offering new insights into the exchange of architectural taste between London and Dublin, the routes by which this took place, and ultimately how the interplay of these dual contexts produced the distinct characteristics of the Dublin's town houses.

Although Dublin's residential development shows a clear dependency on British examples, specifically those of London's West End, adopting many of the development practices and housing forms established there, this was not simply a case of provincial imitation, the wholesale absorption of a dominant imported model. Rather, Ireland's leading practitioners, the architects and building-developers responsible for the new mode of domestic architecture were at the frontline of British architectural development, where they moved in eminent architectural circles and in the thick of the cultured courtly milieu, where they rubbed shoulders with and indeed worked alongside the foremost architects of the period, and where they gained first hand knowledge of the latest exemplars in domestic design. Formal comparison of both built examples and paper projects has shown the heavy debt owed by both Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle to their British contemporaries: to Colen Campbell and the Burlingtonians, but also to the lesser known Palladian architects Giacomo Leoni and Roger Morris and the eclecticism of James Gibbs and Sir John Vanbrugh.

The importance of Edward Lovett Pearce's family connections in Britain to his professional formation and burgeoning architectural practice has been emphasised. Pearce's

paternal family connections not only secured him a number of domestic commissions in Britain but placed him in the thick of Norfolk's vibrant architectural *milieu* in the mid-1720s, in the way of first rate building projects at Narford Hall and Houghton, and the country's leading architects Colen Campbell, William Kent and James Gibbs. Intriguingly, Pearce was also linked to the prominent Hanoverian courtier, Secretary James Johnson and his wife Lucy Claxton, whose position within the exalted circle surrounding Queen Caroline and the proximity of their suburban villa, Orleans House, to the royal household at Richmond has tantalising implications for Pearce's Richmond palace commission. The significance of this scheme, not only for Pearce's early career but the genesis of his working relationship with Richard Castle calls for further exploration of this connection.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce, uncle and later father-in-law to Edward Lovett Pearce, emerges as a significant figure in this study and a dominant influence in his nephew's career. General Pearce provides a rare documented link to the architect Sir John Vanbrugh, which combined with an array of circumstantial evidence allows us to fill out the sketchy picture of this important British connection, and points up an intriguing correlation between an oddity in the construction of a Pearcean house at Henrietta Street and a London house associated with the Vanbrughs. A thread of looser Vanbrughian connection points to the possibility that Edward Lovett Pearce was involved in building his uncle's rural retreat at Altidore in County Wicklow, while this project certainly suggests strong family connections in Wicklow, which in their own right warrant further attention. Through his military connections General Pearce was most likely instrumental in securing his nephew a number of important domestic commissioners in Britain, that were of some significance to his architectural formation. Pearce's suggested involvement in the sophisticated interiors of General Jean Ligonier's town house at North Audley Street in Mayfair illuminates the formal concerns of Pearce's developing domestic practice and at the same time serves to connect him with the prolific builder-developer Edward Shepherd and the group of architectural practitioners active on the Grosvenor Estate in the closing years of the 1720s.

Pearce's involvement in remodelling Ashley Park in Surrey for the solidier-peer Viscount Shannon appears to have been of fundamental importance. General Richard Boyle, 2nd Viscount Shannon though absent from Ireland for most of his career served as a high-ranking officer on the Irish establishment throughout this period, where he moved in the same military circles as Pearce's father and uncle, and his patron General Ligonier. What is more, we cannot forget that Pearce himself was an enlisted army officer and his military background was integral to his architectural advancement. General Shannon was among the first rank of Anglo-Irish society, he was part of the illustrious Boyle family and as first cousin to the Earl of Burlington must be counted as the most likely conduit to the Burlington circle in Britain. An important architectural patron in his own right, Shannon also provides direct links to other British architects, to Sir John Vanbrugh who worked at Ashley Park, to Giacomo Leoni, whose subsequent work shows stylistic parallels with both Pearce

and Castle's domestic output, in particular his designs for Shannon's house at No. 21 Arlington Street, and even more significantly to the Palladian architect Roger Morris.

Both the formal and circumstantial links between Morris and Pearce, and for that matter Richard Castle are compelling. Morris' Marble Hill House (*c.*1724), which was only a stone's throw from Orleans House, and his design for the Duke of Argyll at Combe Bank in Kent (*c.*1728) show remarkably similar detailing to later Pearcean designs. Morris had worked in Norfolk with Colen Campbell in the mid-1720s, at the same time Pearce was in the County; he was appointed Clerk of Works at White Lodge in Richmond in 1727, and even more pertinently in 1728 he was connected with the interior work at No. 30 Old Burlington Street, a house of Pearcean significance, when we know Pearce was in Britain.

Comparative analysis of No. 9 Henrietta Street, a building associated with both Pearce and Castle, and the house designed for Algernon Coote at No. 30 Old Burlington Street has indicated that the author of the Henrietta Street house was more familiar with Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell's (unpublished) drawings for Coote's house than the built structure. The almost exact correlation between a basement plan of the London house, preserved among Pearce's papers in the Elton Hall collection, and Campbell's paper design illuminates the means by which this important architectural model was transmitted to Dublin, and the utility of architectural drawings as one of the chief routes of influence. Notable similarities between several of Pearce's paper plans for urban buildings and Campbell's unpublished designs underscores the currency of this means of architectural exchange. Given that the basement plan of No. 30 Old Burlington Street was not in Pearce's hand, however, suggests the involvement of an intermediary in accessing these drawings. As Colen Campbell's former assistant, Roger Morris would have had direct knowledge of, if not access to, Campbell's designs and it is firmly documented that Pearce and Morris had direct dealings about this time, when in 1730/1 Pearce arbitrated a dispute between Viscount Shannon and Roger Morris over work at Ashley Park.

Richard Castle's links to Roger Morris are more tentative and yet the strength of the visual evidence is even more compelling. Of all the British Palladians Castle's architecture most closely resembles Morris', not only in the robust forms of their detailing, but also in their shared taste for emphatic cornices and blocked quoins in their domestic buildings, a characteristic which interestingly was not shared by Pearce. These formal and circumstantial links may well point the way to a direct line of connection between Ireland's Palladian architects and their British counterparts and certainly present a significant avenue for future inquiry. Strong stylistic similarities are also evident between Castle's work and that of the Scot James Gibbs, while both well-travelled architects also shared a tendency to employ Lukanese stuccadores in their domestic interiors. We now know Castle was in close proximity to several of Gibbs' buildings projects around Marylebone in the mid-1720s, whereas Gibbs' draughtsman, Johann Borlach, a Dresden Jew with an interest in engineering, suggests another important line of connection.

Castle's subsequent Irish projects also indicate an awareness of Giacomo Leoni's work, in particular his published designs, while a notable similarity in their drawing style points up their shared background in royal courts of Germany. Indeed, the German context to Richard Castle's emergence in Britain and his subsequent arrival in Ireland proves most significant. Castle's interest in military engineering, in navigation and hydraulics links him to the scientific milieu surrounding the royal Hanoverian court in London. George I's patronage of these pursuits (above those of architecture and public building projects), as well as his tendency to employ Germans lends weight to this proposal, and calls for further investigation the connection between Castle and Johann Borlach. Moreover, the determination that Castle's initial Irish patron, Sir Gustavus Hume was a Groom of the Royal Bedchamber and on an intimate footing with the inner (German) court circle surrounding George I is of the first importance and strongly suggests that this is the context for further examination of Castle's emergence in Britain.

As the instigator of Dublin's pioneering residential scheme at Henrietta Street the dual contexts in which Luke Gardiner operated have also proven significant. For while this enigmatic figure was known to be a man of 'great weight' in Ireland, it is clear that Gardiner's concerns were not solely limited to the Irish sphere. Rather, in drawing out his metropolitan connections on both sides of the Irish sea, in particular those established through his noble financiers and banking partners, Brabazon Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon and the Rt. Hon. Arthur Hill, this low-born speculative developer emerges as a man of ambition and cultured aspiration, who not only cultivated influential contacts amongst the leading corridors of power but engaged with the latest trends and cosmopolitan tastes of the British capital. His sophisticated schemes at Henrietta Street and Sackville Street, and indeed his own houses at Henrietta Street and in the Phoenix Park bear witness to his awareness of cutting-edge building models and sophisticated development practices.

Although Gardiner did not travel regularly to Britain, as so many of his compatriots did, he kept abreast of the latests developments through architectural books and treatises, through the building practitioners he employed and moreover through his development partner and protégé, Nathaniel Clements. Highlighting the importance of foreign travel in the spread of new ideas, we have seen how Clements utilised his official visits to Britain to gain first-hand knowledge of residential developments there. Most notably, in the late 1720s when Henrietta Street was in the crucial stages of planning Clements made regular visits to the British capital, where he would have come in contact with the latests tastes and trends in domestic architecture, but also through his influential associate General Ligonier with such major players in London's West End development as Edward Shepherd and John Wood.

Comparison of the nuts and bolts of the development model utilised at Henrietta Street with established examples has demonstrated the impact of British models, and yet while Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements adopted many aspects of British practice there were a number of significant differences to their approach. The protracted term of development at Henrietta Street was at odds with standard British practice, and certainly did not yield a quick return on Gardiner's

sizeable investment. This divergence from established practice may have been a result of Gardiner's strained finances, or perhaps local economic conditions. Local precedent was certainly the impetus behind another even greater departure from British practice, the extremely broad scale of the building plots at Henrietta Street which were in direct contrast to the very corner-stone of the British financial model looked instead to the precedent established by Dublin Corporation in the previous century, and utilised thereafter by Dublin's private developers in an effort to compete. However, at Henrietta Street Gardiner did not merely attempt to compete, but rather seemed intent on making a grand statement; the palatial scale of the frontages and indeed the sophisticated setting, the spacious streetscape, the granite paving and elegant wrought iron work testify to the extent of Gardiner's ambition and vision, and follow the latests in British cosmopolitan taste.

The same was true at Sackville Street, for although Gardiner adopted a development model more in keeping with British practice the grandeur of his conception was readily evident both in the scale of the development and in the sophisticated ornamental recreation space, the Mall, which ran down its centre. Gardiner and Clements, however, were not simply ambitious speculators but were financially astute businessmen. By investing in the creation of high class residential developments, in spacious elegant settings, and offering security of tenure and a range of financial incentives, these savvy developers were able to attract elite tenants, and in turn charge premium values for these sites, on par with the grandest streets in London's West End, thus eventually recouping their investment. What is more, in combining imported British principles tempered by a reliance on local practice and precedent their development model ultimately resulted in the distinctly Irish characteristics of these town houses.

It is not only the architects and developers responsible for Dublin's new residential schemes who have proven significant to this study of Anglo-Irish architectural exchange. The large quantities of Irish peers and gentry found amongst the earliest residents of London's fashionable West End and indeed the multitude of visitors who shuttled back and forth between the two capitals and established far reaching cross-channel networks have emerged as crucial links in the dissemination of new architectural taste, among the chief routes in the spread of architectural influence. The importance of such British-based protagonists as Viscount Shannon and General Jean Ligonier as conduits to eminent architectural circles have been noted, while other heretofore lesser known figures have now emerged as central characters in the history of domestic building in Dublin. Henry Boyle and Thomas Carter, previously regarded only for their consequence in Irish affairs, have come to the fore as influential agents of civilisation between the capitals.

Henry Boyle's direct family connection to Lord Burlington, his cousin and brother-in-law, show his regular sojourns in London where he resided in close proximity to Burlington House and was on an intimate footing with his kinsman, to be of the first importance, firmly placing him in this rich architectural orbit. The discovery that Henry Boyle seems to have acted as the Irish subscription agent for Burlington's protégé, William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* is of direct consequence, not only in highlighting the importance of architectural books in the spread of new

taste, but in pointing up Boyle's direct agency in this process. It is noteworthy that Boyle's associates, and later neighbours at Henrietta Street, Luke Gardiner and Thomas Carter are listed among the subscribers to this publication.

Henry Boyle in turn emerges as the intermediary between Thomas Carter and the Burlington circle in London, not only recommending Carter for the Boyle parliamentary interest but providing the introduction to Lord Burlington's agent and cultural broker Andrew Crotty. These cross-channel connections have raised significant questions as to the route by which the London model for Carter's house at No. 9 Henrietta Street reached Dublin, and the role of architectural drawings as a means of architectural exchange. Carter's cultivation of these exalted connections, and indeed his visit to the King at Richmond in 1731, clearly demonstrate the extent of his ambition and intent on advancement. It is therefore of the utmost relevance that at this time he was engaged in building a palatial town house in Dublin's newest and most fashionable street, for which he employed the services of the leading architect of the day and drew on a well known Burlingtonian model from London. This not only provides a direct instance of the transfer of a British model to Dublin's domestic sphere, but highlights the currency of imported architectural taste in striking a grand figure in Ireland, and the link between British and Irish culture in this period.

The interplay between the British and Irish contexts has also proven important to another significant figure highlighted this study, Brabazon Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon. Like Carter and Boyle, Ponsonby's cross-cultural ambitions, his determined cultivation of influential connections on both sides of the channel is readily evident, not least in his pursuance of a dynastic alliance with the powerful Cavendish family, but also in his desire to hold both a British and Irish peerage. Given the extent of his ambitions, and the fact that Ponsonby was a relatively new man amongst the ranks of nobility, it is somewhat surprising that he did not shrink from sullyng his hands with involvement in banking and speculative building, and with such a *parvenue* as Luke Gardiner. The same could be said of Arthur Hill, a man of good family, public position and cultivated taste. It is perhaps significant that these gentlemen chose to wind down their banking operation just at the time when each were seeking to advance their positions: Gardiner in politics and public affairs, Hill in developing his estate and local interests, and Ponsonby in his elevation to an earldom and intermarriage with the Dukes of Devonshire.

The discovery that Gardiner employed the services of an agent, one Thomas Lill for certain property transactions, particularly those involving mortgage finance may indicate his desire to remove himself a degree from the grubbiness of such business. And yet it is abundantly clear from this study, particularly with respect to Luke Gardiner and his circle, that money matters and the accumulation of wealth was of prime importance to these men and indeed a society in which conspicuous display of such wealth in dress, equipage and in the sumptuous interiors of their homes was the order of the day. What is more, these connections serve to point up the 'brown envelope' culture at play, and the close-knit cronyism of elite Irish society: in which earls mixed

with commoners, where established families intermarried with new men; and where building developers, financiers and money men, architects and tradesmen, and residents for that matter, all moved in similar circles, all intent upon advancement.

A figure of much import to emerge from this study, Henry O'Brien, 8th Earl of Thomond, epitomises the duality between the British and Irish context during the early Georgian period and highlights the role of returning absentees in the process of cultural exchange. Having lived most of his adult life in England, where he cultivated his British interests and in-laws, mixed in the first circles and inhabited a sophisticated domestic environment in the hub of courtly culture and polite taste, Lord Thomond moved to Dublin in 1738. There, we have seen he set about making a grand figure in the social life of the city, employing a range of means to re-establish his position as Ireland's second peer, and ultimately to advance his legal and financial interests. The most visible and for the purposes of this study consequential of these was his commission of a palatial scale town house at Dublin's most fashionable address, Henrietta Street. Its intended use as a social arena, for entertaining and display is readily evident, not only from its vast scale but the manner in which it was fitted out and the fashionable furnishings intended for its spacious interiors. By contrast the exterior of the house which Clements built for Lord Thomond was plain in the extreme, and offers one of the earliest and most striking examples of this peculiar characteristic of the Dublin terraced house.

Thomond was clearly a man of sophisticated, even ostentatious taste, while his possession of Clements' copy of Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*, and indeed his own various subscriptions to similar publications testify to his interest in architecture. That several of his neighbours, men of lower rank than Thomond, had built houses of far greater architectural pretension throws into relief this wealthy peer's surprising contentment with a 'good new dwelling house,' built of the cheapest materials and of such minimal external expression. The fact that Thomond's stay in Dublin was originally only intended to be temporary may offer a clue to this puzzle, suggesting he required a quick, cheap and showy solution to assist in his self-aggrandisement, and that it was the imposing scale and opportunities for display, and perhaps even more so, the good address which was important.

That a similar tendency can be found amongst hordes of Irish elites who flocked to London's Mayfair in the early decades of the eighteenth century must surely be significant. There, Ireland's first peers and gentry, who like Thomond were intent on establishing their position and seeking advancement in the British administration, took houses in the newest most fashionable streets, alongside high ranking British inhabitants, and the foremost examples of domestic architecture. They moved in the first circles and were part of the most eminent cultural networks of London society, where they were exposed to the latests ideals in British architectural taste. And yet, the houses occupied by these migrant grandees were, by and large, relatively modest and architecturally unremarkable, speculatively built, brick terraces, but crucially, were located in the best streets of London's West End. It is also surely of some import that while the developers of the

plain terraced houses at Henrietta Street, Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, adopted the large scale of the grandest houses in Mayfair, they borrowed the minimal architectural language of the second class of street, found on the outskirts of London. The plain economy of this treatment, moreover, finds parallels in the economic rationalism of the Irish craftsmen who built these houses, in their alteration of imported building practices.

The close-knit nature of Irish society in general and the intricate circle involved in the genesis of Dublin's new domestic architecture in particular is amplified by another important figure to have emerged from this thesis. William Graham, a wealthy Drogheda landowner who married an English peer's daughter and moved in the first circles of London and Dublin society was a close friend of the speculative developer Nathaniel Clements. They were near neighbours at Henrietta Street in the early 1730s, their wives socialised together, while later both Luke Gardiner and Clements provided the indebted spendthrift Graham with much needed finance. Of even greater import, the Grahams, it transpires were also closely acquainted with Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, with whom they attended social occasions and even entertained at their new house at No. 11 Henrietta Street.

Although Pearce has long been associated with the initial design of this house, and its neighbour at No. 12, drawing out the significance of the articles of agreement made between Graham and Luke Gardiner not only provides an earlier building date for these houses than previously believed, but more crucially, firmly associates Pearce with their construction. At the same time this valuable document serves to identify one of the largely anonymous group of tradesmen involved in Gardiner's development at Henrietta Street, the timber merchant Caspar White, whose various lines of connection to both Gardiner and Pearce clearly demonstrates the close-knit nature of Dublin's building industry. A similar picture transpires from analysis of the building knot active around St. Mary's Parish in the 1750s. Lastly, this agreement points up a finding of the utmost significance to the study Dublin's domestic architecture, identifying the initial resident of No. 12 Henrietta Street as none other than Sir Gustavus Hume.

Heretofore an obscure country squire from County Fermanagh, whose principal claim to fame was his role as the first patron of Richard Castle, Sir Gustavus Hume has emerged as a central figure in this study, of pivotal importance for the development of Palladian architecture in Ireland. A fascinating portrait of a well-travelled and cosmopolitan courtier has come to light which places Hume in thick of the inner circle surrounding George I and in the hub of London's most fashionable residential enclaves, but which also draws out his with connections to the major players of Dublin's domestic development. This rich contextual material has fleshed out the likely circumstances of his first meeting with Richard Castle. Far from the wilds of County Fermanagh we have seen how Hume's travels throughout the Continent, and Germany in particular, brought him in direct contact with the distinguished dignitaries of European courts. In London Hume was on intimate terms with the first ministers of the German Chancery and King George I's closest advisors, with Monsieur Robethon and Baron Bothmer, but also enjoyed cordial relations with the

future Queen Caroline, whereas his close alliance with his Scottish kin, the Earls of Marchmont, brought this Irishman into the first circles of society. Although there is surprisingly little evidence of his interest in architecture it is significant that Hume chose to live in a nerve centre of architectural activity in fashionable Brook Street during the early years of its development, where he was near neighbours with his Moore-in-laws and the prominent Irish peer Viscount Mountjoy, but also with the architects Colen Campbell and Edward Shepherd. What is more, Hume's interest in engineering and munitions not only serve to connect him with the scientific milieu surrounding the royal court, but his role as subscription agent to William Starrat links him with the major players in Dublin's domestic development.

Indeed throughout his service to George I, Hume maintained an interest in Irish affairs, especially with matters of military security and civil engineering, and the latter in particular underscores the possibility that it was his skills in navigation and hydraulics which originally brought Richard Castle to Hume's notice. And although there has been speculation that Hume was the link between Castle and Pearce, the web of connections which have now been established between these individuals serve to strengthen this probability. Of the utmost significance is the discovery that when Hume returned to Ireland following the death of George I, he chose to reside in Dublin's newest most fashionable street, in a house designed by Pearce, just at the same time as Castle was employed in rebuilding his ancestral seat at Castle Hume, and when Pearce and Castle were building Dublin's new parliament house. The concurrence of these events is surely not coincidental, and not only do they serve to strengthen the case for Castle's involvement at Henrietta Street, but also highlight the importance of the building of the Parliament House as a major impetus to the development of Henrietta Street, where the palatial new residences were built to suitably accommodate the members of the Irish parliament. Hume was crucially important amongst this close-knit group, in bridging the gap between the British and Irish contexts and bringing Richard Castle across the Channel to Dublin.

That these prestigious building projects, one in the public the other in the domestic sphere, were taking place at the same time in the late 1720s, employing the same architectural practitioners and building craftsmen, and indeed at the vocabulary contemporary British architecture is certainly significant. This tells us something about both the pioneering building culture in Dublin in this period, but also of the currency of imported fashions and architectural taste. Many of the close-knit group of protagonists to emerge from this study, the architects, builder-developers, patrons and residents had connections with both the Parliament House and Henrietta Street, even British-based figures like Viscount Shannon, Lord Percival and Edward Southwell, and we have seen the importance of their cross-cultural experience in informing the sophisticated building culture and architectural taste in Dublin. What is more, both building projects stood as tangible symbols of the wealth status and indeed taste of their distinguished occupants, and as such testify to the ambition of Ireland's ruling elite, and their use of architecture as a means of self-fashioning and aggrandisement.

This last point is made abundantly clear at Henrietta Street where the palatial-scale of the houses and their finely fitted-out interiors were utilised for myriad of functions, both public and private, real and conceptual, and were occupied for an equally broad variety of reasons. In looking beyond the red brick facades of these houses we have seen how these domestic buildings served as settings for hospitable display and social advancement, places to conduct business and the stages on which political intrigues, strategies and preferment were played out, and moreover that it was to the material culture and fashionable taste of London's *beau monde* that early residents looked in emulation. The dwelling houses in Henrietta Street became the arena in which the close-knit and intricately connected group of Dublin's leading power brokers came together, where the City's most prominent peers and property developers, patrons, architects and building practitioners joined in the creation of this new mode of domestic building.

In weaving the broader social concerns and the rich intercultural context in which they were created around the skeletal frame work of the buildings, this study has attempted to provide the connective tissue with which to flesh out the picture of Dublin's domestic development and its links to British architectural culture. In drawing out the formal connections between the two capitals, the debt owed to British architectural models and developments practices is clear, and yet the divergences from the imported models prove equally important in defining the distinct characteristics of the Dublin houses, and as such in placing these Irish buildings on a wider stage. In plotting the major routes by which British architectural taste reached Dublin the importance of architectural books and drawings comes to the fore, but above all the role of the individuals involved, of the architects, builders and developers but also the patrons and residents, in the dissemination of new architectural taste proves crucial. The major contribution of this study however, has been in populating the buildings; in bringing to light such new figures in the history of Dublin's residential development as Thomas Lill, Caspar White and Andrew Crotty, and in fleshing out the role of such little known, but crucially important protagonists as Thomas Carter and Henry Boyle, of Viscount Shannon and Jean Ligonier, Viscount Duncannon, William Graham and Henry Earl of Thomond and pivotally of Sir Gustavus Hume. The cross-cultural connections of these men form the bridge which sustained Anglo-Irish architectural exchange in the early Georgian period.

**Word Count: 89,900 approx.**

## Appendices.

### Appendix A: Irish residents of London's West End.

Resident	Address	Date occupied	Source ref.
James Fitzgerald, 20th Earl of Kildare	Arlington Street	c.1747	E.R. (1749), p. 7.
	No. 35 Grosvenor Square	1753	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington	Burlington House, Picadilly	c.1715-1753	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 393-5.
Henry O'Brien, 8th Earl of Thomond	Dover Street	c.1720-38	P.H.A.
John Percival, Viscount Percival/ 1st Earl of Egmont	No. 104 Pall Mall	1719-1748	S.L. Vols. 29 & 30, pp. 349-350.
John Percival, 2nd Earl of Egmont	Norfolk Street	c.1747	E.R. (1749), p. 18.
	No. 104 Pall Mall	1748-61	S.L. Vols. 29 & 30, pp. 349-350.
Algernon Coote, 6th Earl of Mountrath	No. 30 Old Burlington Street	Did not occupy	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 505-517.
	St. James Square	1722-31	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 505-517.
	No. 20 Grosvenor Square	1731-44	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
	No. 21 Grosvenor Square	c.1738-44	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
Charles Coote, 7th Earl of Mountrath	No. 22 Upper Grosvenor Street	1748-	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 224-231.
William O'Brien, 4th Earl of Inchiquin	No. 33 Grosvenor Square	1731-6	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
	No. 24 Grosvenor Square	1738-41	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
Henry Moore, 4th Earl of Drogheda	St. James's Street	c.1720s	R.I.A. Caldwell.
Countess of Drogheda, widow of the 4th Earl of Drogheda	No. 64 Brook Street	1731-5	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 3-4.
William Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon/ 2nd Earl of Bessborough	No. 1 Cavendish Square	1740s, 1750s	E.L. pp. 242-279 C.R. p. 59.
	Bruton Street	c.1747	E.R. (1749), p. 15.
	Bessborough House, Putney	1760s	Sur. pp. 78-83.
John Bligh, Baron Clifton/1st Earl of Darnley	Queensbury House, Old Burlington Street	Did not occupy	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, p. 455.
Edward Bligh 2nd Earl of Darnley	No. 46 Berkeley Square	1745-47	Pic. p. 253.
John Bligh, 3rd Earl of Darnley	Grosvenor Street	c.1747	E.R. (1749), p. 9.
	No. 46 Berkeley Square	1748-1781	Pic. p. 253.
Charles Butler, Earl of Arran	No. 53 Grosvenor Street	1726-58	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 44-48.
John Fitzwilliam, Viscount Milton/ 2nd Earl of Fitzwilliam	No. 26 Southampton Street, Covent Garden	1718	S.L. Vol. 36, pp. 207-208.
William Fitzwilliam, 3rd Earl of Fitzwilliam	St. James Square	c.1747	E.R. (1749), p. 6.
	Jermyn Street	1749-	West Poll.
Countess Fitzwilliam, wife William Fitzwilliam, 3rd Earl of Fitzwilliam	No. 3 Old Burlington Street	1754-69	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 569-570.
Lady Fitzwilliam	No. 17 Cork Street	1749-60	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, p. 567.
	No. 20 Upper Grosvenor Street	1757-91	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 228-230.
John Rawdon, 1st Earl of Moira	No. 22 Grosvenor Square	1741-46	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
John Villiers, 1st Earl of Grandison	No. 49 Grosvenor Street	1727-35	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 44-47.
James Hamilton, 7th Earl of Abercorn	No. 76 Dean Street	1735-42	S.L. Vols. 33 & 34, p. 228.
Richard Boyle, 2nd Viscount Shannon.	No. 22 Arlington Street	1738-41	E.R. (1749), p. 7.
Henry Temple, 1st Viscount Palmerstown	St. James's Square	c.1728	N. R. p. 49.
William Stewart, 2nd Viscount Mountjoy	No. 41 Brook Street	1725-7	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 21-23.
William Stewart, 3rd Viscount Mountjoy	No. 41 Brook Street	1727-28	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 21-23.
	No. 24 Grosvenor Square	1747-9	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
	Hill Street	1749	West Poll.
Lady Caroline Mountjoy	No. 11 Clifford Street	c. 1731-1738	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 566-567.
Lady Ann Mountjoy	No. 11 Clifford Street	c. 1738-42	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 566-567.
Edward Wingfield, 2nd Viscount Powerscourt	No. 40 Hill Street	1758-61	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 340-344.
Arthur Mohun, 3rd Viscount Doneraile	No. 19 Upper Brook Street	1742-4	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 205-210.
	No. 2 Argyll Street	1747	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 287-290.
Richard Molesworth, 3rd Viscount Molesworth	Scotland Yard	1720s-1730s	N.L.I.
Lady Mary Jenney Molesworth, widow of Richard, 3rd Viscount Molesworth	No. 49 Upper Brook Street	1759-63	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 216-221.
Alan Broderick, 2nd Viscount Middleton	No. 7 New Burlington Street	1738-47	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 568-571.
Lady Anne Connolly	No. 6 Grosvenor Square	1751-5	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 120-122.
Lady Hillsborough, wife of Trevor Hill, 1st Viscount Hillsborough	No. 7 Grosvenor Street	1725, 1728-9	S.L. Vol. 40, p. 35.

Resident	Address	Date occupied	Source ref.
General George Carpenter, 1st Baron Carpenter	Hanover Square	c.1720	H.S. pp. 314-326.
	No. 40 Grosvenor Square	1727-32	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
George Carpenter, 2nd Baron Carpenter	No. 40 Grosvenor Square	1732-49	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
George Carpenter, 3rd Baron Carpenter/ 1st Earl of Tyrconnel	No. 40 Grosvenor Square	1749-62	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
Elizabeth, Dowager Lady Carpenter, widow of 2nd Baron Carpenter	No. 24 Grosvenor Square	1751-62	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 117-135.
Francis Seymour-Conway, 2nd Baron Conway	No. 16 Grosvenor Street	1740-63	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 38-40.
Arthur Cole, 1st Baron Ranelagh	No. 58 Grosvenor Street	1726-54	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 50-57.
Lady Anne Gowan, widow of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1st Baron Gowran	No. 16 Grosvenor Square	1729-44	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 115-135.
John Fitzpatrick, 2nd Baron Gowran/Earl of Upper Ossory	No. 16 Grosvenor Square	1744-58	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 115-135.
Lady Folliott, widow of Henry Folliott, Baron of Ballyshannon	No. 12 Cork Street	1722-	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 567-68.
Sir Gustavus Hume	No. 4, The Terrace, Kensington	1721-1724	S.L. Vol. 42, pp. 100-102.
	No. 51 Brook Street	1727-1729	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 23-25.
	Burlington Estate	Did not occupy	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 505-517.
Sir William Parsons, 2nd Baronet	No. 66 Grosvenor Street	1739	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 50-57.
Sir John Bellew, 4th Baronet	No. 30 Grosvenor Street	1747-51	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 40-41.
Edward Southwell	Spring Gardens	1730-1750s	S.L. Vol. 20, pp. 58-65.
Capel Moore, son of the 3rd Earl of Drogheda	No. 71 Brook Street	1729-37	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 7-15.
Oliver St. George	No. 44 Grosvenor Square	1730-1	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 150-166.
Anne Donnellan	Charles Street, Berkeley Square	1740s/1750s	PRO.
Patrick and Mary Delany	Spring Gardens	1750s	S.L. Vol. 20, pp. 60-65.
<b>Officers on Irish Military Establishment</b>			
General George Wade	No. 29 Old Burlington Street	1723	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 505-517.
General Richard Waring	Grosvenor Street	1720s/1730s	P.A. p. 253.
General Jean Ligonier	No. 10 Old Burlington Street	c.1728	S.L. Vols. 31 & 32, pp. 567-570.
	No. 12 North Audley Street	1730-60s	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 100-104.
	No. 11 North Audley Street	1747-?	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 100-104.
<b>Holders of Irish Titles Only</b>			
George Talbot, 14th Earl of Shrewsbury/Earl of Waterford	No. 41 Brook Street	1743-6, 1748-50	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 21-23.
John Monckton, 1st Viscount Galway	No. 14 South Audley Street	1747	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 294-297.
William Monckton, 2nd Viscount Galway	No. 23 Upper Brook Street	1751-7	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 208-209.
John Bateman, 2nd Viscount Bateman	No. 41 Brook Street	1758-71	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 21-23.
Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pleydell Dawnay, 3rd Viscount Downe	No. 47 Grosvenor Street	1753-60	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 44-47.
Lady Lucy Vane, widow of William 1st Viscount Vane	Upper Brook Street/No. 80 Park Street	1739-41	S.L. Vol. 40, p. 204.
William, 2nd Viscount Vane	No. 49 Grosvenor Street	1742	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 44-47.
Charles Calvert, Baron Baltimore	No. 47 Grosvenor Square	1731-42	S.L. Vol. 40, pp. 160-165.

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**P.H.A.:** Petworth House Archive, PHA 13718.

**PRO:** Public Record Office 11/875.

**R.I.A.** Caldwell: Royal Irish Academy. Caldwell Collection, 12 R 39/130.\

**West Poll.:** Westminster Pollbooks: Votes in Westminster Elections, 1749-1820.

## **Appendix B: Inventories of the Earl of Thomond's house in Dover Street, London.**

### **1726 Inventory: Petworth House Archive, PHA 7359:**

Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond's house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex. 1725-1727.

The rooms named in the 1726 inventory of Lord Thomond's house in Dover Street include:

#### **[Basement? my insertion]**

The Kitchen; the Laundry; the Passage leading to the Kitchen; the Servants hall; the Pantry [included a 'press bed']; the stewards Dineing Room [*sic*. included a 'bathing tubb']; the Store Room; the Larder.

#### **[Ground-floor? my insertion]**

The Parlour; the Hall; the Gallery.

#### **[First-floor, my insertion]**

My Lords Bed Chamber [included 6 walnut chairs with chequered bottoms, [and] a rusia Bottomed Chair]; my Lady's little Dressing Room; the dark closet; my Lady's Great Dressing room [included a walnut settee, 2 walnuttrees stools with blue silk covers, a little walnut ease chair ... 8 walnuttrees chairs and a large writing table with drawers, *sic*]; the Closet next the Dressing Room; the Bleu Damask Room [a walnuttrees Caddrill table with leather cover, and 12 walnuttrees chairs with bleu damask seats all with Bleu Callimanco covers, *sic*].

**[Second-floor, my insertion]**

The House Keepers Room; the Stewards Room [included implements for hot beverages]; the Chamber Maids Room; the Passage; the Closet; Mrs Hancock's Room.

**[Garret, my insertion]**

My Lord's Gentleman's room; Powdering room; Footmans Room; Cooks Room and Maids Room.

**1738 inventory: PHA 11154 Inventories 1741:**

'An inventory of the Goods in the Earl of Thomond's House Domised by the Earl of Carlingford valued and appraised by Mark Forewand appraiser, 1738.

Here the order in which the rooms are presented do not appear to correspond to the relevant floors:

- In the Hall; In the servants Hall; In the Back Parlour; In the back parlour closet; In the street parlour; In the back parlour closet.
- In the pantry next the parlour. On the stairs; In the Dining room; In the blue room next the dining room; In the bedchamber on the right; In the closet; In the bed chamber on the left; In the dressing room.
- In the street room 2 pair of stairs [previously Mrs. Hancock's?]; In Mrs. Springs Clossett [included a bed, chairs etc); In the street room 2 pr of stairs. In the room 2pr stairs on left-hand; In the room 2pr stairs on right-hand.
- In the room below the stair where servants lye [settle-beds].
- In the Wine cellar; In the Kitchen; In the stable.

**1741 Inventory: PHA 10933 Accounts of George Morgan,**

in connection with the inventorying and sale of the goods of Henry, Earl of Thomond 1741-1742. A list of Fixtures in Lord Thomond's House in Dover Street

- Little Back Garret; Back Garret; Back Garret; Fore Garret; Next fore garret; Next Fore Garret;
- 2nd Stair Backwards & Closet; 2nd Stair Backwards; 2nd Stair Foreward; China Closet; 2nd Stair Foreward [*sic*];
- Blue damask Room; Drawing room; Bed Chamber and Closet [fitted with Indian paper]; Dressing room and closet; Dressing room.
- Library; Dineing Parlour [*sic*]; Hall.
- Housekeepers room; Stewards room; Pantry; Servants hall; Kitchen; Laundry; Larder lock and key shelves.

## **Appendix C: Inventories of The Earl of Thomond's house at Shortgrove.**

### **1726 Inventory: PHA 7359:**

Inventory of the contents of the Earl of Thomond's house in London, and of Shortgrove, Essex. 1725, 1727.

As detailed therein, the main block contained:

- **On the ground-floor:** The Great Room; The Little Parlour; The Hall; The Passage & staircase: The Green Room [only pictures]; The Old Billiard Room [chairs, settees, pictures]; The Great Drawing Room; The Little Drawing Room; The Smoking Room [prints, maps, table and chairs]; The Billiard Room [A large Billiard table, 2 ivory balls, 17 sticks, chairs]; The Stewards Room; The passage to ye Store room [prints and maps]; The Great Store Room; The little store rooms.
- **On the first-floor:** The Red Bed Chamber; The Dressing room belonging to the red room; The 2 closets within the dressing; The Velvet Bedchamber [including a velvet bed with gold trimming, and a fine ebony cabinet]; The Closet; My Lords Bed Chamber; My Lady's Dressing Room; My Lady's Green closet ; The 2 inner Closets; The Chambermaids room; My Lords Dressing Room; The Library; The Yellow Damask Room; The Dressing room belonging to ye yellow Damask Room; The best passage.
- **On the second-floor:** The Yellow Mohair Room; The 2 Closett; The Red Room : over ye Yellow Damask room; The 2nd Closett belonging to ye red room over the yellow damask room; The Dark Room [including 'an old quilt , that belonged to ye room Mrs. Hancock used to lie in']; The red room over ye red damask room; The passage; The paper Garret; The Maids room; The House Keepers room; The Linen closet; The room with a tent bed; The Cooks rooms; The Blue Damask Room [finer furnishings than servants room]; The 2 closets; My Lords Gentleman's Room; The Striped Camblet [sic] Room; The Two Closets; The Back Stairs.
- **The basement:** The Pantry; The Servants hall; the Cellars; The passage.
- **The out-offices:** The Kitchen; The laundry; The bakehouse; The Wash house; The wet Larder; The cheese chamber; The butlers room; The Blue Room; The stewards Chamber; The closet; Kitt hats [sic] room; Footmen's room; The still house fire engine; The gardeners room; The Porters lodge; The Painters lodge; The Brewhouse.
- **The stables:** the coachman's rooms; the corn chamber; the grooms room; saddles and bridles room.

No pertinent changes appear in the 1736 inventory; PHA 7360, Inventory of the Earl of Thomond's goods at Shortgrove, Essex. July 1736.

## **Appendix D: Inventory of the Earl of Thomond's Stud House, Hampton Court, 1741.**

### **PHA 11154: Inventories 1741.**

'An inventory of the Household Furniture of the Right Honble the Earl of Thomond, taken in Studhouse, Hampton Court this 6th June 1741.'

- Green Garrett [a bedstead with hangings and coverlet, 2 chairs]; the Blue Garrett [2 bedsteads and shift furniture, feather beds and chairs]; the Red Garrett [2 bedsteads and older furniture]; Yellow Garret [as previous].

[my break]

- Miss Windhams Room [yellow Chaney [*sic*] hangings...feather bed...etc bedstead with feather bed bolster etc a small looking glass...]; My Lords Bedchamber [A printed calluo [*sic*] bedstead, quilt, window curtains, feather bed etc, a Jappand cabinet [*sic*]; a mahogany night table; looking glass, broken table, 3 chairs, a chimney glass, a print etc]; My Lady's Dressing room [as previous, also contained 'a small beauro [*sic*] on a frame,' and a 'red damask easy chair']; In the plastered Room [a press for china, 14 china plates and other dishes]; My Lords Dressing room [walnut desk and bookcase, tables, chairs].

[my break]

- Parlour [printed curtains, chairs, marble and mahogany tables]; Drawing Room [24 prints, 2 matted chairs]; Kitchen and Dairy.

## **Appendix E: The Clements Archive: Killadoon papers (Killadoon) R/1:**

### **Tradesmen's accounts:**

- 12 Dec. 1733: receipted bill from John Ellis for furniture and wood ordered by Clements from 11 March 1732/2 onwards, including 6 hall chairs with his creast [*sic*] £3 9s. Total £23 18s.
- 20 Dec. 1733: receipted bill from John Horner, locks and Ironmongery ordered from May onwards.
- Bill paid 9 Jan. 1733/4 Robert Tailer's £6 16s. for '...the gilding of five frames, the cleaning and varnishing of a large picture frame...[and the supply of another] large picture frame.
- Bill George Ribtons, curtain material, ordered Oct 1732-Feb 1733, paid march 1734, £19 9s. 5½d.
- John Ellis 4 June 1733, paid Oct 1734, for mending and cleaning furniture and supply of two mahogany bookcases. £5 5s.
- Ralph Leland bill chimney glass 'a large tabernacle in the back parlour' (£17) scones and candlesticks and putting glass into a cedar frame' May-Dec 1733, £49 4s. Paid 22 May 1734.

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