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INTRODUCTION

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Summary



Firescreen showing the Villiers' coat of arms

The Villiers-Stuart papers comprise c.9500 documents and volumes, 1215-1945, relating to the estate, family and political affairs of the Fitzgerald, Villiers, Mason, Aland and Villiers-Stuart families of Dromana, Co. Waterford, Viscounts and Earls Grandison and Barons Stuart de Decies.

They include: Fitzgerald of the Decies deeds and documents, 1215-1598; Fitzgerald deeds and documents, 1602-1670; deeds and documents relating to Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, Viscountess Grandison, 1674-1701; Mason title deeds, 1560-1745; wills and testamentary papers, 1658-1662, 1693 and 1714-1875; Grandison and Villiers-Stuart deeds of settlement, 1708-1920; lease books and leases, 1680-1902; 19th century legal case papers, 1822-1883; correspondence of the 1st Earl Grandison, 1708-1767; Mason correspondence, 1708-1759; Grandison correspondence, 1766-1802; Stuart and Villiers-Stuart estate and financial correspondence, 1800-1907; letters and papers, 1824-1874, of Henry Villiers-Stuart, 1st Lord Stuart de Decies, concerning general politics, Co. Waterford politics and administration, and family matters; similar letters and papers, 1857-1893, of Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, MP for Co. Waterford, 1873-1874 and 1880-1885; formal documents, 1664-1839 and 1908; inventories, 1694-1695, 1726-1762, [1820s] and 1882-1957; maps, plans, surveys and valuations, 1640, 1652, c.1655 and 1693-1892; rentals and rent accounts, 1708-1945; and bills, receipts, accounts and account books, 1709-1927.



A long and complicated descent

The earliest original document among the Villiers-Stuart papers is dated 1400: the c.22 documents of 1215-1292 are only present in the form of 19th-century copies. Even so, the archive is unusually early by Irish standards. This is largely because the family, which descends directly from the Fitzgeralds of the Decies and of Dromana, has been in unbroken, though not undisturbed, possession of the Dromana estate, near Cappoquin, in West Waterford, since mediaeval times.

Although the descent has been unbroken, it has on three occasions during the period 1664-1824 been through the female line. As a result, the family name has rung the already-listed changes from Fitzgerald, to Fitzgerald Villiers, to Mason Villiers, to Villiers-Stuart, and the family has held a succession of titles, each extinct or dormant in their turn – a viscountcy of Decies, viscountcies and earldoms of Grandison, and a barony of Stuart de Decies (the dormancy of the last having had nothing to do with female inheritance).

As far as an understanding of the contents and arrangement of the archive is concerned, the crucial marriage connections to be borne in mind are: the marriage in 1677 of Katherine Fitzgerald, owner of the Dromana estate, to the Hon. Edward Villiers, son and heir of the 4th Viscount Grandison; the marriage in 1739 of Lady Elizabeth (Fitzgerald) Villiers, who succeeded to the estate in 1766, to Aland Mason of Waterford; and the marriage in 1802 of Lady Gertrude Amelia (Mason) Villiers, its then owner, to Lord Henry Stuart, fifth son of the 1st Marquess of Bute, as a result of which, their issue assumed the name Villiers-Stuart.



*Hon. Thomas Villiers,
Lord Hyde, 1st Earl of
Clarendon*



Family history

The best information available on the Mason and Aland families will be found in the summary list of Section A. There is a pedigree of the Fitzgerald family up to c.1700 (beginning, perversely, in 1067, not 1066!) at A/27. A general view of family history will be found in Therese Muir Mackenzie (née Villiers-Stuart), *Dromana: a Portrait of an Irish Family* (Dublin, N.D. [c.1920]), passim. In view of the importance of an understanding of the complicated descent of the estate, the comments on the marriages made by the successive heiresses to Dromana in A.P.W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress: Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (Belfast, 1982), have been quoted at length. (No quotation marks have been used for this source, as Malcomson is the compiler of the rest of this text.) Another important source is Julian C. Walton's introduction of August 1995 to the Mealy's sale catalogue of the contents of Dromana, entitled 'Dromana, Ballynaparka and the Villiers-Stuart family'.



The Fitzgeralds, Lords of Decies

'For over five hundred years [writes Julian Walton] the castle and mansion-house of Dromana in the Co. Waterford has been the seat of one of the principal families of the south of Ireland, the Fitzgeralds, Lords of Decies (later Villiers and now Villiers-Stuart).

They descend from Thomas FitzAnthony, Seneschal of Leinster, who in 1215 obtained from King John a grant of the custody of the territories of Decies and Desmond. Thomas's daughter Margery married John FitzThomas, ancestor of the earls of Desmond. Their descendant James, 7th Earl of Desmond, who died in 1462, granted to his younger son Gerald the territory of Decies, an area extending roughly between the rivers Blackwater and Mahon in Co. Waterford. Gerald established his headquarters at the castle of Dromana in a virtually impregnable position on a cliff above the Blackwater to the south of Cappoquin.



Katherine, 'The Old Countess of Desmond'

Gerald was succeeded in turn by his son and grandson. He had also a grand-daughter Katherine, known as the Old Countess of Desmond, who married her cousin, the Earl of Desmond, survived him by many years and died in 1604 – allegedly at the age of 140 and as the result of falling from a cherry tree! Her portrait is still preserved by the family. In the 16th century the claim of the earls of Desmond to exact tribute from their junior cousins of Decies led to some bitter feuding, and in 1565 the Earl attempted to take Dromana by surprise. The Lord of Decies appealed for help to his ally "Black Tom Butler", Earl of Ormond, and the result was the battle of Affane – one of the last battles between two noblemen to be fought in these islands. Desmond was defeated, wounded and captured, and a furious Queen

Elizabeth summoned both Earls to London to explain their conduct.

Dromana had an exciting time during the wars of the 1640s. Its owner, Gerald Fitzgerald, sided with the English as he had been brought up a Protestant. However, he seems to have been dominated by his wife, Mabel Digby, who sympathised with the Irish rebels and in 1642 entertained them at Dromana on "beefes, mutttons, bread and beere". She eventually handed the castle over to them, but shortly afterwards it was besieged and captured by the English. In 1645 it was taken by an Irish army under Lord Castlehaven, but two years later it was besieged and captured yet again by an English parliamentary army under the notorious "Murrough the Burner", Lord Inchiquin. After all these sieges Dromana was quite ruinous and was not rebuilt until the end of the 17th century.



Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, the much-married heiress (1660-1725)

Upon the death in 1664 of the son of Gerald and Mabel without male heir, Dromana passed to his little daughter Katherine. Her guardian was [initially the King and then] her uncle, Lord Power of Curraghmore [later 1st Earl of Tyrone]. An ambitious man, Lord Power planned to unite the Curraghmore and Dromana estates by marrying Katherine to his son and heir John Power. The "happy couple" were duly married in 1673 by none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury in his chapel at Lambeth Palace, even though Katherine was aged only twelve and a half and her bridegroom not yet eight!

Katherine, however, had a mind of her own, and three years later she appealed to the Archbishop for an annulment, stating that she had never consented to the marriage. To prove her point she eloped with, and married [in 1677], a dashing young officer named Edward Villiers, son of the [4th] Viscount Grandison. ...' As the representative of the Irish branch of the ducal family of Villiers, who enjoyed through Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, a good deal of influence at the court of Charles II, Brigadier Edward Villiers was an obvious husband for a former royal ward. Nevertheless, '... there ensued a long legal battle which Katherine eventually won. Her husband played a distinguished part in the siege of Kinsale by Marlborough in 1690 and died in 1693.

Katherine then married General William Steuart, who became Commander of the Army in Ireland in 1711 and represented Co. Waterford in the Irish parliaments of Queen Anne's reign [1703-1714]. ... Katherine (now Viscountess Grandison) died in 1725 and General Steuart (who had remarried after her death) died in 1726.



Six-sided satinwood table at Dromana



John Fitzgerald Villiers, 5th Viscount and 1st Earl Grandison (1684-1766)



*George Mason Villiers,
2nd Earl Grandison*

Katherine's son by Edward Villiers [John Fitzgerald Villiers, 5th Viscount Grandison] was created Earl Grandison in 1721. He did much to transform the Dromana estate, planting many thousands of trees, introducing the linen industry, and building the village of Villierstown. ...'

Of Villierstown, Professor Anne Crookshank, formerly of TCD, writes (in a Villierstown Church Appeal leaflet of February 1999): 'Villierstown is one of the ... [many] estate villages in Ireland and was built in the mid-18th century by the ... [1st Earl] Grandison to house the weavers and other personnel needed for his new linen industry. There were to be twenty-four houses in all, each with a garden, and also a schoolhouse for boys and girls as well as a church. It is charming, peaceful place with the houses built on either side of a very wide street which had lodges and gates at either end and forms almost a processional way into the demesne of Dromana House, Lord Grandison's residence. The original design was different. Bishop Richard Pococke, who visited Lord Grandison in 1752, says that "the design is two streets crossing each other with a square in the middle of a market and chapel". In fact, the width of the street would have been great enough for a market.

The church was built slightly back from the road with the school by its entrance gateway and close to the first Lodge gate. It must have been built to the design of the builder and Lord Grandison. It is constructed of rubble stone originally covered with lime plaster. There is a pediment over the front entrance which is interrupted by a semi-circular arch for a clock. This is centrally placed over an inscription to the Grandison family which fits in neatly over the entrance doorway. The whole is topped by a small bell tower. The roof projects over a cut stone cornice so that there is no need for a gutter; the rain water falls well away from the wall. A short porch leads to the nave, transepts and chancel. Apart from a vigorous cornice, which ran round the entire interior, there are no particular internal features. The chancel is now closed off from the church by a gate, as ... [a] rector who died of famine fever is buried beneath the alter. Pairs of round-headed windows make the church very light and the three at the east end are filled with stained glass in memory of a member of the Villiers-Stuart family. ...'

Julian Walton resumes: Lord Grandison '... also added to ... [Dromana], where his coat of arms and the date 1745 may be seen over a doorway. ...' Actually, this seems to be an error. Mr and Mrs James Villiers-Stuart, the present owners of Dromana, think that the coat of arms was originally placed over the stables built by the



The Hindu-Gothic Bridge at Dromana

1st Earl Grandison, presumably in 1745, was then transferred from the old to the new stables, built c.1846, and then, when the new stables were in turn demolished in the 1960s, was transferred from them to its present location. A vignette on a demesne map of 1751 shows a U-shaped house, its entrance front dominated by a Jacobean doorcase (as it is today), with projecting wings to form the U and, apparently, without the coat of arms on the left-hand wing. The 1st Earl Grandison *might* have made additions to the house between 1751 and his death in 1766, but the probability is that nothing happened until c.1782-1785. At that stage, as Julian Wallon records, '... his grandson, the 2nd Earl, enormously increased the size of Dromana ... by the addition of a huge rectangular two-storey block, the most striking feature of which was a bow-fronted [actually a bow-sided] ballroom. ...'

The 1st Earl Grandison has acquired the soubriquet of 'Good Earl John', but it is not clear what was good about him! Although his estate management was in some respects innovative, he totally failed to live within his means, and he so exacerbated his inherited financial difficulties that he was forced to sell some £50,000 worth of land. His pride of ancestry and somewhat limited intelligence caused him to be ripped off by unscrupulous agents who flattered and deferred to him; and his attempts at political manoeuvring (as recorded in the archive), for example with Henry Boyle, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and a real 'pro', or with his English kinsman, the Hon. Thomas Villiers, are lame and lamentable.



The Masons of Waterford



*Henry Charles Villiers
Stuart*

The 1st Earl Grandison had one surviving child and heiress, Lady Elizabeth Villiers. Before the extent of her prospects was known, she had married, in 1739, Aland Mason of Waterford, son and heir of John Mason, MP for Waterford City (d.1737).

Apart from the fact that it was non-noble, there was nothing socially amiss with the Mason family. Aland Mason's background was not mercantile (as his place of residence, Waterford City, would suggest); his estate, which had a rental of £2500 a year at the time of his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Villiers in 1739, consisted of land, as well as of urban property in Waterford City; and his grandfather had sat in parliament for the county of Waterford - actually, alongside the 1st Earl Grandison's step-father, General Steuart.

Nevertheless, Mason would almost certainly not have been allowed to marry Lady Elizabeth, had it been known in 1739 that she would inherit the Grandison estate and that her son would be the next Lord Grandison. It was only as a result of subsequent deaths in the Grandison family, notably the death in 1746 of Lord Grandison's second and last surviving son, Viscount Villiers, that she became sole heiress-apparent to her father, and accordingly was created Viscountess, later Countess, Grandison in her own right with remainder to her heirs male.



The Mason-Grandison marriage and marriage settlement

These developments explain why Mason agreed in 1747 to execute an ignominious re-settlement of his own estates, 'in gratitude for having the good fortune to match himself with her [Lady Grandison] and into her noble family'. Under the terms of this re-settlement, these estates were to pass on his death (which took place in 1759) to his and Lady Grandison's only son; '... in case he [the son] fails, ... to any other children, male or female, that Lady Grandison may have by any other husband; in failure of all children, to her Ladyship; and, should she fail, the whole to the present Earl of Grandison [her father] and his right heirs.' In other words, he cut his own collateral Mason relations (apart from the possible children of an actually childless uncle) out of the succession to the Mason estate.

The extent of this concession can best be expressed in rental terms. In 1765, before parts of both estates were sold to pay what can reasonably be described as Grandison debts, the Mason estate was producing £3765 a year, and the Grandison estate in Ireland just over £7000, with another £1000 from a smallish Grandison property in Hertfordshire, the manor of Bramfield. Had Mason's son died, the Mason estate would have passed, either to a child of the second marriage which Lady Grandison made in 1763 or, more probably, to a Villiers kinsman of Lord Grandison. Even as things turned out, the Mason name and inheritance were subsumed: in 1771, before he actually succeeded to the Grandison estates and as 2nd Earl Grandison, Mason's son added the name Villiers to his patronymic.



George Mason Villiers, 2nd Earl Grandison (1751-1800)

Villiers was educated at Eton, 1762-1766, on leaving which he had himself painted pretentiously in Van Dyck costume by Sir Joshua Reynolds no less. The portrait, which is at Dromana, does not inspire confidence in the sitter. In 1772 he married Lady Gertrude Seymour-Conway, daughter of the influential 1st Marquess of Hertford. From 1774 to 1780 he sat for Ludlow, Shropshire, in the British House of Commons, though he was absent on the Continent for the last three years of his tenure of the seat. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1754-1790*, [by] Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (HMSO, 1964), is uncomplimentary: '... No vote or speech by him is known ...'. He was classed as a ministerial supporter, but was not there to support them.

The same source is also uncomplimentary about his personal life. 'Villiers, a spoilt only child, early developed extravagant tastes: "His Lordship is very ingenious in the art of wasting the most possible money in the least possible time", Mrs Boscawen, widow of the Admiral, wrote to Mrs Delany, 30 September 1772. And Mrs Delany, on 2 January 1773: "The chief topic of conversation yesterday was Lord Villiers's appearance in the morning at Court in a pale purple velvet coat, turned up with lemon colour", and embroidered all over with pearls and medallions "in beaten gold, real solid". ... On 8 August 1777, Horace Walpole ... wrote ...: "Lord Villiers, who has fashioned away all he has, is to remove with his wife to his mother's [in France or Switzerland?] and live there." ...'

Following her death in 1782 and his succession as 2nd Earl Grandison and to the family estates, he was assured by the family agent that '... My ambition would be fulfilled if I had once the happiness of seeing you fixed at Dromana, where you would be adored, and [I] am convinced your residence there, even for a few months, would most materially contribute to the final adjustment of your affairs.'

Unfortunately, there was never anything adorable about the 2nd Earl Grandison. He did not sustain his building activity at Dromana beyond c.1785 and probably did not stay 'fixed' as a resident proprietor. By 1799, he was receiving proposals from prospective tenants of the house. He died, feckless and unlamented, in 1800, and was succeeded by the third woman to inherit Dromana in the period 1664-1809, his only child, Lady Gertrude Amelia Mason Villiers. With a rental of almost £8,000 a year, Lady Gertrude must have been one of the biggest catches of the day, in British as well as Irish terms: indeed, she had earlier numbered among her suitors the eldest son of an English duke, the 5th Duke of Leeds.



Lady Gertrude Amelia Villiers



Lord Henry Stuart (1777-1809)

After 1800, however, it was more important for the Grandison family to gain a full-time male head, and the Grandison estate a man, than that the heiress should marry well. This is probably why Lady Gertrude made, in 1802, a far from splendid match.



Lord Henry Stuart

Her choice fell on Lord Henry Stuart, the impecunious fifth son of a British marquess, the 1st Marquess of Bute. Interestingly, at roughly the same time and for roughly the same reasons, a similar match was made by another great heiress, Lady Charlotte McDonnell, daughter and co-heiress of the Marquess of Antrim. Neither lady needed to seek for acreage in a husband, although ready money would have been welcome to both. But what both needed above all was a man, of suitable social status and sufficiently free from commitments of his own, to assume the headship of their respective families and to act as a rallying point for their respective family interests. Indeed, Lady Gertrude was willing to pay handsomely for

such a man: the marriage settlement provided for Lord Henry Stuart what can only be described as a widower's jointure, and of the large amount of £3,000 a year.

The need for a man was felt most strongly in that essentially male preserve, local politics and administration; and here the effects of the Stuarts' coming to Dromana were strikingly felt. Traditionally, the Grandison family's great rivals for the highest county offices and the county representation in parliament were the earls of Tyrone/marquesses of Waterford. This dynastic rivalry dated from at least 1677, when Katherine Fitzgerald had been rescued from her enforced marriage to the son of the then Earl of Tyrone by her second marriage to Edward Villiers. After the death of their son, the 1st Earl Grandison, in 1766, there followed the next female interregnum at Dromana; and during these years, the Earl of Tyrone of the day obtained for himself the county governorship and came to dominate the county representation.

On his succession, in 1782, the 2nd Earl Grandison made a determined effort to challenge Lord Tyrone's political monopoly; but without success. His only successes were in the social and architectural spheres. In 1785, one visitor to both Dromana and Lord Tyrone's seat, Curraghmore, pronounced the latter to be 'a noble place and a fine house', but found Dromana much the more 'charming' and 'pleasant' place to stay. However, Lord Grandison's huge additions to the house of c.1782-1785 were not finished in his lifetime: an undated paper of calculations, apparently in his handwriting, of the cost (£955) of stonework for the new entrance front and the extension to the river front which he had created, implies that he could not afford to



General William Stuart

finish them. The Georgian extensions were not stone-dressed and finished until the 1820s; the dormer first storey of the entire 17th-century part of the house was not raised to its present full height (by a local architect, Martin Day, and at an estimated cost of c. £1300) until 1843-1846; and the great bow-sided, Georgian ballroom or drawing room may not have been fitted up internally until 1858.

Immediately on marrying the Dromana heiress in 1802, Lord Henry Stuart sought to assert its political as well as social pre-eminence over Curraghmore. He laid plans to 'wrest the county out of the hands of all antagonists', and was contemplating offering himself as a candidate for the next vacancy at the time of his death. In co-operation with Lady Gertrude's trustees (in whom the estate was nominally vested because of the volume of debt which still encumbered it) he set to work 'to curb present irregularities' and raise the Dromana rental, by an estimated £1500 a year from March 1803. He did not, however, take up residence at Dromana, confining himself to frequent visits and enthusiastic management by remote control. Family tradition has it that he was in the diplomatic service and, indeed, that his wife and he died of cholera on some foreign posting. *Burke's Irish Family Records* states that he was at one time Minister at Weimar. However, the Camden Society's *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789-1852*, does not record him as a diplomat, and says that there was no British diplomatic representation at Weimar until 1847! His letters in the archive suggest that his absenteeism took him no further than a house in Hampshire called The Grange, near Alresford, followed by Foremark, Derbyshire, which he rented from a family connection, Sir Francis Burdett. However, he did at least have good intentions, and it was a considerable misfortune for the Grandison family that he (and Lady Gertrude) died young, in 1809.

Well before then, however, his brother-in-law, Sir William Homan, Bt, had been installed at Dromana in the capacity of agent for the trustees; and Homan's rank, relationship and residence proved sufficient to tide things over until Lord Henry's and Lady Gertrude's eldest son, Henry Villiers-Stuart, came of age in 1824. Homan continued to act as agent and reside at Dromana until 1847.



Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies (1803-1874)

It was left to Henry Villiers-Stuart to carry his father's political plans into execution, by standing for the county in 1826, shortly after his coming-of-age, and defeating the Curraghmore candidate, Lord George Beresford, an uncle of the 3rd Marquess of Waterford. There was another dimension to this election campaign, Henry Villiers-Stuart's espousal of Catholic Emancipation and adoption by Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association. But this has been given undue prominence relative to the older, dynastic dimension.

Although Henry Villiers-Stuart lost the seat at the general election of 1830, he soon afterwards made a longer-lasting gain at the expense of Curraghmore. The change of government later in that year, the coming-to-power of his political friends, the Whigs, and the minority (by a matter of months) of the 3rd Marquess of Waterford, a Tory, made possible his appointment as Lieutenant of the City and County of Waterford in 1831, when lieutenancies on the English model were introduced into Ireland in place of the old Irish county governorships. The governorship of Co. Waterford had not belonged to Dromana since 1766. Finally, in 1839, he was created a baron of the United Kingdom, as Lord Stuart de Decies. His grandiloquent choice of title sounds absurd out of context. But in the context of the Fitzgerald family of the Decies's long search for a male heir and representative to recapture their former glories and discomfit their old rivals, it was singularly appropriate.



Dromana House

In architectural and decorative terms, he also did something to rival Curraghmore. As Julian Walton has noted: '... he completed the Georgian additions to the house (c.1822) and erected the amazing Hindu-Gothic gateway (1849) at the entrance to the estate – the only Irish example of the Brighton Pavilion style; the architect in both cases was [the already-mentioned] Martin Day. Henry [Villiers-Stuart] also commissioned furniture for Dromana from the cabinet-maker, Graham of Clonmel. ...' The stable block, too, dates from 1846 onwards.

It is no coincidence that Lord Stuart's major building and furnishing activities took place in the 1840s: until late 1843 or early 1844, Lady Stuart and he lived in London (particularly during the years 1827-1834), Scotland, or travelled on the Continent, and Lady Stuart seems not even to have visited Ireland. She was an Austrian Roman Catholic, née Pauline Theresia Ott, and because of her religion, she would have been a political liability to her husband and a propaganda gift to his anti-Emancipationist opponents in Co. Waterford. There were also doubts about the validity of his marriage to her, which had taken place either at St James's Roman Catholic church, Spanish Place, London, or in a private house in London, in 1826



*Gertrude Amelia
Mason Villiers*

or 1827. These doubts were twofold: the marriage of a Protestant to a Roman Catholic, if celebrated by a Roman Catholic clergyman, was of doubtful validity under English law at that date; and in any case, Pauline Ott had had two children by, and had possibly been married to, one Leopold Gersch, an officer in the Austrian Imperial Archer Guard, who was still very much alive in 1826 and indeed lived until probably 1852. That the Villiers-Stuarts probably went through a subsequent marriage in Scotland in 1827 and in Ireland c.1835-1836, only demonstrates that Henry Villiers-Stuart was doubtful of the validity of the first. As will be seen, he was more than doubtful of the legitimacy of their children, Henry and Pauline. It would also appear that in 1834 Mrs Villiers-Stuart took dangerously ill following her belated realisation of the difficulty of the position in which Henry Villiers-Stuart, her children by both her 'marriages' and herself were placed.

There are further proofs of the doubts entertained by Henry Villiers-Stuart. When his younger brother, William, married in 1833, Henry Villiers-Stuart allowed him to reside at Dromana (where Sir William and Lady Charlotte Homan were also living). Henry Villiers-Stuart certainly paid lengthy visits to Dromana (eg in July-September 1837), but William Villiers-Stuart continued to live there until 1843 (and beyond, because he described himself as 'very stationary at Dromana' in a letter of February 1845). Henry Villiers-Stuart, who had been returned to parliament for an English constituency, Banbury, in 1831, also allowed William to be returned on the family interest for Co. Waterford in 1835; and William continued to represent Co. Waterford until 1847. When Lord and Lady Stuart came to live in Ireland with any permanency, in 1842, they settled first at a rented villa called Maretimo at Blackrock. Late in 1843, they took up residence at Dromana, but always alternated between it and a subsequent Dublin villa, Fortfield, Rathfarnham, and continued to travel a good deal. In 1840, Lord Stuart had given a written promise to William that William would inherit Dromana and the family estates and title; and in 1848, Lord Stuart, who was a remainderman to the vast and increasing estates and wealth of the marquesses of Bute, subscribed to a private act of parliament relating to the Bute estate in Cardiff by describing himself as having *no issue*.

Lady Stuart (who was 13 years older than her husband) died in 1867, and Lord Stuart in 1874. Prior to his death, he had suffered two major seizures (or heart attacks). The second, which took place - in of all places a railway carriage at Limerick Junction Station, Co. Tipperary - almost proved fatal. Thereafter, he seems to have been filled with remorse at his treatment of his only son, Henry. The death of his wife had also opened up to him the possibility of making amends without wounding her feelings. It is also possible that it was not until she was on her deathbed in 1867 that she confessed to him the true facts of her previous married or unmarried life. It was only from about that time that he first began to treat Henry as his legitimate son and successor.

A letter written in old age, in 1950, by Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart's second son, Gerald, offers some plausible and some implausible suggestions about the sequence of events. The plausible part of this version of events, supplemented by some further surmise, is as follows. Pauline Ott was never married to Leopold Gersch, but satisfied Lord Stuart in 1826 that she had been and that she was now a widow. On this basis

he married her (the secrecy and complications surrounding the marriage being explicable on the grounds that she was a devout Roman Catholic and he a fervent Anglican). Subsequent to this marriage, however, Leopold Gersch, hearing that his former common-law wife had married a rich foreign nobleman, began to 'touch' Lord Stuart for money. The latter yielded to blackmail and paid Gersch to stay dead until he actually did die, c.1852. Throughout these years, neither Lady Stuart nor Gersch told Lord Stuart the truth, viz. that they had lived as man and wife but had never actually been married. Lady Stuart's motives for this deception were, obviously, the interests and marriage prospects of her children by Gersch; and Gersch presumably realised that he could extract more money from Lord Stuart as an ex-husband than as an ex-lover. Lady Stuart's daughter by Gersch, Leopoldine (b.1821), was prestigiously married to a baron who later became an Austrian Field-Marshal. Her son, Emil (b.1823), went to the bad for reasons unconnected with his parentage and died in 1864.

Meanwhile, Lord Stuart, although he was prepared to pay to avoid distressing publicity, was too religious and honourable a man to practise deception within his own family. He must also have realised that, even if he could 'square' his younger brother, William, there would be no hope of averting searching inquiry if the dazzling Bute inheritance fell into his hands (as until 1845 it looked as if it well might do). Only a deathbed confession by Lady Stuart in 1867 that she had never been married to Gersch, or some such dramatic development at around that date, can explain Lord Stuart's extraordinary change of tack thereafter. In 1870, he endeavoured, without much success, to get William Villiers-Stuart to release him from the understanding that William would inherit the estate; and in 1872, he went into an elaborate negotiation to have his son made Vice-Lieutenant of Co. Waterford, on the ground that his own failing health disabled him from exercising the Lieutenancy (but clearly with a view to giving status to his son).



Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart (1827-1895)



*Lord Stuart de Decies as Lieutenant
of Co. Waterford*

Following Lord Stuart's death in 1874, the doubts about the validity of his marriage gave rise to the celebrated Stuart de Decies peerage case, the upshot of which was that in 1876 his son and successor, Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, withdrew his claim to the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords to succeed as 2nd Lord Stuart (although he continued to be addressed locally as Lord Stuart until at least 1880). He made unsuccessful attempts to have a new barony of Stuart conferred on him in reward for his services as a Liberal MP.

According to his great-grandson, the present James Villiers-Stuart of Dromana, who is heir presumptive to the peerage, the claim was withdrawn for some or all of the following reasons: (1) in order to succeed, Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart would have had to prove that his mother had not been married to Leopold Gersch and therefore that the children of that marriage, Emil and Leopoldine, were illegitimate; (2) in the event of his failing and therefore being proved illegitimate, there was a danger that his cousin (William Villiers-Stuart's son, Henry John), who was playing an increasingly hostile part in the peerage case, would claim all the Dromana settled estates; and (3) in the event of his being proved illegitimate, he would at the very least incur, in addition to unwelcome publicity, a higher rate of succession duty (10% instead of 1%) on his father's estate. At that date, succession duty on estates which passed from father to son was charged at the rate of 1%, but at 10% on estates which passed from father to remoter relations, including illegitimate children.

Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, most unusually, had careers in the army, the church and politics. He was a cadet in Prince Liechtenstein's Regiment (the 5th Regiment of Light Horse) of the Austrian Imperial Army, 1844-1846, was then an ensign in the 26th (British) Regiment, 1846-1847, was appointed Vicar of Bulkington, Warwickshire, 1852, and of Napton, Warwickshire, in 1855, resigned Holy Orders in 1871 (in accordance with the Clerical Disabilities Act 1870) in order to stand for parliament, was MP for Co. Waterford, 1873-1874, vacated his seat on his succession (as he thought) to his father's peerage, did not establish his claim before the Committee of Privileges in 1876, and was again MP for Co. Waterford, 1880-1885.

The explanation for this varied and unusual career must be (as has been seen) that, up until the late 1860s, his father had believed in the invalidity of his own marriage, had not regarded Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart as his heir apparent and had assumed that his younger brother, William, would succeed to Dromana. In later life, when he changed his mind, he seems to have encouraged Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart to prosecute the peerage claim. The very insertion of 'Windsor' as a Christian name, which appears not originally to have been given to Henry Villiers-Stuart II, was

a further assertion of the son's legitimacy and the transfer to him of his father's by-now-remote rights of succession to the Bute estate (Windsor being the family name of the heiress who brought Cardiff into the Bute family).

Following the withdrawal of the claim in 1876 and Villiers-Stuart's re-election for Co. Waterford in 1880, he was commissioned by the government to visit Egypt and report on the condition of the population after battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882. He was author of {Nile Gleanings, Egypt after the War,} etc, and introduced into the House of Commons in 1882 the Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) Bill, which received the Royal Assent on 18 August 1882.

He married in 1865, Mary (d.14 September 1907), second daughter of the Ven. Ambrose Power, Archdeacon of Lismore, fourth son of Sir John Power, 1st Bt, of Kilfane, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, and died on 12 October 1895.



Henry Charles Villiers-Stuart (1867-1908)

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Major Henry Charles Villiers-Stuart, who was a subaltern in the Irish Horse and a captain in the Waterford (Militia) Artillery. He served in the South African War, 1900-1902, and was severely wounded. He was, very briefly, Lieutenant of the County and City of Waterford and Colonel of the Waterford Militia, and died later in the year of his appointment, 1908. He was succeeded by his only son, Ion Henry Villiers-Stuart, on whose death in 1948, *his* only son, James Henry Villiers-Stuart, the present owner of Dromana, succeeded.



Henry Windsor Villiers Stuart



Mr and Mrs James Villiers-Stuart

Julian Walton writes: '... The exigencies of Irish country house life in the mid 20th century took their inevitable toll on Dromana, and in 1957 James and Emily Villiers-Stuart sold the estate. The house was bought by a cousin and in 1964 the large Georgian section was demolished, leaving only the 17th-century house on its mediaeval foundations. After living for some years in Co. Galway, Mr and Mrs Villiers-Stuart returned to the area, coming to live at Ballynaparka, ... an attractive two-storey, double bow-fronted house dating from the early 19th century, close to the village of Aglish and only three miles from Dromana. [There the archive, which they had always carted about with them like the Ark of the Covenant, was sorted and listed by PRONI.] Now Ballynaparka ... has been sold to buy back Dromana, and they ... [have moved] back after 28 years to the house that they knew and loved in the fifties. The great Georgian section is no more, but the 17th-century manor lives on. At its core is the castle of Dromana where the lords of Decies have resided since the 15th century.'



The archive

The Villiers-Stuart papers, when still at Ballynaparka, were selectively photocopied (T3131) and almost comprehensively microfilmed (MIC464). Now they are back, with Mr and Mrs Villiers-Stuart, at Dromana. In addition, a further 14 PRONI boxes of papers, which had been lent to a neighbour by another branch of the family, came to light in 1996. This material has not been integrated with the rest of the archive, because this would have thrown the microfilming. Instead, it has been added on as Section P, arranged where possible according to the categorisation of Sections A-N, and cross-referenced accordingly. PRONI has microfilmed the more significant parts of it, and given copies of the reels to the participants in the previous microfilming exercise, the Co. Waterford Library at Lismore and the National Library, Dublin.



The arrangement of the archive

The arrangement of Section A of the archive, which contains all the papers up to 1708, requires particular comment. Section A is divided up according to the four component families (and estates) which merged in the middle of the 18th century, although they were never actually united in the one person. These are, obviously, the Fitzgerald, Villiers and Mason families, and - less obviously - the Aland family (for Aland Mason was the son, as well as the husband, of an heiress). The arrangement is as follows:

A/1-27	Fitzgerald (and Fitzgerald Villiers) papers, 1215-1708
A/28-31	Villiers/Grandison papers, 1546-1698
A/32-36	Mason papers, relating to property and lands in and near Waterford City, 1560-1708
A/37-46	Aland papers, mainly relating to lands in Co. Kildare, Queen's County and Co. Waterford.

1708 was chosen as the terminal date for Section A for two reasons: first, it coincides roughly with the coming-of-age of the 5th Viscount, later 1st Earl, Grandison (1705); and second, it coincides precisely with the establishment of the Registry of Deeds, an event which invests pre-1708 deeds with special significance.

The voluminous correspondence in the archive is arranged as follows:

B/1-13	Mason family, estate and financial papers and correspondence, 1708-1759.
C/1-21	Estate and financial correspondence and associated papers, mostly of the 1st Earl Grandison, 1708-1766.
D/1-8	Grandison family and political correspondence and associated papers, mostly of the 1st Earl Grandison, 1708-1766.
E/1-10	Grandison family and financial correspondence, 1766-1799.
G/1-25	19th and early 20th century Villiers-Stuart estate and financial correspondence
H/1-20	Miscellaneous 19th and early 20th century estate papers, beginning with those of Lord Henry Stuart (d.1809), of Sir William Homan, his brother-in-law and the agent for the estate during the minority of Lord and Lady Henry Stuart's son, Henry Villiers-Stuart, and of the Villiers-Stuarts themselves.
I/1-10	Political and personal papers, 1827-1908, of or about Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, and his son, Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart (successively MPs for Co. Waterford).

Villiers-Stuart Papers

The rest of the archive, mainly comprising documents of title, is arranged as follows:

F/1-8	Maps, rentals, accounts, etc, for both the Grandison and Mason estates, 1708-1799.
J/1-30	Title deeds, 1708-1799.
K/1-21	Leases, 1708-1799.
L/1-28	Title deeds, 1800-1920.
M/1-60	Leases, 1800-1926.
N/1-7	Miscellaneous 19th century legal papers.
P	The 1996 'new' material.

Subsequent to the finalising of the arrangement, it transpired that twelve boxes of further material had been deposited in the National Library of Ireland in 1966. By arrangement with NLI, this material has been sorted and listed by PRONI in conformity with the arrangement of the rest. In most cases, sub-sections defined by a NLI MS number correspond to sub-sections in the PRONI arrangement.

The arrangement of the detached portion of the Villiers-Stuart papers in NLI (N.L.I. MSS 24600-24779), is as follows:

MSS 24600-06	Fitzgerald and Grandison estate and financial papers, c.1607-1796.
MSS 24607-41	19th and early 20th century Villiers-Stuart estate and financial correspondence.
MSS 24642-81	Miscellaneous 19th century estate papers.
MSS 24682-700	Political and personal papers of Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, and of his son and grandson, Henry Windsor and Henry Charles Villiers-Stuart, 1825-1902.
MSS 24701-19	Title deeds and leases, 1720 and 1740-1796, and title deeds, 1800-1881.
MSS 24720-74	19th and 20th century leases.
MSS 24775-9	Miscellaneous 19th century legal papers 1820s-1880s.

As already mentioned, the detached portion which came to light fairly recently, since Mr and Mrs Villiers-Stuart's return to Dromana, and which comprises c.ten PRONI boxes of papers, has been listed at P and selectively microfilmed at MIC464.

The entire archive, excluding (apparently) material which relates to English estates, and also excluding the whole of the National Library deposit and the c.10 'new' boxes, was microfilmed by, and at the initiative of, the Co. Waterford County Library. It is a positive copy of this microfilm which PRONI holds (MIC464), and to which it has added the selective microfilming of the 14 'new' boxes. T3131 represents earlier, very selective photocopying carried out by PRONI. Its only advantages over the microfilm are: (a) convenience of reference; (b) that it includes a few items from the NLI deposit; and (c) greater legibility (the microfilming was done commercially and is not up to best archival standard). Where a whole section or sub-section has not been

coped, this is stated on the list: where the omissions relate to parts of sub-sections, they are denoted by 'dummies' among the copies. In some few instances, it has proved impossible to copy documents satisfactorily. Foot-notes to the list recording what has not been copied relate solely to the copies in T3131: microfilm copies will be found by reference to MIC464.

The copies of the material relating to the Villiers manor of Brantfield or Bramfield, Hertfordshire (sold in 1837), have been transferred to the Hertfordshire Record Office.



Pre-1600 Fitzgerald deeds and documents

The mediaeval and pre-1600 Fitzgerald material of whatever nature has been grouped together in the one section and comprises c.75 documents, 1215-1598. Among these is a PROI-certified copy of a 'Writ to the Archbishop of Dublin respecting a fine for the wardship of the heir of Thomas Fitz-Maurice', 1 February 1215, with an 1864 MS translation; together with another dozen such copies, each with accompanying translation, 1215-1292. The earliest original document is a writ concerning Andrew Power of Poltoill, Co. Waterford, son and heir of Martin Power of Poltoill, 13 June 1400, and there is also a deed of gift from Filicia Boys, formerly wife of Nicholas Cullan, to Nicholas Cullan Junior, burgess of Youghal, of the castle called Miles Castle, Garryduff and a mill in [?Theriswood], Co. Cork, 12 March 1428.

Dated 1527 are an [original and counterpart?] of an indenture of agreement between Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and John Gerald [Fitzgerald] of the Decies - 'the Desmond Treaty'; with a non-contemporary copy and translations, and a modern MS transcription. There are also: an award by the mayor and two citizens of Waterford for the death of Edmond FitzDavye Power, 10 August 1547; 'Orders taken by the Lord Deputie and Counsell at Waterford the XXVIIth of November 1558 for the Reformation of the country called the dyeces in the Countye of Waterford under the Rule of Mauryce FitzGerald'; an 'Exemplification [of 7 November 1561] by John Wise, mayor of Waterford, James Walshe and Paul Lambard, bailiffs, at the request of the nobleman, Sir Maurice Gerald of the Geraldines, lord of Dromany, of ... Charters ...' concerning the grant of the manor of Keppagh by Maurice, Earl of Desmond, to John FitzGerald FizCount in 1496; and royal letters patent, 12 January 1567, granting pardon to James Fitzgerald, alias James FitzJohn FitzGerot of Tynaskairty [Tiniscarty], Co. Waterford, William Power FitzThomas of Rosemyre, Maurice FitzJames FitzGerald of Ballyogurtie and others.



Fitzgerald deeds and documents, 1602-1670

The 1602-1670 title deed material deriving from the Fitzgeralds includes copies of patents, inquisitions post mortem, deeds of exchange, leases, etc, 1602-1670, concerning the estates granted to Sir Walter Raleigh and sold by him to Sir Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, and those of the Fitzgerald family of Dromana, all apparently bearing on a dispute over the fishing rights on the Blackwater. Some of them were later produced as evidence in the High Court proceedings taken by the 7th Duke of Devonshire, representative of the Earls of Cork, in 1878-1883. They include a copy of the charter of the borough of Dungarvan, 1611, the original (and a copy) of a deed of exchange between Sir John Fitzgerald of Dromana and Sir Richard Boyle of the lands of Atherthyduff, manor of Ballynetrae, Co. Waterford, 1615, and the original (and a copy) of a lease of the Dromana fishery from Garrett Fitzgerald, Sir John's son and successor, to John Bucknor, 1641. This lease, dated 16 August, 17 Charles I (1641), is the crucial document in the subsequent dispute over the fishing rights of the Blackwater.

There are also originals and copies of patents and inquisitions, 1605-1613, concerning the estates of Sir John Fitzgerald, as follows: copy translation of an inquisition post mortem on James Fitzgerald, 16 October 1605; copy of livery of seisin granted to Sir John Fitzgerald, 10 May 1606; original of royal letters patent granting to John FitzGarrett the right to hold fairs at Dromeanny and Whitechurch, 1 December 1607; receipt from William Dexter to Sir John Fitzgerald of Dromany for £10 '... [?advanced] by the Rt Hon. the Lord Deputy and Sir Frannces Aung[i]ler, knight, Master of the Rolles', 20 December 1611; copy extract from an inquisition on the late Eustace Roche FitzThomas of Rosguilly, Co. Waterford, who had died in rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, 18 October 1612; original and copy of a petition from Sir John Fitzgerald to James I, 22 August 1613; and three copies of a grant from James I to Sir John Fitzgerald, 7 October 1613.



Papers about Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, Viscountess Grandison, 1674-1701

Documents of title deriving from the matrimonial and other adventures of this lady are fairly numerous. They include: original and copy papers, 1674-1677, concerning her marriage to the Hon. Edward Villiers (elder son of the 4th Viscount Grandison), the re-settlement of the Fitzgerald estates in consequence, the winding up of the Earl of Tyrone's guardianship of Katherine Fitzgerald, etc; and original and copy papers, 1679-1681, in continuation of the foregoing, concerning Lord Tyrone's claims on the Dromana estate and those of Mrs Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers's aunts, Mrs Richard Franklin and Mrs Thomas Walsh, and the more serious and extensive claims of her step-mother, Ellen, who successively married, as her second and third husbands, the [7th] Earl of Clanricarde and Colonel Thomas Burke (the claims of the aunts were in cash, but Lady Clanricarde claimed, successfully, one-third of the actual estate in right of dower, in consequence of which, this part of the estate, which included the lands of Comeragh, became known as the dower estate).



*Brigadier the Hon. Edward
Fitzgerald Villiers*

Then follow yet more papers, 1683-1688, concerning the financial relations between Edward Fitzgerald Villiers and Katherine, his wife, on the one hand, and Lord Tyrone, the aunts and Lady Clanricarde on the other, but including copies of a new patent of the manor, town and lands of Dromana, the manors of Grange, Mount Cashel [sic – later known as Mountain Castle] and Comeragh, all in Co. Waterford, and four houses in Youghal, Co. Cork, granted to the Fitzgerald Villiers by James II, 10 May 1687, including a general release from Lord Tyrone to Edward Fitzgerald Villiers extinguishing all actions, causes of actions, debts, judgements and decrees, 3 June 1687; and a number of papers, 1697-1701, concerning the sums of money borrowed by Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers to buy in (for £4000) the one-third dower estate of her step-mother, Lady Clanricarde.

A letter from Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers to the Rt Hon. Thomas Keightley, of pre-1699, complains of the ill-treatment she has received from Lord Grandison and the Villiers family, and discusses the need to get a private act of parliament passed establishing her rights, providing portions for the younger children of her marriage, and regulating the descent of the family estates.



Mason title deeds, 1560-1745

The earliest Mason title deeds are dated 1560-1561 and 1590. With these exceptions, they run from 1615 to 1745, and relate to property in St Peter's Street and parish, Trinity parish, Colbeck Gate, Lady Lane and St John's Street, all in Waterford City, to the Rathmelan estate, near Waterford City, and to another estate in the same vicinity comprising the lands of Ballinakill, Cullen, Manvahogie, etc, purchased by the Masons from the Dobbyn family of Waterford between the 1680s and the 1730s.

The title deeds to the Aland, later Mason, estates in Co. Kildare, Queen's County and Co. Waterford run from 1652 to 1739. Jonathan Aland, the owner of these estates died in 1691, leaving an only daughter and heiress, Sarah, who married John Mason pre-1709, and was the mother of Aland Mason. The Kildare estate included the townlands of Burnchurch, Collinstown, Commonstown, Coolrake and Timolin; the Queen's County estate included Groganossy and Killnesire; the Co. Waterford estate included Coolnehorny, Gortalande and Grange. The Queen's County estate was sold in 1778 and contributed, along with parts of the Grandison estate, to raising £19,500 to clear encumbrances on the rest of the Grandison estate.



Wills and testamentary papers, 1658-1662, 1693 and 1714-1875

The pre-1858 material comprises: papers, 1756 and 1660-1662, of and about John Fitzgerald of Dromana, including a contemporary copy of an inquisition concerning the lands of Comeragh, Co. Waterford, 1658, two leases of lands in Co. Waterford 1660, and a deed of trust, a grant of probate and an inquisition post mortem (all originals), and papers about Fitzgerald's debts, settlements, etc; the will of Francis Bryner, of 'Manvohogy', Co. Waterford, 22 July 1693; a copy of the will of Alderman William Smith of Waterford, 1714, with two rough drafts of a deed from William Hayden and the other executors of Alderman Smith conveying a mortgage of Ballinakill, etc, near Waterford City, to St John Brodrick, 1718 ; and a Prerogative grant of administration of the estate of Alexander Bryner of Ballyconnell, Co. Wicklow, deceased, to his nephews, John Whelan and Lodowick Keating, 1726.

One large bundle comprises the original and multiple copies of the 1st Earl Grandison's will, made in 1763 and proved in 1766, with counsel's opinion on Viscountess, now Countess, Grandison's leasing power under it, 1772. By his will, Lord Grandison left all his estates in Great Britain and Ireland to William Lord Annesley and the Hon. Thomas Southwell in trust for his daughter Elizabeth, Viscountess Grandison, with remainder to his grandson, George Villiers Mason, provided for the maintenance of a clergyman at Villierstown, where he had established a Protestant colony, and appointed his wife Frances, Countess Grandison, executor. As a sequel to the will, there are deeds of appointment and mortgage, 1767, 1778, 1785, 1787-1788 and 1793, concerning a sum of £10,000 left to Countess Grandison under her father's will and charged on the Grandison estate.

Then follow: copies of wills and deeds involving members of the Keily family of Co. Waterford, 1780, 1805 and 1816, and in connection with the title to the lands of Ballyduffultra, acquired by Henry Villiers-Stuart in 1827; the will, 1782, and probate, 1787, of the Countess Grandison and papers of the 2nd Earl Grandison as her executor; the will of the 2nd Earl Grandison, 1800; the will, 1800, and probate, 1809, of Lady Gertrude Amelia Stuart (both she and her husband, Lord Henry, died in the latter year); wills and codicils, 1831, N.D. and 1870-1875, of Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, together with a pedigree showing his descent from the Fitzgeralds of the Decies, and 2 abstracts of his title to his estates, with details of the disposition of them which he intends to make subsequent to his 'marriage' to Pauline Ott of Vienna and to the birth of their children.



Grandison title deeds, deeds of settlement, etc, 1708-1802

Those deriving from the 1st Earl Grandison include: miscellaneous deeds of settlement, etc, 1708, 1711-1712, 1714 and 1722, involving Katherine Viscountess Grandison, the 5th Viscount Grandison and General Stuart, and relating to the manor of Comeragh and other parts of the Grandison estate in Co. Waterford; a copy of the settlement made on the marriage of the 5th Earl of Orrery and Lady Henrietta Hamilton, daughter of the 1st Earl of Orkney, 1728 (the 5th Viscount, now 1st Earl, Grandison was a kinsman of Lord Orkney and a trustee of the settlement); deeds, 1739-1740, 1743 and 1747, relating to the settlement, of both the Grandison and Mason estates, made at the time of and subsequent to the marriage of Lady Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and ultimate heiress of Lord Grandison, and Alan Mason in 1739; deeds, 1747-1748, 1750-1752 and 1761-1762, relating to Lord Grandison's sale, by way of assignment of mortgages, of the manor of Templemichael, Co. Waterford, to Alderman Richard Dawson of Dublin in 1750 for £47,000 (for documentation of the Dawson side of the transaction, see PRONI D3053/12: at the time of the sale, Templemichael had a rental of nearly £2,000 a year); and the settlement on the marriage of the widowed Viscountess/Countess Grandison and Lt-General Charles Montague, 1763.

The deeds deriving from the 2nd Earl Grandison and his daughter and heiress, Lady Gertrude Amelia Mason Villiers, include: the original and a copy of the settlement of 1771 made on the marriage of Viscount Villiers, later 2nd Earl Grandison, and Lady Gertrude Seymour Conway, with related papers (the bride's portion was £6000 and her jointure £2000); an abstract of Lord Villiers's title to his estates, 1778, prior to an act of parliament empowering him to sell part of them in satisfaction of his debts, and a deed of agreement with his creditors subsequent to the passing of that act; and originals and copies of the absolutely voluminous deeds of settlement of 28-30 June 1802 executed on the marriage of Lady Gertrude Amelia Villiers, now sole heiress of her father, and Lord Henry Stuart, fifth son of the 1st Marquess of Bute, together with related papers, including a copy of Lord Bute's will.



*Frances Cary, wife of
1st Earl of Grandison*



Villiers-Stuart title deeds, deeds of settlement, etc, 1825-1893

The deeds deriving from the Villiers-Stuarts include: a fat bundle of conveyances or re-conveyances, 1825, 1832 and 1843, to Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, of the Grillaghs and other lands on or near Slievegrine Mountain, Co. Waterford; a fat bundle of deeds and associated papers, 1832-1879, concerning the lands of Ballingown East, formerly part of the Grandison estate in Co. Waterford, and re-acquired in 1832, apparently as a provision for William Villiers-Stuart, second brother of Lord Stuart de Decies, who married in 1833, and whose portion of £20,000 was supposed to be laid out in the purchase of land; later papers, to 1879, relating to these lands, and also, more generally, to family settlements in William Villiers-Stuart's cadet line; a large bundle of draft deeds and deeds, abstracts of title, queries and counsel's opinion, etc, etc, all concerning the settlement made on William Villiers-Stuart's marriage to Catherine Cox of Castletown, Co. Kilkenny, the payment to him of his portion, in the form of an annuity, by deed of 1837, etc., together with calculations of the charges affecting the Cox of Castletown estate (presumably at the time of the marriage), and a draft by William Villiers-Stuart of the provisions of his will, particularly in favour of his elder brother, Lord Stuart de Decies.

The material of the second half of the 19th century includes: a very large bundle of deeds, letters, rentals, accounts, etc, 1860-1862 and 1874, concerning the settlement made on the marriage of the Hon. Pauline Villiers-Stuart, only daughter of Lord Stuart de Decies, and Sir Charles Wheeler Cuffe, 2nd Bt, of Leyrath, Co. Kilkenny, most of them concerning subsequent litigation with one R.C. Browne, who apparently had a prior claim on the Cuffe estate deriving from a previous marriage settlement; and deeds, 1865, 1872, 1886-1888 and 1893, concerning, the marriage settlement of Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, son and successor (though not in the peerage) of Lord Stuart de Decies, 1865, the landed qualification made over to him by his father in order to qualify him to be a deputy-lieutenant of Co. Waterford, 1872, etc (the papers of 1886-1888 and 1893 are all versions of his will).



Leasebooks and leases, 1680-1902

The following leasebooks and schedules of leases, all 19th-century in date, but some going back to an earlier period, are present in the archive: 20 schedules of leases, deeds, etc, 1802-1887; schedule of all leases of the main estate (at roughly the time of Lady Gertrude Villiers's marriage to Lord Henry Stuart), with calculations, c.1802; two unbound notebooks concerning tithe settings on the Dromana estate, c.1820; volume listing 630 leases granted on the estate in the 1820s, c.1820s; and schedules of Henry Villiers-Stuart's leases of holdings on Slievegrine Mountain, c.1820s, 1835 and 1840.

There are some leases among the pre-1600 and the 17th century Fitzgerald deeds and documents. The late 17th century leases are from Edward Fitzgerald Villiers and Katherine, his wife, 1680, 1683, 1685, N.D. and 1694, and are of houses and gardens in Youghal, Co. Cork, and the lands of Caherneleagy, Ballyeolane, Ballylean, Ballyshonkine, Adergowall, Ballyhanemore, Scartnedriny, Ballycurranes, etc, Co. Waterford.

There are: c.75 18th century leases of the Mason, or former Mason, estates in Co. Kildare, Queen's County and Waterford City and County, 1707-1799; c.20 leases of the Grandison estate in Youghal and at Kilcoran, Co. Cork, 1734-1790; and c.150 leases of the Dromana and other Grandison estates in Co. Waterford, 1709-1799. Of these last, perhaps the most interesting are the 45 one-life leases from the 1st Earl Grandison to the founding members of his Protestant, linen colony at Villierstown, together with £2 rent-charges on the nearby townland of Dromore (as an inducement to settle at Villierstown), 1750, 1754 and 1760; the first 36 of the leases and rent charges were executed on the one day, 20 September 1750.

For the period 1803-1849 there is a bundle of c.135 tenants' proposals, memorials, etc, including one document about an arbitration, a few valuations of crops and some surrenders of leases. The proposals are usually in the form of memorials, but sometimes in that of letters, and are addressed to Sir William Homan, Lord Stuart or Sir Charles Shaw (Homan's successor as head agent). They include references to assisted emigration to America. Later proposals, memorials, etc, 1849-1864, 1874, N.D. and 1904, are addressed to Lord Stuart, Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, Henry Charles Villiers-Stuart, etc.

For the 19th century generally, there are: bundles of leases, 1833-1883, relating to the Co. Cork and the Co. Kildare estates; leases and renewals, with some related correspondence, 1806, 1829, 1845 and 1857-1858, of Villiers-Stuart property in Waterford City; leases and renewals, with some related correspondence, 1815-1816 and 1858-1860, in respect of premises in Peter Street, Waterford City, which were the subject of a lawsuit, Lord Stuart de Decies -v- Alcock and Kennedy, in the years 1858-1860 (almost all the papers in this half-boxful are legal case papers deriving from this lawsuit); and a large bundle of leases, 1824-1825 and 1848-1858, of the Villiers-Stuarts' urban property in Helvick, Co. Waterford, the papers of 1824-1825

being a series of leases of houses and tenements in Helvick and Grandison Cove, the later papers consisting of correspondence and associated material about a proposed lease to the Admiralty.



Slievegrine leases, 1824-1840

The main concentration of 19th-century leases is on those granted by Henry Villiers-Stuart on Slievegrine, Co. Waterford. Slievegrine was a vast area of c.25,000 acres, which had been treated as commonage by the local farmers and frequently encroached upon and annexed by neighbouring landowners, until the Villiers-Stuart family asserted their exclusive ownership of it through a series of lawsuits in the 1820s. Slievegrine is therefore only a general geographical description, and although it is usually employed in the numerous leases of the period 1824-1840, these leases also specify more precise townland names (see the 1840 survey described under Maps, Plans, Surveys and Valuations). The Slievegrine leases number seven for 1820; one for 1822; c.260 for 1824; c.20 for 1825; c.35 for 1826; 13 for 1828; two for 1832; one for 1834; c.50 for 1835; seven for 1838; one for 1840; and a large bundle of mining leases of Slievegrine, 1858, with associated papers and correspondence, mainly deriving from Lord Stuart de Decies's dealings with a prospector called Frederick Levick and with Levick's mining company.



Alphabetically arranged Co. Waterford leases, 1817-1902

The remaining, and the great bulk of the, 19th century leases of Villiers-Stuart lands in Co. Waterford, run from 1817 to 1902 and are alphabetically arranged by townland or by group of townlands, in bundles containing anything from five to 50 documents and also including correspondence and other related papers as well as the leases as follows:

1818: 1860-1902	Aglish
c.1840, 1854 and 1874	Ardsallagh
1825-1856	Ballynacourty (and Gurnadihy)
1824-1865	Ballycullane
1834-1857	Ballycurrane
1824-1845: 1984:1902	Ballygambon
1847: 1864: 1875	Ballyhanemore
1820s-1880s	Ballyheeney
1943	Ballynamelah\line
1845	Ballyvoony
1824-1885	Colbagh
1825-1881	Coolcormack and Ballyduff
1812-1846	Corrigantaggart
1843-1851	Cotteen
1843	Currahroche
1825-1883: 1906	Curriheen
1843-1852	Dromore
c.1850	Fahagh
1815-1850	Grange (near Waterford City) - particularly Lower Grange
1840	Grillagh
1837-1851	Gurrane
1844-1863	Killalan
1819: 1837: 1881	Kilmore
1817: 1837-1839: 1857	Kilmurry
1842-1855: 1883	Knockane
1836-1855	Knocknegerah
1836-1861	Lisarrow
1840-1856	Lisgriffin and Garrynegree
1872-1884	Meelaharna [and Cappagh?]
1863: 1868	Moneyvroe
1853	Parkeenygarragh
1817-1858	Shanaclune, Shanakill/Shanacoole and Carrigeen

1854: 1852: 1868	Tiniscarty
1824-1826: 1856	Villierstown and Ballingown
1869	Whitechurch
1828-1906	Miscellaneous townlands for which no more than one document each survives

The NLI material (MSS 24728-74) includes leases of these townlands for different dates and leases of some additional townlands. However, the main source of additional townlands is Slievegrine Mountain. The already-described leases of Slievegrine for the period 1820-1840 amount to c.375, not differentiated by townland; but the townlands composing Slievegrine (some of which overlap with the above, presumably because the townlands concerned, eg the Grillaghs, bordered on Slievegrine) are itemised in a survey of 1840 (see the 19th-century maps, plans and surveys).



19th-century legal papers, 1822-1883

These include: correspondence and legal case papers, 1823 and 1827, in Abraham Coates -v- Henry Villiers-Stuart, which concerns Finisk Bridge; counsel's opinions, legal case papers and receipts, 1827-1832, concerning tithe composition on Slievegrine and elsewhere on the Villiers-Stuart estate; a large bundle of legal case papers, 1822-1827, in Henry Villiers-Stuart -v- William Curreen, etc, etc, all concerning title to Slievegrine (in at least some of these cases Villiers-Stuart retained Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil as counsel); a small, original bundle of Slievegrine ejectments, 1840s; and one small and one medium-sized deed box of legal papers, 1820s-1880s, relating to the Blackwater Fishery and related matters such as the Youghal Harbour Bill of 1841.

Most of these latter papers concern the 7th Duke of Devonshire's already-mentioned proceedings, 1878-1883, of which the Villiers-Stuart family were interested spectators, because whatever rights were **not** established as the Duke's belonged, by exclusion, to the House of Dromana, whose title to the fishery of the other bank of the river derived from pre-Magna Charta days.



Mason correspondence, 1708-1759

The Mason personal, business and political correspondence, 1708-1759, includes: c.75 letters, 1718-1737, chiefly to John Mason, MP for Waterford City, from his father, Sir John Mason of Waterford, his sisters - principally his sister Mary Mason – his brother-in-law, Dean Alexander Alcock, etc, about Kildare and Queen's County estate affairs, family finances and ailments, but also giving a lively picture of social life in Waterford City and, to a lesser extent, of political life; c.120 letters, 1738-1759, from Aland Mason, eldest son and heir of John Mason, from his uncle, Henry Mason, from various members of the Alcock family, especially Dean Alexander Alcock, from Lord Grandison, from the Grandison agent, Christopher Musgrave of Tourin, near Dromana, and from William Scott of Ballycoolid, Abbeyleix, agent for Mason's Queen's County estate, about the details of the settlement on Mason's forthcoming marriage to Grandison's daughter, Lady Elizabeth Villiers, disputed parliamentary and municipal elections for Waterford City, where both the Masons and the Alcocks were politically active, the proceedings in the House of Commons against Dr Charles Lucas in 1749, the Grandison estate, Villierstown church (c.1754), the local price of provisions and the Queen's County estate.



The 1st Earl Grandison's correspondence, 1708-1767



*Lady Gertrude Amelia
Mason Villiers*

The 1st Earl Grandison's personal, political, business and financial correspondence, 1708-1767, includes two short runs of correspondence with his highly placed English relations. These are: ten letters, 1708-1710, 1754 and 1758, between members of the Grandison and members of the Pitt family, deriving from the marriage of Harriet, daughter of Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, Viscountess Grandison, to Robert Pitt, son of Governor Thomas Pitt, in 1709; and 17 letters, 1754 and 1761, between Lord Grandison and the Hon. Thomas Villiers, later 1st Lord Hyde and, later still, 1st Earl of Clarendon, then First Lord of the Admiralty, mainly about the Money Bill Dispute of 1753-1754.

Another sub-section, consisting of 17 letters and papers, 1732-1735, 1749, 1755 and 1765, relates to Co. Waterford politics, patronage and local government, and includes copies of letters from Grandison to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Newport, about the Co. Waterford commission of the peace and about foreign enlistment, letters between Grandison and Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons, about the Co. Waterford by-election of 1749, with a letter from Richard Chenevix, Bishop of Waterford on the same subject, and other more miscellaneous papers bearing on Waterford politics and patronage.

Letters about family settlements and finances include: 65 letters, legal case papers, counsel's opinions, bonds, bills, of costs, etc, 1708-1734, relating to the Grandison family settlements, as modified by the Grandison Estate Acts of 1701 and 1728; and letters, bonds and calculations, 1739-1742, 1747, 1750, 1762 and 1767, of Lord Grandison, including one letter to his daughter's second husband, Lt-General Charles Montague, about Grandison's and Aland Mason's bond and mortgage debts to Alderman Richard Dawson of Dublin, and the complicated transaction whereby they were deducted from the purchase price for the Manor of Templemichael sold to Dawson in 1750.

Estate and business correspondence with miscellaneous correspondents includes: 24 letters, 1725-1733, between Grandison and others, including a Quaker called Thomas Leveing, about an arrangement to manufacture a compound manure in Ireland which Leveing has patented, with various related agreements, bonds and calculations; 40 letters, 1726-1753, to Grandison from miscellaneous correspondents about estate and financial affairs, including five letters from Samuel Pike, a Quaker merchant in Cork, who appears to have been supplying Grandison with wine and lead and advising him on employing a plumber, and three letters from J. Daltera, a Bristol merchant; and letter to Grandison from David Roderick, and seven voluminous legal case papers about the boundaries of and title to the lands of Kilnefrehan, Co. Waterford, 1737, 1739 and 1741-1744.



Agents' letters, 1724-1766

The rest of the correspondence comprises runs of letters from agents, all of whom ran rings round the stately but rather stupid Lord Grandison, cheated him and ended up being sued by him and/or his successors. The first such run comprises 94 letters, 1724-1744 (but mainly 1726-1731), from Maurice Ronayne, who (in spite of being a Roman Catholic) was agent for Grandison's Irish estate until, apparently, the end of 1732, when a lawsuit broke out between them. The letters range over all the legal and financial aspects of the running of the estate, the politics of Co. Waterford and Dungarvan and Youghal, the contemporary marriage market for Grandison's children, the advisability of Grandison's residing at Dromana if he wants to keep his end up, both politically and as a landowner, and the repairs, furniture, household goods, etc, which will be necessary at Dromana when Grandison at last, in the winter of 1730-1731, announces his intention of residing there .

The next run of letters comprises 23, 1734-1741, to Grandison from his London man of business, Capt. Matthew Fitzgerald, Fitzgerald's son, Robert, and other members of the Fitzgerald family, about Grandison's financial affairs, the valuation of the contents of his London house in Grosvenor Street in 1734, the buying of pictures for him, the raising of a mortgage of £35,000 for him in 1737, the financial difficulties of Viscount Falkland, who was doubly connected with the Grandison family, through Grandison's own marriage, and through Falkland's marriage in 1734 to the widow of Grandison's elder son, John, Viscount Villiers, who had died in 1732, and a lawsuit which Grandison brought against Matthew Fitzgerald in the English Court of Chancery.

Finally, there is a run of 19 letters, 1763-1766, to Grandison from his last agent, Christopher Musgrave of Tourin, near Dromana, about routine estate affairs, but conveying a considerable amount of general information as well. This includes: gossip about various, mainly local, people, including references to Lord Doneraile's inability to drink without being sick, and the extravagance of Sir Charles Coote's installation as a Knight of the Bath; the linen industry established by Lord Grandison in Villierstown (and apparently closed down, after his death, in 1768); and Whiteboyism in the area, the problems of getting people to give evidence, the distress of the clergy because of the inability to collect their tithes and the depopulation which Whiteboyism has brought about in various parts of the country.

Musgrave reports on 29 January 1764 that in the previous year the Villierstown manufactory produced 1580 pieces of linen at a cost of £2346. 2s. 1d. and a selling price of £2652. 9s. 0d. - profit of £306. 7s. 0d. On 3 February 1764, he expresses the hope that the 'Popery Bill' will be defeated – its proposer should be voted an enemy of his country – and the hope that legislation will be passed to secure to the clergy their tithes. But the clergy may aim at extending their power too far, '... as they are very tenacious ...'. He observes that various churches are out of repair, and comments: '... If the Popery Bill passes, there will be little occasion for them. ...' Finally, on 6 April 1766, he is hopeful that the special commission at Clonmel, or the King's Bench in Dublin, will convict many Whiteboys. '... They are frightened greatly

in the county of Tipperary, and I heard a gentleman say, who rode from Clonmel to Kilworth last week, that they [sic] country looks as if it was quite depopulated, and [no] kind of husbandry or tillage going on there, most of the inhabitants, conscious of their guilt, having fled, many to Newfoundland and to the mountains. ...' Musgrave credits the report that the French are assisting the Whiteboys.



Grandison correspondence, 1766-1802

The Grandison correspondence for the period between the death of the 1st Earl in 1766 and that of the 2nd in 1800 includes: 29 letters and papers, 1766-1781, of the Countess Grandison (daughter of the 1st Earl and mother of the 2nd), and her son, Viscount Villiers, afterwards 2nd Earl Grandison, mostly while they were on the Continent and mostly from Cavin Delane, who was apparently the family's agent or attorney in London, and his wife, about the disordered state of the Grandison family's finances, including a lengthy self-justification by Delane against charges of mismanagement; 14 letters, 1779-1784, to Viscount Villiers, who returned from the Continent in 1784, from Pierse Barron, Christopher Musgrave's successor as the Grandison agent, about estate and financial affairs, particularly the raising of further sums of money on mortgage, a printed playbill for the 'Dromana Theatre', on which the 2nd Earl Grandison heads the cast list, and printed admission ticket signed by him, [1780?]; 21 letters, 1787-1802, to John and Pierse Barron, successively agents for the 2nd Earl Grandison's Irish estate (John Barron died in 1797), and nephews of Pierse Barron Senior, from various correspondents about the Grandison estate and from various correspondents about Grandison's estate and financial affairs.



Villiers-Stuart estate and financial correspondence, 1800-1907

This runs from 1800 to 1907 and comprises c.2500 documents. It includes 21 letters, 1800-1809, between Lord Henry Stuart and his London banker, Coutts Trotter, and from Sir William Homan to Lord Henry Stuart, about estate and financial matters, with related financial papers. Then follows a run of business letters, mainly to Sir William Homan and to the law agent or attorney for the estate, George Greene of Little Bridge, Cappoquin, 1803-1828, 1834 and 1839-1848, from miscellaneous correspondents, among them: Lord Henry Stuart, 1804-1808; Alexander Nimmo and others about the pier at Helvick, 1812-1815; Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies during the 1840s; Thomas Keane (a sub-agent based at Cappoquin and, from 1849, the agent at Dromana) during the same period; and all manner of bankers, lawyers, etc.

One of these letters, from Lord Henry Stuart to Homan dated 9 November 1804, is a classic example of the well-intentioned, slightly humourless Englishman (or in this case Scot?) trying and failing to get to grips with the realities of Irish life: '... Are you of opinion that weavers might be collected from about the county and established there [Villierstown] and the linen manufactory resumed? In such attempts, judiciously begun, we should probably be but small losers and be amply repaid in the prospect of being in the neighbourhood of an industrious village instead of a den of thieves. ...' He then goes on to lament 'the depredations committed by the unruly mountaineers' (of Slievegrine).

The next part of the correspondence comprises letters to Henry Denehy, Lord Stuart's attorney or law agent from 1828 (in succession to George Greene, who died in that year). There are nearly 200 letters to him from Lord Stuart about business matters, 1828-1829 and 1835-1854, including the defalcation to the tune of £2,000 of Sir Charles Shaw (who succeeded Homan as head agent in 1847), which came to light in 1849, the Waterford Gaol Enquiry of 1835, the Waterford Militia, of which Lord Stuart was Colonel, and meetings of the Irish Privy Council, of which he was a member. Other letters to Henry Denehy, 1835, 1841 and 1851-1852, come from Lord Stuart's younger brother, William Villiers-Stuart, mainly about the Youghal Harbour Bill, 1841.

Other estate and business correspondence of the Lord Stuart era include: letters, 1849-1863, to Thomas Keane, Sir Charles Shaw's successor as agent, some of them from Lord Stuart; a fat bundle of letters, 1829-1866, to Lord Stuart himself, including correspondence with Lord Huntingdon and Richard Power of Clashmore about exchanges and purchases of land, etc; and letters, 1872-1880, to Laurence Denehy, son and successor of Henry Denehy as Lord Stuart's solicitor, and also, from 1874, Lord Stuart's executor, in which capacity his actions later gave rise to criticism and possibly litigation.

The final part of the correspondence comprises business letters and papers, 1867-1894, of Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, including correspondence of 1890-1893 about the succession duty on the estate of his father, Lord Stuart de Decies, and business letters and papers of his successors and of the successive agents at Dromana, John Armit (to 1908) and Colonel S.F. Kirkwood (to c.1921), 1895-1915.



Political and personal papers of the Villiers-Stuarts, 1827-1908

Those of Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, begin with a voluminous bundle of papers, 1824-1828 and 1832-1840, relating to Co. Waterford electioneering. In the main, these papers take the form of freeholders' certificates of the period 1824-1828, but mainly preceding the famous Co. Waterford election of 1826. Indeed, there would appear to be c.100 certificates ante-dating that election and reflecting Villiers-Stuart's activity in creating freeholders mainly by dividing up Slievegrine. There are also a couple of lists of freeholders who have registered or who are to be registered, a draft of a letter from [George Greene, Henry Denehy's predecessor and Villiers-Stuart's principal election agent in 1826] expressing Villiers-Stuart's extreme dissatisfaction with a tenant who, having been granted a lease, had so far failed to register his vote, and another letter about the misfortunes of some individual who deserves assistance because he voted straight at the election. The papers of 1832-1840 are also voters' certificates, but this time not for 40 shilling freeholds (which had been abolished in 1829), but for £50-freeholds, £10 leaseholds, etc.

There follow letters and papers of Lord Stuart, 1835, 1846-1848, 1851-1854, 1859, 1866 and 1871-1873, relating to Co. Waterford administration, famine relief, etc, mostly in his capacity as Lieutenant of the county (from 1839), and mostly printed. There is one poignant bill for coffins during the famine period, which probably derives from Lord Stuart's role as a landlord, but has been kept with the other famine material. Other topics covered are: 'Draft clauses to be introduced in Lord John Russell's bill for improvement of landed property of 8th February 1847'; the Co. Waterford Militia, 1848, 1854 and N.D.; the Co. Waterford election of 1866; and the county lieutenancy, 1872.

Lord Stuart's personal correspondence comprises: letters, 1844-1845 and 1865, to his son, Henry ('Monsieur Stuart'), mainly when a cadet in the Austrian army, including one letter of 1865 about Henry's forthcoming marriage and the settlement (the letters of 1844-1845 from father to son, apart from demonstrating Lord Stuart's obvious sincerity and affection, are of considerable interest in view of the subsequent peerage case); letters, 1846, 1859, 1861, 1863 and 1867, to his daughter, Pauline, later Lady Wheeler Cuffe, which demonstrate Lord Stuart's sense of humour as well as his affectionate nature; and miscellaneous personal and family letters, N.D., 1850, 1859, 1867 and 1873, some of them about the death of Lord Stuart's wife in 1867.

Those of his son, Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, include: a diary/journal [of Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart], 1857; personal, family and other letters, 1864-1895 and 1902, to Villiers-Stuart and his wife/widow, among other things about his mother's death in 1867, his son's engagement in 1895, and the evidence being heard in the Stuart de Decies peerage case of 1876; letters and papers, 1872-1874, and N.D., mainly about Villiers-Stuart's candidature, and first term, as MP for Co. Waterford (1873-1874), with particular reference to his (ambivalent) attitude to Home Rule, and his views on the education question (Villiers-Stuart vacated his seat in 1874 on succeeding, as he thought, to the Stuart de Decies peerage, to which he then failed

in 1876 to make out his claim); a 57-page volume containing a printed statement of his claim, [pre 3 June 1875], a copy of the 250 pages of evidence heard before the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords, 6 April 1876, together with another printed statement of Villiers-Stuart's case, 20 July 1876, and later papers about the case, 1925 and 1950.

Following the withdrawal of his claim in 1876, his papers on other subjects comprise: MS material, printed matter and correspondence, February-March 1877, 1882-1883, 1888 and N.D., concerning his visits to Egypt, including his official tour of inspection after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 1882; his visit to Jamaica and other foreign travels, 1891; and letters, speeches, addresses and newspaper cuttings, 1880-1885, N.D. and 1893, mainly reflecting Villiers-Stuart's role as MP for Co. Waterford, 1880-1885, and mainly about the land question, Gladstone's Land Act of 1881 and Villiers-Stuart's Labourers' Cottages and Allotments Bill of 1882, together with a letter from Parnell, 1883, and a copy of an election address from Villiers-Stuart to the electors of South-East Cork, [1886].



'Daniel in the lion's den'

Perhaps the most interesting (and entertaining) item among these letters and papers is a letter of 14 September 1838 to Henry Villiers-Stuart from [Mrs] Frances [initials illegible?] Yates, writing from Derrynane, [Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry], describing a visit to Daniel O'Connell; the letter is franked by O'Connell.

'Here I am, actually with Daniel in the lion's den, and a very comfortable abode it is. We received at Killarney an obliging message from him, which did not lose by being delivered in the cordial, hearty manner of his nephew, Morgan John. Finding that a visit from us was wished for and expected, we yesterday left Kenmare (a small town of Lord Lansdowne's) for this place. ... The road lies through a part of the country that I am sure cannot be exceeded in wildness and barrenness - all rock and bog - nothing imaginable more dreary - when, pretty well tired, descending a long hill, we saw at the bottom this particularly neat, cheerful looking house.

It is an old one, yet without an external appearance of being such, for lately the walls have been, every one, weather-slated with a very light-coloured grey slate (about the colour of hewn stone). It gives a new, cheerful look, which is still further increased by a good deal of regular paling, painted **white**, surrounding extensive young plantations. Amongst them, vistas are made to admit views of the sea. The house consists of numerous small rooms, to which two of good size (especially in length) have been added, a dining and drawing-room over it [sic].

Two of the young men rode some miles to meet us, and on our arrival we had a cordial reception from our host, who had just come in from hunting, and looked remarkably well in his black velvet cap and other appropriate costume. I must say that he is seen to **very great advantage** at home, surrounded by men, women and children of all degrees of relationship, to whom his manners are kind and paternal. Our party at dinner consisted of not less than twenty O'Connells, besides two or three persons who are come to examine if there are mines in the neighbourhood. At the top of a long and well filled table sat (very like, I should suppose, to a Highland chieftain) the head of the clan O'Connell. He looked convivial and open-hearted, and became very interesting when you formed the topic of our conversation.

I was glad to find him express himself most warmly as to the generous and noble part you had acted in emancipating your county from the thralldom of its selfish oppressors. **He** has had every possible incentive that could arise from personal and family motives, as well as the feelings of clanship and patriotism, to impel him forward in his great career, but when the history of the struggles Ireland is now making come [sic] to be recorded, it will not be forgotten that you, in taking your stand against the oppressors, had **not** those incentives, but on the contrary, had to cast away the prepossessions and prejudices of **"your order"**, upon whom you waged war, to uplift the people that their unfeeling policy had degraded. O'Connell seemed well acquainted with the history of your mother's family in times past, and related several particulars respecting them. We ended our chat by drinking your health in a flowing bumper, after which the ladies retired. We were soon joined by the gentlemen

who were examining specimens of copper found in the neighbourhood. O'Connell retired early, and was replaced by a piper, who gave us Irish tunes (sad and merry) until bed-time.

This morning at breakfast the Liberator wore a loose dressing-gown and a traveller's cap. His post-bag full of letters coming in makes him stationary just at this moment, and is giving Mary Ellen an opportunity of making a sketch of him in the above - mentioned dress. ...'



Inventories, 1694-1695, 1726-1762, 1820s and 1882-1957

Inventories of contents are something of a strongpoint of the archive. They include: 'An account of goods belonging to the Hon. Katherine Fitz Gerald Villiers left in the custody and keeping of Mr Charles Boucher this 23rd day of January 1694-1695', and other items and payments recorded in the same booklet, among them four pairs of candlesticks, 'one big sarver', a great silver cup and cover, six spoons, six forks, and a chafingdish with two bottoms (together with accounts and receipts for them), [the 5th Viscount] Grandison's spoons and knives (£3.9.0), and a 'choquelett' (£2); and information given the 1st Earl Grandison about Grandison family portraits still in General William Steuart's possession early in 1726 (after Viscountess Grandison's death, in the previous year, and Steuart's speedy second marriage), with instructions from Grandison that these portraits are to be retrieved.

The next inventories in date all relate to planting. They comprise: an account furnished by Maurice Ronayne to Grandison, 27 July 1729, of 43,000 forest trees planted in the Dromana nursery in rows of crab stock, plum stock, pear stock, and English box, some for hedges, some for edging borders, etc; and a further statement of the number of trees in the nurseries at Dromana, furnished by Ronayne to Grandison in 1729. This calculates that in the old nursery, there are 17,200 ash trees, 18,000 beech, 5930 'sickamore', 700 elms and 540 horse-chestnuts - making a total of 42,370: in the new nursery there have been planted this season 47,700 ash trees, 229 lime and 17,600 acorns in rows, and the fruit trees total 107,899.

Finally there are: inventories of Grandison's plate, 1731 and 1762; a printed sale catalogue of paintings consigned to the care of Gaspar Erck of Dublin, 1754; a complete inventory of Dromana, 1755; and inventories, MS and printed catalogues, schedules of heirlooms, etc, [1820s, 1882, 1909, 1919; 1918, 1937, 1945 and 1957, all relating to Dromana and its contents.



Formal documents, 1621, 1664-1839 and 1908

The 17th century commissions, patents of appointment, etc, begin with: a contemporary copy of the patent creating Sir Oliver St John, Viscount Grandison, with remainder to his sister's issue, the Villiers family, 3 January 1621; an assignment of 20 September 1664 from Colonel John Bowmer, Limerick, to Capt. Francis Robinson, on behalf of the 4th Viscount Grandison, of Bowmer's and his servants' 'groweing pay' as lieutenant to Lord Grandison's troop of horse, and of the 'satisfaction' he is to have for ten months' arrears of pay.



*William Villiers,
2nd Viscount Grandison*

The formal documents relating to Brigadier the Hon. Edward Villiers, son and heir of the 4th Viscount Grandison, and his wife, Katherine, the Dromana heiress, comprise: Villiers's commission as a captain in the French army, 1671; deeds relating to the family sinecure of the profits of the Green Wax (inherited from Charles II's mistress, Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, daughter of the 2nd Viscount Grandison),



Katherine Fitzgerald

1675, and to an annuity charged on the Excise duties, 1696; a decree of the Vice Admiralty Court held at Kinsale for the counties of Cork and Waterford, by which Edward Fitzgerald Villiers and Katherine, his wife, are awarded possession of 300 dealboards found within the manor of Dromana, 1 March 1681[1682]; a certificate of Colonel Edward Fitzgerald Villiers's presentation with the freedom of the town of Youghal, Co. Cork, 25 November 1678; a copy of an order of the Irish Privy Council to the Co. Waterford Commissioners of Array on the occasion of the scare created by 'the Popish Plot', 9 December 1678; a commission appointing Colonel Edward Fitzgerald Villiers Governor of Waterford City and County, 5 January 1690/1691; a copy of his accounts with his regiment of horse, [pre-1693]; and his commission of the peace for Co. Waterford, 27 May 1693.

The 18th century formal documents include: the 5th Viscount Grandison's commission as Governor of Waterford City and County, 27 January 1704/1705, and certificates as a freeman of Waterford City, 1705, and Youghal, 1708; a series of commissions reappointing him Governor of Waterford City and County at the start of the reigns of the first three Georges, 1714, 1727 and 1761; 6 papers, 1715-1716, of his, as Governor of Co. Waterford, in connection with the 1715 invasion scare - a copy of directions for raising the Co. Waterford militia, a copy of a warrant for seizing horses 'in the custody of any Papish or Papists in the county of Waterford', a deposition concerning the depredations of a proclaimed Tory, a protest (from Grandison and various JPs) against the seizure of plough-horses belonging to Catholics, an order for the release of people imprisoned on suspicion, etc; two

papers, [1715-1727], one of them endorsed by Grandison, 'Copies of 2 patents for pensions in Ireland by K[ing] George [the] First'; certificates of Aland Mason's freedom of nine Waterford City guilds, 18-19 October 1738, and his commission of the peace for Co. Waterford, 6 August 1739; a patent creating Lady Elizabeth Mason, Viscountess Grandison, 1747; the original and two copies of a patent granting Lord Grandison fairs at Villierstown, 1751; a copy of a proxy given by Grandison to the Earl of Tyrone, 1765; and 2 formal documents (one signed by George III) relating to Viscount Villiers's, later 2nd Earl Grandison, assumption of the surname Villiers in addition to that of Mason, 1771.

The 19th and early 20th-century formal documents include: patents appointing Henry Villiers-Stuart, Lord Stuart de Decies, Lieutenant of the County and City of Waterford, 1831-1832, 1837 and 1839; and patents appointing Henry Charles Villiers-Stuart Lieutenant of the County and City of Waterford and Colonel of the Waterford Militia, 1908.



Maps, plans, surveys and valuations, 1640, 1652, c.1655 and 1693-1892

The 17th-century material comprises: a schedule of lands and Order of Composition, 7 February 1639/1640, agreed between the Commissioners for the Remedy of Defective Titles, and Sir Peter Aylward, respecting the issue of a new patent for the lands of Tullaghcowleneer, Clonee, Ballecoyne alias Ballequin, barony of Decies, and Corrbalibegg, and Corrbalimore, barony of Gaultiere, Co. Waterford; a similar schedule of lands and Order of Composition, 8 May 1640, amended to include Portallige alias Portallagh, parish of Rathmoylan; 'A returne of the several proprietors in the south side of Passage', Co. Waterford, including John Aylward Esq's lands and houses in Passage; a verbal 'Note of the meares be twixt the Barrony of Upper Ossory and the Counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and K[ings] County', [c.1655], certified by W. Barke as a 'true copie of the boundaries presented by the [Civil?] Survey'; and maps and surveys of the estates of Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, 1693-1699 and N.D.

The first two of these maps are by George Heighington, both are dated 1693, and both cover parts of the estate only, the first the part '... in the barony of Decies in the manor of Dromana and parishes of Whitechurch and Affane', and the second the part '... in the barony of Decies in the manor of Comeragh and parish of Fews'. The first survey, of 1694, is based on Heighington's computations, both in these maps and in others which are not present, and gives the Irish acreage for each manor, or rather for each parish within each manor, as follows: manor of Comeragh, parish of Fews, 3509, parish of Kilrosenty, 3770, parish of Stradbally, 300, and parish of Kilgobnet, 4721; manor of Mountain Castle, parish of Sheskinan, 7682, and parish of Modeligo, 2008; manor of Grange, parish of Lisgenan, 3088, parish of Ardmore, 231, parish of Clashmore, 1898, and parish of Aglishvenane, 802; manor of Dromana, parish of Clashmore, 1117, parish of Rinogana, 1173, parish of Colligan, 1064, parish of Affane, 1785, parish of Dungarvan, 1825, parish of Whitechurch, 1159, parish of Aglish, 3557, and Dromanamore, 745. The survey, dated, 1695, is similar, and it gives the grand total as 39,993 Irish acres. Both surveys cover the entire estate, the first distinguishing what lands were part of the dower estate. The other maps may relate to the dower estate alone.



18th-century maps, plans and surveys

The 18th century material includes: 19 maps, surveys, valuations, etc, of parts of the Grandison estate in Co. Waterford, and the Mason estate in Co. Kildare, [c.1708], 1726, 1735-1736, 1741-1746, 1750, 1753, 1778, 1784, 1791 and 1795, including an anonymous memorandum about the improvement of the Dromana estate, [c.1740s], with particular emphasis on 'quicksets'. In fact, the most important 18th-century document of this kind is not present among the Villiers-Stuart papers, but became detached from them a long time ago and, happily, is now owned by the Irish Architectural Archive, Merrion Square, Dublin. This is a demesne survey of Dromana by Henry Jones, 1751, which in addition to the survey which it represents itself as giving provides beautiful and minutely observed elevations of buildings in the demesne, including the 'rock house' (which looks almost more substantial than the 'mansion house'), the banqueting house (which, like the rock house, was down at river level, below Dromana), the bastion commanding the river, the 'green of Dromanna' with its 'tradesmen's houses' and an inn [i.e. not all of Lord Grandison's linen colony lived at Villierstown], 'the lodge', etc, etc.



19th-century maps, plans and surveys

The 19th-century maps, plans and surveys comprise three volumes of coloured maps and 69 loose maps, valuations, plans and surveys, 1803, 1808-1875 and 1892.

The earliest are: 'A map of the encroachments made upon the mountain of Sleavegrine [sic], the estate of Lord Henry Stewart [sic] in County Waterford, surveyed by Mich[ael] Broderick', 1803; a volume of 12 surveys of the '... estates in England and Ireland belonging to Lord Henry and Lady Gertrude Stuart by Michael Cuddehy, 1808', comprising the manor of Bramfield and Queen Hoo Hall, Hertfordshire, 1804, and Aglish, Ballycurrane, Ballyduff, Coolbagh and Craggs, Correheen, Curradala, Dromana, Helvick, Kilmagibrogue, Tinknock and East Ballymullala, all in Co. Waterford, and all dated 1808; together with a very detailed bill submitted by Cuddehy stating the basis for all his charges, also 1808.

The material which post-dates the deaths of Lord and Lady Henry Stuart in 1809 includes: a plan for a pier to be built at Helvick, 15 July 1811; a design for a pier and fishing village at Ballingaule, Co. Waterford, by Alexander Nimmo, 1816 (basically cruciform street plan with smaller lanes intersecting, one arm going down to the market-house, which is at the extremity of the arm and quay beyond – c.75 dwellings and amply stores envisaged); a plan, elevation and sections by G. Nimmo of a proposed wooden bridge over the Blackwater at Ringcrew, near Youghal, with an estimate of cost, [c.1820]; 'A survey of Kildahala Woods being the property of the Rev. Arthur Kiely of Youghal containing 116 acres [] roods 18 perches statute measure.', January 1823; a 'Map of Coolbagh in the parish of Clashmore part of the estate of Henry Villiers Stuart Esq., by S. Chaloner', 1824; a 'Map of Ardsallagh, Tinnabainna and Ballycrompane, the estate of Henry Villiers Stuart Esq. by S. Chaloner', 1825; a 'Plan and section of a new and old road from Rathwhealan Cove to Portally Bounds by Nich[olas] Sinnot', 1829; 'Plans and section of a proposed canal from the River Blackwater to Clashmore, Co. Waterford, designed by John Jones, Civil Engineer', 1831; and an ink sketch map, [c.1837?], of Rathmeelan [sic - Rathmoylan] Glebe in the parish of Rathmeelan, barony of Gaultiere, Co. Waterford, containing 2 acres and 17 perches plantation measure, copied from a map surveyed 4 January 1744 by Thomas Roberts and lodged in the Registry of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore.

There follows a volume containing a survey and c.50 maps of Slievegrine, parish of Ardmore, part of the estate of the Rt Hon. Lord Stuart de Decies, surveyed by John Logan, 1840, and comprising (in this order and orthography): Monagoelee, Knocknamoona, Upper Knocknaglough, Lower Knocknaglough, Raymanagh West, Mount Stuart, Monalummery, Raynaboola, Corran Beg, Lackengrany, North Tour, South Tour, Corrandaverig, Lyre, Moyng, Upper Ballyguiree and Monacullee, Clash Brack, Carranahyle, Knocknahoolagh, Puillough alias West Killongford, Raynaveedory alias Weaver's Reagh, Drumslog, Monameana, Moignanea, Meeling, Raynagolea, Little Moyng, Glen Lickey, Grillagh, Raynaskehy, Boher Buigh, Mulnahorna and Bornaleagh, Glounalerick, Moanbrack, Ballycurrane, Monaguileeny

and Knockatour, Clogherawn and Lackamoor, Coolrooa, Barnastook and Knocknafeeny, Upper Ranamanenagh, Scrahans, Raynaclogheen and Remanagh.

Other items of note are a tattered but handsome 'Map of part of the lands of Coolbagh, late in possession of John Barry and now let to James Ronayne, surveyed February 1840 by Thomas Quirke'; and 10 papers, 1842-1845, about the valuation of drainage work [carried out by tenants].



Papers about architecture and building

In addition to these maps, plans and surveys, the 19th century material includes: 107 estimates of the 1840s for building work to be done for or by tenants, and memorials from tenants seeking reimbursement for building work already done, with some associated receipts and plans; and a large quantity of estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc, in connection with building work done for or by tenants and in one way or the other subsidised by the estate, and also relating to building work on other structures, premises and institutions on the estate - various offices, fences, walls, etc; Helvick Cottage; Keily's Cross Police Barracks; Ring National School and cottages; Villierstown Lodge, School, Church (then as now an endless absorber of money), Police Barracks, and houses; etc, etc.

Relating to Dromana itself and Martin Day's alterations to the house and stables in 1843-1849 are: three ground plans and two much smaller cross sections, all relating to the old part of Dromana and to the architect, Martin Day's, alternative schemes for raising its roof (all the plans are in his handwriting; there are two alternatives for the ground floor, and the one relating to the bedroom floor states in his handwriting 'Note, the parts coloured red are the parts the roof is off at present'), [1843] ; a detailed specification by Martin Day for his alternative plans for dealing with the old part of the house, one of them estimated to cost £1,358.10s.08d, the other £1,247.19s.10d, 22 May 1843; a complaining letter from Matthew Byron of Villierstown, who had 'finished the small hall of the new building in an ornamental manner', about the low wages paid him by Martin Day, 1845; a receipted bill for Byron's 'slating the octagon tower', 1846; the same for 'slating over [the] bow room ... and repairing slating of [the] balcony room', 1846; the same for 'plaistering about [the] window of [the] theatre, Dromana', 1847; and an estimate from Byron for repairing 'the roof of the old stabling, Dromana, in a temporary manner', 1849 [which is somewhat mysterious, since there is elsewhere a letter from Lord Stuart (P/42) dated 1846 which mentions that Martin Day is about to knock the old stables down!].

There are other estimates, bills, receipts, etc, 1845-1874 and 1911, for miscellaneous building and repair work at Dromana, including constant glazing, repeated 'whitening' of the exterior of the house, a considerable concentration of carpentry and masonry work in the period 1853-1856, and frequent attention to water-closets and their seats; designs for the Hindu-Gothic bridge at Dromana, 1848, and not-very-informative bills and receipts relating to it, 1847-1849; a 'Sketch of mingled flower garden and shrubbery adapted to a peculiar situation at Dromana', showing Lady Stuart's Pheasantry, November 1853; an estimate for a library at Dromana, February 1856; detailed accounts for the Dromana Turkish bath-house, 1859-1860; and papers about re-making the avenues to Dromana, 1872.



Rentals and rent accounts, 1708-1945

The 18th-century material includes: nine estate and related accounts, 1708-1709, for Katherine, Viscountess Grandison's, dower estate; 89 rent-rolls and related accounts, 1708-1788, for the Grandison (and Mason) estate (the rental was £5300 a year in 1737, but subject to charges of £4355 a year: in 1765, the Grandison estate had a rental of £6166, the Mason estate one of £3746 and the Grandison estate in England £1000); four Mason account books, 1685-1709, 1731-1739, 1738-1752 and 1741-1757, in which are enclosed related tenants' proposals: three Grandison rent books, 1739-1750, 1753-1758 and 1766; and 32 rent-rolls and related accounts, 1741-1758, for Aland Mason's estates.

The 19th and 20th century material includes: c.165 rentals and accounts (mainly in bulky volume form and representing a sampling of a much larger quantity), 1801-1945, for the Dromana estate and demesne, for Slievegrine, for Killalan and other property in and near Waterford City, and the Kilcoran property, near Youghal; c.125 lists of tenants, particularly on Slievegrine, c.1817, 1826-c.1900, with comments, drawn up by Sir William Homan, George Greene, Henry Denehy or Thomas Keane, among them one detailed and apparently complete list, c.1817; a tithe applotment for the parish of Ardmore (which includes Slievegrine), 1827; a box of rent accounts and receipts for rents paid, c.1840-1920, mostly consisting of scrappy bits of paper on which [Thomas Keane] has recorded rent payments made at the Dromana office on particular days in the middle years of the 19th century (with a view, obviously, to entering them into ledgers which still survive, so they are of little evidential value, except as conveying some idea of the rather scruffy book-keeping system); and a half-box of meticulously detailed rentals, accounts, correspondence, etc, 1909-1921, of the trustees who managed the estate during the minority of the late Ion H.F. Villiers-Stuart, and of the then Dromana agent, Colonel S.F. Kirkwood.



Bills, receipts, accounts and account books, 1709-1927

The 18th century material includes: 416 miscellaneous accounts and bills, 1709-1766, relating mainly to the affairs of the 1st Earl Grandison and of Aland Mason, including two carpenters' bills of 1741 and 1755 for work [at Dromana?] and on Grandison's Dublin house respectively, a bill for painting and whitewashing Grandison's house in Suffolk Street, [Dublin?], in 1765, and very full accounts for 1765-1766, presumably because they were preserved with particular care in connection with the execution of Grandison's will; 125 receipts, 1708-1766, chiefly deriving from Grandison; 24 accounts, 1743-1745, relative to the farms of Greslagh and Tinnascart; 19 accounts and receipts, 1747-1758, for disbursements on Grandison's Hertfordshire estate; and 2 volumes of household accounts, 1753-1762, recording disbursements at Dromana and at Grandison's Dublin house.

Deriving from Countess Grandison and the 2nd Earl Grandison are 29 miscellaneous accounts and receipts, 1766-c.1800, including some relating to Continental expenses; four weekly work sheets referring apparently to building operations at Dromana, 1773; and an undated calculation [in the 2nd Earl Grandison's handwriting?] of the cost of stone work for two fronts 86 ft and 66 ft long respectively and for other building operations [at Dromana] totalling £955.

The much more voluminous 19th and early 20th century material includes: a very large quantity (five PRONI boxes) of highly miscellaneous accounts, receipts, vouchers, etc, 1798-c.1915, for estate, demesne, household and personal expenditure. The boxes contain a great many original bundles of vouchers (eg for 1841, 1843, 1845, 1846-1847, 1848 and 1849), but many others have become split up and their contents scattered. There are a great many receipts for salaries and wages paid to all manner of employees, and to such people as the Villierstown schoolmaster and the master of Mount Stuart National School. Everything from guano to Lady Stuart's jewellery is included!

There is also a large quantity of volumes and bundles of Dromana wages' books, stock books, livestock sales books, etc, 1819-1927 and 1935-1936. The labourers' and workmen's wage accounts relate to the Dromana demesne, home farm, etc, and are usually organised on a daily or weekly basis, with the names of the labourers and workmen set alongside the hours worked/tasks carried out. Another voluminous source are the many surviving receipts, c.1830-c.1910, for County Cess, Poor Rates and Income Tax. This is low-grade material, but it is accompanied by much more important lists and schedules of payers of these dues, arranged by parish or Poor Law Union, and establishing the respective liabilities of landlord and tenant. There is also a small quantity of correspondence about disputes over these liabilities.



Miscellaneous

One significant 'curiosity' is a letter in French, dated 27 January 1919 (probably deriving from Colonel Patrick Villiers-Stuart, fifth son of Henry Windsor Villiers-Stuart, who was British Military Representative in Sofia in 1918), to the commander of the British occupation force at Baltchik, Bulgaria, numerous signed by the Orthodox inhabitants. The letter explains that from Turkish times there have been three churches in Baltchik, St Annunciation, St Nicholas and St George, and that if a Roman Catholic clergyman is to be intruded at all, it should only be into St Annunciation, leaving the other two free for Orthodox worship.

