





April 1904.

# A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY DUBLIN:

THE PEOPLE, PARISHES AND ANTIQUITIES FROM THE EARLIEST  
TIMES TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

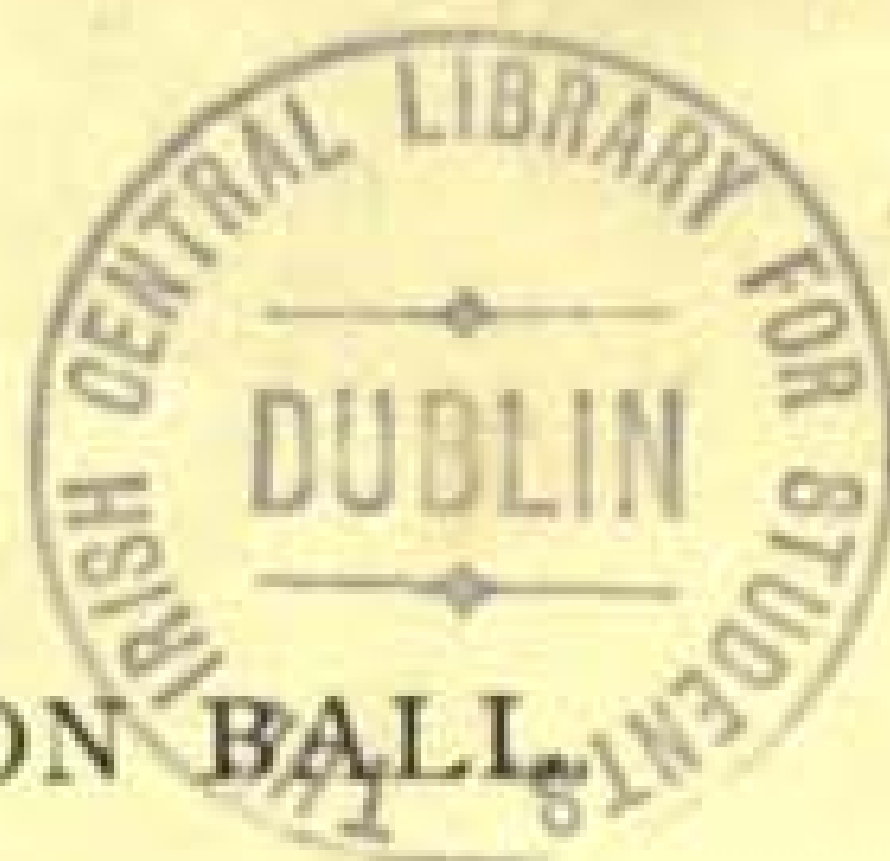
## PART FOURTH

Being a History of that portion of the County comprised within  
the Parishes of

CLONSILLA, LEIXLIP, LUCAN, ADERRIG, KILMACTALWAY,  
KILBRIDE, KILMAHUDDRICK, ESKER, PALMERSTON,  
BALLYFERMOT, CLONDALKIN, DRIMNAGH,  
CRUMLIN, ST. CATHERINE, ST. NICHOLAS WITHOUT,  
ST. JAMES, ST. JUDE, AND CHAPELIZQD,  
AS WELL AS WITHIN THE PHCENIX PARK.

BY

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DUBLIN:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ALEX. THOM & CO. (LIMITED), ABBEY-ST.  
1906.



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## INTRODUCTION TO THE FOURTH PART.

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THE parishes included in this part of the History form the more western portion of the County Dublin, a district which is intersected by the River Liffey, as well as by the Grand Canal and the Great Southern and Western Railway. They are bounded to the south and east by the parishes included in the former parts of the History and by the City of Dublin, to the west by the County Kildare, and to the north by the parishes of Mulhuddart, Castleknock, and Finglas, and lie within the baronies of Castleknock, Nethercross, Newcastle, and Uppercross. Some townlands in the parishes immediately bordering on the City of Dublin have recently been annexed to the metropolis, but it has been thought convenient for the purposes of this work, terminating, as it does, at the close of the eighteenth century, to adopt the Circular Road as the boundary between the city and county.

To the earliest history of the county, particularly in the time of the Scandinavian invasion, some reference will be found in this part under Clondalkin, and of the events following the Anglo-Norman settlement information is given in connection with the Archbishop of Dublin's manor at that place, the King's manors at Esker and Crumlin, and the Grange of the Hospital of St. John without Newgate at Palmerston. The history of the churches also bear upon those periods, and such remains as exist of early places of worship have been illustrated and described.

But the chief subjects of interest in this part relate to the history of the county under the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns. In the reign of Henry VIII. the Castle of Luttrellstown was

occupied by one of the most prominent judges of that time, Thomas Luttrell, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth St. Catherine's Park was the residence of Sir Nicholas White, a statesman who had held long converse with the maiden Queen as well as with her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. While James I. was on the throne, the Phoenix House, on whose site the Magazine in the Phoenix Park now stands, became the country abode of the chief governors, and Sir Henry Power, afterwards the first Viscount Valentia, a soldier of renown, appears at Chapelizod, and the Chancellor of Ireland, Viscount Loftus of Ely, at Drimnagh. Towards the close of the reign of Charles I. Sir Maurice Eustace, then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, acquired possession of Palmerston, and during the Commonwealth a passing glimpse is caught at Luttrellstown of one of the regicides, Colonel John Hewson, and at Lucan of Sir Theophilus Jones, who proved equally loyal to the rule of Parliament and King. After the Restoration a number of eminent personages burst upon us, the great Duke of Ormonde at the Phoenix and afterwards at Chapelizod, Sir William Davys, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at St. Catherine's, and Sir John Temple, Solicitor-General, the illustrious ancestor of one of Queen Victoria's Prime Ministers, at Palmerston.

The changes which followed upon the Revolution are noticed under Lucan, then the property of the gallant Sarsfield, and the subsequent residence there of Mrs. Vesey, the famous blue stocking, connects that place with Samuel Johnson and the literary circle of his time. To the government of Ireland in the eighteenth century allusion is made under the Phoenix Park, where, amongst others, lived Luke Gardiner and Nathaniel Clements, and under Palmerston, where Provost Hutchinson had his country house.





## AUTHORITIES

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The authorities whose titles have been condensed, and the places of preservation of the manuscripts referred to, are as follows :—

Journal R. S. A. I. refers to the Journals of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, of the Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland, and of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, following the consecutive numbering of the volumes

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey refers to "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin," edited by Sir John Gilbert in the Rolls Series.

Fiants refers to the Calendars of Fiants in the 7th to the 22nd Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland.

Christ Church Deeds refers to the Calendar of Christ Church Deeds in the 20th to the 26th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland.

Patent Rolls refers to "Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Calendarium," vol. i., part i.

Chancery Inquisitions refers to "Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Asservartum Repertorium," vol. i., under Co. Dublin.

Mills' Norman Settlement refers to a paper on "The Norman Settlement in Leinster," by James Mills, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, vol. xxiv., pp. 161-175.

Archbishop Bulkeley's Report refers to "A Report on the Diocese of Dublin," by Archbishop Bulkeley, printed in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. v., pp. 145-166.

Sweetman's Calendar refers to "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1307," edited by H. S. Sweetman in the Record Publications.

Liber Niger refers to a copy of the Register of Archbishop Alan, commonly called the Liber Niger, made by Bishop Reeves, and preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

The Down Survey Maps, Hearth-Money and Subsidy Rolls, Rolls of Innocents, Exchequer Inquisitions, Regal Visitation of 1615, Religious Returns, Wills, Grants, Justiciary, Plea and Memoranda Rolls, Crown Rentals, and Survey of Upper Cross and Newcastle, are preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

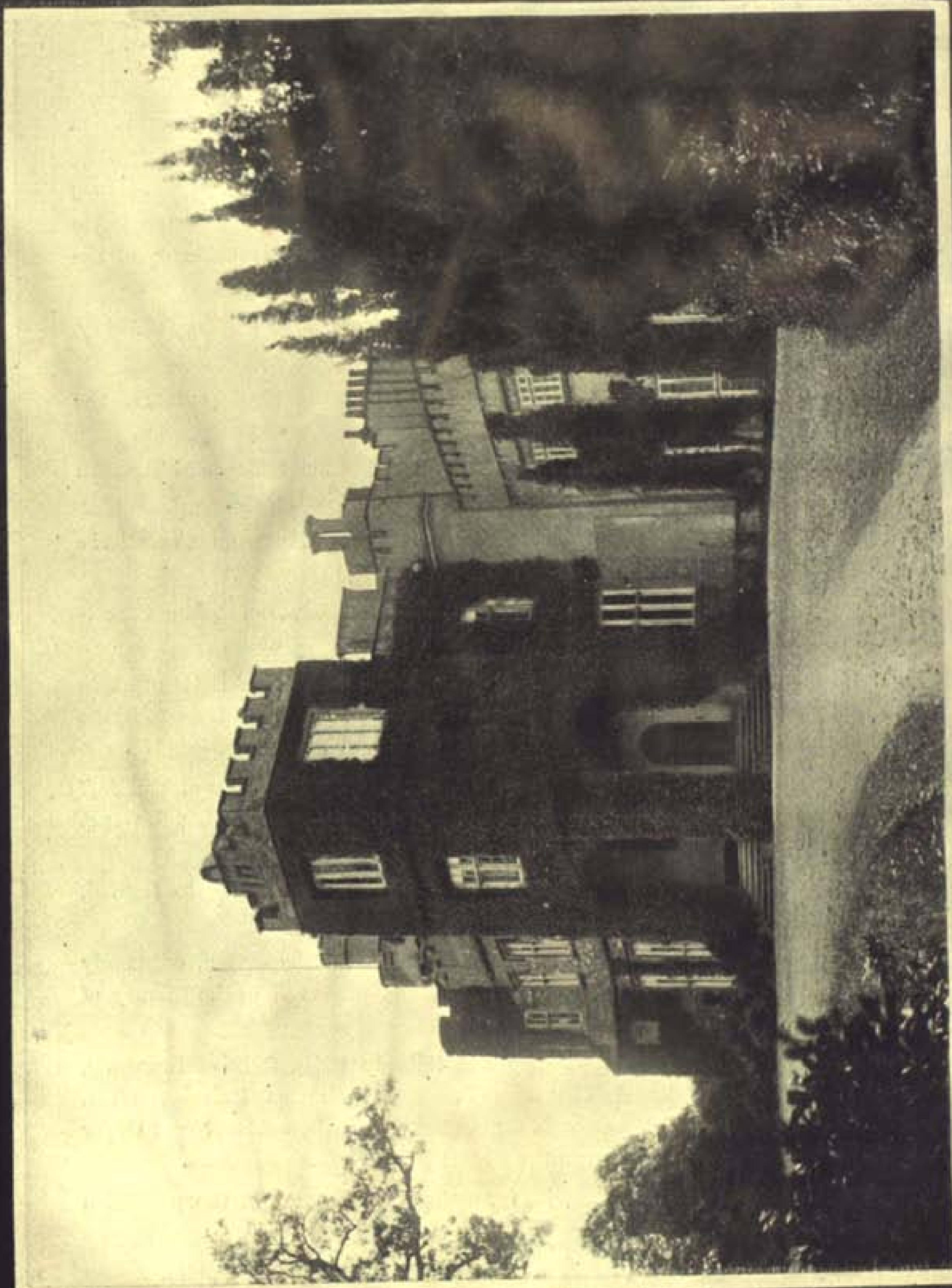
Cooper's Note Book refers to MSS. of Austin Cooper, F.S.A., in the possession of Mr. Mark B. Cooper.

The Depositions of 1641 are preserved in Trinity College Library, Dublin.

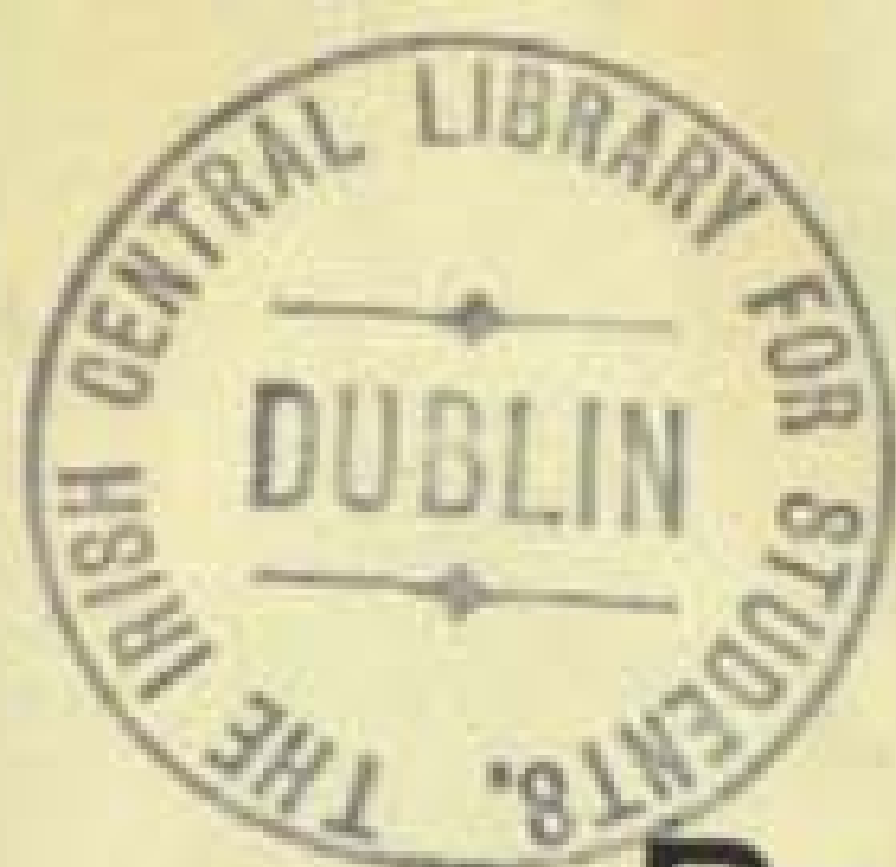
The Census of 1659 is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

The Carte Papers are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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DUBLIN  
JAN 18







## Parish of Clonsilla

(i.e., *Cluain-saileach* or the meadow of *sallows*).

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The Parish of Clonsilla in the seventeenth century is stated to have comprised the townlands of Ballstown, Barberstown, Blackstaheney, Barnageeth, Clonsillagh, Coolmine, Cusanstown, Hartstown, Ininstown, Killiestown, Luttrellstown, Pibblestown, Ringwellstown, and Little Stackheney.

It now contains the townlands of Astagob, Barberstown, Barnhill, Blakestown, Broomfield, Castaheany [i.e. Heany's House], Clonsilla, Coolmine [i.e. the smooth hill back], Hansfield or Phibblestown, Hartstown, Kellystown, Sheepmoor, and Woodlands.

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### LUTTRELLSTOWN AND ITS CASTLE.

LUTTRELLSTOWN, now the seat of Lord Annaly, but from the middle ages until the nineteenth century the home of the Irish branch of the Luttrell family, is situated about eight miles to the west of Dublin between the Phoenix Park, and the county boundary on its Meath and Kildare borders. The castle of Luttrellstown, although it comprises portion of a fortified building so ancient that tradition even asserts that one of its apartments was occupied by King John, is now in its most important features no more than a handsome house of the last century, whose large and well-proportioned reception rooms contain little to interest the antiquary (1). But the demesne excites universal admiration. Besides the natural advantages of its proximity to the river Liffey and its possession of a fine sheet of water and of old timber, it exhibits all that art can accomplish, and its beauty led to its being visited by Queen Victoria on more than one occasion (2).

The record of the Irish branch of the Luttrell family can hardly be said to stand high in the page of history, and the selection of their home as the chief subject of the present part of this work,

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(1) See Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland." vol. i., p. 267.

(2) An obelisk composed of six blocks of granite in the demesne bears the following inscription:—"Victoria R. et L. 1819-1901, in commemoration of Her Majesty's visits to Luttrellstown, 1849-1900." See *Ireland*, vol. iv., p. 643, where the view of the castle given on the opposite page originally appeared.

may perhaps cause some surprise. But the selection has been made deliberately because the continuity of ownership which the annals of Luttrellstown display, and for which the place is pre-eminent among the seats to be mentioned in the western portion of the county, is a feature only too seldom characteristic of Irish local history, to the interest of which it adds greatly. Its existence has been the reason that Monkstown, Merrion and Tallaght have been given first place in the parts of this work already published, and that Howth and Malahide are to be given the same prominence in the parts yet to be issued.

The first member of the Luttrell family to come to Ireland was Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, who had been an attached follower of King John when Earl of Mortain, and became one of the favourite ministers of that monarch after his accession to the throne. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell attained to the position of a great magnate through his marriage to a daughter of the house of Paganel, a connection which brought to his family in more than one generation estates in various parts of England. From him descends the noble family of Luttrell of Dunster Castle, in Somersetshire. Luttrell's connection with Ireland appears to have begun in the year 1204. In the beginning of that year he was appointed on a commission to settle the disputes then existing in Ireland between the justiciary and the Anglo-Norman magnates of this country, and before its close he was named as a member of an advisory commission sent to this country with an injunction to the authorities to place undoubted reliance on all that the commissioners might expound concerning the King's Irish affairs. Six years later, in the summer of 1210, he accompanied King John on that monarch's visit to Ireland, when we find him acting as one of the paymasters of the mariners and galley-men employed in the large fleet required for the expedition, and forming one of the King's train at Kells, Carlingford, and Holywood, as well as at Dublin. Hardly had the King returned to England when Sir Geoffrey Luttrell was once more sent to this country on a mission of state, and during the next few years we find him corresponding from this country with the King by means of a trusty messenger whom the King rewarded with liberality for his arduous services. In 1215 he was again in England in attendance on the King's person, advising King John in all matters relating to his Irish kingdom and witnessing many acts of the King concerning this



country. Luttrell received several marks of royal favour, including the honour of knighthood, and as a culminating proof of the trust reposed in him was sent on an embassy to the Pope. While on this mission his death took place <sup>(1)</sup>.

There is little doubt that from Sir Geoffrey Luttrell the Irish, as well as the Somersetshire Luttrells are descended either in a direct or collateral line. His only son is said to have succeeded to his English estates, and in connection with his Irish property a daughter, who was given by the King in marriage to Philip Marc, is mentioned as his heir, but he purchased in Ireland shortly before his death the marriage of the second daughter of Hugh de Tuit, whose hand he probably conferred on some male representative of his family in this country. From his time there is mention of persons of his name as resident in Ireland, the most important of these in the thirteenth century being Robert Luttrell, an ecclesiastic, who was Treasurer of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, and filled from 1235 to 1246 the office of Chancellor of Ireland. The only reference to Sir Geoffrey Luttrell's estates in Ireland relates to land in Thomond, but Robert Luttrell appears to have had some connection with the Luttrellstown neighbourhood. Subsequently a ford near Lucan belonging to Michael Luttrell is mentioned, and in 1287 that member of the family paid a fine for John de Kerdiff, whose family gave name to Cardiffsbridge in the parish of Finglas. In the middle of the next century, in 1349, some land and a mill at the Salmon Leap near St. Wolstan's were released to Simon Luttrell amongst others, and in little more than half a century we find Robert, son of John Luttrell, dealing with this property <sup>(2)</sup>.

From this John Luttrell, who had, besides his son Robert, a daughter who married one of the Plunketts, the descent of the owners of Luttrellstown can be traced in unbroken succession. His son Robert, who succeeded him, was a man of substance, and was employed by the Crown in the responsible position of collector of the subsidy in the Castleknock district. He inherited property, including Kindlestown, in the County Wicklow, from Sir Elias de Ashbourne, who has been mentioned in connection with Knocklyon

<sup>(1)</sup> "Dunster and its Lords," by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., pp. 154-179; Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1251, *passim*.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1251, *passim*, 1285-1292, pp. 97, 157; Liber Niger, p. 1004; Christ Church Deeds, No. 970.

in the parish of Tallaght, and who appears as a witness of the transfer of the Salmon Leap property to Simon Luttrell. He was succeeded by his son Christopher Luttrell, who died in 1454, and the latter by his son Thomas Luttrell, who was stated at the time of his father's death, although only nineteen years of age, to be married to Ellen, daughter of Philip Bellew. In 1486 we find him filling the office of sheriff of his native county, and a reference to the rejoicings on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter of the house of Luttrellstown (when more than forty archers attended to support the bridegroom, and many citizens came from Dublin), shows the esteem in which the family was held by the other inhabitants of the English Pale. The bridegroom was one Nicholas Travers, than whom amongst all the multitude at that wedding we are told, there was not a taller or better bowman, and it is probable from this alliance between the house of Travers and of Luttrell that Sir John Travers of Monkstown, who is frequently mentioned in connection with their affairs, was a near relative of the Luttrells. Thomas Luttrell was succeeded at Luttrellstown by his son Richard Luttrell, who married Margaret, daughter of Patrick FitzLyon; and the latter in his turn by his son Thomas, who adopted the profession of the law and was one of the most distinguished members of the family <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Luttrell, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, as he became, was a typical example of a gentleman of the English Pale of his time. In spite of the centuries which had elapsed since his family first settled in Ireland and of constant intercourse in his youth with the Irish, which is shown by his knowledge of the Irish language, he remained ever true to the interests of England, and looked upon Ireland, outside the small extent embraced in the Pale, as a foreign country. At the same time the long separation of his family from England caused him to have little in common with the inhabitants of that country, and to take what may perhaps be described as a parochial view of English policy. Notwithstanding the residence in England necessary for his admission to the legal profession, during which he must have made acquaintance with many of English birth, his relatives and more intimate friends all belonged to the small

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<sup>(1)</sup> Lodge's Peerage, vol. iii., p. 407, vol. vi., p. 161; Memoranda Rolls, 3 Hen. VI., m. 16; 1 Hen. VII., pt. ii., m. 2; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Henry VI., No. 1; Chancery Patent Roll, 44 Eliz., m. 4; D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 569.



community within the Pale. One of his sisters was married to Sir Patrick Barnewall of Turvey, who, like himself, was a lawyer and became Master of the Rolls, and another married as her first husband Nicholas Barnewall of Drimnagh, and as her second Sir John Plunkett of Dunsoghly, who was also a lawyer and became Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Of his two brothers, Robert, who was Archdeacon of Meath, never married, but the other, Simon, a merchant and alderman of Dublin, took as his wife a daughter of the house of Bathe. Both Chief Justice Luttrell's own wives—for he was twice married—were also taken from old Pale families, one being the daughter of Bartholomew Aylmer of Lyons, and the other the daughter of Sir William Bathe, of Rathfeigh.

Of Luttrell's early life little is known. His first marriage appears to have taken place in 1506, when he can have been little more than a youth, and in 1527 he appears as plaintiff in a suit in the Common Pleas in connection with the property inherited from Sir Elias de Ashbourne. In 1532 his talents first received recognition from the Crown in his appointment as Solicitor-General and King's Serjeant in Ireland, and in 1534 he was promoted to the Bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas—a position he filled until his death twenty years later. He was an active member of the Council, in which capacity we find him accompanying Lord Deputy Grey on his expedition to meet Tirlagh O'Toole, and on another occasion taking charge of Dublin in the Lord Deputy's absence; and it has been stated that he was instrumental in securing the preservation of the public records in a place of safety. When the Commission presided over by Sir Anthony St. Leger was sent to Ireland in 1537 by Henry VIII., Chief Justice Luttrell was one of those called upon to give evidence. He urged the desirability of restraining the defenders of the Pale in their exactions, which he feared would soon reduce the Pale to the same condition as the rest of Ireland, where obedience to their Prince was only feigned; the necessity of subduing their nearest enemies, the Kavanaghs, O'Tooles and O'Byrnes; the danger of employing Irish soldiers; the advantage of a Lord Deputy of English birth but with long tenure of office; and, with reference to the inhabitants of the Pale, the benefit of making the English dress and language, as well as knowledge of the use of the bow, compulsory, of expelling Irish bards and musicians, of preventing the return of Englishmen to their own country, and finally, of printing the statutes, a work only now about to be accomplished. Some letters from Chief Justice

Luttrell written about this time are still extant; in one of these he refers to the capture of his relative Aylmer of Lyons, by the O'Tooles, and says that a ransom will have to be paid for his release; and in another he mentions the recent "ruffling time" with O'Neill, and says that rents will be slowly paid, as the farmers, whose services saved the Pale from utter destruction, are all lying out in camps.

In the latter letter the Chief Justice also mentions the dissolution of the religious houses, by which he profited. St. Mary's Abbey had owned from the time of its foundation the lands of Coolmine, in Clonsilla parish, and in addition had obtained in the fifteenth century lands in that parish which had belonged to the Priory of Little Malvern in England. Of the latter lands Chief Justice Luttrell was tenant at the time of the dissolution, and doubtless then became owner. In addition he received grants of other monastic property, including some of the possessions of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, to which he had acted as legal adviser. The estate which he had inherited from his father was no inconsiderable one, and must have been of material assistance to him in professional advancement. Of this we catch a glimpse in the rare and much prized goshawk sent by him as a present to Mr. Secretary Cromwell. At the time of his death Chief Justice Luttrell was possessed of much personal as well as real property, and shortly after his death the Crown applied to his executors for the loan of what was then a very large amount of money. He kept open house in the castle of Luttrellstown, and entailed on the future owners certain property for the maintenance of hospitality there, together with the use of a basin and ewer of silver, a silver gilt salt cellar and cover, a dozen spoons, and a chain of fine gold of twenty links—articles of no small value as is shown by their weight in ounces, which the Chief Justice sets forth in his will.

His death took place in 1554, and he was, doubtless, buried according to his directions, "honestly but without pomp," in Clonsilla Church, which he directed should be extended sufficiently to admit of a sepulchre being made for him on the north side of the new part. He must have, at any rate outwardly, adopted the reformed faith, but his belief in its creed did not prevent his leaving money for the preferment in marriage of maidens of his kin in the hope of obtaining salvation for himself and his brother Simon. Besides providing for the extension of Clonsilla Church he left money for



the repair of the chancel and also for rebuilding the bridge at Mulhuddart. He left six sons and three daughters, one of whom was married to Luke Netterville of Dowth, who became one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench, and another to Thomas Dillon of Riverston. Another son, Richard, had predeceased him, leaving a daughter, for whom the Chief Justice made provision <sup>(1)</sup>.



Entrance to Luttrellstown in 1795.

*From a drawing by Jonathan Fisher.*

The Chief Justice was succeeded by his eldest son Christopher, who however survived him only a short time, and two years after the Chief Justice's death, in 1556, his second son, James, was in possession of Luttrellstown. In that year the latter was Sheriff of the County Dublin, and in the expedition against the Scottish invaders was ordered to serve in person as well as to contribute four mounted archers. His death, which took place in 1557, was, like that of his brother, premature. In his will he appears in a very pleasing light as a landlord, leaving legacies to

<sup>(1)</sup> Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., *passim*; Exchequer Inquisition, County Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 237, in which the text of Sir Thomas Luttrell's will is given; Memoranda Roll, 21 Hen. VII., m. 3; Chancery Patent Roll, 44 Eliz., m. 4; Smyth's "Law Officers of Ireland"; Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. i., p. xxi., vol. ii., pp. xxi., 75; D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 569, and "King James' Irish Army List," p. 190; Fiant, Henry VIII. and Edward VI., *passim*; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1509-1573, pp. 121, 132; Will of Simon Luttrell.

those who had taken pains in the cultivation of the Luttrellstown lands, and mentioning that he had given leases in one case because the tenant had long served his family, and in another because the tenant's house and goods had been burned. He married, the year before his death, a sister of one of his neighbours, Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan—a lady remarkable for having no less than five husbands, of whom Luttrell was the second. By her he had a posthumous son, who only lived three years <sup>(1)</sup>.

On the death of this infant Luttrellstown passed to the Chief Justice's third son, Simon Luttrell, from whom the subsequent owners were descended. Of his three younger brothers the eldest, Robert, settled at Tankardstown, in the County Meath; the second, John, who died in 1620 and was buried at Clonsilla, resided at a place called Killeigh; and the third, Walter, matriculated in 1572 at Oxford University. Simon Luttrell was only a youth at the time of his father's death, and six years after he succeeded to Luttrellstown, in 1566, he entered Lincoln's Inn as a student. He soon settled down to the duties of his position, and we find him acting as a Commissioner for the muster of the militia and sending two archers to the hosting against Shane O'Neill, and three to the hosting at Tara Hill. He was twice married, his first wife being a Miss Gaydon, and his second, who survived him, being Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Finglas. Besides his eldest son Thomas, he left several children, including a daughter, who married Nicholas FitzSimons of Baldoyle, and a son Nicholas, who died in 1610. In the previous year the latter made a will in which he mentioned that he had intended "to apply his study towards Oxford, then after to the Inns of Court," but that through want of means "he had altered his course" and intended to go into other countries "where he might attain the faculty of physic" <sup>(2)</sup>.

Luttrellstown was then considered one of the principal castles in the County Dublin. It had been, no doubt, enlarged several times, and in his will Simon Luttrell, when directing that for some years

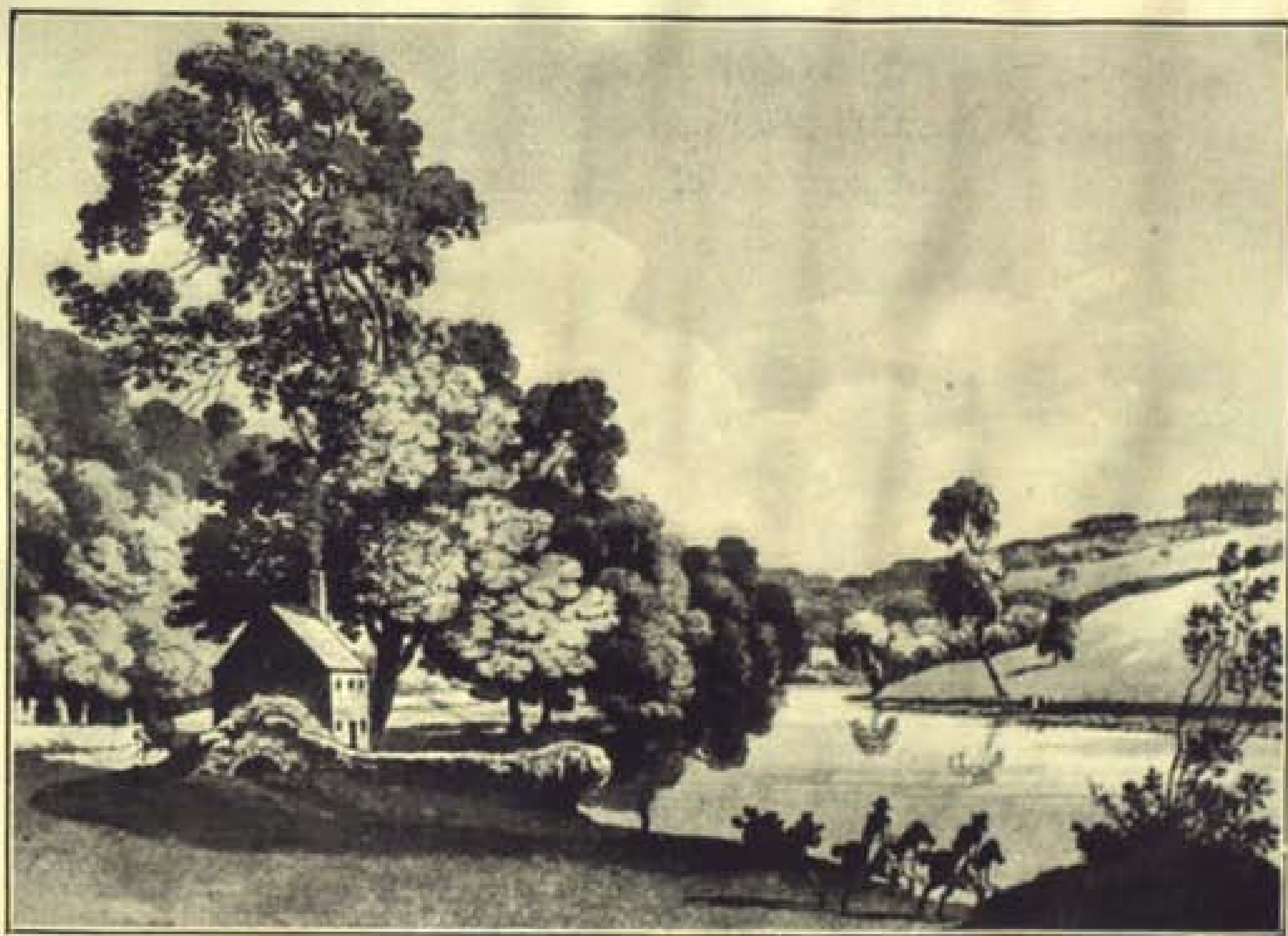
<sup>(1)</sup> Fiants Philip and Mary, Nos. 75, 177, 250; Haliday Manuscripts published by Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 14; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 237, in which James Luttrell's will is given; Chancery Inquisition, Co. Meath, Elizabeth, No. 4; *Journal of County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. iv., p. 117.

<sup>(2)</sup> Funeral Entries; Will of John Luttrell; Foster's "Alumni Oxonienses"; Lincoln's Inn Admissions; Haliday Manuscripts, p. 162, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Manuscript in Trinity College Library, F. 1, 18, p. 177; Fiants Elizabeth, *passim*; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1574–1585, p. 286; Wills of Simon and Nicholas Luttrell.



the timber at Luttrellstown should not be cut, excepts such as should be required for the building, as well as the expense of the house. In his son's time we read of the great gallery furnished with cupboards and iron-bound chests in which the family papers were kept, and of the dining room with its tapestry hangings. There was then a mill in full working order on the lands, and at least one other house of considerable size besides the castle, within the parish of Clonsilla. This house was occupied by a first cousin of the Chief Justice's, Nicholas Luttrell, who appears from his will, made in 1568, to have been a man of good position, possessed of flocks and herds and much household goods, including plate, which he divided amongst a somewhat numerous family <sup>(1)</sup>.

The next owner of Luttrellstown, Thomas Luttrell, the eldest son of Simon Luttrell, was returned in 1613, with his relative Sir Christopher Plunkett of Dunsoghly, as Knight of the shire for the



**The Devil's Mill near Luttrellstown in 1795.**

*From a drawing by Jonathan Fisher.*

County Dublin, and took a prominent part in public affairs as one of the leaders of the Roman Catholic party in the House of

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<sup>(1)</sup> Calendar of Carew State Papers, 1589-1600, p. 188 ; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, pp. 37, 39 ; Will of Nicholas Luttrell.

Commons. He was one of those who in 1605 signed the petition from the Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, and his action at that time led to his confinement in Dublin Castle, and to a recommendation from the Lord Deputy that on account of his obstinacy in refusing to make any acknowledgment of wrong doings he should be sent into England. He was foremost in the contest for the Speaker's Chair in 1613, and was one of those who went on the Roman Catholic deputation to James I. He had incurred the bitter enmity of Lord Deputy Chichester, and owing to the allegations which the Lord Deputy made against him was thrown into the Fleet Prison in London and kept a prisoner for eleven weeks. The rapid changes of that time soon brought him into favour again. In 1627 he was returned as one of the men of fair estate in the English Pale who were fit to be placed in command of a troop of horse, and in 1634 he was again elected as one of the representatives of the County Dublin, and was present at the opening of Strafford's first parliament. A few months after that event, in November 1634, he departed this mortal life, as a funeral entry informs us, and after a considerable interval necessary for the preparation of a stately funeral was interred in Clonsilla Church.

Thomas Luttrell was twice married, his first wife being Eleanor, daughter of John Cheevers, by whom he had two sons, Simon and Stephen; and his second wife being Alison, daughter of Nicholas, twenty-first Baron of Howth, by whom he had also two sons, John and Thomas. Besides sons he had a number of daughters, one of whom married William, third Viscount Fitzwilliam, of Merrion. Another married Walter Goulding. His provision for his second wife, who survived him, and for his children, indicates that the wealth of the Luttrells had not decreased in his hands. To his widow he left, in addition to her jointure, Diswellstown, in the parish of Castleknock, as a dower house; and besides much plate and household stuff he bequeathed to her twenty great cows with their calves, three hundred sheep, six rams of the English breed, and fifteen farm horses, as well as her riding horse and three horses to carry the servants in attendance upon her. His eldest son, to whom he bequeathed his signet ring and gold chain, besides his furniture and the greater portion of his plate, succeeded under settlement to all his lands, but in consideration of the fatherly love and affection which he bore to his younger children



he had laid up for them in the iron-bound chests in the gallery of Luttrellstown a great store of silver and gold, out of which they were to be paid substantial legacies in current English money <sup>(1)</sup>.

Troublous times fell to the lot of his eldest son, Simon Luttrell, who succeeded him, and who lived to see Ireland under the rule of the Parliament. He was thirty-four years of age when his father died, and had maintained the traditions of his family by his marriage to Mary, daughter of Jenico, fifth Viscount Gormanston, the widow of one of the Luttrell's near neighbours, Sir Thomas Allen of St. Wolstan's. In 1643 he was returned to the dying Irish parliament at a by-election as member for the borough of Navan, and in the following year he waited upon Charles I. at Oxford. Two years later, in 1646, he entertained the Marquis of Clanricarde at Luttrellstown, while the Marquis was carrying on the negotiations between Ormonde and General Preston, who had advanced as far as Lucan with the army of the Confederates. His death took place about 1650, and he left several children, including his heir, Thomas Luttrell, but it was some time before the latter enjoyed the estates to which he had succeeded <sup>(2)</sup>.

Luttrellstown was too attractive a possession to escape the eyes of the new rulers of Ireland, and was quickly seized upon as a country residence, like Monkstown by Edmund Ludlow, by one of the authorities of the Parliament, Colonel John Hewson, who had been appointed Governor of Dublin. Hewson, once an honest shoemaker in Westminster, had served in the Parliament army from the beginning of the Civil War, and was one of the most unrelenting of the regicides. He had come to Ireland with Cromwell, under whom he commanded a foot regiment, and was subsequently employed in the civil government of this country. He occupied a seat in the House of Commons, for some time as representative of Dublin, and was called by Cromwell, who con-

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<sup>(1)</sup> Return of Members of Parliament; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1603-1606, and 1611-1614, *passim*; 1625-1660, p. 100, 1633-1647, p. 63; Funeral Entry; Wills of Thomas Luttrell.

<sup>(2)</sup> Chancery Inquisition, Co. Meath, Car. L., No. 101; Lodge's Peerage, vol. iii., p. 410; Return of Members of Parliament; Ormonde Manuscripts, new series, vol. i., p. 74, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1633-1647, p. 549; Communia Roll.

ferred on him knighthood, to his House of Lords. Hewson was at first given Luttrellstown on lease, but in 1659 he was granted it in fee farm, together with an immense extent of lands in the County Dublin, estimated to comprise nearly 7,000 acres. He spent much of that year in England, and at the time of the Restoration, when Hewson was obliged to fly to the Continent, Sir William Bury appears to have been in temporary occupation of Luttrellstown. Sir William Bury, who belonged to a Lincolnshire family of that name, came over to Ireland as a member of Henry Cromwell's privy council, but continued to serve after the Restoration for a time, and is remarkable for having received the honour of knighthood both from Henry Cromwell and from the Lords Justices appointed by Charles II. (1).

At that time Luttrellstown is described as a great mansion house with twelve chimneys, surrounded by offices, and having near it a malt house, a barn, and two stables. All the buildings were slated, and the exceptional value of £1,000 placed upon them shows their large extent. Besides pleasure-grounds and ornamental plantations there were in the demesne a garden and no less than three orchards for the provision of the house, and two quarries for the supply of stone. There were also attached to the house a corn mill and a cloth mill, as well as a weir for catching salmon on the Liffey. In the grange of Clonsilla there were a thatched house with offices, and another mill surrounded by an orchard and grove of ash trees, and upon the other lands belonging to the Luttrells a second thatched house of smaller size and about twelve cottages. The only lands in the parish of Clonsilla which did not belong to the Luttrells were those of Coolmine, and Hartstown and Castaheany. The lands of Coolmine, which after the dissolution of St. Mary's Abbey, had been successively granted to Walter Peppard and the Earl of Thomond, had before 1641 come into the possession of Sir Edward Bolton, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and on them were stated to be a thatched house with two stone chimneys, besides a barn, a stable, and several small cottages. The lands of Hartstown and Castaheany belonged to the Barnewall family, and on them there was no building. Shortly before the Restoration the population of the parish was returned as forty-two persons

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(1) Crown Rentals; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxvi., p. 311; Census of 1659; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1647-1662, *passim*; Notes and Queries, Ser. 8, vol. iv., pp. 36, 461: vol. v., p. 136.



of English birth and eighty-seven of Irish, the principal inhabitants besides Sir William Bury being Richard Broughall, who lived in the Grange, and James Russell, who lived on the lands of Coolmine <sup>(1)</sup>.

During the Commonwealth the Luttrells resided in Dublin, and before the Restoration Thomas Luttrell married a lady belonging to a very old Dublin family, Barbara, daughter of Henry Sedgrave, of Cabra, by whom he had three sons, Simon, Henry, and Thomas. Owing to the influence of the Duke of Ormonde, whose friendship the Luttrells enjoyed, Thomas Luttrell was one of those mentioned by name in the Act of Settlement as deserving of restoration to his estates, and in 1663 the Commissioners of Settlement directed that he should be placed in possession of them. At the same time the widow of his grandfather, Thomas Luttrell, the Knight of the shire for the County Dublin, who stated that she had been a great sufferer by the Rebellion, and that she had maintained her husband's younger children with motherly care, proved herself an innocent Roman Catholic, as did also her son Thomas, the only surviving son of her husband, who mentioned that he had been partly educated in England, and who settled in the County Westmeath. Some years later the owner of Luttrellstown took part in a remarkable duel, in which the principals escaped without hurt but the seconds sustained serious injury. Not long before his death, which took place in 1673, his son Simon was in the matrimonial market, and an agent of the Legge family, who was on terms of intimacy with the elder Thomas Luttrell, the uncle of the owner of Luttrellstown, tried to arrange a match between Simon Luttrell and a Miss Legge—the only blot on the Luttrell escutcheon, in the opinion of this match-maker, being the religion of the family <sup>(2)</sup>.

Colonel Simon Luttrell was a man of handsome stature at the time he entered into possession of his ancestral estates, and although the match with Miss Legge had not taken place he had found a wife in Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Newcomen

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<sup>(1)</sup> Civil Survey of Barony of Castleknock; Book of Survey and Distribution; Fiant, Henry VIII., No. 446.

<sup>(2)</sup> Pedigree in Ulster's Office; Rolls of Innocents, i. m. 27 and 67, vi. m. 4 and 24; Wills of Stephen and Thomas Luttrell, and of Dame Mary Allen; Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote, p. 170, and Dartmouth Manuscripts, vol. iii., p. 115, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Chancery Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jas. II., No. 34.

of Sutton. Her mother was a sister of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel<sup>(1)</sup>, but Miss Newcomen had been brought up as a Protestant, and the marriage was celebrated first by a clergyman of the Established Church, although subsequently by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Colonel Simon Luttrell appears for many years to have suffered from ill health. In a letter written by him in London on Christmas Eve, 1688, to the young Duke of Ormonde, he states that he had been sick for ten years, and had symptoms of paralysis. He had not been in Ireland for eighteen months, and on the strength of the friendship shown his father by the Duke's father and grandfather, begged the Duke to obtain license for him to go abroad, where he said he desired to be out of the way until things should come to a settlement, and where, if his health permitted, he would seek military employment. Not many months later he threw in his lot with James II., and in September, 1689, we find him in Dublin, of which he had been appointed Governor, busily preparing the city against the danger of invasion, and "chaining up the streets and making breastworks in order to secure that naked place." He raised a regiment of dragoons for James, and was appointed by the latter Lord Lieutenant of the County Dublin, which he represented in James' parliament, as well as a privy councillor. He appears to have gone to France before the battle of the Boyne, but returned to Ireland for a short time during the siege of Limerick. He died abroad in 1698. His widow survived him until 1704, and the year before her death married as his second wife the father of the eccentric Thomas Amory, the author of the "Life of John Bunce, Esq."<sup>(2)</sup>

To Colonel Simon Luttrell's confiscated estates and possessions his brother, Colonel Henry Luttrell, whose life, both public and private, brought his family into great disrepute, succeeded. Colonel Henry Luttrell appears to have passed his early life in France, where in 1684 we find him taking part in a quarrel, resulting in no less than three duels, in which he was wounded, and another of the combatants, Lord Purbecke, was killed. He

<sup>(1)</sup> A tombstone in Clonsilla Churchyard bears the following inscription: "Here lyeth ye Body of Frances Lady Newcomen, Wife to Sr. Thomas Newcomen of Sutton & Daughter to Sir William Talbot of Cartown Barronet, who deceased Feb. ye 17 1687."

<sup>(2)</sup> Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxiv., p. 301; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1673, pp. 247, 251; 1673-1675, p. 349; 1689-1690, pp. 141, 279, 305; Letter in possession of the Marquis of Ormonde; Petitions respecting Irish Forfeitures in the Bodleian Library, Rawl MS., A. 253, f. 393.



returned to Ireland in the service of James II., bringing back to his native country, in the words of Lord Macaulay, a sharpened intellect and polished manners, a flattering tongue, some skill in war, and much more skill in intrigue. At first his efforts for James II., in whose army he commanded a troop of horse, are said to have been whole hearted, but with that monarch's falling fortunes his skill in intrigue began to assert itself. At Aughrim his defection is said to have contributed to the defeat of James's army, and during the siege of Limerick he was discovered in correspondence with the besiegers, and is said to have been condemned to be shot. On the surrender of Limerick he went over openly to King William, and was active in inducing Irish soldiers



**Colonel Henry Luttrell.**

*From a woodprint in Cox's Irish Magazine.*

to join the winning side or to enlist in foreign service. Besides his ancestral estates a pension is said to have been given him, and he was made a major-general in the Dutch service.

He did not behave well with regard to the jointure to which his brother's widow was entitled. A letter from him written in 1699 to a Minister of State is still extant, in which, after mentioning that his sister-in-law had come to England, he begs that steps may be taken to prevent her going into Ireland, and that in case she should give him trouble by her attorney he may be permitted to put in force the Act of Attainder against her. Subsequently she

was enabled to take legal proceedings against him, and in a statement of her case by her second husband, Thomas Amory, there were allegations of conduct on the part of her brother-in-law not at all to his credit. Colonel Henry Luttrell seems still to have professed to be a Roman Catholic, and a quarrel between him and Lady Eustace, a sister of Colonel Simon Luttrell's wife, is said, by Archbishop King writing in 1699, to have created two very furious parties amongst Roman Catholics. Intrigue on his part was not confined to public affairs, and whether the assassin to whom his death was due was actuated by political or private motives is open to doubt, although the Irish parliament and the publisher of an elegy on his death attributed his murder to the former. The deed was done at night in October, 1717, near Colonel Henry Luttrell's town house in Stafford Street, while he was sitting in a hackney chair in which he had returned from a coffee house on Cork Hill, and although enormous rewards were offered and two persons were arrested the assassin was never discovered. Colonel Henry Luttrell had married late in life a Welsh lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Jones, of Halkin, in Flintshire, and granddaughter of Sir Simon Clarke, a friend of Dugdale the historian. He left two sons, Robert and Simon. In a will made on his deathbed, for he survived the fatal shot a few hours, he committed the care of his sons to his widow and Lord Cadogan, Lord Gowran, and Sir William Strickland, and mentions an unmarried sister, a married sister Mrs. Slingsby<sup>(1)</sup>, and a niece Mrs. Delamar. He appears to have died a Protestant, and his sons were educated in England in that faith. The eldest, Robert, went to travel abroad in 1727, and owing to his premature death a short time afterwards, the second, Simon, succeeded to the estates of the Luttrell family<sup>(2)</sup>.

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(<sup>1</sup>) A stone at the east end of Clonsilla Church bears this inscription :—"I.H.S. This Stone & Burial Place belong to Mr. Simon Slingsby of the City of Dublin Merchant & his Posterity. Here lieth the Body of the above Simon Slingsby who departed this life the 29 of December 1747 aged 57. Here also lyeth the Body of his Mother Alice Slingsby alias Finglas who departed this life December the 19th 1717 aged 70. Here also lieth the Body of his Father Francis Slingsby Esq. who departed this life February the 9th 1719 aged 71." Colonel Henry Luttrell mentions in his will, besides his sister Mrs. Slingsby (who apparently had been previously married to a Mr. Finglas, and only survived her brother two months), his nephew Simon Slingsby.

(<sup>2</sup>) Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxiv., p. 297; Historical Manuscripts Commission, 2nd Report, App., p. 233, 7th Report, App., p. 302; Historical Collections on Ireland in British Museum, Add MS., 21,136, f. 59; *Irish Builder* for 1885, p. 197; Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. i., p. 63; Wills of Colonel Henry Luttrell and his son Robert.



From Colonel Henry Luttrell's time a cloud of evil tradition and unpopularity has hung over the Luttrells, and probably the frailties of no family have ever been more fully chronicled than those of the Luttrells in the eighteenth century. This arose not only from the detestation in which Colonel Henry Luttrell's memory was held by the Jacobites, but also from the famous contest between his grandson and Wilkes for the representation of Middlesex, which brought the family under the lash of the terrible author of the Letters of Junius. The hatred felt towards them in Ireland is shown by legends which linger round a place at Luttrellstown called the Devil's Mill. According to some of these the name commemorates a mill which was erected by Satanic agency for Colonel Henry Luttrell, who invoked the aid of Satan, but by outwitting him was successful in escaping with his life; while another legend attributes the name to the opposition offered by Satan to the erection of a mill in the place. The part taken by Colonel Henry Luttrell's grandson, the second Lord Carhampton, in suppressing the rebellion of 1798, occasioned a fresh outbreak of hostility against the family, and it is said that at that time the grave of Colonel Henry Luttrell in Clonsilla Churchyard was opened and his skull smashed.

Simon Luttrell, who was created Baron Irnham and Earl of Carhampton, titles which he took from property belonging to the English Luttrells, and who became father-in-law of George the Third's brother the Duke of Cumberland, attained to a great position, but his public life was passed in England, and relates to the history of that country. His establishing his principal residence in England is said to have been due to a desire to escape from his unpopularity in this country, but it is probable that it was in part due to the wider field for political life and to his marriage to an English lady, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Lawes, sometime Governor of Jamaica. This lady brought to him additional wealth, including property in the country of which her father had been Governor, and it was not long after his marriage to her that he purchased, in 1744, a handsome seat in Warwickshire known as Four Oaks. Ten years later he was returned to Parliament as member for the borough of Michael, in Cornwall, and became a strenuous supporter of the Duke of Newcastle, and subsequently of the Earl of Bute. While sitting for Michael he entered upon a long and arduous contest for the borough of Wigan, in Lancashire. In a number of letters written from

Four Oaks, and his London house in South Audley Street, to the Duke of Newcastle, Luttrell describes the efforts made by him and his brother candidate to secure the corporation of Wigan, with whom the result rested, and the Duke of Newcastle, in reply to one of these letters, acknowledged the great obligations the Government were under to Mr. Luttrell for the part he had taken, and expressed a high sense of the value of his friendship. Luttrell's candidature was crowned with success, and he was



**Henry Lawes, 2nd Earl of Carhampton.**

*From a portrait by Hugh D. Hamilton in the National Gallery of Ireland.*

returned in 1761 for Wigan, which he represented until 1768, when he was returned for Weobley, in Hereford. In the latter year he was created Baron Irnham, but as an Irish peer, and thus was not deprived of his seat in the English House of Commons.

A year later the contest between Wilkes and his eldest son took place, but the vituperation to which he and his son were exposed only stimulated Lord Irnham to further political exertion, and at the General Election of 1774 he was returned to Parliament (as member for the borough of Stockbridge, in Hampshire), together with no less than three of his sons. A viscounty in 1780 and an earldom in 1785 under the title of Carhampton were only fitting rewards for such devotion to his party. Towards the



close of his life Lord Carhampton resumed his residence at Luttrellstown. He became then a constant attendant in the Irish House of Lords, of which his contemporary, Francis Hardy, Lord Charlemont's biographer, says he was for many years a distinguished member. In the opinion of Hardy the accounts which political writers of that day published with regard to Lord Carhampton ought to be regarded, almost without exception, as the mere fabrications of party, and in the social relations of life Hardy speaks of him as an agreeable companion, brilliant conversationalist and excellent scholar. Lord Carhampton, who died in 1787, and was buried at Kingsbury, in Warwickshire, was succeeded by his eldest son, the well-known Henry Lawes, second Earl of Carhampton, who exhibited in his life many of the failings of his grandfather, Colonel Henry Luttrell (1).

Luttrellstown was visited by Arthur Young on his visit to Ireland in 1776, and that indefatigable inquirer gives a long account of the system of cultivation pursued under the direction of the first Lord Carhampton and his eldest son, which, he says, had added greatly to the beauties of the place (2). During the second Lord Carhampton's time, in 1790, a race for a sweepstakes of £500 was run in Luttrellstown Park, in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor, and was won by a horse belonging to the Chancellor's brother-in-law, Thomas Whaley, better known as Jerusalem Whaley (3). Soon after the Rebellion the second Lord Carhampton (4) sold Luttrellstown to Mr. Luke White, ancestor of the present owner, Lord Annaly. Mr. White changed the name to that of Woodlands, which the place bore until a few years ago, when the name of Luttrellstown began to be again used. In the beginning of the last century it was considered one of the principal show places in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and was visited by the writers of many of the tours in Ireland published during that period (5).

(1) See, for a fuller account of the first Earl of Carhampton and his family, "The Luttrells of Four Oaks," by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford; also *c/f.* D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 573; Return of Members of Parliament; Newcastle Correspondence and Fragments of Letters (MS. 5726D, f. 226) in British Museum; Will of Simon Earl of Carhampton; Hardy's "Memoirs of James, Earl of Charlemont," vol. i., pp. 262-266.

(2) Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland edited by A. W. Hutton, vol. i., pp. 21-24.

(3) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1790, p. 168.

(4) See notice of him in Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxiv., p. 297.

(5) See Archer's "Survey of the County Dublin," p. 107; Dutton's "Observations on Mr. Archer's Survey," p. 125; An Englishman's "Tour in Ireland in 1813 and 1814," p. 168; "Excursion to Ireland, by the Deputy Governor of the Irish Society in 1825," p. 26; Prince Puckler Muskau's "Tour in England, Ireland, and France," vol. i., p. 167.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE church of Coolmine, which had disappeared before the sixteenth century, appears to have been originally the most important place of worship in the parish of Clonsilla. It was founded by St. Machutus, and is mentioned in the time of Archbishop Henry de Loundres, who held the see of Dublin from 1212 to 1228, as one of the churches in his gift. That prelate, however, consecrated for the Priory of Little Malvern, already mentioned as owning land in this parish, another church, the site of which is now occupied by the present church of Clonsilla. It completely superseded the church of Coolmine, and we find, in 1419, the Prior of Little Malvern, who pleaded royal license for absence, sued as its rector for non-residence. It was made over in 1486 to St. Mary's Abbey, under the name of the White Chapel of St. Machutus of Clonsilla, and, after the dissolution of the religious houses, in a lease to Sir Thomas Cusack of the tithe corn belonging to the church of Coolmine, two couples for the curate of Clonsilla are excepted. At that time the Luttrells had a chaplain of their own, Thomas Fleming, whom they presented to the living of Donabate, of which they held the advowson.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century we find contradictory accounts of the condition of the church; in 1615 it is stated to have been in good repair, but in 1630 to have been ruinous. Archbishop Bulkeley mentions at the latter time that Mr. Luttrell held the tithes, and that under his protection there was a Roman Catholic schoolmaster teaching in the parish. Clonsilla was then served by the curate of Castleknock parish, to which it continued to be united until the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Austin Cooper visited Clonsilla. He describes the church as a small, plain, but neat building, and says there was an old building, low and arched over, adjoining it, which was entered by a door from the chancel. Although he found no inscription upon it he thought it must have been the burial place of some family, and it was doubtless the building erected in compliance with the direction in Chief Justice Luttrell's will. Besides the tomb—a raised one—to the Slingsby family, Cooper mentions a flat stone to



the memory of Richard FitzSimons of Clonsilla, who died 5 October, 1736, aged 77, and of his son the Most Rev. Patrick FitzSimons, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who died 25 November, 1769, aged 74; as well as a flat stone to the memory of Anthony Flanagan, of Clonsilla (1). The church then in existence is said to have been erected by the first Lord Carhampton, and tradition says that the chancel was surrounded by four square pews, which were used by the principal members of the congregation. The present church was built in the time of Archbishop Whately. It is a substantial building with a small chancel, and a tower in which hangs a bell formerly belonging to St. Werburgh's Church in Dublin (2).

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(1) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 58; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 138; Liber Niger, p. 588; D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 574; Fiaants Henry VIII., No. 473, Eliz., No. 943; Regal Visitation of 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 156; Cooper's Note Book.

(2) The bell bears the following inscription:—"St. Werburg, Dublin, the gift of James Southwell; John Blachford, D.D., Rec.; R. Dalton, Wm. Braddall, Ch. Wardens; 1747."

36,489



## Part of Parish of Leixlip

(*i.e.*, *Lax-hlaup* or *salmon leap*).

The following townlands are included in the portion of Leixlip parish within the County Dublin :—Allenswood, Coldblow, Laraghcon [*i.e.*, the house-site of the hound], Pass-if-you-can, St. Catherine's Park, and Westmanstown.

The only object of antiquarian interest is a ruined chapel, close to which there is a well known as St. Catherine's Well.

There is also a well known as Sunday Well in the townland of Laraghcon.

### ST. CATHERINE'S PARK.

ST. CATHERINE'S PARK is the principal denomination in a small portion of the parish of Leixlip which is included in the County Dublin, and which adjoins on the east the parishes of Clonsilla and Lucan. All that now remains to mark the former importance of St. Catherine's Park are the walls of a chapel, thickly covered with modern plaster, which stand upon the northern bank of the River Liffey close to the boundary of the County Kildare.

The name comes from a Priory of Canons of the Order of St. Victor, which was established on the lands, under the invocation of St. Catherine, not long after the Anglo-Norman invasion, when the lands belonged to the then owners of Lucan, a family called Peche, by whom they were granted to the Priory, together with other lands and various privileges. The priory house was built on each side of a small stream, which falls into the Liffey near the ruined chapel, and must have been a picturesque object with the rivulet flowing through its Gothic court. There was a ford called Athlouan across the Liffey under the priory house, and the Canons had the right of common pasture and of obtaining wood in the Peches' preserves, as well as liberty to maintain a mill and a weir on the Liffey. Amongst the Priors we find William of Kill, John Warisius, and Richard Shirman, and amongst the chief benefactors of the Priory were Wirris de Peche, Lord of Lucan, and Sir Adam de Hereford, Lord of Leixlip, each of whom left an endowment to maintain six chaplains to pray in the Priory for the members of their families.



Early in the fourteenth century the Priory, then valued for a small sum, fell into poverty, and was so oppressed with debt that in the year 1323 Richard Turnour, who was then Prior, and the Canons obtained royal license to assign the Priory and all its possessions to the Abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin. It remained in the possession of the monks of the latter house, by some of whom it was doubtless always occupied, until the dissolution of the religious houses<sup>(1)</sup>. After that event the priory house and lands were leased in 1541 to Thomas Allen, Chamberlain of the Exchequer. He was a brother of Sir John Allen, then Chancellor of Ireland, who was given at the same time a grant of the neighbouring monastery of St. Wolstan's, and was a first cousin of the unfortunate Archbishop of that name who had been murdered a few years before. On the expiration of Thomas Allen's lease, in 1561, the priory house and lands were leased to one George Staynings<sup>(2)</sup>, and some years later, in 1569, were granted by the Crown to the most eminent personage among their many owners.

The Right Hon. Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, as this owner of St. Catherine's ultimately became, occupied, for a native of Ireland in the sixteenth century, a position of unusual importance in the government of his country. In his voluminous correspondence preserved in the State Papers there is evidence that he influenced, for a time at any rate, the policy of English statesmen as regards Ireland, and enjoyed the confidence of Elizabeth and of Lord Burghley. He was, in the opinion of Sir Henry Sidney, before prejudice warped that Lord Deputy's judgment, a most wise, honourable, and faithful friend to English rule, as well as a man of resource and courage and of great ability as a lawyer; and so far as his own religious opinions were concerned, Queen Elizabeth's ministers could find no fault in him. But although he himself accepted unreservedly the teaching of the reformed church, he was lenient to those who differed from him and by his advocacy of toleration in religion incurred the suspicion and obloquy which ended in his downfall. Nicholas White appears to have been the son of James White, who was steward of the household to James, ninth Earl of Ormonde, and who was poisoned in October 1546, with his master in London.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 254; Sweetman's Calendar, 1252-1284, No. 842, 1293-1301, pp. 139, 280, 1302-1307, p. 240.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fiants Henry VIII., No. 245; Elizabeth, No. 390; *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. iv., p. 100.

In a codicil to his will made on his death-bed the Earl left Nicholas White a legacy to assist him in entering the Inns of Court, and expressed the hope that he would serve his son as his father had served him; but this White does not appear to have done, although he suffered on more than one occasion from being considered a creature of the Ormonde family. In 1552 he entered Lincoln's Inn as a law student, and seven years later was returned, in right of property inherited from his father, as Knight of the shire for the County Kilkenny.

His advance in life was thenceforward rapid. In 1563 he became a justice of the peace for Kilkenny, in 1564 recorder of Waterford, and in 1566 a member of the Munster Council. At that time he appears to have been known to Lord Burghley, and two years later we find him in London, where he was received by the Queen, and appointed seneschal of Wexford—an appointment which did not meet with the approval of Sir Henry Sidney, although all he could allege against White was that he was not fit for military service. Subsequently "the Cell of St. Catherine's," together with the manor of Leixlip, was granted to him, and the Lord Deputy was desired to admit him to the privy council. On his way back from London in February, 1569, he stopped at Tutbury, ostensibly to interview the Earl of Shrewsbury about the County Wexford, but really to see the Earl's far-famed captive Mary Queen of Scots. Of his interview with the Queen he sent a quaint account in a long letter to his friend, Lord Burghley, and tells how the Queen of Scots, understanding that a "servant of the Queen's Majesty of some credit" was in the house, came to the presence chamber and "fell in talk with him." He did not spare her feelings, according to his own account, telling her that the troubles of Ireland were then largely due to the Scottish people, that persons like himself thought she had good cause to consider herself princely entertained rather than hardly restrained, and, on her entering into "a pretty disputable comparison" between carving, painting and needlework, of which she considered painting the most commendable accomplishment, that he had heard "*pictura to be veritas falsa*." With this "she closed up the talk and retired into her privy chamber," at which we can hardly feel surprised. Having satisfied his own curiosity, White, whose visit it may be remarked did not meet with approval from Elizabeth's ministers when they heard of it, went on to advise that others should not be allowed to have access to



Mary. Her beauty was not comparable, he said, to that of his own sovereign, to whose charms he had fallen a ready victim, still he was forced to admit that Mary had "an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness," which might attract some persons.

From the time White acquired St. Catherine's Priory it became his principal residence, and when the plague visited Dublin he found it a very useful retreat. Like Chief Justice Luttrell he was, to use his own words, a great housekeeper, and expended on hospitality not less than a thousand marks a year. In 1571 he decided to visit England again, and after some delay set out with strong testimony of good service from Sir William Fitzwilliam, who had succeeded Sir Henry Sidney as chief governor, and from Lord Chancellor Weston, who appears to have been a great friend



St. Catherine's Chapel.

*From a photograph by Mr. Thomas Mason.*

of his. While he was in England the Master of the Rolls in Ireland died, and White was successful in obtaining the vacant office, although he does not appear to have been recommended for it by Sir William Fitzwilliam, who was urging that he should be

sent back to Ireland, as his advice was much needed on the council. In White's letter of appointment, Elizabeth, after referring to the services of his predecessor, and expressing a pious hope that he had won a better state by exchange of this worldly life, said she conferred the office upon White on account of her own knowledge of his sufficiency, but did not omit to put in a sly reminder of Sir William Fitzwilliam's own esteem for him as a councillor.

After his appointment we find White standing much on the dignity of his office, applying for a guard of six soldiers to attend upon him, and asserting his right to discharge certain functions during a vacancy in the office of Lord Chancellor. The latter claim brought him in conflict with Archbishop Loftus, who, according to White, had all the gain, while he had the pain of business, and at the same time Sir William Fitzwilliam conceived a great dislike to him. During the agitation against the cess in 1578 this ill-will came to a head, and for two years White was suspended from his office, more, it is said, from dislike than from cause. Lord Burghley never lost confidence in him, as appears from a letter written by White "from his reclused cell of St. Catherine's;" and on being allowed to go to England, White completely reinstated himself. Soon after his return to Ireland in 1580 he accompanied the military expedition under Sir William Pelham to the south of Ireland, and we find him at Cashel lying in the Star Chamber, as he calls the open air, and at Waterford gathering cockles on the sea shore, and filling his pockets with bread and cheese, which he had learned to like in England, on a man-of-war. At that time he was successful in settling several difficulties in this country, and is said to have been the author of the extraordinary trial by combat between the O'Conors in the yard of Dublin Castle, but everything he did received sinister interpretation in certain quarters.

White's enemies in Ireland had been increased by the addition of Sir Henry Wallop, who while openly commending him called him in private a malicious hypocrite. By gifts of *aqua vitæ* and other things he tried to prevent his friends in England being influenced by reports of this kind, and even carried on a correspondence with the Queen herself through a certain Mistress Blanche, who lived in Lord Burghley's house, but the constant accusations against him must have done him injury. The arrival in 1584 of Sir John Perrot as Lord Deputy promised well for him, as the Lord Deputy



conferred on him immediately, in Christ Church Cathedral, the honour of knighthood, but it proved most disastrous to him, as he followed the Lord Deputy in all he did, not, he says, from affection for the man, but on account of what he thought the success of his government. A few months after Sir John Perrot's arrival White secured the conviction of many malefactors in Leinster by "trial of their own nation," and displayed much bravery in advancing in discharge of his duties into the wilds of the County Wicklow, and Sir John Perrot subsequently employed him in all his proceedings with regard to Connaught. Needless to say, when Sir William Fitzwilliam was sent over to replace Sir John Perrot, in 1589, the old enmity between him and White arose with fresh force, and in the following year, when charges were brought against Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy found little trouble in placing White under arrest. White was then in bad health and wrote piteous letters to Lord Burghley, who seems never to have quite lost confidence in him; but the tide was too strong for him. He was sent over to London, and at once placed under restraint first at Charing Cross, and afterwards under closer surveillance in the Dean of St. Paul's house. In the beginning of 1590 he was a prisoner in the Marshalsea, and was sent in March with Sir John Perrot to the Tower, where he was kept in the closest confinement. He appears to have undergone a trial in the Star Chamber, where he made at least one admission injurious to his friend, Sir John Perrot, and was in the end allowed to return to Ireland and restored to his office, although not to his seat on the Council. His health, however, never recovered from the effects of his long imprisonment, and his death took place in February, 1593.

Sir Nicholas White, from whom the Whytes of Loughbrickland are descended, was twice married, first to a lady called Sherlock, and secondly, in 1587, to Mary, daughter of Andrew Brereton. This lady had been so unfortunate as to have previously married one Thomas Might, sometime Surveyor of the Victuals in Ireland, who was discovered to have a wife alive in England. After Sir Nicholas White's death she married Sir Thomas Hartpole, of Carlow. By his first wife Sir Nicholas White had, besides a daughter, three sons, Andrew, Thomas (who died before him in 1588), and James, two of whom were educated at Cambridge. His daughter Mary was three times married, first to Robert Browne, who was murdered in the County Wexford while his father-in-law

was seneschal of that county; secondly, to Christopher Darcy, of Platten, and thirdly, to Nicholas St. Lawrence, twenty-first Baron Howth. Andrew White, who succeeded his father, entered Lincoln's Inn in 1578 as a barrister from Furnival's Inn, and three years later married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Finglas, of Westpalstown, and step-daughter of Richard Netterville of Kilsallaghan. In 1585 Andrew White was in London, and to his father's regret preferred "to exercise his legs at Court rather than to sit at study in Lincoln's Inn." He became a Roman Catholic, and was looked upon by Sir William Fitzwilliam, who took steps to prevent his approaching the Queen while his father was a prisoner, and by Archbishop Loftus, as a dangerous conspirator involved in plots emanating from Rome and Spain. After his father's death both Lord Burghley and his son, the first Lord Salisbury, took the most kindly interest in Andrew White's affairs, particularly with regard to the lands of Dunbrody, in the County Wexford, which he said was "the only stay his father's hard fortune had left him." Andrew White died while still a young man in 1599, and left a number of children, including his heir Nicholas, who restored the family to a high position—marrying Ursula, daughter of Garret, first Viscount Drogheda, and becoming a knight and representative in parliament for the County Kildare<sup>(1)</sup>.

Both Andrew White and his son, Sir Nicholas White the younger, resided in Leixlip Castle, and during the troubled times before the Commonwealth St. Catherine's was held on lease by Sir Robert Knight. At the time of the establishment of the Commonwealth, St. Catherine's was occupied by a Mr. John Dillon, who had in his employment most of the other fifteen inhabitants. In 1655 the Whites, "owing to charges made upon their estate in the late disturbances," applied for leave to sell St. Catherine's, and on this being granted to them disposed of it to Alderman Ridgely Hatfield, who in 1656 was mayor of Dublin. After the Restora-

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<sup>(1)</sup> See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lxi., p. 68; also *cf.* Burke's Landed Gentry under Whytes of Loughbrickland; *Irish Builder* for 1886, p. 332; Admissions Lincoln's Inn; Return of Members of Parliament; Smyth's "Law Officers of Ireland"; Metcalfe's "Book of Knights"; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 165; Wills of Sir Nicholas White and Andrew White; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1509-1608, *passim*; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1581-1594, *passim*; Calendar of Scottish State Papers, 1589-1603, *passim*; Hatfield Manuscripts published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Sydney State Papers, vol. i., pp. 27, 38; Lord Burghley's State Papers, p. 509; Fiaants Elizabeth; Morrin's "Patent and Close Rolls," vol. i., p. 133; Hore's "History of Wexford," *passim*.



tion, in 1664, it was sold by the latter to Sir John Perceval, a baronet and ancestor of the Earls of Egmont, who died in the following year, and in 1666 it came into the possession of Sir William Davys. On the other lands included in the portion of Leixlip parish within the County Dublin we find at this time on those of Westmanstown two houses, occupied by Edward Harrington and Richard Boothby, and fifteen cottages; on those of Laraghcon a house occupied by Samuel Lucas and two cottages; and on those of Pass-if-you-can two cottages <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Right Hon. Sir William Davys, who was appointed successively Recorder of Dublin, Prime Serjeant, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, attained to his high position as much by interest as by professional ability. He was the son of a remarkable man, the Right Hon. Sir Paul Davys, an official in Dublin Castle, who enjoyed the confidence of such widely different administrators as the Earl of Strafford, Henry Cromwell, and the Duke of Ormonde, and who found it compatible with his opinions to occupy a seat in the various parliaments of his time. Sir Paul Davys, whose father was a country gentleman resident in the County Kildare, appears to have owed his introduction into official life to his marriage to his first wife, Sir William Davys' mother, who was a granddaughter of Sir William Ussher of Donnybrook, and after the Restoration found in the Duke of Ormonde a staunch and powerful friend. Notwithstanding the fact that Sir Paul Davys had sat in the Commonwealth parliament the Duke of Ormonde speaks of him as having been ever true, like himself, to "the loyal Protestant interest." When English officials found fault with the Irish despatches the Duke of Ormonde defended Sir Paul Davys, saying that though his language might be out of fashion in England it suited very well in this country. To Sir William Davys the Duke of Ormonde also proved a generous patron, at first from regard for his father and afterwards on account of the able service which Sir William Davys himself constantly rendered to him. When the Duke came to Ireland in 1662 as Lord Lieutenant he found Davys holding the office of Recorder of Dublin, to which he had been appointed when only three years called to the bar, as well as the position of one of the representatives of the city in parliament, and it was in no perfunctory way that the Recorder

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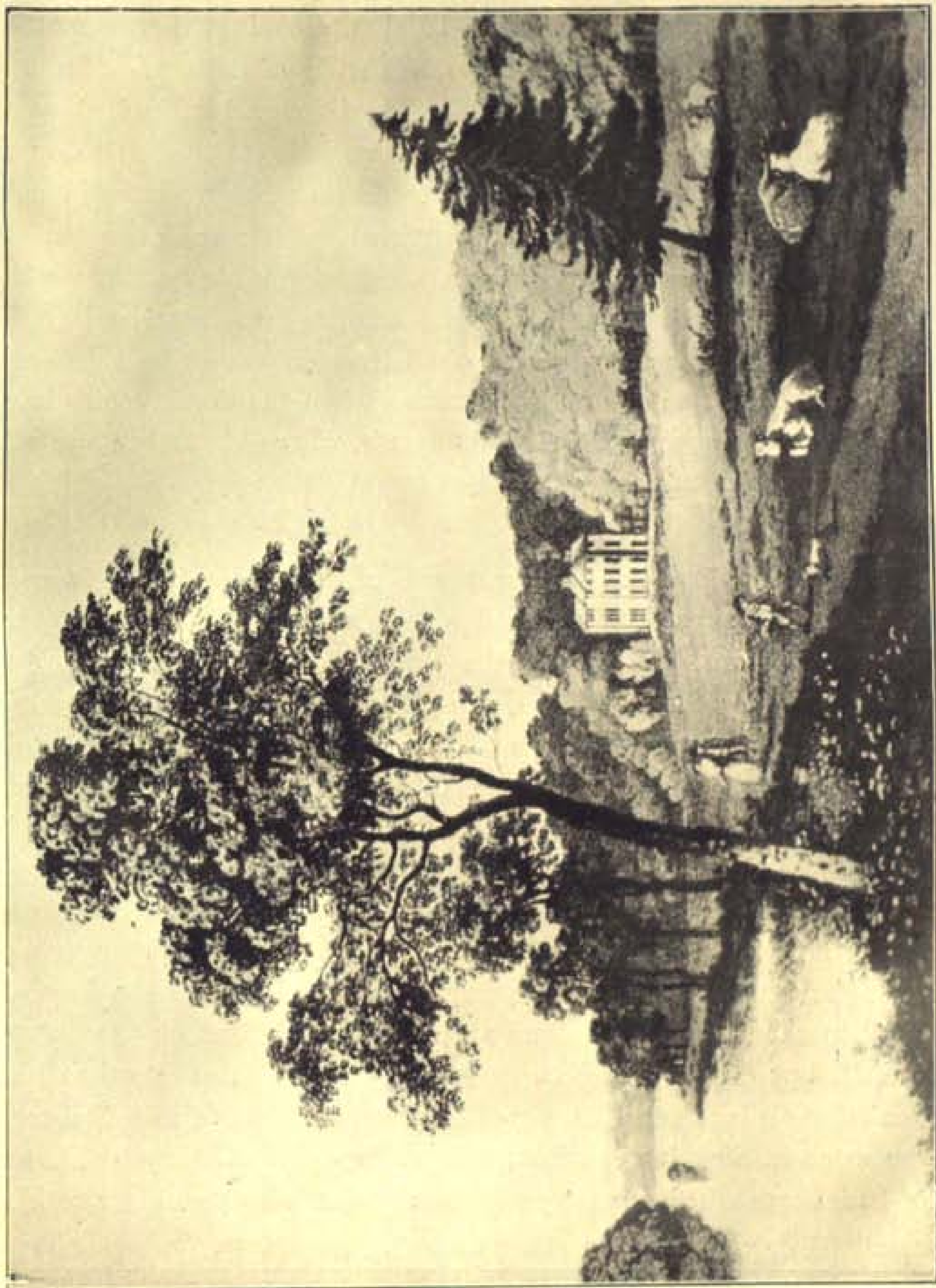
<sup>(1)</sup> Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1647-1660, pp. 26, 812; Survey of Upper-cross and Newcastle; Census of 1659; Subsidy Rolls; Hearth Money Rolls; Davys' Collection in Trinity College Library, MS. No. 647.

carried out the direction of the Corporation to entertain the viceroy on his arrival with an oration of hearty welcome. The Duke of Ormonde then conferred on Davys the honour of knighthood, and made him Attorney-General and afterwards Chief Justice of the Regalities of Tipperary, and in return, when the Duke of Ormonde was superseded in the viceroyalty, Davys was instrumental in inducing the Corporation of Dublin to confer on the Duke's gallant son the Earl of Ossory the freedom of the city.

While the Earl of Essex was Lord Lieutenant, when great disturbances took place in the Corporation, Davys was for two years suspended from his office of Recorder, and some years later, during the terror of Oates' plot, owing to an allegation of his being in the Duke of York's interest, was hurried out of Ireland into England. But he had previously obtained additional influence from his marriage to a daughter of Archbishop Boyle, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, as well as Archbishop of Armagh. While the Archbishop was acting as a Lord Justice in 1675 he had secured for his son-in-law the office of Prime Serjeant—a position of honour, according to the Archbishop, rather than of emolument, but a sure step to the bench. The Duke of Ormonde, on his return as viceroy, lost no time in urging Davys' claims to promotion on the ground of his services as Recorder, and of the gratification his appointment would give Archbishop Boyle, saying that he would vouch for Davys' right principles both as to Church and State, and, although on the first occasion the recommendation was unsuccessful, in 1681 Davys was raised to the bench as Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

When Davys purchased St. Catherine's, in 1666, it appears to have fallen from its former state, and to have become an agricultural rather than a residential holding. He took over from the representatives of Sir John Perceval a large stock of cattle and sheep which had been purchased from Alderman Hatfield, and subsequently let the house, first to Henry Wade and then to John Pim, with a provision that in case of plague or other sickness in Dublin the tenant was to allow him and his father, Sir Paul Davys, to occupy portion of the house. After his father's death, which took place in 1672, we find Davys had taken up his residence there, and the house doubtless underwent renovation or was rebuilt. The year before his elevation to the bench, in 1680, Davys lost his first wife, and three years later, while residing at St. Catherine's, he had the misfortune to lose his only daughter and child.





St. Catherine's in 1795.  
*From a drawing by Jonathan Fisher.*

He had, however, meantime married again, and had taken as his wife a lady of very high birth and connection, a daughter of George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, who had been previously married to Callaghan, second Earl of Clancarty. This marriage did not please his new wife's relatives, any more than Archbishop Boyle, and in connection with legal proceedings between the FitzGeralds and the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Ormonde's second son, Davys' brother-in-law threatened to impugn his conduct as a judge and to get the King to remove him, a threat to which Davys made the fine reply that he feared to do an ill thing but did not fear the consequences of a just judgment. After the accession of James II. Davys, who had gone to England for his health, which was much impaired from gout, was admitted to kiss the King's hand, and although it was rumoured that he was to be removed, he still held the office of Chief Justice when his death took place in 1687. He was buried in St. Audoen's, where his father and all his family were interred <sup>(1)</sup>.

Sir William Davys had a half-brother, Sir John Davys, a son of Sir Paul Davys by his second wife, who was a daughter of Sir William Parsons, and it was the eldest son of this brother who ultimately succeeded to St. Catherine's and his other property. Sir John Davys, who had been educated in Dublin University and at Lincoln's Inn, succeeded his father as prime secretary and clerk of the Council, and earned a high character for prudence and integrity. Like his half-brother, he fell under suspicion during Oates' plot, but reinstated himself, and after James the Second's accession proved how little ground there was for the allegations by retiring to England, where he remained until after the battle of the Boyne. He then came back to Ireland and resumed his seat on the privy council, but did not long enjoy his return to this country, as his death took place in 1692. He left two sons, Paul and Robert, who were in a curious position under Sir William Davys' will, as he had bequeathed his property to the one who should take his

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<sup>(1)</sup> "Some Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II." in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Association*, vol. vii., p. 101; also *cf.* authorities there quoted, and Thurloe's "State Papers," vols. vi. and vii., *passim*; Manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Davys' Collection in Trinity College Library, MSS. Nos. 646, 647; Letter from Sir William Davys in possession of the Marquis of Ormonde.



step-daughter, Lady Katherine MacCarty, to wife, but this matter finally arranged itself, and on his marriage to the young lady the eldest son became owner of St. Catherine's (1).

Paul Davys, who was created in 1706 Baron and Viscount Mountcashel, seems to have been a young man of fashion and a great friend of James, second Duke of Ormonde, to whom he acknowledged his indebtedness for his titles. In some letters written from St. Catherine's to the Duke of Ormonde about the time he was raised to the peerage, Lord Mountcashel dwells on the dulness of Dublin, but rather discounts the value of his judgment by retailing much gossip of not too delicate a nature about the Dublin aristocracy of that time. He died in 1716, leaving his wife and several young children surviving him. Lady Mountcashel was highly esteemed as a religious and charitable lady, and in 1710 we find Dean Theophilus Harrison, a friend of John Strype the ecclesiastical historian, and a man of great piety, staying at St. Catherine's, no doubt at her invitation. She had lost several of her children in infancy, and in 1719 the death of her eldest surviving son, the second Lord Mountcashel, at the age of ten years was announced, a calamity which was followed in 1736 by the death of her last son, the third Lord Mountcashel, when only twenty-five years of age. The poor lady only survived this blow two years, until 1738, when her death occurred at St. Catherine's (2).

St. Catherine's then passed into the possession of Sir Samuel Cooke, a baronet who was twice Lord Mayor of Dublin, and for some years represented the city in parliament. During his occupation, in 1754, Mrs. Delany paid a visit to the place, and in her sprightly manner describes it as downright ugly, enclosed in high walls, with terraces supported by walls one above another, as formal as bad taste could make it, but capable of being one of the finest places she ever saw. Sir Samuel Cooke is said to have discovered lead in the grounds and was more occupied in developing

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(1) Todd's "Graduates of Dublin University"; Lincoln's Inn Admissions; Carte Papers, vol. xxxix., ff. 66, 186; vol. cxlvi., f. 309; vol. ccxix., ff. 174, 222, 270; Southwell Papers in Trinity College Library, MS. No. 1180.

(2) Letters from Paul Lord Mountcashel in possession of the Marquis of Ormonde; "History of St. Audoen's Parish" in *Irish Builder* for 1887, p. 113, *et passim*; Correspondence of John Strype in Cambridge University Library, MS. No. 408; *Pue's Occurrences*, March 10-14, 1719; *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1738, p. 221.

the useful than the picturesque features of the place. Mrs. Delany says that the chapel had been connected with the house by a fine gothic gallery with bow windows, but that Sir Samuel Cooke had pulled this down and erected a palisade—a proceeding that led the lively lady to exclaim that it was provoking to see such beauties thrown away upon vandals <sup>(1)</sup>. Sir Samuel Cooke, who died in 1758 and whose title is extinct, married a daughter of the Very Rev. John Trench, an ancestor of the Lords Ashtown, and left an only daughter. She married Richard Warburton, of Garryhinch, and they resided for a time at St. Catherine's, the fee of which descended from them to the late Mr. Thomas Cooke-Trench of Millicent. St. Catherine's was later on in that century occupied by Sir Richard Wolseley of Mount Wolseley, the first baronet of his line, and for many years a representative of the County Carlow in parliament, who died there in 1781 <sup>(2)</sup>. Before 1795, when the accompanying view of the house was taken, St. Catherine's had been purchased by Robert, third Earl of Lanesborough, who doubtless sought relief there from the sad memories attached to Sans Souci at Booterstown, and who built considerable additions to the house and modernised the old apartments. Subsequently it became a residence of the La Touches, his wife's relatives, in whose time the house was filled with pictures and articles of vertu. While in the occupation of the latter owners the house was completely destroyed by fire <sup>(3)</sup>, and was never rebuilt.

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<sup>(1)</sup> See "A Memoir of the Trench Family," by Thomas R. F. Cooke-Trench, and Mrs. Delany's "Autobiography and Correspondence," vol. iii., p. 281.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1781, p. 448.

<sup>(3)</sup> Jonathan Fisher's "Scenery of Ireland"; D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," p. 664.



## Parish of Lucan

(i.e., *Leamhean* or a place abounding in marsh mallows).

The Parish of Lucan appears in the seventeenth century as containing the Townlands of Lucan, Westpanstown, and St. Catherine's.

It now contains the townlands of Backwestonpark, Cooldrinagh (i.e., the corner of the black thorn), Doddsborough, Lucan and Pettycanon, Lucan Demesne, St. Edmondsbury, and Tobermaclugg (i.e., the well of the bells).

The objects of antiquarian interest are a sepulchral chamber, and the ruins of the castle and church.

There is a well called Tobermaclugg in the townland of that name.

## LUCAN AND ITS CASTLE.

THE parish of Lucan, famed for the beauty of its situation and its sulphur spa, lies about eight miles to the west of the city of Dublin, and is only separated from the County Kildare by a narrow piece of the parish of Aderrig which lies to the south-west of Lucan. Lucan parish contains the finest inland scenery in the metropolitan county, and its castle stood at a particularly picturesque point on the southern bank of the river Liffey, where that river, to which the parish owes its chief attraction, is joined by another but much smaller one called the Griffeen. Remains of the castle are still to be seen within the demesne of Lucan House, the residence of Captain Charles Nicholas Colthurst-Vesey, D.L., close to Lucan village and not far from a great stone bridge of a single arch by which the road from Dublin to Maynooth is carried over the Liffey. The remains of the castle consist of a square tower, two storeys in height, with a stair turret on the northern side, and a small annex in the eastern direction. On the southern side are the walls of the old parish church, which was connected with the castle by a door, and which is divided into two portions, the western one being a burial place belonging to the Vesey family <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin" by E. R. M'C. Dix in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, p. 36.

The remains of the castle occupy, probably, the site of a fortified dwelling erected soon after the Anglo-Norman Conquest. Even before that time Lucan had been a place of importance, as was indicated by the discovery of an early sepulchral chamber near the village <sup>(1)</sup>, and a century after that event it possessed a manorial residence with a large curtilage and garden, and the usual adjuncts of a mill and a dove-cot, round which a town of considerable size had grown up, as the rent paid by the inhabitants shows. The demesne lands, some of which were covered with wood, were extensive and were worked in the usual way by the smaller tenants, or betaghs, on the other lands owned by the lord of Lucan. This class of tenants seems to have been far the largest in the manor of Lucan, and only few farmers, who rendered service by deputy, or free tenants, came under the jurisdiction of the Lucan manor court. The latter was, however, a source of some small revenue to the owner, as was also the salmon fishing on the Liffey. After the Anglo-Norman Conquest the lands of Lucan came into the possession of Alard Fitzwilliam, but were granted by him before the year 1204 to Wirris Peche, whose descendants held them for more than a century. It is in connection with a confirmation by King John of this grant to Wirris Peche that the first mention of the lands of Lucan occurs, and the entry records that the confirmation of his title was given to Wirris Peche in consideration of forty marks and a palfrey sent to the King's treasurer. The family of Peche, the founder of which, as an old writer quaintly remarks, must have been a very wicked fellow since his name meant sin in the abstract, was seated in Essex as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, and members of it, including

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<sup>(1)</sup> In *Pue's Occurrences* for July 27 to August 2, 1740, the following appears:—  
 "It having been reported that a cave was lately discovered at Lucan in the County of Dublin on the lands of the Petty Canon of St. Patrick's, some gentlemen went thither to examine it who give the following account:—Within about 100 yards of the town of Lucan on the eastern bank of the river Griffin which falls there into the Liffey is a round hill or large artificial mount (for it is hard to distinguish which it is) so steep on all sides that it is scarce accessible except by one way, against which a rampart of earth was thrown up about breast high as we suppose for defence. On the top of the mount, and not far from the edge of it, is a hole or entrance of stone not unlike the mouth of an oven so narrow that it must be entered with your feet foremost. Then you come into a pretty large circular chamber about 13 feet in diameter built round and arched with stone work and above 8 feet high although much earth is fallen in. From this a passage built in the same manner, about 22 feet in length, leads you to a chamber like the former. From hence a long passage as before conducts you to the end of this subterraneous building from whence you have no way of getting up into the open air but by creeping on your hands and feet."



Richard Peche, who was Bishop of Lichfield in the twelfth century, and Bartholomew Peche, who was a favourite minister of Henry III., are afterwards found in various parts of England.

Wirris Peche appears to have been a native of Hampshire, in which county he paid the fees for confirmation of his title to Lucan, but he was not the only one of his name connected with Ireland about that time. In the reign of Richard I., Richard Peche, who was sent in 1180 as a messenger to this country, and was given by Henry II. as provision for his journey forty horse loads of wheat and twenty hogs, owned Irish lands, of which he gave a large portion to the Archbishop of Dublin, and in a royal grant made at Portsmouth by Henry III. to one Hamon Peche it is mentioned that he was the son of Gilbert Peche, who had been in Ireland in the reign of King John. On succeeding to Lucan, Wirris Peche appears to have come to reside there, and married a daughter of his neighbour Stephen son of Sir Adam de Hereford of Leixlip. By her he had a daughter, Alice, who married Ralph Pippard, and through this marriage the Pippard family ultimately became owners of Leixlip. At Lucan he was succeeded by another owner of the same name, probably his son, and subsequently we find William Peche, who died before 1270, in possession of the manor. The lands were then for a time in the hands of the Crown, owing to the minority of William Peche's heir, but in 1285 Henry Peche was in possession of them and rendered annually to the Crown a drum and four pairs of furred gloves as rent for them. Not long afterwards Henry Peche died, and in 1291 the marriage of his only daughter and child Roesia was granted by the Crown to Robert Hanstede and his wife Margery, who were living in England. The escheator was, however, directed to send their ward under safe conduct to Chester, to the justiciary of that place and his consort, and with their help Roesia Peche evidently arrived safely with her guardians, as in a few years we find her married to their son John Hanstede. The young couple then entered into possession of Lucan, where we find them in 1305 involved in a lawsuit about the salmon fishery with their relative and neighbour Ralph Pippard, the owner of Leixlip, and with a more formidable opponent, the King. They appear to have been unsuccessful in the cause, the jury deciding that half the Lucan fishery belonged to the owner of Leixlip, and that a weir which had been recently erected at Lucan by one Roger

Smalris, and which the sheriff was directed to remove, had much narrowed the water course to the prejudice of the King <sup>(1)</sup>.

Before 1327 Robert de Nottingham, sometime Mayor of Dublin and one of its wealthiest citizens, already mentioned as owner of Merrion at that time, was in possession of the Lucan estate. He died in that year and was succeeded at Lucan by his son William. The latter, who only survived his father a few years, was possessed at the time of his death of much live stock, including a thousand sheep and two hundred lambs, and of a house well furnished with plate and beds of linen and wool. After William's death prolonged litigation took place between three of his relatives—his widow Matilda, who married secondly John Gernan; his father's widow Eglantine, who married secondly Thomas Bagot and thirdly Thomas de Eton; and his sister Eglantine, who married John de Bathe <sup>(2)</sup>.

Subsequently we find various persons mentioned as having an interest in Lucan, including Sir Thomas Rokeby, sometime justiciary of Ireland, who had married Matilda Tyrrell, widow of Robert Burnell of Balgriffin, and Sir Robert de Clinton, and ultimately it came into the possession of the FitzGerald family. The FitzGerald family continued to hold it until the sixteenth century, and it was in the castle of Lucan that, in 1517, Elizabeth, wife of Garret, ninth Earl of Kildare, died. At the time of the dissolution of the religious houses St. Mary's Abbey owned at Lucan two houses and a dove-cot, and the Minor Canons and Choristers of St. Patrick's Cathedral a house and some land, while St. Wolstan's Priory owned, besides a holding in Lucan, the lands of Backweston and Cooldrinagh. After the attainder of Gerald, tenth Earl of Kildare, the manor of Lucan was confiscated by the Crown and leased in 1554 to the Clerk of the Check of the Army, Matthew King, on condition that he inhabited the castle himself or placed in it liege men who would use the English tongue and dress, and hold no communication with the Irish <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Sweetman's Calendar, *passim*; Pipe Roll, 55 Hen. III. to 1 Edw. I.; Justice Roll 34 Edw. I.; Morant's "History of Essex," *passim*; Woodward's "History of Hampshire," *passim*; "Register of Abbey of St. Thomas," by Sir John Gilbert, in Rolls Series.

<sup>(2)</sup> Memoranda, Plea and Justiciary Rolls.

<sup>(3)</sup> See "Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, with an account of his family, and their connection with Lucan and Tully," by Lord Walter FitzGerald, in the *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. iv., pp. 114-147, a paper from which the author has received much assistance respecting the history of Lucan; also see Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii., p. 75; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 86; Exchequer Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, Henry VIII., Nos. 87, 88; Fiant, Philip and Mary, No. 37.



A few years later the castle and estate of Lucan came into the possession of Sir William Sarsfield, a citizen of Dublin, who laid aside the toga for military pursuits and a country life. The Sarsfields, who are supposed to have come to this country from a place called Sarnesfield, in Herefordshire, settled in Ireland not long after the Anglo-Norman Conquest, and before the sixteenth century were seated at Sarsfieldstown, in the County Meath, of which Sir William Sarsfield's grandfather, Roger Sarsfield, was sometime owner. His father, John Sarsfield, as a younger son, entered into business in Dublin, and in 1531 was called to the mayoral chair of that city. In that high position he was succeeded in 1553 by his eldest son Patrick, and in 1566 by William, who was his second son. Of the mayoralty of his eldest son, who married one of the Fitzwilliams and has been mentioned as a resident in Baggotrath Castle, Stanihurst has left us a lively picture, and records that this hospitable and public spirited gentleman "thanked God and good company" that three barns well stored and packed with corn and twenty tuns of claret scarcely sufficed for the provision of his house during his year of office. William Sarsfield, who was nominated as an alderman in 1560, was not so well prepared as he wished when called upon unexpectedly six years later to take the mayoral chair, but he earned the respect of all loyal citizens and the gratitude of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who was in England at the time, by the prowess he displayed immediately after his election as chief magistrate. For, on hearing that Drogheda, where Sir Henry Sidney had left his wife during his absence, was threatened by some of the Ulster tribes, "Master Sarsfield," with a chosen band "of goodly young citizens," set out to the relief of that town and succeeded, as Campion tells us, "in breaking the rage of the enemy." It was for this act of valour that Sir Henry Sidney conferred on William Sarsfield the honour of knighthood.

From that time Sir William Sarsfield made Lucan Castle, then one of the principal houses in the County Dublin, his chief residence, and was subsequently deprived of his rights as a Dublin citizen for leaving his town house derelict when Dublin was visited by the plague. He served in 1571 as sheriff of his county, and as a man of mark had opportunity of indulging the love for arms which he seems in middle life to have developed. On several occasions he was included in the commission to execute martial law and to muster the militia of the metropolitan county, and was

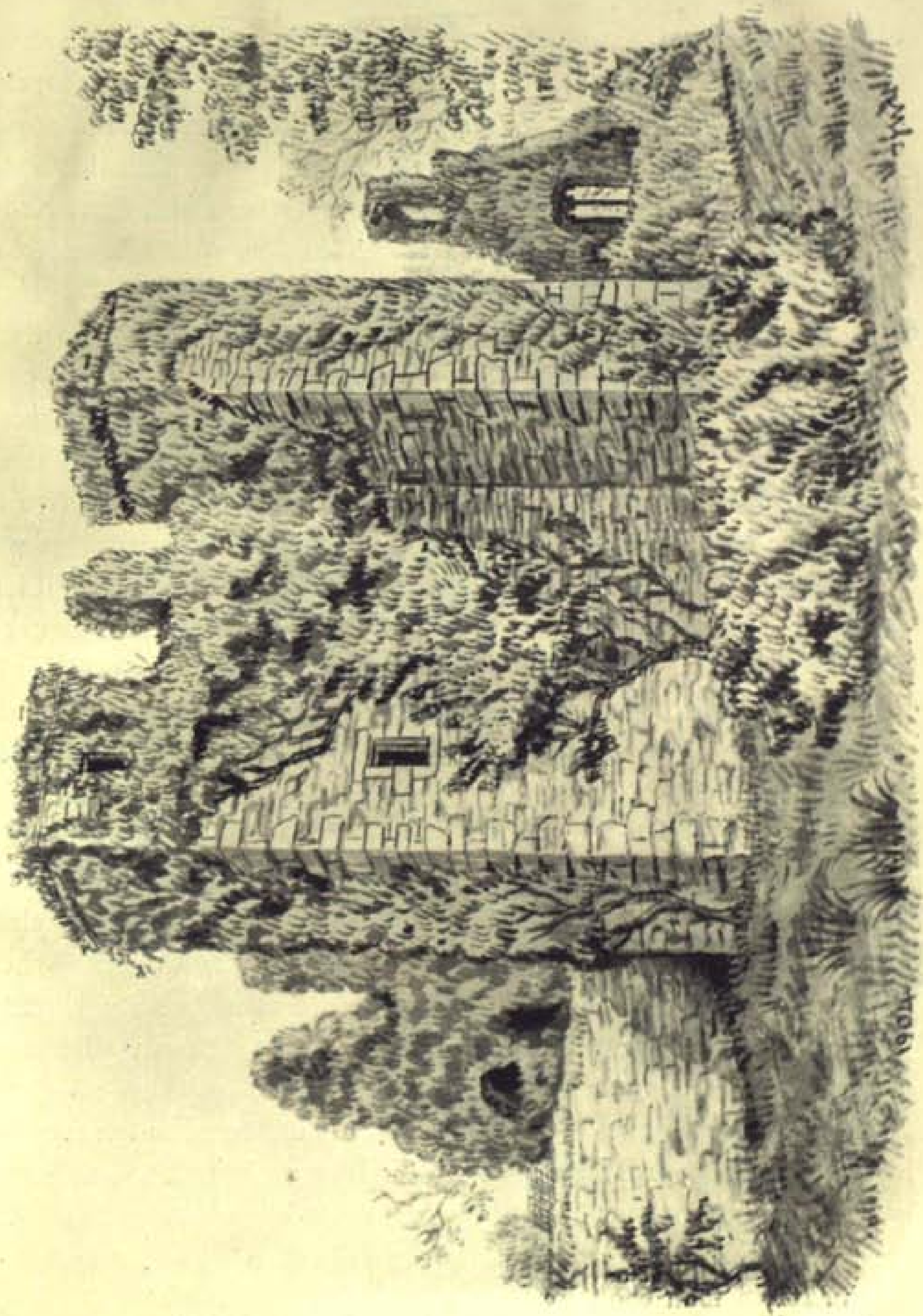
appointed to command the forces raised in the Newcastle barony. In this capacity he received from the Crown an expression of thanks together with a grant of lands for his exertions in undertaking, in the winter of 1581, an expedition into the Wicklow hills to rescue a Captain Garret, who had been taken prisoner and was afterwards murdered by some of the inhabitants. The fact that he was one of those who complained of being oppressed and impoverished by intolerable cesses laid upon the Pale, and who were for a time committed to the Castle of Dublin, interfered only temporarily with his public usefulness, and besides his military occupations we find him surveying with Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam the lands to be included in the County Wicklow and acting as a justice of the peace in the counties within the Pale. His death took place in 1616, when he had attained the great age of ninety-six years, and he was buried in the church of Lucan adjoining his castle.

Sir William Sarsfield, from whom the famous Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, was directly descended, married a daughter of Andrew Tyrrell of Athboy, and many of his children married into families of high position. His eldest son John, who married a daughter of Sir Luke Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, died before him, and only his second son Patrick, who was established at Tully in the County Kildare, and his third son Simon, survived him. His eldest daughter was twice married, first to Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and secondly to Sir Christopher Bellew; and another daughter married Christopher Bathe, of Rathfeigh. At Lucan Sir William Sarsfield was succeeded by his son John's eldest son, who was his namesake as well as grandson, and to him he left the tapestry with which the walls of Lucan Castle were hung and certain articles of plate. These included a basin and ewer of silver, a salt cellar, and covered cups of various kinds, as well as a share of the remaining silver, which he directed should be divided between his grandson and his son Patrick <sup>(1)</sup>.

William Sarsfield, who was thirty-four at the time of his grandfather's death, and had married a daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, appears to have passed the peaceful life of a country

(1) *The Herald and Genealogist*, edited by J. G. Nichols, vol. ii., pp. 205-215; *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, edited by Sir John Gilbert, vol. ii., pp. 13, 46, 48, 57, 102, 353, 358, 538; *Calendar of Carew Papers, 1575-1588*, p. 149; *Haliday Manuscripts*, p. 162, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; *Faints Elizabeth*, *passim*; *Calendar of Irish State Papers*, *passim*; *Manuscript in Trinity College Library*, F. 1, 18, p. 177; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, p. 37; *Will of Sir William Sarsfield*.





The Castle and Church of Lucan.  
*From a drawing by Mr. Thomas J. Westropp.*

gentleman, and proved himself when the troubled times came a loyal Roman Catholic. After the rebellion we find one of his relatives who lived with him at Lucan making a deposition with regard to certain persons whom he had seen in warlike array at the Castle of Lyons; and even when, four years later, the army of the Confederates and the army under Owen O'Neill advanced on Lucan and Newcastle, William Sarsfield "preserved his loyalty unblemished." While these armies lay in the district the Marquis of Clanricarde wrote to the Duke of Ormonde from Leixlip Castle saying that Mr. Sarsfield was "infinitely pestered and destroyed" by the soldiers, and was apprehensive that he would be deemed disloyal on account of the help which he had been forced against his will to give them, and urging that an assurance should be given Mr. Sarsfield that he would be protected when the armies were withdrawn. This was done, and in a King's letter written soon after the Restoration, it is stated that William Sarsfield adhered constantly to the royal cause, and was very diligent and active in providing necessities for the garrison in Dublin when its siege was threatened. In this commendation the royal letter includes William Sarsfield's cousin and heir Patrick Sarsfield, grandson of his uncle Patrick Sarsfield, and father of the Earl of Lucan, who appears to have resided with him at Lucan. There is, however, some doubt as to whether his cousin, although he had been returned in 1641 as member for the borough of Kildare, had acted an entirely loyal part during the rebellion. His father, Peter Sarsfield, had been outlawed, and he was married to a daughter of the prime conspirator, Roger O'More, who is said, on the discovery of the plot, to have fled from Dublin to his daughter's house at Lucan. When the Commonwealth came William Sarsfield, then nearly seventy years of age and a widower, was residing at Lucan with two of his sisters, his cousin Patrick Sarsfield, and his cousin's wife and family. He gave much employment on his lands, and many of his servants appear amongst the inhabitants of Lucan, who numbered some hundred and twenty persons and included two butchers, two glove makers, two carpenters, two millers, a mason, a tailor, a shoemaker, a man cook, and a gardener<sup>(1)</sup>.

But the Sarsfields, like their neighbours the Luttrells, soon had to make room for a nominee of the Commonwealth, and Lucan

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(1) Chancery Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jac. I., No. 27; Depositions of 1641; Carte Papers, vol. iv., f. 184, vol. ix., f. 23, vol. xix., f. 367; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1633-47, *passim*; Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. i., p. 329; Survey of Uppercross and Newcastle.



Castle became the residence of Sir Theophilus Jones, an officer who had distinguished himself in the war in Ireland. Sir Theophilus Jones was one of three brothers who always managed to be on the winning side in the eventful times in which they lived, and who were innate soldiers. This was the more remarkable as their father, who displayed extraordinary longevity, was a bishop of the Irish Church, and one of the brothers (who accepted, notwithstanding, during the Commonwealth the military office of scout master) was also a prelate of that Church. The third brother, Colonel Michael Jones, has been already mentioned as the victor of the royal army on the battlefield of Rathmines, and died not long after this, the great achievement of his life. Sir Theophilus Jones began his military career under Charles I., and after the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 served in the North of Ireland. Subsequently he was taken prisoner at Kells by the army of the Confederates, but after confinement for some time was released. He then accepted a command in the army of the Parliament. In that service he showed conspicuous courage, and was severely wounded while acting under his brother Colonel Michael Jones in an attack on Ballysonan Castle in the County Kildare, where he had been detained while a prisoner. During the Commonwealth he was considered one of its most fervent adherents, and represented in the Commonwealth parliament a group of Irish counties. But in 1659 he joined the Earl of Orrery and Sir Charles Coote in wresting the government of Ireland from the civil power, and in the words of Charles II., "acted imminently with the hazard of his life and fortune" in seizing on Miles Corbett and others who then bore sway in this country. He was one of those who laboured to have the Convention called, and became an active instrument in securing the King's restoration. He was recommended to Charles II. as one in whom implicit reliance might be placed, and as a powerful supporter of royalist interests in the Irish House of Commons, where he sat for the County Meath, was appointed a privy councillor.

Sir Theophilus Jones made Lucan Castle, which was one of "the fairest houses" in the County Dublin, and rated as containing no less than twelve hearths, his chief residence, and ruled as owner over the Sarsfield's property. His possessions in the village of Lucan, where a good stone bridge then crossed the Liffey, included a corn mill and some twenty thatched houses and cabins, only one of these, however, a house occupied by Nicholas Hide, being

rated as containing two hearths, while on lands called Peddinstown he owned "a habitable house," which was occupied by Samuel Bathurst and rated as containing as many as six chimneys. Three years after the Restoration Lucan Castle was the scene of a historic interview between Sir Theophilus Jones and Colonel Alexander Jephson, one of the ringleaders in Thomas Blood's plot to take the Castle of Dublin and overthrow the Government. In a long account of this interview Sir Theophilus Jones relates how while he was walking, between nine and ten o'clock one May morning in the year 1663, near the bridge of Lucan, watching the arrival of a troop of soldiers who were to be quartered at Lucan, he came upon Colonel Jephson, who had just ridden up alone and alighted from his horse, and how, as the horse required to be shod, he invited him into Lucan Castle, where the early dinner of that time was being prepared in the hall. For it Colonel Jephson said he was unable to wait, and on his expressing a wish to be apart Sir Theophilus Jones took him into the buttery, "being the room next at hand." There, after a tankard of ale, a bottle of cider, and a dish of meat had been set before them, Colonel Jephson disclosed the plot and the intention of the conspirators to offer Sir Theophilus Jones the command of the army after the capture of Dublin Castle—a communication the whole of which Sir Theophilus Jones lost no time in repeating to the Duke of Ormonde.

Sir Theophilus Jones, whose mother was a sister of Archbishop James Ussher, married one of his cousins, a granddaughter of Sir William Ussher of Donnybrook, and a daughter of Arthur Ussher, who was drowned in the River Dodder. As Sir John Perceval and Sir William Davys were nephews of this lady, the proximity of St. Catherine's to Lucan Castle may have had some bearing on their purchasing successively the former place, and one of her brothers, Arthur Ussher, who was a cornet in her husband's troop of horse, appears also to have been for a time resident at Lucan. Sir Theophilus Jones, who died at Osberstown, in the County Kildare, in 1685, had several children, and through his daughters the Earls of Lanesborough and the Saundersons of Castle Saunderson trace descent from him (1).

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(1) See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxx., p. 162; also cf. "A Perfect Narrative of the proceedings of the Army under the command of Colonel Michael Jones," Lon., 1648; Crown Rentals; Census of 1659; Down Survey Map; Carte Papers, vol. xliii., f. 247, vol. lxviii., f. 159; Hearth Money Roll; Chancery Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, Car. II., No. 65; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report VIII., App., p. 623; "Ussher Memoirs," by Rev. W. Ball Wright, pp. 85, 141, 144.



William Sarsfield only survived his expulsion from Lucan a few years, until 1654; but soon after the Restoration his cousin and heir Patrick Sarsfield petitioned the King to grant him the Lucan estate. This the King was anxious to do, but finally the matter was referred to the Court of Claims, and Patrick Sarsfield lodged a claim on behalf of himself, his wife, and his eldest son. He had three sons, John, William, and Patrick, afterwards Earl of Lucan, but John had died during the Commonwealth, and William, who was stated to be only a boy of about eleven when the claim was made, was, therefore, his eldest surviving son. The Commissioners under the Act of Settlement took a different view to the King and decided that the estate could not be restored to Patrick Sarsfield on account of his complicity in the rebellion. This could not apply, however, to his son who was not born at the time, and the Commissioners ordered that the estate should be given up to him. A very serious state of things soon arose. Sir Theophilus Jones, who was required by this decision to give up the Lucan estate, was one of the last persons the King wished should suffer loss. Directions were given to find him at once an estate of equal or greater value elsewhere, but it was not so easy to do, and it was many years before all the Sarsfields' property was surrendered by him. In the beginning of 1671 the well-known Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, implored Charles II. to obtain relief for Patrick Sarsfield's children, "then groaning under an insupportable burden of misery from want of subsistence," and William Sarsfield, at the same time, sent a formal petition, in which he mentioned that in his belief his father was found guilty of the rebellion on perjured evidence. In spite of his poverty William Sarsfield had before this time made his way to London and had become known in royal circles, for the next mention of him shows that he had married one of the natural daughters of Charles II., a sister of the Duke of Monmouth. The latter exerted his influence to obtain the surrender of the Lucan estate to his brother-in-law, but without immediate success, and the King granted the newly-married couple for their present relief a pension of £800 a year. William Sarsfield died within a few years of that time, in 1675, leaving his wife and three infant children, a son called Charles after his royal progenitor, a daughter called Charlotte, and a son whose name is not known. His widow married before 1677, as her second husband, William Fanshawe, one of the gentlemen in waiting on the King, and they began forthwith an active campaign on behalf of the children and themselves for the recovery of the

Sarsfield estate. While this was going on the boys, however, died, and under their father's will the right to the property passed to their uncle Patrick <sup>(1)</sup>.

Patrick Sarsfield, the famous general, who was created by James II. Baron of Rosberry <sup>(2)</sup>, Viscount of Tully, and Earl of Lucan, was successful in recovering most of the estates of his ancestors, but does not appear to have resided much at Lucan. The glowing eulogium which Lord Macaulay has pronounced on his abilities and character, has given him undying fame, but except during the revolution little is known of his career. The date of his birth cannot be fixed with certainty, but it is not improbable that he



Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.

*From an old engraving by M. A. Bregon, wife of J. B. Tilliard.*

was born at Lucan before his family was ejected from the castle. It is said he received some military education in France, but that his first service in an English regiment was against that country in 1677, under his sister-in-law's brother, the Duke of Monmouth. About the middle of the next year he came to London, and remained there "at the house of the King's saddler at Charing Cross" for more than six months, until appointed a captain in Sir

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<sup>(1)</sup> Roll of Innocents, ix. m. 61; Carte Papers, vol. ix., f. 390; vol. xliii., f. 247; vol. lx., ff. 179, 388; vol. cxlvi., f. 197; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1671-1673, *passim*.

<sup>(2)</sup> A title taken from property near Newbridge in the county Kildare belonging to the Sarsfields.



Thomas Dongan's regiment of foot. On receiving his commission, which was given to him in "the Crown and Sceptre Tavern in Piccadilly," he set out for Ireland, but does not appear to have remained long in this country. He is said to have lived much about Whitehall, and a few years later we find him involved in England in more than one affair of honour and accused of assisting a Captain Clifford, who afterwards gained with Henry Luttrell notoriety at Limerick, in carrying off a rich widow against her will as she was driving in her coach over Hounslow Heath. He was severely wounded at the battle of Sedgemoor, where he fought against the Duke of Monmouth. Three years later, when he had attained to the rank of a colonel, it was rumoured that he was to be made governor of the Barbadoes. He was, however, reserved for a greater if not happier position, and before many months struck his first blow for James II. in the revolution in a skirmish with some of William the Third's troops at Wincanton, in Somersetshire.

It is unnecessary, and would be impossible to follow Sarsfield through the historic events of the next few years. In the inimitable pages of Lord Macaulay's history the story is told of his part in the Irish campaign; how, in spite of discouragement and jealous rivals, he never failed in single devotion to his master's cause, and stood pre-eminent amongst the commanders on his side for intrepidity and strategic ability, as well as for all that is upright and honourable. After the surrender of Limerick he joined James II. in France. His career in the service of that country though brief brought him further laurels and he received a marshal's baton. But in 1693 he fell mortally wounded on the battlefield of Landen, exclaiming, "Would to God this had been for Ireland." He married a daughter of William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde, and left a son, not altogether unworthy of so brave a father, on whose death in 1719 the male line of the Sarsfields of Lucan became extinct. Lord Lucan's mother survived him, and was living in 1694 in France with her two widowed daughters, who had married respectively, Viscount Kilmallock and Viscount Mount Leinster <sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. I., p. 305, and Lord Walter Fitz-Gerald's paper, but also *c/*. Manuscripts of Chester Corporation, of Sir Frederick Graham, and of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Lord Lucan's right to the Lucan estate was not undisputed by the Fanshawes, who alleged that his brother had been induced to make the remainder to him by undue influence, and at the time of Charles the Second's death legal proceedings were pending. On the accession of James II. these proceedings were dropped, but no sooner had William III. been firmly established on the throne than William Fanshawe, who was a Protestant, and whose wife had become one, claimed the Lucan estate, then in the hands of the Crown, on behalf of his step-daughter Charlotte Sarsfield. After three years exertion and the expenditure of a considerable amount of money, he was successful in regaining it for her. Needless to say, as a great heiress she was not long in finding a husband, and through this marriage the Lucan estate passed to its present owners the Veseys <sup>(1)</sup>.

Charlotte Sarsfield's husband, Agmondisham Vesey, was the second son of the Archbishop of Tuam of that time, the Most Rev. John Vesey, who held that see for many years, and from whose eldest son the Viscounts de Vesci are descended. The Archbishop belonged to a family which had been seated at Hintlesham Priory in Suffolk, and the first member of the family mentioned as connected with this country is the Archbishop's grandfather, William Vesey, described as of Gray's Inn, who succeeded to Irish property under the will of Henry Reynolds, his maternal uncle. William Vesey's son, the Archbishop's father, the Rev. Thomas Vesey, who entered the Irish Church, became beneficed in the North of Ireland, and after the Restoration, although he had adopted during the Commonwealth the formularies required by the State, was appointed Archdeacon of Armagh. The Archbishop was twice married, and Agmondisham Vesey was his eldest son by his second wife. She was a daughter of Colonel Agmondisham Muschamp, and from the connection thus established arose the use of the curious names Agmondisham and Muschamp, originally the surnames of two ancient Surrey families, as Christian names in the Vesey family. Agmondisham Vesey was, through his father's influence, returned in 1703 as member for the borough of Tuam, which he continued to represent until his death, and appears to have taken an active part in the political life of his day. In recognition of his position the University of Dublin, of which his

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<sup>(1)</sup> Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1691-1693, and of Treasury Papers, 1693-1703, *passim*.



father afterwards became Vice-Chancellor, conferred on him an honorary degree as LL.D., and some years before his death he was appointed Controller and Accountant-General of Ireland jointly with his son.

His wife, William Sarsfield's daughter, died not long after their marriage, leaving him two little daughters, from one of whom the present Earls of Lucan are descended, and Agmondisham Vesey had long and troublesome negotiations with the Crown regarding his title to the Lucan property, which required for its settlement more than one Act of Parliament. While promoting one of these bills in the English parliament in 1712 he received much assistance from Swift, who has recorded in the *Journal to Stella* that he spent a whole morning at the House of Commons door soliciting interest for a son of the Archbishop of Tuam, and that he secured him the support of above fifty members. Vesey had married again before that time Jane, daughter of Captain Edward Pottinger, who had been twice previously married, first to John Reynolds, of Kilbride, probably a relative of the Vesey family, and secondly to Sir Thomas Butler, the third baronet of the Ballintemple line. By her he had a numerous family, including Agmondisham, his eldest son, who succeeded him at Lucan, and other sons who entered the Church and the Navy <sup>(1)</sup>. He died in 1738, and was buried according to his desire without ostentation in the old church beside Lucan Castle, where a mural tablet to his memory is still to be seen <sup>(2)</sup>.

His son, who became the Right Hon. Agmondisham Vesey, has obtained frequent mention in literature relating to his time as the husband of the far-famed Mrs. Vesey, one of the blue stocking coterie, the friend of Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, and a host

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<sup>(1)</sup> Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lviii., p. 289; Metcalfe's "Visitation of Suffolk," pp. 104, 173; Chancery Inquisition, Leitrim, Jac. L, No. 15; Manning's "History of Surrey," vol. iii., p. 29; Return of Members of Parliament; Todd's "Graduates of Dublin University"; Bromley's Parliamentary Papers, vol. ii., p. 203, in Bodleian Library; "Swift's Works," edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii., p. 489; British Departmental Correspondence in Public Record Office; Liber Munerum; Wills of Agmondisham and Jane Vesey.

<sup>(2)</sup> The monument is of black and white marble, and portrays a child leaning over a medallion bearing a man's head in relief, with a plain pyramidical background. It is supported on two brackets, between which is a tablet bearing the following incised inscription:—"This chappel was repair'd by Jane Lady Butler & this Monument Erected to the Memory of her dearly Beloved Husband A. V. deceased the 23rd of March An Domi 1738 with whom she is inter'd. Where thou Dyest there will I dye & Where thou art buryed there will I be buryed also."—See Lord Walter FitzGerald's Paper.

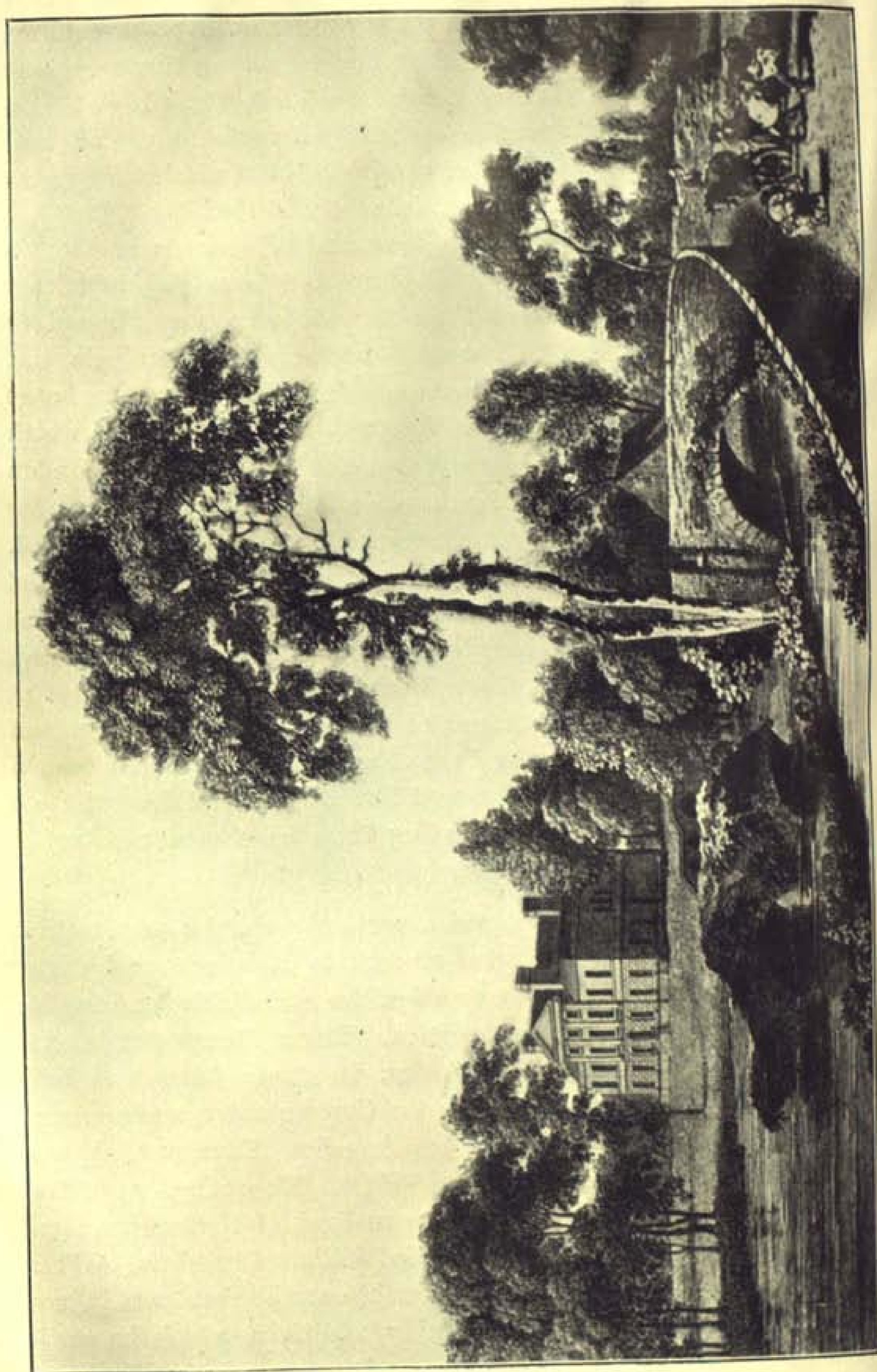
of the other literary and social celebrities of their day. This remarkable woman was a first cousin of his own, a daughter of his father's half-brother Sir Thomas Vesey, who was a bishop as well as a baronet, and from whom the Viscounts de Vesci are descended. She had been previously married to William Handcock, sometime member of parliament for Fore, and a collateral ancestor of the Lords Castlemaine. Her marriage to Vesey took place not long before his mother's death, which occurred in 1746, and in him, notwithstanding some difference of taste which became more accentuated in later life, she found a kind and indulgent husband. In the University of Dublin, of which he was a scholar as well as graduate, Vesey had shown considerable ability, and as member for Harristown, and subsequently for Kinsale, he took an active part in Irish parliamentary life. In London, where, owing to the sessions of the Irish parliament being only biennial, he and his wife were enabled to spend every alternate winter, he was thought worthy to be one of the twenty members of the Club founded by Dr. Johnson and Sir Samuel Reynolds, and made himself popular by his gentle manners and polished good nature. Some want of tact is implied in the accounts of his intercourse with Dr. Johnson, but perhaps it was not altogether his fault that the great doctor, when introduced to him, only remarked, "I see him," or that on another occasion he thought upon Tom Thumb while Vesey dilated on Catiline's conspiracy. A love of fashion, combined with what they considered an excess of gallantry, brought on him towards the close of his life the reproaches of Mrs. Vesey's friends, but he certainly never lost the affection and constant companionship of his wife.

Notwithstanding her intellectual power and high moral character Mrs. Vesey's idiosyncrasies were not those to which every man would have accommodated himself, and her friend Mrs. Delany, who first met her as Mrs. Handcock on visiting Dublin in 1731, gives some indication that, like herself, Mrs. Vesey found greater happiness in her second marriage than in her first. She was a woman, although described as *mince* and delicate, of the most extraordinary energy of mind and body, and has been said to have been so desirous of seeing everything in the world that she never thoroughly enjoyed any one object from apprehension that something better might be found in another. Her spirit, wit, and vivacity, which had gained for her amongst her intimates the name of the Sylph, carried her over every obstacle. In the case of



the journey to England, which she made so frequently, she came to disregard not only the discomforts, but also the dangers which then surrounded it, and we find her contemplating the sublime terrors of the pass of Penmaenmawr and travelling through great tempests with an undisturbed mind. To Bath, Tunbridge Wells, and even to Paris, she was in early life a frequent visitor, and there she laid the foundations of the friendships which brought to her house in London all the great intellects of that day. In "her dear blue room," first in Bolton Row and afterwards in Clarges Street, her easy politeness, good sense and improved mind set everyone at their ease, and there Dr. Johnson was allowed to indulge in a harmless "skrimage," while Horace Walpole was induced to moderate his biting sarcasm. In their Dublin town house in Molesworth Street, where the Veseys spent the winters in which the Irish parliaments sat, she endeavoured to replace her London circle, and brought on herself some ridicule by her predilection for baronets and pamphleteers when earls and authors of folios failed. The domestic gifts which Mrs. Vesey lacked were amply supplied by a sister of her first husband, who constantly resided with the Veseys, and was known as Body, while Mrs. Vesey was called Mind. Mrs. Delany, who was one of the Vesey's most frequent visitors at Lucan, has left a pretty picture of the Lucan housekeeping, and tells how one day, when the Lucan inn failed to provide even a bit of bacon, Miss Handcock saved Dr. Delany and herself from a hungry drive to Dublin by feeding them on a good substantial shoulder of mutton and potatoes.

At Lucan Mr. Vesey developed a perfect genius for architecture and proved himself a successful student in it, whatever he may have done in Irish history and antiquities and Celtic learning, to which he also devoted some attention. Lucan House stands as a monument of Vesey's skill in design, its Ionic front and hall, adorned with pillars and a frieze in the Grecian order, and enriched with medallions from designs by Angelica Kauffman, having received high encomiums from good judges. He was not neglectful of more useful details, and his new method of slating attracted the notice of the great architect, Sir William Chambers. When Vesey succeeded to Lucan the old castle was the residence in use, and with improvements and probably additions, which he made soon after his marriage, it appears to have served the Veseys as a dwelling until 1772, when the erection of the present house was undertaken. Mrs. Delany, in letters written soon after the



**Lucan House in 1788.**

*From an engraving by Thomas Milton after a drawing by John James Harwood.*



Veseys' marriage, frequently refers to finding their house full of work and they themselves "up to the chin in business," hanging pictures and settling other decorations. To Mrs. Delany this was a most congenial occupation, and there was no house in Ireland she liked so well to be in. She speaks with enthusiasm of the Veseys' method of framing pictures and of transparent Indian figures and flowers with which they decorated their windows, as well as of Vesey's fine collection of prints and library. A cottage in the grounds between Lucan House and Leixlip seems to date from their time, and on one occasion, when proceeding to it in a cabriolet, Mrs. Vesey nearly lost her life by the restiveness of the horse. Mrs. Delany also speaks of Mrs. Vesey's dairy, in which they sometimes breakfasted at a table strewn with roses, and of a bath house, with an antechamber in which they once dined. The latter, which is still to be seen, was according to tradition originally an oratory dedicated to St. John, and the bath is said to be supplied from a holy well. In the new house Mrs. Vesey, who was to occupy a round room, feared she would be like a parrot in a cage, and received much sympathy from her friends for the loss of "the dear old castle with its niches and thousand other Gothic beauties," but Mrs. Vesey was delighted with the house when it was completed, and found the reluctance which she had felt in going to it had been little justified (1).

About the same time as Lucan House, the handsome residence known as St. Edmondsbury, which lies to the east of the village of Lucan on the northern side of the road to Dublin, was built by the Right Hon. Edmond Sexton Pery, who after a long parliamentary career was elected in 1771 Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. St. Edmondsbury, where we find in 1783 Pery entertaining the Viceroy, was erected on land belonging to the Veseys, to whom Pery had become nearly related by his marriage to a daughter of the first Viscount de Vesci. On his retirement in 1785 from the Speaker's chair—a position which he filled to the admiration of so competent a critic as Charles Fox—Pery was raised to the peerage as Viscount Pery, and after the Union, against which he voted, appears to have resided in London, where in 1806 he died (2).

(1) See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lviii., p. 289; *cf.* also authorities quoted there, and *Exshaw's Magazine* for March, 1746; Todd's "Graduates of Dublin University"; and "A Later Pepys" by Alice C. C. Gaussen, *passim*.

(2) Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xlv., p. 42; *Dublin Journal*, June 21-24, 1783; Hardy's "Memoirs of James Earl of Charlemont." vol. i. p. 157.

Although Lucan had been known before as a health resort on account of a chalybeate spa which existed there, it was in Vesey's time, in the year 1758, that the present sulphur spa was discovered, and it was through his generosity that it was first made available to the public and protected from inundation by the Liffey by the erection of an enclosing wall. Its reputation stood high in the eighteenth century, and the water, "in flasks carefully corked on the spot," could be obtained in Dublin, but the advantage of drinking it at the source was then well understood, and numbers flocked to the healing spring. With the invalids came the fashionable world, and in 1789 it is mentioned that Lucan was the favourite summer resort, and that the well was crowded with "persons of condition" who often formed dancing parties at a ball-room which had been built before that time. Not long before 1795 this ball room was superseded by, or incorporated in, the old hotel, which is still to be seen, and which was modelled on those existing at the time in watering places in England. The bridge at Lucan was a never ending object of anxiety, and was more than once rebuilt on a new site during the eighteenth century. Swift's well-known couplet about the bounty of the man who built a bridge at the expense of the county will recall the fact that one had been erected in the time of Vesey's father. As will be seen in the picture, this stood near the present Lucan House, and was in ruins soon after it was built. Another bridge, "an elegant stone structure of several arches ornamented with a frieze" had been erected lower down the stream at that time by Vesey, but this was carried away in 1786, and a bridge was then erected in the village near the site of the present one, which dates from 1806 (1).

The Veseys passed the last years of their lives entirely in England. Vesey, who suffered for some years before his death from a complaint most trying to those near him, died in 1785. From that time Mrs. Vesey, who before then had been described by Madame D'Arblay as the most wrinkled and time-beaten person she had ever seen, sank into a most melancholy

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(1) Rutt's "Natural History of the County Dublin," vol. ii., p. 188, and "Mineral Waters of Ireland," p. 166; *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, April 28 to May 2, 1767; *Sleater's Dublin Chronicle*, 1789-1790, p. 392; Beaufort's "Memoir of Ireland," p. 43; Lewis' "Dublin Guide," p. 172; "Views in Ireland," by Thomas Milton; "Scenery of Ireland," by Jonathan Fisher; An Englishman's "Tour in Ireland in 1813 and 1814," p. 169; "Excursion to Ireland by the Deputy Governor of the Irish Society, 1825," pp. 21, 26.



state, and before her death in 1792 had become quite insensible to all around her. Vesey has been blamed for the provision which he made for his wife, but from his references to her in his will it is evident that it was far from his intention that she should be deprived of any comfort. Any failure of income was probably due to the expensive mode of living which the Veseys adopted not only in Ireland, where their coach and four excited much admiration, but in England. She was, however, not allowed to want in any way, and her friends have recorded that Vesey's nephew and heir showed her all the attention of a devoted son (1).

This nephew, Colonel George Vesey, who was an officer in the 6th regiment of foot, and who served at Halifax and Gibraltar amongst other places, married in 1790, at Marlay, a daughter of the Right Hon. David La Touche, and subsequently settled down at Lucan and became member for Tuam in the Irish parliament. Of the history of Lucan in the nineteenth century it is outside the scope of this work to treat, and it is the less necessary as the subject has been dealt with in a handbook recently published (2).

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE ruined church of Lucan, which, as has been mentioned, adjoins the ruined castle of Lucan on its southern side, possesses no feature of architectural interest, and probably the walls represent a building of comparatively modern date which superseded a mediæval structure.

The advowson of the church, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was granted in the early part of the thirteenth century by Wirris Peche to the neighbouring Priory of St. Catherine. The value of the church was stated about that time to be eighteen marks, and we find a nephew of the Bishop of Meath mentioned as rector of Lucan and Roger as parson of Lucan. In 1279 Henry Serle was presented by the Crown to the church, then said to be in the King's gift owing to the minority of Henry Peche. At the beginning of the next century the value of the benefice was stated to be £20. After the dissolution of St. Thomas' Abbey, which succeeded to the advowson of Lucan Church as well as to the other

(1) See authorities quoted on p. 53, note 1, and will of Right Hon. Agmondisham Vesey.

(2) "Lucania," by Rev. William S. Donegan, C.C., Dublin, 1902.

possessions of St. Catherine's Priory, the revenues of the church became inappropriate and were leased by the Crown in the sixteenth century to many persons, including Sir William Sarsfield. It was then served for a time, together with the church of Esker, by a clergyman of Irish birth the Rev. John Ower, who in 1578 was granted the liberty of an English subject. At the beginning of the next century the church, as regarded both nave and chancel, was in good repair and provided with books, but before 1630 the vicar, Thomas Keating, who had married a Roman Catholic, had allowed the chancel to become ruinous. The value of the living was only £10 a year, and there were not more than five Protestants in the parish. Keating was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Jones, who has been already mentioned in connection with Saggart and Newcastle, and who, owing to the rebellion of 1641, during which he suffered loss, as he alleged, at the hands of the Scurlocks of Rathcreedan and the Allens of Coolmine, retired to live in Dublin. After the Restoration the parish of Lucan was united to the adjoining one of Leixlip and so remained until the nineteenth century. The succession of vicars has been—in 1660 the Rev. John Harper, in 1670 the Rev. John Pooley, who became Bishop of Cloyne, in 1675 the Rev. Thomas Hawley, who became Archdeacon of Dublin; in 1715 the Rev. John Kyan, in 1750 his son, the Rev. James Kyan <sup>(1)</sup>, in 1773 the Rev. William Percy <sup>(2)</sup>, in 1795 the Rev. Edward Berwick, the editor of "The Rawdon Papers" <sup>(3)</sup>, in 1820 the Rev. James Jones, in 1822 the Rev. Cæsar Otway, the author of "A Tour in Connaught" and many other works <sup>(4)</sup>, in 1826 the Rev. Fielding Ould, in 1836 the Rev. Hugh Edward Prior, in 1856 the Rev. Edmund Trench, in 1859 the Rev. Charles Warren, in 1862 the Rev. Charles Holt Ensell, and in 1871 the Rev. Charles Maunsell Benson <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> In Esker Churchyard there is a tombstone with the following inscription:—"Here lie the remains of the Rev. John Kyan, who discharged the duty of a Faithful Shepherd 35 years in Leixlip and the united Parishes. After a long life of Piety and Virtue he entered upon ye Reward of his Actions May 18th, 1750. The Revd. James Kyan departed this life October ye 6th, 1773, in the — year of his age A Christian, a Christian."

<sup>(2)</sup> In the same Churchyard there is also a tombstone with the following inscription:—"Here lyeth the Body of the late Rev. Wm. Percy who died — 1795, in the 62nd year of his Age; Respected by all who knew him, and Lamented by every Friend."

<sup>(3)</sup> See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. iv., p. 414.

<sup>(4)</sup> See *ibid.*, vol. xlii., p. 345.

<sup>(5)</sup> Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 254; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Fiant's Elizabeth, *passim*; Regal Visitation, 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 153; Depositions of 1641; Carte Papers, vol. xxi., f. 555; Visitation Books; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1750, p. 269.



The present Roman Catholic church at Lucan took the place of an older structure—the site of which is now occupied by the Petty Sessions Court-house—and doubtless the services of the Roman Catholic Church have been celebrated at Lucan from the sixteenth century. Under the arrangement made in 1615 the parishes of Lucan, Aderrig, Kilbride, Kilmahuddrick, Esker, Palmerston, Ballyfermot, Clondalkin and Drimnagh were formed into one parish known as the parish of Clondalkin and Lucan. The following appear amongst the parish priests of this parish—in 1680 the Rev. Oliver Doyle, in 1714 the Rev. Richard Fox, and in 1744 the Rev. Christopher Coleman. About 1765 Lucan and Palmerston were detached and made a separate parish, of which we find the following in charge—in 1770 the Rev. Michael Hall, in 1786 the Rev. Andrew Toole, in 1786 the Rev. Michael Ryan, and in 1798 the Rev. John Dunne. Two years later the parishes of Clondalkin and Lucan were reunited, and the parish priests since that time have been—in 1800 the Rev. John Dunne, in 1837 the Rev. Matthias Kelly, in 1855 the Rev. John Moore, and in 1883 the Rev. James Baxter, the present incumbent.

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## Parish of Aderrig

(i.e., *Athdearg* or the red ford).

The Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the townlands of Aderrig and Backstown.

It now comprises the townlands of Adamstown, Aderrig, Backstown, Backwestonpark, and Cooldrinagh (i.e., the corner of the blackthorn).

The objects of antiquarian interest are the ruined church, and the castle of Adamstown.

### ADERRIG, WITH THE CASTLE OF ADAMSTOWN.

THE greater portion of the small and little known parish of Aderrig lies to the west of the parishes of Lucan and Esker, but it includes also an isolated townland called Adamstown which is surrounded by lands in the parishes of Esker and Kilmactalway. Within this townland are the walls of an old tower house <sup>(1)</sup>, and these, excepting the ruined church, are the only remains of ancient buildings to be found now in the parish.

After the Anglo-Norman Conquest the lands of Aderrig and Cooldrinagh were granted to the lord of Leixlip, Sir Adam de Hereford. The lands of Cooldrinagh did not, however, long remain in his possession, and passed from him to John Moton, whose great-grandson Angelus, son of Philip Moton, had in 1289 a suit regarding them with the adjacent Priory of St. Wolstan, in the County Kildare <sup>(2)</sup>. Within the limits of the parish, or not far from them, lay the rath which has been mentioned in the history of Newcastle Lyons as belonging to the royal manor. As stated there, this rath was in 1291 granted by the Crown to Henry le Marshall, a merchant of Dublin, and in the fourteenth century we find a messuage and eighty-five acres in Marshallsrath, near Aderrig, held under the Crown by various persons, including in 1309 Thomas, son of Henry le Marshall, in 1326 William Douce, in 1343 Richard Pedelow, and in 1395 John Philip. Before 1384

<sup>(1)</sup> See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, p. 12.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mills' "Norman Settlement," p. 170.



Sir John Cruise, of Merrion, had acquired some interest in the lands of Marshallsrath, and in the fifteenth century it is mentioned as portion of the property of his successors, the Fitzwilliams <sup>(1)</sup>.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the FitzGerald family were possessed of a messuage and nearly fifty acres of land at Aderrig, which James FitzGerald forfeited on his attainder, and at the same time the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral appear as owners of some seventy acres of arable and pasture land, together with a small wood, a park called Roe's croft, and a castle, in the townlands of Aderrig and Marshallsrath <sup>(2)</sup>. After the dissolution of the Cathedral the possessions of the Vicars Choral at Aderrig were leased by the Crown to Chief Justice Luttrell, and subsequently were granted to Sir Nicholas White, of St. Catherine's, under whom they were held by John Dongan. About the middle of that century the lands of Backweston, which had belonged to the Priory of St. Wolstan, were in the possession of Sir John Allen, sometime Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who, as has been stated in connection with St. Catherine's, succeeded to the property of that Priory <sup>(3)</sup>.

Adamstown Castle derives its name from a family called Adam,



Adamstown Castle in 1775.  
*From a drawing by Gabriel Beranger.*

which was established in the sixteenth century in the parish of Esker, and probably belonged to Thomas Adam, who died in the

<sup>(1)</sup> Sweetman's Calendar, 1252-1295, *passim*; Patent Rolls, pp. 34, 155; Memoranda Roll, 16 and 17 Edw. III.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mason's Collection for History of Dublin in British Museum, Egerton MS., Nos. 1773, f. 175, and Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 95.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fiant's Edw. VI., Nos. 97, 1095; Eliz., No. 1558; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Eliz., No. 165.

year 1556 and desired to be buried in Esker Churchyard. He was a stout English yeoman, and in his will, which he made when "whole in mind and perfect in remembrance although sick in body," he gives a long list of live stock and of household goods, and mentions his wife Bell Gaydon, his two daughters, and his brother Nicholas Adam <sup>(1)</sup>.

When the Commonwealth was established a century later there was stated to be on the lands of Aderrig only an old castle, but on the lands of Backweston there was "a good fair house" with some cabins. This house was then occupied by Thomas Sedgrave, a member of a Dublin mercantile family—of which we shall see more at Cabra—and his family and servants formed a considerable part of the fifteen persons returned as inhabiting the lands. After the Restoration the Whites and Allens, who had been dispossessed under the Commonwealth, once more appear as owners of the lands in Aderrig parish, together with Arthur, second Viscount Ranelagh, who seems to have succeeded to some Church property in the parish through his grandfather, Archbishop Jones; and Robert Scarborough, who has been mentioned as resident at an earlier date at Newcastle Lyons, is returned as the principal inhabitant in the townland of Aderrig <sup>(2)</sup>.

Backweston House had then become the residence of Sir Bryan O'Neill, who was both a baronet and a knight. He was a descendant of the Chiefs of Claneboy, and proved himself a gallant soldier, first in Holland and afterwards on the royalist side in the Civil War in England. In relating the vicissitudes of the O'Neill family Sir Bernard Burke has told how Sir Bryan O'Neill, with a few others, tried to rally the royal troops at the rout of Newburn, and how on the hard fought field of Edgehill he rallied the dragoons with undaunted courage, and finally saved Charles I. from being taken prisoner. Honours came to Sir Bryan O'Neill, but without corresponding wealth, and after the Restoration he appears to have tried to add to his slender income by sending wool to France, a trade for which, on account of his constant loyalty and good service he was given a licence by the King.

Sir Bryan O'Neill, who was twice married, first to Jane Finch and secondly to Sarah Savage, whose mother was a daughter of

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<sup>(1)</sup> Will of Thomas Adam.

<sup>(2)</sup> Down Survey Map; Survey of Uppercross and Newcastle; Book of Survey and Distribution; Hearth Money Roll.



Hugh, first Viscount Montgomery, of Great Ards, died about 1670, and was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name. Sir Bryan O'Neill, the second baronet, has been already mentioned in the history of Stillorgan in connection with his marriage to the widow of James Wolverston, who was a sister of Christopher Plunkett, tenth Lord Dunsany. He was educated as a lawyer at Gray's Inn, which he entered in 1664, and, as stated in the history of Stillorgan, was appointed by James II. in 1687 as one of the justices of the King's Bench in Ireland. He died in 1694, and with him may be fitly closed the history of Aderrig as well as of his line, which declined, as Sir Bernard Burke has told us, to the direst extremity of poverty and misery <sup>(1)</sup>.

### ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE ruined church of Aderrig, which lies about two miles to the south-west of Lucan village, stands in an open field unprotected



Aderrig Church.

*From a photograph by Mr. Thomas Mason.*

by any fence, and its walls are rapidly disappearing. Its dimensions were some thirty-six feet by eighteen feet, and its only

<sup>(1)</sup> Subsidy Rolls ; G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. ii., p. 215 ; Burke's "Vicissitudes of Families," vol. i., pp. 122-136 ; Carte Papers, vol. xliii., p. 245 ; Will of Sir Brian O'Neill.

architectural feature the lancet-headed doorway shown in the picture. The church was one of those confirmed to the Archbishop of Dublin after the Anglo-Norman Conquest, and in the first half of the thirteenth century was granted by Archbishop Luke to St. Patrick's Cathedral with a direction that five marks of the revenues were to be devoted to providing lights for the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and that the residue was to be distributed amongst the vicars celebrating Mass there. The revenues were then considerable, and subsequently the church was erected into a prebend. Amongst the rectors and prebendaries we find, about 1220 John de Daunteseia, about 1279 Richard de Duckworth, who exchanged Aderrig with Roger de Derby, rector of half of the church of Leixlip; in 1310 Adam de Stratton, and in 1328 John Kingeston, under whom the duty was performed by Galfred, the chaplain. The right to the presentation of the church was at the last-mentioned date the subject of a suit between the Archbishop of Dublin and St. Patrick's Cathedral, which was decided in favour of the former, and a few years later an inquisition determined that the church was in the diocese of Dublin and not of Glendalough, as some persons had alleged. In 1389 the Crown presented William Middleton to the living, and in 1395 Archbishop Welby granted the entire revenues to the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The faithful then seldom forgot in their wills the churches with which they had any connection, and in 1475 Joan Drywer, of Crumlin, bequeathed twelve pence to "the works of the church of Aderrig" and an overcloth for the altar. After the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1547 Chief Justice Luttrell undertook, on the possessions of the Vicars Choral being leased to him, to find a fit chaplain for Aderrig. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the church, although wanting repair, was still fit for use. In 1615 it was served by the Rev. Emanuel Bullock, already mentioned in connection with Saggart, and in 1630 by the Rev. Robert Jones, curate of Newcastle, but their duties were not arduous, as the inhabitants were all Roman Catholics. Subsequently the parish of Aderrig became united to that of Lucan, and the church was allowed to fall into ruin <sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) "Antiquarian Rambles in the County Dublin," by John S. Sloane, in *The Irish Literary Gazette*, vol. i., p. 260; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 69; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Alan's "Liber Niger," p. 755; D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," p. 672; Berry's Register of Dublin Wills, 1457-1483, p. 150; Regal Visitation, 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 154; Visitation Books.



## Parish of Kilmactalway

(i.e., *Kilmactalewi, the Church of Mactalewi, a Leinster chieftain, or Kilmactalmach, the Church of the son of Talmach*) (1).

This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the townlands of Brownstown, Galderstown, Galbrettstown, Grange, Jordanstown, Kilmactalway, Loughtown, and Salles.

It now contains the townlands of Aungierstown and Ballybane (i.e., the whitish town), Ballymakaily (i.e., Mac Haly's town), Brownstown, Clutterland (i.e., shelter land), Coolscuddan (i.e., the corner of herrings), Collierstown, Grange, Jordanstown, Kilmactalway, Loughtown Upper and Lower, Milltown, and Mullauns (i.e., the little flat summits).

The objects of antiquarian interest are the ruined church, and castle of Grange. There is a graveyard with a well, known as the relican or little graveyard well, in the townland of Lower Loughtown.

## CASTLE BAGOT.

THE parish of Kilmactalway, which lies between the parishes of Aderrig and Newcastle, on the border of the County Kildare, and is intersected by the Grand Canal and the Great Southern and Western Railway, contains as its most important feature the house and demesne known as Castle Bagot. Some seventy years ago this place, then the seat of the late Mr. James John Bagot, D.L., greatly excited the admiration of John D'Alton (2), who speaks with enthusiasm of its broad pastures, on which a herd of Durham cattle grazed, and of its gardens and shrubberies, in which there were a willow brought from Napoleon's grave and a design in box exhibiting a political watchword of that day, "Reform and Mulgrave." Of ancient buildings the parish has none except the church and an unimportant castle called Grange, now incorporated in a modern house (3).

At the time of the Anglo-Norman Conquest, as already stated in the history of Newcastle Lyons, the lands of Kilmactalway,

(1) See "The Song of Dermot and the Earl," edited by G. H. Orpen, p. 318, and "The Martyrology of Donegal," p. 291.

(2) See D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," p. 687.

(3) See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, p. 22.

which were included in a district known as Lymerhin, were given to the Irish chief MacGillamocholmog, but in 1215 possession of them was resumed by the Crown in order to enlarge the royal manor of Newcastle. This extension gave opportunity for the erection of a mill for the use of the King's tenants on the River Griffeen, which has been already noticed at Lucan, and which flows through Kilmactalway parish, and round this mill there sprang up a village which became known as the King's Milltown, in order to distinguish it from another village of the same name which stood close to it. The latter belonged to the Church, which owned some of the lands within the limits of the present parish of Kilmactalway. At the close of the thirteenth century a monastic establishment had a settlement there, which in 1294 was returned as unable to pay any taxation, and at the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral the lands of Aungierstown and Ballybane and the village of Milltown appear as part of the Dean's corps. There was then in the village a tenement known as Clogher's Park, and the tenant of it, as well as the Dean's other tenants, was under obligation to do sundry service for his landlord, which was sometimes commuted for a little pig sent to him in autumn <sup>(1)</sup>.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw a considerable amount of the King's lands in Kilmactalway in possession of the Russell family, already mentioned in connection with Newcastle Lyons, and on this holding there was a small hamlet consisting of a castle, a house and three cottages, as well as another house which lay near the churchyard. Under John Russell, the Prior of the Petty Canons of St. Patrick's Cathedral, these premises were occupied by Richard Walse and John Mey, who appear to have married two of his sisters; and on his death in 1546 his nephew, William Mey, succeeded to them. After prolonged litigation with John, son of Patrick Russell, described as late of Newcastle, and with Christopher Bassenet, a nephew of Dean Bassenet, who appears to have then held these premises as well as the Dean's village of Milltown, William Mey established his title to the property. Subsequently, in 1561, he assigned it to John, son of Patrick Mey, a namesake of whom, resident at Kilmactalway, had shortly before met his death by violence. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a holding described as "a water mill in the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Christ Church Deeds, No. 150, and Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 28.



King's Milltown and the windmill-land in the manor of Newcastle of the Queen's old inheritance," was leased to various persons <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, at the time of the establishment of the Commonwealth, the lands of Kilmactalway were still owned by the Mey family, and were occupied by some seventeen persons, of whom the chief was "the widow Harte," alias Elinor Archbold. The lands of Milltown, on which there was a castle as well as other dwellings, were owned by Thomas Taylor, and were occupied by about a hundred persons, including James Barnewall, a gentleman with a large farm establishment, Nicholas Harford a miller, a patriarch called Tirlagh Byrne, described as "a gentleman of a hundred or thereabouts," with a household of some thirty in number, and some descendants of William Rolles, already mentioned as one of the first representatives in parliament for Newcastle Lyons. Loughtown, on which there was a castle, and which had before the rebellion belonged to the Scurlocks of Rathcreedan, was then in possession of the Percevals; Galderstown and Galbrettstown (which belonged to the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral), of Lord Ranelagh; the Grange of the Fagans of Feltrim; and Jordanstown of the Aylmers of Lyons <sup>(2)</sup>. After the Restoration the representative of the Mey family, Matthew Mey, who is described as of Dublin, and whose father, James, son of Matthew Mey, had died in 1643, was successful in proving himself under the Act of Settlement an innocent Roman Catholic, and entitled to the Kilmactalway property, from which he had been dispossessed; but he does not appear to have become a resident in the parish, in which the principal inhabitants in 1664 were Richard Eustace at Milltown, James Harte at Jordanstown, and Patrick Thunder at the Grange <sup>(3)</sup>.

It is not until the later part of the eighteenth century that the Bagots appear as resident at Kilmactalway. The first of them to settle there was John Bagot, who was a son of Mark Bagot, of Newtown Omone, in the County Kildare, and grandson of another Mark Bagot who represented the borough of Carlow in James the Second's parliament. John Bagot was twice married, first to a

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<sup>(1)</sup> Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 220; Fiantis Philip and Mary, Nos. 254, 268; Elizabeth, Nos. 1501, 2695, 6347; Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I., pp. 189, 292.

<sup>(2)</sup> Survey of Uppercross and Newcastle; Down Survey Maps; Book of Survey and Distribution.

<sup>(3)</sup> Decree of Innocents, i. m. 70; Hearth Money Roll.

Miss Walsh, and secondly to a Miss Dease <sup>(1)</sup>, and it was on his marriage to the latter lady that in 1779 he came to Kilmactalway. He left, on his death in 1792, besides other children by his second wife, James John Bagot, the owner of Castle Bagot, in the first half of the nineteenth century <sup>(2)</sup>.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

KILMACTALWAY CHURCH which stands in the grounds of Castle Bagot, although of late date is much defaced. It was of considerable dimensions, measuring fifty-four feet by seventeen feet two inches, but does not appear to have been divided into nave and chancel. The north wall is now gone, and the east window is built up and covered with ivy. In the south wall, as one goes westward, there are a late window with two oblong lights, the shaft of which is gone, another plain oblong window, a pointed window and a slightly pointed door. The west end has a trefoil headed light, and apparently a bell chamber on the top of the gable.

The history of the church gains interest from the fact that it gives name to a prebendal stall in St. Patrick's Cathedral. It is said by Monck Mason to have been dedicated to St. Magnanus, and was one of the churches reserved after the Anglo-Norman Conquest to the Archbishop of Dublin. About 1220, when the church was valued at twenty marks, Master J. de Lucumbe was the rector, and in 1296, during a vacancy in the see of Dublin, Richard de Manton was appointed to the rectory by the Crown <sup>(3)</sup>. In 1366 the church was annexed to the precentorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and in 1466 was made the corps of a distinct prebend, which was placed second in rank. The church was served some

<sup>(1)</sup> Burke's Landed Gentry, ed. 1858, under Bagots of Castle Bagot; D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," p. 686, and "King James' Irish Army List," p. 800; Malcomson's "Carlow Parliamentary Roll," p. 62; Registry of Deeds, Lib. 337, n. 491; Wills of Mark and John Bagot; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1784, p. 743, for 1791, p. 504, and for 1792, p. 168.

<sup>(2)</sup> In Newcastle Churchyard there is a tomb with the following inscription:—"Pray for the Souls of those Members of the Bagot family who are interred herein; the last of whom, James John Bagot, Esq. D.L. of Castle Bagot, County of Dublin, died aged 76 years on the 9th of June 1860; Pray also for the soul of Ellen Maria Bagot, his Widow, interred herein, who died at Rathgar on 19 Sept. 1871. R.I.P."

<sup>(3)</sup> "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 138; Sweetman's Calendar, 1293-1301, pp. 130, 276; 1302-1307, p. 239.



years later, in 1481, by a priest known as Sir Henry of Kilmactalway, and amongst the early prebendaries we find, in 1495 Richard Mylyne, in 1524 John Triguran, who was also Archdeacon of Kells and custos of St. Stephen's Hospital in Dublin, and in 1570 Robert Commander, rector of Tarporley and chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney while Lord Deputy of Ireland, who left some interesting historical manuscripts now in the British Museum.

At the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral the prebendary had, besides the tithes, a small glebe consisting of an old orchard and two small parks or gardens; and the church was served by a curate, who was allowed twenty-six shillings and eight pence, besides the altarages. This payment James Walsh, of London, to whom the rectory was then leased by the Crown, was supposed to continue, but after the re-establishment of the Cathedral we find the church derelict and the rector proceeded against for non-residence <sup>(1)</sup>. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1615, the nave and chancel were returned as in good repair, but in 1630 Archbishop Bulkeley, who then held the prebend *in commendam*, stated that he was rebuilding the church. There were only twelve persons then attending the church, but it had an endowment, as the curate reported of some forty acres, the profit of which, he alleged, was withheld through the wrongdoing of Mr. William Rolles in taking away the deeds. Amongst the curates we find, in 1615 Richard Wiborow, afterwards vicar of Santry, and in 1630 Robert Jones, in 1639 Christopher Cardiffe, and in 1646 Henry Birch, who have been already mentioned in connection with Saggard and Newcastle. After the Restoration the church does not appear to have been again used, and in the eighteenth century the glebe was reported to have been lost <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 51; Berry's Register of Dublin Wills, 1457-1483, p. 163; Christ Church Deed, No. 361; Fiant Henry VIII., No. 6, Edward VI., No. 87; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Philip and Mary, No. 17; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxv., p. 554.

<sup>(2)</sup> Regal Visitation of 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 154; Adams' "History of Santry," p. 67; Visitation Books; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 51.

## Parish of Kilbride

*(i.e., the Church of St. Bridget).*

This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as consisting of the townlands of Baldonan and Kilbride.

It now contains the townlands of Baldonnell (*i.e.*, Donnell's or Donnan's town) Little, Lower and Upper, Kilbride, and Kilcarbery.

The only object of antiquarian interest is the ruined church.

### BALDONNELL HOUSE AND THE SURROUNDING LANDS.

BALDONNELL HOUSE is now the principal residence in the small parish of Kilbride, which lies to the east of the parish of Kilmac-talway. Of a castle which formerly stood in the parish there are little, if any, remains.

After the Anglo-Norman Conquest the lands of Kilbride were held under the Crown, for the service of a foot sergeant or payment of five shillings, by the Comyns of Balgriffin, and formed part of the manor of that somewhat distant place. About the year 1270 the Comyns' property was temporarily in the hands of the King, and the escheator accounted for rents received from the betaghs of Kilbride. The castle was built before the sixteenth century, and was leased in 1537 to John Gibbons, with a reversion to Chief Justice Aylmer, and in 1570 to Thomas Bathe, whose family about that time acquired the manor of Balgriffin. The castle appears to have been occupied by Thomas Bathe, and in 1570 George Bassenet was pardoned for the robbery of cows from Thomas Bathe, of Kilbride, and for burglary at Baldonan. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Bathes were still in possession of the Kilbride lands, but at the time of the Restoration they had been succeeded by the family of Carberry, from whom one of the townlands takes its name, and the Luttrells appear as owners of Baldonan. The castle was then in occupation



of Francis Carberry, who was succeeded by his widow, and later on by Alderman John Carberry, whose country residence was at Grace Dièu (1).

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE ruined church of Kilbride, which lies between Castle Bagot and the Naas road, as seen from a distance, gives little promise of interest, but a closer examination of its overgrown walls shows it to have been of unusual structure. It was possibly built in an earth fort about one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, for the form and height of the graveyard even to the north, where



Kilbride Church.

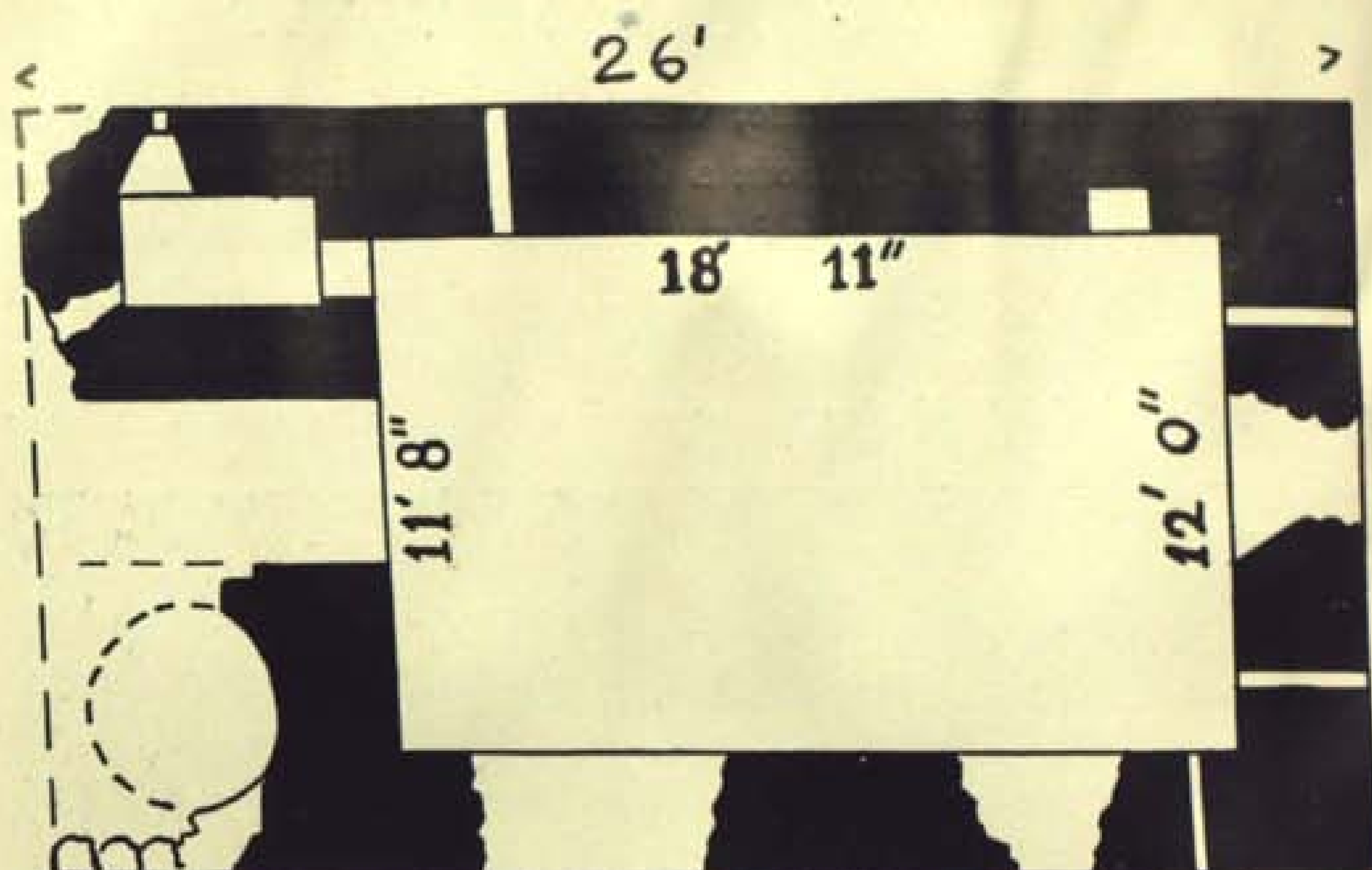
*From a photograph by Mr. Thomas J. Westropp.*

burial was infrequent, are unusual, and other traces of earth works are visible in the surrounding field. The oratory, which is built of very small stones, was a tiny one, about nineteen feet by twelve feet, and is not truly rectangular. There was an eastern window, and at least one light in the south wall, which probably had a second window where a gap now occurs. A recess remains

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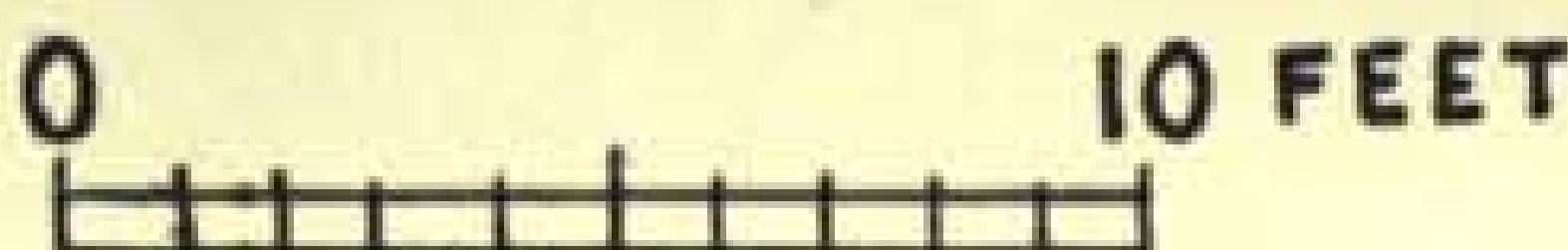
(1) Pipe Roll, No. 6; Mills' "Norman Settlement," pp. 171, 173; Fianta Henry VIII., No. 66; Elizabeth, Nos. 1498, 3305; Exchequer Fine Roll; Census of 1659; Subsidy Rolls; Hearth Money Rolls; Will of John Carberry.

to the north, and the walls, which are at present six feet high, are pierced by several small square holes like "putlog holes" for scaffolding. There was a tower at the west end, which contained on the ground floor to the north a little cell, four and a half feet



1904

Thos. Westropp



Plan of Kilbride Church.

By Mr. Thomas J. Westropp.

long by thirty inches wide, lit by a slit. Next this was an arched porch, from which a doorway opened into a curved recess for a spiral stair now all removed, only the recess and one side of a window marking its position. There was evidently a priest's residence above those, but the upper part has been quite thrown down.

Of the history of the church nothing is known beyond the fact that it formed portion of the corps of the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral. So far back as the year 1547, when the dissolution of the Cathedral took place, it is styled an old chapel, and was valued with a cottage near it at twelve pence a year, and in 1660 it is again mentioned as an old building in connection with an acre of land which the proprietor of Kilbride was alleged to have taken from the Cathedral (1).

(1) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 29, 31.



## Parish of Kilmahuddrick

(i.e., the Church of Cudrick or Cuthbert).

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This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the townland of Kilmahuddrick, and now consists of the same.

The only object of antiquarian interest is the ruined church.

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### KILMAHUDDRICK.

THIS parish, which is the smallest in the metropolitan county, lies, like the parish of Kilbride, to the east of the parish of Kilmactalway, but more to the north, and is separated from the parish of Kilbride by a narrow piece of Clondalkin parish.

The lands belonged to the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Dublin. In 1294, it is stated that the monks at Kilmahuddrick were unable to bear any charges, and at the time of the dissolution of the Abbey in 1539 the possessions of the Abbey at Kilmahuddrick are returned as a house and some fifty acres of land held by one Patrick Holder. In addition the Abbey owned close by the Grange of Ballichelmer, or New Grange, which contained two houses as well as cottages and some hundred and fifty acres of land. Towards the close of the sixteenth century Kilmahuddrick was assigned by the Crown in augmentation of the salaries of the secretary's office, and in 1591 enquiry was directed as to the reason this order had not been carried out. In the seventeenth century the lands of Kilmahuddrick and New Grange came into the possession of the Sedgraves of Cabra. In 1650 we find New Grange occupied by a farmer called Nicholas Wolverston and twenty other persons, including a weaver and a "greymerchant," and in 1666 the lands of Kilmahuddrick were held by Patrick Thunder <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Mills' "Norman Settlement," p. 63; Christ Church Deed, No. 150; Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii., pp. 59, 60; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1588-1592, p. 407; Survey of Uppercross and Newcastle; Subsidy Rolls.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE ruined church of Kilmahuddrick, which stands about a mile to the north-west of the village of Clondalkin, although devoid of ornamental features and mainly of late fifteenth century work, is of considerable interest. It stands in the middle of an open field, and the ground round it has been raised considerably by burials.



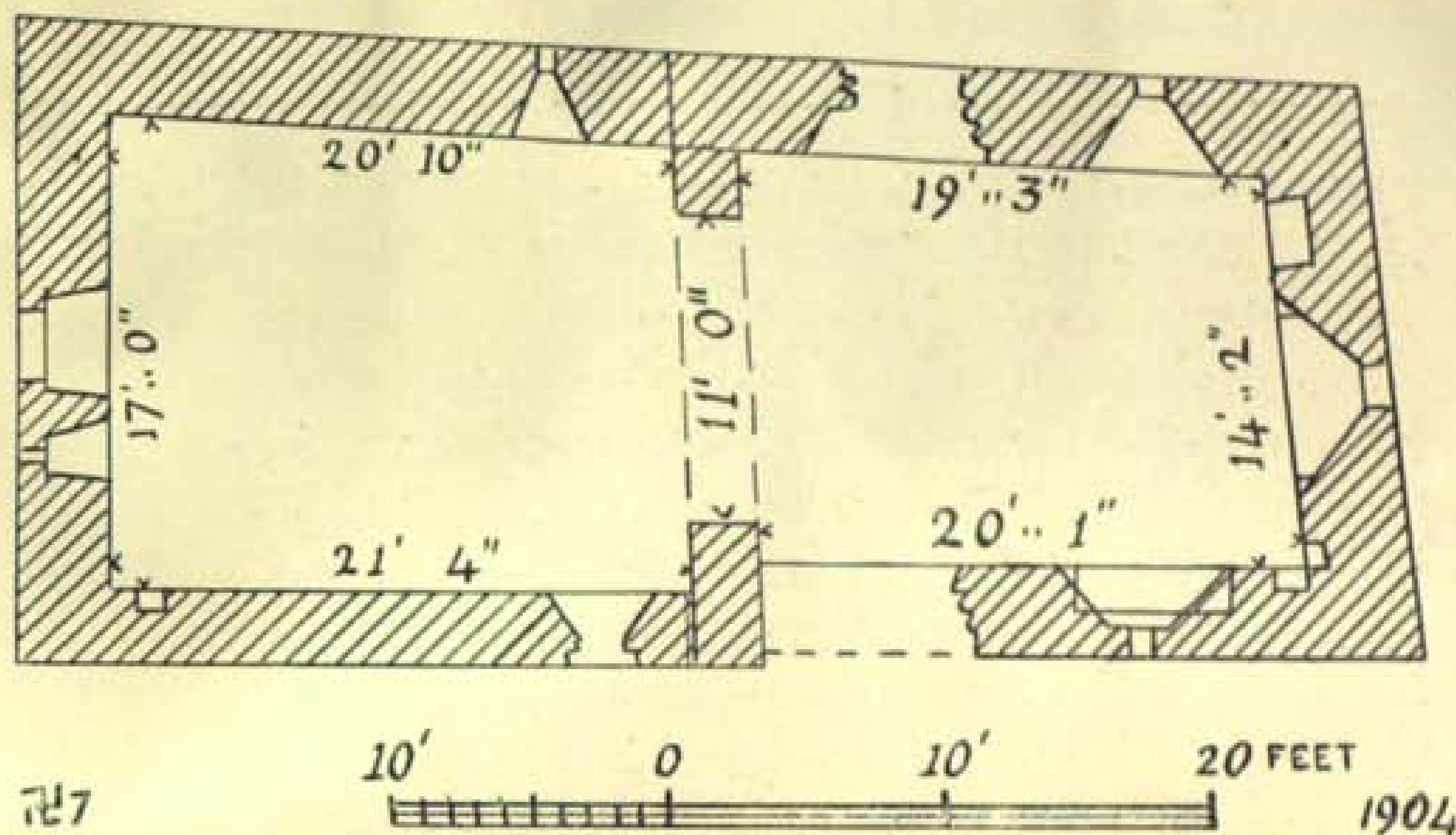
Kilmahuddrick Church.

*From a photograph by Mr. Thomas J. Westropp.*

It consists of a nave and chancel with a broad pointed arch, not bonding into the nave walls which abut against it, and with sockets for a screen or rood beam. The building is extremely off the square. The chancel varies from nineteen feet three inches at the northern, to twenty feet one inch at the southern wall, and is fourteen feet two inches wide. The nave varies similarly from twenty feet ten inches to twenty-one feet four inches, and is seventeen feet wide. The walls are also of varying thickness. The features are of little beauty. In the east wall of the chancel there



are a slightly pointed high recess, an east window with slightly arched light and splay, and a low ambry. The south window has a tomb recess under the sill; the northern light is, like the southern, a mere slit. Next the chancel arch there were two arched recesses, the northern sufficiently perfect to show the remains of a window, the southern fallen. The nave has a slit light to each side of a little ambry, like the two in the south-east angle of the chancel, and a door and slit in the west end. The



Plan of Kilmahuddrick Church.

By Mr. Thomas J. Westropp.

latter is to the south of the door, and may have been a "hagio-scope," as it looks towards the altar. It does not (as elsewhere has been stated) command the door. The upper part of the west end above the door has been rebuilt with a thinner wall. The upper part of the side walls adjoining it were also rebuilt. There was a light above the west door (1).

The church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and it has been stated in a very authoritative manner that Kilmahuddrick was the birth place of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, but on this theory modern research has thrown doubt (2). The earliest record respecting the ecclesiastical history of the place is a deed executed in 1186, which records that by amicable arrangement Master Osbertus, of

(1) Cf. "Kilmahuddrick, near Clondalkin," by E. R. M'C. Dix in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxviii., p. 165.

(2) Cf. *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, vol. ii., p. 287, and *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xiii., p. 359.

Clondalkin, gave up to St. Mary's Abbey all right which he and his church had to the lands of Balichelmer and to the chapel and tithes there. Subsequently, in 1220, the church of Kilmahuddrick was stated to be in the gift of the Archbishop of Dublin, and in 1540 the church of St. Cuthbert of Kilmahuddrick, being insufficient for the support of a clergyman was, together with what was then styled the parish of Newgrange, united to Clondalkin—an arrangement that, with an unimportant exception when it was united to Tallaght, has since continued <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. i., p. 173; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 148; Regal Visitation of 1615.

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## Parish of Esker

(*i.e.*, *Eiscir*, or the sandy ridge).

This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the Townlands of Ballydowd, Ballyowen, Coldcut, Finnstown, Kishoge, and Rowlagh.

It now contains the Townlands of Ballydowd (*i.e.*, O'Dowd's town), Ballyowen (*i.e.*, the town of Owen), Coldcut, Esker North and South, Finnstown (or the town of Fyan, a family name), Glebe, Hermitage, Kishoge (*i.e.*, the little wicker causeway), Rowlagh (*i.e.*, the red land), St. Edmondsbury, and Woodville.

The objects of antiquarian interest are the ruined church and the castle of Ballyowen.

### ESKER, WITH HERMITAGE, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THE parish of Esker, with the exception of an isolated portion enclosed in the adjoining parishes of Clondalkin and Palmerston, lies between the parish of Kilmactalway and the river Liffey, and is bounded to the west by the parishes of Aderrig and Lucan, and to the east by the parishes in which the isolated portion, consisting of the townlands of Rowlagh and Coldcut, is situated. Two large demesnes known as Hermitage and Woodville lie to the north of the road from Dublin to Lucan which intersects the parish, and another demesne known as Finnstown lies within its limits to the west of a road leading from Lucan to Newcastle Lyons. Besides the modern houses which these demesnes contain, there are in the parish the remains of a castle known as Ballyowen, and the ruins of another castle formerly stood on the Finnstown lands <sup>(1)</sup>.

The lands of Esker, which are so called from their being the commencement of a ridge of sand hills which have been traced across Ireland from that point to the County Galway, formed one of the four royal manors in the County Dublin, two of which, Saggart and Newcastle, have been already noticed in this history. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was a manor house close

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<sup>(1)</sup> See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, p. 22; Cooper's Note Book.

to the church of Esker, and one of the lessees of the manor was granted by the Crown land called Liscaillah near to it for the purpose of making enclosures for cattle. The manor was then generally leased to middlemen, and amongst these appears William FitzGuido, the first Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who held Esker church in right of his deanery. About the close of that century we find the names of many persons connected with Esker, including William le White, Thomas de Coventry, Nicholas de Berkeley, Henry Kissok, whose family doubtless obtained its name from the townland of Kishoge, Adam of Esker and Dermot of Ballydowd (1).

Dermot of Ballydowd was possibly a descendant of the Irish chieftain more than once mentioned in this history, who held the title of MacGillamocholmog at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. The latter was married to a daughter of Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, and under the influence of his father-in-law, as the present Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland has told us in his paper on "The Norman Settlement in Leinster," tacitly acquiesced for a time in the establishment of the Anglo-Norman power. But later on, after Dermot Mac Murrough's death, MacGillamocholmog thought of joining the Danes in their attack on the Anglo-Norman garrison in Dublin, and it was only with difficulty that Miles Cogan, the Anglo-Norman commander, induced him to stand neutral. The wisdom of this diplomacy was proved in the result, for when MacGillamocholmog saw the Anglo-Normans gaining the day he attached himself to their side and completed the rout of the Danes. For his services he was rewarded by grants of land, including, as we have seen under Newcastle Lyons, the district of Lymerhin near Esker, and a large tract of land near Greystones, in the County Wicklow. At the latter place his descendants, who ceased to use the title of MacGillamocholmog, and were called John son of Dermot or Ralph son of John, as the case might be, had their principal residence. But in the opinion of Mr. Mills they had also a residence near Esker, and it is not impossible that it was situated on the lands of Ballydowd, and that Dermot of Ballydowd was a descendant of the last MacGillamocholmog.

A list of the tenants who held the lands of Esker from the Crown during the next three centuries would be of little interest.

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(1) Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1307, *passim*.



At first the whole manor was held from the Crown by one person, but in the sixteenth century the lands had become divided, and rent was paid by a number of tenants. In both cases the lessees' knowledge of Esker was only slight, and confined in many cases to receiving the revenues. Several religious establishments acquired property in the parish, either under the Crown or independent of it, and amongst these we find St. Mary's Abbey, whose possessions on its dissolution became merged in the lands belonging to the Crown; the Priory of the Holy Trinity, St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without New Gate, the Guild of St. Anne in St. Audoen's Church, the College of Killeen, and the Church of Esker. Of the inhabitants and their holdings it is difficult to obtain information <sup>(1)</sup>. Of the former Gregory Tweddell, who resided about the middle of the sixteenth century at Ballydowd, and is described as a yeoman and soldier, and Alderman Patrick Browne, who resided about the end of that century at Kishoge, and is described as a merchant, may perhaps be taken as typical examples; and as some indication of their surroundings, the King's meadow in Ballydowd, the King's mill in Esker, a garden called after St. Finian, the patron saint of Esker, St. Mary's half-acre, and the Ash park may be mentioned <sup>(2)</sup>.

Members of the Browne family were still resident in the parish in the beginning of the seventeenth century; in 1622 Joseph Browne was living at Finnstown, and in 1633 William Browne at Rowlagh. At the same time the castle of Ballyowen appears as a residence of importance occupied in 1620 by Christopher Taylor, to whom the rank of gentleman is given, and in 1630 by Lamerick Nottingham, whose rank was that of an esquire. The latter is stated by Archbishop Bulkeley to have been a zealous Roman Catholic, and to have shown much hospitality to the clergy of his church. At the time he made his will, in 1648, he held, besides his possessions at Ballyowen, lands and a castle at Finnstown, the mill of Esker, and the lands and castle of Nangor in Clondalkin parish. He had been twice married, first to a sister

<sup>(1)</sup> A court book used by the seneschal of the manors of Esker and Crumlin is preserved in Marsh's Library, but it only covers a period of five years, from 1592-1597.

<sup>(2)</sup> D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," pp. 645-653; Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 29, 95; Fianta Henry VIII. to Elizabeth, *passim*; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1509-1573, p. 163, and of Carew State Papers, 1589-1600, p. 189; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Mary, No. 5, Philip and Mary, No. 25, Elizabeth, Nos. 74, 81, 119, Jac. I., No. 136.

of William Sarsfield of Lucan, and secondly to a sister of Robert Ussher of Crumlin. In his will he makes special provision for the latter lady on account of "her great charge of children." In all he left fourteen, but some of them, including his eldest son William Nottingham, whom we find residing at Ballyowen in 1650, had already arrived at man's estate. At Ballydowd there was then also a castle occupied by George Forster, a member of an old Dublin mercantile family connected with St. Audoen's parish, and his children. His establishment was a large one, and amongst the forty inhabitants of the Ballydowd lands there appear a maltster, a weaver, "a knitter," and several farm servants, including "a hayward" (1).

But the most important person connected with Esker parish at that time was Robert Kennedy, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, and member of parliament for the borough of Kildare, who was created after the Restoration a baronet as Sir Robert Kennedy of Newtownmount-Kennedy, in the County Wicklow. That place, which had been previously known as Ballygarney, was his principal country residence, but he had also a small house on the lands of Kishoge, which he owned as well as other lands in Esker parish. At the time of the rebellion in 1641 Kennedy's agricultural operations at Ballygarney were on an extensive scale and much in advance of the time; but his lands in Esker parish do not appear to have been in his own hands, and in 1650 we find Kishoge occupied by Gerrard Archbold and some eighty other inhabitants. At the latter time Finnstown was occupied by a brother of Sir Robert Kennedy's, Alderman Walter Kennedy, whose relations with his brother, possibly owing to their being of different religions, do not seem to have been always of a friendly character. On the remaining lands in the parish there was no resident of importance; at Rowlagh the chief inhabitant was a weaver and at Esker a basket-maker (2).

After the Restoration the lands of Ballyowen, which during the Commonwealth had been leased by the State to Captain Francis

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(1) Exchequer Fine Rolls, and Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Car. I., No. 9; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 153; Will of Lamerick Nottingham; Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross; "History of St. Audoen's Parish," in *The Irish Builder* for 1887, p. 29.

(2) *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society*, ser. ii., vol. viii., p. 179; Depositions of 1641; Will of Alderman Walter Kennedy; *The Irish Builder* for 1889, p. 128; Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross.



Peasley, appear in possession of their former owners, the Nottinghams; and the castle, which contained five hearths, was occupied by Peter Nottingham, a younger son of Lamerick Nottingham. Ballydowd was likewise in possession of its former owners, the Forsters, and the castle, which contained like Ballyowen five hearths, was occupied by John Forster, the eldest son of its previous inhabitant. At Finnstown there was a house, with seven hearths, occupied by Mrs. Drape, and subsequently by the Countess of Fingal, and at Kishoge two houses, with four hearths each, occupied respectively by a Mr. Burton and a Mr. Harborne. The Kennedys still retained a connection with Esker as owners of a considerable portion of the lands in the parish. Sir Robert Kennedy, who died in 1668, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Sir Richard Kennedy, who, after a successful career at the Irish Bar, had been appointed second baron of the Irish Exchequer, and Alderman Walter Kennedy, who died in 1672, was succeeded by his eldest son, Christopher Kennedy. Sir Richard Kennedy, whose male line became extinct in 1710 on the death of his grandson, appears to have had a residence in Esker parish, as he mentions in his will, which was made in 1680, goods and chattels at Ballydowd; but Newtownmount Kennedy was his constant country residence, and Esker saw probably little if anything of him <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Nottinghams forfeited their property after the Revolution, and Ballyowen passed into the possession of Colonel Thomas Bellew, who was member of Parliament for Mullingar in the reign of George I. Colonel Bellew seems to have made much use of Ballyowen as a residence, and in his will, which was executed in 1733, describes his possessions there, including the contents of a certain yellow room, in great detail. He left two daughters, one married to William Sheppard and the other to Henry White, through the latter of whom he became an ancestor of the Earls of Westmeath. In case of any dispute about his property, he referred the settlement to his brother-in-law, Boleyn Whitney, a leading barrister of that time, and to Prime Serjeant Singleton, whom he thoughtfully prepared for possible developments by leaving him his sword and best case of pistols. Subsequently Ballyowen passed into the possession of a family called Rochfort <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Crown Rental; Census of 1659; Subsidy Rolls; Hearth Money Roll; Book of Survey and Distribution; Chichester House Claims; Will of Sir Richard Kennedy.

<sup>(2)</sup> Book of Postings and Sales; Return of Members of Parliament; Lodge's Peerage, vol. i., p. 249, vol. vii., p. 202; Will of Thomas Bellew.



Hermitage had been built before that time, and was then the residence of Major-General Robert Naper, one of the parliamentary representatives of the borough of Athboy. He was a younger son of Colonel James Naper of Loughcrew, who married a sister of



**The Wooden Bridge near Hermitage.**

*From a drawing by Jonathan Fisher.*

Sir William Petty, and was brother-in-law of Lieutenant-General Richard Ingoldsby, sometime a Lord Justice of Ireland, and the Right Hon. Thomas Bligh, an ancestor of the Earls of Darnley <sup>(1)</sup>. After his death in 1739 Hermitage passed into the possession of the Hon. Robert Butler, who was a brother of the first Earl of Lanesborough, and of the Hon. John Butler, mentioned in connection with Dundrum. At an early age Robert Butler had been appointed captain of the Battle-Axe Guards, and subsequently was elected member of parliament for Belturbet. While he was living at Hermitage in 1758 the smallpox broke out in the house, and the wife of his nephew, Oliver Coghill Cramer, fell a victim there to that disease three months after her marriage. Through his wife, who was a daughter of the Right Rev. Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin, an ancestor of the Earls of Wicklow, and widow of John Stoyte of Rosanna, Robert Butler became connected with

<sup>(1)</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, July 14-17, 1733; Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. ii., p. 209; Burke's "Landed Gentry," under Naper of Loughcrew; Will of Robert Naper.



the County Wicklow, and desired if he died in that county to be buried in Delgany Church. His death took place in 1763 <sup>(1)</sup>. Later on in that century we find Hermitage occupied by the Right Hon. Sir Lucius Henry O'Brien, Bart., a prominent politician of his day, whose title is now merged in the Inchiquin peerage <sup>(2)</sup>, and subsequently by the Right Hon. James FitzGerald, the silver-tongued Prime Serjeant, who has been already mentioned under Booterstown, where his death took place <sup>(3)</sup>.

Near Hermitage a spring of tepid water, as well as springs with a petrifying tendency, was discovered about the middle of the eighteenth century by Dr. Rutty <sup>(4)</sup>, and a very picturesque bridge made of rustic timber was at a later period thrown across the Liffey at that point by Lord Carhampton in order to connect Luttrellstown with the southern side of the river. Ballydowd Castle, the home of the Forster family, lay on the northern side of the Dublin road like Hermitage, to the west of which it stood, and in the middle of the eighteenth century it appears to have been occupied by the then Ulster King of Arms, John Hawkins. In the later part of that century Woodville was erected on its site, and became the residence of the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, brother of the first Earl of Leitrim. A contemporary writer, who describes the seat as "deserving the attention of the curious," says that the house was a superb structure, and that the grounds, in which there was a cottage decorated with stained glass close to the river side, were spacious and well laid out. Clements, who had served in the army and had attained to the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel, succeeded his father, the well-known Nathaniel Clements, as Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and in that capacity we find him in 1783 entertaining the Lord Lieutenant at Woodville.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1758, p. 536; *Lodge's Peerage*, vol. ii., p. 399, 400; Will of Hon. Robert Butler.

<sup>(2)</sup> Taylor and Skinner's "Map of Ireland," pp. 61, 93; G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. iv., p. 226; Falkland's "Review of the Irish House of Commons," p. 28.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hibernian Magazine* for 1797, pt. ii., p. 94.

<sup>(4)</sup> Rutty's "Mineral Waters of Ireland," pp. 301, 349, and "Natural History of County Dublin," vol. ii., p. 146; Jonathan Fisher's "Scenery of Ireland"; Rocque's Map of County Dublin; Angel's "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 261; *Lodge's Peerage*, vol. vii., p. 220; *Dublin Journal*, June 21-24, 1783.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

OF the church of Esker, which lies about a mile to the south-east of Lucan, only some fragments remain, but there are sufficient to indicate that it was, like the neighbouring one of Newcastle, a large building dating from mediæval times. The most striking features of the ruins, as shown in the picture, are the belfry gable and a window in the north wall (1). The church, as appears from an



**Esker Church.**

*From a photograph by Mr. Thomas Mason.*

entry in the Guild Book of the Carpenters, Masons, and Heliers of Dublin (2), underwent extensive repair, if not rebuilding, in the early part of the sixteenth century, and it is interesting to find that the church was roofed with wood. The method of roofing churches in Ireland in mediæval times has been a subject of doubt, but this record determines the question so far as Esker church is concerned. It states that in 1537 discord arose between two

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(1) "Antiquarian Rambles in the County Dublin," by John S. Sloane, in *The Irish Literary Gazette*, vol. ii., p. 17.

(2) See Paper by the Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland, Henry F. Berry, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxv., p. 328.



carpenters, Patrick Boshell and William Trasse, as to making the roof of Esker church. The work had been executed by the latter, and the discord arose from the fact that Boshell had been promised the contract, and that Trasse had obtained it by some unfair practice, for which he had to pay a fine both to the Guild and to his adversary.

The church of Esker, which was dedicated like Newcastle to St. Finian, was given by King John to the Church of St. Patrick, and on the establishment of the latter as a cathedral was assigned to the Dean as part of his corps. The church was served by a curate, who in the sixteenth century received the altarages, then valued at five pounds, as his stipend, and was probably allowed the use of a house belonging to the Dean, to which a park and a garden, as well as agricultural land, were attached. In the latter part of that century the church appears to have been served by the curate of Lucan, and was probably allowed to fall into disrepair. In the early part of the seventeenth century it was returned as unroofed and altogether ruinous. The parish was at that time joined to Kilmactalway and subsequently to Clondalkin, but in the eighteenth century it was united to Leixlip and Lucan, and the vicars of the Union resided in a house which had been erected on the glebe lands of Esker <sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 27 (note *g*), 29; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Fiant Elizabeth, No. 3379; Regal Visitation of 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 153; Visitation Books; also see, for copies of the inscriptions on tombstones in Esker Churchyard, *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*, vol. iii., p. 437.

## Parish of Palmerston.

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This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the Townlands of Irishtown and Palmerston.

It now contains the Townlands of Brooklawn, Fonthill, Irishtown, Johnstown, Palmerston Lower and Upper, Quarryvale, Redcowfarm, Saintlaurence, Woodfarm, and Yellow Walls.

The objects of antiquarian interest are the ruined church of Palmerston and the castle of Irishtown.

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### PALMERSTON.

THE great mansion called Palmerston House, which now forms part of the Stewart Institution for Imbecile Children, has for many generations overshadowed the village and parish of Palmerston, which lie on the Lucan road to the east of the parish of Esker. But the erection of this mansion is a comparatively recent event in the history of Palmerston, and several houses of no less importance in their day had previously stood upon the lands, although all trace of these dwellings, with the exception of the remains of the Castle of Irishtown <sup>(1)</sup>, has now disappeared.

The name Palmerston, which occurs more than once in the local nomenclature of the County Dublin, and also in that of the County Kildare, has its origin in the occupation of the lands to which the name has been given by the members of a religious house founded in connection with the Crusades of the middle ages. This house, which stood outside the western wall of the ancient City of Dublin in what is now known as Thomas Street, was modelled on a hospital established in Jerusalem about the middle of the twelfth century under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, and was founded by a palmer or pilgrim to the Holy Land, called Ailred, who is said to have been a Dane, and who appears first in 1174 as a witness to a grant made by Strongbow. In its early

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(1) See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1898, p. 122.



days the house was called the Palmers' Hospital, but before long it was recognised under the same dedicatory name as its prototype, and was styled the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate of Dublin. The active duty of the members of its community, who became ultimately merged in the Augustinian Order as crouched friars, and who were presided over by a prior, was the care of the sick, and in this work women as well as men were engaged. When the hospital became possessed of the lands now under review does not appear, but they were probably given to it in the twelfth century by the Crown, under which it held them at a yearly rent of half a mark <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist was not, however, the only establishment of the kind owning lands within the limits of the present parish of Palmerston. The townland of Saintlaurence, which lies between the village of Palmerston and that of Chapelizod, was then the site of a House for Lepers, which was dedicated to St. Laurence, and there the members of another community devoted themselves to the care of those outcasts. In connection with the history of the lands of Leopardstown, the existence in mediæval times of the Leper Hospital of St. Stephen near the ancient City of Dublin has been mentioned, and it is somewhat surprising to find that the prevalence of leprosy in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis was then so great as to require two establishments, by no means ill-endowed, for the relief of those suffering from that dreadful disease. It was no doubt brought from the Holy Land by crusaders, and its prevalence in Dublin indicates that many crusaders settled there. The Leper House of St. Laurence had a chapel attached to it, and the head of the community was styled prior, as appears from the proceedings taken in 1300 by the then head, Brother Richard, for the recovery of a rent charge on the lands of Terenure. Early in the fifteenth century this religious establishment was dissolved, and its possessions became vested in the Crown. By the latter the lands, together with the ruined chapel, were subsequently leased to various persons, and proved a valuable property owing to the profits of a fair held

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(1) "History of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist," by Edward Evans, in *The Irish Builder* for 1896, pp. 167, 192, 204; "The Works of Sir James Ware," edited by Walter Harris, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 272; "Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin," edited by Sir John Gilbert, pp. 112, 166, 285, 292, in *Rolls Series*; *Christ Church Deeds*, Nos. 1, 501; *Sweetman's Calendar*, 1252-1307, *passim*.

upon them on St. Laurence's Day—a fair which appears to have been only second in importance to that of Donnybrook <sup>(1)</sup>.

The grange of Palmerston was one of the most highly valued possessions of the Dublin monasteries in the metropolitan county, and when the dissolution of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, in common with the other religious houses, took place in 1539, there were doubtless very substantial buildings upon the lands. Later on in that century we read of "the capital house," which stood near the church, of the arched gateway through which it was approached, of the great bawn which had been built for the protection of the cattle, and of the mill and kiln in which the corn was ground and dried. In addition to their material value for agricultural purposes, the lands, owing to their proximity to the Liffey, provided then, as they do now, an attractive site for a residence, and in dry legal documents we catch a glimpse of the slade and river bank which were then covered with furze and abounded in coneys, and of the hedgerows and woods in which the pigeons, then so carefully housed, found enjoyment. The lands were not long left on the hands of the Crown without a tenant, and were finally granted to Sir John Allen, the Irish Chancellor of that day, who has been already mentioned as succeeding to lands in this district, as well as to St. Wolstan's in the County Kildare, which became his residence.

By Sir John Allen the lands of Palmerston were settled on his wife for life, with remainder to the sons of his brother, William Allen, and subsequently we find the descendants of his brother seated upon them, sending archers to the hostings, and recognised amongst the men of position in the county. Besides other children, including Katherine, who married William Locke, and whose name is inscribed on Athgoe Castle, William Allen had two sons, John and Matthew, who successively occupied Palmerston. John Allen died in 1587, and Matthew Allen died in 1589. The former married Mary Carnes, who survived him, and took as her second husband Alderman James Jans, and the latter married Annabella Martin, who also survived her first husband, and took as her second Alderman Patrick Browne, already mentioned as a resident in Esker parish. These ladies held as their dower portion

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<sup>(1)</sup> Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 253; Memoranda Roll, 7 to 9, Edw. IV., m. 1; Plea Roll, 28 Edw. I., m. 33; Christ Church Deed, No. 421; Fiant's Eliz., Nos. 316, 2426, 4409.



of the Palmerston lands, and under an arrangement made in 1601 it was agreed that Alderman Patrick Browne and his wife should build on the lands of Irishtown the castle of which remains are still to be seen <sup>(1)</sup>.

It was thought necessary even at that period that a house in such a situation should be capable of defence, and after the Rebellion "the stone house" at Irishtown was actually put to the test. Before October 1642, a garrison of ten men under the command of a sergeant had been placed in it, and in that month the sergeant and half the men were induced to join the Confederate army. The lands of Irishtown were then being farmed by a member of the Ussher family, and Mr. Ussher's representative, a yeoman called John Lawless, relates that on the night on which the sergeant left an attack was made on the castle, and that the members of the depleted garrison were able to hold it, although his master's corn in the haggard to the value of £400 and a great stable were burned <sup>(2)</sup>. Matthew Allen, who died in 1589, was succeeded by his son, John Allen. The latter married a granddaughter of Chief Justice Luttrell, a daughter of John Luttrell of Killeigh, and died in 1604. He was succeeded in his turn by his son, Matthew Allen, who died in 1645 and was buried in Palmerston Churchyard, where there is a tombstone to his memory <sup>(3)</sup>. The latter compromised himself in the Rebellion, and the lands of Palmerston, which in November, 1646, were selected as the place for the proposed meeting between Ormonde and Preston, then encamped at Lucan with the Confederate forces, were seized by the Crown, and passed out of the possession of the Allen family <sup>(4)</sup>.

The next person mentioned in connection with the lands of Palmerston is Sir Maurice Eustace, then Prime Serjeant at Law

<sup>(1)</sup> Exchequer Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, Eliz., Nos. 23, 130, 176, 202; "An Account of the Family of Alen of St. Wolstan's," by the Rev. H. L. Lyster Denny, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Society of the County Kildare*, vol. iv., pp. 95-110, 164; Haliday Manuscripts, p. 162, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, p. 37; Manuscript in Trinity College Library, F. 1, 18, p. 177; Chancery Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jac. I., No. 44.

<sup>(2)</sup> Deposition of 1641, John Lalis of Irishtown.

<sup>(3)</sup> It bears the following inscription:—"Here lyeth the body of Mathew Alen of Palmerston who departed this life July ye 14th 1645. This stone was laid here by his daughter Madam Alice Alen."

<sup>(4)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. xix., f. 572, vol. lxiii., f. 501.

and Speaker of the House of Commons in this country, and after the Restoration Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Eustace belonged to a family whose arrival in Ireland had been contemporaneous with the Anglo-Norman invasion, and whose more prominent members in past generations had been ennobled under the titles of Portlester and Baltinglas. Although, as has been mentioned in connection with the history of Monkstown, the family had been distinguished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for its adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, Eustace's father, who was "Constable of the Naas," had embraced the Reformed faith, and had sent his son to be educated in the College of the Holy Trinity near Dublin, then established less than twenty years. There Eustace greatly distinguished himself, and was finally elected a fellow and appointed lecturer in Hebrew, a language which he had made his special study, and of which he proved himself during his occupancy of that chair a master. It had been his intention to take holy orders, but ultimately he decided upon entering the legal profession, and gained admission to Lincoln's Inn in London.

On completion of the necessary course, during which he gained a high reputation for proficiency in legal knowledge, Eustace returned to his native country, and began to practise at the Irish Bar. Before long his ability and great industry attracted the notice of the Lord Chancellor of that day, Adam Viscount Loftus of Ely, who attached Eustace to his person in a confidential position, and finally recommended him to Strafford for the office of Prime Serjeant. Subsequently a coolness arose between them, but meantime Eustace had secured a new patron in Strafford, who had formed an equally high opinion of Eustace's professional attainments. Strafford had doubtless found him a useful instrument in his first Parliament, to which Eustace had been returned as member for Athy, and it was with his full approval that on the assembling of his second Parliament Eustace, who then represented the County Kildare, was called to the Speaker's Chair. On that occasion Eustace delivered a speech, which was thought at the time to be incomparable for eloquence and erudition, and received from Strafford the honour of knighthood (1).

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(1) "Some Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II.," in *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society*, ser. ii., vol. vii., p. 31.



Eustace, who kept himself clear from the events attending Strafford's downfall, and who in the troubled times that followed was ever at the right hand of that faithful servant of the Stuarts, James, first Duke of Ormonde, appears first as connected with the Palmerston lands in 1647, when woods, which then stood upon the townland of Irishtown, are described as his property. The reference to the woods is in an order for their protection issued by Ormonde in March of that year, when Dublin was in daily apprehension of being besieged by the Confederate forces, and indicates that the woods were then being pillaged by the citizens for firing, as the guards at St. James' Gate are enjoined in the order to stop any person returning to the city with wood in their possession. About that time Eustace thought fit, possibly with a view to its greater safety in those uncertain days, to transfer his property at Palmerston to the husband of one of his sisters, and two months later a royal grant was made to his brother-in-law, Henry Warren, second remembrancer of the Exchequer, of the lands of Palmerston, Saintlaurence, and Irishtown, lately belonging to Matthew Allen, who had been indicted for treason, together with all the interest therein of one James Allen, who had been declared an outlaw <sup>(1)</sup>.

The event, which Eustace then possibly foresaw, the surrender of Dublin to the Parliament, came in July, and Ormonde, having handed over the city to its new rulers, took his departure for a time from Ireland. He left behind him in Dublin many royalists, Eustace being amongst the number. The city was not so secure from attack by the Confederate forces, or so well defended by the garrison as to enable Colonel Michael Jones, who had been appointed Governor by the Parliament, to despise the services of any residents who chose to offer them in its defence, but although from expediency many royalists did so, Eustace and some others were too faithful in their allegiance to their Sovereign to recognise in any way the usurped authority. At first he and his companions were not disturbed, and during the autumn we find the cavaliers amongst them passing their time in hawking, a sport in which Eustace was only prevented joining them one day owing to a friend having taken his horse <sup>(2)</sup>. But in the following year they were placed under arrest, and Eustace was sent off to Chester, and was detained in England for seven years.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. clxiv., f. 392, 508.

<sup>(2)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. xxi., f. 453.

When the Commonwealth period opened, the principal persons returned as residents at Palmerston were William Smith, who was possibly the citizen of Dublin of that name who filled the mayoral chair no less than seven times, and Walter Archbold, an old gentleman of eighty years of age; while Irishtown castle was stated to be occupied by Edward Archbold, his wife, and a large family of stepchildren called Byrne. In addition to these, Alderman Daniel Hutchinson, one of the mayors of Dublin during the Commonwealth, had an interest in the Palmerston lands, and was represented on them by a bailiff and many farm servants (1). But later on a much more important person came to the parish, a wealthy Englishman called Thomas Vincent, who took up his abode in Irishtown castle, which in his time was returned as "a habitable house," and was rated as containing eleven chimneys. During the troubled times Vincent had become connected with Ireland as mortgagee of the estate of Edward, third Lord Blayney, whose father had died fighting against Owen O'Neill, and who with the other members of his family had been reduced to a state of destitution as a result of the rebellion. Ultimately, through the advances which he made, Vincent became owner of the estate; but Lord Blayney's brother Richard, who succeeded him as fourth Lord Blayney, by "a prudent marriage" with Vincent's eldest daughter, recovered it as his marriage portion. He secured also by special provision in his marriage settlement a home for himself and his wife, with four servants and two horses, in his father-in-law's house, and doubtless induced the latter to come to Ireland under the protection of the Cromwells, in whose favour he stood high. Vincent, who became an alderman of Dublin, and represented the Borough of Monaghan in the Restoration Parliament, enjoyed the friendship of many of his neighbours at Irishtown, including Sir John Cole of Newlands and Sir Theophilus Jones of Lucan, and resided there until his death in 1666 (2).

In his will Vincent mentions that he held Irishtown under a lease from Sir Maurice Eustace, but when this lease was made does not appear, and it was possibly not executed until after the Restoration. Eustace had, however, been permitted to return to Ireland on Henry Cromwell's appointment in 1655 as Lord Deputy.

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(1) Survey of Upper Cross and Newcastle.

(2) Census of 1659; Hearth Money Roll; Lodge's Peerage, vol. vi., p. 313; Will of Thomas Vincent.



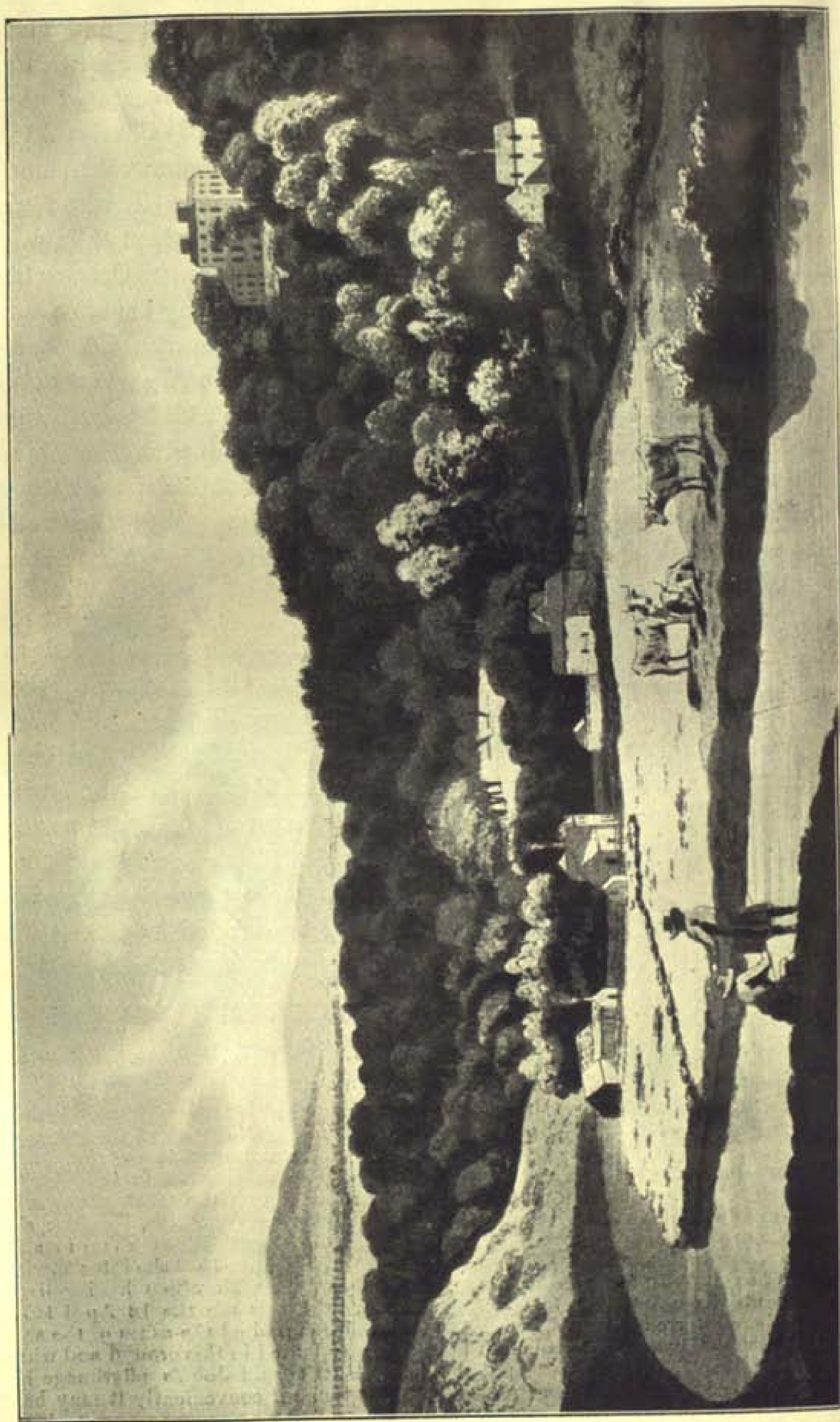
This privilege had been granted to him on the solicitation of Sir Arthur Annesley, afterwards second Viscount Valentia and first Earl of Anglesey, whose brother had married one of Eustace's nieces. Although best known as a prominent advocate of the Restoration and as a statesman in the reign of Charles II., Annesley was then a trusted servant of the Commonwealth, and through him Eustace became known to Henry Cromwell, who four years later speaks of him as an eminent lawyer, to whom "he was beholden and owed a kindness" (1). That Henry Cromwell's goodwill went so far as to allow Eustace to derive any benefit from the Palmerston property, which was returned in the Commonwealth surveys as forfeited, seems improbable; but at the same time no one else is mentioned as resident in the chief house, and Eustace seems to have maintained a connection with the place during the Commonwealth period, as we find that his sister Elinor and her husband, Edmund Keatinge, the parents of the well-known Chief Justice Keatinge, were buried in Palmerston churchyard (2).

After the Restoration a Sir Maurice Eustace is returned as occupant of the chief house, then rated as containing nine hearths, but this may have been a nephew of the great lawyer, who bore the same name and was also knighted. His uncle, who had been arrested a second time not long before the Restoration, and who appears to have been in London when that event took place, was nominated soon after the return of Charles II. as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. That office was then one of more than ordinary importance owing to the great questions to be decided in connection with the settlement, and for the first two years until the arrival in

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(1) Lansdowne Manuscripts in British Museum, 881, f. 3, and "Thurloe State Papers," vol. vii., p. 635.

(2) A monument in the ruined church bears the following inscription:—  
 "This monument is erected by John Keating, Esq. Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, second son of Edward Keating of Narraghmore in the County of Kildare by Eleanor Eustace his wife, daughter of John Eustace in the County aforesaid, Esq. in memory of the Lady Grace Shruckburgh the relict of the said Richard Shruckburgh of Shruckburgh in the County of Warwick, Knight; she was one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Holt of Aston juxta Birmingham in said County, Bart.; after some years viduity on the 27 October 1659 she intermarried with the said John, then a student at Lincoln's Inn, with whom having lived with mutual comfort and satisfaction she departed this life the 12 April 1677, and is here interred in a vault wherein are likewise deposited the ashes of the said Edward and Eleanor who had both been formerly buried in this ground and when it shall please the Almighty to put an end to his the said John's pilgrimage his desires now are that his bones may be laid by theirs if conveniently it may be." See also Will of Edmund Keating.



Palmerston House in 1798.  
 From a drawing by Jonathan Fisher.



1662 of the Duke of Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant Eustace acted also as the principal Lord Justice. Such property as he possessed before the usurpation was quickly restored to him, and in addition he acquired by purchase or royal grant fresh possessions. Amongst the former was Harristown, in the County Kildare, which had been his father's residence, and amongst the latter Chapelizod, where there was then a house far superior to the one at Palmerston. These with his town house in Dame Street, now commemorated in the modern Eustace Street, are the only houses which Eustace is known to have occupied during the brief period of life that remained to him after his appointment as Chancellor. He had accepted that office with reluctance, as he felt himself unequal to the great task that then lay before its holder, and had urged pathetically as arguments against his appointment advanced age and infirmities which had been aggravated by his restraint during the Commonwealth. The result proved that his judgment of his own powers was a sound one. As Chancellor he failed completely to maintain the high reputation which he had gained in earlier life, and three years after his appointment broke down under the responsibilities of his great office. After a time some measure of strength was restored to him, and Eustace was able to resume the discharge of his duties. The improvement in his health was only as the flickering of a candle before it is burned out, and after a pitiful struggle with increasing weakness, Eustace succumbed in 1665 to an attack of palsy. Eustace had married in 1633 a daughter of Sir Robert Dixon, an ancestor of Sir Kildare Dixon Borrowes, Bart., but left no legitimate children. He appears to have been succeeded at Palmerston by his nephew and namesake, Sir Maurice Eustace, already mentioned as a possible resident in the chief house <sup>(1)</sup>.

But the year after Eustace's death a new owner appears at Palmerston in the person of Sir John Temple, who filled the office of Solicitor-General for Ireland during the reign of Charles II. His possession of the Palmerston lands was due to mortgages which had been placed upon them before the rebellion by Matthew Allen in favour of Arthur White, a younger son of Sir Nicholas White the second of Leixlip. Arthur White had died in 1648 at Beaumaris, and had bequeathed the mortgages to his

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<sup>(1)</sup> Hearth Money Roll, and paper on Irish Judiciary of Charles II., already quoted.

elder brother, another Nicholas White, who after the Restoration had established his right to them before the Court of Claims, and had sold them to Sir John Temple. The value of the lands over the mortgages had been assigned towards the payment of the arrears due to the officers who had served in Ireland under Charles I., and Sir John Temple, who as mortgagee had prior right of redemption on paying that sum, a comparatively small one, became absolute owner of Palmerston (1).

Sir John Temple was a distinguished member of a most distinguished family. Sir William Temple, the favourite secretary of the accomplished and gallant Sir Philip Sidney, who became Provost of Trinity College, was his grandfather, Sir John Temple, the historian of the Irish Rebellion, who for nearly forty years, undisturbed by King or Parliament, served the State in this country as Master of the Rolls, was his father, and that statesman of incomparable reputation in his day, Sir William Temple, the patron of Swift, was his elder brother. From him descended a Prime Minister of Great Britain whose memory is still fresh, Henry Temple, third and last Viscount Palmerston—a title which was conferred on Sir John Temple's son, and which is remarkable for a duration of nearly a century and a half, although only held by three persons. In writing of the branch of the Temple family to which the Prime Minister belonged, it has been remarked that it was little allied with the higher nobility, but frequently with the leading families of the commercial class, and that its members, who remained thoroughly English in spite of their connection with Ireland, enjoyed nearly uninterrupted intellectual distinction for three centuries with a pervading likeness of character in their practicability as statesmen or lawyers, in their fondness for literature, in which they were sometimes famous, and their success as men of the world without loss of higher attributes (2).

Sir John Temple the younger was born in 1632. His father was then resident in England, where he held some position in the Court of Charles I., which the friendship of Sir Philip Sidney's family had doubtless obtained for him, and it was not until nine years later, on his appointment as Master of the Rolls, that

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(1) Certificates of Adventurers, &c., Roll viii., m. 3; Will of Arthur White.

(2) "The Family of Temple," in *The Herald and Genealogist*, edited by J. Gough Nichols, vol. iii., pp. 385-410.



his father came to Ireland. Of Temple's early education nothing is known. It is possible that it may have been partly conducted like that of his illustrious brother by his maternal uncle, Dr. Henry Hammond, a divine no less remarkable for his devotion to the royal cause than for his learning, and certainly Temple appears to have been more imbued with the opinions of his uncle than with those of his father. At the early age of eighteen Temple entered Lincoln's Inn as a law student, and fortunately for himself had been called to the Bar a few years before the Restoration. He was thus eligible to fill the office of Solicitor-General for Ireland, to which he was at once appointed by Charles II. His selection for that office was in a great measure the result of the assistance which his father had given towards the return of the King, but Temple soon proved his fitness for the post. In the Irish Parliament, to which he had been returned as member for the Borough of Carlow, near which his father had his country seat, his talents were specially conspicuous, and during the absence of the Speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in England, Temple, although then not thirty years of age, was called to take his place in the Speaker's Chair, a position for which he was again designated in 1678, when the Duke of Ormonde contemplated summoning a parliament in Dublin. As an adviser of the Crown he gave the utmost satisfaction, and the Duke of Ormonde, who conferred on him in 1663 the honour of knighthood, speaks of him then as a man of extraordinary parts and of signal affection for the King's service.

Palmerston became Temple's country residence, and from thence many of his letters to the Duke of Ormonde are dated. He was much consulted by the latter about his private as well as public affairs, and as years went on the Duke relied more and more on his advice. In England, which he visited from time to time, Temple became well known. It is said that Dr. Sheldon, when Archbishop of Canterbury, paid him the compliment, a singular one as it has been remarked for an ecclesiastic to make, "that he had the curse of the Gospel because all men spoke well of him," and so great did his legal reputation become that his appointment to the English Attorney-Generalship was actually contemplated. He could more than once have obtained high judicial place in this country, but the law officerships were then far more lucrative than the chief justiceships, and, following the example of the Attorney-General, Sir William Domvile, as mentioned in connection with the

latter's residence at Loughlinstown, it was not until two years after the accession of James II. that Temple closed what is a still unparalleled term of office as Solicitor-General. On the arrival of William III., Temple became his chief adviser with regard to Irish affairs, and after the Battle of the Boyne was appointed Attorney-General for Ireland. It was, however, then evidently his desire to reside in England, probably in order to gain for his family the advantage of being more immediately under the ægis of his mighty brother's name. He avoided being elected Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, a position which it was wished he should accept, by going to England and not seeking a seat in the Irish Parliament, and about the same time he sold a grant of the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls which had been given to him. Finally, five years later, he resigned his office and permanently took up his residence near London, at East Sheen, where in 1705 he died (1).

Palmerston saw the Temples no more. From that time Sir John Temple's family became completely identified with England, where his youngest daughters made great matches, one of them, the Countess of Portland, attaining celebrity as governess of the daughters of George II. At the time of Sir John Temple's death his house at Palmerston was temporarily occupied by Sir Richard Cox, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who followed during an eventful life the varied paths of a lawyer, soldier, statesman, and author with equal success, and was unquestionably one of the ablest Irishmen of his day (2). But not long after Sir John Temple's death, his son, although he subsequently took his title from the place, disposed of his principal interest in Palmerston to Robert Wilcocks, a gentleman of large fortune, who was connected with Mountmellick, where he directed his body should be interred with all possible funeral pomp. Wilcocks died while living at Palmerston in 1711, and as he left no issue, bequeathed his property there to a nephew and namesake, whom he desired should be educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and should adopt the legal profession (3).

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(1) "Some Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II." in *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society*, ser. ii., vol. ix., p. 91; Letters in possession of the Marquis of Ormonde.

(2) Will of Sir John Temple.

(3) Will of Robert Wilcocks.



The fair on St. Laurence's day still survived in the eighteenth century as a relic of the Leper House. It had become known as Palmerston Fair, and was a place of great resort for Dublin citizens. Like Donnybrook Fair, it was often the scene of disgraceful occurrences. There in the year 1737 the Ormond and Liberty boys, two noted factions at the time, met and engaged, as we are told, with the result that several of them were wounded, and one man, whose legs had to be amputated, died next day <sup>(1)</sup>. Houses of entertainment, needless to say, then flourished in the village, and amongst the names given to them we find the sign of the Swan, the Red Lion, the Black Bull, and the White Swan. There were also various industrial undertakings at Palmerston, as indicated in the existence of the French Mill and Linen Mill, the Plating Mill, the Brickfields, the Logwood Mill, and the Big Skin Mill <sup>(2)</sup>.

The most important event in the eighteenth century history of Palmerston was the arrival of the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, then Prime Serjeant at Law in Ireland and subsequently Provost of Trinity College and Secretary of State in this country, as occupant of Palmerston House. This occurred about the year 1763, when Hutchinson purchased from Robert Wilcocks and his son, who bore the same name, their fee simple interest in the Palmerston lands, together with all buildings and improvements thereon. It is curious to notice in the long list of offices then thought necessary adjuncts of a country residence the existence of a pigeon house, a cider house, and a granary, and to find the ownership of pews in Chapelizod Church considered worthy of transfer by a formal deed <sup>(3)</sup>. Hutchinson was then at a height of fame which it is now difficult to understand. The satires upon him have survived, the calm judgment of disinterested spectators has been forgotten. No member was ever more extolled and more in fashion, says Francis Hardy, who had no inclination to be a friendly critic, than Hutchinson on his first appearance in the House of Commons as member for the City of Cork. His impressive and graceful oratory, which owed much to the teaching of that master of elocution, James Quin the actor, captivated

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Dublin Intelligence*, August 12, 1729; *Dublin News Letter*, August 9-13, 1737.

<sup>(2)</sup> Leases in Registry of Deeds Office.

<sup>(3)</sup> Registry of Deeds, Lib. 220, p. 563.

every hearer. As one "who could go out in all weathers" he was found inestimable as a supporter of the Government, and was considered to have had the advantage of Henry Flood in debate. At the Bar his success was equally great, and the highest honours of his profession lay within his grasp. In the acceptance of the Provostship he made the fatal mistake of his life. After a long enjoyment of parliamentary fame it was then said that he was no speaker, and after the most lucrative practice at the Bar, that he was no lawyer. But, Hardy adds, all the force of wit and talent arrayed against him could not authenticate the supposed discoveries of a want of knowledge and ability; his country thought far otherwise, and his reputation as a man of genius and an active, well-informed statesman remained undiminished to the last <sup>(1)</sup>.

The only other resident of importance in Palmerston parish at that time was the Right Hon. and Rev. Philip Smythe, fourth Viscount Strangford, whose descendants and successors in the title have made their mark in diplomacy, literature, and politics. Although Sir Thomas Smythe of Westenhanger, in the County Kent, on whom this Irish peerage was conferred by Charles I., is said to have been a person of opulent fortune, the fourth Viscount Strangford inherited only a small property from his father. The latter was educated abroad as a Roman Catholic, and married a French lady, but shortly before the birth of his son in 1715 came to Ireland, and having conformed to the Established Church took his seat in the Irish House of Lords. Although his will is written in French, he appears to have been able to take part in the politics of his day as a supporter of the English interest, and probably made friends who helped his son. The fourth Viscount, who was only a child at the time of his father's death, entered the Irish Church at an early age, but owing to the unhappy combination of ecclesiastic and legislator, reflected little credit on his profession. Perhaps the most remarkable event in his career was the fact that when only four years in Holy Orders he was nominated by the Crown to the Deanery of St. Patrick's on the death of Swift, but his nomination owing to the opposition of the Chapter was

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<sup>(1)</sup> "Memoirs of James, Earl of Charlemont," by Francis Hardy, vol. ii., p. 141; but *cf.* "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxv., p. 376, and authorities there quoted.



afterwards cancelled. His death took place at Palmerston in 1787, and he was buried at Castleknock, where several members of his family were also subsequently interred <sup>(1)</sup>.

The stately residence which is still to be seen at Palmerston amongst the buildings of the Stewart Institute was erected by Provost Hutchinson. There he endeavoured to compete in magnificence of living with his rival, Philip Tisdal, at Stillorgan, but in matters gastronomic he had to surrender the palm to Tisdal, and when he was honoured with the Viceroy's company, he sought the loan of Tisdal's renowned cook <sup>(2)</sup>. In his domestic virtues Hutchinson is said by Hardy to have been most exemplary, and his will bears touching testimony to his parental affection. In it he invokes on his children countless blessings, and from its terms it is evident that his chief pleasure in his riches and honours was the advantage which his children would derive from them. His prayers for his children have been amply answered, not only in their own success in life, but in the position to which his more remote descendants have attained. The peerage of Donoughmore, which was conferred upon Hutchinson's wife as a barony, and descended to his eldest son, in whose time the barony became merged in an earldom, has been held by a line of prominent public men, and in addition younger sons of the family have attained distinction as statesmen. Palmerston House, where Hutchinson's wife died in 1787, continued to be Hutchinson's principal residence until his own death, which took place at Buxton in 1794, and after his decease it was occupied by his descendants until the middle of the last century <sup>(3)</sup>.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE church of Palmerston, now in ruins, lies to the north of the village, between the high road from Dublin to Lucan and the River Liffey. It consists of the remains of a nave and chancel, and resembles in its principal features many of the churches

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1787, p. 280; G.E.C.'s "Complete Peerage," vol. vii., p. 275; "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. liii., pp. 193-198; Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland, vol. v., p. 379, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Archbishop Wake's *Irish Letters*, in Library of Christ Church, Oxford; Will of Endymion Smythe, Viscount Strangford; O'Keeffe's "Recollections of his Life," vol. i., p. 234.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Baratariana," p. 252.

<sup>(3)</sup> "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxv., pp. 376-381.

already described. The nave has been stated to measure twenty-nine feet by sixteen feet six inches, and the chancel fourteen feet nine inches by ten feet six inches on the inside. The walls are nearly three feet thick. The chancel arch is still standing, and the western wall, which is surmounted by a bell gable, contains a primitive square-headed doorway now built up and a large window. There is a round-headed light in the eastern wall, and a similar one in the southern wall, which also formerly contained a doorway, as a gap in the stonework indicates <sup>(1)</sup>.

The church of Palmerston was given by Milo le Bret, who has been mentioned in the history of Rathfarnham as the first Anglo-Norman owner of that place, to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without Newgate, and about the year 1220 the church is returned as being in the possession of the Prior and the brethren of the Hospital. At the close of that century, when Palmerston was valued at ten marks, the tithes were considered insufficient to pay a chaplain. In the fifteenth century the church was doubtless used, as we find more than one bequest left to it, but after the dissolution of the religious houses there is no mention of service being held in it. During the sixteenth century the tithes were leased to various lay owners without any provision for the supply of a chaplain, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century it was placed in charge of clergymen holding other cures. Thus it was held in 1615 by the Rev. Simon Swayne, in 1629 by the Rev. John Lenox, in 1639 by the Rev. Thomas Chantrell, and in 1643 by the Rev. Gilbert Deane, who with the exception of Chantrell were in charge of Ballyfermct <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> See "Ante Norman Churches in the County Dublin," by W. F. Wakeman, in *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xxii., p. 105, and Volume of Sketches by W. F. Wakeman, in possession of the Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Liber Niger*, p. 37; "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Christ Church Deed, No. 150; Berry's Register of Dublin Wills, 1457-1483, pp. 90, 134, 135; *Fiant*s Henry VIII., *passim*; Regal Visitation of 1615; "Liber Munerum," pt. v., p. 108; Visitation Books.

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## Parish of Ballyfermot

(i.e., *Dermot's town*).

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This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the townlands of Ballyfermot and Gallanstown.

It now contains the townlands of Ballyfermot Upper and Lower, Blackditch, and Gallanstown (i.e. the town of the pillar stone).

The only object of antiquarian interest is the ruined church.

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### BALLYFERMOT.

NEAR the ruined church of Ballyfermot, which lies to the south of Palmerston, there stood in the early part of the nineteenth century, as shown in a sketch by the late Mr. Wakeman, which is here reproduced, a ruined castle. No trace of it is now to be found, and the only remains of old buildings in the vicinity of the church are a curious brick wall built with alcoves for the protection of fruit trees, and an artificial fish pond partly faced with cut stone <sup>(1)</sup>.

It is probable from their name that the lands of Ballyfermot were portion of the property left after the Anglo-Norman conquest in possession of the Irish chief MacGillamocholmog, as mentioned under Esker, but the earliest owners of whom record has been found are William Fitzwilliam and Avicia his wife, who before 1307 assigned a third of the manor of Ballyfermot to Thomas Cantock, Bishop of Emly and Chancellor of Ireland. After the Fitzwilliams Robert de Clahull, a member of the family to which Dundrum then belonged, appears as owner of the manor. He had an only son Thomas, who died without issue, and six daughters, Johanna, Avicia, who married Philip de Cantelupe, Nichola, who married Wolfran, son of Reginald de Barnewall, the owner of the adjoining manor of Drimnagh, Anna, who married Philip Fitz Thomas, Alianor, who married John Coterel, and Alice,

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<sup>(1)</sup> See "The Lesser Castles in the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1898, pp. 168, 177; Volume of Sketches, by W. F. Wakeman, in possession of the Royal Irish Academy; Sketches by G. V. du Noyer, in possession of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; Cooper's Note Book.

who married Richard Coterel. After Robert de Clahull's death, which occurred before 1327, the manor of Ballyfermot was for a time divided amongst his daughters, but eventually came, together with the manor of Balrothery in the northern part of the County Dublin, which the de Clahulls also owned, into possession of Wolfran de Barnewall's son, and was held subsequently by the owners of Drimnagh for many generations <sup>(1)</sup>.

Amongst other persons connected with the place at that period were Stephen and his son Richard of Ballyfermot in 1290, and Robert son of Robert Burnell in 1339. The lands of Blackditch then belonged to the see of Dublin. In 1334, when they were partly tilled and partly stocked with cattle, they were in the hands of the Archbishop, but a century later, in 1435, they were leased, under the name of Balimknegan, to Thomas Sanguine, a Dublin butcher, one of the fields being then described as "the baron's mede," and one of the boundaries as "the trench," whence arose doubtless the townland name Blackditch. The lands of Gallans-town, which formed a manor, were also ecclesiastical property. In 1441 they were in possession of the Bishop of Killaloe, Thomas O'Ghanelan, but he was found to be "Irish of the Irish nation and an enemy of the King," and before long the lands became the property of St. Mary's Abbey, which held them until the dissolution of the religious houses <sup>(2)</sup>.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the manor of Ballyfermot, together with that of Balrothery, was in the custody of Sir Nicholas Gernon, but later on in that century, in 1392, both these manors appear as possessions of Wolfran de Barnewall's son Reginald. From that time the Barnewalls are frequently referred to in connection with Ballyfermot; but of the inhabitants only a glimpse now and then can be caught. In 1395 Richard Butler, who was pardoned for killing one William Horsley in self defence, was living there, and in 1451 John Barnewall was a resident. Coming down to Elizabethan times we find the castle of Ballyfermot occupied in 1562 by Luke Dillon, an eminent lawyer, who afterwards became Chief Baron of

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<sup>(1)</sup> Patent Rolls, p. 11; Plea Roll, 1 Edw. III., m. 2; 13 Edw. III., m. 8; Memoranda Roll, 1 to 30 Edw. III., Nos. 49, 50.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sweetman's Calendar, 1285-1292, p. 156; 1293-1301, pp. 26, 101; Memoranda Roll, 17 Edw. II., m. 24; Liber Niger, p. 370; Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. i., pp. xxxiv., 313; vol. ii., pp. 19, 60.



the Exchequer, and is well known in connection with the history of his time; and in 1578 by Richard Wespey. At that time portion of the Ballyfermot lands, which in the fourteenth century had belonged to Robert Burnell and had descended from him to



**Ballyfermot Castle.**

*From a drawing by W. F. Wakeman.*

the Burnells of Balgriffin, were in the possession of the Crown owing to the attainder of the Balgriffin family, and were held under the Crown by Thady Duffe, an alderman of Dublin, who was succeeded in occupation of them by several generations of his family <sup>(1)</sup>.

Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign the most important resident in Ballyfermot Castle appears in the person of Sir Robert Newcomen, the founder of a family which was prominent in Ireland for more than two centuries and whose last representative was elevated to the peerage. Newcomen was an Englishman, the son of a Government official in London, and came to this country about 1585 in the commissariat service. He acted at first as deputy to the chief officer George Beverly, and afterwards as variously styled surveyor and purveyor of her Majesty's victuals in Ireland. His duties were arduous as well as responsible, but Newcomen succeeded in overcoming difficulties which arose no less from the scarcity of provisions in this country than from the uncertainty of communication with England. Both the English and Irish Councils joined in a chorus of praise of "his fruitful success in executing his business," and bore testimony to his

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<sup>(1)</sup> Memoranda Roll, 38 Edward III., m. 31; Patent Roll, p. 152; Fiant, Edward VI., No. 1196; Elizabeth, Nos. 435, 2963; Monck Mason's Collection in British Museum, Egerton, 1773, f. 171; Decrees of Court of Claims, vol. iv., f. 208.

integrity and discretion. These good qualities led Lord Mountjoy while Lord Deputy to select Newcomen as one of his staff on all his expeditions in Ireland, and it was said—a rare thing in those days—that Newcomen's name had never been brought into question for any misdemeanour <sup>(1)</sup>. In 1605 the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him, in 1613 he was returned to parliament as member for Kilbeggan, and in 1623, when he had acquired further distinction as one of the Ulster undertakers, he was created a baronet.

Newcomen doubtless owed his advancement partly to the family connections which he made. He was married three times, in each case under advantageous circumstances from a worldly point of view, but particularly in the first, as the lady was the daughter of one in a position to promote Newcomen's interests, Thomas Molyneux, the founder of the Castle Dillon family, who came to this country in the same service as Newcomen and became Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. In addition, through the marriages of his eldest son and daughter to children of Sir William Ussher of Donnybrook, Newcomen was allied to that powerful and widespreading family. On his death in 1629 Sir Robert Newcomen was succeeded at Ballyfermot by his eldest son, who bore the name of his old chief, Beverly. Sir Beverly Newcomen had entered the army at an early age. At that period the navy drew its officers from the land force, and before long Sir Beverly Newcomen was attracted to the sea service and became commander of the ships guarding the Irish coasts. He is said to have possessed great knowledge of these seas and to have banished the pirates by whom they were then infested. Owing to the high reputation which he obtained as a bold and energetic officer he received the honour of knighthood and was appointed admiral of Ireland. In spite of what seems to have been, judging from his letters, a defective education even for those times, Newcomen took a leading place in civil as well as in military affairs, and sat in the Irish parliament, first with his father for Kilbeggan and afterwards for Tralee <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1586-1647, *passim*; but *cf.* with regard to Sir Robert Newcomen's character, a paper by Mr. Litton Falkiner on Barnaby Rich's Remembrances of the State of Ireland, 1612, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvi., sec. C, p. 132. There is reason to think that Rich's statements may have been actuated, as in other cases, by jealousy.

<sup>(2)</sup> G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. i., pp. 254, 255; Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," pp. 399, 405; Return of Members of Parliament.



When engaged in sounding Waterford harbour in 1637 Sir Beverly met an untimely fate and was drowned. By his wife Margaret Ussher he had two children, a son who was drowned with him, and a daughter who succeeded him at Ballyfermot. She was twice married, first as his second wife to the eldest son of Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices at the time of the rebellion, who has been already mentioned in this history, and will be again referred to in connection with the parish of Clondalkin in which he had a residence; and secondly to Sir Hubert Adrian, who was mayor of Dublin in the Restoration year 1660, and seems to have then assumed the additional name of Verveer. He died in 1665, and subsequently we find his widow involved in litigation with a mortgagee regarding Ballyfermot (1).

Besides the Castle of Ballyfermot, which was rated as containing ten hearths and as occupied by Sir Hubert Adrian-Verveer, there were about the time of the Restoration some twenty other houses in the parish, the population of which was returned as about ninety. Only two of these houses contained more than one hearth; one of them, "a castle like house with the ruins of a gate house near it" on the lands of Gallanstown, was occupied by Richard Styles and subsequently by "the widow Waterhouse," and the other was occupied by William Carden. Before that time the Barnewalls had lost all interest in the Ballyfermot lands, and besides the Adrian-Verveers, Lady Ryves, widow of Sir William Ryves, who has been mentioned in connection with Booterstown, John Exham, and Sir Henry Talbot of Templeogue appear as owners of them. Later on in the seventeenth century Sir Henry Talbot's interest passed to Sir Thomas Domvile, whose representatives subsequently became the principal proprietors in the parish (2). The castle appears to have declined rapidly in importance, and towards the close of the eighteenth century a school was kept in it by Mr. William Oulton Prossor (3).

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(1) Lodge's Peerage, vol. vii., p. 252; Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Dublin," vol. iv., pp. 181, 194, *et passim*; Chancery Decree of the year 1670.

(2) Hearth Money Roll; Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross; Down Survey Map; Census of 1659; Subsidy Rolls; Book of Distribution and Survey.

(3) *The Irish Builder* for 1898, p. 168.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE ruins of Ballyfermot Church, although those of one of the larger ruined churches in the county, the measurement being some fifty-four feet by nineteen, display no architectural feature of interest, and indicate that the structure of which they formed a portion was, like the church of Kilmactalway, of late date, with possibly more than one predecessor on its site. The advowson of the church, which is said to have been dedicated to St. Laurence, was in the thirteenth century in the possession of the adjacent Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, and so remained until the dissolution of that house in the sixteenth century. Sub-



**Ballyfermot Church.**

*From a drawing by W. P. Wakeman.*

sequently the tithes were leased by the Crown to various lay owners, including in 1608 James Hamilton, Viscount Clondeboy, by whom they were assigned to Sir Edward Blayney of Monaghan. There is no record to show the condition of the church at that time, but it was presumably in repair, as there appear in charge of it in 1615 the Rev. Simon Swayne, in 1628 the Rev. Matthew Forster, in 1629 the Rev. John Lenox, in 1639 the Rev. Thomas Humphries, and in 1643 the Rev Gilbert Deane. After the Restoration it does not appear to have been used <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 138; Patent Rolls, James I., pp. 130, 133; Regal Visitation, 1615; Liber Munerum, pt. v., pp. 107, 108; Visitation Books.



## Parish of Clondalkin

(*i.e.*, *Dolcan's meadow*).

This Parish is returned in the seventeenth century as containing the townlands of Blundelstown, Ballybane, Ballymount, Ballycheevers, Ballygaddy, Clondalkin, Clutterland, Collinstown, Carrollstown, Corkagh, Clonburrows, Colcott, Coldwell, Deansrath, Fox and Geese, Nangor, Neillstown, Newland, Priestown, Ronanstown, and Rahan.

It now contains the townlands of Ashfield, Balgaddy (*i.e.* the town of the thief), Ballybane (*i.e.*, the white town), Ballymanaggin, Ballymount Great and Little, Bawnoges (*i.e.*, the little green field), Bedlesshill, Blundelstown, Brideswell Commons, Buck-and-hounds, Bushelloaf, Cappagh (*i.e.*, the tillage land), Cheeverstown, Clonburris (*i.e.*, the meadow of the borough) Great and Little, Clondalkin, Clutterland (*i.e.*, shelter land), Colcut, Collinstown, Commons, Corkagh (*i.e.*, the marsh), Corkagh Demesne, Deansrath, Fairview, Fox-and-geese, Fox-and-geese Common, Gibraltar, Kingswood, Knockmitten (*i.e.*, Mittan's hill), Mooreenaruggan, Nangor (*i.e.*, the place of nettles), Neillstown, Newlands, Newlands Demesne, Priest Town, Raheen (*i.e.*, the little rath), Redcow, Ronanstown, and Yellowmeadows.

The objects of antiquarian interest are the round tower in Clondalkin village, two early crosses in the churchyard, and remains of the castles of Ballymount, Cheeverstown, Clondalkin, Deansrath, and Nangor.

There is a well in the parish known as St. Bridget's Well.

## CLONDALKIN.

THE parish of Clondalkin, which adjoins Ballyfermot on the east, possesses interest for the antiquary as the site of one of those remarkable buildings so often used to symbolize Irish archæology, a round tower. In addition to this round tower, one of the few remaining in a perfect condition <sup>(1)</sup>, many other relics of past ages have been discovered in the parish, which extends from the parish of Palmerston to that of Tallaght, and from the parish of Kilmactalway to that of Drimnagh, with an outlying portion containing the townland of Blundelstown, surrounded by lands in the parishes of Rathcoole

(1) "A List of the Round Towers of Ireland," by T. J. Westropp, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. 3, vol. v., pp. 294-311.

and Kilmactalway. Within its limits at places known as Ballymount, Cheeverstown, Deansrath, and Nangor, as well as at Clondalkin itself, remains of fortified dwellings are still visible <sup>(1)</sup>.

But notwithstanding these indications of stirring events in by-gone days Clondalkin and the other places within the parish add little to the history of the county. Only the slightest information is available about Clondalkin in the period preceding the Anglo-Norman invasion, the period in which the place was perhaps most famous, and after the invasion, owing to the frequent changes in the residents and number of owners in the parish, continuous narration is even more than usually difficult. Like Tallaght, Clondalkin was the site of a Celtic monastery. Of this monastery record only relates the name of its founder, St. Mochua, and the names of its chief inmates, which will be given in the ecclesiastical portion of the history of the parish. Clondalkin is also one of the few places in the county where there is known to have been a Scandinavian settlement. But there are only two references to the connection of the Norsemen with it. In 832 it is mentioned that the foreigners plundered Clondalkin, and in 865 it is stated that a fortress there, which the Scandinavians called Dun Amhlaeibh after their king, was burned by the son of Gaithen, chief of Leix, and Ciaren son of Ronan, who exhibited the heads of a hundred foreigners as the result of their prowess in the slaughter of its defenders. The only other reference to Clondalkin before the Anglo-Norman invasion is a statement that in 1071 it was again burned, but by whom is not recorded <sup>(2)</sup>.

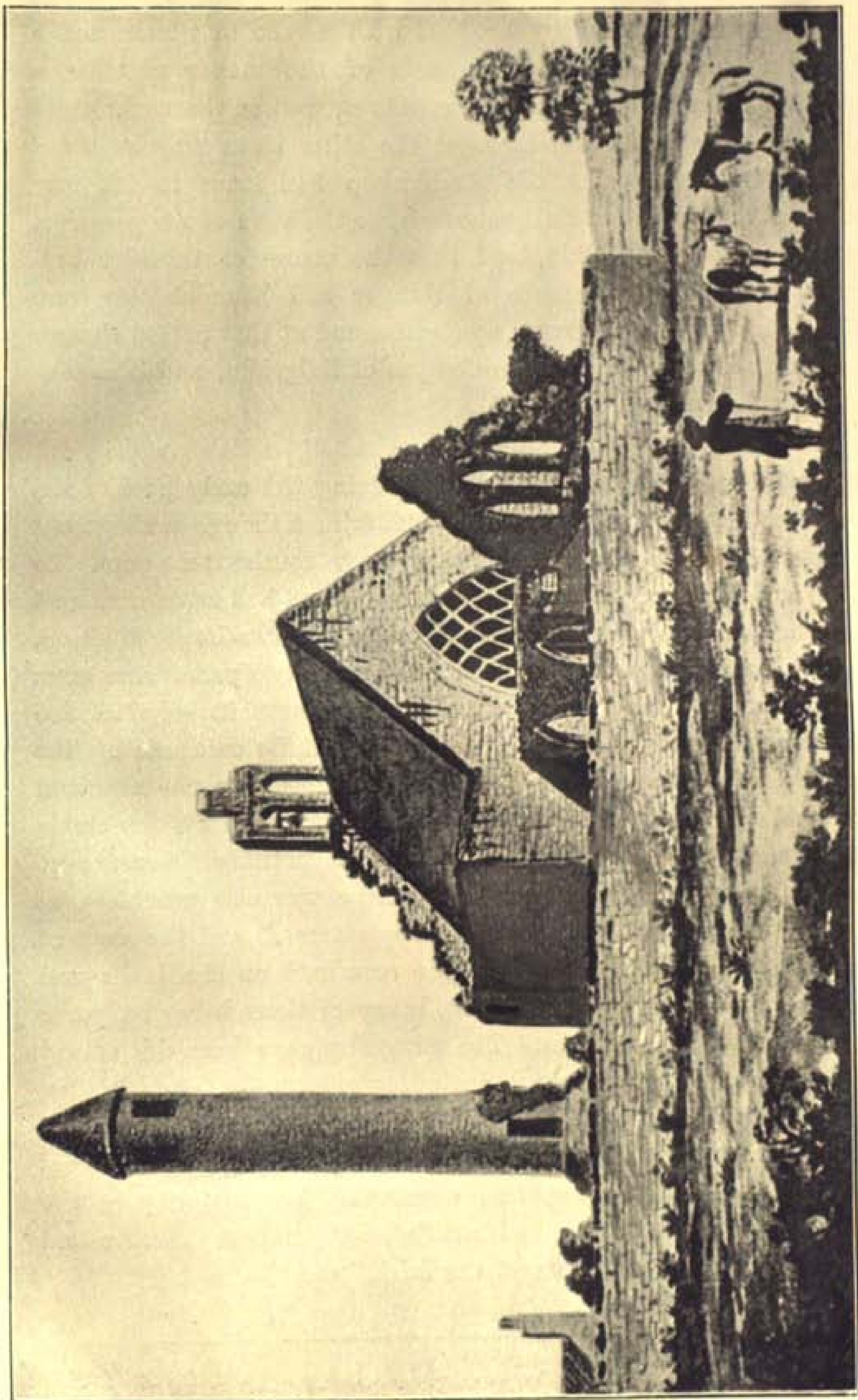
After the Anglo-Norman invasion, during which Roderic O'Connor with the Irish forces lay for a time near Clondalkin, the land belonging to the Celtic monastery passed into the possession of the Archbishop of Dublin, and Clondalkin became the centre of one of the largest manors belonging to the metropolitan see. In the thirteenth century the town had many inhabitants and was ruled by a bailiff, an office held in 1276 by one Robert Beg. As has been mentioned in connection with Tallaght, Clondalkin could furnish a strong militia force, and its trade, as shown by the existence of an official weighmaster, was considerable. A manor

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<sup>(1)</sup> See "The Lesser Castles in the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, pp. 170, 178; for 1898, pp. 9, 19, 57.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters."





Clondalkin Church, circa 1770.

*From a drawing by T. Archdeacon, in possession of the Royal Irish Academy.*

house there afforded then an occasional residence for the Archbishop, and in his absence it was left in charge of a constable, whom we find supplied by his lord with a robe in winter and a tunic in summer. In the accounts of the manor revenue is included from fines and imprisonments as well as the usual profit of the manor court, and amongst the other items may be noted receipts indicating that the Archbishop had lands in his own hands at a place called Ballymacnagh, or the town of the parsnips, as well as at Clondalkin, and that the manor contained a mill and a bog. The townlands of Nangor and Blundelstown were held directly from the Crown by service, and at that period Nangor was held with Kilbride by the Comyns of Balgriffin, and Blundelstown by Laurence Blundell (1).

The incursions of the Irish tribes during the early part of the fourteenth century were felt in Clondalkin, although perhaps not so severely as in the Archbishop's more southern manors. In 1324 Archbishop de Bicknor is stated to have had some corn and live stock, including eighty head of cattle and two hundred sheep, on his Clondalkin lands, but the survey made two years later gives the impression of a country in a great measure denuded of live stock as well as of inhabitants, and only partially cultivated. The Archbishop's residence at Clondalkin, described as a chamber and a chapel badly roofed with shingles, together with a stone stable and two thatched cottages, are valued at nothing "because no one wished to use them." The curtilage was also worthless, as well as the orchard "for want of apple trees," and the dovecot was in ruins. Only a few betaghs remained on the lands and most of the tenants were English, many of them being burgesses of the town of Clondalkin. The manor appears from this survey to have been of great extent, including a large tract which then lay "waste and uncultivated owing to the weakness of the soil," a wood which was without profit "except by making great destruction and waste," a moor, and a warren. The majority of the place names can no longer be identified, but amongst them we find Cappagh, which lay "amongst the Irish," and Corkagh (2).

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(1) Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1252, No. 1787; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v., pp. 152, 160, 161; Pipe Roll, 3 to 6 Edw. I., No. 9; Mills' Norman Settlement, p. 173; *Crede Mihi*, edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 114.

(2) Memoranda Roll, 16 & 17 Edw. II., m. 24; *Liber Niger*, pp. 730-740.



At the close of the fourteenth century Clondalkin contained no less than five streets, known as Mill Street, Steeple Street, Pope Lane, New Street, and Mahow Street. This appears from an inquisition about property assigned in 1393 to the church of Clondalkin by one John Shillingford, who gave to it not only houses in the town but also farms and a wood called the White Firs. Amongst the inhabitants we find in 1345 John FitzSimons described as late guardian of trade in Ireland who in that year returned to the Exchequer sundry standard measures and weights, including an iron-bound bushel, a brass flagon and groat, an iron ell and brass and lead weights, together with seals used for stamping those tested and found correct. The Neills, a family from whom a townland in the parish takes its name, were then prominent people in the Clondalkin neighbourhood. In 1305 two members of the family, Richard and Peter Neill, were granted liberty to use English laws, and later on, in 1355, Simon Neill, who had property in Dublin in New Street as well as at Clondalkin, claimed to be allied to the great Ulster family of his name. This claim was made in an action for trespass taken by Simon Neill, in which the defendant sheltered himself under the plea that Neill was mere Irish, and not of the free bloods. The jury found for Neill, but it is thought their finding is evidence of a desire to construe the law in favour of the natives rather than proof of noble descent in Neill.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century we find one Roger Bekeford dealing with Simon Neill's property as his grandson and heir in the female line, but the male line of the family was not extinct, and many years afterwards, in 1471, one of the name William Neill died at Clondalkin in affluent circumstances. He was a tanner, and bequeathed his tan-house and implements to his son, "Sir John Neill, clerk," although the latter was in holy orders. The residue of his goods he desires his executors, his wife Alson Cristore and his son, "having God before their eyes," to arrange and dispose of to pious uses "with all and singular which things he by these presents charges their consciences." Shortly after William Neill's death the aid of parliament was invoked by the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral with regard to a farm at Clondalkin, known as the Bay or Jesus farm, which the Archbishop of Dublin had granted to them in order that the mass of Jesus might be more honourably performed in the cathedral, and from which they had been ejected successively by John Galbarry

and Simon Harold. Proclamation was ordered to be made for the intruders, and the Court of Common Pleas was directed to try the cause, or in the event of the intruders failing to appear to reinstate the Vicars Choral. Of the occupants of the lands at that time something may be learned from the wills of two tillage farmers at Clondalkin, Nicholas Keating and John Browne, who mention crops of wheat, barley and oats, in the cultivation of which Keating employed six horses and Browne five <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the surveys and inquisition of the sixteenth century other owners of lands in Clondalkin parish, either under the Archbishop or in fee, appear, amongst them being the Friars Minor, St. Mary's Abbey, and the Dean and Economy Fund as well as the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Of these the most important was the Dean of St. Patrick's, to whom the castle of Deansrath, a fragment of which remains, and a large extent of lands belonged. Before the dissolution of the Cathedral in 1547 the Dean at that time, Edward Bassenet, "the scoundrel who surrendered the deanery to that beast Henry VIII.," as Swift says, had leased Deansrath to one of his brothers, Ffinian Bassenet, and after the dissolution the Dean was living there himself. Dean Bassenet certainly did not neglect his own interests whatever he may have done with regard to those of his Cathedral. As we have seen, in addition to Deansrath he secured for himself the possessions of St. Mary's Abbey at Kiltiernan, and he planted various members of his family on lands in the parishes of Clondalkin and Kilmactalway.

At the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign in 1532 Alexander Craik, who held the deanery of St. Patrick's together with the Bishopric of Kildare, dated more than one letter from "his poor house the Deansrath," but Dean Bassenet had carefully secured the property for his descendants, and Craik's successor, Dean Weston, was dispossessed by Dean Bassenet's son. The latter's uncle, Ffinian Bassenet, was then stated to be residing at Nangor, and it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Bassenets, who had before then retired to Wales,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Exchequer Inquisition Co. Dublin, Eliz., No. 97, Jac. I., No. 18; Memoranda Roll, 18 & 19 Edw. III., m. 51; Sweetman's Calendar, 1302-1307, No. 386; "Tenants and Agriculture near Dublin in the Fourteenth Century," by James Mills, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi., p. 56; Liber Niger, p. 400; Berry's Register of Wills, 1457-1483, pp. 94, 112, 162, 220; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 71, 90.



the country of their birth, with their Irish spoils, finally parted with their interest in Deansrath, which then reverted to St. Patrick's deanery. In 1584 that castle was occupied by William Collier, who was afterwards appointed seneschal of the King's County and knighted, and in 1596, when it is mentioned as one of the castles guarding the Pale, it was in possession of Nathaniel Smith. The family of Browne is at that period frequently mentioned in connection with Clondalkin, then considered one of the chief villages in the metropolitan county. In 1538 Nicholas Browne was leased the Jesus farm, and in 1561 Margaret Browne of Clondalkin was robbed by a kern who gained a pardon by "raising a cry" and preventing the escape of some prisoners from Dublin Castle, where he was confined. Later on Nicholas Browne, a husbandman, Christopher Browne, a chaplain, and William Browne of Rowlagh in Esker parish, are mentioned as holding lands in Clondalkin parish, and in 1632 Patrick Browne, "a great abettor and maintainer of friars and priests," was resident on the lands of Neillstown <sup>(1)</sup>.

Newlands, a seat of which some account has been given under Tallaght, and which as there stated lies partly in the parish of Clondalkin, became in the seventeenth century the principal residence in the vicinity of Clondalkin village. Before the arrival at Newlands, in the Commonwealth period, of Sir John Cole, who has been mentioned as the first resident there, a house had stood on the lands and had been for many years the country seat of two members of the illustrious Molyneux family, Samuel Molyneux and Daniel Molyneux, who were respectively appointed by Queen Elizabeth Clerk of the Works in Ireland and Ulster King of Arms. They were sons of Thomas Molyneux, sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, who has been already referred to as the father-in-law of Sir Robert Newcomen of Ballyfermot. Thomas Molyneux's career was a curious and interesting one. He was a native of Calais, which at the time of his birth in 1531 was an English possession, but on its being retaken by the French he migrated to Bruges in Flanders, where he married the daughter of a burgomaster of high repute and considerable wealth. Thence he came to England, and in 1581 we find him in Ireland, where one of his name, Edward Molyneux, had not long before filled

(<sup>1</sup>) *Fiant*s Henry VIII. to Elizabeth, *passim*; Exchequer Inquisition, Henry VIII., Co. Dublin, No. 153; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 26, 28, 29, 81, 96, 150; Chancery Decrees Repository, vol. i., p. 54; Shirley's "Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church of Ireland," pp. 108, 111; Calendar of Carew State Papers, 1589-1600, p. 189; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, p. 37; Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I., p. 65; Exchequer Fine Rolls; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 153.

the office of Clerk of the Council. Thomas Molyneux was then described as keeper of the store in Dublin, and it was not until 1590 that he appears to have been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. An attempt was made to deprive him of the latter office on the ground that he was a foreigner, but he was found to be a true and loyal subject "of Christian religion using sermons and other goodly exercises," and remained head of the Exchequer until his death. He is said to have been remarkable for his hospitality and splendid entertainments, and besides his town house in Thomas Court, rented the castle of Tallaght as a country residence from the Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, who was then residing at Rathfarnham.

It was not long after his death, which occurred in 1596, that his sons Samuel and Daniel Molyneux acquired Newlands and other adjacent property from a member of the Stanyhurst family, and their position in the neighbourhood was established by the appointment soon afterwards of Samuel Molyneux as seneschal of the Crown manors of Newcastle, Saggart, Esker and Crumlin. Samuel Molyneux is first mentioned in 1595 as "the victualler's man," and appears to have then acted as assistant to his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Newcomen, but in 1600 he was appointed Clerk of the Works, and was also sometime Marshal of the Star or Castle Chamber, an office to which it was said he was elected "without warrant and to no end." To his energy as Clerk of the Works his papers in the Library of Trinity College bear testimony, and his prominent position secured his return to the Irish parliament of 1613 as member for Mallow. He died unmarried, and it is from his brother, Daniel Molyneux, who married a daughter of Sir William Ussher of Donnybrook, that the famous philosopher, and the distinguished physician on whom a baronetcy was conferred, were descended.

Daniel Molyneux was educated at Cambridge University, and in the opinion of the great Primate Ussher was "for learning and parts a Daniel indeed." His attainments fitted him for the office of Ulster King of Arms, to which he was appointed in 1597, and in which he gained much distinction. As in the case of his brother, the Library of Trinity College contains a large collection of his papers, and also like his brother he occupied a seat in the parliament of 1613, but for a northern borough, that of Strabane. Before that parliament met we find him in London endeavouring in his official capacity to obtain parliament robes, cloth of estate, and other necessities from the English Privy Council, who did not find it convenient to attend to him as it was the time of their



summer vacation. His relations with his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Newcomen, are said to have been far from cordial, and an account is preserved of an extraordinary assault committed on him by one of Newcomen's sons-in-law. The alleged cause was a decision given by Daniel Molyneux in a question of precedence in which the assailant's wife was concerned, but from a reference in Thomas Molyneux's will to his daughter's dissatisfaction with the fortune which he had given her, it is probable that the assault arose from family disputes. Daniel Molyneux died in 1632, and appears to have closed "his pilgrimage in this vale of tears" at Newlands <sup>(1)</sup>.

About the time that the Molyneux family settled near Clondalkin a statesman already frequently noticed in the history of this part of the metropolitan county, Sir William Parsons, who played so prominent a part in the government of Ireland during the rebellion of 1641, and founded in this country the family ennobled under the title of Rosse, became seated in the parish on the lands of Ballymount. The house at Ballymount was strongly fortified, and there still remain the ruins of a great gateway forming the



**Ballymount Gateway.**

*From a photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*

<sup>(1)</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii., p. 305, *et seq.*; *The Irish Builder* for 1887, p. 101; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxviii, p. 137; *Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1509-1632, passim*; Finlayson's "Inscriptions in Christ Church Cathedral," pp. 69, 70; Wills of Thomas and Daniel Molyneux.

entrance to what must have been a curtilage of considerable extent, as well as an underground passage, probably originally constructed for drainage purposes. A mound, which stands



**The Mound at Ballymount.**

*From a photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*

near the house and from which the lands take their name, has been thought by some persons to be artificial and of very ancient construction; but this is still a matter of doubt, as is the origin of a ruined circular building by which the mound is surmounted. By Parsons the name of Ballymount was changed to Bellamont, and under the latter designation the place gave name to the manor of Bellamont, in which were included, under a grant from James I. made in 1622, not only the lands acquired by Parsons in the parish of Clondalkin, but also those belonging to him in the parishes of Saggart and Tallaght. One of the few references to Ballymount at this time occurs in the diary of the great Earl of Cork, with whom Parsons was connected through the Fentons. From this entry it appears that in 1636 the Earl's eldest son, Lord Dungarvan, sent his first child, when only a few months old, with her nurses to live there; and the Earl relates how in June of that year he rode to Ballymount with his daughter-in-law, and how they took the child away with them to Maynooth, whither they went, as he takes care to mention, by the road through Lucan.

Sir William Parsons came to Ireland, like his kinsman the Earl of Cork, with only a small amount of money, but "being plodding,



assiduous, and indefatigable, greedy of office and eager to raise a fortune," he quickly gained influence and wealth. Originally assistant to his uncle Sir Geoffrey Fenton as Surveyor-General of Ireland he succeeded in 1602 to that office ; in 1613 he was returned, as already stated, to represent the borough of Newcastle Lyons in parliament ; and in 1620 he was knighted and created a baronet. On his suggestion a court of wards was established in Ireland about the latter time, of which he became the master, and we find him urging that the guardianship of Viscount Thurles, afterwards first Duke of Ormonde, should be secured on the ground of the advantage of controlling the education of so great a person, and of the profit which would accrue to the Crown. Of Parsons' subsequent life, his prudent conduct under the Earl of Strafford, his administration of the affairs of State during the rebellion, and the differences which led to his being deprived of office and placed under arrest, the history of his time tells. After his deprivation of office he retired to England and died in 1650 in London, where he is buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. His eldest son, Richard Parsons, who married first a daughter of Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, and secondly a daughter of Sir Beverly Newcomen of Ballyfermot, died before him, and he was succeeded by Richard Parsons' eldest son by his first wife, Sir William Parsons the younger. The latter, who only survived his grandfather eight years, was residing in Ireland before his death, and describes himself as of Bellamont in his will, but probably did not reside there, as the Castle is stated to have been burned in 1646 by the Irish army <sup>(1)</sup>.

The rebellion of 1641 left its mark on Clondalkin parish, which for a time was at the mercy of the insurgents. In January, 1642, the village was burned by a troop of horse sent from Dublin, and in June of that year Sir William Parsons advised that the castle of Deansrath should be demolished "to ease the town and to help to free the country." Most of the castles in the parish were doubtless destroyed at that time. According to the Down Survey made in 1657 there stood then at Clondalkin only the stump of a castle, some thatched houses and the round tower, or a high

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<sup>(1)</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I., p. 526 ; G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. i., p. 226 ; "Lismore Papers," Ser. i., vol. iv., p. 195 ; Carte Papers, vol. xxx., f. 108 ; vol. lxxviii., f. 498 ; Wills of Sir William Parsons, senior and junior ; Manuscripts of Earl of Egmont, vol. i., p. 335, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.

watch tower as it is called, and at Neillstown the ruins of a castle with three or four cottages. The owners and residents in the parish also underwent at that time great change. Before the Commonwealth the owners included, beside the Archbishop of Dublin, the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and Sir William Parsons, two local families the Brownes and the Mileses, the Eustaces of Confey, the Talbots of Belgard and Templeogue, the Nottinghams of Ballyowen in Esker parish, and the Dillons of Cappock; and amongst the residents we find at Blundelstown Nicholas Hart, at Newlands William Clinch, and at Nangor Margaret Lock, a widow. During the Commonwealth the principal persons connected with the parish were John Foy at Clondalkin, and William Greene at Nangor, and after the Restoration we find besides Sir John Cole at Newlands, Anthony Wynne at Ballymount, John Lyons at Fox-and-Geese, John Harvey at Ballycheevers, and William Trundell at Corkagh <sup>(1)</sup>.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Newlands was occupied under a lease from Sir John Cole's son, Sir Arthur Cole, afterwards created Lord Ranelagh, by Mr. Robert Smith, who appears to have been connected with the county of Cumberland and died in 1708 <sup>(2)</sup>, and Ballymount was occupied about the same time by Mr. John Butler, a son of the famous Sir Theobald Butler, Solicitor-General in Ireland to James II. <sup>(3)</sup>. A house which stood in that century close to the ruined castle in Clondalkin village, and which bore the date 1714, and a heraldic device with a buck's head as the crest, a displayed eagle as the arms, and "*virtus omnia coronat*" as the motto, was probably erected by the Browne family, who still owned property in the parish <sup>(4)</sup>. Some of the lands which were forfeited during the revolution were purchased by Mr. Joseph Budden, one of the Commissioners for the sale of forfeited estates, and by Mr. Lewis Chaigneau, one of the French settlers then engaged in trade in Dublin. Nangor Castle was portion of the property purchased by Mr. Joseph Budden,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Manuscript in Trinity College Library, F. 2, 11, No. 3; Carte Papers, vol. iii., f. 237; Down Survey; Book of Survey and Distribution; Commonwealth Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross; Census of 1659; Hearth Money Roll; Subsidy Rolls.

<sup>(2)</sup> Will of Robert Smith.

<sup>(3)</sup> Will of John Butler; Lodge's Peerage, vol. vi., p. 234.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cooper's Note Book; Will of Stephen Browne.



and this subsequently became the country residence of his son-in-law, Mr. John Falkiner, who has been already mentioned as owner of property at Terenure under the Deane family. The existing house at Nangor, which is in the Queen Anne style, was built by Mr. Falkiner as an addition to the castle, and there he maintained a large establishment befitting one who had served as High Sheriff of his county. His only surviving son died at Nangor in 1742, and after his own death Nangor passed to his grandson, Mr. Daniel Rogers <sup>(1)</sup>. Mr. Lewis Chaigneau was succeeded at Clondalkin by his son, Mr. David Chaigneau, who with Mr. John Falkiner served frequently as churchwarden of the parish, and whose two daughters were married respectively in Clondalkin Church by his neighbour Archbishop Hoadly, to Mr. James Digges La Touche and Mr. Thomas Hassard <sup>(2)</sup>. Another resident in the parish was Mr. Edward Madden, a member of the Fermanagh family and brother of Premium Madden. Mr. Madden, who was deputy clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, resided at Whitehall, where in 1769 he died <sup>(3)</sup>. In 1763 Mr. Marinus James Kennedy died at Clondalkin in consequence, it was generally believed, of violence. He was a descendant of Alderman Walter Kennedy, who has been mentioned as a resident in Esker parish. His wife was a niece of the second Duke of Ormonde, and he was much connected with the Jacobite interest <sup>(4)</sup>.

The parish was on more than one occasion selected as the site of gunpowder mills, and was the scene of two disastrous explosions. Early in the century, in the year 1733, it is stated that "the gunpowder mills near Clondalkin were blown up, by which several persons received much damage" <sup>(5)</sup>. Fifty years later, in 1782, the foundation stone of new mills was laid in what is now known as Moyle Park under most distinguished auspices. The construction of these mills had its origin in the volunteer movement and was undertaken by Mr. William Caldbeck, a well-known barrister

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<sup>(1)</sup> Wills of Joseph Budden and John Falkiner; Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland."

<sup>(2)</sup> *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, vol. iii., pp. 434-437.

<sup>(3)</sup> Will of Edward Madden; Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland," under Madden of Hilton.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1763, p. 504; *The Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. iii., p. 610.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, Nov. 24-27, 1733.

of that time who had become a resident in the parish <sup>(1)</sup>. He was colonel of the lawyers' corps, and we are told had previously built at his own expense a foundry for casting brass cannon for the volunteers. The foundation stone of the gunpowder mills was laid on a May day by the first Earl of Charlemont, who had the assistance of Lord Delvin and of Mr. Caldbeck's neighbour at Fortfield House, Barry Yelverton, afterwards Lord Avonmore <sup>(2)</sup>. The ceremony was attended by a number of the volunteers, who had marched to Clondalkin from the Phoenix Park, where they had been reviewed, and who, after the stone was laid, were entertained by Mr. Caldbeck in his garden on "every substantial dish fitting for soldiers, with abundance of wine, Irish porter and native whiskey." The mills inaugurated with so much splendour were blown up in their turn five years afterwards with an explosion of the most terrific character. Only two lives were lost, but it is said that pieces of the building several tons in weight were found six fields away, and that the concussion was felt so severely even in Dublin that it caused the fall of a stack of chimneys on Usher's Quay <sup>(3)</sup>.

The village of Clondalkin is described by Austin Cooper as being in 1780 a very small one, but it then contained more remains than at present of ancient buildings. Besides the round tower and the mediæval church there stood, some distance to the north-west of these, a low castle used as a mill, and there were at the entrance of the town from Dublin the ruins of two castles as well as of the house which has been previously referred to as built in 1714. During the eighteenth century the Finlay family settled at Corkagh, now the most important residence in the parish, and at the close of the eighteenth century Colonel John Finlay, who afterwards represented the metropolitan county in parliament, and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzpatrick's "Sham Squire," p. 61.

<sup>(2)</sup> The stone bore on one side the following texts:—"Thus, saith the Lord, ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbours."—Jer. 34. "Again shall be heard in this place the voice of joy and the voice of gladness; Behold the day is come when I will perform the good thing which I have promised."—Jer. 33. "This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden, and the waste and ruined cities are become fenced and inhabited by men."—Ezekiel 36. On the opposite side were the words, "This first stone of the first volunteer powder mills in Ireland is now laid by the Right Honourable James, Earl of Charlemont, this 28th day of May, 1782."

<sup>(3)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1782, p. 280; for 1787, p. 278; Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., p. 267.



Arthur Wolfe, Viscount Kilwarden, then residing at Newlands, were the most prominent parishioners. As commander of the Uppercross Fusiliers Colonel Finlay was active in the volunteer movement, and during the rising under Robert Emmet in 1803 we find him applying to the Government for protection for powder mills which had been once again erected near Clondalkin (1).

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE present church of Clondalkin is comparatively modern and uninteresting, but it occupies the site of what must have been one of the finest mediæval churches in the County Dublin (2). That church adjoined the round tower, which is separated from the present church by the public road, and doubtless took the place of an early Celtic place of worship.

As has been already stated, a Celtic monastery was founded at Clondalkin by St. Mochua or Cronan, who is styled Bishop and Abbot of Clondalkin, and whose festival is celebrated on August 6th. Amongst his successors we find Ælbran Ua Lagudon who died in 781, Fearfughail who died in 789, Feidhlimidh Ua Lugadon who died in 801, Tibraide son of Rechtabhar who died in 828, Cathal son of Cormac who died in 879, Ronan son of Cathal who died in 885, Maelinmhain Ua Glascon who died in 920, Duibhinnrecht son of Ronan who died in 938, and Fiachna Ua Ronain who died in 1086. The last named is said to have assumed the abbacy in violation of the right of the son of Maeldalua, and in 1076 an army was led by the clergy of Leath Mhoga with the son of Maeldalua to expel him, with the result that a church and lands at Clondalkin were given to the Culdees, and that a fine of twelve score cows was paid to the son of Maeldalua (3).

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(1) Cooper's Note Book ; Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland," under Finlays of Corkagh ; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1779, p. 655 ; Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 320.

(2) See Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 26, note c.

(3) O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. iii., pp. 283-285 ; vol. viii., pp. 99-102 ; Annals of the Four Masters ; Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 131.

The church of Clondalkin was held, as mentioned under Kilma-huddrick, in 1186 by Master Osbertus, and at the time of the establishment of the collegiate church of St. Patrick as a cathedral, formed a prebend in that church. It was then held by William FitzGuido, who was appointed the first dean, and became portion of the corps attached to that dignity, the churches of Rathcoole and Esker being subservient to it (1). In 1324 Reginald of Clondalkin is mentioned as the chaplain, and in 1393 James Seman is described as rector (2). The mediæval church contained three altars dedicated respectively to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Bridget and St. Thomas, and was evidently a well-endowed foundation. Of this some indication is given in the will of William Neill, which has been already quoted. He left legacies to two priests, described respectively as the chaplain of the parish and St. Mary's chaplain, a chalice of sixteen ounces, which had cost five and a half marks, to the altar of St. Mary, and sums of money for the purpose of maintaining a priest for a year, of purchasing a service or lesson book, and of keeping lights on the altars of St. Bridget and St. Thomas. The other parishioners at that period also remembered the church in their wills (3).

At the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1547 the church of Clondalkin was stated to be in charge of a curate who was assigned the altarages and a messuage near the church as his salary, and Christopher Brown, who subsequently appears at Tallaght, is mentioned as the chaplain (4). The regal visitation of 1615 states that the church was then in good repair, but the vicar, Richard Bathe, had been deprived on account of his not residing, and the vicarage was sequestrated. Some years later Archbishop Bulkeley found Mr. Joseph Ware, "a master of arts and preacher," installed as vicar and diligently discharging the duty at a salary of £20 a year. The church, in the opinion of the Archbishop, was only "indifferently" repaired. Later on the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson succeeded Ware and was in possession when the Commonwealth was established (5).

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(1) "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 137; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 26.

(2) Liber Niger, p. 755; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 97.

(3) Berry's Register of Wills, 1457-1483, pp. 56, 94, 112, 163, 209.

(4) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 29; Christ Church Deed, No. 1220.

(5) Regal Visitation of 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 153; Visitation Book.



The mediæval church then fell into ruins, and at the close of the seventeenth century the parish was united to that of Tallaght. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a portion of the mediæval church was however restored, as shown in the drawing by Archdeacon, and it was served during that century by the prebendaries of Kilmactalway; in 1701 the Rev. Hugh Wilson, in 1727 the Rev. Francis Wilson, in 1743 the Rev. Sir Philip Hoby, Bart. (1), with as curate the Rev. Richard Bailey, in 1748 the Rev. William Ussher, in 1752 the Rev. William Pountney, in 1771 the Rev. John Drury with as curate the Rev. George Wogan, and in 1791 the Rev. Charles Mosse. On his visit to Clondalkin in 1780 Austin Cooper describes the church as small and neat and says it contained twelve seats. Opposite the entrance there stood the communion table, and in the centre of the church, on the left-hand side, the reading desk and pulpit. Under the communion table there was a tombstone to the memory of the "Rev. Dr. Francis Wilson," and on the wall opposite the pulpit a mural tablet, which is in the present church, to the memory of Sir Simon Bradstreet, Bart. (2). The church was surrounded by walls, and Cooper saw in the churchyard the two crosses and a stone font which are still there, as well as two tombstones with inscriptions (3).

According to a parliamentary paper the Roman Catholic Church had in 1731 a chapel in Clondalkin village as well as three chapels in private houses in the parish, and these are stated to have been served by three priests (4). This statement was, however, probably not well founded, and as we have seen under Lucan, Clondalkin parish under the Roman Catholic arrangement was then united to Lucan and has since so remained except for a brief period from 1770 to 1800. With the exception of the names of the parish priests in charge during that period, from 1770 to 1778 the Rev. C. Coleman, and from 1778 to 1800 the Rev. Thomas Maguire, the names of the parish priests will be found under Lucan.

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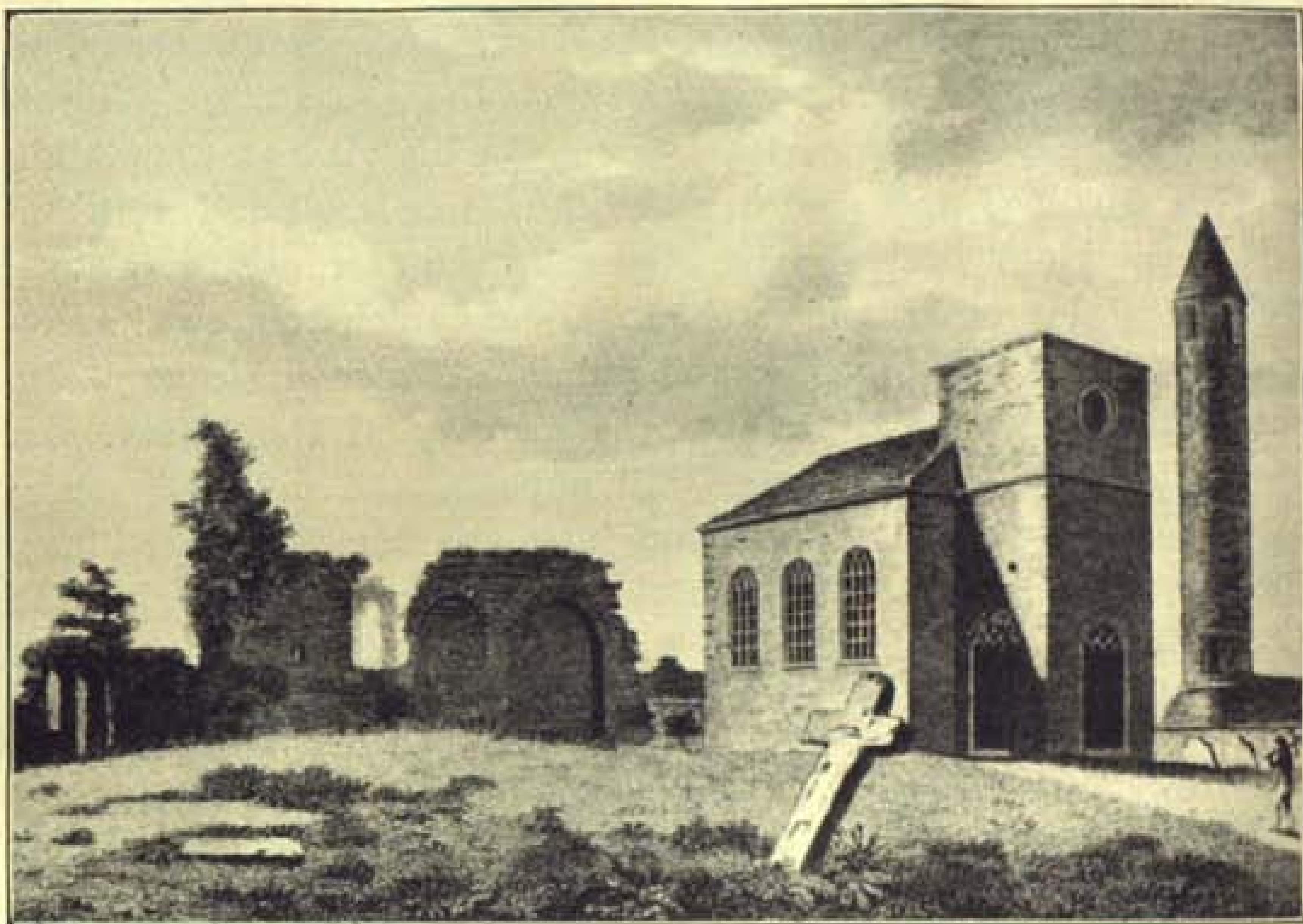
(1) See Hughes' "History of St. Werburgh's, Dublin," p. 66; and Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. ii., p. 33.

(2) Cooper describes it as "a small white marble monument, ornamented with pillars," and says there is inscribed on it a coat of arms and the following inscription:—"In the aisle near this marble is the burial-place of Sir Simon Bradstreet of Kilmainham, in the County of Dublin, Baronet, counsellor-at-law. A.D. MDCCLXI."

(3) One to Richard Mathews, who died 18th Oct., 1779, aged 75; and the other to Michael Connor, of Dublin, shoemaker, who died 18th Aug., 1673.

(4) Parliamentary Papers in Public Record Office.

The church of Clondalkin is stated in 1777 to have been in good repair, although of great antiquity, and it is mentioned that land belonging to it had then been leased to a tenant on condition that he performed all necessary painting, whitewashing, and glazing <sup>(1)</sup>. The explosion of the gunpowder mills shook, however, the ancient building, and the present church was then erected, at first taking the form depicted in the accompanying picture, and causing much



Clondalkin Church in 1792.

*From a plate in Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland."*

comment on account of its orientation not being correct. The succession of vicars since the Rev. Charles Mosse has been, in 1797 the Rev. John Grant, in 1815 the Rev. John Reade, in 1848 the Rev. David John Reade, in 1873 the Rev. William Winslow Berry, in 1890 the Rev. Ronald MacDonnell, in 1892 the Rev. Charles James Ferguson, and in 1904 the Rev. James Berkeley Bristow <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Parliamentary Papers in Public Record Office.

<sup>(2)</sup> See, for further information as to the parish, *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 434; vol. iv., pp. 32, 225; *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. v., p. 1; and *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1776, p. 310.



## Parish of Drimnagh

(i.e., *Druimneach* or the ridged lands).

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This parish consisted in the seventeenth century of the townland of Drimnagh. It now contains the townlands of Bluebell, Drimnagh, Jamestown, and Robinhood. The objects of antiquarian interest are Drimnagh castle, and a fragment of the parish church in the modern cemetery at Bluebell.

### DRIMNAGH CASTLE.

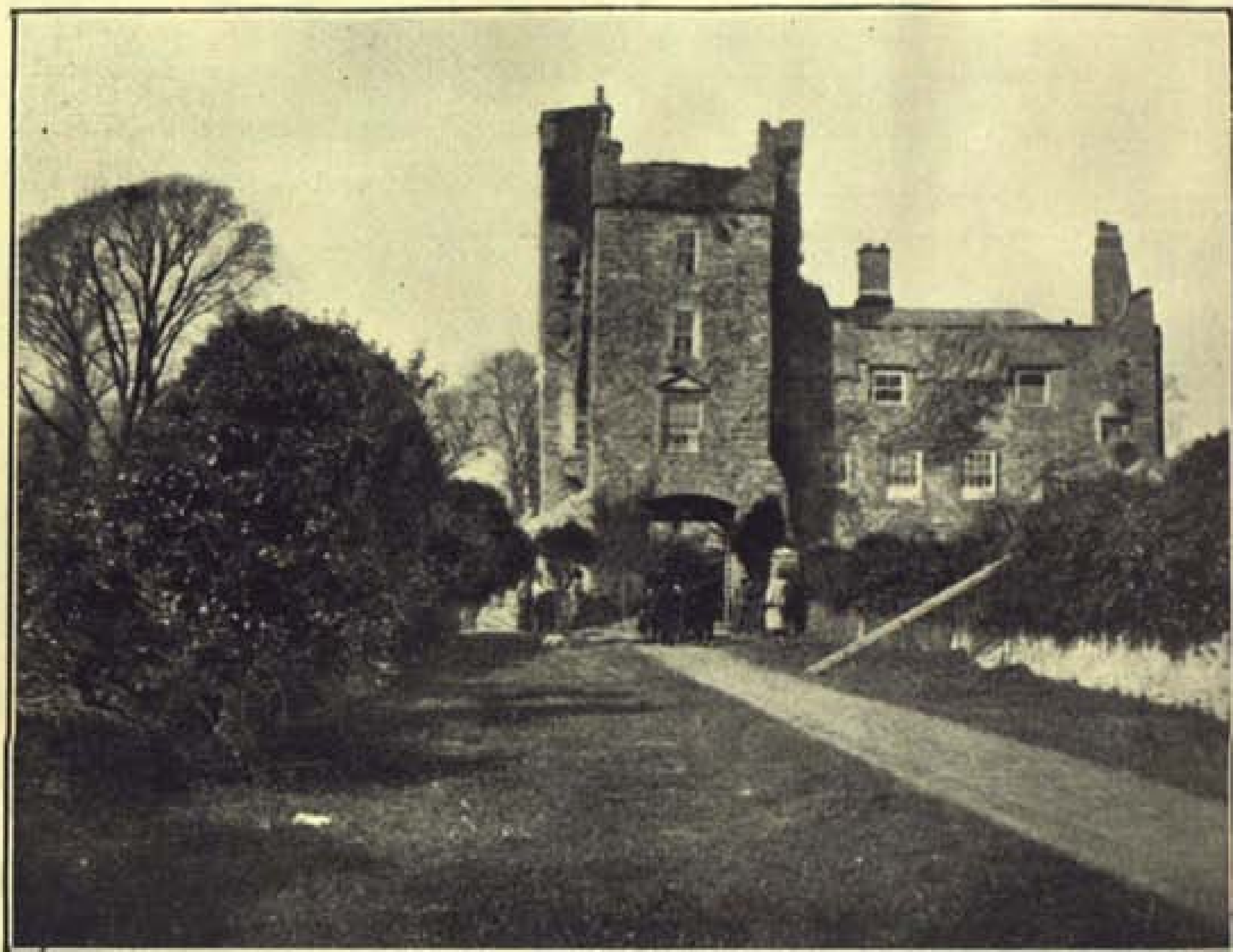
THE castle of Drimnagh stands to the east of the parishes of Clondalkin and Ballyfermot, which its lands adjoin, and lies about four miles to the south-west of Dublin between the Crumlin-road and the highway to the South of Ireland. In its present form the castle dates from Jacobean or later times, but the higher portion of the building was of much earlier origin, and is one of the oldest structures in the County Dublin still inhabited. This part of the castle is in itself a complete dwelling furnished with a staircase in one of the turrets and with a chimney flue. It is pierced with a large gateway which gave entrance to an enclosed bawn or courtyard, and was protected by a moat supplied with water from a stream called the Bluebell. Its windows were originally small and narrow, and those with which it is now lighted were doubtless inserted in the seventeenth century when the extension on the southern side was added <sup>(1)</sup>.

Drimnagh Castle was for many centuries one of the principal seats of the great Anglo-Norman family of Barnewall, which became ennobled in Ireland under the titles of Trimlestown and Kingsland, and the owners of its lands can be traced in almost unbroken succession from the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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(1) See "The Lesser Castles of the County Dublin," by E. R. M'C. Dix, in *The Irish Builder* for 1897, p. 49; also Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., p. 208; *Irish Penny Journal* for 1840, p. 337; and sketches by G. V. du Noyer in possession of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

The founders of the Barnewall family in Ireland are said to have arrived in this country at the same time as Strongbow, and to have settled in Munster at Berehaven. There we are told they were attacked by the original inhabitants, and ruthlessly slaughtered. Only one youth escaped, and according to an ancient historian, this hero, who had studied law in London, was the first of his name to possess Drimnagh. The earliest owner



**Drimnagh Castle from the front.**

*From a photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*

of Drimnagh, whose name is recorded in the State papers relating to Ireland, appears in 1216 in the person of Hugh de Barnewall, who, as already mentioned in the history of Terenure, was then granted protection for his possessions at Drimnagh and the former place. He had, however, been preceded in Ireland by another member of his family, Sir Hugh de Barnewall who, in 1209, came to this country as a messenger from King John, and in the next year accompanied that monarch in his Irish progress. Sir Hugh de Barnewall's namesake, the first recorded owner of Drimnagh, was sent to Ireland in 1212 at the King's expense, and is subsequently mentioned as giving counsel about grants of land and as acting as guardian of the persons and estates of more than one



ward. His death took place before 1221, and the lands of Drimnagh and Terenure after having been for a time in the custody of John de St. John, came into the possession of Hugh's brother, Reginald, as his next-of-kin.

At the time of Hugh de Barnewall's death Reginald Barnewall appears to have been in England, and it is not until 1223 that we find him in Ireland, where he had come on the King's service to defend Anglo-Norman rule. Afterwards we find him released from military duties in England, and given many marks of Royal favour in the form of grants of money from the Irish Exchequer. He was probably succeeded at Drimnagh by another owner of the same name, and later on it came into possession of Wolfran de Barnewall, who has been already referred to as one of the defenders in 1277 of Saggart, and as donor of a rent-charge on the lands of Terenure to the Leper Hospital of St. Laurence near Palmers-ton. Wolfran de Barnewall was for a time Constable of Dublin Castle and Sheriff of Dublin County, and in the latter capacity had the duty imposed upon him of conveying an important prisoner to Edward I., while that monarch was in Wales. He died before the close of that century, leaving by his wife Johanna a son, Reginald. The latter greatly distinguished himself in the Scottish wars of his time, in which, we are told, he served manfully <sup>(1)</sup>. As we have seen in the history of Ballyfermot, in 1316 he arranged a marriage between his son, another Wolfran de Barnewall, and Nichola, daughter of Robert de Clahull, then the owner of that place, and thus secured for his descendants not only the greater portion of the lands in Ballyfermot parish, but also large possessions in the northern part of the County Dublin. Wolfran Barnewall was succeeded in his turn by his son, Reginald Barnewall, and the latter at the time of his death, which took place before 1395, was owner, in addition to Drimnagh and Terenure, of Ballyfermot and of various lands in Fingal, including those of Bremore, Balrothery, and Balbriggan. By his wife, Katherine Bellew, Reginald Barnewall left a son, Wolfran, who in 1435 vested his lands and other property, including three houses, two mills, and a dovecot, in the hands of a trustee, Luke

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<sup>(1)</sup> Holinshed's "Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland," vol. vi., p. 55; Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1307, *passim*. Several writers of fiction have taken the inhabitants of Drimnagh Castle at this period as their subject—see "Marion of Drymnagh," by Matthew Weld Hartstonge, London, 1814; "The Bridal of Drimna," by John Christopher Fitzachary, Dublin, 1884; and "The Rose of Drimnagh," by R. D. Joyce.

Barnewall, a clergyman, for the benefit of his sons. Of those he had three, John, Reginald, and Wolfran, and in 1451 the second son is described as of Drimnagh, and the eldest, John, as of Ballyfermot. But in 1460, when he was sheriff of the county, John Barnewall was living at Drimnagh, as he was also at the time of his death. This occurred before 1482, when he was succeeded by his son Robert, who married Elizabeth Burnell <sup>(1)</sup>.

Drimnagh Castle was then one of the principal castles in the metropolitan county, with a mill and mill-race which were accounted important possessions. Its owner took high rank amongst the landed proprietors of the county, and when he died in 1535, Robert Barnewall owned no less than three manors, Drimnagh and Balrothery in the County Dublin, and Ardee in the County Louth. His property descended to his son, Edward, who was, however, little more than an infant, and during Edward's long minority Drimnagh Castle was occupied by James Bathe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who married Robert Barnewall's widow. The Chief Baron appears to have made Drimnagh his principal residence until his stepson came of age, when he removed to the seat of his own family at Drumcondra. It was in 1553 that Edward Barnewall obtained livery of his estate. A few years later we find him taking part in person as well as contributing a mounted archer and carts in the military expeditions to Ulster, and subsequently acting as one of the Commissioners of the Muster. He married a kinswoman, Elizabeth, daughter of Patrick Barnewall, of Grace Dieu, and left on his death, in 1590, two sons, Marcus and Peter. The former succeeded to Drimnagh and the latter to Terenure where, as we have seen, he was living in 1641 when the rebellion broke out <sup>(2)</sup>.

Not long after succeeding to Drimnagh Castle, Marcus Barnewall, who was twenty-eight years old at the time of his father's death, and had married, like him, a kinswoman, a sister of Robert Barnewall, of Dunbro, took steps to break the entail on the male line, under which the estate was held, as his only child was a daughter. In legal proceedings which arose after his death we

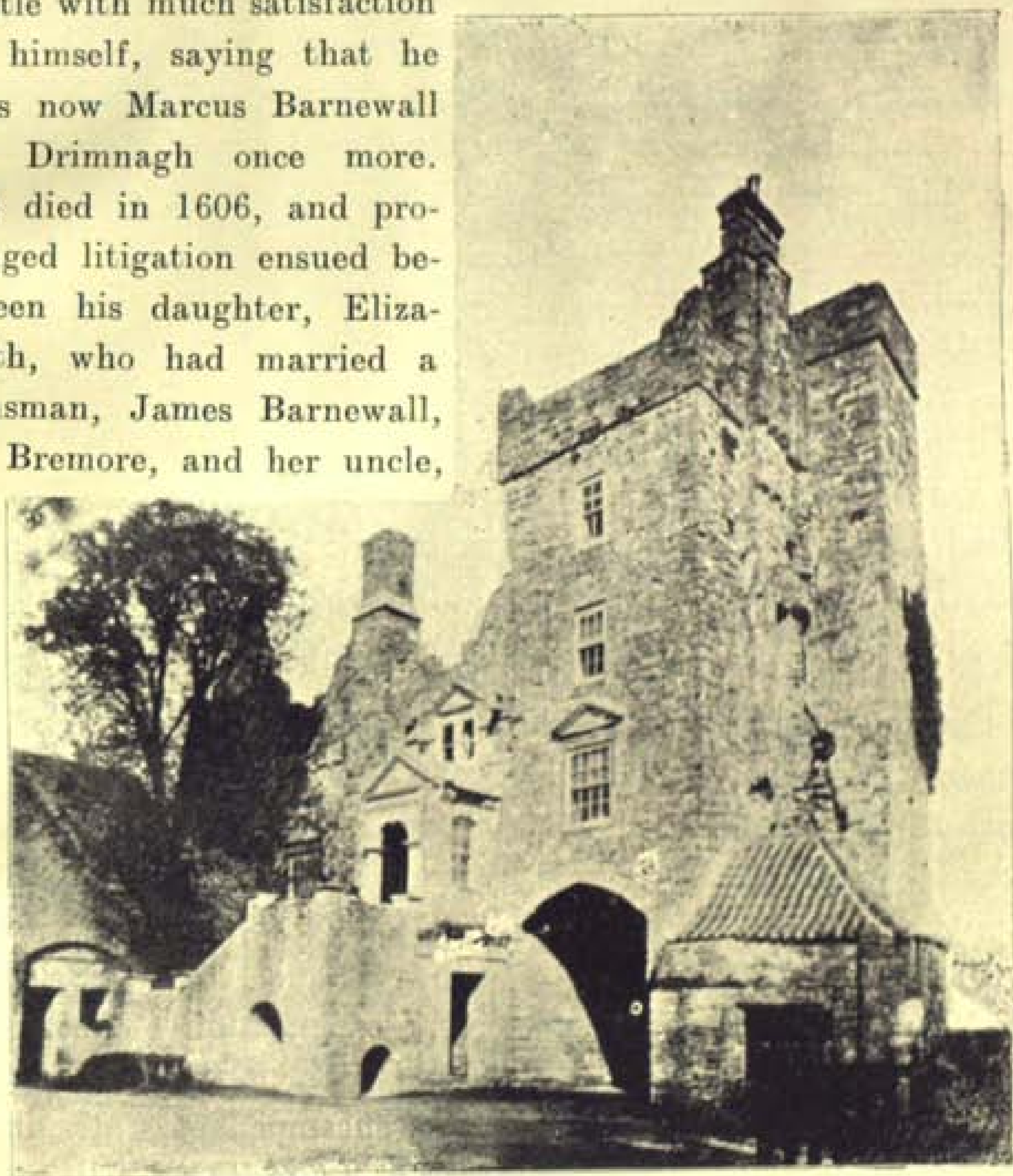
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<sup>(1)</sup> Plea Rolls and Memoranda Rolls; Patent Roll, pp. 148, 211, 257, 266; Exchequer Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, James I., Nos. 44. 64.

<sup>(2)</sup> Exchequer Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, Henry VIII., Nos. 80, 136, 199; Fiant, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Philip and Mary, *passim*; Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Monck Mason's Collection in British Museum, Egerton, 1773, f. 98; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Elizabeth, No. 198; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, p. 37.



obtain some information as to the events of his life, and find that he served, in 1597, in the expedition against the Earl of Tyrone, on which the Lord Deputy of that time, Lord Burgh, died. There are also references to the appointment of various trustees, and a long account of his recovering the estate on one occasion from some of them. We are told how he proceeded to a place then called Goodman's Hill, near his castle, and had sods cut there, and on the lands of Ballyfermot, and how after these had been given to him with sundry deeds, he returned to the castle with much satisfaction to himself, saying that he was now Marcus Barnewall of Drimnagh once more. He died in 1606, and prolonged litigation ensued between his daughter, Elizabeth, who had married a kinsman, James Barnewall, of Bremore, and her uncle,



Drimnagh Castle from the back.

Peter Barnewall, of Terenure. For a long time Peter Barnewall, who was a man of importance in the county, and was returned in 1634 as one of its representatives in Parliament, kept men near Drimnagh trying to gain entrance on the lands for him, but he was not successful, and failed to make good his claim to his brother's estate <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Patent Rolls, James I., pp. 75, 105, 111, 327 ; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1611-1614, p. 384 ; Will of Marcus Barnewall ; Return of Members of Parliament.

The castle of Drimnagh, with its lands, was then in possession of Sir Adam Loftus, afterwards appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and created a peer as Viscount Loftus of Ely, to whom it had been leased by Marcus Barnewall before his death. Sir Adam Loftus was a nephew of the famous Archbishop Loftus, the builder of Rathfarnham Castle, and it was probably the proximity of Rathfarnham to Drimnagh that led to his settling at the latter place. He had been given by his uncle, in his dual capacity of Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Archdeaconry of Glendalough, for which he had qualified by taking holy orders, and a Mastership in Chancery, and also became Vicar-General of the Dublin diocese and Judge of the Marshal Court. In these places he enjoyed the confidence of Archbishop Jones, his uncle's successor in both his great offices, and of the Lord Deputies of that time, Lord Mountjoy, by whom he was knighted, and Sir Arthur Chichester, by whom he was called to the Privy Council board. In the early part of his tenure Drimnagh Castle was doubtless much occupied by Sir Adam Loftus, who, according to Peter Barnewall, injured the place by cutting down a wood and other great timber; but subsequently Sir Adam Loftus acquired Monasterevan Abbey, now the seat of his descendant, the Earl of Drogheda, and after his appointment in 1619 as Chancellor, Drimnagh appears to have seen little of him.

In the great family cause which led to Lord Chancellor Loftus' fall under the imperious Earl of Strafford, Drimnagh is mentioned as part of the provision for his eldest son, Sir Robert Loftus, but the latter died in 1640, and by whom the castle was occupied during the troublous times that ensued does not appear (1). We find Sir William Parsons writing to Ormonde, when the latter was returning in February, 1642, from his expedition to Newcastle Lyons and Naas, to beware of the dangerous pass at Drimnagh, and Ormonde, some years later, when encamped at Rathmines, before his disastrous battle with the army of the Parliament, thought of moving his headquarters to Drimnagh, and entrenching himself there (2). During the Commonwealth the castle of Drimnagh, which was described then as an old castle made

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(1) "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxxiv., p. 77; Metcalfe's "Book of Knights," p. 212; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1599-1600, p. 421; "Additional Manuscripts of Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart.," published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.

(2) Carte Papers, vol. ii., f. 330; Carte's "Life of Ormonde," vol. iii., p. 466.



habitable, came into the possession of Philip Ferneley, Clerk of the Irish House of Commons, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army, who had married Lord Chancellor Loftus' eldest daughter, Lettice. With the castle Ferneley and his wife were sold the contents, which were valued by the sheriff and "by good and lawful men of his bailiwick" as worth just ninety pounds. More than half that amount was assessed as the value of nineteen feather beds, many of them said to be old and broken, and of sundry bolsters, pillows, quilts, and covers, one of these last being of velvet, and another of laced plush; while amongst the other items the principal are five pieces of old tapestry and six Arras hangings on the walls, three Turkey carpets, a brass grate, and a black velvet saddle and leather coach curtains <sup>(1)</sup>.

About the time of the Restoration, Drimnagh Castle is believed to have afforded shelter to Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Walker, who is said to have been on the scaffold, with his face concealed in a vizor, when Charles I. was beheaded. In the Hearth Money Roll for 1664, when the castle was rated as containing three chimneys, the name of the occupant is blank, but in one for 1667, when the castle was rated as containing six hearths, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Ferneley is stated to have been the occupant. Before his death, which took place in 1677, the lease under which Ferneley held the castle expired, and the castle and lands reverted to the Barnewalls of Bremore <sup>(2)</sup>. Their male line became extinct early in the eighteenth century, and the Drimnagh and Bremore estates were sold in 1727 by Walter Bagenal, who married the heiress of the house of Bremore, to Henry Earl of Shelburne, whose representative, the Marquis of Lansdowne, is now lord of the soil. Amongst the denominations of the Drimnagh lands at that time we find the Hales, the White House, the Blue Bell, the Chapel field and Red Lion, the Mill Hill, Santry Hill, Robin Hood, Portlester, Knockangorlagh, and the Slip <sup>(3)</sup>.

Early in the eighteenth century a wood near the castle known as Drimnagh Wood was in possession of the Honourable

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<sup>(1)</sup> Down Survey Map; Exchequer Decree, Cromwell, 1658, No. 98; *The Irish Builder* for 1896, p. 8; Chancery Decree, Cromwell, 1654, No. 211.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxix., p. 96; Hearth Money and Subsidy Rolls; Will of Philip Ferneley.

<sup>(3)</sup> Chancery Decree.

Godfrey Boate, a justice of the King's Bench, who has been immortalised by Dean Swift, and in his will Boate desires no less than eight thousand trees to be cut in it. The castle was then occupied by a family called Archer, and there in 1735 died Mr. Arthur Archer, whose widow substituted an earlier will for his real one, as was discovered two years later, on her own death. The lands of Robin Hood appear to have been at that time the site of a well known house of entertainment. In some contemporaneous verses its rounds of beef and the beverages with which they were accompanied are extolled, and an invitation is given to join a club of archers, who then met and dined at Robin Hood. A reference to the castle is made in 1761 by a French tourist, who remarks that it is built in the style of some of the castles in his own country, and it was visited in 1780 by Austin Cooper, who mentions its narrow stairs, its thick walls, and irregular wainscotted rooms, particularly a small dark room near the gateway, with a large staple and enormous ring in the wall. The castle was then occupied by a Mr. Reilly, who had built a permanent bridge over the moat, and who told Cooper that the entrance with steps was built by a Mr. Ennis, grandfather of the owner before him (1).

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## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE remains of the parish church of Drimnagh lie on the opposite side of the Naas road to the castle, and are now enclosed in a large graveyard. The church was a small oratory of late date, measuring inside twenty-seven feet two inches by fourteen feet nine inches. The south-east angle, the western half of the north wall, and the west end, are standing. The portions first mentioned are covered thickly with ivy. The west end is of unusual height for the proportions of the church. It has a rudely arched pointed doorway with a slightly curved rough arch inside.

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(1) Wills of Hon. Godfrey Boate and Arthur and Hannah Archer; Poems by John Winstanley (Dublin, 1742), pp. 210, 211; Cooper's Note Book; *The Repository*, Dublin, 1763, p. 65.



The keystones are of the almost triangular shape found in buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. High over the door is an oblong window of the plainest description, with dressed jambs and a steep sill, the uneven arch nearly flat and with a wedge-shaped keystone. From the existence of a corbel it is possible that there was originally a gallery at the west end of the church.



**Drimnagh Church.**

*From a photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*

Of the history of the church nothing is known, but it appears to have been in use in 1547 at the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral, as the altarages are returned then as worth thirteen shillings and sixpence. <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 29.

## Parish of Crumlin

(i.e., *Cruimhlinn* or the curved glen).

This parish contained in the seventeenth century the townlands of Commons, Crumlin, and Petty Canons.

It now contains the townlands of Commons, Crumlin, Greenhills, Kimmage, Larkfield, Limekilnfarm, Perrystown, Roebuck, Stannaway (i.e., the stone-way), Tonguefield, Whitehall, and Wilkinstown.

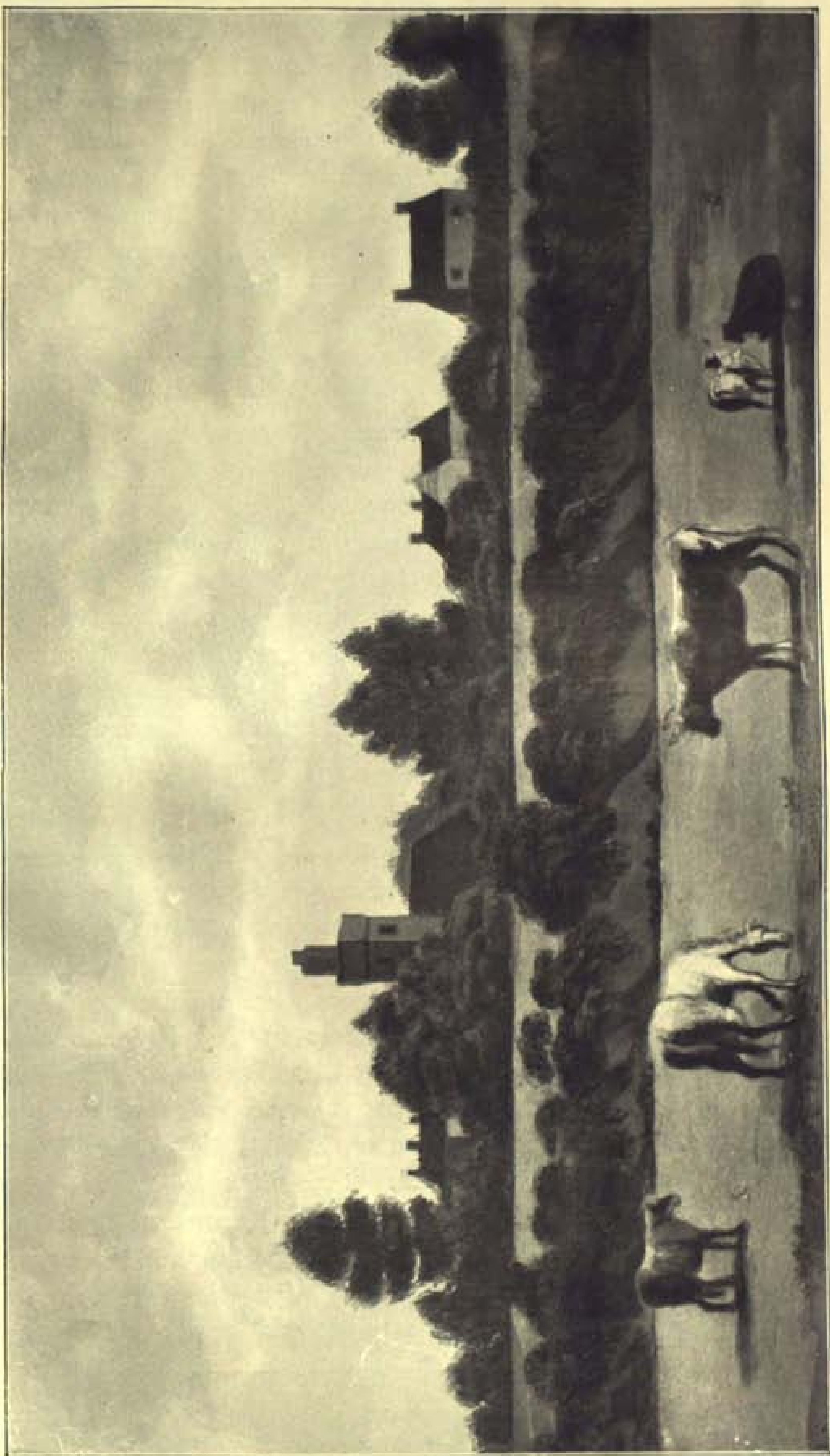
The objects of antiquarian interest are the tower of the parish church, and a house of the Queen Anne period in the village.

### THE VILLAGE OF CRUMLIN.

THE parish of Crumlin, of which the village called by that name is the centre, has for its boundaries on the west the parishes of Drimnagh and Clondalkin, and on the south and east the parishes of Tallaght and Rathfarnham. It comprises lands which formed in past ages one of the four royal manors near Dublin, and is intersected by a road which formerly was the direct route to Tallaght and Blessington. At a place within its limits, known as the Greenhills, many cists or sepulchres of prehistoric times have been discovered, and one of these is now to be seen in the National Museum of Ireland, where it is displayed in its original state with the urns and bones found in it<sup>(1)</sup>. But of the dwellings of the inhabitants of the royal manor no trace remains, and it is probable that a castle of importance never stood upon the lands. For the lands within Crumlin manor, like those in the other three royal manors, Saggart, Newcastle Lyons, and Esker, already noticed in this history, do not appear to have numbered amongst their occupants any family of high position until the seventeenth century, and the earliest house now standing in Crumlin is one which was probably built at the beginning of the next century.

(1) See a Paper on a Cist and Urns found at the Greenhills by Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Plunkett, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Ser 3, vol. v., p. 338.





Crumlin in 1795.  
*From a plate by F. Jukes.*

In an Irish poem entitled "The Battle of Gabrha," Crumlin is mentioned as the residence in his old age of the Fenian hero Ossian, who has been referred to in connection with the valley of Glenasmole in Tallaght parish, but Crumlin is a name which occurs frequently in the local nomenclature of Ireland, and whether the reference is to Crumlin near Dublin or elsewhere is doubtful. The poem has been published in the Transactions of the Ossianic Society, and the editor gives the meaning of Crumlin as the lake of Crom, a pagan deity who received the thank-offerings of the husbandmen for the fruits of the earth <sup>(1)</sup>, but the curved glen is now generally accepted as the meaning of the name. The earliest reference to Crumlin after the Anglo-Norman Conquest shows that the lands were held for a time after that event by a family which came from Harptree in Somersetshire, but before the close of King John's reign they had been constituted a royal manor. In this manor the system of tenure was different from that on the other royal manors, as the tenants themselves took the place of a middleman and held the demesne lands in addition to their own farms. According to Holinshed the Crumlin tenants were an unwashed and turbulent crowd, or, in his own words, "a lobbish and desperat clobberiousnesse," and had to pay a higher rent than the tenants on the other manors owing to their having murdered one of the King's seneschals <sup>(2)</sup>.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century Edward I. decided to lease the manor of Crumlin to Henry de Compton, an ecclesiastic who has been already noticed, as lessee of the profits of the manor courts in Saggart and Newcastle Lyons, and who had rendered valuable service to the Crown in the Irish Chancery. As in the other manors, Compton met in Crumlin with considerable opposition, and finally, after more than one inquiry had been held, the King thought it more prudent to leave the manor in the possession of "his poor men of Crumlin." Amongst those foremost in the dispute we find, in addition to the officials, Richard the Provost and Philip the clerk; Thomas of Crumlin, Thomas le Reves, John Russell, and John le Monte, who represented the principal Crumlin families of that time. The family which took its cognomen from the place was known outside the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. i., p. 105.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 73; Holinshed's *Chronicles*, vol. vi., p. 29.



manor, and one of its members, Adam de Crumlin, served as sheriff of the metropolitan county (1). During the thirteenth century, as stated in the history of Templeogue, the old city water-course, which flows by Crumlin parish, was constructed. From it the townland of Tonguefield derives its name. After leaving Templeogue the course joined at a point near Kimmage the River Poddle, and their waters flowed together in the bed of the Poddle until they reached a point which has become known as the Tongue in Crumlin parish. Here they divided again, portion following the original line of the Poddle through Harold's Cross, and the remainder being diverted in an artificial course to Dolphin's Barn and thence to James' Street in Dublin (2).

Crumlin was then known as Crum or Trum, and the similarity of the latter name to that of Trim gave rise in the early part of the fourteenth century to a dispute between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath as to the right of presentation to the church of Trim. It has also caused a mistake in regard to a terrible tragedy which was enacted at that time near Crumlin, but which has been erroneously supposed to have occurred near Trim. This tragedy was the slaughter by the O'Tooles after their raid on Tallaght, in 1331, of a number of the leading inhabitants of the neighbourhood, including one of the Brets of Rathfarnham and two of the Barnewalls of Drimnagh, who had followed them, and were led into an ambushade at a place then known as the Culiagh, not far from Crumlin (3). Some years before that time steps had been taken by the Crown to erect a castle at Crumlin for the protection of the inhabitants. These appear to have been largely Anglo-Norman settlers, and from them the Crumlin lands had obtained extremely curious and interesting place names. Amongst these may be mentioned the grene, the croseynde, the pobel, the moredyck, the knocwey in the sledan, the quilagh grene, the fryth or coppice wood, the langlye, the conyngere, the yoghlyhegeswey, caddelscornel, nicholsherneslye, howletesplot, the stockyngs, the pykesley, the holwcroftfelde, willetesplot, the gillyneshill, and the halkey.

(1) Sweetman's Calendar, 1285-1292, No. 855, *et passim*.

(2) "The Water Supply of Ancient Dublin," Henry F. Berry, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi., p. 557.

(3) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 73; Calendar of Carew State Papers, Book of Howth, p. 157; Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii., p. 374.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Abbey of St. Thomas, the Priory of the Holy Trinity and the Guild of St. Anne in St. Audoen's Church, appear as owners of property at Crumlin, and amongst the local families there occur the names of Stephens, Whitbred, Gallane, Stafford, Hay, Arthur, and Says. At that time the townland of Stannaway, or Stonway as it was then called, which is now included in Crumlin parish, was in the manor of St. Sepulchre, and was held under the Archbishop of Dublin in 1382 by William Moenes, then the owner of Rathmines. During the latter part of the fifteenth century an important local person is mentioned in Robert Walsh, who is styled an aquebagelus or parish clerk; and Joan Drywer, who has been already referred to as leaving a legacy to Aderrig Church, is a resident deserving of notice. She was engaged in extensive agricultural operations, and the valuation of her goods at the time of her death is very instructive as to the cost of household goods and live stock in her time. For instance, a goblet and small cup of maple wood are valued at sixteen shillings and eightpence, while her four cart horses were only thought worth a pound <sup>(1)</sup>.

The fees paid to several Government officials, including the serjeant of arms and the chief chamberlain of the Exchequer were, in the sixteenth century, drawn from the issues of the manor of Crumlin; and from the court book used at the close of that century it appears that the greater portion of the lands continued to be held under the Crown by small farmers. But several religious houses were in possession of property at Crumlin at the time of their dissolution. Besides the Abbey of St. Thomas, the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and the Guild of St. Anne, which have been already mentioned, we find the Convent of St. Mary de Hogges, the Cathedral of St. Patrick, and the Abbey of St. Mary described as owners of land there. Their holdings were afterwards known under various names, including Cromwell's land, Mastocke's land, Giffard's grove and Kevin's farm. At the time of his attainder Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, was in possession of some lands at Crumlin which were then forfeited to the Crown,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Memoranda Roll; Register of St. Thomas the Martyr, and Deeds of St. Anne's Guild, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; "Notice of the Manor of St. Sepulchre." by James Mills, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xix., pp. 123, 126; Berry's "Register of Wills," 1457-1483, p. 149.



and we find subsequently Chief Baron Bathe and his descendants, and the families of Sutton and Talbot, holding these as well as the monastic lands, under the Crown <sup>(1)</sup>.

At that period there were several small castle houses in or near the village of Crumlin, but these afforded no protection to the village when, in December, 1594, Gerald FitzGerald, the brother of Walter Reagh, one of the chief Irish leaders of that time, descended upon it with some eighty followers. The raid was made in the night, and the whole village was plundered and burned before assistance came from Dublin, although Crumlin lay "almost at its gate," and the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, on seeing the flames himself hastened away a troop of horse. The assailants escaped without "wound or bloodshed," and were so encouraged by the success of their enterprise that as soon as the village began to be rebuilt they descended upon it again, and burned a great portion of the new buildings <sup>(2)</sup>.

At the close of the sixteenth century the Purcell family, which was seated near the village until the last century, is first mentioned as resident at Crumlin, and in 1609 Edmund Purcell was leased land then belonging to the church. About the latter time John Brice, who was mayor of Dublin in 1605, was connected with Crumlin, and also a family called Brereton is mentioned as living there. But the most important resident in the first part of the seventeenth century was Sir Patrick Fox, sometime Clerk of the Council, who then acquired much property in Crumlin and occupied what was known as the manor house. His widow and family were in possession of the house at the time of the Rebellion, and according to a deposition made by Captain Thomas Harley, who was a contractor for the supply of transport to the army and who had a house and farm in Crumlin, were party to the spoiling of the possessions of persons like himself <sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fiaints Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, *passim*; Court Book of Esker and Crumlin in Marsh's Library; Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 79, 85, 95; Patent Rolls, James I., p. 115; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Hen. VIII., No. 75.

<sup>(2)</sup> Calendar of Carew State Papers, 1589-1599, p. 226, and of Irish State Papers, 1598-1599, p. 461; Annals of the Four Masters under 1595.

<sup>(3)</sup> "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. Edmund Hogan, p. 37; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 85; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jas. I., No. 128; Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross; Patent Rolls, Jas. I., pp. 15, 115, 135, 153, 155, 193, 306; Depositions of 1641.

A branch of the Ussher family had also settled at Crumlin, and during the reign of James I. Robert Ussher, whose sister married Lamerick Nottingham of Ballyowen in Esker parish, was living there. He was engaged in the wine trade in Dublin, and married a daughter of Alderman Nicholas Ball, who represented Dublin in parliament in Queen Elizabeth's reign. His eldest son, Robert Ussher the younger, was granted in 1646 a license to hold two fairs annually at Crumlin, and a few years later the children of the latter, Arlander and Mary, appear as the occupants of a house in the village. During the Commonwealth period the manor house and lands, which had been forfeited by the Fox family, and other lands, including those which had belonged to John Brice, were granted to Captain John Blackwell, already mentioned as owner at that time of Terenure. But the other inhabitants of Crumlin appear not to have been disturbed, and after the Restoration we find two houses rated as containing four hearths each, occupied respectively by Arlander Ussher and Peter Holmes, who had married a grand-aunt of Ussher's, and two houses rated as containing two hearths each, occupied respectively by Ignatius Purcell and Patrick Brereton <sup>(1)</sup>.

The greater portion of the Crumlin lands came, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, into the possession of Major Joseph Deane, who has been already mentioned as the owner of Terenure at that time. As stated in the history of Terenure, Major Deane, although identified with Commonwealth principles as brother of one of the regicides and an officer in Cromwell's army, rose under monarchical rule to a high position in this country and sat in the Restoration parliament as member for the borough of Inistiogue in the County Kilkenny, where he owned property and a residence. He was prominent in the political movements of his time. In 1682 he was in correspondence with the Duke of Ormonde as to schemes for collecting the Irish revenue, and in 1694, although then not in parliament, he was consulted by some of its most influential members on the great question of that day, the powers of the Irish parliament with respect to money bills. He appears to have lived constantly at Crumlin and probably occupied the manor house in which Sir Patrick Fox had resided.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ball Wright's "Memoirs of the Ussher Family, pp. 24-27; Carte Papers, vol. clxiv., f. 241; Crown Rental for 1658; Survey of Newcastle and Uppercross; Census of 1659; Hearth Money Rolls.



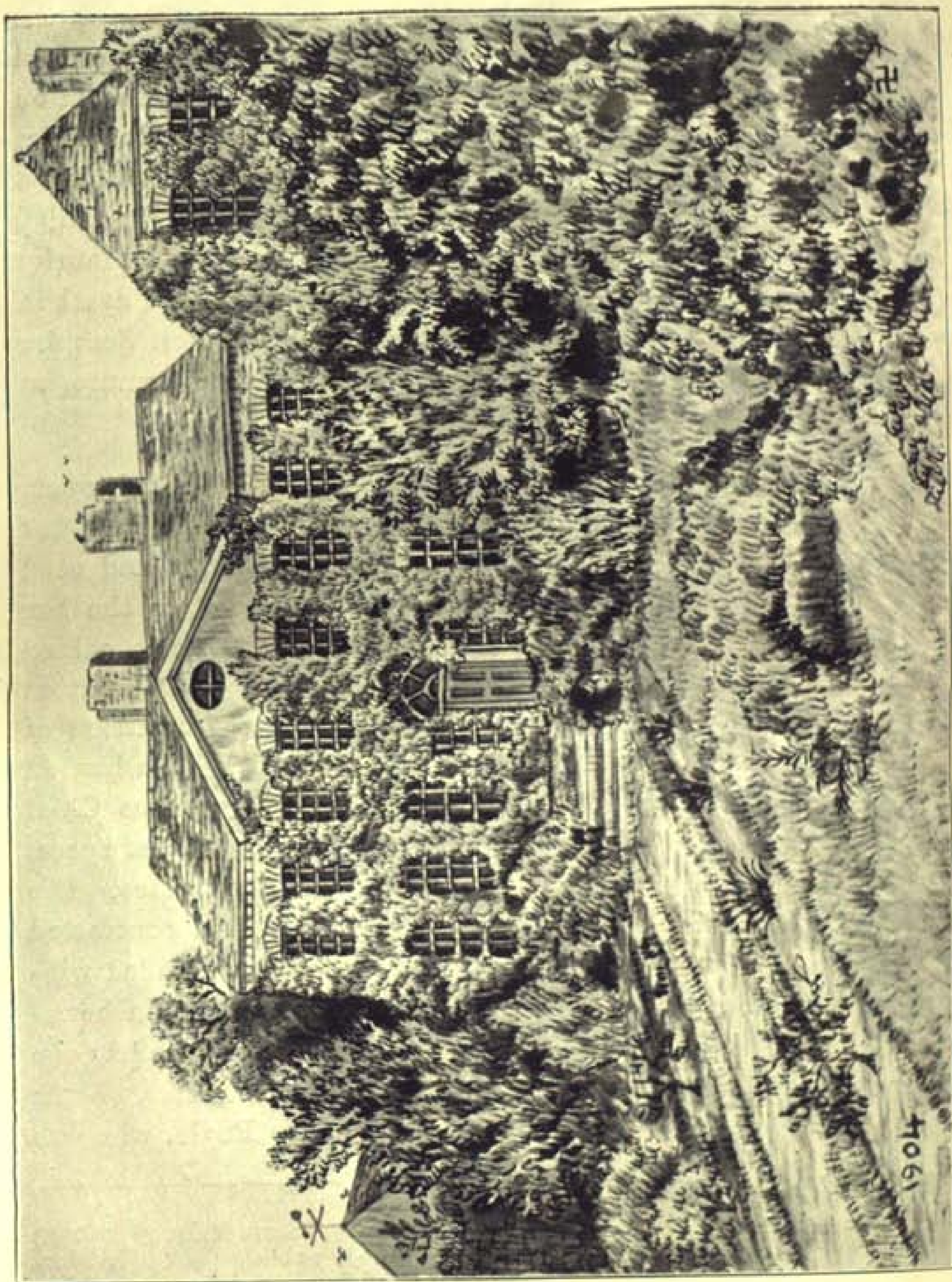
The chief historical event, in which Crumlin was concerned, occurred in his time, the encampment there for two days after the Battle of the Boyne of King William and his victorious army. A brief memorandum of the King's progress tells us that on July 5, 1690, the army arrived at Finglas, that on July 6 the King went thence to church in Dublin, and that on July 9 the army marched to Crumlin whence, two days later, it proceeded to Castlemartin on its way to the south of Ireland <sup>(1)</sup>. Major Deane was twice married. By his first wife he had a son Joseph, who married a daughter of Dr. John Parker, Archbishop of Dublin, and died before his father; and by his second wife, a daughter of Maurice Cuffe of the Desart family, he had a son Edward. On his death in 1699 Major Deane was succeeded at Crumlin by his son Joseph's only son, who bore the same Christian name, and at Terenure, as already stated, by his son Edward <sup>(2)</sup>.

The Right Hon. Joseph Deane, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, as Major Deane's grandson became, was the builder of the red brick house, which still adorns Crumlin village, and used it as his country residence. He was not long called to the bar before his grandfather's death, but a few years after it gained distinction as member for the County Dublin. To that position he was called in 1703 at the general election on the accession of Queen Anne, and he continued to occupy it until 1714, when on the accession of George I. he was raised to the bench as Chief Baron. His judicial honours were only enjoyed for a brief space, as in less than a year, in May, 1715, his death took place. His illness was attributed by Archbishop King to a chill contracted during a total eclipse of the sun. This eclipse was attended with great cold and dew, and the Chief Baron was returning on horseback at the time from circuit, and was thus much exposed to the weather. The Chief Baron's wife was a granddaughter of the first Earl of Orrery and a sister of Speaker Henry Boyle, who was

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(1) Burtchaell's "Members of Kilkenny," p. 59; Carte Papers under year 1682; "Manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu," p. 181, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; "Rawdon Papers," edited by Rev. Edward Berwick, p. 380; Southwell Papers in Trinity College Library MS., 1180.

(2) A tombstone at Crumlin bore the following inscription:—"Jos. fil. sec. Jos. et Ann. Deane nat. ap' Ravensthorp in com. Northamp. 6 die Jan. 1648, et nup. Eliz. fil. Joh. Parker, Archep. Dublin, et obiit ap' Dub. decimo octa vicissimo die ejusd. mensis. Ferendo non Finendo. Eliza filia Mau. Cuffe ar. nata ap' Quin in com. Clare, 1 Aug. 1625, nup. Jos. Deane ar. 8 Feb., 1652, . . . . . Jos. fil. Edw. et Ann. Deane ar. nat. ap' Pinnock in com. Gloc. 2 die Feb. 1623, obiit 24 Decembris, 1699"; Cooper's Note Book.



Crumlin House.

*From a drawing by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*



raised to the peerage as Earl of Shannon. Their only son, who was born after the Chief Baron's death, died when an infant, and the Chief Baron's property descended to his five daughters. They made great marriages, and amongst the Chief Baron's sons-in-law were the Earl of Mayo, the Lord Doneraile, the Lord Lisle, and the Lord Dungannon of that time <sup>(1)</sup>.

About ten years after the Chief Baron's death his house at Crumlin was advertised for sale. It is described as a handsome new-fashioned residence, and was surrounded by walled gardens in which there were fish ponds <sup>(2)</sup>. Apparently it was not disposed of at that time, and was subsequently occupied under the Chief Baron's representatives by the Hon. Richard Allen, the third son of the first Viscount Allen of Stillorgan and father of the third and fourth peers of that title. The Hon. Richard Allen, who was a captain in the army, inherited his father's Kildare estate and represented that county in the Irish parliament, of which he and his brothers were well-known members. Their capacity for parliamentary business does not seem from contemporary references to them to have been great, but in the announcement of his death, which occurred at Crumlin in 1745, it is stated that the Hon. Richard Allen was a sincere friend to the interests of true liberty and his country as well as a gentleman of the strictest honour, justice and humanity <sup>(3)</sup>.

The Chief Baron's house was afterwards occupied for a time by Philip Walsh, an eminent King's Counsel, who represented the claimant in the famous Annesley peerage case, and who died in the same year as Captain Allen <sup>(4)</sup>. There died also in that year at Crumlin, which seems to have been a fatal one for the inhabitants, Theobald Mathew, the grandfather of the first Earl of Llandaff. He is said to have been a "gentleman of great probity and charity," and he was succeeded by his son Thomas Mathew, of whose hospitality at his seat in the County Tipperary an extraordinary picture has been given <sup>(5)</sup>. Later on the Chief Baron's house was for a time a country residence of one of his sons-in-law,

<sup>(1)</sup> Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. lvi.; Foster's Admissions to Gray's Inn; Lodge's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 364.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, Feb. 20-24, 1723-4.

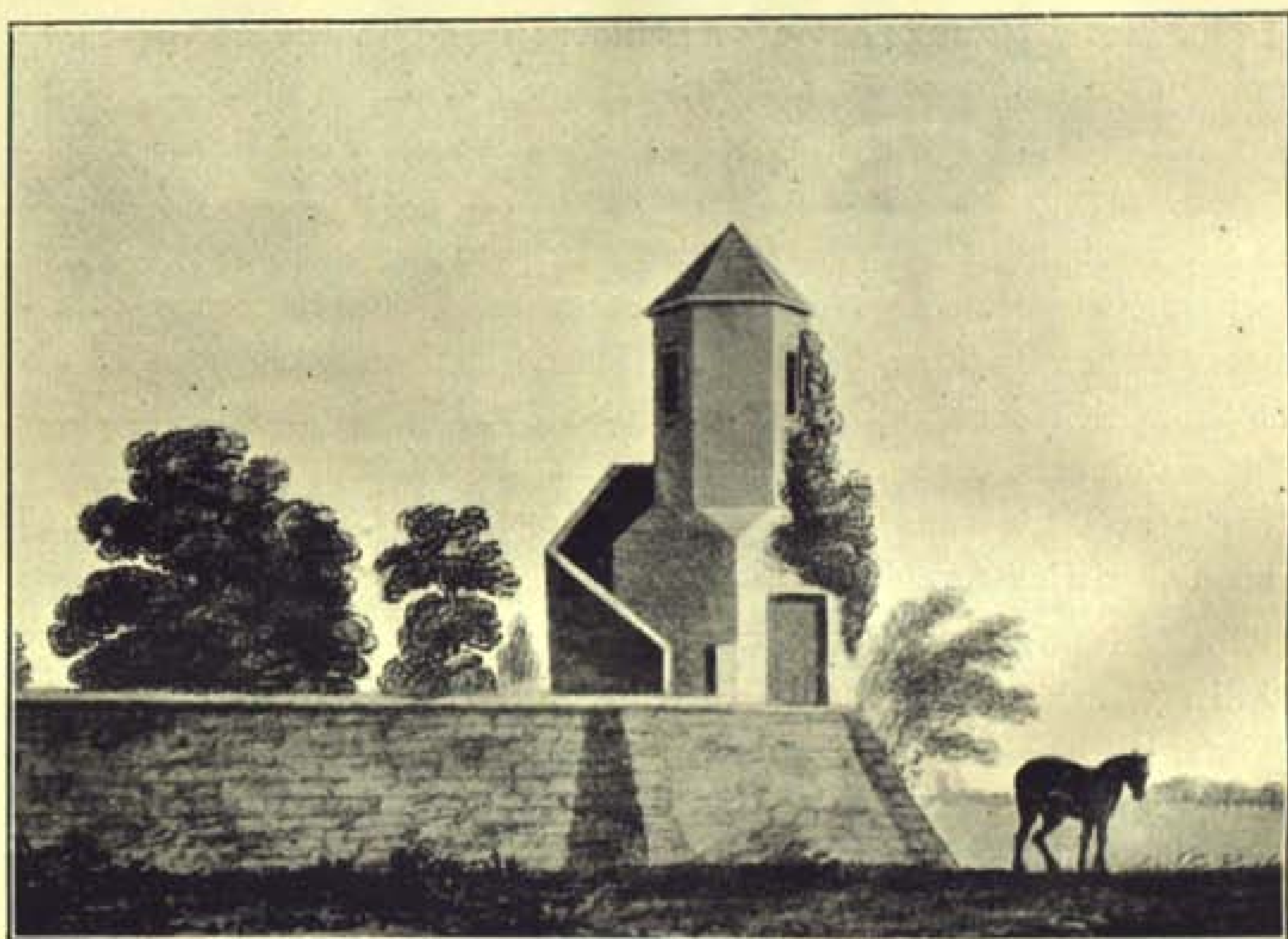
<sup>(3)</sup> Coxe's "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," vol. ii., p. 362; Coghill's Letters to Southwell, Brit. Mus., MS. 21,122, ff. 91, 97; *Dublin Journal*, No. 1889.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Dublin Journal*, No. 2622; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1745, p. 484.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Dublin Journal*, No. 1936; Fitzpatrick's "Ireland before the Union," p. 170.

Lord Lisle, but the latter deserted it for Fort Lisle near Blackrock, which has been referred to in the history of Booterstown, and the house was then divided into two dwellings, which were advertised to be let with a garden and fish pond, fully stocked with fish, for each of them <sup>(1)</sup>.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a French tourist describes Crumlin as a small village with a neat church, and mentions that the neighbourhood, especially the Greenhills, which had formerly been a great resort of highwaymen who took the lives as well as the property of their victims, was well inhabited by farmers and labourers. Amongst the residents at that time



**A Summer House at Crumlin in 1795.**

*From a plate by P. Jukes.*

two centenarians deserve notice. One of them, Andrew Tench, who died near Crumlin in 1750, had been a farmer there all his life, and the other, John Rider, who died in 1762 at the Greenhills, had been a soldier in foreign service and had been at the siege of Vienna in 1683. It is also worthy of notice that John O'Keeffe the actor passed some portion of his childhood in the

<sup>(1)</sup> *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. vi., p. 515 ; *Pue's Occurrences*, vol. lxii., No. 6363.



village. When by order of the Irish parliament in 1766 a religious census of Crumlin was taken, the principal Protestant resident was George Thwaites, and the principal Roman Catholic John Purcell (1). The latter was a descendant of Ignatius Purcell, and the deaths of many other members of that family at Crumlin are announced during the eighteenth century (2).

Horse races took place at that time annually on the common of Crumlin, but became so intolerable to the inhabitants in 1789 that an attempt was made to stop them. It was unsuccessful, and although tents, which had been erected for them, were pulled down under the direction of a magistrate, who had the assistance of "a strong party of the army," the races continued for several days with great satisfaction to the racing fraternity. In the following year the inhabitants made another effort to prevent the races taking place, on the ground that they were "productive of idleness and disorder and calculated to disturb the peace" (3). In a contemporary guide to Dublin reference is made to the great traffic to Blessington and Baltinglass which then passed through Crumlin, and it is stated that the village was no longer so fashionable as it had been. But it still enjoyed some measure of popularity and included amongst its residents Lady Frances Holt, a daughter of the first Earl of Aldborough, and the Hon. Joseph Lysaght, a son of the first Lord Lisle. During the rebellion of 1798 the inhabitants suffered much loss and damage, especially Mr. Arthur Orde and Mr. Thomas Jones, who then kept a boarding school in Crumlin, and profiting by their experience when the rising under Robert Emmet took place in 1803, they were foremost in raising a company of infantry, which was commanded by Mr. Arthur Orde (4).

(1) "A Journey through Ireland," in *The Repository* for 1763, pp. 64, 65; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1750, p. 442, and for 1762, p. 56; O'Keeffe's *Recollections of his Life*, vol. i., p. 135; *Religious Returns of 1766*.

(2) A tombstone at Crumlin bears the following inscription:—"Ign. Purcell, Esqr., his burial place. His first wife Margaret Purcell alias Sweetman, died 13th of June, 1682. His second wife Elenor Purcell alias Plunket died the 6th of Jany. 1691. Not lost but gone before. Ignatius Purcell, Esqr., obt. 3rd of March, 1791. Died 31st of Decr., 1851. Henrietta Frances O'Neill, daughter of Major Bristow, and wife of Ignatius Francis Purcell, Esqr. Also Ignatius Francis Purcell, of Cromlyn House, Co. Dublin, Esqr., 14th Agt., 1856, Trusting in the merits of Jesus. Here also are deposited the remains of Selina E. Purcell, wife of Jno. F. Purcell, who departed this life on the 7th day of October, 1823, in her 22nd year." See also Wills of the Purcell family; and *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1756, p. 160, for 1766, p. 652, for 1774, p. 520.

(3) *Dublin Journal*, 2341, 2342; *Sleater's Dublin Chronicle*, 1789-1790, pp. 496, 504, 512, 1790-1791, p. 501.

(4) Lewis' "Dublin Guide," p. 114; Parish Registers; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1792, p. 280; Lists of Suffering Loyalists in 1798, and Yeomanry Establishment in 1803, in Public Record Office.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE parish church of Crumlin is a building of the early part of the nineteenth century with the exception of the tower at the west end, which had an earlier origin. According to inscriptions on tablets in the gate piers the exact date of the erection of the present church was 1817, while the wall, which surrounds it, is stated to have been built in 1725 and repaired exactly one hundred years afterwards. In the tower there is a handsome doorway, and



**Crumlin Church.**

*From a photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.*

above it there is a skull carved in the stonework with a tablet on which a text is inscribed. The tower is two stories in height and in one of the small rooms there are some fragments of a tombstone which is said to have been erected to the memory of a waiting woman of Queen Anne <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> See interesting notes on this parish, and copies of inscriptions in the graveyard by James R. Fowler and Captain George S. Carey, in the *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 287 ; vol. iii., p. 262 ; vol. iv., pp. 34, 228, 407, 408.



The church, which is dedicated to St. Mary, occupies the site of one which stood in Crumlin in the twelfth century and bore a similar dedication. The advowson was for a time in the possession of the Harptree family, and the church was conferred by William FitzWilliam FitzJohn of Harptree on Robert his clerk, together with the tithe of all timber cut in a wood, which then stood at Crumlin, and permission to appropriate sixteen acres near the church. But before the close of the twelfth century, in 1193, the church of Crumlin was given by King John, then Prince of Moreton, to form a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Patrick. This prebend was given by the Prince to William Rydal, but subsequent presentations were vested in the Archbishop of Dublin. At the close of the thirteenth century the church was valued at £10, and amongst its chaplains we find, in 1390 John Stakeboll, and in 1449 John Holiwod. In the latter part of the fifteenth century Joan Drywer, who has been already referred to, bequeathed money for the support of three lights, as well as for gilding the chalice, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin of Crumlin, and Joan Stephen, the widow of John Mastocke, directed her body to be brought "to holy burial in the cemetery of the parish church of Crumlin" (1).

At the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1547 the Cathedral's possessions at Crumlin were divided between the Economy Fund, the Minor Canons, and the Vicars Choral, and the church was probably served, as in later times, by some member of the Cathedral establishment. During the Irish raid on Crumlin in 1594 the fabric of the church suffered great damage by fire. It is interesting to notice that the roof was of lead which is said to have been carried off by the insurgents for the purpose of making bullets. The church had not been rebuilt in 1615, when the cure was returned as being in charge of the Rev. William Cogan, but it was stated to be in good repair in 1630, when the cure was served by the Rev. John Hughes. The parishioners were then "for the most part recusants," and the Rev. John Heath, who held the cure at the time of the rebellion, was resident in Dublin (2).

(1) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral" pp. 4, 73; Sweetman's Calendar, 1302-1307, p. 287; Register of St. Thomas the Martyr, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; Berry's Register of Wills, 1457-83, pp. 150, 160.

(2) Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," pp. 69, 79, 85, 95; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," vol. iii., p. 246; Regal Visitation of 1615; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155; Carte Papers, vol. xxi., f. 555.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Archbishop King stated that Crumlin had been neglected from the time of the Reformation, but under his vigorous rule a change soon began. In 1707 the Rev. Peter Finell was in charge, and he was succeeded in 1708 by the Rev. Thomas Fetherston, in 1719 by the Rev. John Bouhereau, with the Rev. Nicholas Jones as curate; in 1723 by the Rev. Zachary Norton, afterwards Vicar of Tallaght, and in 1726 by the Rev. Roger Ford, who had for a time the Rev. William Candler, afterwards curate of Rathfarnham, as an assistant <sup>(1)</sup>. Some years after his appointment to Crumlin Mr. Ford became prebendary of Tasagart, and, as we have seen, held the living of Rathcoole as well as Crumlin. He kept a school in Dublin, at which Edmund Malone was educated, and so high was his reputation as a preacher that he was called by the House of Commons to preach before it <sup>(2)</sup>.

Under the Roman Catholic Church the parish of Crumlin has been always united to that of Rathfarnham excepting during a brief period from 1781 to 1800, when it was joined to Clondalkin. According to a return presented to the Irish parliament in 1731, there was then a Roman Catholic place of worship in Crumlin, which had been rebuilt five years before, and according to the census of 1766, there was then a clergyman of that Church, the Rev. Nicholas Gibbons, resident in the village <sup>(3)</sup>.

The parish church which preceded the present one is described by Austin Cooper, who visited it in 1780, as a very plain building containing about a dozen seats. The chancel was approached by two steps and the communion table was enclosed by a semi-circular rail. Under the latter lay the tomb of the Deane family, and a little outside it the tomb of the Purcell family. At the foot of the steps on the right-hand side was the reading desk with the pulpit above it, and on the other side stood a black marble font. After the death of the Rev. Roger Ford, which occurred in 1756, the Rev. William Ford succeeded to the cure, and the succession of incumbents since has been, in 1785 the Rev. Roger Ford, in 1831 the Rev. James Elliott, and in 1867 the Rev. Humphry Davy.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Archbishop King's Correspondence, vol. iii., p. 143, in Trinity College Library; Visitation Returns.

<sup>(2)</sup> Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. iii., p. 262; Journal of the Irish House of Commons under date Jan. 30, 1752.

<sup>(3)</sup> Parliamentary Returns in Public Record Office.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cooper's Note Book; Visitation Returns.



## Portions of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. Nicholas Without.

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The portions of the parishes lying outside the City of Dublin include the townlands of Argos, Cherry Orchard, Haroldscross, Haroldscross West, Mountjerome, Rathland East and West.

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### HAROLD'S CROSS.

THE suburb of Dublin known as Harold's Cross, in which the cemetery of Mount Jerome is situated, lies to the east of the parish of Crumlin between that parish and the modern Rathmines. It is included in the Rathmines township, and during recent years many of its ancient characteristics have disappeared owing to the increase of houses, and the transformation of a bare and unattractive common into a public garden.

Harold's Cross stands on lands which formed, like those of Rathmines, part of the manor of St. Sepulchre, and its name is said to have originated in a cross which marked the boundary of the lands of the Archbishop of Dublin, and warned the Harolds, the wild guardians of the border of the Pale near Whitechurch, that they must not encroach. As mentioned in the history of Whitechurch, the lands which the Harolds occupied extended at one time almost if not quite to Harold's Cross, and the relations between them and the Archbishop of Dublin did not permit generally of friendly intercourse. If by any chance one of the border men dared to intrude he found at Harold's Cross a rude reminder of the power of the Archbishop's courts, for it was the place of execution for the manor of St. Sepulchre, and a gallows which stood there warned the wrong-doer of the fate that might attend him. From very early times the road through Harold's Cross, which until the last century was the direct route to Rathfarnham and the mountain district beyond, is mentioned, and from it some of the Harold's Cross lands were called in the fourteenth century the Pass. Other parts of the lands were then

known as Campus Sancti Patricii and Russel Rath, which has been corrupted into Rathland, and amongst the tenants we find William Moenes of Rathmines and Nicholas Sueterby <sup>(1)</sup>.

The name Mount Jerome occurs first in a Commonwealth Survey. It is not improbable that it was derived from the occupation of part of the Harold's Cross lands by the Rev. Stephen Jerome, now known as the author of one of the rarest of English printed books, and in his day a writer and preacher of some celebrity. For, although not mentioned in any notice of him Jerome, who was a graduate of Cambridge University, was for some years a beneficed clergyman in Dublin, and in 1639 was vicar of St. Kevin's parish in which the lands of Harold's Cross then actually lay. He is said to have come to Ireland as a chaplain to the great Earl of Cork. After the Rebellion Jerome was appointed a special preacher at St. Patrick's Cathedral "to stir up the devotion of the congregation and to instruct the soldiers in those times," and brought on himself the censure of the Irish House of Lords by his advocacy of Puritan opinions <sup>(2)</sup>. During the Commonwealth the lands of Mount Jerome were held, together with other lands to the west of the highway, by Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, and the lands to the east of the highway, between "Acres alias Harold's Cross" and Rathmines, by Sir William Ussher of Donnybrook <sup>(3)</sup>.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the lands of Mount Jerome, which had become the property of the Earl of Meath, were the site of a substantial house. This house is doubtless incorporated in the handsome old mansion now to be seen in the cemetery, and was approached like the latter by an avenue "lined on each side with trees and quick sets." It was occupied in 1706, when his death took place, by Mr. Daniel Falkiner, the father of Mr. John Falkiner of Nangor Castle in Clondalkin parish. From him also descend the Falkiners of Abbotstown on whose last representative a baronetcy was conferred <sup>(4)</sup>. Harold's Cross was then a very rural village with two houses of entertainment known respectively as the "Cat and Bagpipes" and the "Cherry Tree," and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Harris' "Works of Sir James Ware," vol. i., p. 300; "Notices of the Manor of St. Sepulchre," by James Mills, *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. xix., pp. 122-124.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxix., p. 348; Carroll's "Succession of Clergy of St. Bride," p. 13; Carte Papers, vol. iv., *passim*.

<sup>(3)</sup> Book of Survey and Distribution.

<sup>(4)</sup> Will of Daniel Falkiner; Burke's Peerage and Baronetcy under Falkiner.



near it there were several mills, including the upper mills and the wind mill, the way mill, and the wood mill. During the next hundred years Harold's Cross was a favourite summer retreat for the Dublin citizens, and physicians considered its air specially beneficial to invalids <sup>(1)</sup>. About the middle of the eighteenth century Mount Jerome was the residence of the Wilkinson family



A Mill near Harold's Cross in 1795.

*From a plate by P. Jukes.*

now represented, as mentioned under Terenure, by Sir Frederick Shaw of Bushy Park. It belonged to Mr. Abraham Wilkinson, who died while residing at Mount Jerome in 1764, and who was father of the owner of Bushy Park, but other members of the family are mentioned in connection with the place, including Mrs. Peter Wilkinson, whose death is announced in 1759 as taking place at Mount Jerome, and Mr. George Wilkinson, who died in 1786, while residing at Harold's Cross <sup>(2)</sup>. The family of Weld was also for many years resident at Harold's Cross, the most prominent member of the family being Dr. Isaac Weld, who was minister of

<sup>(1)</sup> Leases in Registry of Deeds; "Diary of a Dublin Lady in the reign of George II.," by H. F. Berry, *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxviii., p. 142.

<sup>(2)</sup> Leases in possession of the Cemetery Company; Wills of the Wilkinson family; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. ii., p. 241.

a Baptist meeting house in Eustace-street, and "a gentleman of exemplary piety and virtue" (1). Amongst other inhabitants we find the last Earl of Roscommon, a man of the most excellent and charitable disposition, who died at Harold's Cross in 1746, and Arthur Rochford, a brother of the first Lord Belvedere, who died there in 1774 (2).

Before the close the last century, about the year 1784, Mount Jerome, which is described in his time as "a venerable mansion embowered in trees," was purchased by Mr. John Keogh one of the leaders in the early movement for Catholic emancipation. He is said to have been a man of great natural ability endowed with much power as a nervous and persuasive speaker, and a great fortune acquired by his own exertions bears witness to his talent for business. Mount Jerome was his constant residence until his death in 1817, and it was from his descendants that the Cemetery Company in 1835 purchased the house and lands (3). About the year 1789 the Harold's Cross inhabitants found it necessary to establish a patrol to guard the roads and received high praise for "their spirited endeavours to bring offenders to justice." Wire mills which then stood near the green attracted much public attention, and inns with the signs of the "Royal Oak" and the "Old Grinder's Joy" restored, which are still recollected, were probably at the end of the eighteenth century popular resorts (4). Harold's Cross continued to be frequented by invalids for many years after the opening of the nineteenth century, and the house so celebrated as providing a refuge for Robert Emmet must in his time have been quite a country one (5).

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(1) Wills of the Weld family ; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1778, p. 128.

(2) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1746, p. 428, and for 1774, p. 328 ; Poems by John Winstanley (Dublin, 1742), p. 44.

(3) "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxi., p. 33 ; Trotter's "Walks through Ireland," p. 5 ; Will of John Keogh.

(4) Lewis' "Guide to Dublin," p. 146 ; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1789, p. 670 ; Carr's "Rathfarnham" in *New Ireland Review*, vol. xii., p. 40.

(5) *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iii., p. 369 ; Wakeman's "Old Dublin," Ser. ii., p. 33, in *Evening Telegraph Reprints*.



## Portions of the Parishes of St. James and St. Jude.

*(Formerly included in an extinct Parish called St. John of Kilmainham.)*

These parishes contain the modern townlands of Butchersarms, Conyngham Road, Dolphinsbarn, Dolphinsbarn North, Goldenbridge North and South Inchicore (*i.e.*, the island of berries) North and South, Kilmainham (*i.e.*, the church of St. Maighnenn), and Longmeadows, and portion of the Phoenix Park.

### DOLPHIN'S BARN.

THE district known as Dolphin's Barn, which lies to the west of Harold's Cross between that place and Kilmainham on the South Circular Road, formed portion of the lands belonging to the Priory of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. It was originally called Karnanclonegunethe, and probably derived its present name from the Dolphin family, members of which are frequently mentioned in deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries relating to Dublin. One of them, David Dolfyn, who was in 1237 about to be sent to England with treasure belonging to the State appears to have been a tenant of the Kilmainham Priory, as it was found necessary to provide that he should not be summoned to the court of the Hospitallers during his absence, and a further indication of his connection with the neighbourhood is the fact that his companion on his journey was to be John de Kilmainham <sup>(1)</sup>.

During the succeeding century many mills were erected in the Dolphin's Barn neighbourhood owing to the motive power provided for them by the city watercourse which, as stated under Harold's Cross, passed through the district. This adaptation of the course for purposes other than a domestic one led to frequent complaints as to the contamination of the water. Particularly in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when, owing to the influence of Sir Thomas Roper, Baron of Bantry and Viscount

<sup>(1)</sup> Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Dublin," vol. i., pp. 2, 157, 194, 493; Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1251, No. 2406.



Baltinglas, from whose family a place near Dolphin's Barn called Roper's Rest obtains its name, a mill "which caused much filthred" was allowed to stand on the course without interference. But when it was proposed to erect a tuckmill in its place the Corporation awoke to a sense of their duty and ordered Mr. Mayor at the first beginning of any nuisance or corruption to have it pulled down with the help of workmen and labourers (1).

At the time of the Commonwealth the village of Dolphin's Barn contained "two very fair houses," a mill, and five thatched cottages. It was then completely separated from Dublin, and portion of the lands were known as Chillam's Farm from a Drogheda family of that name which had owned it before the rebellion. Its population was returned as numbering seventeen persons of English descent and fourteen of Irish. After the Restoration one of the houses rated as containing three hearths was occupied by William Budd, and another rated as containing two hearths by Sampson Holmes (2). During the early part of the eighteenth century Dolphin's Barn was celebrated on account of the hurling matches which were played there, and the death there in 1761 of "an eminent tanner and weaver," Mr. John Stephens, may perhaps indicate that it still preserved its character as an industrial centre (3).

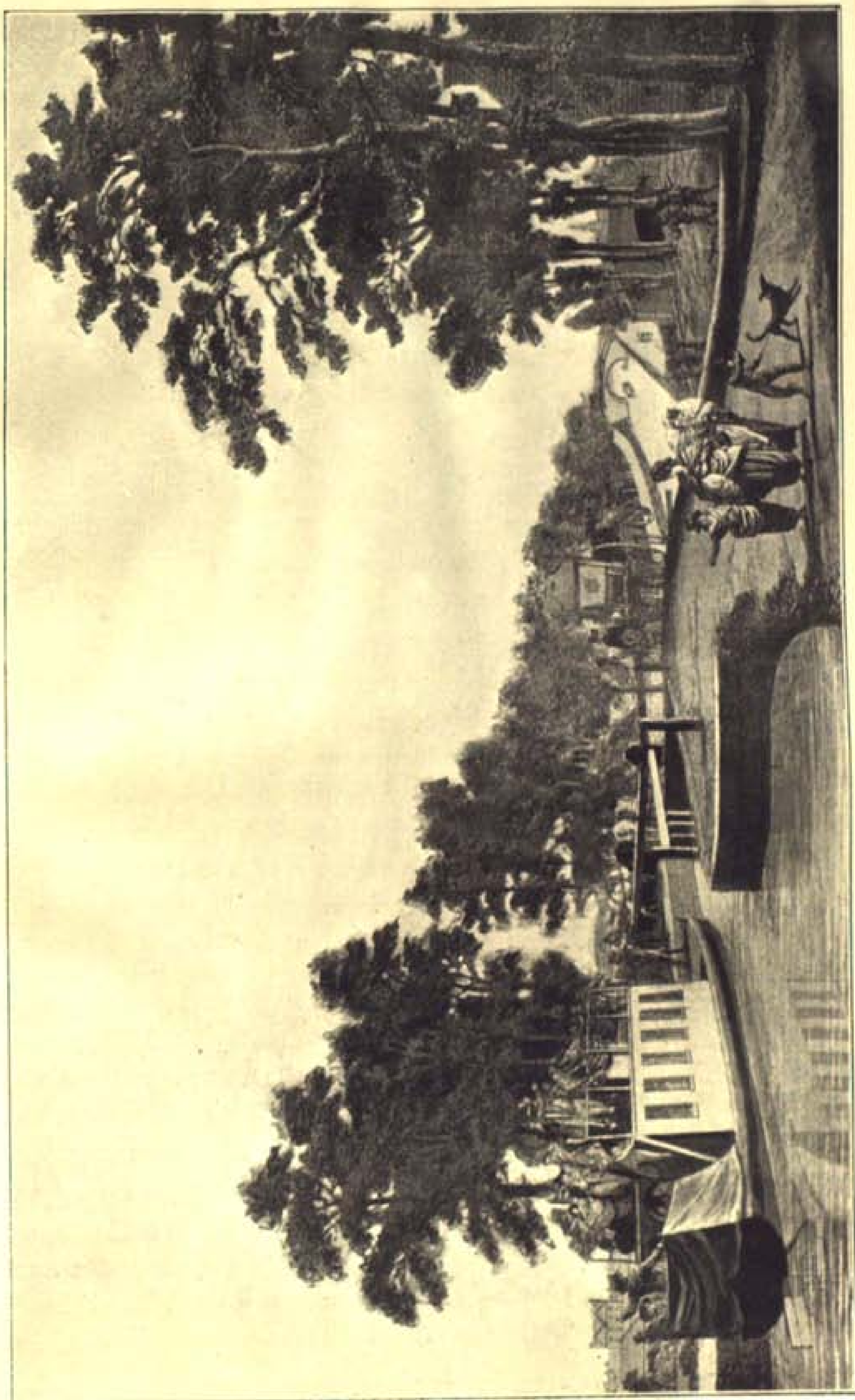
The great event in the neighbourhood in the later part of the eighteenth century was the construction of the Grand Canal which completely altered its appearance. As first designed the canal started from James' Street, and the channel which leads from the Liffey at a point near Ringsend, and joins the original channel between Dolphin's Barn and Kilmainham, was a subsequent addition. Before the advent of railways the canal carried passengers in what were known as fly-boats. These boats were light and narrow, and obtained their name from their being drawn by two or more horses which were ridden and proceeded at considerable speed. For this traffic the harbour with the adjoining hotel (now a private hospital) at Portobello, on the channel leading

(1) Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Dublin," vol. iii., p. 251.

(2) Down Survey Map; Book of Survey and Distribution; Hatchell's "Grants under Commission of Grace," p. 35; Census of 1659; Hearth Money and Subsidy Rolls.

(3) Amory's "Life of John Bunce," vol. i., p. 104; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. iv., p. 453.





Harcourt Lock in 1793.  
*From an aquatint by John James Barralet.*

to the Liffey, was opened in 1807, but until then the fly-boats started from James' Street. In the accompanying picture one of the fly-boats is shown going to the latter place, and passing through a lock near a bridge on the South Circular Road, which from its shape has become known as Rialto Bridge, but which was originally named Harcourt Bridge from the first Earl of Harcourt who was Lord Lieutenant when the canal was opened <sup>(1)</sup>.

## THE KILMAINHAM VICINITY,

*With special reference to Island Bridge and Inchicore.*

As stated in the introduction, the Circular Road, by which the Metropolis is encompassed, has been adopted for the purpose of this work as the boundary between the county and city of Dublin. This limit entails the omission of more than one locality which in former times was completely isolated from the city with an existence of its own, and above all of Kilmainham, which adjoins Dolphin's Barn on the north. There in the middle ages stood, in the midst of green fields, the great Priory of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and even in the eighteenth century its successor, the present Royal Hospital, had at its gate a country village. But these pages are only concerned with the history of Kilmainham so far as it relates to the portion of the Kilmainham lands on which now stand the suburbs of Dublin know as Island Bridge and Inchicore.

Kilmainham is said to have obtained its name from the foundation in Celtic times of a monastery on its lands by St. Maighnenn. It was in the eleventh century the place of encampment for the Irish forces under King Brian before their encounter with the Danes at Clontarf, and at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion during the siege of Dublin an Irish army again took up its station there. Under Anglo-Norman rule the great Priory of the Hospitallers was established at Kilmainham, and subsequently its possessions were largely increased by a gift of lands from the Tyrrells of Castleknock. This gift included in addition

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<sup>(1)</sup> Whitelaw and Walsh's "History of Dublin," vol. ii., p. 1221; *Hibernian Magazine* for 1771, p. 283; M'Cready's "Dublin Street Names," p. 15.



to the lands a moiety of the river Liffey "as far as the water-course near the gallows," which stood where the entrance to the Phœnix Park in Parkgate Street is now situated (1).

The name Island Bridge has originated in the construction of a bridge across the Liffey near a point where an island exists in that river. Before the erection of a bridge the Liffey was crossed where Island Bridge is now situated by a ford known as Kil-mahanock's Ford, and it is not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the existence of a bridge near Kilmainham is mentioned. It is then referred to in connection with the rebellion of Silken Thomas in 1534, during which the O'Tooles took advantage of the general disturbance in the Government to descend from their mountain home on the somewhat distant lands of Fingal. As we are told, on hearing of this foray, the Dublin citizens sallied out with the intention of intercepting the return of the O'Tooles at Kilmainham Bridge, which was the route the O'Tooles had taken, but for some reason the citizens advanced from thence to Grangegorman where they encountered the O'Tooles at a wood called Salcock and were defeated with great loss. Again, a year later in the month of November, Sir William Skeffington, who was then Lord Deputy of Ireland, when on a journey from Trim to Dublin, heard that a party of the Geraldines were lying in wait for him near the bridge of Kilmainham. Torrential rain was falling at the time, which had deprived the footmen in his company of all power of resistance by relaxing their bow strings and washing the feathers from their arrows, but with the help of the ordnance, "which as chance was were good pieces that day," Skeffington, who was known as the gunner, passed the footmen over the bridge, which he says was extremely narrow, without the loss of a single man. There were then two mills of considerable importance near the bridge and no doubt many residents; but much of the adjoining lands, including those of Inchicore, and some of those now enclosed in the Phœnix Park, were covered with wood, and in these woods the Geraldines had hoped to conceal themselves until the moment for action arose (2).

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(1) D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 604.

(2) Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Dublin," vol. i., p. 197; Whitelaw and Walsh's "History of Dublin," vol. i., p. 189; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 233.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, while Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1577, an arched stone bridge was thrown over the Liffey at Island Bridge <sup>(1)</sup>, but the surroundings had not improved. After the dissolution of the religious houses the possessions of the Priory at Kilmainham had been leased by the Crown to various persons, with the result that at the beginning of the seventeenth century ruinous houses and waste places abounded there. About the time of the Rebellion of 1641 the neighbourhood was occupied principally by an industrial population. The mills, which were then known as the island mills, had become so extensive as to be worth a rent of £200 of the money of those times, and were the principal means for supplying the army with corn. They had come into the possession of the Crown, and a grant of them which was made to Sir John Temple, then Master of the Rolls, who has been noticed under the adjacent parish of Palmerston, gave rise to much controversy. The lands at Island Bridge were then cultivated by market gardeners, one of whom alleged great losses during the rebellion, and stated that his son had been so barbarously treated "that he languished and died" <sup>(2)</sup>.

Soon after the Restoration the lands of Inchicore, Island Bridge and Kilmainham were enclosed in the Phoenix Park, which was then designed and made by the Duke of Ormonde, but this arrangement lasted only for about twenty years, and the Phoenix Park was then reduced to its present limits. While enclosed in the Phoenix Park the villages and public thoroughfares existed as they had done formerly. During the Commonwealth the mills had been described as consisting of two double mills and a single mill, and after the Restoration they were leased, together with six fishing weirs near Island Bridge, to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Maurice Eustace, the owner of the adjoining lands of Chapelizod <sup>(3)</sup>. At the latter time there were some twenty houses and cottages at Island Bridge, the principal inhabitants being Benjamin Boulton, whose house had

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<sup>(1)</sup> Austin Cooper mentions in his Note-book, under the year 1781, that the bridge bore Sidney's arms with the date 1577, of which Cooper had a copy.

<sup>(2)</sup> Patent Rolls, Jas. I., p. 340; Carte Papers, vol. iv., f. 462, vol. v., f. 315, vol. clxiv., f. 452; Ormonde Manuscripts, N.S., vol. ii., p. 303, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Deposition of 1641 (Margaret Cooke).

<sup>(3)</sup> Down Survey Map; Exchequer Order, p. 358.



three hearths, and a miller called John Harris<sup>(1)</sup> whose house had two hearths; but at Inchicore, although before the Rebellion a substantial brick residence had stood on the lands, there was only a single inhabitant whose house was rated as containing but one hearth<sup>(2)</sup>. About this time the place of execution was moved from its old site on the ground near Parkgate Street to Kilmainham, where a gaol then existed<sup>(3)</sup>.

Later on houses began to be built by Dublin citizens in the Kilmainham neighbourhood, and during the eighteenth century it continued to be a favourite residential locality. At Island Bridge resided in the early part of that century Sir William Fownes, who numbered Dean Swift amongst his friends and admirers, and furnished the Dean with a scheme for the foundation of an asylum for lunatics. Fownes was possibly attracted to Island Bridge by the fact that he held at one time the office of ranger of the Phœnix Park. He was a knight and baronet who had filled the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin, and represented in Parliament during the reign of Queen Anne the borough of Wicklow, and during the reign of George II. the borough of Dingle. His exclusion from Parliament during the reign of George I. was doubtless due to his political opinions being in accord of those of his friend the Dean, who pronounces him to have been a wise and useful citizen as well as a man of taste and humour, praise which he would not have accorded to a political opponent. Sir William Fownes, who died in 1735 at a very advanced age, and was succeeded in his baronetcy by his grandson, is now represented by the Tighes of Woodstock. His house at Island Bridge was quite rural in its surroundings, which included a straw house and a granary, in addition to gardens, and a path called the Mount walk overlooking the Liffey, and was handsomely furnished, as is evidenced by the mention of brass grates and door fittings and of pictures which covered the walls of every room. After Sir William Fownes' death his home passed into the possession of one of his sons-in-law Robert Cope of Loughgall. Cope and his wife "who entertained this covetous lampooning Dean much better than he deserved" enjoyed in a special degree Swift's

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(1) Doubtless a house at Island Bridge belonged to him, or to some member of his family, on which Austin Cooper tells us there were the letter H, surmounting the letters I and A, divided by a heart, and the date 1684.

(2) Hearth Money Roll.

(3) Carte Papers, vol. cliv., f. 71.

favour, and at one time their house at Loughgall was the only country one which Swift could tolerate. Besides the house at Island Bridge Cope succeeded through his wife to property in Dublin near College Green, where Cope Street and Fownes Street commemorate the connection of himself and his father-in-law with that vicinity <sup>(1)</sup>.

At Inchicore the Annesley family had at that time a house which is frequently referred to in the famous Annesley peerage case. It stood not far from an inn from which the townland of Butchersarms takes its name. It was the residence of the claimant's father Arthur, fourth Lord Altham, at the time of his death in 1727, and was subsequently occupied by the claimant's uncle, the defendant in the suit, Richard, fifth Lord Altham, who also succeeded on the death of his cousin to the titles of Earl of Anglesey and Viscount Valentia <sup>(2)</sup>. The Annesleys were not the only residents near Kilmainham connected with that extraordinary legal struggle. At the time of the trial, in 1743, Sir William Fownes' house at Island Bridge was occupied by one of the judges before whom the suit was tried, John Bowes, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer and afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of whom more will be told under Drumcondra where he subsequently resided <sup>(3)</sup>, and a house at Kilmainham was the home of one of the counsel for the defendant, Simon Bradstreet, a lawyer of great eminence. Bradstreet contested the Parliamentary representation of Dublin in the year 1737, but unsuccessfully, although we find him, in order to promote his candidature, engaging a band of music to play once a week at the Basin for "the entertainment of the ladies and gentlemen and the rest of his fellow-citizens." On him a baronetcy was conferred to which his second son, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, who has been noticed under Booterstown, succeeded on the death of his elder brother. The house at Kilmainham long continued to be a residence of the Bradstreet family. Sir Simon Bradstreet, who, as has been

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<sup>(1)</sup> "Swift's Works," edited by Sir Walter Scott, *passim*; Return of Members of Parliament; G. E. C.'s Complete Baronetage, vol. v., p. 347; Wills of Sir William Fownes and Robert Cope; Burke's "Extinct Baronetage" and "Landed Gentry."

<sup>(2)</sup> "The Trial in Ejectment between Campbell Craig lessor of James Annesley, Esq., and others, plaintiffs; and the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Anglesey, defendant," Dublin, 1744, *passim*.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Dublin Journal*, No. 1869.



already mentioned, was buried at Clondalkin, died at Kilmainham in 1762 and his widow was also residing there at the time of her death in 1779 (1).

The increase of inhabitants did not interfere however with industrial enterprises. The mills at Island Bridge still maintained their importance and had advanced with the times, as appears from an advertisement in 1738 which offers them for sale, together with the salmon weirs and island in the Liffey, and states that they were provided with French and other stones for grinding corn and preparing flour (2). A brewery had also been established at Island Bridge by John Davies, who died in 1704, and another was afterwards owned there by Richard Pockrich, one of the most extraordinary characters Ireland has ever produced, who dissipated a great fortune in promoting such visionary schemes as transforming bogs into vineyards and men into birds (3). The market gardens had given place to a celebrated nursery where pine-apples, then a new delight, and the finest flowers could be procured. It was owned by one Andrew Haubois, and possibly his house was known by the sign of the "Black Lion," as a lady of the period records that garden mould could be purchased at a house with that sign at Island Bridge (4). The neighbourhood had then however some more serious drawbacks than manufactures. As in the case of Crumlin, races on the commons, which existed at that time at Kilmainham, attracted there very undesirable people, and in 1747, during an attempt to suppress the races, the soldiers were called out and several persons were shot (5). But even more disagreeable was the presence of the place of execution for the county, near which a windmill was destroyed in 1763 from a rather remarkable circumstance, the heating of the iron work during a storm (6).

The house at Island Bridge which had belonged to Sir William Fownes was bequeathed by Robert Cope to his second son who

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(1) *Dublin News-Letter*, vol. i., Nos. 8, 44, 109; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1762, p. 246, for 1774, p. 61, and for 1779, p. 656; *Irish Builder* for 1887, p. 155; G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. v., p. 363.

(2) *Dublin News-Letter*, vol. ii., No. 129.

(3) Will of John Davies; Newburgh's "Essays, Poetical, Moral and Critical," p. 235; "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xlv., p. 451.

(4) *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. i., p. 78; vol. iv., p. 287; *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxviii., p. 152.

(5) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1747, p. 347.

(6) *The Irish Builder* for 1895, p. 37; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. vii., p. 178.

bore the same name, and who died there in 1765. Amongst other residents at Island Bridge in that century may be mentioned in 1720 Robert Crowe, in 1724 Robert Curtis, "resident chirurgion of the Royal Hospital," in 1736 Lieutenant William Cox, in 1738 Edward Ford, in 1746 William Noy, an attorney and justice of the peace, in 1749 Michael Jones, in 1764 Anthony Green, in 1768 Captain Thomas Pennefather, who became connected with the place through his wife, a member of the Goodwin family, the members of which long held a responsible position in connection with the Royal Hospital, in 1786 Thomas Keightley, and in 1799 Sir John Trail <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Wills of the persons mentioned ; and *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1746, p. 594, and for 1768, p. 576 ; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer* for 1764, p. 306.

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## Parish of Chapelizod.

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This parish contains the townland of Chapelizod, and portion of the Phoenix Park. The only object of antiquarian interest is the tower of the parish church.

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### CHAPELIZOD.

THE village of Chapelizod, which lies between Island Bridge and Palmerston, and is picturesquely situated on the northern bank of the river Liffey, contains now a flour mill and distillery, and is mainly occupied by persons employed in them. Although here and there one sees an old time house that has seen better days, the thought would never suggest itself that Chapelizod had once been the site of a great mansion. Yet such was the case, and in a field sloping down to the Liffey on the south of the road from Dublin stood what was known as the King's House in which William III. held his court for some days.

An ancient tradition connects Chapelizod with La belle Isoude, the heroine of the poets, and traces the origin of the place-name to her. According to the "Book of Howth" she was the daughter of Anguisshe, King of Ireland, who flourished in the days of King Arthur and the knights of the round table. To King Anguisshe, a King of Cornwall called Mark had been wont to pay tribute, but he disputed his obligation to do so, and it was determined that the question should be decided by combat between two knights. The knights, Sir Marlyn, a brother of the Queen of Ireland, representing King Anguisshe, and Sir Tristram representing King Mark, met in Cornwall with the result that both were wounded in the conflict. Although able to return to Ireland Sir Marlyn soon died, and after his death Sir Tristram, whose wound had been caused by a poisoned spear, came to this country, as he was told none except La belle Isoude could cure the hurt. The Queen of Ireland had taken out of her brother's wound a piece of iron, which she had kept, and observing one day a gap in Sir Tristram's sword she was prompted to try whether this piece of iron fitted it. She found that they agreed,

and forthwith caused her brother's adversary to be banished from the Irish court, but meantime he had won the heart of La belle Isoude, who followed him to England. Whether this tale has any foundation in fact, or whether, if so, La Belle Isoude had any connection with Chapelizod must remain a matter of doubt, but a spring called Isoude's font, which lay between Kilmainham and the Phoenix Park, as well as a building called Isoude's tower in the walls of old Dublin, tend to indicate that at some period a celebrated person of the name of Isoude was resident in Dublin or its neighbourhood (1).

The lands of Chapelizod appear to have been reserved under the Anglo-Norman settlement as Crown property. By King John they were leased, together with the lands of Killsallaghan, to Richard de la Felde. Later on the Justiciary of Ireland took the lands of both these places, which he had extended, into the King's hands, but in 1220 the King, tempted by a higher rent than the former tenant had given, leased the lands to Thomas Fitz-Adam. A few years later, in 1224, Nicholas, son of Richard de la Felde, offered four times as much for the lands as his father had given, but the lands were then divided, and those of Chapelizod were, in 1225, leased to Richard de Burgh, then Justiciary of Ireland. His tenure was short, and in 1235 his successor was seeking for a new tenant and increased rent for Chapelizod. The manor, as it was then called, appears to have been for a time in the King's hands. There is mention in the accounts of the Exchequer of seven oxen bought for the plough of Chapelizod, and a weir there is referred to as the property of the Crown. But the Chapelizod lands were soon leased again, and amongst the farmers or middlemen in the later part of the thirteenth century were William de Lindesay, the Bishop of Meath, Henry de Gorham and his wife Annora, and Nigel le Brun the King's valet, while William de Estdene held for some years the demesne lands.

The town of Chapelizod was surrounded with walls, and it was probably with a view to its improvement that in 1290 the King's mills and houses there were leased to William Pren, the King's carpenter, who is afterwards described as a felon. Amongst those mentioned in connection with Chapelizod at that time we find

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(1) *The Athenæum* for 1902, pp. 473, 537, 633; *Calendar of Carew State Papers*, Book of Howth, p. 237; Gilbert's "*History of Dublin*," vol. ii., p. 115.



Richard of Ballyfermot, and Thomas Cantock, the Chancellor of Ireland, referred to under that place. The Priory of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham appears to have been also connected with Chapelizod, and early in the next century was granted the manor on the death of Richard de Wodehose, who then held it, together with the King's fishery and a mill. Subsequently, in 1380, the King regranted to the Priory the fishery at Chapelizod together with a weir and a sluice. At that time a small holding there still belonged to the de la Feldes, and was then granted to the parish church by a member of that family <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Kilmainham Priory continued to hold the manor of Chapelizod for the next hundred years, as appears from numerous charges on the issues of that place made by the Crown, but in 1476 the manor was taken from that establishment and granted to Sir Thomas Daniel. To him succeeded in the sixteenth century Sir William Wyse of Waterford. The principal resident at that time was Richard Savage, who, in 1536, was described as a yeoman of the Crown, and was granted the office of chief sergeant of all the baronies of the County Dublin, and of the cantred of Newcastle Lyons. Savage was married to Anson Warburton, but had no children, and on his death in 1580 his possessions at Chapelizod passed to his sister, who had married one of the Meys of Kilmactalway. The Burnells of Balgriffin had become possessed of lands at Chapelizod which, during the sixteenth century, passed to the Bathe family, and John White of Dufferin was also owner of property in the town at the close of that century <sup>(2)</sup>.

Some information as to the town of Chapelizod at the beginning of the seventeenth century is to be obtained from a grant of three messuages, and some land there made to James the First's celebrated Irish Attorney-General, Sir John Davies. The walls were apparently then still standing as the east gate of the town is mentioned, and amongst the buildings then well known was the mill and "the common bakehouse," which stood close to a path called the blind way. The church stile, and "the old wood called the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1307, *passim*; Patent Rolls, *passim*; Memoranda Roll, 8 Edw. II., m. 4; Chancery Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jac. I., No. 10.

<sup>(2)</sup> Patent Rolls, *passim*; D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," p. 545; Fianta Henry VIII., Nos. 53, 247, 482; Philip and Mary, No. 249; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Philip and Mary, No. 34; Elizabeth, No. 186; Patent Rolls, Jac. I., pp. 75, 169.

stucking" are also referred to, and amongst the lands named in the grant are the north park, the cherry park, the stang, the scrubby park, the meadow park, the oaten park, the farm park, the ash park, and the orchard park (1).

At that time there appears at Chapelizod one of the most distinguished soldiers in the Irish wars at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Henry Power, who was afterwards created Viscount Valentia. Power, who became not only the owner of, but a resident, at Chapelizod, acquired first the property there belonging to the Whites, and afterwards was granted, as the assignee of one Edward Medhop, the entire manor, excepting such portion as belonged to Sir John Davies and to the parish church. It was in the year 1598 that Power came to Ireland. He had previously seen much service, which had gained for him the honour of knighthood, not only on land but also on sea. A few years before he had accompanied Sir Francis Drake on his last expedition to the West Indies, and he was with the English army in Picardy when the order reached him to come to this country. He sailed from Dieppe in February with over six hundred men, and after "a very chargeable voyage" landed safely at Waterford. He was at once placed in the fighting line, and for the next few years was continuously in the field. According to the Earl of Ormonde, who was Lord Deputy when he arrived, Power acquitted himself most valiantly, and the Earl of Ormonde's successor, the Earl of Essex, who possibly had previous knowledge of Power, and considered him capable of high military authority, sent him to Munster as commander of the forces in that province. He was more than once wounded, and the company under his immediate control was said to be the best trained and provided in Ireland. At first he had reason to complain of the consideration shown him, and says that no man had struck so many blows to gain a reputation with so small return, and that few would be willing to spend so much time, money, and blood as he had done for so small a reward. But he was not overlooked as he supposed, and soon afterwards was appointed to the governorship of Leix, which appears to have been a remunerative position.

Under the rule of Sir Arthur Chichester Power was appointed a privy councillor, and he sat in the Parliament of 1613 as member for the Queen's County. It was doubtless mainly to his

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(1) Patent Rolls, Jac. I., p. 213.



ability as a statesman that he owed his elevation in 1621 to the peerage as Viscount Valentia; but three years later military ardour again possessed him, and he crossed to England with the object of obtaining fresh employment in the army. The command of a troop of horse in Ireland, which he was soon given, did not satisfy him, and in the following year he joined in the expedition then undertaken against Cadiz as Master of the Ordnance. The conduct of this campaign did not meet with his approval, and in a letter written after his return to Ireland he expresses his unwillingness to serve again under similar circumstances, but submits himself to the King's pleasure. In this letter, which was written in January, 1627, he gives a terrible account of his voyage to Ireland, whence he had come by long sea from London in a transport laden with stores and ordnance, and tells how, near the Scilly Islands, they lost all their masts and sails, and were driven "hither and thither." With this expedition Viscount Valentia's active service seems to have ended, and on his succeeding in 1634 to the reversion of the office of marshal of the Irish army he seems to have been considered unequal to discharge the duties, and resigned the office before his death, which took place in 1642 (1).

The King's House at Chapelizod was erected by Lord Valentia. It was a brick building, constructed evidently in the fashion of that time with a courtyard and entrance gateway, and was of great extent, being rated as containing no less than fifteen chimneys. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the green meadows sloping down from the village of Chapelizod to the river Liffey contained some traces of the foundation of the house, and even now, as a recent writer remarks, they still reveal some indication of former stateliness (2). Lord Valentia, who is described in his patent as of Bersham in Denbighshire, married a Welsh lady, a sister of Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, who with his family enters so largely into the history of Tallaght parish. She died a year before her husband and was buried with great pomp in St. Patrick's Cathedral. By her Lord Valentia had no children, and his title, as had been arranged when it was conferred on him,

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(1) Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1598-1641, *passim*; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1598-1641, *passim*; Return of Members of Parliament.

(2) Loveday's "Diary of a Tour in 1732," p. 28, published by Roxburghe Society; Hearth Money Rolls; Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," p. 63.

passed on his death to Sir Francis Annesley, then Lord Mount-norris, to whom he was related. A niece of Lady Valentia appears to have been adopted by her and her husband as their child. This niece married Sir Henry Spottiswood, son of James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher, and nephew of the better-known John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Scotch historian. It would appear from an extraordinary account of "the labyrinth of troubles" into which the Bishop of Clogher fell in this country that the marriage was promoted by other people and was not altogether such as he would have desired; but Sir Henry and his wife appear to have lived very happily with their uncle and aunt at Chapelizod, and the latter certainly appear to have been very true friends of the Bishop on an occasion when he seems to have been strangely forgetful of his office <sup>(1)</sup>.

At Chapelizod there resided in Lord Valentia's time an artificer of great renown, Edmond Tingham, who is described as a stone-cutter, but who seems to have been no less skilled in design than in execution, and capable of working in wood as well as in stone. Of his work an enduring memorial exists in the Earl of Cork's tomb in St. Patrick's Cathedral. As appears from the diary of the Earl of Cork the construction of the monument was entrusted entirely to Tingham, and although one may not altogether agree with a contemporary traveller in speaking of it as "the very famous, sumptuous, and glorious tomb of the Earl Cork" it must be admitted that Tingham was not unworthy of the trust reposed in him. The tomb is made of marble, which is said to have been raised within two miles of the city of Dublin, and was erected at a cost of £400, a vast sum in the money of that time. It was more than two years before the tomb was finished, and meantime we find the Earl of Cork employing Tingham in other work. To Tingham's "judgment, honesty, and care" the Earl confided the completion of his new gallery and study in his Dublin residence, and apparently the chimney-pieces, wainscotting, and great nest of boxes for his papers were "as well and gracefully disposed, ordered and finished" as the Earl could desire. Then at Maynooth the Earl made use of Tingham in a larger undertaking, the

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<sup>(1)</sup> G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage," vol. viii. p. 13; "A Brief Memorial of the Lyfe and Death of Doctor James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher," Edin., 1811; Lismore Papers, Ser. i., vol. iv., p. 20.



pulling down of an old house, and building of a new one for his son-in-law, the Earl of Kildare, and although care was necessary in financing Tingham, the workmanship completely satisfied the experienced eye of his vigilant employer (1).

When the Commonwealth came the village of Chapelizod contained a cloth-mill, as well as a flour-mill, and comprised ten slated houses, besides thatched or chaff-houses as they are called. There was a quarry for good building stone in the vicinity, and the salmon fishery on the Liffey was a large one. "The fair mansion house," as Lord Valentia's residence is described in the Survey, was surrounded with extensive offices, and the same value was placed on it as on the castle of Luttrellstown. To it were attached gardens, orchards and plantations, and these, with the house and other buildings, seem to have been in excellent order, and to have come through the troublous times without damage. During the earlier part of the Commonwealth period the great house seems to have been in possession of Sir Theophilus Jones, then also the owner of Lucan, but at the time of the Restoration the principal persons connected with Chapelizod were David Edwards, John Mason, and Rouse Davis (2).

After the Restoration the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Maurice Eustace, as mentioned in the notice of that statesman under Palmerston, became possessed of Chapelizod, and used Lord Valentia's house from time to time as a country residence. When the Duke of Ormonde was coming to Ireland as viceroy in 1662 Eustace advised him to stay at the Phoenix, then the viceregal rural retreat, the site of which is now occupied by the Magazine in the Phoenix Park, and, after giving his reasons, expresses his hope that Ormonde will stay there, as he will then have "the happiness of being his Grace's near neighbour at Chapelizod." Before he had been many weeks in Ireland Ormonde conceived the design of making the Phoenix Park, in which is comprised the greater portion of the original lands of Chapelizod, and Eustace's possessions became to Ormonde a Naboth's vineyard. But they did not long remain so, as Eustace was not unwilling to sell, and within three months arbitrators were appointed to value

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(1) The Lismore Papers, Ser. i., vol. iii., pp. 35, 90, 134, 141, 149, 171, 175; Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," p. 378.

(2) Civil Survey of Castleknock; Down Survey; Census of 1659.

some four hundred and fifty acres which Eustace had undertaken to surrender for the King's convenience and accommodation. In the following year the scheme was further extended, and it was resolved to buy the whole manor of Chapelizod with the town and the great house.

This decision was doubtless in a measure due to a desire to secure the great house, which was more commodious than the Phoenix, as a viceregal residence, and as soon as the purchase had been completed Ormonde moved into it. In order to fit it for its new occupant the house was placed in the hands of the Government contractor, one William Dodson. His dealings with the State are an extraordinary illustration of the lax Treasury administration in the seventeenth century. At Chapelizod, however, he proceeded warily. He furnished first in 1666 only a small account for the cost of new flooring two of the rooms and erecting a chimney piece, but he sent in two years later an enormous account, made out in the most approved style of a modern dishonest tradesman, for a few shillings under a thousand pounds. This account, with many others from Dodson, was referred to a commission, and the commissioners reported that the expense of the repairs to the house were not proportional to the sum "pretended to be laid out by Dodson," and that "the house had not been left by him staunch or likely to continue long habitable with safety." At the same time Dodson furnished an account for building a bridge across the Liffey at Chapelizod, and this was the only case in which the commissioners found that the work had been well done, and was worth the money charged. During Ormonde's viceroyalty much use was made of the house at Chapelizod. In the winter of 1665 the Duchess went there, as Dublin did not agree with her, and while Ormonde was in London in 1668, one of his retinue wrote to tell him that the Duchess was busy nailing and grafting with the gardener at Chapelizod. At that time Ormonde's son, Lord Arran, who was acting as his Deputy, lost there his first wife. When in the following year Ormonde was called on to surrender the sword to Lord Robartes, the grounds had evidently been brought to high perfection under the care of the Duchess, and we find her writing from London to desire that they should not be allowed to suffer in the interregnum <sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) Carte Papers, vol. xxxi., f. 373 ; vol. xxxii., f. 137 ; vol. xxxiii., f. 370 ; vol. xxxvi., f. 195 ; vol. cliv., f. 71 ; Ormonde Papers, N.S., vol. iii., *passim*, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.



The Duke of Ormonde directed his attention largely during his tenure of office at that time to the encouragement of manufactures in Ireland, and formed a council of trade for the purpose of promoting them. Amongst the factories started as a result of the deliberations of this council was one for the manufacture of linen at Chapelizod. This factory was placed by Ormonde under the direction of Colonel Richard Lawrence, who appears to have carried on then the business of an upholsterer in Dublin, but who had occupied a prominent position under the Commonwealth as Governor of Wexford, and enjoyed the confidence of Henry Cromwell. The factory was not long started before Ormonde was called to England, and in the autumn of 1668, as appears from a report sent to him by Lawrence, the necessary buildings were only approaching completion. Some houses for the artizans had been finished that summer, and a thatched barn, which stood on the side of the hill facing the great house, had been converted into a work house for twenty looms. But fourteen houses for the artizans were still unfinished. These were being built of brick, two stories in height, and were intended for foreign artists from Holland, and for some eight or ten families from Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. Lawrence had accepted the supervision of the factory with reluctance, and found the difficulties which he had anticipated greatly increased by Ormonde's absence, but was sanguine that he could lay "such a foundation not only of linen, but of woollen and worsted manufacture, at Chapelizod" as would benefit posterity. Already he had made as good linen cloth and diaper of Irish yarn as was made in any country in Europe, had begun the manufacture of blankets and friezes, and of carpets and coverings for chairs, and had set up the trade of combing wool.

The report was accompanied by sundry proposals on the part of Colonel Lawrence for the development of the Chapelizod industries, and contemplated the employment of two or three hundred workpeople there, and a multitude throughout the country. In addition the necessity of subsidiary factories "where as a beehive Chapelizod should pour out its swarms" was touched upon. Lawrence had given up his own business in Dublin where he tells Ormonde he was settled "in as plentiful a way of trade as most of his quality," and his scheme included a suggestion for his own aggrandizement to the position of a justice of the peace, which he represented as requisite "owing to the disposition to disorder of

the workpeople and their aptness to deceive." Ormonde appears to have been alarmed for the moment by the extent of the undertaking to which he was being committed, but was reassured by his advisers, and did all he could to help Lawrence, who went over to London to see him. As a result of Ormonde's recommendations the linen board decided to place the bleaching yard for Leinster at Chapelizod, and the contract for the supply of linen to the army was given to the factory there. In the succeeding years Lawrence retained Ormonde's confidence, although there are indications that the Duchess and Ormonde's agent were not always sympathetic, and not only gave Ormonde advice with regard to the establishment of various industries on his property, but also unsolicited suggestions as to finance on which Lawrence considered himself a great authority. But his work at Chapelizod came to an end in eleven years owing, as he alleged, to the withdrawal of a contract for the supply of woollen goods to the army, and the last we see of him is in London in 1683, a year before his death, with Sir William Petty "tumbling the argument of coin up and down with little edification to their hearers" (1).

Chapelizod must have been at that period a lively place, for in addition to the viceregal residence and the factory, it possessed, like Templeogue at a later date, a mineral spa. This spa, which seems to have been much resorted to, is eulogised in what is now a scarce pamphlet by one Dr. Bellon, who dedicates his *brochure* to the Duke of Ormonde, "through whose courteous invitation the author had left his native soil to end the remainder of his days in this country" (2). The Earl of Essex, who came over as viceroy in 1672, and considered Dublin Castle unwholesome, frequently stayed in the great house at Chapelizod. During his tenure of office the report on Dodson's work proved to be only too well founded, and large sums, although apparently less than were necessary, were spent upon the fabric. It was in Essex's

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(1). "The Interest in Ireland of its Trade and Wealth, stated in two Parts," by Richard Lawrence (Dublin, 1682); Lansdowne Manuscripts, 822, f. 270, in British Museum; Carte Papers, vol. xxxvi., ff. 503, 521-525; vol. xxxvii. f. 553; vol. xlix., ff. 643-645; vol. l., f. 38; vol. lxvi., f. 323; vol. clx., f. 36; vol. ccxix, f. 452; Ormonde Manuscripts, N.S., vol. iii., *passim*, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Will of Richard Lawrence; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxiii., p. 273.

(2). "The Irish Spaw, being a Short Discourse on Mineral Waters in general, with a way of improving by Art weakly-impregnated Mineral Waters; and a brief Account of the Mineral Waters at Chappel-izod near Dublin, by P. Bellon, Dr. in Physick." Dublin, 1684.



time that Colonel Lawrence surrendered the linen factory at Chapelizod, and the Duke of Ormonde, when he returned in 1677 to take up the sword, found the factory leased to Alderman Christopher Lovett. Although the Duchess of Ormonde sometimes grew weary of the surroundings, the Duke of Ormonde and his son Lord Arran found the house a pleasant retreat until, on the accession of James II., the Earl of Clarendon replaced them in the government. Clarendon and his Countess, who delighted in country life, intended to make it their principal abode, but the improvements, which they made, were destined to be of more advantage to Tyrconnel, who was in occupation of the great house in 1690 before the Battle of the Boyne, than to themselves.

The event, from which the viceregal residence gained the name of the King's House, next took place upon the arrival there of William III. at the close of the month that had opened with his victory at the Boyne. The King was doubtless delighted to find himself once more in the midst of a Dutch garden, for in this style the Countess of Clarendon says the Chapelizod grounds were laid out, and he found the house, which had been not only improved but enlarged by Lord Clarendon, sufficiently capacious to admit of his holding a more or less formal court. In the succeeding years the Chief Governors continued to make use of the house. In 1693 Viscount Sydney speaks of the need of repairs, in 1696 Lord Capel died while residing there, in 1711 the second Duke of Ormonde is said "to have kept much at Chapelizod not concerning himself with the proceedings of the Irish Parliament in Chichester House," and in 1714 during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Shrewsbury a pigeon house was erected and other improvements made <sup>(1)</sup>.

A favourite house of entertainment appears to have stood at the close of the seventeenth century in Chapelizod and to have been the meeting place of a Dublin club. In a somewhat obscure passage John Dunton tells us that he was wont to ramble out to Chapelizod to visit the Lord Clonuff, "who as President of the illustrious house of Cabinteele" conferred honours like a prince and created as many as four noblemen in one day. The linen factory was still

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(<sup>1</sup>) Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 63, 64; Carte Papers, vol. liii., f. 155, 157; vol. clxviii., f. 116; vol. ccix., ff. 240, 252; vol. ccxxxii., f. 851. Singer's "Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon," vol. i., pp. 237, 238, 407; vol. ii., p. 87; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1690-1691, pp. 233, 338; 1693, p. 137; 30th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland, App. pp., 48, 50.

carried on there by the Lovett family although they had been displaced for a time under James II. in favour of a Quaker called Bromfield, and twenty looms for linen were still working, besides others used in making tapestry. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the King's gardens attained a great celebrity and brought to Chapelizod rural artists of good position, such as Robert Wadeley, a native of Wales, who died there in 1711, and Charles Carter who describes himself in 1728 as "His Majesty's gardener" (1).

The King's House was then seldom occupied by the Viceroys, who became more and more absentees, and on his arrival in 1726 as primate Archbishop Boulter was allowed the use of it as a country residence. His successor Archbishop Stone secured it for a time for his brother-in-law William Barnard, Bishop of Derry, who subsequently settled at Ranelagh, and in 1750 Mrs. Delany often dined with the Bishop, whose collection of pictures she much admired, at "that sweet pretty place" as she calls Chapelizod. Afterwards we find John Garnett, Bishop of Ferns, in occupation. But a few years later, in 1758, it was decided to retain no longer the house for its original purpose, and to convert it into a barrack for the Irish artillery, then a separate corps from the English, on the Irish *establishment*. During the viceroyalty of the Earl of Hertford, in 1765, we read that the Royal Regiment of Artillery was reviewed at Chapelizod by his son and chief secretary, Lord Beauchamp, who was so satisfied with the performance that he gave the men ten guineas to drink the King's health. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, when the regiment was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Richard Bettesworth who was long connected with it, the Chapelizod barrack is mentioned as a handsome building well adapted for its purpose, and the King's garden is stated to have been given to the Hibernian School in the Phœnix Park which had shortly before been established (2).

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(1) Dunton's "Dublin Scuffle," pp. 370, 422; Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1690-1691, p. 338; 1691-1692, pp. 298, 322; Wills of Robert Wadeley and Charles Carter; *Dublin Intelligence*, Dec. 14, 1728.

(2) Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 64-66; Boulter's Letters vol. i., pp. 116, 122; vol. ii., pp. 139-140; Mrs. Delany's "Autobiography and Correspondence," vol. ii., pp. 503, 547, 552, 621, 625; Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Manuscripts, vol. i., p. 212, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. ix., p. 90; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1774, p. 328; for 1777, p. 632; for 1784, p. 744; Lewis' "Dublin Guide," p. 98.



The village was, throughout the eighteenth century, as Mrs. Delany tells us, "a famous place for entertainment." When the meeting of Parliament in 1729 drew near and "the candidates began to do more than distribute printed bills," the *Dublin Intelligence* informs us that Mr. Summerville treated about a hundred freemen at Chapelizod at a cost of two hundred pounds, with the result that "a report passed current in discourse that only a native like him should represent the city." Amongst the well-known houses of entertainment were, in 1741 the "Ship Tavern," and in 1760 the "Three Tuns and Grapes," and the hosts included in 1741 John Dawson; who acquired in his business a large fortune and a fair character; in 1760 John Ryan, whose entertainment, and not pompous advertisement, was his recommendation; and in 1787 Thomas Morris, who besides good cheer, advertises stabling for sixty horses (1). The walk along the river Liffey from Island Bridge was then much valued, and about the year 1761 an attempt to close it was the subject of prolonged litigation which only ended in the English House of Lords (2). About that time an attempt was made to introduce silk weaving by planting mulberry trees, and William Conolly of Castletown planted also golden oziers along the Liffey bank (3). Wells of petrifying waters at Chapelizod were amongst the discoveries made by the diligent John Rutty, but there is no mention by him of the spa found by Dr. Bellon (4). The village then attracted many private residents, and there in 1747 died Richard White, then Mayor of Dublin; in 1754 the Rev. Walter Chamberlain, in 1761 Captain Richard Aylmer, a centenarian of a hundred and five, who had served under Charles the Second and James the Second; and in 1776 Dr. Richard Reddy (5).

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(1) *Dublin Intelligence*, Sept. 20, 1729; *Pue's Occurrences*, Sept. 19-22, 1741; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. iv., pp. 107, 121; Lewis' "Dublin Guide," p. 98.

(2) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1761, p. 287.

(3) *Dublin Journal*, Feb. 26-Mar. 2, 1750-1; Angel's "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 109.

(4) Rutty's "Natural History of the County Dublin," vol. ii., p. 146.

(5) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1747, p. 190; for 1754, p. 316; for 1761, p. 439; and for 1776, p. 320.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE present church at Chapelizod is a modern structure, but is attached to a tower of considerable antiquity, and there are two mural tablets within the building <sup>(1)</sup> and a large tomb in the churchyard <sup>(2)</sup> dating from the seventeenth century.

The first reference to the Church of Chapelizod after the Anglo-Norman invasion states that the advowson was in possession of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. But subsequently, in 1228, when Richard de Burgh the justiciary was tenant of the Chapelizod lands the King presented the justiciary's clerk, William de Rupe, to the church, which was then vacant, and in the following year a formal grant of the advowson to the Priory appears. Again in 1305 the Crown dealt with the manor and its mills and fisheries, which were then leased to one John de Selsby. After the dissolution of the Priory, the tithes and altarages, as well as the other possessions of the church, were leased to lay owners, including in 1574 one Jasper Horsey, and in 1579 the newly-founded College of the Holy Trinity held some houses and lands which belonged to it <sup>(3)</sup>.

There is no information about the structure in the visitation of the early part of the seventeenth century, but the Commonwealth surveys mention a chapel in good repair, and towards the close of

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(1) The tablets bear the following inscriptions:—"I.H.S. Heaven hath ye souls and here lie ye bodies of Henry and Elizabeth Dr. James Hierom's virs and religa. wives, ye 1st born in Fra. died Dec. 29, 1670; ye 2nd in Irl. Oct. 23, 1675, and was Bp. Spotwood's daughter." "Here lyeth the body of Gyles Curwen who departed this life May ye 6th 1688 in ye 77th year of his age. Also Luci his wife who dept. July ye 10th 1689 and 2 of their Grandchildren who died in their infancy."

(2) The tomb bears a coat of arms and the following inscription:—"This tomb was erected by John Low, gent. who was born at Bewdly in Worcestershire, and departed this life the 24 of April, 1638, and was here interred. Here also lie the bodies of Joan, wife of Major William Low, his son, who died the 30 of Septem. 1677; Elizabeth, wife of Ebenezer Low, Esq. son of the sd William Low, who died ye 2 of January, 1677; Major William Low departed this life ye 2 of May, 1678; Joan his daughter departed this life ye 20th of March, 1678; Lieu. George Low, second son of John Low, died ye 8 of July, 1681; Catherin, second wife of Ebenezer Low, died ye 8 of July, 1687; Ebenezer Low, Esq. repaired and enlarged this tomb, and departed this life ye 2nd of July, 1690. Here lie also the bodies of William, William, Elizabeth, Joan Low, Catherine Low, Ebenezer, John, Joseph son of [—]tin Cuppaidge, gent. by Mary his wife, daughter of Major William Low."

(3) "Crede Mihi," edited by Sir John Gilbert, p. 138; Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1251, Nos. 1620, 1744; 1302-1307, No. 397; Fiant's Elizabeth, Nos. 2426, 6123.



the eighteenth century the church which then existed is said to have been built about two hundred years. If not erected before, it was doubtless built by Lord Valentia, who appears to have been a good churchman, and possibly it was served by his chaplains the Rev. Robert Boyle and the Rev. George Cottingham, who became beneficed clergymen in Bishop Spottiswood's diocese <sup>(1)</sup>. In 1639 the Richard Matherson is returned as in charge of Chapelizod parish; in 1644 the Rev. Anthony Proctor, who was a prebendary of St. Patrick's Cathedral; and in 1646 the Rev. Richard Powell, who held a like dignity.

After the Restoration in 1668 the Rev. James Hierome was presented by the King to the vicarage of Chapelizod. Hierome, who was a Huguenot, had previously been chaplain of the Savoy Chapel in London, and it is stated that the vicarage of Chapelizod was given to him in consideration of his having induced that congregation to conform to the Church of England, as well as of his learning, piety, and being a stranger. As part of his revenue he was given liberty to graze horses and cattle in the Phoenix Park, and he held in addition to Chapelizod dignities in St. Patrick's Cathedral and in the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. His coming to Chapelizod may have had some connection with the arrival of the French workpeople, and in subsequent years we find him accompanying Colonel Lawrence to the Duke of Ormonde's estates to advise about settlements there <sup>(2)</sup>. He was twice married, his first wife being a Frenchwoman and his second a daughter of Bishop Spottiswood and half-sister of Sir Henry Spottiswood <sup>(3)</sup>.

The vicarage of Chapelizod was afterwards united to Castleknock, and held during the eighteenth century by the prebendaries of that place. Amongst those in charge of the church, where in 1740 the famous Archbishop Stone was consecrated, were, in 1703, the Rev. John Twigg, with the Rev. Paul Twigg as curate; in 1735 the Rev. Jonathan Rogers; in 1741 the Rev. John Jourdan, with the Rev. James Hawkins, afterwards Bishop of Raphoe, as curate; in 1757, the Rev. Peter Sterne, with the Rev. Nathaniel Smith as curate; in 1764 the Rev. Kene Percival; in 1774 the Rev. William Warren, with the Rev. Hugh O'Neill

<sup>(1)</sup> Civil Survey of Castleknock; Parliamentary Returns in Public Record Office; "Life of Bishop Spottiswood."

<sup>(2)</sup> Visitation Books; Cotton's "*Fasti Ecclesie Hibernicæ*," *passim*.

<sup>(3)</sup> See p. 176, note 1.

as curate; in 1812 the Rev. Hosea Guinness; in 1835 the Rev. William Wilcocks; in 1870 Rev. Albert Irwin M'Donagh; and in 1889 Rev. Amyrald Dancer Purefoy <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Roman Catholic Church has also long possessed a place of worship in Chapelized parish, which under the arrangement of that Church forms part of the union of Castleknock. In the parliamentary return of 1731 the existence of a "mass house" is mentioned, and in the return of 1766 two Roman Catholic clergymen, Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Fair, are included amongst the residents.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Visitation Books.

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# The Phcenix Park

(i.e., *Fionnuiagc* or *dear water*).

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With the exception of a cromlech near the village of Chapelizod, there is not any object of archæological interest in the Phoenix Park <sup>(1)</sup>.

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## THE PHCENIX PARK <sup>(2)</sup>.

THE Phoenix Park, celebrated for the variety and beauty of its scenery and for its vast extent, although approached directly from the streets of Dublin, which it adjoins on the west, lies entirely within the Metropolitan county. It is said to contain an area about seven miles in circumference, and its lands form portions of the parishes of St. James, Chapelizod, and Castleknock. Within its bounds are now to be found lodges for the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and the Under-Secretary, the Royal Military Infirmary, the Barracks of the Ordnance Survey, the Hibernian Military School, the Magazine, and the Zoological Gardens.

It was not until the Restoration period of the seventeenth century that the construction of the Phoenix Park was undertaken, but the origin of the selection of the lands which the Park contains for the purpose of a royal enclosure dates from much earlier times. It is to be found in the history of the lands which now form the eastern portion of the Park, and are comprised in the parish of St. James. These lands, or a great part of them, had been given not long after the Anglo-Norman invasion by the Tyrrells, the lords of Castleknock, to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, and belonged to that establishment at the time of its dissolution by Henry VIII. After the seizure of the possessions of the Priory by the Crown, its lands on the northern side of the Liffey appear divided; the south-western part, on which

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<sup>(1)</sup> See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i., p. 186.

<sup>(2)</sup> In regard to this section of the history, the author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Litton Falkiner's historical essay on the Phoenix Park. See "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," by C. Litton Falkiner, London, 1904, pp. 41-74.

the Magazine is now situated, being retained in the Kilmainham demesne, and the north-eastern part, on which the Viceregal Lodge and the Zoological Gardens are now situated, being leased under the name of Newtown to a long succession of tenants. During the remainder of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century the Kilmainham Priory was utilized by the Chief Governors of Ireland as a country residence, and was valued by them especially on account of its wide pastures, which they found "a help towards housekeeping" as well as a source of pleasure. But James I. had not ascended the throne many years when he was induced to promise Sir Richard Sutton, one of the auditors of the Imprests in England, a grant of such portion of the Kilmainham demesne as lay on the northern side of the River Liffey. In spite of the protests of the Irish Lord Deputy of that time, Sir Arthur Chichester, this promise was made good, and Sir Edward Fisher, as assignee of Sir Richard Sutton, was in 1611 leased some four hundred acres of the Kilmainham demesne, bounded on the south by the River Liffey and the high road to Chapelizod, on the east and north by the lands of Newtown and Ashtown, and on the west by the lands of Chapelizod, all of which lands are now included in the Phoenix Park.

The erection of a house on his newly acquired property was at once undertaken by Sir Edward Fisher, and with taste rare in his day he selected as the site the ground on which the Magazine now stands. The prospect which that site commands is unrivalled in the neighbourhood, and it seems not improbable that the name Phoenix, by which the house became known, although generally supposed to be a corruption of Irish words meaning clear water, may have been conferred on the house owing to its magnificent situation. When making his protest against the grant to Sir Richard Sutton, the Lord Deputy had warned the King that before long the lands would have to be bought back by the Crown; and on the arrival of his successor, Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards Viscount Grandison, his words came true. That Chief Governor found the Kilmainham Priory in a state of ruin, and longing for escape from the walls of Dublin Castle, his attention was attracted to the residence which had just been built on lands long enjoyed by his predecessors. His influence effected the reversal of a policy which Sir Arthur Chichester had been powerless to prevent, and in consideration of a sum of £2,500 Sir Edward Fisher surrendered in 1617 to the Crown the lands given to him only six



years before, together with the house built by him, which was assigned by the King for the use of his representative in this country for the time being <sup>(1)</sup>.

After some alterations and additions had been made in the original structure as well as to offices, afterwards known as the wash-house, near Kilmainham Bridge, Lord Grandison took up his abode at "His Majesty's house near Kilmainham, called the Phœnix," where we find him frequently transacting affairs of State and requiring the Privy Council to meet. He was succeeded in the Phœnix by Lord Falkland, by whom the formation of a deer-park was designed, and a deer-keeper, one William Moore, actually appointed. During the interval that elapsed before the arrival of the Earl of Strafford the Phœnix was occupied for a time by Viscount Ranelagh, probably by permission of the Lords Justices, as we find him in the autumn of 1630 feasting one of them, the Earl of Cork, in his temporary dwelling. While his great mansion near Naas was building, the Earl of Strafford was forced to make use of the Phœnix, but speaks contemptuously of a country seat where a partridge was unknown, and longed for a more exciting pastime than flying hawks after blackbirds, although he says it provided excellent sport, and attracted as many as two hundred mounted spectators to the Park. Preparations were made at the Phœnix for the reception of the Earl of Leicester on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, but he never came to this country, and it is doubtful whether his successor, the Duke of Ormonde, was able to make use of the house during the troublous times that attended his first Viceroyalty <sup>(2)</sup>.

The Phœnix passed into the hands of the authorities of the Parliament, in 1647, on the surrender of Dublin by Ormonde, but before his first encounter with the forces of the Commonwealth at Rathmines, Ormonde seized the house, which was delivered to him without any attempt at resistance, on the ground that it was a possession of small military importance. But it seems to have been afterwards garrisoned by a detachment of the Royalist Army,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Plea Roll, 2 Edw. II.; Fianta Elizabeth, *passim*; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1608-10, p. 333; Patent Rolls, Jac. I., pp. 203, 341.

<sup>(2)</sup> Calendar Irish State Papers, 1615-1625, pp. 246, 258, 311, 429; 1625-1632, p. 648; 1633-1637, p. 302; Lismore Papers, Ser. i., vol. iii., p. 50; Strafford's Letters, vol. i., p. 162.

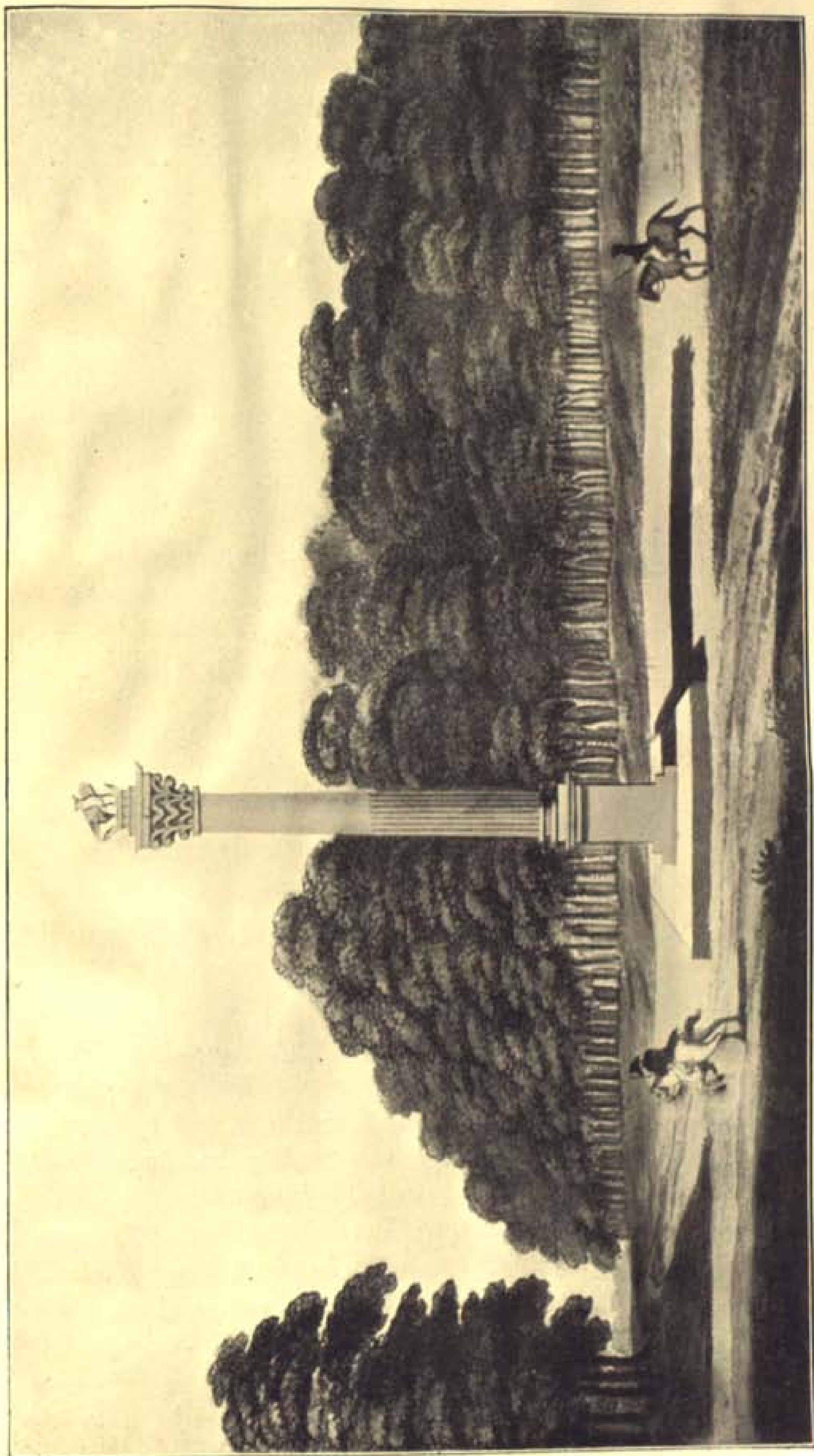
and not to have been regained after Ormonde's defeat at Rathmines without some effort on the part of his victor, Colonel Michael Jones. After the Commonwealth was established a grant of the Phoenix to Sir Jerome Sankey, a prominent officer in the army of the Parliament, was considered, but finally the Chief Governor, General Charles Fleetwood, took up his residence there, and was succeeded by Henry Cromwell. Cromwell, who resided constantly at the Phoenix, added a large wing to the house, several stories in height, and, in what is described as his very stately dwelling, extended much hospitality not only to his own party but also to supporters of the Royal cause, who found at the Phoenix a welcome, and much freedom <sup>(1)</sup>.

After the Restoration the Phoenix underwent further enlargement and improvement. At the close of the year 1661, the Duke of Ormonde, who had some time previously been appointed Lord Lieutenant for the second time, and hoped soon to come to Ireland, wrote to Lord Chancellor Eustace asking his advice as to whether he should stay at the Phoenix or Dublin Castle, the former, according to his recollection, was small, and would be inconvenient on account of its distance from Dublin; but, on the other hand, he thought it desirable to leave Dublin Castle empty for the summer in order that necessary repairs might be carried out. As we have seen under Chapelizod, Eustace advised Ormonde's coming to the Phoenix, and his brother Lord Justice, the Earl of Orrery, who was in temporary occupation of the house, was soon deep in plans for building a new hall and stable, which Ormonde considered indispensable. It was decided that a wing should be built corresponding to the one erected by Henry Cromwell, and that it should contain a chapel as well as a hall. At first this wing was to be only one story high, but provision was to be made for its ultimate elevation to the same height as the other. In addition, plans were approved for a stable, which Orrery arranged should be near the house, on account of Ormonde's love

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<sup>(1)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. xxv., f. 35; "A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chief Matters of the Irish Warres, with a perfect Table or List of all the Victories obtained by the Lord General Cromwell" (Lond., 1650), in *The Thorpe Tracts* preserved in the National Library of Ireland; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii., p. 697; vol. vi., p. 558. Down Survey Map; Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1647-1660, p. 635.





The Phoenix Monument in 1795.  
*From a plate by P. Jukes.*

of horses, and frequent disablement from attacks of gout, and an expenditure of sixteen hundred pounds, under the direction of Dr. J. Westley, then the surveyor of public buildings, was authorised <sup>(1)</sup>.

It was on Ormonde's arrival in this country, in August, 1662, that the construction of the Phoenix Park was begun. To one coming direct from the palaces of England and the splendours of the Restoration court, the Phoenix and its demesne must have indeed seemed, as Ormonde says, narrow, and little suited to the dignity of the King's representative. In matters affecting his royal master's honour, as in his opinion this did, Ormonde was jealous to a fault, and to remedy the imperfections of the Viceregal residence was one of his first objects. It was not usual at that period to count the cost until the accounts were to be paid, and as has been mentioned under Chapelizod, Ormonde had not landed in Ireland more than a few weeks when he had determined on a scheme for a deer-park, which ultimately involved enormous expense. At first it was proposed that the Park should include the lands originally comprised in the demesne of the Kilmainham Priory, viz., the lands of Kilmainham, Island Bridge, and Inchicore, on the southern side of the Liffey, and the lands attached to the Phoenix House, and the townland of Newtown, on the northern side of the Liffey, with the addition of a portion of the lands of Chapelizod. Afterwards the original design was extended, and the remainder of the lands of Chapelizod, together with those of Ashtown, on which the Under-Secretary's Lodge now stands, in the parish of Castleknock, and several smaller holdings, were enclosed in the Park.

The whole of the Park was to be surrounded by a wall, and within a few months of Ormonde's arrival, William Dodson, already mentioned in connection with Chapelizod, had begun its erection. No supervision was exercised over him, and during the years 1663 and 1664 he was advanced without question sums amounting to six thousand pounds. Towards the close of the year 1664, the new walls were found to be broken in a dozen different places, and, although it was sought to attribute these disasters to the effect of storms of unusual severity, the Earl of Ossory, then

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ormonde Papers, New Series, vol. iii., p. 385, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Carte Papers, vol. xxxi., ff. 373, 375; vol. xxxiii., f. 3; vol. xlix., f. 90; vol. clix., f. 206; State Papers of Roger Earl of Orrery (Lond., 1742), pp. 21, 31.



acting as Lord Deputy in his father's absence, began to entertain suspicions of Dodson's integrity. These suspicions were excited not only by the breaks in the wall, but also by Dodson's failure to complete the work at the time promised, and his desire to postpone further operations until the spring. A few months later an appalling report was sent to Ormonde, in which it was stated that owing to the bad stone used, and want of skill on the part of the workmen, the wall was daily falling down, and that the gaps, which had been filled with furze and thorns, amounted in length to no less than a hundred perches. At this juncture Dodson, unfortunately for himself, made a proposal to keep the walls in repair for a hundred pounds a year, and some years later lost any credit that he then possessed on its being discovered that he had sub-let the prospective contract to his workmen for thirty pounds a year.

When the Duke of Ormonde surrendered the office of Lord Lieutenant, in 1669, the cost of the Phœnix Park amounted to over £31,000, and the total expenditure upon it ultimately exceeded £40,000. "The greatness of this charge and the ill-making



A Lodge in the Phœnix Park in 1795.

*From a plate by R. Jukes.*

of the wall" brought on Ormonde much adverse criticism, and to "the clamours of ill-affected people" were added the just complaints of the former owners of the lands about delay in the payment of the purchase money. During the Viceroyalty of the Earl

of Essex the Park, the subject of so much care and solicitude on Ormonde's part, was on the point of being wrested from its original purpose and given by Charles II. to a private owner, in the person of the Duchess of Cleveland. It was only by the combined efforts of Essex and Ormonde that this grant was stopped, and the intervention of Ormonde was again necessary a few years later to prevent the alienation of the Park to another royal favourite, although this time of the male sex <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Park was then not only used by the Viceroy as a place of recreation—without it Essex said he would have had to live like a prisoner—but it was also much frequented by the Irish nobility and gentry when resident in Dublin. It had been laid out before that time, and was provided, in addition to roads, with what was known as a “bare,” to the construction of which part of the Vice-regal garden had been sacrificed, and with artificial water. It had also been stocked with deer, with partridges, and with pheasants. To procure these no expense had been spared. Two officers had been sent to England to purchase and transport the deer, while another had been sent to North Wales to trap the partridges, and the Earl of Ossory himself had superintended the capture of the pheasants on his father's estate near Arklow. The preservation of the game in the Park was then entrusted to three keepers, one of whom was dignified with the superior office of ranger. They were men of high position, and delegated their duties to subordinates, who found their task no easy one on account of the defective walls, the ravages of vermin, and the depredations of poachers. Writing in 1668, Colonel Edward Cooke, who was one of the keepers of the Park, as well as a Commissioner under the Act of Settlement, says that the deer were escaping less frequently than they had done previously owing to care in keeping the walls repaired, but that other kinds of game had suffered greatly. Foxes, which had abounded, were nearly exterminated, but kites and poachers, who were generally soldiers from the Dublin garrison, carried off all the partridges <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. xxxiii., f. 714; vol. xxxvii., f. 553; vol. cxlvi., f. 231; vol. clix., f. 206; vol. clxv., *passim*; vol. ccxx., ff. 185, 187; Ormonde Papers, New Series, vol. iii., *passim*, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; Essex Papers, vol. i., *passim*, published by Camden Society.

<sup>(2)</sup> Carte Papers, vol. clxiv., f. 17; vol. ccxv., f. 136; vol. ccxx., ff. 177, 181, 213; Ormonde Papers, New Series, vol. iii., p. 293, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.



The Phœnix House, although then rated as containing, with the adjacent wash-house, thirty hearths, proved soon to be quite inadequate for the accommodation of the Duke of Ormonde's household, and was deserted by him in favour of the larger mansion at Chapelizod, as related in the history of that place. For a time the Phœnix House was considered a convenient lodgment for Ormonde's rider, falconers, and bailiffs, but in the summer of 1664 he desired them to vacate it, and gave the middle story, with the exception of a small part of the gallery, to Colonel John Jeffreys. Colonel Jeffreys, who was a Welshman, was then acting as a messenger between the Irish Parliament and the English Privy Council, and subsequently became constable of Dublin Castle. He was well known to officials in England, and stood high in their regard, as appears from a correspondence about his daughter, who married without her father's sanction one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Arthur Turner, and was left on her husband's untimely death, two years after his appointment, without provision of any kind. When Lord Robartes came to succeed the Duke of Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant, in 1669, it was suggested by the Duchess of Ormonde that Colonel Jeffreys should be asked to lend the Phœnix House, with his furniture, to her son, Lord Arran, while the transfer of the sword was effected; and some years later Colonel Jeffreys appears to have made room for Lord Berkeley, who succeeded Lord Robartes in the government of Ireland, and whom we find inditing a letter from the Phœnix (<sup>1</sup>).

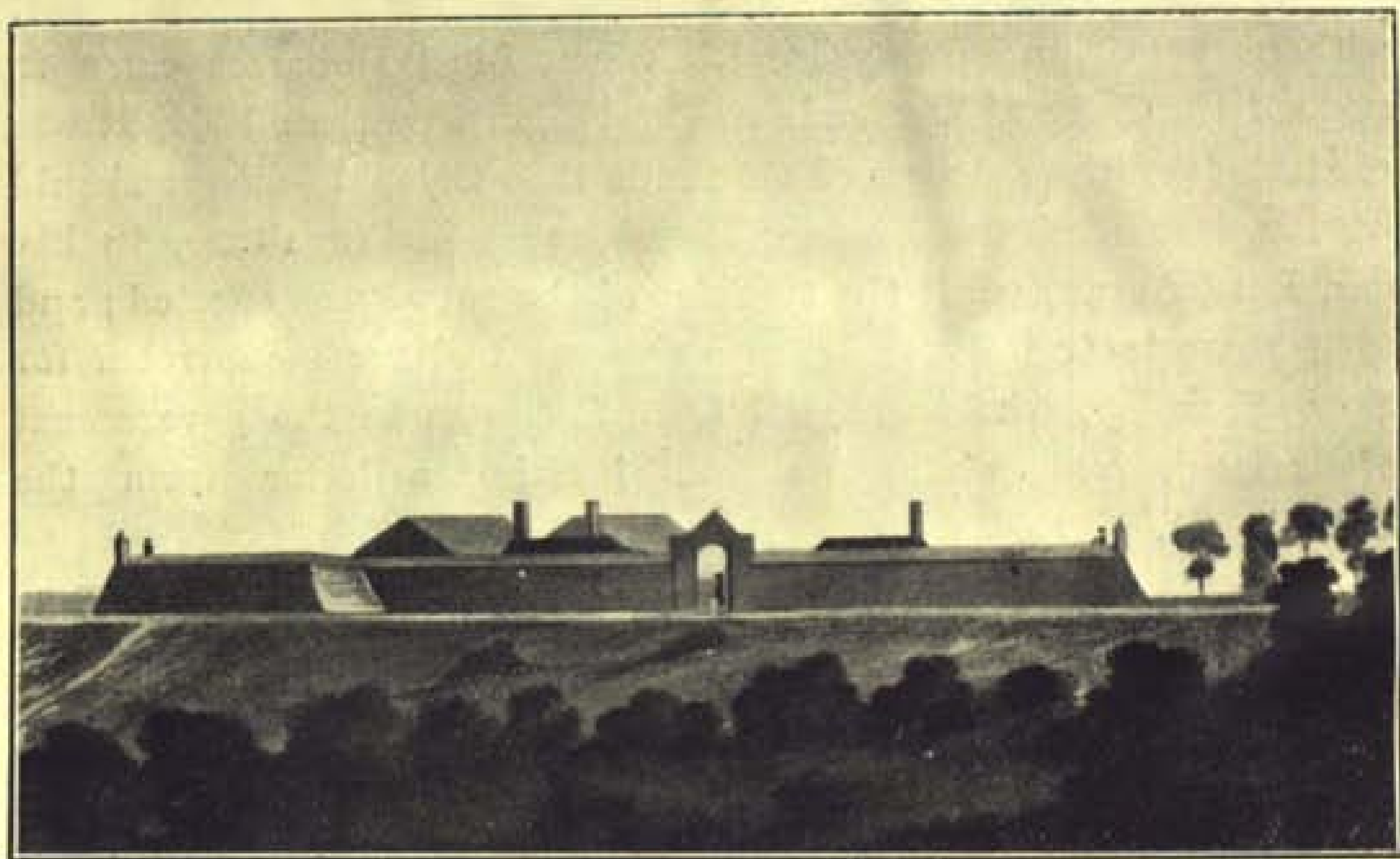
Besides the Phœnix House two other residences of considerable size, which the Government had acquired with the lands, then lay within the Park. One of these, a castle, stood on the ground now occupied by the Under-Secretary's Lodge, and some portion of it is still to be found incorporated in the modern structure. It had been purchased with the lands of Ashtown. These lands, which formed part of the manor of Castleknock, had been held before the dissolution of the religious houses by the Hospital of St. John without Newgate, already noticed as owner of the adjacent lands of Palmerston. Of the occupation of the members of the Priory trace remains, not alone in deeds, but also in a tradition

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(<sup>1</sup>) Hearth Money Roll; Carte Papers, vol. cxlv., f. 15; Ormonde Papers, New Series, vol. iii., *passim*, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission; *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Ser. 2, vol. vii., p. 226; Essex Papers in British Museum, Stowe Manuscripts, vol. 200, f. 104.

which has given the name of the monks' trees to a grove near their old dwelling. At the time of the formation of the Park the Ashtown lands were in possession of one John Connell, and besides the castle contained two thatched houses and an orchard. After their purchase by the Government, in 1664, Sir William Flower, an ancestor of the Viscounts Ashbrook, who was the second keeper, with Colonel Edward Cooke, of the Park, was directed to possess himself of Ashtown castle as his lodging, but possibly assigned it to a trusty servant, to whom he was permitted to transfer his duty of walking the Park, and preventing the spoil and embezzlement of the vert or venison <sup>(1)</sup>.

The third residence at that time within the Park was a house which stood on the lands of Newtown. This house lay not far from the present Dublin entrance, and was in unpleasant proximity to a ghastly object—the gallows for executions within



The Magazine in 1795.

*From a plate by P. Jukes.*

the county—which as already mentioned stood on the ground now occupied by Parkgate Street. The house first appears, in 1646, as the home of Henry Jones, a relation of the Dopping family, and a devoted admirer of Queen Elizabeth, whose arms were engraved on a much-cherished cocoa-nut set in silver ; and towards the close of

<sup>(1)</sup> Patent Rolls, p. 187 ; Civil Survey of Castleknock ; Carte Papers, vol. clxv., f. 193.



the Commonwealth it was occupied by Captain Roger Bamber, whom we find subsequently in charge of the Duke of Ormonde's hawks. After the formation of the Park this house was assigned to Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, who was appointed ranger of the Park and keeper of the Newtown portion, and some years later it was utilized for the purposes of an entrance which was then made from Dublin. Near this entrance there were a dairy and dog-house, where one Plumer, in the Duke of Ormonde's time, looked after a large kennel, and probably it was when these buildings were erected that the gallows was moved, as already stated, to a more retired position near Kilmainham <sup>(1)</sup>.

Some years after the formation of the Park a proposal was under consideration to change its name to Kingsborough Park, and to provide it with an additional officer in the person of the Earl of Ossory, who was to be called Lieutenant of the Park and Master of the Game. He was to have the Chapelized house as his residence, with its lands, as his charge, and they were henceforth to be called Kingsborough Lodge and Walk. It was also provided under this scheme that the Newtown, Kilmainham, and Ashtown portions of the Park, with the residences provided for their keepers, should from that time be known respectively as Dungannon's Walk and Lodge, Cooke's Walk and Lodge, and Flower's Walk and Lodge. But the proposal was never carried out, and Lord Dungannon continued the chief officer in charge of the Park until his death. He was succeeded as ranger by a succession of persons, who seem to have been chosen more as royal or viceregal favourites than as persons with knowledge and fitness to discharge the duties, and it is probable that the care of the Park in their time devolved altogether on subordinate officials <sup>(2)</sup>.

The establishment of the Royal Hospital, in 1680, involved a great reduction in the portion of the Park on the southern side of the Liffey, and it was then decided that the Park should be brought within its present limits, with the high road to Chapelized as its southern boundary. The exclusion of the road was most desirable, as its passage through the Park had resulted in the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Down Survey Map ; Will of Henry Jones ; Census of 1659 ; Ormonde Papers, New Series, vol. iii., p. 191, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission ; Hearth Money Rolls ; Carte Papers, vol. clx., f. 52.

<sup>(2)</sup> Manuscript in possession of the Marquess of Ormonde ; *Liber Munerum* pt. ii., p. 91.

loss of many deer, and the construction of a new boundary wall was greatly facilitated by an offer to build it in exchange for little more than the strip of land between the road and the river. This offer came from Sir John Temple, the eminent Solicitor-General of Ireland, who was then using the road each day to approach his residence at Palmerston, and the Government gladly accepted an arrangement which made but small call on the Treasury. Although the erection of walls is not generally undertaken by lawyers, Temple proved a much more efficient contractor than Dodson, and finished the wall to the complete satisfaction of everyone concerned <sup>(1)</sup>. This curtailment of the Park left no excuse for the Kilmainham keepership, but so agreeable a sinecure was not allowed to die, and a new charge was carved out instead of it under the name of the Castleknock Walk.

The official residences in the Park in the opening years of the eighteenth century were the Phœnix House, Ashtown Castle or Lodge, a lodge for the keeper of the Newtown Walk, and a lodge for the keeper of the Castleknock Walk. The Phœnix House was occupied by members of the Viceregal household, and Ashtown Castle by Sir Charles Fielding, the keeper of the Ashtown Walk, who was succeeded on his death, in 1722, by the Right Hon. Benjamin Parry. The ranger and keeper of the Newtown Walk, whose lodge seems to have stood on the ground now occupied by the Zoological Gardens, was Sir Thomas Smith, an English baronet, who appears however to have resided in this country <sup>(2)</sup>, and the keeper of the Castleknock Walk was Sir Alexander Cairnes, a baronet and banker in London, who figures in Swift's *Journal to Stella* as a Scot and a fanatic <sup>(3)</sup>. Besides these houses there was on the lands of Newtown, near the wall of the Park, another in the occupation of the Surgeon-General of the Army in Ireland, Thomas Proby. It stood near the dog-kennel, and as his canine neighbours caused him much annoyance, Proby was given a lease of the site on condition that he built a new kennel elsewhere and kept the Viceregal household supplied with ice, presumably from the pond now enclosed in the People's Gardens.

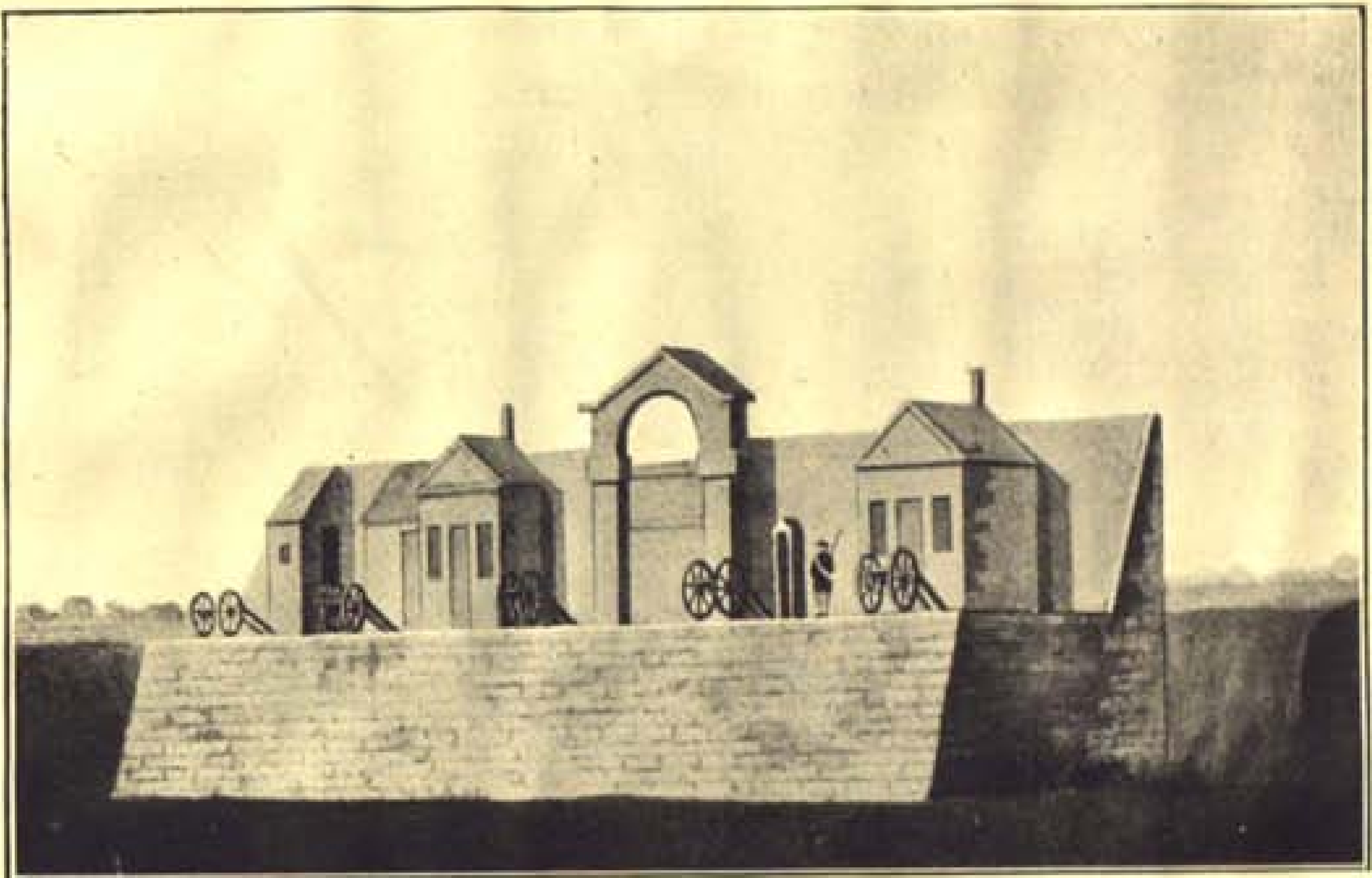
<sup>(1)</sup> Manuscript in possession of the Marquess of Ormonde.

<sup>(2)</sup> G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. iii., p. 191; *Dublin Journal*, June 24, 1732.

<sup>(3)</sup> G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," vol. v., p. 7; Swift's Works, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii., p. 308, *et passim*; British Museum MSS., No. 22, 221, f. 201; No. 15,866, f. 195.



Swift, in his diatribe against Lord Wharton, includes an overbearing attempt to deprive Proby of this lease, and says that Proby was a man universally and deservedly beloved by the Irish people. He was a native of Dublin, born soon after the Restoration in the old Inns, whose site the Four Courts occupy, and carried on his professional labours in a house on Ormond's Quay. While still a young man he gained much fame by an operation which attracted the attention of all Dublin from the Viceroy,



**The Salute Battery in 1795.**

*From a plate by F. Jukes.*

Lord Capel, downwards, and at the time of the foundation of Dr. Steevens' Hospital he was a foremost practitioner. To that institution he was devotedly attached, and in its chapel he desired to be buried. Proby was married to a clever lady, remarkable as an early collector of coins and china, "whose plaguy wisdom" Swift was afraid might infect Stella, and left, on his death in 1729, a son, an officer in the army, and a daughter, whose husband, John Nichols, was a member of Proby's profession and succeeded him in his office, and also in occupation of his house at Newtown <sup>(1)</sup>.

As a fashionable place of recreation the Park then enjoyed great renown. It is said to have far exceeded in beauty the London

<sup>(1)</sup> Swift's Works, edited by Sir Walter Scott, *passim*; Will of Thomas Proby; Bodleian MS. 10,794, f. 68; British Museum MS. 31,763.

parks of that period by one who knew them well, the accomplished Mrs. Delany ; and on seeing the Park for the first time on her visit to Dublin in 1731, that lady breaks into rapturous praise of its attractions. Its large extent, its fine turf, and its agreeable prospects are in turn mentioned, and to crown all a ring in the midst of a delightful wood, "the resort of the beaux and belles in fair weather," is described. This wood, which was intersected with glades, appears to have been swept away by the Earl of Chesterfield in the course of the improvements which he carried out during his Viceroyalty, and in addition to planting the Park with elms he laid out the site of the wood like a garden with plots and walks, and erected in the centre of what had been the ring the well-known Phoenix monument.

A few years after Mrs. Delany's visit to the Park the Phoenix House was pulled down, and on its site was built the Magazine, whose erection gave opportunity to Swift for a last sarcasm. To the Park as a military outpost and exercise ground the authorities of that period seem to have devoted much attention. The construction of an arsenal within the Park's bounds had been contemplated twenty years before the Magazine was built, and the scheme was only abandoned on account of "the extraordinary charge" it would have involved. Besides the Magazine a fortification known as the Star fort was actually made in proximity to its site, and a building for the purpose of firing salutes was also erected about the same time where the Wellington monument now stands. It was a review that occasioned Mrs. Delany's first visit to the Park, and she tells, just as one would of a review to-day, how the Dublin garrison, consisting of a regiment of horse and two of foot, paraded before the wife of the Lord Lieutenant and all "the beau monde" of Dublin, who attended in full state. In the absence of the Lord Lieutenant one of the Lords Justices sometimes supplied his place on these occasions, as, for instance, the Earl of Kildare who, while acting as one of the Chief Governors in 1757, held, with the assistance of the Earl of Rothes and a galaxy of general officers, a review of exceptional brilliancy (1).

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(18) Mrs. Delany's "Autobiography and Correspondence," vol. i., p. 294 ; "Phoenix Park," by James Ward, in "A Miscellany of Poems," Dublin, 1718, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy ; "Utopia," a poem on Lord Chesterfield, in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748, p. 399 ; British Museum MS. 31,763 ; Rocque's Map of the Environs of Dublin ; Rambles in the County Dublin, by F. Jukes ; Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. i., p. 190 ; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1757, p. 272.



The disappearance of the Phoenix House left the Park without any great residence, but before long two important houses, which are still standing, were erected. One of these was the house now known as the Mountjoy Barracks, the headquarters in Ireland of the Ordnance Survey. It was built in the portion of the Park comprised in the Castleknock Walk, and is first mentioned as the country residence of the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, who succeeded to the Castleknock keepership in 1728. To that position he was appointed at the request of its former holder Sir Alexander Cairnes. Although little is now known of him, Gardiner, who held for many years the office of Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, was in his day a man of great weight in this country, and is spoken of by Mrs. Delany as the famous Luke Gardiner. He appears to have been the engineer of his own fortunes, but rapidly acquired wealth and influence. In recommending him for a Privy Councillorship Archbishop Boulter speaks of him as a thorough man of business, and contemporary opinion held him to be the best financier Ireland had known. He married a granddaughter of the first Viscount Mountjoy of the Stuart creation, when she was little more than a child, and his son, the Right Hon. Charles Gardiner, who succeeded him on his death in 1755 as keeper of the Castleknock Walk and occupant of the Lodge, inherited much of the property of the Stuart family. The latter was succeeded in the Park by his son, Luke Gardiner, who, having served as one of the knights of the shire for the County Dublin, was created a peer as Baron and Viscount Mountjoy, and was killed in 1798 while gallantly leading some troops against the insurgents in the County Wexford. During his time a theatre, which was admired alike for its exquisite design and style of decoration, was added to the Castleknock Lodge. In this theatre in the year 1778 the tragedy of "Macbeth" and the farce of "The Citizen" were acted with great applause before the Viceroy and an assemblage of the first people in Ireland—the principal parts being taken by Gardiner and his wife, who were no less celebrated for their good looks than for their talent as actors; Robert Jephson, the dramatist, who has been already noticed as a resident at Seapoint; and Sir Alexander Schomberg, the Commander of the Royal yacht (1).

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(1) *Liber Munerum*, pt. ii., p. 91; Boulter's Letters, *passim*; Mrs. Delany's "Autobiography and Correspondence," vol. iii., p. 551; G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage," vol. v., p. 403; Wills of the Gardiners; *Hibernian Magazine* for 1778, pp. 53, 193, 249, 313; Charlemont Manuscripts, vol. i., pp. 70, 337, published by Historical Manuscripts Commission.

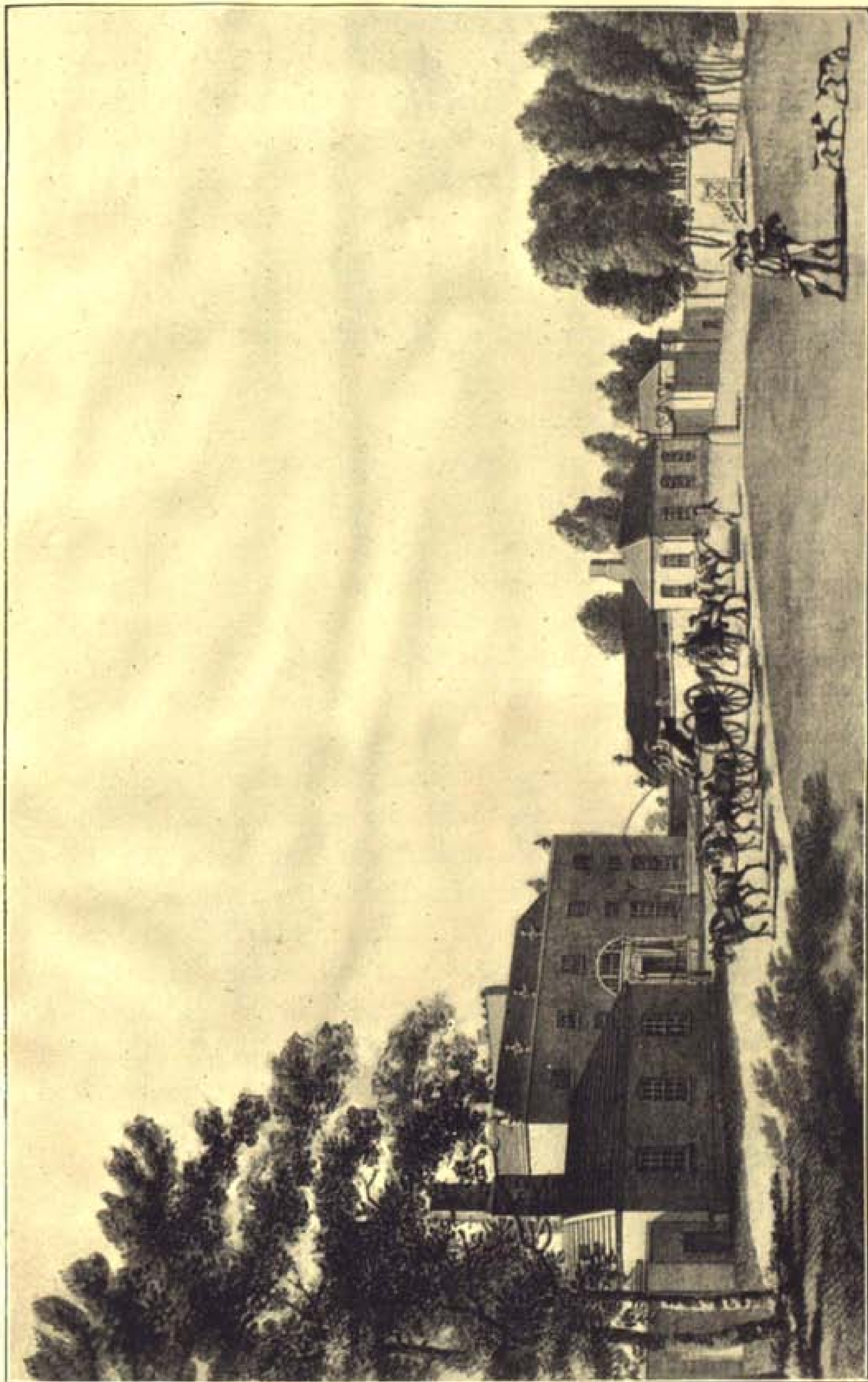
The second residence erected after the disappearance of the Phoenix House was one which is now incorporated in the Viceregal Lodge. It was built by the Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements, ancestor of the Earls of Leitrim, who served with Gardiner in the Treasury and succeeded to his office. In 1750 Clements was appointed ranger of the Park and keeper of the Newtown Walk, and followed the example of his colleague in building a country house for himself within the limits of his charge. It is described as originally a plain brick bulding, with offices projecting on each side and connected with it by circular sweeps, and its gardens and grounds seem to have been then its chief attraction. Clements was a man of ability who could hold his own against that consummate diplomatist and statesman, Archbishop Stone, and was privileged to approach the great Duke of Newcastle on friendly terms; but he is now better known on account of the magnificence of his establishment and of the Parisian luxury in which he indulged. To his reputation in the latter respect his wife contributed to a large degree, and, according to Mrs. Delany, "she was finer than the finest lady in England—dress, furniture, house, equipage, excelling all, and Mr. Clements was—her husband." At his house in the Park, which he occupied until his death in 1777, we find Clements annually celebrating the birthday of George the Third with a great display of fireworks and illuminations, and distributing, when want visited the country, whole carcasses of beef with regal profusion to his poorer neighbours (1).

The Hibernian Military School was also erected during this period in the portion of the Park near Chapelizod. The foundation stone of the school was laid with much ceremony by the Lords Justices in 1766, and the foundation stone of the chapel in 1771. It had been originally intended that the school should occupy a lower site, but on the advice of Proby's son-in-law, John Nichols, who was consulted on the ground that he had been a resident in the Park nearly all his life, the present position was selected (2). Nichols was then first surgeon to Steevens' Hospital

(1) "Henrietta-street," by J. P. Prendergast, in *The Irish Times*, Dec. 26, 1887; Milton's "Views in Ireland," p. 1; *The English Historical Review* for 1905, pp. 508-542, and 735-765; Newcastle Papers in British Museum, *passim*, under Nathaniel Clements; Mrs. Delany's "Autobiography and Correspondence," vol. i., p. 342; vol. iii., pp. 551, 565; *Pue's Occurrences*, Oct. 1-4, 1757; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1761, p. 286; for 1767, p. 256; for 1777, p. 440; *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, vol. vi., p. 594; vol. ix., p. 258.

(2) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1766, p. 651; *Pue's Occurrences*, May 11-14, 1771.





The Viceregal Lodge in 1783.

*From an engraving by Thomas Milton after a drawing by J. J. Barralet.*

and to the Hospital for Incurables, as well as Surgeon-General of the Irish Army; but before a year had elapsed in 1767, his death is announced as taking place at his house in the Park <sup>(1)</sup>. About that time Ashtown Castle was modernised and became the residence of the Right Hon. Robert Cunningham, who was afterwards created Lord Rossmore, with special remainder to his wife's relations, the Westenras. He was granted the use of Ashtown Castle by Lord George Sackville, who then held the office of Keeper of the Ashtown Walk, and towards the close of the eighteenth century he was given a pension of no less than three hundred a year in consideration of the money spent by him as Deputy-Keeper in building additions to Ashtown Lodge and in improving and enclosing its grounds <sup>(2)</sup>.

Notwithstanding the residence of the high officials who have been mentioned within its limits, the Phoenix Park was in their time greatly neglected, and is said to have been treated more as a common than as a Royal enclosure. So much had this become the case that during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Harcourt, in 1774, a movement was set on foot to contest the right of the Crown to exercise any control over its property. This claim gave convenient excuse for the establishment of another sinecure office in connection with the Park, and on the ground that it would prevent "any inconveniences which might arise from a supposed acquiescence in the present clamorous usurpation," the office of Bailiff, hitherto held by a subordinate, was conferred on Sir John Blaquiere, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, with liberty to enclose portion of the Park for a residence for himself. Blaquiere, who was Lord Harcourt's friend as well as secretary, is a notable example of the acquisitive official, and it is said that in four short years of office he managed to secure an income for life of £6,000 a year, besides the Order of the Bath, and promises which resulted in a peerage. His appointment as bailiff was not his least agreeable acquisition. It is true that he had to act as defendant in a lawsuit, and although successful to endure no little ridicule, but as a reward, in addition to being given a good salary and various perquisites, the small Lodge enjoyed by his predecessor was enlarged for him into the excellent house now known as the Chief

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, Jan. 17-20, 1767; Will of John Nichols.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Liber Munerum*, pt. iii., p. 106 G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage," vol. vi., p. 431.



Secretary's Lodge, and some forty acres of land were substituted in his favour for a small garden <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Viceregal residence at Chapelizod, as we have seen in the history of that place, had been surrendered on account of the Lords Lieutenants being only resident in this country while the Irish Parliament was in session ; but later on in the eighteenth century, when they remained in Ireland during their whole term of office, the Viceroys found that a country house was a necessity, and that they were obliged to supply the place of their discarded dwelling by taking such houses as could be obtained temporarily in the neighbourhood of Dublin. This arrangement was attended with much inconvenience, and in order to obviate it, in the year 1782, Mr. Clement's house, since known as the Viceregal Lodge, was purchased from his representatives for £10,000 by the Government, for the use of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being. It had, however, only intermittent popularity during the remainder of the eighteenth century as a Viceregal residence. At one time it was proposed to get rid of it altogether as a handsome gift to Henry Grattan, and the Viceroys seem never to have lost an opportunity of escaping from it to Mr. Lee's villa at Seapoint, or other more attractive dwelling. To its unpopularity the neglected state of the Park, which Sir John Blaquiere's appointment had done nothing to remedy, contributed, and the fact that the death of the Duke of Rutland in 1787 took place at the Lodge also for a time threw a shade over it. But the most important reason for its unpopularity was probably the fact that no attempt was made to fit it in an adequate manner for its new occupants, and it was not until after the Union that it was enlarged to its present size by the addition of wings, and embellished by the construction of the well-known south front with its Ionic columns designed by Francis Johnston <sup>(2)</sup>.

The purchase of the Viceregal Lodge was followed by the extinction of the other private interests in the Park. This course seems to have been adopted largely on the initiative of William

<sup>(1)</sup> "The Harcourt Papers," edited by Edward W. Harcourt, vol. ix., p. 237, *et passim* ; *Hibernian Magazine* for 1781, p. 543 ; *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1775, p. 213.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1788, p. 503 ; for 1789, p. 333 ; Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., p. 202.

Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who then held the office of Chief Secretary. On his arrival in this country Eden had obtained for himself the use of the Under-Secretary's house, then known as Ashtown Lodge, and henceforth exerted himself as strenuously to improve the condition of the Park as Sir John Blaquiere had done to promote his own interests. Under the care of that worthy the Park was made the scene of orgies almost approaching those of Donnybrook Fair, the turf was overstocked, and the roads never repaired. Eden arrived at the conclusion that to terminate this state of things Blaquiere's control must be brought to an end, and proposed that he should be bought out and his Lodge granted to the Chief Secretary for the time being as an official residence. This was done, and at the same time Ashtown Lodge was assigned in a similar way to the Under Secretary. The Castleknock Lodge was about the same time purchased from Lord Mountjoy, who then lost his first wife and probably no longer cared to reside in it, and was used as a cavalry barracks until the staff of the Ordnance Survey took up their quarters in it. Some difficulty was found in gaining possession of the latter lodge from Lord Arran, who was in temporary occupation of it, but finally this was achieved, and the only private interest left was in the Newtown Lodge on the site of the Zoological Gardens, which was then in the occupation of the Bishop of Limerick, of whom mention has been made under Old Connaught, and subsequently of a Mrs. Talbot.

The only additional building erected in the Park before the close of the eighteenth century was the Royal Military Infirmary, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1786 by the Duke of Rutland <sup>(2)</sup>, and the further changes which have been effected by the laying out of the Zoological Gardens and the erection of various memorials belong to the history of the nineteenth century, and are outside the scope of the present work.

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(1) *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1781, p. 448; for 1787, p. 165; Plans of the Phoenix Park in the British Museum: Official Correspondence in Public Record Office, under date July 9, 1787; "A Month's Tour in North Wales, Dublin, and its Environs," p. 41.

(2) "History of Dublin Hospitals," by Edward Evans, *Irish Builder* for 1896, p. 225.



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