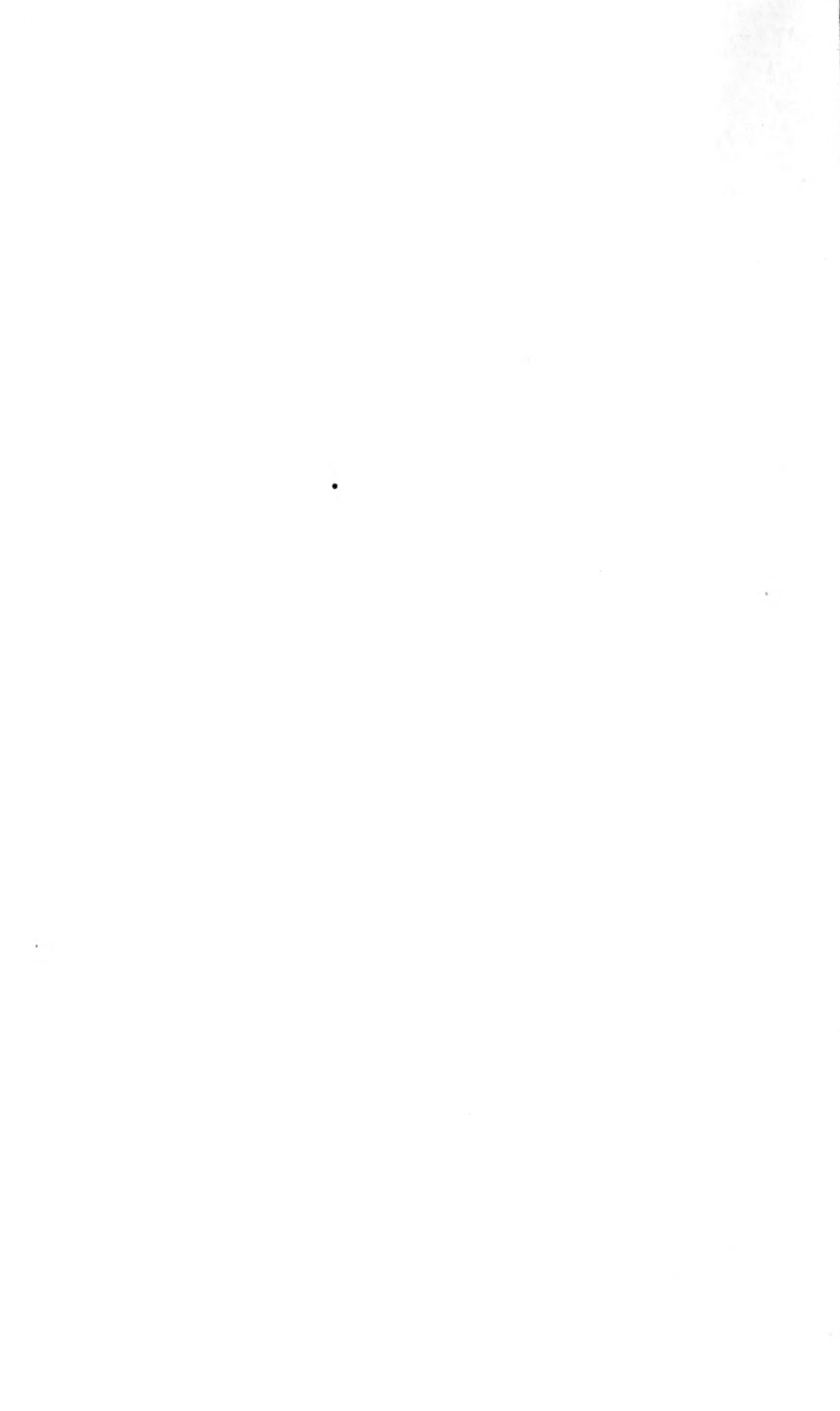


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SOUTHERN FINGAL

BEING

THE SIXTH PART

OF

A HISTORY OF COUNTY DUBLIN

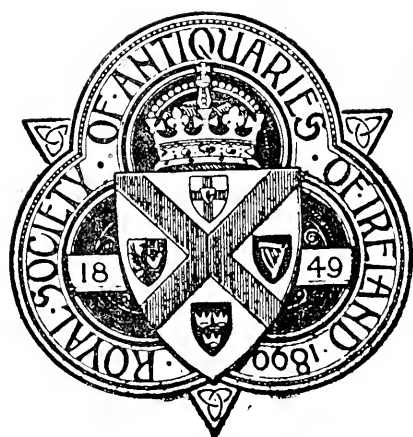
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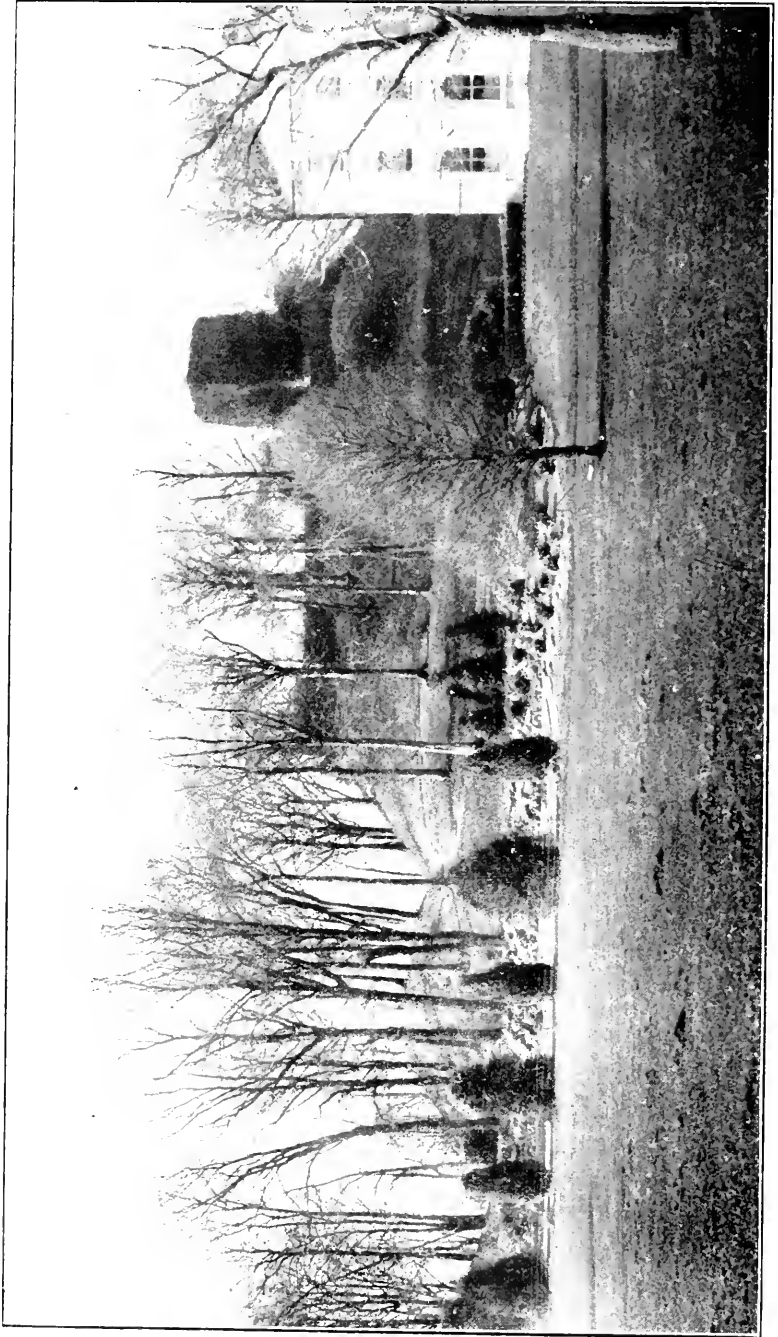
OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

1920



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THE FORT OF CNUCHA.

SOUTHERN FINGAL

BEING

THE SIXTH PART

OF

A HISTORY OF COUNTY DUBLIN

AND

AN EXTRA VOLUME

OF

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

BY

FRANCIS ELRINGTON BALL

HON. LITT.D., DUBLIN

DUBLIN

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

FOR THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

1920

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PREFACE.

THE Council has the pleasure to issue the second instalment of the completion of Dr. Ball's "History of County Dublin."

When "Howth and its Owners" was published by the Society as an extra volume in 1917, the Council stated in the Preface that Dr. Ball had intimated his intention of completing his History in two more volumes, with a general review and index, and of bearing himself the whole cost. Last year he informed the Council that he had found, to his great regret, that he was unable to fulfil his promise. The reason that he was unable to do so was twofold, namely, because the purchasing power of money had greatly diminished, while the expense of printing and paper had increased, and because the material for a history of the northern part of the county greatly exceeded his anticipation, and would require, instead of two, three or four volumes.

When Dr. Ball made this communication the printing of the present volume was far advanced, and, in order to prevent the expenditure on it being lost, the Council decided to defray part of the cost. The present volume is, therefore, issued at the expense jointly of Dr. Ball and the Society, and the completion of the History depends on some arrangement being made to share the cost of its publication with him.

In issuing this volume Dr. Ball has asked the Council to convey his thanks to those who have assisted him, and especially to the ex-President, Mr. T. J. Westropp; the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong; and the late Hon. Secretary, Mr. Charles M'Neill, without whose aid the volume could not have been completed.

FOREWORD.

THE following pages give the history of ten parishes to the north of the river Liffey, in Dublin county. These parishes border upon the city of Dublin, and adjoin an area north of the Liffey, of which it was necessary to treat in the history of the south-western part of the county. Within that area there lie the parishes of Clonsilla and Chapelizod, such part of Leixlip parish as is in Dublin county, and the Phœnix Park.

To the northern part of Dublin county the designation of Fingal has been attached for nine hundred years. This name has been interpreted variously as "the white foreigner" and the "tribe of the foreigner," and is also used to denote the territory which the foreigner occupied. In one place the Four Masters refer to the church of Lusk being burned upon the Fine Gall by the men of Meath; but generally the name Fine Gall is used to denote the district into which predatory excursions were made.

When the name Fingal appears first in the Annals, the Northmen were in occupation of the district. During their dominion it seems to have denoted all, or the greater part of, county Dublin north of the river Liffey. Before the battle of Clontarf King Brian is said to have burned Fingal and the district of Howth, and some years later, during a predatory excursion into Fingal, that country is said to have been burned from Dublin to the river Delvin, the northern boundary of Dublin county.

Before the Anglo-Norman invasion, according to the poet John O'Dugan, Fingal came under the rule of MacGillamochoilmog, who held sway over the lands south of Dublin. What extent the name then denoted there is no indication, but in the century succeeding the invasion there is evidence to show that it denoted the whole of county Dublin north of the Liffey. For the county four officials, known as serjeants, were then appointed. Two of these were assigned to the southern part, the district of one including Bray, and of the other Newcastle Lyons and Saggart; the other two were assigned Fingal, their districts being divided by the Malahide river.

During the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns the name Fingal also denoted the whole of the northern part of Dublin county. In his "Description of Ireland," Richard Stanyhurst refers to Fingal as an important part of the Pale, which he says was "cramperned and coucht" into "an odd corner of the country named Fingal," the king's land (*i.e.* the royal manors to the south of Dublin), Meath, Kildare, and Louth. Of these districts Fingal had the highest reputation for good husbandry; and "for their continual drudgery" the inhabitants bore the name of colones, "whereunto," says Stanyhurst, "the clipt English word clown seemeth to be answerable."

In the seventeenth century, according to the author of "A Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Ireland," published in 1642, the name Fingal indicated the more arable portion of the lands north of Dublin. He says: "Where Liffy dyeth in the Ocean, Houth standeth encompassed in a manner round with the sea, of which those nobles Saint Lawrence hold the Barony. Not farre off is Malehide, or Molachid, belonging to the Talbots. More within the countrey is Fingall, a little place, but very well husbanded, even the garner and store-house of this Kingdome, so great store of corne it yjeldeth every yeare. This place discovers the idlenesse of other Counties, which could equally answer the industry of the labourer, if it were employed."

During more recent times the extent of Fingal has been defined by some writers as stretching from the river Tolka to the river Delvin; but for this limitation of its extent no authority has been found.

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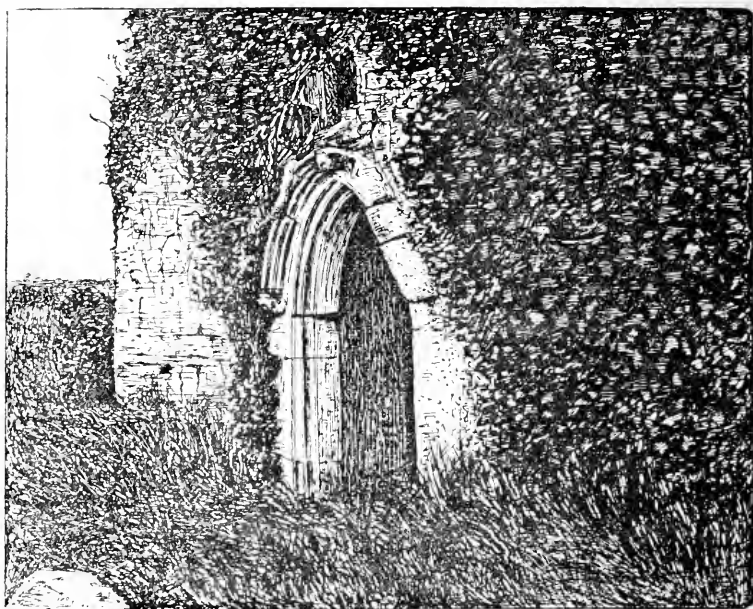
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THE CHURCH OF ST. MARGARET.

SOUTHERN FINGAL.



THE PARISH OF CASTLEKNOCK

(OR THE FORT OF CNUCHA).

THE parish of Castleknock is stated to have comprised in the seventeenth century the townlands of Abbotstown, Ashtown, Astagob, Blanchardstown, Cabragh, Cappoge, Carpenterstown, Castleknock, Corduff, Deanstown, Diswellstown, Fullams, Glebeland, Huntstown, Irishtown, Lakes, Mitchelstown, Pelletstown, Porterstown, Scribblestown.

It comprises now the townlands of Abbotstown, Annfield, Ashtown, Astagob, Blanchardstown, Cabragh (i.e., the bad land), Cappoge (originally Keppok), Carpenterstown, Castleknock, Corduff (i.e., the black hill), Deanstown, Diswellstown, Dunsink, Huntstown, Johnstown, Mitchelstown, Pelletstown, Porterstown, Scribblestown (i.e., the rough land), Sheephill, Snugborough. These names are largely derived from those of former occupants of the lands, viz., the families of Abbot, Blanchard, Carpenter, Deuswell, Hunt, Mitchel, Pilate, and Porter.

The chief object of archaeological interest is a mote which is surmounted by the ruins of an early castle.

THE FORT OF CNUCHA AND ITS SUCCESSORS.

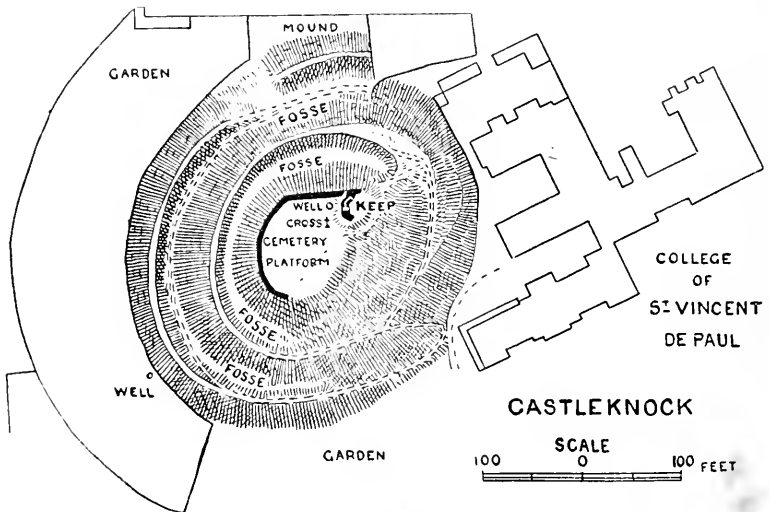
The parish of Castleknock lies to the north-west of the city of Dublin, adjoining the Phoenix Park, and extending westward to the parish of Clonsilla. Through it the high road from Dublin to Trim, the Midland Great Western Railway, and the Royal Canal pass. It is one of the larger parishes in the county of Dublin, and, notwithstanding its proximity to the city, it is entirely rural in its character. Its southern lands border on a picturesque reach of the river Liffey, and its northern lands are intersected by the Tolka, which attains in its passage to a high degree of beauty.

At that point the principal seat in the parish, Abbotstown, the home of the family of Hamilton, ennobled under the title of Holm-Patrick, is situated, and near the valley of the Tolka the scenery in

the demesne has exceptional fascination. It seemed to Wordsworth, who saw it during his visit to Ireland in 1829, to possess a melancholy as well as a wildness peculiarly striking in the vicinity of a great town, and it affected similarly Sir William Hamilton, who was entertaining Wordsworth at the Observatory in Dunsink, as he shows by lines which he wrote on the poet's visit:—

Or when beneath my roof a guest he came,
 And wandered with me through the pleasant walks
 That, all around, make rich my home beloved ;
 And visited that river-bed by me
 Often remembered since, and often sung ;
 Around whose natural beauty even then
 Some human feelings had begun to twine,
 Hallowed in after-years by sorrow's power.¹

But historical interest centres in a residence which stood in the southern part of the parish. Its site lies not far from the Liffey, in the grounds of a college of the Congregation of the Mission dedicated to St. Vincent, and its antiquity and importance are apparent from a mote and remains of a stone castle, by which the mote is surmounted. The mote is situated to the west of the college buildings, and a



PLAN OF MOTE.

¹ "Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton," by the Rev. R. P. Graves, i, 310-14, 427 ; ii, 276.

hillock of somewhat similar size, surmounted by a tower of later construction, is situated to the east.¹

“The mote, which is over sixty feet high, is a noble one,” writes the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,² “and the castle by which it was crowned was a very early Norman fortress. The mote was evidently a natural hillock, larger than the unaltered one on which the tower stands, and the only question is how far the makers of the castle modified the original mound. Round it two great trenches were dug, the first about thirty feet below the summit, the second about thirty feet lower. Round the western, northern, and north-eastern flanks these trenches are in good preservation; but round the southern and south-eastern slopes either they did not exist, or, which is more probable, they were obliterated. There seems to have been a small platform, perhaps for an outstanding turret or bretesche, at the north-east point, whence there is a steep descent to the base of the mote, which has been partly cut away.

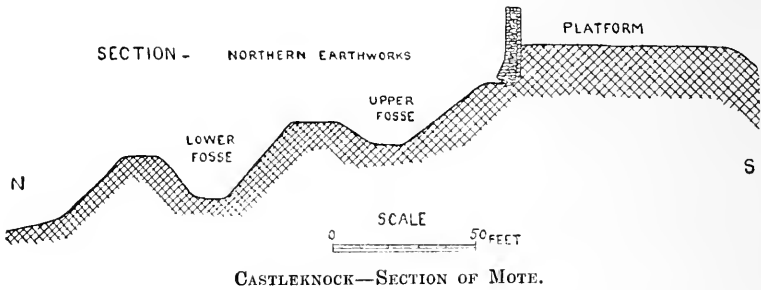
“The circuit of the upper fosse, taking a line on its level round the southern face of the mote, measures about three hundred and eighty feet. The outermost ring has a steep external slope of variant heights up to twenty and twenty-five feet. Its summit is almost uniformly fifteen feet wide. The lower fosse, which is ten to twelve feet wide below and thirty-four feet at the level of the ring, is twelve to fifteen feet deep. The next ring, which is twelve to fifteen feet on top, is twenty-five feet higher. The upper fosse is six to nine feet deep; except westward where it has been filled up to within four feet of the top. The steep inner slope, which is twenty-nine feet at the base, rises for twenty-one feet to the level of the foundation of the bailey wall, above which the platform rises twelve to fifteen feet.

“The keep of the castle stood at the east end of the mote, but all save the western half has been destroyed, together with the courtyard wall round the south of the bailey. Owing to a sheet of knotted ivy and the lower stone-work having been picked out, the examination of the keep is difficult, and its full description impossible, but it seems to have been multangular, a phenomenon found also in the early, perhaps contemporaneous, mote-castle of the Geraldines at Shanid in the

¹ In the “Dublin Penny Journal,” 1831-35, p. 236, it is stated that the tower was erected by a Mr. Guinn as an observatory. The hillock was then known as Windmill hill.

² Mr. Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A.

county of Limerick and elsewhere. Three faces appear outside to the west. The interior seems to have been also multangular, not circular as usual, with similar shallow faces. The wall, which is over thirty feet high, is of good rubble masonry grouted, but no cut-stones, which would enable it to be dated, are visible. There was a gateway to the bailey, of which the arch remains, and over the latter a spiral stair leads to a passage which runs northward with curving steps to a



defaced doorway opening into the upper story. The main stair ran up to the battlements, and there is a circular well, perhaps of another stair, near the southern break. Inside the gateway was a higher arch. The gateway seems to stand on a mound of eight to ten feet above the bailey, but this is probably fallen debris. In the north-east angle of the bailey a passage leading to a little projecting turret remains. It once flanked the north face of the bailey and of the keep.

“The bailey, which is now used as a cemetery, is a hundred feet from east to west, and sixty feet from north to south. It is irregular in plan, its west face not being curved, but being a series of bends forming slight angles with each other. There also remain eight of these reaches on the north, measuring thirty, twenty-two, thirty, fifteen, thirty, twelve, twelve, and fifteen feet. In the fourth reach there is the drain of a garde-robe. The broken end of the drain shows that, in consequence of the destruction of the wall to the south, much of the platform has gone. The alteration of the size of the platform at the north-east end of the upper fosse, from the ring of which it projects forty feet, makes its character uncertain. A well was found close to the keep inside the bailey. Such wells have been found in other motes, and at Castleknock, as there are outflows from the mound lower down, a good supply of water must have been secured. As the keep and bailey are on the summit of the mound, the description of the

earth-works as a mote and bailey is deceptive. If there was any base-court, all trace of it has disappeared."¹

AS A ROYAL RESIDENCE.

The legendary annals of Ireland bring the history of Castleknock back to the shadowy Grecian immigrations, and assign the origin of the Celtic name of Castleknock, Cnucha, like that of Etar, the Celtic name of Howth, to the time of the Firbolgs:—

Dela's five sons without trouble
Brought hither five wives;
Two of them were famous Cnucha
And Etar from the very clear strand.
Now Cnucha died here
On a hill called Cnucha,
And Etar, wife of pure Gann,
On Benn Etar at the same hour.²

During the Milesian era Castleknock is named as one of twenty-five places at which Conmhaol of the race of Eber, while holding the sovereignty of Ireland, defeated in battle the descendants of Eremon,³ and a Celtic writer mentions that Castleknock was sometimes known as *duma meic Eremon*, or the *duma* of the sons of Eremon.⁴ The mention of a *duma* shows that there was at a very early time an eminence of note at Castleknock; the *duma* may have been, Mr. Westropp observes, used for purposes of residence, sepulchre, or outlook, or, as in the case of *Duma Selga*, for all three.

In a poem relating to the earliest centuries after Christ the origin of the name Cnucha is connected with Conn of the Hundred Battles, and the name is said to have been borne by his foster-mother:—

The nurse of Conn who loved this strip of land
Was Cnucha of the comely head;
She dwelt on the dun with him
In the reign of Conn of the Hundred Fights.
Cnucha, the daughter of Concudh Cas,
From the land of Luinneach broad and green,
Died yonder in that house
To the horror of the Gaels.
The woman was buried, a grief it was,
In the very middle of the hill;
So that from that on Cnucha
Is its name until the judgment.

¹The castle has been described by Mr. E. R. M'C. Dix, amongst "The Lesser Castles of County Dublin," in the "Irish Builder," 1898, pp. 26, 35.

²"Folk Lore," iv, 495.

³Keating's "History of Ireland," edited by Rev. P. S. Dinneen, ii, 120; cf. Four Masters, i, 39; Book of Lecan, p. 31. Trinity College Library MS., H. 2. 7.

According to this poem Cnucha was at one time a place used for pagan rites, and was known as the Druids' mound :—

The Druids' mound was its former name
Until the first reign of Ingliaine ;
Until the reign of Conn in Cnoc Brain ;
Until the daughter of Conadh came.

But it was very early in the Christian era one of the residences used by the sovereigns of Ireland. Elim, son of Conn, who is said by the Four Masters to have been slain at Skreen, in the county of Meath, in the first century after Christ, is described as the brave King of Cnucha ; and his successors, Tuathal the Legitimate, and Feidlimid of the Laws, the father of Conn of the Hundred Battles, are mentioned in connexion with the place :—

Cnucha, a hill overhanging the Liffey,
There was a time when it was a royal seat ;
A fortress it was at the time,
When Tuathal Techtmar possessed it.
Tuathal built it originally ;
It was a king's dwelling, a royal work ;
There was not a better abode save Tara alone,
Or one more beloved by the King of Erin.
Feidlimid took possession of it, after that
The son of Tuathal, the son of Feradach ;
Conn, son of Feidlimid, a prince of Fail,
Dwelt on that white-waved mound.¹

During that period two battles are said to have raged round the fort of Cnucha. One was between Tuathal the Legitimate and Eochaid² ; and the other was between Conn of the Hundred Battles and Cumhall, the father of Finn. In the poem called the Battle of Cnucha it is related that Cumhall made war upon Conn, because he had raised Criomhthan of the Yellow Hair to the throne of Leinster ; and that Cumhall was slain by the Connaught champion, Aedh mac Morna, who lost an eye in the encounter, and was thenceforth known as Goll mac Morna.³

With the exception of a record, made under the year 726, of the death of Congalach of Cnucha, of whom nothing further is known, there is no reference to Castleknock until the opening years of the

¹ Book of Lismore, 199a ; Book of Lecan, 525 ; Royal Irish Academy MS. D. 2. 2. For the translation I am indebted to Miss Maura Power, M.A.

² Royal Irish Academy MS., 23, P, vol. i, p. 49.

³ Dr. Douglas Hyde's "Literary History of Ireland," p. 365.

tenth century.¹ It is then mentioned as a halting-place of Niall Black-Knee, the sovereign of Ireland who was slain while fighting the Norseman at the neighbouring ford of Kilmainham²; and after his death his name was associated with it:—

Where is the chief of the western world?
Where the san of every clash of arms?
The place of great Niall of Cnucha
Has been changed, ye great wretches³!

At the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion the fort of Castleknock was evidently considered to be the chief stronghold in the vicinity of Dublin. It was selected by Rory O'Conor, King of Connaught, as his headquarters while besieging the invaders in Dublin in the summer of 1171:—

At Castleknock at this time
Was the rich King of Connaught;

and when making what proved to be his victorious sally from Dublin, Miles de Cogan appears to have been of opinion that Castleknock was too strong a fortress to attack directly, and marched against the besieging force at Finglas:—

Miles de Cogan very quickly
By the direct road towards Finglas,
Towards their stockades thereupon,
Set out at a rapid rate.⁴

But as soon as he had routed the besiegers at Finglas, he no doubt secured the fort of Castleknock, and placed a garrison in it.

UNDER ANGLO-NORMAN BARONS.

Amongst the grants of lands in the neighbourhood of Dublin made during the Anglo-Norman settlement, none was more important than

¹ In regard to a tradition that St. Patrick visited Castleknock, Mr. Charles McNeill writes to me that he believes the Cnucha which St. Patrick is said to have visited was near Lough Erne, and that he is of opinion that it is identical with the place now called Mullyknock near Enniskillen. Tradition relates that St. Patrick cursed the prince that held the fort of Cnucha for sleeping while he preached, and it has been said that the prince rests beneath the mote at Castleknock in the posture which aroused St. Patrick's wrath. An attempt to explore the cave failed, owing to the labourers being afraid that the prince might be aroused. Cf. "Dublin Penny Journal," 1834-35, p. 236; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., Irel.," xiii, 305.

² Hogan's "Onomasticon," p. 204.

³ Four Masters, ii, 597.

⁴ "Song of Dermot and the Earl," ed. by G. H. Orpen, pp. 129, 141.

that of Castleknock, and amongst the feudal lords who rendered service at Dublin Castle during the next two centuries, none held a prouder place than the grantee and his successors. The grant included not only the lands in the present parish of Castleknock, but also the greater part of those comprised in the parishes of Clonsilla and Mulhuddart, and the Phoenix Park; and the grantee, Hugh Tyrrell, Baron of Castleknock, as he and his descendants were styled, was evidently chosen not only on account of his valour, but also on account of his high birth. He was descended from a long line of ducal ancestors, through whom his kinsmen claimed the title of Prince of Poix; and one of his forefathers had gained great renown in the Battle of Hastings, and another less enviable notice as the archer who caused the death of William Rufus.¹

To Hugh de Lacy, who came to Ireland in the autumn of 1171 in the train of Henry the Second, Hugh Tyrrell owed the grant of Castleknock,² and probably his own arrival in Ireland took place at the same time. He stood high in the regard of Hugh de Lacy:—

Castleknock in the first place he gave
To Hugh Tyrrell whom he loved so much;

and when Hugh de Lacy left Ireland in the spring of 1173 to join Henry in France, Hugh Tyrrell was left by him in charge of his fortress at Trim:—

Then Hugh de Lacy
Fortified a house at Trim;
And threw a trench around it,
And then enclosed it with a stockade;
Within the house he then placed
Brave knights of great worth;
Then he entrusted the castle
To the wardenship of Hugh Tyrrell.

In the following year, when Rory O'Connor invaded Meath, Hugh Tyrrell sent an urgent appeal for succour to Strongbow by a page mounted on a swift horse:—

¹ "Genealogical Notes on the Tyrrell Family of Virginia, and its English and Norman Progenitors," by E. H. Terrell, 1907 and 1909; "Genealogical History of the Tyrrells," by J. H. Tyrrell.

² In the opinion of Mr. Orpen ("Ireland under the Normans," ii, 83), the grant was made by Hugh de Lacy in his capacity as king's bailiff on behalf of the king. The owners of Castleknock rendered service to the crown undoubtedly in later times, but from the fact that the owners of Castleknock were styled baron, a title peculiar to de Lacy's chief tenants, it seems possible that Castleknock was at first considered within de Lacy's palatinate of Meath as Santry was.

Through me the baron sends you word—
 Old Hugh Tyrrell of Trim—
 That you aid him in every way,
 And suecour him with your force.

Before Strongbow could arrive Hugh Tyrrell was obliged to vacate the castle, but as soon as Rory O'Connor had been driven off he returned to Trim and made the place impregnable :—

And Hugh Tyrrell went to Trim,
 And refortified his fortress,
 After that he safeguarded it with great honour
 Until the arrival of his lord.¹

Ten years later, in 1185, Hugh Tyrrell is said to have had a quarrel with Hugh de Lacy, and appears in attendance on Philip de Worcester, by whose appointment as procurator Hugh de Lacy had been superseded as justiciar. At that time it is related that while at Armagh with Philip de Worcester Hugh Tyrrell carried off from the monastery there a cauldron which he was forced to return owing to the miraculous destruction by fire of everything with which it came in contact.² But there is proof that he was a benefactor rather than a spoiler of religious houses in a grant made by him of a great part of the lands now comprised in the Phoenix Park to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham.³ In that grant he was joined by a son called Roger, who was the king's bailiff of Louth and owner of lands in the county of Tipperary, but Roger appears to have predeceased his father, who was succeeded at Castleknock by a son called Richard.

At the close of the thirteenth century Castleknock was known as "the land of peace," and throughout that century its history was one of uninterrupted prosperity. During that period four of Hugh Tyrrell's descendants held sway at Castleknock. The first, his son Richard, second baron of Castleknock, enjoyed for a time high favour with his sovereign. In the autumn of 1197 he was with Richard the First at Dieppe,⁴ and in the early years of John's reign he was granted a cantred in Connaught, and succeeded his brother as bailiff of Louth. In the spring of 1206 and in the autumn of 1207 he was with John in England, but before the latter visit he had undertaken to give security

¹ "Song of Dermot and the Earl," edited by G. H. Orpen, pp. 229, 235, 239, 243.

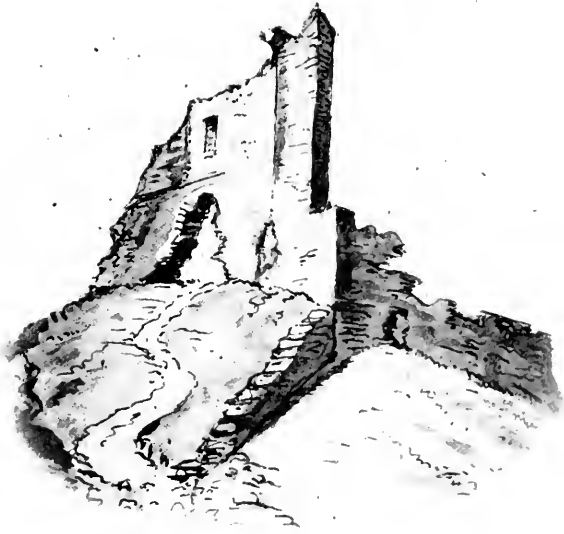
² Orpen's "Ireland under the Normans," ii, 92.

³ Archdall's "Monasticon," ii, 92.

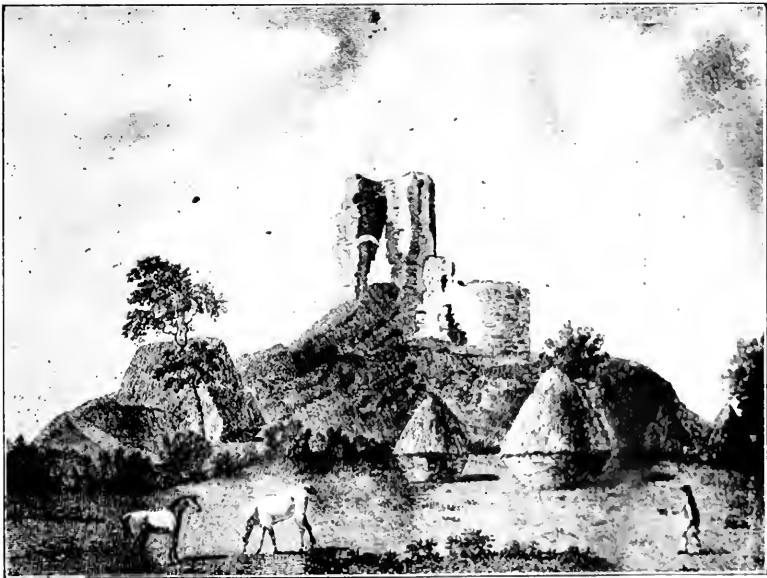
⁴ Sweetman's "Calendar," 1285-92, p. 380.

for Walter de Lacy, Hugh de Lacy's son, and became involved in the disgrace into which Walter de Lacy fell. His castle and lands of Castleknock were confiscated, and although the lands were subsequently restored to him, the king was much displeased to find in the summer of 1214 that some of his Irish officials had also entrusted the custody of the castle to him, and ordered it to be demolished. But this order was not executed, and, in the summer of 1218, two years after his accession, Henry the Third issued a mandate that the castle was to be levelled with the ground, inasmuch as it was offensive to the city of Dublin, and its destruction would tend to the safety of the Crown lands in the vale of Dublin. Negotiations ensued, and on Richard Tyrrell's undertaking to give hostages that no injury should arise from the castle, and that the justiciar would be given possession of it in the event of war, the mandate was cancelled. In the summer of 1221 Henry sought Richard Tyrrell's aid in connexion with a change of justiciar, by which the King hoped to increase the royal revenue from Ireland, but a year later he became again urgent that "the castle of Cuoc" should no longer remain in Richard Tyrrell's hands, and threatened to have it levelled unless he accepted another castle in exchange for it. But as a hostage for his loyalty Richard Tyrrell then offered his son and heir, and the castle once more escaped demolition.

Richard Tyrrell's son and heir Hugh, third baron of Castleknock, who appears to have been at the English court in 1223 when his father died, was one of the magnates of Ireland on whom Henry the Third placed chief reliance. In 1225 the king accepted from him an assurance by deed that he would surrender the castle to the justiciar in the event of military necessity, and the king on his part undertook that the castle should be restored to him as soon as military necessity permitted. He was one of those summoned to attend the king, in 1230, on his expedition to France, and he was commissioned two years later when he was at the English court to make inquiries in Ireland about the dower of the king's sister, Eleanor, the widow of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. At that time he received a royal grant of the right to hold annually a fair lasting for eight days at Newtown-Fartulagh in the county of Westmeath, which was one of the manors owned by him, and some years later he received a letter of thanks from the king for support which he had given to the justiciar, and is mentioned as the king's seneschal in Ireland. He married the daughter of a justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey de Marisco, and received knighthood.



RUINS AT CASTLEKNOCK.
[From a sketch by Gabriel Beranger.]



RUINS AT CASTLEKNOCK.
[From a sketch by Francis Grose.]

To him succeeded Richard, fourth baron of Castleknock, who was presumably his son. Richard was in possession of the lands prior to 1270, when he compounded for the royal service in respect of them by a payment of six pounds on the occasion of an expedition to Roscommon.

His son Hugh, fifth baron of Castleknock, had probably succeeded him before 1285, where his name appears in connexion with legal proceedings. He ruled at Castleknock until the spring of 1299, when his death took place. In an inquisition taken after his death it is stated that he held Castleknock from the Crown, subject to rendering suit at Dublin, and a royal service of six pounds, and that the manor contained many carucates. In addition he held from Geoffrey de Geneville "three and a half knights' fees," for which he rendered suit at Geoffrey's court at Trim.¹

Before that time a number of families had become established on the Castleknock lands, either by grant from the Crown or from the Tyrrells. To the north-west there were at Corduff the family of de la Felde, and at Abbotstown and Blanchardstown the families of Abbot and Blanchard,² from whom those places derived their names. To the north-east at Cappoge, which probably in earlier times had been a residence of the Keppoks,³ John Woodlock, who was sheriff of Dublin, and constable of Dublin Castle, was at the close of the thirteenth century seated, and near him the family of Serjeant had a holding. To the south-west at Clonsilla the family of Luttrell had been enfeoffed by the Tyrrells, subject to homage and an annual service of forty pence; and at Diswellstown the family of Deuswell, from whom the place takes its name, had been similarly enfeoffed, subject to an annual service of a pair of white gloves or a payment of one penny. A family which bore the cognomen of Castleknock rose in the thirteenth century to high importance in Dublin; and Geoffrey the Miller of Castleknock was at the close of that century a well-known person.⁴

¹ Sweetman's "Calendar," 1171-1301, *passim*; Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," *passim*; Christ Church Deed, no. 67; Pipe Roll, 1270-73.

² In 1299 the Blanchards appear in county Tipperary as connected with the Tyrrells. Cf. Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," i. 231.

³ The Keppoks are principally identified with county Louth. The Carpenters, who have left their name imprinted on a Castleknock townland, appear to have been connected with them. Cf. Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," ii. 171.

⁴ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," *passim*; Sweetman's "Calendar," 1171-1301, *passim*; Pipe Roll, 1307-8; Plea Rolls, 7, 9, 17, and 19 Ew. 11; Liber Niger (Trinity College copy), f. 611.

Besides the lands given to the Priory of Kilmainham, other lands had been given to religious houses. The lands of Ashtown were in the possession of the Priory of St. John the Baptist outside Newgate; the lands of Dunsink in the possession of the Priory of Lismullen¹; lands called Kilmellon in the possession of the Priory of All Saints, which owned the adjoining lands of Cloghran-huddart; and lands at Clonsilla and Blanchardstown in the possession of the Priory of Little Malvern in England. As will be seen in the ecclesiastical history of the parish, the last priory enjoyed the favour of the Tyrrells in an especial degree, and in addition to the lands mentioned had a house near Castleknock church, and a mill on the Liffey.²

When the Irish tribes began to invade the country near the mountains in the last decade of the thirteenth century, some of the inhabitants took refuge at Castleknock, which, as has been already mentioned, was then known as "the land of peace." One of them, Paul Lagheles by name, found, however, that the land of peace was not necessarily a land of safety, and his sheep, to the number of two hundred, were carried off while grazing in Luttrellstown by, as he alleged, men from Louth, who were coming to fight the king's enemies in the mountains. They offered trial by single combat, from which Paul shrank, and in the sequel he suffered imprisonment as well as the loss of his sheep.³

In the opening year of the fourteenth century Castleknock was rudely disturbed by the Bruce invasion, and the next owner, Richard, sixth baron of Castleknock, was one of those on whom the invasion fell most heavily. He was a son of the fifth baron; and at the time of his father's death in 1299 he was stated to be twenty-eight years of age, and to have been married for thirteen years. He served in Edward the First's Scotch expeditions, to which he contributed two great horses fully caparisoned, and four light horsemen; and before one of the expeditions was honoured by a letter from the king entrusting him with the management of an affair of importance in which he was enjoined to exert himself strenuously.⁴

¹ Dunsink had belonged successively to the Priory of Little Malvern, of Newtown, and of Lismullen. The foundress of Lismullen Priory, Alice, sister of Richard de la Corner, Bishop of Meath, was in 1260 in the possession of lands at Clonsilla. See Sweetman's "Calendar," 1252-84, no. 673.

² Archdall's "Monasticon," *passim*; Butler's "Register of All Hallows," *passim*; Plea Roll, 18 Edw. I.

³ Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," i, 29.

⁴ Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," i, 246; Sweetman's "Calendar," 1302-7, no. 47 Pipe Roll, 28 Edw. I.

About that time the loss of a falcon by the chief justice of Ireland was made the occasion of a state trial, in which the sixth baron of Castleknock figured as the defendant. While being bathed in a rivulet near the place now known as College Green the falcon had been frightened by an eagle, and according to the chief justice had flown to Castleknock and been detained by the baron, although he was aware that the loss of the falcon had been solemnly proclaimed, and a reward of twenty shillings offered for its recovery. The chief justice estimated his damages at twenty pounds; but the question of the amount was never determined, as when the trial came on the baron appeared in court, and on obtaining from David the falconer a description of the falcon, he delivered it to the chief justice, who stayed then further proceedings.¹

With the Priory of Kilmainham the sixth baron was also involved at that time in litigation, concerning an allowance of food which he alleged had been made to his forefathers as service for the lands granted by the first baron to the priory. According to his statement successive priors had recognized the claim, and each of his predecessors had received every day four white loaves and three gallons of ale such as the brethren of the priory who were knights enjoyed, two gallons of ale such as the brethren who were servitors were given, and courses of flesh on days flesh was eaten, and courses of fish on days fish was eaten, to the amount of three plates. In his suit against the priory the sixth baron's mother joined, in consideration of her right to a third of the allowance as part of her dower. She had remarried a few years after the fifth baron's death with one Guy Cokerel, to whom her first husband had been heavily indebted, and by whom her son had been pressed for payment, and Guy Cokerel gave his aid in forwarding the suit against the priory.²

According to a laconic record it was on the eve of the feast of St. Matthew, in the year 1317, that Edward Bruce made his way with his host towards Dublin and came to Castleknock. There he entered the castle, and made the baron and his wife prisoners until a ransom was paid. But his stay at Castleknock was but brief, as the record states that immediately after St. Matthew's Day he retired towards the Salmon Leap.³

¹ Plea Roll, 84, m. 16d.

² Plea Rolls, 87, m. 8; 91, m. 19; 24 Edw. I; Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," i, 310, 356.

³ "Book of Howth," p. 138.

At the time of the sixth baron's death, which occurred a few days after Christmas, 1321, his son Hugh, the seventh baron, wanted a few months of full age. Some twelve years later he was given by the king freedom from service on assizes, juries, or recognizances, but shortly before his death, thirty years later, he acted on a commission for the trial of malefactors in the city and county of Dublin.¹

His son Robert, eighth baron of Castleknock, had but a short reign, as his father's death took place subsequent to the year 1364, and his own occurred in 1370. As he received knighthood, he saw probably much military service, and after he succeeded to Castleknock he took part in negotiations at Carbury with the Berminghams, by whom he was treacherously seized, and for a time imprisoned. His death is said to have been due to the plague, to which are also attributed the death of his wife Scholastica, the widow of Adam, Lord of Howth, and that of his son and heir; and as he left no other issue, Castleknock passed to his sisters, of whom he had two.²

At the beginning of the fourteenth century contention arose between two members of the Deuswell family and a brother of the sixth baron of Castleknock, and led to a trial for assault. According to the finding of the jury, which resulted in the commitment of Tyrrell to gaol, Tyrrell descended upon the Deuswells, who were brothers, while they were sitting in a garden, and assaulted a manservant and attempted to attack one of them. At last in self-defence, the latter drew a dagger and chased Tyrrell away. But having gone to his brother's castle and armed himself, Tyrrell mounted a horse and returned to the house of the Deuswells' mother, in which they had taken refuge. As they had shut the gate, Tyrrell could not get in, but having alighted from his horse he began to throw stones, and would have done "much evil," if the neighbours, amongst whom "hue and cry" had been raised, had not come to the rescue and prevented him.³

At the close of the fourteenth century the religious houses and several of the families mentioned at the close of the previous century remained in possession of their lands. The de la Felde were still

¹ Patent Rolls of England, 1327-30, p. 536, 1361-64, p. 535; Close Rolls of England, 1330-33, p. 434. It appears possible that there was another Sir Hugh Tyrrell at that time: cf. Close Rolls of England, 1330-33, p. 434; Patent Rolls of England, 1361-64, pp. 27, 110; Pipe Roll, 15 Edw. II, 8 Edw. III.

² Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," i, 128; "Book of Howth," p. 169.

³ Justiciary Roll, 33 Edw. I.

found at Corduff, the Woodlocks at Cappoge, and the Luttrells at Luttrellstown. The lands of Cabragh, known as Much Cabragh, and Pelletstown were then in the possession of Walter Kerdiff, a member of the family which has left its name impressed on Cardiffsbridge in the parish of Finglas; the lands of Porterstown and lands called Renvelstown were in the possession of the families of Porter and Renvel, from whom those lands derived their names; and Blanchardstown and Diswellstown had become the property of John Owen, an owner of wide-spreading lands, having been acquired by him about the year 1357 on the attainder of one of the Deuswell family.¹

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Castleknock was the seat of Thomas Serjeant, who assumed the style of baron of Castleknock. As already mentioned, on the death of Robert, eighth baron of Castleknock, the estate had passed to Robert's two sisters. They were both twice married. The elder, Joan, was married successively to John Serjeant and William Boltham, and the younger, Matilda, to Sir Thomas Rokeby, sometime justiciar of Ireland, and Robert Burnell, lord of Balgriffin. Until 1408 the castle of Castleknock appears to have been occupied by William Boltham in right of his wife Joan, but his death then took place, and, as her son by her first husband, Thomas Serjeant rendered homage and entered into occupation.² More than twenty-five years before that time he had taken part in an expedition against the O'Tooles, and possibly he had a residence in 1401 on the lands of Abbotstown, in connexion with which he is then mentioned.³ An impression of his seal has been found, and as three serjeants' batons are included amongst the heraldic devices it tends to show that his ancestors derived their surname from their occupation.⁴ Owing to their connexion with Castleknock, it is probable that they acted as deputy serjeants in the time of Henry Tyrrell, a cadet of the Castleknock house, who held the office of chief serjeant of the county of Dublin in the first half of the thirteenth century, and charges the Crown with three robes for his deputies.⁵

Thomas Serjeant did not survive his step-father many months, and

¹ Patent Rolls of Ireland, *passim*; Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; Memoranda Rolls, 7-8 and 13-14 Ric. II, 7 Hen. IV; Pipe Roll, 19 Ric. II.

² Patent Rolls of Ireland, pp. 187, 188.

³ Memoranda Rolls, 3 Hen. IV, m. 46.

⁴ Proceedings Royal Irish Academy, xxxiii, C, 196, 220, 223.

⁵ Pipe Roll, Hen. III; Sweetman's "Calendar," 1171-1252, no. 561.

died also in 1408, in September, as appears from the obits of Christ Church Cathedral, of which he was a benefactor.¹ He was succeeded as owner of a moiety of Castleknock by his son, Sir John Serjeant, sometime keeper of the peace in the county of Kildare. By his wife Emeline Nugent, Sir John Serjeant had two sons, Nicholas and Robert, and they succeeded in turn to the moiety of Castleknock.² But before the middle of the fourteenth century the moiety had passed to two heiresses, Joan and Ismay Serjeant. The elder, Joan, married Sir Jenico Dartas; and the younger, Ismay, married, first, Sir Nicholas Barnewall, chief justice of the common pleas, and, secondly, Sir Robert Bold, lord of Ratoath. As the stronger man, Sir Nicholas Barnewall secured for himself the whole moiety; and in the later part of the century it passed to Roland Eustace, baron of Portlester, who had married the widow of the chief justice's son, Thomas Barnewall.³

During the fifteenth century few changes took place amongst the other occupants of the Castleknock lands. The most important were the transfer of the possessions of the Priory of Little Malvern to the Abbey of St. Mary in Dublin; the sale of the lands of Cabragh by John Kerdiff to Thomas Plunkett, of Dunsoghly, sometime chief justice of the common pleas; and the transfer of the lands of Porters-town from the family of Porter to that of FitzLyons. A wealthy member of the former family, who died in 1472, Richard Porter, had probably land in the parish, as he left legacies to the churches of Castleknock, Clonsilla, and Mulhuddart, and much live and dead stock; but he was evidently engaged in trade in Dublin, and desired to be buried in the Whitefriars' church. In the middle of that century the authority of parliament had to be invoked to cancel a series of forged deeds executed by one Philip Cowherd, of Blanchardstown, calling himself Philip Mannsell, by which he claimed various estates near Castleknock, and sold them to persons "who knew not the law, and who from one day to another menaced the tenants and freeholders."⁴

¹ Todd's "Obits of Christ Church," p. 41; Patent Rolls, p. 187.

² Memoranda Rolls, 2, 8, Hen. V, 13, 15, Hen. VI; Todd's "Obits," p. 50.

³ Lodge's "Peerage," v, 30, 31; Patent Rolls of Ireland, p. 255; Memoranda Rolls, 7-9 Edw. IV; Berry's "Statutes, Edw. IV," p. 209.

⁴ Gilbert's "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," *passim*; Calendar of Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; Exchequer Inquisition, 13 Hen. VIII; Berry's "Wills," p. 41; Berry's "Statutes, Hen. VI," p. 397.

AS A RESIDENCE OF A GENTLEMAN OF THE PALE.

The Burnells, the owners of the second moiety of the Castleknock estate, had their chief seat at Balgriffin, but during the later part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century members of the family appear to have sometimes used Castleknock as a residence. Amongst the adherents of Silken Thomas, the head of the Burnell house at that time, John Burnell, was prominent, and after the suppression of the rebellion he was attainted. But one of his relations, another John Burnell, was granted by the Crown a lease of Castleknock castle, and for the next forty or fifty years passed there the life of a gentleman of the Pale, and is included amongst those to whom in the reign of Elizabeth the duty of mustering the militia was entrusted.¹ In his time Stanyhurst, in writing of the strange and wonderful places of Ireland, says that "there is in Castleknock, a village not far from Dublin, a window not glazed nor latticed but open, and let the weather be stormy, the wind bluster boisterously on every side of the house, yet place a candle there and it will burn as quietly as if no puff of wind blew; this may be tried at this day, who so shall be willing to put it in practice."²

Around John Burnell great changes took place. The Castleknock manor was leased by the Crown in succession to various owners—in 1558 to Sir George Stanley, the marshal of the army; in 1568 to Luke Dillon, the attorney-general; and in 1574 to Thomas, Earl of Ormond. In addition to the manor the Crown became owners of the possessions of the religious houses on their dissolution, when the Prioress of Lismullen was found to be seized of six messuages, and over two hundred acres at Dunsink and Scribblestown, and the Abbey of St. Mary, in Dublin, of a holding at Blanchardstown, and the tithes. On the other hand, Christ Church Cathedral became possessed early in the sixteenth century of the lands of Much Cabragh, which were granted to it by Thomas Plunkett, their purchaser from the Kerdiffs. The cathedral defended in 1589 its right to them against a claim made by Walter Kerdiff, one of the justices of the king's bench, and leased them to John Parker, sometime master of the rolls, and afterwards to Francis Agard and his son-in-law Sir Henry Harrington.

¹ Pipe Roll, 29 Hen. VIII; Fiants, Eliz., nos. 135, 260; Holiday Manuscripts, pp. 82, 86.

² Holinshed's "Chronicles," vi, 39.

two of Elizabeth's Irish officials, who resided successively at Grangegorman. The lands of Pelletstown were still owned by the Kerdiffs, Judge Kerdiff, his son, grandson, and great-grandson appearing in the possession of them; and Dunsink was also occupied by a member of that family, James Kerdiff, who was a commissioner of the muster. At Corduff the de la Feldes still reigned, and in the last decade of that century sent a mounted archer from it to a hosting at Tara.¹

But at the beginning of the sixteenth century Cappoge had passed from the Woodlocks, owing to the extinction of their male line. In the year 1506, in the month of February, Catherine Owen, the widow of the last male representative of the Woodlock family, is found on a sick bed in the tower-chamber of Cappoge castle securing by charter her property to her daughter Rose Woodlock, and "swearing by her soul, and by the way her soul was about to travel," that she had no knowledge of any other enfeoffment of her lands. Her daughter, whom she bound to provide for seven years "an honest priest" to pray for her and her parents in Castleknock church, was then married to Robert Bathe; but she had been previously married to a member of the Dillon family, and in the middle of the sixteenth century Cappoge came into the possession of her grandson by her first marriage. At the close of that century the Dillons of Cappoge are included amongst the men of name in Dublin county; and they sent two or three mounted archers in respect of Cappoge to the hostings of their time. Bartholomew Dillon, Rose Woodlock's grandson, was twice married: to a daughter of his kinsman, Sir Bartholomew Dillon, and to a daughter of Edward, Lord Howth. He was succeeded by his son Nicholas, who married Katherine Rochfort; and Nicholas was succeeded on his death in 1577 by his son Bartholomew, who was then a child.² While Robert Bathe was in occupation of Cappoge castle, in the year 1538, one of his tenants, Robert Legath, made his will,³ and provided carefully for the payment of rent due to Robert Bathe, whom he styles "his master." He desired that he should be buried in

¹ Calendar of Christ Church Deeds and Fiants, *passim*; State Papers, Irel., 1509-73, p. 382; Archdall's "Monasticon," *passim*; Exchequer Inquisition, Eliz., no. 157; Trinity College Library MS., F. 1. 18, p. 177.

² Deed in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke; Exchequer Inquisition, 22 Hen. VIII; Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*; Fiants, Edw. VI, no. 707, Eliz., no. 3000.

³ In the Prerogative Collection.

Castleknock church near his sister, and charged his wife and son "to see him honestly brought to the grave." His crops included twelve couples of corn, and his live stock six plough horses, with which are ranked as things of equal value his little pot and pan.

By the marriage of a daughter of the family of Fitz Lyons to a member of the Finglas family Porterstown passed in the sixteenth century to the latter family. The lady was Alson, daughter of James Fitz Lyons, who had been previously married to Edward, Lord Howth, and her husband was Roger Finglas. During the military expeditions in the reign of Mary and Elizabeth, as the representative of the Porterstown family, Roger Finglas was very prominent, not only contributing archers to the militia, but also serving in person and acting as a commissioner of the muster. He was succeeded by his son John, and the latter in his turn by his son Roger, who was a minor in 1591 when his father died.¹ The adjoining lands of Diswellstown were in the middle of the sixteenth century occupied by Christopher FitzGerald, who appears by his will, which was proved in 1558,² to have been closely allied to the Lords Howth of his time. He was a man of wealth as well as of position. His household goods included much plate (a silver salt-cellar, two silver tankards, and a mazer being amongst the articles mentioned), besides powder and brass, and many coffers, cupboards, tables, and beds, and his live stock comprised a stud of over twenty horses, a herd of cattle, a flock of sheep, a drove of pigs, and, what was evidently a feature of the place, thirty-seven "stalls of bees." A legacy was left by him towards providing a cover for the hearse in Castleknock church, and there he directed his body to be laid beside his brothers.

On the death of John Burnell Castleknock castle became the residence of his son, Henry Burnell, who was a lawyer of very great eminence. In the opinion of his contemporaries he was one of the best speakers and most learned men of his day in Ireland, and after a comparatively short practice at the Irish bar he had acquired such means as enabled him to live in a style that had never been approached by his father. Throughout his life he was a champion of the cause of the gentlemen of the Pale, in regard both to their temporal and to their spiritual needs, and was their chosen adviser. While a

¹ Exchequer Inquisitions; Haldiday Manuscripts; Fiants, Eliz., 109, 260, 6001; Trinity College Library MS., F. 1. 18, p. 177; Chancery Decees Char. I. no. 516.

² In the Prerogative Collection.

student at Lincoln's Inn, in the year 1562, he joined in a representation to the government about the state of the Pale, and early in his legal career he was selected by Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, as his counsel. That nobleman, who was under suspicion of no friendly disposition to the government, was very irascible, and, as a statement made by Burnell in the summer of 1575 shows, it required the utmost acuteness to guard his interests. This statement was made in London, where Burnell had gone on the earl's behalf, and two years later he was again there as an emissary for the earl and other noblemen of the Pale respecting the cess. For his advocacy of their cause he suffered then imprisonment, first in the Fleet and afterwards in the Tower, but he contrived finally to arrange a composition between them and the government.

As he complained a year later, the composition entailed on him unpopularity and loss of his own money, and evidently considerable sympathy was felt for him, as on his visiting London again, in 1583, he was recommended to the English statesmen by Archbishop Loftus and others holding high office in Ireland. But during the parliament convened under Lord Deputy Perrott, in which Burnell represented Dublin county, he incurred once more the displeasure of the executive by his successful opposition to the government measures. One of these was the repeal of Poyning's Act, and, as has been remarked, it is a curious circumstance that the parliament of that time should have refused to abrogate the very statute, the repeal of which was the greatest triumph of Irish patriotism in the eighteenth century.

Although Burnell seems to have consistently professed the Roman Catholic religion, he was appointed in 1573 recorder of Dublin, and in 1590 a justice of the queen's bench, but the latter appointment was limited to one term, that of Michaelmas, and the office of recorder does not appear to have been long held by him. When the Roman Catholics of the Pale petitioned Chichester in 1605 for toleration of their religion, Burnell was a main instrument in the movement. In the opinion of Mr. Bagwell he drafted the petition, and although he was not imprisoned, on account of age and infirmity, the government placed him under restraint first at Castleknock and afterwards in Dublin in the serjeant-at-arms' house. In his later years he must have been a thorn in the side of the judges who were not too well qualified, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century he was alleged to have boasted openly of his power in the courts. But his

ARROSTOWN HOUSE.



friendship for the FitzGeralds involved him afterwards in charges of tampering with a deed, and a heavy fine was imposed on him by the castle or star chamber of Ireland.¹

At the time of his death, which occurred in the summer of 1611, he is said to have been very aged. His wife, a daughter of the house of O'Reilly of Cavan, had died nine years before, in the summer of 1605, and a son, called Christopher, alone survived him of his children.² In his will,³ which is dated the day before his death, there is no sign of mental decay. He desires to be buried with his father, mother, and wife in Castleknock church, and although he mentions that he was very sick, his "perfect memory" is apparent in the careful terms in which he makes bequests to his grandchildren, and to a number of more distant relations and servants to whom, besides money, he leaves his little ambling garren, his best gown and cloak, and his broadcloth gown.

His interest in Castleknock passed to his son Christopher, and to Christopher's son Henry in succession. Henry Burnell married Lady Frances Dillon, the third daughter of James, first Earl of Roscommon, who died in the spring of 1640, and was buried in "the chapel of the Burnells within the parish church of Castleknock," and he had by her four sons and five daughters. He is still recollected as the author of a play called *Landgartha*, which was acted in Dublin on St. Patrick's Day, 1639, and he is said by a contemporary to have imbibed more of the spirit of Ben Jonson, although he was never in England, than those who claimed to be Jonson's heirs in that country. After the rebellion of 1641 he is described as of Castlerickard, in the county of Meath, a seat owned by his grandfather as well as Castleknock, and whether the castle of Castleknock was occupied when the rebellion broke out is uncertain.⁴

¹ State Papers, Ireland, 1562-1609, *passim*; Carew, 1577-1611, *passim*; Collins's "Letters of State," *passim*; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors" and "Ireland under the Stuarts," *passim*; Falkiner's "Essays relating to Ireland," p. 218; Hogan's "Ibernia Ignatiana," p. 176; Gilbert's "Records of Dublin," ii, 86; Smyth's "Law Officers"; "The Earls of Kildare," ii, 137, 142, 172, 192; Salisbury Manuscripts, i, 34.

² Funeral Entries.

³ In the Prerogative Collection.

⁴ Funeral Entry; Chetwood's "History of the Stage," p. 52; "Dictionary of National Biography," vii, 386; Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," iii, 96.

THE FALL OF THE CASTLE.

For many months after the rebellion Castleknock appears to have been in the possession of the Irish forces. In May, 1642, an order was issued that seventy musketeers with two sergeants and three corporals, under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Bringhurst, should be sent there,¹ but this force was found inadequate, and to Monk, while marching in June to join Ormonde at Athlone, the capture of the Castleknock stronghold is attributed.² That the defence was stubborn may be gathered from the statement that Monk "killed eighty rebels besides those that were hanged," and, notwithstanding their defeat, the Irish continued to occupy the surrounding country. In the following November portion of a convoy coming from Trim to Dublin was taken by the Irish at Castleknock, and some of the soldiers in charge of the cars were carried to a camp not far off and there shot.³

Five years later, in the autumn of 1647, while ravaging the Pale, Owen O'Neill visited Castleknock. Thence he went to Drogheda, destroying as he advanced "the goodliest haggards of corn that ever were seen in those parts," until the country seemed to be on fire. As soon as he heard of O'Neill's arrival near Dublin, Colonel Michael Jones, who was then commanding for the Parliament in Dublin, set out against him, and drew a large force to Castleknock, but he found only O'Neill's rearguard, and as all provender had been destroyed, he could not proceed further, and was obliged to return to Dublin.⁴

While advancing from Kilkenny against the Parliament force in Dublin, in the summer of 1649, Ormonde halted at Castleknock, whence some of his horse advanced to the Phoenix House, and encountered a detachment sent out by Colonel Michael Jones from Oxmantown Green, where his horse lay behind ramparts. After "bickering on both sides," Ormonde drew his main force to Finglas, and he encamped there that evening; but he placed garrisons in the

¹ Carte Papers, iii, 202.

² Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," ii, 107. In "Castleknock an Historical Sketch," Dublin, 1871, p. 16, the castle of Knock, in county Meath, has been confounded with Castleknock. See "Exceeding Happy News from Ireland," Royal Irish Academy Tracts, xxvi, 21.

³ Trinity College Library MS., Depositions, 1641, Robert Arundell, November 22, 1642.

⁴ "News from Ireland," Thorpe Tracts, National Library, iv, 29; Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," ii. 196; Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," vi, 207.

castles of Lucan and Luttrellstown, and probably also in Castleknock, as he summoned some weeks later the gentlemen of the county to come thither.¹

At the time of the rebellion the Castleknock estate was in the possession of Christopher Barnewall and Philip Hoare of Kilsallaghan, to whom the moiety forfeited by the Burnells had before that time been leased by the crown. But Christopher Barnewall was attainted, and shortly before Dublin was surrendered by Ormonde to the Parliament, in the summer of 1647, some of his property, including the great farm of Castleknock and a disused mill there, was given into the custody of Lieutenant Thomas Bringhurst, who was then major of the Dublin garrison.²

During the Commonwealth, as the survey of the parish of Castleknock shows, there were in "the castle-town" the castle which was described as old, a thatched house, a stable, some cottages, and an orchard; and in "the church-town," a thatched house, a stable, some cottages, a disused mill, and the walls of an old church. At the time of the Restoration the inhabitants of full age in "the castle-town" numbered two of English and thirty of Irish descent; and in "the church-town" twelve of English and thirty of Irish descent. A few years later, the chief inhabitant in "the castle-town" was John Warren, whose house contained two chimneys; and in "the church-town," Alderman William Cliffe, whose house contained three hearths. There were then some thirty cottages assessed for one hearth each in the two towns, and the mill, known as the baron's mill or the red mill, had come into the possession of John Sprotton, and was rated for two hearths.³ Together with it, Sprotton, who was engaged in the woollen manufacture, held the weir and fishing rights.⁴

After the Restoration the most important dwelling in Castleknock parish was Porterstown, which was occupied by Roger, first Earl of Orrery, while acting as a lord justice. It was returned in the Commonwealth survey as only a small castle, but was said to be

¹ Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," vii, 122, and his "History of Affairs in Ireland," ii, 222.

² Carte Papers, clxiv, 494.

³ In this and the succeeding paragraphs of this section the following authorities are used:—Civil Survey, Down Survey, and Hearth Money Rolls, preserved in Public Record Office; Census of 1657, and Distribution of Forfeited Lands, preserved in Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Will of John Sprotton, 1670, in Prerogative Collection.

surrounded by an orchard, garden, and plantation; and after the Restoration the castle, or a more modern house erected near it, was assessed for nine chimneys. Towards the close of the eighteenth century an arched gateway betokened the former importance of the place, but even then all other trace of the dwelling occupied by Lord Orrery had disappeared.¹ During the Commonwealth, when the inhabitants of full age numbered thirteen of English and fifteen of Irish descent, Porterstown had been occupied by Colonel Richard Lawrence, the promoter of the linen manufacture at Chapelizod; and after the Earl of Orrery, William Muschamp, a member of a family of high position, resided there. On the adjoining lands of Diswellstown, which had been for a time the home of the widow of Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellstown, there was a house with three chimneys occupied by Nathaniel Leake, and one with two hearths occupied by James Enos, besides some eighteen cottages. The inhabitants numbered nine of English and thirty-six of Irish descent.

At Corduff a house, built of stone and slated, with a stable and barn, stood in the midst of an orchard, garden, and grove of trees. Early in the seventeenth century Corduff had become the residence of the Warren family, who continued in occupation for the next two hundred years, and contributed in the eighteenth century a marshal, Baron Warren of Corduff, to the French service.² At the time of the Restoration the inhabitants of Corduff of full age were returned as seven of English and twenty-two of Irish descent. Abbotstown was then the residence of James Sweetman, a descendant of a Kilkenny family, who had succeeded a family called Long, several members of which served as officers in the Irish army.³ There were on the lands a thatched house and six cottages, and the inhabitants are returned as two of English and thirty-four of Irish descent.

According to the Commonwealth survey, Blanchardstown contained

¹ Austin Cooper's Note-book.

² The Warren family," by Rev. Thomas Warren, p. 258. Cf. British Museum MS. 28, 877, f. 376.

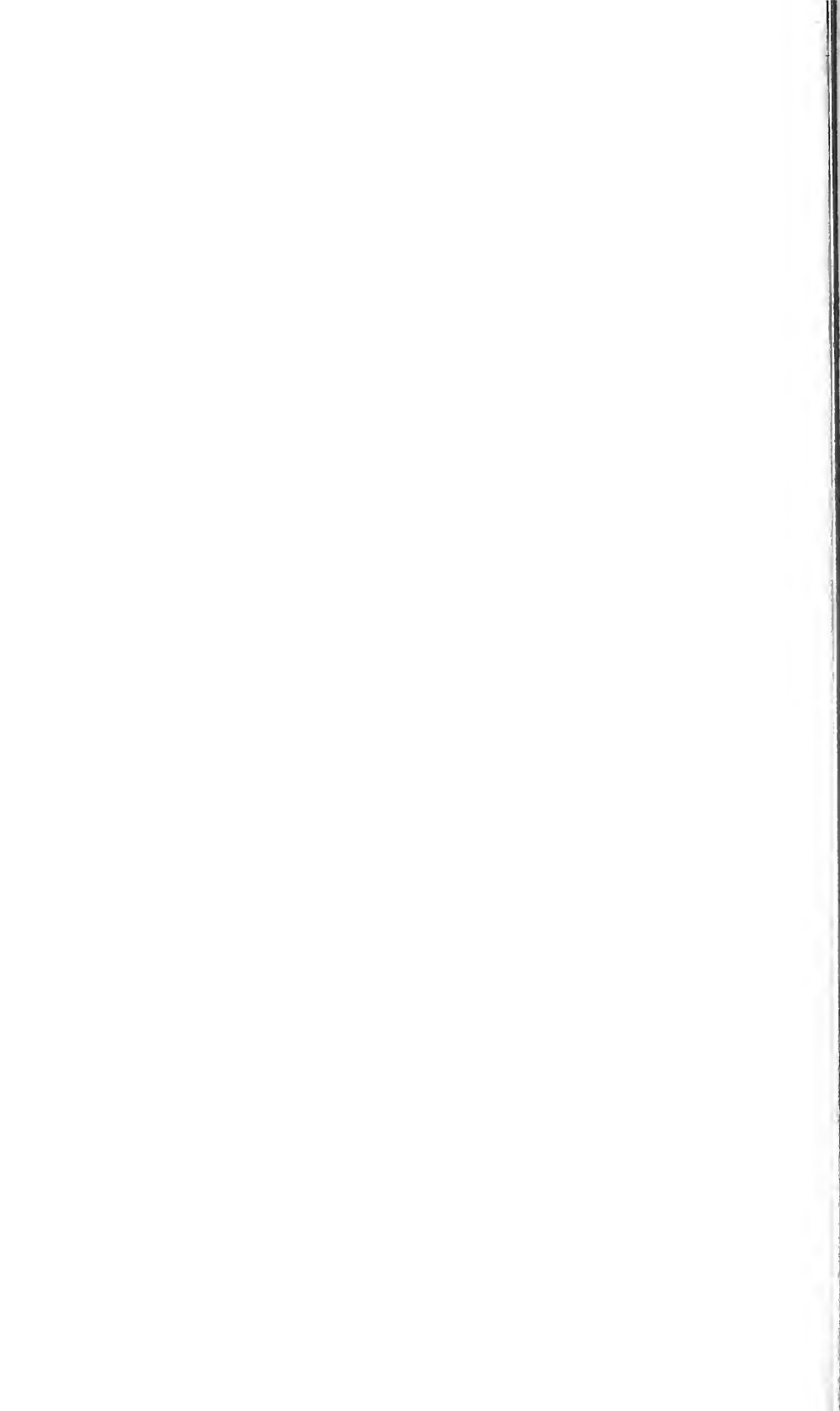
³ See will of Richard Hanlon, 1656, in Prerogative Collection, and will of James Sweetman, 1686, in Dublin Collection; Depositions, 1641, Richard Swinfen, of Meaxtown. In Castleknock Churchyard there was formerly a tombstone with the inscription:—"Here lieth the body of Edward Sweetman late of Abbotstown in the county of Dublin, son of James, son of Richard Sweetman, who was son of John, who was son of Richard Sweetman, of Castle Isle, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq., obiit 11 April, 1707."



DANIEL FAUSTIN.



JOSEPH FAUSTIN.



only two thatched houses, a barn, and a little cottage, with "a young orchard and garden and a waste mill." At the time of the Restoration its inhabitants of full age are returned as five of English and twenty-six of Irish descent. In the early part of the sixteenth century William Rowles, who was member of parliament for Newcastle Lyons and an officer of the prerogative court,¹ is described as of Blanchardstown, and at the time of the Restoration Henry Rowles, his son, and Robert Ball, his grandson, are mentioned amongst its chief men. But its principal inhabitant at that time appears to have been Richard Berford, a member of the Kilrow family, who died in 1662. His will,² in which he directs his interment in Ratoath church, shows that he was a man of cultured tastes; and books and a bass-viol, besides a watch and much plate, are included in the possessions that he divided amongst his kinsfolk. He bequeaths also to them live-stock, including his bay nag and his white nag, and desires them to allow his brewing-pan at Ratoath to be used by the villagers.

At Huntstown the inhabitants of full age are returned at the time of the Restoration as seven of English and twenty-nine of Irish descent. There was on the lands a house built of stone with a small orchard and plantation. At the time of the rebellion Martin Dillon, a kinsman of the owner of Cappoge, had been in occupation, and he had been succeeded by James Dillon, who died before 1680. The latter was married to a daughter of the Bellew house, and was succeeded by his son Martin. In his will³ he bequeaths Martin his signet, and desired to be buried with his predecessors in Castleknock church.

The castle of Cappoge was in ruins before the Restoration, but at the close of the eighteenth century there still remained sufficient to show that it was a large and handsome dwelling. The ruins comprised then portion of the main wall, a tower at the south-east corner, and a gateway. The castle stood on a limestone rock, and the wall, which was thirty feet high, was three feet thick. On the south-west corner of the wall there were remains apparently of a parapet. In the tower, which was three stories in height, there was a staircase, leading from the ground to the roof. The ground-floor, which was vaulted, contained an entrance doorway, and another doorway leading from the staircase to the room, and two windows, one in the south wall and the

¹ "The Ball Records," by Rev. W. Ball Wright, pp. 26, 27.

² In the Prerogative Collection.

³ *Ibid.*

other in the west. Sixteen steps led to the first floor, on which there was a large fireplace, seventeen steps from the first floor to the second, and fifteen steps from the second floor to the roof, the total height of the tower being forty feet. On the upper floors, as well as on the ground-floor, there were doorways of plain Gothic shape leading from the staircase to the rooms, and in the upper part of the tower there were holes in which the joists for the floors had rested. It was believed that the west side of the vaulted chamber was older than the remainder of the tower. The gateway stood about twenty yards to the north-east of the castle, and was a square building with a large arch, of which the bond stones had been removed before the description was written.¹ The castle had been forfeited after the rebellion by Bartholomew Dillon, and the chief inhabitants on the lands after the Restoration were Captain Knowles and Henry Wood, whose house was assessed for two hearths. At the time of the Restoration the inhabitants numbered four of English and twenty-two of Irish descent.

During the Commonwealth there was said to be near Dunsink, which had been the residence of a family called Freind, "great improvement of the barren soil by the planting of flax, trefoil, and clover," and after the Restoration the adjoining lands of Scribblestown appear as the site of a house assessed as containing twelve chimneys. Its owner is described as "Esquire Barrett," and possibly may have been William Barrett of Castlemore, county of Cork, who in 1665 was created a baronet, and in 1673, on his return from the "grand tour," bid the world farewell in a curious will, dated the day on which he died.² Subsequently Scribblestown was the residence of Major Richard Broughton, of the Irish guards, who was a son-in-law of Sir Henry Tichborne, and who died in 1678.³

On the lands of Much Cabragh, where a Dominican Convent now stands, there was after the Restoration a house containing six chimneys, the residence of Benedict Arthur, whose family had long been conspicuous in Dublin. Besides Arthur's house, there were four others on the lands rated as containing two hearths each; and at the time of the Restoration the inhabitants of full age numbered four of English and twenty-two of Irish descent. In the Commonwealth

¹ Cooper's Note-book.

² In the Prerogative Collection. See also "Complete Baronetage," iv, 200.

³ History of Montgomery of Ballyleck, p. 81: Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," p. 28; Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*; Prerogative Will.

survey an orchard, which had been recently planted, is mentioned, as well as a garden ; and there were then two houses with slated roofs. On Benedict Arthur's death, before 1687, he was succeeded by his son John, who had been a patient of his distinguished kinsman, Dr. Thomas Arthur, and who succeeded to his father's " great clock-watch " and books, as well as to his real estate.¹

At Pelletstown several disused mills are mentioned in the Commonwealth survey, and after the Restoration John Connel appears as an inhabitant in a house rated for four hearths. He held also the lands of Ashtown on which the castle or " house of Ashtown," now the Under Secretary's Lodge, stood. It was then rated as containing three chimneys. At the time of the rebellion Pelletstown had been the residence of Robert Bysse, who was then high sheriff of Dublin county. A letter addressed by him a few months later, in February, 1642, to his brother, who had taken refuge in England, is still extant, and gives a minute account of events in Dublin.² In it Robert Bysse urges his brother, who was second remembrancer of the court of exchequer, to return, and suggests that he might make an honest penny by importing provisions. Excepting salt beef, he says that every kind of food was at famine price: fresh meat was especially dear ; rabbits were four shillings a pair ; hens were two shillings a piece ; eggs were a penny ; and milk was two pence a quart. Two years later, in January, 1643, while " pondering the momentary and uncertain end of men in this realm of misery," Robert Bysse made his will,³ and did not live many weeks after its execution.

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the death of the last representative of the Sweetman family, Abbotstown became the site of a residence of Robert Clements, grandfather of the first Earl of Leitrim. After his death, which occurred in 1722, " the house of Abbotstown " was advertised to be let by his eldest son Theophilus Clements. The house is described as a large one, and the demesne was enclosed, as it is to-day, by a stone wall. Within the demesne there were gardens, and an orchard, and, a great attraction of that time, a good pigeon-house.⁴ As the house was not sold until after his

¹ Will of " Bennett Arthur," 1686, in Prerogative Collection.

² Depositions, 1641, xxxii, 7. ³ In Prerogative Collection.

⁴ Hume's " Dublin Courant," February 1, 1723-4.

death, Theophilus Clements, who died six years after his father, may have occupied it, and he was probably often drawn thither by six English coach-mares, which he bequeathed with his chariot to his wife.¹ Then Admiral Sir William Rowley appears as tenant.²

The family of Falkiner became afterwards seated at Abbotstown; the first of the name resident there being Frederick Falkiner, a leading Dublin banker and a commissary of the muster. He was descended from a family identified from early times with Leeds, and his grandfather was one of its first members to settle in Ireland.³ His father, Daniel Falkiner, who was buried in 1759 at Castleknock, was also a banker, and was sometime lord mayor of Dublin, and member of parliament for Baltinglass; and his uncle John Falkiner of Nangor has been mentioned as a resident in Clondalkin parish. After the death in 1768 of his wife, who was a daughter of James Hamilton, an ancestor of Lord HolmPatrick, Frederick Falkiner went to reside in a house called the Cottage, and there he dated his will, which was executed in 1771, eleven years before his death.⁴

After Abbotstown was vacated by him, it became the residence of his eldest son Daniel Falkiner, who was by profession a barrister, and was appointed counsel to the Barrack Board. In 1761 he married an English heiress, a daughter of Henry Fauze, of Egham Park, Surrey,⁵ and he was residing at Bath when his eldest son was born in 1768; but before his eldest daughter was born in the following year he had come to Abbotstown, and continued to reside there until his death in 1798.

His eldest son, Frederick James Falkiner, who was created a baronet, was prominent in the political world of his day, and has been described as an Irish gentleman of the old school. A year after he had attained his majority in 1790 he was returned, on the nomination of the Duke of Leinster, to whom he was related, member of parliament for Athy, and seven years later he was elected member for Dublin county. He was an opponent of the Union, and no honour or bribe of money would tempt him to support it. Until the general election

¹ Prerogative Will.

² "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel." xxii, 14.

³ "The Falkiners of Abbotstown," by G. H. Falkiner Nuttall, F.R.S.

⁴ In the Prerogative Collection.

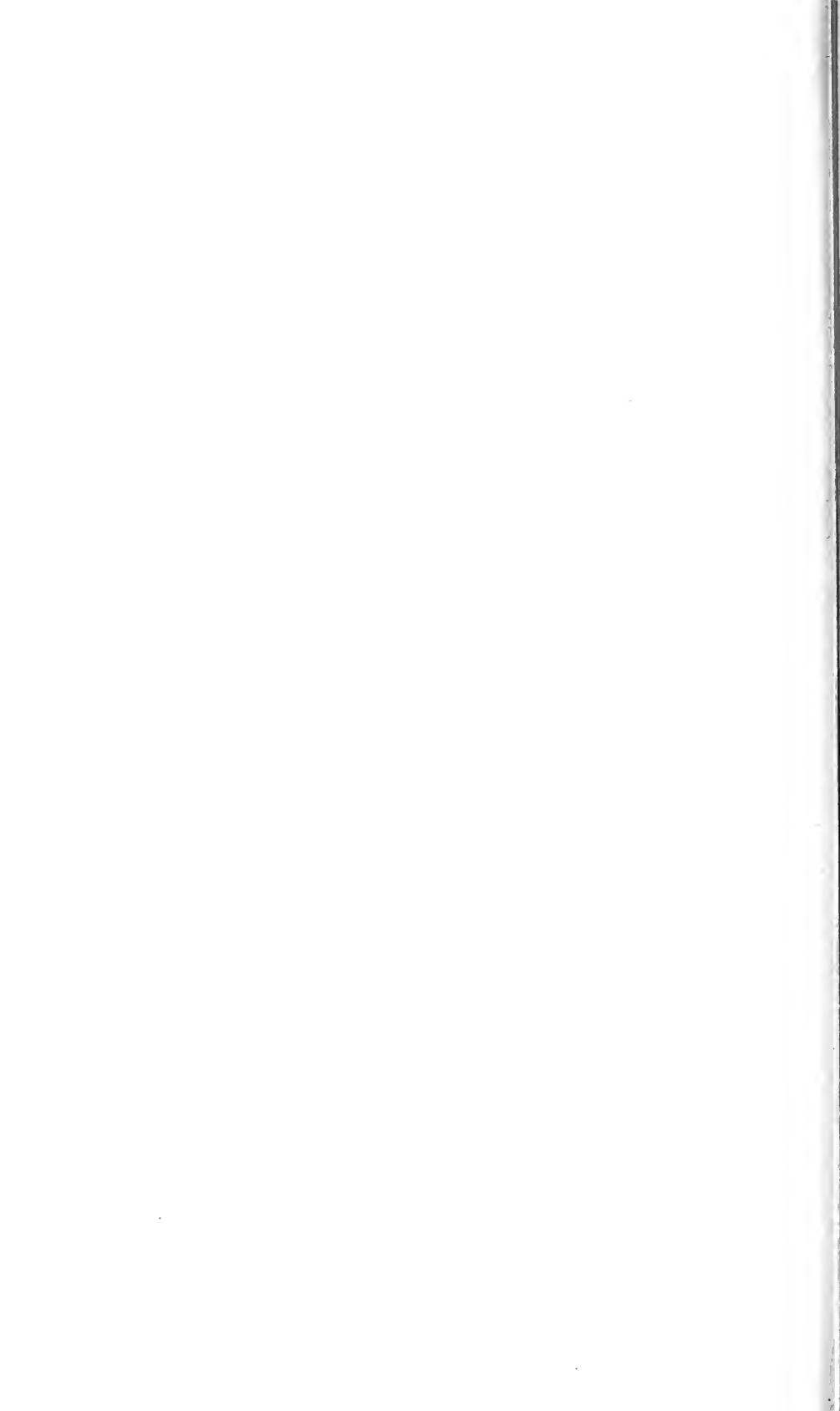
⁵ In "Sleater's Public Gazetteer," iv, 540, it is stated incorrectly that he married a daughter of William Learne, of Aston, Middlesex, with a fortune of £20,000.



HANS HAMILTON.



JAMES HAMILTON.



of 1807, when he was defeated at the poll, he continued to represent the county of Dublin, and in the autumn of 1812 he was again returned to parliament as member for the borough of Carlow. Two months later he was created a baronet. His popularity at that time was evinced by the presentation to him of the freedom of Dublin, and in the address presented to him on that occasion allusion is made to the very distinguished manner in which he had supported the true interest of the Empire. But his patriotism had led him to raise a regiment, the Regent's county Dublin regiment of foot, of which he was the honorary colonel, and had involved him in financial difficulties. His embarrassments clouded his later days, which were passed at Naples, where in 1824 his death took place in tragic circumstances. Sir Frederick Falkiner, who married a daughter of Sackville Gardiner, but left no heir, is recorded to have been of prepossessing appearance, and to have possessed elegant manners; he is said to have been also most agreeable in society, and to have excelled in sport.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Arthurs continued to reside at Much Cabragh. John Arthur, whose succession before 1687 has been mentioned, died in 1733.¹ As the grant of a licence to him to carry arms shows, he was a Roman Catholic,² but his son Benedict, who succeeded him, had conformed in 1723 to the established church.³ At the age of seventeen Benedict Arthur had been married clandestinely to a kinswoman within the prohibited degrees in the Roman Catholic Church, and Archbishop King gives a curious account of his efforts to reconcile Benedict's father to the marriage at the request of an English bishop.⁴ For some years after Benedict Arthur's death, which occurred in 1752, the house at Much Cabragh seems to have been occupied by his children, but before 1766 it had come into the possession of Thomas Waite, then under-secretary at Dublin Castle. He was a native of Yorkshire, and during the rising of 1745 he rendered services to the government, which were in his own opinion very inadequately rewarded by his Irish appointment.⁵ To

¹ In his will he desires to be buried in St. Michael's Church, but in an announcement of his death he is said to have been buried at Stillorgan.—"Dublin Gazette," September 18, 1733.

² Parliamentary Returns in Public Record Office.

³ Royal Irish Academy Tracts, clxxxvi, 2.

⁴ Archbishop King's Correspondence, Trinity College Library, September 30, 1712.

⁵ Taylor and Skimmer's Maps; British Museum MSS., 32712, f. 139, 32714, f. 58.

the great Primate Stone he was recommended by the primate's brother, Andrew Stone, and as the gift of a watch from the Duke of Northumberland, one of the viceroys of his time, indicated, he proved a valuable assistant to those in high places. In every line of his will,¹ which was made in 1779 shortly before his death, the accurate and painstaking mind of the good official is apparent, and no less is the popularity of the testator shown by the host of friends mentioned in it.

About the middle of the eighteenth century residents of note were few in Castleknock parish.² In a map made then³ no house is shown on the lands now enclosed in the demesne of Farnleigh, the seat of Viscount Iveagh, or adjacent to them. At Corduff the Warrens continued to reside throughout the century, and Diswellstown was long the residence of the family of Kennan, whose possession of a well with petrifying qualities interested Dr. Ruddy,⁴ and whose house and garden were fifty years later thought worthy of notice in a survey of county Dublin.⁵ Hillbrook, near Abbotstown, was then the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Sampson, who died there in 1764, "after a long life spent in the service of his king and country." His forbears, who appear to have been of Scotch origin, were identified with Donegal county, one of them representing Lifford in parliament, and were allied to the Conollys of Castletown, under whom Hillbrook was held.⁶ The only other residents of note at that time were Captain Nixon, Stearne Tighe, Mrs. Blanchfort, and Mrs. Harpur, whose son Singleton became curate of the parish.

Towards the close of that century a place called Elm Green was the residence of Richard Malone, who was interested in pictures and prints⁷; and Scribblestown became the home of the Rathborne family.⁸ During that period Dunsink was also selected, on account of its commanding position and proximity to Dublin, as the site of the Observatory founded by the University of Dublin, under the trusts of the will of Provost Andrews. Its erection, which was begun in 1782, has brought to Castleknock parish as residents a long line of distin-

¹ In the Prerogative Collection.

² Parliamentary Return of Religion in 1766.

³ Roque's Map of Co. Dublin.

⁴ "Mineral Waters of Ireland," p. 355.

⁵ Archer's "Survey of Co. Dublin," p. 107.

⁶ "Sleater's Public Gazetteer," vii, 330; Prerogative Wills; Dalton's "Army of George I.," ii, 135, 137; "Pue's Occurrences," October 10-13, 1719.

⁷ Prerogative Will, 1783.

⁸ Taylor and Skinner's Maps.

guished men, amongst whom Sir William Hamilton and Sir Robert Ball may be specially mentioned.

But the close of the eighteenth century is more particularly marked by the commencement of the residence of Lord HolmPatrick's ancestors in the parish, and the erection of the present Abbotstown house. The house stands a little to the north of the house which was occupied by the Falkiners, and before the death of Sir Frederick Falkiner it was known as Sheephill. It has been long numbered



ABBOTSTOWN, FORMERLY KNOWN AS SHEEPHILL.

among the great residences near Dublin. For three generations its owners represented the county in parliament, and the name of Hans Hamilton, James Hans Hamilton, and Ion Trant Hamilton, the first Lord HolmPatrick, remain imperishably associated with what is best in public life. The political connexion of the owners of Abbotstown with the county began before the legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain, and was maintained for a century: a century that witnessed Hans Hamilton strenuously opposing the Union, and his grandson, Ion Trant Hamilton, as strenuously opposing its repeal. Through thirteen contested elections the banner of the Conservative

party was borne by the owners of Abbotstown unsullied and unstained, and of them it may be said that they were representatives "sans peur et sans reproche."

The builder of the present Abbotstown house was the present Lord HolmPatrick's great-great-grandfather, James Hamilton; and its erection on the lands of Abbotstown was due to the fact that their owner, Frederick Falkiner, was married to James Hamilton's sister. The ancestors of Lord HolmPatrick in Ireland, who descended from a brother of the celebrated James Hamilton, Viscount Claneboye, had been seated previously in the counties of Cavan and Carlow; and the father of the builder of the present Abbotstown house was owner of the manor of Carlow as well as its representative in parliament during the whole reign of George the Second. For the greater part of his life James Hamilton held legal office as deputy-prothonotary of the king's bench, and as an official won no less esteem and regard than did his descendants as parliamentary representatives. He was married three times, and is said to have had thirty-six children.

His eldest son Hans Hamilton, who succeeded him, served in the fifth dragoon guards as lieutenant and captain. At the general election of 1797 he was returned to parliament with his cousin Sir Frederick Falkiner as representative of Dublin county, and continued to represent the county until his death twenty-five years later, being always returned at the head of the poll, and generally by a large majority. He was twice married, but left only one son James Hans, by whom he was succeeded.

James Hans Hamilton, who succeeded his father when only twelve years of age, was elected member for Dublin county at the general election of 1811, and represented the county until a few months before his death twenty-two years later. It has been said that no name was more honoured by his contemporaries, and evidence remains that no name could have more deserved to be held in esteem. By his wife, Miss Trant, who died at an early age, Mr. Hamilton had two sons—Hans James, who predeceased him, and Ion Trant.

Ion Trant Hamilton, who was raised to the peerage as Baron HolmPatrick, was elected a few months before his father's death member for Dublin county in his father's room, and represented the county for the same period. After his retirement from parliament, his interest in the county remained unabated, and some years later his appointment as its Lieutenant gave him again an official



JOS. LORD HOLMPATRICK.



JAMES HAS HAMILTON.



connexion with it. His creation as a peer in the year of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, which was also the centenary of his family's political connexion with Dublin county, was made the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of esteem on the part of his political friends in Dublin, and on his death in 1898 testimony was universally borne to his popularity and patriotism. He married Lady Victoria Wellesley, sister of the present Duke of Wellington, and left an only son Hans Wellesley, the present Lord HolmPatrick.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The earliest references which have been found to the religious life of Castleknock occur after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and indicate that the parish was in the second decade of the thirteenth century the site of a monastery. At the time of the consecration of Henry de Loundres as Archbishop of Dublin in 1213, the Prior of Castleknock is mentioned as an arbitrator in disputes between two of the religious houses in Dublin, and subsequently the prior and the monks of Castleknock granted a moiety of the tithes of Castleknock to the archbishop and the vicar of Castleknock, and are found contesting with the canons of the collegiate church of St. Patrick the right to tithes of land between the Tolka and the fee of Finglas. According to Ware this monastery was a house of regular canons of the order of St. Augustine, and was founded in the thirteenth century in honour of St. Brigid by Richard Tyrrell, presumably the second baron of Castleknock. But that statement is incorrect. It was the Benedictine Order that had a house at Castleknock. In the third decade of that century the Benedictine Priory of Little Malvern appears as owner of the advowson of the church, and according to a record in the Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey the advowson had been given to the Priory of Little Malvern, together with the chapel of Clonsilla, and churches in Meath, by Hugh Tyrrell "of good memory," presumably the first baron.

To the Little Malvern Priory the great tithes of Castleknock are said to have been granted by Archbishop Henry de Loundres during his episcopate, but his gift was soon shared with others, and before his death one moiety had become the corps of a prebend in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and the other moiety, excepting the tithes of Blanchardstown which the priory retained, had been assigned to the economy

fund of that cathedral, after the death of Robert Luttrell, the treasurer of the cathedral, to whom the tithes had been leased.

Before many years had elapsed two prebends appear in the church of Castleknock, one "ex parte decani" the other "ex parte precentoris," and the moiety of the tithes was divided between them. To the original endowment tithes from Mulhuddart parish were added, and ultimately the prebend "ex parte decani" became known as the prebend of Mulhuddart, and the prebend "ex parte precentoris" as the prebend of Castleknock, but in each case tithes from both parishes were assigned, the prebend of Mulhuddart taking in Castleknock parish the tithes of Corduff, Abbotstown, and Deanstown, and a moiety of the tithes of Much Cabragh, Pelletstown, and Ashtown, and the prebend of Castleknock the tithes of Cappoge, and of the hamlets of Dunsink and Scribblestown. These townlands were chiefly in the northern part of the parish, and to the economy fund there fell the tithes of the more southern townlands, Castleknock, Diswellstown, and Porterstown, as well as the second moiety of Cabra, Pelletstown, and Ashtown.

The right of presentation to the vicarage of Castleknock was surrendered in 1225 by the Little Malvern Priory to Archbishop Henry de Loundres, and provision made for the endowment of a chapel in the churchyard which had been dedicated by him. Besides the small tithes this endowment included six acres of land near the priory's mill on the Liffey, and afterwards the possessions of the vicar were returned as including a house, two parks, and six acres of land near the baron's mill. In 1474 Master John Fyche, the principal official of the Dublin consistorial court, held the vicarage.¹

During the sixteenth century the vicar of Castleknock served the churches of Mulhuddart and Clonsilla, as well as the church of Castleknock; and during the absence of the vicar three chaplains took his place.² Master John Fyche was succeeded by vicars called Travers and Meagh; and in the second half of that century John

¹ Proceedings Royal Irish Academy, xxv, C, 487, 488, xxvii, 57; Liber Niger, *passim*; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," *passim*; Ware's "Works," ii, 262; Archdall's "Monasticon," 131; Gilbert's "Register of St. Thomas's Abbey," pp. 321, 343; "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," *passim*, and Berry's "Wills," p. 196.

² Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 58.

Dongan and John Rice, who is described as "a reading minister," appear.¹

In the second decade of the seventeenth century the church of Castleknock was returned as in good repair and provided with books,² and fifteen years later, although it is described as ruinous, service was performed in it.³ "Most of the parishioners are recusants," says the author of the second report, "yet the last Easter there were above twenty communicants." In the second decade the Rev. John Rice was still vicar, his tenure of the cure having then exceeded a quarter of a century; he was succeeded by the Rev. Roger Good, "a preacher," who held the cure in 1630, and by the Rev. Richard Matherson, who held the cure in 1639 with that of Chapelizod. After the Restoration, in 1674, the Rev. Henry Monypeny appears as vicar, with, in 1686, the Rev. Moses Davis as his curate; Monypeny was succeeded in 1691 by the Rev. Charles Proby, who was his brother-in-law, and who will be mentioned as a resident in Mulhuddart, and in 1695 by the Rev. Philip Whittingham.⁴

During that century the Roman Catholic Church had two places of worship in the parish, and these were served in 1630 by the Rev. Patrick Gargan and the Rev. Mr. Harris, an Englishman, who was chaplain to the Luttrell family. Towards the close of that century the Rev. Patrick Cruise, who was a doctor of divinity and an archdeacon, was parish priest, and had in his charge the parishes of Clonsilla, Mulhuddart, Cloghran-huddart, and Chapelizod, as well as Castleknock.

Early in the eighteenth century, in the year 1710, the vicarage, which had become vacant by the resignation of Whittingham, was conferred on Swift's friend, Thomas Walls, Archdeacon of Achonry, and the church became famous by Swift's lines on "The Little House by the Churchyard of Castleknock." In these lines Swift suggests that the little house in which the vicar

cons his notes and takes a whet,
Till the small ragged flock is met,

had been originally the spire of the church. During the early part of the nineteenth century the church known to Swift was superseded by

¹ Fiant Elizabeth, no. 6810; Morrin's "Patent Rolls," i, 436.

² Regal Visitation of 1615 in Public Record Office.

³ Archbishop Bulkeley's Report.

⁴ Diocesan Records.

the present one, but a description of it written by Austin Cooper towards the close of the eighteenth century mentions that the belfry was a square embattled structure, which in Cooper's time was provided with two bells and surmounted by a wooden cupola and a weathercock. The church was entered through the tower, and it is said to have been a plain, neat building with about fourteen seats and a gallery over the door.¹ It had been the nave of the mediæval church. The latter is said to have had a chancel "of two arched aisles." One of these was possibly the Burnell's chapel.²

Archdeacon Walls held the vicarage for more than twenty-five years. After the death of Stella, who counted Walls and his wife amongst her best friends, he lost favour with Swift, but he was evidently a true and devoted friend, and is said by Archbishop King to have been a most worthy man.³ During the remainder of the eighteenth century the appointments to the vicarage included in 1738 the Rev. Thomas Walls, a son of the archdeacon; in 1745 the Rev. John Towers, another of Swift's friends; in 1752 the Rev. Kene Percival, who was afterwards appointed vicar of Chapelizod, and in 1767 the Rev. John Connor, a Fellow of Trinity College. As curates there are found in 1703 the Rev. Charles Proby, in 1764 the Rev. Walter Evans, in 1772 the Rev. William Pentland, in 1779 the Rev. Singleton Harpur, and in 1784 the Rev. David Brickall. After an incumbency of over forty years, Mr. Connor resigned the vicarage in 1809, and was succeeded by his son, the Rev. George Connor, who had been appointed previously prebendary of Castleknock. After the death in 1843 of the latter, both preferments were conferred on the Rev. Samuel Hinds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and again in 1848 on the Rev. Ralph Sadleir, on the termination of whose long incumbency of over fifty years the present rector, the Very Rev. Charles W. O'Hara Mease, Dean of the Chapel Royal, was appointed.⁴

During the eighteenth century the parish priest of Castleknock had three places of worship in his charge—Blanchardstown, Porterstown, and Chapelizod—as well as a school. The succession of priests is given by the Bishop of Canea as follows:—In 1700 the Rev. Oliver Doyle; in 1715 the Rev. John Walsh; in 1742 the Rev. Peter Callaghan; in 1767 the Rev. Richard Talbot, D.D., and in 1783 the

¹ Austin Cooper's Note-book.

² "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xxii, 14.

³ Correspondence of Swift, edited by F. E. Ball, *passim*.

⁴ Diocesan Records.

Rev. Christopher Wall. During the nineteenth century until 1884 the same arrangement continued, the succession of priests being in 1802 the Rev. Richard Benson ; in 1803 the Rev. Miles M'Phartan ; in 1825 the Rev. Joseph Joy Deane ; in 1836 the Rev. Michael Dungan ; and in 1868 the Rev. Gregory Lynch. In 1884 Blanchardstown and Porterstown were assigned to the Rev. Michael Patterson, and Chapelized to the Rev. Michael Donovan, but in 1887 they were again united under the charge of the Rev. Michael Donovan, who was succeeded in 1897 by the Rev. P. J. Tynan. Six years later a division was again made, and Blanchardstown and Porterstown were assigned to the Rev. Stephen Fennelly, and Chapelized to the Rev. John M'Swiggan.

THE PARISH OF MULHUDDART.

THE townlands comprised in the parish of Mulhuddart in the seventeenth century are stated to have been Belgree, Buzzardstown, Castlecurragh, Cruiserath, Damastown, Goddamendy, Hollywoodrath, Huntstown, Killamonan, Kilmartin, Macetown, Paslickstown, Powerstown, The Pass, Tyrrellstown, and Whitestown.

The townlands comprised in the parish now are Bay, Belgree, Buzzardstown, Court, Damastown, Gallanstown, Goddamendy Hollystown, Hollywood, Hollywoodrath, Huntstown, Killamonan (i.e., the church of the little bog), Kilmartin (i.e., Martin's church), Littlepace, Macetown (i.e. the town of the hill), North, South and Middle, Mooretown, Paslickstown, Powerstown, Tyrrellstown, Yellow Walls. Many of these names are derived from those of former occupants of the lands, viz., the families of Bossard, Gallan, Hunt, Power, and Tyrrell.

The chief object of archaeological interest is the ruined church.

MULHUDDART, WITH NOTICES OF TYRRELLSTOWN, HOLLYWOODRATH, AND ADJACENT PLACES.

The parish of Mulhuddart lies to the north of the parish of Castleknock, on the Meath border of Dublin county. Its lands, which are within the district covered by the Ward Union Hunt, are crossed on the south by the road to Trim, and on the north by the road to Ratoath, and much traffic between Dublin and the county of Meath passes through them.

The occurrence of the word "rath" in two of the place-names shows that the lands had an early history, and that the Anglo-Norman invaders found on them the sites of Celtic dwellings, of which, as in the case of Castleknock, they made use. Under their settlement the lands formed part of two manors, Belgree and Castleknock. The manor of Belgree, which was a possession of the Priory of Lismullen, and contained lands within the county of Meath, embraced the more northern part of Mulhuddart parish. The lands of Hollywoodrath had probably been originally part of that manor, but these lands appear to have been demised at an early period to the family of

Holywood, who have left their name impressed on them. At the beginning of the fifteenth century a custodiam of Belgree was vested in Sir Christopher Plunkett, from which he sought to be relieved; and subsequently it is mentioned that the priory had received a rent in respect of the Holywoodrath lands by the hands of Robert Holywood. Later on in that century the priory obtained a reduction in the valuation of their Mulhuddart lands on the ground that they were barren and of little value.¹

In the part of Mulhuddart parish belonging to the manor of Castleknock no less than four of the townland names are derived from their occupants in mediæval times, namely, Cruiserath, Buzzardstown, Huntstown, and Tyrrellstown. The owners of Cruiserath, which is now a townland in Finglas parish, were in the middle ages very prominent, and they succeeded Henry Tyrrell in the office of chief serjeant of Dublin county. They were enfeoffed in the person of Richard Cruise by one of the barons of Castleknock in the thirteenth century; and in a suit concerning a messuage and a carucate of land "in the Rath near Mulhuddart," Robert Cruise and his wife Matilda appear as plaintiffs in the first half of the fourteenth century. Their opponent was one William Bossard, and in his surname the townland name Buzzardstown no doubt originated. Similarly, Huntstown is derived from the occupation of the lands by a family called Hunt, whose last representative Nicholas Hunt was outlawed for treason towards the close of the fourteenth century; and Tyrrellstown is derived from the occupation of the lands by cadets of the Tyrrell family, one of whom, Sir Walter Tyrrell of Dublin, was granted the property forfeited by Nicholas Hunt. At that time Powerstown was the chief seat of the Tyrrell family, and it was then occupied by John Tyrrell, who was a member of the great council, and one of the chief judges.²

From two rentals of the part of Castleknock manor in which the Mulhuddart lands lay, it appears that Cruiserath was held in 1408 by William Cruise, and in 1558 by Bartholomew Blanchfield; that the Pass was held in 1408 by Christopher Plunkett, and in 1558 by Lord Dunsany; that Powerstown was held in 1408 by Gerald Tyrrell, and

¹ Sweetman's "Calendar," 1302 07, p. 240; Patent Rolls of Ireland, pp. 255, 257; Memoranda Rolls, 3 Hen. VI; Archdall's "Monasticon," 556; Chancery Inquisition, Jac. I.

² Memoranda Rolls, 1 Edw. III, 5 7 Ric. II, 7 Hen. IV, 8 Hen. V; J. H. Tyrrell's "Genealogical History of the Tyrrells."

in 1558 by Richard Tyrrell, and that Kilmartin was held in 1408 by Henry Scurlagh and his wife Isabella, and in 1558 by Nicholas Scurlagh. In the second half of the fourteenth century John Dowdall, who shared the same fate as Nicholas Hunt, was in possession of Paslickstown and Macetown, and in the early part of the sixteenth century Thomasine Talbot is mentioned as the occupant of them. At the latter time St. Mary's Abbey appears in possession of part of Huntstown, and during the second half of that century James Goodman, of Loughlinstown, and Patrick FitzGerot were successively in occupation of Damastown. As his wife directed in her will, made in 1475, that her body should be interred in Mulhuddart church, it is probable that at that time William Fleming was also in occupation of lands in the parish. His wife was a daughter of Peter FitzRery, whose family was seated at Coolatrath in Kilsallaghan parish, and she possessed in common with her husband iron, salt, and hides, as well as corn and cattle.¹

At the close of the sixteenth century the Tyrrells of Powerstown, who are included amongst the men of name in Dublin county, were the chief residents in Mulhuddart parish, but in the early part of the seventeenth century their place was taken by the family of Bellings. Of this family the best-known member is the author of the "History of the Irish Confederation," edited in recent years by the late Sir John Gilbert, and published with numerous illustrative documents in seven quarto volumes. The author's grandfather, Richard Bellings, who was a distinguished lawyer, and from 1574 to 1581 solicitor-general for Ireland, was possessed at the time of his death, in 1600, by grant from the Crown of the lands of Tyrrellstown, Buzzardstown, Paslickstown, and Macetown, together with a mill and watercourse, and subsequently the author's father, Sir Henry Bellings, was seated on the lands of Tyrrellstown, on which a large house was built. Sir Henry Bellings, who held the office of provost-marshal, incurred during his career much unpopularity. In the proceedings against the O'Byrnes he was one of Lord Falkland's chief instruments, and while serving as high sheriff of Wicklow county he was heavily fined for irregularities. In the counsels of the Confederation Richard Bellings, the author of its

¹ Patent Rolls of Ireland, pp. 130, 187; Fiant Philip and Mary, no. 219; Memoranda Roll, s, 9 Ric. II; Pipe Roll, 9 Ric. II; Exchequer Inquisition, Hen. VIII; Gilbert's "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," ii, 75; Prerogative Will; State Papers, Carew, 1589-1600, p. 188; Berry's "Wills," p. 155.

History, was regarded by many with suspicion, and looked upon as a creature of the Duke of Ormonde, whose borough of Callan he had previously represented. His connexion with the Confederation was due to the influence of the president of the supreme council, Viscount Mountgarret, whose daughter he had married. She had died some years before, in the summer of 1635, and the record of her death states that her body was brought "with funeral proceedings and rites" from her husband's house on Merchants' Quay to St. Michan's Church in Dublin, and thence "to the church of Mulhuddart in the county of Dublin to her grave."¹

During the period of fire and sword, between 1641 and 1649, the parish of Mulhuddart was overrun by the contending armies and laid waste. A year and a half after the rebellion, in April, 1643, a party of horse sent out from Dublin by Ormonde had a skirmish there with some of the Irish forces, and in the following July the Earl of Cavan was encamped there with a large number of troops for several days. He was in great need of equipment and provisions, and addressed more than one urgent appeal for them to Ormonde from Mulhuddart church, in which he appears to have taken up his quarters. Four years later, in the autumn of 1647, Owen Roe O'Neill passed through the parish on his devastating march, and in the following year Mulhuddart was garrisoned with seventy-two men and seven non-commissioned officers under the command of Sir Francis Willoughby, with John Bradshaw as lieutenant and Thomas Barnes as ensign.²

The Commonwealth surveys show that no building of importance escaped destruction.³ Of the Bellings' house only the walls remained, and of one that had stood on the lauds of Damastown and of the church a similar record had to be made. On Powerstown, which had belonged to William Freeme, Paslickstown, Buzzardstown, and Cruiserath houses are mentioned, but they were small and roofed with thatch. At the time of the Restoration the inhabitants of full age in the parish numbered twenty-nine persons of English and a hundred

¹ "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. E. Hogan, p. 39; Inquisitions; Smyth's "Law Officers"; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*, Carow, 1589-1600, p. 3; Gilbert's "History of Affairs in Ireland," i, 78, 79; Funeral Entry.

² Trinity College Library MS., Depositions, 1644, Daniel Conway; Carte Papers, vi, 69, 74, 78; Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. viii, p. 595.

³ Throughout the following paragraphs the Down Survey, Civil Survey, and Hearth Money Rolls in the Public Record Office, and Census of 1659 and Distribution of Forfeited Lands in the Royal Irish Academy, are used.

and forty-nine persons of Irish descent. Amongst these only four were persons of rank, namely—Thomas Luttrell, the owner of Luttrellstown, who was in occupation of Powerstown; John Jordan, who was in occupation of Tyrrellstown; Nicholas Carte, who was in occupation of Damastown; and Gilbert Ferris, who was in occupation of Paslickstown; and with the exception of Powerstown and Damastown no house in the parish was assessed for more than two hearths.

After the Restoration, Powerstown, which was assessed in 1664 for six chimneys, appears as the residence of Sir St. John Brodrick, the father of the first Viscount Midleton. He had come to Ireland after the rebellion as an officer in the army, and had obtained under the Commonwealth as a kinsman of Fleetwood large grants of land in the county of Cork. Owing to his services to the royal cause at the time of the Restoration he was confirmed by Charles the Second in his property, and was given also the office of provost-marshal in Munster. As a prominent Whig he was the subject of Tory calumny, but he appears from a "Vindication of himself from the aspersions cast on him" to have been a man of ability and of more temperate character than some of his calumniators. His residence in Powerstown was not of long duration, and before 1667, when the house was assessed for eleven chimneys, a new owner had come into possession.¹

The new owner of Powerstown was the Right Hon. Sir John Povey, then a baron of the exchequer, and subsequently chief justice of the king's bench, from whom the Smythes of Gaybrook trace descent. Povey, who was a kinsman of Thomas Povey, the friend of Pepys and Evelyn, was a native of Shropshire, and had been a student at Oxford and in Gray's Inn when he was called in 1645 to the bar. After practising for a time in England he came to Ireland and obtained a seat in the Restoration parliament as one of the members for the borough of Swords. Soon afterwards, in the autumn of 1663, he was raised to the bench as a baron of the exchequer, and ten years later was promoted to the chief justiceship. But the latter office he did not

¹Lodge's "Peerage," v, 159; State Papers, Ireland, 1647-60, p. 531; "Sir St. John Brodrick's Vindication of Himself from the Aspersions cast on him in a Pamphlet written by Sir Rich. Buckley, entitled 'The Proposal for sending back the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland together with a vindication of the same,' 1690; "A Long History of a Short Session of a certain Parliament in a certain Kingdom," 1714, p. 70. In Lord Fitzmaurice's "Life of Petty" Sir John Brodrick has been confounded with his brother, Sir Alan Brodrick: *cf.* Evelyn's Diary, ed. 1879, ii, 307, iv, 37.

long enjoy, as his health broke down, and after a considerable sojourn abroad his death took place in February, 1679, at Bordeaux.¹

Of Damastown, which was assessed for five chimneys, William Hudson appears in 1664 as the occupant, but before 1667 William Proby, the father of Swift's friend, the eminent Dublin surgeon, and of the vicar of Castleknock, was in possession. Proby had come to Dublin as a teacher of youth, an avocation in which he received encouragement from the corporation, as the city was then in great need of a master "in the arts of writing and arithmetic," and after the Restoration he had become the Archbishop of Dublin's registrar.²

Sir Henry Bellings had died before the establishment of the Commonwealth, and had been succeeded by his son Richard, who had joined the king's friends in Ireland, and was one of the last to leave this country. During the Commonwealth he remained abroad, where he was prominent in royalist circles; and after the Restoration he returned to Ireland. He appears to have resided in Dublin, whence after his death in September, 1677, his body was carried to Mulhuddart to be interred near his wife. His tomb, which was enclosed by a wall, was well known fifty years later, but no inscription was visible upon it. His eldest son, Sir Richard Bellings, who was secretary to the queen of Charles the Second, was then residing in England; but his second son, Henry Bellings, was residing at the Bay in Mulhuddart parish. In the April following his father's death he contemplated, however, "a voyage to England," and made his will in consideration "of the mutability of life, and of the accidents that might happen."³

After the death of William Proby, which occurred in or about 1687, his eldest son the Rev. Charles Proby succeeded to Damastown, and was appointed, as has been already mentioned, vicar of Castleknock, and also vicar of Lougherew, in the county of Meath. He married a niece of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, who held then the see of Dublin; and as the archbishop had an inveterate dislike to matrimony, the course of his love did not run smoothly. "This evening betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night," writes the archbishop on September 10, 1665, "my niece Grace Marsh not having the fear of God before her eyes, stole out of my house at

¹ Journal Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., ii, vii, 97.

² Gilbert's "Records of Dublin," iv, 66.

³ Dict. Nat. Biog., iv, 194; Ware's "Works," ii, 165 b; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Prerogative Will.

St. Sepulchre's, and, as is reported, was married that night to Charles Proby, vicar of Castleknock, in a tavern. Lord! consider my affliction." As a consequence Proby had to resign the vicarage, and was reduced to the position of curate to his successor, with whom his relations were far from amicable. In connexion with their disputes a letter to Archbishop King, in which Proby questions Whittingham's "charter to abuse all mankind," shows Proby in the light of a somewhat eccentric person. But he was forgiven by Archbishop Marsh, who left his wife a legacy, and on his death in January, 1727, was the subject of an elegy, in which his charity and piety are applauded:—

Triumphant nine, prepare your cymbals, raise,
With mournful harmony rehearse the praise
Of the most pious, just, and best of men,
Who is gone, dire fate, ne'er to return again.¹

Amongst the residents in the eighteenth century the owners of Buzzardstown are prominent. In the first half of the century the family of Royme, and in the second half the family of Flood, were in possession. On a winter's night in 1761 it is recorded that "the gable-end of Mr. Flood's house at Mulhuddart suddenly gave way, whereby Mrs. Flood and her daughter were killed"; but the family was not extinguished, and members of it appear subsequently as residents.²

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The church of Mulhuddart is now represented by the remains of a tower, and some fragments of the walls. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Austin Cooper found the ruins not much more extensive. He says that the tower, which was vaulted on the ground-floor, was very much broken, and that the staircase, which was in the

¹ Prerogative and Dublin Wills; Stokes's "Worthies of the Irish Church," pp. 77, 109; Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1703, June 22; "An Elegy on the much lamented Death of the Rev. Charles Proby, Minister of Lockrue, who departed this Life, January the 3rd, 1726-7, by R. G.," Trinity College Library, Irish pamphlets, iv, 97. In the old church of Castleknock on a tombstone under the Communion Table there was the following inscription:—"Here lie the bodies of William Proby, of Damastown, Esq., of Elizabeth his wife, of Ann and Atalanta, his daughters, of Elizabeth and Sarah, daughters of his second son Thomas, of Ann wife of his third son William, of Robert Nichols, son of Elinor daughter of Thomas his second son, of Elinor daughter of Elinor aforesaid, of William eldest son of Charles eldest son of William aforesaid . . ."

² Prerogative and Dublin Wills, "Exshaw's Magazine," 1761, p. 39.

south-west corner, was no longer intact. At that time a well, which lies to the south of the church, was much frequented on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, which was called locally Lady Day. A few years before Austin Cooper's visit it had been covered with a building by a Dublin convent, and inscriptions and emblems which still remain had been placed on the walls of the chamber.¹

Of the early history of Mullhuddart church nothing is known. As mentioned in the ecclesiastical history of Castleknock, the prebend



MULHUDDART CHURCH IN 1775.

which bears its name in the Cathedral of St. Patrick was founded as a second prebend of Castleknock, and it is not until a century later that the name Mulhuddart is mentioned in connexion with it. The church comes into notice first in the early part of the fifteenth century on the incorporation of a guild which was described as "the guild and fraternity of our Lady of St. Mary of the church of Mulhuddart." Of this guild the chief promoters were Sir Nicholas Barnewall, the husband of Ismay Serjeant, and one Peter Cliuton, and the names of such of its officers as have come down to the present day show that its members were not confined to residents in Mulhuddart parish. Between 1445 and 1472 the names of the officers, a master and two

¹Austin Cooper's Note-book; *cf.* Antiquarian Rambles, by J. S. Sloane, Irish Literary Gazette, i, 281; "Pococke's Tour," edited by Rev. G. T. Stokes, p. 177.

wardens, are twice recorded. On the first occasion the master was Richard Porter, and the wardens John Tyrrell and Robert de la Felde, and on the second occasion the master was John Tyrrell, and the wardens Richard Tyrrell and Pierce FitzRery. Before the year 1472, the guild, which was religious in its object and was open to women as well as to men, had acquired considerable property, including the lands that had belonged to the leper house of St. Lawrence near Palmerston and a tenement in Newcastle Lyons, and to enable it to hold real estate an extension of its charter was granted by parliament. In 1522 a confirmation of its property was granted by Henry the Eighth, the wardens then being John Barnewall, Lord Trimleston, Walter FitzRery, and Richard Tyrrell.¹

As appears from an inquisition taken at the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral in the sixteenth century, the prebend of Mulhuddart had assigned to it in Mulhuddart parish the tithes from the townlands of Belgree, Buzzardstown, Kilmartin, Paslickstown, and Tyrrellstown, and the prebend of Castleknock had assigned to it the tithes from the hamlets of Bay, Belgree, Goddamendy, Hollywoodrath, Huntstown, and Mooretown, as well as the small tithes from Damastown, Kilmartin, Macetown, and Powerstown. In regard to the parish the prebendary of Mulhuddart had no responsibility beyond keeping the chancel of the church in repair, and the provision of a curate rested with the vicar of Castleknock, to whose stipend a contribution of twenty-six shillings and eightpence a year was made by the prebendary. The church was returned in 1615 as being in good repair, and although Archbishop Bulkeley states in 1630 that both the chancel and nave were in ruins, the church remained probably partly roofed until the close of the seventeenth century. In 1643, as has been mentioned, Lord Cavan found shelter in it, and after the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690, eight soldiers were murdered while seeking shelter in it. In the last decade of that century the Protestant families numbered two, those of Mr. Proby and Mr. Whitshed, who was an uncle of the chief justice of that name.²

¹ Berry's "Statutes, Edw. IV," p. 677, and "Wills," *passim*; Manuscript Collection of Monck Mason in the possession of the author.

² Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," *passim*; Regal Visitation; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 156; Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Proclamations, ii, 148; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xxii, 14; Archbishop King's Correspondence, Thornton to King, 1690, July 26.

THE PARISH OF CLOGHRAN

(I.E., THE STONY PLACE).

THE parish of Cloghran is stated in the seventeenth century to have comprised the townlands of Ballycoolen and Grange.

It contains now the townlands of Ballycoolen, Cloghran, and Grange.

CLOGHRAN-HUDDART.

The parish of Cloghran, which lies to the south-east of the parish of Mulhuddart, is not the only parish of that name in Dublin county ; and no attempt to distinguish the two parishes to which the name is attached has been made by the Ordnance Survey. But in the present case the addition of Huddart, which is evidently a form of the last part of Mulhuddart, is found in mediæval times, and is still in current use.

Before the Anglo-Norman invasion the lands of Ballycoolen were granted to the Priory of All Saints—the site of whose chief house is now occupied by Trinity College—by Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and under the Anglo-Norman settlement, they were confirmed to the priory. Over the lands of Ballycoolen, as well as over the priory's lands of Baldoyle, the lords of Howth appear to have acquired or assumed some right ; and in the thirteenth century a surrender of this right was made an act of grace. At the close of the thirteenth century, when Ballycoolen with its chapel was valued at ten marks, Cloghran-huddart is treated as a separate possession of the priory. It seems possible that the lands denoted by that name had some connexion with the lands of Killmellon in Castleknock manor, which had before that time been granted to the priory as an addition to those of Ballycoolen by various persons, including Gilbert le Spencer, son of Walter de Brecenham, William, son of Bartholomew, Thomas Foyll, husband of William's daughter Matilda, and Henry Tyrrell ; land near the church of Cloghran was also given to the priory by Richard Ruff, and land elsewhere in the vicinity by Margery Sarnesfield.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century the lands of Ballycoolen were claimed by the Crown on the ground that the terms on which they had been granted had not been observed, and that the heir of the donor, as an Irishman and enemy of the king, had forfeited his rights to the Crown. According to the plea made on behalf of the Crown the lands had been given to the priory by one Sitric MacMurrrough, and their tenure had been made conditional on the maintenance of three chaplains to pray for him and his successors; but the jury before whom the suit came relied on the grant by King Dermot, and found that the priory had established its right to the lands by its long and undisputed possession.

At the time of the dissolution of the religious houses in the sixteenth century the priory's lands at Cloghran-huddart were noted for their arable qualities; but the priory was dependent for fuel on turf procured from the neighbourhood, and required its tenants to assist in drawing it to the priory house. In common with the other possessions of the priory the lands were granted by the Crown on the dissolution of the priory to the Corporation of Dublin, and were leased by the corporation to middlemen. Some years later a royal pardon was granted to a kern of Cappoge for a theft from the grange of Ballycoolen, his booty being described as an axe worth three shillings, a saw worth sixteen pence, sixteen awls appraised as of no value, and a baking-dish worth ten shillings, "of the goods of John Byrne, husbandman."¹

As appears from the records of the corporation, the profit of Ballycoolen was assigned to the mayor for the better maintenance of the honour of the city. During the rebellion in 1641 all the buildings were demolished, and until the Commonwealth the lands lay waste. On a representation made by the mayor's servant it was decided then to lease to the mayor the possessions of the corporation at Ballycoolen as fully as Robert Hackett, who was a tanner, had enjoyed them. For the first ten years the rent was to be forty pounds, and afterwards fifty pounds. In addition the tenant was to render annually "a brawn, two turkeys, and two couples of capons," and to expend three hundred pounds in "building, enclosing, and quick-setting." By the Commonwealth surveyors there were found on the lands of Ballycoolen a thatched house and four or five cottages with the walls of an old castle, and on the lands of the Grange a thatched house with a stone

¹ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," *passim*; Christ Church Deed, no. 150; Fiant, Edw. VI, no. 1183.

chimney, some offices, and two or three cottages. The population was returned at the time of the Restoration as two persons of English and forty-one of Irish extraction; and from the assessment rolls it appears that no house on the lands contained then more than one hearth. Before the expiration of the lease of Ballycoolen to the mayor, in 1682, a new one was executed by the corporation to the clerk of the privy council, Matthew Barry, in consideration of the great services rendered by him to the city. It was again a condition that three hundred pounds were to be expended on building and planting; and, as a fine, a hogshead of the best claret and a quarter cask of the best canary were to be given to the mayor.¹

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The church of Cloghran-huddart, of which scarcely a trace remains, was said in the beginning of the sixteenth century to be so small as to be almost undeserving of the name of a chapel, and before that time every tradition connected with it would appear to have been lost. It was served then by one of the canons of All Saints, and under the Corporation of Dublin the middlemen were bound to provide "an honest priest" to perform service in it. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the chancel was in a state of decay, and neither the parishioners nor the corporation were anxious to bear the expense of rebuilding it. Finally the government intervened, and by billeting the lord deputy's troop of horse on the chief parishioner, Richard Strong, obtained an assurance that the chancel would be repaired. At that time the church, which is said to have been unprovided with books, was served by the vicar of Castleknock; but twenty years later, when "there was not a Protestant in the parish," it was in the charge of the vicar of Finglas. After the Restoration it reverted to the vicar of Castleknock, but before the end of the seventeenth century it was again vested in the vicar of Finglas, with whom it remained. At that time it is probable that the church was not used. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, in 1779, when Austin Cooper visited Cloghran-huddart, there was but "the scanty remains of a ruin."²

¹ Gilbert's "Records of Dublin," iii, 211, 513, v, 236; Civil Survey and Hearth Money Rolls in Public Record Office; Census of 1659 in Royal Irish Academy.

² Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 58; Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. lxi; Gilbert's "Records of Dublin," ii, 246, 527; Regal Visitation: Archbishop Bulkeley's Report; Diocesan Records; Cooper's Note-book.

THE PARISH OF WARD.

THE parish of Ward is stated in the seventeenth century to have contained the townlands of Gallanstown, Irishtown, Phepockstown, Spricklestown, and Ward.

It contains now the townlands of Cherryhound, Irishtown, Killamonan, Newpark, Spricklestown, and Ward, Lower and Upper.

THE WARD AND ITS VICINITY.

The parish of Ward lies to the north-east of the parish of Mulhuddart, and is bounded to the south-east by the parish of Finglas. Its village, which is situated on one of the chief highways to the north of Ireland, is distant about six miles from Dublin, and is a favourite meeting-place of the staghunt, to which it has given name.

After the Anglo-Norman settlement the lands of la Garde, or the Ward, appear as a possession of the family of le Bank, to whom in the person of Nicholas le Bank extensive property in Ireland was granted by Henry the Second. In the first half of the thirteenth century a right of turbary in his "tenement near Finglas" was conveyed by Sir Raymond le Bank to his neighbours the canons of All Saints for the salvation of himself, his wife Alice le Bret, and his other relations, and in the second half of that century a division was made between the manor of Finglas and the manor of the Ward, under the direction of Raymond le Bank, by means of a great trench, which was afterwards known as the halfpenny trench. As legal proceedings a hundred years later show, the division between the manors was a subject of contention between the Archbishop of Dublin, as lord of the manor of Finglas, and Raymond le Bank, and a large moor and wood were found to have been withheld without title by the representatives of Raymond from the archbishop.

The last Raymond le Bank had two daughters, Mabel and Joan. In 1285, when Mabel is said to have been the widow of Roger de

Mesinton, Joan was unmarried; but she appears subsequently as the wife of Geoffrey Travers, a member of a family then prominent in the northern part of Fingal. Her husband is mentioned in 1303 as paying the composition for the royal service in respect of the Ward; and in 1314, when he is styled knight, he confirmed to the Priory of All Saints a grant of land in "the tenement of Castleknock," which had been made to the priory by his sister-in-law. Later in the fourteenth century his cousin and heir John, son of Geoffrey Travers, was in possession of the manor; and in the fifteenth century two heiresses, Alice Travers, who married William Cheevers, and Blanche Travers, who married Stephen Tynbegh, had succeeded to it. Afterwards one moiety became vested through the Berminghams in the Barons of Howth, and the other moiety in the family of Delahide.¹

During the first half of the sixteenth century the castle, round which the village sprang up, was occupied by Richard Delahide, who filled for twenty years a seat on the Irish judicial bench. At the time of the rebellion of Silken Thomas he was chief justice of the common pleas, and was superseded on suspicion of being in sympathy with the conspirators; but he was subsequently reinstated on the bench as chief baron of the exchequer. After his death, which occurred prior to the year 1542, his son George Delahide and his wife Janet Plunkett are mentioned in connexion with the lands of the Ward; but the castle came then into the possession of the barons of Howth. As mentioned in the history of Howth, it was the residence, prior to their succession to the Howth title, of Richard Lord Howth and his brother the blind lord. At the Ward, as well as at Howth and Raheny, the blind lord indulged his passion for building, and placed on the castle a tablet, similar to those erected by him at Howth and Raheny, bearing the date 1576, and the arms of St. Lawrence and Plunkett, with the letters C and E, the initials of his own and his wife's Christian names.²

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the castle, which was numbered amongst the principal castles of the county, was occupied

¹ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," *passim*; Gilbert's "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," and "Register of St. Thomas's Abbey," *passim*; Monek Mason's Manuscript Collection, in the possession of the author; Memoranda Roll, 13 Hen. VI.

² Morrin's "Patent Rolls," i, 2, 3; State Papers, Hen. VIII, ii 77, Ireland, *passim*; Fiant, Hen. VIII, nos. 29, 272; Memoranda Roll, 21-24 Eliz.; Monek Mason's Manuscript Collection.

by Walter Segrave, a Dublin merchant, to whom there will be further reference under the parish of Finglas; and when the seventeenth century opened it provided a residence for the blind lord's grandson, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence. But owing to his military avocations, and separation from his wife, he had not long occasion to use it, and before the year 1606 it had become the home of Thomas White, a citizen of Dublin identified with the parish of St. Audoen. Not long after Sir Christopher St. Lawrence's succession to the Howth title, in 1614, Thomas White purchased from him for eight hundred pounds a fee-farm interest in the manor and castle subject to a rent of forty pounds; and after Thomas White's death, in 1626, this interest passed to his son James White. But ten years later James White sold it to Sir James Ware, who will be further mentioned in connexion with the adjacent parish of Santry, for two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds. The premises were then described as a castle, thirty messuages and gardens, a pigeon-house, six orchards, five hundred and sixty acres of land, a hundred acres of wood and underwood, ten acres of bog, twenty acres of furze, three acres under water, and a water-course.¹

Thomas White and his family appear as patients of the great Irish physician of that time, Dr. Thomas Arthur, who records in his fee-book visits to the Ward, but James White was not on good terms with him. In his will, which was made in 1662, he mentions that Dr. Arthur held him responsible for goods which he had left in his care "during the troubles." He says that they had been taken by soldiers, excepting a pan weighing forty-two pounds, which his children had sold "in their want" for twenty-one shillings, and he left forty shillings to Dr. Arthur in settlement of his claim, "declaring before God that he knew not to the value of sixpence of the rest of his goods."²

As well as the castle of Ward there was one on the lands of Spricklestown, which belonged to the family of FitzRery of Coolatrath in Kilsallaghan parish. At the beginning of the seventeenth century this castle was occupied by a cadet of the house of Luttrellstown, Richard Luttrell, who was married to a daughter of Richard FitzRery

¹ State Papers, Carew, 1589-1600, p. 188; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. E. Hogan, p. 37; Funeral Entry of Aug. 7, 1606; "Irish Builder," 1886, pp. 331, 333; 1887, p. 12; Dublin Will; Monck Mason's Manuscript Collection.

² Dr. Arthur's Entry Book, British Museum MS., 31,885; Prerogative Will.



Mitch Carragh House.



Little Carragh House.



of Coolatrath, and thence, as a funeral entry records, after his death in 1619, his body was carried to Clonsilla to be interred.¹

During the rebellion some of the Irish forces were stationed at the Ward, and the parish was so devastated that when the Commonwealth was established there were found but the walls of the castles of Ward and Spricklestown and of the church. The habitable dwellings at the Ward comprised only eight cottages, near which an orchard, garden, and grove of trees with some offices, remained to indicate the former importance of the site, and the only dwelling in the parish larger than a cottage was a thatched house with a brick chimney on the lands of Phepockstown. At the time of the Restoration the inhabitants of the parish numbered eight persons of English and eighty-five of Irish descent, and seven years later there were two houses in the village with two hearths each, occupied by Lawrence Purfield and William Rose.²

During the early years of the eighteenth century New Park, which contained the lands of Phepockstown, dominated the vicinity of the Ward, as the residence of the Right Honourable Robert Rochfort, sometime attorney-general and speaker of the house of commons, and afterwards chief baron of the exchequer. At the time of the rebellion the lands of Phepockstown were the property of John Delahide of Powerstown, and subsequently became part of James the Second's estate in Ireland. As such they were sold in 1703 at Chichester House, and they were then purchased by Robert Rochfort. In his day Rochfort enjoyed a great reputation as a profound lawyer, which was probably not less from his habit of dilating on affairs of state at home and abroad; but he was chiefly remarkable then, as he is to-day, for the great wealth which he acquired. Indeed, so much was his attention directed to its acquisition that it was generally supposed he was ambitious of a peerage rather than a seat on the bench, but to the end "old Lombard Street," as Swift called him, remained intent on amassing money, and left the obtainment of a peerage to his descendant the first Earl of Belvidere. In Swift's references to him Rochfort figures as an uncompromising Tory, but he had started his political career as a Whig, and certainly his sentiments were very far

¹ Civil Survey; Funeral Entry.

² Trinity College Library MS., F. 211, no. 3; Down Survey, Civil Survey, Hearth Money Rolls in Public Record Office; Census of 1659 in Royal Irish Academy.

removed from Jacobitism. When able to leave Dublin Rochfort stayed principally at his Westmeath seat, Gaulstown, and New Park saw but little of him :—

New Park ! by nature a delightful seat,
 By art improved, and the designed retreat
 Of a rich family, both good and great ;
 Who, if they oftener but retired there,
 Would make that pleasant place the better fare ;
 Meat would the kitchen fill, the cellar wine,
 The parlour with bright sideboard daily shine ;
 The house with cheerful, honest friends abound ;
 And all with pleasure, mirth, and joy be crowned.

But afterwards New Park became “ the six-mile-off country seat ” of the chief baron’s second son, John Rochfort, whom Swift pictures as a mighty hunter, and always calls Nim. But John Rochfort had his studious side, and on coming of age obtained a seat in parliament, which, in spite of his father’s proverbial Toryism, he retained under the Hanoverian dynasty. He was a much-privileged member of the Deanery circle, where his intimacy was evidenced by his appointment as one of Stella’s executors ; and it is said by Swift that there were few accomplishments that he did not possess. But later allusions to Nim indicate that his father’s love of money had been inherited by him, and Swift found that “ the damned vice of avarice ” was an alloy in the character of an otherwise agreeable man. At that time, however, Swift viewed everyone in the worst light, and he had certainly no reason to complain of Nim, who stood by him to the last, and was moved by true friendship to act on the commission “ *de lunatico inquirendo* ” when other intimates at the Deanery deserted Swift. In John Rochfort’s time it is said that the lands of the Ward, amounting to over five hundred acres, were let to a tenant who failed to make a livelihood out of them at four shillings and sixpence an acre, but that on the lands being divided and manured with marle, they became worth sixteen shillings an acre, and produced the finest corn.¹

About the middle of the eighteenth century New Park was the residence of Mr. George Garnett, and Spricklestown of Mr. James Hamilton, who has been mentioned already as father of the builder of

¹ Civil Survey ; Chichester House Sales ; Swift’s *Corre-pondence*, edited by F. E. Ball, *passim* ; Winstanley’s “ *Poems*,” p. 171 ; Monck Mason’s *Manuscript Collection*.

Abbotstown, and member of parliament during the reign of George the Second for the borough of Carlow. Towards the close of that century Austin Cooper visited the village, and records that it bore the appearance of having been designed as a farm-yard. Granaries and stables with a pigeon-house, which he describes as handsome, were the prominent objects in the midst of walled enclosures and orchards; but on closer examination he found in the gate-piers and remains of the castle traces of the place "having been genteelly inhabited." The castle consisted then of the vaulted basement, which was thirty-one feet long, twenty-three feet wide, and twelve feet high. In it there were a window and two doors; one of the latter, Gothic in shape, led into the orchard, where there was another vaulted chamber covered with grass and some fragments of walls. Some years later Austin Cooper's attention was drawn to Spricklestown, and there he found also the vaulted basement of a castle which presented "a very ancient appearance."¹

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Beyond a very small portion of the gable no remains of the chapel of Ward, which was dedicated to St. Brigid, have for a century been visible. Its origin, like that of the other churches in the vicinity, is unknown. It appears first as a possession of the chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral in right of his rectory of Finglas. At the time of the dissolution of the cathedral in the sixteenth century it was in use, and the tenants of the tithes were bound to provide a fit chaplain. But it was in ruins in the time of John Rochfort, who made a new entrance "with two neat piers of stone and brick," and planted the churchyard with two rows of elms. At the time of Austin Cooper's visit these elms were very tall and overshadowed the ruins, which Austin Cooper was deterred from inspecting by some ladies being within them.²

¹ Parliamentary Return of Religion, 1766; Austin Cooper's Note-book.

² Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," pp. 37, 39; Piant, Edw. VI, no. 105.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET.

THE parish of St. Margaret is stated to have comprised in the seventeenth century the townlands of Dunbro, Dunsoghly, Harristown, Johnstown, Kilresk, Kingstown Great and Little, Newtown, Portmellog, and St. Margaret.

It comprises now the townlands of Barberstown (i.e., Barbedor's town), Dubber (i.e., tober, a well), Dunbro (i.e., the dun of the mansion), Dunsoghly, Harristown, Kingstown, Merryfalls (i.e., Merivale's land), Millhead, Newtown, Pickardstown, Portmellig (i.e., the bank of the marshy place), Sandyhill, Shanganhill (i.e., the hill of the ants).

THE CASTLE OF DUNSOGLY, WITH SOME NOTICE OF DUNBRO AND OTHER PLACES.

Excepting by the agriculturist and the antiquary the parish of St. Margaret is now forgotten. To the former it is recalled by an annual fair to which it gives name, and to the latter by references to mediaeval remains which lie within its limits. It is situated to the east of the parishes of Cloghran and Ward, from which it is, however, separated by part of the parish of Finglas; and although high roads to the north of Ireland pass not far from its western and eastern borders, no main thoroughfare crosses its lands. But the parish of St. Margaret was in the past one of the best-known places in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Before the Anglo-Norman invaders landed in Ireland Dunsoghly and Dunbro had a history, although now lost; and for five hundred years after the Anglo-Norman settlement they had in their owners a succession of notable persons who made them the place of their chief residence.

UNDER MEDIAEVAL OWNERS.

Although there can be no certainty as to the description of dwellings erected by the first owners of Dunsoghly and Dunbro, there is little doubt that about the year 1284 Dunbro became the site of a dwelling rivalling in magnificence the Dublin castle of that time.

Towards the close of the twelfth century the lands of Dunbro, which were estimated to contain one carucate, were granted by King John, then Count of Mortaigne and Lord of Ireland, to Robert de St. Michael, the owner of Cruagh ; but during the thirteenth century the connexion of the St. Michael family with Dunbro, as with Cruagh and its dependency Roebuck, came to an end, and Dunbro appears as the property of a great ecclesiastic, Stephen de Fulebourne, then the chief governor of Ireland. As a brother of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, Stephen de Fulebourne had become known to Henry the Third, and was sent to Ireland to guard the interests of Queen Eleanor, to whom King Henry had assigned a tithe on Irish ecclesiastical benefices granted to him by the Pope. From that time brother Stephen reaped the fruit of royal favour, and was preferred by Edward the First to the highest places in Church and State. In 1274 the bishopric of Waterford and the treasurership of Ireland were conferred upon him ; in 1281 the great office of justiciary was entrusted to him ; and in 1286, two years before his death took place, the archbishopric of Tuam fell to him. But his rapid preferment excited jealousy and distrust ; and on more than one occasion he was forced to wait upon King Edward, who was then in Wales, to defend himself from charges of misconduct. Although the office of treasurer was subsequently taken from him, his retention in the office of viceroy and promotion to the see of Tuam show that he was successful. But the number of his relations who enjoyed offices of emolument, and his sumptuous possessions, are indications that so far as self-interest and aggrandizement are concerned, the charges were not groundless.

The sumptuousness of his personal effects is known from an inventory of them made after his death, and this inventory is the more interesting as it shows that his ecclesiastical office was not subordinated to his civil one, and that prolonged residence in his see was usual. At Tuam there was found in his wardrobe great store of clothing for himself and his retinue, of table linen, and of dried fruits, besides a chest of money, chalices, vestments, and a Bible ; in the buttery and kitchen much gold and silver plate ; in the armoury, halberds, coats-of-mail, cuirasses, and trappings ; and in the stable, fifteen horses, including a palfrey and a hackney, two great horses and sumpter horses ; while at Athlone, Fulebourne's devotion to the Church was evidenced by two mitres and a crozier, a chasuble, a cross of pearls, censers and vases, and many books of devotion.

To Dunbro reference occurs in some of the charges made against him. During the summer of 1284, when he was resident at Dunbro, his enemies reported that, for the purpose of building a town there, he had taken prisage out of timber, stone, and other things in the town and castle of Dublin; and that he was responsible for sending corn to the king from Dunbro and Swords, which was so bad that it was returned. Not long afterwards his enemies became even bolder, and alleged that he had removed marble fittings from the hall of the castle at Dublin to beautify his own at Dunbro, and that the town of Dublin had a claim against him in respect of locks and timber which he had also carried off. At the same time they returned to their charges about the corn, and said that he had endeavoured to cast the blame upon the sailors who had brought it to England, and had imprisoned and fined them for allowing the corn to be injured, although he was aware that it was unsound before it was delivered to them. Two ogive-shaped stones, which were found at Dunbro some eighty years ago, were probably relics of a chapel erected there by him; and a field at Dunbro, which bears the name of "the priest's paddock," was possibly given by him for the endowment of the chapel.

After the death of Stephen de Fulebourne, his nephew, John de Fulebourne, who had been a government official, succeeded to Dunbro, where, according to his own account, he suffered much persecution from enemies of his uncle. In 1291 he complained that his uncle's successor as treasurer descended on the manor, and, moved by ill-will and cupidity, made a levy on his corn, as well in the fields as on waggons and in the granary, and on his live stock, which included oxen, cows, and sheep. Before 1317 Walter de Islip, the ecclesiastical pluralist mentioned as owner of Merrion, had acquired the manor, and he was succeeded by Sir Elias de Ashbourne, the militant judge mentioned in connexion with the lands of Killininy and Simonscourt, who in 1340 was paying to the Crown a rent of two marks for the manor. Subsequently Sir Elias's son, Thomas de Ashbourne, is mentioned as holding it; and afterwards the Crown granted custody of the manor successively to John Serjeant and John Charnell, who in 1422 was paying a rent of fifty-seven shillings for the manor and the lands of Huntstown, in Santry parish, which were estimated to contain together, besides the messuages, more than two carucates of land.¹

¹ Patent Rolls of Ireland, pp. 1, 24, 227; Sweetman's "Calendar," *passim*; Adams's "History of Santry," pp. 46, 47; Pipe Roll, 12-14 Edw. III.

During the period through which the history of Dunbro has been traced the lands of Dunsoghly were also the site of a dwelling of considerable pretensions. It was the home of the family of Finglas, members of which had probably become possessed of the lands as an adjunct to others held by them in the adjoining manor of Finglas, from which they took their cognomen. As the owners of Dunsoghly, the Finglases were recognized as persons of importance in the city of Dublin, as well as in the more immediate neighbourhood of their home. In the month of March, 1338, the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin are seen wending their way to Dunsoghly at the request of William de Finglas, who was then in possession, and there they witnessed the execution of a deed, by which he assigned to his son, Hugh de Finglas, two water-mills in the parish of St. Bride, on the river Poddle. William de Finglas had been a ward of the Crown, and custody of his lands and marriage had been vested in his neighbour, Stephen de Fulebourne, who tried to transfer the wardship to his brother Walter, his successor in the see of Waterford. According to a petition made in 1290 by Walter de Fulebourne, the marriage was worth no less than a hundred marks, and the lands produced a gain to their custodian of twelve pounds a year. In the year 1326 William Finglas is mentioned as tenant of the lands of Broghan, in Finglas manor, which are estimated to contain one and a-half carucate; and his grandson, John, son of Hugh de Finglas, appears as tenant in that manor for a carucate in Ochtermoy and Broghan. In the first decades of the fifteenth century Dunsoghly was in the possession of another John Finglas, who was apparently the son of Nicholas Finglas, mayor of Dublin in 1398, and he was succeeded in 1422 by his son Roger, who was then a minor. In 1424 Roger Finglas was relieved of arrears of rent due to the Crown in respect of the lands of Dunsoghly and Ochtermoy; and subsequently he is mentioned with his wife Elizabeth as owner of part of the manors of Westpalstown and Craugh.¹

In addition to the manors of Dunbro and Dunsoghly, the parish of St. Margaret embraced in mediæval times a manor called Barbers-town. It is mentioned in the year 1297 as the property of the rector of Swords, Iter de Angoulême; but one Thomas de Suyterby had obtained by illicit means possession of it. His entry into it was obtained by the collusion of Richard de Kerdiff, who had purchased

¹Christ Church Deeds, no. 612, and *passim*; Sweetman's "Calendar," *passim*; Liber Niger; Memoranda Rolls, 11, 22, and 38 Henry VI.

the manor for Iter de Angoulême, and finally Richard de Kerdiff found it expedient to undertake to recover the manor for its rightful owner. Some of the other lands in the parish appear about the year 1420 as part of the estate of Robert Derpatrick, to whom there has been reference under Stillorgan, and formed part of the dowry of his mother and wife. They comprised Henrystown, Donanore, Kingstown, and Merivale's land. At Henrystown there was a wood, and on the other townlands messuages held by John Blake, John White, Thomas Talloun, John Taillour, Richard Hayward, and Henry Yonge.¹

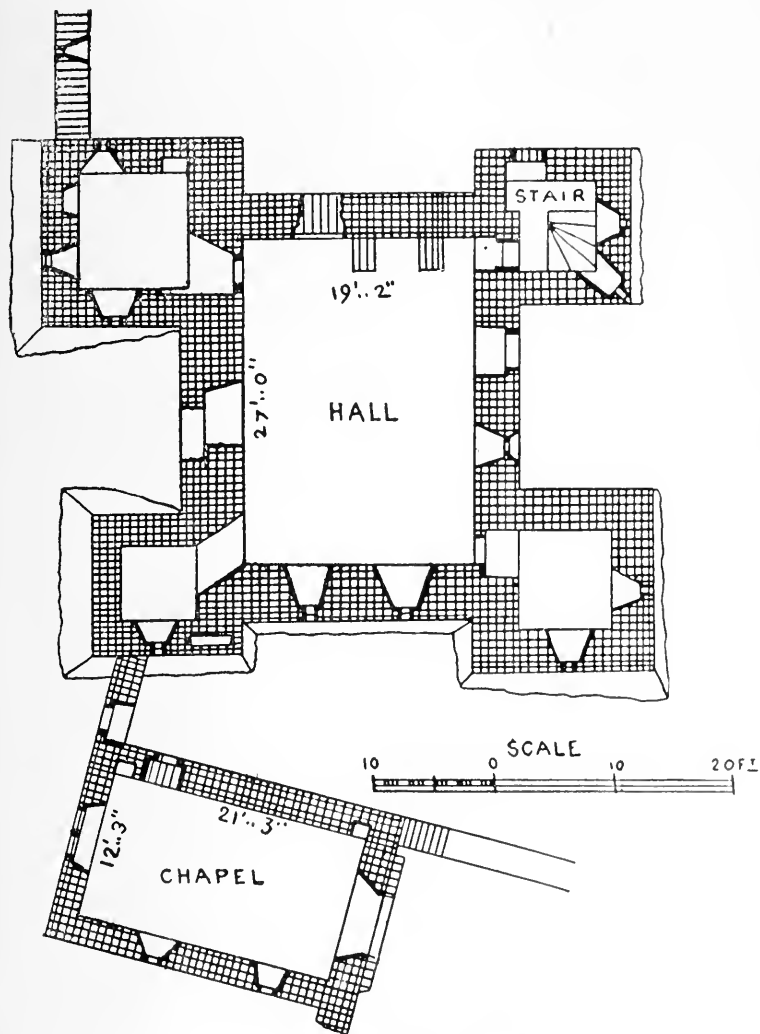
UNDER TUDOR OWNERS.

The castle of Dunsoghly, now one of the chief examples of fifteenth-century architecture within the limits of Dublin county, was built probably in the later half of that century. It has been thus described by the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland: "The castle of Dunsoghly rises on a fertile plain, with sufficient planting to take off the sense of bareness which is frequently associated with similar remains. As it is approached from the road there are clear traces of earthworks, and it is evident that an irregular space was enclosed, and the fosse filled with water from a little stream that flows close by. A natural mound, now occupied by a modern house and garden to the south-west of the castle, is said to have been the site of the dun, and was probably so, as no trace of another ring fort is visible, but it bears little if any trace of such entrenchment as surrounded Anglo-Norman dwellings.

"The castle of Dunsoghly consists of a tower with rectangular turrets of varying size at each angle, and has to the north remains of later buildings, and probably of a courtyard. The tower, which is built of small masonry, is about seventy feet high, with large long and short quoin stones, and walls four to five feet thick. With its bold turrets, it forms a picturesque object despite the defacement of its windows, which have been modernized with the exception of a few small slits. It had doorways opening into a large room in the basement to the north and west. This room, which measures twenty-seven and a-half feet by nineteen feet, has a round barrel vault, which was turned over wicker centring, as marks, and even twigs, in the masonry show; it must have been a gloomy apartment when the doors were closed, as it had only three very small

¹ Sweetman's "Calendar," 1293-1301, no. 433; Patent Rolls of Ireland, p. 223.

windows, two being to the south, and one to the east. From it pointed doorways opened into the turrets, the north-eastern one containing the staircase, and the others having vaulted rooms on the

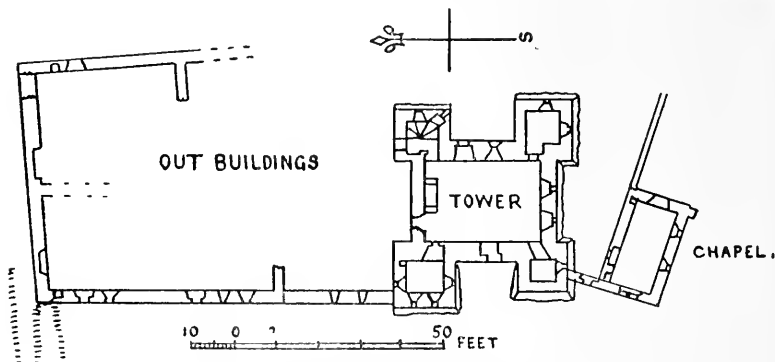


DUNSOGHLY CASTLE—PLAN.

ground-floor. In the tower over the ground-floor there are three stories. The first had a stone floor, and its ceiling corbels were moulded; the second and third had wooden floors, and the corbels were plain. The fire-places lay to the north, their flues forming a

massive chimney-stack, which partly rests on small corbels and on the battlements, and, with the exception of one in the top room, the fire-places have all been modernized.

“The turrets, in which the walls are about three feet thick, also contained three stories over the ground-floor, with similar wooden floors, but the roofs rested on bold beehive-like domes corbelled, and made of large blocks. The north-western and south-eastern turrets are about fifteen feet square; the north-eastern and south-western are smaller, being about twelve feet square outside, above a bold batter on the base. The ground-floor room in the north-western turret, which measures inside nine and a-half feet square, has windows in each wall and two ambries, and the second-floor rooms in the south-western and south-eastern turrets have long plain sinks, the former containing also



DUNSOGHLY CASTLE—PLAN OF OUTBUILDINGS.

a small garderobe and ambry in a recess. The top room on the south-western turret was probably intended for a prison, and has therefore no doorway from the battlements. The cell was entered by an opening in the crown of the vault, which was closed by a heavy stone slab. It contains also a small opening for food, about five feet above the level of the water table, and a garde-robe. The staircase above its first portion is in good condition. It is a spiral one, with wide steps, supported by a strong plain corbelling, and has well-preserved squint-loops at the angles. It is without newel or ornament of chisel-dressing. Twenty-four steps lead from the first to the second floor, twenty-one more steps to the third, and twenty-two to the battlements. The battlements have well-made water tables, large slabs covering the joints of the main stones. The roofs of the turrets are accessible by straight narrow flights of ten to

thirteen steps, and the north-western and south-eastern contain upper rooms entered by small pointed doors, beside the upper stairs. From the turrets there is a beautiful and extensive view of the fresh plains, of the great range of hills along the southern border of Dublin County, and of the heights of Howth and Lambay.

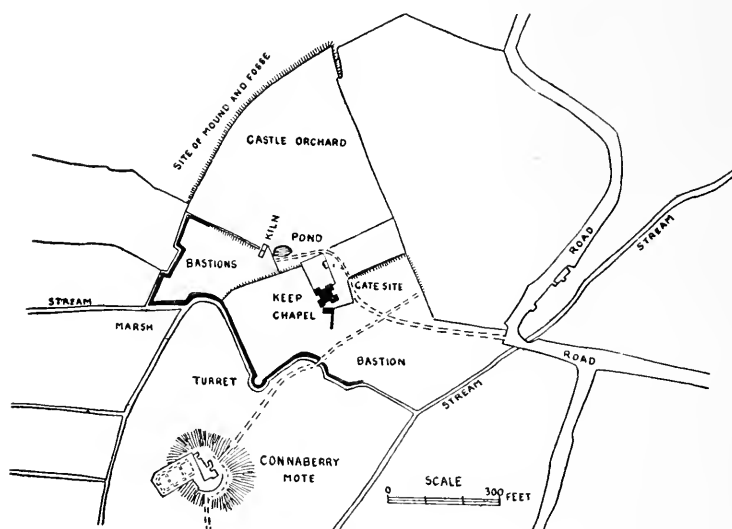
“To one accustomed to the elaborate and ingenious defences of the castles of more western Ireland, the walls of Dunsoghly strongly suggest that its builders had little apprehension of assault. The outside doorways open, without the fence of wooden-holes, shot-holes, or machicolated balconies, directly into the main room; there are neither loops for defending the stairs, nor means of flanking the outer faces of the turrets, nor remains of outworks which would be more defensible than a modern yard. The slits in the basement were externally splayed at some later period when firearms were in use.”

“Military defences of a more modern type have been pointed out by the Honorary Secretary of the Society, Mr. Charles McNeill. To the west of the castle a horn-work with two bastions and a fosse is well marked. It abuts on a second stream, and runs back to an old lime-kiln and the remains of a brewery to the north of the castle. Following the second stream to the south there are found another bastion, with probably a trace of a turret, and a line of curtain walls and angles, to a point where the two streams join and are crossed by a bridge on the road. Near this bridge there was probably a horn-work. There is a faint trace of a ditch running back from a salient and turning eastward beside the avenue leading to the castle. A third bastion and a line of ditch, with the foundations of a stone wall, lie eastward from the castle, beside which there are remains of the piers of a large gate. To the north of the castle there was formerly a long reach of earthwork, consisting of a bank twelve feet thick and five or six feet high, which surrounded the castle orchard, in the recollection of Mr. W. Tyrrell, the present owner of the house. Buildings beside the castle to the east were, Mr. McNeill suggests, levelled to open the space beside it in order to make room for the defenders to fire from the loopholes in the basement.”¹

Contemporaneously with the building of the present castle, Dunsoghly appears as the seat of a branch of the great Meath family of Plunkett. Within the castle walls in the spring of 1480, Thomas

¹ Some account of the castle, by J. S. Sloane, will be found in the “*Irish Literary Gazette*,” i, 217, 219.

Plunkett is seen completing the purchase of the lands of Much Cabragh, in Castleknock parish, through his chaplain (Richard Roger), and in the priest's room, where he was then "at school," Thomas Plunkett's son Christopher comes into view, hearing from the chaplain of his father's purchase "of twenty nobles a year." Like many of his forbears, Thomas Plunkett was a lawyer as well as a landed proprietor, and two years later in the spring of 1482 he was raised to the bench as chief justice of the common pleas. In his elevation to a chief seat, he followed in the steps of his father, Robert



DUNSOGHLY CASTLE—BASTIONS.

Plunkett, who had been raised to the bench in 1447 by Henry the Sixth as chief justice of the king's bench, and also in the steps of his uncle, Thomas Plunkett, who succeeded in 1461 to his brother's place.

The adherence of the Plunketts to the Geraldine interest, which accounted no doubt in a great measure for the early recognition of their talents, brought Thomas Plunkett into the number of Lambert Simnel's followers, and is said afterwards to have secured for him, although a chief instrument in the rebellion, a free pardon and retention in his office. But he appears to have become also involved in the rising on behalf of Perkin Warbeck, and for "his divers seditious and transgressions," he was then heavily fined, and lost his office.

Besides such proof as his occupation of Dunsoghly castle affords, there is evidence that Thomas Plunkett was a man of wealth above his fellows. In part payment of his fine his cupboard could provide such trophies as two gilt salts, a standing cup with a representation of a great griffin's egg on the cover, a group of twelve pieces with a cover, a double bowl and a pot, two standing cocoanut cups with covers, two mazers and three chased pieces, and it is to be presumed that their removal did not leave the cupboard bare. But even more striking is his munificence to the church. It is twice recorded in the obits of Christ Church that he presented to it much gold and silver and many vestments, and some years before his death, which occurred in 1519, he assigned, as has been mentioned, to the Priory of the Holy Trinity his lands of Much Cabragh, subject to the life interest of himself and his wife.

The deeds of assignment, which was conditional on a canon being maintained to pray for him and those named by him, show that he was twice married: first to Janet Finglas, and, secondly, to Helen Strangwieh, who was alive at the time of the assignment; and although the castle has been said to have been built by his father, the name of his first wife gives ground for the presumption that he owed Dunsoghly to her, and was himself the builder of the castle.

For a quarter of a century after Thomas Plunkett's death in 1519, Dunsoghly castle was occupied by his son, Christopher. As he was old enough when his father bought Much Cabragh to understand the effect of the purchase, he must have been at least fifty years of age when he succeeded to the castle, and he had been long married, and had children of mature years. His wife was a daughter of his father's colleague, Philip Bermingham, chief justice of the king's bench, and by her he had three sons, the eldest of whom, maintaining the legal tradition of his family, adopted the Bar as his profession.¹

Before 1547 Dunsoghly castle had passed to Sir John Plunkett, chief justice of the queen's bench, as Christopher Plunkett's eldest son became in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was his chief residence until his death. In the last decade of Henry the Eighth's reign there is an indication that John Plunkett was well known to those in high places, and not long after his succession to Dunsoghly he

¹ Christ Church Deeds, *passim*; Gardner's "Letters and Papers, Ric. II and Hen. VII," pp. 301, 307, 370; Todd's "Obits of Christ Church," pp. 6, 40; Lodge's "Peerage," vi, 192; Fiant, Edw. VI, no 98.

appears at the right hand of Edward the Sixth's lord deputy, Sir Edward Bellingham. His post was hardly one that an embryo judge would now fill, and his chief duties seem to have been the provisioning and furnishing of the houses occupied by the lord deputy and his retinue. While the lord deputy was in the country he writes as an expert on the quality of beer to him, and in the same letter he promises to use his best efforts to procure for the lord deputy's retinue beds of the first quality in place of some which had been rejected on the ground that they were unfit for the lord deputy's servants, much less for his gentlemen. But during the reign of Queen Mary John Plunkett is mentioned frequently as acting on commissions of a legal character, and in 1556 he appears as a member of the Irish privy council. In the latter position he was continued on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and before she had been twelve months on the throne he was raised to the chief seat on the common law bench.

Although it is not uncommon to find leading men in the Pale adapting themselves to the revolutions in Church and State which the sixteenth century witnessed, yet Sir John Plunkett is an exceptionally striking example. In the reign of Edward the Sixth he was one of the few Irish officials privileged to approach the Lord Protector, and was entrusted with the duty of providing for the spiritual care of his own parish; and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was prominent in the government of his country, and enjoyed the close friendship of her chancellor, Archbishop Loftus, the chief ecclesiastic of the Established Church, who refers to him after his death as "the good Sir John Plunkett." But notwithstanding these indications of his attachment to the reformed faith, he was not only appointed by Queen Mary a member of her Irish council, but was also admitted to her presence and given by her a grant of lands on more favourable terms than had been originally proposed.

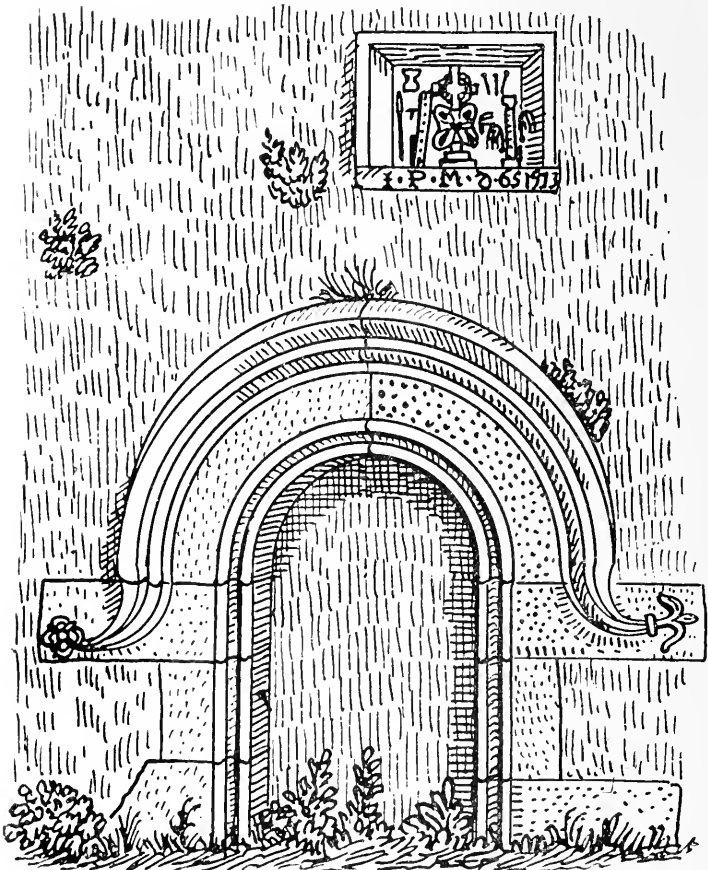
In regard to the affairs of State as well as of the Church he saw eye to eye with the English government. In the winter of 1562 he was one of the three members of the Irish council sent to discuss with Queen Elizabeth the state of Ireland, and he displayed then such zeal for the English interest that her secretary assured him on his taking leave that he would be one of the first remembered for reward. When the controversy arose in regard to the cess the only land-owners in Dublin county, who approved of its imposition, were he and Sir

Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Merrion, who was his cousin; and not long before his death he was commended by Archbishop Loftus to Sir Francis Walsingham for the "hearty service and great friendship" which he had always extended to "their whole nation."

Of his discharge of his judicial duties no knowledge is available, but the assistance which he gave in the government of Ireland was of great value, and drew from successive chief governors high praise. In the year 1565, after the battle between Ormond and Desmond at Affane, he was for many weeks at Waterford with Lord Justice Arnold, inquiring into the origin of the encounter; and at the close of the year 1567, when he received the honour of knighthood, he was sent with the Bishop of Meath, under a guard of fifty horse, to Munster, where he remained for several months settling the country after the Desmond confiscations. On that occasion his justice and incorruptibility were eulogized by Lord Justice Fitzwilliam and his successor Lord Deputy Sidney, and a few months before his death, in 1582, an effort to obtain some token of the queen's recognition of his long service was made by the Irish government, but met no substantial response.

At the time of his death Sir John Plunkett had attained to a very great age. Three years before he is said to have been so blind as to have been scarcely able to see his food, and for some months before his death he was known to be dying. His later years were clouded by attacks made upon him by a step-son. He had been married three times: first to Catherine Luttrell; secondly to Elizabeth Preston; and thirdly to Genet Sarsfield. Genet Sarsfield, who is said to have been married five times, was, at the time of her marriage to Sir John Plunkett, the widow of Sir Thomas Cusack, sometime lord chancellor of Ireland, and the attacks made upon him came from her son by that marriage, with whom he had long litigation. In regard to these he wrote thus two years before his death to Sir Francis Walsingham:—
 "Truth urged me to visit your honour with these few lines, where I am informed Edward Cusack alleged my book concerning his proceeding contained but lies. I assure your honour every article therein in pith and substance is most true. I look not to live to write any untruth willingly, '*laudanti se videntur deesse vicini*,' yet in truth a man may be his own herald. I have served my sovereign, beginning the first Michaelmas term of her Highness's reign to this present, and 'God be praised, uprightly, without respect to the contrary, and now to fail were too late.'"

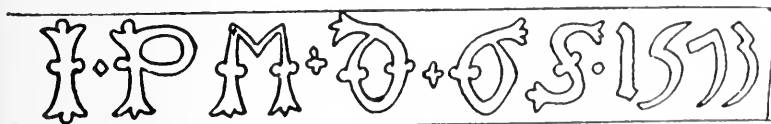
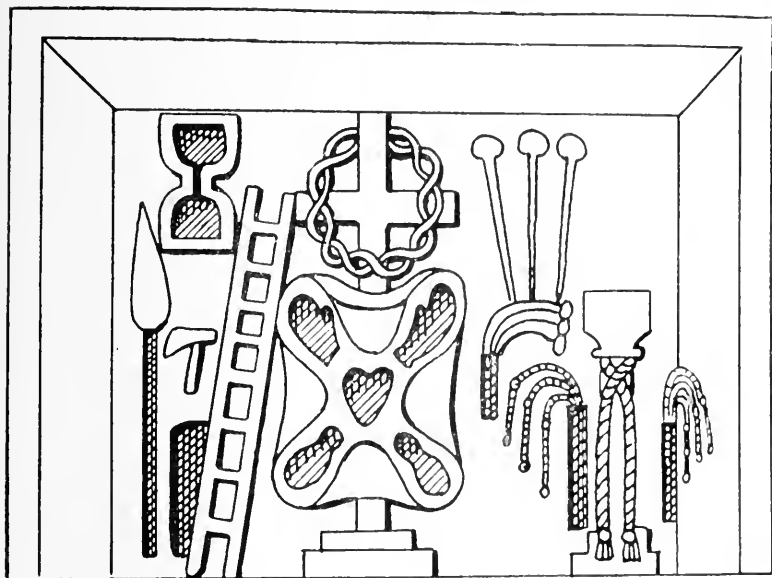
As he mentions in his will, Sir John Plunkett received with his last wife "no small commodity," but although "he laid thereunto so much of his own," he says that he was "nothing the richer." His references to silver vessels, gilt, partly gilt, and un gilt, show that his cupboard was as well furnished as that of his grandfather; and a chapel adjoining Dunsoghly castle, another adjoining the church of the parish,



DUNSOGLHY CASTLE—CHAPEL DOOR.

and a chamber built over a mineral spring in the village, testified to his large ideas and piety. The chapel adjoining the castle lies to the south, and is an oblong building, twenty-one feet three inches by twelve feet three inches, the plainness of which is relieved by the doorway and the windows. The doorway is in the north wall, and as a tablet

with the initials "I. P. M. D. G. S. 1573," records, it was the work of John Plunkett, knight, of Dunsoghly, and his wife Genet Sarsfield. It is round-headed, with neat mouldings and a bold hood. Under the hood are a rose and fleur-de-lis, which were possibly intended to be symbolic of the Virgin, "the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley," and above the hood there is a well-cut slab showing the



DUNSOGLHY CASTLE—TABLET ABOVE THE CHAPEL DOOR.

instruments of the Passion; those in the centre, namely the handle of the scourge, the spear, and the hammer, with the heart, the hands, and the feet, were probably originally of metal set in the existing stone. Of an east window only the round-headed splay remains, but, owing to its having been built up inside, a window to the west, of two lights with a thin shaft and segmental heads, is in good preservation. Besides these windows there are two smaller windows in the south side, and there are ambries at both ends of the north wall.

As in the case of the blind Lord of Howth, pride in his family and interest in the past were prominent in Sir John Plunkett's character. In regard to the first trait, it is related that he was very angry when a representation of his arms was blown down in Christ Church Cathedral, and in his will he is careful to emphasize his descent from the noble house of Killeen by large bequests to the churches with which that house was connected; and in regard to the second trait, it is recorded that it was from chronicles belonging to him that part of the "Book of Howth" was compiled, and his active support was given to the first proposal for printing the statutes of Ireland. Of his office he was not a little proud, as a bequest of his judicial gown "furred with madder" shows; and the fact that Dunsoghly was held from the Crown by royal service, and that it fell to his lot to contribute three archers to the muster, was to him, no doubt, a source of gratification.¹

As a neighbour at Dunbro, Sir John Plunkett had a leading gentleman of the Pale, Mark Barnewall, a great-grandson of Sir Nicholas Barnewall and Ismay Serjeant of Castleknock. Their son Edward married a daughter of his stepfather, Sir Robert Bold, by a previous marriage, and is said to have been the first of his name seated at Dunbro. He was succeeded there by his son Robert, who married Elizabeth Shelton, and was the father by her of Sir John Plunkett's neighbour. Mark Barnewall resembled in character Sir John Plunkett, being, in the words of Archbishop Loftus, "a very godly and honest man," and married a lady who had been previously wife of a son of Sir John Plunkett. He is mentioned first in connexion with the military expeditions against the Scots and Shane O'Neill, in which he served either in person or by deputy, and later on he appears on a mission to the English court on behalf of the Earl of Clanricarde. But at the same time his own services were considered worthy of recognition, and he is found in correspondence with Lord Burghley about lands in county Kildare which were granted to him, together with a commissionership of the muster in Dublin county.²

¹ Lodge's "Peerage," vi, 193-195; Fiants Edw. VI to Elizabeth, *passim*; Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*; Shaw's "Knights," ii, 73; "Book of Howth," pp. 120, 201; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Carew, *passim*; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," ii, 88, 261; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xxvi, 141; Funeral Entry.

² State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Christ Church Deed, no. 1448; Adams's "History of Santry," p. 47; Exchequer Inquisition, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary; Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*; "Complete Peerage," 2nd edition, iii, 12; Fiants Elizabeth, *passim*; State Papers, Carew, 1589-1600, p. 188; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. E. Hogan, p. 38.

UNDER STUART AND COMMONWEALTH OWNERS.

After Sir John Plunkett's death Dunsoghly came into the possession of Sir Christopher Plunkett, who was his grandson. He has been described as "an eminent and gracious lawyer," but he has left no mark in his professional capacity and he is now remembered as one of the leading landowners of the Pale in the reign of James the First. In a peculiar degree his career shows how superficially his class adhered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the reformed faith, and how completely they reverted to their former belief in the reign of her successor. To the close of his life Sir John Plunkett remained on terms of intimacy with Archbishop Loftus, to whom he bequeathed his best horse and two spoons, and presumably his compliance with the requirements of the Established Church was considered satisfactory, yet in his will he gives no indication that he wished his grandson to adhere to it, and left him under the care of those who were ill-calculated to promote such an object. He does not mention the lad's mother, who was a daughter of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Merrion, and placed all his reliance on his son-in-law, Richard Netterville, whose family became noted for their devotion to the Roman Catholic religion. The only indication of a Protestant direction in his arrangements for his grandson was his marrying him, while a child, to a daughter of Sir Nicholas Bagnal; but if he expected this alliance to be a safeguard, he leant upon a reed. Even during the reign of Queen Elizabeth there is reason to believe that Sir Christopher Plunkett had renounced the reformed faith, although it was from the hand of her representative that he received in the summer of 1597, in his "manor house of Dunsoghly," the accolade; and soon after the accession of James the First he avowed publicly his convictions by joining in the petition for toleration.

The favour which was shown to him, in spite of his adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, is not a little remarkable. The attention of the English ministers was drawn in 1609 to the fact that one of his sons, who was being educated at Douai, was concerned in an attempt to bring into Ireland "a girdle" containing "popish books and relies"; but no weight was given to this communication, and his own good services, as well as those of his grandfather, were made in 1610 the ground of a fresh grant to him of his lands, and this grant was followed in 1612 by a licence to hold an annual fair.

lasting three days, at St. Margaret's. In the Parliament of 1613, to which he was returned, with Thomas Luttrell, for Dublin county, he supported Sir John Everard for the speaker's chair, and, in the autumn of that year, he gave evidence before the commissioners sent from England as to the oppression of the Pale by the army, and subsequently joined in a petition as to other "grievances and disabilities." In consequence of these activities he was summoned to the English court, but his submission and profession of loyalty were considered so satisfactory that he was quickly allowed to return to Ireland, and an admonition was sent to the ruling powers there not to forget to pay him the respect due to one of his rank. On two occasions, in 1620 and 1623, he was selected to act on deputations to the king concerning economic questions, and disarmed all prejudice by "the modesty, humility, and discretion" with which he represented the need of better regulations for the manufacture and sale of ale and aqua vitæ, the registration of marriages, the prevention of ploughing by the tail, and the exportation of horses, and was no less successful in debating the more thorny questions of the woollen and other trades. His grateful sense of the favour shown to him was evidenced afterwards by his assistance in raising an additional subsidy from Leinster.¹

A life of comparative tranquillity, such as Sir Christopher Plunkett enjoyed, was not the lot of his son and successor, James Plunkett. Through his marriage to a daughter of Francis Tregon, of Goldon, James Plunkett involved himself in the misfortunes of a Roman Catholic family of high rank in Cornwall, and, in an attempt to recover the Tregon estate, which had been confiscated, loaded his Irish estate with debt. Before the rebellion he had mortgaged the lands of Dunsoghly, St. Margaret's, and Newtown to Sir Henry Tichborne, the lands of Harristown to Sir Francis Blundell, who assigned his mortgage to Mr. Justice Donnellan, and the lands of Portmellick to Richard Molyneux, and, owing to his inability to meet his liabilities, he was himself consigned to prison, where his health gave way.²

About the time of Sir John Plunkett's death, Dunbro passed, by

¹ Lodge's "Peerage," vi, 195; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Carew, *passim*; Fiant Elizabeth, no. 6546; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. E. Hogan, pp. 37, 38.

² Hist. MSS. Com. Rept. 2, pp. 227-231; Depositions, 1641, Trinity College Library, Luke Mariott; Baring Gould's Cornish Characters, p. 652; Civil Survey.

the death of Mark Barnewall, to his son, Robert Barnewall. The position of the latter was, like his father's, a high one, and during his occupation, Dunbro is mentioned as the site of a great stone house. In addition, he had a house in Dublin, in Bridge Street, and a funeral entry which records his death at Dunbro, on Good Friday, 1635, mentions that his body was "worshipfully conveyed" from Dunbro to Bridge Street, and thence on the next day to St. Audoen's church, where it was interred. He was twice married, his first wife being a daughter of his neighbour, William Talbot of Malahide, and his second wife being an English lady, Kinborough, daughter of James Good, a physician, of Malden, near Kingston-on-Thames. Although he is said to have allowed priests, Jesuits, and friars to resort to his house, Robert Barnewall appears to have been at one time a member of the Established Church, and his successor, James Barnewall, who was the son of his second wife, is noted as having been "backward in the matter of the Rebellion," and was described as a Protestant.¹

Owing to James Plunkett's impecuniosity, Dunsoghly became the residence of its mortgagee, Sir Henry Tichborne, who was a foremost figure in Ireland at the time of the Rebellion, and filled for about a year the office of a lord justice. He was a younger son of the first baronet of the line associated with one of the most remarkable trials of modern times, and he had been knighted in 1623 by James the First in his ancestral home in Hampshire. Before then he had made acquaintance as an officer in the army with Ireland, where he appears first in connexion with Ulster, as governor of Lifford and a commissioner for the Londonderry Plantation, and subsequently as a resident in Dublin and its vicinity. At the time the Rebellion broke out he was living with his family in Dunsoghly castle, and in a letter addressed to his wife some years later, he thus describes his experience:—"The 23rd of October, 1641, as you may remember, I was living at Dunsoghly, within four miles of Dublin; and upon the general terror which was in the country, when all English and Protestants forsook their habitation and fled from the face of that horrid Rebellion, I thought it not safe to remain alone behind them, but when in the evening of the next day I had scattered a party of rogues that lay lurking about my house, I retired with you and my family the same night to Dublin."

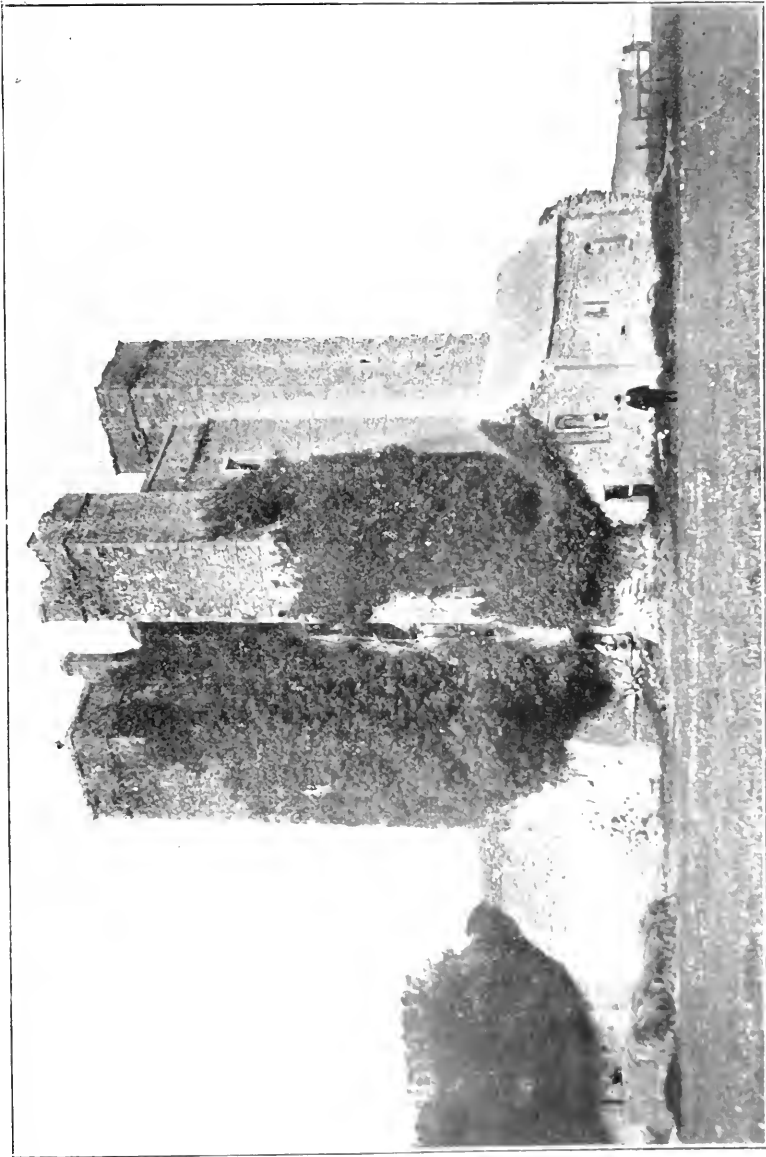
¹ Funeral Entries; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155; Adams's "History of Sautry," *passim*; Depositions, 1641, in Trinity College Library, xxxii, 7.

But, as one of "the chiefest places built" in the county of Dublin, Dunsoghly castle was before long garrisoned by the government, and a few months later, on March 9, 1642, Ormond, while in command of an expeditionary force, dated a letter from it. The garrison was, however, surrounded by the enemy, and on April 30, six or seven of the soldiers, while seeking food in the neighbourhood, were surprised, and only two or three escaped alive. The castle was then strongly fortified, and ramparts, as described by the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, were thrown up. During the eventful years that followed, Sir Henry Tichborne can have seen but little of Dunsoghly. Immediately after leaving it, in the autumn of 1641, he was sent to Drogheda as its governor; in the spring of 1643 he was appointed a lord justice; in the winter of 1644 he was taken prisoner by the forces of the parliament when returning from a mission to the king; and in the spring of 1647 he was fighting under Colonel Michael Jones on Dangan Hill. In his apology, as his letter to his wife may be called, he shows that his life was one of ceaseless activity against the Irish army, whether serving in the ranks of the king or the parliament; and his skill, heroism, and rapidity as a military commander, and his policy and integrity as a statesman, have found a panegyrist in Philip Skelton, who considered Sir Henry Tichborne's apology comparable to Caesar's Commentaries.¹

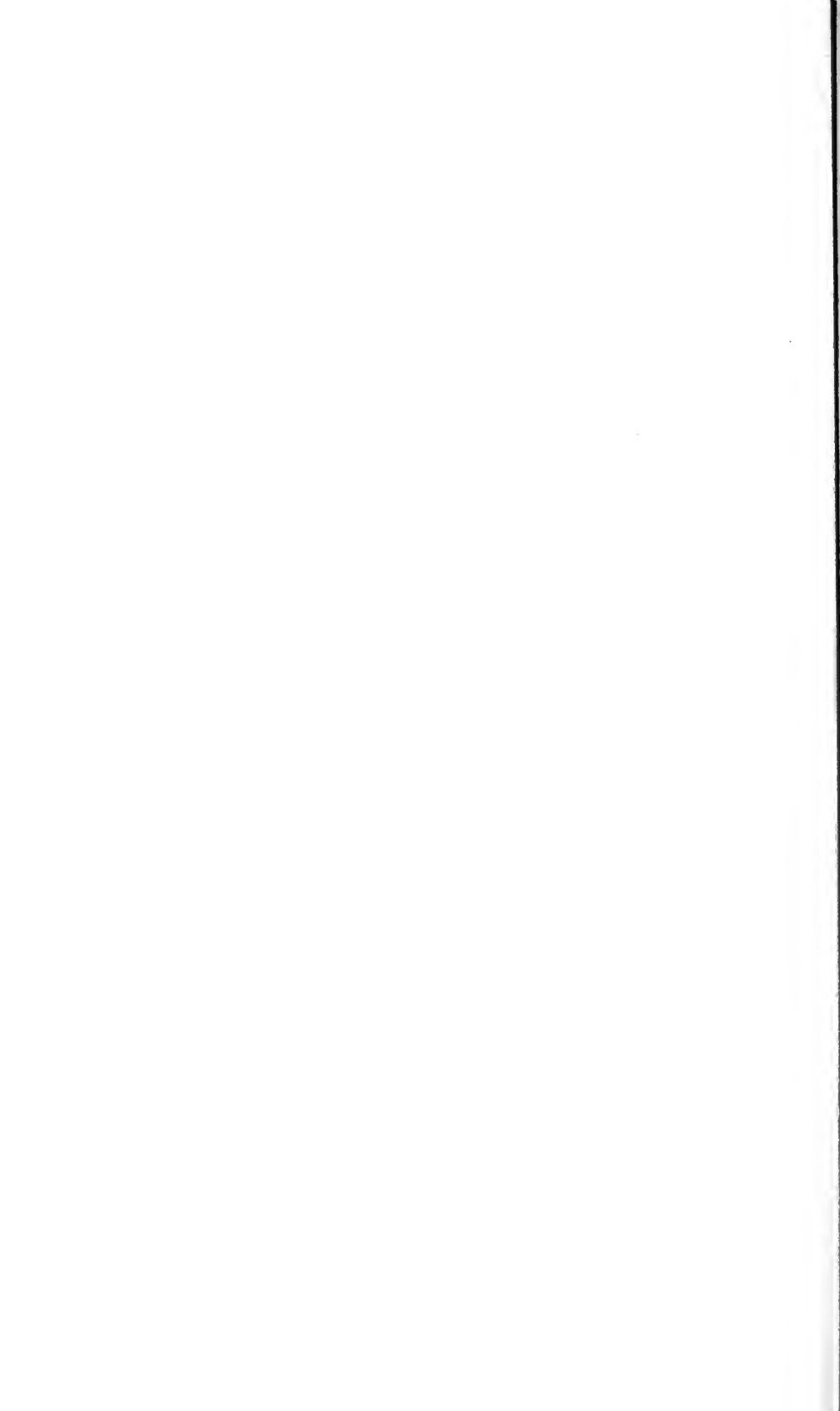
When the Restoration came, Sir Henry Tichborne was found still in possession of Dunsoghly, and was returned afterwards for some years as the occupant of the premises, which were described as a castle, dwelling-house, barn, stable, and offices with an old orchard, and a garden plot, and were rated as containing five chimneys or ten hearths. But his death, which took place in 1667, occurred at Beaulieu, near Drogheda, which he had been granted in recognition of his services to the Restoration, and Dunsoghly was then the residence of one John Avery, who in 1672 acted as a churchwarden of the parish.²

¹ Dict. Nat. Biog., lvi, 375; "History of Montgomery, of Ballyleck," p. 89 and *passim*; Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," *passim*; British Museum MS. 31885; Carte Papers, ii, 427: "A True Relation of the Chief Passages in Ireland, April 25 to May 14, 1642," in Bodleian Library.

² Throughout this and the following paragraphs, the following authorities are used:—Down Survey, Civil Survey, Hearth Money Rolls and Subsidy Rolls in Public Record Office, and Census of 1659 and Book of Distribution in Royal Irish Academy.



DUNSOGHLY CASTLE.



At that time Dunbro was in the occupation of Colonel Francis Willoughby, a poor cavalier, the premises being described as a decayed house, barn and stable with an old orchard, and rated as containing four hearths. Colonel Willoughby belonged to a family that was well known in the seventeenth century in Ireland. His father, Sir Francis Willoughby, who was a very distinguished officer, had served in Ireland throughout the reign of Charles the First, and had been a member of the provincial council of Munster and of the privy council, and one of his brothers, Sir Anthony Willoughby, had been governor of Galway, while another brother, Dr. Charles Willoughby, was an eminent physician and naturalist, and presided over the meetings of the first philosophical society in Dublin. For some years before the establishment of the Commonwealth, Colonel Willoughby had been in command of a regiment, and he was considered by the parliamentary authorities so influential a royalist that he was interned by them for several years at Chester. After the Restoration, the references to him are concerned with his poverty, which was accentuated by his having a large family, and with his health. The latter was so bad that his death, which occurred in 1678, was reported long before it took place, and in the petitions for his relief his wife, who enjoyed the friendship of the Countess of Ossory, was the mover.¹

Excepting on the lands of Dunsoghly and Dunbro, there were when the Commonwealth was established no residences of any importance in the parish of St. Margaret; "in all the rest were thatched houses and cabins," and of these but few. The only other buildings were the ruins of the church, a mill, and the walls of a castle on the lands of Harristown, which had belonged to a branch of the Warren family.² But before the Restoration, the castle on the lands of Harristown was probably rebuilt, as the inhabitants included then eleven persons of English descent. In Dunsoghly there were eight of English birth, and in Dunbro five. As regards the land-owners the representative of the Plunkett family, Nicholas Plunkett, was predominant, the only lands not held by him being those of Dunbro and those of Kingstown, which were divided between John Fagan, of Feltrim, and George Blackney, of Rickenmore.

¹ Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," *passim*; Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*, Domestic, *passim*; Stokes's "Worthies of the Irish Church," p. 138; British Museum MSS., 28,876, ff. 95, 132, 160; 28,938, f. 96; 28927, f. 25; Prerogative Wills.

² Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155.

Nicholas Plunkett was the grandson of James Plunkett, and had succeeded to Dunsoghly on the death of his grandfather, which took place a few days after the outbreak of the rebellion. His father, John Plunkett, who was his grandfather's only son, had died ten years before, in or about the year 1631. He had married Elizabeth Roper, daughter of Christopher, second Lord Teynham, and great-grand-niece of Sir Thomas More's biographer, and left by her Nicholas, who was born in 1629. After his grandfather's death, Nicholas Plunkett became the ward of Sir Henry Tichborne, who paid two thousand pounds for the trust, and as soon as he could bear arms he entered the service of Charles the First, and is said to have served in England as well as in Ireland. At the age of nineteen, in the winter of 1645, he was by the side of Sir Thomas Esmonde, whose daughter he married, in Wexford when the Marquis of Antrim's kinsman, M'Donald, of Glengarry, was defeated. After he came of age he obtained an order to enter into possession of his estate, but he was subsequently ordered as a Roman Catholic to transplant into Connaught, or to leave the country, an alternative which he accepted, and he is said to have been afterwards imprisoned in England and Flanders, where he saw military service.

After the Restoration he had difficulty in regaining possession of his estate, of which he had allowed Sir Henry Tichborne to retain the custody, and was in impecunious circumstances. He was at that time a widower with four children ; but a few years later he appears as the husband of a second wife, Elizabeth Fisher, and his children had increased in number to seven. Before then he had recovered his estate, but he does not appear to have resided in the castle, and in 1681, when he was elected churchwarden of Finglas, an office from which on account of his religion he was excused, he is described as of Harristown. About the time of the Revolution he withdrew from Ireland, to which he never returned, and in the summer of 1689 he was in France. According to his friends in Ireland he had gone to that country because he found "the severity of the persecution against Roman Catholics in England was so extreme that he could not live there" ; but two years later he was back in London, and resided there until his death in 1718, when he had attained to nearly ninety years of age.¹

¹ Ware's Works, ii, 273 ; Dict. Nat. Biog., xlv, 442 ; State Papers, Ireland, *passim* ; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xlvi, 28 ; Archbishop King's Diary,

Some twenty-five years later a proposal was issued for the publication of "A faithful history of the rebellion and civil war in Ireland, from its beginning in the year 1641 to its conclusion, written by Nicholas Plunkett, Esq., and communicated to Mr. Dryden, who revised, corrected, and approved it"; and a considerable part of the manuscript, which was never printed, is still in the possession of Nicholas Plunkett's descendants.¹ By Carte, who made considerable use of the manuscript in his "Life of the Duke of Ormond," its authorship is ascribed to a "a society of gentlemen who lived in 1641"; but the use of the first person singular in the part that remains tends to confirm the claims of the prospectus, that it was the work of Nicholas Plunkett, and references in it to Cox's "History of Ireland" indicate that it was written subsequently to the Revolution.²

Although a most devout Roman Catholic, Nicholas Plunkett was a man of much width of view. In his history he attacks unsparingly the Pope's nuncio and his party in the Confederate council; and under his will he appoints Protestants as trustees of alms-houses erected by him at St. Margaret's for poor women of his own faith. One of his executors was the alleged rival of Swift for the deanery of Derry, the Rev. John Bolton, to whom he refers as "his worthy and loving friend"; and another was Sir John Bennett, a serjeant-at-law, and judge of the marshal's court, in London, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness for long and great service, and advice in "his worldly affairs." For him both the first and second Duke of Ormond had a high regard, and a case of pistols given to him by one of them was a most cherished possession. In his will he refers to kindness shown to him and his wife by the Countess of Arlington, the sister of the Countess of Ossory, and leaves her an emerald ring and a piece of plate.³

UNDER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OWNERS.

Once again the succession to Dunsoghly skipped a generation. Nicholas Plunkett's eldest son, Christopher Plunkett, who married a

edited by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, p. 75; Parliamentary Returns; Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," vii, 115; Book of Decrees in Public Record Office, iv, 8; British Museum MS., 28,888, f. 20.

¹ It is now in the possession of Mrs. Cottingham of Brittas, who was so good as to lend it to me for the purposes of this work.

² Carte's "Life of Ormonde," preface.

³ A copy of the will is in the possession of Mr. Henry Upton of Mount, who has kindly allowed me to make use of it.

daughter of a neighbour, Henry Segrave, of Little Cabragh, predeceased him, and on Nicholas Plunkett's death Dunsoghly Castle became the residence of Henry Plunkett, who was Nicholas Plunkett's grandson. Like his grandfather, Henry Plunkett, who never married, was a most devoted Roman Catholic. In his will he enjoins that the rites of that Church should be fully performed for him; he directs that his body should be buried in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, as near the bodies of his father and mother as possible, and he gives minute directions as to his funeral, at which he desired six clergymen should be present, and also the alms-women.

Before his death, which occurred in the winter of 1760, Henry Plunkett had lost his younger brother, Nicholas Plunkett, who had been twice married, first to a daughter of Nicholas third Viscount Netterville, and secondly to a daughter of Daniel Dunne of Brittas, in the Queen's county. By his second marriage Nicholas Plunkett left three daughters who succeeded to Dunsoghly. The eldest, Mary, married Michael Grace of Gracefield; the second, Catherine, married Henry Malone of Pallas Park; and the third, Margaret, married Francis Dunne of Brittas.¹

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Dunbro was the residence of John Linegar, a citizen of Dublin, who ambitioned the position of a landed proprietor. For its purchase he had borrowed a large sum of money, which at the time of his death in 1708 was secured by a mortgage on the lands, but in his will he desired that every effort should be made to avert their sale. By his executors, two Dublin aldermen, his wish was observed, but twenty years later his daughter and only child, Anne, and her husband John Chope disposed of Dunbro for twenty-two years' purchase and a broadpiece worth thirty pounds.²

The new owner of Dunbro was the Right Rev. Welbore Ellis, then Bishop of Kildare and afterwards Bishop of Meath, and as he made it a condition that the furniture was to be left in the house, he became probably its occupant. Although from him the Earls of Normanton and the Viscounts Clifden descend, he was himself the son of a Yorkshire clergyman who found some difficulty in educating a very large family. The success in life of the bishop and of his brothers was

¹ Lodge's "Peerage," vi, 196; Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," 1760, Dec. 2-6.

² Adams's "History of Santry," p. 48; Prerogative Will; Records of Dublin, iv, 440.

almost phenomenal, in the case of some as followers of King James, in the case of others as followers of King William, and their prosperity was a striking testimony to the goodness and influence of the first Duke of Ormond, to whom they owed in the chief degree their advancement in life. In a vast number of letters addressed to his brother John Ellis, who held various government offices, the bishop reveals his whole life and character. He is seen first in 1690 at Christ Church, Oxford, with very modest views as to his attainments and prospects, and considering, like Swift, an application for the chaplaincy of the Lisbon factory; then, in 1693, he was appointed chaplain to the second Duke of Ormond, a place to which the chaplaincy of the Duke's troop of guards and a living in Northamptonshire were added; and in 1705 he was raised to the Irish episcopal bench as Bishop of Kildare, with the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, in commendam.

His character was typical of that of the Irish prelates of his time, and mundane affairs largely engrossed his attention. After his appointment to the see of Kildare his letters relate mainly to the management of houses owned by his brother on Arran Quay, in regard to which he constituted himself an amateur agent, and about which he thought it necessary to send his brother a weekly report. In order to save postage he sent the letters through an official channel, and as he was obsessed with the idea that they would be opened and read, he wrote in an obscure style to baffle an intercepter. But sufficient is clear to show that he was constantly on the look-out for preferment, if possible in England, but otherwise in Ireland, and that he considered the Duke of Ormond had shown little gratitude for his services in consigning him to the see of Kildare. At the same time it would be a mistake to suppose that he neglected such ecclesiastical duties as fell to his lot, or that he was lacking in integrity, or in some degree of piety. As dean of Christ Church he attended service in his cathedral twice every day, his attendance not even being interrupted by a stay at Templeogue to drink the waters; and he wrote to his brother with much self-satisfaction that in a few years he had worn out two silk habits, although one usually sufficed a bishop for his life. In spite of the solicitation of his friends he refused to ordain clergymen, as he believed there were too many in the Irish Church, and on more than one occasion he commissioned his brother to procure him books of a devotional character. He was no stranger to misfortune in his private life, five of his children dying in infancy, and his house

with all it contained being consumed by fire, and these losses he accepted in the most Christian spirit, and on those and other occasions he made reflections which are truly admirable. To the see of Meath he was translated soon after his purchase of Dunbro, and his death took place in 1734. He left two children, a son who was created Lord Mendip, and a daughter who married Henry Agar and through whom the bishop is now represented. At the close of the eighteenth century the bishop's son is said to have built a house that now stands on the Dunbro lands.¹

In the eighteenth century another house of importance appears in St. Margaret's parish, Pickardstown, to the east of Dunbro. An advertisement of the house, which appeared in the year 1735, describes it as surrounded with fine walled gardens, planted with the best fruit-trees, and sixty acres of land, divided into small parks by well-grown hedges. A brew-house and malt-house, as well as a good hen-yard and pigeon-house, were amongst its attractions. Afterwards it became the residence of Sir Henry Cavendish, whose son has been mentioned as a resident at Frescati. Sir Henry Cavendish, who was the first baronet of his line, was connected with Ireland through his mother, who was a granddaughter of Archbishop Ussher, and had come to this country with his kinsman, the third Duke of Devonshire, on the duke's appointment as lord lieutenant. Here he became a commissioner of the revenue and a member of parliament. In Mrs. Delany's correspondence there are several references to Sir Henry Cavendish's second wife, who was mother by a previous marriage of the first Earl of Clanwilliam, and as a child of six years old the future peer gave Mrs. Delany "twenty frights" for her china and shells. A dinner at Pickardstown, "a flat but pretty enough," is also mentioned by Mrs. Delany, at which everything was vast, especially a turbot, of which she had never seen the equal in size.²

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The ecclesiastical ruins at St. Margaret's, which are greatly defaced and overgrown, comprise those of a church, and a chapel adjoining it on the southern side. The church was a simple oblong, forty-nine

¹ "Diet. Nat. Biog.," xvii, 292; British Museum Add. MSS., Correspondence of John Ellis; Prerogative Wills.

² Pue's "Occurrences," 1735, Nov. 8, 11; Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, *passim*; "Complete Baronetage," v, 104.

feet six inches long by eighteen feet two inches wide. As it was built on the edge of a mound, the west gable was prolonged northwards into a large buttress. In the north wall the pieces of a recessed doorway remain, and in the east wall a window is sufficiently preserved to show that it consisted of two tall lights, with tripod heads, and a flat, shallow hood. There are gaps in the west and south walls, which may represent other apses, while in the latter of these walls two window splays, at the eastward end, were closed by the erection of the chapel.

The chapel, which is twenty-six feet long by fifteen feet three inches wide, is entered from the west, where the ground has evidently risen considerably. The doorway, which is pointed, with neat, shallow mouldings, has a bold hood, with angular bands. The north corbel of the hood has a rough, flat, human face, and another face projects on the keystone. Above the keystone is a moulded frame of red sandstone, which held once a slab of white marble, bearing the words, "Johannes Plunkett de Dunsoghlia, Miles, Capitalis quondam Justiciarius Regii in Hibernia Banci, hoc struxit Sacellum." In the south wall there were two windows; the head of the eastern one shows that it had two plain, chamfered, oblong lights, divided by a shaft. In the north wall is set a rude calp slab, greatly worn, with two arched spaces. One of these, that on the right, is now broken, but bore the words, "Ut vos sic fuimus quondam, ut nos sic eritis tandem et cito pede," with a skull at the head, and crossed bones at the foot. The space on the left bore the inscription, "In hoc tumulo tumulantur ossa Plunketorum Dunsoghlia, quorum haeres Nicholaus Plunket et uxor ejus Elizabetha Fisser hunc fieri fecerunt Ano 1675."¹

At the south-west corner of the ruins there is a large modern tomb-house having three Gothic doors, with cleverly designed, and cut, capitular corbels. Further to the south of the ruins there is another large modern mausoleum with elaborate pilasters, renaissance doorway, white marble friezes, and Ionic and composite capitals. The oldest tablet faces the west, being over the principal door, with the remains of a white marble cornice with triglyphs, hour-glasses, and angels. It bears arms of a griffin segreant impaling to the dexter a lion rampant and to the sinister an uprooted tree; the crest is an eagle's or griffin's head couped issuing from a wreath; the motto: "Regalis et fortis

¹ "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xi, 118; Austin Cooper's Note-book.

quamvis eradicatur viresco"; and the inscription: "I.H.S. Andreas Morgan, mercator, Dubliniensis, hoc Monumentum pro se suaque familia fieri testamento mandavit Filii ejus Patri optimo moerentes posuerunt; ipse Andreas obiit die tertia Martii Anno 1746; requiescat in pace." A marble tablet to the north bears an inscription also to the same family, but seventy years later in date. The other recesses have no tablets.

The church of St. Margaret was anciently known as the church of Donaghnoir or the church of the east,¹ and according to tradition it indicated by its name that its founder was St. Patrick. In the thirteenth century it is included under the name of the chapel of Donaghnoir in the corps of the chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, but from the "Repertorium Viride" it appears that at one time there was a dispute between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Prior of the Hospital of St. John without Newgate as to its advowson. Towards the close of the fifteenth century bequests to it are found. Before the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral the tithes of Dunsoghly, Ochtermoy, and Harristown, together with the rent of fourteen acres near the church, were leased by the chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral to Sir John Plunkett, and this lease was renewed after the dissolution by the Crown on the condition that Sir John Plunkett provided a fit chaplain for the church.²

The chapel adjoining the church is mentioned in his will by Sir John Plunkett, who desired his body to be buried in it, and directed his executors to complete it as he had determined. The church was in ruins at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the chapel was probably kept in repair, and in 1718 Nicholas Plunkett left his bailiff an annuity "to the end that he might take care of the little chapel adjoining the church of St. Margaret."

¹ The name has been generally printed as Donaghmore, or the great church; but, as Mr. Charles McNeill has informed me, in error. He has referred me to Sir John Gilbert's edition of the "Crede Mihi," in which on a page given in facsimile the name will be found distinctly written as Dounachnor; and he has also pointed out to me that further confirmation of that name being the correct one is to be found in Gilbert's "Register of St. Thomas's Abbey," p. 320, and in Alen's "Repertorium Viride."

² "Crede Mihi"; Berry's "Wills"; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 39.

THE PARISH OF FINGLAS.

(I.E. THE CLEAR STREAM.)

THE Parish of Finglas is stated in the seventeenth century to have contained the townlands of Ballyboggan, Ballygall, Baleskin, Broghan, Cabragh Little, Cardiff's Castle, Coldwinters, Finglas, Finglas Bridge and Wood, Jamestown, Johnstown, Kildonan, Kilshane, Laurestown, Skephubble, and Toberburr.

It contains now the townlands of Ballyboggan (i.e. O'Boggan's town), North and South, Ballygall (i.e. the town of the bog), Ballystrahan (i.e. town of the stream), Baleskin (i.e. the town of the moor), Bishopswood, Broghan (i.e. the border), Cabragh (i.e. the bad land), Cardiffsbridge (or Kerdiff's bridge), Cardiffscastle (or Kerdiff's castle), Charlestown, Coldwinters, Cruiserath (or Cruise's rath), Finglas East and West, Finglaswood, Glasnevin Demesne (i.e. the demesne of Naoidhe's stream), Glebe, Jamestown Great and Little, Johnstown, Kildonan (i.e. Dunan's wood), Kilreesk (i.e. the wood of the morass), Kilshane (i.e. the wood of the fairy), Laurestown, Poppintree (i.e. St. Papan's tree), Shallon (i.e. the place of the gallows), Skephubble (i.e. the thorn of the congregation), Springmount, Stang (i.e. the rood), Stockens (i.e. the stubbed land), Toberburr (i.e. the well of the watercourse), Tolka, and Westereave.

The objects of archaeological interest are a ruined church, a cross, and fortifications known as King William's ramparts in the village, and the remains of an Elizabethan house in Finglaswood.

FINGLAS VILLAGE AND ITS VICINITY.

The parish of Finglas, which lies east of the parishes of Castleknock, Mulhuddart, Cloghran, and Ward, is crossed at its most southern point by the river Tolka, and is intersected by the coach road to the north-west of Ireland. Not far from the river, on this road, Finglas village is found. Through it there flows a small tributary of the Tolka, and from it there is an extensive view of the city and bay of Dublin. Although not containing any stately remains, the village has had an eventful past, and the ground trodden by the agricultural worker has been marked by the footsteps in turn of Celtic abbots, of Plantagenet prelates, of Stuart cavaliers, and of Hanoverian legislators.

IN CELTIC AND MEDIAEVAL TIMES.

Finglas appears first in history as the site of a Celtic abbey, the origin of which has been associated, from early times, with the name of St. Cainnech, or Canice, the patron of Kilkenny. According to an ancient legend, the ground on which it stood had been sanctified by St. Patrick, who is said to have uttered from it a prophecy that a great town would arise at the ford of hurdles in the vale beneath; and by some persons confirmation of this legend may be found in the tradition that ascribes the original name of the neighbouring church of St. Margaret to a connexion with him, and in the association of his name with a well in the village of Finglas itself. Although the abbey is described in the "Triads" as one of the two eyes of Ireland, nothing is known of its history beyond a record of the deaths of some of its abbots, and as the record terminates before the Anglo-Norman invasion, it is probable that the abbey ceased to exist during the rule of the Norsemen, by whom it was plundered.¹

When the Anglo-Norman invaders seized Dublin, Finglas was known as a town belonging to the Archbishop of Dublin, and trees, which surrounded the church and which were said to have been planted by St. Canice and his successors, seem to have been the only relics of the abbey. The town was probably protected by the stockade against which Miles de Cogan led his forces when he made the sally against Rory O'Connor, as mentioned under Castleknock; and while Henry the Second was in Ireland, it afforded quarters for several troops of archers, who are said to have brought upon it divine displeasure in the form of pestilence by cutting down the trees, which included yew and ash, in the churchyard.²

Under the Anglo-Norman settlement the lands belonging to Finglas abbey, like those of Tallaght and Clondalkin, were confirmed to the Archbishop of Dublin, and the manor in which they were comprised became the most valuable of the manors owned by him near Dublin, excepting that of Swords. When elected to the see of Dublin in 1228, Archbishop Luke found in Finglas an episcopal residence, of which he made immediate use; and during his time the town is mentioned as a borough with nineteen burgesses, amongst whom members of the

Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," p. 90; Todd Lectures, Royal Irish Academy, xiii. 2; Todd's "War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill," pp. lviii. lxi, 18.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera.

families of Cruise and Kerdiff are prominent. In connexion with Finglas, Archbishop Luke's successor, Fulk de Sandford, gave proof of his zeal in defending and increasing the property of the church; and during his episcopate, which began in 1256, probably he made frequent use of the episcopal residence, in which his death is said to have occurred.¹

For the next six years, from 1171 to 1177, the see was vacant, and from accounts of the temporalities rendered to the Crown the value of the Archbishop's manors is seen to have greatly decreased. As those to the north of Dublin were affected equally with those to the south, the loss cannot have been entirely due to the incursions of the hillmen, and was probably to be attributed in a measure to the "wars and controversies" of the great feudal proprietors. In the case of Finglas the loss of revenue amounted to more than a third. From the receipts it appears that personal service was rendered in a far greater degree by the betaghs and cottagers at Finglas than by similar classes in the south of the county, and that as compared with Clondalkin, the manor to the south which most nearly approached it in value, Finglas had much greater profit from milling, but much less profit from litigation in the manor court. Large profit came from "turbary and red bog," an item that does not occur in the case of the southern manors, and also there was profit from watching cattle at night, which seems to have been a service not exacted in them.²

During the period that Alexander de Bicknor held the see of Dublin, from 1317 to 1349, there is evidence that the episcopal residence at Finglas, which was known as the court, was a substantial mansion. In a complaint made the year after his death it is mentioned that its stone walls had been broken by evil-doers, and that leaden gutters from its roofs, iron bars from its windows, and clamps and bolts from its doors had been carried off by them. Some of the buildings are said to have been roofed with tiles, and the kitchen and brew-house were provided with furnaces and vessels of brass and lead. In addition the complaint shows that the demesne contained a deer-park and a warren, in which pheasants and partridges, as well as hares and rabbits, were preserved. Upon the demesne lands the most approved

¹ "Crede Mihi," *passim*; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 107, n. c; Liber Niger, Trinity College copy, f. 156, and *passim*: "Dict. Nat. Biog.," l. 271.

² Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, v, 149-62; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ire.," xxi, 54.

system of agriculture was adopted, the rotation of crops being wheat, oats, and grass. In the manor the feudal system had begun to decline, and an improvement in the condition of the tenantry was noticeable. In many cases a class called farmers had taken the place of the servile betaghs, but the farmers, who were Irish, were not allowed to forget their origin, and were obliged to pay a much higher rent for their land than the burgesses of the town, who were exclusively English.¹

To Finglas no doubt Alexander de Bicknor was a frequent visitor, and three years before his death he is seen requiring a newly elected Prior of Christ Church to wait on him there to render homage. Amongst the free tenants of the manor, who included some of the neighbouring landed magnates, he had provision for ample society. During that century the Rath, afterwards known as Cruiserath, was successively held by the Baron of Castleknock and William Cruise, and Cabragh by the Baron of Castleknock and Robert Kerdiff; Broghan and Johnstown were in the possession of the owner of Dunsoghly; Chamberstown, or Jamestown, as it is now called, was held by Adam Chambers, and other large holdings were in the possession of the owner of Ward and the owner of Cappoge.²

At the beginning of the fifteenth century during the episcopate of Thomas Cranley, the court was occupied by the wife of the Lord Lieutenant, the illustrious John Talbot, then Lord of Furnival and afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, and there that great lady, who in her own right was of the highest rank, gave birth in the summer of 1416 to a son. Although in the middle of that century the weakness of the English led the hillmen to extend their forays into Fingal, and the Finglas inhabitants were obliged to help in guarding the fords of the Liffey, the state of Finglas during the episcopate of John Walton, who was elected Archbishop in 1471, seems to have been one of peace and security. His predecessor, Michael Tregury, mentions in his will that his barn at Finglas was full of grain; Nicholas Barrett, who died in 1474, bequeaths property at Finglas to his heirs for ever; Alice, wife of Patrick Russell, who died in the same year, was joint owner with her husband at Finglas of much live stock and corn, as well newly sown as in the haggard; and Thomas Finglas, who died in

¹ Patent Rolls of England, 1348-50, p. 590; Liber Niger, Trinity College copy, f. 320.

² Mills's "Account Roll of Priory of Holy Trinity," p. 117; Liber Niger, Trinity College copy, f. 611.

1475, although prepared to take the field in a helmet and "black doublet of defence," had farm stock at Finglas of such exceptional value as could only have been acquired in a time of prosperity.¹

IN TUDOR AND STUART TIMES.

The discovery that the lands of Cruiserath had been once the property of the see caused Archbishop Alan to exclaim "mirabile," and to note that Much and Little Cabragh were a similar case. At the time Henry the Seventh ascended the throne, Little Cabragh, which had evidently been a considerable village, was in a derelict state owing to excessive taxation and a tendency to live in Dublin. As it was liable to become "a den and resort of robbers," it was included in the franchise of Dublin, and its inhabitants are found afterwards successfully resisting the imposition of county charges. The lands mentioned were not the only Finglas lands that had then passed from the see, as legal proceedings show that the lands of Chamberstown, or Jamestown as they are now called, were owned by Thomas, son of Geoffrey Sale, subject only to rendering half a pound of wax to the Priory of the Holy Trinity.²

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the court was still used by the Archbishop, and there, in May, 1511, Walter Fitzsimons, who had held the offices of lord deputy and lord chancellor, as well as the archbishopric, died. But it began soon to decay, and towards the close of Henry the Eighth's reign the principal resident in Finglas parish was probably Walter Kerdiff, the judge who has been mentioned as a resident in Castleknock parish, and who is afterwards described as of Shallon. In the middle of that century the marshal of the law courts, George Carey, was apparently the chief person in Finglas, which was then described as one of the best villages in the county. In 1547 he obtained a lease from the Crown of the possessions at Finglas of the chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who was also rector of Finglas, comprising a fort and messuage with a garden and land, and in 1556 he obtained a lease from Archbishop Hugh Curwen of the precincts of the court, together with the demesne, parks, and land. His house at Finglas, which passed on his death, in 1559, to his wife,

¹ Wylie's "Reign of Henry the Fifth," p. 67; Berry's "Statutes Henry VI.," p. 315, and his "Wills," *passim*.

² Liber Niger, Trinity College copy, f. 320. Lynch's "Law of Election in Ireland," pp. 51, 65, 82; Christ Church Deed, no. 359.

Margaret Caddell, was furnished with buckram hangings; and a coffer filled with silver and much live-stock leave the impression that he was a man of ample means.¹

At the close of the sixteenth century, in a deed of partition executed by George Carey's sons, the following designations are given to places in or near the village of Finglas:—the scoury lea, the long trench, the bone park, the stony bothar, the deer park, the lord's lea and meadow, Solomon's field, the scrubby park and meadow, and the stony lea; and in a lease to the vicar there appears the precinct of the old court on which a pigeon-house stood. At that time a second legal official, the usher of the exchequer, Richard Dutton, was a resident in the village; but at the time of his death, in 1631, when he was living in Dublin, his connexion with Finglas appears to have ceased. Amongst other prominent residents in the parish at the close of Elizabeth's reign there are found at Kilreesk the head of the Chamberlain family, one of "the men of name in the county," and at Ballygall, Walter Ball, sometime mayor of Dublin, who was a chief instrument in the foundation of Trinity College.²

But the most notable resident then was Sir Ambrose Forth, who held the offices of a master-in-chancery, judge of the prerogative and admiralty courts, and vicar-general to the Archbishop of Dublin. He was a native of London, and was educated at Eton and at Cambridge, where he graduated, in 1568, as a master of arts. Afterwards he came to Ireland, and here he succeeded James Stanyhurst on his death, in 1573, as a master in chancery, and acquired quickly his other high offices. To the favour of Archbishop Loftus he was recommended as an alumnus of Cambridge University, and in London, which he visited no less than five times in ten years, he had powerful friends in Lord Burghley and other statesmen. He was an incessant suitor for grants of lands, and did not scruple to reward those who furthered his petitions with an acknowledgment more substantial than gratitude; but he was so entirely satisfied of his own righteousness as to call in question the conduct of the bishops, who in his

¹ "Dict. Nat. Biog." xix, 210; Christ Church Deed, no. 426; Diocesan Records; Fiants Hen. VIII, no. 356; Edw. VI, nos. 49, 604, 715; Dublin Will; Funeral Entry.

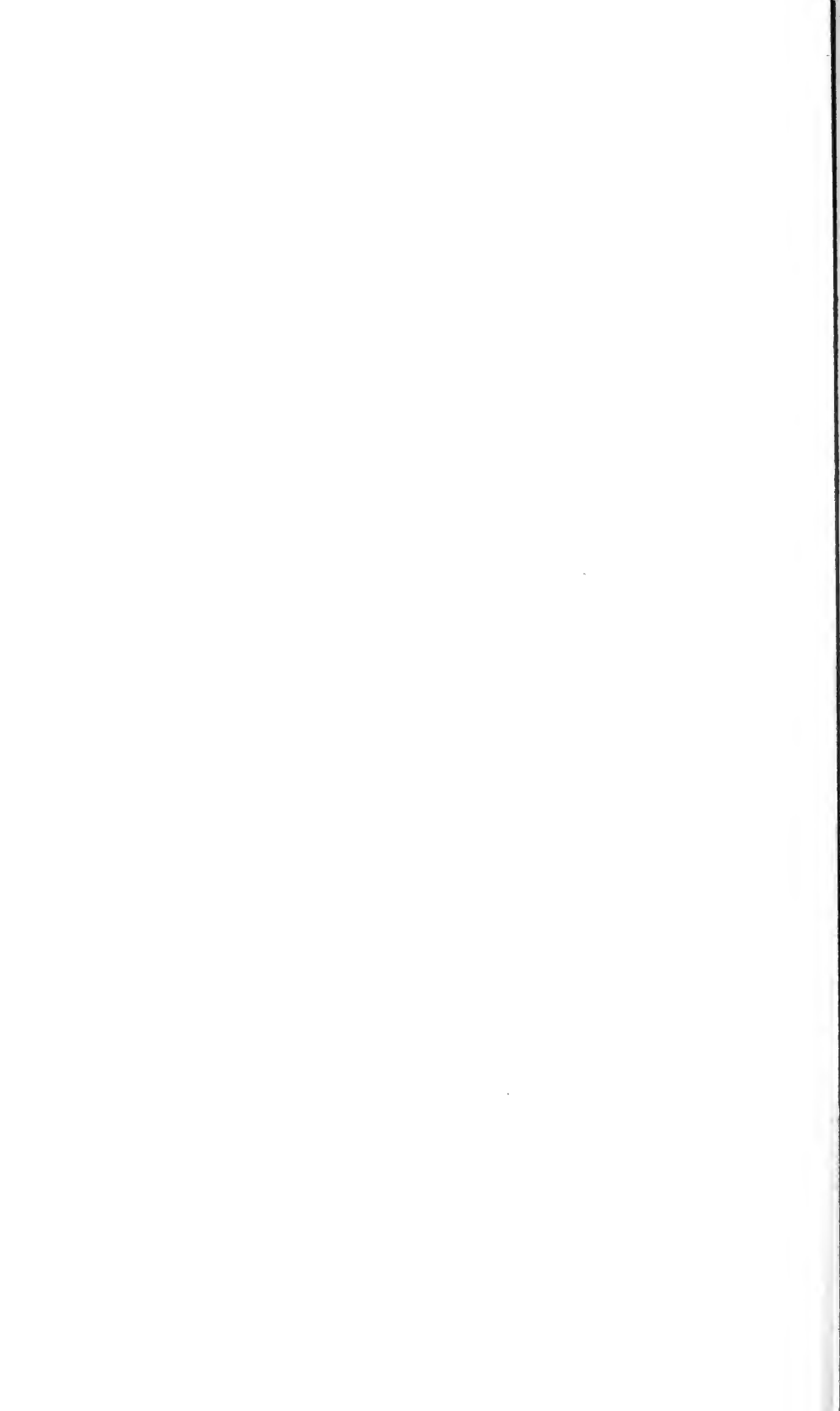
² Fiants Elizabeth, nos. 5702, 6306; Funeral Entry; "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Rev. E. Hogan, p. 39; Ball Wright's "Ball Records," p. 20; Diocesan Records.



TERRACE OF ENGLASWOOD HOUSE.



ENGLASWOOD HOUSE.



opinion admitted persons that would fleece, rather than feed, the hungry flock, and also the conduct of the judges, who in his opinion brought the bench into contempt by their corrupt judgments.

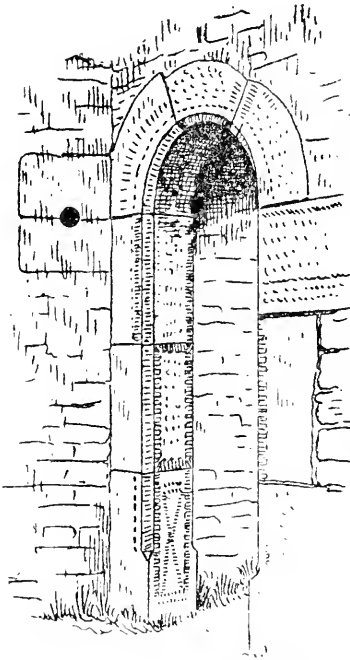
From his "poor farm-house of the Cabragh" in the spring of 1604 he indited a letter indignantly denying a report of his being a man of wealth, and claiming that during a public service of thirty-two years he had run his course without "top or top-gallant, his faculty having been his revenue, and his frugality his thrift." He implied that his state was one of poverty rather than of wealth: but he found it sufficiently good to support the honour of knighthood, which four months later was conferred upon him. His death took place in 1610, and his body is amongst those interred in Christ Church Cathedral. He married one of the Cusacks, of Lismullen, and left two sons and two daughters, through one of whom he became an ancestor of the Earl of Charleville of the Moore creation.¹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the precincts of the court and other premises at Finglas, which had been held by George Carey, were acquired from his sons by Archbishop Ussher's father-in-law, Dr. Luke Chaloner, to whom in contemporary opinion the chief credit for the foundation of Trinity College was due. In that work his antecedents no less than his personal qualities enabled him to enlist widespread and influential interest. One of his uncles had been Queen Elizabeth's first ambassador to Spain, and another had been for many years clerk of the Irish privy council, as well as mayor of Dublin. Under the aegis of the latter his life had begun, and, though his academic distinction was in the opinion of the late Provost of Trinity College not conspicuous, he gained a high reputation as a divine, and was a man of such business capacity and energy as to be until his death the virtual governor of the college. With the neighbourhood of Finglas he had been connected before acquiring the Careys' property by his appointment as prebendary of Mullhuddart and marriage to a daughter of Walter Ball, of Ballygall, his ally in promoting the establishment of Trinity College; and from accounts kept by him of his tithes, and of the sale of farm produce, he had evidently a taste for country life, but he was probably not

¹ Cooper's "Athenæ Cantabrigienses," ii, 525; State Papers, Ireland, 1573-1610, *passim*; Fiants Elizabeth, *passim*; Liber Munerum; Shaw's "Book of Knights" Lodge's "Peerage," ii, 88.

often able to indulge it by residing so far from the new foundation as Finglas.¹

In Dr. Chaloner's time, about the year 1610, there appears at Finglas, probably as an inhabitant of the court, Sir James Carroll, the principal official of the Treasury, and sometime mayor of Dublin. As a man of Irish birth his advancement to such a position was bitterly opposed, and his life was often in danger from the ill-paid soldiers, who on one occasion at Newry snowballed him in a deadly manner; but he overcame every obstacle, and by making himself indispensable he not only gained high office, but also was accepted as the husband of a daughter of Sir Arthur Savage, then governor of Connaught, and previously commander of the English force at the siege of Amiens.²



DOORWAY OF FINGLASWOOD HOUSE.

Before that time there had been erected to the south-west of Finglas, at Finglaswood, a house, the ruins of which are still to be seen. From the ruins it is evident that the house was recast and additions made to it on three occasions. The turret, which is shown in the illustrations, dates probably from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It contains a spiral staircase, and is provided with two shot-holes commanding the main doorway and the approach to it. The doorway is round-headed and the stonework is neatly chiselled, but with that exception no distinctive architectural feature remains.³ In its original design the house marked the transition from defence to comfort, and is described in the Commonwealth surveys as a stone

¹ Diocesan Records; Trinity College MS., D. 1, 9; Dr. Mahaffy's "Epoch in Irish History," *passim*; Ball Wright's "Ussher Memoirs," pp. 105, 107; State Papers, Ireland, 1551-1611, *passim*.

² Patent Rolls of Ireland, James I, pp. 247, 268; Ussher's Works, xv, 74; State Papers, Ireland, 1598-1620, *passim*; Funeral Entries.

³ See for measurements and plan, Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., Ire., xxvii, 446.

house with offices, surrounded by a garden, orchard, and ornamental plantation. It bore the arms of the Segrave family, and was built on lands which had been granted in 1552 by Archbishop Hugh Curwen to James Segrave and Patrick Sarsfield. Forty years later, in 1591, these lands were assigned by the brother of the second grantee, Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan, to John, son and heir of Walter Segrave; and in 1609, Walter Segrave, who has been mentioned as holding some fifteen years before that time the Ward, appears as a resident on them. For several generations the Segrave family had been very prominent on the Irish episcopal and judicial benches, and in the commercial life of Dublin, where Walter Segrave and his father had both filled the mayoral chair. They appear to have always adhered to the Roman Catholic Church, but, owing to their "good and kindly dealings" with Englishmen, they enjoyed Archbishop Loftus's friendship, and through his wife, who was a sister of Walter Ball, of Ballygall, Walter Segrave was closely allied to Protestants.¹

Before he made his will, which was executed in 1619, Walter Segrave had changed his residence to Little Cabragh, and was in occupation there, possibly as successor to Sir Ambrose Forth, of a house, which in a modern form remains in the possession of his representatives. Its superiority to the house at Finglaswood is apparent from the fact that its value was nearly five times as great—namely, fourteen hundred pounds, and in its design and decoration Jacobean refinement is evident. In the Commonwealth survey it is described as surrounded by several gardens, orchards, and parks, planted with ornamental trees, and the offices and farm buildings, which as well as the house were built of stone and roofed with tiles, were most extensive, and comprised a brewery, a dairy, two stables, a coach-house, two barns, a malt-house, and an ox-house. The chief apartments, the hall, the parlour, and the great bed-chamber, were wainscoted, and some of the bed-chambers were provided with cornices of wood from which tapestry was suspended. In the hall, where the arms of Segrave impaled with those of Ball were carved, there was a high table at which the family took their meals seated on square stools, and round the walls were ranged five court eupboards, on which plate and china were displayed. Through the house much

¹ Patent Rolls of Ireland, James I, p. 150; Hogan's "Ibernia Ignatiana," p. 176; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," ii, 5, 353; State Papers, Ireland, 1587-1605, *passim*.

other furniture was to be seen, including twelve bedsteads and many coffers, one being bound with iron and provided with three keys for the safe-keeping of deeds, and in many of the rooms there were to be found carpets of tapestry, canopies of silk or taffeta, curtains and valances of mockado or white stuff, and cushions covered with wrought-velvet or needlework. On the walls there hung two calevers, head-pieces, and halberts, as well as "the Day of Judgment in oil work," and "Christ and the twelve Apostles in tables," and in the parlour a viol and a pair of virginals in a frame bespoke the accomplishments of Walter Segrave's daughter.

In his will¹ Walter Segrave's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church is evidenced by a project for the maintenance of candidates for the priesthood of his own or his wife's name—a project from which he anticipated that not only "the founder and giver under God" but also his executors might reap benefit—and by a bequest for pious uses, towards which he directed the sale of his three best gowns and wrought-velvet coat. His character is further revealed by his care for the poor, especially the inmates of St. John's Hospital who were bequeathed a frieze gown each to wear at his burial, and by his remembrance of his relations, each of whom was bequeathed a ring with a death's head, the one left to his wife having also a heart as a token of a joyful meeting in eternity. After disposing of a "brass flower" worn by him when sheriff of Dublin, he closes his testamentary disposition, which was of inordinate length, by leaving his blessing to all the world.

After his appointment as Bishop of Meath in the year 1623, Archbishop Ussher was living for a time in Finglas, where he occupied probably the court, which appears to have been vacated before then by Sir James Carroll. He is said to have married Phoebe Chaloner very soon after the death of her father, who bequeathed his books to her, and according to tradition her to Ussher, and before his appointment to the see of Meath she had given birth to their only child, afterwards the wife of Sir Timothy Tyrrell. Ussher's letters from Finglas are dated in the spring and summer of 1623, before the close of which year he went to London, and there is at no other time any indication of its being his residence.²

Not many years later Colonel Arthur Hill and Sir Edward

¹ In the Dublin Collection.

² Ussher's Works, xv, xvi, *passim*.

Bagshawe appear as inhabitants of Finglas. With Ulster, where he raised and equipped during the rebellion a regiment of horse, Colonel Arthur Hill, who was a collateral ancestor of the Marquess of Downshire, was chiefly identified, but with Dublin he had also ties through his marriage first to a daughter of Sir Richard Bolton, the lord chancellor, and secondly to a daughter of Sir William Parsons, the lord justice.¹ Of Sir Edward Bagshawe little is known until 1624, when he appears as customer of the ports of Dublin, Skerries, Malahide, and Wicklow, but his services to the government must have been considerable, as in 1627 he received knighthood and was given a grant of lands, afterwards known as the manor of Castle Bagshawe, in county Cavan. According to his own account he tried to reform as customer a state of things in which everyone did as seemed right in their own eyes, and found that the more honest and faithful he became the less he was trusted, until finally he was so misjudged as to be committed to Dublin Castle. Thence he emerged with less zeal and more discretion to become in Strafford's parliament member for the borough of Banagher, and under the Commonwealth, during which in 1657 his death took place, a commissioner of the revenue.²

FROM THE REBELLION TO THE RESTORATION.

After the outbreak of the Rebellion in October, 1641, Colonel Arthur Hill's house was seized by Luke Netterville, one of the chief leaders of the insurgents' army, and a well-known figure in Dublin from the scarlet waistcoat and blue plush coat trimmed with fur, which he always affected. Under his orders the lead on the roof was used to make bullets; and when a few days before Christmas a force

¹ Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," i, xxxiv: Ormonde Manuscripts, N.S. ii, 109; Lodge's "Peerage," ii, 323.

² Two tombstones in the ruined church of Finglas bear these inscriptions:—"Underneath this stone lie interred the bodies of George Ryves, late doctor of laws, judge of the prerogative court, and one of the masters of the chancery-in-ordinary, and (one) of the sons of Sir William Ryves, Knight, who departed this life the 27th day of March, 1647, and of Mary and Dorothy, two of the daughters of the said George and Anne, his wife, one of the daughters of Sir Edward Bagshawe of Finglas, Knight, which said Mary and Dorothy died in January next following."—"Hereunder lieth the body of Sir Edward Bagshawe, Knight, who departed this life the 6th day of October, 1657." See State Papers, Ireland, 1625-1644, *passim*; Morrin's Patent Rolls, Charles I, *passim*; Records of Dublin, iii, 91; Egmont Manuscripts, i, 61, 124; Shaw's "Book of Knights"; "The Bagshawes of Ford," by W. H. G. Bagshawe, p. 3; Stokes's "Worthies of the Irish Church," p. 50; Funeral Entry.

of five hundred foot, under the command of Colonel Lawrence Crawford, descended from Dublin on Finglas, they found the insurgents well supplied with ammunition. Although aided by a party of horse, commanded by Ormonde, they could not themselves overcome the resistance, and it was not until a thousand foot and two troops of horse, under the command of Sir Charles Coote, arrived from Santry, whither they had been simultaneously despatched, that the insurgents were put to flight.¹

Some depositions relating to Finglas at that time tell of a charge of complicity in the Rebellion made against a Protestant residing at Jamestown in consequence of a conversation in the village inn, which was then owned by John England. Other depositions impute much pillage to the insurgents, including Luke Netterville's chief lieutenant, Captain Laurence Rowan, who was a friar, the Longs of Abbotstown, and Freinds of Dunsink; and they tell also of the sufferings of Edward Capper, who lost his life; William Baily, who was driven from his mill at Finglas Bridge; and Robert Benison, who was despoiled of his cows, which were of an English breed, as well as his horses and cars. After the dispersion of Luke Netterville's force, Finglas did not for a long time recover its serenity. Several houses in it are said to have been burned by the English army, and in the years that followed the clash of arms was often heard there. In the winter of 1646 the lands of Cruiserath are mentioned as raided by the confederate army; and in the summer of 1647 the village was occupied by English cavalry, who intercepted while there a number of horse that had been raided from Oxmantown Green.²

It was at Finglas that in the summer of 1649, before the battle of Rathmines, Ormonde lay with his army for more than a month, expecting each day that Dublin would fall before him. As one of the besieged wrote, the town was pressed by him very closely, and a "sharp storm" was anticipated. Provisions were vanishing, neither flesh nor fish being procurable, and fortifications were but then being raised. On the eve of his departure for Rathmines Ormonde wrote to

¹ Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," i, xxxiv; "A True and Good Relation," Royal Irish Academy Tracts, xv, 39; Egmont Manuscripts, i, 158, 160.

² Depositions of 1641 in Trinity College Library—Robert Davy, John Sephton, Richard Delahide, William Rowan, Thomas Waring, William Baily, Anne Caper, John and Thomas Smith, Thomas Waller, and Robert Benison; Carte Papers, xix, 568; Ormonde Manuscripts, ii, 61; Egmont Manuscripts, ii, 418.

the king that the enemy's horse was mutinous and flocking to him ; but before many more days elapsed the inhabitants of Finglas learned of the rout of his army at Rathmines, and a few weeks later heard of Cromwell's army passing close by on its way to Drogheda.¹

When the Commonwealth was established, the court, which was valued at a hundred and fifty pounds, was described as a house built of stone, having attached to it a malt-house, kiln, and five tenements, as well as a garden, an orchard, and thirty acres of land.² It was then held under a lease from the Archbishop of Dublin by Dr. Luke Chaloner's widow ; she was Chaloner's second wife and had been married no less than three times since his death, her husband then being Sir Robert Kennedy, of whom there has been notice in connexion with Esker Parish.³ Not far off was Sir Edward Bagshawe's house, also held under the Archbishop of Dublin, and described as of a like value and built of stone ; to it there was attached a malt-house and stable, as well as a garden, an orchard, a plantation, and eighty acres of land. The buildings were roofed with slate, but are said to have been out of repair. To the west of these premises lay the remains of a house built of stone, to which a garden, an orchard, and fifty acres of land were attached, and which is said to have been the property of Sir Robert King, the ancestor of the Earls of Kingston. It was probably of the court, or of this house, that Colonel Arthur Hill was an occupant.

At Finglas Bridge there were premises which are described as belonging to the Archbishop of Dublin, "in right of his hierarchy," and which comprised a house built of stone, a malt-house, and a house roofed with thatch, valued at three hundred pounds, with a mill and stone quarry attached. They were held from the Archbishop by Sir Robert Forth, who was Sir Ambrose Forth's eldest son, and who was then a privy councillor and officer. He had received the honour of knighthood in 1627 from Viscount Falkland, and appears afterwards in 1638 as sheriff of Dublin and as a member of Strafford's parliament. By property he was connected with the King's county and county

¹ "The Present Condition of Dublin," Thorpe Tracts in National Library, vi, 1 ; Carte Papers, xxv, 19.

² Throughout this section the Down and Civil Surveys in the Public Record Office and Census of 1659 in the Royal Irish Academy are used.

³ Complete Baronetage, iv, 196.

Cavan, and after the Restoration he acted as a commissioner of the settlement; and was constable of Philipstown.¹

At Little Cabragh Walter Segrave had been succeeded by his grandson, Henry Segrave, whom as a child he had married to an heiress of tender years, by name, Alice Noble. Henry Segrave had been brought up in close adherence to the Roman Catholic Church; and his house was said to be a great resort of "priests, jesuits, and friars." When the rebellion broke out he was arrested; but although sundry allegations were made against him of sympathy with the insurgents, and ill-tales were told of him in the Swan in Thomas Street, no overt act was proved, and he was soon released. Under the Commonwealth he was forced to leave Cabragh, and shortly before its close he is mentioned as resident in London, and as giving financial aid towards the Restoration.²

At Ballygall, where there was a house built of stone, valued at a hundred pounds, Walter Ball had been succeeded by his son, Robert Ball, who was like his father sometime mayor of Dublin, and died in 1635; and Robert Ball had been succeeded in his turn by his son, William Ball. The latter, who had been a student at Leyden, was called to the Bar, and became an active member of the House of Commons, in which he represented Kells. He served in 1643 as sheriff of Dublin county, and at the time of his death, which occurred in 1649, was a captain of foot.³

Amongst the owners of land in Finglas parish, at the time of the rebellion there appear James Phunkett, of Dunsoghly, who held Kildonan, Baleskin, Coldwinter, and Broghan; Sir James Ware, of Dubber, in Santry parish, who held Jamestown; Alderman Richard Barry, of Santry, who held Cardiffscastle; Lord Howth, who held Skephubble; Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, who held Toberburr; Robert Dillon, who held Johnstown; and Benedict Arthur, of Much Cabragh, who had property in the village.

During the Commonwealth the Segraves' house at Little Cabragh became the residence of a typical public man of that time, Colonel

¹ Shaw's "Book of Knights," Ormonde Manuscripts, N.S., iii, 404, 410; State Papers, Ireland, 1627-1663, *passim*.

² Walter Segrave's Will; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155; Trinity College Depositions of 1641—William Baily, Richard Mason, and letter in vol. xxxii, 7 Ormonde Manuscripts, N.S., i, 333, 335.

³ Ball Wright's "Ball Records," pp. 24-30.

Sir Hierome Sankey, D.C.L. All things by turn, and nothing long, Sir Hierome Sankey was constant to no form of faith, of occupation, or of government; and although his memory survives through a conflict of words, he gained in his own day the reputation of one who "would fain live easy with all men." In religion he is said to have been successively an Anglican, a Presbyterian, an Independent, and an Anabaptist, with a belief in the opinions professed by the present Christian Scientists; in occupation he filled at one time or another the role of a divinity student, of a soldier, of a college don, of an officer, of a legislator, and of a landowner; and as a subject he submitted successively to the rule of the parliament, of the protector, of the army, and of the king.

He is seen first at Cambridge, where he was reputed "a boisterous fellow at cudgelling and football-playing"; then he appears in Cheshire and the east of England as a captain in the parliament's army; next he is found at Oxford acting as sub-warden of All Souls' College, and introducing, with "apposite speeches and genuflexions," Fairfax and Cromwell for honorary degrees; and within a few months he appears in Ireland serving in the army again with the title of colonel. In Ireland he became, subsequently, governor of Tipperary and a commissioner for the Connaught transplantations; and, although professing then to be an Anabaptist, he hailed Cromwell on assuming the protectorate as "the chariot and horseman of Israel," and returned himself to Cromwell's first parliament as representative of Waterford and Tipperary. Soon after he came back from attending it he was taken, as the person best versed in Irish affairs, again to London by the Lord Deputy, Charles Fleetwood; and although it did not exceed four months, his absence was a subject of frequent complaint on the part of Fleetwood's successor, Henry Cromwell.

But he failed to retain Henry Cromwell's confidence, and when six months later Cromwell's second parliament was elected he had to seek a seat in England, where he found one at Marlborough. From that time he was more feared than trusted by Henry Cromwell, and in the attacks which he began to make then on Sir William Petty, and which have made him famous, he was believed by Henry Cromwell to aim at him. During his conflict with Petty, who tried to smother him with ridicule on account of his belief in faith-healing, he was knighted by Henry Cromwell, presumably in the hope of conciliating him, but afterwards in Richard Cromwell's parliament, in which he

represented Woodstock, he delivered a diatribe against Petty that exceeded all his previous efforts. At that time he was one of Richard Cromwell's most trusted advisers, and prophesied that he would be found to possess a double portion of his father's spirit, but a month later he was foremost in demanding the recall of the long parliament, and by his "affection and seasonable services" in bringing to the army reinforcements from Ireland he received a seat on the committee of safety. While in the north of England with the troops which he had brought from Ireland he was reported to have joined Monck, but after the Restoration he is said to have been arrested, and to have been a centre of disaffection in Ireland, where he was rumoured to have been killed. Subsequently, having become reconciled to royal rule, he was appointed by Ormonde to investigate alleged frauds in the Connaught transplantations, and appears to have passed afterwards an uneventful life in Ireland until his death, which occurred in the reign of James the Second.¹

There is evidence that at the close of the Commonwealth Finglas village was beginning once more to see prosperous days. Extensive repairs to the church were carried out; a stone bridge, which spanned the Finglas stream, was rebuilt, and a new pound, the timber for which cost nine pounds, and a new pair of stocks were provided. Sir Edward Bagshawe's place was then taken by his son-in-law, Thomas Harrison, who was in sympathy with the Puritans, and was active in supporting a Scottish minister; and two other residents in the village, Thomas Springham and Thomas Taylor, who was a government surveyor, were prominent as sharers of his views, but a resident at Finglas Bridge, James Settle, appears as an adherent to Anglican worship.²

Besides these it is surprising to find in the closing year of the Commonwealth, members of two Roman Catholic families, Luttrell and Segrave, resident in the parish and recognized by the authorities

¹ Wood's "Fasti Oxonienses," ii, 19, 128, 138, 156; Burrows's "Register of Visitors of Oxford," Camden Society, p. 227; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Stuarts," *passim*; British Museum MS., Lansdowne, 821, ff. 18, 24, 40, 52; "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," ii, 33, 103; Larcom's "History of Down Survey," *passim*; Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement," *passim*; Thurloe's "State Papers," *passim*; Whitelock's "Memorials," *passim*; Fitzmaurice's "Life of Petty," *passim*; Petty's "Reflections upon Persons and Things"; Shaw's "Book of Knights"; State Papers, Domestic, 1645-1689, *passim*; Prerogative Grant, 1687.

² "Finglas Vestry Books," by W. C. Stubbs, Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ire., xlvii, 28.

as inhabitants of it. In the case of the first family there was one representative, Nicholas Luttrell, who was a tituladoc in Finglas village, and in the case of the second family there were two representatives, Henry Segrave's sons, John and Patrick, who were tituladocs in Finglaswood. About the time of the Restoration, Henry Segrave's death took place, and at Finglaswood, in the following October, his widow, Alice Noble, made her will. In it she bequeathed to her sons sacramental plate, some of which was in the hands of the priests, and farm stock at Finglaswood; to her unmarried daughters, Alice and Elinor, houses called the Saracen's Head and the Horse-shoe, with a horse "to carry them on their journey and up and down"; and to her married daughters, Jane, wife of Benedict Arthur of Much Cabragh, and Barbara, wife of Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellstown, some of her rings and other jewels.¹

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

As soon as royal rule was re-established a great influx of new residents into Finglas parish began, and the village soon attained the proportions of a small town. The most notable new-comers were cavaliers. One of the earliest was Ormonde's fidus Achates, Sir George Lane, afterwards Viscount Lanesborough, who, during the first decade after the Restoration, occupied a house in the village, rated as containing twelve hearths.² With Ormonde's fortunes he had become identified first in Ireland in the troublous times that preceded the establishment of the Commonwealth, and afterwards abroad as Ormonde's companion in his long years of exile. He belonged to an Anglo-Irish family, like most of Ormonde's henchmen, and was a native of Connaught, where his family had been seated for several generations at Tulsk. His father was no less conspicuous than he was in devotion to the royal cause, his zeal having led him to destroy his castle rather than allow it to be of use to the parliament, and, on the Restoration, he was given a baronetcy, while his son, whom Charles the Second had knighted while on the Continent, received various offices of emolument. At that time Sir George Lane seems to have been obsessed with a desire for wealth, and "a knowing friend" cried out to Pepys cruelly against him for his corruption in selling places

¹ Wills of Henry and Alice Segrave in Prerogative Collection.

² Throughout this section the Hearth Money Rolls in the Public Record Office have been used.

in Ormonde's gift. But about the time that his connexion with Finglas ceased, having lost one wife, and allied himself to a handsome girl of eighteen, a daughter of the Earl of Dorset, he became equally obsessed with a desire for rank, and first asked for a viscounty, which Ormonde did not obtain without trouble, and then for an earldom, which was beyond Ormonde's power.¹

While Sir George Lane was a resident in the village there came as a tenant of the Segraves to Finglaswood House, then rated for five hearths, another cavalier knight, Sir William Flower, the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of guards that was then raised for Ireland. From him the Viscounts Ashbrook trace the establishment of their family in this country; but he had been preceded here by another member of his family, Sir George Flower, who distinguished himself in the campaigns at the close of Elizabeth's reign, and was governor of Waterford under two of her successors. Although born at Chepstow, Sir William Flower passed probably his early life in Ireland, as the Irish language was known to him; and soon after the rebellion he was elected a member for the borough of Ballinakill. At that time he was a lieutenant in the army, and when Dublin was surrendered to the parliament, he appears with the rank of lieutenant-colonel amongst the officers deported to Chester. There he was confined for four years; but he secured then his release and re-employment in the army as commander of Charles Fleetwood's regiment, which he brought from Ireland to England, and recruited at Southampton. Afterwards he was selected by the officers of the army to champion their cause in the distribution of land in Ireland, and at the same time as Sir Hierome Sankey came into conflict with Sir William Petty, who describes him as the flower of his opponents, with a conscience and stomach equally well-leathered, and a desire to make "two pence a peck of his ashes." With Charles Fleetwood he was removed in the time of chaos from the army, and probably rendered important services to the royal cause in the following winter, when he is found joining with Sir Hardress Waller in seizing Dublin Castle.

Within a few months of the Restoration he received from the king's own hand the honour of knighthood, and two years later he was summoned to London to bring over the regiment of guards, which

¹ Complete Peerage, v, 11; Complete Baronetage, iii, 159, 308; Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*; Pepys's Diary; Evelyn's Diary.

was raised in England, and gained much applause by marching at their head to the port of embarkation on the Dee. In Dublin, where the guards were constantly quartered, he became a great personage, and the freedom of this city was conferred upon him. At the same time he represented in parliament the borough of St. Canice, and some years later he was given a seat on the privy council, and appointed a commissioner of appeal in the excise. In an inscription on a monument to his memory in Finglas church, the principal military service attributed to him in later life was in connexion with the concentration of a force in Ulster to overawe Monmouth's followers in Scotland, and the only other occasion on which he appears exercising command outside Dublin was also in Ulster, ten years before, when the guards were called upon to suppress the mutiny of the Carrickfergus garrison. In character he was evidently the best of good fellows, enjoying cheerful company and the pleasures of the table, and retaining by these attributes friends in England, notwithstanding that he was not "an able scribe." To Finglas, where his wife, one of the Weldons, was buried, and to Chepstow, where his grandmother's tomb was an object of his care, he shows in his will much devotion, and to his family and servants he is seen by his bequests to have been an affectionate relation and kind master.¹

As a neighbour at Finglas Sir William Flower had for some years the major of the guards, Sir John Stephens, who was a relation of his own, and who married a sister of his wife. Like Sir George Lane, Jack Stephens, as he was called, long and faithfully followed Ormonde's fortunes, and thereby suffered imprisonment at the hands of the confederates in Ireland, and of the parliamentarians at Chester. While an exile he received at Bruges, from Charles the Second, his knighthood, and after the Restoration, when he secured a seat in parliament for the borough of Fethard, he was appointed governor of Dublin Castle, and given grants of land and an office in the excise. But he did not live long to enjoy them, or a privy councillorship which was added; and he seems to have been unfortunate in the loss of his

¹ Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 80, 81, 89, 92; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*, Domestic, *passim*; Larcom's "History of the Down Survey," *passim* (Flower's signature has been misread as "Hen. Flower" instead of "Wm. Flower"); Petty's "Reflections upon Persons and Things," pp. 37, 67; Leyborne Popham Manuscripts, pp. 153, 155; Records of Dublin, iv, 337; Prerogative Will.

eyesight, and in the failure of various ventures, including the manufacture of earthenware and the ownership of a privateer.¹

Not long before Sir John Stephen's death, which occurred in 1671, there was buried at Finglas, Sir Daniel Treswell, the commander of the battle-axe corps, which was raised for Ireland together with the guards.² As the son of one of the Heralds he appears first in the train of a distinguished foreigner proceeding to Geneva, and afterwards he is found serving as an officer in Ireland, where he was taken prisoner by the confederates and tried for his life by the parliamentarians. As one who was known to the king, and had been "always right," he was given after the Restoration, in addition to the battle-axe command, a company of foot and the office of surveyor of woods south of the Trent, which had been held by his father and brother. Five years later there fell to his lot a baronetcy and the representation of Downpatrick—honours which he owed to Ormonde, whose kinswoman, one of the Plowdens of Plowden, he had married; and, subsequently, he was inspired by these favours, in spite of advancing years, to volunteer for service in the first Dutch war.³

At the court, which was rated for seven hearths, there was residing after the Restoration another officer, whose family had been identified more with the cause of the parliament than with that of the king, Colonel Robert Bridges. Of his military service nothing is known beyond the fact that he assisted in taking Dublin Castle from Sir Hardress Waller; but according to a monument in Finglas Church he was a man of virtuous deeds, whose worthy example deserved to be held in perpetual remembrance.⁴ In addition there was then residing in Sir Edward Bagshawe's house, which was rated as containing twelve

¹ Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History," p. 90; Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," *passim*; Adams's "History of Santry," p. 31; State Papers, Ireland, and Domestic, *passim*; Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*.

² In the churchyard at Finglas there is a tombstone with the inscription:—"Here under lieth the body of Sir Daniel Treswell, knight and baronet, who faithfully served his Majesty in honourable employments during the whole war in England and Ireland and died the 24th day of May, 1670"; and near it there is another tombstone to the memory of his wife's nephew: "Hic jacet Ricardus Plowden Treswell cujus anima requiescat in pace qui obiit decimo quarto die Augusti anno domini 1672."

³ Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History," p. 86; Complete Baronetage, iv, 200; Carte Papers, iii, 514, iv, 190, lxviii, 159; State Papers, Domestic, *passim*; Harleian Society Publications, i, 92; Prerogative Will.

⁴ Cambridge Modern History, iv, 547; Dublin Will.

hearths and a kiln, Captain Richard Phillips, who had served in the army after the rebellion, and who had been subsequently connected with the militia in Dublin, of which he was sometime sheriff;¹ and after the death of Sir John Stephens there was numbered amongst Finglas residents his successor, Major Edward Billingsley.²

Before Charles the Second had been many months restored to the throne, Cabragh House, which was rated as containing eleven hearths and a kiln, was given back to John Segrave, who as "an innocent papist" recovered all his property. Ballygall, which was rated as containing six hearths, was occupied temporarily in succession by Hugh Broxton and Oliver Lambert; but about ten years after the Restoration its owner, Squire Robert Ball, who was the heir of William Ball, came to reside in it. At Finglas Bridge, James Settle;³ at Jamestown, James Ellis; at Broghan, Richard Herne; and at Johnstown, William Smith, occupied houses rated for two hearths each; and at Baleskin, John Turpoole occupied one rated for three hearths. In the village there were several large houses besides those mentioned: one rated for seven hearths, another for six, another for four, and two for three; and during the first decade of Charles the Second's reign the occupants of them included: Thomas Hookes, who was an alderman of Dublin, Thomas Tucker, Christopher Deyton, Samuel Appleby, Charles Wagstaffe, William Townsend, Richard Grey, and James Kennedy.

Towards the close of Charles the Second's reign the convenience of the village as a sporting centre led Viscount Blessington to send hounds to be kennelled in it, and probably many sportsmen were attracted thither. An inn with the sign of the Red Lion was then one of the landmarks; and two brewers, James Spooner and Thomas Prossor, did a sufficient trade to necessitate the employment of a number of horses. In the vestry local needs were constantly discussed, and the corporate life of the inhabitants is seen in schemes to ameliorate the condition of the poor, including the support of destitute widows, the establishment of a hospital and a workhouse, and the provision of

¹ Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*; Dublin Will.

² Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," *passim*.

³ A marble monument in the modern church of Finglas records the deaths of William Settle in 1650, his second son James in 1666 at the age of 45, his wife Elizabeth in 1689 at the age of 65, and other members of the family. It bears a coat of arms. "Memorials of the Dead," v, 49.

coats, which were to be made of blue cloth and furnished with badges. Besides, education was not neglected, and part of the church was used as a school in which boys were taught Latin.¹

Before the accession of James the Second the parish received a notable addition to its residents in Colonel Roger Moore, who is found then occupying at Johnstown the best house in the parish. In the Ireland of his day Moore, whose military rank was due to a connexion with the militia, was known as an able financier, and in that capacity he had large transactions with the Treasury, and was an official of the board of first fruits. By Primate Narcissus Marsh he was regarded as a sound adviser, and by Archbishop King, who in his time held the rectory of Finglas, he was reckoned a man of great worth. Under the rule of James the Second Archbishop King had him as a fellow-prisoner in Dublin Castle, and the Archbishop was subsequently often a visitor at Johnstown. Moore, who was a member of the Raheenduff family, and represented for some time Mullingar in parliament, married a lady who was a granddaughter of the fifth Earl of Inchiquin and a daughter of Anthony Stoughton, clerk of the Irish Star Chamber. He had many sons as well as daughters, for whom he found husbands in a bishop, a vicar-general, and a fellow.² Besides Colonel Moore, one of the few members of the Synge family who did not attain to the episcopal bench, Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare, became a householder in the parish before the close of the reign of Charles the Second, as also did two Dublin civic worthies, Alderman Sir Abel Ram and Alderman Philip Castleton; an uncle by marriage of Swift, James Springham; and a member of a family well known then in official life, William Franklin, who had married the widow of James Settle, of Finglas Bridge.³

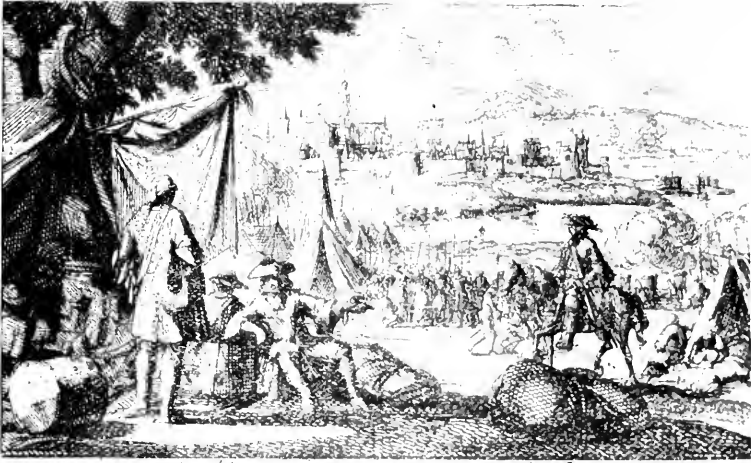
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION.

To the inhabitants of Finglas, largely Protestant as they were, the reign of James the Second must have been a time of trial; but it vanished as a bad dream when, on Saturday, July 5, 1690, the victor

¹ Marquess of Ormonde's Manuscripts, Clarke to Mathew, 1684, November 13; Records of Dublin, v, 617; Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., Ire., xlv, 33, 35.

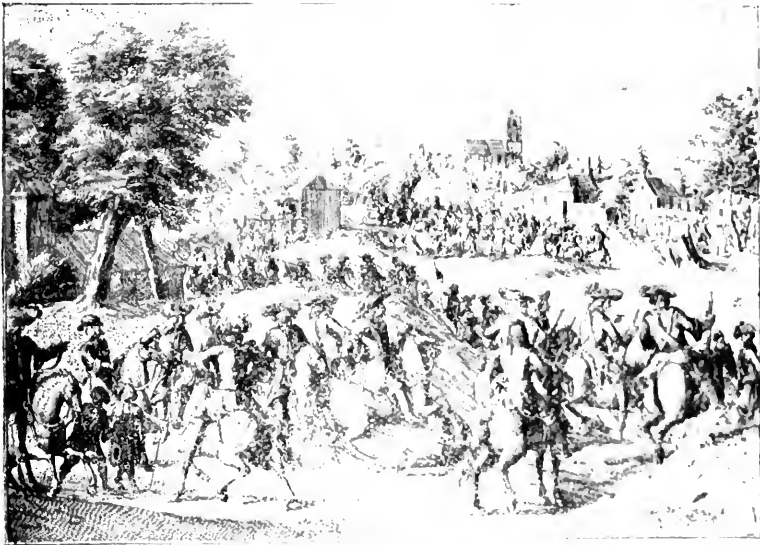
² Archbishop King's "Diary," edited by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, *passim*; Ormonde Manuscripts, *passim*; Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1691, April 17, 24, 1697, October 5, December 21, 1698, April 7.

³ Prerogative Wills.



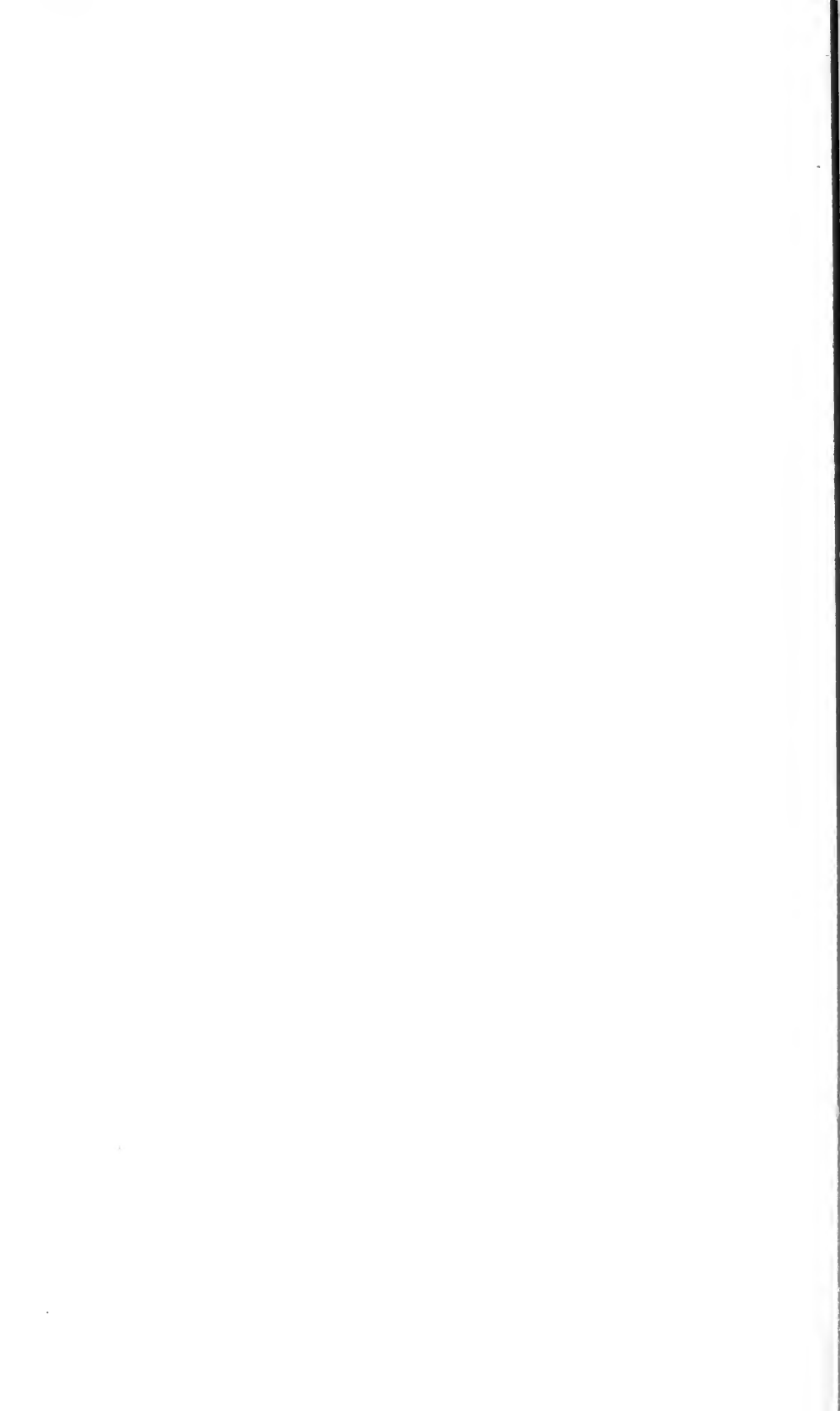
Dublin Overgesehen Den 12 Juli 1690.

THE CAMP OF WILLIAM III AT FINGLAS.



Eintritt von Könige William III. in Dublin den 12. Juli 1690.

WILLIAM III ENTERING DUBLIN FROM FINGLAS.



of the Boyne with his army encamped in their midst. As he had advanced by the road through Swords, where he had lain on the nights of Thursday and Friday, William diverged from the direct road to Dublin in coming to Finglas, and his doing so was no doubt attributable to knowledge of Ormonde's encampment there forty years before. During the following three days the inhabitants of Finglas witnessed all the panoply of war, and especially on the first, when thanksgiving was offered in St. Patrick's Cathedral. "This day being Sunday," wrote from the camp at Finglas one who had seen foreign Courts, "his Majesty rode in great splendour to the cathedral, where all services of the church were solemnly performed; the Bishop of Meath and the Bishop of Limerick were there, and Doctor King, an excellent man and a great sufferer, preached much to the purpose; the old mayor and alderman did the honours of the city, and great were the acclamations of the people as our king, who looked and appeared this day better than ever I saw him, returned by the castle; he rode in to see the castle, but did not alight." Three days later, on Wednesday morning, William broke up the camp at Finglas, and in order "to look towards Munster," moved with his army to Crumlin, as related in the history of that place.¹

Although a writer with local connexions has tried to secure for a house near Finglas Bridge the distinction of having been William's abode,² it is probable that he occupied while at Finglas a movable wooden house which had been designed for his use in Ireland by Sir Christopher Wren. By tradition Finglaswood House has also been designated, amongst many others, as a resting place of James in his flight from the Boyne; and ramparts in the village have been associated with the name of William. But such hours of rest as James secured on the night after the Boyne are known to have been spent in Dublin Castle; and the ramparts are hardly such as would have had a hasty origin, the southern one, which is ninety-three feet long by twelve feet wide, having a stone face, now propped by later buttresses, and the one to the north having at its western end a vaulted chamber.

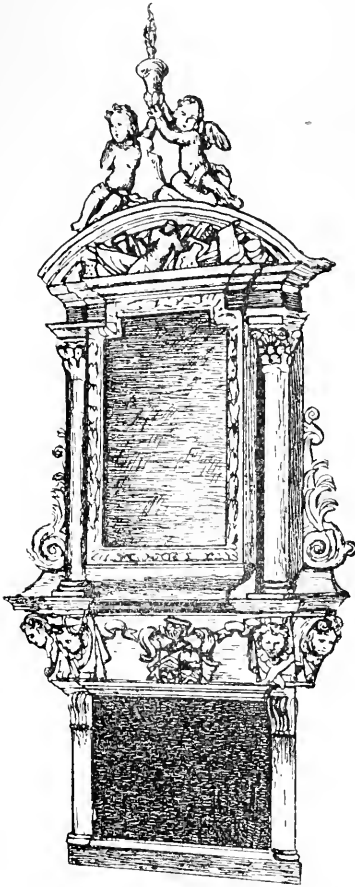
During the reign of William there appears at Ballygall as tenant of Squire Ball, one of the chief justices, Sir John Hely, who died at

¹ Southwell Papers (lot 374) in Public Record Office; Griffyth's "Villare Hibernicum."

² Dublin University Magazine, xlii, 392.

an early age, in 1701, while on circuit at Ennis. He was an Englishman, with Wiltshire connexion, and was sent direct from the English

bar after the battle of the Boyne to fill the post of chief baron in the Irish exchequer, from which five years later he was transferred to the more easy place of chief justice of the common pleas. To kinship to William's secretary-at-war, George Clarke, he owed probably his appointments, and as a member of the Philosophical Society, and a sound churchman, he gained in Ireland the warm friendship of Archbishop King and many others.¹



MONUMENT TO SIR WILLIAM FLOWER.

Besides Sir John Hely, Finglas had in the reign of William another well-known resident in Sir William Flower's nephew and heir, Captain Thomas Flower, whose son was created Lord Castledurrow. He had served under his uncle in the guards, and showed his cavalier instincts in fighting a duel with one of Sir Hiérome Sankey's kinsmen, for which, as it happened in the reign of James the Second, he was liable to the severest penalty. But he escaped with no more than nominal punishment through his father-in-law Sir John Temple's influence with Tyrconnell, who, like all

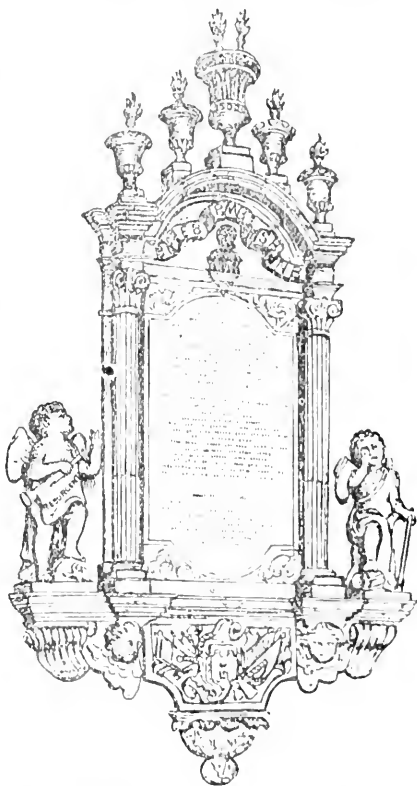
the world, spoke well of Sir John, and consented to be entertained at Palmerston before the court-martial.² Within a few years of their marriage Captain Flower lost Sir John's daughter, and when living at Finglas he lost a second wife, a daughter of Colonel John Jeffreys, the master of Kilmainham

¹ Prerogative Will; Lincoln's Inn Admissions; Archbishop King's Correspondence, Hely to Clarke, 1691, Jan., King to Hely, 1698, July; Stokes's "Worthies of the Irish Church," p. 140.

² Carte Papers, cxvii, 231, 241, 247, 251.

Hospital. From his will it appears that he had also lost a daughter, whose wish that the Finglas poor should be remembered he did not forget; and that his chief friends were Nicholas Plunkett of Dunsoghly, Dr. John Hartstongue, Bishop of Ossory, and the Finglas brewer, James Spooner, amongst whom he divided his horses.

After his death, which occurred in 1700, in accordance with his uncle's and his own wishes, an elaborate mural monument was erected at Finglas to their memory. It is of the Corinthian order, having pillars resting on corbels with cherubs' faces, and a rounded pediment surmounted by an urn from which a gilt flame issues, and which has on either side the figure of a child. These children are not very skilfully sculptured, but the faces on the corbels are well cut and realistic.¹ Some years later there was erected another mural monument of a similar design to the memory of Colonel Robert Bridges. It has five urns on the



MONUMENT TO COLONEL R. BRIDGES.

¹ The monument, which is in the modern church, bears the inscription: "M. S. Gulielmi Flower, equitis aurati, sui tribunus militum sub Carolo Primo partes regis et fortunas labantes fide illibata, infraeta virtute, ad ultimum propugnavit. Restaurata regia familia, Ormonius coeptorum ejus testis, nec immemor illi, si non quod meruit, quod tamen ipse cupivit virtutis praeonium praetorianorum militum propraefectum dedit ut fidei etiam spectatissimae uberior esset honos cum in sanctioris concilii album ascripsit, et copiarum in Cloniam pridem missarum cum a factione Monumethensi pericula in Scotia gliscerunt sub Granardiae comite praefectum fecit; mortem obiit 10 die Junii a. n. 1681. Monumentum hoc sibi et uxori Franciscae e Weldenorum gente a se designatum statuendum curavit, Thomas Flower, armiger, ejus a fratre nepos, qui mortem obiit 22 die Junii 1700, et hic requiescit." Beneath the monument, on a tablet, the deaths of William Lord Castledurrow in 1746, and Henry Viscount Ashbrook in 1752, are recorded. *Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.* xxvii, 451.

summit; standing on the left a child holds a trumpet with the word "resurgent" on the banner, and rests its foot upon a skull, and on the right a child holds also a trumpet, and rests its foot upon an hour-glass, while weeping. Above a crest there is wreathed a long ribbon with the initials of Colonel Bridges, his wife, and four of his sons.¹

At the close of William's reign a recreation green for Finglas was projected, and the vestry consented to the site of the village pound, which stood upon a hill, being levelled and planted with trees for the purpose. The projector, who was one of the brewers, Philip Prossor, appears to have been a great improver, but the vestry did not allow the pound to be transferred to a new site, on "the big green" near Cardiff's Bridge, until he contributed to the poor fund and covenanted that the recreation ground should be always open to the public and not enclosed. In his design Prossor had in view no doubt the May sports for which Finglas was celebrated throughout the eighteenth century, and which enjoyed in the reign of "good" Queen Anne much popularity. In "The Smock Race at Finglas," a poet of that time tells how at the bagpipes' sound, the visitors from Dublin—the butcher's wife, the apprentice, and the sempstress—deserted the village inn, and flocked with the rustics to the green, to see a race for the fair sex, in which Oonah, the pride of the mill, won not only a smock but also a husband in Felin, than whom

no lovelier swain,
E'er fed his flocks on Fingalian plain.

Incidentally the poet pictures the country magistrate administering indifferent justice and checking profanity in the case of all but his own kin, and refers to the petticoats of red cloth with green trimmings, the russet gowns, the loose mantles, and the snowy kerchief which the Finglas women donned in honour of May-day and the feast of St. Patrick. By Dunton, Finglas is described at the close of the seventeenth century as a fine town, with a pleasant village called Cabragh, shaded by stately trees, in close proximity. The school con-

¹ The inscription on this monument, which is also in the modern church, records the deaths of Colonel Robert Bridges in 1675 in his 63rd year, his wife Mary in 1698 in her 80th year, and nine of their children, and states that the monument was erected in 1717 by their only surviving daughter and child. It bears a crest (a blackamoor's head), and arms (argent three water bougets, sable, a crescent for difference, and bordure ermine), and was made in London by Andrew Baker. "Memorials of the Dead," v, 50.

tinued to prosper, and enjoyed the patronage of Archbishop King, who placed in it the sons of one episcopal brother and recommended it for the grandson of another. As masters of it, in 1696, Thomas Williams, in 1697, George Teebay, and in 1707, George Smith were licensed. As still further denoting the residential character of the place then, a bequest towards providing a public clock and fountain may be mentioned, and also a proposal to found a public library.¹

During the reign of Queen Anne the chief resident was the head of the episcopate, Narcissus Marsh, who occupied Colonel Roger Moore's house, Johnstown.² In character Narcissus Marsh, who filled in succession the archbishoprics of Cashel, Dublin, and Armagh, was essentially a bibliophile, and although reputed a profound scholar, he is remembered now, not as author of a great work, but as the founder of the library of St. Sepulchre. For the administrative duties of his ecclesiastical office he seems to have been little fitted, and still less for those of a lord justice, a position which he filled more than once, and in virtue of which he is seen equipping and dispatching troops for foreign service. In the establishment of his library he met with opposition from some of his brethren, and while the bill for the library's foundation was before the House of Lords, his want of private means, and expenditure of his official income for such a purpose, caused unpleasant criticism. To Finglas Archbishop Marsh appears to have been long a visitor, and appears there when Archbishop of Dublin as a subscriber to church improvements and an attendant at the vestry. At Johnstown he was then probably a guest or temporary tenant, and after Colonel Moore's death in 1705 he used it as one of his residences until his own life ended.³

At Little Cabragh in the beginning of Anne's reign there is found

¹ Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., Ire., xlvj, 36, 38; Concanen's poems, Lond., 1724, p. 322; Dunton's "Dublin Scuffle," p. 403; Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1702-3, Jan. 12; Diocesan Records; Will of John Heath.

² It has been stated that Archbishop Marsh resided in a house known as Violet Hill, but the authority which is given does not confirm the statement. See Stokes's "Worthies of the Irish Church," p. 89, and compare Marsh's Library MS. Z. 4. 4. 8, which describes the Archbishop's abode as an old house at Drumcondra. Besides, the fact that papers belonging to him were found in a house does not prove that he resided in it.

³ British Museum MS., 15895, *passim*; Marquess of Ormonde's Manuscripts, Johnson to Ormonde, 1707, Oct., 18; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., Ire.," xlvj, 36; Archbishop King's Correspondence, Marsh to King, 1705-6, March 8; Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesie Hibernice," iii, 354; Prerogative Will.

John Segrave, who as a loyal Roman Catholic was licensed to carry a sword and fire-arms. He is believed to have built the house that now stands on the lands. It contains on the upper floor a hiding chamber for a priest, from which it was possible to descend through a vertical passage in the wall to the ground-floor. It was also remarkable for some fine wood panelling. An exquisitely carved chimney-piece from one of the rooms is now on loan in the National Museum of Ireland. It is in style late Jacobean. On the upper part there are carved the arms of the Segraves of Killeglan, quartered with those of the family of Wafer, and bearing on an escutcheon of pretence the arms of the family of O'Neill. From the family of Wafer the Segraves derived Killeglan, and the wife of John Segrave was an O'Neill, a daughter of Sir Neill O'Neill, the second baronet of the Killelagh line. To John Segrave there succeeded his son Henry Segrave, who was granted at the close of Anne's reign the privilege of carrying arms.¹ In the village the chief residents were kinsmen of Lord Santry, James Barry, and Paul Barry who was married to James Barry's sister. They were respectively nephew and son of Matthew Barry of Rathcoole, and held jointly one of his offices, the clerkship of the pipe.² Besides these there are found during Anne's reign, Isaac Manly, the controller of the post office, who figures in the *Journal to Stella*; Captain Godfrey Richards, whose terror of the sea is seen from a will made before crossing the channel; Thomas Everard, and his sons James and Benjamin, who enjoyed in the church the nearest seat to the altar; John Heath, whose library and collections of shells and stones and of coins and medals were bequeathed to Trinity College; William Thornton, whose daughter married the last Lord Santry; and Christopher Busby, an eminent shoemaker of Dublin and a centenarian.³

During the later part of the reign of George the First the parish probably numbered amongst its residents the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Wyndham, who on his creation as a peer assumed the title of Baron Wyndham of Finglas. He was a member of the Wiltshire family, and on his retirement from the bench he went to live under the shade of

¹ See Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland," under Segrave of Cabra and Kiltimon, and Parliamentary Returns.

² Adams's "History of Santry," pp. 98, 99; Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1707, Oct., 24.

³ Prerogative Wills; "Dublin Gazette," 1736, Aug. 31-Sept. 4.

Salisbury Cathedral, in which his body rests under a stately monument sculptured by Michael Rysbrack. In its school he had received his early education, and from its school he had passed to Wadham College at Oxford and to Lincoln's Inn, whence in 1705 he had been called to the English bar. To this country he came in 1721, as chief justice of the common pleas; in it he was promoted in 1726 to the woolsack, with a grant five years later of a peerage; and from it he took in 1739 his final departure.¹ Amongst other residents in George the First's reign there are found Boyle Moore, a son of Colonel Moore, who probably went to reside at Johnstown in 1713 when it became vacant on Archbishop Marsh's death, and a son of Squire Robert Ball, Captain John Ball, who appears to have maintained a connexion with Finglas, although the seat of his family was moved to Drogheda from Ballygall. Besides these there is mention of John Jephson, a king's counsel; the Honourable Ignatius Nugent, a brother of Lord Riverston; Sir Nathaniel Whitwell, who received his knighthood at the court of St. James's; Paul Barry, a son of the resident of that name previously mentioned; Lewis Layfield, a well-known Dublin actor; Alderman William Empson; and Phineas Ferneley.²

After George the Second had ascended the throne a house on the west side of Finglas church was advertised for sale. It was recommended to the public as being in the best air near Dublin and commanding a view of the Phoenix Park and Dublin Bay, and was described as large and well-built, with four very good rooms on each floor and a spacious hall and staircase. In its garden there was also a banqueting-house, with a vault beneath, and attached to it stabling for six horses and a coach-house, with a loft capable of holding a hundred loads of hay. Horses were then kept by the inhabitants not only for the purpose of the journey to Dublin but also for sport, and an advertisement from Layfield, then taking the part of the grave-digger in "Hamlet," tells of the loss at Finglas of a cob, which stalked very well for fowling. Some years later Finglas appears in the autumn as the scene of a race-meeting, which lasted for five days, and at which, in a race for Irish-bred horses, Thomas Burroughs is mentioned as a competitor with a mare called Cavan Lass. Besides being a resort of those on pleasure bent, Finglas village was used for the sale of country

¹ "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xxxiv. 3-6.

² "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xlv. pp. 13, 14; Ball Wright's "Ball Records," pp. 32, 45; Prerogative Wills.

produce, and under a grant of George the First to the Archbishop of Dublin, a market on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and a fair in April and September, were held. The school continued to flourish, and had as master in 1747 the Rev. Arthur Connolly and in 1756 the Rev. Matthew Hemmings. But in the eyes of Dublin citizens Finglas was regarded as a place of rural delights: a Dublin poet of that day sings of the pleasant Cabragh groves, in which he found "a calm and lovely seat on his retirement from the wicked city to cultivate the harmless muse," and in Finglas village "The Sign of the Garter," and at Finglasbridge "The Castle of Comfort," offered refreshment to the wayfarer.¹

In George the Second's reign the principal resident in the parish was John Maxwell, the first Lord Farnham, who was raised to the peerage while knight of the shire for the county Cavan. At the time of his death, which occurred in 1768, he resided in a mansion known as Farnham House, which he held under Viscount Ashbrook, Captain Flower's grandson, but while a commoner he had occupied the house in the village owned by James Barry, whose daughter he had married. In it, in her husband's absence, she is seen entertaining Dean and Mrs. Delany at her own little dinner, when the guests took their choice between turkey, chicken, and pigeon, and beef, mutton, and venison pasty; not to speak of carps and mushrooms, and eight baskets of fruit. Next door to the Maxwells, Mrs. Delany's great friends, the Hon. Mrs. Francis Hamilton and her sister, Miss Forth, were then residing. To Finglas Mrs. Hamilton had come on account of the school, which was thought suitable for her son, although a grandson of the Earl of Abercorn, and destined originally for Eton; and at Delville she had become, as an accomplished painter of flowers and insects and skilful embroiderer, a welcome guest.²

At that time Little Cabragh was occupied by Neill Segrave, who had married a sister of Miss Ambrose, Lord Chesterfield's dangerous Papist; and another house in the parish afforded a country residence for the fifth Earl of Drogheda, who was drowned in 1758 while

¹ "Pue's Occurrences," 1735, July 29-Aug. 2; "Dublin Intelligence," 1729-30, March 17, 1730, March 31; Chetwood's "History of the Stage," p. 187; Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," 1753, Oct. 27-30; Mason's Manuscripts; Diocesan Records; Winstanley's "Poems," p. 184.

² Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, *passim*; Complete "Peerage," iii, 319; Sleater's "Public Gazetteer," ii, 329; Prerogative Wills; Pue's "Occurrences," 1733, Oct. 20-23.

returning from England to Ireland. Besides these the residents included Captain George Maxwell, a kinsman of Lord Farnham; William Tenison and Thomas Tenison, Dean Delany's adversaries in a long litigation about the property of his first wife, who was their sister-in-law; and Thomas Tenison's sons-in-law, James Edwards, and the Hon. and Rev. Richard Henry Roper, a son of Lord Teynham. After the accession of George the Third, Ballygall appears in the occupation of the Rev. William Darley and Johnstown in that of Robert French, an ancestor of Lord de Freyne, who, after representing for nearly twenty years the borough of Jamestown, was raised to the bench as a justice of the common pleas. At Finglaswood House there appears Thomas Savage, who established there a tannery; at Jamestown, William Odium; at Finglasbridge, Charles Vipont; at Cardiffsbridge, William Rathborne; and at Kilreesk, William Swan, while in the village there are found the Honorable Clotworthy Rowley, Edward Lely, Thomas Towers, and John Ball.¹

In the early years of George the Third's reign, St. Patrick's Well at Finglas was exploited by an adventurer, who posed as a Turk, under the name of Dr. Achmet, but who was found by a fair Delilah to be a plain Irishman, Patrick Joyce of Kilkenny. In a pamphlet, published in 1769, entitled "A Succinct Narrative of the Virtues of St. Patrick's Well at Finglas in the Cure of Scorbutic Complaints," Dr. Achmet issued affidavits from his patients testifying to the life-giving properties of its waters, and invited the public to join him in bringing them into use with "taste and elegance," and in making Finglas a rival of Montpelier, then the great Continental resort.²

During the later part of the eighteenth century the court gave place to Fortwilliam, known in recent times as the residence of the Rev. John William Stubbs, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and author of "The History of Dublin University," and now as the residence of his son, Mr. William Cotter Stubbs. The site was purchased by one of Dr. Stubbs's ancestors from the representatives of Dean Synge, and in the later part of the eighteenth century Fortwilliam was the residence of Dr. Stubbs's grandfather, Robert

¹ "Irish Builder," 1887, p. 136; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1746, Aug., 1759 June, 1777, July; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xlvii, p. 45; Parliamentary Return of Religion in 1766; Prerogative Wills.

² Barrington's "Personal Sketches," i, 230; Rutt's "Natural History of County Dublin"; pamphlet in the possession of Mr. W. C. Stubbs.

Stubbs, who died in 1799 while serving as an officer in the Nethercross Yeomanry.¹ At Little Cabragh, on his death, in 1777, Neill Segrave was succeeded by his eldest son, John Segrave, and thence the remains of the latter, who was colonel of a volunteer corps, were removed six years later for interment in St. James's churchyard, "with all the military honour of war." Their place at Cabragh was then taken by the Right Hon. Denis Daly, the first Lord Dunsandle's father, who in Grattan's parliament had few rivals as a speaker; and after Daly's premature death in 1791, the celebrated John Toler, Earl of Norbury, chief justice of the common pleas, appears in possession of the Segrave house.²

Before then Finglas had lost its popularity as a place of residence, and early in the next century an English traveller says that its name was seldom mentioned. But the May sports rivalled at that time Donnybrook Fair as an attraction for the populace, and although in 1788 they were in danger of extinction, they survived for over fifty years, their continuance being due to the efforts of the celebrated pamphleteer, Watty Cox, aided by two local heroes, Barnett Shew and Bryan Maguire, a noted fire-eater.³

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The ancient church of Finglas, which is now a ruin, comprised, as will be seen from the plan, a nave, with an aisle on its southern side, and a chancel, and was entered through a vaulted porch on its northern side. In the churchyard there stands a carved Celtic cross, its height being seven feet and its width across the arms being five feet. According to tradition it was overthrown by Cromwell's army, or removed to avoid that fate; and a century ago, on search being made for it, it was discovered buried not far from its present site.⁴

With the Celtic monastery, for which Finglas was famous, no less than five saints commemorated in the martyrologies are identified: St. Canice, who died in 598, and whose festival is October 11; St. Flann, whose festival is January 21; St. Noe, whose festival is

¹ Memoir of the Family of Stubbs, "Irish Builder," 1887, p. 275; Ball Wright's "Ussher Memoirs," p. 112.

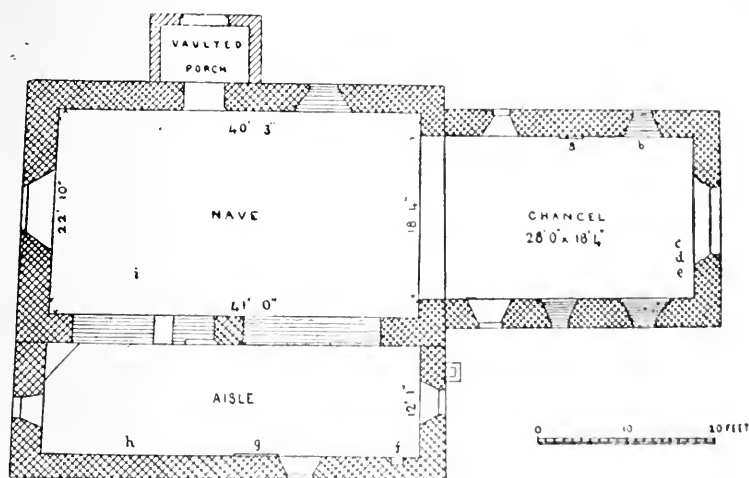
² Exshaw's "Magazine," 1783, p. 504, 1784, p. 415; "Dict. Nat. Biog.," xiii, 438, lvi, 442.

³ "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," xlvi, 42; "Dublin University Magazine," xlii, 396, 402; Tour in Ireland in 1813, p. 176.

⁴ See "Dublin Penny Journal," ii, 84.

January 27; St. Dubhlitir, who died in 796, and whose festival is May 15; and St. Faelchu, who died in 758, and whose festival is September 24. St. Dubhlitir is said to have held the position of abbot of Finglas, and had as successor Flann, son of Ceallach, who died in 812; Fearghus of Mahera, who died in 814; and Cnimneach, who died in 823. In addition to the title of abbot, Flann, son of Ceallach, is recorded to have been also a bishop, scribe, and anchorite; and amongst others having the title of bishop and identified with Finglas, there are found Caencombrach, who died in 791; Bran, who died in 837; and Robbartach, who died in 865; the last two also bearing the designation of scribe.¹

When Archbishop John Comyn founded in 1190 the collegiate church of St. Patriek, Finglas was constituted its fifth prebend, and when his successor, Archbishop Henry de Loundres, changed in 1219



PLAN OF RUINED CHURCH OF FINGLAS.²

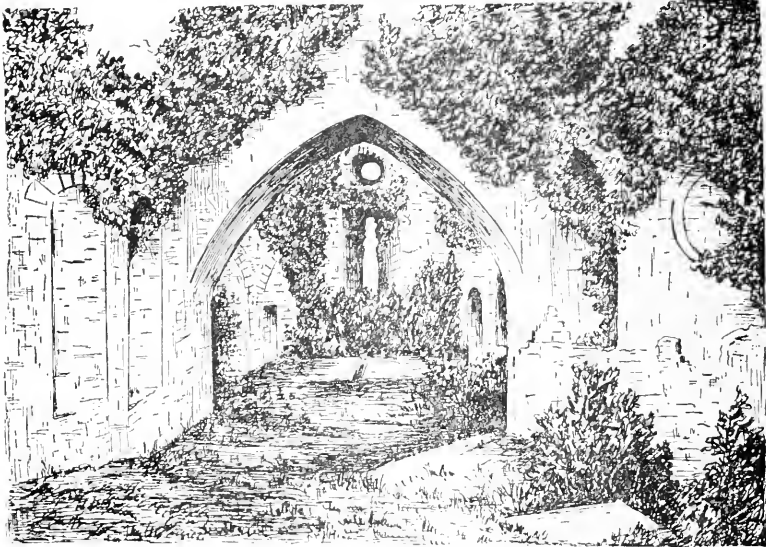
the collegiate into a cathedral establishment, Finglas was assigned to the chancellor of the cathedral as part of his corps. Together with

¹ Archdall's "Monasticon," p. 215; Martyrologies and Annals; O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," i, 394, 456; v, 374.

² The letters *a, b, g, h* indicate the positions formerly occupied by monuments now in the modern church; *a* to the Rev. R. C. Cobbe, *b* to Col. R. Bridges, *g* to James Settle, and *h* to Sir W. Flower; *c, d, e* indicate the positions of the stones to George Ryves and Sir D. Treswell and his nephew; *i* indicates the position of a tomb to Sir R. Langrishe; and *f* indicates the position of a piscina.

Finglas, there was given to the chancellor of the cathedral three chapels then annexed to Finglas, namely, the chapel of Donaghmore or St. Margaret, of St. Bridget of the Ward, and of St. Nicholas of Artane. Before the foundation of the cathedral Elias de Muta, or Harold, as Archbishop Alen calls him, is mentioned as parson of Finglas; and at the time of the foundation of the cathedral Thomas de Castello, who became the first chancellor, held the prebend.¹

Of the condition of Finglas Church in mediæval times nothing is known, and of the clergy who officiated in it no record has been preserved. Its rectors, the chancellors of St. Patrick's, were too much



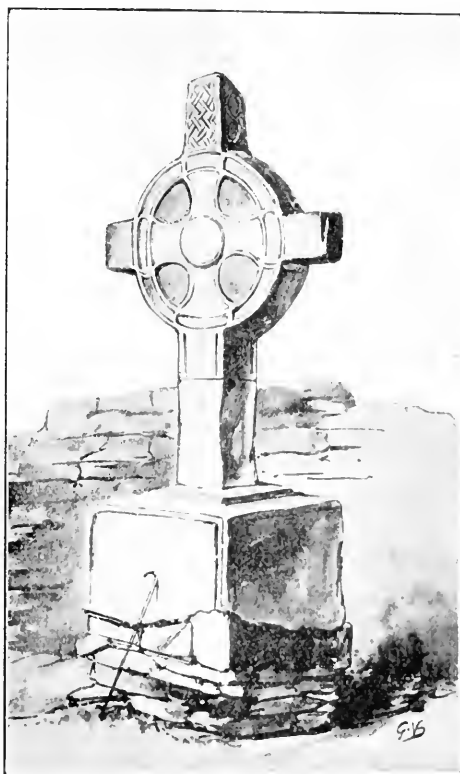
THE RUINED CHURCH OF FINGLAS.

occupied with other preferments and business to pay attention to the spiritual welfare of a country parish, and are only mentioned as drawing the fruits of the prebend. There is indication that in the early part of the fourteenth century the church was regarded as a convenient place to execute legal transfers, as in 1336, on Sunday, November 25, the owner of Dunsoghly is found perfecting a deed at Finglas; and towards the close of the fourteenth century, in 1474 and 1475, the church of St. Canice, the abbot, at Finglas is designated

¹ Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 37; "Crede Mihi," p. 138.

by Alice, wife of Patrick Russell, and Thomas Finglas, as the place of their interment.¹

Shortly before the Reformation, Finglas and its three chapels were served by five chaplains; and at the time of the dissolution of St. Patrick's Cathedral the possessions of the chancellor at Finglas comprised, as well as a fort, two messuages, a garden, a haggard,



FINGLAS CROSS, DRAWN BY G. V. DU NOYER.

eighteen acres of land, and the tithes which were then leased to various persons in the Finglas neighbourhood. During the reign of Queen Mary the chancellor of St. Patrick's was indicted as rector of Finglas for non-residence before a jury on which two of the parishioners sat; and in George Carey's will there is reference to a picture of St. Canice

¹ Christ Church Deed, no. 606; Carey's "Wills," *passim*.

in the church. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1567, the appointment as vicar or curate of Samuel Mason, who had shortly before read his recantation, is mentioned; and in 1597 the precinct of the court, "where a pigeon house standeth," and other property were leased by the Careys, to Gabriel Cornwall, as vicar of Finglas.¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the chancellorship of St. Patrick's was held for fifteen years by the illustrious James Ussher; and in his time a vicarage was permanently established by the assignment for its endowment of the rector's glebe and a portion of the tithes. It is said that Ussher preached constantly in the church, and the parishioners were evidently not unknown to him, as he learned from Sir Christopher Plunkett, of Dunsoghly, that a life of St. Canice had at one time been amongst the possessions of Finglas church; but from the visitations of his time it appears that a curate was constantly employed by him, and that Edward Lee, who held the office, was a master of arts and a preacher.²

While Ussher held the rectory, in 1615, the church is returned as in good order; and fifteen years later, in 1630, it is said to have been in "very good repair and decency," and to have been attended by a large congregation, the number of communicants at Easter being no less than a hundred and fifty. The vicarage was then held by Robert Wilson, a bachelor of divinity, who was also dean of Ferns and prebendary of Donoughmore in St. Patrick's. He appears to have been chiefly resident at Finglas, where he is seen celebrating marriages and obtaining licences for his parishioners to eat meat during Lent, and where he suffered great loss at the time of the rebellion. On his death, in 1642, the place of vicar, as well as of rector, was filled by the chancellor of St. Patrick's, the Honourable Ambrose Aungier, whose father, as master of the rolls in Ireland, was created Baron Aungier, and whose son became the first Earl of Longford of the Aungier creation.³

During the years that followed the church became probably more

¹ Walsh's "Fingal and its Churches," p. 200; Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," pp. 38, 39; Exchequer Inquisition, Philip and Mary, no. 17; D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," p. 376.

² "Dict. Nat. Biog.," lviii, 65; Regal Visitation.

³ Regal Visitation; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155; Diocesan Records; Deposition of 1641, Robert Wilson; Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesiæ"; "Complete Peerage," v. 134; Cooper's "Athenæ Cantabrigienses," ii, 229.

and more derelict, and the roof began to leak and the windows were broken. But three years before the Restoration, in 1657, at Easter, the parishioners awoke to their responsibilities, and at "a public meeting of the greater number of the Protestant inhabitants" it was resolved that the church should be restored. New gutters were provided, and the windows were re-glazed; and then in true Puritan style the interior was "stopped, plastered, and whitewashed," and a pulpit, and a great and a little seat, for strangers and the minister's family, were provided. For the position of minister in the spring of 1658 a Scotch presbyter, James Levingston, of Dunblane, was nominated, and he was licensed by the State to preach the Gospel at Finglas until further order, "his knowledge, tolerance, and experience of the work of grace" having given every satisfaction. At the Easter vestry that followed, in spite of some dissension, further preparations were made for his reception by providing an hour-glass and "fair iron branch" to fasten it to the pulpit, and by receiving a pulpit cushion from Mrs. Anne Richardson, as well as by arranging for the recasting of the bell, and safe keeping of "the utensils," which included the communion plate.¹

Within a year of the Restoration, in the opening months of 1661, John Power was collated to the vicarage, and a year later, in the spring of 1662, the Archbishop of Dublin visited the church with his vicar-general and his registrar, and expunged the entry in the vestry-book relating to the appointment of James Levingston as "derogatory to the ecclesiastical canon." On Power's death, which followed quickly, in 1663, William Hill, a doctor of divinity, and a classical scholar of some note, succeeded to the vicarage. At Oxford, of which he was an alumnus, he had been a fellow of Merton College, and afterwards he had been a schoolmaster at Sutton Coldfield, and had practised as a physician in London. From London he had migrated to Dublin in 1652 as master of St. Patrick's Free School, and in 1660 he had been appointed master of the City Free School, where he is said to have had the great Duke of Marlborough as his pupil. Like Power he did not long enjoy his preferment at Finglas, with which he held the prebend of Castleknock, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, being,

¹ "Finglas Vestry Books." by W. C. Stubbs, *Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.*, xlvii, pp. 27-30.

in the autumn of 1667, carried off, when not fifty years of age, with his wife and son, by fever.¹

While Power held the vicarage the southern aisle of the church was assigned for the purposes of a school, and separated from the church, and in it William Hill, who probably was attracted to Finglas partly by the prospect, taught gentlemen's children. In Hill's time the services of the church were, however, not neglected, and the vestry provided for the church a Bible and two copies of the Book of Common Prayer, as well as holly and ivy at Christmas, and rushes at the other festivals. The linen was also washed, the plate scoured, and the church cleaned, and the church-floor levelled and the churchyard fenced.²

A few years after Hill's death the church and school-house were new-ceiled and glazed, and the chancel flagged and provided with rails round the Communion table; and, ten years later, there was still larger expenditure, to the amount of nearly two hundred pounds, upon them. After Hill's death in 1667, the vicarage, as well as the rectory, had been once more held by the chancellor of St. Patrick's, who was then Peter Manby, celebrated for his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion when Dean of Derry. On his resignation of the chancellorship, in 1671, his successor, John Worth, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's, became also vicar, but was assisted by a curate, Henry Gonne. To Worth, in 1678, another chancellor succeeded as vicar, Philip Barber; but his death took place within a year, and, in 1679, Robert Stannard, who was then a minor canon of St. Patrick's, and afterwards Archdeacon of Lismore, was appointed to the vicarage. Two years later, in the winter of 1681, Samuel Foley, who had been a fellow of Trinity College, and became Bishop of Down and Connor, succeeded Stannard as vicar. For the first eight years that Foley was at Finglas, the chancellorship was held by William King, but, on the appointment of the latter as Dean of St. Patrick's, Foley succeeded him as chancellor, and held both the chancellorship and the vicarage until 1694, when he was promoted to the episcopal bench. While at Finglas, Foley was assisted in the position of curate by Ezekiel

¹ Diet. Nat. Biog., xxvi, 426; "Irish Builder," 1896, p. 97; Records of Dublin, iv, xviii, 282, 289; Prerogative Will.

² Throughout the remaining paragraphs use has been made of Mr. Stubbs's account of the Vestry Books already often cited; the Diocesan Records, and Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesie Hibernicæ."

Burridge, who was afterwards vicar-general of Dublin, and he and his curate married two sisters, daughters of Colonel Roger Moore, of Johnstown.¹

At the first Easter vestry after Foley's appointment to the vicarage, the parochial organization and requisites for the church were brought under review. As a result "a decent font of black and white marble" was procured, the king's arms were set up over the chancel entrance, and the aisles were flagged with "broad-stones." Under Foley's successor the improvement of the church continued. A school-house was built, and the south-aisle restored to its original purpose, handsome plate which is still in use was presented through the munificence of Lady Stephens and Thomas Springham, and some years later an organ was provided.²

To Foley there succeeded in 1695 as vicar, Dillon Ashe, who lives still as a friend of Swift, and for more than twenty years, until his death in 1716, Finglas remained in his charge.³ By him a vicarage was built on the site of the fort, and it was at his expense that the organ was provided. Although the purchase of a book of homilies suggests that he was not fond of preaching, he kept, no doubt, his flock together by his social qualities, and in the later years of his incumbency he had the assistance of a curate, Thomas Daneer. On Ashe's death in 1716 another friend of Swift's, Thomas Parnell, the poet, was appointed to the vicarage. He had been long designated by Archbishop King as Ashe's successor;⁴ but, as his death took place in the autumn of 1718, his tenure lasted for little more than two years. For the greater portion of that time he was resident in London, and his incumbency is chiefly remarkable for an attempt to devote the southern aisle of the church once more to secular uses as a library. After the death of Parnell the vicarage was given, in 1719, to a third of Swift's friends, John Grattan,⁵ but in 1720 he resigned it, and the chancellor, then Theophilus Bolton, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, once more held the rectory and vicarage. Bolton's successor in 1723

¹ Archbishop King's Diary, edited by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, p. 52.

² Two dishes and a salver bear inscriptions recording their presentation by Lady Stephens and the date 1705; and two flagons bear inscriptions recording their presentation by Thomas Springham and the date 1696. See *Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.*, xxvii, 451.

³ His brother, Thomas Ashe, resided for a time at Ballygall. (*Journal to Stella*.)

⁴ Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1705, June 9, July 31, Aug. 29, Nov. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1718-9, March 9.

as chancellor, Robert Howard, afterwards Bishop of Elphin, was also instituted to the vicarage, and continued to hold it until 1726, when he was promoted to the see of Killala. In his room as vicar there came in 1727 a fourth of Swift's intimates, James Stopford, who had been a fellow and became Bishop of Cloyne; and for nearly thirty years Stopford, whom Swift pronounced to be in his early years "the most valuable young man in Ireland," held the vicarage. By Parnell in 1716 Anthony Bury had been appointed curate, and in that capacity he continued at Finglas under Parnell's successors for more than twenty years. To him there succeeded as curate in 1738 Joseph Pratt, and in 1747 Arthur Conolly.

The Roman Catholic Church has always united the parish of Finglas with that of St. Margaret, and in the early part of the seventeenth century its only place of worship is stated to have been in the village of St. Margaret. A hundred years later it was returned as having in Finglas union three places of worship, served by two priests and two schools.¹ The succession of parish priests has been as follows:—1685, Rev. Bartholomew Scally; 1737, Rev. James Andrews; 1760, Rev. William Fletcher; 1774, Rev. Andrew Ennis; 1777, Rev. Christopher Wall; 1778, Rev. James M'Carthy; 1784, Rev. Richard Benson; 1823, Rev. Matthias Kelly; 1823, Rev. Patrick Montague; 1841, Rev. James Young; 1863, Rev. Patrick Black; 1876, Rev. Joseph Flanagan; 1889, Rev. William Breen; 1897, Rev. Patrick Slattery; 1902, Rev. Martin Hackett; 1911, Rev. Philip Ryan.

During the latter part of that century, in the autumn of 1779, Finglas church was visited by Austin Cooper, who described it as "a neat pretty church," and mentions that the chancel was furnished with panels, on which the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments appeared in gilt letters.² Some years before, in 1762, the greatest church work of that century at Finglas was accomplished in the establishment of a charity school under a board of governors, and until the close of the century, when religious differences impaired its usefulness, it appears to have educated many children of both sexes. As successors to Stopford in the vicarage there are found in 1754 Robert Caulfield, in 1762 Richard Chaloner Cobbe, in 1767 Thomas Smyth, who held the treasurership of St. Patrick's for no less than

¹ Archbishop Bulkeley's Report, p. 155; Parliamentary Return of 1731.

² Austin Cooper's Note-book.

sixty-three years, and in 1772 William Dobbin, who had been a fellow of Trinity College, while as curate there were licensed in 1756 Matthew Hemmings, in 1791 Thomas Daly Williamson, and in 1797 Francis Pentland.

The nineteenth century saw the ancient church superseded by a modern one which was built on a new site; the foundation stone was laid in the autumn of 1841, and the church was opened for service in the spring of 1843. As vicar, Dobbin was succeeded in 1819 by Edward Geoghegan, in 1823 by William Magee, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, in 1829 by Edward Semple, in 1831 by James Phelan, in 1839 by Robert Walsh, in 1852 by John O'Regan, in 1858 by Thomas Jameson, in 1874 by John Jebb Sergeant, in 1875 by William Henry Pileher, in 1891 by Arthur William Ardagh, and in 1919 by Henry St. Clair Jennings.

THE PARISH OF GLASNEVIN.

(OR NAEIDHE'S STREAMLET.)

THE parish of Glasnevin is stated in the seventeenth century to have contained the following townlands:—Clonmel, Draycott's farm, Forster's farm, Gough's farm, Seven farms, and Wickham's or Wycomb's farm.

It contains now the townlands of Ballygall (i.e., the town of the foreigner), Bankfarm, Botanic Gardens, Claremont, Clonmel (i.e., the meadow of honey), Crossguns, Glasnevin, Glasnevin Demesne, Hampstead Hill, Hampstead North and South, Prospect, Slutsend (or the slough's end), Tolkapark, Violethill Great and Little, Wad, and Walnutgrove.

GLASNEVIN.

No name in Dublin county is more familiar than that of Glasnevin parish, which is situated to the east and south of the parish of Finglas. In the life of to-day it denotes the situation of the cemetery in which the remains of O'Connell lie, as well as that of the Botanic Gardens, and in connexion with the past it recalls an episode in the life of St. Columba, and a meeting-place of Swift and his friends.

FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES.

Like the parish of Finglas, the parish of Glasnevin is crossed by the river Tolka, and its name is first mentioned in connexion with the establishment of a Celtic seat of learning on the bank of that river where the village of Glasnevin now stands. The foundation of this seat of learning, which is attributed to St. Mobhi, preceded that of Finglas Abbey, and the patron of Finglas, St. Canice, was one of the earliest of the Glasnevin students. At the same time St. Columba was studying there, and according to an ancient legend, in response to a prayer made by him, the cells of the students, which were on the southern side of the Tolka, were transferred to the northern side of the river, where St. Mobhi's church stood. "Boldly comest thou here to-night, O descendant of Niall!" exclaimed St. Mobhi to

St. Columba on his fording the river to attend nocturn one winter's evening. "God is able to take the hardship from us," exclaimed in his turn St. Columba, with such faith, that when service was over the cells were found to have been moved across the river to a site near the church. As appears from the obits of other holy men connected with Glasnevin, the abbey founded by St. Mobhi existed for many generations after his time, and the special veneration paid to it as the place of St. Mobhi's sepulture is shown in a resolution of Colman, son of Luachan, to sleep upon St. Mobhi's tomb, and to offer prayer near it three times.¹

When the Anglo-Norman settlement took place, the lands of Glasnevin, together with the church, appear as the property of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, which owed its possession of them to the Archbishop of Dublin, to whom they had fallen in common with the lands of the other religious houses of Celtic foundation in his diocese. In the early part of the thirteenth century Glasnevin gave its name to a family, one of whose members, William of Glasnevin, granted in 1230, with his wife, Juliana, lands at Kinsaly to the Priory of the Holy Trinity; and at the close of that century Glasnevin is described as a grange, value in regard to both spiritualities and temporalities for seven marks.²

At the opening of the fourteenth century, in 1306, the possessions of the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Glasnevin appear as constituting a manor, and are said to have comprised three carucates of land, which were valued with the tithes at twenty-four pounds. A great portion of the lands was farmed by the priory, and the tenants, to whom the remainder was let, were under the usual obligation to assist the priory in ploughing, hoeing, haymaking, reaping, and carrying the corn. In 1326 the tenants numbered twenty-eight, and included John de Barry, William Bodenham, Geoffrey Finch, and Salmon by the Water, besides others distinguished by their occupations—Sir David the chaplain, Nicholas the clerk, Hugh the smith, Yvor the turner, and Maurice the driver.

As the accounts of the priory show, in the four opening months of the year 1338 the prior visited Glasnevin on an average once every

¹ Stokes's "Lives from the Book of Lismore," p. 174; cf. "Where St. Columba Completed his Studies," by Rev. T. J. O'Mahony, D.D., "All Hallows' Annual," 1911-12, p. 44; Royal Irish Academy "Todd Lectures," xvii. 82.

² "Crede Mihi," *passim*; Christ Church Deeds, nos. 40, 150.

fortnight. Except on one occasion, his visits were on week-days, and, as a rule, he cannot have spent the night, for, except on Easter Monday and Tuesday, and the following Tuesday and Wednesday, he was not there on two consecutive days. For the prior's entertainment the chamberlain provided chiefly produce from the farm, but he supplemented it by the purchase on one day of a fowl, on another day of bread, and on a third day of rice and almonds, which were used to make a pottage "that does restore and comfort nature." On two days, as a special delicacy, oysters were obtained, and on three days ale and on six days wine were bought. Six years later there is recorded the purchase for the prior's breakfast of a capon, fine bread, white salt, and wine.

In the latter year, 1344, the church and manorial residence at Glasnevin underwent restoration. In connexion with the church the items of expenditure include iron bars, nails, and hooks for two windows, which were made by Brother John Dolphin, with the assistance of masons, and eighteen images for a shrine, which was made by Brother John Savage, while for the hall of the manorial residence an iron window-frame was fashioned, and for the prior's chamber a lock and key and straw chairs and stools were provided. In addition the purchase for use at Glasnevin of a censer, of a tanned horse-skin, and a hammer to break stones, is recorded.

At that time the priory's staff at Glasnevin consisted of a bailiff, a sergeant or foreman, a carter, six ploughmen, a shepherd, a door-keeper, and a housemaid, and during harvest, in addition, two superintendents of higher rank were employed. In the priory's accounts there is also mention in connexion with Glasnevin of the seneschal and his clerk coming to make a new rental, of tithe corn being removed from the churchyard to the granary, of sheep being sent to Kill of the Grange and corn received from that manor, and of expenditure on mowing and harvesting, on repairing walls and gates, and on purchasing ploughs and carts and horses.¹

During the next century leases begin to afford information as to the village and manor lands. In 1454 an indenture provided for the maintenance of a house with six couples or rafters; in 1473 an agreement was made for the erection of a dove-cote near this house; and in 1475 a lease of the Clonmel lands provided for the building

¹ Mills's "Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity," *passim*.

upon them of a house of seven couples, which was to have walls of mud, a roof of thatch, and a fence with a gate of oak.¹ At that period wills also throw light on local conditions. Although a citizen of Dublin, Nicholas Barrett, who died in 1474, recognized that Glasnevin church had claims on him, inasmuch as he held "the great meadow near the Tolka"; and two wives of Geoffrey Fox, who died respectively in 1473 and 1476, show that they owned jointly with their husband at Glasnevin much farm-stock as well as other possessions, which included in the case of the first wife, Janet Cristore, household stuff and utensils, and in the case of the second wife, Agnes Lawless, a mazer, six silver spoons, and linen cloth, as well as a great store of bacon.²

In the sixteenth century, the leases of the Glasnevin lands increase rapidly in number. A bull-ring appears in 1512 as the principal landmark in the village, and a tailor and shoemaker are mentioned amongst the villagers. Provision for cutting and re-planting ash trees, the timber then used for making carts and cart-wheels, are frequent in leases of the lands towards the close of that century, and on one occasion there is a covenant for the keep of a horse and a boy for a day at Christmas, and on another occasion for the keep of two horses and a boy for two days and two nights at that season, which were probably inserted for the convenience of the dignitaries of Christ Church Cathedral, who held the rectory. Amongst the leases there appear the demise in 1512 of the manor to Alderman Thomas Stephens, Alson FitzSimon, his wife, and Oliver Stephens; in 1554 of the lord's meadow to the owner of Drumcondra, James Bathe; in 1573 of the Clonmel farms to his son, John Bathe; in 1559 of Braghall's farm to John Quartermas, a cleric, who was succeeded in 1594 by Alderman John Forster; in 1572 of the Seven farms to Thomas Lockwood, another cleric, and Richard Fagan; in 1594 of Draycott's farm to Arland Ussher, and of houses and void places in the village to various persons.³

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Glasnevin was the residence of a member of a family with a good position in the Pale, Nicholas Wycombe, who was married to a niece of Sir John Plunkett, of Dunsoghly. On his death, in 1610, he was succeeded

¹ Christ Church Deeds, *passim*.

² Berry's "Wills," *passim*.

Christ Church Deeds, *passim*.

there by his son, John Wycombe, who married a daughter of James Preston, of Ballymadun, a member of Lord Gormanston's family. He was licensed in 1613 with one of the Ussher family to keep taverns in Dublin, and died in 1624 at Glasnevin.¹ After the rebellion, in February, 1642, a force of the insurgents, numbering a thousand horse and foot, under the command of Colonels Hugh Byrne and Lisagh Moore, lay at Glasnevin, and descended one night on Oxmantown, from which they retired without injuring the inhabitants or even awakening them.² From the Commonwealth surveys it appears that the owners of Drumcondra had acquired a fee-farm interest in Clonmel and the other lands leased to them in the previous century, and that the remaining lands in the parish were held from Christ Church by Alderman Daniel Hutchinson, under the denominations of Draycott's farm, Wycombe's farm, Gough's farm, Forster's farm, and the Seven farms. After the Restoration, in 1664, the householders of the parish are returned as numbering ten, their houses being rated for only one chimney each; but in 1667 the householders are stated to have increased to twenty-four, and three houses were rated for two hearths and an oven each, and three for two hearths each. For the former three Alderman Hutchinson was rated, but in the case of the latter three William Cooper, John Griffin, and John Allen are returned as the occupants.³

IN THE TIME OF SWIFT.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the principal residence at Glasnevin was one on the northern side of the road through the village, which has since become celebrated under the name of Delville. It was then known as the Glen, and was described as a stone house, with good offices in repair, surrounded by a garden and orchard. Its occupant was Dorothy Berkeley, who was the widow of Maurice Berkeley, and a daughter of Major Joseph Deane, of Crumlin, and it was held by her from James the Second, who had acquired an interest under Christ Church Cathedral in the Glasnevin lands.

But a few years later a leading Dublin citizen of that time, Sir John Rogerson, who had purchased James the Second's interest, converted

¹ Monck Mason's Manuscript Collection; Funeral Entries; Patent Rolls, James I, p. 268.

² Depositions, 1641, vol. xxxii, 7, in Trinity College Library.

³ Civil Survey and Hearth Money Rolls in Public Record Office.

a house which stood on the southern side of the road through the village, into a country residence for himself. It is said to have had a large court surrounded by a stone wall, as well as a garden, attached to it, and it became afterwards known as Glasnevin House. Sir John Rogerson, to whom Dublin owes one of its quays, was a man of great enterprise, and as a merchant and shipowner amassed much wealth, which he invested in the purchase of property in Dublin and its neighbourhood. During the reign of William the Third he represented Dublin in the Irish Parliament, in which he had previously sat for Clogher, and he filled the office of lord mayor, on his election to which he was knighted. In London he was also well known, and was a brother-in-law of Sir John Ward, who was lord mayor of London early in the reign of George the First. After a distinguished legal and political career, Sir John Rogerson's eldest son was raised to the judicial bench as chief justice of the king's bench, and through him Sir John Rogerson became an ancestor in a female line of the Earls of Erne.

When Sir John Rogerson came to Glasnevin, the church was in ruin, and the village is said by Archbishop King to have been a harbour for dishonesty and immorality; but before Sir John Rogerson had been many years in possession of Glasnevin House, a new church was erected, and before the time of his death, in 1724, a number of good houses had been built in the village. According to Archbishop King, it was then one of the most thriving villages near Dublin, and in a quarter of a century its value had doubled or trebled. During the early years of Sir John Rogerson's residence, the Glen, or some other house at Glasnevin, was occupied by the prothonotary of the common pleas, Charles Ryves, whose father had been a baron of the court of exchequer, and when the church was built he filled with Sir John Rogerson the office of churchwarden.¹

It was not until the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century that a link was forged in the chain that connects Glasnevin with the writers of the Augustan age. The link was the execution on May Day, 1719, of a deed, by which Mrs. Berkeley leased Glen to Dr.

¹ Chichester House Claims: State Papers, Domestic, *passim*; Return of Members of Parliament; Shaw's "Book of Knights"; Prerogative Will Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1725, October; "Memorials of the Dead," vii, 35, 37; "Irish Builder," 1888, p. 110.

Richard Helsham and the Rev. Patrick Delany, who were described in the deed as fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.¹ To-day their names would be placed in the reverse order. Delany has gained immortality as one of Swift's biographers, and the husband of a talented favourite of society, while Helsham has hardly escaped oblivion, and that only through being Delany's friend. But of the two, Helsham was the man of higher calibre, and, apart from his being five years Delany's senior, was entitled to the first place. In college, where he held his fellowship by virtue of medical knowledge, he was appointed to the chairs of mathematics, natural and experimental philosophy, and physic, and outside college he enjoyed as a physician a large practice amongst persons of light and leading; while, on the other hand, Delany's merits were recognized in college by his appointment to the chair of history and oratory, then little valued, and outside college by preferment to cathedral dignities.²

Helsham, who had an advantage over Delany in being born to an assured position, acted probably the part of the rich friend in joining in the lease of the Glen, and appears to have soon relinquished whatever connexion he may have had with it.³ But the joint-tenancy lasted sufficiently long to allow Swift an opportunity of exercising his power of verbal manipulation in using the first syllables of the tenants' names to confer on the Glen the designation of Hheldelville, which was soon changed to its diminutive Delville, either, as has been suggested, to avoid inconvenient associations, or to suit the changed conditions when Helsham's interest terminated.⁴ Throughout his life Delany displayed an ambition of making a figure in the world, and in order to do so he lived in a style that his means did not justify. At Delville he sought to gain the reputation of an improver, and for many years he indulged there in reckless outlay. The house, which had been occupied by Mrs. Berkeley, was levelled with the ground, and another was designed without any regard to the dimensions of his purse, while the few acres of land were made the subject of an attempt to show how "the obdurate and straight line of the Dutch might be softened into a curve, the terrace melted into a swelling bank, and the walks opened

¹ Registry of Deeds, Co. Dublin Leases, xxiii, 215.

² "Dict. Nat. Biog.," xiv, 310; xxv, 373.

³ "Swift's Correspondence," ed. F. E. Ball, iii, 239.

⁴ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 1285.

to catch the vicinal country." ¹ In "An Epistle upon an Epistle" his follies are thus recounted :—

But you, forsooth, your all must squander
On that poor spot, call'd Dell-ville, yonder ;
And when you've been at vast expenses
In whims, parterres, canals and fences,
Your assets fail, and cash is wanting ;
Nor farther buildings, farther planting ;
No wonder when you raise and level,
Think this wall low, and that wall bevel.
Here a convenient box you found,
Which you demolish'd to the ground ;
Then built, then took up with your arbour,
And set the house to Rupert Barber.²

It is evident from other contemporary verses that the walls of Delville did not bound Delany's extravagance. These verses refer to an inundation, probably from the Tolka, which terrified the country people, and tore up the roads, and tell of Delany's skill in diverting the flood. In concluding, the poet thus sings Delany's praises :—

The labourers all
Rejoice at his call,
And readily work wet or dry-a.
So well he does pay,
And treat them each day,
With bread and meat, ale and brandy-a.

So public a spirit,
But few do inherit,
For generous actions renowned ;
A friend to the nation
Deserves commendation ;
Let him with a mitre be crowned.³

Although in receipt of a larger income than most Trinity College fellows of his day, Delany was, according to his own account in 1725, "without one farthing in the world," and in order to supplement his income from the college, he sought a dispensation from the Crown to enable him to hold with his fellowship the prebend of St. John in Christ Church Cathedral, which had been offered to him. As the dispensation involved release from an oath, many persons thought it ought neither to be sought nor granted, and, on its being refused, Delany was consumed with anxiety lest his character might suffer, and

¹ Warburton, Whitclaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 1285.

² "Swift's Poems," ed. W. E. Browning, i, 318.

³ "Winstanley's Poems," p. 244.

considered it necessary to draw up an elaborate argument to show that such an application was justifiable. But the refusal had nothing to do with such matters, and was due to the fact that Delany was reputed to be an ardent Tory.¹ At the close of the reign of Queen Anne, when he acted as chaplain to Lord Chancellor Phipps, to whom Toryism was as the breath of his nostrils, he is said to have indited a pamphlet that was ordered to be burned by the first Hanoverian parliament;² and at the time he sought the dispensation he was identified with the Tory side in the college, and had his warmest friends in that party.

To Delville, in spite of the politics of its owner, Lord Carteret, who was then lord lieutenant, became soon after a visitor. This honour Delany owed to Swift, to whom he was more indebted than he ever cared to acknowledge; and because Carteret did not at once confer ecclesiastical office on Delany, Swift fell "all to pieces" with him. In the summer of 1727 Delany was brought by Swift under the notice of George the Second's court, and subsequently he visited London, where he lost no opportunity of using Swift's introductions to gain further interest.³ At the opening of the next year, 1728, he was given by Carteret the chancellorship of Christ Church Cathedral, and at the same time he was presented to the college living of Derryvullen in county Fermanagh. But in little more than a year, finding that these preferments did not compensate for the loss of his fellowship, which he was obliged to resign, he made use of his poetical gifts to solicit from Carteret further favours:—

My lord, I'd wish to pay the debts I owe—
I'd wish besides—to build and to bestow; ⁴

and as an immediate response the prebend of Donaghmore in St. Patrick's Cathedral was added to his other offices, and six months later the more lucrative dignity of chancellor of that cathedral was given to him instead of the prebend.

But at that time advancement in the Church was not Delany's only hope of increasing his means; and a widow with a handsome fortune was being sedulously courted by him:—

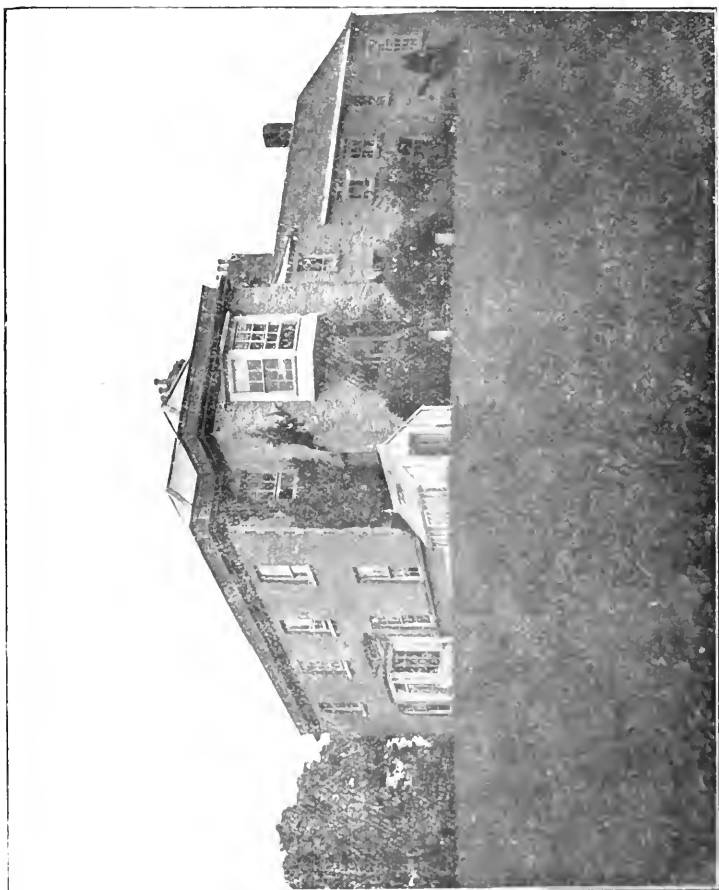
Yet still you fancy you inherit
A fund of such superior merit,
That you can't fail of more provision,
All by my lady's kind decision.

¹ British Museum MS. 6117, ff. 180, 182.

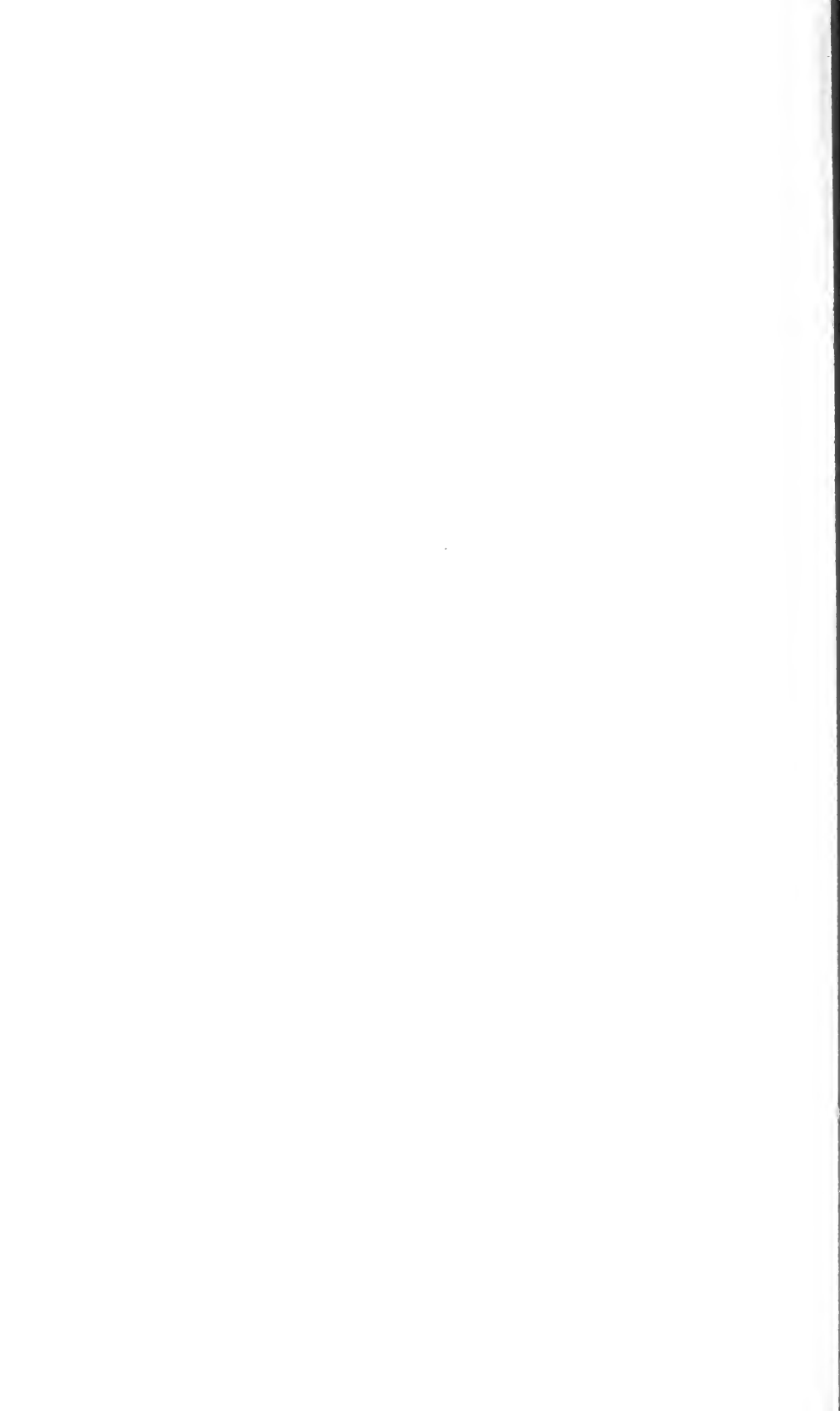
² *Ibid.*, iii, 248, 289, 321, 399, 434.

³ "Swift's Correspondence," ii, 108.

⁴ "Swift's Poems," i, 316.



DEWVILLE.



For more than four years she kept Delany in suspense, but in the summer of 1732 success crowned his suit, and his marriage to his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William Barton, and widow of Richard Tenison, of Thomastown, in county Louth, took place. It was the signal for further expenditure. A house in Dublin was considered a necessity, and one was secured in Stafford Street, where Delany's "Thursday club," in which Swift predominated, became an institution.¹ For Delany Swift had then a greater penchant than ever, and by making himself one of the party he persuaded Carteret's successor, the first Duke of Dorset, in the spring of 1731, to honour Delany by dining at Delville. In the following winter Delany was residing there constantly, and had given up his Dublin house. At this change Swift was much discomposed. Although he had held out the attractions of Delville to Pope as an inducement to visit Ireland, he found then that its bedroom accommodation was but scanty, and when, as a result of his chiding, an adjoining house was taken by Delany to provide more rooms, he discovered that Delville was neither town nor country, a hobbledehoy, as his old enemy the Duchess of Somerset called Sion House, too near to spend the night, and too far to pay a call in bad weather.²

At Delville, Delany became for the next five years a recluse engrossed in communicating to the public his views on various theological questions, including the lawfulness of eating blood, the procreation of man after the Flood, and the advantage of a plurality of wives. In 1732 he had published the first volume of his "Revelation examined with Candour." Even Swift had to admit that it was a book "not to be read," but he refrained from discussing with Delany the singularities of his opinions.³ In 1731 a second volume of his "Revelation examined with Candour" appeared, and it was followed in 1738 by his "Reflections on Polygamy," and in 1740 by his "Life of David," for whose sins he was an apologist.³

Turning now from Delany to other residents in Glasnevin during the first twenty years of his residence, reference must be made to Rupert Barber, who is mentioned in Swift's lines as at one time occupying Delville. He was a woollen draper in Dublin, the husband

¹ "Swift's Poems," i, 319; "Swift's Correspondence," iv, 23, 336; v, 5, 34; "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," i, 396, 399.

² "Swift's Correspondence," iv, 152; v, 137, 164, 302.

³ *Ibid.*, iv, 321, 416; v, 258.

of a lady whom Delany befriended and Swift belauded as a poetess. Their connexion with Delany is not known, but Rupert Barber seems to have been a party to whatever arrangement was made between Helsham and Delany as to taking Delville. In the lease to them he appears as a witness; and on the day after its execution he became tenant to them of the garden then "walled with lime and stone."² In his business he was not successful. He failed to carry out satisfactorily a contract to supply the Duke of Dorset's liveries, which he had obtained through his wife's influence, and soon after he was on the look-out for employment in London, and was recommended by Swift as an upright, honest man of English birth.³

Until her death, in 1728, Mrs. Berkeley resided in the house, which at Swift's bidding Delany took as an adjunct to Delville, and, after her death, before Delany became tenant, it was leased for some years by her son-in-law, Job Charlton, to one George Banister. Amongst the other Glasnevin residents there appear in Mrs. Berkeley's time, Isaac Ambrose, who was sometime a clerk of the House of Commons, and John Davis, who joined Delany and others in presenting plate to the church; and later on a barrister called Hewetson, who died in 1736 at Hampstead; a daughter of Colonel Matthew Pennefather, who was a favourite of the Duchess of Marlborough; and John Lyndon, whose father had been a member of the Irish judiciary.⁴

But, besides these neighbours, Delany had for four years Thomas Tickell, the friend of Addison, who in 1736 became tenant of a residence that is now comprised in the Botanic Gardens, and had been previous to his occupation known as "Teeling's tenement." Tickell had then held for twelve years the office of secretary in Dublin Castle, and he had been for ten years married to a grand-niece of Lord Chancellor Eustace, a lady with a large fortune, whom Swift was wont to supply with fruit from Naboth's vineyard, and had designated in her early days "the brat." With Delany and Tickell as residents it was predicted that Glasnevin would cause the press to groan, but

¹ "Swift's Correspondence," *passim*.

² Registry of Deeds, Co. Dublin Leases, 23, f. 273.

³ "Swift's Correspondence," iv, 262, 368.

⁴ Prerogative Wills; Registry of Deeds Co. Dublin Leases, 71, f. 39, 88, f. 1; "Memorials of the Dead," vii, 37; "Dublin Gazette," 1736, August 24-28.

Tickell's literary labours there were cut short by his death in 1740 at the age of fifty-four.¹

Shortly after Tickell obtained possession of "Teeling's tenement," in the summer of 1736, Delany's rival as Swift's biographer, John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, occupied it for a month while Tickell took his son to Scotland to drink the Moffat waters. Orrery was greatly pleased with the neighbourhood, solitude being then one of its charms. Although so far as situation was concerned he considered Tickell's house could not be surpassed, he believed that in regard to accommodation it would prove insufficient to hold Tickell's books and children. In the eyes of John O'Keefe the house was a very fine one: but as he imagined that he had seen in it Tickell, who died before he was born, his judgment may be disregarded.²

Tickell's interest in the house was derived from Sir John Rogerson's successor, John Putland, who was living at Glasnevin in 1748, while acting as sheriff of Dublin county. Putland's connexion with Glasnevin was due to Dr. Helsham, who, as a great friend of his father, had known him from childhood. While Putland was at the school kept by Swift's friend, Thomas Sheridan, Helsham had made use of him to play a trick on Sheridan by inducing him to recite on a public occasion a poem written by Helsham instead of one composed by his master; and in the closing years of his life, when Helsham stood to Putland in the relation of step-father, he had arranged the transfer to him of an interest in the Glasnevin lands acquired by a son of the first Viscount Mountjoy, to whom Helsham was executor.³

At the same time as Tickell, James Belcher, a member of a family that supplied more than one governor to the American colonies, appears as a resident at Glasnevin. He held the offices of pursuivant

¹ Registry of Deeds, Co. Dublin Leases. 82, f. 340, 83, f. 148; "Swift's Correspondence," iii, 198, 304; "Orrery Papers," i, 184.

² "Orrery Papers," i, 160-171; O'Keefe's "Recollections," i, 212. A tablet in Glasnevin Church bears this inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Tickell, Esq., who was born in 1686 at Bridekirk, in Cumberland; he married in 1726 Clotilda Eustace; died in 1740 at Bath, and was buried in this churchyard: he was for some time under secretary in England, and afterwards for many years secretary to the lords justices in Ireland, but his highest honour was that of having been the friend of Addison: the said Clotilda Eustace was the daughter and one of the co-heiresses of Sir Maurice Eustace, of Harristown, in the County of Kildare; she died in July, 1792, in the 92nd year of her age, and was buried in this churchyard."

³ "Exshaw's Magazine," 1748, p. 114; Swift's "Poems," ii, 326; Prerogative Will, Hon. Richard Stewart, 1729.

of arms and supervisor of the king's printing press in Ireland, and probably owed them to Tickell, as in his will, which was made a few years before his death in 1761, he desired that his body should be buried near that of Tickell. He is mentioned as a devoted admirer of the poets, and tried to represent figuratively Apollo and the muses in the design of his plantations.¹

IN THE TIME OF THE CELEBRATED MRS. DELANY.

At Delville, to which this history now returns, an event occurred in the winter of 1741 that made a great change in the life of Delany—the death of his first wife, who appears to have never enjoyed good health. She had several children by her first husband, Richard Tenison, including a daughter who married Robert Rochfort, afterwards Earl of Belvidere; but she was survived by only one child, an unmarried daughter of eighteen years of age. In his first wife Delany said that he lost a friend that was as his own soul; but he has left no clue to the terms on which he lived with his step-daughter. On the morning after his first wife's funeral he committed an act of extraordinary folly in burning his marriage settlement (that it was done in the belief that the settlement was useless can hardly be doubted in view of Delany's repeated affirmations), and to this act he made his step-daughter, who had found the settlement in a sealed envelope amongst her mother's papers, a party. Whether she saw reason to resent his conduct on that or any other occasion is not certain; but in a will which she made four months later she does not name him, and mentions those with whom he was afterwards engaged in litigation in terms of affection.²

At the opening of the year 1743 the death of Delany's step-daughter was announced, coupled with a statement that her estate of two thousand pounds a year devolved to Delany for his life, and three months later Delany was on the road to London to propose for his second wife, the famous Mary Granville, grand-niece of the first Earl of Bath, and niece of Baron Lansdown, of the Granville family. As a girl she had been married to a Cornish gentleman called Pendarves, but she had been for nearly twenty years a widow.

¹ "Winstanley's Poems," p. 90; Prerogative Will; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1764, p. 396.

² Josiah Brown's "Reports," v, 300; "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," ii, 210; Prerogative Will, Margaret Tenison, 1742.

Through Irish friends she had made the acquaintance in London of Delany and his first wife before their marriage, and she had been in Dublin on a visit during the first years of their married life, and had seen much of them. Within twelve months from the death of his first wife Delany had been by gossip-mongers married to his second; within sixteen months he had proposed for her; and within eighteen months, in the beginning of June, 1743, he was married to her.¹

At the time of their marriage Delany was in his fifty-ninth year, and Mrs. Delany in her forty-fourth year. In his eyes she was "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, but terrible as an army with banners"; and in her eyes his qualities of mind were only surpassed by his qualities of heart. After their marriage every effort was made by Mrs. Delany to impress her friends with a sense of Delany's fitness for a seat on the Irish episcopal bench; and before they left London, where they remained for a year, the honour of preaching before the king was granted to him, and the dignity of Dean of Down conferred upon him, with a promise which was never fulfilled of a bishopric in the future.²

When Mrs. Delany arrived at Delville as its mistress in the summer of 1744, she was in ecstasy with it. Never was seen a sweeter dwelling or a more delightful place. She described the house and grounds much as they are to-day. The house stood, she wrote to her sister, on rising ground, and was approached through a court round which a coach and six could be driven. The front was two stories high, with five windows across the top story; and in the centre of the lower story there was the hall-door, which was approached by six steps, and provided with a portico. On entering the hall, which was furnished with a handsome ceiling and Doric entablature, there were, on the right, "the eating parlour," with a bow-window; and on the left, a room designed for a chapel. From the hall a stone staircase, "well finished with stucco," led to the upper story, where there were the drawing-room, in which tapestry, crimson mohair chair-covers, and looking-glasses were conspicuous, and two bed-rooms. Behind these principal rooms there were others: on the ground-floor, a second hall, breakfast parlour, and bed-room, and above it, Delany's library,

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine," 1743, p. 51; "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," i, 227, 369, 396; ii, 210, 217.

² "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," i, 296; ii, 289, 301; iii, 389.

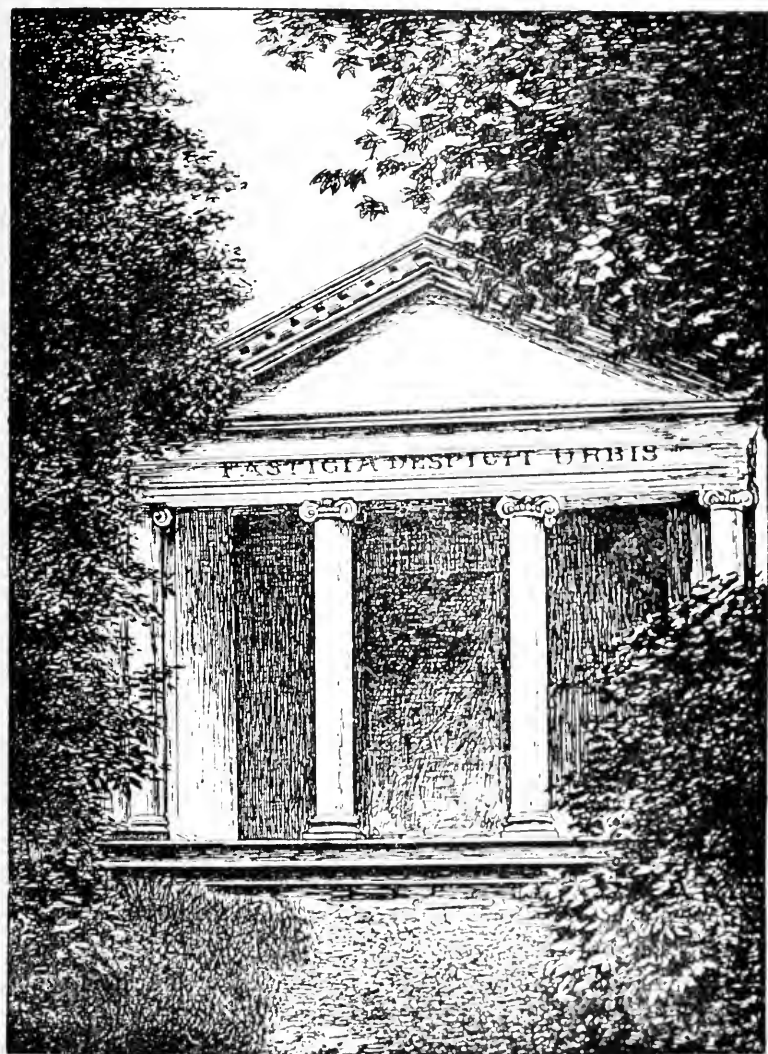
and Mrs. Delany's boudoir, her English room, as she called it, and some more bed-rooms.

The grounds she describes as being chiefly laid out in paddocks, planted, "in a wild way," with trees and bushes. A stream flowed through them, and an attempt was made to convey an impression of park-like extent by stocking them with deer. Behind the house there was a bowling-green, which sloped down to the stream, and to the left of it there was a terrace-walk with a parterre surrounded by elm trees and flowering shrubs. Thence, another walk led to a temple, which was afterwards celebrated for containing a portrait of Stella, and bearing an inscription ascribed to Swift, "fastigia despicit urbis," but of which Mrs. Delany gives no further particulars than that it was "prettily painted within and neatly finished without." On the left of the walk, leading to the temple, there was a representation of a ruined castle with a vault beneath; and in various parts of the grounds, which were encompassed by terrace-walks and banks of evergreens, there were shady seats, especially one known as the "beggar's hut," and another which just held her and her husband overlooking "the purling rill."¹

The marriage of the high-born Mary Granville to Delany was not viewed with favour by her family, and a promise was exacted that every third year should be spent by them in England. This promise was not forgotten, and of the twenty-five years of their married life, no more than fourteen and a half were spent in Ireland. In this country the embellishment of Delville was one of Mrs. Delany's chief occupations, and on the ceilings of some of the rooms stucco work which she made with her own hands is still to be seen. In the autumn of 1747 she mentions that an addition had been built to Delany's library, and, although only twelve feet square, room was found in it for two windows, a mock one of looking-glass, and pilasters. Again, in the autumn of 1750, while Delany was occupied in thinning his trees, she says that she was busy having her dressing-room hung with dove paper, and preparing closets for painting and carving and holding her collections of fossils, minerals, and drawings. But her chief effort was not made until 1759, when the chapel was finished, and her bedroom supplied with new window-sashes made "in the narrow way," and glazed with glass procured specially from England. The

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, ii, 306, 309, 314.

decoration of the chapel was largely the work of her own hands. The ceiling and four gothic arches in the chancel were covered with



TEMPLE AT DEEVILLE

imitation stucco made of cards and shells, and round the principal window, which had a star of looking-glass in the centre, she placed a wreath of vine and oak branches entwined, with grapes and corn

intermingled, the branches being made of cards, and the grapes of nuts and periwinkles, while the corn was real corn painted. For the seats she provided covers, which she worked without any pattern in chenille, the design being borders of oak branches, with roses of every colour except yellow, on a back-ground of black, "to give a sense of gravity."¹

On some of the Delville herd of deer Mrs. Delany conferred the names of her relations and closest friends, and these favourites were to enjoy life for the natural term, but the remainder of the herd, which numbered some eighteen head, provided "as fine venison for fat and taste as could be eaten." To marauders the herd was a strong temptation. On one occasion a man was caught pursuing them with dogs, and on another occasion several men appeared "in the park" with guns, and fired on the servants, one of whom was dangerously wounded. Besides the deer, Mrs. Delany refers to wild ducks and pheasants being preserved in the grounds.²

At Delville, in Mrs. Delany's time, the hospitality was unceasing. It was one of the first houses visited by Lord Chesterfield when in Ireland as viceroy, and it was also the last. On the first occasion, in the autumn of 1745, he came to breakfast, the house being "as spruce as a cabinet of curiosities," and was accompanied by Lady Chesterfield; and on the second occasion, in the spring of 1746, he came at twenty-four hours' notice to dinner, and said he had reserved Delville as a *bonne-bouche* before leaving. While the Delanys were in England, in the winter of 1747, there was an idea of Delville being occupied for a time by Lord Chesterfield's successor, Lord Harrington, but he arranged finally to stay at Mount Merrion. Some conception of the state kept at Delville is to be gathered from the description given by Mrs. Delany of their proceeding to church. On a Sunday in May, 1745, she tells how they went to morning and evening service, accompanied by eight guests, who came to dinner, and attended by their "pretty numerous" train of servants. "You cannot think what a gay appearance we made as we walked through the garden," she writes to her sister. Once again, in 1752, on a Sunday, while the bell rang for morning prayer, her cook was married by Delany, and she tells of their marching through the garden at the head of a long

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," ii, 474, 593, 600; iii, 562-565.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 602, 630; iii, 15, 39; Sleater's "Public Gazetteer," v, 338.

procession of men and maids with white ribbon favours, "a gallant show," as she writes to her sister.¹

The year after their marriage, in 1744, Delany published a volume of sermons on "Social Duties," and ten years later his famous "Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks on Swift" appeared. The latter work, which was issued anonymously, was published in the summer of 1754, just after the Delanys had returned to Delville from a visit to England, and in her letters Mrs. Delany mentions more than once her gratification at the commendation bestowed upon it. It was never to be owned, and much amusement was given them by a friend asking Delany his opinion of it; but it was generally believed to be by him. When, early in the next year, Deane Swift's "Essay on Swift" came out Mrs. Delany's indignation exceeded all bounds: in her opinion it was the most abusive book ever written, and the treatment of Delany was indecent. In 1757 Delany published a periodical entitled the "Humanist," in which examples of the female character were mingled with denunciation of such practices as docking horses' tails, and in 1766, two years before his death, he published another volume of sermons entitled "Discourses and Dissertations upon Various Subjects."²

Notwithstanding the round of society and of expenditure in which Delany and his second wife lived, there was hanging over him continually a cloud of litigation affecting his personal character, and involving the possible loss of all the means which he had derived from his first wife. That anyone should doubt the purity of his intentions in burning his marriage settlement was a thing that he could not understand, and that he should lose his cause was a thing beyond his belief. He lived in perpetual optimism; in the midst of the litigation, in the year 1754, he purchased a London house, and when the House of Lords gave a decree in his favour on a subsidiary point, although the judges did not allow him to escape without criticism, he made up his mind that all his troubles were at an end. But the year before his death, in 1767, when he had attained the great age of eighty-two, on fresh proceedings being instituted against him, his spirit gave way, and he decided to retrench and retire to Bath. On his way thither, in London, he made his will, in which he laboured to prove that

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," ii, 347, 395, 436, 535; iii, 100

² *Ibid.*, iii, 279, 286, 287, 327, 329.

Delville and his London house, which were all that he had to bequeath, would realize the amount which he had settled upon his second wife. To his will he appended a solemn declaration that he was innocent of the crime of spoliation in regard to his step-daughter, with a prayer that his "enemies, persecutors, and slanderers" might be forgiven, and that their hearts might be turned. In the following spring, on May 6, 1768, his death took place at Bath, whence his body was conveyed to Glasnevin for interment.¹

When Mrs. Delany came to Delville in 1744, Mrs. Barber's second son, Rupert Barber, who was a portrait-painter, was living in a house adjoining the grounds. He was known in his day as a painter of miniatures in enamel, but is now remembered from portraits executed by him in crayon of Swift. Whatever the original connexion between Delany and the Barbers may have been, it had been strengthened by young Rupert Barber's marriage to a niece of Delany, and some months after her arrival, Mrs. Delany mentioned that a nephew of Delany, who acted as his steward, was about to marry a niece of Mrs. Barber. In Mrs. Delany's letters there is frequent reference to "the Barber race," especially to Mrs. Barber, who resided not far from Delville, and who was in very bad health. After years of suffering she died in the summer of 1755, being apparently survived by her husband, who is mentioned by Mrs. Delany a few months before as not caring a pin for his family, and spending his time drinking claret and smoking.²

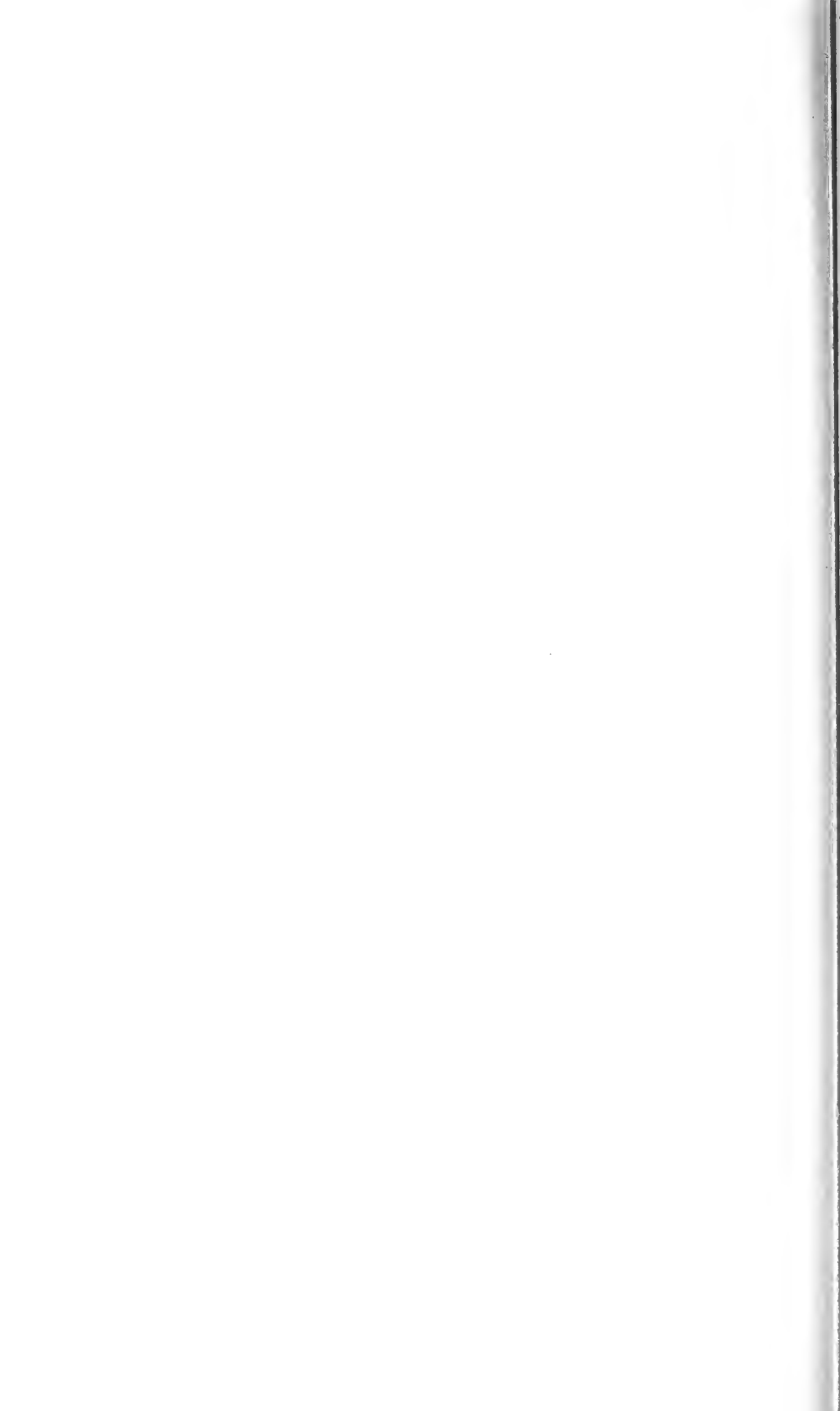
As a neighbour, Mrs. Delany refers also to Tickell's widow, who reminded her of "a good actor performing an odd part," for, though not wanting in wit and good sense, Mrs. Delany describes her as emotional and volatile and ringing the changes between crying and laughing. At that time, 1753, her eldest son, John Tickell, was living with her, but he took the side of the Government on the occasion of the anti-union riot in Dublin at the close of George the

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," iii, 294, 490; iv, 102, 108; Harris's "Life of Hardwicke," iii, 167; Prerogative Will. A stone in Glasnevin churchyard bears this inscription: "Here lieth the body of Patrick Delany, D.D., formerly Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, late Dean of Down, an orthodox Christian believer, and an early and earnest defender of Revelation, a consistent and zealous preacher of the Divine laws, and an humble penitent, hoping for mercy in Christ Jesus, he died the 6th day of May, 1768, in the 84th year of his age."

² "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," ii, 316, 335, 339, 410, 416, 462; iii, 327, 356; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1755, p. 336.



STAIRCASE IN DETAIL



Second's reign, when the Parliament House was invaded by the mob, and he was obliged to leave Ireland on account of the unpopularity his conduct provoked. At that time he was proposed for membership of the Dublin Society, and was rejected, being the first candidate who suffered that fate.¹ Another neighbour mentioned at the same time by Mrs. Delany was a barrister, Hugh Eccles, whose wife was the only child of Isaac Ambrose, and whose son, Ambrose Eccles, became known as a Shakespearean scholar. He was residing in the house owned by his father-in-law, who died in 1751, and had also property at Cronroe, in County Wicklow, which Mrs. Delany, who visited it, considered the most beautiful place that she had seen in Ireland.²

But the principal resident in Mrs. Delany's time was Henry Mitchell, some time member of parliament for Bannow, and treasurer of the Barrack Board, who had succeeded John Putland in Glasnevin House. He was a banker, a very wealthy man, and is said to have had great skill in horticultural design. In his time the gardens and demesne of Glasnevin House became celebrated, and attracted everyone from the viceroy downwards.³ In addition to Henry Mitchell there may also be mentioned as residents at that time in or near Glasnevin, a friend of his own, Thomas Egerton, a member of the Tatton family, who died in 1756; Samuel Fairbrother, a publisher disliked by Swift, who died in 1758; William Purdon, whose wife died at Claremont in 1760; Colonel Peter Renourd, a man of very high reputation, who died in 1763, and Charles Davys, an ally of Lord Blayney, who died at Hampstead in 1769.⁴

CONCLUSION.

The village became in the later part of the eighteenth century a favourite resort of Dublin citizens. At the Bull's Head preparations were made as early as the year 1761 to cater for them. The owner,

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," iii, 205; Brit. Mus. MSS., 32984, f. 350; Berry's "History of the Dublin Society," p. 86.

² "Exshaw's Magazine," 1751, p. 56; 1753, p. 335; 1761, p. 184; "Dict. Nat. Biog.," xvi, 348; "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," iii, 17, 124.

³ "Exshaw's Magazine," 1766, p. 587; 1768, p. 577; Puc's "Occurrences," 1762, April 24-27; Prerogative Wills.

⁴ "Exshaw's Magazine," 1756, p. 552; 1758, p. 192; 1760, p. 460; Sleater's "Public Gazetter," vi, 610; Prerogative Wills.

Lancelot Donnelly, acquainted then his friends and the public that having fitted up his house in "a genteel manner," he had laid in a choice stock of wines and other liquors, and was determined to have a larder well stocked with provisions in season. His specialities were "neat claret," at twenty pence per bottle, and tea, coffee, and the best kinds of hot cakes; dinners were usually "as bespoke," but on Sundays at three o'clock there was "a good ordinary."¹

Glasnevin House was occupied after the death of Henry Mitchell, which occurred in the same year as that of Delany, 1768; by his widow and his son. In the nineteenth century it became the residence of the Right Rev. Charles Dalrymple Lindsay, Bishop of Kildare, and it is now the Convent of the Holy Faith.² Hampstead after the death of Charles Davys became the residence of Sir Richard Steele, who was created a baronet in 1768, while representing Mullingar in Parliament. He died in 1785, and the baronetcy was held by his descendants, who assumed the name of Steele-Graves, until 1878, when it is supposed to have become extinct. Hampstead was bequeathed by him to his second son, Smith Steele, who survived him for only two years, and died of a violent fever while serving as sheriff of Dublin county.³ Although Mrs. Delany hoped that Delville would become the residence of the lord chancellor or an archbishop, it came after Delany's death into the possession of an untitled landowner, John Westlake, who died in 1799 while in possession of it. It is said to have been occupied for a time by the editor of the "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and subsequently was the residence of Sir Marcus Somerville, the father of the first Lord Athlumney.⁴ Amongst other residents in or near Glasnevin in the closing decades of the eighteenth century there appear:—Miles Strickland, "a gentleman of considerable fortune in Yorkshire and Westmoreland," who died in 1770; Robert Edgeworth, who died in 1772; Edward Netterville, who died in 1777; John Cotton, an alumnus of Lincoln College, Oxford, who died in 1777; Gerald Dillon, who died in 1782; Thomas Taylor, a large

¹ Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," 1761, June 2-6.

² See Georgian Society Records, v. 87.

³ "Complete Baronetage," v. 376; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1787, pp. 224, 280; Prerogative Wills.

⁴ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," iv, 172; Prerogative Will, John Westlake, 1799.

land-owner, who made his will in 1787 ; and Maurice Peppard Warren, a great virtuoso, who made his will in 1797.¹

At the close of the eighteenth century Thomas Tickell's house and lands were sold by his grandson to the Dublin Society, and were made the nucleus of the Botanic Gardens ; and thirty years later the great cemetery was designed.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The church at Glasnevin, which is a building of the early eighteenth century, presents no feature of interest, and little information is to be obtained as to the ecclesiastical history of the parish. The death of St. Mobhi, who was known as clairineeh or the flat-faced, is recorded to have occurred on October 12, 544. It is believed that he perished of plague, as he had foretold that it was about to come, and had sent away the students, who are said to have numbered fifty, from Glasnevin. Of his successors as abbot there are recorded the names of Cialtrog, who died in 741 ; Elpin, who died in 753 ; and Maeltuile, son of Fethghnach, who died in 882.² After the Anglo-Norman invasion the church was assigned, together with the lands of Glasnevin, to the priory of the Holy Trinity. It appears in the ecclesiastical taxation of the thirteenth century as value for thirty shillings ; and some fifty years later it is mentioned as one of the churches belonging to the priory over which the archdeacon of Dublin established his right of visitation. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the wills of the inhabitants show devotion to the church. Geoffrey Fox's first wife desires to be buried in the nave, before the image of St. Mary, and leaves twelve pence to buy a cope for the priest ; Nicholas Barrett leaves twelve pence towards works then being executed in the chancel ; and Geoffrey Fox's second wife desires to be buried in the nave, and leaves two shillings towards the works and a towel for the use of the clergy.³

After the suppression of the priory and constitution of the cathedral establishment of Christ Church the church was served by a curate or vicar. In 1572 the curate is mentioned as entitled to the

¹ "Exshaw's Magazine," 1770, p. 389 ; 1773, p. 61 ; 1777, p. 440 ; Prerogative Wills.

² "Annals of the Four Masters."

³ "Crede Mihi," p. 138 ; Christ Church Deed, no. 232 ; Berry's "Wills," *passim*.

rent of a house at Glasnevin known as "the church house"; and in 1581 the vicar is mentioned as entitled to a proper rotation of crops on the Glasnevin lands to maintain his tithe. When the regal visitation of 1615 was held, the church was evidently not in a satisfactory condition, and the dean of Christ Church was admonished in respect to it, but it was returned as in charge of a curate, one Wybrants, a preacher. During the remainder of the seventeenth century the parish was served by the curate of Drumcondra, and the church was evidently in ruins.¹

The credit of rebuilding the church at the opening of the eighteenth century is given by Archbishop King to Sir John Rogerson, who is said by the archbishop to have contributed effectually to the work; but probably the project originated with the archbishop, who took a great interest in it. At that time the rectory was vested in the precentor and chancellor of Christ Church, who divided the tithes between them; and although the rectory seems to have been of very small value, the archbishop was unceasing in his efforts to induce the rectors to assist so far as lay in their power. The great difficulty was provision for payment of a curate, which Sir John Rogerson was of opinion should not be wholly imposed on the parishioners. In the beginning of May, 1707, Archbishop King wrote to the precentor that the walls of a new church were built, and the roof was ready to be put on, but that further progress was not likely. Later on in that month he persuaded, however, Sir John Rogerson to continue the building so as not "to lose the season"; and in September he was able to announce that the church was finished.²

From that time service has been constantly performed in it. As curate there appear—in 1708, Ralph Darling; in 1709, William Woolsey; and in 1711, Michael Hartlib. Between 1719 and 1727 the church was served by the chancellor of Christ Church, John Travers, who died in the latter year. Subsequently, there appear as curate—in 1727, William Poultney; and in 1735, Edward Parker. The latter owed his appointment partly to Delany, who was then chancellor of Christ Church, and he is said by Mrs. Delany to have been an ingenious and charitable man. He held the curacy for nearly

¹ Christ Church Deeds, nos. 1325, 1358; Regal Visitation of 1615; Diocesan Records.

² Archbishop King's Correspondence, 1707, May 10, 24; Sept. 2; 1725, Oct. 8.

twenty years, until 1753, when his death took place.¹ He was succeeded in 1751 by John Boyle, in whose time the church tower was rebuilt; in 1780, by Theobald Disney; and in 1785, by Travers Hume. During the nineteenth century the succession of incumbents was:—in 1805, Crinus Irwin; in 1809, Philip Ryan; in 1822, James Smith; in 1827, Richard Greer; in 1829, John West; in 1830, Walter Cramer Roberts; in 1838, Charles Stuart Stanford; in 1843, Charles Henry George; in 1845, Moses Margoliouth; and in 1847, Henry George Carroll: on whose death in 1896 the parish was united to Santry.²

¹ "Mrs. Delany's Correspondence," iii, 265.

² Diocesan Records; Parliamentary Returns; "Memorials of the Dead," vii, 37.

PART OF THE PARISH OF GRANGEGORMAN.

THIS parish, which is mainly a city one, contains land which formed in mediæval times a manor of the Priory of the Holy Trinity.

It is now divided by the Circular Road, and outside that road it embraces four townlands, viz : Cabragh (i.e. the bad land) and Grangegorman, Middle, North, and South.

THE NORTH CIRCULAR ROAD AND ITS VICINITY.

Such lands in the parish of Grangegorman as concern this history join on the north the parishes of Finglas and Glasnevin. These lands appear to have been at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, like those of Glasnevin, a possession of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and soon afterwards the priory acquired the remaining lands in the parish by deed of gift from Hugh Hussey, Lord of Galtrim, who had become possessed of them by a grant from the Crown. On their southern side the lands given to the priory by Hugh Hussey were only separated from the priory house beside Christ Church Cathedral by the Liffey, which was crossed at that point by the old bridge; but, notwithstanding their proximity to the canons' house, the Grangegorman lands, which were constituted a manor, were provided with a manorial residence, comprising a hall and several rooms. Its site is now indicated by Manor Street, near the Richmond Asylum, and where the north end of Manor Street lies there was in the fourteenth century a village of sixteen cottages, whose inhabitants included three ploughmen, a plough-driver, two carters, a lime-burner, and a thrasher. The manor house at Grangegorman was maintained independently of the priory house, and when the prior went to it provision was made by the Grangegorman servants for his entertainment. Thus in the summer of 1346, when he was conferring there with three of his neighbours, wine, ale, and bread were bought for him; and in the autumn on two occasions at night similar purchases, with the addition of larks, were made on his account. As a cellarer was included amongst the Grangegorman residents, and brewing was carried on there, it is remarkable

that the purchase of wine and ale should have been necessary ; possibly the cellarer's duties lay at the priory, and the Grangegorman ale was not of a sufficiently high quality for the prior. Besides the cellarer, the staff residing at Grangegorman included an overseer and ten servants, in addition to the farm servants, who included a bailiff, two foremen, two carters, and six ploughmen.¹

In the part of the lands which concern this history, where the modern Cabragh Road runs, there was in mediæval times a wood known as Salcock's Wood. It is said to have been the scene of an engagement between the citizens of Dublin and the O'Tooles, who were returning from a foray into Fingal ; and at a later period it provided a feeding-ground for swine, as well as valuable timber, and was carefully fenced and guarded. It is recorded that in 1493, on the feast of the Ascension, the ditch was broken down, and eight cows put into the wood, without leave, by an inhabitant of Little Cabragh, and that about the same time two ash trees were cut down by the wife of Donald Swinard. Fifty years later the priory covenanted to give one of its tenants eight oak trees and four ash trees from the wood for building purposes ; and in the lease of Much Cabragh to John Parker it was provided that he should be allowed to carry away annually six cart-loads of timber from the wood, and to keep forty swine in it, as well as to hunt, hawk, and fish there and elsewhere in the lordship of Grangegorman. He was also permitted to have six cart-loads of furze, which appears to have grown in large quantities between Grangegorman village and Glasnevin. At that time the chief land-marks in the parish were the road to Cabragh, now known as Manor Street, Prussia Street, and Old Cabragh Road, and the road to Ashtown, now known as Aughrim Street and Blackhorse Lane. On the road to Cabragh, near a place known as rotten row, a headless cross was to be seen ; and on the road to Ashtown, a place known as the long mile's-end marked the traveller's progress.²

After the constitution of the cathedral establishment of Christ Church, Grangegorman manor appears as the residence of the Right Hon. Francis Agard, who at the time of his death was the virtual ruler of Ireland. Beside the manor and farm of Grange-

¹ Christ Church Deeds, nos. 195, 469 ; Dillon Cosgrave's " North Dublin," p. 12 ; Mills's " Account Roll of Priory of Holy Trinity," *passim*.

² Dillon Cosgrave's " North Dublin," p. 17 ; Christ Church Deeds, nos. 988, 1105, 1179, 1195.

gorman there were leased to him by the chapter of the cathedral a barn, a kiln, and a sheepfold, a moiety of an orchard, and a meadow called Garget's mead, in which the chapter reserved a right to graze four horses. Like most prominent men in the Elizabethan age, Agard rendered service no less in a military than in a civil capacity. He appears in 1548 serving in Scotland under Lord Seymour de Sudeley as captain of a troop of horse, in 1566 rendering good service in the expedition against Shane O'Neill, in 1569 venturing his life as governor of the Wicklow tribes, in 1574 acting as head of a commission in Munster, and in 1576 allaying unrest in the eastern part of Leinster. In the autumn of the following year, 1577, his death took place. Of him all men spoke highly. Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was well known from his frequent visits to her court, relied on his experience and judgment more than on those of any other of her Irish officials; and her lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, spoke of Agard as his "fidus Achates," and said after Agard's death that a greater loss could not "in any sort have chanced with him."¹

At Grangegorman, Agard was succeeded by one of his sons-in-law, Sir Henry Harrington, a cousin of the famous Elizabethan writer, Sir John Harrington, and a brother of the first Lord Harrington, of Exton. In governing the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles—a task to which he also succeeded—Harrington came frequently into notice, and alternated between a policy of coercion and persuasion. In the field he proved himself a brave, although somewhat foolhardy, commander, but in his civil administration he relied usually on bribery, and brought on himself the censure of Sir John Davies for permitting "the barbarous customs of the people."²

At that time Salecock's Wood had been divided, and the plots were leased to various persons. In 1574, on account of his generosity to Christ Church Cathedral and renovation of a chamber adjacent to it, the Bishop of Meath was given one of these plots, and in 1594 no less than seven of them were let, the tenants including an alderman, an organist, a servant of the solicitor-general, and three clergymen.

¹ Christ Church Deeds, nos. 1268, 1269, 1327; Finlayson's "Christ Church Inscriptions," p. 13; State Papers, Irel., *passim*; Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*; "Book of Howth," pp. 24, 216.

² Sir John Harrington's "Nugae Antiquae," ed. Thomas Park, 247, 251, 267; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," *passim*; Collins's "Letters and Memorials of State," *passim*; Shaw's "Book of Knights."

Amongst the covenants provision appears for a supply of sillabub in summer, and the repair of "the common gate."¹

Agard left three daughters, and after the death of Harrington, which occurred in 1613, Grangegorman appears to have passed to the representatives of Agard's eldest daughter, who married one of her own kinsmen. About the year 1630, when the Lord Ranelagh of that day was negotiating for its purchase, the manor was in the market, but at the time of the rebellion of 1641 it was still in the possession of the Agard family, then represented by John Agard. In the Commonwealth surveys it is returned as containing five hundred acres under crops and three hundred under grass, with an old stone-house which was valued at no more than forty pounds. When the rebellion broke out a large farm at Salcock's Wood was in the possession of one Richard Mason, whose live-stock included thirty-nine cows and nine horses. Of these he was despoiled, and in a deposition made four years later he laboured to implicate in that act Henry Segrave of Little Cabragh and one Clarke of the Bay in Mulhuddart parish.²

After the Restoration the village of Grangegorman is returned as containing over forty houses, two being rated for four hearths and four for three, and the manor house, which was probably rebuilt, became the residence of Sir Thomas Stanley, one of Henry Cromwell's knights. Like many of Henry Cromwell's friends, Sir Thomas Stanley proved to be a good royalist, and represented in the Restoration parliament the county of Louth. With Tipperary and Waterford he was much identified, and appears to have been a friend of Valentine Greatrakes, famous for curing various ills by stroking the part affected. On his death in 1671, Sir Thomas Stanley left more than one son, and a daughter who married Henry Monck, an ancestor of Viscount Monck. His possessions at Grangegorman passed to his youngest son, Sir John Stanley, who is now remembered as Mrs. Delany's uncle, and when Sir John Stanley was created a baronet by William the Third, he was described as of Grangegorman. But Sir John Stanley's life was passed in England, where, through the influence of the Granvilles, he obtained various offices, and his principal connexion with Ireland was during the vicereignty of the Duke of Shrewsbury,

¹ Christ Church Deeds, nos. 1351, 1118-22.

² Erdeswick's "Survey of Staffordshire," p. 233; Exchequer Inquisitions, Clare and Dublin; Lismore Papers I. iii, 25; Civil Survey: Carte Papers, clxiv, 266; Trinity College Depositions of 1641.

when he filled the office of chief secretary. In a letter to Swift, who regarded him with no less love than esteem, he writes as one who was an utter stranger to the country, and says that it is "the most eating, drinking, wrangling, and quarrelsome one that ever he saw." In the early part of the eighteenth century Grangegorman became the residence of Sir John Stanley's nephew, Charles Monck, who married a granddaughter of Sir John Stephens of Finglas, and through her became possessed of Charleville, in the county of Wicklow. At the time of his death, in 1751, the northern part of the parish of Grangegorman had few, if any, houses upon it, and probably one of the earliest to be erected was the Female Orphan House, which was built in the opening years of the nineteenth century.¹

¹Heath Money Rolls; Complete Baronetage, iv, 179; State Papers, Dom., 1666, Feb. 21; Burke's Peerage; Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, *passim*; Swift's Correspondence, vi, 233; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1751, p. 672.

PART OF THE PARISH OF ST. GEORGE.

THE city parish of St. George contains lands which were in mediæval times part of the possession of St. Mary's Abbey.

It is now divided by the Circular Road, and embraces outside that road the townlands of Clonliffe (i.e., the herb meadow) East and West, Daneswell, Daneswell or Crossguns North, Drishoge (i.e., the bramble), Fairfield, Gooseacre, Greenmount, and Prospect.

THE VICINITY OF HOLY CROSS COLLEGE.

The part of St. George's Parish with which this history is concerned lies to the south-east of the parish of Glasnevin. It borders on the sea, and is crossed to the north by the river Tolka, and to the south by the Royal Canal, as they approach their exit in the port of Dublin.

Interest in this part of St. George's Parish centres in its representing a district known from very ancient times as Clonliffe, a name said by some to mean the meadow of herbs, by others the meadow of the Liffey. As Mr. Westropp has shown in "King Brian, the Hero of Clontarf," it was in this district that the great struggle between the Irish and the Norsemen was determined, and, although giving name to the battle, Clontarf saw only its close. But the district comes also into notice in connexion with the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, the site of which was within it. An ancient legend tells us that the owner, one of the chieftains called MacGillamochohmog, was blind, and that one day while engaged in deeds of charity there he had his sight restored on eating an apple, which had been borne by a bough that had sprung supernaturally out of his seat. Afterwards two other apples appeared, and these, according to the legend, he gave to his wife and to Mallaghlin, King of Meath, who were also blind, and their sight was similarly restored. Thereupon Mallaghlin desired MacGillamochohmog to sell him Clonliffe, and on his doing so

Mallaghlin dedicated the lands to the Virgin for a monastery of friars, who would, he prophesied, praise her name there for ever.¹

Under the Anglo-Norman settlement, Clonliffe was confirmed to the abbey, and, as it was on the borders of the city, its extent became a question of importance that gave rise on more than one occasion to litigation. In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1304 the grange of Clonliffe appears; some years later oxen and horses are mentioned as taken from it, and it is said to have been the birthplace of an abbot of St. Mary's, Stephen Lawless, who ruled the abbey from 1429 to 1437. After the dissolution of the religious houses in 1539 the grange of Clonliffe, which was then granted in common with the other possessions of the abbey to Walter Peppard, was estimated to contain just a hundred and fifty acres, as well as a messuage and water mill, and seventy years later, in 1611, when it was granted to Henry King, the grange was estimated to contain over two hundred acres, as well as the messuage, three cottages, and the mill.²

When the Commonwealth Survey was made "Mary's Abbey land and the grange of Clonliffe," which included two hundred and fifty acres, were in the possession of the Earl of Drogheda's ancestor, Viscount Moore, and on them there was a "fair stone-house slated with two stone-houses of offices," which were valued at a hundred and forty pounds, as well as the mill, which was valued at twenty pounds. After the Restoration this house, which was rated as containing eight hearths, appears in the possession of Mr. Munn, and subsequently of Mr. Leeson, while the miller of the grange had another house rated as containing four hearths.³

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Grange, as Clonliffe was then called, became the residence of Tristram Fortick, the founder of Fortick's alms-house. In his will, which was made shortly before his death in 1755, he mentions the charity-house built by him for poor women, and in certain eventualities, which did not occur, he bequeathed the residue of his property to found a similar house for men. After his death the Grange was called Fortick's Grove, and was occupied successively by Samuel Taylor, Henry Irwin,

¹ "King Brian," p. 19; Gilbert's "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," ii, xii.

² Gilbert's "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," *passim*; Sweetman's "Calendar," 1302-07, p. 240.

³ Civil Survey; Subsidy and Hearth Money Rolls.

and a famous theatrical character, Frederick Edward Jones, known to his contemporaries as Buck Jones.¹

In the early part of the eighteenth century the most conspicuous landmark in the Clonliffe district was the Red House, which is mentioned by Swift in one of his letters. It appears to have stood between Clonliffe and the sea, and to have survived until last century, when it was superseded by the modern Nottingham Street. On the other side of Clonliffe there lay Eceles Mount, which was then the country residence of Sir John Eccles, who was sometime lord mayor of Dublin. It was afterwards the residence successively of Joseph Damer, knight of the shire for county Tipperary, who died there in 1737, and of the Archbishop of Tuam. During the residence of the latter, the eccentric Richard Poekrich "projected to turn it into a cake-house, and for that purpose treated with his Grace, to whom he made several presents of young pigeons":—

From sea to land your thoughts now roam,
A project offers nearer home:
When Eceles Mount with Vauxhall vies,
And fancied mountains thence arise,
Thither your pigeons wing their flight,
The gudgeons now you think will bite;
But prelates know, I trow, what's what,
Too well by pigeons to be caught.

Later on there are found amongst its occupants in 1751 the widow of Sir Sheffield Austen, and in 1757 Nicholas Archdall. At the same time there appears near it a country house called Mountjoy, which was in 1761 occupied by Henry Gavan.²

¹ Prerogative Will; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1755, p. 118; Dillon Cosgrave's "North Dublin," pp. 61-64.

² Swift's "Correspondence," ii, 264; "Irish Builder," 1890, p. 29; "Dublin Gazette," 1736-7, March 4 5; Newburgh's "Essays," p. 227; Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, iii, 28, 29; "Complete Baronetage," iii, 71; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1757, p. 328; 1777, p. 696; Prerogative Wills.

THE PARISH OF CLONTURK.

(I.E. THE MEADOW OF THE SWINE.)

THE Parish of Clonturk is stated in the seventeenth century to have contained the townlands of Clonturk, Drishoge, Donnycarney, and Drumcondra.

It contains now the townlands of Ballybough (i.e. the poor town), Clonturk, Donnycarney (i.e. Caemach's Church), Drishoge (i.e. the bramble), Drumcondra (i.e. Conradh's ridge), Goosegreen, Marino, and Richmond.

DRUMCONDRA, WITH NOTICE OF MARINO AND ITS VICINITY.

To-day religious houses are the most striking feature of the parish of Clonturk, which lies to the east of the parish of Glasnevin, and north of the parish of St. George, on the high road from Dublin to Drogheda, and when its history opens religious houses predominated as owners of the lands which it contains. All Hallows' College, St. Patrick's College, St. Mary's College, and St. Joseph's Asylum for the Blind, which now bring Drumcondra renown, had their prototypes then in the Priories of All Saints and Holy Trinity and the Abbey of St. Mary, amongst which the lands were divided.

FROM MEDIEVAL TO TUDOR TIMES.

To the Priory of All Saints the lands in the modern townlands of Clonturk, Donnycarney, and Marino belonged. It owed them to its founder, Dermot Macmurrough, and it drew from them its chief supply of grain. Of life in them little is known. About 1230, Thurstanus, son of Vincent of the Strand, Peter, Bishop of Ossory, and William de Romsey are mentioned as having an interest in the meadow of Clonturk, which was then conveyed to the priory; in 1240, John Latimer, the owner of Coolock, is found adding to the extent of the Donnycarney lands; about 1391, John Hunt and his wife Joan were enfeoffed in a carucate of land at Clonturk by John Symcocks,

then the prior of All Saints; and in 1473 Nicholas Sheriff appears as resident at Clonturk.¹

To the Abbey of St. Mary the lands of Ballybough and Drishoge, which adjoined such of the abbey's possessions as are now comprised in St. George's Parish, belonged. At the beginning of the fourteenth century these lands began to be much traversed on the construction at Ballybough of a bridge over the Tolka, one of many public works that mediæval Dublin owed to the public spirit and munificence of a mayor called John Decer. Soon after its construction this bridge was carried away by a great flood, but another was built, and "the record of the riding of the franchises of Dublin" relates that at the close of the fifteenth century the city fathers were wont to ride on the city side of the Tolka until they came "by the gate of Ballybough" to this bridge, where they crossed the river and pursued their way along the foreshore to Clontarf. In 1376 an inhabitant of Ballybough, John Stoad, was made the subject of one of the attempts of the city authorities to exercise jurisdiction over the possessions of St. Mary's Abbey; and in 1510 the city had officers at Ballybough, who were employed by the coroner to watch some criminals who had sought sanctuary in St. Mary's Abbey.²

To the Priory of the Holy Trinity the lands of Drumeondra, on which St. Joseph's Asylum for the Blind now stands, belonged. These lands were in mediæval times within the manor of Glasnevin, and service had to be rendered there by the Drumeondra tenants, as appears from a lease of the town of Drumeondra, with "the farms appertaining" and the tithes, made in 1483, to a husbandman called John Heylot and his wife Katherine.³

At the time of the dissolution of the religious houses in 1539 Clonturk was returned as containing a hundred and fifty acres under crops, seventeen acres under grass, and five acres under copse and underwood, with six messuages, six cottages, and a dove-house; Donnyearney was returned as containing a hundred and twenty acres under crops, twenty-two under grass, and two under copse, with a messuage, and five cottages; Ballybough, which was leased to

¹ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," *passim*; Sweetman's "Calendar," 1302-07, p. 239; Berry's "Wills," p. 51.

² Gilbert's "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," *passim*; D'Alton's "History of Co. Dublin," pp. 57-59; Archdall's "Monasticon," p. 143.

³ Christ Church Deeds, no. 1043.

William Leche and Agnes, the widow of Richard Young, was returned as containing a hundred and fifty acres under crops, and five under grass, with two messuages; and Drishoge, which was leased to William Walsh, was returned as containing fifty-four acres under crops, eight acres under grass, and ten acres under copse. It is evident that the lands were then very thinly inhabited, and probably they felt still the effects of the rebellion of Silken Thomas, during which an engagement had taken place between the insurgents and the forces of the Crown at Ballybough Bridge, resulting in a great slaughter of Englishmen there and at Clontarf.¹

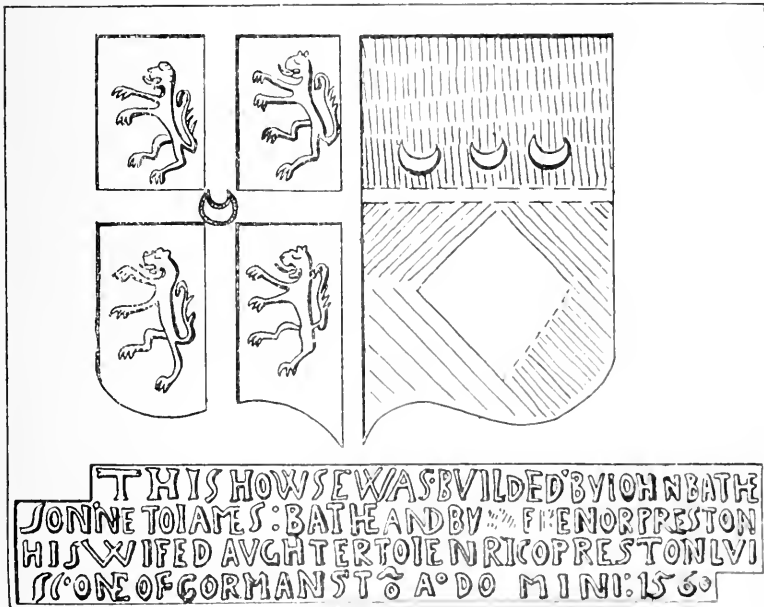
By the Crown, Clonturk and Donnycarney were granted, together with the other possessions of the Priory of All Saints, to the Corporation of Dublin, and they were leased by the Corporation to middlemen, including, in 1540, Nicholas Stanyhurst, and in 1558 John Chaloner. Subsequently the lands were divided, Clonturk being leased to the owners of Drumcondra, and Donnycarney to the recorder, James Stanyhurst. The recorder's tenure was but short; and in 1570 Donnycarney was leased direct to the occupier, Christopher Hetherington, who was bound, amongst other obligations, to supply the mayor every Christmas with "a good and sufficient brawn," and to till the land "well and truly" in order that, "for lack of good and diligent tillage, the tithe shall not be diminished."²

The settlement of a branch of the ancient Meath family of Bathe on the lands of Drumcondra, in the middle of the sixteenth century, gave them pre-eminence in the parish, and for many generations the other lands occupied a secondary position. In connexion with Drumcondra the first member of the family mentioned is the chief baron, to whom there has been reference as an occupant of Drimnagh Castle. For over thirty years James Bathe, who belonged to the house of Beshellstown, held that office, and during that time he served with equal acceptance Henry the Eighth and his three successors. Under Henry the Eighth he is seen acting as an agent of Thomas Cromwell, and urging on a recalcitrant colleague the obligation of submission to the Government; when Mary ascended the throne he was foremost in accepting her rule, at the time being in London;

¹ "Register of All Hallows," p. liv; "Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey," ii, 44; "Book of Howth," p. 194.

² "Register of All Hallows," p. xxx; Gilbert's "Records of Dublin," i, 471; ii, 34, 61.

and before Elizabeth had been long on the throne he displayed much anxiety to increase the Crown revenues, and deplored that his want of knowledge of minerals was likely to be a hindrance. As mentioned in connexion with Drimmagh Castle, he married the widow of one of its owners, Robert Barnewall, who died in 1535, and occupied it during the long minority of his stepson. While living in it, in the year 1550, the lands of Drumcondra were leased to him by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, as successors of the Priory of the Holy Trinity; and after the surrender of Drimmagh Castle to his stepson, in 1553, he is described as of Drumcondra until his death, which occurred in 1570.¹



TABLET AT DRUMCONDRA.

But an Elizabethan castle which was erected on the Drumcondra lands, where St. Joseph's Asylum for the Blind now stands, was, according to a tablet preserved in St. Joseph's Asylum, the work of the chief baron's son, John Bathe, who held in turn the offices of solicitor- and attorney-general, and chancellor of the exchequer. He

¹ Christ Church Deeds, nos. 1227, 1240; Monk Mason's Manuscript Collection; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," i, 385; Haliday Manuscripts, p. 162.

was married twice : first, to Elenor, daughter of Jenico, third Viscount Gormanstown, who is commemorated with him on the tablet; and, secondly, to Janet, daughter of Patriek Finglas, of Westpalstown. In the acquisition of property he displayed remarkable ability. Within the immediate neighbourhood of Drumcondra he appears as tenant for the lands of Clonmel and the lord's meadow in Glasnevin manor, and for the lands of Clonturk and Ballybough; and further a-field, at Balgriffin and Chapelizod, he obtained old possessions of his mother's family, the Burnells. Although holding office under Elizabeth, he has been claimed as a devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church; and his children professed in later life that faith. While living at Drumcondra both he and his father were the victims of dishonest persons; in his father's case the loss was no more than a candlestick worth four shillings, but in his own case the loss included two coloured coverlets worth forty shillings, a feather-bed, a carpet and a coat worth ten shillings each, a tin bath and a couch worth five shillings each, and a linen coverlet worth three shillings.¹

After the death of John Bathe, which occurred in 1586, his castle at Drumcondra became the residence of a notable figure in the history of Tyrone's rebellion, Sir William Warren, who makes his appearance first as "the arch-traitor's" confidant in the arrangements for his marriage to Mabel Bagenal, the Helen of the Elizabethan wars, as Mr. Bagwell has called her. Warren's occupation of the castle was due to his marriage to the widow of John Bathe. Whatever doubt there may be as to John Bathe's religious principles, there can be none as to those of his second wife; and in his marriage to her Warren showed that he was not without sympathy with those who adhered to the Roman Catholic Church. He was the son of "an English possessor," known as the valiant Captain Humphrey Warren, who appears in Ireland under Edward the Sixth as an official in Munster, and afterwards under Mary and Elizabeth as an official in Ulster. At the time of his death in 1561, Humphrey Warren was a member of the council, with a seat in parliament for Carrickfergus, and held also a military command, in which he gained much distinction. By his wife Mabel Clifford, who was a Kentish lady, and had

¹ Hogan's "Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century," pp. viii, 363; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Christ Church Deeds, no. 1332; Records of Dublin, ii, 80, 94; Memoranda Roll, 21 Eliz.; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, 28 Eliz.; Fiants Eliz., nos. 247, 2169.

in the course of her life three other husbands,¹ Captain Humphrey Warren left two sons, Sir Henry Warren, who married a daughter of Archbishop Loftus, and Sir William Warren, who became an occupant of Drumeondra Castle.

About the time of John Bathe's death Sir William Warren was captain of a troop of horse, which reflected much credit on his judgment in the choice of men, horses, and equipment, and was employed by his brother's father-in-law, Archbishop Loftus, to carry on negotiations with the leader of the Scots in Ulster, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, to whom his father had been known. A few years later he was an applicant for the governorship of Carriekfergus; but his application was not well received on the ground of his alleged devotion to Tyrone's party, as well as on the ground that he was poor and needy, and inclined "to make his own commodity." The next year, 1591, found him, however, master of Drumeondra Castle, and thither one summer's day in that year the fair Mabel Bagenal came with him from her brother-in-law's house at Turvey to marry the Earl of Tyrone. To the castle they were soon followed by the bridegroom, who had been a guest at Turvey, and in the castle at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence of "ten English gentlemen of good sort," the knot was tied by the Bishop of Meath. For five days the castle was the scene of "very honourable solemnities," and then the happy pair departed for Tyrone's home, where rumour said Warren was no stranger, and sometimes accompanied Tyrone to Mass.

From that time Warren followed the moods of the government in the treatment of "the wicked rebel," one day trying to bring him to terms by persuasion, and the next by force of arms. In carrying out the latter policy he did not escape suspicion of disloyalty, and in the summer of 1596, after long negotiations with Tyrone, he was summoned from a sick bed in Drumeondra Castle before the Council, and received by the members with reproachful speeches and threats of being "laid by the heels." During the short reign of the Earl of Essex, from whom he received his knighthood, he was in constant request, and his castle at Drumeondra was the scene of one of Essex's greatest achievements in conferring the accolade, no less than eleven of the company emerging with that honour fresh upon

¹ An ancestor of the Earl of Meath, an ancestor of the Earl of Drogheda, and a kinsman of the Lord Mountjoy of that time.

them. But no sooner had Essex departed from the Irish shores, than Warren is found assuring Sir Robert Cecil that he would rather have the least bit of his love than the entire of that of the "Earl of Excess." With Cecil's aid he obtained then the object of his ambition, the governorship of Carrickfergus, which Cecil believed that he would fill with much advantage to the Crown at a time when Tyrone was expected to return to paths of loyalty; but, as Warren's death took place in 1602, he had little opportunity of showing his capacity. To what cause his premature death was to be attributed is not known, but possibly irritation which he displayed in intercourse with Archbishop Loftus, or a wound which he received at the battle of Benburb, may have had connexion with it.¹

Apart from the suspicion which his friendship with Tyrone brought upon Warren, his position was compromised by his wife's stepson, William Bathe, the eldest surviving son of the chancellor of the exchequer, entering the Jesuit Order. At the time of his father's death William Bathe was just of age. In the previous year, 1584, when he is said to have been a student at Oxford, he had published a work on music, and subsequently he presented to Queen Elizabeth a harp, of which he was himself the designer. At that time the sword was held in Ireland by Sir John Perrott, and to his favour William Bathe is said to have owed his introduction at Court. In the summer of 1587 and autumn of 1589, when the queen made grants to him of crown lands, he was probably in attendance on her, but in the winter of 1591 his departure for Spain on, as was supposed then, a political rather than a religious mission, terminated such intercourse as there may have been. Any subsequent visits made by him to the queen's dominions were, of course, secret; but he was probably in Ireland in the winter of 1599, when he executed a conveyance of his inheritance to his brother, and again in 1601, when he was chosen to accompany the Pope's nuncio to this country, and joined with him in writing an account of its condition.²

¹ "History of the Warren Family," by Rev. Thomas Warren, pp. 284-294; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Carew, 1589-1600, p. 188; Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," *passim*; "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.," iv, 298-311; Collins's "Letters of State," pp. 125, 140; Shaw's "Book of Knights."

² Hogan's "Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century," pp. 359-394; "Ibernia Ignatiana," p. 106, and "Description of Ireland in 1598," p. 38; State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Morrin's Patent Rolls, ii, 139, 190; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Jac. I, no. 60.

FROM THE STUART TO THE HANOVERIAN ACCESSION.

John Bathe, to whom William Bathe surrendered at the close of Elizabeth's reign his inheritance, was the chancellor of the exchequer's second surviving son by his first wife, and at the time of the surrender to him he was thirty-three years of age. He was then residing at Balgriffin, and continued for many years to do so. Meantime, Drumcondra Castle was occupied by his step-mother, Lady Warren. She was reputed to be very hostile to the English government, and was said to have often entertained at Drumcondra the Earl of Tyrone, who was in communication with her after his flight through one of her sons. In 1614 she married as a third husband Sir Terence O'Dempsey, who was created afterwards Viscount Clanmalier, but she died three years later. After her death her stepson, John Bathe, is described as of Drumcondra Castle, and resided there probably until his death, which occurred in 1634. He was twice married: first to a daughter of a legal worthy, Thomas Dillon, chief justice of Connaught, and secondly to the daughter of a civic worthy, Alderman Patrick Gough, who had been previously married to one of her paternal kinsmen.¹

During the rebellion Drumcondra as well as Finglas was occupied by the forces under Luke Netterville. At the close of the month of January, 1642, a patrol from Dublin was induced, by a man whom they met, to cross the Tolka in the hope of capturing at Drumcondra a small body of insurgents, but found themselves confronted by about five hundred men, from whom they escaped with difficulty; and a few days later reinforcements were said to be flocking to Drumcondra from Drogheda. The inhabitants suffered all the horrors of war. Francis Eccles, with his wife Tabitha, was forced to flee into Dublin, where he died from the hardships that he had undergone, and John Bathe's widow, who was residing in a house near Clonturk Church, was obliged to send her cattle to Balgriffin to save them from being raided.²

At that time Drumcondra, Drishoge, and Ballybough were the property of John Bathe's eldest son by his first marriage, James

¹ State Papers, Ireland, *passim*; Complete Peerage, 2nd ed., iii. 224; Records of Dublin, iii. 102; Funeral Entry.

² Trinity College Depositions of 1641, Francis Eccles, and letter in vol. xxxii. 7; Carte Papers, ii, 330.

Bathe, who married a daughter of Sir William Warren. The premises at Drucondra were returned as a castle, with a slated stone-house, a barn and gate-house, also slated, and three thatched houses, and were valued at five hundred pounds, more than the value placed on Dunsoghly Castle; and on the Drishoge lands there was "a fair brick-house" with a slate roof, which was valued at a hundred and forty pounds. The lands were mainly arable, out of four hundred only eighty being described as meadow or pasture. The lands of Clonturk belonged to John Bathe's eldest son by his second marriage, Robert Bathe, who was then residing at Balgriffin. On these there was the house occupied by his mother, which is described as "a fair slated stone-house," with offices, and was valued at two hundred pounds, and their extent was returned as two hundred acres, all but a fourth being arable. At Donnyearney the Hetheringtons appear to have been still in occupation when the rebellion broke out, one of them, Richard Hetherington, having married about that time a sister of James Bathe; but complicity in the rebellion no doubt terminated soon afterwards their tenure. The lands comprised a hundred acres under crops and fifty under grass, and on them there was a new slated house, built of brick, which a hundred years later was superseded by the erection of Marino House, and several other houses and cottages.¹

Within a year from the outbreak of the rebellion Robert Bathe's mother died. Her will² is mainly occupied by directions for her funeral, which she was, however, afraid it might not be possible in those difficult times to carry out with all the pomp that she desired. Her sons, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, the last in prospective as well as in existence, were to be clothed in mourning suits, and thirty poor children and forty poor women were to be provided with mourning gowns, stockings, bands and hats. As her bequests show, dress was a vanity from which she was not free, and special care is taken by her in the disposal of her golden hatband, her pearl hatband, and her hatband with gilt buttons. To Walter Enos she leaves silver to make a chalice, together with the vestments, stole, and alb that he daily used, and she mentions John Long, who was also evidently a clergyman, as her special friend.

¹ Civil Survey, Monck Mason's Manuscript Collection; Prerogative Will of Peter Bathe.

² In the Prerogative Collection.

During the Commonwealth the castle at Drumcondra declined in importance, and Donnycarney came more into notice. Before the Parliament had long established its power in Dublin the Corporation began to worship the rising sun, in the person of the governor of the city, Colonel Michael Jones, and decided in the autumn of 1648 to confer on him the freedom of the city, and to entertain him at a banquet, on account of "the love and affection" which the citizens were said to feel for him. Emboldened by these marks of their favour, Jones looked for a more substantial reward, and proposed that the lands of Donnycarney might be leased to him. The suggestion was adopted, and the lands were granted to him at a rent of five pounds, subject to his sending to the mayor a fortnight before Christmas "a good brawn," eight days before that feast twelve barrels of wheat, and before the end of March six barrels of malt, "heaped and well conditioned," and eighteen barrels of oatmeal. To this lease was soon added one of the lands of Clonturk, on condition that the city was secured against any claims from the Bathes, and on Jones's death in the winter of 1649 these leases came into the possession of his sister, Mary Elliott, who in making her will six years later mentioned them with "her flaxen wheel" and other chattels.¹

At that time Donnycarney House had become the residence of William Basil, who for the first nine years of the Commonwealth was attorney-general, and for the last two years chief justice of the chief place in Ireland. He belonged to an English family, of which more than one member had received legal training at Lincoln's Inn, but he was connected by property with the north of Ireland, and married as a first wife a sister of the first Lord Kingston, and as a second a sister of the third Lord Charlemont. Shortly before the Restoration the inhabitants of full age on the Donnycarney lands were returned as eight of English and six of Irish descent, Basil and one Peter Vaughan being the only persons of position; and after the Restoration Donnycarney House, which was still occupied by Basil, appears as rated in 1664 for eight and in 1667 for fifteen hearths.²

Before the Restoration Drumcondra, which included possibly Clonturk and Drishoge, had a population of over a hundred persons of full age, twenty-seven being English and eighty-six Irish, the chief

¹ Records of Dublin, iii. 458, 467, 468, 479; Prerogative Will.

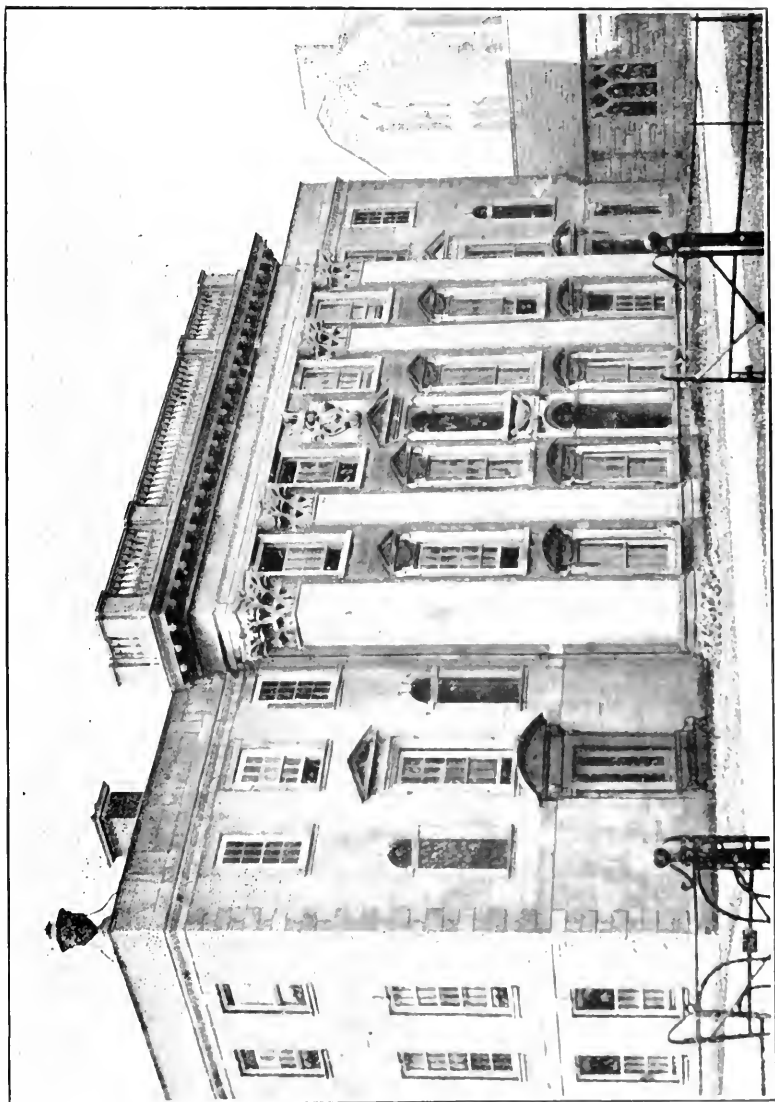
² Lodge's "Peerage," iii. 438, 233; "Lincoln's Inn Admissions"; Prerogative Will; Census of 1659; Hearth Money Rolls.

resident being John Smyth; and after the Restoration there are returned under the denomination of Drumcondra seven houses with one hearth each, besides the castle, which contained eight, and was occupied by Nicholas Gernon. At the latter time the house on the Clonturk lands, which had been occupied by John Bathe's widow, was in the possession of Peter Bathe, a son of her step-son James Bathe, and was rated for seven hearths; and besides it there were some twelve other houses on the Clonturk lands, several of these being rated for two or three hearths each. At Ballybough the principal resident then was Andrew Cave, whose house was rated for three hearths, and besides it there were some five houses rated for one hearth.¹

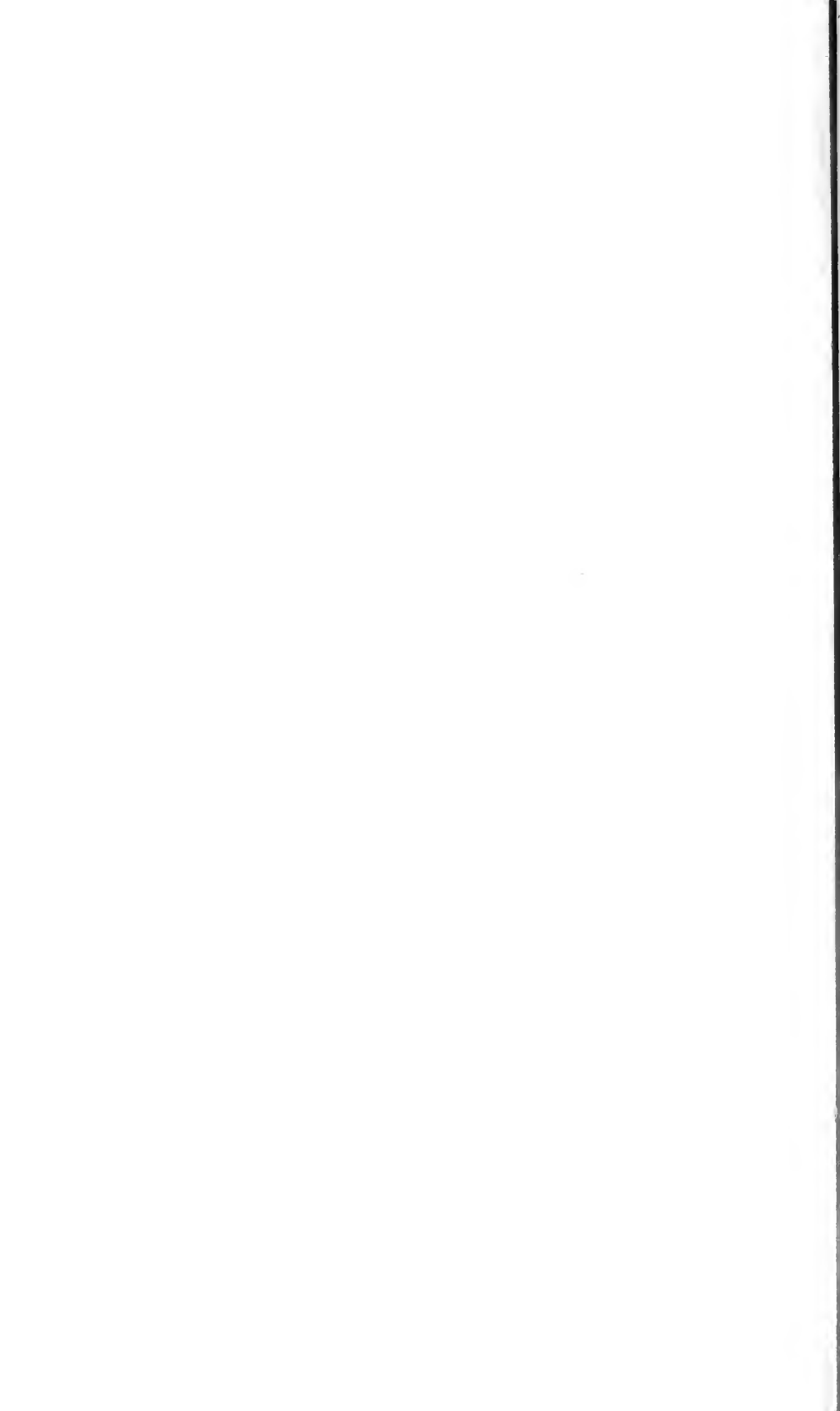
But in the first decade after the Restoration Drishoge became the most prominent place in the parish as the site of a house to which the name of Belvedere was afterwards attached. It was rated for eleven hearths, a house occupied by John Griffin which it superseded having been rated for three, and it was the residence of one of the most notable of the Irish judges of that day, Sir Robert Booth, who at the time of his death was chief justice of the king's bench. In regard to wealth as well as to ability, he had with perhaps one exception no rival on the Irish bench. He had been born heir to the Salford estate, now in the possession of Sir Josslyn Gore-Booth, and after his early education at the grammar school in Manchester he was entered as a fellow-commoner at Cambridge. In the opening years of the Commonwealth he was called to the bar, and a few months after the Restoration, when he appears to have been residing in Dublin, he was promoted at the age of thirty-four to the Irish bench as a justice of the common pleas.

While holding that office he visited England more than once, taking with him no less than six horses, and on one of these visits he received from Charles the Second the honour of knighthood. Ten years after the Restoration he was promoted to the chief seat in the common pleas, and he would have been transferred a few years later to the chief seat in the king's bench but for opinions which he had imbibed from a clergyman of puritanical views, whom his mother had married as a second husband. Under the terror of the Popish plot his opinions became, however, an asset in his favour, and on the

¹ Census of 1659; Hearth Money Rolls.



DURRANT HOUSE.



chief justiceship of the king's bench becoming again vacant, he was appointed to it. His reputation was then so high that his transfer to the English bench was considered not improbable, but his health had necessitated two years' absence from work, and very soon after his elevation to the king's bench, in the year 1681, his death occurred.¹

At Belvedere Sir Robert Booth, who left four daughters and no son, was succeeded by Sir John Coghill, judge of the prerogative court, and one of the masters in chancery. He was the head of an old Yorkshire family, seated at Coghill Hall, near Knaresborough, and had come to Ireland after the Restoration in the train of his compatriot, Archbishop Bramhall. His father, as well as more remote members of his family, had received legal training, and after some years' study at Oxford and in Gray's Inn, he had himself been called to the bar just before he came to Ireland. After his arrival in Ireland Sir John Coghill, who received his knighthood from Lord Clarendon, married one of the Cramer family, who were allied to the Stearnes, and he left on his death, in 1699, several children, who will be subsequently noticed.²

Before the Revolution Drumcondra had become a favourite outlet of Dublin, and a year before the battle of the Boyne a brewery belonging to the widow of one Giles Martin was carrying on a trade that necessitated the employment of seven horses. Afterwards the attractions of Drumcondra are mentioned by John Dunton as interfering with the assiduity of a bookseller known as Nat Gunn, who had recommended himself to Dunton by bidding generously at his auctions and by declaring himself an enemy "to Popery and slavery." At Drumcondra, as well as in Dublin, Gunn was probably famous, as he was evidently a great character, personifying, it is said, the art of stenography, in which, as well as in book-binding, he was skilled.³

After the Revolution the castle at Drumcondra appears as the residence of Captain Chichester Phillips, who represented the borough of Askeaton in the Irish parliament. He held the castle under a lease of it given in 1677 to Giles Martin by James the Second, to whom the Drumcondra lands had been granted after the Restoration, and during

¹ Hearth Money Rolls; "Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.," II, vi, 99.

² "The Family of Coghill," by J. H. Coghill, *postum*; Records of Dublin, v, 315, 438; vi, 209; Berwick's "Rawdon Papers," pp. 157, 172; Shaw's "Book of Knights"; Prerogative Will.

³ Records of Dublin, v, 618; Dunton's "Dublin Scuttle," pp. 319, 325.

the sale of the forfeited estates in 1703 he purchased the fee. The premises were then described as a castle with a dwelling-house, which was of brick, a stable, coach-house, and malt-house, another house of brick, and five cabins. Attached to these there were a garden and a yard surrounded by a wall, and lands estimated to contain two hundred and sixty acres. Captain Phillips was a grandson of Sir Thomas Phillips, who was prominent in the plantation of Londonderry, and was father of a clergyman whom Swift befriended. Swift's interest in the young man was on account of his mother, who as a Miss Hancock was nearly related to Swift's friends the Rochforts. From a reference in Swift's correspondence it is evident that Captain Phillips had been somewhat prodigal.¹

During the summer of 1712 Donnycarney House was visited several times by the great George Berkeley, then a junior fellow of Trinity College, in order that he might see the children of his friend Sir John Perceval, afterwards first Earl of Egmont, who were staying in it during their parents' absence in the south of Ireland. In writing to his friend, Berkeley speaks of his walk from Trinity College to Donnycarney as a lonely one, and alludes to the surroundings of Donnycarney as beautiful. He mentions a gallery in the house, in which he walked up and down with "the esquire," a boy of fifteen months, and refers to the garden and avenue, where he took also a walk with the same "brisk young gentleman."²

IN GEORGIAN TIMES.

At the time of the accession of George the First, Belvedere was the residence of Sir John Coghill's eldest son, Marmaduke Coghill, who was, like his father, a civilian, and had succeeded him as judge of the prerogative court. At the same time as the fee of Drumcondra, the chief interest in Belvedere was sold amongst the forfeited estates. The premises were then described as a brick house slated, a stable with a loft, also slated, and a malt house tiled. They had a fine entrance from "the great road to Drogheda," and an orchard and kitchen-garden. With them there were sold another slated house with a stable and garden, and a cabin. In his day

¹ Chichester House Claims and Sales; Return of Members of Parliament; Ball Wright's "Ussher Memoirs," p. 134; Swift's "Correspondence," v, 103, 211, 324; vi, 98.

² "Berkeley and Percival," by Benjamin Round, pp. 14, 98, 102.

Marmaduke Coghill occupied a most prominent place in the life of Dublin, and was remarkable for his early display of ability. At the age of fourteen he entered Dublin University; at the age of eighteen he graduated as a bachelor of laws; at the age of nineteen he was returned to parliament; and at the age of twenty-six he became judge of the prerogative court. For nearly half a century he occupied a seat in the Irish parliament: from 1692 to 1713 as a representative of the borough of Armagh, and from 1713 to his death, in 1739, as a representative of Dublin University; and during the last ten years of his life he held government office, first as a commissioner of the revenue, and afterwards as chancellor of the exchequer, with a seat in the privy council. In politics he was a Tory and a supporter of the Irish interest, but owing to his judicial mind and breadth of view he was courted by men of all shades of opinion. His own aversion to the position was the only bar to his unanimous election to the speakership, nay even to the office of a lord justice, and his peculiar qualities were shown in a still more striking way by his counting bishops of both Irish and English birth amongst his friends; indeed, Primate Lindsay, a ritualist of an extreme type, is said to have been the only member of the episcopal bench by whom he was not loved. In some lines entitled "A Wonderful Man" his character is thus described:—

I sing a subject sung by no men,
 A common man, and yet uncommon;

 No lawyer, advocate, or proctor,
 And yet he's all, and is a doctor;
 Common to land-men, and to seamen,
 Common to churchmen, and to laymen;
 The common and the sure resort,
 Both of the country and the court,
 Common to rich and poor, nay more, he
 Is common both to Whig and Tory.

From his father Marmaduke Coghill had inherited a lease from the Corporation of the Clonturk lands, and erected on or near the site of the one occupied by Peter Bathe a house which was afterwards known as Drumcondra House, and is now incorporated in the buildings of All Hallows College. For many years its gardens were Coghill's chief pleasure. Throughout his life he appears to have been a martyr to gout, to which his puny frame must have made him an easy victim,

and at times he was completely incapacitated by it from business. Four years before his death he speaks of losing the use of his limbs, and soon afterwards he made his will. In it he mentions, besides more important property, many personal belongings, his pictures, his coach and chariot, his gold snuff box and diamond rings, his gold case and stand from the East Indies, and his silver basin and ewer, with wash-ball, sponge, and powder boxes.¹

At that time the Strand, which stretched from the mouth of the Tolka to Clontarf was, especially in winter, the great resort of the fashionable world in Dublin, and there the leading people rode, drove, and walked. While riding "with his two servants, one before and the other behind him," Swift had an altercation on this strand with Lord Blayney, who was driving a pair of "high mettled horses" in a chaise, and in a statement which he drew up Swift represented that it was the only place near Dublin where he could ride with comfort in winter. The number on foot, who made the strand "a place of parade," was very great, and contemporary verses on the Liffey speak of visiting

The Strand to view the conquests you have won,
Where oft those eyes supply the absent sun.²

It is difficult to picture the neighbourhood of the strand, so different is it to-day, but some idea of the thin population of the district may be gathered from the fact that in the winter of 1735 Ballybough Bridge was the scene of a conflict between smugglers and revenue officers, and ten years later Drumcondra was the place chosen for the execution of four robbers, who were brought to the gallows directly after their sentence in the court of the king's bench. The only indication of industry was the existence of a bleach-green near Belvedere, which probably owed its origin to Marmaduke Coghill, and, as possibly an outcome of it, a factory for printing linen by copper-plate was established at Drumcondra in the middle of the century. It was then visited by Mrs. Delany, who was much impressed by the work, and purchased chintz curtains with a design of boys climbing

¹ Chichester House Sales; Inscription on Monument; Return of Members of Parliament; Letters to Southwell, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 21, 122-3; Wake's Letters in Christ Church, Oxford, 1720, July 6, August 3; Trinity College Library Press, A. 7. 4 (130); Prerogative Will.

² "Description of Dublin," by a Citizen of London, 1732, p. 25; Swift's Prose Works, xi, 388; "The Liffey: a Fable," 1726, p. 29.

an oak-tree, after some celebrated artist, which was so beautifully executed as to resemble etching.¹

As occupant of Belvedere, Marmaduke Coghill was succeeded by one of the few great advocates of that time, Henry Singleton, then prime serjeant-at-law, and afterwards successively chief justice of the common pleas and master of the rolls. Unlike that of Coghill, the career of Singleton was in no way phenomenal, and with the public he was not too popular.

There's Prime Serjeant Grand,
Who puts all to a stand,
With his jostle and shove to arise, sir,
He lays down the law,
With as haughty a paw,
As if he were judge of assize, sir.

But for many years before his elevation to the bench his reputation in his profession, in parliament, and in private life was very high, and had it not been for the fact that he was born in Ireland he would probably have attained to the woolsack. He belonged to a family identified with Drogheda, of which he was recorder, and for more than thirty-five years a representative in parliament. In addition to being an Irishman he had the impediment to promotion of being a Tory, and it was not until the arrival of Lord Carteret as lord lieutenant that government favour began to shine on Singleton, who was then a man of middle age. By Carteret the office of prime serjeant was conferred upon him. His appointment was, no doubt, chiefly due to his helping the government by a singularly able speech in a financial debate, but also in some degree to the fact that he was a great favourite with Carteret on account of his social qualities.²

Two years before his death, in 1737, Marmaduke Coghill made a formal lease of Belvedere to Henry Singleton, who was then in occupation of the house. They were close friends, and when Henry Boyle, afterwards Earl of Shannon, was elected to the speaker's chair, Coghill was active in support of Singleton, who was Boyle's most dangerous rival, and took pains to refute the notion that he was proud and haughty. Together with Belvedere, Coghill conveyed to Singleton

¹ Puc's "Occurrences," 1735, Nov. 15-18; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1745, p. 646; Marmaduke Coghill's Will; Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," iii. 180.

² Smyth's "Law Officers"; Brit. Mus. 839 m. 23 (172); Burke's "Landed Gentry,"; Swift's "Correspondence," v. 110; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 21, 122, f. 20.

a bowling green and premises known then as "John Fitzpatrick's house and garden." More than ten years later, in 1750, Singleton



MONUMENT TO MARMADUKE COGHILL.

was busy making additions to the house and alterations in the gardens. Mrs. Delany was called in to bless them, but did the reverse in private,

and speaks of the absurd style of a new room, and the folly of uprooting full-grown elms and large evergreens to make room for twigs. She threw the blame on a conceited connoisseur, to whom Singleton had given full dominion, but she condescended to come to Singleton's aid and to adorn a cave, containing "a cold bath," with her shell work. At that time Singleton was chief justice of the common pleas, a position to which public opinion had forced his appointment on a vacancy in the year 1740, notwithstanding his Irish birth; but a few years later, in 1754, he exchanged it for the mastership of the rolls, then a sinecure.¹

Marmaduke Coghill had never married, having, according to popular report, frightened the fair sex by expressing the alarming opinion that a man was entitled to beat his wife in moderation, and on his death in 1739 Drumcondra House passed to an unmarried sister older than himself, who had resided with him. Afterwards Miss Mary Coghill distinguished herself by erecting the present parish church of Clonturk, and by placing in it a statue of her brother. The statue was the work of Peter Scheemakers, who executed many of the monuments of that period in Westminster Abbey, and represents Coghill seated, in the robes of a chancellor of the exchequer. On his right hand there is a figure of Minerva and on the left of Religion, and underneath them are the arms of the Coghill family and a long inscription.² As tenant of a

¹ Registry of Deeds, 266, f. 26; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 21, 123, ff. 20, 24, 26, 32, 53, 58; 20, 104, f. 171; Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," ii. 555.

² "Marmaduke Coghill, eldest son of Sir John Coghill, of Coghill Hall, in the county of York, Knight, was born in Dublin on the 28th day of December, 1673; in 1687 he was admitted a fellow-commoner in Trinity College, Dublin; in 1691 he took his degree of doctor of civil law; in 1692 he was elected Representative for the borough of Armagh and in every succeeding parliament was unanimously chosen to represent the University of Dublin; in 1699 he succeeded his father as judge of His Majesty's Court of Prerogative; in 1729 he was sworn of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and appointed one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue; in 1735 he was admitted to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and held that post till his death; in public life his great abilities and unwearied diligence, the calmness of his temper, and clearness of his judgment, his extensive knowledge of the canon and civil laws, and his inflexible regard to justice rendered him a most discerning and impartial judge; his experience of the true interest of his Prince and of his country, and his strict attention and invincible regard to both, qualified him equally to discharge his trust as a counsellor and servant of the Crown and as a representative of the subject; in private life he was a most zealous active friend, the patron of merit, the arbitrator amidst jarring interests and parties; his universal benevolence, endeared by the most engaging and affable behaviour, and associated with the

house on Miss Coghill's land, it is at that time interesting to find one of Vanessa's friends and legatees, William Lingen, who was an official in Dublin Castle.¹

The great event in connexion with the Drumcondra district in the middle of the eighteenth century was the erection on the south-eastern part of the Donnycarney lands of Marino House, famous as the residence of the first Earl of Charlemont, the hero of the volunteer movement in Grattan's time. Prior to the year 1747, when his death occurred, Richard Warburton, a kinsman of the owner of Garryhinch and a member for the borough of Ballinakill, had resided in Donnycarney House, and subsequently Viscount Strangford, who has been noticed in Palmerstown, and William Netterville, who was a kinsman of Viscount Netterville and died in 1757, were living in or near it; but after the erection of Marino House and formation of its demesne, all other dwellings on the lands became insignificant. The builder of Marino House was Lord Charlemont's stepfather, Thomas Adderley, of Innishannon, in the valley of the Bandon, a man who in his day was constantly in the public eye as a politician and promoter of industrial enterprise. When telling of a visit which she paid in the spring of 1753 to a bachelor friend called Mount, who was living in "a little odd sort of dwelling" at Donnycarney, Mrs. Delany mentions that Adderley was building a house there, and praises the design and site. At that time it was evidently believed that the house was intended for his own occupation, but in the following year it appeared that it was to be a present to Lord Charlemont, who was then returning from abroad, where he had been for eight years. Within three years of their marriage Adderley had lost his wife, who was one of the Bernards, his neighbours at Innishannon; but he transferred his love to his stepchildren, and devoted the best years of his life to the care of them and promotion of their interests.²

greatest zeal and abilities, distinguished him in every scene and period of life as the friend of mankind, and caused his death to be justly lamented as a national loss; he died of the gout in his stomach on the 9th day of March, 1738/9, after a long and painful illness, which he supported with patience, fortitude, and resignation; Mary Coghill hath built this house for the worship of God, and erected this monument to the memory of so valuable a brother, whose body is laid in the vault belonging to his family in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin."

¹ Prerogative Will of Mary Whinrey.

² "Exshaw's Magazine," 1747, p. 56; "Dublin Journal," 1752, July 7-11; Prerogative Will of William Netterville; "Journal Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.," II, iii, 50; Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," iii, 225.

At first sight Charlemont, then a young man of six and twenty, fell in love with Marino, and formed the idea of making it a classic seat in Ireland. So far as the house was concerned, there was little to attract one accustomed to the palaces of the continent. When built, it stood close to the high road, which was afterwards moved farther from it, and with the exception of a gallery over seventy feet in length, which had been designed for the display of great collections of articles of virtu that Charlemont had made, its apartments were of modest dimensions. But its situation overlooking Dublin Bay, then undisfigured by railways and harbour works, recalled, as Charlemont first saw it under a summer sun, Italian scenes, and seemed to him to afford a fit setting for imitations of the architectural achievements of that country. Without a moment's delay he wrote off to an agent in Rome to procure designs for a temple and entrance gates. The design for the temple was sought from the foremost architect, Luigi Vanvitelli, and the fees demanded by him made the agent pause.¹

Meantime Charlemont's health gave way, and although expense would probably have had no deterrent effect upon him, the project had to be cast aside owing to his absence from Ireland. But notwithstanding his inability to give personal attention to its improvement, Marino was constantly in his mind, and while in London he caused large additions to be made to the demesne, and the gardens to be brought to such perfection as to provide a present of ten pine-apples for Mrs. Delany. He had also correspondence about the house, which was apparently not completed, with his stepfather, who tried to curb his extravagance, and suggested that the original plan should be followed. On his return to Ireland Charlemont lost no time in undertaking the erection of a temple in the grounds, but the classical style was relinquished for the gothic. This temple, which was being erected in 1762, and of which little trace remains, was an extensive and ornate building, containing a banqueting hall with a kitchen, and was remarkable for the beauty of its windows of painted glass and marble floor. In front of Rosamond's Bower, as this temple was called, there was constructed a lake, on which in Charlemont's time Carolina ducks were to be seen, and near which peacocks spread their tails: and round

¹ "Charlemont Manuscripts," i, 14, 196; Charlemont Correspondence in Royal Irish Academy, 1755, Dec. 24, 1756, Feb. 28.

it plantations, in which horticultural skill of the first order was displayed, were made.¹

After Henry Singleton's death, which occurred in 1759, Belvedere became the residence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Bowes, who has been already mentioned at Kilmainham. It is a curious coincidence that he should have succeeded Singleton at Belvedere, as he had been one of his greatest rivals at the bar, and had attained to the position to which Singleton aspired. He was in years much younger than Singleton, and in his standing at the Irish bar even more junior to him. But he had the advantage of English birth, as well as knowledge of English practice, before he came to this country, and was rapidly raised to office as third serjeant-at-law. His promotion to that position excited much jealousy, and in "A View of the Irish Bar," which has been already quoted, he is thus mentioned:—

There's Bowes a great beau
That here makes a show,
And thinks all about him are fools, sir ;
He winks and he speaks,
His brief and fee takes,
And quotes for it English rules, sir.

Although his talents would probably not have brought him to the woolsack without English birth, Bowes proved before long that he was a man of great ability, one of the most able, if not the most able, that practised at the Irish bar in the first half of the eighteenth century. While holding the office of solicitor-general, a position that he filled, with a seat in parliament for the borough of Taghmon, for nearly ten years, he is said to have shone in the debates on the question of the gold coinage ; and at the trial of the last Lord Santry his speech was a most remarkable oratorical effort. Of it Bishop Rundle wrote that he had "never heard, never read, such a piece of eloquence," and, coming from a member of the episcopal bench, this judgment is the more convincing, as Bowes was a critic rather than a friend of the bishops, and had supported a repeal of the test. After a few years' service as attorney-general, Bowes was raised to the bench as chief baron of the exchequer, a place which he occupied for sixteen years, and from which he was promoted to the chancellorship, which he held for ten years.²

¹ Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," iii, 455, 511, 566 ; "Charlemont Manuscripts," i, 228, 231, 271 ; *The Irish Times*, 1886, Sept. 16 ; "Recollections of John O'Keefe," i, 257 ; "Tour in North Wales and Dublin in 1780," p. 79.

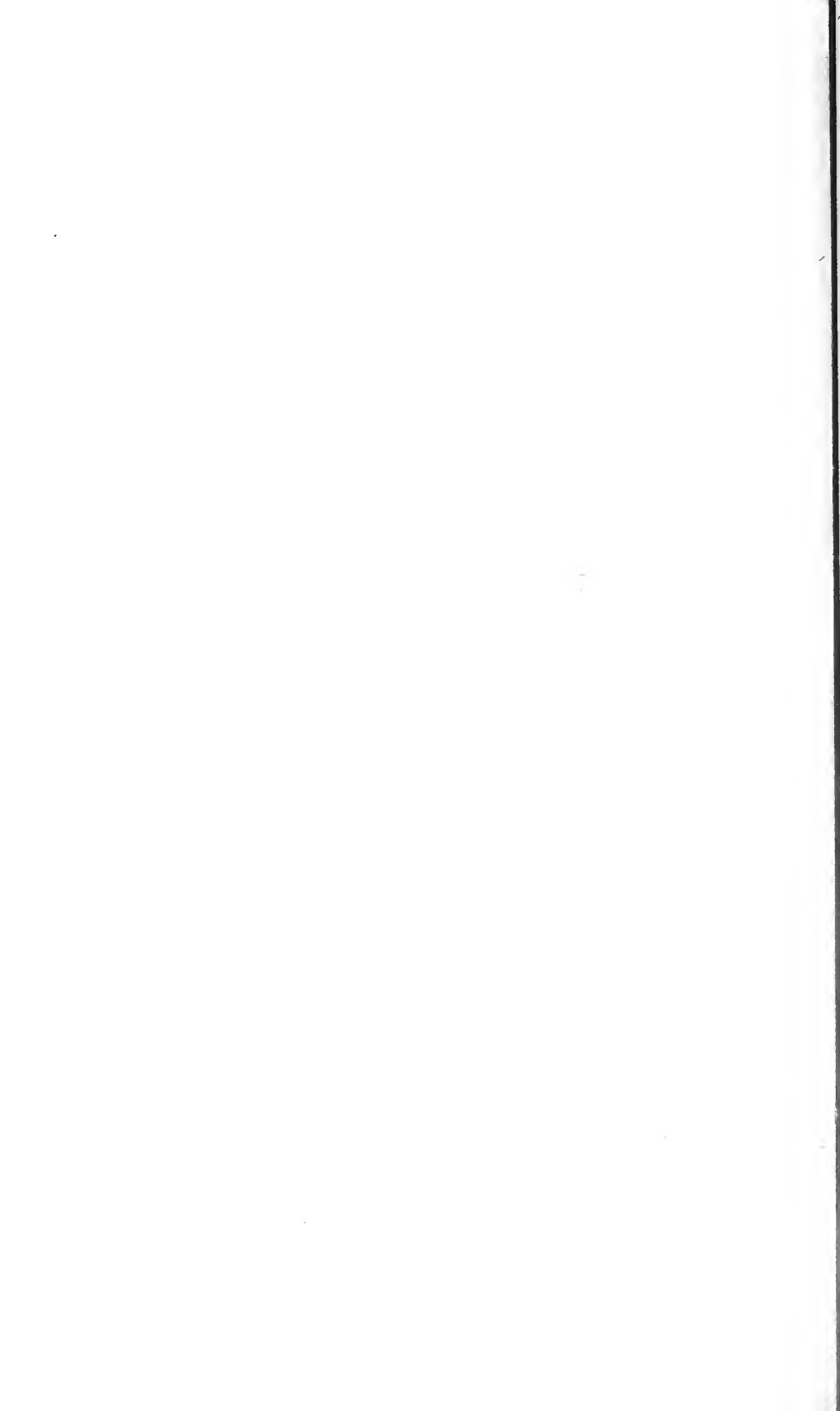
² Diet. Nat. Biog., vi, 58 ; Brit. Mus., 839, m, 23(172) ; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 32,690, f. 400 ; 21,123, f. 76.



BELVEDERE HOUSE.



MAYO HOUSE.



At Belvedere, Bowes is seen in the spring of 1762 entertaining the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Halifax, and in the winter of 1765 enjoying an abnormal bloom in his gardens. In letters to the learned Dr. Birch, whose researches still assist historical students, Bowes wrote as one who looked upon residence in Ireland as punishment; and even when a judge he was occupied in devising means for the protection of the English interest. Both judicially and privately he appears as a determined opponent to Roman Catholic claims, and he avows regret that the key-words Protestant and Papist should have given place to court and country. His acumen as a statesman has led Mr. Lecky to quote from some of his letters. In one of these he says that no state in Europe was then more flourishing than Ireland. To his gift for friendship his will bears witness, the long list of legatees including all degrees of men, from an archbishop of Canterbury to a man-cook and porter, and of his love of the fine arts the same document contains also proof. According to Mrs. Delany, who bore him no goodwill on account of his taking a view adverse to Delany in his litigation, Bowes was soon after his elevation to the woolsack in a state of health to unfit him for his duties, with his ankles swollen larger than the calves of his legs; but he was in sufficiently good health a few months before his death to cause her to view with apprehension the possibility of the litigation coming before him in a judicial capacity.¹

After the death of Marmaduke Coghill's sister, which occurred in 1755, at the age of eighty-eight, Drumcondra House became the residence of Charles Moore, then second Lord Tullamore, and afterwards Earl of Charleville. His occupation of it was through his wife, who was a niece of Marmaduke Coghill, the only surviving child of Marmaduke Coghill's younger brother, Dr. James Coghill, who was registrar of his court, and who died before him. To Charleville has been attributed the building of Drumcondra House; and it is possible that the classical front and a temple in the grounds may have been his work. He died in 1761, and his widow married as a second husband Major John Mayne, who assumed the name of Coghill, and was created a baronet. According to Horace Walpole, the countess was more fit to be the major's mother than his wife, and married him in romantic circumstances by moonlight in an arbour, possibly the

¹ "Pue's Occurrences," 1762, April 20-24; 1765, Nov. 30, Dec. 3; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 4301, ff. 223, 225; Lecky's "History of England," iv, 353, 360, 373; Prerogative Will; Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," iii, 554; iv, 103.

temple at Drumcondra House, where one of the apartments was known as the major's room.¹

About the middle of the eighteenth century residents in the parish began to increase in number, and the suburban districts of Richmond and Fairview developed. Early in the century, in the year 1718, a Jewish burying-ground had been made at Fairview, and later on, about 1748, Joseph Dioderici, maternal grandfather of Thomas Elrington, sometime provost of Trinity College and bishop of Ferns, came to live there. In the spring of 1762 a new house, on rising ground, between Ballybough Bridge and Marino, was advertised to be let. This house, which had been occupied by a Mrs. Donnellan, had attached to it a large garden, which contained "all necessaries for the kitchen as well as for pleasure," including two fish-ponds well stocked with trout, and "choice fields" with running water in them. Five years later, in 1766, the parishioners comprised many persons of distinction. In a return of those made then there appear, besides Lord Bowes and Lord Charlemont, the Earl of Wandesford, Lord Longford, the Hon. Henry Loftus, afterwards Earl of Ely, who has been noticed under Rathfarnham, the Bishop of Meath, and Sir George Tuute, the seventh baronet of his line.²

But the most remarkable resident at that time was the patriot physician, Henry Lucas, then in the zenith of his strange career:—

Lucas, Hibernia's friend, her love and pride,
Her powerful bulwark, and her skilful guide ;
Firm in the senate, steady to his trust,
Unmoved by fear, and obstinately just.

He occupied a house, now known as Croydon Park, and formerly as Pennyville, which it has been suggested was the one occupied by Mrs. Delany's friend, and he had probably come there under the wing of Charlemont, who, in addition to being politically allied to him, consulted him as a physician.³

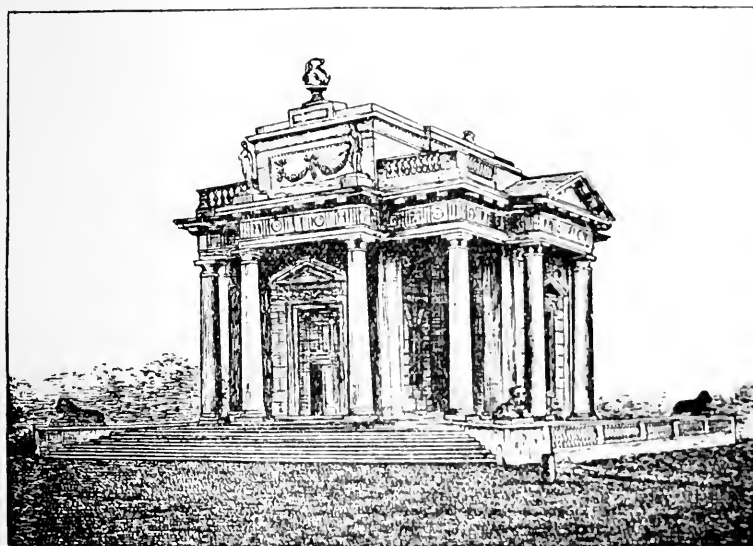
At that time Charlemont revived his intention of adorning Marino with a representation of classical architecture, and carried

¹ "Exshaw's Magazine," 1755, p. 160; Prerogative Will of James Coghill; Sadleir and Dickinson's "Georgian Mansions," p. 65; Walpole's "Letters," ix, 66, 152, 205; "The Irish Builder," 1907, p. 481.

² Dillon Cosgrave's "North Dublin," p. 106; Registry of Deeds, 271, f. 9; "Dublin Journal," 1762, March 17-21; Sleater's "Public Gazetteer, iv, 356; Parliamentary Return of Religions.

³ "Dublin Penny Journal," i, 389; "Georgian Society Records," v, 85.

it into effect by the erection of the casino, the glory of Marino, which remains a monument to his lofty ideals. It was erected some distance to the north of Marino House, in an open plain, and was raised imperceptibly above the level of the ground by means of galleries of groined brickwork, extending for a long distance under the grass. In its design it has been described as the perfection of architectural elegance. It rests on an expansive base, with a sculptural lion at each angle. On the north and south there are wide steps leading to the entrances, and on the east and west there are areas enclosed by balustrades. The casino consists of a central building and two wings,



CASINO AT MARINO.

and is said to be an imitation of Sicilian Doric. On each side there is a portico, finished to the north and south by an attic story over the central building, and to the east and west by a pediment and balustrade over the wings. In front of the attic story, over an entablature, there are to the north statues of Ceres and Bacchus, and to the south statues of Venus and Apollo: and above the attic story there is at each end a vase which conceals the opening of a chimney flue. The casino contains, on the ground-floor, in the central part, a vestibule and saloon; in the eastern wing a room variously described as a dining-room and bedroom; and in the western wing a study and a staircase.

In the basement there are, to the north, a scullery, kitchen, and pantry; to the south, an ale-cellar, servants' hall, and wine-cellar; to the east, a butler's pantry, and to the west, the staircase. The doors on the principal floor are mahogany and cedar; and in one of the side rooms there is a ceiling representing the sky, the paint for which was so delicate that it was feared it would not retain the proper colour while being brought to Dublin from London.

What amount Charlemont spent on the casino is unknown. In a memoir which he wrote he refers to the expenditure at Marino as being of a character to affect for all time his estates; and when the casino was being built it is said that the workmen estimated the value of a single stone when sculptured at that of a townland. The architect was Sir William Chambers, who says that the design had been elaborated by him in connexion with projected buildings for Lord Hiarewood and the Dowager Queen of Sweden, and with him there were associated Joseph Wilton, the sculptor of Wolfe's monument in Westminster Abbey, and Giovanni Battista Cipriani, many of whose drawings have been preserved by Bartolozzi. For the actual work of erection an Italian sculptor, Simon Verpyle, whom Charlemont had brought with him from Italy, was employed.¹

While the casino was being built Marino House was embellished with stucco-work and costly mantel-pieces, and the entrance gates, which excited the admiration of George the Fourth when driving from Howth, were erected from a design by Cipriani. As well as renown, his activities at Marino brought to Charlemont married happiness, as he met then as a neighbour at Clontarf Miss Hickman, whom in 1768 he made his wife. Before 1772 the principal works at Marino were completed, and the author of the "Phoenix Park" was able to call the traveller to

Behold Marino elegantly graced,
With every touch of novelty and taste,
Where Charlemont, with liberal hand and heart,
Joins British majesty to art.²

After the death of Lord Bowes, in 1767, Belvedere was purchased from his representatives by John Leigh, a barrister, and was occupied

¹ "The Irish Times," 1886, Sept. 16; "The Irish Builder," 1894, pp. 50, 51; Chambers's "Treatise on Civil Architecture," 4th ed., p. 158; "Charlemont Manuscripts," i, 283.

² "Georgian Society Records," v, 86; "The Phoenix Park: a Poem," Lond., 1772.

for a time by Lord Bowes's successor on the woolsack, Lord Lifford, who has been noticed under Stillorgan, where he resided in the close of his life. From Leigh, Belvedere was purchased by the great Richard Robinson, Primate of Ireland and Baron Rokeby of Armagh. In the nineteenth century it was the residence of more than one member of the Coghill family, and passed from them to the trustees of St. Patrick's College.¹

Tourists in the closing years of the eighteenth century dwell on the rural beauty of the approaches to Marino, especially Summer Hill; and the isolation of Marino from the life of Dublin is evident from the fact that Charlemont was robbed while walking in his grounds no less than three times—in 1774, in 1787, and in 1790—and that lead to a weight of fifteen hundred pounds was in 1789 carried off by robbers from the roof of the casino or the temple. Charlemont was not the only one who suffered from such outrages. In 1779 a fellow of Trinity College was knocked off his horse and robbed by "pinking dinders" near Marino; and in 1787 turnpike gates, which then stood near to it, were carried away.²

To a house on the site of Drumcondra Castle there came as a resident, about the year 1780, Sir Edward Newenham, one of the members of the county of Dublin, and a most prominent public man. He succeeded there his aunt, Mrs. O'Callaghan, a lady of great wealth, who had died in the year 1779; and afterwards the house had a number of owners before it passed to the trustees of St. Joseph's Asylum for the Blind. About the year 1773 Drumcondra House was leased by the Countess of Charleville to Alexander Kirkpatrick, a leading Dublin citizen, and in the nineteenth century it had as one of its occupants Lord Edward FitzGerald's son-in-law, Sir Guy Campbell; and afterwards passed to the trustees of All Hallows College. Amongst other houses prominent in the close of the eighteenth century and opening of the nineteenth century there may be mentioned High Park, the residence of Thomas Ball, a master in chancery; Hartfield, and Sion Hill.³

¹ Registry of Deeds, 266, f. 26; "Memoirs of Henry Flood," p. 70; "The Irish Times," 1888, Jan. 11 (cf. Wesley's "Journal," vii, 85).

² Luckombe's "Tour Through Ireland," p. 18; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1774, p. 669; 1779, p. 137; 1787, p. 334; 1789, p. 53; 1790, p. 166.

³ "Tour in North Wales and Dublin in 1780," p. 77; Lewis' "Account of Dublin, 1787"; "Exshaw's Magazine," 1779, p. 711; Sadleir and Dickinson's "Georgian Memoirs," p. 65; "Dublin Penny Journal," ii, 273.

About the year 1790 Drumcondra became celebrated for its tea-houses, and their frequenters were probably very familiar with the subject of the verses entitled "The Glass of Whiskey":—

At the side of the road, near the bridge of Drumcondra,
Was Murrough O'Monaghan stationed to beg ;
He brought from the wars as his share of the plunder,
A crack on the crown and the loss of a leg.

During the opening years of the nineteenth century Drumcondra continued to be a place of popular resort. In 1812 a famous aeronaut made an ascent from Belvedere ; and in 1869 a dancing master called Duval tried to exploit a well for its alleged medicinal qualities, and make the grounds of a house near the church into a second Vauxhall. But the amenity of the Ballybough neighbourhood was encroached upon in the eighteenth century by the erection of iron works, which were succeeded by glass works, and it was entirely dissipated in the nineteenth century by the erection of vitriol works.¹

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The church of Clonturk, which is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, is a building of the eighteenth century, but occupies the site of an older one. In its churchyard lie the remains of Francis Grose, the author of "The Antiquities of Ireland," and the remains of other notable persons.²

The Donnycarney lands are believed to have been the site of one of the churches whose foundation is attributed to St. Patrick, known as Domhnach-aithir-Eamhna, where in the eleventh century an Archbishop of Armagh was brought to be anointed before his death ; but of the church of Clonturk there is no mention until Anglo-Norman times. It appears then as a possession of the Priory of All Saints, and at the close of the thirteenth century was returned as not sufficiently valuable to maintain a chaplain. After the dissolution of the priory, a small church dedicated to St. Margaret is mentioned ; and of it, in 1639, John Allen, and, in 1646, Laurence Wogan appear as incumbents. During the Commonwealth the vicar of Santry, Henry Brereton, petitioned the Corporation of Dublin, as owners of

¹ Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland," p. 81 ; D'Alton's "History of County Dublin," pp. 54, 60, 251 ; "Dublin University Magazine," xlii, 396.

² "Memorials of the Dead," *passim*.

the Clonturk lands, to nominate him to the cure, and mentioned that he was at that time, 1651, preaching at Clonturk every Lord's day. After the Restoration there appears to have been a church in good repair, and to it on the nomination of Sir John Coghill there were appointed in 1685 Michael Clenaghan ; in 1687, Adam Nixon, and in 1697, Joseph Espin. About the year 1721, as the control of interments was vested in Marmaduke Coghill, there would appear to have been an interregnum ; but from that time we find a continuous succession of incumbents, beginning with Henry Hamilton, to whom succeeded in 1733 Edward Hudson ; in 1740, Robert Johnson (in whose time, on July 10, 1733, the present church was consecrated) ; in 1748, James Edkins ; in 1781, Charles O'Neill ; in 1789, Jacob Cramer ; in 1816, William Barlow ; in 1826, James Duncan Long ; in 1864, Benjamin H. Johnson ; and in 1871, Henry Carleton, who held the church until 1896, when it was united to the North Strand Church.¹

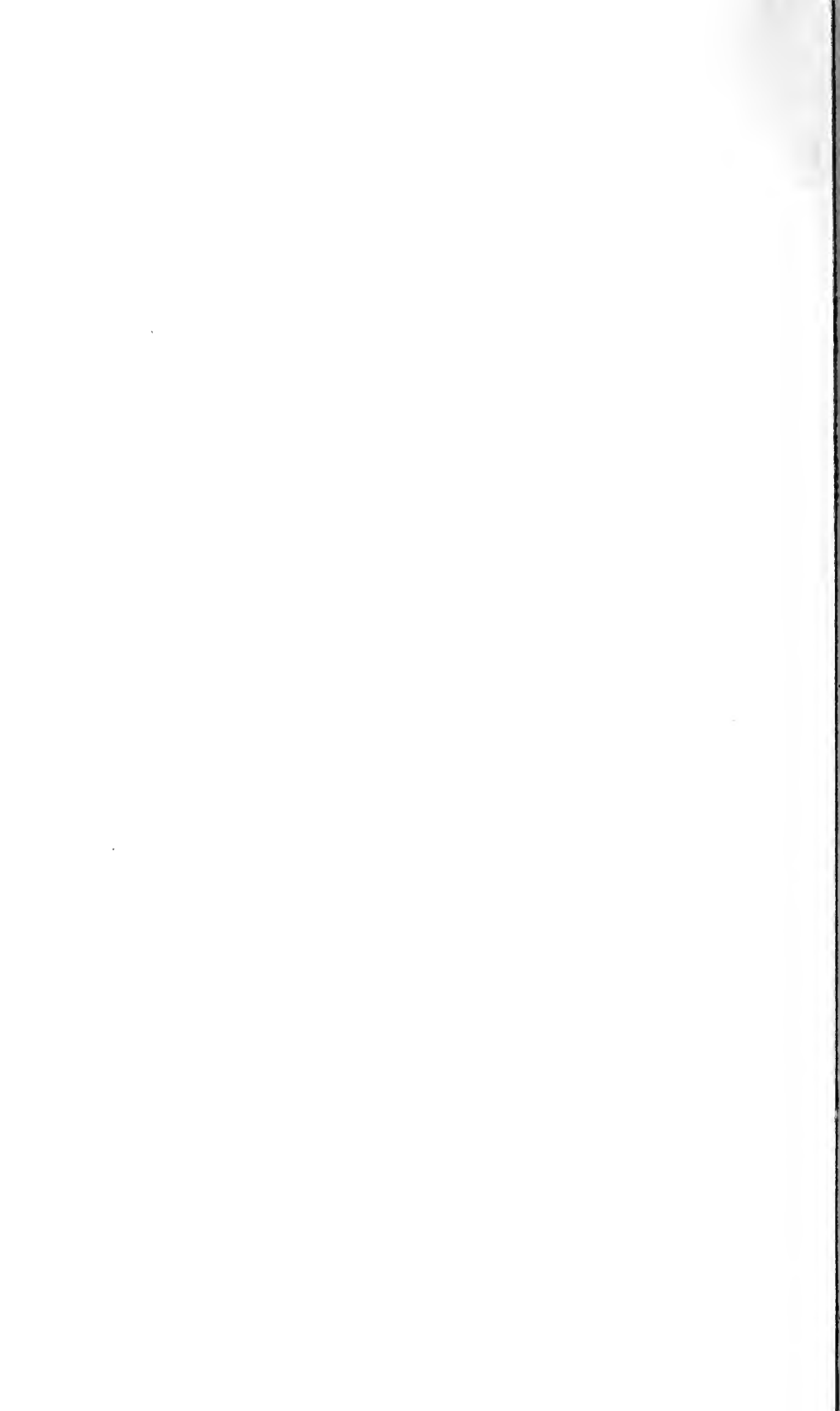
¹ Walsh's "Fingal and its Churches," pp. 6, 223 ; "Crede Mihi," p. 138 ; Christ Church Deed, no. 150 ; Funeral Entry of John Bathe, 1634 ; Diocesan Records ; Records of Dublin, iv, 14.

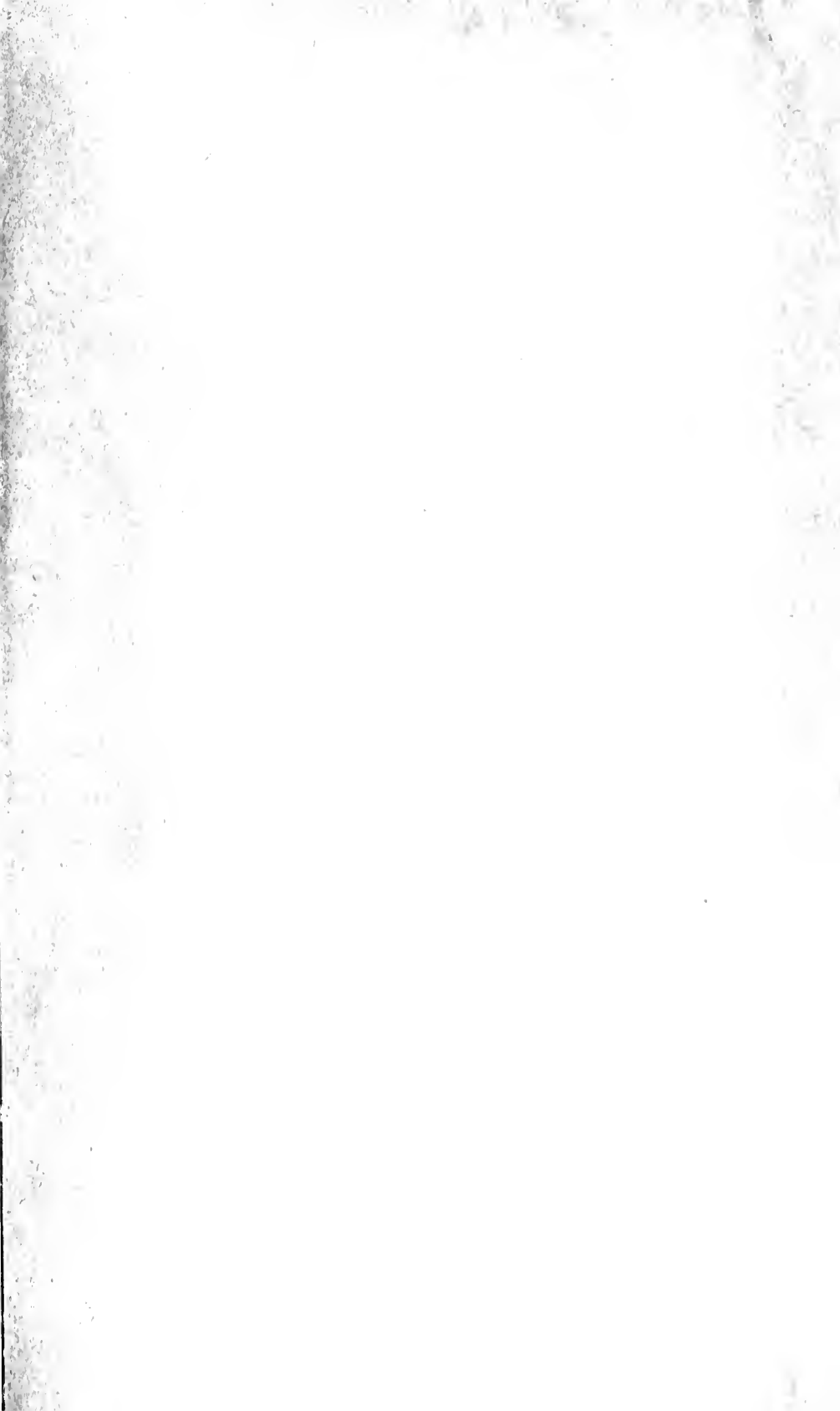


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