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HOWTH & ITS OWNERS

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HOWTH AND ITS OWNERS

BEING

THE FIFTH PART

OF

A HISTORY OF COUNTY DUBLIN

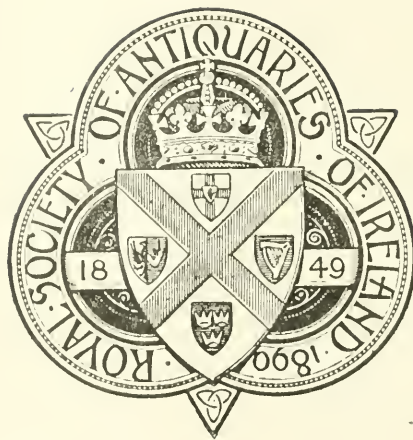
AND

AN EXTRA VOLUME

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

1917



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A PROSPECT OF THE HOUSE OF HOWTH

circa 1740

HOWTH AND ITS OWNERS

BEING

THE FIFTH 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

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PREFACE

THE COUNCIL desires to preface this volume with the following explanation.

HOWTH AND ITS OWNERS, published as an Extra Volume by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, forms Part V of Dr. F. Elrington Ball's "History of County Dublin." The previous volumes of the History were published as follows:— Part I, commencing with the parish of Monkstown, in 1902; Part II, in which Donnybrook was the first parish described, in 1903; Part III, commencing with the parish of Tallaght, in 1905; and Part IV, Clonsilla being the first parish described, in 1906. "Howth and its Owners" differs from the preceding Parts in dealing with a single parish, one that possesses great interest on account of its position and its traditions. The Castle of Howth, perhaps the most beautifully situated residence in County Dublin, is of much historic importance. Its owners, the feudal Barons of Howth, played a notable part in the various scenes of Irish history. Their chief manor was conterminous with the present parish of Howth. It is one of the few manors that have remained in the hands of its original Lords from the time of the Anglo-Norman Conquest.

The long delay between the appearance of Part IV and the present volume is due to a request made to the author, in

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1908, to undertake the publication of an edition of Swift's Letters upon which Mr. Caesar Litton Falkiner was engaged at the time of his death. No editor so well qualified as Dr. Ball could be found, and he generously laid aside his History to take up that work.

When the author found himself once more free to resume his History, the European War had broken out, and his own outlook had been darkened by the death of those who had been beside him in the inception of the book, especially one most near to himself who was hoping to see its completion, and who was taken from him on the eve of the publication of the last volume of Swift's Letters. For a time these circumstances prevented the consideration of any literary undertaking. But the "History of County Dublin" was too important a work to be allowed to stand unfinished longer than was absolutely necessary; and on the solicitations of his friends Dr. Ball consented to consider seriously its completion. He has now entered on the task; but for the reasons which, by his own wish, have been only briefly touched upon, he decided that the publication of the further volumes should take a different form from the previous ones. The present volume was, therefore, offered to our Society to be brought out as an Extra Volume, with this important difference from other Extra Volumes—that the whole expense of publication has been defrayed by the author, and that the Society has not been called upon in any way. The Society is greatly indebted to Dr. Ball, who has further intimated his intention of completing the History in two more volumes, with a general review and index, which he likewise intends to be published by our Society on the same generous terms as the present work.

The Council has been asked by the author to convey his most grateful thanks to all who have given him assistance. To the late and to the present owner of Howth he is indebted in an especial degree. Without the assistance of the late Earl of Howth, and of his successor, Commander J. C. Gaisford St. Lawrence, the volume could not have been written. To Lady Margaret Domvile he is under much obligation for the kind manner in which she placed her knowledge of the history of her family at his disposal. To Miss Mahaffy he is no less indebted, and the volume owes much to her intimate acquaintance with the peninsula and its traditions. Finally, the author has requested the Council to record his deep sense of the generous friendship of Mr. T. J. Westropp, the President; Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, Professor R. A. S. Macalister, and the Honorary General Secretary, Mr. Charles MacNeill.

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THE KEEP



THE GATEWAY TOWER

HOWTH AND ITS OWNERS.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE peninsula of Howth, which is about three miles long, forms the extremity of the north-eastern boundary of Dublin Bay. It rises abruptly from the sea, and attains to an elevation of over five hundred and fifty feet. As its isthmus is flat and narrow, it appears from a distance to be completely surrounded by water. It is the most striking feature of the coast-line of the county of Dublin, and gains additional attraction from an island, of pyramidal shape, known as Ireland's Eye, which lies close to its northern shore, and is visible across the isthmus from the south.

In the blue waters of the Irish Sea the peninsula and the island are singularly picturesque objects as the light and shade throw into relief the grey of their rocks, the brown of their withered bracken, and the green of their grassy slopes. In all ages the peninsula has been celebrated for its cliff and moorland scenery. The poets of the Fianna period proclaimed it the loveliest hill in Erin's isle; and a word-painter of our own day¹ has found a theme in the grandeur of its caverned shores, in the wild beauty of its gorse-clad hill-sides, and in the brilliant hue of the rhododendrons that attain perfection in its valleys.²

¹ Sir Samuel Ferguson.

² Writing in the "Irish Times" of June 14, 1902, an American visitor said:—
"It may seem presumptuous for an American to call the attention of Irish people to one of the beauties of their own country, but he hears so much said of Continental attractions that he is led to wonder if Dublin people realize that one of the most beautiful sights in Europe lies at their very door. Ireland itself is the dreamland of the world, but it is worth a trip across the Atlantic merely to spend an afternoon

On a first view the peninsula seems to have more connexion with the present than the past. As it is approached from the west by its isthmus modern villas and places of worship are alone seen, and within its limits houses of the last century are everywhere most conspicuous. In addition, an artificial harbour on its northern shore, and a light-house at its eastern extremity, tend to increase its association with later times. But a closer inspection shows that the peninsula contains many ancient remains, indeed, more than any other area of the same size in the county of Dublin, and affords much scope for archæological and historical research. A cromlech recalls the primeval age; a fortified headland, the days of the Celtic monarchy; an early sanctuary, the dawn of Christianity; and the varied architecture of a castle and church, whose foundations were laid nearly seven centuries ago, the changes of subsequent periods. To the evidence of an eventful past afforded by these relics, the place-names make addition, and establish a close connexion with the Scandinavian invaders, from whose tongue the names of the peninsula and its island are derived.

The peninsula and isthmus are now divided into seven townlands—Burrow, Censure, Howth, Howth Demesne, Quarry, Sutton North, and Sutton South; and these townlands, together with Ireland's Eye and some islets and foreshore,¹ form the present parish of Howth. Within the townland of Howth, which embraces the eastern half of the peninsula, lie the town of Howth, the ruins of the mediæval church, and the fortified headland; within the townland of Howth Demesne, which embraces the north-western part of the peninsula, lies the seat of the lord of the soil, with the cromlech in its immediate vicinity; within the townlands of Censure and Sutton North and South, which embrace the south-western part of the peninsula, lie the finest

among the rhododendrons at the Howth demesne. It is the fairyland of childhood called into brief and beautiful reality. I have travelled in most parts of the world, and have seen the greater part of the show-places on the Continent, but nothing of the sort can equal in fantastic and sumptuous beauty this hanging garden at the Howth demesne. It is a pity that anyone who can visit Howth should miss a sight that is unsurpassed on this side of the Indian Ocean."

¹ Thulla Island, the Islands, Sutton Oyster Bed, and the Estuary.

cliff scenery,¹ and the primitive church; within the townlands of Burrow and Quarry, which embrace the isthmus and a strip along the northern shore of the peninsula, lie two motes; and on Ireland's Eye there are the remains of another primitive church.

With the exception of Censure, Howth, and Sutton, these divisions are modern. In an extent of the parish in the sixteenth century the townlands are given as Balkyll, Balstreight, Correston, Houthe, Modaxton, Pollardiston, Shenshire, and Sutton;² and in an extent in the eighteenth century the townlands are given as Bodeen, Censure, Howth, Kitestown, Studdwalls, and Sutton.³ The lands of Balkyll, Balstreight, and Correston are now portion of the townland of Howth Demesne. Those of Balkyll lie in its south-eastern angle, those of Balstreight lie along its northern side, and those of Correston, which are marked by a ruin known as Corr Castle, lie in its north-western angle. The lands of Bodeen, Kitestown, and Studdwalls are now included in the townland of Howth. Of Modaxton and Pollardiston all trace is lost.

The derivation of these place-names provides an interesting study. As already mentioned, Howth (i.e. the head) and Ireland's Eye (i.e. Eria's islet) are of Scandinavian origin, as is the Naze or Nose of Howth. Balkyll (i.e. the town of the church), Balstreight (i.e. the town of the strand), Censure (i.e. the eldest),⁴ Correston (i.e. the town of the round hill), and Bodeen are of Irish origin. In connexion with the natural features of the peninsula, many Irish names are also found. Amongst the names of the hills there occur the Ben (i.e. peak) of Howth, Carrickbrae (i.e. the speckled rock), Carrickmore (i.e. the big rock), Loughoreen (i.e. the lake of the cold spring), and

¹ Especially near the Needles or Candlesticks, two pointed rocks, which are said to be the remains of a rocky headland that has been worn into these fantastic forms by the action of the sea. See article (with woodcut) signed P[etrie] in the "Dublin Penny Journal," i, 165.

² Fiant, Edw. VI, no. 86.

³ Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 64.

⁴ It is possible also that the name may be derived from a proper name, or have arisen from rejection of the land for its bad quality.

Shelmartin (i.e. Martin's seed).¹ Amongst the names of the streams, of which there are four, there are found Balsaggart Stream (i.e. the stream of the priest's town) and Coulcour Brook (i.e. the brook of the foamy nook);² while the designations of other objects include the names Balglass (i.e. the town of the stream), Balcadden Bay (i.e. the bay of the town of the herrings), Casana Rock (i.e. the rock of the paths), Coolmine (i.e. the smooth corner), Cush Point (i.e. the foot), Drumleck (i.e. the ridge of the flagstones), Dunbo (i.e. the cow fort), Glenaveena (i.e. the glen of the Fianna), Kilrock (i.e. the rock of the church), Knocknabohill (i.e. the boys' hillock), Lough Leven (i.e. the lough of the elms), and Rellig (i.e. the cemetery).³ On Ireland's Eye there occurs the name Carrigeen (i.e. the little rock),⁴ and a diminutive island near it is known as Thulla (i.e. the mound or the addition).

But amidst its manifold interests, the peninsula's chief claim to fame arises from its owners, whose residence as well as tenure began at the time of the Anglo-Norman settlement, and has continued without interruption until the present day. The history of the St. Lawrences, ennobled for countless generations as Lords of Howth, is indeed one of which any family might be proud, and shows a loyalty to the home adopted by them in distant ages such as has been seldom, if ever, surpassed. When the State has called upon them they have been always ready to render assistance in the field of battle or in the council chamber, and their services have won for them high distinction; but it seems as if they had been moved by a sense of duty rather than by ambition,

¹ Amongst other names of hills there are found—Barren, Dun, Middle, and Signal Hill.

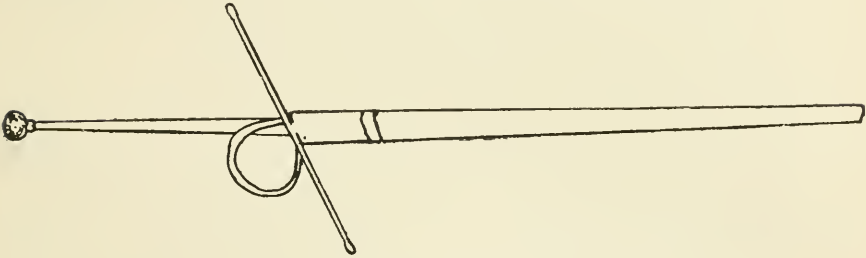
² The other two streams are called Bloody Stream, and Whitewater Brook. There are eight wells known as Balsaggart, Barrenhill, Bawn, Black Jack's, Juan's, Priest's, St. Fintan's, and Tunnel Well. Two petrifying wells are mentioned by Ruddy ("Mineral Waters of Ireland," p. 351), one under the churchyard, the other, "the Howth dropping well," on the east side of the peninsula.

³ Amongst other names of natural objects are found—Black Heath, Call Hole, Cross Garvey, Flat Rocks, Fox Hole, Gaskin's Leap, Green Ivy, Highroom Bed, Hippy Hole, Lion's Head, Mudoak Rock, Piper's Gut, Puck's Rock, Red Rock, Sheep Hole, the Stag, Webb's Castle Rock, and Worm Hole. See *Jour. Roy. Soc. Ant., Irel.*, xxiii, 445-54.

⁴ The other names are—Rowan Rocks, Samphire Hole, Seal's Cave, the Stags and the Steer.

and as if, when their work was done, they had hastened back to their peninsula, esteeming it, like the woman of old, the highest privilege to be permitted to live amongst their own people.

The story of the St. Lawrences describes the founder of their house as a man of almost superhuman achievement in martial enterprise, whose banner was a sure token of victory to his friends and of defeat to his enemies. A likelihood of much knightly valour in the early generations of the family finds support in the fact that two swords are prominent in the St. Lawrence arms, and that a great two-handed one, which has belonged to the family from time immemorial, is one of the most prized possessions in their ancestral home;¹ and the position which the founder of the



THE SWORD OF HOWTH.

house and his more immediate descendants occupied in Ireland points to his having had behind him traditions. According to the St. Lawrence story he was a brother-in-law of the renowned Anglo-Norman conqueror of Ulster, John de Courcy, and joined that illustrious man, as a consequence of vows made in the church of Rouen, in many campaigns abroad and at home. A halo of romance is thrown round his head by attributing to him originally the name of Tristram, and by seeking to establish a connexion between him and the hero of the Arthurian legend, and the adoption of the patronymic borne by his descendants is explained by the suggestion that the conquest of Howth was granted to him

¹ It is mentioned in "An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Irish," by J. C. Walker, Dublin, 1788, p. 116, as "a two-handed sword, wielded with great success by a baron of Howth." In Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 180, it is claimed to be the sword used by the founder of the house of St. Lawrence. But cf. James Drummond's "Ancient Scottish Weapons."

on the feast of St. Lawrence.¹ But of his origin and career prior to his arrival in Ireland nothing can be said with certainty.

During the eighteenth century much error crept into the St. Lawrence pedigree, and in the earlier generations a number of mythical owners of Howth were introduced. But a note made by the learned Archbishop Alen in the early part of the sixteenth century shows that the succession accepted in his day was nearly the same as that obtained from contemporary sources. His note reads as follows:—

Genealogia de Sanguine Dominorum de Houth a Conquestu—Nicholas 3^x et Almaritius 2^x ac Adam 2^x etiam Christopher 2^x cum Stephano, Roberto, Edwardo, quoque modo heres apparens, quorum ordo successionis talis est N. A. A. A. N. S. C. R. N. C. et E. hodie 1533.²

As the succeeding pages will show, the succession is now established to have been:—

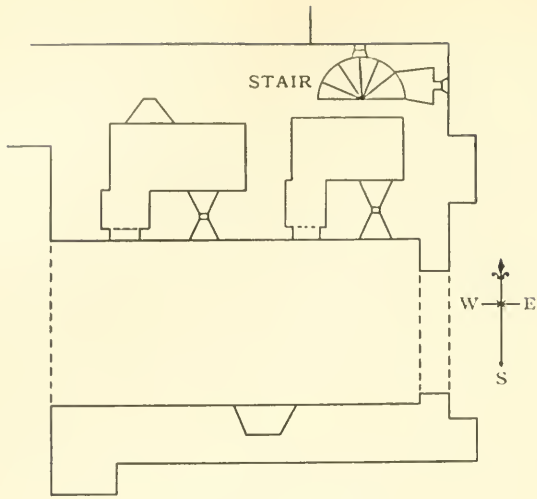
*Lords of Howth.*³

<i>circa</i> 1180 Almeric.	1526-1542 Christopher.
<i>circa</i> 1187 Nicholas.	1542-1549 Edward.
<i>circa</i> 1200 Almeric.	1549-1558 Richard.
<i>circa</i> 1250 Henry.	1558-1589 Christopher.
<i>circa</i> 1270 Nicholas.	1589-1607 Nicholas.
1290-1325 Adam.	1607-1619 Christopher.
1325-1334 Adam.	1619-1644 Nicholas.
1334-1404 Nicholas.	1644-1649 Thomas.
1404-1435 Stephen.	1649-1671 William.
1435-1462 Christopher.	1671-1727 Thomas.
1462-1486 Robert.	1727-1748 William.
1486-1526 Nicholas.	

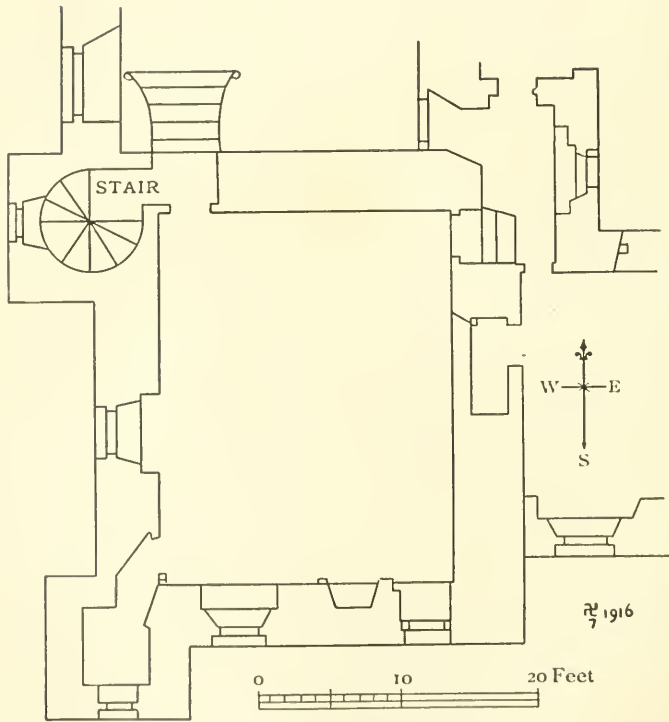
¹ It has been also stated that the change of name was made after a battle at Clontarf by a member of the house who commanded an army in it, and had made vows to the Saint that if successful he would assume the Saint's name. Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 180.

² Alen's "Liber Niger," Trinity College copy, f. 662, n. d.

³ In a note Lodge ("Peerage," iii, 180) mentions that it was formerly asserted that the owners of Howth had possessed their estate without diminution or increase from the earliest time, that they had never suffered an attainder, and that the estate and title had never descended to a minor or second son. But the last claim cannot be sustained.



GATEWAY TOWER



KEEP (UPPER FLOOR)

Earls of Howth.

1748-1801 Thomas.

1822-1874 Thomas.

1801-1822 William.

1874-1909 William.

The seat of the St. Lawrences, known as Howth Castle, has stood on its present site, not far from the isthmus on the northern shore of the peninsula, for seven hundred years. It comprises a great mass of buildings, and contains structures of various periods. It is approached from the east through a courtyard, on the north side of which lies an ancient gateway and the stable-yard, and on the south a wing containing a chapel and various apartments. The front shows an elevation of two stories over the ground-floor, and a lofty flight of steps leads to the hall, which is on the first floor. To the north of the hall is the dining-room, and to the south the billiard-room. In a wing extending to the south-west lie the drawing-room, library, and other reception-rooms.¹

At first search is made in vain for any sign of an early origin. "Nothing but modern-looking turrets, rough-cast and white-washed," says the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,² "are to be seen through the thick mantle of ivy with which the Castle is covered, and it is only on close examination that in the south-west corner of the Castle, to the left of the entrance, the keep or chief tower of the ancient fortress is revealed. At the north-west angle of the keep, in a small turret, the original staircase is found, and in the north-east angle in a corresponding turret, which was vaulted throughout its stories, curious rude corbelling is visible. The stairs were composed of rude stone steps, without any newel or stone-cutting such as occurs even in small peel towers in the west of Ireland, but a neat pointed doorway leads into the upper story of the Castle. Six steps higher there is one of the original window-slits, now built up, and ten steps more lead to the summit of the keep. Excepting in the case of the south-west turret, which is apparently of eighteenth-century

¹ The library, which is in a tower at the end of the wing, was designed for the present owner of the castle by Mr. E. L. Lutyens, under whose direction extensive alterations and additions have been made. See "Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens," described by Lawrence Weaver, p. 272.

² Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.A.

date, the original crenellated battlements and slab-gutters are retained. The north-west or staircase turret has a small, straight flight of steps leading from the main stairs to the top, which affords a fine view, over the Castle gardens and park, of the sea and Ireland's Eye. This turret is seven feet eight inches north and south, and six feet ten inches east and west, while the main tower is twenty-three feet four inches long from this turret to the south wall along the battlement. The chimneys, which rest on corbels far down the face of the walls and block up the battlements, are plain, and a window of oblong shape which has been built up, was without ornament.

"A gateway tower, which lies to the north-east of the Castle and is now unused, is also of the mediaeval time. It consists of a gloomy round-vaulted passage, eleven feet eight inches wide, and over twenty-seven feet deep, with two little guard-rooms only lighted by slits, which splay inwards and outwards, and by small doorways. Over the vault, the side wall of which is five feet eight inches thick, there are two stories. The windows in them have been probably renewed, but a turret at the north-east corner and the battlements are possibly of the same date as the main portion of the gateway."¹

Beyond the gateway tower, farther to the north-east, the Castle gardens slope down to the sea. They were laid out more than two hundred years ago, and are intersected by beech hedges, which are remarkable not only for the size to which they have grown, but also for the radiating plan which was adopted in planting them. A summer-house forms the centre, and alleys through the hedges afford marine vistas of great beauty. The hedges have been kept closely clipped, and the effect of the vistas is increased by their being seen through "walls of gleaming leaves, tender green in spring, deep green in high summer, and glorious sheen of copper at the fall of the year."²

¹ Cf. "Archaeologia," xxxviii, 173.

² See "Howth Castle," by Lawrence Weaver, in "Country Life" for July 1, 1916.

CHAPTER II.

IN EARLY TIMES.

THE size of the cromlech which lies within the demesne of Howth, and the absence of megalithic monuments from the rest of the northern part of the county of Dublin, go far to prove that in the most remote past the peninsula was recognized as a place of extraordinary importance. It is estimated that the roof-rock of this cromlech weighs no less than seventy tons. This weight is a third more than that of the roof-rock of the great cromlech near Rathfarnham, at Mount Venus,¹ which of the cromlechs in the county of Dublin is the specimen most nearly approaching the dimensions of the Howth one; and it is only exceeded in the case of the roof-rocks of two other cromlechs in the whole of Ireland.²

But the annals and legends of Ireland leave no doubt that from the beginning of things human the peninsula has been one of the well-known places of Ireland. Under the name Benn Etar, or the peak of Etar, the peninsula comes into notice with the commencement of the history of Ireland, and is a landmark in the dimness that surrounds the advent of the earliest colonists. At a period which approximates to the time of the Flood, the Grecian paricide, Partholon, is said to have settled on the plain of Etar, and there the great multitude of his followers, who according to tradition were buried at Tallaght,³ are supposed to have perished.⁴ By one legend the origin of the name is attributed to the time of the Firbolgs, the successors of the Partholonians, and is said

¹ See "History of County Dublin," iii, 49.

² See Borlase's "Dolmens of Ireland," ii, 376, and Journal, R.S.A.I., ii, 40. To the sketch of this monument, made in 1775, Gabriel Beranger appends the following note:—"The cromlech at Howth called by the country people 'Fan McCool's quoit,' had six supporters, off which it was thrown down by some violent shock; it is composed of grit of a peculiar kind, in the grain of which are seen large pieces of marble and various coloured stones. . . . Its situation is in a field at the foot of a rocky mountain at the back of Lord Howth's improvements." (Gabriel Beranger's Sketch Book in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy.)

³ See "History of County Dublin," iii, 3.

⁴ Irish Texts Society's Publications, iv, 163.

to have been connected with the wife of one of the five chieftains, under whose conduct the Firbolgs came from Greece :

Five wives they brought hither,
The five sons of Dela without stain,
The fifth famous woman was
Etar, the splendid and stately :
'T was she died here, first of all
Before the wife of any King, 'tis well known,
Of grief for long-limbed radiant Gand,
In Benn Etar suddenly.¹

But according to another legend the name Benn Etar is derived from a chieftain of later times, Etar the son of Egaeth. He was a great warrior, known as far as "the shores of Alba," and is said to have possessed "in wealth and plenty" the peninsula on whose summit he found his last resting-place. At the time of his death Etar had to wife a lady "fierce as to prowess of spears," called Maing, from whom the Slieve Margy hills are said to have derived their name; but an alliance with the radiant Aine, daughter of Manannan, and one with a lady called Bethi, are also ascribed to him. The name of the last lady is said to have been borne as well by a daughter of Maing by a former marriage; and this Bethi is said to have given her hand to a son of Etar by a former marriage, Aes by name, and to have perished with her husband tragically in the pool of the Liffey.²

At the commencement of the Milesian settlement, which is approximated to the time of Moses, the erection of a fortress upon the peninsula is recorded by the Four Masters. It was similar to one then placed upon Dalkey Island,³ and its erection above "the great waved sea" is attributed to a chieftain called Suirge :

Dun Sobairce⁴ was afterwards erected,
By brave Sobairce of the white side ;
Deilinis by Segda with cheerfulness :
Dun Etar by Suirge, the slender.⁵

¹ Gwynn's "Metrical Dindshenchas," iii, 113 ; cf. "Revue Celtique," xv, 330 ; "Folk Lore," iv, 495.

² Gwynn's "Metrical Dindshenchas," iii, 105, 115, 161, 496 ; cf. "Revue Celtique," xv, 330 ; O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," 1685, p. 271 ; "Trans. Ossianic Society," i, 74, n. 3.

³ See "History of County Dublin," i, 79.

⁴ Dunseverick in Antrim.

⁵ "Trans. Ossianic Society," v, 277 ; cf. Four Masters, A.M. 3501, Book of Leean, p. 61.

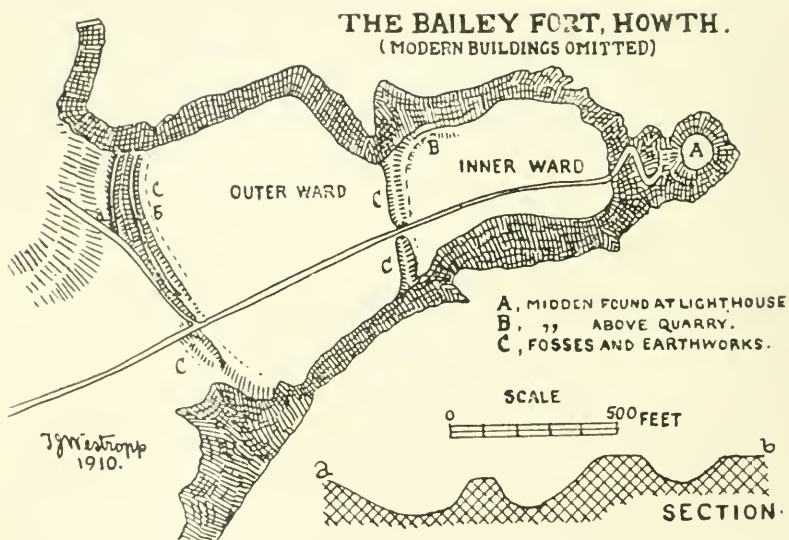
Coming down after a lapse of many centuries to the beginning of the Christian era, Benn Etar appears as the abode of a monarch of Ireland called Crimthann, or Criffan, as the name is pronounced. His fame lingers more in fable than in fact, and is preserved chiefly in connexion with an expedition made by him across the seas, about which marvellous things are told. On this expedition he is said to have been accompanied by a female sprite, whose care for his welfare earned him the appellation of "Nair's champion," and from it to have brought back spoils of precious metal sparkling with gems. But there is doubtless some basis of reality in the tale, and the golden chariot and chess-board, and all-conquering sword and spear, may be taken as symbolical of Crimthann's wealth and authority, and indicative of the prosperity and importance of Benn Etar in his time. There, as tradition has it, his bones lie buried in a valley between Shelmartin and the Dun Hill, and cairns on those hills, the one on Shelmartin being represented now by a modern pile of stones, have been connected with his memory.¹

By the Ordnance Survey the fortified headland at the eastern extremity of the peninsula, where the Baily Lighthouse stands, has been marked with his name, and its remains deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. "As was usual in forts of the kind," says the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,² "the builders selected a position where natural features contribute to the defence. They found two deep gullies across a long headland, with a pyramidal rock at the end, and strengthened this natural fortification by fencing the gullies on their seaward faces with earthworks. On the outer gully the earthworks have been greatly defaced by modern roads, fences, and walls; but along the more northern portion of the gully there still exist two lines of mounds, each over twenty feet in width, with an intervening fosse about fifteen feet in width, which are dimensions that constantly recur in the fortified headlands on the south and west coasts of Ireland. A road connecting with the

¹ Four Masters, A.D. 9; Gwynn's "Dindshenchas," iii, 121.

² Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.A.

main road to the lighthouse has been cut through these earthworks, and on the southern side of the main road a single rampart only remains. It has been nearly removed, but sufficient exists to show that it ran in a curve across the back at the top of the slope inside the mounds and fosse. The outer ward, which, so far as can be seen, contains no middens or undoubtedly early earthworks, is at its northern side over seven hundred and fifty feet across: but it is irregular. On the inner gully remains of a rampart which seems to have been single are still to be found.



Some portions are five or six feet in height, and twenty-seven feet in thickness; but along the steeper part and the northern cliff the entrenchment was slight. Indeed, at the latter place it might be considered a late fence only for a midden of limpet and periwinkle shells, which are evidently of great age, in the embankment at the head of a path leading down to an old quarry. The inner ward, which measures seven hundred and ninety feet, extends from the hollow to the Lighthouse, and on the rock now occupied by that triumph of modern engineering

skill, where a midden similar to the one just mentioned was found, stood the citadel or keep of the ancient fort. In the county of Waterford, at Dane's Island and Island Hubbock, and in the county of Clare, at Bishop's Island, there were similar entrenchments on the land, with nearly detached rock citadels, smaller in size, but more impressive from their greater height."

But with regard to the position on the peninsula of Crimthann's dwelling there can be no certainty. As his dun is said to have been visible from the county of Meath,¹ its site seems more probably to have been on the northern than on the eastern side. To a height on the northern side, over the harbour, on which part of the town of Howth has been built, the place-name Dunbo, or the fort of the cow, has been attached, thus identifying it as the scene of an ancient historic tale called the "Siege of Etar." This tale, which is one of the compositions of the cycle of the Red Branch Knights, is contemporaneous with Crimthann's period. The dun mentioned in it was large enough to contain seven hundred cows as well as the defenders, and strong enough to resist for many days the attacks of an armed host. The besieged were Ulstermen, to whom the tale attributes the erection of the dun, and they are said to have been forced to take refuge on Benn Etar through the exactions of a fellow-countryman called Athairne the Importunate, from whose use of hurdles to bring his prey across the Liffey Dublin is said to owe its original name, Atheliath. The tale dwells at length on the outrages committed by Athairne, who was a poet, but, in the character attributed to him, greatly belied his calling, and it gives little information about the events at Benn Etar. Amongst the few incidents mentioned as taking place there are that the Red Branch hero Cuchulain defended with spears a gap, which he disdained to fence, and that his foster-son, who was only overcome by three hundred heroes, guarded the entrance to the dun.² While excavations were being made forty years ago on the supposed site of Athairne's dun, a cist and various traces of burials were found, and in connexion with these discoveries it

¹ Westropp's "Ancient Forts of Ireland," *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxxi, 593; *Proc.* xxiv, c. 274.

² "Revue Celtique," viii, 47; O'Curry's "Lectures on Irish History," p. 266; "Trans. Ossianic Society," v, 170. In the eighteenth century it was believed that

was mentioned that the site had been originally surrounded on three sides by the sea.¹

The next person mentioned in connexion with the peninsula is the hero of the Fenian cycle of Irish literature, Finn MacCumhaill, who flourished in the third century. While sitting in the east, "over the sea at the hill of Étar," he is said to have seen a vision of the future invasion of Ireland, and the peninsula is represented as a resort of his followers, who set out from it to the disastrous battle of Gabhra, and as one of the places to which Finn MacCumhaill assigned a special guard under the command of some of his captains. There also his affianced bride, Grainné, is said to have sought refuge with her lover, Diarmuid, in a cave, which has been identified as one of those near Drumleck Point, and his grandson, Oscar, found a wife in Aideen, daughter of Angus of Benn Etar. In the apocryphal tales of that period there are also frequent references to the peninsula, and there is indication that it was then a noted port and hunting-ground in stories which tell of a proud fleet, from which a giantess landed on the peninsula, and of a great chase, in which a son of the King of Britain joined on the hill. With the Fenian period local tradition loves to connect the great cromlech. According to one legend it was a quoit thrown by Finn MacCumhaill from the Bog of Allen, and according to another it was raised to mark the resting-place of Aideen, who died of grief for the loss of her husband, Oscar, in the battle of Gabhra²:—

Imperfect in an alien speech,
When, wandering here, some child of chance
Through pangs of keen delight shall reach
The gift of utterance,

Howth had been a seat of Druidical worship, the Mona of Ireland, and that Athairne belonged to a college of their bards :

In early times for solitude so famed,
That here our bards their soft asylum chose,
Whose song divine the savage soul reclaimed,
And martial manners soothed to sweet repose.

("Howth, a Descriptive Poem," by Abraham Bosquet : *Dubl.*, 1787.)

Cf. Thomas Milton's "Views of Irish Seats," *Dubl.*, 1786.

¹ *Proc. R.I.A.*, x, 331.

² O'Curry's "Lectures on Irish History," *passim*; "Book of Howth," p. 7; "Trans. Ossianic Society," i, 74; iv, 84; vi, 88; *Journal R.S.A.I.*, xxiii, 451.



ST. FINTAN'S CHURCH

To speak the air, the sky to speak,
 The freshness of the hill to tell ;
 Who roaming bare Benn Etar's peak
 And Aideen's briary dell,
 And gazing on the cromlech vast
 And on the mountain and the sea,
 Shall eat communion with the past,
 And mix himself with me.¹

By Ptolemy, who has shown it on his map as an island, the peninsula is called Edrou Heremos, or the desert of Edros;² but it is said by Camden³ to have been at one time covered with oaks, although it was in his time bare of trees. Camden's view is also taken in two Irish quatrains which have been thus translated :—

Hill that beyond every tulach is verdant-surfaced,
 Whose summit is green-treed and tremulous ;
 Eminence famed for sword-blades, forest-clad, gentian-growing ;
 A hill variegated, having jutting points and flowing mane ;
 Hill the most beautiful that dominates Ireland's coast-line ;
 Sweetly melodious there is the gull over the sea ;
 To us the leaving of it is an act of pain,
 Lovely and pleasurable hill of Etar.⁴

Further support is given to the opinion that the peninsula was less bare in early times than now in verses which are said to have been written by three bards who chose the scenery of Howth as the subject of a competition for supremacy. These verses have been thus translated :—

i.

Delightful it is to be at Benn Etar,
 Truly melodious it is to be upon its white fortress,
 A hill ample, shipful, populous,
 A peak in wine, in cairns, in feasts abounding ;
 A hill on which Fionn and the Fianna used to meet,
 A hill where horns and cups overflow,
 A hill to which O'Duibhne, the dauntless,
 Brought Grainné from her close pursuers ;
 A wave-green hill surpassing each tulach,
 And its green-tree tapering summit ;
 A hill of cairns, wild garlic and fruit-trees ;
 A variegated, pinnaeled, woody hill ;
 The loveliest hill in Erin's isle,
 A hill brighter than the gull on the shore,
 To part is sore grief to me,
 The delightful, pleasant Benn Etar.

¹ "The Cromlech on Howth," by Sir Samuel Ferguson, Dublin, 1861.

² Journal R.S.A.I., xxiv, 128; Joyce's "Irish Names of Places" (ed. 1870), p. 104.

³ "Britannia," ed. Richard Gough, iii, 558.

⁴ O'Grady's Catalogue of Irish MSS. in British Museum, p. 524.

II.

Oft beneath the grassy hill are seen
 Champions and sails without debility,
 Till the gunwales of their keeling ships are level
 With the deathful waves which dash against the tall cliffs.
 Beautiful its plains and tall peaks,
 And its lands overhanging the stormy waves,
 Till it reaches the cairn of the gentle Fionn
 From the delightful mansion of lofty Etar.

III.

A hill exceeding in height all tulachs,
 Each peak equally green and steep ;
 A hill covered with herbs and plants,
 A steep hill covered with woods and wild garlic.
 There are seen from the top of its peaks
 Ships laden and heroes falling ;
 A plank is driven through the ship's side
 By the violence of her dash against the tall cliffs ;
 Woe it is the bonds that are broken
 By the fierce might of thy visit,
 And that a wave bursts with a heaving crash
 A rib in the overluden vessel.¹

Soon after the dawn of Christianity in Ireland heralds of God's love established themselves on the peninsula and its island. They were induced to do so, as in many other places similarly circumstanced, by the hope that isolation would secure for them safety ; but their dream was before long dispelled, and their proximity to the sea was found to be a source of danger rather than of protection. With the island three holy men, Diehull, Munissa, and Neslug, are identified. They were the sons of one Nessian, who traced descent from Cathair Mor, King of Ireland, and from them the island hitherto called Inisfaithleen, or the grassy or elder island, and Inisercann, or Eria's island, became known as Inis-meie-Nessian, or the island of the Sons of Nessian. They are said to have been disciples of a saint famous in the Celtic Church, St. Maidoe of Ferns, and by him Diehull was placed in charge of the monastery of Clonmore.²

In the martyrologies the sons of Nessian are recorded to have been men of exceptional piety and love of peace. "They loved

¹ "Trans. Ossianic Society," vi, 89.

² O'Hanlon's "Lives of Irish Saints," iii, 373 ; and authorities cited by him ; also "Revue Celtique," xvi, 60.

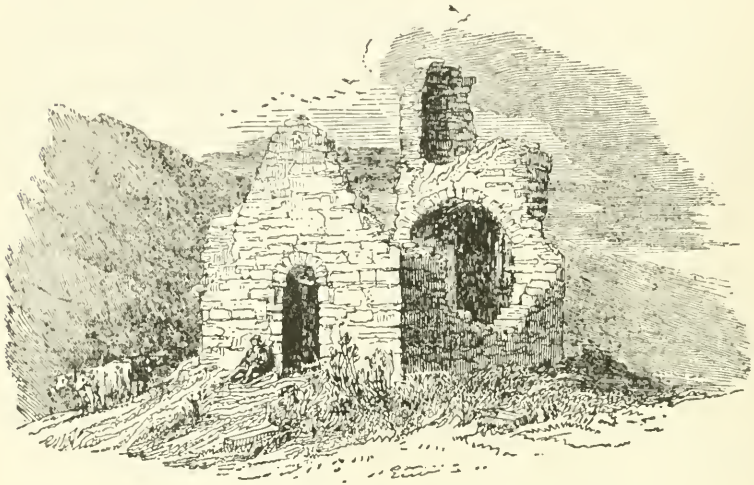
soft prayer to Christ, did the sons of Nessian from the isle," says the Martyrology of Oengus, and "against every miserable slaughterous conflict be Nessian's three saintly sons," says the Martyrology of Gorman. During the seventh century, in which they are believed to have flourished, there was much warfare to depress them, and in the middle of that century a battle raged on Howth, round Crimthann's stronghold. It was between Conall and Ceallach, the sons of Maelcobha, and Aenghus, son of Domhnall. Conall and Ceallach, who were descendants in the northern line of Niall of the Nine Hostages, were then joint kings of Ireland, and Aenghus was a rival for the throne. The result was a victory for the kings, and not only was Aenghus killed, but also Cathasach, son of Domhnall Breac, who is believed to have been a relation of Aenghus, and next in succession to him.¹

Fifty years later the navigators of a British fleet are said to have taken refuge during a storm on the island home of the sons of Nessian, and during their detention there to have slain the king of a neighbouring territory. As an ancient legend tells us, "This Irgalach (for so the king was named) was slain, after having in the night before he was killed himself seen the manner of his death. On the morrow of this vision, therefore, Irgalach came forth, and, standing upon a high rock, heard a loud voice cry, "Spread yourselves over the country round about, and burn and scorch and harry it." Then he saw great bands and companies that spoiled the land, and he came and stood abreast of Innis-meic-Nessian, where at that self-same hour a British fleet was by a great tempest constrained to refuge. Of which Britons a certain warrior likewise had in the past night a dream: as it were a herd of wild boars that grunted about him, and the largest boar he had killed with a javelin-stroke. A presage verified exactly, for that boar signified Irgalach, and the rest of the herd his retinue of sinners; and with a single javelin-cast Irgalach there and then was destroyed by that warrior."² In the later part

¹ Four Masters, under 646; cf. "Chronicum Scotorum," p. 91.

² O'Grady's "Silva Gadelica," Trans. and Notes, p. 443; Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," ed. Wm. Reeves, p. liii, and authorities cited by them.

of the last century a cist containing human remains was discovered on Ireland's Eye, and it was suggested that these might have been the remains of Irgalach. It was argued that, although indicating a Christian mode of burial, the circumstances of the interment tended to prove that the body was not that of a cleric, and that a piece of iron, which was found in the grave, and which was thought to resemble part of a sword, pointed to the body having been that of a warrior.¹



RUINS ON IRELAND'S EYE BEFORE RESTORATION.

The only church on Ireland's Eye of which anything is known cannot have been the oratory of the sons of Nessan, and has been assigned to so late a date as the twelfth century. It consisted of a nave and chancel, with an arch and a round-headed doorway, and was unique in its design, inasmuch as over its chancel, which was vaulted, there rose a small round tower. Its ruins existed on Ireland's Eye in the early part of the last century, and an attempted reproduction now occupies their site. According to a ground-plan in Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture,"² the nave and chancel were rectangular buildings, the nave being

¹ Proc. R.I.A., x, 332.

² Ed. Margaret Stokes, i, 68.

thirty-four feet long externally by ten feet three inches wide internally, with walls two feet eight inches thick, and the chancel was eleven feet long by thirteen feet three inches wide externally. The doorway, which was in the western end, is shown to have been three feet wide, and in the north and south walls of the nave a window-slit is marked, and also in the east and north walls of the chancel. As the late Dr. Cochrane, one of the esteemed Presidents of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Ireland, has mentioned in a learned paper on the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Howth,"¹ in the reproduction of the ruins the nave and chancel deviate from the rectangular, and are of smaller dimensions than those of Lord Dunraven's plan.

With Ireland's Eye and the father of its saints there has been associated a seventh-century copy of the Gospels. This manuscript, which is illuminated, is preserved among the treasures in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and came to that Library through Archbishop Ussher.² It has been recorded by Archbishop Alen that the manuscript was held in such veneration that men scarcely dared to take an oath on it, the common belief being that God's vengeance had fallen upon those who had sworn falsely upon it; and in connexion with it a curious legend has been preserved by the same authority to the effect that on being tempted by an evil spirit Nesson pursued his assailant over the sea and ordered him to enter the northern cliffs of Howth, where his most horrid image remains affixed in stony form on Puck's Rock.³

About the same period that the sons of Nesson settled upon Ireland's Eye, a holy man called Fintan established himself on the southern side of the peninsula of Howth. As Dr. Cochrane remarks in the paper to which reference has been made, it is impossible owing to the number of saints called Fintan to identify with certainty the particular one whom Howth claims as its patron. His monument survives, however, in a ruined church on the southern side of the peninsula at the base of Shelmartin. This

¹ Journal R.S.A.I., xxiii, 396.

² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³ The passage is printed in Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "History of Dublin," ii, 1266, but cf. *Liber Niger* A¹ 73, A² 192.

church is a simple oblong building, with a belfry rising over the gable of its western wall. It deviates from the rectangular, measuring internally on the north sixteen feet six inches, on the south sixteen feet eight inches, on the east seven feet seven inches, and on the west eight feet one inch. In the opinion of Dr. Cochrane it is of late date, and comprises the remains of a primitive oratory and of a mediæval church of larger dimensions. Amongst the details Dr. Cochrane describes the east window, which has a semi-circular head and is grooved for glass; windows in the north and south walls near the north-west and south-east angles; the doorway, which is in the western end and has a pointed arch; a recess in the north wall and two recesses in the south wall, which are constructed of stones cut for other purposes; and a small circular window, which is made out of a solid block, and has four short arms grooved, over the doorway. He suggests that there may have been originally a group of churches on the site, and draws attention to the disproportion of the belfry to the rest of the building as indication of more enthusiasm than discretion on the part of its designer.¹ Besides this church some of the Howth place-names denote a connexion with early Christian worship. The site of a cairn in the eastern part of the peninsula, on what is known as the Black Heath, bears the name of the Cross, and was formerly known as St. Patrick's Cross; and a field in the southern part of the demesne, in which remains of an ancient settlement have been found, bears the name of Cross Garvey (i.e. the rough cross).²

The invasions of the Norsemen began in the closing decade of the eighth century, and fell with exceptional severity on the Dublin coast. At first the islands suffered most, and it is not until more than twenty years had elapsed that a descent on Howth is recorded. It was evidently a notable one, and denoted a new departure. Hitherto the raids had been directed mainly against property, but now human beings were the spoil, and a world of misery is revealed in the laconic entry of the Four

¹ *Journal R.S.A.I.*, xxiii, 386; cf. Archdeacon Walsh's "Fingal and its Churches," and "Dublin Saturday Magazine," ii, 49.

² *Journal R.S.A.I.*, xiii, 306; *Proc. R.I.A.* x, 330.

Masters under the year 819:—"The plundering of Etar by the foreigners, who carried off a great prey of women." The Irish appear to have retained a hold on the peninsula after the Norsemen had established themselves in Dublin. In 866 a prince of a territory north of Dublin, known as Bregia, Flann son of Conaing, is called by the Four Masters "the great King of Etar," and in 891 the heir apparent to that principedom, Cinaedh son of Flannagan is said to have died on the peninsula at Carrickbrac.¹ But the disuse of the Irish "Etar" as the name of the peninsula, and substitution of the Danish "Hoved," show that the peninsula must have become one of the Norsemen's chief seaports, and in 897 it is recorded that Danes from Dublin were besieged on Ireland's Eye, when flying to Scotland.² As the Danish section of the invaders gained a footing in the adjoining parish of Baldoyle, it may be assumed that Howth saw something of the conflict between them and the Norwegian section, and in the tenth century Howth was the scene of a struggle for the sovereign power in Dublin, in which Amlaib, "the hundred-strong," gained the victory. In the same century, in the year 960, his son is said to have descended upon the peninsula by sea with the help of a captain called Lagmann for the purpose of plunder.³ But indications of actual occupation of the peninsula by the Norsemen are not wanting. Too much significance, perhaps, ought not to be attached to the fact that ancient remains on Carrickbrac are known as the Danish fort, but the names of several families connected with the peninsula bespeak a descent from the Northern invaders. More particularly is this the case in regard to a family called Harford, whose members are still found there in considerable numbers. They exhibit a character worthy of their forbears, and are distinguished as a race by their tall stature, fair complexion, and bright blue eyes.⁴

¹ Four Masters, *passim*; cf. "Annals of Ulster."

² Todd's "War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," p. lxxxiii; cf. Annals of the Four Masters and of Ulster.

³ Gwynn's "Metrical Dindshenchas," i, 52, and Four Masters under 960; cf. Todd's "War of the Gaedhil," xcv, n. 1.

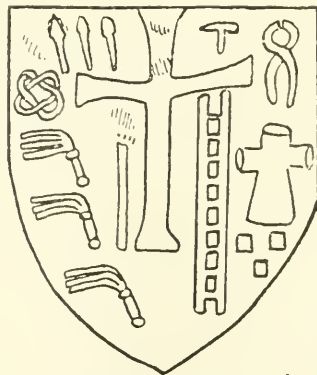
⁴ The other names which have been suggested as denoting descent from the Norsemen are Thunder, Waldron, and Rickard.

Not long before 1014, the year of the memorable battle of Clontarf, King Malachy invaded the territory of the Norsemen, and burned the country as far as Howth. At Howth he is said to have encountered their force, and to have gained the victory; but on his return from this expedition he was defeated by them at Dinan, near Swords.¹ Although the actual conflict did not extend so far, much of the horror of the deadly battle of Clontarf reached Howth. The northern pirates had left there their boats, and after the battle the peninsula was a place of refuge for the fugitives.² In spite of this defeat, it was not until the middle of that century that the sovereignty of the Norsemen was finally broken in Fingal. No sooner had it ended than war broke out among the Irish themselves, and the men of Leinster encountered the men of Munster at Howth. Under the year 1087 the Four Masters³ thus record the result of the battle:—"The battle of Rath-Etar between the men of Leinster and Munster, where Muirchartaeh Ua Briain and the men of Munster defeated the Leinstermen, and Dommhall son of Maehnambo and Diarmaid Ua Briain and Enda son of Diarmaid, and where a great slaughter was made of the Leinstermen together with the son of Murchadh Ua Dommhnaill, Lord of Ui Drona, and Conall Ua Ciarnhaie, and Ua Neill of Maghdachon."

¹ Four Masters under 1012; cf. *Lebhar Gabhala*, R.I.A. MS., p. 224.

² Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. clxxii, 156.

³ Cf. Orpen's "Ireland under the Normans," i, 207.



DEVICE ON TOMB.



THE CROMLECH



THE SITE OF THE EARLY CASTLE

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

It was under the Anglo-Norman settlement that the founder of the house of St. Lawrence entered into possession of Howth. He bore as his Christian name the remarkable one of Almeric,¹ and, as has been already suggested, he had probably inherited or earned distinction before he saw the shores of Ireland.² His title to Howth was no sub-infeudation, but a direct grant from the Crown, and his associates were men of the first rank. With John de Courcy, the conqueror of Ulster, either through relationship or association in arms, he was undoubtedly closely allied. About the time that he was appointed chief governor of Ireland, that notable invader selected Almeric to act as a witness of a deed, in company with the Archbishop of Dublin and other clerics and laymen of high degree,³ and during the conquest of Ulster he confirmed a grant of lands in the county of Down made by Almeric to the Abbey of Downpatrick.⁴

The story of the family to which reference has been made is drawn principally from the Book of Howth, a sixteenth-century compilation of annals, historical tales, and legends, which is preserved in the Lambeth Library, and has been printed in the

¹ Miss Yonge says ("Hist. of Christian Names," ed. 1884, pp. xxiii, 331) that "Almeric" is equivalent to the Italian "Almerigo," the name from which "America" is derived.

² It has been stated (Journal R.S.A.I., xxxvii, 349) that the St. Lawrences derived their name from a place called St. Laurent in Normandy, but no authority for the statement is given. The surname of St. Lawrence seems to have been at that period not uncommon in France and also in England (cf. D'Alton's "Hist. of Co. Dublin," p. 156; "Genealogist," N.S., xvii, 27; "Topographer and Genealogist," iii, 178). The English St. Lawrences, who were originally resident in Hampshire, appear to have had connexion with Ireland. In 1173 one of them claimed corody for the son of the King of Cork for one night, and in 1179 Cecilia, wife of Robert de St. Lawrence, accounts for two marks of gold of her promise touching Ireland. (Sweetman's Calendar, 1171-1252, nos. 39, 55.)

³ Dr. Lawlor's Calendar of the Liber Niger of Christ Church, no. 9, and Christ Church Deeds, no. 10.

⁴ "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. vi, pt. ii, p. 1125.

Carew Series of State Papers, but doubt has been thrown on its authority, owing to the compiler drawing inspiration from the Arthurian legend, and stating that Almeric was promised by John de Courey half his conquests.¹ So far as is known Almeric possessed no land in Ulster, except what he gave to the Abbey of Downpatrick, and Howth can hardly have been considered a compensation for half of John de Courey's conquests. It is also to be observed that the compiler of the Book of Howth makes no attempt to explain the substitution of the name St. Lawrence for Tristram, the theory as to its connexion with the festival of St. Lawrence having been derived apparently from some other source. In the Book of Howth elaborate descriptions are given of the five battles which Giraldus Cambrensis mentions² as fought by John de Courey in Ulster, and in each case the founder of the house of Howth is placed in the forefront, accomplishing wonderful deeds and uttering heroic speeches. It is said that John de Courey's forces disembarked on their arrival in Ireland at Howth, and encountered there terrific resistance,³ and that a battle, which Giraldus Cambrensis has described as fought at the bridge of Newry, took place at the bridge of Howth. As John de Courey was unable from some cause or other to leave his ship, the command is represented as devolving on Almeric, who "stalworthy and knightly did use himself." According to the Book of Howth he proved the victor in the battle, during which no less than seven of his sons, uncles, and nephews were laid low, and, as "his part of the conquest at the beginning" was given Howth, together with other property, which is not specified. By tradition the Irish name of Newry, An Iubhar, in the corrupted form Evora, has been given to a bridge near the gate of the present castle, and the rivulet which it crosses bears the name of the Bloody Stream,⁴ but

¹ Dr. Round's "Peerage and Pedigree," ii, 273, and "Antiquary," vii, 196; viii, 21, 116.

² "Expugnatio Hibernica," ii, xvii.

³ "Book of Howth," p. 92. Mr. Orpen ("Ireland under the Normans," ii, 16) says that the district about Howth must have been subdued long before de Courey landed.

⁴ Near the bridge human bones, an anvil, and horse furniture were found at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "History of Dublin," ii, 1257; cf. R.I.A. Proc. x, 330.

its size discredits the idea of its having been spanned by a bridge at so early a period.

In the Book of Howth great exertions are attributed to Almeric during John de Courcy's campaign in Ulster. On more than one occasion he was severely wounded, and his mastery of strategy enabled John de Courcy's small force to confront successfully a force ten or fifteen times as great. In the words of his biographer,¹ "God and his enemies could report that amongst a thousand knights Sir Almeric might be chosen for beauty, stout stomach-head, and stalworthness, for he was stout and sturdy to his peer, and humble and full of courtesy to his inferiors, and nothing would yield but in the way of gentleness." Finally, his biographer tells us² that Almeric met his death in Connaught while encountering twenty thousand men under King O'Connor with thirty horse and two hundred footmen. "They fought so that never was seen in field that fought better than they did altogether. There was none amongst those few that ever gave back one foot from the captain unless it were braving lying with the dead, and scarce then, if he had any memory of himself. There Sir Almeric and his men at length altogether were slain in a ground less than a stang in breadth; . . . part of them being dead and cold did stay themselves up upon their feet, standing with their spears and two-handed swords in their hands, that much did trouble their enemies in the fight to overthrow them that dead were."

Notwithstanding a great slaughter of his sons, uncles, and nephews, which is said to have taken place on his first landing in Ireland, the founder of the house of Howth had, according to his biographer, a phalanx of relations near him in all his subsequent engagements.³ Amongst these, four receive special mention—a son called Nicholas, "a brave and worthy knight," who survived no less than nine wounds received in one battle; and three nephews: Lionel St. Lawrence, who was slain while displaying

¹ "Book of Howth," p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³ It is said in the "Book of Howth," p. 111, that two of his sons were killed when John de Courcy was taken prisoner on a Good Friday in church, but the story of John de Courcy's capture has been pronounced to be devoid of authority.

extraordinary bravery in the defence of a pass ; Geoffrey Montgomery, who bore his uncle's standard, and acted as his mentor ; and Roger le Poer, who is described as a great man in Ossory.

In Almeric's time the castle of Howth did not occupy the present site, but stood further to the east, nearer to the sea, on land on which a martello tower now rests, at the head of the eastern pier of the modern harbour. That site guarded the best natural refuges for shipping, and in the eighteenth century, when the mound on which the early castle stood still remained, its situation was thus described :—

A stately mole commands each little port,
 A rock its base, crowned with a conic mound ;
 This a stronghold appears, or Danish fort,
 Its counterscarp and rampart yet are found.

As will be seen from the sketch, the remains of the mediaeval church of Howth were close to the mound, and a stream, which has disappeared, flowed between them :—

With mournful sound close by the hallowed walls,
 A little cataract shoots forth its store ;
 Clear of the rock its silver torrent falls,
 And foaming glides its passage to the shore.

A rampart to the north sustained the fort,
 Which overhung the sea, long since withdrawn ;
 And there secured lay once the little port,
 In time converted to a pleasant lawn.¹

The castle in Almeric's time was, doubtless, of wood, like the one depicted on the Bayeux tapestry, and depended for defence on the fosse and banks by which it was surrounded. The mound on which it stood is described in the title of the sketch² as "a cairn or burying-place of the pagan Irish kings and nobility" ; and it is possible that Almeric may have found a tumulus and raised his castle upon it, but the site is not favourable to that theory.

¹ "Howth, a Descriptive Poem," by Abraham Bosquet, *Dubl.*, 1787.

² It is preserved in Gabriel Beranger's *Sketch Book* in the Royal Irish Academy, and is said to be from one by General Vallancey.

Nicholas, Lord of Howth, who escaped his father's fate through being at the time in England on "business to the king,"¹ succeeded on his father's death to Howth. His reign was, however, a short one. His father was alive in 1186, and it was not more than a year or two after that time that Nicholas executed a deed confirming Howth and its appurtenances to his son, who was called after his grandfather, Almeric. So far as is known, this is the last occasion on which Nicholas is mentioned. The deed confirming Howth to his son was witnessed by no less than nineteen persons, including the Archbishop of Dublin, John de Courcy, and members of the families then owning Castlenuock, Mullingar, Leixlip, Kinsaley, Clontarf, and Malahide.² The only other reference to Nicholas is as witness to a deed conveying land to St. Thomas's Abbey in Dublin, and some confirmation of his father's part in the Connaught expedition may be found in the fact that the grantor had served in the army in that part of Ireland, and gave the land to the abbey in pursuance of a vow which he had made during a grievous distemper contracted there.³

The last two witnesses to the deed by which Nicholas confirmed Howth to his son are Richard de Castello and Robert de Cornewalsh or Corr-na-waleis, "the hill of the Welshmen." The former was, no doubt, the keeper of the primitive castle, and the latter the head of a clan of Welshmen, who guarded the approach to the peninsula from the mainland. As will be seen in the next century, the lands near the isthmus were described as the town of

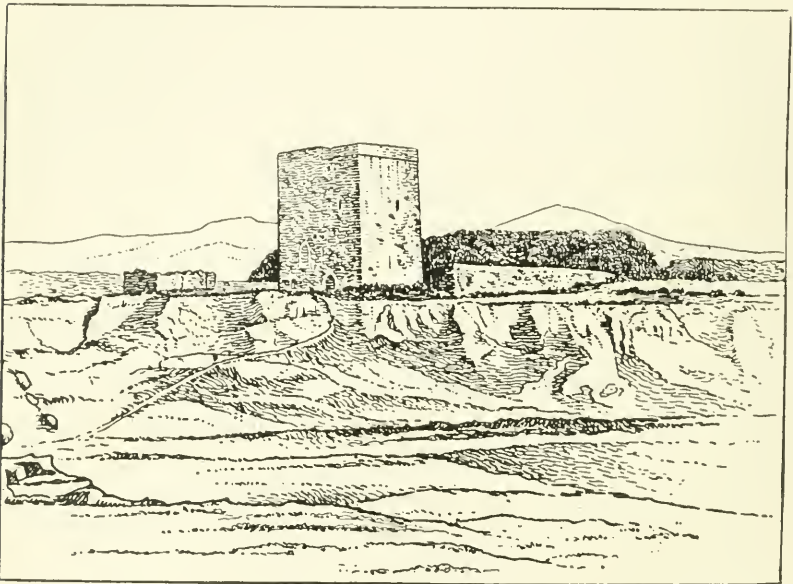
¹ "Book of Howth," p. 108.

² See Appendix A.

³ "Register of St. Thomas's Abbey," p. 38. The other witnesses to the deed are Geoffrey de Costentin, Robert the Forester, Lionel de Bromiard, and Richard de Bromiard, and persons of these names were alive in the period assigned to it. Geoffrey de Costentin was enfeoffed in Meath prior to 1286, and lived into the next century. (See Orpen's "Song of Dermot and the Earl," p. 229). Robert the Forester witnessed a deed during John de Courcy's tenure of the office of justiciary, 1185-90. (See "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," i, 125). Lionel de Bromiard is mentioned in a confirmation of Eugenius, Bishop of Clonard, 1174-1194, as having given certain advowsons to St. Thomas's Abbey, and his nephew Richard was one of the witnesses to the deed by which the advowsons were conveyed ("Register of St. Thomas's Abbey," pp. 21, 252).

Cornwalsh, and the designation of Corr, now attached to the ruined castle which stands upon them, was probably the place-name long before the occupation of the Welshmen.

Almeric the second had succeeded his father as Lord of Howth before 1190, when he was granted a royal confirmation of the lands as freely and quietly as his father had held them for the service of an armed horseman. The grant was executed by the future King John, then Lord of Ireland and Earl of Mortain, at



CORR CASTLE.

Bury St. Edmunds, and was attested by several witnesses from Ireland, including the Archbishop of Dublin and the owners of Castleknock and Raheny.¹ From deeds in which his name is found, either as grantor or as a witness, the second Almeric would appear to have ruled the peninsula for the next fifty years. In one of these deeds, which are seven in number, he is described

¹ See Appendix B. The date of this deed, as well as of the one by which Nicholas confirmed Almeric in the possession of the peninsula, has been determined by the movements of the Archbishop of Dublin, John Comyn. See "Dict. Nat. Biog.," xi, 455.

as "Lord Almeric de Howth," and in another as "Sir Almeric de Howth, Knight." In a grant to the Priory of All Hallows of such claim as he might have to the neighbouring lands of Baldoyle, Almeric the second mentions his wife Johanna, and accepts as compensation their admission to the fraternity of the priory church, which secured for them the prayers of the monks, and other spiritual benefits.¹ Another deed in which Almeric the second appears as the grantor concerns an exchange of land between him and the vicar of the church of Howth, and refers to his relations with the clergy, which appear to have been before that time far from amicable. He undertakes, as well by an oath as by the deed, and subject to a penalty of forty shillings, that, for the future, he will not rise up against his clerics "contrary to justice," or lay violent hands on others unless in self-defence.² In the remaining five deeds Almeric the second appears as witness to transactions affecting the adjacent lands of Baldoyle, Kinsaley, and Donabate.³

It is evident that prior to the execution of the second of these deeds the church of Howth, which was dedicated to St. Mary and is now in ruins, was at least in part erected. It consisted eventually of a nave and chancel, with an aisle and chantry on its southern side. In Dr. Cochrane's paper⁴ much pains have been taken to find support for a theory that the aisle was the nave of a church erected in the early part of the eleventh century by the Danish prince, Sitric, on the model of Saxon churches in Northumberland. But documentary evidence is altogether absent,⁵ and other archaeologists are not in agreement with Dr. Cochrane as to the design and stonework bearing resemblance to Saxon buildings. The nave and chancel are in length eighty-five feet three inches, and in width at the east end seventeen feet two inches,

¹ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. 51.

² A translation of the deed appears in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, xxvi, 15. Besides this deed, Lord Howth would appear to have formerly had in his possession other charters connected with the church. See "Life of Sir John Gilbert," p. 250.

³ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. 53; *Christ Church Deeds*, no. 40; Dr. Lawlor's *Cal. of the Liber Niger of Christ Church*, no. 104; "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," i, 77, 199.

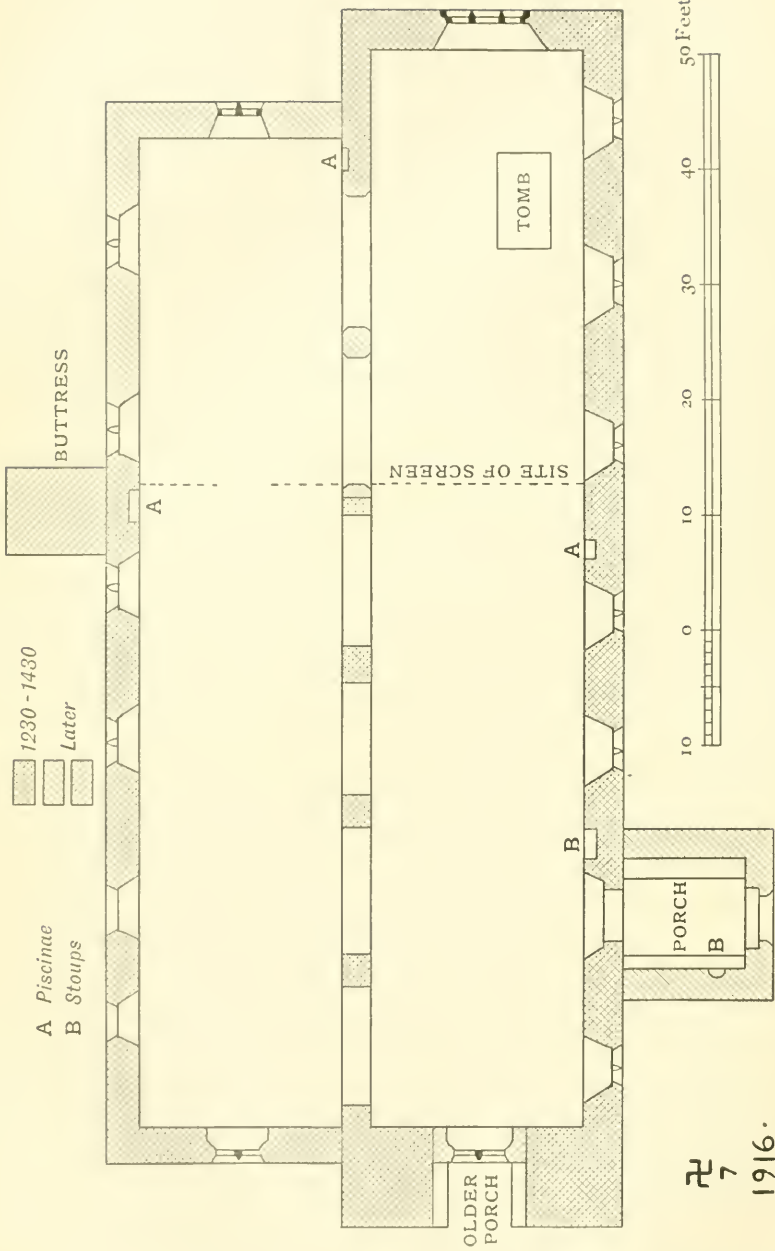
⁴ *Journal R. S. A. I.*, xxvi, 1.

⁵ Cf. Sir James Ware's "Antiquities and History of Ireland," Lond., 1705, p. 64.

and at the west end sixteen feet; and the aisle and chantry are in length ninety-five feet, and in width at the east end seventeen feet two inches, and at the west end eighteen feet six inches. An arcade of six arches divides the church, but it shows traces of being the work of various periods, as the arches are dissimilar, and exhibit transition from the round-headed to the pointed arch. From marks on the gables Dr. Cochrane conjectured also that the church had in its history borne roofs of no less than four different designs. There are in all fifteen windows. The east window of the chancel is debased perpendicular, but in the nave there is at the west end an Early-English window of two lights which, in Dr. Cochrane's opinion, has not always stood in its present place. In the chantry at the east end there are the remains of a fine window, which Dr. Cochrane assigns to the fourteenth century, and pronounces to be a vigorous example of tracery work; and in the aisle, at its western end, there is a window of similar design to the one in the chancel. Under it there is a porch, on which Dr. Cochrane relies for his theory as to the Saxon origin of that part of the church; and on the southern side, at the west end, there is another porch of Early-English architecture. Over the western end of the nave a belfry-gable rises with openings for three bells and a stairway approaching them.

The castle used by Almeric the first is mentioned in the agreement with the vicar, which describes the eastern boundary of the land given by Almeric the second to him as a stream flowing into the sea between the church and "the old castle." Before that time this castle had evidently been superseded by one on the present site; and the effect of the exchange of land with the vicar was to add to the demesne to the west by reducing it to the east, where the former castle had stood. The land given by Almeric to the vicar is said to have comprised twenty-five acres of his demesne, bounded on the east by the stream just mentioned, on the south by the road from Clontarf, on the west by an artificial division, and on the north by the sea; and in return for it he received from the vicar fifteen acres of land near his gate towards the town of Cornwalsh.¹

¹ In his paper Dr. Cochrane has taken a different view as to the situation of this land, but the site of "the old castle" was unknown to him.



ST. MARY'S CHURCH

7
1916.

By this deed Almeric the second granted also to the vicar various privileges to augment his income, and one of these shows that the fishing industry was as important to Howth then as it is to-day, and that the owner of Howth received a great revenue from it. According to the terms of the deed, Almeric being moved thereto by piety, granted to the vicar pardon from all customs due to him in respect of one fishing-boat, and undertook that the remission should apply not only to the owner of the boat, but also to the fishermen in it, who were not to be obliged to sell to Almeric fish unless they wished to do so, and were to receive the full market value in the port without any difficulty or delay. Another of the covenants shows that turf was then obtained for the purpose of fuel on the peninsula. It provides that the vicar's men and tenants should be free from all servitude and exaction, and should have turf and pasture for their animals, as other men on the peninsula, and should traffic through the whole of Almeric's land quietly and without impediment. Lastly, Almeric promised to allow his own men to work for the vicar for hire when he did not himself require them.

Henry appears to have succeeded the second Almeric as Lord of Howth, but knowledge of him is only gained from a deed executed about 1248, in connexion with land in the parish of Castleknock belonging to the Priory of All Hallows, to which his name is appended as a witness.¹

From the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century, the owners of Howth are constantly mentioned in the Irish records. They were foremost in the life of their country, and no less active in military than in civil avocations. By degrees cadets of the house, who were more generally known by the surname of Howth than by that of St. Lawrence, settled outside the peninsula; and towards the close of the thirteenth century

¹ Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. 61. The date of this deed has been determined by the names of two of the other witnesses, Lord Radulph de Fingal and Richard de Finglas. The former is mentioned as witness of a deed of the year 1149 (Dr. Lawlor's, *Cal. of the Liber Niger of Christ Church*, no. 113), and the latter is found acting with Philip de Rath, who appears as a witness to a deed of the year 1247. (Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. 66; *Christ Church Deeds*, no. 59.)

they are found displaying varied activities throughout the counties that afterwards formed the English Pale. To Louth they appear to have been more particularly attracted, and in it they have left their name imprinted on one of the townlands that lie on the Meath border.¹

The history of the owners of Howth in the mediæval period tends to show that their castle was one of the most important dwellings in the neighbourhood of Dublin; but alterations in later times have left little remains of it, and no certainty can be felt as to its extent or design. Similarly, their possession of the right of court leet and court baron proves that they possessed the fullest manorial jurisdiction; but of their administration of the manor, or of the life upon it, no information has come down to us. For many generations the entrance to the peninsula continued to be held by the Cornwalsh family. During the thirteenth century they are mentioned as suffering from illegal exactions on the part of the owners of the adjacent lands of Raheny, and as supplying the army with cows; and in the fourteenth century they are seen, like the lord of the soil, engaged in legal conflict with the Priory of All Hallows respecting the manor of Baldoyle, and acting as custodians of the port of Howth.²

The evidence of the importance of the port at that period arrests attention, and the number and size of the ships that found shelter in the small harbour under the first castle are not a little surprising. In 1315 it was considered necessary to appoint as many as four persons to prevent ships sailing from Howth without the permission of the Government; and eight years later as many as ten were appointed to prevent the exportation of food,³ while

¹ See Appendix C.

² In 1218 Raymund le Cornewaleis appears, in 1238 Richard Corwalense, in 1260 and 1280 Gilbert le Waleys, in 1307 Luke le Waleys, and in 1323 Henry le Waleys. "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," i, 211, 214, 468, 494 (cf. for date of deed on p. 211, Christ Church Deed, no. 489, on p. 468, *ibid.*, nos. 22 and 23, on p. 494, *ibid.*, no. 506, and on p. 214, "Register of All Hallows," p. 53); Sweetman's Calendar, 1252-84, no. 1890; Butler's "Register of All Hallows," p. 52, and Gilbert's "Hist. and Munic. Doc.," p. 375.

³ Gilbert's "Hist. and Munic. Doc.," p. 375; Mem. Rolls, 16 Edw. III. The names were in 1315 Nicholas Mole, John Reyner, Radolph de Seton, and William Seton, and in 1323 John Amory, Ralph Mole, William le Vilers, Alexander Savage,

in 1335 one of the largest class of vessels of that period, known as a cog, which was cast away on the Cornish coast while carrying hides to Normandy, is said to have hailed from Howth, and later in that century the Howth ships were used for the exportation of corn in very large quantities.¹ In 1348 a pestilence, that laid waste Dublin and Drogheda, is said to have been brought to Howth by some of the numerous persons landing there, and to have spread thence to the larger towns.² It was then the custom for ships going to Drogheda to lie at Howth until the merchants paid for the cargo and provided a pilot to undertake the navigation to Drogheda, which was considered a dangerous port,³ and ships from Liverpool engaged in the conveyance of Irish labourers to England, which was a contraband traffic, used sometimes to resort there.⁴ Of the Howth port the chief governors began early to make use. In 1380 Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and in 1389 Sir John Stanley, landed there, and in 1403 the boy Lord Lieutenant, Prince Thomas of Lancaster, took ship there after his first visit to Ireland.⁵ As in later times, the reputation of the Howth fishery stood high, and towards the close of the fourteenth century one of those engaged in it was appointed to buy fish for the chief governor, in whatever part of Ireland he might be.⁶

Of the inhabitants, other than the lords of the soil and the Cornwallshes, during mediaeval times, little is known. From the fact that at the close of the thirteenth century John de Sutton is bracketed on a jury with one of the St. Lawrences⁷ it is probable that a family named Sutton resided on the southern lands of the peninsula called by that cognomen.⁸ By the rectors, who were

Henry le Waleis, Ralph de St. Lawrence, John Mole, Osbert Midwyst, Oliver de Kilbarrock, and John Forde.

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 147, 1399-1401, p. 236.

² D'Alton's "Hist. of Co. Dublin," p. 133.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p. 114.

⁴ Plea Roll, 232, m. 2.

⁵ "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," ii, 284; Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., pp. 144, 177; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1401-05, p. 390.

⁶ "The King's Council in Ireland," ed. Rev. James Graves, p. 163.

⁷ Sweetman's Calendar, 1285-92, p. 440.

⁸ In 1297, Ririth de Howth appears as attorney in a plea of debt, in 1306 Simon de Estham of Howth was deprived of a cow by the purveyors of the justiciary, and in

prebendaries of St. Patrick's Cathedral, it is improbable that the peninsula was often visited; and the names of only two vicars, Walter de Suell, who held the cure when the church is supposed to have been built, and William Young, who held the cure in 1327, have come down to us. During the fourteenth century the Howth prebendaries are notable for the zeal with which they seek preferment in England and leave to reside out of Ireland, and in one instance a prebendary is found within four months of his appointment making arrangements to transfer into England his spoils in the shape of victuals for his household, and horses, goshawks, and falcons for his own use. Not a little remarkable also is the persistency with which the Popes tried during that century to intrude nominees of their own into the prebend, and the small success which attended their efforts.¹

Nicholas, Lord of Howth, is found in possession of the lands in 1264, and before that time in consideration of military service he had obtained the accolade.² Notwithstanding the grant made by Almeric the second to the Priory of All Hallows only some forty years before, Nicholas had renewed the claim to the lands of Baldoyle, and in the year 1270 extorted a sum of forty marks from the monks in consideration of abandoning legal proceedings which he had instituted against them.³ He was no less prominent in civil than in military life, and is found acting as a juror and a justice of the gaol delivery. In the former capacity he served in an inquiry regarding the erection of a church in Dublin by the Carmelite Order, and in the latter capacity he liberated an Englishman who was charged with the death of an Irishman—an exercise of judicial authority for which he was relegated to the Castle of Dublin.⁴

1305 Stephen de Packer of Howth, a member of a family trading with Gascony, was charged with felony. Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," 1295-1303, p. 111; 1305-07, pp. 157, 251, 484.

¹ See Appendix D.

² "Liber Niger," A² 460; "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," i, 473.

³ "Register of All Hallows," p. 52.

⁴ Sweetman's Calendar, 1252-84, nos. 1609, 2113. See for other references to him "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," i, 508, 509; Christ Church Deeds, nos. 114, 115; Mills's "Justiciary Rolls," 1303-07, p. 257.

Adam had before 1291 succeeded Nicholas as Lord of Howth, but his right of succession was apparently recognized not without difficulty. Between the years 1285 and 1290 Nicholas on six occasions paid a fine for trespass in an increasing amount at the suit of Adam, and in 1286 Adam paid likewise a fine on two occasions.¹ This dispute was also probably accountable for the appearance of Nicholas in the year 1286 before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to make a statement on oath in regard to his tenure of Howth. In that statement he mentioned that his ancestors had held the lands and tenements of Howth under the charter granted by King John to the second Almeric, and that they were accustomed to make suit to the county of Dublin; and he testified that both he and his ancestors had rendered service at the gate of Dublin Castle in respect of their property.² It is probable that Nicholas's successor was an Adam de Howth, who, with his wife Mabel, was forced in 1282 to surrender sixteen acres in the town of the Castle of Howth to Alice, daughter of Roger de Crumba;³ but the eldest son of Nicholas's successor was not born until 1296, and his mother's name was Isabella.⁴ She is said to have been a daughter of William Pilate, a cadet of a Hertfordshire family, who had settled in the county of Meath, and her sister is claimed by the Cusacks of Gerardstown as an ancestress.⁵

Like his predecessor, Adam was active in civil life. During the years 1305 and 1306 he served on five juries in trials before the justiciary. Two of these were criminal trials, the charges being the receiving of stolen property, and the harbouring of a felon; and three were common pleas, namely, a suit touching the fishery at the Salmon Leap, a suit against an ex-mayor of Dublin for detaining the corporation seal, and a suit against a merchant of Dublin for evading customs on wine which he had landed at Dalkey. He is also found acting as witness in connexion with property in Finglas parish, and as surety for inhabitants of

¹ Sweetman's Calendar, 1285-92, *passim*.

³ Plea Roll, 10 Edw. I.

⁵ Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 134.

² "Book of Howth," p. 227.

⁴ Patent Roll, 18 Edw. II.

Malahide accused of unlawful possession of wreck of the sea, and serving as sheriff of Dublin and Meath.¹ But, unlike his predecessor, Adam does not appear to have been inspired with military ardour. In several expeditions of his time the service by which he held Howth was commuted, and there is no evidence of the honour of knighthood having fallen to his lot.²

Distinction on the field of battle is, however, said to have been won by a scion of the house of Howth, another Almeric, at the close of the thirteenth century. According to the Book of Howth,³ he was one of a band of Irish knights who went then to the assistance of Edward the First in his wars with Scotland, and he proved himself not the least valorous of this company of young men, who, we are told, bore the bell everywhere they went in Scotland, and were well accepted and rewarded by their sovereign. No less romantic than brave, Sir Almeric is said to have challenged at the north side of Edinburgh one Robert de Wallace to mortal combat for the hand of the Lady Amerus, daughter of the Earl of Rosse, and, after disposing of his rival, displayed what his panegyrist represents as marvellous constancy in never forsaking the fair lady, for whom he had, we are told, pined for no less than five years.

During Adam's time Howth saw a remarkable exhibition of ecclesiastical rivalry. A great question of that day was as to the right of the Archbishop of Armagh to bear his cross erect in the province of Dublin, and watch appears to have been kept to prevent such a manifestation of supremacy. In the year 1313, on the day after the Annunciation, a new Archbishop of Armagh landed at Howth, and seeing, as he thought, an opportunity of stealing a march on his episcopal brother, he rose during the night, and set out towards Armagh, with his cross raised on high. His triumphal progress suffered, however, a rude interruption at the Priory of Grâce Dieu, where he encountered some of the Archbishop of Dublin's retainers, and the chronologers tell us

¹ Mills's "Justiciary Rolls" 1295-1303, 1305-07, *passim*; 39 Rept. D.K.R.I., 69.

² Sweetman's Calendar, 1293-1301, nos. 259, 442; 1302-07, p. 85. ³ p. 125.



TOMB - EFFIGIES AND INSCRIPTION

that his exit from Leinster was made in confusion, with the emblem of his authority laid very low.¹

Adam the second succeeded Adam the first in the possession of Howth as his eldest son. In the year 1325, on March 25, the lands owned by Adam de Howth, deceased, were taken into the king's hands, and on April 3 following they were granted to his son Adam, who was stated to have been at least twenty-eight years of age on the previous feast of All Saints.² Shortly afterwards Adam the second admitted the right of his mother Isabella to a third of the manor of Howth as her dowry,³ and granted the vicar of Howth portion of his demesne, estimated at thirty acres, which was probably the same land as his predecessor Almeric had granted to the vicar of his day.⁴

The culmination of the historic feud between the Berminghams and the men of Uriel, the assassination of John Bermingham, Earl of Louth, and his kinsmen, occurred in the lifetime of the second Adam; and according to the Book of Howth,⁵ which gives a realistic account of the circumstances, a member of Adam's family, William Howth, avenged afterwards two of those assassinated. One of these is said to have been the owner of Malahide, Richard Talbot, whose daughter William Howth had married, and the other was one of the Berminghams, called Almeric. The assassins were, according to the Book of Howth, two brothers, John Gernon and Roger Gernon; and about a week after the slaughter, when the Gernons were returning from Dublin, where they had gone to sue for pardon, they met "beneath the hills from Gormanstown to Drogheda," William Howth with one of his brothers called Walter, and what an annotator calls "shrewd talk between gentlemen" ensued, with the result that William Howth challenged John Gernon to single combat. William Howth is described as a young

¹ "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey," ii, 342.

² Patent Roll, 18 Edw. II. There was possibly further dispute about the succession. See 42 Rept. D.K.R.I., p. 52.

³ Plea Roll, Edw. II, no. 150.

⁴ Memoranda Roll, 2 Hen. VII, 17. It is stated that this grant, which was effected on May 1, 1327, was made by an Almeric de Howth; but the entry is confused, and there seems no doubt that the grant was made by Adam de Howth the second.

⁵ p. 152; cf. Gilbert's "Viceroys," p. 172.

man of twenty-three, of slight stature, and John Gernon as the strongest man in Ulster, but William Howth prevailed, and slew him, and, refusing aid from his brother, challenged subsequently Roger Gernon, and after a long fight also slew him.

Nicholas, who, on the death of Adam the second, succeeded to Howth in 1334 as his eldest son,¹ was at the time of his father's death only thirteen years of age, and his mother, whose Christian name was Scholastica, long survived, marrying as a second husband Robert Tyrell, Lord of Castleknock, with whom, in 1370, she perished of plague.² At first the care of Nicholas's person and fortune was committed to the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Thomas Louth,³ but before long Louth was relieved of the trust, and "for urgent reasons touching the King" the wardship and marriage of Nicholas was entrusted to John Plunkett of Beaulieu. A usual result followed: the ward was married to the guardian's daughter, and Alicia Plunkett became the wife of Nicholas.⁴ For seventy years Nicholas held the estates and honours of his family. He is said to have been a man of "singular honesty,"⁵ and he attained to a high position in the State. His name appears as a member of all the great councils of his time, as one of the guardians of the peace for the county of Dublin, and as a supervisor of the rebuilding of the great bridge in Dublin over the Liffey.⁶

Legal proceedings, which were instituted in the year 1384 at Carlow against Nicholas Howth and Margery, his wife, indicate that Nicholas married a second time.⁷ These proceedings, which concerned dower, were instituted by one of the Taaffes of Braganstown, where the Earl of Louth was murdered, and afford corroboration of the Book of Howth.⁸ According to it, for some

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., pp. 39, 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101; "Book of Howth," p. 169.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 40.

⁴ Patent 9 Edw. III. It has been, however, calendared as a Roll of Edward II, which has led previous writers on the Howth pedigree into error. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 20.

⁵ "Ancient Irish Histories," ii. 19.

⁶ Lynch's "Legal Institutions," pp. 320, 323; Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 185; "Chartulary St. Mary's Abbey," ii, 425.

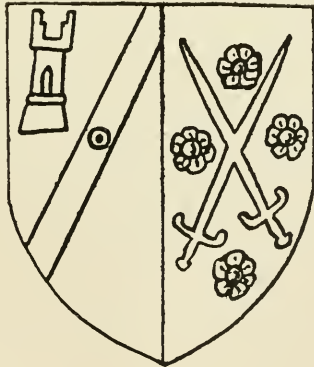
⁷ Plea Roll, 8 Ric. II.

⁸ p. 155.

years after the encounter between William Howth and the Gernons, whenever the Howth family and the men of Uriel met in Dublin or Drogheda swords were drawn with disastrous consequences to the men of Uriel, until at length, in order to secure peace, the head of the Taaffe family married his daughter to one of the Howth family, and gave much land with her. From other legal proceedings Nicholas is found to have been, in 1347, the defendant in a charge of unlawfully disseizing from a tenement in Sutton one Geoffrey Montgomery, no doubt a descendant as well as namesake of Almeric the first's standard-bearer, and with him there was joined as defendant John Howth, who is elsewhere described as of Ballymadrought, near Swords.¹

The opening of the fifteenth century saw the end of Nicholas's long life. Although, as will be seen, the house of Howth took an active part in the later dissensions of the Royal family, there is no indication that the accession of Henry the Fourth was regarded by it with any concern. Owing to his position, Nicholas must have been brought into contact with Richard the Second during his visits to this country, but he seems to have transferred his allegiance to Henry the Fourth without scruple, and to have entertained the king's son, Prince Thomas of Lancaster, who before embarking signed more than one patent at Howth.

¹ Plea Roll, 20 and 21 Edw. III.



ARMS ON TOMB.

CHAPTER IV.

IN PLANTAGENET AND TUDOR TIMES.

THE period covered by this chapter was a critical one for the Anglo-Irish, and eventful in the history of the owners of Howth. It opens with the Wars of the Roses, passes on to the revolt in favour of Lambert Simnel, and closes at a time when England was rent asunder by the wars of religion. The distinguished part played by the owners of Howth under the later Plantagenet sovereigns is marked by a great altar-tomb, which was then raised in the parish church to one of the most illustrious of the St. Lawrence line. The tomb bears on its slab, which measures seven feet two inches long, and three feet eleven inches broad, the effigies of a knight and a lady, and its ends and its sides are elaborately carved.

“The knight is shown in armour,” says the Keeper of the Irish Antiquities in the National Museum,¹ “wearing a pointed bascinet. His head rests upon a cushion; his feet are supported by a hound couchant. He is represented in what appears to be a camail of mail, an archaic feature at that period, when one expects to find a plate gorget, or possibly a standard or collar of mail. A skirt of mail appears below the end of his body armour. His sword is worn in front in the fashion prevalent in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The lady lies on the knight’s right side. She is shown wearing the horned head-dress fashionable at that period, and a full gown with many pleats. Her head and feet rest upon cushions. The hands of both figures are shown lying flat, palms downwards, on the breast, a position that was doubtless adopted by the sculptor to avoid carving the hands clasped in high relief, in the usual attitude of prayer. Round the edge of the slab

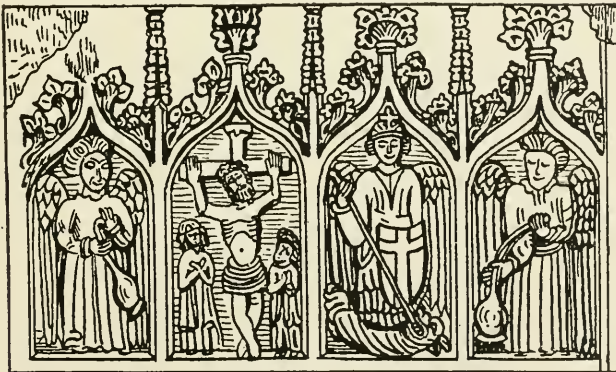
¹ Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A.

there runs an inscription which has been deciphered by Professor R. A. S. Macalister;¹ and which shows that the tomb was erected in memory of Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord of Howth, who died in 1462, and his wife, who was a daughter of the house of Plunkett of Ratoath.



TOMB—EAST END.

“The ends of the monument are divided into four arched niches decorated with floriated work. The east end contains effigies of St. Peter and St. Catherine, and of an ecclesiastic and an abess,

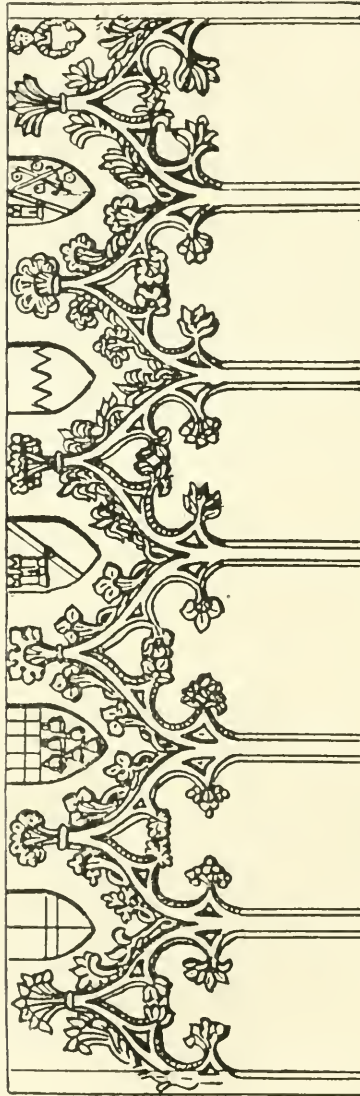


TOMB—WEST END.

possibly meant for St. Patrick and St. Brigid. The outer niches of the west end are each filled with the figure of an angel with a

¹ See Appendix O, p. 168.

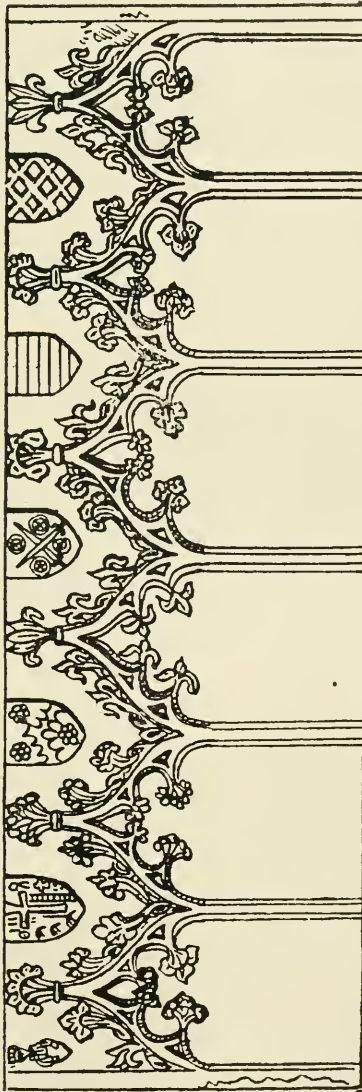
censer, and the inner niches contain carvings of St. Michael and the dragon and the Crucifixion. The sides of the tomb are divided into six similar niches on each side. These niches are empty, but



Tomb — South Side.

between their arched floriated heads are carved shields of arms, except in one case where the emblems of the Passion are inserted. Commencing on the south side and passing from right to left, the

first shield contains the arms of St. Lawrence impaling those of Plunkett, the Plunkett arms being reversed and differenced with an annulet; the second an indented chief, which may stand for the



TOMB—NORTH SIDE.

arms of Butler or le Poer; the third the Plunkett arms; the fourth the arms of Fleming; and the fifth the arms of Cusack. On the north side the first shield contains the arms of Bellew; the

second a doubtful coat which may represent the arms of Barry or possibly Hussey; the third the arms of St. Lawrence; the fourth the arms of White; and the fifth the emblems of the Passion."¹

Such references to the peninsula as occur in the period under review relate principally to the port. Its importance then for mereantile traffic is evidenced in the care taken by the Corporation of Dublin that goods landed at Howth should not escape the payment of dues to them. The right to exact the same custom on goods landed there as on goods landed at Dublin was confirmed to the Corporation by Henry the Sixth, and when later on the owner of Howth disputed their right, the whole power of the Corporation was put in motion in its defence.² Amongst passengers landing at Howth in the fifteenth century we find Sir John de Grey, who held the sword for a brief period;³ Richard, Duke of York, whose viceroyalty gained for him great popularity in the Pale;⁴ and Sir Edward Poynings, whose name is familiar in connexion with the limitation of the powers of the Irish Parliament;⁵ and amongst those sailing from it we find a Chief Baron, James Cornwalsh, who was possibly one of the old Howth clan.⁶ In the sixteenth century we find sailing from it, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Sir Edward Bellingham⁷ and Sir James Croft,⁸ and in the reign of Mary, the Earl of Sussex.⁹

There is some reason to believe that in the opening years of Henry the Seventh's reign the owner of Howth resided at Killester,¹⁰ and it is possible that opportunity may have been then taken to adapt the Castle of Howth to the expanding ideas of

¹ Even three hundred years ago difficulty was found in determining the families to which some of the arms belonged. See notes "in the church of Howth taken the 11th of September, 1584," in Trinity College Library, MS. 581, 72. The date on the tomb was then said to be 1430. A description of the tomb, with a wood-cut of the effigies, by R. A., appeared in "The Dublin Penny Journal," ii, 72. In his "Essay on Gothic Architecture in Ireland," p. 177, Thomas Bell has made an attempt to prove that the tomb is Elizabethan.

² Ancient Records of Dublin, i, 143; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46, p. 101.

³ Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 243.

⁷ Fiant, Edw. VI, no. 426.

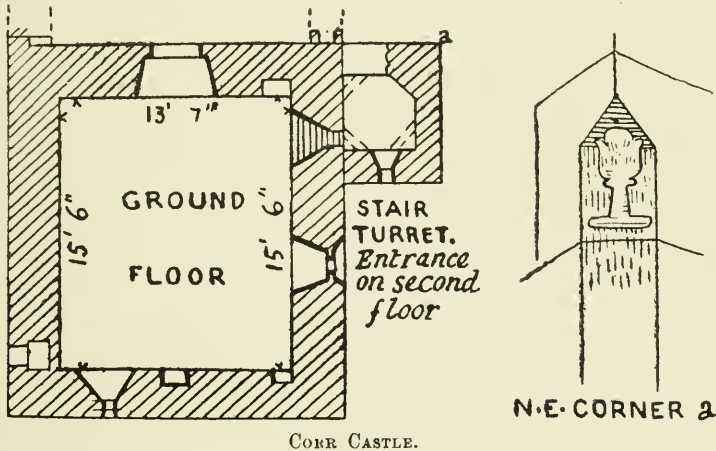
⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 1162.

⁹ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 278.

¹⁰ "Book of Howth," p. 177.

that time, but no certainty on the question is attainable. Even at that early period the Castle appears to have been provided with cannon;¹ and after Silken Thomas's rebellion it withstood a somewhat formidable attack made upon it by the Irish tribes.²

Besides the Castle of Howth two other residences of considerable dimensions stood in the sixteenth century on the peninsula. The first of these was Corr Castle, which belonged to the family of White, and the other, which stood on the lands of Sutton, belonged to the family of Hackett.³ The remains of Corr Castle have been thus described by the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland:⁴—"They consist of an oblong tower, four stories high,



CORR CASTLE.

nineteen and a half by twenty-two feet outside, and thirteen and a half by fifteen and a half feet inside. The third story has a stone floor which rests on a vault still bearing the mark of the wicker centering over which it was built. For some reason which is not apparent, this vault covers only part of the space, leaving an opening the whole length of the south wall. Indeed, defence seems not to have been considered by the builders; no murder-hole or loops command the door, nor are there any machicolations,

¹ Letters and Papers, Ric. III and Hen. VII, ii, 300.

² "Book of Howth," p. 193.

³ In 1550 William Whyt of Corryston and Michael Hackett of Sutton are mentioned in connexion with the manor of Ward, in which the St. Lawrences had an interest. Fiant, Edw. VI, no. 493.

⁴ Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.A.

although a corbel for a chimney to the east might easily be mistaken for one. A small turret, eight by five and a half feet, contains the spiral stair, which commences about seven feet from the ground at the level of the ground-floor. The basement of this turret, which forms a small room, and was probably the porter's lodge, is corbelled like the turret rooms in Howth Castle, and is lit by unglazed slits. The north-east angle of the main tower has a bold chamfer for about six feet up, with a defaced floral finial. The only other carving is a rude human face on a projecting stone in the east wall. The windows are very plain, oblong with chamfered edges, save the south window of the top room, which has a well-cut trefoil light with ogee curves and an angular hood.

"The basement has a single window to the south and east; a second one to the east below the staircase, which looked into the porter's room, is closed. Rude ambries remain on most of the floors. The doorways, as a rule, are pointed, and have bolt-holes, but no trace of large bars. The second and third floors have, to the south, windows with seats to each side; the third floor has other smaller windows to the north and east, and a neat, flat-arched recess to the south. There was a garde-robe in the south-west corner of the second and third floors; the doors of the garde-robe and of the stair-case opened back into the shallow recesses in the wall. The stairs are of far better execution than are usually seen in the peel and church towers of the Dublin district, and, though without a newel, the steps are neat and well set. They number forty in all, and lead to the battlements, which command a fine view of the sea, similar to the one from the chief tower of Howth Castle, and also of the southern side of the peninsula. The doorways, which open to the upper stories at the sixteenth and twenty-ninth steps, are also well cut. The remains of the projecting piers of doors, and an angular mark on the north side, show that a wing two stories high adjoined the tower on that side, the entrance to the upper story from the tower being by a pointed doorway, now built up, beside the lower doorway of the tower stair-case."¹

¹ Cf. *Archæologia*, xxxviii, 172, and "The Irish Builder" for 1898, pp. 91, 98, 108.

The erection of the altar-tomb led probably to extensive structural changes in the church. Before the erection of the altar-tomb the church appears to have consisted of a nave and chancel, with an aisle on the northern side of the nave, to which the aisle was nearly equal in length. On the erection of the altar-tomb the chancel in which it was placed was converted into a chantry, and a new chancel seems to have been built on its northern side in continuation of the aisle, which became the nave in the new arrangement. By tradition the church is designated an abbey church, but the only ground for the supposition that it had a higher status than a parochial one is to be found in the name, "The College," which is attached to a building near its southern side. This building is similar in its architectural features to the later chancel, and would appear not improbably to have been erected at the same time as a residence for the clergy whose duty it was to officiate in the chantry.¹

As it contains a window of similar design to that in the later chancel, the belfry gable was also probably erected at the same period. The bells which filled the three opes are still preserved in Howth Castle, and bear the following inscriptions:—

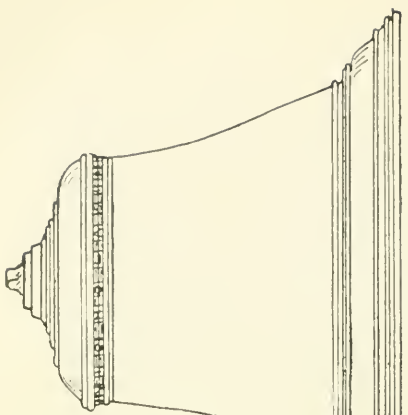
- (1) Jesu Criste misserere noibs.
- (2) Sancta Maria ora pro nobis ad Filium.
- (3) Nicholas Mun Cir of Mebiginer.²

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the prebendaries of Howth, who were chiefly men of Irish birth, looked for preferment in Ireland rather than in England, and contented themselves with such promotion as the deanery of their own cathedral and the archdeaconry of their diocese afforded.³ Of the vicars, the name of only one, Nicholas Carney, who was appointed in 1532, has come down to us; but a chaplain, John Joy of Howth, who is mentioned in 1549 as a trustee for Lord Howth, was probably one of the clergy serving in the church.

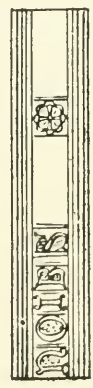
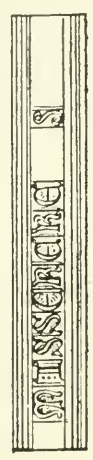
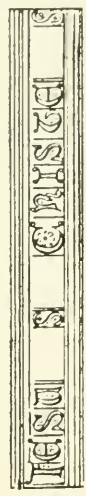
¹ See Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "History of Dublin," ii, 1260; Huband Smith's "Day at Howth," p. 26.

² See Thomas Bell's "Gothic Architecture in Ireland," p. 174.

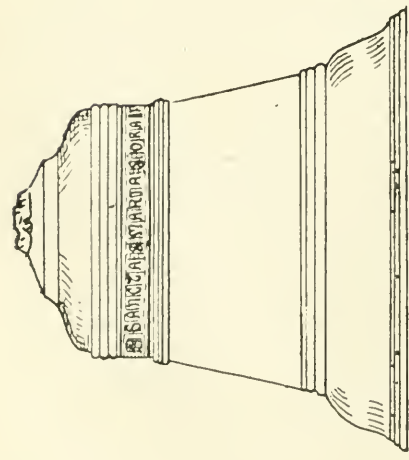
³ See Appendix E.



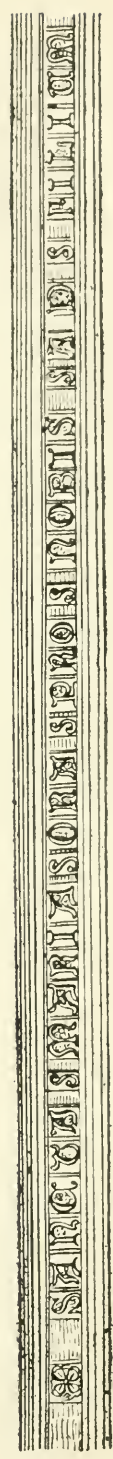
BELL 3



BELL 1



BELL 2



BELL 2

THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

Stephen, who succeeded to the title and estates in 1404, on the death of Nicholas, Lord of Howth, was probably his grandson. He appears to have married in 1387 Elinor, daughter of Sir Robert Holywood of Artain, which manor he held subsequently as a trustee.¹ In 1410 he was appointed, with Richard Rochford, to take tithes of Howth for the expenses of the Lord Deputy;² in 1415 he is mentioned as paying rents for the lands of Kilbarrack;³ and in 1421 he was required to render homage for Howth and for the lands of Stapolin in the parish of Baldoye, which he did also in succeeding years.⁴ It was during his time, in the autumn of 1425, that Chief Baron Cornwallsh took ship at Howth, and that in the summer of 1427, Sir John de Grey landed there, and possibly enjoyed his hospitality before proceeding to Swords, where he was sworn into office next day.⁵

Christopher, who as son and heir of Stephen, Lord of Howth, came into possession of the peninsula in 1435 and did homage as its owner in 1437,⁶ exhibited capacity and courage, and gained much renown in the troublous times in which he lived. His character is first conspicuous in his assertion of his rights as Lord of Howth, and in his management of his property. Within a few years of his succession he made a claim to all wrecks of the sea upon the peninsula,⁷ and contested the right of the Crown to have as a royalty a grampus, twelve feet long, which had been thrown upon it, pleading that from time immemorial his predecessors had been seized of all porpoises, grampuses, and herring-swine found there.⁸ During a great council held in 1450 he appeared as patron of one Richard Ingram, a miner and refiner, who "at great and insupportable cost and labour" had worked in Ireland divers mines of silver, lead, iron, coal, gypsum, and millstone, and was granted leave himself to search within his lordship of Howth for tin or lead ore, and if a mine was found to take the profits for

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., pp. 135, 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³ Mem. Roll, 2 Hen. V.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 Hen. V, and 2 and 4 Hen. VI.

⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 243; Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 323.

⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 257; Mem. Roll, 15 Hen. VI.

⁷ Mem. Roll, 20 Hen. VI.

⁸ Lynch's "Legal Institutions," p. 148.

three years, subject to a royalty of six shillings and eight pence.¹ Some years later he retaliated vigorously on some inhabitants of Wicklow for imposing on him salt which they had unlawfully obtained, and caused them to be declared outlaws,² and he sought the aid of the Irish Parliament to free lands, in which he had an interest, from unjust taxation, and secured legislation in his favour.³

But his great qualities are early seen also in regard to affairs of State. Before 1442 he had been knighted,⁴ and ten years later he was appointed a member of the king's council,⁵ and became foremost in protecting his county as well by sea as by land against the enemies of the king. In April, 1455, he was commissioned to exact from those using the port of Howth tolls to defray the cost of protecting the shipping from the attacks of "Frenchmen, Bretons, Scots, and divers other nations"; and he supervised the erection of barriers on the bridges of Lucan and Kilmainham and at various fords, by which Irish enemies and English rebels were wont to cross the Liffey by night and to descend on Fingal to rob, kill, and destroy the king's liege people.⁶ In the following October he was joined with the Archbishop of Dublin, the Abbot of St. Mary's, and the Priors of Kilmainham and Christ Church, in strengthening the hands of a sheriff of Dublin county under whose weak rule the march was likely to be destroyed, and three years later he was joined with the Prior of Kilmainham and the Abbots of St. Thomas's and St. Mary's in reporting on the conduct of the Walshes of Carriekmines, which was then regarded in very diverse lights.⁷

Christopher became no doubt known to Richard Duke of York, the father of Edward the Fourth, on his arrival as Lord Lieutenant. It was in his time, in the summer of 1449, that the Duke landed at Howth, accompanied by his wife, the Rose of Raby, and attended by a strong body of soldiers;⁸ and from that time

¹ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Hen. VI, pp. 279, 285.

² *Ibid.*, p. 547.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

⁴ Mem. Roll, 20 Hen. VI.

⁵ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Hen. VI, p. 375.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 315.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 361.

⁸ Gilbert's "Viceroys," p. 353.

NORTH SIDE	
ITC ITC EN T O R I S T O F E R U I S D E S T I N O T O F I R E N T O D O M I N U I S A T H N N A T O W M I N A S I I T T I C	
WEST END	SOUTH SIDE
P I U N K E T O E A R R A T O V H T O I O O B T T U S H G R I S T O O D O M I N A H N N O T O W M I I O C C C S A X T O I I O U O R U M H N I O H B U S O E I U S I O R O I I O I E T O U R M E F E C H	
EAST END	

INSCRIPTION ON TOMB, DECIPHERED AND DRAWN BY PROFESSOR R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT. D. (See p. 168)

Christopher stood high in the Duke's favour. When the Wars of the Roses broke out, Christopher followed the Duke to England and joined his standard;¹ and he was, no doubt, prominent amongst the earls and homagers who flocked round the Duke on his return to Ireland in the autumn of 1459, after the desertion of his followers at Ludlow.² In the enactments of the Parliament which the Duke called then in Ireland, Christopher's name is mentioned several times: first, as a commissioner to adjudge compensation to persons suffering from the neglect of the guardians of the coast, then as one excepted from an act of resumption, and, lastly, as an officer of the Crown who proposed to accompany "the high and puissant prince, Richard, Duke of York," on his return to England.³ The office held by him was that of Constable of the Castle of Dublin, and a further grant of it was made to him by Edward the Fourth in consideration of his services.⁴

During the lifetime of Christopher the Howth title appears to have been first recognized as an hereditary honour, giving its holder a right to a seat in the Upper House, and to be enrolled amongst the barons of Ireland. The place assigned to its holder was immediately after the Baron of Killeen and before the Baron of Trimlestown, whose name was entered on the roll in 1461.⁵ It is not improbable that the names of Lord Howth and Lord Killeen were added to the roll at the same time and for the same cause, namely, loyalty to the Duke of York. With Christopher Plunkett, Lord of Killeen, Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord of Howth, was connected by fealty, as the Lord of Killeen was overlord of Kilbarrack, then held as part of the Howth estate, and also by the nearer tie of marriage, as his wife was a member of the Plunkett family. As his eldest son's age proves, he must have been married prior to his succession to Howth, and in the year 1435 he is found acting as trustee with the first Lord Killeen.⁶ Besides Howth and

¹ Mem. Roll, 36 Hen. VI.

² Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner, i, 505.

³ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Hen. VI, pp. 673, 723, 793.

⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-67, p. 54.

⁵ Cf. "Complete Peerage," iv, 27; Lynch's "Legal Institutions," pp. 148, 336, 337, 344.

⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 257.

the lands of Kilbarrack, Christopher owned at the time of his death other lands and tenements in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Louth, and in the town of Drogheda.¹ One of these holdings at Ratoath came to him through his wife, the lady commemorated with him on the altar-tomb, and after his death, when she had remarried with one Anthony Percy, she was a party to a suit in regard to that property.² As the inscription on the altar-tomb records, Christopher's death took place in 1462.

Christopher's family reaped a rich harvest from his services to the White Rose. Besides his eldest son Robert he appears to have had five sons—William, who became possessed of Stapolin, and was appointed in his father's lifetime Admiral of Ireland;³ Thomas, who was given a few months after his father's death an annuity of twenty marks from the manor of Ratoath;⁴ Almeric, who was appointed before his father's death Clerk of the Rolls in Ireland, and who was afterwards described as of London;⁵ Lionel, who became, while a student at Oxford, prebendary of Howth and precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral;⁶ and Walter, who was a barrister, and became successively Attorney-General and Chief Baron of the Exchequer in this country.⁷

Robert, who succeeded to the title and estate as his father's eldest son, and who is said to have been twenty-eight years of age at the time, obtained livery of his inheritance by authority of Parliament, and not by the usual process of common law.⁸ He added to the position which he enjoyed as his father's son good abilities, and before succeeding to Howth, while residing apparently in a more northern part of the county, he had shown himself one on whom the State could rely. In 1455 the collection of the tolls in the ports of Rush, Rogerstown, and Portrairie was committed to

¹ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Edw. IV, p. 233.

² Mem. Roll, 18 Edw. IV; Ric. III.

³ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Edw. IV, p. 313; Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Hen. VIII, no. 31; Brit. Mus. Harl. MS., 1425, 104.

⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-67, p. 198.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1452-61, p. 639; 1461-67, p. 284.

⁶ Mrs. Green's "Making of Ireland and its Undoing," p. 290; Mem. Roll, 37 Hen. VI; Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Edw. IV, p. 377.

⁷ See *infra*.

⁸ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Edw. IV, p. 233.

him; in 1456 he is mentioned as having served as sheriff of his county; and in 1460 he was appointed to take an account of drainage work at Balrothery.¹

After his father's death his interest in local affairs did not abate. In 1464 he was responsible for a levy for further fortifications of Kilmainham Bridge, and in 1465 he was engaged in organizing the militia.² The protection of the coast was also in his charge, and during the feast of the Circumcision following he came into conflict with three Breton merchants, who were coming to Ireland under the King's protection to sell wine, salt, and iron. When he descended upon them, they were in a French ship called the "Mary," which was lying under Lambay, and they accused him of assaulting them, putting them to flight, and following them "by force and arms" to the port of Drogheda, and of depriving the master of the ship of an anchor valued at twenty shillings. He was brought before the mayor of Drogheda, together with twenty mariners and a yeoman, and acquitted; but, owing to a dispute with the corporation about his property in Drogheda, he could not get his acquittal recorded, and had to appeal to Parliament for a ratification of it.³

The distracted state of Ireland after the Wars of the Roses rendered the path of a public man no easy one, but Robert took the line that the king's government must be carried on, and did not allow any change of policy to abate his loyalty to the York dynasty. What part he took in the obscure events that preceded the execution of the Earl of Desmond of that time cannot be determined with certainty. While the Earl of Desmond was Lord Deputy, Robert appears to have received the honour of knighthood, and to have been the Earl's host at Howth, where in the summer of 1464 letters patent were issued by the Earl;⁴ but there is indication that before the year 1467, when the Earl of Desmond was superseded by the Earl of Worcester, he had lost faith in him. The Earl of Worcester, whose fame as a scholar is tarnished by his cruelty to the FitzGeralds, landed at Howth, and

¹ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," Hen. VI, pp. 313, 465, 747.

² *Ibid.*, Edw. IV, pp. 265, 347.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

in the proceedings of the Parliament which was called by him, and which decreed the Earl of Desmond's attainder, Robert is mentioned as excepted from an act of resumption, and as a witness to letters patent which were issued during the session.¹ A few years later, in 1472, he joined with the seventh Earl of Kildare, who had become Lord Deputy, in establishing the Brotherhood of St. George, an order consisting of the Lord Deputy and twelve knights, and having as its object the maintenance of an armed force for the defence of the Pale,² but when the Earl of Kildare's supersession was in turn found desirable, Robert was again one of those on whose loyalty the Crown could depend.

The height of royal favour to which he had attained is shown by a second marriage, which he made a few years later, and in which the King must have had a part. His first wife had been an Irish lady, Alice, daughter of Nicholas White, of Killester, through whom the Killester lands came to the St. Laurences;³ but his second wife was an English lady of the highest rank, Joan, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, a grandson of John of Gaunt, by his wife, Elinor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The marriage was no less remarkable on account of the lady's Lancastrian descent than of her rank, but as both her parents were dead, it is probable that she had been a ward of the King, and that her hand was at his disposal. The marriage was, no doubt, contracted during a visit to England, for which Robert obtained leave from the Irish Parliament in 1475, and it took place in the summer of 1478. The Earl of Kildare had been superseded shortly before, and his successor, Henry Lord de Grey, appears in the list of the lady's trustees, which is headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and several of the great officers of state.⁴

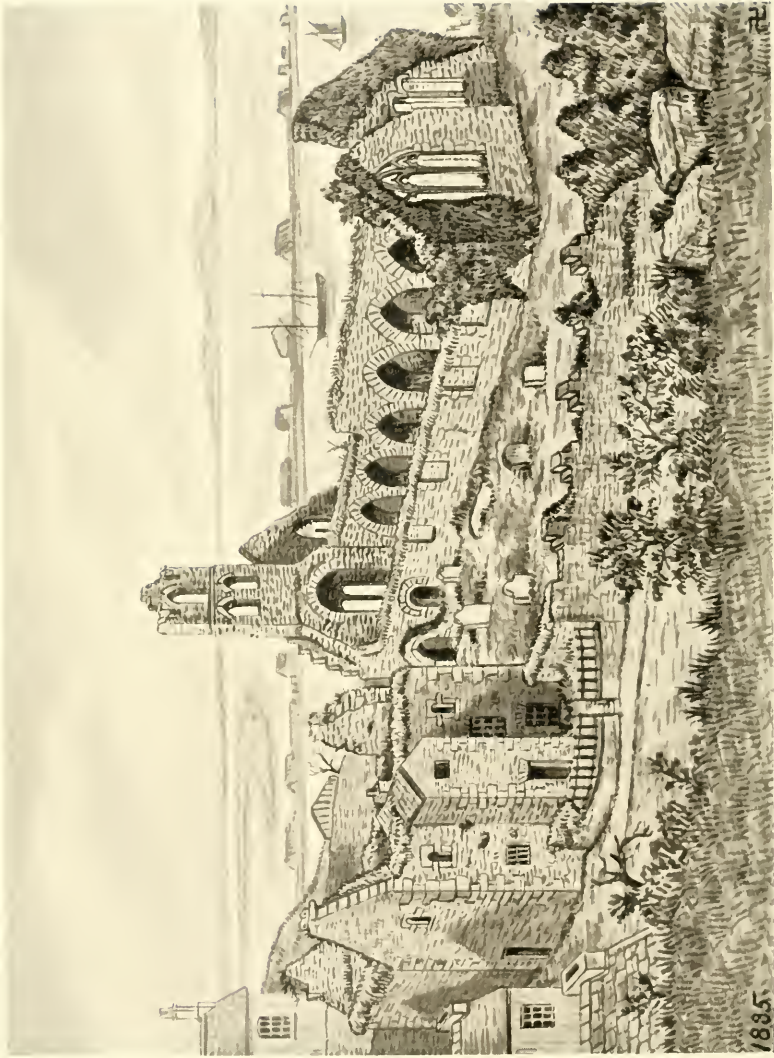
A curious glimpse of life at that period is caught in connexion with the dispute about the dues payable to the Corporation of Dublin, which occurred in the winter of 1481. It appears that up to that time their right to exact dues on goods landed at

¹ Dr. Berry's "Statute Rolls," pp. 541, 593; Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 385.

² "Complete Peerage," iv, 272; Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 396.

³ Mem. Roll, 6 & 7 Hen. VII.

⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 269.



ST. MARY'S CHURCH AND THE COLLEGE

Howth had not been questioned, but on the arrival then of a ship from Milford, laden with coal, Robert said they should have no custom on its cargo, and set at defiance, first the servants of the bailiff, and afterwards the bailiff himself. Finally, the mayor, council, aldermen, and commons were only stopped from setting out in a body to Howth to enforce their demands, by Robert's son and heir being sent "in pledge" to the mayor, and an agreement to abide the award of arbitrators, who found that "the mayor and citizens should enjoy the custom of the haven in time to come for evermore."¹

A few months before the death of Edward the Fourth, in January, 1483, Robert was appointed Chancellor of Ireland. He had possibly been at one of the Inns of Court in London, and he had gained some experience of legal administration in Ireland in the offices of Clerk of the Common Pleas of the Exchequer and Chancellor of the Green Wax, which he had previously held. His patent was issued in January, 1483, and his appointment may have had some connexion with a licence of absence granted to him by the Irish Parliament in 1481, when he intended "in the name of our blessed Creator to go into the noble kingdom of England for certain matters there to be done." A new patent was issued to Robert in May, 1483, by Edward the Fifth, and in July following by Richard the Third; but the office of Chancellor was only held by him afterwards for a few months.²

In the spring of 1486 another licence to leave Ireland was granted to him,³ and probably he went soon afterwards to England, where his death, which occurred before 1488, took place.⁴ He was buried in London in the church of the Black Friars, a church in which some of England's highest nobility were laid, and was given a place of no little honour, for the list of burials records that "in the choir lyeth the Lord Howth of Ireland."⁵

By his first wife he had two sons, Nicholas and William, and

¹ "Ancient Records of Dublin," i, 143.

² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, pp. 335, 348, 363; Camden Series, lx, 41; Brit. Mus., Harl. MS., 433, 14, 24.

³ Plea Roll, 2 Hen. VII.

⁴ See *infra*.

⁵ "Archæologia," lxxiii, 82.

by his second wife, who survived him many years, and married as a second husband Richard Fry,¹ he had three sons, Thomas, who was a barrister and became a Justice of the King's Bench,² Walter, and Christopher, who was in holy orders, and became Archdeacon of Glendalough,³ and two daughters, Genet, who married Thomas FitzSimons, Recorder of Dublin, and Anne, who married Walter Golding.

Nicholas, who succeeded to the title and estate on the death of Robert Lord of Howth as his eldest son, was almost immediately called upon to exercise his judgment upon a matter of the greatest moment, the validity of the claims of Lambert Simnel, and exhibited more discernment than the majority of the chief men of the Pale, influenced possibly by his connexion through his step-mother with Henry the Seventh. According to the Book of Howth⁴ he perceived from the beginning that the affair was "a mad dance," and sent over a messenger to tell Henry of the revolt against his authority, and of its "doers and maintainers." In refusing to countenance the revolt Nicholas was allied with the Archbishop of Armagh, but for some reason which is not apparent they are included in a list of leading men in Ireland pardoned afterwards by the King,⁵ and when Sir Richard Edgecombe was sent over to deliver the pardons Nicholas took before him the oath prescribed for Lambert Simnel's followers.⁶

Not long after Sir Richard Edgecombe's mission, which was executed in the summer of 1488, the peers of Ireland were summoned to England to attend upon the King, and were kept for a considerable time at Court. In consequence of the part which he had taken, Nicholas was free from any constraint, and he is said to have delighted the courtiers by his Irish wit. He is described as

¹ She married R. Fry in 1489. He died in 1504. She died 11 August, 1518. Cf. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII; i, no. 347; iii, nos. 55, 102.

² See *infra*. ³ Fiant, Edw. VI, nos. 93, 162. ⁴ "Book of Howth," p. 189.

⁵ Letters and Papers, Ric. III and Hen. VII, ii, 370.

⁶ Harris's "Hibernica," p. 37. It is remarkable that two of Nicholas's relations appear to have been amongst Lambert Simnel's followers. "Great Darcy of Platten," who married Nicholas's aunt (Lodge's "Peerage," vi, 202), bore Simnel on his shoulder, and Nicholas's uncle, William, was amongst those who made their fealty before Sir Richard Edgecombe.

telling an English peer, who shook with terror on seeing the axe under which the heads of his father and grandfather had fallen, to serve God and fear his Prince and all would be well; and as saying to Lambert Simnel, who waited on the Irish peers, when he offered him wine, "Bring me the cup if the wine be good, and I shall drink it off for the wine's sake and mine own sake also, and for thee, as thou art, so I leave thee, a poor innocent." Finally, when the time of departure came Nicholas is said to have been clothed for the journey in the King's apparel, and given three hundred pounds in gold, accompanied by the King's thanks; but his companions, who had been reduced to a state of penury by their attendance at Court, were sent off without any provision, and had to make their way home in the guise of mendicants.¹

Although he had been the chief supporter of Lambert Simnel's claims, the Lord Deputy, Gerald FitzGerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was not displaced, and in the summer of 1490 Nicholas joined in representing to the King that it was impossible for the Lord Deputy to obey his command to attend at Court, owing to the danger of an attack upon the Pale, and the variances that existed amongst the leading Anglo-Irish.² These variances centred in the rivalry between the Butlers and the Geraldines, but two years later the Earl of Ormonde's representative, Sir James Butler, and the Earl of Kildare reconciled their differences so far as to shake hands through an opening in a closed door in St. Patrick's Cathedral. At that time, according to the Book of Howth,³ Nicholas entertained Sir James Butler in his mother's house at Killester, and resented an attack which Sir James Butler thought fit to make at dinner on the Earl of Kildare's conduct. "I swear by our Lady of the north church of Howth," quoth Nicholas, "that butler, nor wine-drawer, nor tapster is not in Ireland, but I daren't stand to defend this quarrel, and if your lordship be so stomached, and would ease your heart, let us both take a boat, and go to yonder island of Clontarf, there to ease your stomach and mine, for our companies here are not indifferent." Whereat Sir James Butler is reported to have departed

¹ "Book of Howth," p. 190.

² Letters and Papers, Ric. III and Hen. VII, i, 377; ii, xxxvi.

³ P. 177.

in a fury, saying that Nicholas's "stout and bullish nature" would end his days before the natural time.

About the same time a quarrel between Nicholas's brother, William, and a brother of Sir James Butler had a more serious ending. William is said to have been "the boldest man of his hand in the realm," and to have often put his brother, when contention arose between them, "in hazard of his life," and he gave proof of his prowess in his encounter with Sir James Butler's brother. It took place at Kilmainham Bridge, and William not only slew there his opponent, but also seven men by whom he was accompanied.¹

Before the scene at Killester the second rising in Ireland against Henry the Seventh, the revolt in favour of Perkin Warbeck, had begun, and the Earl of Kildare had been superseded in the office of Lord Deputy. Subsequently, in the autumn of 1493, commissioners who were sent over from England required him, together with a number of the chief men of the Pale, to enter into recognizances to suppress the insurgents,² and a visit was paid by him to England in order to make his peace with the King. Nicholas, who was one of those required to enter into recognizances in the sum of two hundred pounds, appears to have accompanied him to England, and in the following January he was knighted, together with Lord Slane, in the King's Chamber at Westminster.³

In the month of October, 1494, Sir Edward Poynings, who, as has been mentioned, landed at Howth, arrived, and, together with him a thousand soldiers, and a number of Englishmen, who were appointed to the principal judicial offices,⁴ but the rising in favour of Perkin Warbeck was not suppressed for many months. What part Nicholas took in its suppression is not known, but his uncle, Walter, was prominent in assisting the forces of the Crown. Amongst the payments by the State in the summer of 1495 is an item for the conveyance by ship, presumably from Howth, of arms and cannon which had belonged to Robert Lord

¹ "Book of Howth," p. 196.

² Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 447.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Irel., p. 270. Shaw's "Knights of England," ii, 28.

⁴ Gilbert's "Viceroy's," p. 450.

Howth, as far as Dublin, with the carriage on land to the cellar of Walter Howth; and in the following November there is another item for the carriage of arms and gunpowder from the cellar of Walter Howth to one of the Dublin inns.¹

Walter St. Lawrence, or Howth, Nicholas's uncle, had been appointed Attorney-General in May, 1491, and is mentioned as having represented his family in two prosecutions in the preceding year. One was against Walter Hamlyn of Beaulieu in the county of Louth, for having by force and arms, namely, with bows, swords, and arrows, despoiled Thomas Howth of Richardstown, in the same county, of a fishing net, and the other was against a fisherman of Howth, Thomas Keatinge, who was accused of forestalling the market, and buying four cowhides for eighteen pence. Both these prosecutions were initiated in the Court of Exchequer, and to the chief seat in it Walter St. Lawrence was subsequently promoted. He did not long hold, however, the place of Chief Baron, for his death is recorded in the Christ Church obits to have taken place on January 25, 1503.²

When the Earl of Kildare, once again Lord Deputy, made his expedition to Connaught, in August, 1504, against Ulick Burke, Nicholas is represented in the Book of Howth as acting the same part as the founder of his house, and engineering victory for the Earl of Kildare's army in the battle of Knockdoe.³ "O good God," cried he to four of the leaders who advised retreat, "by our blessed Lady that blest in the north church of Howth, you four might have spoken these words in some other ground than this is, and our enemies now being in sight." His assistance did not end in speech, and his place in the fight was in the main battle, where he commanded the billmen, and was ever found the foremost. After holding the office of Chancellor of the Green Wax for a time⁴ he was appointed on the accession of Henry the Eighth, in 1509, like his father, Chancellor of Ireland, but, also like his father, only held the great seal for a very brief period. Towards the close of his

¹ Letters and Papers, Ric. III and Hen. VII, ii, 300, 303.

² Mem. Rolls, 6 and 7 Hen. VII; Christ Church Deed, no. 369; Christ Church Obits.

³ "Book of Howth," pp. 181-85.

⁴ Mem. Rolls, 12 Hen. VII.

life he became much embroiled in disputes between the Butlers and the Geraldines,¹ and when Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was sent over in 1520 as Viceroy, Nicholas is said to have been dismissed from the council on that account, but to have been soon restored as one "above all other worthy to be of the King's privy council, and so continued to his end."² His death took place on July 10, 1526.³

Nicholas is said to have been married three times, namely, to Genet, daughter of one of the Lords of Killeen; Anne, daughter of Thomas Berford;⁴ and Alison, sister of Walter Fitzsimons, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1484 to 1511.⁵ His last wife appears to have been married to him in February, 1505, and to have survived him.⁶ By his first wife he had a son Christopher and four daughters: Alison, who married, first, John Netterville of Dowth, and, secondly, Patrick White of Malassin; Elizabeth, who married Thomas Netterville, a Justice of the Common Pleas; Elinor, who married Sir Walter Cheevers of Macetown, and Anne, who married Thomas Cusack of Gerardstown. By his second wife he had two sons Almeric and Robert,⁷ and a daughter, Catherine, who married Sir John Plunkett of Beaulieu. And by his third wife he had a son Walter,⁸ and a daughter, Marian, who married first, Sir Christopher Nugent, secondly, Sir Gerald FitzGerald, and thirdly, John Parker, who was sometime Master of the Rolls.⁹

Christopher, who succeeded to the title and estate on his father's death, was then a man of middle age, and had been long married. His wife, Amy Bermingham, was a daughter of his father's second wife by a previous marriage, and through the death of her brother she became owner of much property in Dublin county, including Baldongan and the Ward.¹⁰ Before his

¹ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII; iii and iv, *passim*.

² "Book of Howth," p. 191.

³ Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Hen. VIII, no. 29.

⁴ Of Kilrow, Co. Meath. She was widow of Bermingham of Baldongan.

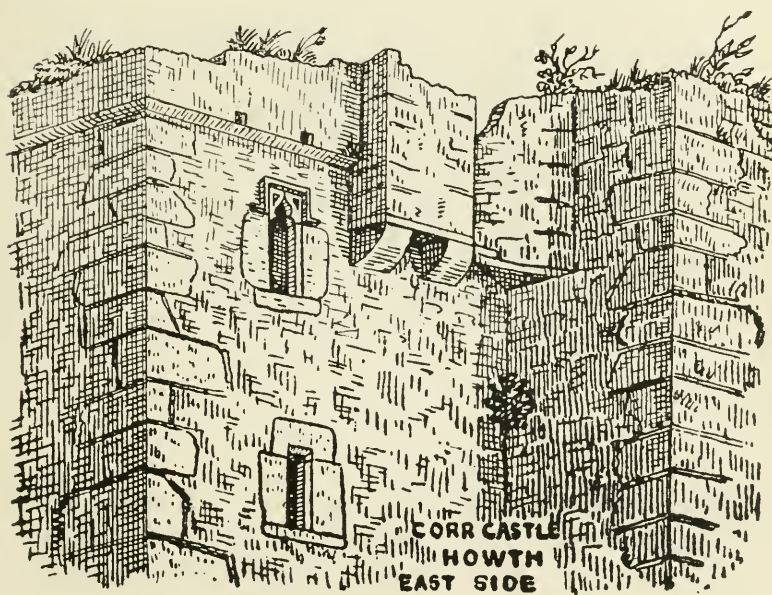
⁵ She was the daughter of Robert FitzSimons, and widow of Nicholas Cheevers.

⁶ Exchequer Inquisition, Co. Dublin, Hen. VIII, no. 30. She is said to have married secondly a Plunkett of Lougherew.

⁷ See *infra*. ⁸ See *infra*. ⁹ Repertory Chancery Decrees, Hen. VIII, no. 19.

¹⁰ Mem. Roll, 3 Hen. VIII.

succession to Howth Christopher resided at Baldongan, and had served as sheriff of his county, and had been knighted.¹ Not long after his father's death he is said to have proceeded with a great force against Brian O'Connor, Chief of Offaly, on his invading the Pale, and taking prisoner the acting Lord Deputy, Lord Delvin; but he and his men had only to march back again, as Lord Delvin's life was spared on condition that his capture should not be avenged.² By Silken Thomas Christopher was regarded as a dangerous opponent, and after the murder of Archbishop Alen at Artain Christopher was himself taken prisoner at Howth by the



insurgents. It is said that during the anarchy that ensued on the rising Howth was spoiled by the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, and that the Castle would have been burned only for vigorous resistance on the part of the occupants, who killed or wounded many of the raiders.³ But judging by Corr Castle, which was doubtless built

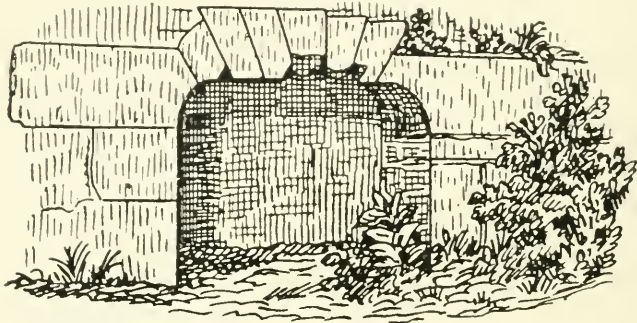
¹ Mem. Roll, 8 & 16 Hen. VIII.

² "Book of Howth," p. 192; Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," i, 151.

³ "Book of Howth," p. 193.

before then, the strength of the building played also a part in its successful defence.

Like the other leading men in the Pale, Christopher assented to Henry the Eighth's claim to supremacy in the Church, but no spoil from the dissolved religious houses fell to him. He is said by Lord Leonard Grey to have been, in common with other Irish peers, deficient in "wit and men"; but as few persons found favour with Lord Leonard, little heed need be given to his judgment.¹ He appears to have been active in the House of Lords, and on the council, of which he was a member,² and was able to



RECESS ON THIRD FLOOR

CORR CASTLE.

impress his individuality on the great English statesman of his day, Thomas Cromwell, whose assistance he invoked in litigation, in which he was involved with the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the ownership of Ireland's Eye, and which terminated two days before Nicholas's death in a decree against him. The letter in which he appealed to Cromwell was written in the winter of 1537, not long after Lord Leonard had made his disparaging report on the Irish nobility, and conveys the impression that Christopher was well known to Cromwell, and had more claim on his attention than could be secured by a gift of hawks which

¹ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. xii, pt. i, no. 1066.

² *Ibid.*, x, no. 938; xvi, nos. 935, 1044.

accompanied the letter, and had probably been bred on Ireland's Eye.¹

In order probably to exhibit their acquiescence in the changes of the time, Christopher's three sons, to whom his title passed in succession, entered Lincoln's Inn as students at an unusually late time of life. The eldest, Edward, entered in 1540, the second, Richard, in 1541, and the third, Christopher, in 1544.² At the time of his admission Edward had been married twelve years, but he submitted to the ordinary discipline of the Inn, and in the year after his admission he was named as escheator, an officer chosen from the students whose duty it was to provide fuel and torches on special occasions. His youngest brother, Christopher, appears to have remained long in residence, and ten years after his admission, in the summer of 1554, he is mentioned as having incurred the displeasure of the authorities by wearing a beard, which he was ordered to remove within eleven days on pain of expulsion.³ It is impossible to say to what extent Christopher's sons were influenced by the doctrines of the Reformed Church. The second, Richard, held the title during the closing years of Edward the Sixth's reign and the whole of Queen Mary's, and seems to have succeeded in serving both Sovereigns with equal fidelity and acceptableness.

There is no doubt, however, that Christopher's uncle Thomas St. Lawrence, who occupied a great position then in the government of Ireland, was a strong opponent of the Reformation. After a long residence in Lincoln's Inn, which he entered in 1503, and of which he was still a member in 1515,⁴ he returned to practise at the bar of Ireland, and in 1532 was appointed Attorney-General.⁵ Two years later he was raised to the bench, as second Justice of the King's Bench,⁶ with a seat on the council, then a most unusual honour for a puisne judge.⁷ His devotion to the Church had been

¹ Letters and Papers, vol. xii, pt. ii, no. 1194; Repertory Chancery Decrees, i, 5, 20; cf. Ruty's "Natural Hist. of Co. Dublin," i, 297.

² In 1537 a Ralph St. Lawrence had entered the Inn. See Appendix F.

³ Lincoln's Inn Register and Black Book, i, 258, 261, 310.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 134, 176.

⁵ Morrin's Pat. Rolls, i, 5.

⁶ Fiant, Hen. VIII, no. 44.

⁷ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII, *passim*; cf. Cal. S. P., Irel., 1586-88, p. 101.

displayed at the time of the murder of Archbishop Alen, to whom he had afforded refuge in the castle of Artain, which had come into his possession as guardian of its owner, Thomas Holywood, who was then a minor;¹ and although he continued on the bench and on the council throughout the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was foremost on the accession of Queen Mary in inciting a revolt against the bishops appointed by her brother.² As his death took place within a few months of her accession, he did not, however, long enjoy her rule.³

Besides the three sons already mentioned, Christopher had a fourth son called John, who appears in the year 1566 to have been residing at Baldongan, and to have been leader of the militia in that part of the county;⁴ and three daughters: Joan, who married Robert Preston of Ballinadon;⁵ Alison, who married first, George FitzGerald, and secondly, William Heron;⁶ and Margaret, who married a member of the Cashell family. Christopher's brother, Almerie, appears to have survived him, and to have occupied Killester, in respect of which an Almerie St. Lawrence contributed to the hostings in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.⁷ His two other brothers are remarkable as having been respectively in the service of the heads of the rival houses of FitzGerald and Butler. Robert, who became summoner of the Court of Exchequer, is mentioned as having been sent in 1516 by Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, with the head of the chief of the O'Tooles to the mayor of Dublin, and as having been given by that nobleman a hackney;⁸ and Walter figures in the will of James, ninth Earl of Ormond, made in 1543, as his "right well-

¹ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 100. Morrin's Pat. Rolls, i, 2.

² Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," i, 386.

³ Exchequer Inquisitions, Co. Dublin, Mary, no. 1.

⁴ Haliday Manuscripts, pp. 178, 179. In 1556 a John Howth is mentioned as husband of Phelix Thole: in 1561 a John Howth of Dublin sued Ann Howth of Portmarnock for bark; and in 1664 a John Howth of Dublin had a cow stolen from him. Chancery Decrees, Phil. and Mary, no. 28; Eliz., no. 43; Fiant, Eliz., no. 592.

⁵ Fiant, Eliz., no. 5020.

⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 3683, 4315.

⁷ Haliday Manuscripts, pp. 13, 162.

⁸ Fiant, Hen. VIII, no. 49; Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," i, 185; "Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.," ix, pt. ii, p. 282.

beloved servant," to whom he bequeathed an annuity of twenty nobles.¹

Edward, who succeeded to the title and estate on the death of his father, which took place on April 20, 1542, has left no mark on the history of his time. He appears to have resided prior to his succession to the title at Baldongan, and owned in right of his wife, Alison, daughter of James FitzLyons, much property in the counties of Dublin and Meath. She was allied to him in a prohibited degree, and before their marriage, which took place in 1528, a licence had to be obtained.² By her Edward had a son, Richard, who died as a child, and two daughters, Anne, who married Bartholomew Dillon of Keppoch,³ and Alison, who married her cousin John Golding. In 1545 Edward is mentioned as a member of the council, and in the same year he obtained a decree against the Corporation of Drogheda in a suit touching the ownership of "seven stone shops" near the bridge of that town.⁴ His death took place on July 2, 1549, in Dublin.

Richard, who succeeded as heir presumptive on his brother's death, had resided previously at the Ward.⁵ He proved himself eminent as a soldier, and was a leader in all the military expeditions of his day. He had probably seen service first under Lord Deputy Bellingham, who, as an ancient retainer of the Howth family has recorded,⁶ "wore ever his harness as did all those whom he liked of," and he was sent by Bellingham's successor, Sir James Croft, into Lecale with a hundred horse to banish the Scots.⁷ It was probably his knowledge of Richard that led Bellingham to select Howth as the place of his departure in the winter of 1549, when he sailed from Ireland never to return; and possibly the same reason led Croft, three years later,

¹ Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 192. Cf. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, vol. xxi, pt. i, no. 920.

² Lodge's "Peerage," iii. 193, 195.

³ Fiant Eliz., no. 3000.

⁴ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. xxi, pt. i, nos. 427, 920: Repertory Chancery Decrees, i, 14. According to D'Alton, "Hist. of Co. Dublin," p. 136, Donald Dubh, head of the MacDonald clan, died in Edward's time at Howth, but according to the "Dic. Nat. Biog.," xxxv, 39, he died at Drogheda.

⁵ Fiants, Edw. VI, nos. 157, 493.

⁶ "Book of Howth," p. 195.

⁷ Haliday Manuscripts, p. 281.

in the winter of 1552, to follow Bellingham's example.¹ In annals compiled by the ancient retainer, who had been Richard's foster-father,² it is recorded that in 1553 Richard attacked with only a small force the great Shane O'Neill when the latter was preparing to invade the Pale, and that a few days later Richard penetrated into O'Neill's country and carried off much prey. Further military service on Richard's part is indicated by a pardon to a number of soldiers which was granted in 1555, and in which he appears as their commander.³ On his arrival as chief governor in 1556 the Earl of Sussex recognized Richard's capacity, and assigned him the command of the rear of his army in his first expedition against the Scots, to which Richard contributed in respect of his tenure of Howth four mounted archers.⁴ Of that command the jealousy of Marshal Bagenal deprived him, with very lamentable results, says the Howth annalist, to those whom he led. At Glenarm, however, during a night "terrible of wind, of rain, of hail, of thunder, and of wild fire," Richard's opportunity came, and he crowned himself with glory in a raid on the enemy's herds.⁵

But in civil life Richard was also prominent, and acted as a commissioner of gaol delivery on one occasion in the counties of Meath, Kildare, and Westmeath. He was a justice of the peace for the county of Meath as well as for the county of Dublin, and was also entrusted with the levying of subsidy. In the summer of 1558 he was appointed by the Earl of Sussex, who when going to England in the previous December had selected Howth as his place of embarkation, to be one of the guardians of the Pale; and owing to the vigilance shown by him and Viscount Baltinglass "no harm there was committed."⁶ Like his father he was involved in litigation with the Church, in respect of the tithe of the parish of Ward which the rector of Finglas claimed, and like

¹ Fiants, Edw. VI, nos. 426, 1162.

² "Book of Howth," p. 195.

³ Fiants, Philip and Mary, no. 86.

⁴ "Book of Howth," p. 197; Haliday Manuscripts, p. 13.

⁵ "Book of Howth," p. 198; cf. Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 261.

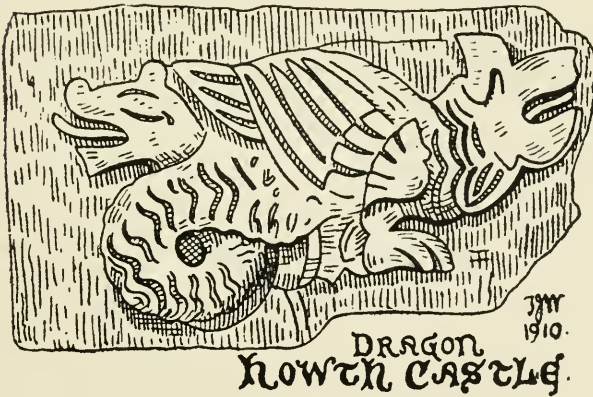
⁶ Morrin's Pat. Rolls, *passim*; Fiants, Philip and Mary, no. 222; Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 278; "Book of Howth," p. 199.

his father was defeated.¹ He married the Dame Catherine FitzGerald,² but appears to have had no children. His death took place in the autumn of 1558, probably at Drogheda, where a monument to his memory formerly stood in the Cord Cemetery.³

¹ Repertory Chancery Decrees, i, 47; cf. Acts of Privy Council, 1556-58, p. 71.

² She married as a second husband Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffy. Chancery Decree, Eliz., no. 102.

³ D'Alton's "Hist. of Drogheda," i, 119. See for cadets at that period Appendix F.



CHAPTER V.

UNDER ELIZABETH.

A STORY of an heir of the house of Howth having been carried off by a Sea Queen to the western shores of Ireland, and of his ransom having been a promise of perpetual hospitality in the halls of Howth Castle, is widely known. In the popular imagination it is the most important event in the history of Howth, and forms a link between the peninsula and the Virgin Queen, in whose reign the Sea Queen flourished. The Sea Queen, Grainia Uaile by name, was a most remarkable woman, who fulfilled the motto of her race, *terra marique potens*, and was able to impress not only the Irish Government, but also Elizabeth herself, with a sense of her power.¹ The story tells that about the year 1575, on her return from a visit to Elizabeth, Grainia Uaile landed at Howth, and proceeded as far as the Castle gates, which she found closed. On learning that the gates were closed because it was the dinner hour, she is said to have expressed great indignation at what she considered a dereliction of Irish hospitality, and meeting on her way back to her ship the heir of the house, who was then a child, she retaliated, according to the tradition, by seizing him and carrying him off to her home in the county of Mayo, where he was detained until a promise was given that the gates should never be shut again at dinner-time, and that a place should always be laid at the table for a guest.

Modern research has shown that the date of Grainia Uaile's visit to Elizabeth's court was eighteen years later than that assigned to it in the story,² and the story has been therefore deemed to be unfounded. But without direct evidence to controvert it, tradition should not be lightly set aside, and the possibility that an incident such as the tradition relates may have occurred

¹ See "History and Archæology of Clare Island," by T. J. Westropp, M.A., p. 41, *et passim*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

is beyond dispute. Although she did not go to Elizabeth's court at the time mentioned, "the dark lady of Doona" did come a year later to Dublin to see Elizabeth's representative, Sir Henry Sidney;¹ and at that time the heir to Howth in the second generation was a child. For many generations a picture in Howth Castle was believed to represent the abduction of the heir,² but it is now said to represent the flight of the Israelites from Egypt. It shows a group of men and women in the midst of cattle, sheep, and dogs, and has as its principal subject a woman mounted on a white horse, who is receiving an infant into her arms, while above them the sky opens, and a figure appears in the clouds.

But, apart from this story, Howth affords an interesting study during the Elizabethan period. Its town was then accounted one of the largest and best in the county;³ and its port, which was provided with a quay,⁴ continued to be used for passenger, and to some extent mercantile, traffic. At Howth several of the chief governors in Elizabeth's reign are recorded to have either embarked or disembarked. There on two occasions, in 1561 and 1562, her first Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, took ship for England,⁵ and there after appointment to the office of chief governor, in 1594 Sir William Russell, and in 1600 Lord Mountjoy landed.⁶ From Howth, amongst other places, Elizabeth's Master of the Rolls, John Parker,⁷ who was a great promoter of Irish industries, was given licence in 1564 to export wool;⁸ and in the same year a ship that had been engaged in piratical exploits was ordered to be delivered to a tenant of Lord Howth to use in

¹ "History and Archæology of Clare Island," p. 41. It will be seen at this reference (note 5) that Duald Mac Firbis, in his "Great Book of Genealogies," assigns the incident to the fifteenth century, and says that it was Richard O'Cuairsci, or Richard of the Bent Shield, who, between 1469 and 1479, "took the Lord of Benn Etar and brought him to Tyrawley."

² Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 1258. A plaster representation of the incident, which is also preserved in Howth Castle, is modern.

³ "Description of Ireland in 1598," ed. by Rev. E. Hogan, p. 37.

⁴ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, p. 269.

⁵ "Liber Munerum," pt. ii, p. 3.

⁶ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 221; Irel., 1599-1600, p. 499.

⁷ He has been already mentioned as husband of a daughter of the house of Howth. *Supra*, p. 60.

⁸ *Fiant, Eliz.*, no. 92.

the Queen's service.¹ Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign Spanish pirates made themselves much dreaded; and in 1592, about harvest time, one lay without interference near Howth, watching for one of the Queen's ships, called the "Popinjay," and finally sailed triumphantly through the sound of Dalkey, and took two English ships.² As appears from references to two shipwrecks at Howth, the peninsula was regarded in Elizabeth's reign as a great danger in the navigation of ships coming to Dublin. The first of these shipwrecks, which occurred in 1560, involved the loss of the "Michael of Hilboy," and much merchandise; and the second, which occurred in 1579, resulted in the loss of nine passengers and their horses.³

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign comfort began to be considered by the owner of Howth, and a mansion was added to the ancient keep. This mansion was, no doubt, of a semi-fortified type, like the castle of Rathfarnham, which was erected some years later by Archbishop Loftus. Though probably not all occupying their original place, three tablets, which were affixed near it, still remain at Howth. They bear the St. Lawrence arms impaled with those of the Plunketts. To a daughter of that house the Lord Howth of Elizabeth's time was married, and the largest of the three tablets has, as well as their arms, their initials and an inscription: IDNS DEVS MISERIT^s NRI (probably standing for *Jesus Dominus Deus miseritus est nostri*). This tablet, which bore also formerly the date 1564,⁴ is over an arched gateway, through which the stable-yard is entered from the north, and it seems not improbable that an entrance to the courtyard of the Castle was constructed in 1564 at this point to supersede the use of the vaulted passage through the mediaeval gateway tower, which afforded little room for vehicles. What portions of the present buildings date from that time cannot be determined with certainty, but the hall and kitchen appear to have been amongst them.

With the exception of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord of

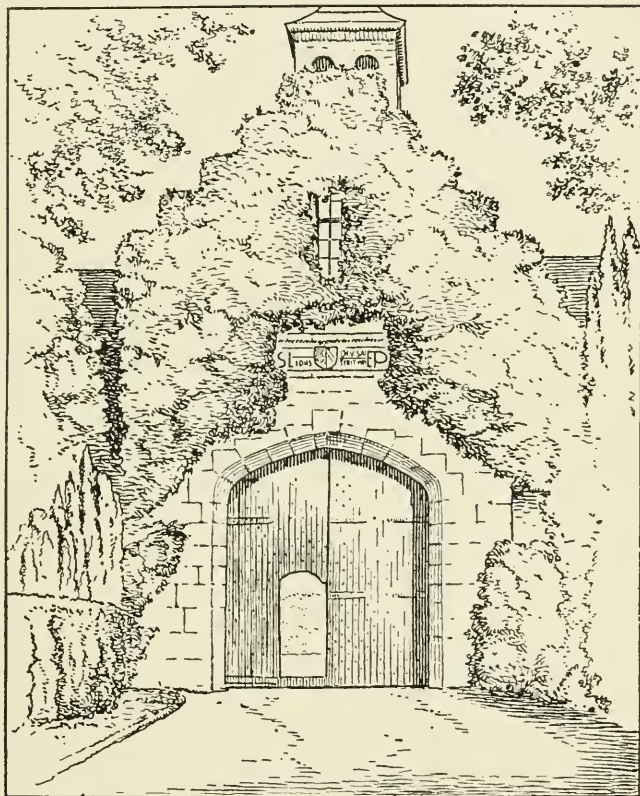
¹ Haliday Manuscripts, p. 148.

² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1592-96, p. 93.

³ Repertory Chancery Decrees, i, 77; Cal. S. P., Irel., 1574-85, p. 195.

⁴ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin." ii, 1258.

Howth was then the first of "the men of power and name" in the county,¹ and his possessions in it were extensive and far-reaching. To the north lay his manor of Baldongan, with the lands of Rogers-town and Balcadden, and to the west his manor of Ward; while the manor of Howth had attached to it the lands of Kilbarrack and Killester, besides scattered holdings in other places.²



GATEWAY AND TABLET.

Christopher, who succeeded in 1558 to the title and estate on the death of his brother Richard, is the most striking figure in the line of the Lords of Howth during the sixteenth century. His force of character is shown in the fact that his nomination to the council was simultaneous with his succession to the title,³ and

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1601-03, et Add., p. 597; Carew, 1601-03, p. 447.

² Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 198.

³ Morrin's Pat. Rolls. i, 396.

that his assistance in the government of Ireland was considered indispensable by most of those to whom Elizabeth entrusted the sword.¹ Of his early life little is known. As has been already mentioned, he became in 1544 a student of Lincoln's Inn, and as late as 1554 he appears to have been a member of it, but in 1556 he is mentioned in connexion with the Ward,² and was then resident there, as his brother Richard had been prior to his succession to the title. He must have been then married for more than ten years.³ His wife, Elizabeth Plunkett, was a daughter of Sir John Plunkett of Beaulieu, and possibly a house in the parish of Raheny, which her father is said to have held in 1551, from Lord Howth, may have had some connexion with their marriage.⁴

The ability of the blind lord, as Christopher was called, probably from defective eyesight, seems to have been chiefly shown in the capacities of a counsellor and diplomatist. For the first twelve years of Elizabeth's reign his name is constantly appended to the proclamations as a member of the council, at which his first appearance was made in December, 1558, when the news of Queen Mary's death arrived. In 1561 he was employed by the Earl of Sussex to carry on negotiations with Shane O'Neill,⁵ and in the winter of 1562 he was sent by Sussex, with two other members of the council, to discuss with Elizabeth and her ministers the measures to be taken in the government of Ireland.⁶ According to the Book of Howth,⁷ the latter mission was one which others were reluctant to undertake, and required no small talent as a courtier. It was only by much perseverance that the three messengers carried their point with the Queen, and it is evident that they had no little difficulty in overcoming her antipathy to them on the ground of their Irish birth, which was revealed at the first audience, by her asking Lord Howth if he was able to speak the English tongue. By Lord Justice Arnold the blind lord was no less trusted than by Lord Sussex, and he was one of those

¹ Haliday Manuscripts, *passim*.

² Morrin's Pat. Rolls, ii, 176.

³ His son was of marriageable age in 1559. See *infra*.

⁴ D'Alton's "Hist. of Co. Dublin," p. 109.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1509-73, p. 175.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 213.

⁷ p. 201.

employed by him to hold a parley with the chief of the O'Reilly clan on the borders of the Pale.¹ Later on Sir Henry Sidney, while Lord Deputy, made use of him in further negotiations with O'Neill.²

But he had a reputation also as a man of action, and before a general hosting against Shane O'Neill in the autumn of 1560, he was appointed "chief and general captain" of the forces in Dublin county.³ To this hosting he contributed in respect of Howth, in addition to his own services, three men and transport.⁴ In 1563 he accompanied the Earl of Sussex on one of his journeys to the North, and rendered him notable assistance. With the help of the men of Dublin he brought Sussex safely through the dangerous Moyrie Pass, near Newry, and he was one of the commanders at Dungannon in an engagement with O'Neill, which lasted all day until "the woods so rang with the shot that it was strange to hear."⁵ Again, three years later, in 1556, in a general hosting against Shane O'Neill, under Sir Henry Sidney, he is found serving in person and contributing six archers on horseback, and is reported to have done good service in exacting retribution for the burning of many villages and districts in the Pale.⁶

The Government did all they could to bind to them the blind lord and his relations, who were then regarded as "people of very great birth, alliance, kindred, riches, and friendship."⁷ Soon after his succession to Howth, in May, 1561, Queen Elizabeth announced her intention of confirming to him his title, and nine years later, in February, 1570, Lord Deputy Sidney conferred on him at Drogheda the honour of knighthood.⁸ But a time came when the interests of the Government and those of the chief men of the Pale conflicted, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the

¹ Holiday Manuscripts, p. 142; cf. Cal. S. P., Irel., 1509-73, p. 276, and Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," ii, 50.

² "Book of Howth," p. 205.

³ Holiday Manuscripts, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 91.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 349; "Book of Howth," p. 201.

⁶ Holiday Manuscripts, p. 162; Cal. S. P., Irel., 1509-73, p. 319.

⁷ Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 195.

⁸ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1515-74, p. 311; Shaw's "Knights of England," ii, 74.

Government to attach him to their side, the blind lord was found foremost in defence of his own class.

To the part taken by him in the conflict there are many references in the Book of Howth. As a note in it records, it belonged to him;¹ and in the opinion of Dr. Round² it was compiled under his direction, and contains references to himself, which, although written in the third person, are his own composition. As appears from it, as well as from the state papers, the conflict became in a great degree a personal one between the chief men of the Pale and the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. "This Sir Harry," says the Book of Howth,³ "was very severe and upright in judgment, and yet a friendly gentleman to his own friends, very courteous, sober, wise, and free of his own nature, so was he when he would be in a rage a very lion in speech, and soon after appeased when he did call himself to remembrance, as witnessed the Lord of Howth." This occasion was no doubt one on which the Lord Deputy endeavoured to force the chief men of the Pale to submit to taxation in consideration of the Crown forgoing its right to call a hosting: "the first day the Lord Deputy was in a great rage, and threatened the gentleman to the Castle of Dublin, but the morrow after, the Lord Deputy did well allow the gentleman's request, and did confess that he and the council did commit an error, and so promised upon his honour the like should not be in his time."⁴

But in the next encounter, which concerned the right of the Crown to levy cess without the assent of Parliament, the Lord Deputy proved the victor. It came to a head in 1576, when the blind lord and the other chief men of the Pale laid their cause before the privy council in England, continued throughout the next year, when they were for a short time prisoners in the Castle of Dublin, and terminated in 1578, when they were for five months kept in close confinement in the same place.⁵ During the latter imprisonment "the charges of diet and fees"

¹ p. 260, n. §.

² "The Antiquary," vii, 196-99.

³ "Book of Howth," p. 527.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1575-88, and Irel., 1574-85, *passim*; Marquis of Salisbury's Manuscripts, ii, 154; Earl of Egmont's Manuscripts, i, 8; "Book of Howth," p. 214.



THE CASTLE *circa* 1780

pressed heavily upon them, and a sample of those paid by the blind lord has been thought worthy of preservation in the Book of Howth:¹ "his confinement 40s.; his diet for twenty-eight days £14 13s., by composition at 22*d.* sterling per diem £12 12s. sterling."

Throughout these proceedings the blind lord is represented by the Book of Howth as the spokesman for his fellows.² But they are admitted not to have been in every instance as amenable to his leading as could have been desired; and in the contention about enforcing taxation in lieu of a hosting, "one of the greatest as he thought himself," Sir Christopher Barnewall, of Turvey, is said on the first day to have recanted, and to have complained that "the Lord of Howth spoke more than was desired him to speak." At "that gentleman's word" the others are said to have been grieved, and the moral is drawn that "every man should beware to speak for the commons, for some one will halt and flatter, as there it did appear by this gentleman."³

The disagreement between the blind lord and Sir Christopher Barnewall may have had its origin in private as well as in public concerns. A year after his succession to the title the blind lord had entered into an agreement with Sir Christopher Barnewall that his eldest son, Nicholas, should marry a daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall's called Margaret, and that Sir Christopher Barnewall's eldest son, Patrick, as soon as he reached the age of fourteen, should marry his daughter Mary.⁴ But, although apparently married to the young lady assigned to him at the appointed time, Patrick Barnewall proved recalcitrant, and finally instituted, in 1579, proceedings for a dissolution of the marriage, which was granted.⁵ For the fulfilment of the agreement Sir Christopher Barnewall had bound himself in the sum of a thousand pounds, and the blind lord felt the breach of covenant so strongly as to impose on his son the obligation of recovering half the amount specified in the bond, which, as will be seen, his son did.

At the time the divorce proceedings were instituted by

¹ p. 217.

² "Book of Howth," p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁴ Chancery Decree, Eliz. no. 633.

⁵ Fiant, Eliz., no. 3558.

Patrick Barnewall, the blind lord's relations with his own wife had become so unhappy as to lead to their separation. In 1578 he was ordered to pay her eight pounds a month until the variance should be ended;¹ and in the following year charges of infidelity, and even cruelty, led to proceedings against him in the Castle Chamber, which corresponded to the Star Chamber in England. On his first appearance in that court, in the month of May, 1579, the blind lord secured the conviction of one of his servants for perjury in allegations of immorality which he had made against him, but two months later he was himself convicted of beating his wife with great barbarity because she had protested against "his dissolute life." In addition, he was convicted of beating one of his daughters until, it is said, he caused an ague, from which she died, and also of beating one of his servants who had sought to befriend his wife.² Fines to the amount of a thousand pounds were imposed, and their non-payment led to his imprisonment for more than six months, when he was only released "to save the word of the Lord Chancellor," with whom he had negotiations that are not clearly explained.³

With Lord Deputy Perrot, in the year 1585, the contest about the cess was renewed, and accusations of ill-faith were made against him by the blind lord and other Irish peers. Subsequently the blind lord retracted what he had said, and as one of the last acts of his life he sent a present of an intermewed goshawk to Perrot.⁴ Three weeks before the mention of his present to Perrot, on August 16, 1589, the blind lord had made his will,⁵ and probate of it was granted on November 20 following, just a month after his death, which took place on October 24, 1589. The sole member of his family named in it is his eldest son, and it was his wish that no one except his said son should "intermeddle with his goods and chattels." Besides his son, he mentioned his servant, Richard Hanlon, to whom he left a farm

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. 15, App. iii, p. 287.

² Earl of Egmont's Manuscripts, i, 11.

³ Cal. of S. P., Carew, 1575-88, 157, 223.

⁴ Cal. of S. P., Irel., 1586-88, pp. 9, 20; 1588-92, p. 235.

⁵ In the Prerogative Collection.

and some live stock ; his page, Lawrence, to whom he left his grey horse and his cape, which was of the same colour ; and one Belle White, to whom he left a house for her life.

It was by the blind lord, as has been seen, that a mansion house was added to the ancient keep, and Howth Castle, as we know it to-day, is probably a monument to his energy and pre-eminence amongst its owners under the Tudor and Stewart dynasties. He has been described by Dr. Round¹ as a typical Elizabethan gentleman, and in a careful analysis which Dr. Round has made of his part in the compilation of the Book of Howth, attention is specially drawn to the pride which he took in his family. It is manifested in the Book of Howth by reference to a conversation with gentlemen in Sir Henry Sidney's train, who excelled in heraldry, about noble Englishmen in Ireland ;² and it is further proved by his erection of the mansion, and by his placing near it the tablets with his own and the Plunkett arms. In addition, he appears to have built a house at Raheny as a dower house, and placed on it a tablet, which has been lately brought from Raheny to Howth Castle, and which bears, like the tablets already mentioned, the St. Lawrence and Plunkett arms impaled, with the initials C. and E., and the date, 1572. In addition to the blind lord's pride in his family, Dr. Round draws attention to his avidity in gathering information, which was combined with a remarkable want of historical perspective and extraordinary credulity, and to his resentment of insinuations of disloyalty in the case of the Anglo-Irish.

His will is prefaced by a more than formal acknowledgment of his unworthiness : "First I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my maker and my redeemer, whom I, most cruel and wicked sinner, have diversely offended and transgressed His law and commandments, for which I, with all humility and penitence

¹ "The Antiquary," vii, 198.

² "Book of Howth," p. 21. No doubt the blind lord's informant was chiefly the Rev. Robert le Commaudre, rector of Tarporley in Cheshire, who came in Sir Henry Sidney's train, and is known as the author of a valuable manuscript entitled the "Book of Heraldry and Other Things." See C. Litton Falkiner's "Essays relating to Ireland," p. 208.

therefor, most willingly crave mercy and pardon, and beseech Him to be merciful unto me, and forgive me my sins and wickedness." But at the same time his life would appear to have been one of much public usefulness, and until the year of his death his name was included in all the commissions for taking the muster and keeping the peace in his county. The charges against him of cruelty can hardly have been baseless, but his misconduct was probably a temporary ebullition of passion. His early life with Elizabeth Plunkett seems to have been happy. As has been seen, he was careful that she should be commemorated as well as himself in all his undertakings, and the blessing of a quiver overflowing with children was not wanting. It is also certain that on her death, the date of which is unknown, another lady, Cecily, daughter of Henry Cusack, an alderman of Dublin, was found willing to take her place.¹ Writing in the lifetime of the blind lord, Stanihurst says² that the "Baron of Howth, signifying the disposition of his mind, speaketh in this wise :

" Si redamas, redamo, si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
" Non licet absque tuis vivere posse bonis? "

The blind lord had no less than fourteen children, but of these only four sons, Nicholas, Thomas, Leonard, and Richard, and one daughter, Margaret, are known to have survived him. Thomas appears to have been killed on October 2, 1600, in an engagement between the forces of the Crown and those of O'Neill at the Moyrie Pass.³ Leonard, who in a funeral entry is mentioned as the blind lord's third son, died on November 7, 1608, having made a will on the preceding day,⁴ in which he refers to his wife, Ann Eustace, and his daughter Elizabeth, and shows his devotion to

¹ She married secondly John Barnewall of Monkton in co. Meath and thirdly John Finglas of Westpalstown in co. Dublin. To her will, which is dated August 1, 1635, she appended on August 12, 1636, a codicil which she desired should have "the same force, vigour, and virtue in law." In it she directed that her executrix should keep her month's mind and year's mind according to the usual custom of the country, and should bestow some alms "at those terms" upon the poor, and expressed her wish that her will should not be perused by many but by "such as it doth concern, and that after her burial." Cf. Chancery Decree, *Eliz.*, no. 685; *Jac. I.*, no. 110.

² Holinshed's "Chronicles," vi, 55.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, Carew, 1601-03, p. 496.

⁴ It is preserved in the Dublin Collection.

agricultural life by mention of his "choice cow" and of his sheep, as well as of his ploughman, to whom he leaves "a couple of corn." Richard is referred to in 1575 in connexion with a deposition made by him against the Earl of Kildare,¹ and was one of the beneficiaries under his brother Leonard's will; and Margaret is also named in her brother Leonard's will as the recipient of his "stone jug double gilt." In 1583 she was residing at Derindell, and was apparently then unmarried, but she was married twice, first to William Fitzwilliam of Donamore, and secondly to Michael Berford of Kilrow, who died before 1603. She died February 16, 1620.²

Nicholas Lord Howth, who succeeded the blind lord as his eldest son, had been knighted a year before his father's death, in May, 1588,³ and was at that time a man well advanced in years, with many children. He had been twice married, first, as has been already mentioned, to Margaret, daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall, of Turvey, and, secondly, to Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas White, of St. Catherine's. His second wife had been previously married to Christopher Darcy of Platten, and before his succession to the title Nicholas had for a time resided at the latter place. In 1583 and 1584, when he was appointed a commissioner for the muster in the county of Meath, he is described as of Platten, and subsequently, in 1587, as of Osbertstown.⁴

Like his father, Nicholas was devoted to the interests of the Pale, and did not always find it easy to reconcile that tie with the requirements of the Government—a difficulty which was accentuated in his case by his more or less open profession of the Roman Catholic religion. A few months after his father's death he was appointed a guardian of the Pale during the temporary absence of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, in the west of Ireland;⁵ but he was soon afterwards alienated from the Government by joining in charges made against the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Dillon. The originators of these

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1574-88, p. 72.

² Cf. Funeral Entry and Chancery Decrees, Eliz. no. 331, 753.

³ Shaw's "Knights of England," ii, 86.

⁴ Fiant, Eliz., 4149, 4461, 5019, 5084.

⁵ Fiant, Eliz., 5387.

charges were members of the Nugent family, to whom Nicholas was distantly related,¹ but he was probably induced to take the part he did by his father-in-law, Sir Nicholas White, who complained that the malice of Sir Robert Dillon against him knew no end.² Nicholas is first mentioned in connexion with the charges against Sir Robert Dillon in the year 1591,³ and for the next two years was constantly in the company of Lord Delvin, the head of the Nugent family. They appear signing letters together at Lord Delvin's seat in Westmeath,⁴ attending together before the council,⁵ and collecting evidence together at Howth.⁶ Lord Delvin speaks in one of his letters of injuries done to Nicholas by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam,⁷ but Nicholas does not seem to have harboured any feeling of resentment, and is recorded to have exclaimed on an offer from the Lord Deputy to leave them alone with the council: "No, God forbid, my Lord, that we should mistrust your Lordship in any matter that concerns the Queen."⁸

Under the next Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, Nicholas re-established himself in the good opinion of the Government, and gave proof of his loyalty to the Crown. He had the good fortune to be the first to greet Sir William Russell, as Sir William landed at Howth, and also passed the night of his arrival, July 31, 1594, in the Castle;⁹ and in the following February, on Sir William Russell's return from an expedition against the O'Byrnes, Nicholas was foremost in offering congratulations and assistance.¹⁰ His assistance was accepted, and two months later he accompanied Sir William Russell on a further expedition against the O'Byrnes,¹¹ and rendered such service as entitled him to the thanks of the Queen.¹²

¹ By the marriage of Marian, daughter of Nicholas Lord Howth, (*d.* 1526), to Sir Christopher Nugent. There is a curious genealogical tree made by Lord Burghley showing the descent from that marriage. See Cal. S. P., Irel., 1601-03, et Add. p. 650.

² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1588-92, pp. 256, 276.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 419, 445; 1592-96, p. 102.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 62; S. P., Irel., 1592-96, *passim*.

⁶ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 79.

⁷ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1588-92, p. 576.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1592-96, p. 23.

⁹ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 221.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

¹² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1592-96, p. 317.

During the rising under Tyrone the Government received from him great support. In the autumn of 1598 he was one of the few men of the Pale who came to their aid,¹ and he was given then a commission with the Sheriff to execute martial law in his county.² A year later he was the only one to respond to a call upon the militia, and brought to the assistance of the army two hundred foot and horse that he had raised. These troops were so deficient in equipment as to be useless, but in a parley that ensued with Tyrone his advice proved of value, and contributed to securing a truce. Of all the men of the Pale, the Lords Justices said, he was the only one deserving of notice, and a letter of thanks to him in the Queen's name was suggested as "a comfort and an encouragement."³

At the same time his eldest son, Christopher, who succeeded him, was making a name for himself and bringing additional distinction to the house of Howth. He is first mentioned as serving in the spring of 1595 with his father against the O'Byrnes, of whom he effected a notable capture.⁴ The greater portion of the next year he spent in England at the Queen's court, and during that time he appears to have been knighted.⁵ He returned to Ireland, where he landed in January, 1597, with a commission in the regular army, and was subsequently appointed commander of the garrison at Cavan, with a fee of ten shillings per day.⁶ Power to execute martial law was entrusted to him, and in a letter from Lord Dunsany, who married a sister of his mother, there is reference to the good services rendered by him on the border of Cavan.⁷ During the spring of 1598 he was engaged against Tyrone's confederates in Leinster, and acquitted himself so well that his valour was brought under the notice of the privy council in England, with a suggestion that an assurance of their "thankful acceptance of his service" might be sent to him.⁸ He

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1598-99, p. 342.

² Fiant, Elizabeth, no. 6260.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1599-1600, pp. 284, 292, 298.

⁴ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, pp. 229, 230.

⁵ Marquis of Salisbury's Manuscripts, vi, 214, 558.

⁶ Cal. S. P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 254; Irel., 1598-99, p. 5.

⁷ Fiant, Elizabeth, no. 6164; Marquis of Salisbury's Manuscripts, vii, 475.

⁸ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1598-99, p. 121.

continued throughout that year to assist in the operations against Tyrone's confederates, and in the winter was sent to the relief of Maryborough, and subsequently was stationed at Kells.¹

When the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland in April, 1599, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence was in command of the garrison at Naas, with authority to execute martial law over a large extent of country,² and thence accompanied Essex in May on his expedition to suppress the rebellion in southern Ireland. During that expedition he performed two gallant exploits. The first was near Athy, where he swam across the river Barrow to rescue horses that had been carried off from the army, and returned in triumph with the horses and the head of one of the marauders, and the second was at Cahir, where he was instrumental in preventing the escape of the garrison. He accompanied Essex also in August on his ill-starred expedition to Ulster, and is mentioned while at Niselerathy, near Louth, as being in command of five hundred horse and fifty foot.³ At that time, in commending a suit which Sir Christopher made to the Queen and her privy council, Essex, who had possibly made his acquaintance in England, speaks of him as "a very gallant, able servant to her Majesty, and his own dear and worthy friend";⁴ and in the following September he communicated to him his secret departure from Ireland, and gave him a place amongst the few who attended him to Elizabeth's court.

Sir Christopher St. Lawrence possessed a typical Irish character, and was no less impulsive than brave. In the autumn of 1598 "it was current both in court and country above ten days together" that he had slain Sir Samuel Bagenal about "the lie or such like brabble";⁵ and while on the way with Essex to the Palace of Nonsuch, he is said to have proposed to engage in single combat Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir Robert Cecil, whom

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1598-99, pp. 411, 457. ² Fiants Elizabeth, nos. 6281, 6282.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1599-1600, pp. 57, 58, 146; Carew, 1589-1600, pp. 304, 323; Harrington's "Nugae Antiquae," ed. T. Park, pp. 270, 277, 298; Marquis of Salisbury's Manuscripts, ix, 145, 147, 148.

⁴ Marquis of Salisbury's Manuscripts, ix, 287.

⁵ John Chamberlain's Letters, ed. Sarah Williams, p. 23; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 110.



THE CASTLE *circa* 1820

Essex had reason to believe were hostile to him, the former on the road and the latter in the sacred precincts of the Court.¹ A few weeks after Essex had been committed to the care of the Lord Keeper, Sir Christopher pledged publicly Essex's health and his enemies' confusion, and on being called to account, not only stood to his words, but also said that he would fulfil his promise if anyone attempted to disparage Essex's character. According to rumour at the time, "Lord Treasurer did school him, but nothing else was done to him," and a courtier, who took him to task while he was in bed, discreetly retired on being informed by Sir Christopher that what he had said "he would maintain with his sword in his shirt against any man."²

Meantime Sir Christopher and the other Irishmen who had accompanied Essex were received by the Queen, and, although told that they had made "a scornful journey," were accorded a gracious reception, calculated to ensure their loyalty in the future. A few days later Sir Christopher was brought before the privy council and accused of having uttered threats apparently against Sir Robert Cecil, which he denied "with great reverence to the place, but passionate as a soldier." He was taunted with being an Irishman, and with great dignity made the following reply, which many have since echoed: "I am sorry that when I am in England I should be esteemed an Irishman, and in Ireland an Englishman. I have spent my blood, engaged and endangered my life often to do her Majesty service, and do beseech to have it so regarded." On being told finally to return to his command in Ireland, he begged leave to continue for a time in England, where he had private business of much moment, and represented the smallness of his charge in Ireland.³ His conduct and representations appear to have made a most favourable impression, and he was permitted to postpone his return to Ireland for two months, and granted by the Queen, in consideration of the good report which had been made to her of him, arrears of pay long due. When leaving London he was commended by the Queen to

¹ Camden's "Annals," iii, 795.

² Collins's "Letters and Memorials of State," ii, 133, 136.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 137.

the Lords Justices of Ireland as one who had "well deserved in her service," and for whom she desired "good grace and countenance"; and he was so much in favour with Sir Robert Cecil that, five days after his return to Dublin, in January, 1600, he was able to appeal confidentially to him for help in regard to his arrears, payment of which was refused to him, notwithstanding the Queen's letter.¹

A month later, on February 26, 1600, Lord Mountjoy arrived in Ireland, as Essex's successor. As he landed at Howth it fell to the lot of Nicholas to be the first to receive him, and as in the case of Sir William Russell, to entertain him that night in the Castle. With such confidence did he inspire Mountjoy that in the following May he was appointed to govern his county during Mountjoy's absence in the North, and was said by him to be "one of the best of the nobility."² His reputation was further enhanced by the singular discretion and ability which he displayed that summer on a mission to the Queen's court on behalf of the inhabitants of the Pale, who were at that time groaning under the maintenance of the army, and found that "if there were no rebel to spoil them, the army would consume them."³ He made, like his son, a favourable impression on the Queen, and on his return to Ireland was vindicated by the issue of proclamations covering the grounds of his complaints. From a letter which he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, it appears that such practices as littering horses with corn, extorting money and drink, and abusing and beating the people, were proved against the soldiers, and, no doubt, the inhabitants of the Pale blessed Lord Howth for his interference, although some of the officers, who said that their horses were starved under the new regulations, asserted that the contrary was the case.⁴

Although the Irish officials had not been too well pleased at the idea of the mission, the Queen's reception of Nicholas caused it to be regarded in a very different light. On his return to

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel, 1599-1600, pp. 227, 321, 344, 413, 424.

² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1599-1600, p. 499; 1600, pp. 204, 301.

³ Acts of Privy Council, 1599-1600, p. 507.

⁴ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1600, pp. 326, 428; 1600-01, p. 170.

Ireland they found that only for his efforts in moderating "the wilfulness of the Pale," the most serious results would have followed, and were loud in praise of his great worth, as well in private life as in the many employments, "martial and civil," which he had held under the Crown.¹ His inclusion on the council board was recommended by Mountjoy, and Dublin county and its marches were placed in his sole charge. In discharging that trust he is said to have been active in putting the county in arms, and "in his own person very stirring to go from place to place to see the straits and passages manned, using all diligence he could to defend the country according to the trust reposed in him."²

His son, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, was constantly employed during Mountjoy's government as a colonel, and greatly increased his reputation as a soldier, although still bearing the character of a wild Irishman. Before Mountjoy arrived it was reported that "the Lords of Ormond and Thomond and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence were dangerously hurt in a brawl amongst themselves"; and in April following, when the Earl of Ormond was taken prisoner by the O'Mores, and Sir Christopher was sent with reinforcements to Kilkenny, it was expressly provided that his part was to lead the troops, and not to take charge of Ormond's "sorrowful lady."³ During that summer, while fighting against the O'Mores with Mountjoy, Sir Christopher captured an immense number of cattle, sheep, and goats; and in the following October, while fighting against Tyrone, he was wounded at the Moyrie Pass, where his uncle Thomas had been killed.⁴ In the early months of 1601 he was at Mountjoy's right hand in military operations in the central districts of Ireland, and had "a very hot skirmish" with Captain Tyrell, one of Tyrone's partisans, at the pass which bears Tyrell's name in the county of

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1600, pp. 303, 431.

² *Ibid.*, 1600-01, pp. 15, 58.

³ Cal. S. P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 392; Irel., 1600, pp. 88, 97; Carew, 1599-1600, p. 378.

⁴ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1600, pp. 396, 460; Carew, 1589-1600, p. 465.

Westmeath. Although smarting under neglect in regard to promotion, he was said by Mountjoy to have acted "the part of an honest man," and he was promised by Mountjoy a certificate of his good service to the Queen.¹ In writing to one of the Irish officials Sir Christopher says that he prays God Mountjoy will not forget his promise, for he has lost his blood often for the Queen, and thinks that she has never heard of it, but concludes his letter by wishing his friend good fortune, and himself and his comrades money and little rest, for he knows that as long as a soldier could go he should never stay still.² In August he was with Mountjoy in the North of Ireland, in command nominally of seven hundred and fifty men; and in the autumn he was sent into Munster to oppose the Spaniards, and was present at the siege of Kinsale.³ During the early part of 1602 he appears to have been stationed in Dublin, but in July he was appointed Governor of Monaghan, and went there to take charge of the garrison.⁴ His rule was of short duration, for according to Fynes Moryson,⁵ Mountjoy found it necessary to recall him in October, in order to settle differences between him and his second in command. He had been there, however, long enough to gain the love of many of the inhabitants in Monaghan and the adjoining counties of Cavan and Fermanagh, and he was alleged to have tried to make the northern border of the Pale a dependency of his own.⁶ Some mysterious negotiations are said to have taken place at the same time between him and Tyrone, and accusations of disloyalty and tyrannical conduct to the later English settlers were afterwards made against him.⁷ He considered himself maligned, and on November 5 wrote to Cecil, begging leave to go to England "for the repairing of his reputation," and saying that he would return next day if Cecil wished,

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1600-01, pp. 227, 228.

² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, 1601-03, pp. 13, 148, 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 487, 520, 523.

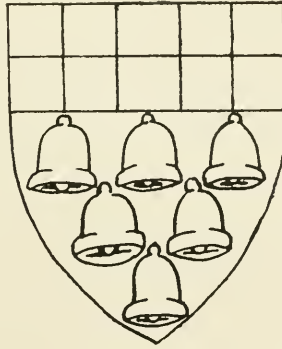
⁵ "Itinerary," pt. ii, pp. 225, 245.

⁶ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, pp. 94, 535.

⁷ Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," iii, 433; Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, p. 226; 1608-10, p. 190.

as he had no suit to make, but only wanted "to speak with his Honour"; and in the following January Mountjoy wrote to Cecil that Sir Christopher desired military employment in some other country, and recommended that he should be allowed to seek it, as many Irish swordsmen would be certain to follow him, and if as many as two thousand could be induced to do so, the establishment would be saved a hundred thousand pounds.¹

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1601-03, pp. 511, 554.



ARMS ON TOMB.

CHAPTER VI.

IN JACOBEOAN TIMES.

THE Jacobean age has left little mark on the county of Dublin, either in regard to its buildings or the history of its families, and in the case of Howth an exception to the rule is not found. There is not any trace of Jacobean work in the Castle, but it is probable that an alteration in the structure was made during the reign of Charles the First, as Swift alludes in one of his references to Traulus to the fact that Traulus's great-grandfather, the designer of the Earl of Strafford's mansion near Naas, left his name inscribed on one of the chimneys :

And at Howth to boast his fame,
On a chimney cut his name.¹

Of the other buildings on the peninsula in Jacobean times the only one mentioned, besides Corr Castle, which had been enlarged by an annex with a thatched roof, is a house on the lands of Sutton. It is described as "a good English-like stone house." It was roofed with slates; and as it was rated as containing six chimneys, half the number in Howth Castle, it must have been of considerable size. Its out-offices were roofed with tiles, and its courtyard, or bawn, was surrounded with a stone wall.² As will be seen in the next chapter, the site of this house is now occupied by the modern Sutton House.

During the seventeenth century Howth was less used as a port, owing to ships being larger and facilities for embarkation and disembarkation being greater elsewhere; but the fishery retained its importance, and the fishermen proved their skill and fearlessness in the conveyance to England of letters in open row-boats, when all other means of communication failed. It had been long recognized that, when the saving of time was of supreme

¹ The Legion Club.

² Civil Survey.



THE HARBOUR

importance, Howth had the advantage over other ports, and in the reign of James the First one Captain Pepper was wont to resort there from Holyhead with a packet-boat, which passed to and fro, "like a light horseman, before all others," but which envious people said was only "a baggage-boat."¹ But sometimes the winds proved too contrary for ships like it, or other obstacles intervened, and then the Howth fishermen proved their worth. In the opening years of Charles the First's reign their bravery was severely put to the test, as pirates infested the Channel, and inflicted much loss and damage upon shipping. Writing in his diary on July 20, 1630, the Great Earl of Cork says²:—"White of Howth, being by me employed in his open boat from Howth to Holyhead to carry my letters to the Earl of Kildare and my son (expressing they should be very careful how they took their passage hither, for that the pirates were in the channel), delivered my letters there, brought me a certificate, and returned this day, to whom Henry Staines's man gave, by my order, 5*l*." Two years later, on July, 23, 1632, the Lords Justices wrote to England that "the subjects" dared not venture to sea, and told how their very good lord, the Lord Baron of Howth, witnessed "from his island" one Nutt chasing two ships, and stopping them with his shot.³ In the next year the position had not improved, and a pirate took, in the bay of Dublin, a bark of Liverpool, in which there was "a trunk of damask, and other linen," belonging to the Earl of Strafford.⁴ The pirates succumbed to the strong rule of that masterful viceroy, who stationed at Howth the "Ninth Whelp," and armed her with four brass guns;⁵ but the winds were beyond his control, and still remained a difficulty. Writing in May, 1634, he tells one of his officials, who was coming from London, that he has sent a row-boat to await him at Holyhead, and that, if the winds do not permit the post-bark to put out, he is to entrust the letters which he has with him to the boatmen.⁶ Ten

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, p. 454.

² "Lismore Papers," ser. i, vol. iii, p. 44.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1625-32, p. 671.

⁴ Earl of Cowper's Manuscripts, ii, 11.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1633-47, pp. 20, 116.

⁶ Hist. MSS. Com. Rept. xi, App. pt. vii, p. 243.

years later, when the ships of the Parliament had established a blockade of Dublin, the Royalists found in the Howth fishermen gallant allies, and entrusted to them their despatches, which by no other means could reach their destination.¹

In the owners of Howth a gradual change from the old order to the new took place, and Anglo-Irish traits were superseded by those of the later English settlers. This assimilation of character was due in a great degree to the frequent visits paid by them to the English Court, as well during the reign of James the First as during the reign of Elizabeth, and to their alliances to ladies of English birth. Although they complained of want of means, a high standard of living was maintained in the Castle. Within its hospitable walls on more than one occasion the viceroy made a prolonged stay, and, from a chance reference in the records of the Guild of Tailors in Dublin,² it appears that Lord Howth's entourage included a band of musicians, whose assistance was sought at civic entertainments. The reference in the reign of Henry the Eighth to hawks being bred at Howth shows that the owners began early to evince an interest in sport, which has brought to their later generations wide fame and popularity. Before the seventeenth century had long opened there is evidence that the peninsula had become a noted centre for fox-hunting, and the mention of a greyhound shows that hares also afforded sport.³

For other residents in Howth one turns naturally first to the records of the churches; but these are meagre, and give little help. To what extent the prebendaries resided on the peninsula there can be no certainty. In the year 1630 the prebendary seems to have been in sole charge of the cure, but at other times a curate is mentioned—in 1615, Martin Cod; in 1639 Eusebius Roberts; in 1644, Humphrey Vaughan; and in 1645, John Butler.⁴ A reference to the parish priest of Howth in the reign of Elizabeth shows that even then the Roman Catholic residents were not without spiritual consolation.⁵ But, as the Bishop of Canea states in his "Histories of Dublin Parishes,"⁶ it was not until the

¹ See *infra*.

² Information kindly supplied by Dr. Berry.

³ See *infra*.

⁴ See Appendix G.

⁵ Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," ii, 15.

⁶ Part xv, p. 54.

reign of James the First that his charge was defined. The parish priest was then a notable man, the Rev. William Shergoll, who, in 1631, was advanced to "the Prebend of Howth, in St. Patrick's Chapter," and who was during the Confederation a consulting divine. He signed himself "Professor of Divinity, Prebendary of Howth, and Vicar-Forane of Fingal," and to the high place which he occupied in the affections of the people of that district many wills of that period bear witness. Before the reign of James the First, Corr Castle had passed from the Whites to Lord Howth,¹ and was occupied by the blind lord's son, Richard,² who had married one of the Cosbys of Abbeyleix. The bearer of the Earl of Cork's letter, Michael White by name, was probably a cadet of the family that owned Corr Castle. His will, and that of his father, are on record, and show that "a great fishing boat, with all things thereunto belonging," was their chief possession.³

When James the First ascended the throne, Nicholas, the son of the blind lord, was still in possession of the Howth title and estate, and able to take an active part in the movement that began then for a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion. The chief promoter of that movement was Nicholas's brother-in-law, Sir Patrick Barnewall. At the time he succeeded to the title Nicholas had not been on good terms with Sir Patrick, and in consequence of the non-fulfilment of the agreement that Sir Patrick should marry his sister, he instituted a suit for the recovery of half the amount for which his father-in-law had bound himself. A decree was in 1595 given by Archbishop Loftus as Chancellor of Ireland in favour of Nicholas, and although Sir Patrick sought to upset it by subterraneous methods, it was upheld by the privy council of England.⁴ During the next few years Nicholas and Sir Patrick seem to have made up their differences: in 1600 Sir Patrick accompanied Nicholas to England in his mission on behalf of the Pale, and from that time they appear to have been close friends.

¹ Ulster's Visitation in 1607.

² See *infra*.

³ The wills of Thomas and Matthew White, dated 1629 and 1633 respectively, are in the Dublin Collection.

⁴ Chancery Decree, Eliz., no. 663; Acts of the Privy Council, 1595-96, p. 117; 1596-97, pp. 7, 28.

When the movement for toleration had attained its height in the autumn of 1605, Nicholas was entertaining the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, at Howth, whither Chichester had been driven by the plague which was then raging in Dublin.¹ During the six weeks that Chichester was his guest, Nicholas used to accompany him to the door of the church on Sundays, but would not attend worship,² and approved of the petition which was presented to Chichester in November, protesting against interference with the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. On the arrest of Sir Patrick Barnewall and others for the promotion of the petition, Nicholas boldly asserted still further his devotion to the Roman Catholic religion by joining in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, as Sir Robert Cecil had then become, complaining of their imprisonment.³

As long as the plague was virulent the government of the country was conducted from Howth. There Chichester issued his warrants, and there, as he tells the Earl of Salisbury, he held the meetings of his council. At a meeting on September 30 four of the members were present, and at one on October 16, when an order concerning attendance at church was made, seven were present. One of the councillors who attended both these meetings was Archbishop Loftus's successor, Thomas Jones, who was then Bishop of Meath, but who, before Chichester left Howth, was appointed, on Chichester's recommendation, Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland.⁴ In the intervals of business Chichester and Nicholas used to go out hunting, and on one occasion, when led by a fox over the lands of Balgriffin, which had belonged to a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church, discussion as to the merits of their respective faiths arose. "Alas!" said Nicholas to Chichester, "the owner of this and other estates abandoned all, and is now living in poverty in foreign lands. Could you give an instance of such a thing among the men of your profession?" "Oh!" replied Chichester, "you can point to only one case in yours." But Nicholas came off best in the

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1603-06, pp. 323, 334, 344.

² Rev. Edmund Hogan's "Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century," p. 424.

³ Cal. S. P. Irel., 1603-06, p. 365.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 337.



THE CASTLE FROM THE WEST

encounter, and was able to name two others from the immediate neighbourhood who were in similar circumstances.¹

While staying at Howth Chichester referred to Nicholas as an old man who could not live long, and in less than two years his death took place. It was announced by Chichester on May 11, 1607, and his funeral is recorded in Ulster's office to have taken place at Howth ten days later. His second wife survived him for a short time, until July 25, and proved his will.² It had been made nine years before, on March 20, 1598, and shows that family affection was one of his attributes, and that his married life was happier than that of his father, or, as will be seen, than that of his son. He left, besides his heir, a younger son, Thomas, by his first wife, and three sons, Edward, Richard, and Almeric, by his second wife. He had also four daughters: by his first wife, Mary, who married William Eustace of Castlemartin; and by his second wife, Margaret, who married first Jenico, Viscount Gormanston, and secondly Luke, Earl of Fingal; Elinor; and Alison, who married Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellstown.

His successor, Christopher, had shown himself, as we have seen, before the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign a brave soldier, but had displayed the impetuosity and recklessness of character which are so often united with courage in the Irish race. He possessed also another characteristic of his countrymen, wit and readiness of speech, and his sense of humour was little understood by Sir Arthur Chichester and other staid statesmen with whom he had to deal. But it proved probably a passport to the favour of James the First, and all references to Christopher made by James in his individual capacity, when free from his council, are couched in terms of warm friendship and praise. At the time of his father's death Christopher was in the Netherlands. During the first two years of the reign of James the First he appears to have remained in a state of inactivity in Ireland, but at their close he began to express dissatisfaction with his position. In the spring of 1605 he wrote to Viscount Cranborne, as Sir Robert Cecil was then, to solicit "some mark of the King's gracious and liberal

¹ Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

² It is in the Prerogative Collection.

recognition of his services," and in the autumn of that year, not having received a favourable reply, he was found by Chichester, when staying at Howth, determined on entering the service of some other country. With more foresight than Mountjoy displayed, Chichester formed the opinion that such a course could only result in Christopher's "dishonour and utter undoing," and he endeavoured to dissuade him from it, and to induce the King to give him either a pension during his father's life or command of a troop of horse.¹ For six months Chichester persisted in his efforts, but wrote finally that Christopher could no longer be restrained, and, having given up all hope of obtaining anything from his own sovereign, was about to enter the Spanish service,² in which his brother Thomas had been for some years, and had become "one of the captains of best esteem and most power."³

The period of the episode in Irish history known as "the flight of the earls" was then approaching. With that episode Christopher's name is closely connected, and the part attributed to him in it has brought on him much obloquy. According to his own account, about Christmas, 1605, he became aware that a conspiracy existed in Ireland "to shake off the yoke of the English government, and to adhere to the Spaniard," and he was instrumental in preventing an attempt "to seize upon the Castle of Dublin, and to kill or otherwise dispose of the Deputy and council," by representing that active help from Spanish sources would be essential to its success. It was, he says, his intention to reveal the conspiracy before it could cause "his country's ruin or the King's disturbance"; and with that object, as well as with the one indicated by Chichester, he set out in August, 1606, from Ireland for London. There, he tells us, the conspiracy began to appear to him of less importance, resting, as he was then disposed to believe, only on "discourse by means of priests and some slight promises of assistance"; and he left finally for the Netherlands without making any disclosure. In the Netherlands he met Richard Stanihurst, the author of the well-known Elizabethan

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1603-06, pp. 258, 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 519.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 396; 1606-08, p. 415.

description of Ireland, who had married, like Lord Dunsany, a sister of Christopher's mother, and Christopher Cusack, the founder of the Irish Colleges in the Netherlands, whom he calls his near kinsman, and gathered from them that the conspiracy had "infected many of the King's subjects, as well on that side as on this, and that the King of Spain had assured the conspirators of aid." Thinking it no longer right to withhold anything he knew, he returned to London, and imparted the whole matter to the Earl of Salisbury, by whom he was sent back to the Netherlands, where his military qualities were much appreciated, and the command of a thousand men was offered to him.¹

Meantime Chichester was expressing apprehension, which was shared by the council, that Christopher's presence in the Spanish camp might lead others to go to it, and give encouragement to revolutionary sentiments in Ireland, and announced, evidently with a feeling of relief, in May, 1607, the death of Christopher's father, inasmuch as it would have the effect of recalling Christopher to his own country.² Although he had heard of the disclosures, Chichester knew the discoverer only by the letters A. B., and learned, a few weeks later, to his amazement, that these letters concealed the identity of the new Lord Howth, whose return to Ireland he might soon expect. At the same time the task of sifting the truth of the disclosures was assigned to him, and on Christopher's return it was at once begun, and proved very difficult owing to Christopher's "lightness and inconstancy."³

The secret departure of the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone at the beginning of September left in Chichester's mind no doubt as to the existence of a conspiracy; but his opinion as to whether Christopher had been aware of the Earls' intention or not varied from day to day. On September 8 he alluded to Christopher as a person who had deserved well of the Government, and who was entitled to great rewards; but on September 10 he became doubtful of his good faith on hearing a rumour that a boat with "six young and lusty fellows" was kept waiting at "the quay of

¹ Cal. S. P. Irel., 1606-08, p. 254.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 226, 265.

Howth" for some unknown purpose, and that Christopher was allowing many priests to resort to Howth Castle to see "the old Countess of Kildare" and "the Lady Dowager of Delvin," who were then his guests.¹

On receiving Chichester's indecisive reports, the English privy council came to the conclusion that the best thing to be done was to place Christopher under arrest. Whether he had well deserved or not, they thought a little confinement could do him no harm, and his restraint might be excused to him on the ground that it was to save him from the vengeance of the conspirators if they became aware of his being a discoverer.² Chichester did not receive the privy council's letter until November, but having then "by good hope artificially drawn" Christopher to Dublin, he lodged him in Dublin Castle. He had made up his mind to free himself of further responsibility by sending Christopher for the privy council to examine; but as a suitable ship was not available, and in consideration of the high rank of the prisoner, he postponed doing so until he had time to communicate with the Earl of Salisbury. It was not until the second week in December that he was able to complete the arrangements for Christopher's departure, and his confidence in him was then so great as to lead him to assure the Earl of Salisbury that Christopher "had dealt carefully and soundly since his coming over in the business, which had been to his great travail, charge, and hazard."³ On his arrival in London, Christopher was placed under close restraint, and at the beginning of February he was still in want of "liberty to take the air for his better health"; but before the middle of March he was successful in convincing the privy council of "his loyal heart to his king and country," and was sent back to Ireland acquitted of all charges, and accompanied by a letter containing a hint to the Irish council that they had been remiss in not expediting legal business of his which was then pending.⁴

When Christopher returned to Ireland, Howth Castle was occupied by Chichester, who had gone there for Easter, which fell

¹ Cal. S. P. Irel., 1606-08, pp. 265, 269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 347, 348, 352.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 409, 437.

early in 1608,¹ and fresh disclosures, made by Christopher in London, were being investigated. These disclosures concerned Sir Garret Moore, ancestor of the Earls of Drogheda, on whom a viscounty was afterwards conferred, and involved Moore in charges of complicity in the flight of the Earls, and in the encouragement of satanic art. The medium in that practice was Moore's own chaplain, an English minister called Aston, and this "conjuror and raiser of spirits" had the assurance to wait upon Chichester, when he was at Howth, and to endeavour to justify his methods. As Chichester did not believe his denial of compact with the devil, "either by blood or promise," he was consigned to a small castle close by, either the gate-tower or Corr Castle, and compelled to make a statement in writing. Never did a document penned at Howth result in more extraordinary revelations. In it Aston alleged that the Chancellor-Archbishop, Thomas Jones, whose daughter Sir Garret Moore had married, was one of those who had sought his aid in divination; and so great was the superstition of the time that the Archbishop thought it necessary to let the Earl of Salisbury know that he held the raising or invoking of spirits to be a great blasphemy against God, and to be only effected by some contract with Satan to the hazard of a man's soul. In such an art, he says, he could not be in any way a partaker, and detested and abhorred it as damnable. He proceeds to tell the Earl of Salisbury that Aston's mention of him was due to one of his servants who had asked Aston to try his skill in recovering a sum of sixty pounds that had been taken out of the Archbishop's trunk in his palace at Tallaght, but that he knew nothing of the matter except that the money was still wanting, and that his son spoke of Aston as a worthless person. As Chichester disclosed to the Earl of Salisbury under their most secret cypher, the truth was that Aston had declared the Archbishop's wife to be the delinquent, and the Archbishop's son, who apparently gave credence to the divination, had been afraid to tell his father, knowing that it would greatly grieve and displease him to hear that the money was taken by a person "near and dear to him."²

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, pp. 438, 445, 451.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 459, 461.

About a month after his return to Ireland, in the beginning of May, Christopher made a formal charge of treason against Sir Garret Moore.¹ The immediate cause of his doing so was exasperation, and the provocation was great. By his own admission Moore had told Christopher that he considered him an "idle-headed lord, a speaker of untruths, one that would crack and brag much, yea, that would draw a man into the field, but when he came there would not and durst not fight him";² and he could hardly have said anything more galling to a man of Christopher's temperament. In his calmer moments Christopher would possibly not have made the charge, for in the end he failed to prove it; but he was able to produce sufficient evidence of intimacy between Moore and the Earl of Tyrone to warrant Moore being held to bail for a lengthened period. To unravel the circumstances that attended the Earls' flight passed the wit of man, and at the conclusion of the inquiry on Christopher's charge, the King said that Moore's part was only known to God and himself.³ Equally mysterious were the relations between Christopher and Moore. Through his wife Christopher had a connexion with him; and a short time before making the charge he had been on such good terms with him as to contemplate the marriage of his eldest son to Moore's daughter.⁴

At the time he made the charge against Moore, Christopher professed to be in great want of money, and began again to think of leaving Ireland. Once more Chichester urged that such employment might be given him as would enable him to live "where he was a principal member of the commonwealth"; and he was more successful than on the previous occasion, for Christopher, who followed the letter to the King's court, was

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, p. 515. ² *Ibid.*, p. 535. ³ *Ibid.*, 1608-10, p. 191.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1606-08, p. 535. Sir Garret Moore's father, Sir Edward Moore, was married several times, and much confusion has arisen as to his wives, and as to their somewhat numerous husbands. According to a Harleian Manuscript, one of his wives was the widow of Wentworth of Essex (Dict. Nat. Biog., xxxviii, 347); and, as will be mentioned later on, Christopher's wife was a daughter of that house. In a pedigree of her family her father is said to have married as his second wife the widow of Sir Edward Moore. Which of the two versions is correct I cannot determine.



THE CASTLE FROM THE EAST

given a command in the army such as he had long coveted.¹ Whether his visit to England was undertaken to press his claim for employment, or to strengthen his position in regard to the charge against Moore, is not clear; but the charge against Moore was discussed while he was at Court, and a promise of encouragement and comfort was given him on account of the enemies whom he had made in doing service to the King.² He stayed in England only a week or two, but on his return to Ireland he was confined to Howth for some months by what he calls a strange disease. His military command does not seem to have proved so profitable as he expected, and in September he wrote to the Earl of Salisbury praying for some further mark of the King's favour. Unless it were granted to him, he said that he would go to reside in England, as he preferred to live on small means there than in Ireland, and he asked for a reply soon, as the best season to obtain a tenant for his castle and demesne was approaching.³

At that time the Irish council had Christopher under examination in regard to his charges against Sir Garret Moore, but he suspected their impartiality, and succeeded in having the investigation transferred to England. Chichester, who had become very unfriendly to him, did all he could to prejudice the English privy council against him. His witnesses were represented as unfit "to condemn a horse-boy," and as a lesson to Christopher, it was suggested that he should not be heard, and should be sent back to Ireland.⁴ But once again Christopher triumphed, and although his case against Moore failed, he returned from Court with the highest testimony to his good faith. In an autograph letter, written on April 13, 1609,⁵ the King informed Chichester that Lord Howth had left him "in a clear conceit" of his loyalty, and indicated that he believed the discredit thrown on him was due to jealousy. Chichester was commanded to extend all possible favour and protection to him, and Moore was threatened with the loss of the King's goodwill if he retained any dregs of displeasure against him. An idea that Christopher had saved himself by

¹ Cal. S. P. Irel., 1606-08, pp. 520, 553.

Ibid., 1608-10, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 553.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

compromising Lord Delvin, who was also suspected of assisting the Earls' flight, was declared to be untrue, and Chichester was assured *in verbo regis* that Lord Howth had been as careful of Lord Delvin's safety as of his own.

The proceedings against Sir Garret Moore brought his father-in-law, Archbishop Jones, and Christopher into conflict. At no time does the Archbishop seem to have been friendly to Christopher, and when Christopher was in the Netherlands the Archbishop advised the Earl of Salisbury to take steps to lower him in the estimation of the Spanish authorities, on the ground that he was a giddy-headed person who enjoyed a dangerous popularity with persons addicted to desperate courses.¹ The origin of the Archbishop's unfriendliness was the jealousy between the Anglo-Irish and the later English settlers. "It has ever been the habit of people like Lord Howth," wrote the Archbishop, "to detract from the credit of English servitors."² In the autumn of 1608, when the Irish council was inquiring into the charges against Moore, Christopher, not unnaturally, distrusted the Archbishop, and thought that he was using his position to suppress evidence against his son-in-law, and to disparage his son-in-law's accuser.³ His "daily croakings" frightened the Archbishop, who showed small strength of mind for the head of the judiciary; and lest the King might give heed to them, a letter was sent off by the Archbishop to the Earl of Salisbury. Conveniently forgetting what he had previously written, the Archbishop now professed to have never given Christopher any cause of offence, and complained that although he had sent him protestations of friendship, he was unable to abate the edge of his tongue.⁴ Apparently Christopher's criticisms of the Archbishop were made partly in joke, but the solemn prelate had no appreciation of humour, and was the more troubled, Chichester says, because Lord Howth made a merriment of that which so greatly grieved him.⁵

On Christopher's return to Ireland in the spring of 1609, after the investigation before the English privy council, the Arch-

¹ Cal. S. P. Irel., 1606-08, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

³ *Ibid.*, 1608-10, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

bishop's son, Sir Roger Jones, constituted himself his father's champion, and tried to provoke a quarrel with Christopher by imitating Sir Garret Moore, and saying that Christopher was a valiant man amongst cowards. The taunt was unnoticed by Christopher at the time, but was not forgotten five months later when an affray took place between Christopher and Sir Roger and their respective followers. It occurred in a tennis court in Dublin. According to Christopher's account he went to the tennis court by chance, and the affray arose through Sir Roger's drawing his sword on him while he was armed with nothing more formidable than a wand, which it was his habit to carry. A man called Barnewall, whom Christopher claimed as a kinsman of his own, was killed, and, as Christopher believed, by Sir Roger or one of his followers. On the other hand, Chichester said that Christopher went to the tennis court for the purpose of attacking Sir Roger with a cudgel in his hand, and that Barnewall, who was independent of both the combatants, was killed by one of Christopher's followers while trying to save Sir Roger. Chichester was accused by Christopher of great partiality, and of interfering with the coroner's inquiry, and he showed plainly in his letters that all his sympathies were with Sir Roger. News of the affray, which occurred on Sunday, reached him while he was in Christ Church Cathedral, and during service he sent off the mayor to bring Christopher and his followers to Dublin Castle. He takes much credit for having treated Christopher with great respect, and asked him to dine at his own table ; but he admits that one of his objects was to keep him safe until the council could meet and commit him to prison. As regards his interference with the coroner's inquiry, he excused himself on the ground that the jury would only find the crime one of manslaughter, and adds naively that they would not have done more if Sir Roger himself had been the person killed. In consequence of this affair the Archbishop thought it necessary to himself indite a letter to the King, and to heighten its effect wrote in Latin, although he says he had discarded that language for forty years. Notwithstanding the restraint which the Latin tongue imposed, the letter was most intemperate, and Christopher was denounced as a man of a violent

and seditious disposition, who had always insulted and calumniated the writer, and who had now committed an unprovoked assault with the help of his "cut-throat" retainers on the writer's son.¹

Since Christopher's return from England Chichester had never ceased to express dissatisfaction with him. In July he had sent the Earl of Salisbury a bitter tirade against him, which he wound up by uttering a hope that he might have nothing more to do with him.² In answer Christopher complained that Chichester had given over twenty pardons to partisans of Sir Garret Moore, the clan of O'Carolan, who were his sworn enemies. Twenty-five of them had set upon three of his servants, killing one and inflicting eighteen wounds a-piece on the others, and they would have wounded him only that he was attended by a guard such as accompanied him during the war. When left no resource but to seek redress from the council, he said that he had found Archbishop Jones and Sir Garret Moore were to be two of his judges, and that Chichester had taken the opportunity to accuse him of having gone to England to charge him with treason, and "grew into such a choler that he spared not to use him with reproachful speeches as traitor and the like."³ Finally Christopher appealed to the King to allow him to leave Ireland; but Chichester insinuated that his object was to live upon the King, and obtained a letter from the English privy council desiring Christopher to retire to Howth, and to remain there until further orders were sent.⁴

This restraint, which was imposed in April, 1610, was not removed for four months, and even then Christopher found difficulty in obtaining a licence to go to England.⁵ In the end he left shortly before Christmas without one. On his arrival in London he was refused access to the Court, but in response to a personal letter to the King in the following April, a hearing before the privy council was granted him.⁶ As a result of the statement which he made, Sir Roger Jones was ordered also to attend. On receipt of this order Chichester became evidently

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1608-10, pp. 321, 322, 327, 330.

² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 276, 378.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 427.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1611-14, pp. 31, 49.

uneasy, and wrote to the Earl of Salisbury in a chastened mood, assuring him that although Christopher had dealt exceedingly ill with him, he could never be adverse to him, and always would wish him well, on account of the service that he had rendered at the time of the Earls' flight. On Sir Roger's arrival the privy council sought to effect a reconciliation between Christopher and him, and failing to do so committed Christopher to the Fleet, from which in a few weeks he was released on giving an undertaking that he would submit himself to the order of the council when called upon, and would meantime not approach the King, Queen, or Prince, or proceed further in his quarrel with Sir Roger.¹

Before long these conditions were a dead letter, and a year later Christopher appears as one of the King's train on his annual progress.² In the autumn of that year he returned to Ireland, and at the same time the King gave Chichester what can only be considered a severe lecture on his conduct towards him. He warns Chichester in this letter under his own hand, which is dated October 4, 1612,³ to take care that no private anger transports him against Lord Howth, and tells him that he has had Lord Howth under his own observation the whole time he had been in England, and had found his carriage unexceptionable. In conclusion he refers to persecution which some of Lord Howth's servants had suffered at the hands of Sir Garret Moore, and commands that it should be stopped, and that assurance should be given to Lord Howth that he will be allowed to live quietly in his own country.

The next occasion on which Christopher is mentioned was two years later, in the summer of 1614, when Chichester returned from a visit to the King, and royal admonitions are seen to have borne fruit. On July 14 Chichester arrived very early in the morning at Howth, and in the afternoon proceeded to Dublin, attended by "great troops of horsemen of all estates." As he entered the city he received "the sword of justice and estate," and selected Lord Howth as the person to bear it before him.⁴

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1611-14, pp. 61, 83; Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS., 160, 222.

² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1611-14, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁴ Lodge's "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," i, 315.

Still more remarkable is the fact that in the following September, Christopher and Archbishop Jones were associated in an attempt to relieve the King's perennial necessities by raising a contribution as a free gift from the county of Dublin, and notwithstanding the impeccuniosity of which Christopher so often complained, and of which his detractors have taken advantage, he put down no less than a hundred pounds as an example to others.¹

In his family relations, as in his public ones, Christopher was not happy. He had married before 1597 an English lady, Elizabeth, daughter of John Wentworth, of Great Horksley, in Essex, a cadet of the Yorkshire house,² but had separated from her before Chichester went to stay in the autumn of 1605 at Howth.³ The alliance was made after Christopher had come to years of discretion, and bears every indication of having been a love match; but it was probably contracted, like everything Christopher did, with little thought.⁴ The question of an allowance to his wife became, after their separation, a cause of additional contention, and came before the privy council of England, who arranged in 1608 that the amount should be a hundred pounds a year.⁵ For some years that sum seems to have been paid, but in the summer of 1614 it was withheld by Christopher on the ground that money had fallen to his wife in England. That she was entitled to property in her own right would appear to have been the case; but the privy council found that no increase of money had then come to her, and induced the King to write, on December 5, a direction to Chichester to compel Christopher to pay, and to that end to place him under restraint, if the forms and customs of Ireland would permit. Such a course was contrary to the lady's own wish, and the King can hardly have been very earnest in suggesting it, as only two months before he had made Christopher a grant of a hundred pounds a year in

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1611-14, p. 501.

² The Visitations of Essex, p. 315.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1603-06, p. 338.

⁴ She was received by Queen Elizabeth, who accepted from her a New Year's gift of "sleeves unmade, with a piece of purple upon a paper to edge them." See Mrs. Palliser's "Hist. of Lace," Lond., 1902, p. 310.

⁵ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1606-08, pp. 410, 520.



HIS WIFE



BISHOP MONTGOMERY

acknowledgment of his long and faithful service to himself and Queen Elizabeth.¹ It is probable that there was more to be said on Christopher's side than is apparent, for the allowance to his wife was afterwards reduced, and it is possible that this may have been also true in regard to a dispute with his brother-in-law, Thomas Luttrell, whom Christopher accused of having used "opprobrious and disdainful words" regarding him before the council, but who denied having done so.²

As an entry in Ulster's office records, Christopher's death took place on Sunday, October 24, 1619, in the morning, at Howth, and his body was there interred; but, for some reason which is not explained, the obsequies were not celebrated until Sunday, January 30, following. As the same authority states, two sons, Nicholas and Thomas, survived him, as well as his wife, who married as a second husband Sir Robert Newcomen.

Nicholas, who succeeded to the title and estate, was in character the reverse of his father, and led an uneventful and domestic life. Notwithstanding a rumour of his having attended a service of the Roman Catholic Church, his father seems to have consistently professed the religion of the Established Church,³ and four years before his death he had married Nicholas to the daughter of an English ecclesiastic who held then the see of Meath. This marriage resulted in every happiness, and having been made when Nicholas was only eighteen years of age had much influence on his life. Dr. George Montgomery, whose only child the lady was, was a Scotchman of high birth, and skilled in the affairs of Church and State. During the reign of Elizabeth he had been presented to the living of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, and while holding it acted as an intelligencer for James, who on his accession to the throne of England gave him the deanery of Norwich, and two years later appointed him Bishop of Derry with the sees of Clogher and Raphoe in commendam.

The Bishop's wife was a Somersetshire lady, Susan, daughter of Philip Steyning, of Holnicott, and several letters from her to

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1611-14, pp. 485, 505, 529; Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 200.

² "House of Commons Journal, Ireland," under dates April 29 and May 8, 1615.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1603-06, p. 346; 1606-08, p. 94; 1611-14, p. 290.

her only sister and her sister's husband, a member of the Devonshire family of Willoughby, are preserved amongst the Trevelyan Papers.¹ In one of these letters the Bishop's wife mentions that the future Lady Howth, who was left behind in England, did not approve of her father's translation to Ireland.² By the death of his wife, which he announced in February, 1614,³ the care of their "little tender branch" devolved entirely upon the Bishop, and no time was lost by him in transferring his charge to a husband. Writing to his wife's brother-in-law on June 20, 1618,⁴ the Bishop informs him that he had married his daughter into a noble house, the best in the Pale, and that he hopes thereby all her friends who have anything to do with Ireland may derive much comfort. He adds that she had already borne her husband a daughter, like her mother and aunt did first, and that she hopes soon to present him with a son. As a portion the Bishop had given her the lordship of Whitwell in Colyton, but he indicates that his responsibilities were not ended, and that there still rested on him "a great burden for settling the estate of the house of Howth." As a document found amongst his papers showed,⁵ it was his intention to use for that purpose his influence with James the First, who never forgot his "black Irish bishop"; but his death soon after his son-in-law's succession to Howth prevented the accomplishment of his design.⁶

Although included in a list of persons recommended for command in the army as colonels, Nicholas is only mentioned in connexion with civil life.⁷ In 1625 he was one of the chief men of the Pale who responded to a call for money from their insatiable sovereign, and who protested "before God and his Majesty" their willingness to bestow themselves and all their

¹ Published by the Camden Society.

² Her mother mentions that in Ireland she was reminded of her daughter's having said that if she went there she would be full of lice. Trevelyan Papers, iii, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶ The Bishop married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Lord Brabazon, and after the Bishop's death, which occurred in 1621, Lord and Lady Howth, who were his executors, were involved in much litigation with her and others. Lodge's "Peerage," i, 274; Chancery Decrees, Jac. I, nos. 231, 236, 281, 298.

⁷ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1647-60, et Add., p. 100.

means in the King's service, and in 1627 he was appointed a commissioner to levy a subsidy for the maintenance in Ireland of five thousand foot and five hundred horse.¹ As a member of the House of Lords he was one of those who presided at the trial of Lord Dunboyne for manslaughter,² and he was in 1630 active in agitating that a Parliament should be summoned. In the previous year he had joined in a petition complaining of unequal incidence of taxation, and had taken the part of under-tenants against "the great lords, judges, generals, and officials," and he was believed by the Irish Government to have been actuated in taking part in the movement for a meeting of Parliament by a desire to obtain relief from charges imposed on him by the ecclesiastical courts, which were said to exceed those imposed by the army.³

By his relations, the majority of whom differed from him in faith, Nicholas was held in universal esteem. The only discordant note is sounded by his mother, who mentions in her will that he had caused her much grief "by putting her in suit for a bargain which she had never concluded with him," but she forgave him freely, and left him and his her "prayers and blessing." In addition to testifying to Nicholas's virtues, wills of that time throw much light on the life of the house of Howth, and his mother's is not the least interesting.⁴ It was dated April 20, 1627, and was made with the consent of her second husband, Sir Robert Newcomen, knight and baronet. Her step-son, Thomas Newcomen, was entrusted with the duties of executor; but was in no way "to bar or let" a will in England, of which her son, Thomas St. Lawrence, was the executor. To her son Thomas's nurse and a god-daughter she left remembrances; and she mentions also her sister-in-law, Mrs. Rose St. Lawrence, "wife of Richard St. Lawrence of Dublin, Esquire," as having taken great pains with her in her sickness. In the will of Matthew Pluukett, Lord of Louth, dated December 11, 1625, Nicholas appears as the recipient of a case of

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1625-32, pp. 70, 245, 250.

² Manuscripts of J. Eliot Hodgkin, p. 292.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1625-32, pp. 462, 590.

⁴ In the Prerogative Collection. In the Entry Book of Thomas Arthur (Brit. Mus. MS., 31885) it is recorded that she was visited by that eminent physician in the years 1626 and 1627.

pistols: and under the will of his uncle, Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanston, dated November 2, 1629, he was left two horses, called Monkey and Boniface, and a ring with the motto "Remember Gormanston," as well as entrusted with power in regard to the marriages of his uncle's children.¹ To Nicholas, the eldest son of his great-uncle Richard, Robert St. Lawrence of Lishanstown near the Ward bequeathed for many considerations, by his will, proved February 10, 1637,² the farm of Ballysaw, in the county of Meath, and left him as an executor the duty of exercising "a fatherly care towards his little ones." Before that time Robert St. Lawrence seems to have succeeded his father, who was, however, a few years previously in the possession of Corr Castle, where Mass was reported to be celebrated by Mr. Shergoll; and he is said to have died at Howth.³

The last testamentary wishes of Nicholas's uncle, Edward, are contained, although he is said to have been a lawyer, in a nuncupative will, which was proved on February 6, 1639,⁴ and were that none other than the Lord Baron of Howth's son, Nicholas St. Lawrence, should inherit his possessions.⁵ But of the wills of the St. Lawrences at that time the most interesting is that of Nicholas's uncle, Thomas, who on his return from the Spanish service had settled down amongst his kith and kin in the Pale. His love for them and for the haunts of his youth is pathetic. His will, which bears date March 27, 1638,⁶ opens with a direction that a chapel dedicated to our Lady should be built at Howth between the College and the Church, near the alley of the churchyard, twenty-one feet long and twelve feet broad, wherein his body was to be laid and a monument to his memory erected, and that a stone cross should be placed on the hill of Dunmoe, in the county of Meath. Forty pounds are bequeathed to buy a basin and ewer for the use of the Lords of Howth, and a similar bequest is made in the case of the Lords of Slane. Rings are left to the children

¹ Lodge's "Peerage," iii, 82; vi, 169.

² In the Dublin Collection.

³ Archbishop Bulkeley's Report; cf. Chancery Decree, Jac. I, no. 248.

⁴ In the Dublin Collection.

⁵ Lord Howth left no legitimate son. Cf. Cal. S. P., Irel., 1625-32, p. 590.

⁶ In the Dublin Collection.

of Lord Howth, and to those of the last Christopher Lord of Slane, as well as to the Lady of Fingal and the Lady of Gormanston; and remembrances in money are bequeathed to his cousin, Thomas Fleming, brother to Christopher, Lord of Slane; to George FitzGerot, alias Roe Darcy, "son to Darcy of Dunmoe, that sometimes kept at Platten"; to Mr. Shergoll and to Edmund Dillon, "son to old Costello." His cousin, Nicholas Barnewall of Turvey, and William Sarsfield of Lucan, are appointed executors, with a cup of plate as a remembrance; and his cousin, Nan Sarsfield, of Lucan, is left his relics and a ring. To clothe the door-beggars, "let the poor of Howth be first served," a hundred pounds is set aside, and amongst the poor on the day of his burial a sum of twelve pounds is to be distributed which "was almost forgotten." The residue was left by him for "masses of requiem"; but if to such disposal of the residue there should be strong opposition, the money was to be spent on his monument in addition to that already bequeathed for its erection. Nicholas's other two uncles, Richard, whose will was executed on March 20, 1660,¹ and Almeric or Ambrose, who died in 1622, both married. As has been already mentioned, Richard's wife bore the Christian name of Rose,² and Almeric's wife was Anne, the widow of Thomas Adice, of Portmarnock.³

When the Irish Parliament was summoned by the Earl of Strafford, Nicholas took a prominent place as a legislator. In the "Manner of the proceeding to the Parliament" he is named amongst the peers, and he served as chairman of more than one committee.⁴ With English statesmen he kept also in touch, and when Viscount Conway visited Ireland, he presented him with one of his greyhounds.⁵ A few days after the rebellion broke out he waited with the other peers of the Pale on the Lords Justices, and joined with them in a profession of loyalty to the King and the Government, and in a representation of their defenceless state from want

¹ In the Prerogative Collection. It was proved on February 12, 1661.

² It would appear from the grant of probate that he married a second time, as his wife's name is given in it as Margaret. He mentions only one child, a daughter, called Charity.

³ Chancery Decrees, Char. I, nos. 39, 194.

⁴ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1633-47, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dom., 1634-35, p. 590.

of arms. To those who lay most in danger the Lords Justices gave a small proportion of arms and munitions, which they could ill spare, in order to assure them of their trust in them; but Lord Howth required no such assurance, and the isolated position of his residence was in itself the best defence. When two months later the Lords Justices asked for a public conference, only Lord Howth and two other peers, namely, the Earl of Kildare and Viscount Fitzwilliam, responded.¹ In the turmoil that ensued Howth proved a place of refuge; and when the Duke of Ormond was shut up in Dublin on land by the Confederate forces and on sea by the ships of the Parliament, it was to Lord Howth he looked to transmit his despatches to England. Writing to Ormond on March 23, 1644, Nicholas says that a boat had gone, according to his directions, and that the men expected a fee of five pounds ten shillings for crossing and re-crossing, as well as thirty shillings for their victuals. Two months later, on May 13, Ormond wrote to Nicholas asking for information about two men-of-war that had gone from Bullock to Howth, and requiring a fishing-boat to go again with a letter to Holyhead, as Parliament ships lay in Dublin harbour.² Even with the help of the Howth men for two months that summer letters could not be got through, and it must have been with some anxiety that Nicholas received on October 3 a letter from Ormond, asking him to provide a boat for the conveyance of despatches to Holyhead.³

But Ormond had not long his faithful friend to help him. Troubles, private as well as public, had accumulated upon Nicholas, and before he made his will, which is dated August 24, 1643, his "estate and means were almost altogether wasted and burned."⁴ The outlook could not have been blacker for him, and in the summer of 1644 he joined other Irish peers in representing to the King the unhappy and distracted condition of the Royalists between the powerful armies of the Confederates and the Scotch Covenanters. They said that their only security had

¹ Marquess of Ormonde's Manuscripts, ii, 4, 37.

² Carte Papers, ix, 606; x, 619.

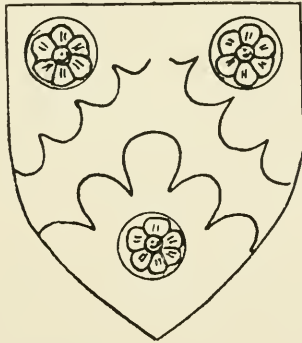
³ *Ibid.*, xii, 424.

⁴ Trevelyan Papers, iii, 245.

been the cessation; and as it was now expiring, they implored the King to arbitrate between the Catholics and Protestants, and to declare the Covenanters his enemies. To subsist in their present divided condition appeared to them utterly impossible.¹ Under the burden of present misery, and fear of the future, Nicholas, Lord Howth, seems to have sank gradually, and he passed away before December 22, on which day his will² was opened.

¹ Gilbert's "Hist. of Confederation and War in Ireland," iii, 16.

² In the Prerogative Collection.



ARMS ON TOMB.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE REVOLUTION.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the history of Howth than the serenity with which its owners regarded the great events of the last half of the seventeenth century, and the security with which throughout that changeful period they held their estate and did not suffer diminution of it even to the extent of a single acre. The Commonwealth authorities could find no fault in the Lord Howth of their time, and the Parliament of James the Second and that of William the Third were in agreement as to the conduct of his son being irreproachable. During the Commonwealth many envious glances must have been cast upon the peninsula by the high officials. They were not slow to appropriate to their own use any eligible residence in the neighbourhood of Dublin; and although the mountain of Howth was "high and barren," the Commissioners of the Commonwealth Surveys reported that there was much fertile land at its foot and a singularly attractive mansion.¹

The peninsula was divided by the Commissioners under two denominations: the island of Howth, and Sutton. According to the return made by them the island of Howth was owned by Lord Howth, who was found to be a Protestant and to hold his property by inheritance under letters patent granted to his ancestors by Henry the Second. It contained six hundred acres. Three hundred acres were said to be arable, two hundred pasture, twenty meadow, and eighty rock, and their value was estimated by a jury at two hundred pounds, but by the Commissioners at three hundred pounds. The sea was reported to be the boundary on all sides except the west, where "the white bridge of Kilbarrack" and Baldoyle marked the limit. "There is upon the

¹ See Down and Civil Surveys in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

premises," said the Commissioners, "one fair mansion-house, two castles,¹ one stable, one barn, one dove-house, and several other office-houses of stone slated, valued by the jury at six hundred pounds, together with an orchard, two gardens, and a grove of ash trees set for ornament, also the walls of a decayed chapel.² There is also in the said island a township or village, where standeth the parish church, one slate house, one water-mill, with several thatched houses, all, the church excepted, valued at eighty pounds, together with an old castle and one thatched house called Corstown." In addition the Commissioners reported that there was a "harbour for small bark," frequented by "several fishing-boats that take such fish as is usual on that coast, whereof the Lord of Howth hath of every boat the choice fish which is called the Lord's fish," and that there were on the lands a large rabbit-warren and a quarry. The owner kept, they said, court-leet and court-baron, and had the right to "waifs and strays and felons' goods" found upon the premises, while the tithes belonged to the prebendary of Howth in St. Patrick's Cathedral, as rector of the parish.

Sutton was returned by the Commissioners as the property of William Gough, who was found to be an "Irish Papist" and to hold the lands as his inheritance subject to a rent of ten shillings a year to the Lord of Howth, and "suit and service to the court leet and baron at Howth." The lands were estimated to contain a hundred and forty acres, sixty being arable, three meadow, sixty pasture and heath, and seventeen rock, and were valued by a jury at thirty pounds, but by the Commissioners at twice that amount. The boundaries were given as being on the east "a parcel of the Lord of Howth's called Sancer,"³ on the south the sea, on the west "Corkin's bank and a ditch heading to a chapel," and on the north the hill called Shelmartin. Upon the lands the Commissioners reported there were "one stone-house slated, an office-house tiled, a barn of stone, and six thatched cottages," which were valued by a jury at three hundred pounds.

¹ i.e. the keep and the gateway-tower.

² There are the walls of a chapel in the demesne, but probably that chapel was erected at a later time, and the reference is to the remains of St. Fintan's Church.

³ Presumably a corruption of Censure (*supra*, p. 3).

Besides the island of Howth and Sutton three holdings on the former denomination are separately mentioned. The first was a holding in the town of Howth which had been formerly owned by Nicholas Brian, who was found to be an "Irish Papist" and to have held in fee from Lord Howth. By him the holding had been sold in 1648 to Edward Stokes, who was also an "Irish Papist," and was then in the possession of Joan Stokes, who was his widow and a Protestant.¹ It contained "one house thatched with several houses of office valued by the jury at twenty shillings," and was bounded on the east by the east street of Howth, on the south and north by Lord Howth's land, and on the west by Bealing's land. The second holding was called White's freehold, and was owned by Dominick White of Dublin, who was found to be an "Irish Papist" and to hold in fee-farm from Lord Howth. It contained a thatched house and garden, and stood in the town of Howth, bounded on the east by the east street, on the south by Bealing's land, on the west by Lord Howth's land, and on the north by the church-hill of Howth. The third holding was known as Bealing's freehold, and was owned by Lawrence Bealing of Bealingstown, who was found to be an "Irish Papist" and to hold under Lord Howth, "paying some duties." It was said to be divided into four separate parts, each of them enclosed by Lord Howth's land, and to contain some small cottages valued by a jury at two pounds.

Shortly before the Restoration, in the early months of the year 1660, the General Convention of Ireland decided that a subsidy should be raised, and that it should be levied on every person over fifteen years of age, the amount rising in proportion to the rank of the individual. For that purpose a census² was compiled, and persons of rank were mentioned by name under the description of tituladoes. In the case of Howth this census shows that the inhabitants over fifteen numbered one hundred and seventy-four persons, of whom forty-five were of English, and one hundred and twenty-nine of Irish origin. In "the house of Howth" there

¹ She married subsequently Christopher St. Lawrence, and died before 1668. See Intestacy Grant.

² In the Royal Irish Academy. Cf. Notes and Queries, ser 10, vol. ii, p. 16.



THE HALL OF THE CASTLE

were twenty-seven residents, fourteen English and thirteen Irish, the tituladoes, besides Lord Howth, being Peter Wynne and William Fitzwilliam,¹ who were described as gentlemen. In the town of Howth there were one hundred and eleven inhabitants, twenty-five of English and eighty-six of Irish origin, the tituladoes being Thomas Lea² and Richard St. Lawrence,³ who were also described as gentlemen. In the Walls⁴ there were two English, and two Irish, residents, the titulado being Thomas Dongan, gentleman;⁵ and of the remaining inhabitants there were found in Sancer nine Irish; in Corstown, one English and three Irish; and in Sutton, three English and sixteen Irish. After the Restoration, in connexion with the levying of the Hearth-Money Tax, lists of the householders, with the number of hearths for which they were liable, were made out; and the two rolls that are available for the county of Dublin⁶ show that the Castle of Howth was rated for twelve hearths, and that, in 1664, Richard St. Lawrence was rated for three and John Burniston for five; and, in 1667, Thomas Lightfoot was rated for two, Abraham Ellis for four, Colonel Newcomen for six, and the College for two.

Into the possession of John Burniston and Colonel Newcomen the lands of Sutton had successively passed. Before the establishment of the Commonwealth they were in the possession of William Gough, whose wife was a kinswoman of Lord Howth, one of the Berfords of Kilrow; and although the ownership was forfeited by him on account of his religion, they continued in his occupation until his death. In his will, which was dated

¹ *Infra*, p. 123, n. 3.

² At the time of his death he was "the keeper of his Majesty's Council Chamber in Ireland." As appears from his will, which is dated December 18, 1672, he was a friend of the learned Dr. Dudley Loftus, and left all his property to his friend Jane Lyndon, who lost no time in obtaining probate, which was granted the day after the will was made. He left a tankard to Trinity College as a mark of respect and good wishes. (In the Prerogative Collection.)

³ Probably a son of Robert St. Lawrence (*supra*, p. 108).

⁴ It was afterwards known as the Studwalls (*supra*, p. 3); possibly it was the site of a half-timbered house.

⁵ Possibly a member of the Irish Judiciary, who was appointed in 1644 to a seat in the Chief Place, and after the Restoration to a seat in the Exchequer. See "Notes on the Irish Judiciary during the reign of Charles II."

⁶ In the Public Record Office of Ireland.

April 26, 1658,¹ he describes himself as of Sutton, as does also his widow, who made her will two years later on May 1, 1660.² It appears from his widow's will that she had married again, her second husband being Captain Henry Ussher, a cousin of the great Primate; and she mentions in it a number of persons who were probably then well known in Howth and its neighbourhood: Mr. John Walker, who was to dispose of money for pious uses, and distribute three barrels of corn amongst the poor; Mary Fitzwilliam, who was left her gorget; Mary Barret, who was left her serge gown and petticoat; and Mrs. Geoghegan, who was to have her holland smock and bedclothes. Besides, she leaves to her mother her long riding-scarf and saddle-cloth, to her sister Gernon her silk gown and petticoat, to her sister Cecilia her curled hood and small scarf, to her sister Bridget a lawn handkerchief, to her maid her red waistcoat, and to her nurse her enamelled ring. After her death, John Burniston, who was sword-bearer in Ireland under the Commonwealth, entered into possession of Sutton, and expended three hundred pounds on the premises, which were leased to him by order of the King, who was sensible of services which he had rendered in "the worst of times" to the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth.³ Not long after the grant to Burniston, the premises passed, as appears from the Hearth-Money Roll, to Colonel Newcomen, who was afterwards knighted and known as Sir Thomas Newcomen, and whose residence at Sutton is marked by a tablet bearing his arms, which is preserved at Sutton House. He served in the army, but as another Sir Thomas Newcomen was also an officer at the same time, his career is not easily disentangled. In his will, which bears the dates February 16 and May 9, 1695,⁴ he mentions that he had been twice married, his first wife being a sister of the famous Earl of Tyrconnel, and his second, who survived him, a connexion of the Earl of Carlingford, and refers to five daughters, who were married, and to an only son, who he desires should be sent abroad with a tutor, and bred up under great

¹ In the Prerogative Collection.

² *Idem.* Cf. Ball Wright's Ussher Memoirs.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1647-60, p. 845; 1660-62, p. 498.

⁴ In the Prerogative Collection.

strictness of discipline “wholly to his books, and by all means to be kept from ever having thought of turning soldier.” His bequests include two coaches and coach-horses, a roan pad with a red saddle and pistols, and a breeding stud, which he leaves to his son in curious opposition to his directions in regard to the youth’s education. He desired that he should be buried in Clonsilla churchyard, where there is a tombstone to his first wife,¹ and that his body should be carried thither privately.

In the early Restoration years the prebend of Howth was given to the father of the Grattans, whose connexion with Swift has secured for them immortality:—

My time, O ye Grattans, was happily spent,
When Bacchus went with me, wherever I went;
For then I did nothing but sing, laugh, and jest,
Was ever a trooper so merrily blest?²

As his seat, Belcamp, was adjacent to Howth, Patrick Grattan discharged the duties of the cure himself, and was possibly without a church, as thirty years before the parish church was in a decaying state, and St. Fintan’s Church was doubtless roofless. Patrick Grattan, who had been chaplain to the first Duke of Ormond, is said to have been “a worthy considerable divine,” and was the most hospitable man in the neighbourhood of Howth.³ Of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, little is then known; but even during the Commonwealth period one was in charge of Howth. He was a member of the Capuchin Order, Father Anselm, and, as the Bishop of Canea tells us, he took up his abode at Sutton. It was only by hiding in the caverns and assuming various disguises that he was able to escape those who sought his life; and it was sometimes only through the help of those who differed from him in faith, like the Lord Howth of the time, that he was saved from starvation.⁴

Soon after the Restoration an attempt was made to lessen the danger of the peninsula to navigation, by the erection of two lighthouses upon it. At that period the light was afforded by a

¹ See Hist. of Co. Dublin, iv. 14.

² The Song.

³ Marquess of Ormonde’s Manuscripts, viii, p. 292.

⁴ Bishop of Canea, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

fire of coal or wood, and the house consisted generally of a tower surmounted by a brazier in which the fire was made; but at Howth the arrangements were even more simple, and comprised a slightly raised platform with "a great iron pan," from which a coal fire blazed at night.¹ Like all works of public utility, the establishment of the lighthouses at Howth was due to private enterprise, and their maintenance led to abuses. Their projector was a certain Sir Robert Reading, an ancestor of the Duke of Abercorn. He had married the widow of Sir Charles Coote, who was created Earl of Mountrath for his services at the time of the Restoration; and he used the influence which he possessed through her to obtain from the King in the year 1667 a patent granting to him and her the right to levy dues on shipping for the maintenance of the lighthouses on Howth, and of others which he had constructed elsewhere in Ireland.² But four years later the shipowners of Chester and Liverpool represented that, owing to the frequent voyages their ships made to Dublin, these dues were a grievance and a burden; and the King was pleased to substitute an annual grant of five hundred pounds for such dues as were imposed on home trade. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the patent had become vested in Sir Robert Reading's son-in-law, the sixth Earl of Abercorn, complaint was made that of the lighthouses specified in it only two, namely, one at Howth and one near Waterford, remained in working order, and that these were not sufficiently maintained; and the commissioners of the revenue were obliged to secure surrender of the patent from the Earl of Abercorn, which was probably not accomplished without adequate compensation, and to take into their own hands the maintenance of the lighthouses.³

Notwithstanding the lighthouses, the sea continued to exact a terrible toll of shipwrecks at Howth. In 1674, during a great tempest, a vessel was blown from Ringsend on the rocks of Howth; in 1677 another ship is recorded to have been wrecked there; and

¹ O'Keeffe's Recollections, i, 276.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1671, p. 479; Marquess of Ormonde's Manuscripts, vii, 831.

³ Miscellaneous Papers prior to 1760 in the Public Record Office of Ireland; House of Commons Journals under date Oct. 7, 1715.

in 1696 the "William" packet-boat was cast away near Sutton when coming from Holyhead, and all the passengers, including Brigadier-General Edward FitzPatrick, an ancestor of the Earls of Upper-Ossory, were drowned.¹

In private life as well as in public the liberality of the Lords of Howth is conspicuous at that period, and their connexion with families which differed from them in regard to affairs of state and religion was of assistance to them in preserving an even course during those difficult times. They appear no longer prominent in martial enterprises, but they show an ever-increasing interest in the chase. Amongst the younger members of the house of Howth a mighty huntsman was then found in the person of Michael St. Lawrence, a brother of Robert St. Lawrence, who died at Howth in 1637, and a brother-in-law of the Lord Howth of his time,² and he is the principal figure in an Irish hunting-song, one of the oldest in existence, which is preserved amongst the Sloane Manuscripts³ in the British Museum.

Ye merry boys all that live in Fingal,
I will tell you a tale, how a hare catch'd a fall:
There was Michael St. Lawrence and Patrick Aspoor,
Robin Hodgier and Jackey Radmoor,⁴
With Robin Hilliard with his gay little grey,⁵
And Stephen Ashpole, a gay merry boy.
They met on a day in St. Lawrence's Hall,
Where he gave 'em hot waters, good meat, and strong ale,
And one thing more may be said for his fame,
For his sport he ventured his eye and his arm.

¹ Haliday's "Scandinavian Dublin," p. 242; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1677-78, p. 487; D'Alton's "Hist. of Co. Dublin," p. 121.

² Chancery Decree, Feb. 3, 1691-2. Michael St. Lawrence, who resided at Raheny, attained to a great age; in 1638 he witnessed his cousin Edward's will (*supra*, p. 108), and in 1712 he was still alive (Brit. Mus. ms. 21138, 44). In the following year a grant of his goods was made to Ann St. Lawrence as his heir. He had a son called Richard. The husband of Joan Stokes was his nephew, possibly a son of his brother Robert. See will of his sister Dorothea St. Lawrence in the Dublin Collection. ³ No. 900, f. 54.

⁴ In his will, which is dated March 5, 1687-8, John Radmore describes himself as of Dublin, and mentions as cherished possessions a saddle and a fowling-piece. (Dublin Collection.)

⁵ In his will, which is dated July 13, 1677, Robert Hilliard, who describes himself as a distiller, now of the city of Dublin, mentions a design of crossing the seas on a journey to London, and, in spite of his exploits on his grey horse, exhibits great terror at the hazard and dangers of the channel. (Dublin Collection.)

There was St. Lawrence's Scutty and her daughter Betty,
 Short-cropt eurried Iron, and merry-hunting Dow,
 Hodgier's Hector, a gay greyhound,
 He'll take three yards at every bound,
 And tho' he had a blemish upon one eye,
 It was hard for all that to give him the go-by.
 They went over the ditches with their dogs and bitches,
 They spar'd not to beat bear, barley and wheat.
 Last out of some briars, they got their desires,
 There started a hare that runned most rare,
 Which set 'em a-barking with all their train,
 Till the merry light hare was very nigh slain,
 But in a fine mead, she being almost spent,
 She made her last will, ay and testament ;
 " Cropt eur, with thee," says she, " I will not stay,
 " Nor with true-running Scutty, that showed such fair play,
 " But to thee, brave Hector, I yield up my life,"
 And so Hector bore her and ended the strife.
 But Patrick Ashpoor he spoke a bold word,
 He would go to Baldoyle to see what the town could afford :
 And when the boys came to the gay town,
 They got salt and yellow bacon,
 Which they then just cut down from the smoke,
 And Patrick Ashpoor play'd a very good cook,
 He slash'd it, and wash'd it, and I know not what,
 Meat not one bit he left on't but 'twas all he eat,
 The drink it was good and so was the bread,
 They took of their liquor till they were all red,
 And when they had done they sang the hare's knell,
 And if I had more, faith more I would tell.

Thomas Lord Howth, who succeeded to the title and estate as heir-presumptive, was living at the time of his brother's death near the home of their mother's family, at a place called Wiston, in Suffolk.¹ He had joined, as a resident in the Pale in 1625, in the voluntary contribution to James the First's revenue; but at the time of his mother's death he was evidently living in England, and married there a neighbour of his mother's family, Elinor, daughter of William Lynne of Wormington and Little Horksley in Essex. Owing to the disturbed state of Ireland, he appears to have been afraid to come over himself; but a few months after his brother's death he sent over a representative. In a letter dated at London on St. Patrick's Day, 1645, he asks the Duke of Ormond

¹ The " Visitation of Essex," 1634, p. 440 ; " The Genealogist," N.S., i, 149 ; Cal. S. P., Irel., 1625-32, p. 70.

as Lord Lieutenant, to grant protection to his servant, whom he is sending to inquire about the estates to which he has succeeded "on the death of his dear brother," and tells him that ever since the troubles began he had lived a private, retired life in his house in Suffolk, where they enjoyed much quietness.¹

His arrival in Ireland appears to have been postponed for some years, and meantime Howth Castle was occupied by his brother's widow and her daughters. It was a very trying experience for her with war on every side. From H.M.S. "Swan," riding to the north of Howth, the captain writes on March 26, 1645, to Ormond asking the strength of a Parliament ship which he may find it necessary to attack, and requesting leave to impress men at Howth and Baldoyle;² and on February 13, 1646, the captain of a Parliament ship reports to his masters that he has taken under Howth a small bark with letters to the Lords Ormond and Digby.³ In the summer of 1646 the Royalists were reduced to the lowest ebb. The condition of Dublin and of the whole of Leinster was said by the council to be miserable; the coasts were infested with the ships of the Parliament, and supplies for the army had to be procured by means "far below the dignity" of the King.⁴ On sending troops to Howth in the autumn, Ormond, with characteristic gallantry, tried to spare so far as possible the Dowager Lady Howth, and directed that as she was "a widow and sole woman" they were not to be quartered in Howth Castle, but were to be billeted in the town of Howth, where she had offered to find them accommodation.⁵

Her husband had associated with her in the care of their daughters, his uncle, Captain Thomas St. Lawrence, a cousin of her uncle Willoughby, Benjamin Culme, who was then Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and her uncle's brother, Nicholas Willoughby, who had been for many years resident in Ireland.⁶ But they were not in a position to assist her. Captain Thomas St. Lawrence, who did not long survive his nephew, made, a

¹ Carte Papers, xiv, 266.

³ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1633-47, p. 437.

⁵ Carte Papers, xix, 335.

² Carte Papers, xiv, 304.

⁴ Carte Papers, xvii, 474.

⁶ Trevelyan Papers, iii, 148.

few months after his nephew's death, on May 6, 1645, "an addition to his will," which shows the distracted state of the country in his closing years. In it he ignores altogether his former testamentary dispositions, and deals only with "moneys in his custody." To the Dowager Lady Howth, to her daughters "Susan, Bess, and Frances," to his brother Richard, and to his man Ned Sweetman, he leaves legacies of various amounts, and assigns fifteen pounds to be distributed amongst the poor by Mr. Shergoll, to whom he leaves the residue to defray the expenses of his funeral, and for other purposes as to which he had given verbal directions. Dean Culme was fully occupied with the care of his cathedral and his own family, and Nicholas Willoughby was a broken and ruined man. Before the rebellion of 1641 he had been resident in the county of Fermanagh, whence he was obliged to flee, and he would have starved only for the kindness of Lord and Lady Howth, who received him, together with his wife and four children, into their house, and "bestowed help upon his son towards his training in Dublin College."¹ After her husband's death the Dowager Lady Howth continued to befriend him, but, writing to his brother in January, 1648, Nicholas tells him that "his noble friend, Lady Howth, grows behindhand and has left off housekeeping," and without her assistance he could not long sustain life, and on June 16 he closed his career.²

About that time the Dowager's brother-in-law, Thomas Lord Howth, summoned up courage to come to Ireland. He enjoyed his honours, however, only a short time, and died at Howth in the following year, his will being dated August 5, 1649, and proved on October 3 following.³ He desired that his body might be laid in the chancel of the church of Howth, and bequeathed to his wife the farm of Killester, and to his second son his estate in Essex and Suffolk, "that is to say in Colchester and Wiston." He left two sons, William and Thomas, and a daughter, Martha.

William Lord Howth, who succeeded to the title and estate as his father's eldest son, had been educated in Colchester Grammar

¹ Trevelyan Papers, pp. 215, 218, 245.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 267.

³ In the Prerogative Collection.

School, which he had entered on January 11, 1639, at the age of ten,¹ and had served in the army of Charles the First.² Notwithstanding that fact, his liberty appears to have been in no way curtailed by the Commonwealth authorities, and soon after his father's death he married his cousin, Elizabeth St. Lawrence, the second daughter of his uncle Nicholas Lord Howth.³ Her eldest sister, Susan, had married her cousin Michael St. Lawrence, and her younger sister, Frances, yet another cousin, Sir James Montgomery. Their mother was residing at Raheny, in the house built by the blind lord,⁴ and there was evidently much intercourse with her relations. Her cousin, the third Viscount Montgomery, created after the Restoration Earl of Mount Alexander, stayed in 1653 at Howth,⁵ and Nicholas Willoughby's son entertained in 1655 Lord Howth when on a visit to the county of Fermanagh.⁶

At the time of the Restoration, William gave material help to the royal cause, and, in addition to benefits connected with his estate, he was granted lands in the county of Louth which had been forfeited by one of his kinsmen, and was given a company in the army.⁷ Some years later the Duke of Ormond commended him to the king's favour, on the ground of his being a gentleman of ancient family, who had been very constant in the royal service, and suggested his appointment to the command of the King's Horse.⁸ On two occasions it fell to his lot to receive the king's representative at Howth, in 1662 when the Duke of Ormond landed there, and in 1669 when Lord Robartes did so. Ormond was received with no little state, and spent the night of his arrival at Howth Castle, as appears from the following minute made by the

¹ "The Genealogist," N.S., i, 149.

² Cal. S. P., Irel., 1660-62, p. 87.

³ She was previously married to the Honble. Richard Fitzwilliam, the eldest son of the first Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (cf. Lodge's Peerage, iii, 202; Hist. of Co. Dublin, ii, 14). As has been mentioned, in 1660 a William Fitzwilliam was residing at Howth (*supra*, p. 115), and a John Fitzwilliam was a witness of her father's will.

⁴ Trevelyan Papers, iii, 281.

⁵ The Montgomery Manuscripts, ed. William Montgomery, Belfast, 1830.

⁶ Trevelyan Papers, iii, 278.

⁷ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1660-62, pp. 87, 355, 537; Dalton's "Irish Army Lists," pp. 47, 49.

⁸ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1666-69, p. 492.

privy council on July 27, 1662: "Sir Henry Tichbourne, Sir Paul Davys, and Sir Theophilus Jones of this Board are directed to repair to Howth, where the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, is expected by the blessing of God to land to-day, and shall signify to him that they have been sent by the Justices and Council to attend him and congratulate him on his arrival. They shall inform his Grace that the Earl of Orrery is prevented by an accession of the gout from going to meet his Grace. The Lord Chancellor, and body of the Council now about Dublin shall attend the Lord Lieutenant at Howth to-morrow to know his pleasure." Lord Robartes, who arrived on September 20, 1669, about one o'clock, was met by Lord Howth, and attended by him to Howth Castle, where a handsome entertainment was provided, and a committee of the privy council waited on the Viceroy.¹

The position of *eustos rotulorum* in the county of Dublin was, in 1661, conferred on William, who was active in the Irish Parliament of his time, and he is mentioned in the summer of 1665 as presiding at the general sessions at Kilmainham with the King's serjeant-at-law, Robert Griffith.² From his will,³ which is dated May 14, 1671, it is evident that he had a wide circle of friends, including his beloved Earl of Ossory, whom he appoints guardian of his children, and John Keatinge, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Nicholas Henshaw, a leading Dublin physician, and John Byron, his lieutenant and neighbour at Baldoyle, whom he appoints his executors. A month after the execution of his will, on June 17, 1671, he died, and according to an entry in Ulster's Office was "interred with funeral rites on the 21st in the church of Howth." In his will he desired to be buried under the monument of his ancestors, near his father, but directed that a new vault was to be subsequently made, "inasmuch as the old vault where his father and mother now lie is well-nigh full," and that his parents' bodies and his own were to be laid in it. He left two sons, Thomas, to whom he bequeathed the great seal-ring of his family, and Charles, to whom he bequeathed his English

¹ Cal. S. P., Irel., 1660-62, p. 578; 1669-70, p. 6.

² Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. 9, App., pt. ii, p. 171.

³ In the Prerogative Collection.



WILLIAM, LORD HOWTH, 1727-1748



THOMAS, LORD HOWTH, 1671-1727

estate; and three daughters: Mary, who married, in 1672, Henry, third Earl of Mount-Alexander, and who died on August 26, 1705; Sarah, who married Thomas Stepney, of the county of Meath; and Martha, who married Hugh O'Neill.

Thomas, who succeeded to the title and estate as the eldest son of William Lord Howth, was for nine years after his father's death in a state of pupilage, and did not marry until 1687, when he took to wife a kinswoman of his own, Mary, eldest daughter of Henry Barnewall, second Viscount Barnewall, of Kingston, by his second wife Mary, daughter of Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath. In the parliament of James the Second, and in that of William the Third, he took his seat, and he joined in 1697 in the declaration of attachment to the person and government of William the Third. According to a tradition existing a hundred years ago, William the Third honoured him with a visit at Howth, where the actual room occupied by the King used to be pointed out,¹ but there is ground for doubt as to the tradition being well founded.

Towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, on the suggestion of the second Duke of Ormond, Thomas constructed a quay for landing coal for the lighthouse, and during the opening years of George the First's reign, he had much difficulty in obtaining compensation for it, and for injury done to his property by carrying the coal to the lighthouse.² At the time he succeeded to the title the port of Howth appears to have been used by persons landing surreptitiously, and in 1678 nineteen Irish officers, who had been in the French service, were reported to have come ashore there.³

The Grattans were amongst Thomas's closest friends, and after the death of their father, Robert Grattan, Swift's particular ally, who was Thomas's chaplain, was appointed at Thomas's request to the prebend and rectory of Howth.⁴ In his will, which is dated June 3, 1723,⁵ Thomas mentions not only Robert

¹ The room is now used as a billiard-room. See Cromwell's "Excursions through Ireland," i, 181.

² Miscellaneous Papers already cited; Brit. Mus. MS. 21138, 44.

³ Cal. S. P., Dom., 1677-78, p. 646.

⁴ Archbishop King's Correspondence, under date Nov. 4, 1704.

⁵ In the Prerogative Collection. See for cadets at that time Appendix II.

Grattan, but also two of his brothers, John, who held another prebend, and James, who was a physician.¹ Thomas was survived by four sons, William, Henry, Nicholas, and Oliver, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married first, in 1716, Edward Rice, the eldest son of James the Second's Chief Baron, and secondly, in 1721, Dominick Quin. His death took place on May 30, 1727, and was made the subject of an elegy which, though lacking in literary merits, is testimony to the high esteem in which he was held:—

Thus sets the shining planet of the day,
Whose beams great Nature's inmost parts survey,
But when departed to his oozy urn,
All nature does his gloomy absence mourn ;
So, great Fitzwilliam, is thy death deplored,
And widowed Howth laments her breathless Lord.
O ! that the wise Pythagoras could maintain
That souls might be enshrined in men again,
Then would thy friends exempt from sorrow be,
And thou mightest live to vast eternity.
But see, in solemn woe, a moving throng
Augustly silent, bears the corpse along ;
Now the loved frame in mouldering dust is laid,
To hug the grave's uncomfortable shade :
For as from dust arose the well-turned frame,
So must it basely mingle with the same ;
But thy free spirit from its partner flown,
Now hovers loosely in an air unknown,
Nor wanders in imagined shades alone,
But fluttering straight to its bright source retires,
To live in bliss, amidst the heavenly choirs.

Behold this stone whose vault contains
More precious dust than India's veins,
For honour's sake then shed a tear,
Since honour's self lies buried here.²

¹ In his last illness Thomas was attended by Dr. Grattan and by another of Swift's friends, Dr. Helsham. Their visits and fees are set out in a contemporary account book. The fees varied in amount, the highest being £2 19s. 8d., and the lowest £1 9s. 8d. On only two days out of eleven do they seem to have come together to see the patient.

² "An Elegy on the much lamented death of the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord of Howth, who departed this life this present Tuesday, May the thirtieth, 1727." Trinity College Library, Irish Pamphlets, vol. iv, no. 142.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE TIME OF SWIFT AND GRATTAN.

SOME use has already been made of the descriptive talent of an English rival of the Celtic panegyrists of Howth, who appears towards the close of the eighteenth century.¹ According to the title-page of his poem, his chief qualification for his task was the fact that he had held the office of commissary of musters, and his muse is not past criticism; but his knowledge of Howth and fervour in communicating it cannot be denied. As he tells us in the preface, he had resided on the peninsula for many months, and had become so enamoured of it as to believe that it could not be rivalled on the globe for the luxuriance of its prospects, or surpassed in the neighbourhood of Dublin, to which he descends with the suddenness of an aviator, for the purity and sweetness of its air, the variety of its recreations, and the privacy and convenience of its baths. The poem consists of eight hundred lines in the heroic style, and shows that, notwithstanding the different circumstances of the time, the natural features that attracted then were those that most charm to-day.

The first part of the poem is devoted to a description of the prospects as seen from the summit of the hill, and begins with some ecstatic verses, of which the following may be taken as a specimen :—

Fair opening to the west a prospect lies,
 More beauteous far than Titian ever drew ;
 The rising background fills the expanded eyes,
 And lifts the villas up to view.

The poet refers next to Dublin, a city whose “mighty bulk the eye may comprehend,” and to the Liffey, which he likens to a canal crowded with shipping, “a wood of many a leafless tree.” Turning to the sea, he draws inspiration from Ireland’s Eye and Lambay,

¹ “Howth,” a Descriptive Poem, by Abraham Bosquet. Dublin, 1787.

from a fleet of "ships, sloops, barks, brigs, and boats" which opportunely appeared, and from the Albion cliffs which bounded his eastern prospect. Looking landwards, he extols Marino, which smiled then like a second Eden, and the gay Blackrock, whose bathing-place enjoyed much fame; and he beholds "embattled groves o'er groves embattled rise" until terminated to the south by Bray Head, Sugar Loaf, and double Caucasus, and to the north by the mountains of Newry and Mourne, which are at last lost to him in distant skies.

The second part of the poem describes a tour of the peninsula, which some persons accomplished in an hour, but which, under the guidance of the poet, who thought such haste unpardonable, is made more leisurely. Starting from the isthmus,

A sweet improvement hangs upon the right,
The park and gardens wind along the coast;
Here the court holds an elevated site,
By groves protected from the northern blast;¹

and the town "where learning held of old her seat secured" is visited, and the mote, church, and altar-tomb noticed. Then the tourist descends to Balseadden Bay, where a bathing-house built of stone stood, and climbs from it to the cliff where Puck's Rock displays "the fiend in adamantine bonds." On the way the great cave, in which seals then concealed their young, is entered, and an inhabitant of Howth, who was wont to encounter there single-handed these amphibious foes, is recalled. Avoiding the most dangerous path, where, says the poet,

Oft to the mouldering cliff like bat I've clung,
Unable to advance, scarce power to retreat,
Whilst in my ear the dreadful surges sung,
And screaming sea-mews marked my doubtful fate,

the tourist is conducted to a platform of the old lighthouse, where the poet pictures for him a storm. Then, ascending to the Baily by the grass slope, down which clinkers from the lighthouse fire rolled, he sees the rocks, "a giant offspring from the parent cleft," and the cave formerly much used as a receptacle for smuggled goods; and,

¹ At that time, according to the poet, the Castle was called the court.



THE HARBOUR *circa* 1790



THE RESCUE OF THE AERONAUT

having been provided with a gun, "a thundering cylinder of ample bore," he wages war upon the seals that were then incessantly sporting round the shore. From the Baily he crawls on hands and feet to the cape on the other side, and looks down from the giddy height, where a youth had fallen over, on the glittering sand below with the shells and pebbles glowing in the sun. Thence advancing along the south side of the peninsula, he explores "Neptune's grot" and its petrifications, and finally turns inland across "Saneer's sunny slopes and Sutton's downs," where

Abundant game around in mazes run,
 On foot the hare, the rabbit, and the fox ;
 Or now at seat, or basking in the sun,
 Or there in wily sleep sly Reynard on the rocks,

until a horn sounds, and the music of deep-tongued hounds is heard :—

But lo! the close-embodied pack appear,
 The open cry proclaims the hollo-view,
 And round the precipice in full career,
 The flying war vociferous pursue.

According to Abraham Bosquet—for so the poet was named—Howth lay then unheeded and neglected, but before his time Swift's friend, Mrs. Delany, had discovered its charms and had described them with her usual sprightliness. Writing in the gloomy month of January on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles the First, in the year 1759, she says;¹ "After church Mrs. Hamilton, and her daughter Sally, and I went with the six horses to take the air as far as the hill of Howth, which is about ten English miles; it is all the way on the strand close to the sea, the view of which with the ships in the harbour, the city of Dublin, little villages, hills, mountains, and beautiful fields, and scattered houses, made a most delightful appearance; we did not return home till near six; we found our little fasting dinner ready for us." Howth was also, before the poet's time, the objective for boating-parties from Dublin, and dinners on the hill were not uncommon. Near the lighthouse two actors of that day, John O'Keeffe and John Kane, joined on one occasion in a jovial meal, and did not return to

¹ Correspondence, iii, 538.

their starting-place, "the ferry-boat slip at the bottom of Abbey Street," until late the next morning.¹ Horse-races were, too, not unknown on the peninsula, and one of the earliest Dublin newspapers, the "Intelligence," announces on March 31, 1730, that on the previous day there had been a race "which yielded great diversion to the spectators" at the Warren House near Howth. The place of meeting, which is now a private house, was no doubt then an inn, and as Bosquet tells us refreshments were also to be found on Ireland's Eye:

Here Ireland's Eye from parent Howth detached,
A pleasing isle, with valleys clad in green,
For samphire famed, and lobsters wicker-catched,
And whiskered sea-calves of bold mastiff-mien.

A sweet retreat, where many a happy pair
Excursions make, and frisk the island round,
Snatch reason's feast, and breathe salubrious air.
Then seek the spot with ready viands crowned.

The economic resources of Howth were much exploited throughout the eighteenth century. In 1738 it was announced that "the Lord of Howth hath lately discovered a fine marble quarry on his estate at the hill of Howth," and that the marble was "as finely variegated with red, blue, yellow, and other colours as any in Italy or Egypt," and in 1754 it was announced that "a rich lead-mine hath been lately discovered on the estate of Lord Howth," and that "the assay masters who have tried it judge it to be as good as any mine of the sort in Europe."² Sea-water from Howth was then sold in Dublin, and seems to have supplied a great want. In the summer of 1759 Catherine Dowdall, who kept a grocer's shop at the corner of Pill Lane and Arran Street, advertises "the genuine sea-water from Howth," and adds that "as this is the season in which the sea-water is mostly used, she takes care to have it in fresh every morning," and in the winter of 1762 Andrew Ross, a saddler at the sign of the White Horse in Dame Street, advertises that he has taken over Mrs. Dowdall's business, and sells at the old address "the genuine sea-

¹ "O'Keeffe's Recollections," i, 276.

² "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1738, p. 546, and for 1754, p. 94.

water taken every day at Howth and sold as usual at two pence per quart, or sixpence per gallon."¹

The port of Howth had fallen into almost entire disuse as regards traffic with England, but the fishery was still productive. From it the Dublin market then drew, as it does to-day, its chief supply of herrings, and in 1732 their conveyance in open boats from Howth to Dublin is mentioned as one of the abuses from which the city suffered.² The reputation of the fishermen had in no way declined, and when an early aeronaut who ascended from Dublin was in danger of being lost at sea, it was to them an appeal was first made to go to his rescue. The ascent, which took place in May, 1785, had many witnesses, and on its becoming apparent that the balloon was being carried away from the land some of the spectators rode to Howth and begged the fishermen to put out and save the aeronaut. The actual rescue was performed by the crew of a pilot-boat, but would not have been undertaken except for the intrepidity displayed by the Howth fishermen.³

As Bosquet tells us, the caves afforded great facilities to smugglers to conceal illicit cargoes, and in the summer of 1764 Howth was the scene of a desperate affray between a party of smugglers and some revenue officers, who had seized a hundred and sixty casks of tea. The smugglers succeeded in recovering from the revenue officers all the casks except seven, but in the affray one of their number, called Higley, was killed, and another was said to have been so severely wounded as to have subsequently died.⁴ Two years later, in a great gale, a lighter was driven ashore at Howth with no less than thirty-five puncheons of brandy on board, and hearing that the lighter had been deserted, Lord Howth ordered his own servants to take charge of the cargo until an owner could be found.⁵ In the beginning of

¹ "Sleater's Public Gazetteer," i, 53; ii, 210; vi, 226.

² "An Examination of Certain Abuses existing in Dublin, 1732."

³ "Hibernian Magazine" for 1785, p. 279. An account appended to the print gives all the credit of the rescue to the crew of the pilot-boat. The smaller boat in the print is the Howth one, and the central figure in it a brother of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

⁴ "Exshaw's Magazine" for 1764, p. 459.

⁵ "Sleater's Gazetteer," v, 819.

the nineteenth century the descendants of men who had died from wounds received in conflicts with the revenue officers were living at Howth, and one of them used to relate that an ancestor had been killed by a button with which a revenue officer had loaded his pistol when bullets failed.¹

At the beginning of the period which this chapter covers the prebend of Howth was held by another friend of Swift's, Samuel Webber, or Philosopher Webber, as Swift called him; and at the time at which the chapter closes, it was held by the great pulpit orator, Walter Blake Kirwan.² With Webber, who had a house near Baldoyle, Swift stayed often; and although Webber had private means, and was "above all economy," Swift used to bring, according to his custom, his own provisions, the supply for a stay of five days being eight bottles of wine, and bread and meat for three days.³ In addition to the prebend of Howth, Kirwan was given the living of St. Nicholas Without in Dublin. As was remarked at the time, that church was roofless, while the parish church of Howth lay "prostrate in a heap of ruins."⁴ It was in connexion with this preferment that Grattan, in speaking of Kirwan, exclaimed: "What reward, St. Nicholas Within or St. Nicholas Without! The curse of Swift is upon him to have been born an Irishman, and a man of genius, and to have used it for the good of his country."⁵ The services were performed then in a chapel belonging to Lord Howth, the walls of which are still standing a little to the north of the Castle,⁶ and were taken sometimes by a curate, an office filled at one time by Mervyn Archdall, the author of the "Monasticon Hibernicum," and editor of Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland." In the early part of the eighteenth century the penal laws fell heavily on the Roman Catholics. The Rev. Edward Treacy, who was then the parish priest, was a special object of persecution, and his church was

¹ Cromwell's "Excursions through Ireland," i, 182.

² See Appendix I.

³ Swift's Correspondence, v, 108, 193, 260.

⁴ "Exshaw's Magazine" for 1789, p. 59.

⁵ Lecky's "Hist. of Ireland," ii, 596.

⁶ Austin Cooper's Note Book; "Post Chaise Companion," 1786, p. 305; "Hibernian Magazine" for 1789, p. 53; Parliamentary Return, vii, 12.

reported to be in a dangerous condition, and liable to fall down. But throughout the century the Roman Catholic parishioners were not left without spiritual aid.¹

The Castle and demesne underwent in Swift's day great improvement. Their appearance then will be seen from the bird's-eye view, which is reproduced from a contemporary oil-painting in a panel over the chimney-piece of the Castle drawing-room, and the contents of the rooms are known from inventories which were compiled between the years 1746 and 1752.² It was in Swift's time that the present entrance from the courtyard to the Castle, the classic doorway and the broad steps and terrace, were constructed, and uniformity in the appearance of the Castle secured by the erection of turrets and battlements in imitation of those on the ancient keep. The bird's-eye view shows also that an Italian garden was laid out, and that it terminated in a canal; but before the end of the eighteenth century, as will be seen from the reproduction of an old engraving, this garden had undergone alteration. The round pond and great tree shown in the view, however, still survive, the former being known as Black Jack's pond, and the latter as the family tree. A tablet, with the St. Lawrence arms and the initials W. H., dating from that time, is placed beside the entrance doorway, and formerly another tablet recorded that

"This Castle was rebuilt by the Right Honorable William,
Lord Baron of Howth, Anno Domini, 1738."³

Entering the castle the hall contained then, as it does to-day, "the great sword of Howth," some pieces of armour, and a picture called a sea-triumph. On the walls hung, as a memorial of the troublous times in the previous century, fifty muskets and bayonets, with two back-swords, as well as trophies of the chase in the shape of stags' horns and elks' antlers. On the left of the hall was the dining-parlour, now the billiard-room, in which a round drinking-table and bottle-tray were significant of the habits of the time. In the list of the furniture it is noticeable that the

¹ Bishop of Canea, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59. See Appendix K.

² See Appendix L.

³ Austin Cooper's Note Book.

chairs were provided with loose covers of calfskin, and that instead of a sideboard there was a black and white marble table, which was surmounted by a cistern to match. On the right of the hall, where the present dining-room lies, were my lady's bed-chamber, my lord's dressing-room, and my lady's dressing-room. In my lady's bed-chamber panel pictures, which still survive, were then to be seen: the Siege of Buda, by Joseph Harrath, a German animal and landscape painter of that period, which is over the dining-room chimneypiece, and flower pieces, which are over the dining-room doors. In the list of furniture the bed and bedding are fully described, and are not without interest. The bedstead, a tester one, was covered with scarlet English damask, and the bedding consisted of a feather-bed and bolster, a white mattress, silk blankets, a broadcloth under-blanket, and a Manchester counterpane. The furniture included a mahogany bureau and book-case with a looking-glass door, and on the walls there were a chimney-glass with snake arms, London gilt, and a number of prints, amongst which the Rake's Progress was conspicuous. There was also much ornamental china, and a punch-bowl and figures of Turks receive special mention. My lord's dressing-room served as an additional armoury, and contained no less than seven guns, and sufficient steel-mounted pistols, screw-barrel pistols, and pocket-pistols to fill nine cases, besides hunting poles mounted with bayonets and daggers. In my lady's dressing-room the furniture resembled that of a boudoir, excepting a dressing-glass in a swinging frame, which is said to have been diamond-cut.

The drawing-room was then known as "the great dining-room," but was furnished as a drawing-room. Over the chimneypiece was the "Prospect of the House of Howth," and over the doors landscapes by Richard Carver, a Dublin painter of that period, which still remain. On the walls there hung a whole-length portrait of Swift by Francis Bindon, unique amongst portraits of him, in that its history is determined with absolute certainty, and nine family portraits, all, with one exception, still in the Castle, besides a pair of fine carved branches, London gilt, at the chimneypiece, and two pier sconces. The furniture included two large Italian marble tables on walnut frames, for



NICOLA, WIFE OF LIEUT-GEN. RICHARD GORGES



LUCY, WIFE OF WILLIAM, LORD HOWTH

which Spanish leather covers were provided, and a number of Indian boxes and trunks, and a filigree cabinet. There were also a six-leaf screen of Indian work on a scarlet ground, and a tea equipage of burnished china, as well as an immense collection of "curiosities in china and paste." The principal bed-rooms were known as the castle room, the crimson room, the yellow-damask room, the blue room, and the chintz room. In the castle room the window and bed curtains were of blue silk-mohair, and the chairs were covered with the same material. The bedstead was supplied with a feather-bed and bolster of Flanders tick, a Holland mattress, English blankets, and a white satin quilt, which still survives, and is a fine example of the embroidery of that period. The furniture included a number of Indian boxes and a set of varnished dressing-boxes, together with a tortoise-shell trunk mounted in silver, and an eight-leaf screen of Indian work in gold. Amongst other chattels at that time in the Castle there may be mentioned a bust of Dr. Steevens, after whom Steevens' Hospital in Dublin is named, backgammon and card tables, and carpets designed by Mr. Hogarth, which were evidently much prized.

William, who succeeded on the death of his father, in 1727, to the title and estate, had for eleven years occupied a seat in the House of Commons, as representative of the borough of Ratoath, in the county of Meath. He shared the representation with Lieutenant-General Richard Gorges, who lived close to Ratoath, at Kilbrew, and a year after the death of his father he married one of General Gorges's daughters, although she was then only a girl of seventeen, while he had reached the age of forty. Her mother, who was a daughter of the first Lord Hamilton of Glenawley, had been, previous to her marriage to General Gorges, married to Sir Tristram Beresford, whose son was created Earl of Tyrone, and she enjoys much celebrity as the heroine of what is known as the Beresford ghost story. It is said that she had in her youth discussed with the last Earl of Tyrone of the Power family, the truths of Christianity, and that in accordance with an agreement between them that the one who died first should appear to the survivor, he presented himself to her after his death,

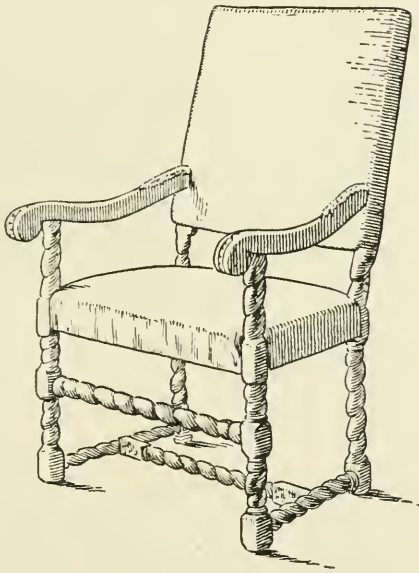
and assured her of the truth of the Christian revelation. At the same time it is said that he predicted the events of her life, and in particular her death on her forty-seventh birthday, a prediction that is said to have come true.¹ To convince her of the reality of his presence, the story adds, he touched one of her wrists, and caused an injury, which she concealed afterwards by a black ribbon, an appendage which, according to tradition, was shown in the portrait of her preserved at Howth until the representation of it was removed during the restoration of the painting.

The friendship between Swift and the owners of Howth, which the great portrait of him proclaims, did not begin until William's time, and was evidently attributable to the attractions of William's wife. Swift used to call her his blue-eyed nymph, and was so captivated by her as to interfere, at her request, in the sordid affairs of the Irish Parliament on behalf of her brother, who had been defeated in an election at Ratoath, and sought to unseat his opponent by a petition. Although Swift told her, as his custom was, that she ought "to go to a writing-school and spelling-book," she wrote him three very pretty letters, which Swift, although he did not commit himself to a reply, treasured. The first of these letters, which is dated August 15, 1734, and was written from Kilfane, in the county of Kilkenny, tells of a commission from Swift to find him an easy riding-horse, and of the efforts which she had made, although only three days in the country, to execute it. The next letter, which is dated August 6, 1736, and was written from the county of Galway, conveys a recommendation from her host, Lord Athenry, to Swift, as a governor of the Erasmus Smith educational endowment, of a candidate for the position of a schoolmaster. She opens the letter by a reference to the fact that her former letter had never been answered, a neglect that she imputes to the post, or anything else except that she was forgot by her old friend, and she goes on to tell him that she is constantly on horseback, visiting the beauties of Connaught, and that she believes that if he would lend her a little of his head, she would almost approach Addison in

¹ Complete Peerage, vii, 452. See also the "Argosy" for April and July, 1896.

some of his descriptions of Italy. The third letter, which is dated St. Stephen's Day, 1737, and was apparently written from Howth, announces a present of wild duck, partridge, plover, and venison, which she says that she sends by "a blackguard," knowing the Dean's generosity.¹

The portrait of Swift was painted in the summer of 1735, and is mentioned by him in a letter to his friend Sheridan, dated June 16 in that year, in which he says that he has been fool enough to sit for his picture at full-length by Mr. Bindon for his Lord Howth, and had sat that day for two hours and a half. In a



SWIFT'S CHAIR.

letter which is dated July 6 following, and which was written from Kilfane, William expresses his obligation to his good Dean of St. Patrick's for the honour he had done him in sitting for the portrait, and says that he had asked Dr. Grattan to carry it to his own house in order that a copy might not be substituted for the original.² To commemorate further Swift's visits to Howth, William took advantage of the bird's-eye view, and caused him to be represented in the left-hand corner, sitting on a seat. The

¹ Swift's "Correspondence," v, 59, 81, 369; vi, 57.

² *Ibid.*, v, 194, 201.

earliest visit which Swift records that he paid to Howth was in November, 1731,¹ but his visits were subsequently frequent and not confined to the periods in which Lord Howth was in residence. In December, 1734, he mentions riding to Howth when the Castle was empty in connexion with an attack of illness that came upon him while there, and obliged him to lie down in the deserted house.²

In his letter to Swift William is revealed as a man of considerable attainments, with a clear insight and a facetious disposition, but too much addicted to the pleasures of life. He mentions in it that he had taken advice which Swift had given him, and had kept good hours since he came last to Kilfane, but two years later it is recorded that when dining at Howth, the Lord Lieutenant of the day "contrived to be as drunk as any of his predecessors had been at that place, although he came away at six o'clock."³ To recruit himself William was wont to resort in the summer to the Irish Harrogate of his time, Ballyspellan, in the county of Kilkenny; and as its hotel was notable for a drawingroom of large size, he found there diversion as well as health:—

Good cheer, sweet air, much joy, no care,
Your sight, your taste, your smelling,
Your ears, your touch, transported much,
Each day at Ballyspellin.

Of sport William was passionately fond, and Kilfane was taken by him for the indulgence of his taste. "Every second day," he writes to Swift, "I am out otter-hunting"; and in her letter from Lord Athenry's seat his wife dilates on a monster trout which her lord and she had just weighed and measured. While with Lord Athenry William met an Augustinian friar of sporting tastes, who bred beagles and "a double sort of wolfhound," and whistled a good tune, and he was asked by the friar to obtain an exemption for him from the penal laws, in order that he might not be driven to travel as far as Vienna, where he was promised

¹ "An Epistle to Two Friends."

² Correspondence, v, 116.

³ Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Papers, Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. 9, App. pt. iii, p. 40.

a hearty welcome from Prince Eugene and the Prince of Schwarzenberg, who kept the finest kennel in Europe.¹

But as a reference in his letter to Swift shows, William had good judgment in regard to more important matters, and his activity in the political life of his day obtained for him a seat in the privy council. To him a remarkable work, entitled: "Zoologica Medicinalis Hibernica,"² was dedicated, and its author says that this dedication was in acknowledgment of William's unceasing generosity, liberality, and great goodness. As appears from legal proceedings in which he was involved with a steward,³ William was extensively engaged in agricultural operations, including the fattening for the Dublin market of cattle which he bought in such distant fairs as that of Castlepollard; and he gave much employment. This care for his poorer neighbours is further shown in his will, which testifies to his charity.

While William was living at Kilfane, in the winter of 1736, two tragedies occurred in his family, remarkable not only in themselves, but also in their connexion with each other. It appears that at that time his niece, Miss Rice, the only child of his sister by her first marriage, and a cousin, Miss Berford, lived constantly with him and his wife, and the first tragedy was an accident by which the latter lost her life. According to a contemporary account she was taking the air at Kilfane with a friend, a Miss Hawley, in a four-wheel chaise, and on the driver getting down to fasten the lynch-pin of one of the wheels, the horses took fright and ran into the river, with the result that the chaise was overturned, and both Miss Berford and Miss Hawley were drowned. When the news reached Dublin, William's brother, Henry St. Lawrence, was staying at Kilbrev with the Gorges

¹ Letter preserved in Howth Castle.

² "Zoologica Medicinalis Hibernica, or a Treatise of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Reptiles, or Insects which are commonly known and propagated in this kingdom, giving an Account of their Medicinal Virtues, and their Names in English, Irish, and Latin, to which is added a Short Treatise of the Diagnostic and Prognostic Parts of Medicine: the former showing how by the Symptoms you may know a Distemper; the latter giving an Account of the Event thereof, whether it will end in Life or Death," by John Keogh, A.B., Chaplain to the Right Honourable James Lord Baron of Kingston, Dublin, 1739.

³ William Lord Howth *versus* Eleazer Pierson, House of Lords, 1737.

family, and Lady Howth's younger brother, Hamilton Gorges, expressed commiseration for his sister, left with no companion except Miss Rice, whom he characterized as a silly girl, which so enraged her uncle, Henry St. Lawrence, that he forced Hamilton Gorges to fight a duel with him. It was attended with fatal consequences to Henry St. Lawrence; but on Hamilton Gorges being brought to trial, he was acquitted, and held by the jury to have acted in self-defence.¹



THE HONBLE. WILLIAM ST. LAWRENCE.

By the provisions of his will, which is dated January 30, 1744,² William evinced his attachment to the seat of his ancestors, as well as his care for his humble neighbours, ordering

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Rept., 15, App. pt. vii, p. 312; Pue's "Occurrences," March 22-26, 1736-7; Orrery Papers, i, 191; Will of Henry St. Lawrence in Prerogative Collection.

² In the Prerogative Collection.

that during the minority of his eldest son the mansion-house, out-offices, and improvements were to be kept in very good order and repair, and leaving a substantial sum to be distributed amongst the poor of Howth. He left also a sum of two hundred pounds for the erection of a monument to his father's memory. Besides his own family, he mentions his old friend and physician, Dr. Grattan, and Dr. Grattan's cousin, the Rev. John Jackson, who held then the prebend of Howth. He appointed as executors and guardians of his children his wife and her brothers, Richard Gorges and Hamilton Gorges, and Lord Athenry, but the appointment of the last was revoked in a codicil made a few days before his death, on March 27, 1748, and in his place the Hon. Arthur Blennerhasset, one of the justices of the King's Bench, who had married his niece, Miss Rice, was named. He died on April 4, 1748, and left two sons, Thomas and William, and one daughter, Mary. His second son, of whom a portrait here sketched is preserved in the Castle, had been appointed, when only fourteen years of age, an ensign in the army, and died a year after his father, in April, 1749, of the smallpox; and his daughter married, in 1750, Sir Richard Gethin, of Gethin's Grot, in the county of Cork, the fourth baronet of his line, and died on October 4, 1787, in France.

Thomas, first Earl of Howth, who succeeded to the title and estate on his father's death, was then only eighteen, and a student in Trinity College, Dublin. There he did not, however, long pursue his course, and before he came of age he married, his wife being Isabella, daughter of Sir Henry King, and sister of the first Earl of Kingston, of the King creation. The interest which his father had displayed in public affairs secured for him a prominent place in the political world, and his own abilities enabled him to take such advantage of it as to entitle him in his thirty-eighth year to the highest honours the Government could confer. On the death of the Chancellor of Ireland at that time he was appointed by a King's letter, dated July 28, 1767, a Commissioner of the Great Seal, together with the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Cloyne; and by another King's letter, dated August 7 following, he was created Viscount St. Lawrence and Earl of Howth. It

was thought desirable a few months later to bind him still further to the Government by giving him a seat in the privy council; and the Lord Lieutenant represented that not only would it oblige Lord Howth and the Beresfords, with whom as his mother's connexions he was politically allied, but also that it would be generally acceptable and excite no jealousy, owing to the position which Lord Howth occupied.¹

The sporting instinct, which he inherited, was exhibited by him in early life in driving a coach. According to John O'Keeffe, the actor, he was one of the first amateur whips, and used to array himself in the garb of a coachman, "a wig with a number of little curls, and a three-cornered hat with great spouts," and to carry in his mouth, when on the box, "a bit of straw about two inches long."² In a letter, which is preserved in Howth Castle, there is also evidence of his seeking diversion in driving at a later time. The letter was written by him from Holyhead when he was on his way to Bath, and concerns a certain chaise, which was to be sent after him as soon as possible by a ship plying between Dublin and Bristol.

At Bath, towards the close of his life, he resided almost constantly. At his house in the Grove, on September 21, 1794, his wife died,³ and there, in the following year, he made his will, which bears date July 11, 1795.⁴ Howth was, however, not forgotten by him. In addition to a direction that he was to be interred in the vault of his family, he makes provision for the poor of Howth, and leaves a piece of plate to his former agent, Robert Hutchinson, as a token of Hutchinson's services to him and his family, and of his own esteem and regard for him. His death took place on September 29, 1801, at Cheltenham.⁵

He had three sons: William, who succeeded him; Thomas, who took holy orders, and became Bishop of Cork; and Henry, who was in the army; and three daughters: Isabella, who married,

¹ Home Office Papers, 1766-69, pp. 226, 279, 280, 281.

² "O'Keeffe's Recollections," i, 69.

³ "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1794, p. 969.

⁴ In the Prerogative Collection.

⁵ "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1801, p. 963.



THOMAS, 1st EARL OF HOWTH



WILLIAM, 2nd EARL OF HOWTH

in 1773, Dudley Cosby, Lord Sydney of Leix; Elizabeth, who married, in 1786, Lieutenant-General Paulus Emilius Irving; and Frances, who married, in 1808, the Venerable James Phillott, Archdeacon of Bath. With Howth Castle the names of Bishop St. Lawrence and Lady Sydney are much associated, the Bishop's name by a ghost-story, and Lady Sydney's name, which has been given to a room and a garden, by a long residence during her widowhood, which commenced within a month of her marriage.

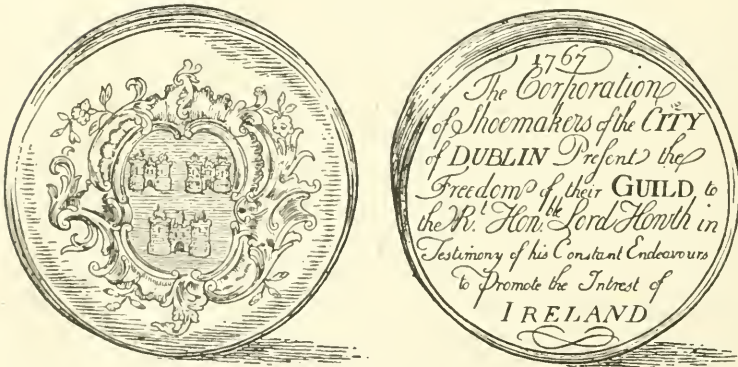
The ghost-story with which Bishop St. Lawrence's name is connected, and which is said to have been told by himself, arose from a tradition that a daughter of the house of O'Byrne had cause for dissatisfaction with one of the Bishop's ancestors, and was accustomed to visit the Castle in the form of a mermaid. According to the story, the Bishop arrived one day unexpectedly at the Castle, and, finding everyone away, amused himself reading an old book, entitled "Stories of the Ancient Families of his Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland." In one of its chapters, headed "how the mermaid came to be one of the supporters of the Lords of Howth," the history of Dame Geraldine O'Byrne was set forth, and with his head full of her and her melancholy end, the Bishop retired to rest. His room lay in what was then known as the Mermaid's Tower, and, needless to say, the Bishop was before long startled from his slumbers. The cause was a damp, cold pressure on his face, such as a mermaid might be expected to impose, and the Bishop apprehended an amphibious rather than an episcopal close to his career. But at last a light was struck, and what was supposed to be a mermaid's fin proved to be a coachman's glove that had fallen out of a watch-pocket fastened to the bed.¹

Like most tales of the kind, the Bishop's ghost-story is embellished with precise details that are inconsistent with fact, and this fate also attends the tale of "the rat that followed Lord Howth." According to this tale, a certain Lord Howth was out shooting on his peninsula near the cromlech when a rat of an old Irish breed, grey in colour, ran out, and was about to be

¹ See the "Mermaid of Howth Castle," contributed from a note by D. O. Maddyn, in the "Nation," December 3, 1842.

killed by the gamekeeper. Lord Howth ordered that it should not be destroyed, and in the evening he found that it had followed him into the Castle. It became his constant companion, and was decorated by him with a gold ring which he placed on its right foreleg. People laughed about his strange pet, and to escape their ridicule Lord Howth went to the Continent. There he met a charming lady, who agreed to marry him on condition that he would not attempt to examine a gold bracelet that she wore on her right arm. But after some years curiosity overcame him, and one night when his wife was asleep he raised her arm and tried to open the bracelet. As he did so she awoke, and with a loud cry fell back dead, and at the same moment a rat with a gold ring on its right foreleg ran away from beneath the bed.¹

¹ See for other versions "Table Talk of Samuel Rogers," ed. 1857, p. 167; "Dublin Saturday Magazine," vol. i, pt. ii, p. 230; and "Tales Round a Winter Hearth," by Jane and Anna Maria Porter, i, 69.



FREEDOM-BOX PRESENTED TO FIRST EARL OF HOWTH.

CHAPTER IX.

AS A PACKET STATION AND AFTER.

AT the opening of the nineteenth century the provision of shelter for ships on the Dublin coast was urged on the twofold ground of the loss of shipping from the want of a refuge harbour near the port of Dublin, and of the necessity of obtaining a better station for the packet-boats. During the previous century immense sums had been expended on improving the port of Dublin by the construction of the north and south walls, but notwithstanding, until steam became available, ships were unable in bad weather to enter the Liffey. As there was no other place of refuge nearer than Waterford to the south and Carlingford Lough to the north, they were often forced to remain in the open Bay of Dublin, and as many as twenty are said to have been annually lost or seriously injured while lying there. But the question of a new station for the packet-boats even more concerned the citizens of Dublin. At the Pigeon House, which was then the station, the packet-boats had to wait on both wind and tide, and much uncertainty as to the time of departure was added to the length of a passage which averaged at that time eighteen hours.

A number of persons who possessed or assumed knowledge of the subject were seized by a pamphletary fever, and projects for harbours and canals, which were expected at that period to revolutionize the world, were poured forth. The chief pamphleteers were the superintendent of the Howth lighthouse, Mr. Thomas Rogers, and a clergyman, the Honourable and Reverend William Dawson, a son of the first Viscount Portarlington. Rogers was moved to write by the loss of ships; Dawson by the inconvenience of the existing packet-station. By both Howth was selected as the best site, but their plans were influenced by their respective objects, and were widely different.

The campaign was opened by Rogers in the year 1800, with a

pamphlet,¹ in which he proposed the construction of a harbour on the northern side of Howth, with a canal capable of carrying ships thence to the Liffey. The harbour, which was to be entered from the sea near its eastern point, and to be seven hundred feet wide was to extend from the town of Howth to the isthmus, a distance of three thousand feet, and the canal, which was to start from the western end of the harbour, was to be cut through the isthmus and to follow a line along the Clontarf shore, and through the part of Dublin called the North Lotts, to the Liffey. In his enthusiasm for his project Rogers could not see even the possibility of a difficulty. The cost, which on his own estimate would have been over four hundred thousand pounds, was treated as a bagatelle, and a suggestion that the harbour might fill with sand, which experience proved only too soon to be true, was brushed aside as a trivial matter that slight dredging would remedy. At the same time he criticized a scheme for a harbour at Dalkey, and scouted it on account of the want of connexion with the Liffey, which the canal from Howth was to supply. Before the end of that year Rogers saw reason, however, to revise his project, and issued another pamphlet,² in which he proposed the enclosure of the entire space between the peninsula and Ireland's Eye. In this pamphlet he laboured to prove that the sand came from the land and not from the sea, and sought the approval of the naval authorities, by holding out as a bait the suitable site Ireland's Eye afforded for docks in which men-of-war could be repaired.

Dawson followed soon with the cry³: "The mail from London in Dublin, and the mail from Dublin in London, in the shortest possible time!" Opening with a reference to the Dalkey scheme,

¹ "Remarks on a Road or Safe Anchorage between Ireland's Eye and Howth, with a plan for a Harbour and a Canal from thence to Dublin for large ships, also a short description of Dalkey Sound," by Thomas Rogers. Dublin, 1800. (Holiday Pamphlets, 792.)

² "Observations on a Road or Safe Anchorage at Ireland's Eye, and a Proposed Plan for Docks to repair Ships of War," by Thomas Rogers. Dublin, 1800. (Holiday Pamphlets, 793.)

³ This proposal is incorporated in a pamphlet published subsequently, *infra*, p. 147, n. 2.



WILLIAM, 4th EARL OF HOWTH



THOMAS, 3rd EARL OF HOWTH

which he rejected on the ground of Dalkey being farther from Holyhead than other places, and of its sound being dangerous, he advocated a harbour at Howth to the east of the town, with a very short pier, from which vessels might start with the utmost ease. He represented that by such an arrangement the packet-boats, which he estimated would cross the Channel in six hours, would suffer no delay from "tide, bar, rock, or sand-bank," and would be able to put to sea even when the wind was most contrary. As additional inducements for the adoption of his scheme, he threw out the prospect of the harbour being effectively guarded against all foes at a small cost, and of a glut of fish in the Dublin market when the fishermen of Howth had the benefit of such protection for their boats as his pier would give.

A few years later, in 1805, the Government began to move, and both Rogers and Dawson started afresh the advocacy of their respective projects, and printed new editions of their pamphlets, with copious additions. Taking a hint from Dawson, Rogers dwelt now on the admirable situation of Howth from the military point of view, and expressed the opinion that the peninsula could be made as impregnable as Gibraltar.¹ On the other hand, Dawson borrowed from Rogers, and tried to convince his readers that his pier would provide a place of refuge. His proposals extended beyond Howth, but, so far as that place was concerned, they were summed up as a harbour with a battery on its western side, some signal-stations on the hills, and a fort on the isthmus, across which a fosse was to be made.²

So early as the year 1800 the Government had received from a distinguished engineer, Sir Thomas Hyde Page, F.R.S., whom they had employed to make inquiries, a report in which he foreshadowed two harbours, one at Dalkey and another at Howth.³

¹ "Observations on the Reports laid before the Directors General of Inland Navigation in Ireland for the Improvement of Dublin Harbour," by Thomas Rogers. *Dubl.*, 1805. (*Haliday Pamphlets*, 878.)

² "Plan for a Complete Harbour at Howth-Town for the use of his Majesty's Mail Packet-boats, Merchants' Ships in Case of Storm, and Fishing Vessels to supply Dublin Market," by the Hon. and Rev. William Dawson, *Dubl.*, 1805. (*Haliday Pamphlets*, 878.)

³ "Reports relative to Dublin Harbour and Adjacent Coast, made in consequence of orders from the Marquess of Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year

The one at Dalkey, which was to be a refuge harbour, was estimated by him as likely to cost about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But in addition he contemplated a canal along the southern shore of Dublin Bay, from Sandycove to the Liffey, for which a million pounds would be required. Such sums might well cause any government to pause; and when action was taken, the main consideration was to keep the expenditure within reasonable limits. A harbour at Howth sufficient for the packet-boats was alone proposed, and the first vote towards its cost was a modest one of ten thousand pounds.

Work was commenced in the autumn of 1807 near the town of Howth, but no final decision seems to have been then arrived at as to the best design, and in consequence of the uncertainty Rogers and Dawson renewed their efforts. Rogers had obtained the support of a naval officer, Vice-Admiral George Bowen,¹ and through Bowen's influence he had gained the ear of the Government, who thought that various experiments as to the tides made by Rogers were of value. In a letter, dated March 6, 1808, the Duke of Wellington, who was then Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, wrote to Bowen² that he had no doubt the public would derive advantage from Rogers's exertions, and Bowen's interest in them, as soon as the Government's immediate object, a harbour for packet-boats, was attained, and that he would himself lend his aid in accomplishing anything that had in view the defence and security of Ireland and the convenience and safety of the navigation of the channel. At the moment, however, he was afraid that Rogers's plans involved an expense that could not be entertained, and would divert public attention from what was most important, a secure, easy, and quiet communication with Great Britain.

In the following year, 1809, Dawson put forth yet another pamphlet,³ in which he recapitulated his proposals, and com-

1800," by Sir Thomas Hyde Page, Knt., F.R.S. Dubl., 1801. (Holiday Pamphlets, 813.)

¹ See manuscript notes dated March 19, 1808, appended to copy of Rogers's pamphlet in Holiday Pamphlets, *supra*, p. 147, n. 1.

² This letter is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

³ "Plan for Three Harbours, one easterly from Howth-town, one due east from

mented severely upon the operations which the Government were then carrying on at Howth. He called the work a mockery of harbour-making, and, with a prescience that is not a little remarkable, he foretold that the harbour would be a sand-trap. The Government, he said, were trying to accomplish the impossible in making a harbour by excavation, and, notwithstanding the employment of many men and much gunpowder for eighteen months, the progress was imperceptible. John Rennie, to whom the entire responsibility for the harbour has been attributed, had, it appears, not been given a free choice of site, and had expressed a doubt as to the success of a harbour in the one selected. But Dawson remarked that it did not require a gentleman from England to inform him that a quarry which could not be excavated, and a sand-pit which could not be dug, would not make a satisfactory harbour, and, advised, in conclusion, the employment of a resident engineer, even if his pretensions were far less than those of Rennie.

But Dawson's warnings were unheeded, and the Government persisted in their operations. The result was so signal a failure that almost immediately the supersedure of the harbour was determined, and the construction of Kingstown Harbour undertaken. About three hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been spent. The area enclosed comprises fifty-two acres. The western pier measures in length two thousand seven hundred feet, and the eastern, on which there is a lighthouse, two thousand two hundred and eighty. The entrance is three hundred feet wide. The stone used in the piers was mainly quarried on the peninsula, but for the foundations, stone was brought from Runcorn, and for facing the sides from the southern side of Dublin county.¹

Not many years after steam-boats became available, on a bright Sunday afternoon, August 12, 1821, George the Fourth entered Howth Harbour on the "Lightning" Steam-Packet, commanded by Captain Skinner. He was seated on deck, on a sofa,

the island at Holyhead, and one about three hundred yards easterly of Dunleary Dry Pier; subjoined are Remarks on the Work, said to be for a harbour at the northern side of the ruined abbey at Howth-town, and Reasons against the Continuation of it any longer," by the Hon. and Rev. W. Dawson, A.M. Dublin, 1809.

¹ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 1261.

in a dark frock-coat and travelling-cap,¹ and, according to one of the reports, he was received with "rapturous demonstrations of duty, affection, and gratitude" from the pier, to which he responded by waving his cap over his head and returning the cheers. A carriage was in waiting at the head of the pier, but great difficulty was found in clearing a passage to it. In the confusion his Majesty shook hands with persons wholly strangers to him, as well as with those whom he knew, and finally drove off, as the report states, in an exhausted condition, exclaiming, "I thank you from my heart; God bless you all, God bless you all."²

The citizens of Dublin were attracted to Howth in the first decades of the nineteenth century by the harbour works, which far exceeded in magnitude anything previously undertaken in Ireland,³ and an Englishman, who visited Howth in 1813, saw them dining in great numbers on the grass, or, as it was then termed, "the sod."⁴ But, in 1838, John D'Alton writes⁵ of those excursions as a thing of the past, and attributes their cessation to the introduction of turnpikes. Visitors began to stay later on at Howth in greater numbers, and for their accommodation the Royal Hotel, and subsequently the St. Lawrence Hotel, were built. A tavern near the Baily Lighthouse was frequented by a social circle called the Mystics, and a race-course, which was laid out round Corr Castle, brought the votaries of the turf to the peninsula.⁶ In the early part of the century Ireland's Eye was used by Lord Howth as a breeding-ground for foxes, and was evidently a place little regarded.⁷

During the construction of the harbour a faction-fight took place amongst the labourers. It assumed a dangerous aspect, and

¹ His dress was described as a blue surtout coat and blue pantaloons, with a black handkerchief and a blue cloth-cap with a gold band. ("Dublin Evening Post," Aug. 14, 1821.)

² "Freeman's Journal," Aug. 13, 1821, and "Dublin Evening Post," Aug. 14, 1821.

³ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 1264.

⁴ "A Tour in Ireland by an Englishman [John Gough] in 1813-14," p. 179.

⁵ "Hist. of County Dublin," p. 123.

⁶ "A Day at Howth," by J. Huband Smith, pp. 17, 30.

⁷ "Ireland's Eye," by R. A., in the "Dublin Penny Journal," ii, 60. For the ecclesiastical history of Howth at that period see Appendixes M and N.

was not quelled without the aid of a detachment of soldiers.¹ Owing to the influx of sand, John D'Alton records² that, in 1838, the harbour was only able to shelter four wherries and five smacks, and says that no boat-builder or rope-maker, or even carpenter or blacksmith, was to be found near the port. But there is reason to believe that he took too unfavourable a view of the situation, and soon afterwards the harbour attracted in summer fishing-boats from other places, and herrings to the value of over thirty thousand pounds were sent off in one summer to England.³

Two tragedies mark the century. The first was the loss of the "Victoria," a steam-boat belonging to the City of Dublin Steam-Packet Company, which went on the rocks near the Naze of Howth during a snow-storm of exceptional severity, on February 15, 1853, carrying to their doom many passengers,⁴ and the second was a murder on Ireland's Eye, which attracted wide attention, and was the subject of a learned scientific paper.⁵

But the most striking outcome of the last hundred years has been the great increase in the population, and the extensive building by which it has been accompanied. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Castle was modernized, a large addition made to its south-eastern wing, and a new entrance constructed from the main road. These improvements gave an impetus to building on the peninsula. Sutton House was rebuilt, and came into notice as the residence of Mr. Justice Jackson,⁶ and afterwards of the Rev. William Lawrenson, then rector of Howth, and subsequently passed into the possession of Mr. Andrew Jameson, who has built a modern house near its site. It is impossible to enumerate all the houses that have been since erected, but amongst them there may be mentioned Carrig Breac, long the home of the illustrious physician, William Stokes, and his gifted daughter

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1811, pt. i, p. 82.

² "Hist. of County Dublin," p. 125.

³ "Dublin Saturday Magazine," vol. i, pt. ii, p. 230.

⁴ "Dublin Evening Mail," February 16, 1853.

⁵ "The True Height of the Tide at Ireland's Eye on the evening of the 6th September, 1852, the day of the murder of Mrs. Kirwan," by the Rev. Samuel Haughton, "Proc. Royal Irish Academy," vii, 511.

⁶ The Hon. Joseph Devonsher Jackson, a Justice of the Common Pleas, 1846-58.

Margaret; Drumleck, formerly the residence of Mr. William McDougall, by whom it was built; Earlscliffe, now owned by the Provost of Trinity College;¹ Kilroek, formerly the residence of Lord Justice FitzGibbon;² and St. Fintan's, the property of the Hawkins family.

William, who succeeded, on his father's death in 1801, as the second Earl of Howth, was then nearly fifty years of age. He was twice married. His first wife, whom he married in 1777, was Mary, daughter of Thomas, fifteenth Baron of Athenry and first Earl of Louth, who died in 1793; and his second wife was Margaret, daughter of William Burke, of Keelognes, in the county of Galway, who survived him. By his first wife he had four daughters: Harriet, who married, in 1801, Arthur French St. George; Isabella, who married, in 1803, William, third Earl of Annesley; Matilda, who married Major William Burke, of Queensborough; and Mary, who married Clifford Trotter. By his second wife he had Thomas, who succeeded him, and two daughters: Catherine, who married, in 1828, Viscount Dungarvan; and Elizabeth, who married, in 1831, Sir Edward Richard Borough. The second Earl of Howth died on April 4, 1822, and some clue to his character may be found in his will, made a month before, on March 12,³ in which he enjoins that his body should be interred privately. He was, however, not forgetful of public duties, and is mentioned as foremost in terminating the faction-fight, and in greeting George the Fourth on his arrival.

Thomas, who succeeded as third Earl of Howth, and who at the time of his father's death had not attained his majority, occupied for a great portion of the nineteenth century a position of the utmost distinction and prominence in Ireland. When little more than thirty years of age, in 1835, he was installed as a Knight of St. Patrick, and for nearly a quarter of a century, from 1851 to his death, he filled the office of Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Dublin, honours to which that of Vice-Admiral of Leinster was added.

¹ The Rev. John Pentland Mahaffy, C.V.O.

² The Right Hon. Gerald FitzGibbon, Lord Justice of Appeal, 1878-1909.

³ In the Prerogative Collection.



THE THIRD EARL IN THE HUNTING-FIELD



PEEP O'DAY BOY

But it is as a sportsman that the third Earl of Howth enjoyed most celebrity. His death was said to have left a gap that would never be filled, and to have revived recollections of glorious days in the history of the Irish turf. His love of horses was lifelong, and in his early years he was recognized as one of the best and most determined riders in the United Kingdom. A German prince, who visited Howth in 1829, found the castle stables and kennels full of noble hunters and notable hounds, and relates how he followed Lord Howth throughout a stag-hunt, of which not many saw the end.¹ Pavo in the "Morning Post" applauded Lord Howth for the example which he set on the turf, and said that a better judge of a horse or of racing never breathed. He pictured him as a fine horseman, with a powerful, although light, figure. In England, as well as in Ireland, Lord Howth's colours, white body with black sleeves and cap, were often successful. In 1842 he carried off, with *St. Lawrence*, the Stand Cup at Liverpool, and in 1848, with *Peep-o'-Day Boy*, the Chester Cup. The Warwickshire Hunt Stakes fell to him with *Cromaboo*, and the March Stakes at Goodwood with *Beatrice* and *Wolf-dog*, while from Foinnualla he bred *Kingstown*, *Mince-pie*, and *Ackworth*, which gained for other owners classic honours. In Ireland, at the opening meeting of Baldoyle Race-Course, which he established, he won the first race with *Lambay*, and carried off also the stakes in three other races.²

The third Earl of Howth was twice married. His first wife, whom he married in 1826, was Lady Emily de Burgh, daughter of John Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Clanricarde, who died in 1842, and his second wife, whom he married in 1851, was Henrietta Digby, only child of Peter Barfoot, of Landenstown, who survived him. By his first wife he had William Uliek Tristram, his successor, and four daughters, Emily, who married, in 1859, Thomas Gaisford, of Offington; Catherine Elizabeth, who married, in 1850, James Joseph Wheble, of Bulmershe Court; Mary, who died

¹ "Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the years 1828 and 1829," by a German Prince. Lond., 1832, ii, 97, 144.

² "Morning Post," February 9, 1874; "Sport," May 25, 1912. The name Foinnualla was, no doubt, intended to be Fionnualla.

unmarried; and Margaret, who married, in 1861, Sir Charles Compton Domvile, the second baronet of his line. By his second wife the third Earl of Howth had Thomas Kenelm Digby, an officer in the Fifth Dragoon Guards, who died in 1891, and two daughters, Henrietta Eliza, who married, in 1881, Captain Benjamin Lee Guinness; and Geraldine Digby. After a long illness the third Earl of Howth died at Mentone, on February 6, 1874, and his body was interred on the 17th, in the tomb of his ancestors, amid a remarkable demonstration of respect.

William Uliek Tristram, the fourth Earl of Howth, who succeeded his father when nearly fifty years of age, was the recipient of many honours, including the Order of St. Patrick, a barony of the United Kingdom, and the Vice-Admiralty of Leinster. In early life he had been an officer in the Seventh Hussars, and for many years he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the County Dublin Militia. From 1868 to 1874 he represented Galway in the House of Commons. On the turf, more particularly at Punchestown, he was a familiar figure, and was well known in English and Irish hunting circles. From 1856 to 1861 he was master of the Kilkenny Hunt, and subsequently he was master of the hounds at Pau. He died on March 9, 1909, at Bournemouth, and was buried at Howth in the tomb of his ancestors.

The fourth Earl of Howth had never married, and on his death the barony and earldom of Howth lapsed. The estates passed by his will to his nephew Julian Gaisford of Offington, who assumed by royal licence the arms and name of St. Lawrence.

APPENDIX A.

CONFIRMATION OF *circa* 1188.

The following exemplification of the confirmation of *circa* 1188 is deposited in the National Museum:—

Henricus Octauus dei gratia Anglie et Francie Rex fidei defensor et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem Inspeximus Irrotulamentum cuiusdam Carte Coram Baronibus de Scaccario nostro hibernie apud Dublin termino Michaelis Anno regni nostri vicesimo primo in hec verba Memorandum quod Cristoforus de Sancto laurencio Miles Dominus de houth venit hic coram Baronibus huius Scaccarii octauo die Nouembris hoc termino et exhibuit Curie hic hanc Cartam et petiit illam irrotulari quam quidem Cartam prefati Barones irrotulari preceperunt in hec verba Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus Sancti laurencii dedi et concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Almarico Sancti laurencii filio meo totam terram meam de houth cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sicut ego vnquam melius tenui et totum meum conquestum de hibernia tenendum et habendum in feodo et in hereditate sibi et suis heredibus libere et quiete in ecclesiis in molendinis in stangnis in aquis in pascuis in pratis in viis et semitis in Nemore et in omnibus que ad me pertinent saluo seruicio Johannis Comitis Domini hibernie Hiis testibus J. Dublinensi Archiepiscopo Johanne de Courcy hugone Tyrrell Roberto Tyrrell filio suo Ricardo Tyrrell Willelmo paruo Galfrido de Constantyn Adam de herford Ricardo de herford Galfrido de Nugent Adam de Pheypowe Ricardo Talbot Roberto de Nugent Andredo de Courtyr Roberto de excestria Galfrido de vincestria Willelmo vincestria Radulpho Whitrell Nicholao de Castello Roberto de Cornwallishe et multis aliis Nos autem tenorem et effectum dicte Carte Irrotulamenti ad requisicionem dicti Cristofori de Sancto laurencio duximus exemplificandum In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste dilecto et fideli nostro Patricio ffynglas Capitali Barone Scaccarii nostri predicti vicesimo quinto die Nouembris Anno Regni nostri vicesimo primo.

APPENDIX B.

CONFIRMATION OF *circa* 1190.

The following exemplification of the confirmation of *circa* 1190 is deposited in the National Museum:—

Henricus Octauus dei gratia Anglie et Francie Rex fidei defensor et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem Inspeximus Irrotulamentum cuiusdam Carte coram Baronibus de Scaccario nostro hibernie apud Dublin termino Michaelis Anno regni nostri vicesimo primo in hec verba Memorandum quod Cristoforus de Sancto laurencio Miles Dominus de houth venit hic coram Baronibus huius Scaccarii octauo die Nouembris hoc termino et exhibuit Curie hic hanc cartam et petiit illam Irrotulari quam quidem cartam prefati Barones irrotulari preceperunt in hec verba Johannes Dominus hibernie et Comes Morton Archiepiscopus Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Constabulariis et omnibus Balliuis et Ministris suis Francis et Anglis et Hiberniensibus salutem Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Almarico de Sancto laurencio pro homagio et seruicio suo terram de houth eum omnibus suis pertinenciis Ita libere et quiete sicut pater suus illam unquam melius tenuit et per seruicium vnus militis pro omni seruicio quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predictus Almaricus et heredes sui post eum habeant et teneant de me et heredibus meis predictam terram per idem seruicium libere et quiete integre et plenarie in boscis et in plano in viis et semitis in pratis et pascuis in moris et mariscis in vreceis maris et molendinis in stangnis in viuariis in ecclesiis et capellis et in omnibus aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis Teste Johanne de Courcy Galfrido de Constantyn Gilberto de Venistria Ricardo de herfordio hugone Tyrrell Rogero filio suo Radulpho de Wae Adam Grosso hugone lussey Adam Camerario Simone Genyfeld Mauricio filio Willelmi Rogero de Sampford Albricio de Courcy et multis aliis apud Sanetum Edmundum Nos autem tenorem et effectum dicte Carte Irrotulamenti ad requisicionem dicti Cristofori de Sancto laurencio duximus exemplificandum In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste dilecto et fideli nostro Patrio flynglas Capitali Barone Scaccarii nostri predicti apud Dublin vicesimo quinto die Nouembris Anno Regni nostri vicesimo primo.

This exemplification is reproduced amongst ancient deeds by the Record Commissioners of Ireland, vol. i, plate iii; it is also calendared in the Calendar of Irish Patent Rolls, p. 2; and it is translated in Lynch's "Legal Institutions," p. 148.

APPENDIX C.

CADETS OF THE HOUSE OF HOWTH, 1200-1400.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in connexion with the city and county of Dublin, the following cadets are found:—In 1255, Thomas, who was granted by Walter de Suell, vicar of Howth, a holding in Oxmantown; in 1275, Philip, son of Richard, who owned property in Howth; in 1284, J —, who held a tenement in Bray; in 1286, William, who disobeyed a summons; in 1290, Thomas, who owned property in the parish of St. Nicholas; in 1292, Robert, who harboured an Irishman, and valued sheep belonging to the Templars at Clontarf; in 1293, Richard, who owned land at Swords, and accounted for the revenues of the see of Dublin; in 1306, Roger, who served as a juror in a trial for robbery at Malahide, and Walter, who in a similar capacity, on a trial for highway robbery, sought to have the prisoner excused on the ground that he was drunk; and in 1392, John, son of John who dealt with land at Howth, and acted as a royal commissioner (Christ Church Deeds; Sweetman's Calendar; Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey; Justiciary Rolls; Liber Niger; Graves's "King's Council in Ireland"; and Patent Rolls, Ireland).

In connexion with the county of Louth, and generally described as of Howthstown, the following cadets appear:—In 1299, Simon, who was plaintiff in a suit tried at Drogheda; in 1306, William, Roger, and Hugh, who were accused of taking part in faction-fights, and Richard, who lost by theft a surcoat and three hides; in 1325, Richard, who was allied to the Verdons, then in conflict with the Crown; in 1372, Peter, who was a cleric; in 1380, Peter, who married a daughter of the Verdon house; and in 1384, Richard of Howthstown, Richard of Henrystown, and Robert of Cronstown (Justiciary Rolls; Plea Rolls; Close Rolls; Lodge's "Peerage").

APPENDIX D.

RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES OF HOWTH, 1200-1400.

- Circa* 1200. Hernesius (Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey, i, 173).
- Circa* 1235. Gentilius (see the early deed).
[Vicar: Walter de Suell.]
- Circa* 1269. John de Saunford (Sweetman's Calendar, 1252-84, no. 1173).
Afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.
1275. John de St. Omer (*ibid.*).
1295. Walter de Langton (Dr. Lawlor).
At the same time he held preferments in the dioceses of Winchester, Carlisle, Durham, York, Lichfield, and London (Papal Letters).
- Circa* 1320. John de Lascapon (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1324-27, p. 89).
Sometimes Archdeacon of Nantes, and Papal agent to England and Ireland (Papal Letters).
[Vicar: William Young.]
1330. Adam de Hervyngton (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327-30, p. 489).
1346. John de Burnham, B.C.L. (*ibid.*, 1345-48, p. 150).
Sometime Treasurer and Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland (Cal. Pat. Rolls; Papal Letters).
- Circa* 1365. Henry de Wakefield (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, p. 467).
Afterwards Bishop of Worcester.
1370. William de Beverley (*ibid.*).
Sometime Archdeacon of Northumberland and Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster. In 1383, 1388, and 1389 he appointed Nicholas, Lord of Howth, his attorney in Ireland (*ibid.*).
1390. Walter Brugge (*ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 301).
Sometime Archdeacon of Meath and a Prebendary of York. In 1391 he was granted a licence to bring victuals, horses, goshawks, and falcons to England (*ibid.*).
1396. John Melton (*ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 53).
1397. John Taaffe, B.C.L. (*ibid.*, pp. 57, 337; 1399-1401, p. 364).
Described as of noble birth, and holding preferment in the diocese of Meath (Papal Letters).

During the fourteenth century the following persons were nominated to the prebend of Howth by the Pope:—In 1329, William de Lascapon; in 1343, Stephen Lawless, afterwards Bishop of Limerick; in 1354, William de Kellesey and Richard Drax; in 1358, John de Lindelay; in 1360, Walter Moryn; in 1361, Thomas Gryk; in 1361, Adam Bobelyn; in 1396, John Taaffe; in 1397, Richard Young; and in 1398, John Prene, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral (Papal Letters and Register).

APPENDIX E.

RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES OF HOWTH, 1400–1600.

1400. John Eston (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399–1401, p. 369).
Sometime a canon of Windsor (Le Neve's Fasti).
1409. Richard Prentys (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408–13, p. 112).
Sometime a dignitary in England, but as there appears to have been a second ecclesiastic of the same name, his preferments cannot be defined (Le Neve's Fasti; Papal Letters).
1412. Robert Sutton (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408–13, p. 452).
Sometime rector of Drogheda, Wexford, and Slane, a canon of Ossory and Cashel, and Archdeacon of Kells (Papal Letters).
1444. Richard Chester (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441–46, p. 314).
Sometime a prebendary of London, Hereford, &c. (Le Neve's Fasti; Papal Letters).
- Circa* 1458. Lionel St. Lawrence (*supra*, p. 52).
1464. John Alleyn (Dr. Berry's Irish Statutes, Edw. IV, p. 373).
Afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral.
- Circa* 1470. William Tregury (Jour. Roy. Soc. Ant., Irel., vol. xxvi, p. 17, n. 4).
In 1470, during the hearing of a suit taken by him against one John Laralton for debt, he called the jury false and forsworn scoundrels, a contempt of court for which he was fined forty shillings (*ibid.*).
1479. John Plant (Dr. Lawlor).
- Circa* 1490. John FitzLyons (Irish Statutes, 1 Ric. III-8 Hen. VII).

1509. John FitzSimon (Cotton's Fasti).
 1522. Thomas Darcy (*ibid.*).
 Afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral.
 1530. William Power (*ibid.*).
 Sometime Archdeacon of Dublin and of Glendalough.
 [Vicar: Nicholas Carney, M.A.]
 1537. Simon Geffrey (Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. xii,
 nos. 477, 1310).
 1547. Prebend leased by the Crown to Sir Thomas Cusack
 and Edward, Lord Howth, who was to provide a
 chaplain for Howth church (Fiants, Edw. VI, nos.
 36, 86).
 [Chaplain: 1549, John Joy. Morrin's Pat. Rolls, i,
 193.]
 1555. John Dongan (Cotton's Fasti).
 1595. Robert Conway, LL.D. (*ibid.*).

APPENDIX F.

CADETS OF THE HOUSE OF HOWTH, 1400-1600.

Amongst the cadets mentioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in various parts of the country we find the following:—In 1403, Thomas, who was appointed to summon the magnates of Dublin county; in 1414, Adam, who is described as of Wicklow; in 1452, Thomas, who was a trustee for Athboy; about 1500, Lionel, who was in the service of the Earl of Kildare; in 1504, Edward, who was rector of Swords; in 1537, Ralph, who was a student of Lincoln's Inn; in 1547, Christopher, who was a cleric in Dublin; in 1556, Nicholas, who resided at Garristown; and in 1562, Robert, who resided at Maynooth (D'Alton's Hist. of Co. Dublin; Exchequer Records; Pat. Rolls, Irel.; Morrin's Pat. Rolls; Book of Howth; Lincoln's Inn Admissions; Chancery Decrees).

As connected with the Louth branch we find the following:—In 1401, John, who is described as of Howthstown; in 1403, Henry, who was Prior of the House of St. Leonard, in Dundalk; about 1480, Christopher Howth, and his father Jenkins Howth; and in 1541, Anthony, who was concerned in Dundalk Castle (Pat. Rolls, Irel.; Irish Statutes; Morrin's Pat. Rolls; Fiants).

And in connexion with Kilkenny county, where a branch had become seated at Kells, we find, in 1559, Walter; in 1572, Stephen; and in 1583, Thomas, who were active in maintaining English rule (Fiants; Morrin's Pat. Rolls).

APPENDIX G.

RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES OF HOWTH, 1600-1700.

1610. Christopher Hewetson.
Sometime Treasurer of Christ Church Cathedral,
Dublin, and Treasurer of Ardfert Cathedral.
[Curate: 1615, Martin Cod.]
1636. Thomas Lloyd.
Sometime Chancellor of Dromore.
[Curates: 1639, Eusebius Roberts; 1644, Humphrey
Vaughan; 1645, John Butler.]
1660. William Sheridan.
Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.
1671. Patrick Grattan, D.D.
Sometime a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and
Chaplain to the first Duke of Ormond.

In 1615 the church of Howth was returned as in good repair, and provided with books, but in 1630, although the chancel was "well," the body of the church was said to be in decay, and to want slates and glazing. The prebend was then estimated as worth £80 per annum, and was said to be entitled, in addition, to twenty acres of land, twelve houses, and sixty-five shillings chief rent, which were detained by Lord Howth and the representatives of Bealing of Bealingstown.

(Regal Visitation of 1615 in Public Record Office; Archbishop Bulkeley's Report in "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," v. 145; Visitation and Title Books.)

APPENDIX H.

CADETS OF THE HOUSE OF HOWTH, 1600-1800.

Amongst the cadets mentioned in those centuries there appear:—
In 1614, George, who rendered good service in Denmark; in 1639, Thomas of the Co. Tipperary; in 1640, Bartholomew, who served as a captain in the army abroad; in 1647, John, who was a chaplain in the Leinster army; in 1649, Edward, who held with Cromwell, and narrowly escaped being taken by the Irish; in 1658, Patrick of Lusk; in 1670, Christopher of Stoneybatter in Dublin; in 1571, Christopher, who married then Martha Boulter; in 1684, Thomas of Lusk; in 1685, Nicholas of Wicklow; in 1723, George, who had a son called Joseph; in 1725, Robert, who married then Mary

Duckinfield; in 1740, Francis, who married then Esther Jones; and in 1784, Gregory of King Street in Dublin. (State Papers, Ireland; Dublin Grants; Chancery Decrees.)

In connexion with Londonderry, there appear:—in 1632, George, and in 1728, Thomas. (Chancery Decree.)

As connected with Louth we find, in 1647, Christopher, of Crucetown and Cheeverstown, who was then serving in the Confederate army, and said to be of “an ancient and noble family, whereof none hitherto had been a burden to the public”; and as more particularly identified with Drogheda in 1633, Roland who was an alderman; and in 1634, John who was a merchant, and Thomas who was a captain. (State Papers, Ireland; Funeral Entries; Wills.)

APPENDIX I.

RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES OF HOWTH, 1700–1800.

1704. Robert Grattan, M.A.
 [On October 10, 1721, Archbishop King wrote to him asking him to lend the bells of the old church of Howth to St Ann’s Church, in Dublin, which the Archbishop was then about to consecrate.]
1723. Samuel Webber, M.A.
 [Curate: 1739, Ralph Gregory.]
1742. John Jackson, M.A.
1750. Arthur Mahon, LL.B.
 Sometime Archdeacon of Achonry and Vicar-General of Killala.
 [Curate: 1751, Mervyn Archdall.]
1752. John Walls, M.A.
 Sometime Archdeacon of Achonry and Vicar-General of Killala.
 [On April 15, 1754, John Walls furnished, as Prebendary of Howth and Curate of Howth, Baldoyle, and Kilbarrack, the following terrier:—“The Prebend of Howth, and the Curacies of Howth, Belldoyle, and Kilbarrack, consist in the great and small tithes of the following townlands—that is to say: Kilbarrack, Warren House, Steapolin, Maine, Swan’s Nest, Whip-of-the-Water, Howth, Sutton, Censure, Studd Walls, Bodeen, Kitestown,—and in tithe of fish. The city of Dublin is also pleased to pay the curate of Belldoyle ten pounds yearly.”]

1755. John Wynne, M.A.
 [In 1766 John Wynne made a return showing that in the parishes of Howth, Baldoyle, and Kilbarrack there were twenty-nine families of the Protestant religion and two hundred and two of the Roman Catholic religion; and in 1768 he made another, in which he stated that the church was in ruins, that service was performed in a house given by Lord Howth, and that he served the cure himself, and resided in a house of his own building in the parish of Baldoyle.]
1771. William Blachford, M.A.
1773. Moses Roquier, M.A.
1774. Thomas Stewart, B.A.
 [Curate: 1783, William Connor.]
1789. Walter Blake Kirwan.
 Afterwards Dean of Killala.
 [On June 12, 1799, a grant towards building a new church was made.]
 (Title Books; King's Correspondence; Parliamentary Returns.)

APPENDIX K.

PARISH PRIESTS OF HOWTH, 1600-1800.

- Circa* 1630. William Canon Shergoll.
- Circa* 1665. James Canon Begg.
- Circa* 1700. Charles Smyth.
 [In a Parliamentary Return in 1704 Charles Smyth is stated to have been then fifty-six years of age, to have been ordained in 1677, in Dublin, by Patrick Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, and to have resided in Baldoyle.]
1712. Luke Fagan.
 Afterwards successively Bishop of Meath and Archbishop of Dublin.
1713. Edward Treacy.
 [In a Parliamentary Return in 1731 there are stated to have been in the parishes of Howth, Baldoyle, and Kilbarrack "Two mass-houses, one priest, and one Popish school."]

<i>Circa</i> 1750.	Father Taaffe.
1769.	John Moran.
1777.	William Anderson.
1778.	Christopher Wall.
1783.	James Hall.
1784.	John Baptist Hamilton.
1796.	Hugh Brady.

[Bishop of Canea, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.]

APPENDIX L.

THE FURNITURE OF THE HOUSE OF HOWTH, 1746-52.

In a book preserved in Howth Castle there are four inventories of the contents of the Castle, compiled, respectively, on May 3, 1746, April 26, 1748, July 5, 1751, and April 9, 1752, and an inventory of the contents at the same period of Lord Howth's Dublin house, which has been printed by the Georgian Society. The following are extracts showing the contents of some of the principal rooms in Howth Castle:—

THE GREAT HALL.

Eighteen oak chairs; large roan table; clock; square deal breakfast table; fifty large fowling pieces; forty-seven bayonets; two back swords; servants' hand-bell; a sea-triumph; five pairs of stags' horns; a large tortoise-shell; two pairs of elk horns; the great sword of Howth; and three pieces of old armour.

THE DINING PARLOUR (NOW THE BILLIARD ROOM).

Gilt leather screen; square mahogany dining table; small mahogany dining-table; black and white marble side-table; black and white marble cistern; mahogany bottle-tray; fourteen walnut chairs, horse-hair seats, calf-skin covers; small mahogany table; round mahogany drinking-table; floor cloth; moving grate, with big pillars; brass-mounted fire-irons, wire brass fender; two large busts; brass lock and key; two-leaf screen; and six prints, viz.: Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, Ann of Cleves, and Southwark Fair.

THE OUT PARLOUR.

Large black and white marble table, a mahogany frame; large mahogany dining-table; fourteen walnut chairs covered with Spanish leather; brass stove-grate fixed; iron fender; two brass locks.

MY LADY'S BEDCHAMBER (NOW PART OF THE DINING-ROOM).

Raised tester scarlet English damask bed, complete; three sets of window curtains; six small stuffed back and seat chairs; damask cases and red cloth serge cases; two easy chairs, with damask cases and cloth serge cases; feather-bed and bolster; broad-cloth under-blanket; two pairs of silk blankets; Manchester counterpane; white mattress; mahogany bureau and book-case, with looking-glass door; large china punch-bowl; two china canisters; two china bottles; two tea-pots; two china Turks; chimney glass and snake arms, London gilt; three painted flower-pieces over doors; the Siege of Buda, by Harrath, over the chimney; large moving grate, with brass pillars; set of brass-mounted fire-irons; brass fender; Indian screen; strong box on a frame; japanned box; walnut escritoire; black japanned box; ninety-nine great and small pictures on the arch; three mortice locks; and large carpet, by Mr. Hogarth.

Amongst the prints in the arch were: the Rake's Progress; the Liberal Arts; Robert Boyle; Marquis of Montrose; General Lambert; Julius Caesar; Cardinal de Fleury; and Raphael; and there are also noticed two Dutch dolls in ivory frames, eighteen cut-paper pictures, and two pieces of shell-work.

MY LADY'S DRESSING-ROOM.

Dressing-glass in swinging walnut frame, diamond cut; large chimney glass; walnut writing-table on castors; six walnut chairs, chintz cases; brass-mounted grate; set of brass-mounted fire-irons; brass fender; seventeen glazed prints; scroll mahogany writing-table; small mahogany tea-chest; four small brackets; a large bracket; small gilt bust; two pair blue door-curtains.

MY LORD'S DRESSING-ROOM.

Large pier sconce in a walnut frame, diamond cut; delf fountain and basin; six walnut chairs covered with Spanish leather; deal dressing-table; oak stool covered with Spanish leather; quilted stool; pair of tables; walnut escritoire; brass-mounted grate; set brass-mounted fire-irons; brass fender; Scotch carpet; seven guns; two cases of large brass-mounted pistols; one case of screw-barrel pistols; two cases of pocket-pistols; four cases of steel-mounted pistols; a pair of backgammon tables; two hunting poles, a dagger on one, and a bayonet on the other.

THE GREAT DINING-ROOM (NOW THE DRAWING-ROOM).

Three pairs yellow damask window curtains, linings and tassels, and six lace bridles; eighteen walnut chairs, covered with yellow

damask and yellow cloth serge cases; two settees, yellow damask covers and yellow serge cases; two large Italian marble tables, and black Spanish leather cases, lined with baize, and walnut frames; two Indian screens; two small Indian trunks on frames; square Indian box on a frame, and a small Indian trunk on it; two mahogany card-tables; two large pier sconces, burnished gold; small filigree cabinet on a frame of the same; picture of the late Lord Howth; two old family pictures; Dean Swift, a whole length, by Mr. Bindon; picture of Master William St. Lawrence; picture of Master Gorges; tea equipage of fine burnished china, viz.: tea-pot, cream-jug, sugar-dish and cover, slop-bowl, six coffee cups; a fine raised china tea-pot and dish, six cups and saucers; two china beggar-men; Indian tea-board on a black frame; four gilt busts; two large white china flower-pots; two landscapes, by Carver, over the doors; two large china lions on brackets; four family pictures, oval gilt frames; a pair of fine carved branches on the chimney, London gilt; two white busts on brackets; curiosities in china and paste, and Turkish figures on the chimney and cabinets and on the glass-case, 168 pieces; a fine six-leaf varnished screen, scarlet ground; a large settee grate, iron mounting; set of fire-irons, roan heads; iron fender; and German pair of chamber bellows. [The prospect of the house of Howth appears only in the inventory of 1752.]

THE CASTLE BED CHAMBER.

Blue silk mohair raised tester bed, lined with lutestring, complete; feather-bed and bolster, Flanders' tick; pair of English blankets; broad-cloth under-blanket; white satin quilt; Holland mattress; down pillows; eight mahogany chairs, stuffed back and seat, covered with blue mohair and Persian scarves, and blue cloth serge cases; two easy-chairs; mahogany writing-table, with a drawer; small japanned Indian desk on a black frame; large mahogany clothes chest and red leather cover; large eight-leaf Indian screen; twelve green varnished dressing-boxes; black japanned small box; swinging looking-glass; set of Indian boxes in a frame; two straw powder boxes; small tortoise-shell trunk, done with silver; picture of the Virgin Mary in crayons, with a looking-glass plate in front; Madam Sallé, a print glazed; the games of Puss in the Corner and Dropped Handkerchiefs, two prints glazed; Venus in a carved gilt frame; large moving grate, with brass pillars; set of brass-mounted fire-irons; brass fender; needle-work fire-screen, with a mahogany pole; brass lock and key; two iron locks on the closets; brass bells; and two pairs of blue mohair window-curtains, lined with blue paragon.

APPENDIX M.

RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES OF HOWTH, 1800-1900.

1800. John Lewis, B.A.
 [In 1812 the Board of First Fruits granted £600 towards the cost of a new parish church, and the Privy Council authorized a change of site; in 1814 the site on which the parish church stands was given by Lord Howth; and in 1816 the church which was then erected upon it was consecrated.]
1826. Charles Smith, B.A.
 Afterwards Vicar-General of Elphin.
1833. Arthur Irwin, B.A.
 Afterwards Dean of Ardfert.
1847. James Howie, M.A.
 Afterwards Dean of Cloyne.
1847. Robert Staveley, M.A.
1849. John O'Regan, B.A.
 Afterwards Archdeacon of Kildare.
1852. William Robert Lawrenson, B.A.
 [In 1866 the church consecrated in 1816 was replaced by the present one.]
1873. Robert Shaw Kerr, M.A.
1912. John Powell, M.A.

APPENDIX N.

PARISH PRIESTS OF HOWTH, 1800-1900.

1806. Thomas Rorke.
1813. John Joseph Smyth.
 [In 1814 a new church was erected on a site given by the second Earl of Howth.]
1818. Michael Bernard Keogh, O.S.F.C.
1831. William Young.
1838. John White.
1850. Paul (Canon) Smithwick.
1881. Bernard Dennan.
1889. Joseph (Archdeacon) Flanagan.
 [In 1899 the present church was dedicated.]
1907. James Colohan.

APPENDIX O.

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB AT HOWTH.

Professor R. A. S. Macalister, LITT.D., has written the following note on his drawing of the inscription facing p. 51 :—

“The inscription is weather-worn to such an extent that it is almost invisible, and to decipher it needs the closest possible attention. The following reading is based partly on an examination of the original stone, and partly on rubbings; the latter have the advantage of clearness in the case of some of the most badly worn parts of the legend :

HIC IACENT CRISTOFERUS DE SANCTO LAURENT¹ DOMINUS / ET
ANNA DOMINE² FILIA . . .³ PLUNKET⁴ DE RATOAT/H OBITUS IN⁵
CRISTO DOMINE⁶ ANNO DOMINI MCCCC SEXTO II QUORUM
ANIMABUS / DEUS PROPICIETUR⁷ ME FECIT⁸

“1. There may, perhaps, be an apostrophe here, denoting the abbreviation of the name. It is, however, impossible to be sure.

“2. This word should be DOMINA, but the traces are not consistent with a final A. There is a curve, clearly appearing in the rubbing, which looks more like the back of an E (in the Lombardic character used in the inscription) than anything else. I have therefore written it as E.

“3. About three letters here, totally defaced.

“4. The UNK in this name is written in ligature.

“5. This word is abbreviated, being represented by an I with a horizontal stroke crossing it.

“6. This word should of course be DOMINO, but there is *certainly* a final E, not O. The writer of the inscription became confused between ‘Domina Anna,’ ‘Domin(a)e Ann(a)e,’ ‘Anno Domini,’ and ‘Christo Domino.’ The name ‘Christo’ is spelt without the *h*.

“7. The maker’s name is totally defaced, only a few unintelligible marks being visible. It seems from the space it occupied to have contained about nine letters.

“8. These words, *me fecit*, and presumably the name that preceded them, are in ordinary Roman capitals; the rest of the inscription, as stated above, is in Lombardic lettering.”

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