

Sir Richard Bulkeley and the Foundation of Dunlavin Village

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Writing in 1913, Lord Walter Fitzgerald stated that 'The present town of Dunlavin owes its origin to the Bulkeley family, and so dates from the second half of the seventeenth century'.¹ This essay examines Fitzgerald's statement and identifies which member of the Bulkeley family was responsible for the establishment of the village on its present site, pinpoints the year in the late seventeenth century during which building was being carried out and identifies the proposed reasons for the construction of the new village. Finally, the ultimate failure of Bulkeley's vision for Dunlavin is noted, as are the growth of the settlement and its acquisition of new functions – which were not envisaged by Bulkeley – during the centuries which followed. The essay ends with a brief reference to the enduring legacy of Bulkeley and the longer-term effects of his blueprint for the new village in the Wicklow foothills.

The name 'Dunlavin' certainly pre-dates the seventeenth century. The earliest written record of the name (as 'Dunmeillobain') dates from the 1170s, but by 1216 the name had taken on a much more recognisable form when it appeared as 'Dunlavane'.² From there, the modern name 'Dunlavin' evolved.³ However, although the name crops up from time to time in medieval records,⁴ there was no village on the present site although some settlements nearby were noted.⁵ The first tenant of the manor of Dunlavin to appear in records (dating from the mid sixteenth century) was Sir William Sarsfield of Lucan and Tully, who died in 1616.⁶ His grandson, Peter, succeeded to the lands around Dunlavin, but was outlawed for his participation in the 1641 rebellion and his lands were forfeited.⁷ Following the demise of the Sarsfields, the Dunlavin area passed into the possession of the Bulkeley family.⁸

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Bulkeleys were an old-established family. The family can be traced back to the reign of King John (1199-1216) and William Bulkeley supported the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses during the reign of King Henry VI (1422-1461).⁹ A branch of the family settled in Beaumaris, North Wales. Richard, third in descent from the above William, had a large family and his youngest son, Launcelot (also known as Lancelot) was elected lord archbishop of Dublin on 11 August 1619.¹⁰ The archbishop purchased the Dunlavin area for his son William, who lived in Old Bawn House and was the archdeacon of Dublin.¹¹ William passed the Dunlavin lands on to his son Richard. In 1661 Richard Bulkeley petitioned King Charles II, stating that 'Dunlavan town lies near the mountains of Wicklow and there is a great want of markets and fairs in that country. The town of Dunlavan is well situated for such a fair.' As a result of his petition, on 25 April 1661 a rent of twenty shillings was reserved, but Richard Bulkeley was

granted 'the right to hold a market there [Dunlavin] every Wednesday and on the second Tuesday in May and the second Tuesday after Michaelmas, each lasting for two days if the writ ad quod damnum be returned without any damage being proved.'¹²

Despite this early reference to 'the town of Dunlavan', it is probable (for reasons that will become apparent later in this essay) that the village did not occupy its present site at this time and it is also probable that these early fairs were held at Milltown ('Milltown de Dunlowen' or the 'Milltown of Donlovan').¹³ Certainly no settlement is shown on the present site of Dunlavin in the Down Survey of 1654.¹⁴ Archdeacon William Bulkeley died in 1671 and his son Richard was given the title 'baronet of Dunlavin' on 9 December 1672. The first baronet died in 1685 and the title passed to his eldest son, also named Richard.¹⁵ This man, the second baronet, was responsible for the building of the new village of Dunlavin. Before examining his motivation for founding this new town, however, some background information on the man himself is necessary.

Sir Richard Bulkeley was born in 1644 and 'though deformed in body, was a man of extraordinary cleverness and learning'.¹⁶ Bulkeley had a hunch back which required him to wear a truss, although in later life he abandoned the truss and 'cherished the confident expectation of being cured of a crooked back, a deformity natural to him'.¹⁷ Despite this disability, Bulkeley graduated with a B.A. from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1680. This was followed by an M.A. in 1681 and he became a fellow of the Royal Society.¹⁸ Bulkeley was a prolific writer and a leading member of the late seventeenth-century intelligentsia. He married Lucy, a daughter of Sir George Downing and served as M.P. for Fethard (Co. Wexford) from 1692 until his death in 1710, typifying the improving spirit of the age.¹⁹ His varied interests are reflected in his writings. In 1686 he presented a paper on 'a new sort of calesh'.²⁰ This new mode of self-propelled transport was, Bulkeley claimed, very comfortable for invalids and was almost impossible to overturn. However, the new calesh never materialised – hardly surprising, considering the disadvantages. It would 'only hold one person, was ready to take fire every ten miles and it created an almost insufferable noise'.²¹

Bulkeley would contribute other papers to the Royal Society later, but not before political events overtook his researches. The year 1688 witnessed the 'Glorious Revolution' and during the following years a protracted struggle ensued between James II and William of Orange. In the Williamite-Jacobite wars, Sir Richard Bulkeley was very firmly on the Protestant side.²² William's wife, Mary, was English and Bulkeley may have known her quite well; he certainly was in correspondence with her. Some of this correspondence – a series of letters (probably dating from 1689) to the queen – shows Bulkeley to be a deeply religious man. In one letter, for example, he observed that some of the duties imposed by the Holy Scriptures were 'less necessarily required of some sorts of persons than of others', he indicated that the duties of justice and mercy are more often required of those in authority and noted that it is the duty of all to give substance to the poor. He also told the queen that if she accepted his advice she was sure to be 'received into everlasting

habitations and shine as ye stars for ever and ever'.²³ In another letter to Mary, Bulkeley suggested that people 'should reform and amend our lives and turn from our wicked ways' and he drafted a proposed 'Proclamation against cursing, swearing and drunkenness' for use by the queen. He advised Frederick, duke of Schomberg, to take care to punish all drunkenness and debauchery in the army. He also claimed that the miseries which had befallen the Protestant subjects of Ireland 'do with a loud voice call upon us to endeavour to divert the Divine displeasure'.²⁴

Other letters from Bulkeley to the queen show that he had a social conscience. One such epistle concerns the 'future easing of this city [London] and kingdom from the great burden of the poor'. Bulkeley referred to the great number of poor and believed about one eleventh of the nation 'are not worth five pounds in all their worldly goods'. He suggested establishing houses where all children whose parents cannot maintain them can be taught to read and write and 'kept and bred in the fear of God and in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures'. He also suggested establishing workhouses where all adult beggars could be maintained and 'work at such sort of work as fits their strength and other circumstances' and advocated establishing a bank which would assist tradesmen who have fallen upon hard times to set up in their trades again. He went on to say that funds should be established to support those who are too sick or too old to work, and to provide apprenticeships for boys and marriage portions for girls from the workhouses and suggested a fund 'for the nursing and bringing up of children that are found, that our land may not be under the guilt of any one murder of an innocent infant'. He also advocated a fund for all sailors maimed in service.²⁵ In another letter, Bulkeley suggested a similar system of reform for Ireland and noted that 'the right way can be made known to the generation that is yet to come' and that it was important to 'teach and instruct the youth in our religion'. In this letter Bulkeley also emphasised the importance of having good governors of the Church of Ireland, 'the most corrupt Church of the reformed religion this day in the world'.²⁶ Bulkeley wrote to Mary later in that year (1689) saying that his proposals may look difficult, but the work was righteous, so there was 'the divell, and all his devices, to deal withal' but 'no great actions are accomplish'd without difficulty'.²⁷

Bulkeley also wrote to the bishop of St Asaph in 1689 concerning reforms and improvements in Ireland. One letter advocated the growing of linen in Ireland as more profitable than it would be in England and suggested that the king could employ many of his prisoners on such a scheme, thereby reducing the cost of keeping them. Bulkeley himself was prepared to live privately on his estate in Ireland if the queen would lend him the money to set up the linen manufacturing scheme there.²⁸ In a later letter, Bulkeley told the bishop that he was approached by some Irish gentlemen who knew that he had access to the king and queen, and who would give money for 'public and pious uses' – enough, Bulkeley thought, for perhaps twenty schools 'for the instruction and conversion of the Irish children'.²⁹ Bulkeley also noted that he would help some gentlemen to obtain posts as secretaries to the commissioners appointed to judge

whether the Irish are guilty or innocent of rebellion on condition that they gave half the profits for 'publick and pious uses' such as converting Irish children and 'breeding them up in ye fear of God and in the knowledge of the scriptures'. He estimated that the amount in question would be up to two or three thousand pounds.³⁰

Sir Richard Bulkeley had backed the winner in the Williamite Wars and by 1693 he was once again presenting his ideas to the Royal Society. News of the 'discovery' of an amazing natural phenomenon filtered out that year when Bulkeley presented a paper on the Giant's Causeway, Co. Antrim.³¹ The bishop of Derry had made the 'discovery' a year earlier. The news caused quite a stir and the causeway became part of the 'Grand Tour', with a draughtsman making drawings of the columns in 1697.³² Bulkeley also outlined how the cultivation of maize would benefit Ireland,³³ and advocated the growth of elm trees, an idea which he had following a discussion with 'a poor meer Irish labourer'.³⁴ Bulkeley's schemes were proposed with the greater good of the people in mind. As already noted, the baronet had a social conscience and his religious beliefs were probably behind many of his suggested improvements.

Religious beliefs and controversies dominated Bulkeley's later life. One example of this was his involvement in the Toland affair. Toland, a Dutchman and author of *Christianity not mysterious*, which was published in 1696, was a controversial figure who propounded anti-clerical, anti-scriptural and anti-Trinitarian beliefs. He argued that scripture, just like any other written work, was expressed through language and so it was open to rational scrutiny. If, like other books, the bible had been subject to corruption or alteration, Toland argued that the use of reason was necessary to distinguish falsehood from truth in matters of revelation. Toland met with a hostile reception on his arrival in London and so he chose to follow one of his political patrons, John Methuen (1650-1706) to Ireland where he had been made lord chancellor in 1697. Toland arrived in Dublin sometime towards the end of March or in early April 1697: his reception was as hostile, if not worse than in London. In Dublin Sir Richard Bulkeley pursued him through the Irish Commons: ultimately his book was burnt in September 1697 and he fled the country in poverty and disgrace. In fact, it was Bulkeley who chaired the Committee of Religion that condemned Toland and his book. The Toland affair was a product of the frenetic campaign against sin and the teachings which engendered it, and Bulkeley was a leading campaigner. In the early 1690s Bulkeley, (who held no commission or office) in collaboration with Ralph Hartley (a legitimate judicial officer), had set up in a room in Lincoln's Inn and set about prosecuting and punishing the 'ungodly' without due legal procedure. Bulkeley, on no legal authority, directed prosecutions, encouraged informers and distributed (at his own expense) thousands of blank warrants to make convictions.³⁵ The thrust of Bulkeley's arguments was that sin was no private matter but of intense public concern: all efforts should be employed to strike either at the sinner or cause of sin. The letter of the law was no restraint to God's work!³⁶

His involvement in persecution of the 'ungodly' was not confined to the Toland affair. Indeed, in 1707 James Ianson [Janson] and

others accused Bulkeley of supporting those 'impostors', the French prophets. Bulkeley was also accused of trying 'daily to revenge himself by making the French odious to the nation'. Ianson, and his cohorts further stated that Bulkeley had spoken 'in most impious terms by saying that the old and new testament were good for nothing' and they suggested that he 'did out of malice single out' one of the elders of the Savoy Church and his followers and 'caused them to be bound over to the next quarter sessions for riots'.³⁷ On that occasion, two Church members, John Ianson and John Arnaud, had actually been imprisoned for an assault on Bulkeley.³⁸

Towards the end of his life, Bulkeley was 'carried away by some religious enthusiasts known as "French Prophets", who he believed would cure him of his deformity'.³⁹ Indeed, he claimed that he had actually been cured of 'continuous headache, of stone and of rapture [rupture?]', so that he was no longer required to wear a truss.⁴⁰ In defence of these prophets, Bulkeley wrote 'An answer to several treatises, lately published on the subject of the prophets', which prompted a flurry of replies.⁴¹ The excitement inspired by Bulkeley's writings was hardly surprising though, as he was something of a heavyweight, with a proven track record, in the field of religious debate.

Nothing daunted, Bulkeley penned a controversial introduction for a work which was published by Abraham Whitro in 1709.⁴² However, by this time, his health was failing. Sir Richard Bulkeley died on 7 April 1710 and his body was interred in Ewell in Surrey. As he died without male issue, the baronetcy of Dunlavin died with the second baronet.⁴³ A man of learning and deep religious convictions, his writings on many subjects form part of his legacy. However, he also left a more tangible legacy in the west Wicklow area – the village of Dunlavin itself. Moreover, this 'legacy in stone' was actually part of Bulkeley's grand design – a village built in the improving spirit that was so central to Bulkeley's character, a potential centre of learning and a project fired by a deep conviction in the righteousness of the Protestant cause during the Williamite-Jacobite conflict.

There is a slight possibility that some small settlement existed on the present site of Dunlavin village during or even before the tenure of the first baronet⁴⁴ (i.e. Bulkeley's father, also called Sir Richard, who died in 1685).⁴⁵ It is certain, however, that construction work was being carried out on the site in 1689. In that year Bulkeley wrote about the new village, which he envisaged as being an exclusively Protestant settlement.⁴⁶ The fledgling village was nineteen miles or six leagues from Dublin, well situated on fertile ground and with abundant water. There was a market there once a week, which was the best attended and best supplied in the entire province, and two big annual fairs were held. This was obviously a reference to the market and fairs which had been established by Bulkeley's father in 1661. Coal was used for heat, 'the best coal in the world, which we buy at a very good price and which makes neither smoke nor cinders, but which burns like red iron and which lasts a very long time in the fire'. The people also had access to the bogs. Regarding the site of the new village, Bulkeley wrote, 'This place is only eight miles or

two and a half leagues from a navigable river, from where you go down fifty miles or sixteen leagues to the beautiful and rich town of Waterford, the second town of Ireland, which has a very fine harbour frequented by a quantity of merchant vessels, by which all sorts of goods can be transported easily from Dunlavin to England or Holland'.⁴⁷

Bulkeley also referred to the exclusively Protestant nature of the new settlement. Having already portrayed the site as very attractive for persecuted French Protestants, he made five promises to act as further 'pull factors' for Protestant immigrants, which read thus:

1. I promise all French Protestant artisans who will want to live in our village to give them houses, according to the size of their families, which they will have free of charge for two years.
2. When they make up a hundred people, I will provide them with a French minister.
3. I will ensure that the market always be provided with a good quantity of vegetables such as carrots, cabbages, artichokes, peas, onions, leeks, potatoes etc. and all sorts of garden herbs.
4. As for labourers, if there are any who will want to live there, I promise to employ them all year round at the going rate, to supply them with lodgings or houses for their families, rent-free for the first year and I will rent them small plots or orchards in which they can work. I also commit myself to pay them a fixed sum as welcoming money at their place of disembarkation.
5. I will engage from the moment I meet them to ensure that justice is done to them, as long as they conform. I will protect them so that nobody will injure them and I will encourage all of those whom I consider worthy of my friendship.

Bulkeley was obviously very committed to the establishment and populating of the new Protestant village of Dunlavin. His support for William of Orange, his social conscience, his burning desire to educate the Irish Catholics and his general spirit of 'improvement' were all motivating factors in Bulkeley's vision. The project was less about a new village of bricks and mortar (or stone and thatch!) than about an ideal settlement which was only a small part of Bulkeley's 'master plan'. For his part, Bulkeley required that the new arrivals should be subject to the laws of their majesties when Dunlavin was incorporated as a bourg or town and he expected the inhabitants, after their first year, to give one day a week to help to build the church.⁴⁸

There seems little doubt that the building of Dunlavin village continued into the 1690s. Just how many 'French Protestants' arrived in this new refuge is uncertain; perhaps not as many as Bulkeley had envisaged. However, the new venture obviously met with a measure of success and the church was almost certainly built by 1698, as the Church of Ireland parish register for Dunlavin dates from that year.⁴⁹

Bulkeley's vision for the town that he had created did not end with the building of a church for its immigrant Protestant population however. In 1699 he wrote to the 'bishop of Derry at Londonderry', proposing that another university should be established somewhere away from Dublin.⁵⁰ Later in the year he proposed 'founding a college at ye town of Dunlavan, twenty miles from Dublin, upon ye Kilkenny road, in a plentiful, healthfull and very pleasant country, a good market and a large quantity of English and to be of ye University of Dublin'. Bulkeley proposed to endow the college 'with £420 per annum rent charge' and argued that 'ye rents of that lordship will be its maintenance and which probably thereby be ye better paid'. He also proposed the building of a feeder school (along the lines of Westminster School for Christ Church, Oxford) when he promised to provide 'beside £80 per annum and a schole house and a scholemaster's house for a public Latin schole in ye same towne for a nursery for ye same'. The baronet was also at pains to stress the bona fides of his proposed college as he continued: 'I believe I shall not need fear scarcity of scholars to such college, for its discipline shall be most strict, even whatever relating to that ye statutes of every college in Oxford or Cambridge can hint to me; for I take discipline to be ye life of a society that consists of subordinate ranks'.⁵¹ Indeed, Bulkeley's involvement in the public campaign against sin at the time of the Toland affair and in his later years demonstrated this trait of his character very well.

Bulkeley put forward the idea of building a university in Dunlavin once again just before Christmas in 1699. He extolled the advantages of the village, claiming: 'ye whole estate of Dunlavin is in ye summer a paradise'. This time however, he made it clear that there would be some charge involved, as he wrote: 'I intended not to give ye land, but onely to charge it with about two thirds of its value'.⁵² This may have been the reason – or, at least, one reason – why the 'University of Dunlavin' never materialised. The idea faded as the new century dawned, and Bulkeley spent more of his time in England, where, as already noted, he became embroiled in many heated religious debates and controversies, and where he eventually died.⁵³ His proposal for a university in Dunlavin had died before him however, as a traveller noted when he visited the village in 1709: 'Dunlavin, a dirty village, but prettily situated on a hill, belonging to Sir Richard Bulkeley, who talked of establishing a university and building a colledge here; nay, went so far as to have bricks burnt for this purpose, but I think that project is now at an end'.⁵⁴ Bulkeley was obviously something of a philanthropist and his expenditure on the bricks for the 'university that never was', coupled with other improving works meant that his house in Ewell, had, on account of his debts, to be sold shortly after his death.

Bulkeley's Dunlavin estates were not sold however. They passed to his niece Hester Bulkeley, who had married James Worth-Tynte in 1702.⁵⁵ Dunlavin village grew and continued to prosper throughout the eighteenth century and it became a leading market town in the west Wicklow area. Robert Tynte 'erected a fine market house in 1737 at a cost of £2,000, of which Tynte's cousin Bulkeley advanced £1,700'.⁵⁶ As late as 1881 the village hosted a market every

Wednesday and there were six large fairs held annually.⁵⁷ Sir Richard Bulkeley's seventeenth-century vision of a new market town serving west Wicklow had come to fruition. As time passed indeed, the town also acquired functions which Bulkeley could never have envisaged. During the final decade of the eighteenth century Dunlavin was a strategic garrison town.⁵⁸ Nearly a century later, in 1885, it became a railway town.⁵⁹ The late twentieth century witnessed further developments, as the town became a tourist destination and a commuter town, one of the many dormitory villages encircling the greater Dublin area. This remains the case today.

The other part of Bulkeley's vision – that his new settlement should be exclusively Protestant – did not, of course, come to pass. Many Catholic families were not moved out of the area, and others settled within it. Undoubtedly, Bulkeley's new village attracted a certain number of French – and English – Protestants. The presence of the Orange Order in the area a century or so later testifies to this fact.⁶⁰ This led to the growth of religious tensions within the area and there was a definite sectarian element to the massacre which occurred outside the Catholic place of worship on 24 May 1798.⁶¹ Indeed, sectarian tensions were evident in the Dunlavin area as late as August 1888.⁶² Part of the enduring legacy of Sir Richard Bulkeley's new town was, unfortunately, of a sectarian nature. Perhaps this result was inevitable when Bulkeley's plan involved the establishment of an exclusively Protestant town in a predominantly Catholic area. The baronet himself may not have foreseen this. There is evidence, already noted, that he believed that the education of Catholic children in the Protestant religion was the way forward, not only at local, but also at national level. The lack of success of such education in Ireland generally and in the Dunlavin area particularly was hardly to be envisaged by the victors during and immediately after the Williamite-Jacobite conflict. Bulkeley probably foresaw a future with Protestantism reigning supreme in his new settlement – and the fact that by 1881 Protestants comprised twenty one per cent of the total population of Dunlavin village (slightly more than one in five) shows that the baronet's plans regarding the Protestant populating of the settlement met with some measure of success.⁶³ Ultimately, however, he failed in his stated objective.

This essay has identified Sir Richard Bulkeley (1644-1710) as the principal founder of the village of Dunlavin on its present site. Despite possible small-scale earlier settlement, construction was being carried out in 1689 and it continued into the next decade. The Protestant community of the village had probably erected a new church by 1698, as parish records date from that year. The village was to have been a haven for displaced French Protestants, which would also serve its extensive hinterland, encompassing parts of both Counties Wicklow and Kildare, as a market town. Bulkeley, a learned man himself, also wished to build a new university on the site, but this plan came to naught. During Bulkeley's lifetime and after his death, the village stabilised and prospered, becoming the market town of Bulkeley's dreams. It also acquired new functions, which were unforeseen by Bulkeley, as the centuries progressed. Also unforeseen by Bulkeley was the fact that the influx of

Protestants would increase sectarian tensions in the area. These were, unfortunately, part of Bulkeley's long-term legacy in the region, just as was the landholding dominance of his indirect descendants, the Tynte family, until well into the twentieth century, and, of course, the physical village that he created. Above all, hopefully, this essay has put some flesh on the bones of Lord Walter Fitzgerald's statement that 'The present town of Dunlavin owes its origin to the Bulkeley family, and so dates from the second half of the seventeenth century', made in this journal ninety years ago!⁶⁴

REFERENCES

1. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p.223.
2. Liam Price, *Placenames of Co. Wicklow* (Dublin 1945), ii, pp 195-196.
3. For a more detailed treatment of the evolution of the placename and its possible meanings, see Chris Lawlor, 'Dunlavin – what's in a name?' in *Dunlavin-Donard-Davidstown Parish Link*, i, nos. 2, 3 and 5 (1995), pp 6, 4 and 5 respectively.
4. In 1275, for example, the Dunlavin area had to be guarded from attacks from the Wicklow mountains and tenants had to be compensated for losses; in 1307 the rath of Dunlavin (probably situated at Tornant) was burned by raiders and in 1332 trouble flared again in the area when a church containing eighty people was torched by 'Otothel (O'Toole) and his accomplices, enemies and rebels of the King'. J. F. Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow – a land of war' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds) *Wicklow, history and society* (Dublin, 1994), pp 160, 169 and 173.
5. A settlement at 'Iveston, alias Tornant at present' was referred to in 1326 and the 'Water mill of Dunlavin' [now called Milltown] is mentioned as early as 1278. 'Raithsalach' (Rathsallagh) actually appears in records as early as 1172. All three sites are within a mile or so of the present village. Price, *Placenames*, pp 153, 199-200.
6. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, with an account of his family and their connection with Lucan and Tully' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, iv, no. 2 (1903), p. 116.
7. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 219.
8. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220.
9. *The English Peerage or, a view of the ancient and present state of the English Nobility* (London 1790), p. 269. Copy in the possession of Ms Brenda Green, Nr Pickering, North Yorkshire. On this subject, see William Williams, 'History of the Bulkeley Family' in *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1948).
10. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220. Also *The English Peerage or, a view of the ancient and present state of the English Nobility* (London 1790), p. 269.
11. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220. Also 'The most complete history of Dublin on the web – Parish of Tallaght' (visited on 4/7/2001) at <http://indigo.ie/~kfinlay/ball1-6/Ball3/ball3.1.htm>
12. *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office 1660-1662* (London, 1905), p. 511.
13. Liam Price, *Placenames of Co. Wicklow* (Dublin, 1945), ii, p. 199. Price gives references to these forms of the placename Milltown from 1618 and 1621 respectively. Both contain a form of the name 'Dunlavin'.
14. Chris Lawlor, *The making of a local landscape – Dunlavin D.E.D.* Unpublished B.A. Geography Thesis (1981), N.U.I. Maynooth, p. 4. A tracing of the Down Survey map of the area appears in appendix one (unpaginated). The author has a copy of this thesis in his possession.
15. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220.

16. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220.
17. Andrew Kippis, *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1784), iii, entry for 'Edmund Calamy', p. 144. Bulkeley's expectations of a cure centred on his belief in the 'French Prophets' – of which more later.
18. The most complete history of Dublin on the web – Parish of Tallaght (visited on 4/7/2001) at <http://indigo.ie/~kfinlay/ball1-6/Ball3/ball3.1.htm>
19. The most complete history of Dublin on the web – Parish of Tallaght (visited on 4/7/2001) at <http://indigo.ie/~kfinlay/ball1-6/Ball3/ball3.1.htm>
20. Marsh's Library, 'Part of a letter from Sr. R.B. to Dr. L. concerning a new sort of calesh' in *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society, giving some account of the present undertaking, studies and labours of the ingenious in many considerable parts of the world*, xv (1686), p. 1028. Hereinafter referred to as *Philosophical Transactions*. Webster's Dictionary defines 'Calesh' (also 'Calash') as 'a light, small passenger carriage with a folding top'.
21. John Evelyn (E. S. De Beer, ed.) *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London 1951, reprinted edition 2000), iv, pp 483-484 and note.
22. I realise that 'Protestant' is a complex term, including many shades of opinion and belief. Indeed, Bulkeley's own deeply-held religious beliefs were complex and in later life he was a follower of the so-called 'French Prophets'. For the purposes of this essay, however, a clear division between the Protestant King William and the Catholic King James will suffice. I know that this is an over simplification of the situation as it was c 1690, and apologise to all who might take issue with the simplistic terminology but religious argument is not central to this essay, so I hope that the content and context in which it is used is clear.
23. University of Nottingham Library [U.N.L.], 'Letter from Richard Bulkeley, 2nd Baronet Bulkeley of Dunlavin, to Queen Mary II' in 'The Papers of Hans William Bentinck, First Earl of Portland, Part Two, Public Miscellanea', Pw A 2324. Hereinafter referred to as Bentinck Papers.
24. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2325
25. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2326
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28. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2329
29. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2330
30. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2331
31. 'Part of a letter from Sr. R.B. FRS to Dr Lister concerning the Giant's Causway in the County of Atrim in Ireland' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xvii (1693), pp 708-710. Incidentally, Bulkeley's surmises were far from accurate and he posed a number of questions, which were answered (again with dubious accuracy) by Revd. Dr. Samuel Foley, 'Answers to Sir Richard Bulkeley's queries relating to the Giant's Causway, wrote down when we were upon the causway' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xviii(1694), pp 173-175.
32. *Giant's Causeway Official Guide* (visited on 27/4/2001) at <http://www.giantscausewayofficialguide.com/beginning.htm>
33. 'Extract of a letter from Sir Richard Bulkley [sic.] FRS to Dr. Lister concerning the improvement to be made by maize; with a note on the same by John Ray FRS' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xvii (1693), pp 928-30.
34. 'An extract of a letter from Sir R. Bulkley [sic.] concerning the propagation of elms by seed', in *Philosophical Transactions*, xvii (1693), p. 971.
35. Justin A. I. Champion, *Making Authority: belief, conviction and reason in the public sphere in late seventeenth century England*, online paper posted on the Royal Holloway University's [Department of History] website (visited on 4/1/2001) at <http://www.rhbnc.ac.uk/~uhra026/mystery.html>
36. Much of the information in this paragraph has been paraphrased from the website at <http://www.rhbnc.ac.uk/~uhra026/mystery.html>. For a fuller treatment of the subject see J. A. I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken: the Church of England and its enemies 1660-1730* (Cambridge 1992).
37. British Library [B.L.], *Petition of William Portal, Luke Martin, Peter Tournard, Paul Baudry Jr., Isaac Gautir, Jane Fordan, James Janson, John Arnaud, Samuel Barrell, John Bouillard & others to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty*, Add.Ms. 61618, f.138.
38. B.L., Add.Ms. 61618, f.135.

39. The most complete history of Dublin on the web – Parish of Tallaght (visited on 4/7/2001) at <http://indigo.ie/~kfinlay/ball1-6/Ball3/ball3.1.htm>
40. Edmund Calamy, *An historical account of my own life, with some reflections on the times I have lived in* (London, 1829), ii, p. 75
41. Bulkeley's tract caused quite a stir. Some of the replies it inspired follow: Anonymous, *Reflections on Sir Richard Bulkeley's answer to several treatises, lately publish'd, on the subject of the prophets* (London, 1708). Edmund Calamy, *Sir Richard Bulkeley's remarks on the caveat against new prophets consider'd, in a letter to a friend* (London, 1708). Anonymous, *The Prophets; an heroic poem. In three cantos. Humbly inscrib'd to the illumin'd assembly at Barbican [and occasioned by Sir R. Bulkeley's 'Answer to several treatises, lately publish'd, on the subject of the prophets' of the reign of Queen Anne]* (London, 1708). Benjamin Hoadly, *A brief vindication of the antient prophets from the imputations and misrepresentations of such as adhere to our present pretenders to inspiration* (London, 1709).
42. Abraham Whitro, *The warnings of the eternal spirit with a preface by R. Bulkeley* (London, 1709).
43. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 221.
44. Of interest here is the existence of a cemetery within the present village, where some headstones actually predate Bulkeley's accession to the land and title in 1685. It is possible though that the cemetery was built at a distance from the old settlement. If this were indeed the case, the old site of Dunlavin could very well have been at Milltown, a townland about a mile distant and, as already noted, referred to as 'Milltown de Dunlowen' or the 'Milltown of Donlovan' during the early seventeenth century. Nearby Tornant is another possible site.
45. As we have seen, the first baronet acquired these lands from his father William (the archdeacon) and indirectly from his grandfather Launcelot (the archbishop of Dublin) following their forfeiture from the Sarsfield family, who had participated in the 1641 rebellion. The most complete history of Dublin on the web – Parish of Tallaght (visited on 4/7/2001) at <http://indigo.ie/~kfinlay/ball1-6/Ball3/ball3.1.htm> contains the following information relating to the 1641 depositions: 'Old Bawn House was not long built when the rebellion of 1641 broke out, and Archdeacon Bulkeley's improvements not only there, but also at Dunlavan, in the County Wicklow, where his father had bought another estate for him, were laid waste. The depositions of the Bulkeleys, servants and tenants, in most cases like themselves, of Welsh birth, give a deplorable picture of the damage. Old Bawn House, with its offices, garden, and orchard were stated to have been completely ravaged, and at Dunlavan, we are told, the destruction of a house only just completed and of a garden and orchard newly surrounded with quick-set hedges was lamentable to behold.' This passage implies that a house had been built somewhere at Dunlavin (the exact site is not mentioned) during William Bulkeley's tenure, but there is no mention of a village.
46. I am indebted to Miss Elizabeth Tebbutt of the University of Nottingham's Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections for her assistance in dating Bulkeley's notes and other Bentinck Papers referred to in this essay.
47. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2333. The original document was written in French and I am indebted to Mr Joe Walsh of Méanscoil Iognáid Rís, who provided a literal translation of the manuscript.
48. U.N.L., Bentinck Papers, Pw A 2333.
49. Representative Church Body Library, Parish Register of Dunlavin. The first entry in the register is the baptism of George, son of Daniel and Elizabeth Champion and is dated 8 March 1698. As this was copied into a new register, it seems possible that this date marks the opening of a new church in the fledgling settlement.
50. 'Letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley dated Nov 4th 1699' in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870), Appendix IV, p. 238.
51. 'Letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley dated Dec 9th 1699' in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870), Appendix IV, p. 239.
52. 'Letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley dated Dec 23rd 1699' in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870), Appendix IV, p.240.
53. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 220.

54. Trinity College Dublin, Thomas Molyneux, Molyneux Papers, Ms. 883/2, f. 87.
55. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, County Wicklow' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, viii, no. 4 (1913), p. 221. For an excellent treatment of the complicated linkages between the three families, see John Lynott, 'The Bulkeley-Worth-Tynte Connection' in *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure* (1990), p. 59. Bulkeley's descendants, the Tynte family, remained the dominant landlords in the Dunlavin area, building Tynte Park House in the 1830s [Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (3 vols, London, 1837), i, p. 583]; the house remained in the Tynte family until it was sold in 1974 [Burke's guide to country houses, Ireland, (London, 1978), p. 279].
56. N.U.I. Maynooth, *Shearman Papers*, vii, f.142v.
57. *Thom's Official Directory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1881* (Dublin 1881), p. 1004. For a fuller treatment of the services and functions of the market town of Dunlavin at this time see Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-1896: a West Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), pp 20-23.
58. Chris Lawlor, *The massacre on Dunlavin Green – a story of the 1798 Rebellion* (Naas, 1998), p. 12.
59. Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-1896: a West Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), p. 19.
60. Chris Lawlor, *The massacre on Dunlavin Green – a story of the 1798 Rebellion* (Naas, 1998), pp 27-41. Also Ruán O'Donnell 'The Rebellion of 1798 in County Wicklow' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow, history and society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 369.
61. Chris Lawlor, *The massacre on Dunlavin Green – a story of the 1798 Rebellion* (Naas, 1998), p. 100. This point is further developed in Chris Lawlor, 'Dunlavin Green Revisited' in *Dunlavin-Donard-Davidstown Parish Link*, iv, no. 3 (1998), p. 6.
62. Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-1896: a West Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), pp 48-49.
63. Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-1896: a West Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), p. 25.
64. I wish to thank the following people for their patience, tolerance, encouragement, support and assistance during my time spent researching and writing this essay: Margaret Lawlor, my wife; Declan, Jason and Michael Lawlor, my sons; Philip Bulkeley, direct descendant of Sir William Bulkeley of Beaumaris; Brenda Green of the Family History Research Library, North Yorkshire; Colin Hinson, Blunham, Bedfordshire; Dr Derek Coyle of St Patrick's College, Carlow; Penny Woods of the N.U.I. Maynooth Library; Siobhán O'Rafferty of the R.I.A. Library, Dublin; Trevor Peare of T.C.D. Library, Dublin; Margaret Birchall of Dunlavin Library; Gerard O'Dwyer, Dunlavin; Louise McCarron of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Heather Smith of the R.C.B. Library, Dublin; Elizabeth Tebbutt of the Nottingham University Library; Honora Faul of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin; Ann Simmons of Marsh's Library, Dublin; Petra Schnabel of the R.I.A. Library, Dublin; Rupert Baker of the Royal Society Library, London; Jagdish Sharma of the British Library, London; Hazel Robertson of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Joe Walsh of Méanscoil Íognáid Rís, Naas; Adrian Edwards of the British Library, London; Brett Dolman of the British Library, London.

From Kildare to Baldongan: Fr Conor Donnogh and the Siege of Baldongan, 1642

MAIGHRÉAD NÍ MHURCHADHA

There are thousands of signatures and personal identification marks in the 1641 depositions in Trinity College, Dublin, and behind each of these lies a story. I have a particular interest in one of these signatures, that of Conor Donnogh (Figure 1). Finding it helped me to solve a mystery which had been puzzling me for years. This particular signature is contained in one of the county Meath depositions, manuscript 816, folio 192. I propose in this paper to tell Conor Donnogh's story, insofar as we know it, within the context of the history of the 1641 rising in Fingal.

The ruins of the medieval Baldongan church are situated near the road from Man of War to Loughshinny, close to the crossroads with the old road leading from Lusk to Skerries. Situated on a low hill it is clearly visible from the main Dublin to Belfast railway line. Now under the care of Dúchas, it is not, in my view, a very attractive building but it is of interest in that it has probably changed little in 400 years. The royal visitation of 1615 reported that the church and chancel were utterly ruined.¹

The summit of Baldongan may not appear particularly imposing when one approaches it by road or rail. The hill is, after all, only 69 metres high. However, if one walks around to the south of the church one can appreciate why the site was so important in medieval and early-modern times. The views to the east, south and west over Fingal, Dublin city, the coastline and the Wicklow Mountains can only be described as stunning. Since the land rises slightly towards the north there is no similar prospect from ground level in that direction but it is certain that there was an equally spectacular view towards the north as far as the Cooley peninsula and the Mourne

maner of now...
said purke shud be admitted to goe into Dublin
and letter the sayd purke was accordingly detained
upon an other letter of the Earle of Arming was
the sayd captaine the sayd Collet was returned
back into Mindingstone the sayd Earle of
Arminge acknowledging in his sayd letter that the
sayd purke was by fairmeant.

FR CONOR DONNOGH

Fig. 1. The signature of Conor Donnogh.