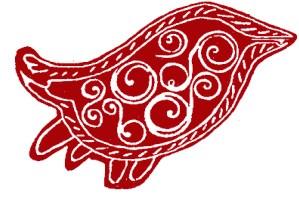


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Homan; 1792, Joshua Harman, Robert Atkins, Meulh; 1794, Henry Croker; 1798, St. John Dupont; 1811, Stephen Kell; 1815, Pierce Coggin; 1815, John Murphy, parish clerk.

As a list of churchwardens may be compiled at any time from the Vestry Books, the following are supplied from the Parochial Returns for four of the years prior to their commencement:—

- 1775. Edward Dory, Henry Callaghan.
- 1776. William Handcock, Thomas Monsell.
- 1777. Robert Atkins, William Swetman.
- 1778. William Galwey, Cuffe Duggan.

(To be continued).

History of the Lavallins.

BY GEORGE BERKELEY.

I. DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



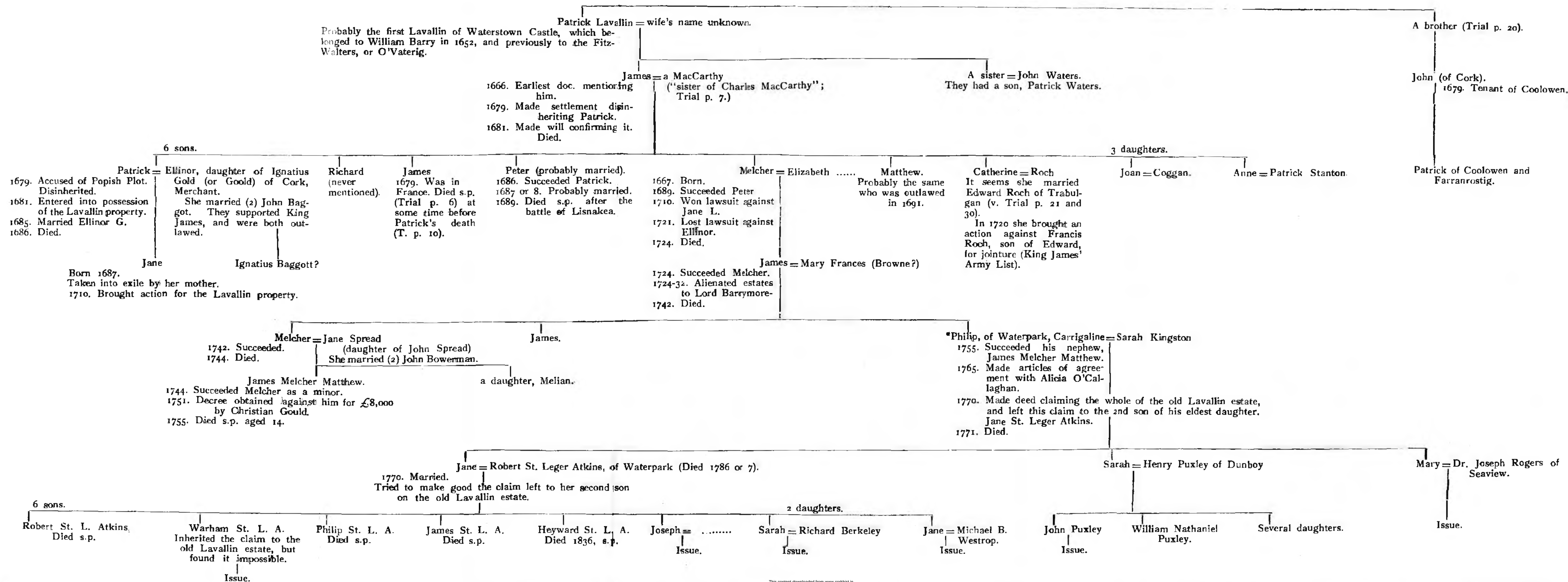
THE first occasion on which I ever heard the name Lavallin occurred many years ago, when I happened one day to be looking at a small collection of family miniatures. Among them was one that arrested attention. It was the portrait of a woman. She was not particularly good-looking, and the miniature itself is of no great merit. But the face struck me as being singularly un-English, with large, deep blue eyes and dark brown curling hair, over which she wore a white lace kerchief, apparently to denote that she was a widow. I set her down at once as being partly French and partly Irish, and enquired what her name had been. "That," said one of my elders, "was a Lavallin." It seemed to be the very name that one would have expected her to bear.

I then learnt that she and her two sisters had been the last members of an old southern family, which once owned large tracts of land in County Cork, but that it had become extinct about the year 1770. There is always a certain romance about the memory of a race that has died out. And this had been a Jacobite family, perhaps Catholic, at all events in its earlier days. One wondered what their ideas and ambitions had been, and what sort of life they had led.

The next time that I met their name was in Irish history, when reading an account of the battle of Newtown Butler.

It will be remembered that on the morning of that famous attack there occurred a smaller cavalry engagement. The opposing armies, being then about 15 miles apart, had each sent out a small force of mounted men to occupy Lisnakea Castle, which lay between them, and from thence to observe their enemy. From Enniskillen there had been despatched four troops of horse and one of dragoons, with two companies of foot; about 404 men in all, under Lieut.-Colonel Berry, one of a group of able English officers appointed to train and lead the Enniskillen volunteers. From the Irish headquarters at Newtown Butler, Lord Mountcashel (Macarthy

PEDIGREE OF THE LAVALLINS OF WATERSTOWN.



*On the death of Philip, the last of the male line, the Lavallin estate was divided into three equal parts between the St. Leger Atkins, Puxley and Rogers families. What eventually happened to the Rogers' share I do not know, but the St. Leger Atkins sold their third between the years 1906 and 1910 under the Wyndham Act; so did the Puxleys. Philip's claim to the old Lavallin estate he left to the 2nd son of his eldest daughter, Jane. It was finally abandoned as unrealisable by Warham St Leger Atkins, in the year 1810.

More) had detached the O'Brien regiment, known as Clare's Dragoons, about 543 strong, with perhaps a troop or two of horse, under command of Brigadier Anthony Hamilton, say 600 men in all.¹

It was at about six o'clock in the morning of July 31st, 1689, that these two opposing parties, both directed on the same objective, first came within sight of each other. The Irish had only got as far as Donough, about two miles short of Lisnakea. The Enniskilleners had arrived at the old castle on the previous evening, but finding it indefensible had passed on. Colonel Berry at once made his dispositions. He had never intended to fight, and was not in a position to do so, as he was outnumbered by about six to four, and was nine or ten miles from his main body, whereas Hamilton's Irish were only four or five miles from theirs. So Berry promptly ordered a retirement, and sent off a message to Colonel Wolseley telling him how matters stood, and asking for reinforcements from the main body.

During the next two or three hours it must have been anxious work for Berry. A cavalry action, as everyone knows, develops very quickly, and the Irish Dragoons came on with great dash. Berry had his two companies of infantry to save, and his Enniskillen horse (according to MacCarmick, a Williamite officer) were not standing at all well.² He was

¹ O'Callaghan (*Irish Brigades*) says that there was only one Irish regiment in this engagement, namely, Clare's Dragoons, which he states at 543 men. But there may perhaps have been another troop or two of cavalry as well; 13 troops seems to me the most probable total, and is the figure given by Lord Macaulay. In this connection we may note that Captain Peter Lavallin, of whom we shall presently speak, was in Carroll's Dragoons, not Clare's.

The numbers are variously stated according to the political bias of the writer. As they are not in reality concerned with the subject matter of this paper, no attempt is here made to quote the original military reports or returns, which would involve lengthy search. But the following are the authorities usually relied on:—

O'Callaghan (*Irish Brigades*) gives.—On the Irish side, One regt. Dragoons (543 men). On the Williamite side, Foot, 2 companies; Horse, 4 troops; Dragoons, 1 troop (404 men). When reinforced before the battle—Foot, 3 companies; Horse, 7 or 8 troops; Dragoons, 2 troops (from 736 to 892 men).

The Rev. Andrew Hamilton (a Williamite who took part in the war), author of *The Actions of the Enniskillen Men*:—On the Irish side, gives the Irish numbers as more than double those of the Williamites, which is impossible. On the Williamite side, Foot, 3 companies; Horse, 7 or 8 troops; Dragoons, 2 troops. He makes no mention of reinforcements, but this number is accepted by O'Callaghan as the total.

MacCarmick (a Williamite officer, but not present at this action), author of *A Further Account of the Actions of the Enniskillen Men*:—On the Irish side, gives no numbers. On the Williamite side, "a small party," but speaks of one or two troops acting as rearguard, and of a reinforcement of 120 foot before the fight.

The contemporary *Jacobite Narrative* says:—On the Irish side, that the Irish "sent most of their horse and dragoons." This would mean probably 700 or 800, but it is only a vague statement. On the Williamite side, no numbers mentioned.

Story, author of *An Impartial History on the Affairs of Ireland*, gives no numbers. Nor does the Rev. John Graham in his *History of the Siege of Derry*.

I think that O'Callaghan is right in accepting Hamilton's figures for the Enniskilleners. As regards the Irish he only allows one regiment. The Jacobite narrative allows more; and Lord Macaulay says 13 troops, which would be one troop more. This is, perhaps, the most probable figure, and would mean that there was about 600 Irish.

² MacCarmick says, p. 61: "They (the Irish Dragoons) prest so hard that they disordered several of our Men; and had not Lieut. Col. Barry (*sic*) several times faced about with a Troop or two of Horse, which always put the enemy to a stand to draw up, they had certainly routed us to Enniskillen." He gives further details showing that during this retreat the Enniskillen Horse were far from being reliable (quoted by J. C. O'Callaghan, p. 16), though their Foot appear to have been eminently so.

pursued right through Lisnakea and for about a mile further back. In fact Hamilton had won the pass which he was ordered to occupy. If he had stopped there and confined himself to holding it according to orders, things would perhaps have gone better for him than they did.

Hamilton was an officer of very considerable influence in Jacobite circles, being nephew of the Duke of Ormonde, and having three brothers in high places, and it seems possible that he was accustomed to taking rather an independent line. But without knowing every single detail of the case, such as, for instance, the exact letter of his orders, the configuration of the ground, and many other important conditions, it is impossible either to condemn or to acquit him. It seems, however, that he abandoned the true gist of his mission, which was protective, namely, to occupy a forward position in order to secure the main body. He may very justly have reasoned that it was better to strike the enemy's weak advanced party than to wait until the whole force came to overwhelm him at Lisnakea. There may have been a dozen reasons for his action, but one thing is certain, namely, that he pushed forward, and ordered a formal attack on the Enniskilleners, who had now halted.

This was his undoing. Colonel Berry had just been reinforced by the arrival of some advanced troops hurried forward from the main body, and his numbers were thus raised to over 800 men. He had halted and faced about in a very advantageous position for defence against his pursuers. He was behind a bog perhaps 120 to 150 yards wide, which could be crossed only by a very narrow road-causeway; and along the edge nearest him ran a stream with scrub growing on either bank. So he lined out his men behind it, under cover, and pushed forward a small ambush of 18 or 20 muskets behind a clump on the far side to break the attack. His mounted men were in reserve.

On the Irish side Hamilton gave the order to dismount, and advanced bravely along the causeway, leading the attack in person, but leading it straight into the trap. He and his dragoons were allowed to get within 40 yards of the stream.³ Then the Enniskilleners opened fire from their front and from the ambush, and brought down some of the attackers, including Hamilton, who was wounded. Although his men were by now in a thoroughly exposed position, and doubtless stumbling along in the heavy ground, they at once returned the enemies' fire, and succeeded in hitting some of them. And so the exchanges continued across the bog until "after a great many volleys"⁴ the Enniskilleners had about 12 or 14 men wounded, but of the Irish dragoons 12 were dead. Meanwhile Hamilton had withdrawn to remount his horse, leaving the command to another officer, who, however, was almost immediately killed. It was at this critical moment in the fight that Hamilton sent forward Captain Lavallin to give (he afterwards said) the order "Left wheel," probably

³ MacCarmick, p. 61.

⁴ Hamilton, p. 54. This statement by a Williamite writer is important, because it disposes of the statement of Lord Macaulay that they "ran away at the first fire," and of similar assertions in the *Macariae Excidium* (p. 38) and elsewhere. As a matter of fact their firing line did not do so badly. Their men stood until they had 12 killed, which would probably imply three times that number wounded, or, at a rough guess, between a quarter and a third of their number (allowing for the men holding the horses). It was evidently the reserves who bolted without striking a blow, as is universally admitted.

with the intention of bringing fire to bear on the ambushers. But the order which Lavallin gave was "Left about wheel," no doubt to withdraw the line from the disadvantageous position in which it stood.⁵ The result of this command was that on getting the word "Left about wheel" the line began to retire. Instantly the Enniskilleners, full of triumph, dashed out headlong, their infantry across the bog and their horse along the narrow causeway. The retirement soon became a run, and the run soon became a rout,⁶ sweeping the whole force intermingled right back to Donough. For the Irish, the disaster was complete, and led that afternoon to the greater disaster of the battle of Newtown Butler.

When a panic occurs it is usually considered necessary to make a scapegoat, if only to save the face of the others. In this instance the scapegoat was inevitably Lavallin. Both he and Hamilton were tried by court-martial, and Hamilton, as one might expect, was acquitted. Apart from his powerful connections, one must remember that he was an officer of some experience, and that he had had a horse shot under him and had been seriously wounded in the fight. At the same time one feels that Lavallin's account of what occurred seems to have been perfectly straightforward. He never denied that he gave the command "Left about wheel," but maintained from first to last that this was the order as he received it. And now, I think, everyone believes him.⁷ But even then many people did so. The description of the incident given in the Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland, 1688-91 (page 82) says: "In three weeks after the action Brigadier Anthony Hamilton and Captain Lavallin were brought to a Tryal, before a Court Martial in Dublin, wherein General de Rosen sat as President. The Brigadier was acquitted, and the Captain condemned to a military death; though at his execution, he protested that he delivered the word as he had received it, and many believed his protestation. He was a gentleman of good estate in the County of Cork, within 12 miles of that City; and was much regretted by his friends."

Evidently neither this authority nor O'Callaghan, nor indeed any other authority that I know, believes Lavallin to have been guilty. And one

⁵ A very important point which has never yet been raised is the extraordinary nature of this order given by the brigadier. How in the world could the men in the firing line do a left-wheel under the muzzles of their enemy and across a bog? These were Dragoons, so Lavallin may perhaps have thought that they were intended to do a left-about wheel by sections and retire. But without knowing the exact words of command of that day, and the answers given at the court-martial, it is impossible to say.

⁶ "His men were raw and newly raised, so that the Cavalry . . . shamefully ran away without striking a blow." *The Jacobite War in Ireland* by Charles O'Kelly, Colonel in King James' Army, page 9 (Count Plunket's edition). This could not apply to any of the front lines. They did fairly well. Those not actually fighting would have been engaged in trying to hold three or four horses at once. But for the troops in reserve one can see no excuse.

⁷ To-day everyone, I think, believes him. I quote as an instance the following opinion from *The Battle of the Boyne*, a work published by Mr. Demetrius Charles Boulger in 1912. He says (p. 110): "Hamilton was given the benefit of the doubt, but Lavallin, an officer of some experience abroad [is this so?], was ordered to be, and was, shot. Somebody ought certainly have been punished for such a disgraceful affair, but the opinion of the day was that the real culprit was not Lavallin. D'Avaux indeed declared that all the intriguing of the day was for the purpose of saving the Hamiltons from the consequences of their failures."

I suppose the papers of the court-martial are no longer in existence.

feels the full depth of the tragedy when one remembers that it can have been only a few months earlier that he left his nice place at Waterstown, doubtless full of enthusiasm to free Ireland. It seems probable, too, that he had been married only a year before.

This last occasion of meeting the name Lavallin set me searching among my stored-up papers to see whether I could discover anything more of the family. The search produced some forty or more legal documents relating to it, and covers its history between 1660 and 1771, in which year the Waterstown line came to an end. These mildewed old parchments yield rather a curious story of Irish life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Where the Lavallins originally came from I do not know. They had been in Ireland for several hundred years, and they fought on the Catholic side during the seventeenth century; but during the eighteenth century they must have been Protestants, because they intermarried with Protestant families. Very possibly they changed their religion to save their estate. This would not be surprising. Such changes were certainly more general among the southern landlord families than is usually realised, and may perhaps help to account for some of their Celtic traits.

The first owner of whom the deeds actually reveal any trace was Patrick Lavallin, who must have been born somewhere about the year 1600 or earlier. He certainly possessed the estates, and was said (though probably wrongly) to have entailed them.⁸ He may possibly have been the same Patrick Lavallin who was Mayor of Cork in 1638.⁹ That is all we know of him as yet. But the Christian name Patrick, and its extraordinary prevalence among the Lavallins and their relatives, seems rather to indicate—as is fairly self-evident—that they felt themselves of Irish stock, and not settlers.

His son, James, the second owner known to us, was in 1666 (the date of my earliest parchment)¹⁰ living at the family place called Waterstown. In some of the old deeds it is written Walterstown, which is undoubtedly the original; the old Ballinvaterig, the castle of the FitzWalters or O'Vaterig, the ancestors of the modern Waters family. Later it was also called Lavallin Park, but Waterstown is the name that has lasted. James Lavallin's sister was married to one of the old stock, John Waters. And James himself was married to a MacCarthy, "sister of Charles MacCarthy,"¹¹ and had six sons, Patrick, Richard, James, Peter, Melcher, and Matthew, and three daughters, Catherine, afterwards married to Edward Roch (of Trabolgan, I think); Joan afterwards Mrs. Coggan; and Anne,

⁸ Trial, p.

⁹ Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., Oct.-Dec., 1915, p. 160. On this page there is also the proof given that in the year 1595 Walterstown was still in the possession of the Waters family. In 1652 it was owned by William Barry (according to the Down Survey, quoted in the *History of Queenstown* by Father Dennehy and Mr. James Coleman, page 16). It seems almost certain, therefore, that the above-named Patrick Lavallin was the first of his name to own the castle and property, so that this sketch covers practically the whole of their history.

¹⁰ A bond by Richard, Lord Barrymore, in £600 to keep certain covenants in a lease granted him by James Lavallin of the lands of Kilvockerie, alias Kilmuckerie; 95 acres, plantation measure.

¹¹ There were many MacCarthys then named Charles. But the celebrated General Lord Mountcashel seems to have been a witness of the marriage settlement of Patrick Lavallin, James Lavallin's eldest son, so this was probably a relative of his.

afterwards wife of Patrick Stanton. Of these sons Peter was the one who later figured as Captain Lavallin, the hero of the tragedy at Lisnakea. The family thus starts by being half Celtic, and probably of Norman origin. Its language was English, but being Catholics, and living in a country district, the Lavallins of that day must surely have known some Gaelic.¹²

Here we have, then, a circle of the old and largely Hibernicised Catholic gentry, such as they were before the days of the Penal Laws. The story of this generation of Lavallins offers some fair specimens of the hard realities of life experienced by many families of gentlefolk during the miserable period of the Civil War. James's troubles began very soon. In 1679 his eldest son and heir, Patrick, apparently a somewhat headstrong young man, and evidently noted for his Catholic sympathies, was summoned to London to be tried for having taken part in the Popish plot. His father at once drew up a settlement disinheriting Patrick, so as to avoid any danger of the whole estate's being forfeited. Patrick, however, was acquitted and returned home. But, for one reason or another, his father never destroyed the deed of settlement, and hence arose a sea of troubles.

It is impossible now to say absolutely for certain what happened. But in 1710, thirty-one years later, when Patrick's daughter brought an action to recover the Lavallin property, some very curious revelations were made as to the family life during this period.¹³

¹² Cf. Dean Swift's saying: "I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country that they should speak Irish." *On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland*, published 1737.

¹³ Among the documents is an old and worn MSS. report of this lawsuit of 1710, of which no mention has hitherto been made in any of the records or narratives known to me. Yet it furnishes by far the most interesting account of the life of the time, and being initiated while the principal actors in the drama were still alive, contains far more touches of human nature than the later lawsuits arising out of the same facts. When referring to it I give the reference as "Trial, p. 1."

(To be Continued.)

Monkstown and Passage West, Co. Cork.

Some Notes, Historical, Archæological, and Otherwise.

By A. E. HURSE, M.Inst.C.E.

III.—LEGAN.

The most interesting thing about our district is the situation of the Benedictine Foundation of "Legan"; when it was founded, by whom, and where it was situated, are all problems which may never be solved. There are traditions, and as to some we must cross issues. Windele is the authority (*Cork and Vicinity*, 1860, p. 152) that it was endowed by the MacCarthys, and Lewis says that it was founded in the 14th century by the same. Dr. Grattan Flood, Mus. D., K.S.G., supplies this information (30/4/1923): "The Benedictine House of Legan was founded by King John, on condition of the Prior of St. John's, Waterford, finding provision for four chaplains to perform Divine Service daily in Cork for the souls