

PACATA HIBERNIA;
OR,
A HISTORY
OF THE
WARS IN IRELAND,
DURING THE
REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Taken from the original Chronicles.

Illustrated with Portraits of QUEEN ELIZABETH and the EARL of TOTNESS;
and *Fac Similes* of all the ORIGINAL MAPS and PLANS.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN LONDON,
1633.

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(ORIGINAL TITLE.)

PACATA HIBERNIA,
IRELAND
APPEASED AND REDVCED :

OR,

AN HISTORIE
OF THE LATE WARRES OF IRELAND,

Especially within the Province of Mounster,

UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE CAREW, KNIGHT,

Then Lord President of that Province, and afterwards Lord CAREW of CLOPTON,
and Earle of TOTNES, &c.

WHEREIN

*The Siedge of Kinsale, the Defeat of the Earle of Tyrone, and his Armie; The Expulsion
and sending home of Don Iuan de Aguila, the Spanish Generall, with his forces ;*

And many other remarkeable Passages of that time are related.

Illustrated with Seventeene severall MAPPES, for the better understanding
of the Storie.

IUVENAL. SAT. 10.

*Bellorum Exuviae, truncis affixa trophaeis
Lorica, & fracta de Casside buccula pendens,
Humanis majora bonis creduntur :—*

LONDON,
PRINTED BY A. M.

1633.

And part of the Impression made over, to be vended for the benefit of the Children
of JOHN MYNSHEW, deceased.

Q. 11. 55 X

2379





Arctus sculpsit in the manner of the original

Talis erat vultu. sed lingua. mente. manuq;
Qualis erat qui vult discere scripta legat.
Consulat aut famam: qui lingua. mente. manu.
Vinceret hunc famam iudic. rarus erat.



PACATA HIBERNIA



Brevis sculpta in the manner of the original

*Hir Scepter sweet, hir sword was seldom sharp.
yet rebel subjects, and invading foes.
It quaild, repelling theis, reclaiming those.
Such care did set in tune the Jarring Harp.
To this last Act of hir exploits & glory.
A Plaudite reviveth by this Story.*

TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

SIR,

THE great Actions of worthie and eminent Persons, haue ever been esteemed so powerfull for the instruction of succeeding times, that all Civill States haue made it their principall care, to preserue and transmit them to Posteritie, for their Example and Imitation. The Meanes by which this is done, is HISTORY, a powerfull suggester and Recorder of Gods providence in publike Blessings and Judgements, the Mother of Experience, the Nurse of Truth, the common bond and ligature, which unites present times with all ages past, and makes them one. To manifest this, if other Arguments fayle, the Examples of the greatest Emperors and Generals were sufficient, who in the midst of their Conquests, thought their publike dutie not discharged, if they imployed not some time, to leaue the immortall memory of their owne actions by writing to Posteritie. The omis-

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

sion of this hath bin a great defect of some ages foregoing ours, being the Middle times betweene learned Antiquitie and this latter age, wherein Language, Arts and Elegancie haue revived and flourished; In those times though there haue been many, Qui fecerunt scribenda, yet there were few, qui describerent facta. I dare not say that this our Age and Nation are guiltie of the like errour or negligence, in deciphering to the life the occurrences of our owne times and affayres by such as best knew, and faithfully would relate them; A want of which many haue complained, but few haue laboured to supply. That which I now in all humilitie present, is your Majesties by many Titles; First, from the subject matter, being the finall Dispersion of that cloud of Rebellion, which hath so long hung over that Kingdome of Ireland, which by undoubted title, and lawfull succession is descended to your Majestie, and that performed by the prudent fortitude of the English Nation, which your Majestie now so happily governes. Next, from your Majesties late faithfull Servant, the Earle of Totnes, whose Actions are not the least part of the Argument of this Historie, hee being at that time chiefe Governour of the Province of Mounster, which was

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

the Stage whereon the last and greatest Scene of that Tragedie was acted, and since advanced by your Majesties Royall Father and your selfe to many Honourable Titles and Imployments of State. And lastly, from the Publisher, through whose hands nothing can passe, which to your Majestie is not justly due, both by common Allegiance, and particular Service. Pardon (gracious Sovereigne) this presumption, in aspiring to so high a Patronage, and graciously accept this poore Tribute of Dutie and thankfulnessse from him who hath eternally bound himself.

Your Sacred Majesties most
faithfully devoted Subject,
and Servant,

THO: STAFFORD.

TO THE

READER.

OVT of a necessitie imposed by powerfull Custome somewhat must bee sayd to you *Reader*, both to prevent mistakings touching the publishing of this VVorke, and to prepare you with some unprejudicate affection to the reading thereof. The large space of time (thirtie yeeres and upwards) betweene the matters Acted, Written, and now published, may beget some wonder, in what obscure corner this Worke hath lyen all this while, without notice given or taken; or if knowne, why so long kept from publike view. For answeere heereto, understand indifferent Reader, that it it was composed while the Actions were fresh in the memories of men, by the Direction and appoyntment of the Right Honourable Earle of *Totnes* (late deceased) then Lord President of Mounster, so often mentioned in this Historie. The Collection made, was by him first reserved for his owne private In-

TO THE READER.

formation; Secondly, preserved for the futherance of a Generall Historie of that Kingdome of *Ireland*, when it should please God to raise up some industrious Writer to undertake a compleat Description of those Affayres; And lastly, out of his retyred Modestie, the rather by him held backe from the Stage of Publication, lest himselfe being a principall Actor in many of the particulars, might be perhaps thought, under the Narration of publike proceedings, to giue vent and utterance to his private merit and Services, howsoever justly memorable. He leaving the world, left it among his papers, where it was found by the now Publisher thereof, to whom they were bequeathed, and by whom it hath beene offered to the view and censure of divers learned and judicious persons: By them it hath been esteemed worthy the view of the world, that those of present and future times, who desire not to be strangers to what hath passed, and been acted at home, may receiue true Information heereby. In confidence, whereof, I presume that whether you bee English or Irish that shall reade this Historie, you shall finde much matter of contentment to advance the Honour of both Nations. If English, behold the most dangerous and overgrowne Rebellion that

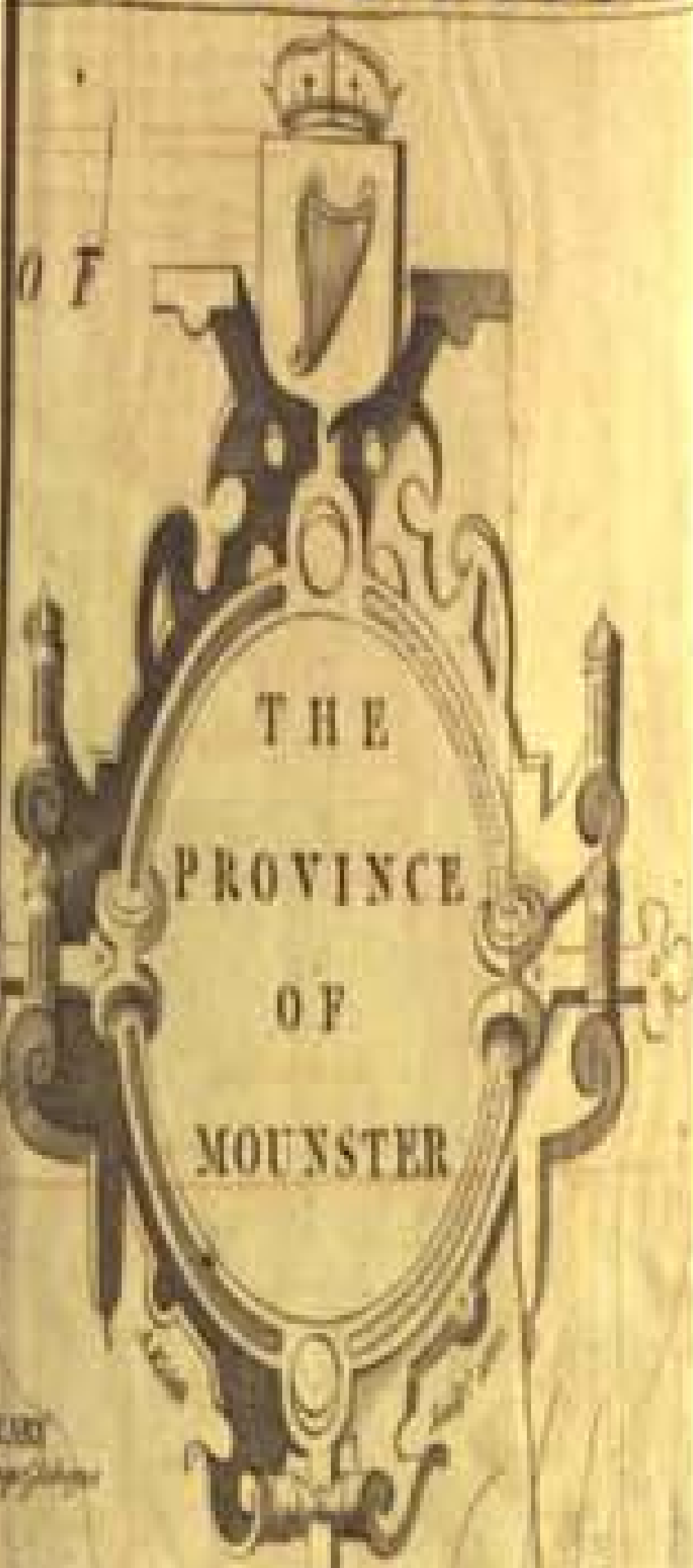
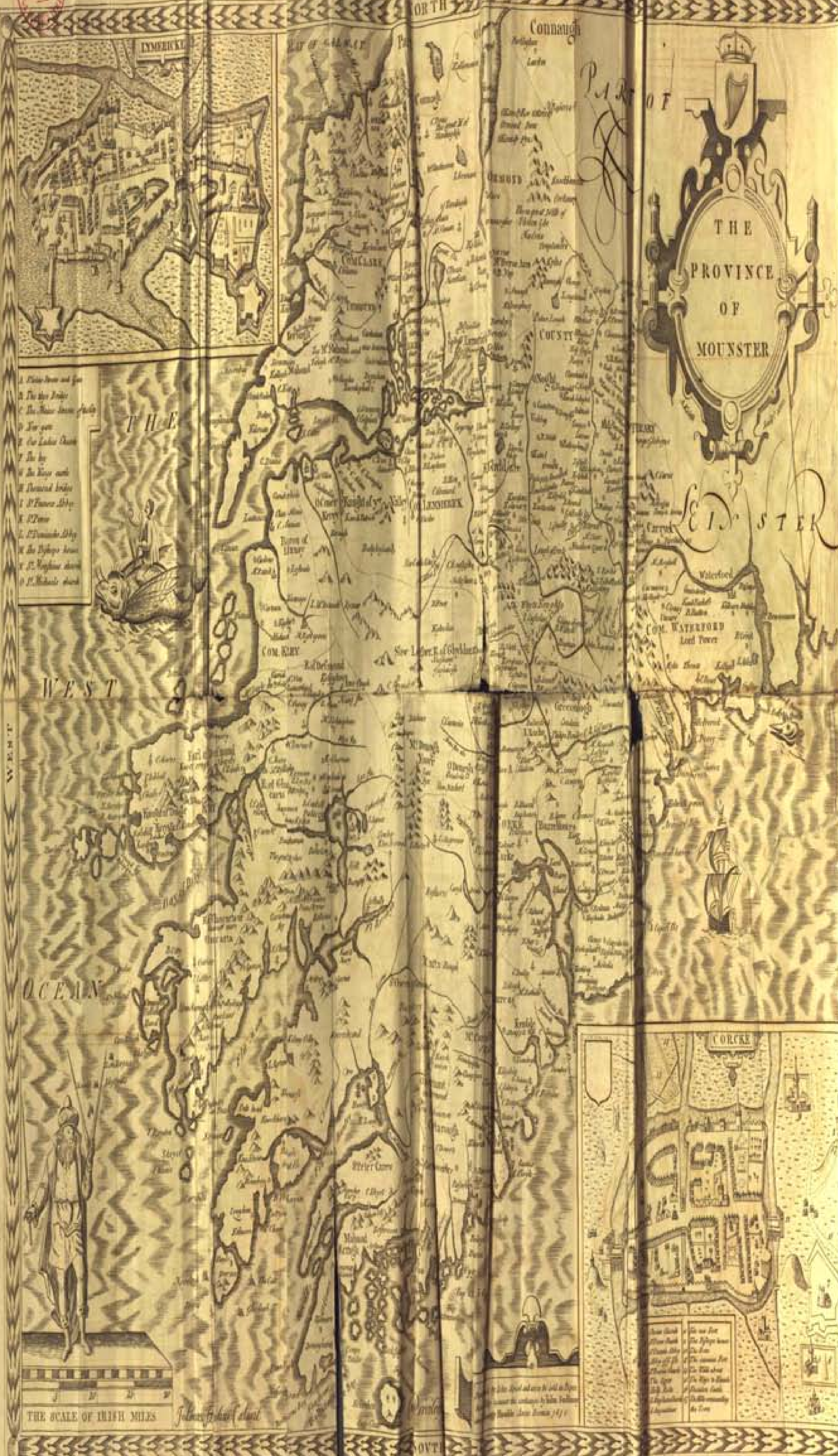
TO THE READER.

ever was since the Kings of this Land were Lords of that Isle, suppressed by the puissant valour of by victorious Countreymen, and a powerfull Invasion of a braue and warlike Nation repulsed, and sent home to their Native Land: Or if you bee of that other Nation, you may obserue the loyall fidelitie of the greater part to their lawfull Prince, though animated to disloyaltie by the strongest perswasions of their Spirituall Pastor, with promises of heavenly reward. Heere also you may behold a fatall period given to the Rebellious Insurrections, under whose burthen that Countrey hath groaned some hundreds of yeeres, and a firme and assured Peace established to the comfort of them and their posteritie. And whether English or Irish, forget not (next after the right hand of the most High bringing mightie things to passe) to acknowledge the Prudence, Courage, and Felicitie of that late Soveraigne, who in her deepe and declining age, did scale up the rest of all her worthy Actes with this accomplishment, as if shee had thought that her taske would bee unfinished, and Tombe unfurnished, if there could not be deservedly engraven thereon, *PACATA HIBERNIA*; The lot whereof was cast, and fell happily on our side, by the prosperous successe of

TO THE READER.

those Preparations and Encounters which befell this short time of about three yeeres, recounted by way of Annalls and Journalls in this present Narration; whereto thou must adde the like acknowledgement of the Wisedome, care, and provision taken by our late Soveraigne of blessed memory King *James*, in the establishment not onely of peace, but also of good Lawes and Iustice there flourishing, and continued by the Providence and Piety of our present Soveraigne King *Charles*, the true Inheritor of his renowned Fathers Vertues as well as Kingdomes. For the storie it self, it was collected, not out of flying rumours, and popular tales, but (as the Title promiseth) out of the carefull and diligent Observations of the principall Actors in the services there related; And for the truth of their reports, I hope it shall receive the approbation of many Honourable and Worthy Persons yet living, who may justly challenge a large portion of the honour atchieved in those Warres. But I will detaine you no longer, (Iudicious Reader) but leaue to the use of what is heere presented, commending it and my self to your favourable censure.

T. S.



- 1. The River Suir
- 2. The River Blackwater
- 3. The River Avonbeg
- 4. The River Liffey
- 5. The River Nore
- 6. The River Dodder
- 7. The River Liffey
- 8. The River Nore
- 9. The River Dodder
- 10. The River Liffey
- 11. The River Nore
- 12. The River Dodder

WEST

OCEAN



THE SCALE OF IRISH MILES

John Vermeulen

GOVT



PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE

FIRST BOOKE

OF THE

WARRES IN IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

*The Lord Deputie, and the Lord Presidents landing in Ireland. The War-
rant for passing the Lord Presidents Patent. The Patent. The Lord
Deputie and Councells Instructions to the Lord President.*

THE Warres of Ireland^a having received their originall & foundation in the North, proceeded like unto a strong poyson, which having infected one member, without speedie prevention, doth spread the contagion over the whole bodie; for the Irish perceiving the prosperous successe of those first Rebels, even beyond all expectation and hope (of those that were ill affected) and that her Majesties Forces had sustained many disasters, which were never feared untill they happened, the neighbour Provinces of Connaght, and Leinster, following the current of the present time, begin to dismaske themselves of that cloake of

^a 1599.

subjection, which before they pretended, and to shew themselves partakers in that wicked action, and furtherers of the rebellion. And these being united in a strict Combination, did verily perswade themselves, that it would bee a matter very feasible, to enable them to shake off the English Government, and to make themselves absolute Commanders of all Ireland, if the chiefe Lords of Mounster, with their friends and followers would joyne with them, to banish the English out of that Province. They did account that Province to bee the key of the Kingdome, both by reason of the Cities and walled Townes (which are more then in all the Island besides) the fruitfulnessse of the Country, being reputed the garden of Ireland, and the commodious Harbors, lying open both to France and Spaine. They devised many plots, cast many projects, and used many perswasions, to animate the Provincials to begin to enterprise. But *currenti quid opus est calcaribus?* they were not so ready to yeeld reasons, as those were to heare; and their eares no more open to heare, then their hearts to consent; and their hands nothing backward in the execution thereof.

The Earle of Essex at his being in Ireland with his Army, made a journey into Mounster, in hope to compose the troubles thereof; all that he performed at that time, was the taking of *Cahir* Castle, and receiving the Lord of *Cahir*, and the Lord *Roche*, with some others into protection. Who after his departure

did either openly partake, or secretly combine with the rebels againe.

Her Majestie being resolved to send a new Lord Deputy into Ireland, made choise of a worthy and noble Gentleman endued with excellent parts, as well of body, as minde, Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountiory*. And at that time the Presidencie of Mounster being voyd, by the unfortunate death of Sir *Thomas Norris*, lately slaine by the rebels, shee made election of Sir *George Carew*, Knight, who was by his former services experienced in the Irish warres, to be the Lord President of that Province. The 23 of Februarie these Lords embarked at Beaumarris, and upon the day following they landed at the head of Hothe, lodging that night at the Lord of *Hothes* house, and the next day they rode to Dublin, where by the relation of the Councell, they found a miserable torne state, utterly ruined by the Warre, and the rebels swollen with pride, by reason of their manifest victories, which almost in all encounters they had lately obtayned. The President, although hee much desired to employ himselfe in his government, yet he was enforced to make a long stay in Dublin, as well to assemble the Forces allotted unto him, by order out of England (to bee in list 3000 Foot, and 250 Horse, which were dispersed in sundry remote Garrisons) as to procure the dispatch of his Instructions from the State, which is usuall, and of sundry Commissions under the great Seale of Ireland, which of custome is graunted to

every President, but especially the passing of his Office (by vertue of her Majesties Warrant) under the great Seale of that Realme; the Copies of which Warrant, Letters Pattents, and Instructions, I doe heere insert as ensueth.

Her Maiesties Warrant.

RIGHT Trustie and Welbeloved, wee greet you well. Our Province of Mounster, in that our Realme of Ireland, being without a principall Officer to governe it, ever since the death of Thomas Norris, Knight, late President there; And the tumultuous state of that Province requiring the government of a person of Iudgement, and Experience, Wee have made choise of our servant Sir George Carew, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance heere. To commit to him the charge of that part of our Realme, as one whom we know, besides his faithfull and diligent endeavours in former services, to bee well acquainted with the estate of that of our Realme, (where he is a Councillor) and with the condition and nature of that Province. Wherefore we require you, immediatly upon the taking of our Sword, and chiefe charge of that our Realme of Ireland, as our Deputie, according to our Commission graunted to you, To cause a Commission to bee made out under our great Seale of that our Realme of Ireland, to the said Sir George Carew, of the Office and Charge of President of our Province of Mounster, in such manner and forme as

John and Thomas Norris, Knights, or any other our Presidents of that Province haue used to haue, or with any such other clauses, as you shall thinke, that the present State of our affaires there doth require. Giving him thereby power to rule and governe our people in that Province, with the advice of our Councell there, according to such Instructions and Directions as haue been given by us or our Councell heere, or our Deputies of that our Realme, or shall heereafter bee directed to him, for the government of that Province. The same his power to continue during our pleasure. And our further will and pleasure is, that he receiue towards his charges all such Allowances, Fees, Profits, and Entertainments of Horse and Foot, as Sir Thomas Norris, Knight, our late President at the time of his death had; The same to begin from the day of the date hereof, and to continue during our pleasure: And these shall be to you and to our Treasurer for the payment thereof sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our Signet at our Manour of Richmond, the seven and twentieth day of Ianuary, in the two and fortieth yeare of our raigne, &c.

The Letters Patents.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all men to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting; Whereas our Province of Mounster, in that our

Realme of Ireland, being without a principall Officer to governe it, ever sithence the death of Sir *Thomas Norris*, Knight, late President there; And the tumultuous State of that Province, requiring the government of a person of Iudgement and Experience. Wee haue made choice of our trustie and welbeloved Servant, Sir *George Carew*, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance in our Realme of England, and one of our Privie Councell of our sayd Realme of Ireland, and to commit to him the charge and government of that part of our realme, as one whom wee know, besides his faithfull and diligent endeavours in former services, to bee well acquainted with the State of that our realme, and with the condition and nature of that Province. Know ye, that wee reposing our trust in the Wisedome, Valour, Dexteritie, Fidelitie, and Circumspection of the sayd Sir *George Carew*, Knight, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, and according to the tenor and effect of our Letters on that behalfe, directed to our right trustie, and right welbeloved Councillor, *Charles Lord Mountiory*, Knight of the most noble Order of our Garter, and our Deputie generall of our realme of Ireland, dated at *Richmond* the seven and twentieth day of *Ianuarie*, in the two and fourtieth yeere of our raigne, Haue given and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to our said Servant *George Carew*, Knight, the Office of our Lord President of our said province of Mounster. And the said *George Carew*, Knight, our Lord President, and Governour of the said pro-

vince by these presents, doe make, ordaine, and constitute, and to the said *George*, the government of the said Province, and of our people there resident, doe commit. And further, wee doe giue and graunt by these presents to the said *George Carew*, Knight, in and for the exercise, and execution of the said Office, all such Authorities, Iurisdictions, Preheminences, Dignities, Wages, Fees, Allowances, and profits whatsoever, which *Iohn Norris*, Knight, or the said *Thomas Norris*, Knight, or any other President of that province haue used to haue, And with such other clauses (or articles of Authoritie) as our said Deputie shall thinke that the present state of our affaires there doth require, to bee further graunted unto him the said *George Carew*, Knight. Giving him heereby full power and authoritie to rule and governe our people under that province, with the advice of our Councell there, according to such Instructions and Directions as hath been given by us, or our Councell heere, or our Deputies of that our realme, or shall hereafter bee directed to him, for the government of that Province; To haue, exercise and enjoy the said Office, to, and by the said *George Carew*, Knight, with other the premises, and all Authorities, preheminences, wages, fees, entertainments, and profits to the sayd Office belonging; and all such allowances, profits, entertainments of Horse and Foot, as the said *Thomas Norris*, Knight, our late President of the sayd province, at the time of his death had or ought to haue; The said allowances and entertainments, to begin from the date

of our said Letters; And the said Authoritie and Entertainment to continue during our pleasure. And where the said *George Carew*, Knight, in respect of our service in other places, may haue occasion to bee absent out of the said Province of Mounster, and that in such his absence, our pleasure is, that some meet person may bee substituted to governe that Province, as Vice-president; Wee doe therefore by these presents, by the assent of our Deputie aforesaid, and according to the intent of our sayd Letters, giue full power and authoritie, to the said *George Carew*, Knight, to appoynt, choose, and substitute in his absence, such a meet and sufficient person, for whom the said *George Carew*, Knight, will answer, to bee Vice-president of the said Province, and the said person, so appointed, chosen, or substituted, We doe by these presents authorize, to governe and rule the said Province, in the absence of the said *George Carew*, Knight, to all respects and purposes as if the said *George* were personally present, and might rule and governe, by the authority aforesaid. And if the said person so chosen, appointed, and substituted, shall chance to dye, or shall not governe himselfe to the liking of the said *George Carew*, Knight: That then the said *George Carew*, Knight, shall from time, to time, by vertue of these presents, during his authority and government aforesaid, choose, appoint, and substitute, a Vice-president as aforesaid, to governe and rule the said Province as aforesaid. And our further pleasure is, that the said *George Carew*, Knight, shall

from time to time certifie our said Deputie, or other Governour generall of this our Realme, for the time being, the name and names, of such Vice-president, or Vice-presidents, as shall bee by him appoynted, named, or substituted as aforesaid: Willing, and straightly commaunding, all our Officers, as well civill as martiall, as all and all manner our loving Subjects to bee respectively aiding, assistant, and obedient in, and to the said *George Carew*, Knight, or any authorized by, and under him as aforesaid, in the exercise and execution of the said Office, as they will answer to the contrary at their perills. Although no expresse mention of the true yearely value, or certaintie of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gifts, or graunts, made by us, or any our noble Progenitours, to the said *George Carew*, Knight, before the date hereof, be not expressed in these presents. Any Statute, act, provision, restraint, proclamation, Law, vse, or custome, to the contrary hereof, heretofore made, ordayned, enacted, provided, used, or proclaimed, or any other cause, thing, or matter to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witnes our Deputie generall at Dublin, the sixth day of March, in the two and fortieth yeare of our Raigne.

Instructions given by us the Lord Deputie, and Councill, to our right trustie and welbeloved, Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of her Maiesties Councill established in the Province of Mounster, to bee communicated by him to her Maiesties Councill of the same Province, and to be observed by them, and every of them, according as the same are particularly declared in these severall Articles following, dated at Dublin, 7. Martij 1599.

FIRST, the said Lord President shall at all times, when he shall think fit, for the service of the Queenes Majestie, call together all such as bee, or that hereafter shall be appoynted to bee of that Councill: And shall with the advice of such of the Councill as shall bee by these Instructions appoynted to assist him with Councill by Letters and Precepts, commaund all and every person of the said Councill, at all convenient times, to doe such things as shall be meet for the service of the Queenes Majestie in administration of Iustice, & maintenance of the same, amongst all her subjects residing or comming into the parts of the Iurisdiction of the said Commission. And in his commandements and directions, to the sayd Councill, he shall haue such regard to their Estates, Vocations, and other Conditions, as the credits and severall estimations of the same Councillours may be in their due actions and well-doings preserved and maintained, for the furtherance of her Majesties service.



And on thother part, her Majestie willeth, chargeth and commandeth that all and euery of her Majesties said Councillors, shall exhibit and vse to the saide Lord President, all such Honour, reverence and obedience, as to their duties appertaineth, and to the person having the principall place in the Councell is due, and shall receiue, and execute, in such sort all the precepts and commandements, to them to be addressed, in any Processe to be done, or served in her Majesties name, and shall giue at all times, such advice and counsell as appertaineth to the duties of trustie Servants and Councillors to her Majestie, and according to their corporall oath.

And because it shall be convenient that some number shall be continually abiding with the Lord President, or such as shall supply his place, with whom he may consult, in hearing such matters as may bee exhibited unto him, for the better expedition of the same: Wee the sayd Lord Deputie and Councell by these presents doe ordaine, That *William Saxey*, Esquire, Chiefe Iustice, and *James Golde*, second Iustice of the sayd province of Mounster, being of speciall trust appoynted to be of the sayd Councell, shall giue their continuall attendance at the sayd Councell, and shall not depart at any time without the speciall Licence of the sayd Lord President. Likewise* Clarke of the Councell, shall make his like attendance upon the Lord President and Councell, &c.

* There is a blank left for this name in the original edition.

And the said Lord President shall have in consideration of his continuall attendance, and great paines to be taken in that Office, the wages and entertainments of one hundred and thirty three pounds sixe shillings eight pence sterling by the yeare, for himselfe : and for that the Countreys aforesaid being in such disorder, and the people in the same in such disobedience as partly they are, whereby it shall be needfull for him to have continually about him some competent number of Souldiers, whereby his decrees and orders justly taken and made, may the more effectually bee executed ; It is considered and ordained, that the said Lord President shall have for his guard and retinue, thirtie horsemen and twentie footmen, and two shillings by the day for a petty Captaine, and for a Trumpeter and Guydon two shillings each of them : the entertainment and daily wages of all which Officers and Martiall men, shall runne in the course, and pay appointed for the Queenes Majesties ordinary Garisons, resident in this Realme. Provided always, that the said Lord President, shall at the first entrie, give in the names, of all and every the aforesaid Souldiers, to the Clarke of the Cheque, to bee entred in his booke, and from time to time shall certifie the deaths and alterations of the same to the Lord Deputy, and Cleark of the Cheque, in convenient time, as the same may reasonably be done : having regard to the distance of the place, and as other Captaines of the army are bound to doe

Item the said Iustice *Saxe*y shall have for his stipend yearely one hundred pounds sterling; and the said *James Gold*, assistant or second Iustice, one hundred marks sterling, and the said Clark of the Councel, twenty pounds sterling; all which stipends and wages shall be payed quarterly, by the hands of the Treasurer, at warres, or Vice-treasurer here of this Realme of Ireland: And if the said Iustice, or assistant, and secondary Iustice, shall depart out of the Limits of the Commission aforesaid, without the speciall licence of the said Lord President, or having leave, shall tarry longer out then the time granted, then (without reasonable cause of excuse) the said Lord President shall deduct, and defalke out of their said severall entertainments, so much as the said wages of so many dayes doth amount unto, to the use of her Majestie towards her other charges, to be extraordinarily sustained in the execution of their Commission, at the discretion of the said Lord President.

Item for further reputation and honour of the same Office, the said Lord President shall have continually attending upon him, a Serjeant at Armes, who shall beare the Mace of the Queenes Majesties Armes before him, in such manner as the Serjeant at Armes doth beare the Mace before the President in Wales; which Serjeant may at all times be sent by the said Lord President and Councell, for the apprehending and bringing in of any disobedient person, receiving of every such person, being of the degree of a Gentleman, so commonly knowen, and having yearely

liuelihood by any meanes of tenne pounds, for his arrest ten shillings; and for the arrest of every particular person, six shillings eight pence, and six shillings eight pence for every dayes travell, and not aboue. He shall also haue his dyet in the Household of the said Lord President, and towards his maintainance the ordinary wages of one of the thirtie Horsemen. And forasmuch as there must bee of necessitie one Officer to whom all offenders and malefactors are to bee committed, during the time of their imprisonment: it is thought meet that the said Lord President shall appoint one Porter, to haue charge of the Goale, who shall haue his dyet in the househould of the said Lord President, and bee accounted as one of the twentie Footmen, and receiue the wages due for the same, and also such other profits upon every prisoner, as ensueth, *viz.* for the entry of every prisoner so to him committed, having liuelihood of tenne pounds by the yeare, three shillings four pence, and twelue pence by the day for his dyet, during his abode in prison, and for every other person of inferiour condition, two shillings for his entry, and six pence by the day for his dyet.

Item, The said Lord President and Councill, (if oportunitie may serue) monethly, or once every two moneths at the least, advertise us the Lo. Deputie and Councill here of the State, of the Country within their commission, or oftner if they shall see cause.

And where the said Lo: President and Councill shal haue by their Commission, sufficient authoritie to

heare and determine, by their discretions, all manner of complaints, within any part of the province of Mounster, as well guildeable as franchise, yet they shall haue good regard, that except great necessitie, or other matter of conscience, conceived upon the complaint, shall moue, him, they shall not hinder nor impeach the good course and usage of the common Lawes of the Realme, but shall to their power further the execution thereof, nor shall without evident cause, interrupt such Liberties, and Franchises, as haue lawfull commencement, and continuance by the warrants of the Law, other wayes then where any speciall complaint shall be made unto them, of any manifest wrong, or delay of Iustice, done, or used, by the owners, Officers, or Ministers of the said Franchises or Liberties: In which cases; the Lord President and Councell shall examine the said defaults, so alledged, by way of complaint, to be counted in the Franchises, and shall send for the Officers, against whom complaint shall be made: and finding the same to be true, they shall not only heare and determine the particular & principall causes of the parties complaints, but shall also reforme & punish, according to their discretions, the defaults of the said owners and Ministers of the said Liberties; and if the matter shall so serue, upon due information to be made to us, of the abuses of the said Franchises and Liberties, so as the same may be done by order according to the lawes tryed, and upon just causes the Liberties resumed into the Queenes Majesties hands.

Item, where the said Lo: President and Councell shall haue Commission, power, and authoritie, by Letters Patents under the Great Seale of this Realme of Ireland, and of Oyer, Determiner, and Goale deli-verie, in as large and ample manner as any such Commission or Authoritie is graunted to any Commissioners for that purpose, within the Realmes of England, or Ireland: Wee the said Lord Deputie and Councell, doe earnestly require and charge the said Lord President and Councell, that hee and they doe diligently and often, severely and justly sit, heare, and determine, by vertue of the same, such causes as shall bee brought before them, in such severall places as best may agree with the nenessitie of the cause, and the commoditie of the people.

Item, where also the said Lord President hath full power and authoritie, by Letters patents under the great Seale of this realme, to execute the Martiall law, when necessitie shall require, in as large and ample manner as to any other it hath beene accustomed to bee graunted within this realme of Ireland: The said Lord President shall haue good regard thereunto, that no use be made of the Martiall law, but when meere necessitie shall require; for the exercise thereof is onely to bee allowed, where other ordinarie administration of Iustice cannot take place: foreseeing alwayes, that no person having five pound of Freehold, or goods to the value of tenne pound, shall not be tried by the order of the Martiall

Lawe to be executed vpon any one person or moe being of greater value in lands or goods, then aboue is expressed, the President in such speciall causes may use his discretion, and thereof, and of the causes that mooved him, shall make us the Lord Deputie and Councell privie.

Item it is, and shall bee lawfull for the Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, to prosecute and oppresse any rebell, or rebels, with sword and with fire, and for the doing of the same, to leavie in warlike manner and array, and with the same to march, such and so many of the Queenes Subjects, as to his discretion shall seeme convenient; And if that any Castle, Pile, or House, bee with force kept against them, it shall bee lawfull for the said Lord President and Councell, or two of them whereof the Lord President to be one, to bring before any such Castle, Pile, or House, so to bee kept against them, any of the Queenes Majesties Ordnance and great artillery, remaining within the limits of the Commission: And with the same, or by some other meanes or Ingine, any such Castle, Pile, or House, to batter, mine, or overthrow, as to their discretions shall seeme best. Streightly charging and commanding all Archbishops, Earles, Bishops, Vicounts, Barons, and Baronets, Knights, Majors, Sheriffs, Iustices, and Ministers of peace, and all other Gentlemen and Commons being her Majesties Subjects to helpe, aid and assist

the said Lord President and Councell, in such sort, and at such time, as by the said Lord President and Councell, or two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, they shall bee commanded, upon such paines, as for the nature and of the defaults shall bee thought meet, to the said Lo : President and Councell to limit and asseesse.

And it is ordered by us the said Lord Deputy and Councell, that if any person complaine to the said Lord President and Councell, and that they shall thinke their Complainants worth the hearing, that the persons so complained upon, shall be sent for by a Letter missive under the Queenes Signet, to appeare before the Lord President and Councell at a day and place by them to be appointed, there to answer to such things as shall bee laid to their charges, and further to be ordered, as shall stand with right, justice, equity and conscience: and for lacke of apparance upon such Letters they shall send forth Letters of alleagance, Proclamations, or other Processe, to bee made, directed, and awarded by their discretions to the Sheriffe, Constable, or other Minister whereby the partie complained upon may be called to come to his answer as appertaineth, and if by the obstinacy of the partie complained upon, the case so require, to sequester his or their lands or goods, or either of them by their discretions. And furthermore if in case any person or persons having habitation or dwelling or any lands or tenements by lease or otherwise, within

the limits of the Commission aforesaid, shall by covin, fraud, or deceit, or otherwise absent himselfe, or goe out of the limits of the said Commission: That then Letters missive signed with the Queenes Signet, shall be delivered at his House, Lands, or Tenements, and the copies of the same shall bee left there, so that by the most likelyhood the same may come to his knowledge being so sent for. And if within a certaine time after limited by their discretion, the person or persons so sent for, will make default of apparance: the said Lord President and Councill, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall as well proceede to other Processe, as to the hearing and determining of the matter or cause in variance, according to the Lawes, Statutes, Ordinances made therein; or otherwise at their discretions.

And if in case eny Letters missive, be sent and addressed from the Lord President and Council, to any person or persons, of what estate, or degree soever they be, to appeare before them at a day appointed, the same Letters being delivered to him or them, or otherwise left at his or their house, as is above specified, the said Lord President and Council, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall cause him or them so contemning or disobeying, to be punished by imprisonment, and reasonable fine, or shall other wayes proceed according to their discretions. In which sayd causes, if any of the

parties commit any resistance, or disobedience, either of their appearance, or contrary to the Commaundements, direction, decree or determination, made, or to be made, and decreed by the said Lord President and Councill; That then the said Lord President and Councill, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to be one, shall or may command the Sherife, Major, Serjeant at Armes, Constable, Bailife, or other Officer or Minister, to whom it shall appertaine, to attach every person so offending, contemning, or disobeying, and to send him or them to the Lord Deputie in ward, together with Certificate of his contempt or disobedience, or else by their discretions to cause the parties so attached, to bee committed to ward, there to remaine in safe custodie, untill the time that the pleasure of us the Lord Deputie, and Councill be knowen in the premisses, or that the same person or persons, assent, fulfill, and agree to the determination of the said Lord President and Councill, or any two of them, whereof the Lo: President to be one.

And the said Lord President and Councill shall haue full power and authoritie, by these presents, diligently to heare and determine, and trie, all, and all manner of extortions, maintenance, imbracery and oppressions, Conspiracies, rescues, escapes, corruptions, falsehoods, and all manner evill doings, defaults, misdemeanours of all Sheriffes, Iustices of peace, Majors, Soveraignes, Portriffes, Bailiffes, Stewards,

Lieftenants, Excheators, Coroners, Goalers, Clarkes, and other Officers and Ministers of Iustice, and other Deputies, as well within all the Counties and Countries within the Province of Mounster, as within the supposed Liberties of Typperarij and Kerrij, and in all Cities & other townes corporate, within the limits of their said Commission, of what degree soever they be, and punish the same according to the quality and quantity of their said offences, by their discretions, leaving neverthelesse, to the Lords and owners of all lawfull Liberties, such profits, as they lawfully claime.

And it shall be lawfull for the said Lord President, and Councell, or any three of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, to conceive, make, and cause to be proclaimed, in her Highnesse name, any thing or matter tending to the better order of her Majesties Subjects, within the precincts of their Commission, and the repressing of malefactors and misorders, after such tenour and forme, as they shall thinke convenient, and to punish the Offenders then according to their discretions.

And also wee the said Lord Deputie and Councell have thought meete, that the said Lord President and Councell, or any three of them, whereof the said Lord President to bee one, shall and may compound upon reasonable causes by their discretion, with any person, for all forfeitures, growing, or comming, or that shall

grow, or come, as well by all and singular penall Statutes, as also of obligations and Recognizances, taken, made, or acknowledged, before the said L: President and Councell, or any of them, within the limits of their authorities and Commission for appearance, or for the peace, or good abearing, or by reason of any speciall Statute whatsoever, then made or to be made, And shall also have authority, to cesse reasonable fines for any offences, whereof any person shall happen to bee convicted, before the said Lord President and Councell and such Summes of mony, as shall grow or come, by reason of any such compositions or Fines, they shall cause it to bee entred into a booke, subscribed with the hands of the said Lord President and Councell, or two of them at the least, whereof the Lord President to bee one: To the end the Queenes Majestie may be answered of the same accordingly: And also upon such compositions made of Fine or Fines, set as aforesaid, shall have authority to cancell or make voyde all such Obligations and Bonds.

And also the said Lord President shall cause, as much as in him lyeth, all Writts or Processes, sent or to bee sent, to any person or persons inhabiting, or being within the precinct of his Commission out of the Kings Bench, Chauncerie, or Exchequer, or any other Court of Record, diligently to bee observed, and effectually to bee obeyed, according to the tenor of the same. And if hee shall find negligence, slacknesse, or willfull omission, in any Officer or other Minister



to whom the delivery or serving of such Processe doth appertaine: Hee shall punish the same severely according to the greatnesse and qualitie of the offence.

And it shall bee lawfull for the said Lord President and Councill, or any three of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, after examination in the causes necessary, upon vehement suspition and presumption of any great offence in any partie committed against the Queenes Majestie, to put the said partie so suspected to tortures, as they thinke convenient, and as the cause shall require: and also to respitt Iudgement of death upon any person convicted or attainted before him and that Councill, for any treason, murder, or any other felony: Or after Iudgement given to stay execution untill such time as hee shall certifie us the Lord Deputie and Councill of his doings, and consideration of the same, and receiue answer from us thereof: Provided alwayes, that the same certificate bee made to us the Lo: Deputie and Councill within the space of 21 dayes after such thing is done.

Also if any Inquest within the precinct of their Commission, within Liberties or without, being sworne and charged upon triall of any fellonie, murder, or any like offender whatsoever hee bee, having good and pregnant evidence for sufficient prooffe of the matter, whereof the said offender shall bee accused, indicted or arraigned, doe utterly acquite such offender con-

trary to the said evidence, that then the said Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall examine such perjuries as well by deposition of witnesses, as by all other kinde of proofes by their discretions; and if the said Inquest bee convicted before the said Lord President and Councell, or three of them at the least, whereof the Lord President to be one, the said Lord President, and Councell may and shall proceed to the punishment of such offence by fine, imprisonment, or wearing of papers, or standing on the pillorie, as by their discretions shall seeme meet.

Also, wee the said Lord Deputie and Councell, doe earnestly require, and straightly charge the said Lord President and Councell, that they at all times, and in all places, where any great assembly shall bee made before them, doe perswade the people by all good meanes and wayes to them seeming good, and especially by their owne examples, in observing all Orders for Divine Service, and other things appertaining to Christian Religion, and to embrace, follow, and devoutly to obserue the Order and Service of the Church, established in the Realme by Parliament, or otherwayes by lawfull authoritie, and earnestly to call upon and admonish all Bishops and Ordinaries, within the precinct of their Commission, diligently, fervently, and often to doe the same. And if the Lord President and Councell, shall finde them negligent and unwilling, or unable to doe the same, That then they shall advertise

the Lord Deputie and Councell thereof, and they shall call earnestly upon the Bishops, severely to proceed according to the censuring of the church, against all notorious Advowterers, and such as without lawfull divorce, doe leaue their Wiues, or whilst that their lawfull Wife liveth doe marry any other, and the Sentence pronounced by the Bishop or Ordinarie upon the offender: The said Lo: President and Councell shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost that they conveniently may, to cause the same Sentence to bee put in execution according to the Lawes; And if they shall finde the Ordinarie slacke or remisse in this duetie, and not doing according to his Office, they shall punish, or cause to bee punished, the same Bishop or Ordinary, according to their discretions.

Also the Lord President and Councell shall examine the decay of all parish Churches, and through whose defaults the same be decayed, and to proceede to the procuring or informing of such as ought to repaire any Church or Churches, with all convenient speed, according to their discretions: And in cases where her Majestie shall bee (after due and advised inquisition) found by reason of her possessions bound to repaire the same Churches, In those cases advertisement shall bee given to us the Lord Deputie, &c. Or if they shall know of any that shall spoyle, rob, or deface any Church, they shall with all sincerity proceed to the punishment of the Offenders, according to the Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realme, or accord-

ing to their discretions: They shall assist and defend all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and all other ecclesiastical Ministers in the ministry of their function, and in the quiet possessing of their Landes, rents, services, and hereditaments and shall punish the with-holders, intruders, and usurpers of the same, according to their discretions, and the quality of the offence. They shall also giue earnest charge for the observation of all Lawes, and Statutes, or Ordinances made, or to be made for the benefit of the Common-wealth, and punishment of malefactors, and especially the Statute for Hue and crie, for Night-watches, and for Weights and Measures, to be diligently considered, and severely put in execution.

Also the said Lord President shall haue and retaine, one Chaplin or Minister, that shall and can preach, and reade the Homilies, who shall bee allowed his Dyet in the Houshold of the sayd Lord President, and shall receiue his entertainment to bee payd out of the Fines growing in that Province, to whom the Lo: President shall cause due reverence to be given, in respect of the Office that he shall haue for the Service of God.

Also the said Lo: Deputie and Councill will, that the sayd Lord President and Councill, or two of them at least, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall endeavour themselues to execute as well all and all manner Statutes of this Realme, Proclamations, and

to doe and execute all other Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, and other Ordinances, as to punish the transgressors of the same, according to the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations: And to leavie or cause to be leavied all and all manner of forfeitures contained in the same, according to the order limitted by the sayd Lawes: And if cause so require, shall compound for reasonable causes for all and singular such forfeitures and paines by their discretions; Having therein regarde not to diminish the fines specially limited by the Lawes, without great necessitie of the poverty of the parties to be ioyned with repentance and disposition of amendment in the partie, for otherwise it is perillous to giue example in weakening the iust terror of good Lawes.

Also the Lord President and Councell or two of them wherof the Lord President to be one, shall and may assesse and taxe Costs and dammages, aswell to the Plaintiffe as to the Defendant, and shall awarde Executions for their doings, Decrees and Orders: And shall punish the Breakers of the same, being parties therevnto by their discretions.

And the said Lord President and Councell, shall immediately upon their repaire to some convenient place, where they meane to reside within the Limits of their Commission, appointing two sufficient men to bee Clearkes or Attornies to that Councell, for the making of Bills, Answers, and Proceses for all manner

of Subjects, and therein not multiply such Officers, lest also they be occasion to multiply unnecessary suites, and some trusty wise persons to examine witnesses betweene partie and partie, which of necessitie would be chosen with good advise, foreseeing expressly and charitably, that no excessiue fees be by any of them taken of the Subjects, but that their fees bee assessed by the Lord President and Councill, and the same faire written upon a Table, and fixed upon some publike place where the same may be seene, and understood of all Suitors, and that in the beginning the Fees may appeare, and be meane and reasonable; So as in no wise the prosecution of releefe by way of Iustice bee not so chargeable as the poor oppressed sort bee thereby discouraged to make their complaints.

And because it shall bee convenient, that a Register bee daily kept for all the doings, orders, decrees and proceedings, which from time to time shall passe by the said Lo. President and Councill: The Lord Deputie and Councells pleasure is, that the Clarke of the sayd Councill for the time being, have reasonable allowance for the same of the parties having an interest thereby, shall diligently execute and performe this charge without any further expences then shall bee specially directed unto him by the said Lord President to be sustained by her Majesties Subjects, for enteries of Actes and Orders, &c.

Also the said Lord Deputie and Councill haue

thought it convenient, that there shall bee one honest and sufficient man appointed to bee Clarke and receiver of the Fines, at the nomination of the sayd Lord President, who shall diligently and orderly keepe a Booke of all such Fines as shall bee taxed upon any person; the fine to bee alwayes entred by the hand of the Lord President, and shall haue full power to send out Processe for any person, upon whom any such fine shalbe so seased, and to receiue all such fines, and in every Michaelmas Terme, thereof to make a true and perfect account before the Barons and other Officers of the Queenes Majesties Exchequer for the time being, to the end we may be ascertained what fines haue bin acquired to the Queenes Majestie, and how the same haue been imployed. Provided alwayes, and it shall be lawfull for the said Lord President and Councell, to imploy of the said Fines, reasonable summes for reward of Messengers, and repairing the Queenes castles and houses, and in building and reedifying Goales within each Countie, in the precinct of their Commission, where by Lawes of the Realme no other persons are thereto bound and chargeable: and also for furnishing of necessary utensils for the houshold, as to the said L. President and Councell, or to any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall seeme needfull and convenient. In all which the said Lord President shall haue regard to moderate those allowances, as of the Fines assessed and levied, the Queenes Maiestie may be answered some reasonable yeerely Sommes towards her great chardges in main-

taining of this Councell, the same being to the Crowne of England a new chardge, and any warrantment signed by the said Lord President, or any one of the Councell for any such Somme or Soms, shall be a sufficient dischardge to the said Clearke our Receiver of the said Fines for the issuing of the said Sommes. And the said Clearke or Receiver shall haue full power for the sending out of Processe against any person upon whom any such Fine shall be cessed, and to haue his Processe gratis from the Clearke of the Signet, and hee to haue his diet in the house of the said Lord President, and to bee accounted one of the number of his Horsemen, and to receiue the wages, and entertainement due for the same.

Also the said Lord Deputie and Councell haue thought meete there shall be a continuall housholde kept within the precinct and limits of the Commission aforesaid in such place, as to the Lord President shall seeme most convenient; All servants necessary for which household shall be at the Nomination of the said Lord President; In which house, each Councillor bound to continuall attendance, and attending shall bee allowed their diets, and the clearke of the Councell, and every other Councillor, being either sent for, or comming for any needful busines, for the Queene, or countrey shall be allowed during their abroad there their diet. And for the more honourable porte of the said Household, there shall be allowed unto the said Lord President and Councell after the rate of ten

pounds sterling by the weeke, to bee imployed upon the Table chardges of the said Household, halfe yeerely to bee received at the hands of the Vice-treasurer, and generall Receiver of the Queenes Maiesties revenewes of this Realme, for payment of which there shall remaine in the hands of the said Vice-treasurer, (who is also Treasurer for the Warres) a Warrant dormant, whereby the said Vice-treasurer shall be authorized to pay to the said Lord President, one halfe yeeres allowance alwayes before hand towards the making his necessary provision, out of the revenew: Or if he shall not haue sufficient Treasure, then out of any other Treasure, the said Lord President shall nominate and appoint one discreete and sufficient man of his servants to bee Steward, or clearke of the same Houshold, who shall weekely write and summe the chardges thereof, and the same also shall hee weekely present to the Lord President and Councell, to be considered.

And because her Maiestie meaneth principally to benefit her Subiects, not onely with the fruites of Iustice, but with the delivery of them from all unnecessary burdens: The Lord President and Councell shall foresee, that no manner of extraordinary or excessiue charge bee put and layed upon any person against their Wils and Agreements, by finding or sustaining of any Horsman, or Footman, or Horse-boy, or Horse belonging to the said Lord President, or any of the said Councell, or any belonging to them. And

in the like manner shall see that the Subjects bee not oppressed with the like by any other, contrary to the Lawes of the Realme for such causes provided.

Item, considering the Queenes Maiestie hath title and right to no small quantity of possessions, within Mounster, aswell of auncient revenew of the Crowne, and of other Seigniories devolued to the Crowne; And also of the dissolved Monasteries and other Houses of religion, the which are not duely answered to her Maiestie as reason would; The said Lord President and Councill shall from time to time imploy their Labours by all their good discretions, to procure that her Maiesties Officers or Farmors appointed for that purpose, may peaceably and fully from time to time possesse and receiue the profits of the same.

The Oath to bee ministred by the Lord President to such as shall be admitted to bee of the Councill of Mounster, being not already sworne of her Majesties Privie Councill in Ireland, as well the oath provided in the Statute for swearing of Officers, as also this heere-under written, *viz.*

You shall sweare to the uttermost of your power, will, and cunning, you shall be true and faithfull to the Queenes Majestie our Sovereigne Lady, and to her Heires and Successors.

You shall not know nor heare any thing that may

in any wise be prejudiciall to her Highnes, or the Commonwealth, peace and quiet of this her Highnesse Realme, but you shall with all diligence reveale and disclose the same to her Highnesse, or to such other person or persons of her Majesties Privie Councell in Ireland, as you shall thinke may and will soonest convey and bring it to her Highnesse knowledge.

You shall serue her Maiestie truely and faithfully in the roome and place of her Maiesties Councell in Mounster.

You shall in all things that bee moved, treated, and debated in any Councell, faithfully and truely declare your mind and opinion according to your heart and conscience: In no wise forbearing so to doe for any respect of Favour, Meade, Dreade, Displeasure, or corruption.

Yee shall faithfully and uprightly to the best of your power, cause Iustice to bee duely and indifferently ministered to the Queenes Maiesties Subiects, that shall haue cause to sue for the same, according to equity and order of Lawes.

Finally, you shall bee vigilant, diligent, and circumspect in all your doings and proceedings, touching the Queenes Maiestie and her affaires.

All which points and Articles before expressed, with

all other Articles signed with the hands of the Lord Deputie and Councell of this Realme, and delivered to mee the Lord President of her Highnesse Councell established in these parts: You shall faithfully obserue, keepe, and fulfill to the uttermost of your Power, Wit, Will, and cunning, so helpe you God, and the contents of this Booke.

The Names of the Covncellors to bee Assistant to the Lord President of Mounster, as they are directed under the hand of the Lord Deputie.

The Earle of Ormond.
The Earle of Kildare.
The Earle of Thomond.
The Vice-Co: Barry.
The Lord Audley.
The Bishop of Corke.
The Bishop of Limer.
Sir Nicholas Welsh.
Justice Saxey.

Sir Francis Barkley.
Sir George Thornton.
Justice Golde.
The Queenes Sergeant.
The Q. Attorney generall.
The Q. Solicitor.
Sir Charles Wilmot.
Garret Comerford, Esq.
Hugh Cuffe, Esquire.

Adam Dublin.
Thom. Midens.
George Cary.
Rich. Wingfield.
Anth. St. leger.
George Bourcher.
Geof. Fenton.
Fra. Stafford.

CHAP. II.

The Earle of Tyrone in Mounster, and his Actions there. The White Knight Tyrones prisoner. Florence Mac Carti made Mac Carti More, and Donell Mac Carti displaced. The Lord Barry spoyled. Tyrones letter to the Lord Barry, with the Lord Barry's answer. Sir Warham Saint leger, and Mac Guyre slaine. Tyrones returne into Vlster.

A LITTLE before the landing of the Lord Deputie in Ireland (as is said) the Arch-traytor *Tyrone*, to unite the Rebels of Mounster, and especially to conferre with *James fits Thomas*, the titulary Earle of Desmond, and *Florence Mac Cartie*, at whose intreatie he made a journey into Mounster; Those whom hee found obstinate in rebellion, hee incouraged, from such as hee held doubtfull, hee tooke pledges, or detained prisoners: of which last sort was the White Knight, and his sonne in law, *Donogh Mac Cormocke Cartie*, whom in hand-lockes he carried away with him: And whereas *Donell Mac Cartie*, the Earle of Clancares base sonne had been by the *Mac Carties* of Desmond advanced to the Stile, title and authoritie of *Mac Cartie More*: Him hee displaced, and in his roome *Florence Mac Cartie* was surrogated, being a man as hee conceived, of farre more use then *Donell*. Such as were, or reputed good Subjects, these hee prosecuted with sword and fire; Amongst others which felt his heavie hand, the Lord *Barry* was one, upon whom, when hee could not worke his desire to draw him into actuall rebellion, by the perswasion of

the Provinciaall rebels, him hee preyed, burned, and spoyled, to make it manifest, that he was solicited to enter into Rebellion; both the Letters of *Tyrone*, and the Lord *Barries* Answere, are here truly set downe, the tenors whereof doe ensue.

Tyrones Letter to the Lord Barrie.

MY Lord *Barry*, your impietie to God, crueltie to your soule and body, tyrannie & ingratitude both to your followers and country are inexcusable & intolerable. You separated your selfe from the unitie of Christs mysticall Bodie, the Catholike Church. You know the Sword of Extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours, if things fall out other wayes then well; you are the cause, why all the Nobilitie of the South (from the East part to the West,) you being linked unto each one of them, either in affinitie, or consanguinitie, are not linked together to shake off the cruell yoake of Heresie and Tyrannie, with which our Soules and Bodies are opprest; All those aforesaid depending of your resolution, and relying to your Iudgement in this common cause of our Religion and Countrey, you might forsooth with their helpe, (and the rest that are combyned in this holy Action) not onely defend your selfe from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also (by Gods assistance) who miraculously and aboue all expectation, gaue good successe to the cause principally undertaken for his glorie, exaltation of religion, next for the restauration

of the ruines, and preservation of the Countrey, expell them, and deliver them and us from the most miserable and cruell exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safetie of Wife and children, life, lands and goods, which all are in hazard through your folly, and want of due consideration: Enter I beseech you into the closet of your Conscience, and like a wise man weigh seriously the end of your actions, and take advise of those that can instruct you, and informe you better, then your owne private judgement can leade you unto. Consider, and reade with attention and settled minde, this Discourse I sende you, that it may please God to set open your eyes, and graunt you a better minde. From the Campe this instant, Tuesday the sixt of March, according to the new Computation. I pray you to send mee the Papers I sent you, assoone as your Honour shall reade the same.

O Neale.

The Lord Barries Answer to Tyrone.

YOUR Letters I received, and if I had answered the same as rightfully they might be answered, you should haue as little like therof as I should mislike or feare any thing by you threatned against me; (which manner of Answer, leaving to the construction and consideration of all those that are fully possessed with the knowledge of the Law of duetie to God and man.) You may understand hereby briefly my mind to your obiections, in this manner; How I am undoubtedly

perswaded in my conscience, that by the Law of God and his true religion I am bound to hold with her Maiestie : Her Highnesse hath never restrained me for matters of religion, and as I felt her Maiesties indifferencie and clemencie therein, I haue not spared to releue poore Catholikes with duetifull succour, which well considered, may assure any well disposed mind, that if duety had not (as it doth) yet kindnesse and courtesie should bind me, to remember, and requite to my power, the benefits by me received at her Maiesties hands : You shal further understand, that I hold my Lordships and Lands, immediately under God, of her Maiestie and her most noble Progenitors, by corporall service, and of none other, by very ancient Tenour, which Service and Tenour, none may dispence withall, but the true Possessor of the Crowne of England, being now our Soveraigne Lady Queene *Elizabeth*. And though yee by some over weening imaginations, haue declined from your dutifull allegiance unto her Highnesse ; Yet I haue settled my selfe never to forsake Her : Let fortune never so much rage against me, shee being my annointed Prince, and would to God you had not so farre ran to such desperate and erronious wayes, offending God and her Maiestie : who hath so well deserved of you, and I would pray you, to enter into consideration thereof, and with penitent hearts, to reclaime your selues, hoping that her Highnesse of her accustomed clemency, would be gracious to you, wherein I leaue you to your owne compunction and consideration. And

this much I must challenge you, for breach of your word in your Letter, by implication inserted that your forces haue spoiled part of my countrey, and preyed them to the number of foure thousand Kine, and three thousand Mares and Gerrans, and taken some of my followers Prisoners, within the time by you assigned unto mee to come unto you, by your said word, (if yee regarde it) I require restitution of my spoile, and Prisoners, and after (unlesse you bee better advised, for your Loyalty) use your discretions against mee and mine, and spare not if you please, for I doubt not with the helpe of God, and my Prince, to bee quit with some of you hereafter, though now not able to use resistance: And so wishing you to become true and faithfull Subiects to God and your Prince, I end, at *Barry Court* this twenty sixe of February, 1599.

While *Tyrone* was in Mounster, a disasterous action hapned, upon the* day of February, *Tyrone* with his Hell-hounds being not farre from Corke, Sir *Warham St. Ledger* and Sir *Henry Power* (who after the death of Sir *Thomas Norris*, Lord President of Mounster in the vacancie of a President had beene established Commissioners for the governement of the Province) riding out of the Citie for recreation to take the aire, accompanied with sundry Captaines and Gentlemen with a few Horse for their Guard, not dreaming of an enemy neere at hand, carelesly riding every

* There is a blank left for this date in the original edition.

one as he thought good, within a mile of the Towne, or little more, Sir *Warham St. leger*, and one of his servants a little straggling from his companie, was in a narrow way, suddenly charged by *Mac Guire*, who with some Horse (likewise dispersed) had spread a good circuit of ground, in hope either to get some bootie, or to haue the killing of some Subjects, they charged each other. Sir *Warham* discharged his Pistoll, and shot the Traytor; and hee was stricken with the others Horsemans staffe in the head, of which wounds either of them dyed: but none else on either side was slaine. *Tyrone*^b having dispatched his busines in Mounster turned his face towards Vlster. The Earle of *Ormond*, the Lord Lieutenant generall of Her Maiesties Forces with a competent Army was before him with a purpose to fight with him in his retreat; But by what accident hee missed of his intention I know not, being a hard matter to fight with an enemy that is not disposed to put any thing in hazard: He went through Ormond and stayed not untill he had passed through a part of Westmeth betweene Mollingar and Athlone. The Lord Deputie on the 5. of March had intelligence that hee meant to passe through Westmeth; Whereupon with all the force hee could presently assemble hee marched from Dublin, but his endeavour was fruitlesse, for *Tirone* was past before his comming.

^b 1660.

CHAPTER III.

The Lord President left Dublin. The Earle of Ormond taken prisoner by Owny Mac Rory Omore. Ajoynt Letter from the Lord President and the Earle of Thomond to the Lords of the Councell in England. The manner of the Earle of Ormonds taken prisoner. The narrow escape of the Lord President, and wounding of the Earle of Thomond. The order taken for the setting of the Countrey after the Earle of Ormonds disaster. The submission of Tho: Fitz James, and Tho: Power.

THE Lord President having attended long at Dublin about his dispatches afore mentioned, (wherein he lost no time) upon the seventh of *Aprill* being accompanied with the Earle of Thomond, the Lo: *Audley*, Captaine *Roger Harvy*, Captaine *Thomas Browne*, Captaine *Garret Dillon* and some other Captaines and Gentlemen with seven hundred Foote and one hundred Horse; Hee tooke his leaue of the Lord Deputie, who with all the Counsellors and Captaines then in the Citie, (to doe him honour) rode with him about two miles out of the Towne, and that night he lodged at the Naas, the next night at Catherlogh, and the day following he came to Kilkenny to visit the Earle of Ormond being a noble man whom he much respected, aswell for the honorable parts that were in him, as for the long and familiar acquaintance which had beene betweene them: After salutations and complements were past, the Earle told the President that the next day hee was to parlie with the Rebelle *Owny Mac. Rory Omore* at a place about eight miles from Kilkenny,

and hee was desirous that the President would goe with him, whereunto he easily assented: the next morning being the tenth of *Aprill*, according to the appointment, the Earle parlied with the Traitor, and was there taken Prisoner: To the end the Reader may truely understand the manner of that dayes misfortune, behold the Letter which the President and the Earle of *Thomond* sent to the Lords of the Councell in England, wherein the same is fully related.

A Ioint Letter from the Lord President and the Earle of Thomond to the Lords of the Councell.

IT may please your Lordships: Although I the President haue by my Letters advertised the Lord Deputie, the manner in what sort the Earle of Ormond was taken, which I thinke is by his Lordship sent unto you, yet, wee thinke it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships; and to make knowen unto your Honours, how accidentally we were witnesses of his misfortune. On Monday the seventh of *Aprill*, wee departed from Dublin, and upon Wednesday at night wee came to Kilkenny, where wee found the Earle of Ormond: In our company we had one hundred Horse, dispersed in the Countrey ten or twelue miles distant from us by the Earles Officers: as soone as we came unto him, he acquainted us, that he had appointed the next day to parlie vvith *Owny Mac Rory*, vve told his Lordship, that we would attend him: And I the President, desired his Lordship, that my one hundred Horse



The Rebels
Horse & foot

A shallow ford

THE EARLE OF OR.
MONDS TAKING PRISONER

The Descent from the Hill

might be sent for to goe vvith us, for his Lordships better guard, vvwhich he refused, thanking me for my offer, saying that he had no need of them : The next day being the tenth of this present, after Dinner his Lordship not having in his company aboue the number of seventeene Horsemen (of his followers) armed, and not little aboue the like number of all sorts, whereof wee were part, and the rest Lavvers, Merchants, and others upon Hacknies, with no other weapons then our Swordes, roade out to the place of meeting, eight long Miles from Kilkenny, called Corroneduffe, upon the Borders of Ydough ; Leaving his Lordships owne companie of two hundred Footemeñ short (of the place of Parlie assigned) aboue two English Miles ; The place vvhere we met vvith the rebells, was upon a Heath ground, descending towards a narrow straight, having on either side of us a lowe shrubbie boggie wood, within three pikes length (at the farthest) from the place where wee parlyed, and the like distance from the straight aforesaid, the choyce whereof wee much disliked. *Owny Mac Rory* when hee came unto us, brought with him a Troupe of choise Pikes, leaving in a little plaine beyond the straight, within halfe Culvering shot of us, in our sight, all his grosse, beeing in all to the number (as *Redmond Keting* one of the rebells did sweare unto mee the President) five hundred Foot strong, and twentie Horse, whereof three hundred were *Bonoughes*, the best furnished men for the warre, and the best appoynted that wee haue scene in this Kingdome. At our first meeting, and

so during the parley, (which was appoynted for some good causes best knowen to his Lordship) they stood (as they might) every one trayling his Pike, and holding the cheeke thereof in his hand, ready to push. The Earle himselfe was upon a little weake Hackney, unarmed (as all wee were that were about him) standing so neere with the side of his Hackney to the rebells, as they touched him. After an hower and more was idly spent, and nothing concluded, wee and others did pray his Lordship to depart: But hee desirous to see that infamous Iesuite *Archer*, did cause him to bee sent for; assoone as hee came, the Earle and hee fell into an Argument, wherein hee called *Archer* Traytor, and reprooved him, for sending, under pretext of Religion, her Majesties Subjects into rebellion. In this meane time the grosse of the rebells had left their standing in the plaine, and some crept into the shrubbes aforesayd, and others did so mingle themselves among us, that wee were environed, and stood as if wee had been in a Faire, whereof divers did advertise his Lordship. And at last I the Earle of *Thomond* willed *Owyne* to put backe his men: And I the President desired his Lordship to bee gone, for that I did not like their mingling with us; wherewith as his Lordship was turning his Horse, at an instant they seised upon him, and us two: His Lordship was in a moment drawen from his Horse; we had more hanging upon us, then is credibly to bee beleevd: but our horses were strong, and by that meanes did breake through them, in tumbling downe (on all sides) those

that were before and behinde us, and (thankes be to God) we escaped the push of their pikes, (which they freely bestowed) and the flinging of their Skeines, without any hurt, saving that I the Earle of Thomond received with a Pike a wound in the back. The Earles Horsemen (which were armed) were farre from us, for every one was dispersed, and talking with particular rebells, about the bordering businesse, so as wee doe protest unto your Lordships, in all wee were not aboue tenne unarmed men neere unto him, and assoone as the Allarme was raised, every man of his followers came away, without looking behind him: After wee had cleered our selues (within a Butt length at the most) wee made halt, and called for the Trumpet, and cried upon the Earles men for a Charge, but none stood by us, but Captaine *Harvy*, Captaine *Browne*, Master *Comerford*, a Lawyer, and three of our Servants, which was all the company that we had then, and all of us, without Armour or other Weapon then our Swords, so as for want of more company, vvee were enforced by the Enemies shott, to leaue them the ground; But wee doe assure your Lordships, the place wherein we parlied was of such advantage to the Enemy, that 500 Foote, would not haue cared for 500 Horse, and therefore (his Lordship having no Foote with him) it was impossible to doe the Enemy any harme with Horse: this treachery (for wee must terme it in respect of his Lordships confidence in the valour of his owne men, and also in his opinion that the Enemy durst not shew him this foule measure)

was contrived by that Villaine *Archer*, and none was made acquainted with it, but *Owny Mac Rory*, two Leinster men, and fower Bonnaghes, for if more had beene trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should haue had knowledge of it; *Owny Mac Rory* laid his hands on mee the President, as they report, and (next unto God) I must thanke the Earle of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his Horse upon him, and at my back a Rebelle newly protected (at my suite) *Brien Mac Donoghe Kevenaghe* being a foote, did me good service, and wounded one of the Traitors, that laid hands on the Earle of Ormond, for the rest I must thanke my Horse, whose strength bare downe all about him. On our side there was but one man slaine, not aboue five hurt, whereof *Pierce Butler* (a kinsman of the Earles) was one, who behaved himselfe valiantly; and about fourteene taken prisoners; and of the Enemy was one slaine, and a few hurt; the Prisoners were taken by their owne negligence, who were grazing their horses: The taking of this great Lord breeds unsetled humors in these parts, for all the Gentlemen of the countrey, (whereof some of them were his true followers) for want of a Defender are wavering; others, which in their owne dispositions were naught, and contained themselues as Subiects but for feare of his power, are now at liberty, and we feare will shortly declare themselues: To keepe them from present uproares, I the President, did immediately send for sixe hundred Foote of the Mounster Companies, which were at Watterford, and the hundred

Horse, which were in the countrey, to the Towne of Kilkenny, which hath wrought good effect, and staied the unsettled humors; besides, thereby it did assure the Lady of Ormond, and her daughter, which otherwise had beene subiect to many dangers, so sorrowful a Lady in all our liues vvee haue not seene; and doe beleue, that if it had not pleased God, that we at that time, had been there, she would hardly haue undergone those griefes that did oppresse her: For besides the losse of her husband (in being Prisoner with those rogues) she beheld the apparant ruine of her selfe and her daughter, and no lesse danger of both their liues; the Guard vvhwhereof she committed unto us, not being assured of those that serue her, for there is divers that pretend to bee the Earles Heires; First Sir *Edmond Butler* his second Brother, which Sir *Walter Butler* the Earles Nephew, (vvwhose blood is not attainted) vvill not yield unto, because his Vncle Sir *Edmond* is not restored in blood: And the Vicount *Mountgarret* thinks, that he ought to be Earle of Ormond, for many reasons vvwhich he pretends. This controversie could but breed great danger to the Countesse, and her daughter, for that either of those would be glad to possesse themselves in the Earles houses, and the doubt vvho is to succeede him, breeds unsettled humors in the Gentlemen of the countrey, that bee followers to the Earle, every one addicting himself to the partie they affect, vvwhereby there is a generall distraction vvwhich vvould haue broken out into a dangerous Rebellion, if the Forces and vve had not beene heere

to keepe them in awe : Besides we did not neglect to send for all the Lords and Gentlemen in the countrie (that are of the best quality) and haue temporized with them ; So as we hope, the dangers were like to ensue, will be for a time well appeased : Also understanding that *Balliragget* a house of the Lord *Mountgarets*, in the which there is a Warde for the Queene, kept as a Pledge for his loialty, that the same was attempted to be wonne by the Vicecounts sonnes, who are in rebellion ; And immediately upon the Earles taking, lay before it, in hope to starue the Souldiers, (for their last daies victuals was spent) I the President did take up in Kilkenny, upon my credit victuals, and with a strong convoy of Horse and Foote, haue revictualled it, for sixe weekes, whereof the Lord Deputy is advertised, praying him to be carefull, before that victuall be spent ; And because that all things be continued in good order ; We thought good to remaine in Kilkenny, untill the Lord Deputy should determine of some course, so to hold it for her Maiesties benefit, the countries good, and the Countesse and her daughters safetie ; wherein we were enforced to make large disbursements, of our small stores, for dieting in that time of the horse and the foote Troopes, whereof I the Earle, defrayed the charges of my owne Company of two hundred Foote, and I the President of all the rest, during our abode there, which was eight dayes. In this meane time wee understanding that *Mountgarrets* sonnes, (which are in rebellion) did come to spoile the countrie neere to Kilkenny ; We sent out some part of

our Troopes, who lighted upon some of their men; And amongst them which they slew, there was one of the *Butlers*, a neere kinsman to *Mountgarret* and a Leader slaine, and the Traitors driven to their Woods, being enforced to leaue their enterprize.

The sixteenth of this present, Sir *George Bouchier*, and Sir *Christopher St. Lawrence*, sent from the Lord Deputie came to Kilkenny, Sir *George* for chiefe Commander of her Majesties Forces there, and to take charge of the Countesse, her Daughter, and the Earles Houses, and Sir *Christopher* to bee directed by him. The Forces there left is two hundred Foote of the Earles, other two hundred Foote of Sir *Christophers*, thirtie Foot left in a ward in *Mountgarrets* house, called *Balliraggett*, eightie five Horse, (whereof fiftie of the Earles, five and twentie of *St. Lawrence*) and tenne of Sir *George Bouchiers*. Since the Earles taking, wee kept the Rebels from doing any hurt in the Countrey, neither as yet is there in any rebellion in the same, but *Mountgarrets* sonnes, whose force is not such, but in our opinions, (without they call strangers to assist them) her Majesties Forces there is much too strong for them. The seventeenth wee left Kilkenny, and came to this Cittie, leaving Sir *George Bouchier* as aforesaid. This accident hath withheld mee the President from my peculiar charge, more than I purposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will hold mee excused, being other wayes so necessarily imployed in these causes of so great importance;

whereof I humbly beseech your Lordshipps, in your wisdomes to haue due consideration. To morrow wee proceed in our Iourney towards Corke, from whence, (with the rest of the Councell there) we will advertize your Lordships, in what estate wee finde the Province, not being able here to certifie your Honours so particularly as then wee may. So wee humbly take our leaues: From Waterford, the eighteenth of Aprill, 1600. Strange it was to consider how much this misfortune distracted the minds of sundrie that before were inclined to subjection, and greatly animated the Traitors to persevere in their wicked enterprises, which might evidently be seene in *Pierce Lacy*, a wise and malicious Traytor, who being but few dayes before upon the Earles protection, promising great loyaltie and much service, did presently relapse, and became a more dangerous Rebelle then at any time before. But now leaving farther discourse of former occurrents, we will betake our selues wholly to prosecute the relation of such things as happened in Mounster, after the Lord President came to Waterford, which was the sixteenth of Aprill; For the prosecution of the Service in which Province, by order out of England, the List, as aforesayd for Mounster, was established to be three thousand Foot, and two hundred and fiftie Horse. After his repaire thither, intelligence came unto him, that the Titulaire Earle of Desmond with the greatest part of his Forces was remaining not farre from Yoghall, about Drumfinin, with intent to giue impediment unto him, and such Companies as hee had

with him. *Thomas Fits Iames*, Bastard sonne of Sir *James Fits Gerrald*, late Lord of the *Decies*, and *Thomas Power*, the Lord *Powers* Cosen Ierman, the chiefe Rebels in the Countie of Waterford, receiving advertisement that the President was in Waterford, fearing peradventure lest some draught might bee drawen upon them; and that themselues or followers might receiue some great prejudice by meanes of the Presidents Forces, made great instance by the Lord *Power*, and Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, to be received into her Majesties protection, promising and protesting not onely that they would reclaime themselues, and their followers from committing any outrage against her Majesties Subjects; but further, that they would in-deavour to recompense and requite their former defaults by some acceptable service. The Lord President considering, that the receiving of them and their Dependants into protection, would bee a meanes both to weaken the Traitour *Desmond* of some part of his strength, and to secure and open the passage betwixt Waterford and Yoghall, which before was so kept, especially by them, that there was no way to send but by Sea: Vpon the best assurance that could bee gotten for their future loyalties, accepted their submissions, and graunted protection both to themselues and their followers, since which time they haue been good and loyall Subjects.

CHAPTER IV.

The encounter of her Majesties Forces with Florence Mac Carty. The prey of the Brough taken. The state of the Province of Mounster, when the Lord President came into it. The Lord Barry preyed. Redmond Burke defeated by Odwyre. Odwyres Countrey harrassed by Redmond Burke.

THE twentieth of Aprill the Lord President accompanied with the Earle of *Thomond*, the Lord *Audley*, the Lo: *Power*, the Lord of the *Decies*, Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, Sir *Anthonie Cooke*, Sir *Richard Masterson*, Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine *William Taffe*, Captaine *Richard Greame*, Captaine *Fleming*, Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Dillon*, Captaine *Oreilly*, and divers other private Gentlemen, with eight hundred Foot, and one hundred Horse, came that night to *Dongarvan*, where he found Sir *George Cary* the Treasurer his Company, which the next morning hee tooke along with him to *Yoghall*. The two and twentieth hee received advertisement of an incounter betweene Captaine *Flower*, Serjeant Major of that Province, and *Florence Mac Carty*, the performance whereof was as followeth.

Florence Mac Carty notwithstanding the infinite favours and bounties which hee had received from her Maiestie, being wholly Spaniolized, had possessed the minds of those in *Carbry* & *Desmond* with a strange opinion of his worthinesse, and having com-



bined with *Tyrone* and other Rebels at his late being in Mounster did shew himselfe in open action against the Maiestie : Whereupon the Commissioners Sir *Warham Saint Leger*, and Sir *Henry Power* sent Captaine *Flower* and Captaine *Bostocke* into Carbery with twelue hundred foote and one hundred horse (which *Flower* commanded in chiefe) to make prosecution against the Rebels of those parts, in their way towards Rosse, they burned and spoiled the Countrie as they passed, they got the heads of thirty seven notorious rebels, besides others of lesse note : *Florence* gathered together of the Provincials and Bownoghs (for so they called their waged men) to the number of two thousand or thereabouts, *Dermond Oconnor*, as Generall, (for so they termed him) of the Bownoghs ; These being gathered to a head, attended their opportunity to giue some blow to our Forces, yet never did encounter them, untill they were in their returne within five Miles of Corke. In the mid way betwixt that Citie and Kinsale, there is a foord & a bridge, over the river called Awneby. Here the rebels lay close in an ambush on the North side of the river, in a glynn between two hils, and also on the South side, in a scrubbie Wood neere the river : The Companies comming on, not thinking there to expect an Enemy, marched scarce orderly, and but a few marches burning, Captaine *Iohn Bostocke*, riding a good pretty distance before them, and past the bridge, espied the Morians of some of the suncke ambush in the Glinn, presently retiring backe gaue notice of the Enemy,

and willed them to prepare themselves. The rebels finding that they were discovered, presently rose, and charged our men before they were well ordered; Captaine *Flower* the Commander finding himselfe opprest with numbers, drew to the wals of an old ruinous Castle to the Eastward, neere halfe a mile distant for safety, in which retrait, they being upon the point of routing, were charged home both with Horse and Foote. *Flower* to prevent the danger, directed Lieutenant *Lane*, officer to Sir *Iohn Barkley*, to lie in ambush under an old ditch, with a squadron of Musketers; *Carbry Oconnor* brother to *Dermond* aforesaid, came on with his Company, following the execution of some of our men, untill hee fell into the ambush, where hearing a volley of shot delivered upon them, *Carbry* with other Gentlemen were slaine; At which accident the rebels being amazed, the Horse tooke the opportunity, and chardged them with such resolution, as instantly they rowted, and our men fell upon the execution of them: In which Charge I cannot but particularly commend *Robert Tent*, Sir *Anthony Cooks* Cornet, who did behaue himselfe with extraordinary valour: besides *Carbry Oconnor*, ninetie eight were slaine in the place, and neere that number hurt, whereof divers afterwards died: On our part, none of note hurt, but *Greame*, brother to Captaine *Richard Greame*, and eight Souldiers: Captaine *Flower*, (who did that day admirably well) had two Horses slaine under him, and received sundrie wounds, both with sword and pike, and it was his

fortune to encounter with *Dermond O Conner*, at whom hee discharged his Pistoll, which lighted upon his Targett, whereby he received no hurt. That night they marched into *Kinelmekagh*, and encamped beyond the Bridge of *Balline Coursie*, where they stayed with their hurt men two nights; the third day in the evening they dispersed their Companies to those Countries where they had Bonaught.

The same day Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, Commander of the Lord Presidents Foot Companie, and garrison at *Kilmallock*, where there was the Lord Presidents two hundred Foot, Captaine *Clares* one hundred and fiftie, twenty five of Sir *Anthony Cooke* his Troope, and twelue of Sir *George Thorntons* Horse, drew foorth in the night, part of that garrison, to take the prey of the Brough, a Castle of *Pierce Lacies*, but three miles from *Kilmallock*, to expect the comming foorth of the prey to grase, which accordingly, about an hower after day light came foorth, and they tooke it. Then presently the crie being raised, three hundred Foot, and fiftie Horse led by *Pierce Lacie*, skirmished with them for the space of sixe howers; but seeing they could not prevaile, they gaue over the pursuite: There was slaine of our men, but one Horseman of Sir *George Thorntons* Troope, and foure or five of the Lord Presidents Foote hurt; their losses were more, whereof *Con Oneale*, *Tyrones* base sonne was hurt.

The three and twentieth at night the Lord President lodged at *Barriscourt*, the Lord *Barries* house, and the foure and twentieth he came to Corke, upon the way being mett by Sir *Henry Power*, the Commissioner of the Province, and the Captaines that there were garrisoned. The first thing that the President intended (after hee was come to Corke) was thoroughly to understand the state of the Province, as then it stood; the greatest part whereof, although it was knowen to him before, yet hee calling the Councell of that Province together, desired to bee certified by them in the particulars thereof, to the intent that hee might addresse his action accordingly, Sir *Henrie Power* being sole Commissioner (since the death of Sir *Warham St. Leger*) reported the same much after this manner.

I know not how more fitly to describe unto your Honour the estate of this Province, then by comparing the same to a man that is diseased of a languishing, and almost incurable sicknesse, the Head so sore, and the Heart so sicke, that every member refuseth his naturall Office, in so much that I dare boldly affirme, that since the Conquest of Ireland, this Province of Mounster was never more distempered then now it is, for all the inhabitants of the countrey, are in open and actuall rebellion, except some few of the better sort; who though themselves in their owne persons attend the state, yet all their Tenants, Friends, and

Followers, yea and for the most part, either their Sonnes or Brothers, publikely professed in the devilish action; as for example, the Lord of Cahir, *Cormocke Mac Dermond*, Lord of Muskry, *Gerald Fits Iames*, Lord of the Decies, *Mac Carty Keugh*; The computation and number of the rebels, how many they are, especially of the Province, by reason that they are dispersed in so many severall countries, and commanded by so many heads, we can giue no certaine iudgement, but for strangers (meaning Connaght men that receiue bonnaght amongst them) we are certainly advertised from divers, that are well acquainted with their affaires, that they are enlist fise thousand men, which strength added to the Rebels of that Province, doeth make them absolutely Masters of the field, and her Majesties Forces heere garrisoned in the Cities and walled townes for their safetie, (by reason of their weaknesse before your comming) were in condition little better than besieged. Furthermore, all this might seem more tollerable, if the Cities and walled Townes were (in these times of extremitie) a safe and well assured retreat for them: but all of them are so besotted and bewitched with the Popish Priestes, Iesuites, and Seminaries, that for feare of their Cursings and Excommunications, they are ready upon everie small occasion, to rise in Armes against them, and minister all under-hand, ayde and succour unto the Rebels: so that considering the generaltie of the Inhabitants that are in open rebellion, the infidelitie of those that pretend subjection, the multitude of Con-

naght men that defend the Action, and the little confidence that may be reposed in Cities, (by reason of their contrary religion) wee may very well conclude, that the estate of this Province is like a man sicke of a most dangerous and desperate disease.

The Lord President having heard by former advertisements concerning the same matter, thus confirmed; He told the Councell that hee much doubted of any good successe that could suddenly bee expected, and the rather because his Forces were farre inferior to the rebels, being in list but three thousand Foote and two hundred and fiftie Horse: Yet remembering the old Proverbe, that *Ardua virtutis est via*, and relying upon the iustnesse of the Warre, more then upon the number of his Forces, resolved to try the uttermost of his witt and cunning, without committing the matter to the hazard of fortune, to quench the fire that now raged with such extreeme fury.

The same day *Iohn Fits Thomas* accompanied with one hundred Kerne, or thereabouts, came into the Lord *Barry* his countrie, neere Castell Lyons, and there tooke from him and his Tenants a prey of three hundred Cowes and ten Horses.

The morrow following being the twentieth sixth, intelligence was brought from *Cormocke Oge Carty*, called by the English *Charles Carty*, Sonne to Sir *Cormocke Mac Teg*, that the Arch-traitor *Tyrone* had

sent Letters to *Florence Mac Carty*, to encourage both him and his adherents to persist in the action: Assuring them that within one moneth, namely in May next, hee would bee with them againe in Mounster, and for that Iourney, his Munition, Victuals, &c. were already prepared.

The twenty seventh (as *Dermond Odwire* informed the President by his Letters) *Redmond Burke* with six hundred men entred into his countrie to burne and prey the same, which to effect, he divided his Forces into three sundry parts: *Odwire* having assembled as many men as that short warning would permit, fell upon one of the Divisions afore mentioned, which consisted of two hundred Foot, of them he slew one hundred and twenty, and many hurt: In revenge wherof *Redmond Burke* upon the sixth of May following, having gotten as many men as hee could assemble, entred the second time into the aforesaid countrie, where he slew Man, Woman, and Child, burnt all the houses, (Castles excepted) and droue away all the Cattle of the countrie.

CHAP. V.

Loghguyre preyed. The submission of Barrett and Condon. The submission of Florence Mac Cartie. Florence Mac Cartie's demaunds. The submission of Nugent. The Broughe burnt by Pierce Lacie. Redmond Burke departed out of Cownologhe. Tenne of the Bonoughs slaine by Sir Richard Percy. A Letter from Iames Fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. The Army set out from Corke toward Limericke. The submission of the white Knight.

THE twentieth ninth, Captaine *Francis Slingsby* drew forth one hundred and fiftie Foot, and twenty Horse, of the Garrison of *Kilmallocke* (in the night) to take the prey of *Loghguire*, five miles distant from his Garrison, a place which much annoyed the passage betweene *Kilmallocke* and *Limericke*; in the morning when the Cattle were put forth to grase, hee tooke it: the Warde to recover it sallied, but after a short skirmish, being hopelesse to doe any good, with some losse returned.

About this time also the Lord president began to giue forth speeches of a Iourney, that he speedily intended towards *Limricke*, with a purpose to burne and spoile all the Rebels Houses and Corne, and to take the prey of the countrie neere adioyning, through which his Armie should passe, whether it were the bruite of this Iournie, or the hard measure that hee had lately received at the hands of the Arch-traitors, *Tyrone* and *Desmond*, the white Knight (whose

countrie lay neere to the way as the Armie should march) sought by the meanes of Sir *George Thornton*, to bee received into protection, promising to repaire and recover the credit hee had lost, by his lewd and disloyall courses, which afterwards he performed accordingly as shall be shewed in its due place.

About this time also *William Barrett* of Ballencolly, and *Mac Hawghe Condon*, both chiefe of small Countreyes, submitted themselues to her Majesties mercie. But the principall marke which the Lord President aymed at, before his entrance into the Field with his Armie, was to reclaime (if possible it might be) *Florence Mac Cartie* (before spoken of) from further pursuing those hatefull and ingratefull courses, which unadvisedly he had entred into. This hee desired for divers reasons: First and especially for the service, which he foresaw might receiue some good countenance by his subjection. Secondly, because (if hee continued in action) of necessitie hee must bee constrained to imploy a great part of his Forces (which hee thought both inconvenient and dangerous to bee divided) to follow the prosecution of him and his Complices; And lastly, a good opinion which some his honourable friends in England, and himselfe also had conceived of him: For these causes, was the President moved earnestly to desire, that this *Florence* might bee stayed from further persisting in those exorbitant courses, and the rather, because the said *Florence* had written Letters unto him, which upon

his way into Mounster hee received, that assoone as hee should come to Corke, hee would present himselfe personally to him, and doe all his endeavours to advance the Service. All which being made known by the Lord President to the Earle of *Thomond*, he intreated the said Earle, and Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, to joyne with *John fits Edmonds*, *Florence* his Godfather, (a man very famous in those parts, for his learning and liberall hospitalitie in entertaining of strangers,) to send a Messenger, to signifie to *Florence Mac Cartie*, that they were very desirous to conferre with him, about certaine particularities concerning his owne good. By his Letter remised in answer of this message, hee appoynted both a time and place for their meeting, which was accordingly performed. After more then two houres spent, and many Oathes passed, as well by the Earle as Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, that the President had promised his safe returne; with fearefull guiltinesse hee came to Corke, and from thence to Shandon Castle, upon the third of May, 1600, where the Lord President remained at that time, before whom when hee had presented himselfe, hee made his submission upon his knees, with many protestations of the sinceritie of his Heart, and the true loyaltie, which hee alwayes bare towards her Majestie, desiring that hee might bee received into her Majesties favour, and he would serue her as faithfully and unfainedly, as any man in Mounster. The Lord President reprooved him very sharply, for his trayterous behaviours, laying before him the odiousnesse and

foulnesse of his faults, and the monstrous ingratitude towards her Majestie, from whom hee had received many great benefits, and gracious favours: These speeches finished, the President bade him to stand up; when as both hee, and the Earle of *Thomond*, Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, and *Iohn fits Edmund*, did every of them very feelingly preach Obedience unto him: His answer being very generall, carried great shew of loyaltie and obedience at that time. Vpon the next morrow hee was called before the President and Councell, who was againe urged (by them all in generall) not onely to desist from proceeding in evill, but with alacritie of minde to doe some such service, as might merit reward; for assurance and performance whereof, the President demaunded his eldest sonne in pledge: for the avoydance whereof hee used many colourable reasons, *viz.* That it would cause the Bon-noghs to forsake him, yea, and to driue him out of his Countrey, erecting his wiues base Brother in his place; That he had of long time tasted of miseries and wants; That hee had lately recovered his Countrey of Desmond with great travell and charges, and therefore like the burnt child, hee feared to run into any such inconvenience, as might cause his friends to relapse from him. Adding moreover, that it was needlesse in them to exact any such thing at his hands, who was in his soule wholly addicted & devoted to her Majesties service. The weaknesse of these reasons were both wisely discovered, and effectually answered: but all that could bee said, was no

more pleasing to him, then is delightfull musicke to deafe eares; which being discerned, the President be-
tooke himselfe to a new devise: for now hee vehemently threatned, (that leaving for a time all other services) a sharpe prosecution of Hostilitie, with fire and sword against himselfe, his tenants and followers, should speedily overtake him, upon his returne into Desmond. Much was hee amazed with this denunciation, and therefore hauing made a short pawse, answered thus: Since my needlesse pledge is so earnestly desired, I am content to leaue my eldest sonne in Corke upon these conditions: That her Majestie would passe unto mee the Countrey of Desmond, in as large and ample manner, as before it was conveyed unto my Father in law the Earle of *Clancare*. Secondly, that shee would giue unto mee the Name and Title of *Mac Cartie More*, or Earle of *Clancare*. Thirdly, that shee would giue unto mee three hundred men in pay, for assuring my Countrey from all that would offend it. These hyperbolicall demands, were no sooner propounded, but absolutely rejected: Therefore he desired that Licence might bee graunted unto him, to write to his honourable friends in England, to worke for him the afore recited Conditions, which without any great difficultie was permitted. Lastly, the President questioned with him what hee intended to doe, if these his desires were not satisfied; thereupon hee sware upon a Booke, that hee would never beare Armes against her Majesties Forces, (except hee were assaulted in Desmond) and that his followers

should likewise abstaine from actuall rebellion; and further, that he would send him intelligence from time to time, of the Rebels proceedings, and doe him the best underhand-service that possibly hee could. Now had the President effected a great part of his desires, namely that by *Florence* his remaining in Neutralitie, his Forces might be wholly imployed against *Iames fits Thomas*, who being once slaine or banished, it would bee an easie matter to teach him to speake in a more submissiue language, and forget to capitulate either for Lands, Title, or Charge. *Florence* is now departed towards his Countrey of Desmond, where leaving him in suspence, betwixt doubt and feare, wee will proceed in the accidents of Corke.

Now the President discerning this Warre in Mounster to be like a Monster with many Heads, or a Seruant that must obey divers Masters, did thinke thus; that if the Heads themselues might bee set at variance, they would proue the most fit Instruments to ruine one another: The two chiefe Heads were the Sугan Earle (for so they called *Desmond*) Commander of the Provincials, and *Dermond O Conner* Generall of the Bownoghs before mentioned. This *Dermond O Conner* was a poore man in the beginning of his fortune, and not Owner of two Plough Lands, in Connaght his native Countrie; his reputation grew partly by his wife, who was daughter to the old Earle of Desmond, and partly by his valour, being reputed one of the most valiant Leaders, and best Commanders amongst

the Irish rebels. By meanes whereof he had now the command of foureteene hundred men in his owne Bonaght, and besides that, might strike a great stroke with the other, being by *Tyrone* at his departure out of Mounster, ordained chiefe Commander of them all. This man did the President make choise to deale withall, for these reasons: First because hee knew that the said *Dermond* being a meere Mercenary, and serving in Mounster onely for pay, might be indueed by large Summes of monie, to serue the Queene aswell as the rebels: Secondly, hee had a very fit Instrument, whereby the more easily to worke him to his will, namely his Wife, who being brought up some part of her time amongst the English, had not only learned the language, but stood reasonably well affected to the English governement, and likely it was that shee would use all her industry, to advance the service, in hope that if it succeeded well, it would proue a good step or Ladder, to procure the liberty of her Brother *James Fits Gerald*, Sonne and Heire to *Gerald* Earle of Desmond slaine (now Prisoner in the Tower) and to raise his fortunes. Lastly it was publikely known that the *Sugan* Earle, would never doe service upon the Bownoghs, except he might haue both the title and possessions of the Earle of Desmond confirmed unto him, which her Maiestie would never condescend unto. Vpon these grounds in very secret manner, hee provided and sent a fit agent, to sound the inclination of the Lady *Margaret*, for so was *Desmonds* Wife named; and finding her fit to bee wrought upon, the

Conditions should be propounded, *viz.* That if her husband would take *Desmond* Prisoner, and deliver him into the hands of the President, he should incontinently receive one thousand pound sterling; and that he should have a Company of men in pay from the Queene, and other conditions of satisfaction, to her selfe and her Brother: The Messenger was no sooner sent about these important affaires, but that another occasion offered it selfe unto the President, of no lesse moment then the former, to aduance the service: for immediately hereupon, one *Iohn Nugent* sometimes servant to Sir *Thomas Norris*, late President of Mounster, pretending some wrongs and iniuries to be offered unto him by the State, ioyned with the Rebels, and became (to his power) the most malicious and bloody Traitor in all these parts. At last having as it should seeme spit his poyson, and spent his Venome, sought to Sir *Warham Saint Leger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, the Commissioners, to be received into protection; who more for feare of the hurt that hee might doe, then hope of the good that hee would doe, granted the same, untill the Lord Presidents pleasure (who was now ready to depart from Dublin towards Mounster) were further knowen. At this time therefore *Nugent* came to make his submission to the President, and to desire pardon for his faults committed: Answer was made, that for so much as his crimes and offences had beene extraordinary, hee could not hope to bee reconciled unto the State, except hee would deserue it by extraordinary service, which saith the President, if you

shall performe, you may deserue not onely Pardon for your faults committed heretofore, but also some store of Crownes to releue your wants hereafter; Hee presently promised, not to bee wanting in any thing that lay in the power of one man to accomplish, and in private made offer to the President, that if he might bee well recompenced, hee would ruine within a short space, either the Sungan Earle, or *Iohn Fits Thomas* his Brother. And indeed very likely hee was both to attempt and performe as much as he spake. To attempt because hee was so valiant and daring, as that he did not feare any thing; and to execute, because by reason of his many outrages before committed, the chiefe Rebels did repose great confidence in him. The President having contrived a plot for *Iames Fits Thomas* (as is before shewed) gaue him in charge to undertake *Iohn* his Brother: But because the matter might be caried without any suspition, upon the next morrow, the Councell being set, and a great concourse of people assembled, *Nugent* renueth his suite for the continuance of his protection. But the President rehearsing in publike audience, a Catalogue of his mischievous outrages lately committed, told the Councell, that having farther enquired, and better considered of Man and Matter, for his part hee thought it an action of very ill example to receiue unto mercy such a notorious Malefactor: the Councell were all of the same opinion, who reviling him with many biting and bitter speeches, and assuring him, that if it were not for a religious regard, that was holden of the Queenes

word, hee should pay a deare price for his former misdemeanor, and so with publike disgrace, was he dismissed their presence. The promised submission of the white Knight, the jealousie which the rebels conceived of *Florence Mac Carty* by his comming to the President, and the Presidents Iourney being now blazed through the Province, it caused *Pierce Lacy*, who all the time of the Warres (untill now) had kept a ward in the Castle of the Brough three miles from Kilmallocke, despayring to hold the same against her Majesties Forces; And knowing it was a convenient place for a Garrison, pluckt downe some part of the Castle, burnt the rest, and by the light thereof, ran into the Woods: *Redmond Burke* also with five hundred Bonoghs about this time, which was in the beginning of May, withdrew out of Connillogh, and kept himselfe for a little time about the borders of Ownhy, where being pressed with want of Victuals, he intended to leaue the Province. The Sugean Earle, *Pierce Lacy*, and some other hearing of this sudden departure, dispatched Messengers unto him, with earnest entreaties, and large promises, for increasing his Bonnoght, if hee would returne, but to no purpose. The cause of this his unexpected departure was a trafficke betweene him and the President, who did uphold him in certaine faint hopes, about the obtaining of the Barronie of Lettrim, which he claimed as his inheritance: For this is most true, that not long before this time, one *Richard Burke* Vncle to the said *Redmond*, wrote unto the President, that his Nephew

would be very glad of his Lordships favour, & that he would withdraw both himselfe and his Bownoghs out of Mounster, so that hee would not send any Forces to molest him in Connaght. Whereunto was answered, that it became not a Governour, no not a private Subject to make any such agreement with a man in his condition: And farther that hee might assure himselfe, that by strong hand he could never invest himselfe in the Barrony of Lettrim, nor be in secure possession of his Fathers Lands: But if he would reclaime himselfe and doe service to her Majesty, the President would use the best friends that hee had, either in England or Ireland, that his cause might bee respected with all favour according to the equity thereof.

Not long after the receipt of this Letter, hee left the Countie of Limericke, severed himselfe from the Mounster Rebels, and settled in Ormond, and *Tirrell* stayed not long behinde, inwardly doubting some practise upon himselfe, but publikely pretending the cause of his departure, for a mislike betweene him and *Dermond O Conner*. The President hath given foorth, ever since his first comming to Corke, that his Armie should bee on foot in the way to Limerick, by the sixth of May, his intention not being to rise untill the twentieth: the bruit thereof caused the Rebels greatest strength to assemble together, who by the day assigned, had united their Forces in the great Wood called Kilmore, betweene Moyallo, and Kil-

mallock, neere the place of Ballihawre, through the which the Armie was to march. There they continued the space of tenne dayes, attending continually, and hearkening daily for the Presidents comming: but finding that he stirred not in all this time, (imagining that he durst not take the field at all) they dispersed their Companies, and departed every one into his owne Countrey. Heereupon some thought, that the President had altered his determination for going to Limerick, and intended to begin the prosecution in some other place: others supposed, that hee would not venture out of Corke, untill hee had received new Supplies, which were daily expected out of England: But both one and the other were besides the marke; for by this stay, (which from the beginning he determined) hee saw divers commodious opportunities might accrue unto him, as that heereby hee should receive certaine advertisement of the strength of the enemy that was to confront him, and also that it was impossible for them (any long time) to hold together, for divers wants which of necessitie must accompany such an undisciplined and disordered multitude, by meanes whereof they would bee constrained to breake with their owne weight; wherein he nothing failed of his expectation; for within a few dayes following, they were all divided into so many places, and those so farre distant, that they could not speedily be reassembled.

Vpon the sixteenth of May, the President was advertised by Sir *Richard Percie*, who was Governour

at Kinsale, that by his Horsemen in Kinalmekagh, whom he had sent to forrage that Country, ten of the Bownoghs were slaine, and a farre greater slaughter had beene made of them, if *Florence Mac Cartie* had not had some intelligence out of Kinsale of his intention, who gaue the Bownoghs warning of their coming, whereupon they fled, and dispersed themselues.

Vpon the seventeenth of May, *James fits Thomas*, the usurping Earle of Desmond, wrote a Letter to *Florence Mac Cartie*, praying the ayde of his Forces, the Copie whereof is here inserted.

A Letter from Iames fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie.

AFTER my very heartie Commendations; Having received Intelgence of your happie escape out of Corke, it was very joyfull to mee and many other your Cosens and adherents heere; the fruite of your conference with the President, and the rest, I hope shall purchase ripe experience, and harvest of further knowledge, to cut off the cruell yoke of bloody enemies, who daily studie to worke our perpetuall destruction and exile: I am given to understand that they pretend a journey towards the Countie of Limerick, I am gathering the best force and rising out of these parts, to resist their wicked desires: *Redmond Burke* is bordering on the Confines of Ormond, expecting to heare from me, if occasion of important service should require, I haue

the other day received his Letters signifying his constant service to be ready whensoever I shall send to him, what news you haue with your best advice in all causes tending to our generall Service, I expect to heare, and if the President doe rise out (as it is thought) I pray you good Cosen slacke not time, with your best Force & Provision of victuals to prosecute him freshly in the Reare-ward, as you respect me, the exaltation of the Catholike faith, and the ease of our countrey: I looke no excuse at your hands, which I pray to lay apart, wherein you shall further the service, and bind me with all my Forces to second you at your need. I haue retained *Dermond Oconner* in Kerry two hundred Souldiers this quarter besides the Clanshibies and other Bonoghs with the rising out of my country, so as I think I shall make up sixteen or seventeene hundred strong, well appointed, together with the force of *Redmond Burke*: Thus for lacke of farther Novelties, I commit you to the blessed guiding of God. From Crome the seventeenth of May 1600.

I am credibly informed that five Spanish ships are landed in the North with Treasure, Munition, and great Ordinance, with a competent number of three thousand Souldiers Pioners, and religious persons; I expect every day advertisement in writing, and the comming up of Captaine *Terrell* with the Munition sent me by *Oneye*. I appointed your Cosen *Maurice Oge Fits Maurice Gerald* to haue the charge of

Kierrycorrie, I pray you afford him your lawfull favour.

Your most assured Cosen,
James Desmond.

The same day Captaine *Gawen Harvy*, who then had in her Majesties pay a man of Warre, wherein for the payment of the Armie there was three thousand pound in monie, Munition, Victuals, and Souldiers apparell, set saile with direction for the River of Shenan, to meete the Lord President at Limericke.

The President the twentieth one of May left Corke, and with his Armie incamped that night within three miles of Moyallo.

The twentieth two they lodged within five miles of Kilmallocke, the twentieth three the Armie came within a mile of Kilmallocke, where the white Knight according to his former promises made his humble submission unto the President, whereby the Faggot began to unloose which combined the Rebellion in Mounster, but let us a little looke backward.

CHAP. VI.

Cahir Castle surprized by James Galdie Butler. A letter from James Galdie Butler to the Lord President. The rendring of the Castle of Loghguayree. Nugents attempt upon Iohn fits Thomas. Clanwilliam spoyled and burnt by the Armie.

THE President being at Yoghall in his journey to Corke, sent Sir *Iohn Dowdall*, (an ancient Captaine in Ireland) to Cahir Castle, as well to see the same provided of a sufficient Ward out of Captaine *George Blunts* Companie, as to take order for the furnishing of them with Victuall, Munition, and other warlike Provision, there hee left the eighth or ninth of May a Sergeant with nine and twenty Souldiers and all necessary Provision for two moneths, who notwithstanding, upon the three and twentieth of the same were surprized by *James Galdie* alias *Butler*, brother to the Lord of Cahir, and as it was suspected by many pregnant presumptions, not without the consent and working of the Lord himselfe, which in after times proved to be true. The carelesse securitie of the Warders, together with the treachery of an Irish-man, who was placed sentinell upon the top of the Castle, were the causes of this Surprise.

James Galdie had no more in his Companie then sixty men, and comming to the Wall of the Bawne of the Castle undiscovered by the helpe of Ladders, and some Masons that brake holes in some part of the

Cahir Castle taken by the
Earle of Essex in anno
1599



Wall where it was weake, got in and entered the Hall, before they were perceived, the Sergeant, named *Thomas Quayle*, which had the charge of the Castle, made some little resistance, and was wounded: Three of the Warde were slaine, the rest upon promise of their liues rendered their Armes, and were sent to Clonmell. Of this Surprize the Lord President had notice when he was at Kilmallocke, whereupon hee sent direction for their imprisonment in Clonmell, untill hee might haue leasure to try the delinquents by a Marshals Court. Vpon the fourth day following *Iames Butler* who tooke the Castle, wrote a large Letter to the President, to excuse himselfe of his traitorly Act, wherein there was not so many lines as lyes, and written by the underhand working of the Lord of Cahir his Brother, they conceiving it to bee the next way to haue the Castle restored to the Baron: The copie of which Letter here ensueth.

A Letter from Iames Galdie Butler to the Lord President.

RIGHT Honourable hither came unto me yesterday my Lord my Brother, accompanied with Mr. *Patricke White*, and *Nicholas White* of Clonmell Gent. and M. *George Lea* of Waterford, who treated with me (as they said) by your Honors Commission, what might be the causes why I should attempt the surprising of the castle of Cahir, being kept as a garrison for her Majestie. And albeit my good Lo: I may not,

nor will not justifie what hath been done therein; yet will I signifie the truth, (the which graciously being tempered with mercie) I doubt not to excuse whatsoever hath beene committed. And therefore my Lord, first your Lordship shall vnderstand, that where heretofore by youthfull instigation, and as I must confesse, altogether without the privitie of my Lord my Brother aforesaid, I kept the said Castle, untill the same was besieged by her Majesties Forces, and battery layd thereunto, the which I made choise rather to forsake, then stand to the defence thereof; which action my good Lord, was so much raised to my contempt, with the mouthes of her Highnesse enemies, (whom I then of force obeyed) as they imagined nothing else would raise credit, but the gaining thereof againe. The next that mooved mee to enterprise the same, was, that publike report was made in the name of the Archbishop of Cassell, (who is well knowen to bee a professed enemy of my House) to haue the keeping of the said Castle. Thirdly, that it was also reported, that the Souldiers of late left in garrison therein, purposed for want to sell the same for a piece of money, unto *Iohn of Desmond*, whom the Countrey knoweth not to bee my friend, for the late killing of many of his men, for which service, my Lord of *Dunboyne* had only the thankes, being no more assistant thereunto then your Lordship: and last my good Lord, when I considered the apparant wrongs (as I thought) proffered unto both my Brethren, that your Honour and the State would countenance their knowen and

vowed Enemies against them, and to make their griefes the more corrosiue to bestow upon them, the chiefe and dwelling Castle, of the one of them being Cnocknamma to my Lo: of Dunboyne, which makes my poore brother to goe in a manner a begging, and my Eldest Brothers Castle of Dorenlare upon *Richard Power*. These being the principall causes that moveth this my desperate attempt, I pray may be construed, as if your Lordship or any other Gentleman were in my case, and doe also request, that your Honour, and all others, doe suspend to condemne me, of my Disloyaltie in mind, howsoever my youthfull actions doe deserue; And that by example the same may the better appeare, consider that having wonne the Castle aforesaid, that unlesse it be such as by mischance were slaine, I suffered not the blood of any other, nor any part of their apparell to bee spilt, or taken, but send them conducted to the next incorporate Towne; And for her Majesties Ordinance, that here hath beene left, I could wish your Lordship had them, only that I know, they must be removed by the force of many men, the which I dare not adventure to trust (as now I stand;) But let your Honor be well assured, they shall be as safely kept as formerly they were, for her Majestie; Vnlesse your Honour or the State doe driue me to doe that I shall be unwilling. Forasmuch therefore my good Lord, as not only these, but many else the causes of the rebellion of this Province, haue hitherto and are well knownen, to bee for want of considerate Iustice, and clemencie of your Predecessors,

Governors, sheweth liberally the benefit of her Majesties Proclamations, and gracious authoritie given you; And let the first example thereof be, to withdraw the Castles of Darenlare and Cnocknamma aforesaid, from the possession of such, as the world doe know, of pretended malice, to haue sought them, and to be bestowed, wheresoever your Lordship doe thinke fit in Iustice they shall bee given: And this much my very good Lord in excuse, and as the simple truth of the Premises, I am bold to signifie; and now it resteth, I must complaine against my Lord and Brother, who as I suppose ought to maintaine both me and the rest, whose wrongs hitherto proffered, I will not forgiue, nor forget, having so sufficient a distresse as now I haue in possession, the which I purpose to keepe, untill our controversie be decided by friends, or your Lordship, or the State doe determine betweene us; Holding the same with most assured safetie to her Majesties use, and no hurt unto my countrey, and to your Honours good liking, and not otherwise: all the premises concluded and considered, it resteth now onely how I shall be maintained, which my good Lord is to be supplied, by that gracious entertainment, that her Majestie hath, and doeth bestow, upon lesse faithfull, more unable to doe her service, and not so willing as my selfe; The which in company with the rest, I leaue to your favourable consideration: Yet all these shall not satisfie me, but that it may please your Lordship to forgiue and forget, if in ignorance I haue either spoken or written any thing that might

giue you cause to be offended. And so with my humble Duetie, I take leaue, Caher the twentieth seventh of May, 1600.

Your Lordships very assured to command,
James Butler.

The foure and twentieth, the Armie encamped at the Brough, where the President left a Ward, partly to offend the Rebels of Loghguire, three miles distant from thence; and partly to open the way betwixt Kilmallocke and Limerick, which for two yeares space had been impassible for any subject.

The five and twentieth, the army passing neere Loghguire, which was as yet held by the Rebels, the President attended with a Troope of Horse, rode to take a particular view of the strength and scituation thereof, as also by what way he might most conveniently bring the Cannon to annoy the same. Hee found it to bee a place of exceeding strength, by reason that it was an Iland, encompassed with a deepe Lough, the breadth thereof being in the narrowest place, a Calievers shot over, upon one side thereof standeth a verie strong Castle, which at this time was manned with a good Garrison, for there was within the Iland *Iohn fits Thomas*, with two hundred men at the least, which shewed themselues prepared to defend the place. The President being approached within shot, to discover the ground, they discharged some twentieth Muskets at him and his company, but

without any hurt done: and having effected as much as hee intended at that time, they casting foorth some reviling speeches, he left the place. That night the President came to Limerick, the Armie incamped within little more then a mile thereof. The three dayes next following, wee bestowed in providing things necessary for the mounting and drawing of the Cannon, the Citie being altogether destitute of necessaries thereunto, which at last with many difficulties was effected: Wherein the President shewed himselfe to bee a Master in that facultie; for Canonier or other Artificer (skilfull in the mountures of Ordnance) he had none, the Smiths and Carpenters were onely directed by him, according to the proportions hee gaue, they wrought, and in the end a demie-Cannon was mounted, and drawen towards the gate of the Cittie, that leadeth to the Iland of Loghguire before named. The rebels within the Castle receiving intelligence thereof, one *Owen Grome*, a stranger of the North, (to whose charge *Iohn fits Thomas* had committed the custodie of the Castle) sent vvord, That for his pardon, and a competent summe of money, hee would deliver it up unto her Majesties use. The President considering, that many impediments would arise, if hee should attempt the taking of it by force, and that it must needs bee chargeable to the Queene, cost the liues of many his men, and a great delay for the prosecution of other services, which he intended, accorded to his demaunds, and received the Castle, the monie (which was threescore pounds) being paied by

the Presidents order, by one *Rowlye*, who lost the same to the Rebels: Whilest these things were in handling, *Nugent* (whose Promises to the President before we recited) intending no longer to deferre the Enterprize, attempted the execution in this sort. The President being past Loghguire, *Iohn Fits Thomas* riding forth of the Iland towards the fastnes of Arloghe, where most of his men remained, with one other called *Iohn Coppinger*, whom hee had acquainted with the Enterprize, and as hee thought made sure unto him, attended this great Captaine, and being now passed a certaine distance from all Companie, permitted *Iohn Fits Thomas* to ride a little before him, minding (his hacke being turned) to shoote him through with his Pistoll; Which for the purpose was well charged with two bullets; the opportunitie offered, the Pistoll bent, both heart and hand, ready to doe the deed, when *Coppinger* at the instant snatched the Pistoll from him, crying, Treason: wherewith *Iohn fits Thomas* turning himselfe about, perceived his intent. *Nugent* thinking to escape by the goodnesse of his Horse, spurred hard; the horse stumbled, and hee taken, and the next day after examination, and confession of his intent, hanged. This plot, although it attained not fully the desired successe, yet it prooved to bee of great consequence: For now was *John fits Thomas* possessed with such a jealous suspition of every one, that he durst not remaine long at Loghguire, for feare of some other like attempt that might be wrought against him; and

therefore leaving the Castle in the custodie of the said *Owen Grome*, (who as before, kept it a very short time after) departed suddenly unto his Brothers *Campe. Nugent* in his Examination freely confessed his whole intent, which was (as hee then said) to haue dispatched *Iohn fits Thomas*, and immediately to haue poasted unto the *Sugan Earle*, to carry the first newes thereof, intending to call him aside, in secret manner to relate the particulars of his Brothers murther, and then to execute as much upon him also; Adding moreover, that although they take away his life, (which he would not intreat them to spare) yet was their owne safetie never the more assured: for there were many others, which himselfe perfectly knew, to haue sollemnly sworne unto the President to effect as much as hee intended. This confession being sealed with his death, did strike such a fearefull terroure into the two Brethren, that *Iames Fits Thomas* himselfe afterwards, unto the President acknowledged, they never durst lodge together in one place, or ever serue in the Heads of their Troopes, for feare to be shot by some of their owne men.

Loghguire being now possessed for the Queene, and the Armie well refreshed, the President marched into *Clan-William* a countrie of the *Burks*; Whereupon one of the principall Freeholders then in rebellion called *Iohn Burke*, halfe Brother to *Pierce Lacy*, desired to come unto the President, but no eare would be given to his request, untill he had first testified his

humble submission, whereof hee made scruple, alleaging that his conscience would not suffer him so to doe, having before beene taught by his Instructors that it was sinfull and damnable, personally to submit himselfe unto her Majestie; His answer was much disdained, and he plainely told, that he should never hope to be accepted for a Subject, and receiue the benefit thereof, except hee would absolutely disclaime that rebellious opinion; which hee absolutely refusing, was sent away with this Proviso: That although himselfe did fly into the Woods; yet his Castles, Townes, and Corne, which hee could not carry with him, should be the next morrow destroyed, which was not vainely meant, but truely performed, for by the Noone of the next day, being the twentieth of May, the Armie came upon his Lands, many of his Houses, some of his Corne, and one of his Castles fired. When a second Messenger, came to intreate that he might bee admitted to make his submission, whether it were that some Popish Priest, had granted him a Dispensation, or that he would undertake himselfe to dispence with his conscience, rather then see himselfe ruin'd, is to me uncertaine; But sure I am, that this alteration was now wrought in him. Very unwilling was the President to accept him to mercy, which the day before hee so unadvisedly refused; Yet being much importuned by his Mother and others, who with weeping eyes intreated for him, and the rather that he had married one of Sir *George Thorntons* Daughters, was inclined to admit him to his presence.

E

The Abbye

The Castle of Asketon.

The Deale

W



CHAP. VII.

The submission of Iohn Burke. The Castle of Ballitrarsnie. Omulrians Countrey burnt and spoyled by the Armie. A Letter from Iames Fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. O Sulevan More detained Prisoner by the practise of Flo. Mac Cartie. The plot contriued by the Lord President, for the apprehension of Iames Fits Thomas. The Lo. Presidents Letter to Iames fits Thomas. Fiue hundred men sent to lye in Garrison at Asketon. Supplyes of Money, Munition, Victuals, &c. The apprehension of Iames Fits Thomas by Dermond O Connor.

THE President now on Horse-backe, in the midst of his Armie, tooke occasion of speech with some of his Commanders; when *Iohn Burke* bringing his Brother *Theobald Burke* with him, alighted from their Horses, and kneeling upon the ground, desired that their submission might be accepted: The President seeing, would not see them, and hearkning to the other, would not attend them, untill (they creeping upon their knees by the Horse side) it was told unto him that two of the *Burks* were there; he staying his Horse, spent some time in reproving them for their rebellious obstinacie, and then (upon foure sufficient Sureties for their future Loyaltie) granted them protection. The next day the Armie marched to a Castle called Ballitrarsny, belonging to *Moroughe Kewghe* one of the Brians, which stood neere a great Fastnesse, being very commodious, both to open the passage from Limerick, to Cashell, and to hinder the Rebels for comming out of Kilquige into Conniloghe: The Rebels of the Ward, assoone as they saw the Armie

draw towards them, quitted the castle; which was not to bee wonne but by the Cannon; and therein was found great plenty of Graine; whereof some was largely bestowed amongst the Troopes of Horse; some sent to Limerick by the Souldiers, and yet enough left to suffice the ward for one whole yeere.

The day following, five hundred Foote were sent into Ownby, inhabited by the O Mulryans, a strong and fast Countrey; all the Inhabitants thereof being notorious Traitors: This being burnt and spoiled by them, and divers Traitors put to the sword, whereby the disorders in those parts were well corrected; the Armie without any losse at all, returned againe to Limerick, and within short time after, *viz.* at Likadowne, bordering upon Connilogh, Kilmallock, Limerick, and Askeiton, were bestowed in severall Garrisons, which are not so farre distant, but that upon every occasion, they might be united againe. At this time *Florence Mac Cartie* received a Letter written unto him from *James Fits Thomas*, the Copie whereof here ensueth.

A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie.

COUSEN, your Letters of the fifth of this present, I received the eighth of the same, wherein you write of your sicknesse, and the impediments that caused your Souldiers to bee slow in prosecuting our generall

Action. In your former Letters you write and vow, that there hath been neither peace, truce, nor cessation confirmed betweene you and the President. I am informed by my particular friends, and also by a Letter (intercepted) from the President to you, that some mitigation of time is limited betwixt you and them, whereupon they depend, your assistance to be restrained from us. If this be thus, it is farre contrary to that I hoped, and much beyond the confidence reposed by *Oneale* and my selfe in your vowed fidelitie and service to God and our Action. I perceiue *Donell Mac Cartie* is raising head in disquieting your Countrey, the redresse whereof consisted in your constant assistance to bee bestowed; the President being not able to performe any service by Land, hath appoynted to come by Sea to Askeiton, and some force out of Thomond towards the Glinne: all which by the divine providence of God shall be prevented. The causes of urgent affaires are very many, which required your presence and helping assistance, that without your sound advice, can hardly bee accomplished. And therefore in regard of your fidelitie, let mee intreat you, (if your sicknesse bee not apparantly knowen to bee so extreame) to lay all excuses apart, and to draw towards this Countrey, with so few or so many as you may possibly afford; else you giue us cause to thinke of some inward meaning in you, contrary to our generall action. At your entreatie, and Letters, I haue discharged *Dermond Mac Tirlogh*, his Sonne I will keepe till that you and I doe conferre

further of that cause. For *Manus Mac Shihyes* dealings, I will see redresse if my abuse bee offered. I understand you haue apprehended *Owen Mac Shihy*, I desire you to see him released, and restitution made of what hee had taken from him; and if you can charge him for any offence to you, I will upon these my Letters see him to bee forth comming, to answer his Contempt, I pray you delay not his release, for I haue present occasion to employ him in service. And thus expecting your present repaire or speedy answer, I commit you to God. *Iune vt Supra.*

Your very loving Cousen,
James Desmond.

Whilest the President was at Limerick, hee had certaine notice brought him, that *Florence Mac Cartie* had a meeting in Connilogh, with *Iames fits Thomas*, and *Dermond O Conner*, and there in a parlie, because *Osulevan More* did refuse to contribute towards the bearing of his Bownoghs in Desmond, hee contrived with *Dermond O Conner*, that hee should lay hands upon him, but it must bee done as it were by force, that it might appeare to the world, that it was against his will: for *O Sulevan* was his Brother in law, having married his Sister. Thus was *O Sulevan* betrayed by his deare Brother, and detained prisoner by *Dermond*: And also there was at that time, by *Florence* his directions, the two Brothers of *O Sulevan More*, the two *Odonoghs*, *Mac Finires* sonne, and others to the number of eighteene, delivered as pledges into the

hands of *Dermond*, for Bonnoght due unto him, which *Florence* should haue payed; all which prisoners were sent by him unto Castlelishin.

Before the President departed from Limerick, the Earle of Thomond, invited him to the Castle of Bonrattie; the same night that hee was there, in the Evening, Captaine *Gawen Harvie*, (who from Corke was imbarqued the very day that the President marched from thence with his Armie as aforesayd) came into the River of Shenan, to an anchor, at the mouth of the Creeke, where the Castle is seated: Hee brought with him, to the comfort of the whole Armie, Money, Munition, Victuall, and Apparell for the Souldiers, which if it had not come in due time, it might haue prooved a hazard for the overthrow of that Summer Service. The next morning Captaine *Harvie* was directed to goe to the Key at Limricke, where after his charge was landed, the President willed him to fall downe with his Ship, and to ride before the Castle of the Glinne, there to remaine at an anchor, untill hee with the Armie should present himselfe before it, and sent with him a Demie Cannon, for the guard whereof, certaine Souldiers were appointed under his charge.

Much did it amuse the minds both of the Councell of the Province, and of all the Commanders in the Armie, to see the Forces suddenly dispersed, at such a time, as for divers reasons they thought very

unseasonable: The Armie for the numbers was strong, having received no disaster since their comming into the field, the time of the yeare, (being now about the beginning of Iune) was most convenient to lie in Campe; whereas if the Service should be deferred untill Winter, the Companies would bee weakened both by death and sicknesse, and more difficulties should they find in the fowlnesse of the weather, and deepnesse of the way, then in the sword of the Enemy, whom now they did ardently desire to encounter withall: yea, many there were, that ceased not confidently to utter, that they did now plainly perceiue, that though her Majesties charges was greatly inhaunsed by increasing the List in Mounster, yet her Service was likely to be no better followed then in the yeare last past.

But that the true ground of this action may bee discovered, wee must haue recourse to the prosecution of the stratagem, that all this while had been in working with *Dermond O Conner*; for after his Wife the Lady *Margaret* had acquainted him, both with the Enterprize and Conditions (which was not untill the Armie was at *Kilmallock* aforesaid) hee shewed a good inclination to effect it, were it not for three difficulties that seemed to interpose themselues: First, the President being altogether unknownen to him, he demanded sufficient Pledges to put into his hands, there to remaine untill the conditions promised should be performed. Secondly, he wanted some shew of reason

or colourable cause, to satisfie his Copartners in excuse of his action: And lastly he alleaged that no opportunitie could bee found for the execution of the Designe, so long as *Iames Fits Thomas* remained with all the force hee could possible make sixe miles from the Campe, to confront the Presidents Armie in his passage to Askeiton: For assurance of the conditions, the President was content to deliver into his hands foure Pledges, which yet notwithstanding must bee in such sort delivered by the one, and received by the other, as no suspition might arise: The Hostages agreed upon, were *Redmond* and *Brian*, Sonnes of *Milerius Mac Craghe* Archbishop of Cashell; who himselfe had before beene a Principall Actor in the busines, and Captaine *William Power*, and *John Power* his elder Brother, who likewise had beene imployed in the Action. These were made choise of; because they might be free from the violence of *Dermond O Conners* men; The *Powers* being foster brethren to the Lady *Margaret*, and the Archbishop himselfe borne in Vlster, a naturall Follower unto the Arch-Traitor *Tyrone*. Therefore that these fower should make a Iournie from Kilmallocke towards Kinsale, where Captaine *Poore* his Companie were then in Garrison; and the time of their going being made knowen to *Dermond O Conner*, he should lye with some of his Forces, in the pace of Ballihowre, to intercept Passengers, where these foure should (as it were) by chance fall into his Ambush, and so they did, where *Dermond O Conner*, although for the reasons before mentioned,

saved their liues, yet he could not restraine the furie of his men, that knew nothing of his purpose, but that they were stripped of their clothes, and left almost naked.

These being in this manner taken the eleaventh day of Iune, they were presently caried to Castle Lyshin, seated in the great Wood called Kilmore, seven miles from Kilmallock (where the Lady *Margaret* his Wife then remained;) and there straightly kept in Irons, untill the Ransome were discharged, which was given forth to be no lesse then two thousand pound sterling.

Assoone as they were taken, *Iames Fits Thomas* repaired to Castlelishin, and instantly requested *Dermond*, that he might haue the two *Powers* executed; for unto them hee was an ancient Enemy, which *Dermond* would not assent unto, as well in respect of the great ransoms, which hee pretended to expect from them, as for giving of offence unto his Wife, unto whose Brother (then in the Tower of London) they were foster Brothers; then the which in Ireland, there is no greater Obligations of loue.

The first Impediment being thus removed, care was taken to devise some shew of reason to excuse this action to the Bonoghs (if they should be discontented) after the execution thereof; which was disguised by a Letter as written by the Sugan Earle from the President; which forasmuch as the Contents thereof doe

manifest the invention: I haue thought not unfit to bee inserted in this present relation.

The Lord Presidents Letter to Iames Fits Thomas.

SIR, your last Letters I haue received, and am exceeding glad to see your constant resolution of returne to subjection, and to leaue the rebellious courses, wherein you haue long persevered; You may rest assured that promises shall bee kept; and you shall no sooner bring *Dermond O Conner* to me, aliue or dead, and banish his Bownoghs out of the Countrie, but that you shall haue your demand satisfied, which I thanke God, I am both able and willing to performe: Beleeue me, you haue no better way to recover your desperate estate, then by this good service, which you haue proffered; and therefore I cannot but commend your Iudgement, in choosing the same to redeeme your former faults: And I doe the rather beleeue the performance of it, by your late action touching Loghguire, wherein your Brother and your selfe haue well merited; and as I promised, you shall finde mee so just, as no Creature living shall ever know, that either of you did assent to the surrender of it; all your Letters I haue received, as also the joynt Letter, from your Brother and your selfe; I pray loose no time; for delayes in great Actions are subject to many dangers. Now that the Queenes Armie is in the field, you may worke your determination with most securitie, being ready to releue you upon a dayes warning: So praying

God to assist you in this meritorious Enterprize, I doe leaue you to his protection this twentieth of May 1600.

This Letter was sent to *Dermond O Conner*, which when time should serue, hee might shew as intercepted by him; and therefore what he did, was imposed upon him by necessitie, except hee would suffer himselfe, wittingly and willingly to be betraied.

These things thus contrived, there remained nothing but to separate the reputed Earle from his strength, that no resistance might be made by the Provincials, when hee should bee apprehended. This was not likely to bee effected, unlesse the President would divide his Forces, and bestow them in severall Garrisons, as though they should leaue the field for that Summer, whereupon was judged that the Rebels would likewise disperse themselues; and even so it came to passe: for they understanding that the English Armie was now garrison'd, (nothing suspecting that he would adventure to send a Garrison to Askeiton, without the countenance of an Armie) separated themselues into divers Companies. The President had no sooner advertisement hereof, but hee sent forthwith under the conduct of Sir *Francis Barkley*, five hundred Foot from Limricke by water, to goe to Askeiton, which they might easily effect in a fewe howers, too short a time for them to assemble their Forces to impeach their landing: By these meanes were they settled in

Garrison, without any other difficultie then a light Skirmish, the number of the Rebels to giue them resistance, not exceeding two or three hundred at the most, which otherwise could not haue beene effected without much blood.

The seventh of this moneth of Iune, the President received Intelligence from *Iohn Butler*, a Gentleman of the Countie of Tipperrary, that the Earle of *Ormond*, for the ransome of three thousand pound sterling, to be paied upon certaine daies agreed upon, was to be enlarged, and set at libertie by *Ownehie Mac Rory Omore*, with whom hee had been prisoner ever since the tenth day of Aprill: for the true payment of the same, twelue Hostages, who were the eldest sonnes of the principall Gentlemen in the Countrey, were delivered into the hands of the said *Ownehie*: It appeared that hee was detained somewhat longer then was expected, for the assurance of his delivery came not unto the Presidents knowledge untill the seventeenth ensuing, at which time the Earle himselfe by his Letters advertised him thereof.

I must here craue a little leaue to looke backe to time past, as well to relate by what meanes the Armie in Mounster was from time to time enabled to subsist in this prosecution, as to shew the actes and the progresse in the same. No man is ignorant, that Armies of mens bodies cannot subsist, unlesse they bee continually supplied with Money, Munition, and Victualls,

and especially in such a Kingdome as Ireland is, which was exhausted of all meanes of those natures, by the continuance of the Rebellion, and particularly in Mounster, before the President came thither: so as unlesse hee had beene carefully supplied of them out of England, no service could haue beene performed; and heerein I cannot but commend his care in demanding, as the Lords of the Councells readinesse to effect the same. At his departure from the Court of England, hee humbly prayed, that against his coming into the Province, (for as you haue heard hee went by the way of Dublin) some proportions of Money, Munition, and Victualls might bee sent thither, whereof their Lordships were not unmindfull, as by their Letters dated the eight and twentieth of March last past may appeare, wherein they certified the President, that they had sent for the Province of Mounster, nine thousand pound in money, three moneths victualls for three thousand Foot, and two hundred and fiftie Horse (which was the List of his Armie) and as hee desired, the one halfe of it was sent to Corke, and the other moitie to Limricke: Also five Lasts of Powder, with Lead, and Match proportionably, with two hundred sixtie nine Quarters of Oates; All which arrived in May following, the Oates excepted, which came to Corke in Aprill: Moreover, in the same moneth the Souldiers Summer Suites arrived at Corke: Further, as by their Lordshipps Letters to the President, dated the seventeenth of Iune, they had sent for the supply of the Province, five Lasts more



of Powder, with Match and Lead; And that shortly afterward, there should bee sent unto him tenne thousand pound in Money, and two moneths victualls for the Armie, the one moietie to land at Corke, the other at Limricke, as hee had demaunded; And for that they had heere certified, that the Souldiers, (having had by her Majesties favour their Powder given unto them without any defalkation upon their entertainments) made unnecessary use of the same, and sometimes sold it to the Irish Merchants, and others, they required the President to let them know, and to take order accordingly, that they should not be allowed any expence of Powder, but in dayes of trayning or service onely.

But to returne to *Dermond O Conner*, who now perceiving that it was a fit time for his Designe, sent a Messenger to the Earle of Desmond, for so he called *James Fits Thomas*, desiring him to meete him at a place of parlie upon the eighteenth of Iune, to conferre about certaine matters concerning the Warres. *James Fits Thomas* (as hee since confessed to the President) had received some secret intelligence of *Dermond* his intent; which although he did not absolutely credit, yet did it worke some jealousie in him; and therefore brought with him to the Parlie some two hundred of his Foote: *Dermond O Conner* brought one hundred and fiftie Bownoghs: After some speech passed, among the chiefe, at last, a Controversie did arise betweene *Moroghe Mac Shihiy*, Marshall to *James Fits Thomas*, and the Marshall of *Dermond*, about

such Hides, as were or should bee killed in the Armie; the one deriving his authoritie from *Tyrone*, the other from the Earle of Desmond; in contention they grew warme, and *Dermond* so blew the Coale, that the kerne of the one, and the Bonoghs of the other, were ready to passe from words to blowes; much did the Sungan Earle labour to quiet this Mutiny, which could not bee thoroughly appeased, untill the Companies on either part were severed and dispersed; *James Fits Thomas* willing to giue all satisfaction to *Dermond* and the Bownoghs, made offer to dismisse his owne men, which was willingly accepted of the other, and so sent them into the Countrie neere adjoyning: They being departed, and the Principals settled againe to parlie, about the deciding of this controversie: the Bownoghs by *Dermonds* appointment drew neere unto them: Then *Dermond O Conner* layed hold upon *James Fits Thomas*, and said, *My Lord you are in hand*; in hand (*answered he*) for whom, or for what cause? I haue taken you for *Oneale*, saith he, and I purpose to detaine you, untill I bee certified of his pleasure, for your selfe haue combined with the English, and promised to the President to deliver me, either aliue or dead into his hands; and for Proofoe thereof, behold (*saith he*) Letters which were intercepted, and brought to mee (under the Presidents hand) to confirme the same, and therewithall produced them.

This colourable Pretence, gaue a good satisfaction to the Companies for the present; and yet for the

better content, hee gaue *Thomas Oge* of Kerry, and two of the *Clanshyhies* Brethren, whom he tooke also at the same time, unto the chieftest of his Captaines, to be reserved for their Ransomes.

Now *James Fits Thomas*, and the other Prisoners being mounted upon poore Garrans, are conveied through the Fastnesse in Connilogh to Castle Lyshin, where they were no sooner bestowed, but *Dermond O Conner* went presently unto another Castle called Ballyallinan, belonging to *Rory Mac Shihy*, Father to the two brethren of the *Mac Shihies* before mentioned, which he also tooke, and therein settled himselfe, and sent with all speed to Castle Lishin for his Wife and the English Pledges, which were there in Handlocks; Leaving some sixteene Warders to guard the Prisoners; these hee removed from thence, either because they might more conveniently, send some one of them, with the relation of his doings to the Lord President, or for feare lest the Friends and Followers of the Arch-Traitor, *Desmond*, reuniting themselues, and his owne Bonoghs, of whom he was very uncertaine, taking part with them, they might joyne their Forces, and at one push, both rescue the Prisoners that he had taken, and also take himselfe Prisoner, and the fower English Pledges: To the intent therefore, that he might not adventure all his substance in one Shippe, he divided them as before you haue heard.

These businesses thus contrived, *Dermond O Con-*

ner, upon the nineteenth of Iune, sent *Iohn Power* (one of the Pledges before spoken of) in all hast to the President at Limerick, with a Message tending to this purpose: That if the Lord President, would instantly gather all the Forces he could make, and draw to Kilmallock, where the Lady *Margaret* should meete him, for the receiving of one thousand pound, which was promised him, upon the delivery of the Prisoner; praying withall, that the President would not moue out of Kilmallock, untill she were come unto him; in the meane time hee would keepe him in safetie, and accomodate all things for the more assurance in the effecting of the busines.

To Kilmallock he came the next Morrow, the twentieth of June, with one thousand Foote, and two Troopes of Horse; for a good part of his Armie was at that time gone into Thomond, to secure the same from *Odonnell*, who was come farre up into the Countrey, and had taken many preyes there.

CHAP. VIII.

The Countrey of Thomond, harassed and spoyled by O Donnell. Forces sent into Thomond. James fits Thomas set at Liberty. Dermond O Conners Letter to the Lord President. A Letter from the Mounster Rebels to O Donnell. Dermond O Conner, and the Rebels agreed, and reconciled. The Castle of Crome taken by the Armie. A Ioynt Letter from William Burke, and Morroghe ny Moe O Flagharly to the Lord President. A Letter from Morroghe ny Moe O Flagharly to the Lord President. A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Carty.

THIS suddaine comming of *Odonnell* for Thomond, was so secretly caried, as the Earle of Thomond had no notice of it, untill he was come to the Borders thereof; hee then being at Limerick with the President, prayed him to lend him part of his Armie, to make Head against the Rebels: Whereupon his Lordship commanded the Sergeant Major, Captaine *Flower*, and with eight hundred Foote, and sixtie Horse to attend the Earle. *Odonnell* entred the Countrey, and Harassed all Thomond, even as farre as Loopthead, and tooke all the Preyes of the Countrey. Nevertheless he went not away scot free; For the Noble Earle fought often with his Forces, slew many of them, and never left them, untill he had recovered a great part of the Cattle which *Odonnell* had taken; And upon Mid-somer day, chased him out of Thomond. This suddaine and unexpected comming of *Odonnell* with such great Forces, as attended him, could never haue beene undiscovered, if the next Neighbours to Thomond, the Inhabitants of Clanrickard had done their

dueties, through which Countrey *Odonnell* passed, and returned, without doing of any hurt that ever I heard of: And so leaving with this Digression, it is time to speake of the Successe of the vsurping Earles apprehension. By this time it was suspected, and publikely noised abroad, that the Sугan Earle should bee delivered to the President; which Rumour began first to bee bruited in Limerick, and Kilmallock; and (as it alwayes hapneth in that Kingdome, from the Townes, the rumour is speedily conveied into the Countrey; which being no sooner heard, then beleevved by the Rebels, as well Provincials as others; they all combined themselues; *John fits Thomas*, *Pierce Lacy*, and *William Burke*, being the *Triumviri* of this League, to set the Prisoner at Libertie: With this determination they had gathered together of *Dermonds* Bonoghs and Provincials, some foure thousand men, neere Castle Leshin, in the great Fastnesse of Conniloe; for there was this Castle seated, with intent both to blocke up the way, that the President should take in comming thither, and to constraine the Ward to deliver the Earle.

The President being at Kilmallock as aforesaid, hourelly expecting the comming of the Lady *Margaret*, stayed there from the twentieth to the twentie sixth day, and in all that time he never heard from her, or her Husband: Vpon the twentie sixth the Lady *Margaret* came to him, shee related that Castlelishin was besieged by the Rebels: her cause of stay was, the

danger of the way. Immediately the President (notwithstanding, the rest of his Forces were not returned out of Thomond) purposed to raise the Siedge; and the Armie being drawn forth before they had marched an English mile upon the way, they met a Messenger, who delivered unto them for certaine, that *Iames fits Thomas* was rescued that morning, and himselfe did see him out of the Castle.

In Castlelishin, where *Iames fits Thomas* was prisoner, *Dermond O Conner* (with the Ward) had left a Priest, whose perswasions prevailed so much with *O Conners* men, as they delivered the reputed Earle as aforesaid, but upon Caution, as may appeare by *Dermond O Conners* Letters to the President, as followeth.

Dermond O Conners Letter to the Lo. President.

MY good Lord, it is so, that contrary to my directions, and without my privitie, my Ward at Castlelishin was hardly set unto by the Enemy, after the breach of the Castle, were constrained to yeeld to the surrender of the Earle of *Desmond* upon Composition, viz. to receiue as pledges from the said Earle, his sonne, and his Receiver, one *Gerald fits Nicholas*, and the chiefe of the *Walles* or *Faltaghs* of Downmoylin, and *Iohn fits Thomas*, Brother of the said Earle, to bee delivered into the hands of *Mac Cartie More*, or some other indifferent man his hands, as the said Earle and

I shall agree: heereof I thought good to certifie your Honour, (assuring the same upon my credit, that this Composition was made without my privitie, as your Honour shall understand manifestly heereafter) to the end your Honour might bee advised not to send the Armie, for feare of any mischance, in respect of the greatnesse of the Enemies forces, and fastnesse of their strengths, the Earle being enlarged; all which I hope to bring to a worse case then they were in, and that in a short time, if I be well furthered by your Lordship: the manner whereof I am ready to declare to your Honour, as occasion shall serue: for speedy effecting whereof, I pray your Lordship to send me your best advice by Captaine *Power*, the which expecting forthwith, I humbly take my leaue: Balliallinan this 26. of Iune, 1600.

Your Honours to command,

Dermond O Conner.

The reason which I conceiue mooved *Dermond* that hee did not presently render him to the President, was partly his feare, that his money would be detained from him, when the prisoner was once delivered, and therefore hee would bee first sure of the same; partly his overmuch confidence in his men, whom hee thought that they would not for a world haue betrayed him as they did; but especially I conceiue, that the danger of the way was the occasion of the protraction: for undoubtedly the man did meane to performe his promise sincerely; and if the Lady could haue come

sooner to Kilmallocke, the titularie Earle had been brought from Castlelishin without any difficultie.

Vpon the seven and twentieth, *Dermond O Connor* wrote to the President, praying to bee excused, that hee did not come unto him, for the wayes were too dangerous for him to passe, untill his Brother, who was in Desmond with foure hundred men, did come unto him, or that the Enemy did scatter, or the President with his Armie should draw into those parts; and in the meane while he would remaine in the Castle where hee was; and besought the President to send him a safeguard for himselfe, his followers, and goods, protesting his loyaltie to her Majestie, and promising to bee directed by the President in whatsoever it should please him to commaund. Within a few days after the delivery of the Sугan Earle (as aforesaid) the Earle of Thomond having intercepted a Letter sent by the Rebells of Mounster, to *O Donnell* and his Associates, did send the same unto the President; whereby it may appeare, how much the taking of *Iames fits Thomas* did grieue them at the heart, which is the reason I doe in this place insert the same.

A Letter from the Mounster Rebells to O Donnell.

ALL heartie Commendations from *Mac Maurice*, and the rest undernamed, to *O Donnell*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen that are with him, Letting you to understand, that *Dermond O Connor*

hath played a lewd part amongst us heere; Hee hath taken the Earle of Desmond, *Thomas Oge*, and the two sonnes of *Rory Mac Shihy*, together with their townes and Castles, claiming in right of his wife the Earledome of Desmond. The Earle is as yet upon his hands, and the Countrey is all preyed and destroyed, and *Rory Mac Shihy*, who is olde and blinde, is banished out of his Towne, leaving him bare without any thing, and his sonnes bound very safe and sure: which Act being considered by *Con Oneale*, and others the Gentlemen of Connaght, who were in the said *Dermonds* company, to proceed of treachery and falsehood by the said *Dermond*; whereupon the said *Con Oneale*, and the rest of those Connaght men came unto us, bringing with them the said *Rorie* his sonnes, for which wee rest very thankfull to them, and therefore we desire you to shew them thanks likewise; and that you should write unto the said *Dermond*, touching the enlargement of the Earle, and that hee should take good pledges of the Earle, to bee put upon the hands of the Clergie, or some indifferent temporall persons, and he to set in the like, and your Order, and the Order of the Clergie to passe betweene them, and we desire your present helpe: To that purpose *Dermond* is drawing the English Armies to fetch the Earle with them, we and the Gentlemen of Connaght heere are besieging the Castle where the Earle lyeth: and seeing that the River of Shanen is passable, if it had been your pleasure to come to helpe us, wee would bee very glad thereof;

and yet if we can rescue the Earle, and it to be your pleasure, we will draw towards you; hereupon send us present word, Castlelishine the 24. of Iune, 1600.

Your trustie Friends,

Iohn Gerald.

Patricke Lixnawe.

Thomas fits Maurice.

William fitz Gerald.

Edmond Valley.

Dierby Mac Cartie.

M. fits Thomas.

Pierce Lacie.

Mac Shihy.

The President being out of hope, to get this Haggard into his hands by these limetwigs, intending the prosecution, which was to take in the Castles of the Glynne and Carrigfoile; the one belonging to the Knight of the Valley, the other to *Iohn O Connor* (commonly called *O Connor Kerry*) both being seated upon the River of Limerick, and so to passe the Mountaine into Kerry.

The President having taken orders for all such necessaries as should be requisit in his Iournie; on the twentie eighth marched to Limericke, the twentie nineth (upon a Letter which hee received from *Dermond O Connor*) into the Hart of Conniloe, and incamped at a Towne called Killingery fourteene miles from Limerick, being by him requested (who was

now besieged by the Enemy in the Castle of Balliallinan) to releue him with her Majesties Forces.

The President being advanced within three miles of the Castle, where *Dermond O Connor* was besieged, the Rebels understanding thereof, and fearing to bee assailed by him, and loath that *Dermond O Connor* should fall into his hands, to be imployed in service against them, whose credit with the Bownoghs was such, as that hee could perswade them to what he listed; they resolved to treat with *Dermond*, and upon his oath of future faith, to take him againe into their societie, and to restore him to his former Command. *Dermond* (as it should seeme, fearing that Reliefe would not come unto him in convenient time) accepted the offer, and rendered the Castle and himselfe into their hands: But yet I could never heare that *Dermond* afterwards was had in any great estimation amongst them: This busines being thus composed, they presently dislodged, with intent to giue impediment to the Armie, in their passage towards the Glynne; His Lordship being advertised of the reconciliation, directed his March to the Glynne; and understanding that the Castle of Crome, the Earle of Kildares inheritance, which was not much out of his way, and held by a Ward left therein by *Pierce Lacy*, which gaue great annoiance to the Subjects thereabouts, and comfort to the Rebels, being seated at the entrance into Conniloe, tooke it in his

way; upon the sight of the Armie, the Warders quitted the Castle, and the President possessed himselfe thereof, together with some store of Corne, and other Provision, that was found therein. The last of *June*, the Armie marched through Kerry, a safe Countrey, unto Askeiton, where it remained foure dayes, in expectation of Victuals, that should come thither from Limerick by Water: The fourth of Iuly, the Armie rose from thence, and marched to Bal-lintare, upon the Mountaine of Sleughlogher, twelue miles from Askeiton; the Enemy to the number of three thousand, marching all that day in our view.

Now did the President assure himselfe, that this Armie of the Rebels did onely attend the opportunitie for some place of advantage, where they might conveniently attempt our Forces; and no doubt so they would haue done, if the fore conceived Iealousie, and distrust betweene the Provincials and Bonoghs, confirmed in them by the bones of Dissention (that the President had cast forth amongst them) had not wrought in either of them, a desire of nothing more, then to be freed from the danger (reciprocally apprehended) each of the other, as might well appeare, by two Letters, (which this night were brought to the President) from the Principall of the Connaght men; the true Copies whereof, I haue thought not unfit to be inserted in this present Relation.

*A Ioynt Letter from William Burke and Moroghe ny
Moe of Laghertie to the Lord
President.*

COMMENDATIONS to your Honour: For as much as we thinke your Honour willing, to further augment your credit, in doing your Princesse service; we thought to make you acquainted, that wee are here in Campe two thousand and five hundred Connaght men: Yet we let your Honour to understand, that we will not set upon you in any way, nor molest you in your Iourney, so that your Honour consider us with a peece of money, and giue us your Passe and safe Conduct, to depart this Countrey; not that wee feare you or any other, but that wee meane to doe you no harme, so your Honour shew us the like favour; You may well accept of this our proffer: for it is a thing that others of your Calling sought for, and could not obtaine, although very desirous for the obtayning of it. Thus troubling your Honour no further, onely expecting your speedy resolution, we commit you to God. From the Abbey of Feile the third of *Iuly* 1600.

Your Friends to use during
your Friendship,

William Burke

Moroghe ni Moe O Flarty.

*A Letter from Morogh ni Moe O Flaghertie to the
Lord President.*

My dutie remembred, I commend mee unto your Lordship: Whereas about May last, I came hither in my Galley out of Connaght, to draw home my people, souldiers and followers into my native soyle, there to live quiet, and under her Majesties subjection, whereupon I haue had her Highnesse protection and Passeport for my selfe and them, and all other out of Connaght, that shall accompany me; Whereby ever since my selfe and souldiers haue been so crossed, and troubled by this Countrey people, as they did not suffer me to depart from the Earle of Desmond; I haue thought good therefore in respect it is a thing belonging to the advancement of her Majesties service, to bring the number of one thousand persons, souldiers and tenants to peace, to pray and desire your Lordship to graunt mee, and all such as I shall bring with mee, your Passeport and Safe-conduct through all your Garrisons, and her Majesties Subjects, as well in this Countrey, as in Thomond. And in so doing wee shall pray, &c. And so I humbly take leaue. Clanmorishkerry this third of Iuly 1600.

Her Majesties true Subject, if

your Lordship please,

Moroghe ni Moe O Flartie.

Vnto these Letters the President deferred to returne any present Answer, as well because they should

know, that they who had attempted, and performed so many outrages, and rebellious practises against her Majestie and her Subjects, should not so presently and so easily receive favour from the State; as also they might have imagined, (if hee had instantly condescended unto these their demands) that he stood in feare of them, which might have made them more bold in attempting some enterprise upon his Armie. And lastly, he conceived a hope, that to effect their longing desire of returning into Connaght, they would at the last be glad to doe service one upon another; remising therefore onely this Answer, that he despised their Forces, and he knew they durst not interrupt his passage: Neverthelesse at further leasure, hee would consider of their demands: At this time *James fits Thomas* wrote a Letter to *Florence Mac Cartie*, which in this place I thinke good to insert.

A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie.

My very good Lord, I was driven through the treacherous dealings of *Dermond O Conner*, to let the President and the English Armie passe into Glenne, without any resistance; and yet they are but thirteene hundred Foote, and one hundred fiftie Horse: *Dermond O Conner* did undertake that the Connaght men should not medle with them, nor take our parts, being the only encouragement of the English, to venter this Enterprize: But now God be prayesed, I

am joyning my Forces with them, and doe pray you to assist mee with your Forces, for now is the time to shew our selues upon the Enemy, for they are but very few in number, and destitute of all reliefe, either by Sea or Land: If your Lordship bee not well at ease your selfe, let your Brother *Dermond*, and the Chiefe Gentlemen of your Forces, come without any delay; assuring your Lordship, that I will, and am ready, to shew you the like against your need: Beseeching your Lordship once againe, not to faile, as you tender the overthrow of our Action: Even so committing your Lordship to the tuition of God Almighty, I end. Portrinad the fifth of Iuly, 1600.

Your Honours most assured Friend and Cosen,
Iames Desmond.

CHAP. IX.

The Armie sate downe before Glyn-Castle. The Knight of the Valley upon safe Conduct, spake with the Earle of Thomond. The Constable of Glyn-Castle, his Advise to the Earle of Thomond for his safetie. A Breach made and assaulted. A Sally made by the Rebels. The Constable, &c. slaine. The Castle of the Glyn wonne, and the Rebels put to the Sword.

THE next morning, being the fifth of Iuly, the Armie came unto the Castle of the Glynne, distant from Bal-lintare but five miles; the Rebels still marching within lesse then two English miles of us; but never offering any skirmish, where we found Captaine *Gawen Harvy*

(according to his direction) at Anchor before the Castle, where hee attended our comming about fourteene dayes. The Armie was no sooner incamped, but order was presently taken for unshipping the Cannon, brought by water in a Boat of the Earle of Thomonds from Limerick; and that night intrenched our selues, before the Castle betweene it, and the River: The day following, the Ordnance (which was one Demy Cannon, and one Sacre) was planted before the Castle, without any resistance, or the losse of any one man, by reason of a Parlie that was purposely to that end entertained, during the which, the worke was performed.

The seventh, the Knight of the Valley, by a Messenger from him to the Earle of Thomond, prayed a safe conduct to the Campe, which was granted: He told the Earle, that he desired to conferre with the President, which he refused, without absolute submission to her Majesties mercy, whereunto he would not yeeld, but stood upon conditions, whereupon hee was commanded to depart: He saw the Cannon already planted, and his Sonne then a child in the Presidents hands, ready at his will to bee executed, being by himselfe formerly put in pledge for his Loyaltie; then hee desired to speake with the Earle of Thomond againe, which was granted: But the Earle found his obstinacie to be such, as he disdained to haue any long conference with him: And so being safely conveied out of the Campe, he returned to his fellow Traitors,

who were on the top of an Hill, not farre of, where they might see the successe of the Castle.

When he was gone, the same day towards the Evening, the Constable of the Castle (who was a Thomond man borne) sent a Messenger to the Earle of Thomond, praying his Lordship to get a safe conduct from the President, that he might come to speake with him, which being granted, in his discourse to the Earle; my Lord (said he) in the loue I beare you, being your naturall Follower, I desired to speake with you, to the end that you may avoid the perill that you are in; for the Earle of Desmond, and the Connaght men, lodge not two miles from this place, they are three thousand strong at least, and the Lord President may bee assured, that they will giue upon his campe, for so they are resolved; and in all likelihood, you will bee there put to the Sword, or driven into the River of Shenan. The Earle deriding these threats, advised him to render up the Castle to the President, whereby his life and his fellowes might be secured, which he with vaine-glorious obstinacie refused, and returned to the Castle; for a Farewell, the President sent him word, that since he had refused the Earle of Thomonds favourable offer, that he was in hope before two dayes were spent, to haue his Head set upon a Stake, which proved true (as you shall heare) before the Castle was taken.

The next day, when wee looked that the cannon

should begin to play, the Cannonniere found the Peece to be cloyed, all the art and skill which either the Smith, or himselfe could or did use, prevailed nothing. The President (who is a man that knowes well to mannage great Artillery) commanded that the peece upon her carriage (as she was) should be abased at the tayle, and elevated at the musle, as high as it might bee: then hee willed the Gunner to giue her a full charge of powder, roule a shott after it, and to giue fire at the mouth, whereby the touch-hole was presently cleared, to the great rejoycing of the Armie, which of necessitie in attempting the Castle, (without the favour of the Cannon) must haue endured great losse. This particular I thought good not to omitt, because it may be an Instruction to others, whensoever the like accident should happen. The Peece being thus cleared, the President having the Knight of the Valleyes eldest sonne, (a child of sixe yeares olde) in his hands, to terrifie the Warders, hee caused the child to be set upon the topp of one of the Gabions, sending them word, That they should haue a faire marke to bestow their small shott upon: The Constable returned answere, That the feare of his life should not make them to forbear to direct their Volleyes of shot to the batterie: for said he (in undecent termes not fit for me to write) the place is open where he was borne, and the Knight may haue more sonnes. The President not intending (as hee seemed) caused the Infant to bee taken downe from the Gabion, knowing that the discharging of the Cannon would

haue shaken the poore childes bones in sunder, and then presently hee commanded the battery to begin, and the small shott did so incessantly burne powder, as the Warders durst not stand to their fight, untill a breach was made assaultable into the Seller under the great Hall of the castle: all this was done with the losse of one onely man, a Cannoniere.

Then was Captaine *Flower* commaunded by the President, with certaine Companies assigned vnto him, to enter the breach, which hee valiantly performed, and gained the Hall, and enforced the Ward to returne into a Castle close adjoyning unto it, where from out of a Spike, they slewe foure of our men, then hee ascended a paire of staires, to gaine two turrets over the Hall, in which attempt Captaine *Bostocks* Ensigne was slaine; by the winning whereof, they were in better securitie then before, and there were our Colours placed; and because it was by this time within night, Captaine *Slingsby*, (who was there with the Presidents Companie) was commaunded to make it good till the morning; during which time, some whiles on either side, small shott played, but little or no harme done: about midnight the Constable seeing no possibilitie to resist long, and no hope of mercy left, thought by the favour of the night in a sally to escape; but the Guards were so vigilant, as they slew him, and some others; neverthesse two escaped, the rest which were unslaine, returned into the Castle, and the Constables head was (as the President formerly had told him) put

on a stake: Early in the morning, the Ward was gotten into the Tower of the Castle, wherunto there was no comming unto them, but up a narrow stayre, which was so strait as no more then one at once might ascend; and at the staire foot, a strong wooden doore, which being burnt, the smoke in the staires was such, as for two howers there was no ascending without hazard of stifling; when the extremitie of the smoake was past, one of the Rebels presented himselfe, and said in the behalfe of himselfe and his fellowes, That if their liues might be saved, they would render; but before any answeare was made, he voluntarily put himselfe into our hands: The smoake being vanished, a Muskettier, and to his second a Halbardier; Then Captaine *Flower*, and Captaine *Slingsbie*; Lieutenant *Power*, Lieutenant to Sir *Henrie Power*; Ensigne *Power*, Sir *Henry Powers* Ensigne; Lieutenant *Nevill*, Lieutenant to Sir *Garratt Harvie*, which was after killed in Connaght, seconded by others, ascended the staires in file, where they found no resistance, nor yet in the upper roomes, for the Rebels were all gone to the Battlements of the Castle, with resolution to sell their liues as deare as they could. Our men pursued the way to the Battlements, whereunto there was but one Doore; Captaine *Flower* entred upon one hand, and Captaine *Slingsbie* upon the other; the gutters were very narrow betweene the Roofe of the Castle and the Battlements: In conclusion, some were slaine in the place, and others leapt from the top of the Castle into the water underneath it, where our Guards

killed them. In this Service eleven Souldiers were slaine, whereof one was an Ensigne, and one and twentie hurt, of which number was the Serjeant Major, (who served admirably well) was one; hee received three or foure wounds, but none of them mortall; there was also the Lieutenants of the Earle of *Thomond*, and Sir *Henry Powers* hurt; of the enemy (of all sorts) were slaine 80, or thereabouts, whereof 23 were naturall borne followers to the Knight of the Valley, in whom hee reposed greatest confidence.

The reasons which mooved the Knight thus obstinately to persist, was partly the strength of the Castle, which hee (ignorantly) thought defensible against the Cannon, and also the manifold oathes and protestations made unto him by his fellow Rebels, that with their whole Forces they would giue reliefe, and raise the Siege: but how much hee fayled in expectation of the one, and they in the protestation of the other, yee haue already heard; whereof if the protesters had had any feeling (of their promised faith) the provocation they had was great; for they were eye-witnesses, when the Castle was assaulted and wonne. This Castle is a place of great importance, and ever since the beginning of the rebellion, one *Anthony Arthur* (a Merchant of *Limricke*) lay in it, as a generall Factor for the citie, to vent commodities to the Rebels.

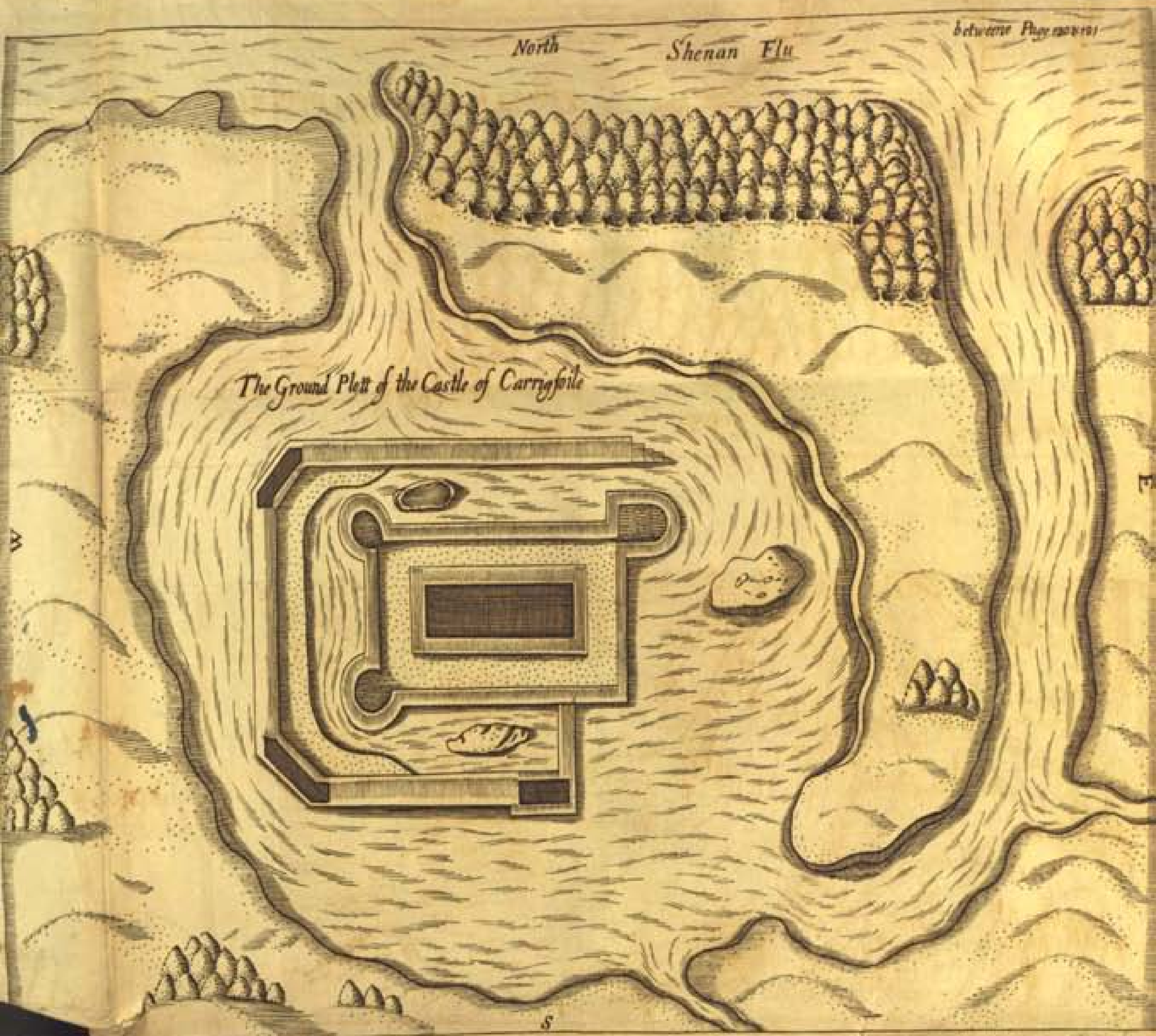
CHAP. X.

A Ward put into the Castle of Glynne, by the Lord President. Carrigfoyle rendred by O Conner Kerry. Victuals and Munition sent out of England into Mounster. Maurice Stacke sent into Kerry. The Bonoghs obtained the Lord Presidents Passeport to depart the Province. Sixty of the Bonoghs slayne by the Lord Burke. The Lord Presidents returne to Limericke. The Castle of Corgrage rendered. A garrison left in Askeiton. The Castle of Rathmore rendred. A garrison placed at Kilmallock. The Rebels enforced to raise the siege of Lyskaghan. Florence Mac Cartie's perswasions to the Ward, to quit Lyskaghan. Florence attempts againe to corrupt the Constable of Lyskaghan. A Letter from Iames fits Thomas, to Florence Mac Cartie.

THE President was constrained to stay heere five dayes after the taking of the Castle, to place a Guard therein, which was left to the charge of Captaine *Nicholas Mordant*, with one and twentie Souldiers, and to repayre the breach and ruines made by the Cannon, which being finished, hee intended to draw the Cannon to Carrigfoyle, five miles distant from the Glinne; which Castle was held then against her Majestie, as it was in *anno* 1580, and wonne by Sir *William Pelham*, the Lord Iustice, under whom (at that time) the President was a Captaine of Foot: But *O Conner Kerry* being advertised hereof, desired a protection, and for assurance of his future loyaltie, offered to surrender his sayd Castle, to bee kept unto her Majesties use; His proffer the Lord President accepted, and a Ward of Sir *Charles Wilmot* his Company was placed therein.



The Ground Plot of the Castle of Carrigfoyle



The Earle of Thomond, in his good affection to the service, gaue unto *Iohn O Conner*, during the Warres, a Castle and thirteene Plow Lands, for his Tenants and himselfe, to liue upon in Thomond, which was a better Pledge upon him, then any he could giue: Ne-verthelesse, after the Spaniards landing in Ireland, this perfidious Traitor, relapsed as hereafter you shall heare.

About the middest of this Moneth, there arived first at Corke, a small Barke of fīue and twentie Tonnes, loaden with Victuals; and the day following, a greater quantitie; also three Lasts of Powder, with Lead and Match proportionable, which was a great comfort to the President, and the whole Armie.

Whilest these things were in doing, the President to the end the Rebels might be set on worke, in many places at once, imployed one *Maurice Stack*, a servant of his owne into Kerry (a Natiue of that Countrey) a man of small stature, but of invincible courage, with fiftie men; who confidently undertaking no more then he valiantly performed, surprised by scale, a Castle in the heart of the Countrey, called Liscaghan, appertaining to Master *Edward Gray*, an Vndertaker, put the Ward to the Sword, burnt Ardare and other Townes; tooke some preies for the maintainance of himselfe and his Companie, and made good the place, untill hee was seconded, by the comming of Sir *Charles Wilmott*, as after you shall heare.

From the beginning of the Warre, untill this undertaking of *Maurice Stacke*, none of her Majesties Forces had beene seene in Kerrie; the Countrie was strong in men, and full of victuals, yet this undaunted Spirit of *Stacke*, would with a handfull of men attempt the Enterprize: Still did the Bownoghs (seeing their hopes in Mounster to be frustrated) importune the President, by Letters and Messages for his Pasport, to safe conduct them into Connaght, promising there to live under her Majesties Lawes, as should become Loyall and Duetifull Subjects; which at last upon mature deliberation, was granted unto them. The Lord *Burke* being either ignorant of what was done, or would not take knowledge of it; in revenge of his two Elder Brothers deaths, who were slaine by them, with the helpe of Limerick men, set upon their Reare in Clanwilliam, as they were passing the Shenan, and slew sixtie of them, besides divers that were drowned; and tooke some part of their Prey: In this skirmishe, an Alderman of Limericke called *Dominicke Roche*, and a Protestant, was dangerously wounded with a Musket Bullet; among these Bownoghs, *Dermond O Conner* passed into Connaght: Whilest these things were thus in handling, the President still remained at Carrigofoile, expecting daily and houely a Ship of Victuals, which had bin comming from Corke thither, since the beginning of Iune; upon arrivall whereof, hee purposed with the greatest part of his Forces to haue passed further into Kerry, and to haue settled that part of the Province.

But the Victuals by reason of contrary Winds, not being as yet come into the River of Shenan; the thirteenth of this Moneth, hee was constrained for want thereof, to returne to Limericke againe. In which returne, we having marched through exceeding strong Fastnesse, incamped the first night before the Castle of Corgroge seated upon the Shenan, belonging to Master *Trenchard* the Vndertaker, and of strength sufficient to hold out against any force, except the Cannon. But the example of the Glynne, was so fearefull unto the Rebels, that upon the first summons, they yeelded the same, with safetie of their liues. And the President gaue the Custody of it unto *Oliver Stevenson*.

The next day, the Armie marched twelue miles unto Adare, a Mannor house, belonging to the Earles of Kildare, wholly ruined by *Pierce Lacy*; from thence the President sent seven hundred Foote, and seventie five Horse to Askeiton, there to remaine in Garrison.

The fifteenth, advertisement being given, that the Castle of Rathmore (three miles out of the way to Limerick) was still held by the Rebels; we came before it, which the Ward instantly delivered unto the President, from whence he sent foure hundred and fiftie Foote, and fiftie Horse unto Kilmallock; for it was well found, that the greatest hope of the Arch-traitor *Desmond*, did consist in Conniloe, which by



reason of the fertility of the Soile, the strength of the Countrey, and the inhabitants being all his Naturall borne Followers, did yeeld him more Command and Reliefe, then any part of the Province besides: These two Garrisons therefore were placed at Askeiton, and Kilmallock, that did so infest the Rebels, that resided in those parts, as before the next Winter was ended, they vvere utterly wasted.

The sixteenth, the President with the rest of the Armie, came to Limerick, which was no sooner dispersed and disposed in the manner aforesaid, but the Enemy drew their Forces to Liscaghan, surprised (as you haue heard) by *Maurice Stacke*, and by him still possessed in despite of the Rebels: the Castle therefore they besiege, and placed an Engine (well known in this Country) called a Sovv (to the Wals thereof) to supp the same: But the Defendants did so vvell acquit themselues in a Sally, as they tare the Sovv in peeces, made her cast her Pigs, and slevv tvventie seven of them dead in the place; finding therefore that Force would not prevaile, to effect their attempt, they betake themselues to fraud: For the more cunning conveiance whereof, *Florence Mac Cartie* was imployed as a principall Instrument by *Fits Maurice*, who then with two hundred Foote and twentie Horse lay at Ardare, not halfe a mile distant from the Castle; within a few dayes after the former Salley, the said *Florence* came to speake vvith the Ward, (commanded by *Walter Talbot*, in

the absence of *Maurice Stacke*) about some particulars concerning their ovvne good; vvho amongst other conference assured them, that the President vvas gone to Corke, the most of his Troopes vv ere defeated, and that it vvas impossible for them to expect aide before the next Spring: All which notwithstanding, for the loue he bare to the President, he would be glad to saue their liues; and if they would deliver up the place to him, hee would undertake to convey them in safetie to Carrigofioile: Much did this smoth report, distract some of the Wards; for they well understood, that he had not shewed himselfe in any overt action against her Majestie, since the President came into his government; and although he did converse with the Rebels, yet it might bee, that it was either to doe some service upon them, or else to draw them into subjection. But others misdoubting, *Anguis in herba*, resolutely answered, that they would make good that place against all Ireland, untill a second might come unto them: Then he began to terrifie them with the strength of the Enemy, and weakness of her Majesties Forces, reporting the one to be at the least seven thousand, and the other at the most two thousand and fiv e hundred: But finding that this last attempt, prevailed no more then the first assault, with some threatning speeches hee departed to the Lord of Lixnaw. The next morning, *Florence* attempted the Ward againe, but they made answer as the day be-

fore ; then he proffered *Walter Talbot*, if hee would render the place unto him, he would giue him sixtie men in wages, and a good Horse ; but all his offers being rejected, he went his way.

Notice heereof being brought unto the President then residing at Limericke, he addressed himselfe in all speed towards Kerry, and set forward the three and twentieth of *Iuly* : But whereas (by reason of continuall raine that had lately fallen in great abundance) it was thought that the mountaine of Sleulogher was impassible for carriages, was constrained to take the way of Thomond. The forces which hee carried with him, were in list 1050 Foot, and 75 Horse. These therefore marched to Kilrush, a place in Thomond, opposite to Carrigofoile, and by the eight and twentieth of the same, all the Foot, the Troopes, and baggage were transported, which in respect of the breadth of the River in that place, being at least one league and a halfe, was expedited beyond all expectation. In the speedy dispatch whereof much was attributed, and that worthily, to the Earle of Thomond, who provided Boats and such other necessities, as his Countrey could afford. The beginning of August *Iames Fits Thomas* wrote unto *Florence Mac Cartie* a Letter, the true Copie whereof followeth :

*A Letter from Iames fits Thomas to Florence Mac
Cartie.*

COUSEN, yesterday I came over the Mountaine, and brought with mee the Bonnaghs of Conelloe, the residue and force of the Countrey I haue left to keepe their Crets. I understand since my comming, that Sir *Charles Wilmott* with six hundred Foot, and fiftie Horse, are come to Clanmorris, and this night pretend to bee at Tralee. I haue sent to the Knight, and all the Countrey presently to meet mee to morrow, to resist their determination: And for your better furtherance and accomplishment of our action, I am to intreat your Lordship, as you regard your owne quiet, and exaltation of the Service, to make what haste you may, and speedily to yeeld us your helping assistance, for which will rest thankfull, and most readie to ansvere your Lordship at your need: And thus referring the consideration hereof to your Lordship, I commit you to God. *Primo Augusti, 1600.*

Your Lordships very loving Cousen,

Iames Desmond,

CHAPTER XI.

The lord President at Carrigfoyle. The Castles of Lixnaw, Rathowin, and Tralee surprised by Sir Charles Wilmot. The Bonoghs defeated by Sir Charles Wilmot. The death of Patrick Fits Maurice Lo. of Lixnaw. Florence mac Cartie sent for by the lord President, but refuseth to come. A marriage practised by Florence for Iames fits Thomas. Letters and messages betweene Florence and Tyrone. An encounter betweene Captaine Harvie and the White Knights sonne. The White Knights sonne defeated. The Knight of Kerry, and the lord of Lixnaw sue for protection. The Earle of Thomond left to command the garrison of Askeyton. Florence Mac Cartie continueth his practise with Tyrone. Lands given by Iames fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. Donnell Mac Cartie taken in upon protection.

THE President being come to Carrigfoyle, advertisement was brought, that the Rebels hastened to ruine their Castles in Kerrie. Wherefore the nine and twentieth hee sent *Sir Charles Wilmot*, (a very valiant and understanding Gentleman) with the Forces aforesaid into Clanmorris, who without much difficultie, by reason of his sudden and unexpected comming, recovered the chiefe House of the Lord *Fits Maurice*, called Lixnaw, being formerly by him sapped and underset with props of Timber, to the end, that whensoever any English Forces should come into the Countrey, that at an instant (fire being set unto them) the Castle should bee ruined, which hee rather wished, then that a Garrison of Souldiers should bee lodged in it: But the sudden comming of *Sir Charles*, prevented his intention. Hee surprized also in the

same manner the Castle of Rathowine, belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, into both which (being very convenient for service) hee put sufficient Guards, then rode with fiftie Horse to view Tralee, which was Sir *Edward Dennies* House : *James fits Thomas* had appoynted one hundred and fiftie Bownoghs for the ruining hereof; who having almost fully finished their taske, as they were busily imployed about the undermining of certaine vaults remaining after the rest unruined, Sir *Charles Wilmott*, with his fiftie Horse, as they came suddenly, so they ranne violently, like a Whirlewinde (in faire weather) upon those Rebels, killed two and thirtie of them dead in the place, and recovered the Armes of one hundred, who by the meanes and favour of a Bog and Mountaine neere adjoining, escaped with their liues, being frightened almost out of their wits. The second of *August* Sir *Charles Wilmott* with his Troopes returned to Carrigfoile.

In this meane time the President was advertised, that the victualls which hee expected from Corke, was arrived at Carrighowlogh in Thomond, almost opposite to the River of Cassan in Kerry, from whence in Boats they were transported up the Cassan to Lixnaw, foure miles into the Countrey, which service was performed by the ayde of the Earle of Thomonds Boats.

The Lord *Fits Maurice*, whose name was *Patricke*, and father to *Thomas Lord Fits Maurice* now living, an obstinate Rebelle, hearing of our being at Carrig-

foyle, fearing our Neighbourhood, brake his Castle of the Beaulieu, seated upon the Shenan, two miles distant from Carrigfoyle, when hee saw his chiefe House possessed by our Forces, tooke such an inward grieffe, as the twelfth of this instant hee gaue up the ghost. The Countie of Kerry at this time was the best inhabited Countrey of all Mounster; but whosoever tooke the most paines in sowing, certaine it is, that the Garrisons as they were shortly after placed, reaped all the profite of that Harvest.

The Iland of Kerry, an ancient and chiefe house of the Earles of Desmond, and of late belonging to Sir *William Harbert*, as an Vndertaker, together with many other Castles in those parts, are (by the rebels) absolutely ruined, neere upon the first bruit of the Armies approach, which was an evident argument of their obstinacies.

The President upon his first comming into Kerry, hearing that *Florence Mac Cartie* was not then aboue ten miles distant from him, about a Parlie with *James fits Thomas*, wrote for him, to come and speake with him at Carrigfoile, but he remising nothing but oathes and delatory excuses, came not; Whereupon second Letters together with a safe guard were dispatched unto him, but unto those he returned no answer at all. This delaying conferred with the report of some Protectees, that averred *Florence* to haue entred into a new Combination with *James fits*

Thomas ; (and that hee had sent in this Moneth of August *Owen Mac Eggan*, a Traitorly Priest into Spaine ;) made the President not doubtfull only of his former promises to him made, but almost out of doubt, that he would shew himselfe againe in open action. Which would bring to passe, that his Labours (like those of *Hercules*) should daily bee renewed, new Heads still growing upon this rebellious Hydra ; for the Septs of the *Carties* themselues (with their Followers and Dependants) were knowen to bee no lesse then three thousand able men ; and to the intent, that all these might more firmly vnite themselues, with the rest which were no lesse, then foure thousand and fiue hundred strong against her Majestie : This *Florence* was now busie in working of a Mariage, betweene the Sugean Earle, and the sister of *Cormacke Mac Dermond*, Lord of Muskerry, a populous, a rich, and a fast Countrey. The President having received advertisement thereof, left Sir *Charles Wilmot* to prosecute the service in Kerry, and himselfe hasted his returne towards Corke, there to worke some meanes, for the overthrowing the proceedings of this dangerous Complot.

The President being returned so farre as Limerick, certaine notice was brought him, that *Florence* had lately imployed a Messenger to *Tyrone* (as he pretended) for the release of *Osulevan More*, his Brother in Law ; but as the truth was, to procure aide from the North, to support the Rebellion in Mounster :

Tyrone by the said Messenger, sent Letters of Comfort and Encouragement, aswell to *Florence*, as to the rest of the Lords in that Province; assuring them, not only of succours from himselfe, but farther, that the Spanish Forces would land in Mounster before Michaelmas next. These exorbitant courses of *Florence* gaue a great impediment to the service; for the President (as he would often say) did see him like a darke Cloud over his Head, threatning a Storme, to hinder and disturbe his proceedings: But wee will leaue *Florence* for a while busily employed, in devising meanes how to procure aide, either from Spaine, or from the North, or from both; and betake our selues to such other occurrents as hapned about this time. Vpon the sixteenth of August, the Lord President came to Limericke.

The eighteenth, *Pierce Lacy* wrote unto the President, humbly beseeching him, that he might bee received into Her Majesties gracious protection, promising ever afterwards to remaine a loyall Subject; but withall hee made certaine demands, which were so much disliked by the President, as his suite was rejected; for the President insisted upon a Rule (which hee never brake) that hee would not giue eare to any Traitor that did capitulate. The twentieth he came to Kilmallock, remayning there but one day, to take assurance of certaine Gentlemen and Freeholders, that had lately submitted themselues.

The day following at Kilmallock, the White Knight being there to attend the President, newes was brought unto him, that divers of his people and Followers were slaine by the Garrison of Moyallo, commanded by Captaine *Roger Harvy*: The President carefull to giue him contentment (being under her Majesties protection) in his owne presence examined the matter; and there it was found, that Captaine *Harvy* having intelligence by a Spy, that was his Guide, of a notable Traitor called *Iohn Mac Redmond*, and certaine other Traitors, and their goods, which were reported to bee neere unto Sir *Walter Raleigh* his Lands, adjoyning to the White Knights Countrey, with seventie Foote and foure and twentie Horse, marched that night one and twentie miles from Moyallo; and at the breake of day, our men thinking, that they had beene brought upon an Enemies Towne, set fier to a House, having some few people therein: But an old Souldier knowing the place, told the Captaine that it was the White Knights Towne: Whereupon he commanded his Company to forbear committing any outrage, either upon the people, or any of their Goods: But the White Knights younger Sonne, *John fits Gibbon*, having suddenly gathered to himselfe, one hundred and sixty Foote and eightene Horse, overtooke Captaine *Haruy*; who began to excuse the matter, telling him (as the truth was) that the Guid whom he had there with him, to answer the Fact, had brought him unwillingly upon that place; and therefore for the

hurt done (ignorantly) he would make a large satisfaction.

But the young man following the advise of one *Garret Mac Shane*, (who had lately beene a notable Traitor) thinking it not possible for so small a Company to resist his great Force; (without returning any answer) began presently to chardge our men, whom they supposed without any great resistance to haue at their mercie, and came up close to our Foote, who nothing dismaied, stood firme, expecting their Chardge: But they not comming on, Captaine *Harvy* advanced towards them, and brake them instantly. In this Conflict were slaine and hurt aboue sixtie of their partie; and among them *Garret Mac Shane*, the Leader and Procurer of the fight; of our men, some foure were hurt, but none killed; Captaine *Harvy* received a shot on his Murrian, a blow with a pike upon his back, but escaped danger by the goodnesse of his Buffe Coat, and had his horse slaine under him. The White Knight upon dew knowledge hereof, condemned both his Sonne and people for their folly, to enforce a fight, having no harme intended them; and confessed they were well lost. But yet for his better satisfaction the treacherous Guid. who did upon a set purposed malice draw this Draught, was by the Presidents appointment, delivered over to the Marshall, and presently hanged: The three and twentieth the Lord President returned to Corke.

Sir *Charles Wilmot* having made his entrance into Kerry (as already you haue heard) and there proceeded so farre as Lixnaw, made knowen to the President, that the Rebels were exceeding strong in that Countrey; The Arch-Rebell *Iames fits Thomas* bee- ing attended with five hundred Bownoghs, besides the Forces that the Knight of Kerry, *Thomas Oge*, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey could make: Heere- upon the President knowing that those parts were alwayes affectionately addicted to the Earles of Desmond, caused a Foot-man of the young Earles, (who was shortly afterwards to come into Ireland) as the manner is, having his Masters Armes upon his coate before and behinde, to shew himselfe in most places of the Countrey, that thereby they might bee the better perswaded of his comming, and bee a meanes to alienate their hearts from the counterfeit *Desmond*. The vigilant care that Sir *Charles Wilmot* used within his charge, having taken diuers preyes, and killed some of the Rebels, together with this Invention, caused most of the Free-holders of that Countrey to submitt themselues, and seeke unto the Governour for her Majesties protection: the principall amongst these was *William fits Gerald*, commonly called The Knight of Kerry, who by Messengers signified the great desire that hee conceived to live a Subiect, and had present occasion to shew some prooffe thereof; for the Sagan Earle comming about this time to the Dingle, the said Knight would by no meanes receiue him into his Castle; whereupon hee ruined all the houses that

were standing in the Towne, and so tooke his journey unto Castle Mange : *Thomas fitz Maurice*, (the pretended Baron of Lixnaw) also now newly come to his Barronie by the death of his father, sougt by meanes of his wife, (who was Sister to the Earle of Thomond) for the Presidents favour, and her Majesties protection : Both were promised upon condition, hee would perform such service as might in some good sort deserue the same : but this he absolutely refused, because, (forsooth) it stood not with his Conscience, nor with his Honour : for these were his owne words in a Letter that he wrote to my Lord of Thomond : and upon this Answer the President rejected both the man and his suit.

The affaires of Kerry succeeding so well with the Governour, it was supposed, that the reputed Earle of Desmond would not long remaine in these parts, lest the Protectees might offer him some false measure ; which if it should happen, most likely it was that hee would passe the Mountaine, and shelter himselfe in the Fastnes of Conniloe, and therefore the Lord President intreated the Earle of Thomond, to stay with the Garrison at Askeiton, both to doe service upon such Rebels as should lurke in those woods, as also to secure the goods of those that were newly become Subjects ; for (as the manner of the Irish) had they lost but twentie Cowes, or tenne Garrans, they would haue held it sufficient cause to haue relapsed againe. My Lord of *Thomond* therefore lying there in Gar-

rison, received advertisement by certaine espialls (whom hee used) that *Florence Mac Cartie* had assuredly made a new combination with the Arch-Rebell *Desmond*, and had sent second Letters to *Tyrone* aboue *O Sulevan More* his enlargement; but in trueth the effect thereof was, to implore ayde of that Egyptian Reed, to underprop their ruinous, and almost rotten Building. Of this new and late combination, the Lord President was also advertised by the Lord *Barrie*, That *James Mac Thomas*, to assure *Florence* unto him, did giue him these Lands and Rents following: viz. the *Querinie*, *Killaha*, the rents of *Beare* and *Bantrie*, the *Beoves* of *Carbry*, *Carrigroaghan* and *Ballinry* neere unto *Corke*; all which *Florence* accepted, and their place of meeting (where this Agreement was made) was at *Rahinemroeg*, bordering upon *Slewlogher*. Vpon this Intelligence the Governour of *Kerry*, by direction from the President, received into protection *Donnell Mac Carty*, naturall sonne to the late Earle of *Clancare*, and Brother to *Florence* his wife, whom the Countrey in the beginning of this Rebellion, saluted *Mac Cartie More*, or chiefe Lord of *Desmond*: But at *Tyrone* his late being in the Province, he was deprived of that promotion, and both the Title and Lands by him conferred upon the said *Florence*: wherefore they thought this man to be a speciall fit Instrument, of whom there might bee very good use, when the President should beginne his prosecutions against *Florence*.

CHAP. XII.

The Castle of Mayne in Connolough taken. Omaghon, and the O Crowlyes protected. Cahir Castle rendred. Supplyes of Horses and Money sent for Mounster. Dermond Mac Owen, O Keefe, and Mac Awley make suite to bee received as subjects. The submission of the Knight of Kerry. James fits Thomas, and Pierce Lacie defeated by the Knight of Kerry.

THE Rebell that next bordered upon this Garrison of Askeiton, was *Garret fits Nicholas*, and some few Kerne that followed him, whom Sir *Francis Barkley* so haunted and hunted, that hee got from them all their prey, their owne riding Horses, and at last the Castle of Mayne, held by them, vwherein there was provision of Corne for all that yeare.

The President having disposed of his Garrisons in such sort, that they were lodged either in the Rebels Countries, or very neere thereunto, sent unto them severall Letters, willing the Commanders to imploy their Companies (at this time especially) about the standing Corne now ready for the Harvest, to gather in for their owne vses, what lay most conveniently for them, and the rest to destroy with Man and Horse, which was performed accordingly; and this no doubt was one principall cause, that they were unable to hold up their Heads the next yeare; for presently hereupon *Omaghon* and the *O Crowlies* in Carbery, sought to Sir *Richard Percy* lying at Kinsale, that hee would bee a meanes, to the Lord President for Her Majesties

protection; which being granted, they remained Loyall Subjects with their Tenants and Followers untill the landing of the Spaniards. In this interim, the Lord President laboured with *Cormuck Mac Dermond*, partly by promises, and partly by menaces, to frustrate the intended Mariage, betweene *Iames fits Thomas* and his Sister: which at last with some difficultie was frustrated, by causing the said *Cormuck* to undertake for his Sisters apparance, whensoever he or the Councell should call for her.

Towards the later end of this Moneth of August, the Lord Deputy writing to the President about some other occasions; it pleased him to remember Cahir Castle (which was lost as before you haue heard) signifying that hee much desired to haue that Castle recovered from the Rebels; the rather because the great Ordnance, a Cannon, and a Culverin being left there by the Earle of Essex, were now possessed by the Rebels. This Item from the Lord Deputie, spurred on the President without further delay, to take order therein; and therefore presently by his Letters, sent for the Lord of Cahir, to repaire unto him, who (as before you haue heard) was vehemently suspected, to haue some hand both in the taking, and keeping thereof. The Barron of Cahir being come, the Councell perswaded him to deale with *Iames Butler* (nicknamed *Iames Galde*) his Brother, about the redelivering thereof to Her Majesties use; but his Answer was, that so little interest had hee in his Brother, as the

meanest Follower in all his Countrie, might prevaile more with him then himselfe; (for hee was unwilling to haue the Castle regained by the State, except it might againe, be left wholly to him, as it was before the first winning thereof) which the President surmising, told him, that if it might speedily be yeelded up unto him, he would become an humble Suiter to the Lord Deputie (in his behalfe) for the repossessing thereof; otherwayes hee would presently march with his whole Armie into those parts, and taking the same by force, he would ruine and raze it to the very foundation; and this he bound with no small protestations: Hereupon, Iustice Comerford being dispatched away with the Lord of Cahir, they prevailed so farre with young *Butler*, that the Castle upon the twentieth following was delivered to the State; as also, all the Munitions, and the great Ordnance conveyed to Clonmell, and from thence to Watterford.

The nine and twentieth the Lord President, among other things in his dispatch made for England, advertised the Lords of the Councill, that there was lately arrived at Limerick tenne thousand pounds in monie for the Armie in Mounster; and that also at Corke thirtie sixe Horse, (for the supply of his Horse Troopes) were landed at Corke; for the which hee gaue their Lordships humble thanks: The Horse sent were fourtie, but the Conductor delivered no more then aforesaid.

While these things were in handling, it hapned that

a French Barke arrived at Dingle, laden with Wine and some Munition, which they sold to the Rebels, and thereby ministred unto them no small reliefe, being before in great want thereof. Whereupon the President wrote his Letters to the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell, intreating that it would please them, to procure Her Majesties Letters to be directed to her Ambassadour *Leger* in France, to deale with the King, for preventing such further mischiefes, as might arise by his Subjects merchandizing with the Rebels.

The sixe and twentieth of this Moneth, *Dermond Mac Owen* Lord of the Countrey, called Dowalla, a man for wit and courage, nothing inferior to any of the Mounster Rebels, by his Letters directed to Capitaine *Roger Harvy*, bearing Date the twentie sixeth aforesaid, made humble suite unto the President, that himselfe, *Mac Awly* and *O keefe* with all their followers, might be received into Her Majesties gracious protection; promising both for himselfe and them, from thence forward, to continue and remaine loyall and obedient Subjects; and for the peformance of the same, they would put in sufficient securitie, which humble suite the President not long after granted.

Neere unto the day before mentioned, *William fits Gerald*, the Knight of Kerry, in a very penitent manner submitted himselfe to Sir *Charles Wilmott*, and received her Majesties gracious protection, protesting with many vowes his future loyaltie, whereof

Sir *Charles* advertised the President, praying the confirmation of the same, which was upon sight of his Letters graunted. Foure or five dayes afterwards, as Sir *Charles* lay with his Forces before Ardart in Kerry, *James fits Thomas*, and *Pierce Lacie*, with all the Force they could make, entred (by night) into the Knight of Kerries Countrey, with a full intention either to surprise his person, or to spoyle & burne his townes, and corne, to his utter ruine: The Knight having some little foreknowledge of the storme at hand, assoone as they were entred into his Countrey, hee fought with them, slew two of their chiefe Leaders of the Bownoghs, the one called *Teg O Kelly*, the other *Walter Mac Castelogh*, and with them sixteene others. The Invaders finding so ill a welcome, returned, not having gained so much as one Cowe.

CHAP. XIII.

The Castle of Ardart taken by Sir Charles Wilmot. Maurice Stacke treacherously murdered. The prey of Kilcoe taken by Sir Richard Percie. A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. James fits Thomas defeated by the garison of Kilmallock.

ARDART for some nine dayes made good defence, and had burned with Fire-workes such Boardes and Timber as Sir *Charles* had placed against the wall of the Castle, for his mens safetie as they undermined. But at the last Sir *Charles* sent for a Saker out of an

English mans Ship, (which one *Hill* the Master lent him) with a purpose onely to breake open the doore of the Castle; for the walls were too strong for so small a Peece to offend: The Rebels at the sight of the Saker yeelded: Sir *Charles* hanged the Constable; the rest of the Ward, vvhich was but eight, with the vvomen and children, vvere spared.

Towards the latter end of August, *Maurice Stack*, the braue undertaker before spoken of, was by *Honore ny Brien*, wife to the Lord of Lixnaw, invited to dine with her, in her Husbands Castle of Beaulieu in Kerry; at which time *Donnell Obrien*, Brother both to her, and the Earle of Thomond was then with his Sister; Dinner being ended, the young Lady desired to speake with the said *Stacke* privately in her Chamber, where after a little time spent, and disagreeing about the matter then in speech, the Lady cryed out unto *Dermond Kewghe Mac Corman*, *William Odonichan* and *Edmond Oheher* (being at the Chamber doore) doe you not heare him misuse mee in words? Whereupon with their skenes they instantly murdered him in the place: Assoone as hee was slaine, shee sent unto her Husband, and willed the Murtherers to repaire unto him: of this barbarous and inhumane Act, some say that this Lady was the principall Agent, though some of her friends haue since sought to excuse her: The Earle of Thomond upon the knowledge of it, was so infinitely grieved, and for the same held his Sister in such detestation, as from that day forwards

(to the day of her death) which was not many Moneths after (as I thinke) he never did see her, nor could not abide the memory of her name: But howsoever this worthy Subject, (more worthy then whom there was no one of Ireland birth of his quality) was thus shamefully butchered as yon haue heard: The Lord of Lixnaw, not satiated with his blood (traitrously & shamefully shed) the next day after, he hanged *Thomas Encally Stack*, the Brother of the said *Maurice Stack*, whom he had held Prisoner a long time before.

About the beginning of this Moneth of September, the Garrison of Kinsale was droven into the field, and marched so farre as Rosse Carbery, being commanded by Sir *Richard Percy*, and guided by *Walter Coppinger* of Corke, upon hope of doing service thereabout, but being disappointed thereof, they marched beyond the Leape, and comming suddenly to Kilcoe, they tooke there a Prey of three hundred Cowes, which they brought in safetie without any losse to Littertinlis, and from thence they returned againe to their Garrison.

The Garrison of Kerry, had by this time so galled the Forces of the vsurping *Desmond*, as he found himselfe unable long to subsist, except *Florence Mac Cartie* (who had long played the Machiavillian *Ambodexter*, betwixt him and the L. President) would now at the last joyne with him in defence and supportation of the Action; this did he importune by divers

Letters, but especially by one, which because it containeth his estate at this time, together with other particularities fit to bee understood; I haue thought good to insert the very words of his owne Letter as followeth.

*A Letter from Iames fits Thomas to Florence Mac
Cartie.*

My Lord, your Letters I haue received, and the present time of Service is now at hand, which by Letters, nor any excuse so effectually ought to bee delayed; And whereas you write, that you intend to conferre with the President, and the Earle of Thomond, I marvell that one of your Lordships acquaintance with their proceedings, doeth not yet know their inticing bayts, and humours, to intrap us all within the nets of their pollicies; Your vow to God and this action, for the maintenance of the Church, and defence of our owne right, should not for any respect bee unregarded: you know that of long time your Lordship hath been suitor to the Queene and Councell, and could not at any time prevaile, nor get any likelihood of your settlement; and now being duly placed by the assent of the Church, and us the Nobilitie of this Action, your Lordship should worke all meanes possible for to maintaine the same. You know the ancient and generall malice that heretofore they bare to all Irish Birth, and much more they raue at this present, so as it is very bootlesse for any of us all to seeke their

favours, or countenance, which were but a meane to worke our totall subversion: Write to mee effectually your Lordships minde, and what resolution you purpose to follow, whereby I may proceed accordingly. This Armie is but very slender, for they are but sixe hundred Foot, and eightie Horse; I am my selfe and *Fits Maurice* sixe hundred Foot, and some Horse: Wee expect your Lordships assistance, which wee heartily desire, and not any further to deferre us with Letters, as you respect us, and the service: and whereas you write you haue no force, your owne presence, and the bruite of your comming, will much further the Service, and dismay the enemy, &c. 2. Septemb. 1600.

Your loving Cousen,

James Desmond.

Notwithstanding the importunitie of these Letters, together with his owne inclination, yet *Florence* finding that this their divided Kingdome could not long stand, hee would not in person joyne with them, but sent word to the white Knight by his daughter (*Donogh Mac Cormock* his wife) that rather then the Action should fall to the ground, hee would himselfe make a journey into Spaine, to intreat ayd and assistance from the Pope and Spanish King: but in the meane time, the supposed Earle being still pursued by *Sir Charles*, is constrained to abandon Kerry, to goe to Conniloe, and so to Arlogh; in which passage hee sustained such a losse (as shall bee said) which proved

to him irrevocable. There was not left any man of esteeme likely to defend the Action, but *Florence Mac Cartie*, (lately spoken of) who having temporized all this while, (to see this Summers prosecution) was growne by other mens examples to bee more wise then honest, became now an Intercessor to the President, with frequent Letters, and damnable oathes, that he was in his heart and intentions sincerely devoted to her Majesties service.

The concurrence of this fortunate successe, did promise a present reduction of the Province, and an establishment thereof in a settled quiet, and so no doubt it would haue prooved, if the Protectees had meant in their hearts, as they professed with their tongues: but it was farre otherways, for the President did at this time receiue certaine advertisement, that the titularie Earle being driven to great extremitie, and eagerly prosecuted in all corners, by the consent (in common Counsell) of his associates, whereof some of them had never been in actuall rebellion, and others lately protected, and seeming to forsake him (notwithstanding their pledges in her Majesties hands) haue advised him partly for his safetie, but especially to make triall what ayd hee could procure (out of Connaght and Vlster) to depart from thence, with confident promises, that whensoever hee should returne with new Forces, that then they would as constantly stand for him as heeretofore: Whence by the way may bee discerned the cankred disposition of their malicious hearts to-

wards the English Government, who nothing regard the disease of their Persons, the losse of their Goods, the hazzard of their Liues, and danger of their perjured Soules, so that they may bee able to continue in action against her Majestie; hoping thereby that at the length shee would growe wearie of her extreame charges, and by that meanes bee driven to condescend to their owne Conditions and Libertie of conscience; wherein although they were not disturbed at this time, yet can they not be satisfied without publike allowance, and Exercise thereof under the Romish Authoritie, which they striue to haue supreame; and what kind of subjection can bee expected at the hands of any such Papists, may appeare; for that some of great qualitie in Mounster, did about the middest of this moneth, purposely send certaine Priests to Rome, to purchase absolution from the Pope, for the sinne that they Committed, in not entring into publike Hostilitie with the rest; and because they saw that the Queene could not bee violently dispossessed of Ireland, did likewise intreat a dispensation from overt action, but yet to live unchangeably in the Catholike Religion, and to be permitted in outward temporall obedience her Majesties Subjects. Consider therefore I say, the dutifull Alleagiance of these men, whose obedience depends upon the Popes allowance.

Sir *George Thornton* had in garrison at *Kilmallock*, Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, with the Presidents Company, *Paul Arundle*, with the Lord *Audleys*, Cap-

tainé *Dillon*, and Captaine *O Reilly*, with their Foot Companies, and Captaine *Greame* with his Troope of Horse, to whom intelligence was brought upon Tuesday being the sixteenth of September, that the Rebels *James fits Thomas*, and his complices, were that day to passe from Conniloe, to the huge Fastnesse of Arlogh; Whereupon Captaine *Greame* instantly drew forth (with his Troope) towards the said Fastnesse; Order being likewise taken, that the Foot should hasten after with all possible speed; Captaine *Greame* making extraordinary haste, suddenly espied their Forces somewhat neere the wood; but before they could recover the same, hee gaue them a Charge, and at the very first possessed himselfe of their Carriage, and killed all those that guarded the same: Heereupon the Rebels (having foure Colours) in defence of their Carriage, drew towards him, and gaue him a charge, which hee answered with his Horse; and by this time a Sergeant of Captaine *Dillons*, with some light shott, were come up, and delivered a Volley in their teeth, which killed divers of them, and slewe *Pierce Lacie* his horse under him: Hereupon Captaine *Greame* charged their Battalion home to the Colours, which they resisted; but at his second charge he brake cleane through them, and they betooke themselues to running, and our men to killing; and surely had not our Horse been over-wearied with their long forrey before they came to fight, and our Foot tyred and out of breath to come up, there had not one man escaped aliue: But as it was, there were

slaine at this skirmish of the Rebels, at least one hundred and twentie, whereof one halfe were of their best men, amongst whom was *Desmonds* base sonne, *Teg O Kelly*, and *Hugh O Kelly*, Captaines of the Bownoghs, whose heads were the next day presented to the President at Moyallo: There were (besides these) about fourescore dangerously wounded; wee tooke from them one hundred and fiftie Pikes and Peeces, besides many Swords, Targets and Skeines; we got fourtie Horses and Hackneys, and at least three hundred Garrans laden with baggage, to the value (as was reported) of five hundred pound, together with all their prey of sheepe and cowes, except some that ranne into the woods, being feared with the crie of the people, and noise of the shot and drummes.

The greatest losse that wee sustained was in Horse; for Captaine *Greame* lost sixteene Horse, the Lord *Audley* had a Serjeant slaine, and there were sixe more wounded, but not mortally; one of Captaine *Greames* troope took the Archtraytor *Desmonds* Ensigne, which the Captaine perceiving, he stooped downe to reach the Colours, but at an instant receiving a blowe with a Peece upon the reines of his backe, was not able to recover them, being rescued with sixe Pike-men.

This Disaster proved so fatall to the vsurping Earle, that although of the sixe hundred Foote hee brought with him, four hundred did still remaine able

to fight: yet could hee never afterward gather one hundred of these to a Head; for some gat into Con-naght, some into Vlster, and in fine, every man to his owne home, leaving the Earle to a desperate fortune; who now perceived that the Provincials submitted themselues daily to the President, and the strangers returned into their severall Countries; and that no aide approached either from the South or North, by Sea, nor Land, was compelled together with *Iohn* his Brother, *Maurice Mac Thomas*, *Pierce Lacy*, and the Knight of the Glyn, to leaue the Countrie of Corke, and to fly into Tipperary and Ormond, and from thence, *Iohn fits Thomas* hasteth to Vlster.

CHAP. XIII.

Supplies of Foote sent from England. Osulevan More sent by the Lord De-putie to the Lord President. The Castle of Glancoyne surprised by Sir Francis Barkley. Florence Mac Carties Wife and Followers perswaded him to goe to the Lord President. The young Earle of Desmond arrived at Yoghall. A Letter from Her Majestie to the Lord President. Her Majes-ties Letters Patents for James Fitz Gerald to be Earl of Desmond.

THE Lords of the Councell of England, by their Letters bearing Date the twentieth seventh, advertised the President, that there was sixe hundred Foote in a readinesse to be sent to Corke, to supply the Armie; and for that many Souldiers daily arrived in England by Passeports from their Captaines only: They gaue the Pesident a strait Charge, to take order with all the Maritime Townes, that no Souldier should be

transported out of any of them, without a Passe under his owne Hand and Seale; and the last of the same, he had directions from their Lordships, that good Bands with Sureties should be taken upon all Merchants of Ireland, which traded with Spaine or France, not only for their owne good behaviours and loyalties, when they were beyond the Seas, but to all such Passengers as they should carry with them, which was presently put into execution.

Dermond O Conner at his late being in Mounster, had caused *Osulevan More*, a man aboue sixtie yeares of age, and yet never knowen to be in action against Her Majestie; neither in *James fits Maurice* his Warres, nor in the old Earle of Desmonds, nor in this last Rebellion: This man I say, *Dermond O Conner* had taken Prisoner not without Consent and Councell of *Florence Mac Cartie*, because he refused to pay Bonnaght unto the Connaght men: Captaine *Tirrell* by force or fraud (I know not whether) tooke the Prisoner from him, and caried him into the North, who escaped out of the Vlsters mens hands, was taken by Sir *Theobald Dillon* of Connaght, and presented to the Lord Deputie, by whom hee is committed to the Castle of Dublin, untill his estate should be further knowen; and not long after he sent him to the Earle of Ormond, to be sent by him to the President, to be disposed of according to his discretion: He being about this time come to Corke, raileth bitterly against *Florence*, ascribing both the beginning and continuance

of his troubles to him, and relating to the Councell such intelligence, as hee had learned in those parts where he had beene detained, returneth into his owne Countrey.

The Arch-rebels, *Iames fits Thomas Fits Maurice*, and the Knight of the Glyn, not finding (as it should seeme) the entertainment they expected in my Lord of Ormonds countrey; or rather, not intending at the first to make any long stay there; but onely that thereby the President might thinke them quite gone, and so make no further inquirie after them; did in the beginning of this Moneth of October, steale backe into the Countie of Limerick, yet not so privily, but the President had intelligence thereof; for it was signified unto him, the fourth of this instant, that *Desmond* was about Arlogh, having not aboue five in his Company, and two of them came lately from the Pope, with promise of Succours, which came too late for his turne, as hereafter shall be shewed.

In the mean time our Garrisons prospered so well, that Sir *Francis Barkley* got the Castle of Glancoyne in Connilogh, burning, and spoyling great store of Corne in those parts; and Sir *Charles Wilmot* in Kerry prevailed so farre, that Castlemange held by *Thomas Oge*, and Listoell defended by *Fits Maurice*, were the only two Castles held against her Majestie, which were both regained within short time; and Captaine *Flower* at Lysmore, wrought miracles against

the Rebels in those parts, as Sir *Richard Aylward*, wrote to the President. But *Florence Mac Cartie*, notwithstanding his manifold Letters, stuffed with abominable oathes, came not (as yet) to the President, nor indeed minded he to come (as it was reported) had not his Wife and some of his Countrey, in a manner compelled him thereunto; for she refused to come to his Bed, until he had reconciled himselfe to Her Majestie; saying that she knew in what manner her Father had that Earledome from her Highnesse: and though she be not pleased to bestow the same wholly upon her, yet she doubted not to obtaine some part thereof; but if neither of these could bee gotten, yet was not she minded to goe a begging either unto Vlster nor into Spaine; and to confirme this report, it was certainly knowen, that she with the helpe of her friends, kept the Castle of the Lough in Desmond by force from him.

Her Majestie having evermore had a determination, to send *Iames fits Gerald*, Sonne unto the late Earle of Desmond attained in Ireland; and having found by experience, that the attempt which *Dermond O Conner* made in the apprehension of *Iames fits Thomas*, was at his Wifes suite, in hope thereby to obtaine the restitution of her Brother to his old Title of Earle of Desmond, and also unto some state of Inheritance for his maintenance; did now resolute to put her determination in effect, hoping that his presence in Ireland, would draw the ancient Followers of the Earle of

Desmond (his Father) from *Iames fits Thomas* the supposed Earle; and therefore releasing him out of the Tower (where from his infancie he had beene Prisoner) shee not onely admitted him to her presence, but stiled him Earle of Desmond, and sent him conducted into Ireland by Captaine *Price*, a sober, discreet Gentleman, and an ancient Commander in the Warres, who landed with his charge at Youghal the fourteenth day of October, from thence he brought him to Moy-allo to the President; upon the eighteenth, where from Her Majestie he presented to his Lordship the young Earle; Her Majesties Letters, and Letters Patents under the great Seale of England for his restitution in blood and Honour; both which Letter and Letters Pattents, I thinke it not unnecessary to set downe the true Copies, which were as followeth.

A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord President.

ELIZAB. R.

TRUSTIE and Welbeloved, wee greet you well: Wee have now at the last resolved to send over Iames fits Gerald into Mounster, after long debate with Our self what accidents might follow thereupon; wherein although there might be many doubts, to what hee may be inveagled in times to come, yet that opinion which wee conceiue of his owne good nature and disposition to gratefulnesse, for this high benefit which hee receiveth, together with the orderly course which we intend shall bee observed in the raysing, and disposing

his Fortune, doeth make us lesse doubtfull of that mischief, then wee are for the present of some other scorne, which we shall receiue, if by our sending him over, and your resolution to restore him, no such effect should follow, as might be answerable to that which is expected: In which consideration, although we know there are many of Opinion, that the way to draw greatest things by him, were to raise him high at first (because it will make those cleave to him the faster) yet will we follow therein Our owne resolution, which is rather to proceed in such a case by degrees, then in any suddaine, without reasonable caution and reservation: For the first step therefore, wee haue now sent him over by Captaine Price, (a trustie and discreet Person) to deliver him safely into your hands, whereas wee know the keeping of him in any state of a Prisoner, would wholly overthrow the worke, and multiply the jealousies of those who judge all others by themselves; So in respect that you are in place where all circumstances are clearest knowen, and that the change of causes altereth Councils: Know this from Us, That we shall never disallow it, if you in your discretion finde it necessarie (at any time) that you doe abridge him of any libertie, or any favour now afforded him: For as wee haue much the rather assented to send him over, and place him there, because you haue had your part in the Counsell: So doe wee referre the managing of him to your discretion: for his maintenance during his abode there, there are but two wayes, the one to bestow Lands vpon him with an habitation: the other

to maintaine him out of our owne purse with a pension. In the first there must be time to consider where to seat him: for the second, because it is a thing that must be done, and that he must be maintained with a convenient attendance, that they may not scorne him, and that hee hath one or two sisters, whom we had rather should depend vpon himselfe, then bee matched with any other that were ill affected, (whereof many there bee that would bee glad to fortifie themselues by them.) Wee doe heereby giue you order, to peruse the Numbers you haue, and where you finde any unprofitable Captaine that hath a weake band, that you doe presently cashiere the same, and to imploy part of that charge, which was formerly bestowed in that Band, towards the maintenance of him and his, as you shall see requisite, without further charging vs, and the same to continue, untill we may see how to resolute of some convenient Habitation for him, that they may see hee is to bee seated amongst them, with a competent portion of living, where he may be a stay to Our service. And now because wee know the Countrey will thinke him unlikely to stead them that shall follow him, if they bee not assured that hee shall haue the Title, (which is a matter they doe so much affect to follow) Wee haue heerewith sent you a Patent of his Earledome, to the intent that you may assure all that are diffident of our performance; and yet Wee can be content, they plainely doe understand also, that if they shall not actually, and substantially performe those Services, which may deserue this

extraordinarie clemencie, and giue us cause to consummate the rest: Wee both can and will quickly recall all that is hitherto performed: for which purpose wee doe heereby commaund you, to advertise Vs, what is effected for him, by this demonstratiue acte of Ours, and then to receiue our pleasure, before the Patent bee delivered out of your handes; although for the present you may let it bee shewed to any such persons as you shall see cause, to assure by viewe of the same, and thereby make them perceiue how vnjustly Wee haue beene slaundered, by those that should possesse the world, that Wee haue no desire or end, but to extirpate as well the Innocent, as the contrary of that Nation, seeing Wee are contented to rayse the Sonne of that Father, that had committed so notorious crimes. For as much as Wee doe hold it convenient, that the Archbishopp of Cassell should not bee in any sort kept in extremitie: Wee would haue you convert tenne dead payes of Foote to his use, parcell of that hundred which is appoynted to bee cashiered for the maintenance of Iames Fits Gerald; Wherein likewise Wee would haue consideration helde of poore, and some maintenance for the wife of Dermond O Conner; All these allowances to bee borne by the Cashiering of that Companie, and to bee ordered according to your discretion, because Wee would not haue apparant penury to surprize any of these that haue entered so deeply, although the frutes are yet ungathered, which is the time when they must bee further rewarded. Wee haue likewise given order to the De-

putie, to make an allowance of fortie shillings a weeke to the Archbishop, in nature of Dead Payes to Preachers, in lieu whereof hee may stay the pension of some other, who is not so necessarie to be provided for: Having now assented to doe that you haue advised, Wee leaue it to be ordered accordingly to your discretion, assuring you, that wee are still of opinion, if you use not this Patent well, that they will bee lesse greedy to dispatch any businesse for Vs, then they would haue beene, if we had not gone on so hastily with theirs: But wee repose such trust in you, as we thinke our Honour and safetie of that Province in safe hands, for so much as faith and discretion can secure, to whom wee render condigne thanks for the good prooffe you haue hitherto made of them both. The Bishop is not vnfit to frequent the young Gentleman; and therefore, that credit which is fit, let him haue, and let your prooffe of his zeale, excuse other of his indiscretions. Given at our Mannor of Otlands the first of October, 1600.

Ro. Cecill.

Her Majesties Letters Patents, for Iames fits Gerald,
to bee Earle of Desmond.

ELIZABETH *Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Defensor, &c. Archiepiscopis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Vicecomitibus, Episcopis, Baronibus, Iusticiarijs prepositis, Ballivis, Ministris, & omnibus alijs fidelibus suis salutem. Cum*

non ita pridem Gerot nuper Comes Desmondæ, Cuius proavos ob præclaras suas erga Rempublicam res gestas, progenitores nostri Regij Comitum titulo ornarunt, infandi in nobis Coronamq; nostram perduellionis attinctus generis sanguinisq; sui nobilitatem viciauerit, totumq; illud dignitatis nomen penitus abolerit. Ea tamen semper fuit nostra ad clementiam propensitas atque ad ignoscendum Regia facilitas, ut in totaimperij nostri moderatione in huiusmodi proditor' posteros, non modo, non summo jure vsi sumus, sed etiam eos (meritis suis non obstantibus) iisdem quibus reliquos subditos nostros favoribus & præmijs affecerimus. Eaque de causa nos sumptibus nostros properijs, Iacobibum fits Gerald filium prefati Gerot natu maximum aluimus, omniq; apparatus & educationis genere homine tam nobili orto non indigno institui curavimus. Non ferentes delictata mala meriti patris, in bono indolis filio castigari. Et quoniam idem Iacobus ita vere virtutis & nobilitatis insignijs peditus est, ut merito illum & nobis & Caronæ nostræ omni fidelitate inseruitur, ac Patriæ suæ summo futurum ornamento speremus, si honoribus dignitatisq; titulis per patrem nuper amiscis insigniretur. Sciatis igitur, quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, prefatum Iacobum fits Gerald in Comitem Desmondæ, in Regno nostro Hibernæ ereximus, perfecimus, & creavimus; Ac per presentes erigimus, perficimus, & creamus; Et ei nomen, statum, stilum, titulum, honorem et dignitatem Comitæ Desmondæ, Loco & suffragio, in Parliamentis nostris in prædicto

Regno nostro Hiberniæ, tenendum, sicut & eodem modo quo prædictus Gerot jam ultimus Comes, aliquo tempore ante attincturam suam prædictam, habuit, seu habere debuit, seu consuevit, Cum omnibus alijs & singulis preheminencijs, honoribus, ceterisq; quibuscuncq; huiusmodi, statui, & dignitati Comitis Desmoniac, temporibus retroactis pertinent' seu spectant', damus & concedimus, per presentes: Ipsumq; statu stilo honore & dignitate Comitis Desmoniac per Cincturam gladij insignimus & realiter nobilitamus. Habendum & tenendum nomen, statum, titulum, honorem & Dignitatem Comitis Desmoniac predict'. Cum omnibus & singulis preheminencijs, honoribus, suffragijs, & ceteris premissis quibuscuncq;, præfato Iacobo fits Gerald, & Heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, & procreandis, imperpetuum. Quoniam autem Comitis Dignitat', convenire, putamus, ut qui ejusdem dignitat' à patre, aut alio parente successionem proximam expectet, aliquo inferioris dignitatis titulo coretur, proinde de vberiori gratia nostra volumus, & concedimus, pro nobis Heredibus & Successoribus nostris, quòd quilibet Heres masculus de corpore dicti Iacobi fits Gerald legitime, procreat', qui succssionem in dict' Comitatu velut proximior gradu expectet, & pro Hered' apparente, juxta tenorem huius concessionis nostræ habeatur, Baro de Inchequin in Comitatu Corke, in dicto Regno nostro Hiberniæ durante ejus vita, qui prædict' dignitat' Com' obtinet perpetuis futuris temporibus vocetur & appelletur, ac nomine, stilo, statu dignitat' & preheminencijs Ba-

ronis de Inchequin, eodem pro tempore gaudeat & utetur. Et hoc absq; fine, seu feodo, solvend' in hamperio nostro seu alibi, ad usum nostrum quoquo modo, Eo quod expressa mentio de certitudine premissorum, sive eorum alicuis, aut de alijs donis siue concessionibus per nos seu per aliquem Progenitorum nostrorum, præfato Iacabo fits Gerald, ante bæc tempora fact' in presentibus minime fact' existit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordiuatione, Provisione, siue Restrictione, in Contrarium inde ante-hac habit' fact' edict' ordidat', sine provisa, haud aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste me ipsa apud Oatlands, primo die Octobris Anno Regni nostri Quadragesimo secundo.

Peripsam Reginam.

It was thought by all men, that the comming of this young Lord into Ireland, would haue bred a great alteration in the Province, and an absolute revolt of all the old Followers of the House of *Desmond* from *Iames fits Thomas*, but it proved of no such consequence: For the President to make triall of the disposition and affection of the young Earles kindred and Followers, at his desire consented that hee should make a Iornney from Moyallo into the Countie of Limerick, accompanied with the Archbishop of Cashell, and Master *Boyle* Clearke of the Councell (a person whom the Lord President did repose much trust and

confidence in and with whom he then communicated, and advised about his most secret and serious affaires of that Government;) And to Master *Boyle* his Lordship gaue seeret charge, aswell to obserue the Earles waies and cariage, as what men of quality or others made their addresse unto him; and with what respects and behaviour they caried themselues towards the Earle; who came to *Kilmallock* upon a Saturday in the Evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the Towne, there was a mighty concourse of people, inso-much as all the Streets, Doores and Windowes, yea the very Gutters and tops of the Houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to beethat Comfort and Delight, their soules and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of Ioy, every one throwing upon him Wheat and Salt (an ancient Ceremony vsed in that Province, upon the Election of their new Majors and Officers, as a Prediction of future peace and plenty:) That night the Earle was invited to supper to Sir *George Thorntons*, who then kept his House in the Towne of *Kilmallock*; and although the Earle had a Guard of Souldiers, which made a Lane from his lodgings to Sir *George Thorntons* House, yet the confluence of people that flockt thither to see him was so great, as in halfe an houre he could not make his passage thorough the crowd; and after Supper he had the like encounters at his returne to his lodging. The next day being Sunday, the Earle went to Church to heare

divine Service ; and all the way his Countrey people vsed loud & rude dehortations to keepe him from Church, unto which he lent a deafe eare; but after Service and the Sermon was ended, the Earle coming forth of the church, was railed at, & spet upon by those that before his going to Church were so desirous to see and salute him : Insomuch, as after that publike expression of his Religion, the Towne was cleered of that multitude of strangers, and the Earle from thenceforward, might walke as quietly and freely in the Towne, as little in effect followed or regarded as any other private Gentleman : This true relation I the rather make, that all men may obserue how hatefull our Religion and the Professors thereof, are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that Kingdome : For from thence forward none of his Fathers followers, (except some few of the meaner sort of Freeholders) resorted unto him ; and the other great Lords in Mounster, who had evermore beene overshadowed by the greatnesse of *Desmond*, did rather feare then wish the advancement of the young Lord : But the trueth is, his Religion, being a Protestant, was the onely cause that had bred this coynesse in them all : for if hee had beene a Romish Catholike, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the Province would haue bowed unto him : Besides, his comming was not well liked by the Vndertakers, who were in some jealousie, that in after times he might be restored to his Fathers Inheritances, and thereby become their Lord, and their

Rents (now payed to the Crowne) would in time be couferred upon him. These considerations assured the President, that his personall being in Mounster would produce small effects, but onely to make tryall what power hee had.

CHAPTER XV.

The juggling of Florence Mac Cartie. Supplies of Men and Apparell sent into Mounster. The submission of Florence Mac Cartie. A skirmish betweene the Mac Carties and Oleries. Olery slaine. A letter from Redmond Burke to the lord President.

THE President attempted by his meanes the getting of Castle Mange, a Castle of her Majesties, in the which before, and at the beginning of the Warre, shee had a Ward surprised by the supposed *Desmond*, and left by him in the custodie of *Thomas Oge*, as afore-said, which by his negotiation with the said Constable was at last rendred unto him, together with *Pierce Lacie* his two sonnes, which were kept as pledges therein; and this was all the service that hee did or could doe, during his abode in Ireland: And that worke of his *Florence Mac Cartie* used all his wit and policie to prevent and overthrow: for at the very instant when *Thomas Oge* (who had the keeping of Castle Mange, and *Pierce Lacies* sonnes as pledges therein) had faithfully assured the yeelding up thereof,

and of the aforesaid Pledges to the Lord President; (*Florence* being then entertained by the President in his house at Moyallo, and as fast bound unto him by many benefits and favours, as *Florence* was by the strongest oathes and vowes that any Christian could be obliged by) gott some secret hint that Castle Mange was by *Thomas Oge* to be yeelded up to her Majestie; who well foreseeing what reputation it would bring to *Desmond*, and how much it would make up towards the hastening of his owne ruine, if that Fort were once regained, and an English Garrison placed here he presumed, and that in the Presidents owne house, where he was so graciously used and entertained, to write his effectuall and earnest Letters to the said *Thomas Oge*, assuring him, that *Redmond Burke*, and Captaine *Tirrell* were on their way with great Forces to get Mounster on fire againe dissuading him from keeping his promise with the President and the young Earle of Desmond, promising, and binding his promises with damnable oathes, that he would presently revictuall the Ward of Castle Mange for three moneths, pay them the Arrear of all their vvages, and that he would giue *Thomas Oge* and his Heires for ever, six Plowlands of his owne Inheritance, so he would not deliver up Castle Mange. And these Letters were by the watchfulnesse of Master *Boyle* intercepted and delivered to the President. And from thenceforward after *Florence* knew his Letters were intercepted, and his treacheries

more and more discovered. But all this while it was a world to see how *Florence* plaid fast and loose, betweene the President and the Governour of Kerry: For whenever the President sent to haue him come to him, then he answered, that he was within few dayes to meete with the Governour of Kerry by a former appointment; if Sir *Charles* sent for him, then he was shortly to repaire to the President, and so deluding both, he would come to neither: His stay was (as we haue shewed) because he purposed to stand out, and for that cause had the last Moneth before planted as it was reported, some number of Bownoghs in his Countrey; but the governors people, upon one side, and these his Bownoghs on the other side, had by this time so harried and consumed his Countrey, as he found the same unable longer to maintaine his Mercenaries; and therefore delayed with good words to gaine longer time, for it was commonly spoken of among the Protectees, and Captaine *Taffe* wrote so much to the President from Kilkenny, that *Redmond Burke* and Captaine *Tirrell*, with all the Forces they could gather in Connaght, and Linster, would make an other incursion into Mounster, so soone as the Lord Deputie should returne from the North, which was expected very shortly, because the time of the yeare would breed many difficulties and inconveniences in his longer stay: Whether it were this bruite, or the hearking after a Ship, to arriue in those parts, which might transport him beyond Seas, that occasioned his delatory excuses, I know not; But sure I

am, that they proceeded not from any loyall or dutifull mind.

The beggerly Earle in the meane time, lurked in the Woods with some two or three in his Company, sometimes in Arlogh, sometimes in Drumfinnin, but most in the Countie of Typperarie, where he had much kindred by his Mothers side: The President had intelligence every day where hee lodged the night before, but never untill he was departed, and had left the place; not but that the Countrey could haue reported aswell where he is, as where he had beene, but they were possessed with such a superstitious folly, and so terrified with the Priests Thunderbolts of Excommunication, as they adjudged him unavoidably damned, that should ruinate such a principall Piller of the Catholike action: And *Fits Maurice* was in little better case; for although since his returne into Mounster, himselfe with the Knight of the Glyn, had assembled some fower score in the Fastnesse of Clannorris, who guarded their Corne that should maintaine them for the yeere following: Yet Sir *Charles Wilmot* marching twelue miles through their Woods, being directed by a trusty Guid, came suddenly upon them, and slew sixtie of them; the two Principals escaping very narrowly: After the killing ended they scowred the Woods, and finding great store of Corne therein, they burnt the same, and returned with the Armes of all the dispersed Kerne. *Pierce Lacy* had so well bestirred himselfe in his negotiation, with those

of Ormund and Ossory, that of Ormond and Ossery men, with the Purcels and Omaghers, he had reinforced himselfe with five hundred men, and being now joyned with *Redmond Burke*, who had one thousand Foote and sixtie Horse (as was credibly informed) drew their Forces into *O Carrels* Countrey, threatening daily to invade the small Countrey of Limerick, which bordered upon them, but their stay (as was reported) depended upon the returne of *Iohn of Desmond*, who was expected with Forces out of the North. But *Tyrone* was so well set a worke, by the honourable, painefull, and prosperous proceedings of the Lord Deputie, as hee had enough to doe in defending his owne Countrey, much lesse could he spare any Forces for other parts.

In September last, mention is made that the Lords of the Councell had promised to send unto the President sixe hundred Foote for the supplying of his Armie, which accordingly arrived at Corke, as appeareth by the Presidents Letters written to their Lordships, dated this five and twentieth of this Moneth of October, and with them three hundred and fiftie winter suites of apparell.

But to returne againe to *Florence Mac Cartie*, after all the tergiversations before mentioned, and many others too tedious to be inserted, finding all his Neighbours to haue submitted themselves, and

his owne Followers, so impoverished by the Warres, desirous to doe the like; was contented (*Tandem aliquando*) to repaire to the President lying at Moy-allo, bringing some forty Horse in his Company, and himselfe in the midst of his Troope (like the great Turke amongst his Ianisaries) drew towards the House (the nine and twentieth of October) like *Saul*, higher by the head and shoulders then any of his Followers; upon his submission, the President as having forgotten all former matters, gaue him kind entertainment, being indeed heartily glad of his presence, as hoping thereby, that these Warres of Mounster were brought to a finall end; to secure him therefore to the State, the President demanded his Eldest Sonne in pledge, who being unable to take so long a Iournie by the indisposition of his body (as *Florence* protested) he left two others; the one his base Brother, who had spent many yeeres in France, Spaine and Hungary; and the other his foster Brother, both which he had in very precious esteeme. *Florence* requested that those pledges might suffice for the *O Sulevans*, the *O Donoghues*, the *O Crowlies*, and *Omaghon Carbry*: But hereunto the President would by no perswasion be drawen to condescend; and that especially for two causes; the one was, that hereby he might draw from *Florence* this great rabble of Dependants; and the second was, because every of these being compelled to put in pledges for themselues, the Queene might haue the stronger assurance of these wavering and slippery Subjects.

The Province being reduced to this passe (as you haue heard) the Irish having now no other Enemy to oppugne, beginne to goe together by the eares amongst themselues, for certaine of *Donoghe Moyle Mac Cartie* (sonne to Sir *Owen Mac Cartie Reughe*) his people, following the track of some Cowes, that had beene stollen from them into Muskerry, the *Oleries* assembled themselues to the number of one hundred or thereabouts, and following the *Carties*, (who were by this time returned into Carbery;) at last overtooke them, and without many words gaue the On-set, the other stoutly resisted, betweene whom there passed a short, but a sharpe skirmish, wherein were slaine *Olerie*, the Head of that Sept, and ten other the chiefe of his family, with some more of lesse note, and of the *Carties*, *Finin Mac Owen* his Brother dangerously wounded, with some few slaine of his part. *Cormock Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskery, much grieved with the slaughtner of the *Oleries* his Followers, was an earnest Sutor to the Councell, that he might be permitted, to revenge this losse upon the *Carties* in Carbery; some there were that thought it not unfit to accord unto his demands; because which party soever should prevaile, yet could not the Queene loose a good Subject: But the President would by no meanes yeeld thereunto, lest the hot prosecution of these particular grievances, might kindle the coales of some further mischief, in giving occasion of distast to the now reconciled Subjects.

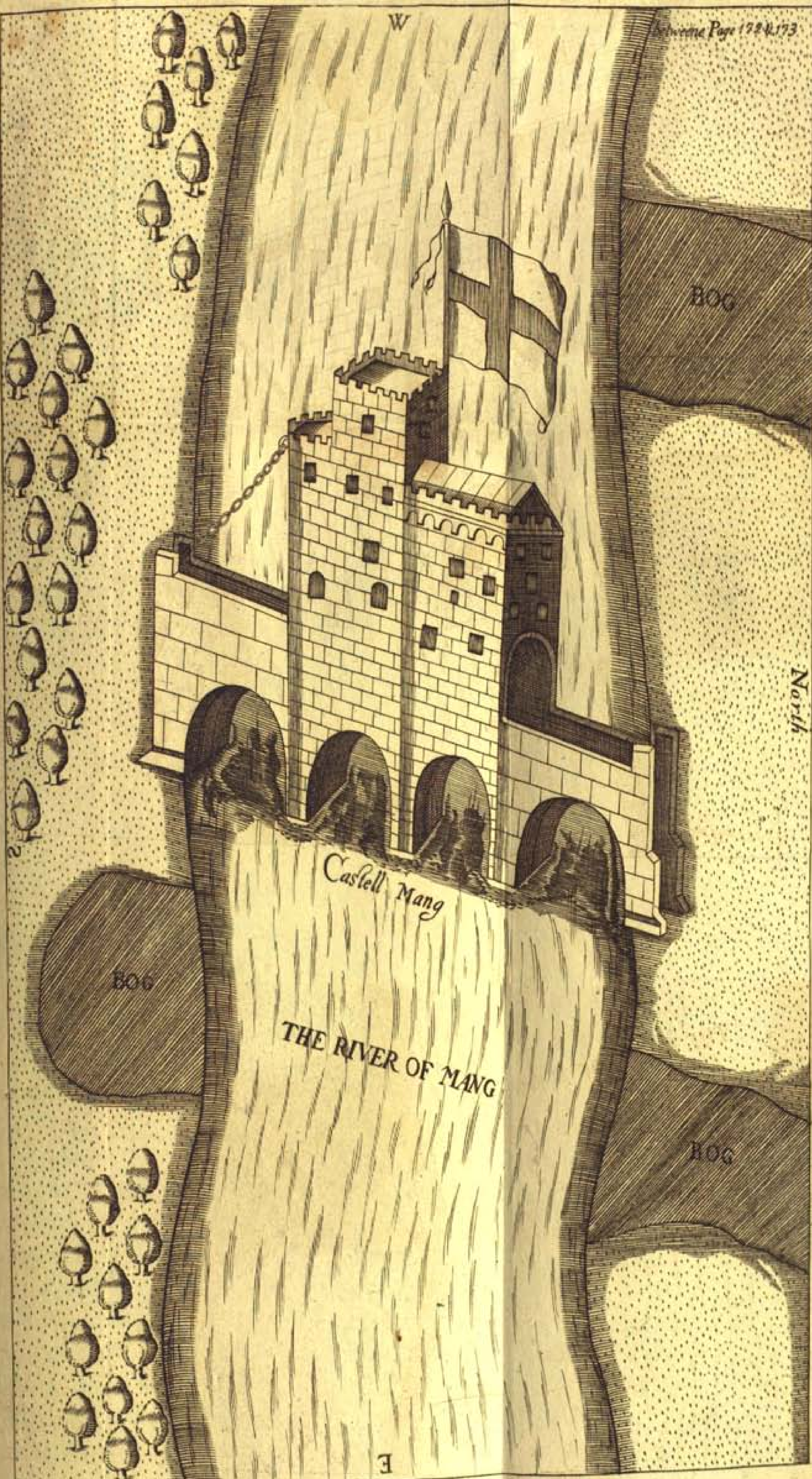
Redmond Burke being weary of his vagabond life, living like a *Woolfe* upon every one from whence he could take any thing, or rather wittingly foreseeing the ruine and destruction of those his Confederats, which were in rebellion, of whose fortunes he was in all likelihood to be a Partaker, wrote a Letter to the President dated the thirtieth of October, which because it is but short I doe here insert.

A Letter from Redmond Burke to the Lord President.

RIGHT Honourable, I doubt not the detestable and apparent wrong, that the Earle of Clanrickard hath done mee, is manifestly knowen to your Lordship already. as I need not larger to expresse it: but this I am sure, that the tolleration thereof, and that I would not otherwayes bin caused to runne this course, and if there were any hope of redresse, that I would long ere this be a Subject, and will now shew my selfe worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, aud my Fathers Lands seized into your Honours hands, till my Title be tryed; This Countrey of Ely being in your Honours Province, is a parcell to whom I make claime, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first: And thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leaue. From Ely the thirtieth of October, 1600.

Your Houours as you please,

Redmond Leitrim.



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The President much misliking the tenour of his Letter, as vvell for other reasons, as for capitulating for the Countrey of *Ely O Carrell*, before he had by his service merited any favour; and lastly, for the slight subscription, *Your Honours as you please*, returned him no Answer in writing, utterly refusing any further traffique with him, it being his custome not to deale with Traitors upon Conditions.

CHAP. XVI.

The Lord President sueth for a generall Pardon for the Provincials. The Submission of Thomas Cge Fits Gerald, and the rendring of Castle Mange. The Castle of Listoell besieged and taken. The Castle of the Dingle rendred.

THE Province of Mounster now growing to a peaceable estate, the President, by his Letters of the second of November to the Lords of the Councell, humbly prayed, that they would bee pleased to mooue her Majestie, that a generall Pardon might bee graunted unto all the Provincials that desired the same, the lurking Earle, his Brother *Iohn fits Thomas*, *Pierce Lacie*, and two other of good qualitie (who are yet living) onely excepted, for those he knew to be the most malicious Traytors, and also her Majesties inclination was no way bent to extend her mercie unto them: The reasons which mooved him to sue for this Generall Pardon, was principally the multitudes of the

protected persons, who living from time to time upon protection, were not so assured to the State as they would bee, if they were pardoned; whereby the Government received much impediment: and besides, there were many poore women and children, that had no abilitie to be at the charge of suing forth of their pardons; and lastly, it was much desired by the Provincials themselves: Neverthelesse he added this caution, that if any of the Protectees did in this interim doe any treasonable act, that the President, with some foure or five of the Councell of the Province joyned with him, might haue power to denie them the benefit thereof, and also that Priests, and Romish religious persons, (which were the first inciters of the Rebellion, and the continuall fomenters of the same) should likewise bee excepted. The opinion of the President had good allowance in England; yet for some private respects of commoditie to Officers, (as it may bee imagined) the motion of a generall Pardon tooke not the effect desired; but afterward, (as you shall heare) there was order given, that all such as the President would recommend, should haue the favour to sue out their Pardons.

In the beginning of November, a strong castle in Connilogh (which was held by *James fits Thomas*) was surprized by our Forces, so as hee had no other Castle at his devotion left, but Castle Mange.

The fourth of November, *Thomas Oge fits Gerald*,

Constable of Castle Mange (for *Iames fits Thomas*) having evermore had a better affection unto the young Earle of Desmond *Iames* (lately sent by her Majestie into Ireland, as hath been declared) upon the Earles intreatie and perswasions, came to Kilmallock, and there made tender of the said Castle unto the Earle, for her Majesties use. The Earle the next day brought him to Moyallo to the President, where hee made his submission, and direction was sent to Sir *Charles Wilmot* for the receipt of the said Castle.

Sir *Charles Wilmot* knowing that *Fits Maurice* the Lord of Lixnaw, had onely one Castle called Listoell, wherein to shelter himselfe, finding no other meanes to compasse the same, determined to besiege it, and intimated so much to the President by his Letters, requesting his advice and allowance therein, who returned answer, That hee desired nothing more, then to haue that Castle gotten for the Queene, and for the manner, left the managing thereof wholly to his discretion. He sate downe before it upon the fifth of November, attempting to get it by a Myne; in the which after hee had wrought five or sixe dayes, and brought it underneath the Castle wall, being ready to make a bed for the placing of the powder, suddainly the spring brake foorth in such abundance, as that worke became fruitlesse: thereupon new ground was sought, which proved good, the foundation of the Castle was undermined, as farre as the middest of the Seller, which the Ward perceiving, made humble suit

to bee permitted to depart with their liues, which Sir *Charles* absolutely refused; but if they would simply render themselues, the Castle and all things in it to his discretion, hee would then stay further proceeding in his worke, otherwise they might looke within very few howers to bee blowen up. The Ward vvhich were eighteene in number, came forth, and upon their knees submitted themselues unto him, whom hee caused to bee apprehended; the women and small children hee suffered to depart, of the weaponed men he hanged nine, so many of ours being lost at the Siege, which continued more then three weekes; the residue hee detained, untill he had acquainted the President with all these accidents, who gaue present order for the execution of the rest; for they had beene all of them formerly protected, except one Sir *Dermond Mac Brodie*, a Priest, whose life was saved upon this occasion: It fortun'd that within this Castle, at the rendring thereof, there was unknowen to Sir *Charles*, the Lord of Lixnawes eldest sonne, being a child of fiue yeares of age; the Warders upon their comming foorth, disarrayed this child of all his cloathes, and having besmeared his face with dust and durt, committed him to an old woman, who bringing the Infant naked and disfigured at her backe, conveyed him away without suspition. Sir *Charles* receiving advertisement of this escape, sent out some Souldiers, and some Provincials, (vvhom he most trusted) for the recoverie of him, but in vaine they all returned vvith lost labour: at last hee bethought himselfe, that

peradventure some of the prisoners could direct him in the pursuit, and questioning the Priest concerning the Child: Hee answered, that he could best resolve him, for that himselfe had given direction to the woman where shee should bestow the child, till shee might deliver him to his Father: Why then, saith Sir *Charles*, will you not conduct mee to him? Know you you not, that it is in my power to hang you, or to saue you? Yes, and I assure you, if you will not guide mee to the place where hee lieth hidden, I will cause you to bee instantly hanged: The Priest answered, That it was all one to him, whether hee dyed this day, or to morrow; but yet if hee might haue his Word, for the sparing of his owne life, and the childe, hee would reveale his knowledge; otherwayes the Governour might doe his pleasure. Sir *Charles*, though very unwilling to graunt the Priest his life, yet the earnest desire hee had to gett the child into his hands, caused him to agree thereto. The Priest being put into a Hand-locke, is sent with a Captaine, and a good Guard of Souldiers about this businesse, who guided them to a Wood sixe miles from the Castle, by reason of thicke bryers and thornes, almost unpassible, in the midst whereof there is a hollow Cave within the ground, not much unlike by description to *Cacus* his denne, or the mouth of *Avernus*, in which desolate place they found that old woman, and this young childe, whom they brought to the Governour, and the Priest and childe were shortly after sent to the President. In this Castle were gotten all the Lord of

Lixnaw his goods, besides store of provision for the Warre, who were plentifully provided for sixe moneths with such kind of victuall as the Countrey yeeldeth; and it was said, that the Baron himselfe would haue set up his rest in this Castle, which he held impregnable against any force, (the Cannon excepted;) but it should seeme his heart failed him, no lesse then his expectation. While these things were in doing, Sir *Richard Percy* drew his Company forth of Kinsale into Kinalmekagh, and there tooke a prey of two hundred Cowes, and got the killing of some Rebels.

In the beginning of this Moneth *William fits Gerald*, the Knight of Kerry, came to the President with a Letter in his favour from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, dated the thirtieth of October, wherein he witnessed for him, that (ever since he was received under protection) hee had demeaned himselfe, not onely like a good Subject, in doing no harme, but that he had endeavoured (to his uttermost) to annoy the Enemy, and had lately in token of his obedience, delivered unto Sir *Charles* his Castle at the Dingle: This testimony wrought so much with the President, as hee vsed him very kindly, and returned him home with great contentment.

Not long after the landing of the young Earle of Desmond in Ireland, the minds of the Provincials were much distracted, every one fearing what might be the successe thereof. But after a little while it

appeared that he was able to doe but little. To the end that the Reader might see, that at the first it did breed some distraction; I doe here insert a Letter unto *Tyrone* from *Cormocke Mac Dermond*, the Lord of the large Countrey of Muskry, who was never personally in actuall Rebellion, neither afore, nor after the Spaniards arrivall; the copie of which Letter came not to the Presidents hands, untill the latter end of the yeere one thousand sixe hundred and two, and he then pardoned, wherein it doth evidently appeare, what cancred hearts the better sort of Subjects, did beare to the Crowne of England, and the English government.

CHAP. XVII.

A Letter from Cormocke Mac Dermond unto Tyrone. The Abbey of Ratho burned, and fourtie of the Bonoghs slaine. One thousand Bonoghs levied by Florence Mac Cartie. Connaght and Vlster men change their Resolution, for the invading of Mounster, and the cause why. Dermond O Conner murdered by Theobald ne Long Burke. A Letter from the Earle of Clanrikard to Theobald ne Long.

A Letter from Cormock Mac Dermond unto Tyrone.

I HAUE received your Letter of the twentieth of September, and doe thanke you for the great trust you repose in mee, which by the helpe of God shall bee by mee discharged to the uttermost of my power; But

the English haue (in these parts) so much prevayled (by the sinister false dealing of the Connaght men) as the President hath taken Pledges of most of the Gentlemen, and men of power in these parts. And besides, wee are so weake in men, as that wee are out of necessitie constrained to yeeld to the yoke of the English Heretiques, from the which wee pray God to deliver us, according to our hearts desire; and therefore doe hope you will beare with our present necessities, being ready at all times to obey your directions, when you shall bee able to send us helpe; but because that we shall neither deceiue you or our selues, we doe pray you to send us word, what numbers you will send us, and by what time, that accordingly wee may make our selues ready, to giue you our best assistance: But of one thing I thinke good to giue you particular notice, which is, not to put any confidence in any of Mounster, of the English Nation; for whatsoever they professe or protest unto you, they meane not to deale faithfully with us, but will forsake us in our greatest need. The newes of these parts are, that the Sonne of *Geralt* the late Earle is arrived, unto whom, his Fathers old Followers doe much resort; hee is an Heretike, yet neverthelesse (by the helpe of the English) he will doe us great harme: The right Earle of Desmond is forsaken of all men, and not able to make Head, and the lesse hope of his rising againe by the comming of young *Iames*, who is the Queenes Earle, and hath a Patent for his Earledome; I pray your speedy Answer; in the meane time I will dis-

semble with the President, who deales sharply with us; the Letter which you sent with these to *Mac Carty More*, I haue sent unto him by a Messenger of my owne, who is lately agreed with the President, and so we are deceived in him, and therefore he is not to be firmly trusted with the commandement of all the *Clan-Carties*.

Cormocke Cartie.

Sir Charles Wilmot (in the meane time) marching to an Abbey in Kerry called Ratho, neere unto Lixnaw, assoone as his Colours were descried, was fired by the Enemy that lodged there; from thence with his Horse onely he marched to Tralie, where hee found one hundred Bonoghs of the *Okellies*, among whom was *Moriertagh Mac Shighie*, and three or foure more of the lurking Earles chiefest Followers on horsebacke; our Horse charged them, the Horsemen (by flight) saved themselues, but of the Foote there was slaine about fourtie dead in the place, the rest by the favour of a neighbouring bogge, and the Mountaine at hand escaped, but all their Armes were left to our shares.

The perpetuall juggling which *Florencce Mac Cartie* continued towards the Lord President, I haue so often touched as it needs no other prooffe; but for the better Testimonie of his ill affection to the State, even now when the Sугan Earle was in the estate of a fugitiue, hiding himselfe from the sight of men, *Florence* (as the Lord President was advertised from *Sir Charles*

Wilmot) had rayzed one thousand Bownoghs to bee placed upon Desmond, foure hundred upon Kerry, and sixe hundred upon Carbry, and concludes with these words: *Viz.* assuredly hee purposeth to bee a Villaine, though hee could be contented to liue in neutralitie, as he doth, if he could cary it cleanelly: Also at that time the Baron of Lixnaw (who was banished Kerry) was by him relieved in Desmond; but obserue well I beseech you this wavering and unsettled companion, who not knowing which way either to be a Subject or Rebell, not many dayes afterwards (as shall bee said) came to the President, with a smooth countenance full of Loyaltie, but inwardly the same man hee had ever beene.

Nothing was more common now in Mounster, then a bruite of the strangers from Connaght and Vlster, comming to invade the Province with two thousand men, and hereof the President received daily advertisement from the Earle of Thomond, the Lord *Barry*, Iustice *Comerford* and others; and to verifie the same, *Pierce Lacy* was come into the borders of Kilquig, and had preyed Glanogre, a Towne belonging to Sir *George Bouchier*, Master of the Ordnance, being a parcell of his Signiory, and then in farme to *Alexander Fitton*; this caused the President to assemble the greatest part of his Forces to Kilmallock, attending there to behold what should become of this Cloud which threatned such a dangerous Tempest, which at length vanished without any great disturbance; for

about the midst of this Moneth, they withdrew themselves into Ormond, within the Libertie of Tipperarie; the cause why they departed, before they had made any Bonfiers in Mounster (which was their arrand) as I haue since learned, was two fould. First because *Redmond Burke* could by no meanes bee drawn into the Province, being in expectation of great favour from the President, as appeareth by his Letters sent about this time, which because it is but short, and yet apparently declareth this truth; I thought not unfit here to bee recited in his owne words.

RIGHT Honourable, I would long ere this be a Subject, and will now shew my selfe worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, and my Fathers Lands seized into your Honours hands, till my Title bee tried; this Countrey of *Ely O Carrell* being in your Honours Province, is a parcell whereto I make claime, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first; and thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leaue this ninth of November, 1600.

Your Honours as you please,
Redmond Leitrim.

The President, to hold *Redmond* (as I conceiue) in some hope, that hee might not joyne with the Northerne Forces (then expected to come into Mounster,) returned him answer to this effect, That his Demaunds seemed to bee somewhat reasonable, and that hee was

very sorry, that it was not fully in his power to accomplish his request; Notwithstanding there was no doubt, but upon his Letters already dispatched to the Councell of England, and to the Lord Deputie in his behalfe, such order should bee taken, as hee should hold himselfe well satisfied; and surely whether the President dealt plainly, and *bona fide* with the said *Redmond*, or whether hee fed him with good words onely (like a Courtier) to serue his owne turne, (I know not;) but if I might deliver my poore opinion, I thinke him to haue received some hard measure, (I meane in respect of his Fathers Lands,) upon whomsoever the fault lyeth; but to returne.

This *Redmond* commaunding the greatest part of the Forces now assembled, depending this much upon the Presidents favour, (as by his Letter appeareth) could by no allurements of these Mounster Rebels, bee inticed to commit any outrage within that Province: An other cause why these Rebels thus assembled came no further up into Mounster, was, because the wandring Earle *Iames fits Thomas*, who should haue given them Bonnaght in the Province, knowing that *Lixnaw*, *Redmond Burke*, *Pierce Lacie*, and all of them were growen wearie of the Rebellion, and that the President had commerce with all those, durst not commit himselfe into their power, they being so strong, and hee so poore and weake, fearing lest they should haue delivered him, (being the marke the President chiefly aymed at) to worke their owne peace.

Dermond O Conner having now heard that the young Earle of Desmond (his Brother in law) was arrived in Mounster (according to the Presidents promise to him made, that he should come) was desirous that hee should repaire thither, with intent to doe some acceptable service for her Majestie; which being made known by the Lady *Margaret* his wife, the Lord President sent him a Safe-conduct for himselfe and his followers, and procured the like from Sir *Arthur Savage*, the chiefe Commissioner in Connaght, and also from the Earle of Clanrickard, to secure his passage through his Countrey, and for his better safetie, he sent an hundred Foot to guard him as soone as hee should enter into Thomond: Hee being now past Clanrickard, and comming to *Oshaffnesses* Countrey, within seventeene or eighteene miles of Limerick, *Theobald ne Long Burke*, who had a Company of an hundred Foot in her Majesties pay, (notwithstanding all his Safe-guards) assaulted him, who for his safetie, retired into an olde Church, burnt it over his head, and in comming foorth of the same, hee killed about fourtie of his men, and tooke him prisoner, and the morning following cut off his head: which being done, *Theobald* sent to the Earle of Clanrickard for a protection, pretending that what he did, was done in revenge of his Cousen the Lord *Burkes* death: But the Earle misliking the Action, in stead of a Protection, returned him this Letter insuing.

*A Letter from the Earle of Clanrickard, to Theobald
ne Long Burke.*

I DOE understand that you haue yesternight assaulted *Dermond O Conner* and his Company, which is both a very mighty impeachment of Her Majesties word, in respect the Gentleman had her gracious Protection and safe Conduct, from the Lord President of Mounster, and the Governour of this Province, for his safe passing, and a perpetuall slaunder and abuse unto me and my posteritie, considering the Gentleman was ceased in my Countrie, and had my word at my very good Lord, the Lord President of Mounsters request, and the Governour of this Provinces direction, which I little expected to bee by you resisted, but rather imagined your comming into the Countrie, to doe better service upon her Majesties enemies, which are daily threatning to come for us on all sides. But if in lieu thereof your service bee to murther a Gentleman that is drawen for good considerations tending the advancement of Her Majesties service, contemne her gracious protection which he hath, and offer the Lord President of Mounster, the Governour of this Province, and my selfe, the mightiest wrong and abuse that may be, I take it, such a course as I doe not doubt, your selfe and your house to bee thereby ever overthrowne, and everlastingly liue hopelesse of any favour or kindnesse of mee, except you take such apt and present conrse, as to send the Gentleman unto me

released, and all the rest of his people, as many as you haue in hand of them, with a full restitution of their goods; otherwayes thinke of me as the greatest Enemy you haue in this world, which with the permission of God, I will make you and yours feelee, if you urge me thereunto; and so expecting to see the Gentleman from you with expedition without hurt, I leaue Doiehoway the foure and twentieth of October, 1600.

Your very loving Kinseman if you will,
Vlick Clanrickard.

Whilest *Dermond* was in Rebellion, hee received no prejudice by *Theobald ne Long*; but now (being as hee knew) a man fast lincked to the State, and able to performe extraordinary service, he is treacherously murdered to the great dishonour of Her Majtstie, in violating Her word, solemnely and advisedly given: The Lord President was exceedingly incensed, against the Actors, Abettors and Procurers of this murder; writing his Letter both to the Lords of Her Majesties privie Councell in England, and also to the Lord Deputie, and Councell of Ireland, signifying how much Her Majesties honour was blemished and the Service hindred, by this malicious and hatefull murther; who considering of the fact, besides sharpe rebukes and reprehensions, the Lord Deputie was commanded presently to casheere and discharge him both of his Command and Entertainment.

CHAP. XVIII.

Sessions held at Limericke, Cassell, and Clonmell. The Lord President and the Earle of Ormond meete at Clonmell. Muskry, Quirk and Arlogh burnt and spoyled by she Armie. The submission of the Burkes and the Obryens, The narrow escape of Iames fits Thomas, and Dermond Mac Craghe, the Popes Bishop of Corke. In what good estate the Province of Mounster stood. Mac Awley preyed by Sir Francis Barkley. A Mariage practised betweene the Lady Ione Fitz Gerald and O Donnell, but prevented by the Lord President.

NOTWITHSTANDING, the retiring of these Rebels as you haue heard; yet the President thought it meete, to spend some time in those parts before his Armie should be reduced: In consideration whereof, finding it expedient for furtherance of her Majesties service, that Sessions of Gaole delivery should bee held (as often as conveniently they might) that the Course of civill Iustice might againe bee renewed, whereunto of late yeeres they had not beene accustomed; the eighteenth of November his Lordship left Kilmallock, and marched to Limerick, where hee kept Sessions, from thence to Cashell, and so to Clonmell, in both which places he did the like, doing exemplary iustice upon such Rebels, as had afore beene apprehended thereabouts. During the Sessions holden at Limerick (as aforesaid) the President sent a message to the Earle of Ormond, signifying unto him his purposed comming to Clonmell, wherein also hee besought his Lordship, that if it might stand with his leasure and good liking, it would please him to make a Iourney that way, to

the intent that upon their meeting, some conference might be had about divers particularities concerning the service. The Earle accorded both to time and place, which was at Clonmell: The sixe and twentieth of November, amongst other matters (there consulted betwixt them) the President moved the Earle about some present order to be taken, for the prosecution of those Rebels, that had (now for a good space) remayned without impeachment in the borders of Ormond in Typperarie; and for so much as his Lordship peradventure had not sufficient Forces to displant them, he offered his owne service, with such Companies as he had there assembled, being the greatest part of the Armie of Mounster: The Earle either unwilling to haue the President set foote within his Liberty, or else desirous himselfe to haue the sole honour of that service; did entreate the President to satisfie himselfe concerning that busines, for he would undertake it; and that within few dayes, to make them repent that ever they set foote within his Libertie; which I thinke had immediately beene performed, had not the immature death of his most vertuous and honorable Lady: (the lamentable tydings whereof were now brought him to Clonmell, oppressing his aged heart with immeasurable sorrow) caused the same for a time to be deferred.

This service therefore thus undertaken by the Earle; the President having received certaine information, that the Mounster Fugitiues were harbored in those parts, having before burned all the Houses and Corne,

and taken great preyes in *Owny Omulrian*, and *Kilquig*, a strong and fast Countrey, not farre from *Limerick*, diverted his Forces into *East Clanwilliam*, & *Muskry-quirke* where *Pierce Lacy* had lately beene succoured, and harrasing the Countrey, killed all mankind that were found therein, for a terrour to those as should giue Reliefe to runnagate Traitors; thence we came into *Arloghe Woods*, where wee did the like, not leaving behind us man, or beast, Corne or Cattle, except such as had beene conveied into Castles: The prosecution of this Service was committed to the care of Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, who had under his Command five hundred foote; whereupon the *Burkes* and *Briens* (that inhabited those places) came all upon their knees, beseeching to bee received into Her Majesties gracious Protection, and promising to doe service upon any Rebels that should hide themselves in those Woods; who putting in their pledges were received to mercy.

In this Iourney it chanced there was a youth taken Prisoner, who had lately before beene servant to the imagined Earle, who being brought to the President and examined, tooke upon him to bring our Forces to the place where his Master was: The Earle of *Thomond*, Sir *Geeorge Thornton*, and Captaine *Roger Harvy* with their Companies following the direction of this Guid, were conducted to *Lisbarry*, a parcell of *Drumfinnim* woods; no sooner were they entred into the Fastnesse, but presently the Sentinells which were placed in the skirt of the wood, raised the crie, which

as it should seeme, rowsed the counterfeit Earle of Desmond, and *Dermond Mac Craghe* the Popes Bishop of Corke, who were lodged there in a poore ragged Cabbin: *Desmond* fled away bare-foot, having no leasure to pull on his shooes, and was not discovered: but *Mac Craghe* was met by some of the Souldiers cloathed in a simple mantle, and torne trow-ses, like an aged Charle; and they neglecting so poore a creature not able to carry weapon, suffered him to passe unregarded: upon this end of the journey by the wise and painefull proceedings of the President, (Gods blessing alwayes accompanying the same) it came to passe, that there was not one Castle in Mounster held out against the Queene: Nay, which was more, it was not knowen that there were five Rebels in a companie throughout the Province, nor any one of note except these five (lost sheepe) the children of perdition, *Iames fits Thomas*, and his Brother, *Lixnaw*, *Pierce Lacie*, and the Knight of the Glinne, who lay lurking in desart, uncouth, and unknowen places; yet notwithstanding there were divers vagabonds and loose people dispersed in sundry corners, for whom no man would undertake, that lived by stealth and bad roagues, disquieting the good Subjects, being the reliques of the rebellion.

The President by his Letters dated the fifteenth signified unto the Lords of the Councell, that now the Province was so much over-awed by her Majesties Forces, that unlesse Northern Rebels came to infest it, or that the Spaniards did invade it, he was well

able to containe the Provincials in obedience; and although five hundred of his List was already cashier'd, he would at any time lend the Lo. Deputie. one thousand Foot to serve in Linster, but with this caution (for countenance sake) that they might bee evermore (in estimation) of the List of Mounster; which if the Reader doe well observe, he shall finde that the prosecution of the service in that Province, had successes beyond expectation: for in May last, when the President first tooke the field, the Rebels were no lesse then seven thousand strong, and now the Subjects Cattle day and night lay abroad in the fields, no Bodie of Rebels united, and not one castle in all the province that did withstand her Majestie: This was the worke of God, and unto him onely it must be attributed.

Her Majestie (as hath been said) did by her Letters to the President command, that one Companie of one hundred Foot should bee cashier'd for the sustentation of the young Earle of Desmond, and of others which were mentioned in that Letter: The Lords of the Councell likewise by their Letters bearing date the tenth of November, required the President to see the same performed; which being done accordingly (as was directed) the President by his Letters of the twentieth of this December, made an account how the partition was made; Now you must understand, that although one hundred Foot was discharged for the maintenance of the Earle, and the rest, yet her Majesties meaning was not that more should bee turned to that use, then the ready money which was payed to the Companie

yearely for their Lendings, for their apparell was saved unto her Majestie, the yearely lendings of one hundred men amounts unto no more then seven hundred eightie two pound, two shillings, and ten pence. The Archbishop of Cassell, who was a principale Agent in stirring up *Dermond O Conner* to make the attempt he did upon the titular Earle, had for his share, one hundred twentie one pound, thirteene shillings and three pence; *Iohn Power*, who was one of the Hostages, (as hath been related) had thirtie sixe pound ten shillings; the Lady *Ellis* sister to the Earle, had thirtie three pound, sixe shillings, eight pence, which was as much as her other sisters formerly had in pension from her Majestie: the Lady *Margaret*, the Earles sister also, and wife to *Dermond O Connor*, (in regard of her forwardnesse to haue done the Queene service) had an hundred pound, and the remainder, which was five hundred fortie pound, twelue shillings ten pence, was to the Earles owne use.

About the eighteenth of the same, Sir *Francis Barkley* finding good cause, and fitt opportunitie to plague *Mac Awley*, (and his Tenants, who under protection, relieved the heart-broken Rebels) with the Garrison which hee commanded at Askeiton, he harrassed all the Countrey of *Clanowlie*, and tooke from thence one thousand Cowes, two hundred Garrans, besides Sheepe and other spoyle, and had the killing of many Traitours, which harboured themselves in the bogs and woods thereof.

Whilest the President was holding Sessions at Limericke (as before) hee received notice, that *Mary ni Shye*, one that had been an old servant to the Countesse of Desmond, was in the Towne: but hee (suspecting her errand to haue been no other, but to see *James* the young Earle) seemed to take no knowledge thereof, to make triall whether the said Earle would acquaint him with such Letters, or Messages, as should bee brought from his mother: At the end of three dayes, the Earle related to the President, that such a woman was in Towne, whom he had seene that morning, and not before. The President answered, That her repayre to the Towne was knowen to him certaine days before, but desired to bee certified from him concerning the occasion of her comming; who replied, that her errand was to his Sisters, the Lady *Ioane*, and the Lady *Ellen*, and especially to the Lady *Ioane*, but himselfe had received neither Letter, Message, nor token by her. Whereupon the President suspecting some other cause of her comming, being so necessary a servant to the old Countesse, caused her to be brought before him and the Councell; and upon her examination it was found, that the especiall cause of her comming, was to convey away the said Lady *Ioane* to her mother, and from thence to *O Donnell*, who had promised to consummate a Marriage with her, and for the same purpose had himselfe written Letters to *O Conner Sligo*, her father in law (in being her mothers husband) to hasten her away. The Lady *Ioane*, upon her examination likewise confessed the

On this side lies the
City of Limrick

- A. Three round towers that beare Ordinance
- B. The new bulwark capable of 5. or 6 great pieces.
- C. The Storehouse.
- D. The Drawbridge.
- E. The Ditch.
- F. a Saly porte.
- G. parte of the Townewall
- H. The bridge over into Townend
- I. Does into the tower
- K. an ascent by Staires to the footpath on y^e wall.
- L. a Slope ascent to y^e platform on y^e bulwark.

THE CASTLE
AT LIMRICK

THE SHANON

Scale of yards



same, but denied to yeeld any consent thereunto, without the advise of her Brother, whom (as shee said) shee purposed shortly to haue acquainted with this businesse. The old craftie Countesse understanding that this complot was discovered, pretended, that her indeavours in seeking to effect this Marriage, tended to no other end, but to reduce *O Donnell* to be a Subject, although indeed there was nothing lesse meant: The President and Councell upon the discovery, (for preventing such further mischief as they foresaw might arise by this marriage) committed the Lady *Ioane* to an Aldermans House, and *Marie ny Shye* (the said Countesse servant) close prisoner in the Goale, till time and occasion should minister further opportunitie to deale in that affaire of so great importance.

CHAP. XIX.

The Major of Limerick fined and imprisoned, and a new Major elected. A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to James fits Thomas. The Sheriffes men slaine by Florence Mac Cartie. The Lord President perswadeth Florence to goe into England. Florence seemeth to like of the motion, and the use he made of it.

THE Countrey being now reduced to that outward obedience and conformitie (as you haue heard) the President and Councell returned unto Moyallo the thirteenth of December, where they had some leasure to looke in the Corporate Townes, whom they found to be principall ayders, abettors, and upholders of this unnaturall Rebellion, which proceeded partly out of malice to the State for matters of Religion, but principally for their owne benefit; for in these turbu-

lent times, the greatest part of the Queenes Treasure sent over into this Kingdome, is expended by the Captaines and Souldiers amongst them: Againe, they issue their Marchandise to the Rebells (underhand) at very excessiue rates, and buy the Countrey Commodities at their owne prizes; by reason whereof it was probably conjectured upon good grounds, that the Townes of Mounster were more inritch'd within these three yeares of Warre, then they were before almost in twentie yeares of peace. Another thing also at this time was noted in the Townes, namely, that all the chiefe Cities made choyse of professed Lawyers to be their Majors, Magistrates, and chiefe Officers, and such as before were Ring-leaders of their Corporations. These prepensed Elections, whether they were made for feare, lest they should bee called to account for their former faults, both in assisting the Rebells, and resisting the Souldiers, or to maintaine the Townes in obstinate superstition, which before was much augmented by these Instruments, or for some other hidden cause, knowen onely to themselues, I cannot certainly determine, but sure I am, it proceedeth not from any loyall or dutifull disposition. Amongst these lawlesse Lawyers thus elected, there was one *Geoffrey Gallway*, Major of Limerick, a man that had spent many yeares in England, in studying of the Common Lawes, and returning into Ireland about tbree yeares since, did so pervert that Citie by his malicious counsell, and perjurious example, that hee withdrew the Major, Aldermen, and generally the whole Citie from

comming to the Church, which before they sometimes frequented. Moreover, about a yeare since there happened an affray in Limricke betweene the Souldiers and some of the Towne, at what time this *Gallway* came to the then Major, advising him to dis-arme all the Souldiers, and told him, that all their liues were in the Majors hands, and at his mercy, whereby a gapp was most apparantly opened by him, to haue induced a wicked and barbarous massacre upon her Majesties Forces. With this man therefore did the President take occasion to enter into the Lists, upon a manifest contempt offered unto his Office and Government, as followeth: It came to passe, that a Souldier of the Earle of Thomonds Company, was imprisoned by the said Major, for a supposed Pettie Larceny of a Hatchet. The President (being upon his journey against the Rebels, that were now reported to haue invaded the Province) required to haue the said Souldier delivered unto him, that hee might receiue a present tryall, and punishment for his default, if hee were found guiltie, or else to repayre to his Colours, and to goe the journey. The Major before hee would deliver the Prisoner, desired that hee might conferre with his Brethren; This being graunted, hee returned answer, that it was not thought fit by the Corporation to release the prisoner, except his Lordshipp would make a Warrant, enjoyning and commaunding them so to doe. The President and Councell being assembled, a Warrant was framed, signed, and directed to the Major: but this Warrant was deemed insufficient,

and therefore desired to haue the same amended in certaine particulars, which without difficultie was yeelded unto, and a second and a third framed according to the Majors owne directions; and thus did hee dally untill hee saw the President ready to leaue the Towne, some part of the Armie being already upon their March, at which time the Major came to the President, and utterly rejected all those Warrants, affirming that the Authoritie given them by the Charter; did sufficiently exempt them from the Iurisdiction and Commaund of the President and Councell: The President much scorning to bee thus deluded and dallyed withall, told the Major, that hee would shortly find a time to call him to an account for his contempt offered, not against his Person, but against her Majestie and her Government established in the Province: Who being now returned from the Service, (as you haue heard) and abiding at Moyallo, directed his Warrant to the said *Gallway*, commaunding him upon his Alleageance, that hee should immediately appeare before him and the Councell at a day assigned at Moyallo, to answer unto such things as should bee objected against him on her Majesties behalfe; where making his appearance, hee was censured to liue as a prisoner in a Castle in the Countrey, and not to come into the Citie of Limricke, untill hee had payed a fine to her Majestie of foure hundred pound sterling, which was designed for the reparation of Her Majesties Castle there; which summe was imployed afterward to that use; and lastly, that a new Major should be placed in

his roome. The Townsemen presently sent an Agent (as their manner is) to make suite unto the Councell of England, seeking to abuse their Lordships with counterfeit humility and false suggestions, to get abatement either in whole or in part of this fine aforesaid; but therein they failed of their expectation, and having received a check for their proud contumacie against the President, they were commanded from the Court.

The one and twentieth of this Moneth of December, Sir *Richard Percy* sent sixty of his Garison at Kinsale into Kinalmekaghe, *Omaghons* Countrie, to get the prey of the same, whereunto he was encouraged by one who promised to guide them, so they should not misse of all the Cowes in the same; *Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie Florence* his Brother, and *Moylmo Omaghan* the chiefe of his Sept, having some intelligence of their comming, with three hundred Foote and some horse, assailed them, not doubting but to haue cut all their throats; for the space of two houres a good skirmish was maintained; but the Rebels not finding the Defendants to be Chikins, to be afraid at the sight of every cloud or kite, with some losse (of slaine and hurte men) soberly retreated: of the Garison of Kinsale onely two private men were hurt, yet they returned ill pleased for that they missed of the booty expected. About this time the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin wrote unto the lurking titular Earle of Desmond, the Copie whereof I do here verbatim relate, translated out of Latine.

*A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to
James fits Thomas.*

My most Honourable good Lord, having long desired a fit oportunitie to write unto you, the same is now offered by Mr. Iohn, whereof I am very glad, that by such a most sure and faithfull Messenger I might open my mind to your Lordship ; as also to shew that most certaine and undoubted hope of aide is shortly to come. I would most willingly haue come unto your Lordships presence, which lately I haue assayed, and doubtlesse would haue done, unlesse I had beene hindred by these Lords, which told mee that present and imminent dangers were to be feared in my Iourney, unlesse I had an Armie of souldiers to conduct me ; and now (but that there is a necessitie of my returning into Spaine) I would haue come to you in the company of Master Iohn ; But I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall returne unto you againe : In the meane time I haue pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to our Catholike Master, as any other whosoever, which now also in Spaine I will performe ; I would therefore intreate your excellencie, that you would be of a good courage together with all other of your faction ; and that you would fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and the libertie of your Countrey, knowing and firmly hoping, that the helpe of my Lord the Catholike King, is now comming, which when it cometh, all things shall bee prosperous,

and will place you in your former liberty and securitie, that ye may possesse your desired peace and tranquillity: The Almighty conserue your Lordship in safety long to continue. From Donegall the thirteenth of Ianuary, 1601.

The Province of Mounster standing now in these goood tearmes of Obedience and Conformitie (as you haue heard) the President thought good for the diminution of her Majesties charge to spare part of those Forces, which at first were allotted unto him for this service; and therefore besides these five hundred which were of late cashiered by direction from the Lord Deputie; he was contented to spare one thousand more to bee disposed for the warres of Linster, or other places neere adjoyning, conditionally that they might remaine upon the list of Mounster, as well to countenance his proceedings, as also that he might call them backe upon any occasion, if new broyles should bee raised; and so in effect reduced the Armie of that Province to fifteene hundred Foote and two hundred Horse.

You heare before, that the Earle of Ormond upon conference with the President, undertooke to driue *Redmond Burke*, and the other Rebels his associats out of his libertie of Ormond, within the liberty of Tipperary, which although he oftentimes assaied to effect, yet it sorted not to his desired end, untill the beginning of this Moneth of Ianuary, at which time he employed the Lord of Dunboyne, Sir *Walter But-*

ler his Nephew, and Captaine *Marberry*, with such forces as he had (of Her Majesties and the Countrey) to so good purpose, that besides fourty fighting men that were presently slaine, and amongst them *Thomas Burke*, brother to the said *Redmond*, and the Armes of thirtie more gotten, they forced *Redmond* and all his Company into the river of Nore, being at that time very high, and there drowned seventie of his men with their armes, besides divers Churles and all their baggage; certaine persons were also taken in this service; amongst whom was *Iohn Burke*, brother to the said *Redmond*, who was shortly after executed in Kilkenny, and *William Burke* an other of his brethren, grievously wounded. But to retorne to the Presidents actions, who desirous that the Countrey might grow acquainted with the civill government, whereunto of late it had been a stranger, thought it convenient, that the Sherifes being accessary officers for the State, should looke into the Countrey, as well to fine out such evil disposed Malefactors, and idle Vagabonds, as were pernicious to the government, as also to levie at reasonable rates, such provisions as the Countrey yieldeth, and the Garisons wanted: for this cause *Iohn Barry*, the Sheriffe of the County of Corke, made a Iourney unto some of *Florence Mac Cartie* his lands, who no sooner entered into his Countrie (as he termed it) but presently he was resisted; and before he could make his retreat, some of his men were murthered; the like measure was so offered to some of the Garison of Kerry, who

had no sooner set foote beyond the Mang, a River that parteth Kerry and Desmond ; but they were instantly assaulted by *Florence* his Followers, and two of his souldiers slaine

The President receiving Advertisement of these malicious and traytourly practises of *Florence* (still continued) was exceeding desirous (according unto directions sent him out of England) to get him into his hands, if it might bee effected, without putting the Queene to a further charge, which without some temporizing could not as yet conveniently be performed : For *Florence* finding himselfe to haue notoriously incurred severall breaches of his former protection, wrote divers Letters unto the President, in excuse of these facts, the same being stuffed (as his phrase was) with damnable oathes, and execrable blasphemies, that himselfe was never acquainted with the former slaughters, and that his people were strangely overseene therein, who mistaking the Souldiers for the Sheriffes men, and the Sheriffes men for Trators, committed those offences at unawares. Answere was remitted by the President, that the State was well perswaded of his loyaltie and innocencie, touching these disorders, and therefore requested him very earnestly to make his repaire unto him, that hee might by his presence and advice, the better finde out and punish those malefactors ; but by no meanes or wayes could he be drawen forth of his strong Countrey of Desmond, before hee had gotten his protection to be

renewed ; a plaine demonstration of his guiltie conscience.

Not long after, upon his repaire to the President, he mooved him to goe for England, laying before his Iudgement divers commodities that might thereby accrew unto him : First, he should prooue these suggestions to be untrue, which some of his Enemies had buzzed into the eares of the Councell of England. That hee was a vowed enemy to the English Government, and a devoted friend in his heart to the Spanish King. Secondly, that by his owne presence (with the Councell) he might get that Countrey of Desmond confirmed unto him, which hee now held rather by courtesie then by right, And lastly, that the Queenes Majestie might understand (out of his mouth) the present estate of that Province, to whose relation (as he verily thought) shee would giue attentive eare and credit : All this was urged, to the end, that the Province might be rid of so dangerous a member, who vvas most likely to breed nev v commotions : This Gentleman smelling the Presidents drift, pretended himselfe to bee most willing, and for that purpose would returne into Desmond, and when his necessaries were provided hee would speedily proceed in his Iourney for England Within certaine dayes after, he sent Messengers unto the President, signifying unto him, that the Countrey of Desmond was so poore and beggerly, as it could not possibly affoord him meanes for such necessaries as hee needed for his Iourney, and therefore

requested his Lordships Letters unto the chiefe Gentlemen of Carbery, that they would bee contributors unto him in a businesse that did so neerely concerne him: All this being graunted and effected, hee neither went forward, nor did he purpose at all to goe, as the sequell of his doings manifestly declared.

CHAP. XX.

The Lord President adviseth into England of the intended invasion of the Spaniards, Demaunds made by the Lord President for Money, Munition, Victuals. A Letter from Her Majestie to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to pardon all such as the Lord President should nominate, certaine persons excepted as uncapable of pardon. A certaine branch of the Lords of the Councils Lettرة to the Lord President.

THE President having (as is said) reduced Mounster to good tearmes of obedience, and had promised to lend the Lord Deputie at any time one thousand Foote for the service of Linster; yet he still insisted that they might remaine as part of the List of Mounster: and to that end; upon the thirteenth of Ianuary, hee wrote unto the Lords of the Councell in England: Also hee advertised their Lordships, that undoubtedly the Spaniards would invade Ireland; for testimonie whereof, he sent unto them many advertisements, which came unto him out of Spaine; and that many Romish Priests and Fryers, which are the forerunners of mischiefes in this Countrey, were lately come into Ireland, to no other end, then to withdraw the hearts of Her Majes-

ties naturall Subjects from her to the Spaniard. Also for prevention of future mischiefes, that hee might not bee unprovided (if the kingdome were invaded) although he should haue no more then fifteene hundred Foote left in the Province, when he had sent the one thousand promised to the Lord Deputie, yet he humbly desired the Lords, that they would bee pleased (untill Michaelmas next following) to continue the victuals to bee sent for Mounster, as formerly was accustomed, that is for three thousand two hundred and fiftie, and for the same reason of innovation, he besought them to send unto him five Lasts of powder with match and lead, two thousand shovels and spades, five hundred pickaxes, and fiftie Crowes of Iron; and lastly that they would be pleased, to send a competent summe of money for the souldiers to liue upon; for untill the expectation of the comming of Spaniards were past, hee would preserue his victuals untoucht.

I formerly recounted unto you, that the President by his Letters of the Second of November, humbly besought their Lordships, that a generall pardon might be granted for the reasons then alleged, which (as it seemeth, had good acceptance in England, as by Her Majesties Letter to the Lord Deputie, dated the one and twentieth of December may appeare, which came to the Presidents hands the nineteenth of Ianuary; the true Copie of which Letter is here inserted. And also for the Lord Deputies farther discharge, a draught of a Warrant to bee passed under the Great Seale of Ireland, was sent unto him by Her Majestie.

A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord
Deputie of Ireland.

ELIZABETH R.

Right Trustie and Welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Wee understand by such advertisements as wee haue received from Our President of Our Province of Mounster, that it will bee very expedient for the reducing of Our Subjects, dwelling in that Our Province to a settled obedience, to graunt unto them our generall and gracious Pardon, thereby to remooue from them all suspition of impeachment for their former offences, whereunto the greatest part of them haue beene violently carried, rather by the power of the arch-traytours, then by any wilfull defection in their loyaltie; Wee being therefore in Our princely Clemencie, graciously pleased, to accept the humble submission of such our Subjects within that Province, as haue not out of their desperate and disloyall hearts entred into this horrible action of Rebellion against Us, doe thinke meet, and hereby doe will and authorise you, that from time to time, you cause such generall and particular pardons to be passed in due forme of Law, under our great Seale of that our Realme, to all and everie the Inhabitants of that province, of what condition or estate soever they bee, either by ample words of our generall Pardon, (as

wee understand hath beene graunted to some Counties in Connaght, upon like occasions) or by particular Names of peculiar persons, as by Our said President and Councill, or two of them with the President shall bee desired of you, excepting out of every pardon such persons, and inserting such Conditions, and Limitations for our service, as by our said President, and two of our Councill shall be thought requisite. And to the ende, our people wasted with the miserie of these warres, may not bee pardoned with expences in the obtaining their pardons, or putting in Securitie for our peace, in Causes where it may be needful: Our gracious pleasure is, That the Fees of our Seale, and all other Officers Fees in these cases of our affayres, shall be either wholly remitted, or so modératèd by you and our Councell there, that our Subjects may haue cause the more dutifully and gladly to imbrace our princely Clemency, and Bountie in this our gracious and free Pardon: Neverthelesse such is Our detestation of the Treasons, and horrible Murders committed in this Rebellion, that for a perputuall memorie in every such pardon, either generall or speciall, there shall bee an expresse exception, that the same extend not to pardon Iames Fits Thomas, usurping the Title of Earle of Desmond, Iohn his brother, Pierce Lacie, the knight of the Valley, nor Thomas Fits Maurice, sonne to the late Barron of Lixnaw, who are knowen to haue beene the ringleaders to many monstrous and unnatural outrages: Neither shall our pardon bee available to

any of the servants and followers of the persons so excepted, unlesse those servants and followers shall fully and absolutely submit themselves to our President and Councell of that Province, or to some of them to bee bound with Sureties for their future Loyaltie within twentie dayes after publique proclamation made of this Our gracious Pardon. And for the the doing heereof, these Our Letters shall bee your sufficient Warrant and discharge. Given vnder Our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster this one and twentieth of December, one thousand sixe hundred, in the three and fourtieth yeare of Our Reigne.

And at that time he received a Letter from the Lords of the Councell, agreeing in substance with that of her Majesties, to the Lord Deputie: Wherefore I hold it needlesse to set it downe at large onely I will recite the first, part of it whereby it is manifested how agreeable the Presidents proceeding was as well to her Majesties liking, as to their Lordships.

*A Branch of the Lords of the Councils Letters
to the Lord President.*

After our very heartie Commendations to your Lordship. We haue received your Letters, bearing date the second of November whereby you haue made us an orderly relation of the state of that Province, whereof wee haue informed her Majestie, who

hath commaunded us to giue you notice of her most gracious acceptation of your Endeavors, in the whole course of your proceedings, as that which hath prooved greatly to her Honour, and the advancement of her Service; wherein as wee haue beene alwayes ready to perform the best offices, in respect of your discreet proceedings towards us in all things: so it doth not a little content us, (for the loue wee beare you) to bee messengers of her Majesties favour towards you, then which wee know you can receiue no greater comfort, &c. From the court at Whitehall the foureteenth of December, 1600

CHAPTER XXI.

Victuals and money arrived at Corke. One thousand Foote and fiftie Horse to bee sent out of Mounster to the Lord Deputy. A Letter from the Lord President to the Lord Deputie. The Companies sent for by the Lord Deputie, and staid by his directions. The effect of the Lords of the Councels Letters to the Lord President, with an Abstract of his Letter to the Lords of the Councell.

The five and twentieth the President advertised the Lords, that there was arrived out of England, at Corke, a proportion of victuals, and money, and in the same dispatch, he humbly besought their Lordships (for that the Province was in a manner by the long warre thoroughly wasted, and that the Horse having nothing but grasse to sustaine them, grew weake and unserviceable.) That they would be

pleased to send (with the best expedition) foure hundred quarters of Oates, which should bee defalked upon the Horsemens entertainments.

Vpon the thirtieth, the President received Letters from the Lord Deputie, praying him to send for the service of Linster one thousand Foote, whereof the companies of Sir *Iohn Barkley*, and Sir *Garret Harvies* to bee part, and with them Sir *Richard Greames* troope of Horse: According to this direction, he assembled them at Clonmell, and gaue the Command of them unto the Lord *Awdley*; and as they were ready to march, hee received advertisement from the Earle of Thomond, that a body of more than three thousand men of Vlster and Connaght, were presently to enter into the Province; whereupon hee wrote unto the Lord Duputie this ensuing Letter, making stay of the Lord *Awdley* untill he should receiue answer thereof.

A Letter from the Lord President to the Lord Deputie.

IT may please your Lordship, I am so infinitely distracted betweene the earnest desire I haue to satisfie your Lordships commandements, and the present dangers which I see hangs over this Province; if I should obserue, as that I stand amazed, what Councell to take, being in my selfe wholly addicted to obedience, and by necessitie (in a manner) enforced to pause upon the same, untill I may receiue your Lordships

answer to these, and then without farther protraction I will bee ready accordingly to obserue your commandements; wherein I humbly pray your Lordship deliberately to advise, being (as I take it) especially materiall for the furtherance of Her Majesties service. The next day after, I received your Lordships Letter of the seven and twentieth of Ianuary (being the thirtieth of the same) for the better expediting of your directions, I addressed severall warrants unto the Captaines residing neerest unto me, commanding every of them, to meete at the townes of Clonmell and Fetherd, by the sixth of this Moneth, there to receiue such further directions, as the Lord *Awdley* (who I haue appointed to command them) should direct. The List consists of one thousand and fiftie Foote, and Sir *Richard Greams* Horse, Sir *Garret Harvie*, lyes so farre remote in Kerry, as I could not conveniently in so short a time, draw them to the rest: Wherefore, for that particular I humbly pray to be excused: and for Sir *Iohn Burklies* Company (who are part of the List aboue-said) I haue directed them by warrant according to your Lordships former pleasure signified unto me, before the receipt of your Lordships last letters to repaire into Connaght, but haue now countermanded them, and doe hope they are not yet past. Thus your Lordship may see my willingnesse to obey your directions, which I did as gladly and affectionately as your Lordship can desire. But since having this day received these enclosed Letters from the Earle of Thomond and Master *Comerford*; I doe make humbly bold to present the consideration

of them unto your Lordships wisdom, before I doe thoroughly accomplish your commandements, wherein my hope is, that your Lordship will both giue me thanks, and hold me excused; because the publike service doth violently urge me unto it. In my judgement I am perswaded that this intelligence is true, drawne thereunto by many and sundry the like advertisements, from all parts and persons, lately reconciled, whereof, I could send your Lordship bundels of papers of divers mens relations, and now confirmed in the same by these inclosed Letters, which as your Lordship sees, threatens the present disturbance of this Province, not yet well settled. Yet neverthelesse, that it may appeare unto your Lordship, that I am not backward to accomplish any thing which your Lordship shall require: I do yet continue (though not without some hazard to this Province if these Northern Forces should presently invade us) to send the Companies (aforesaid) to the Rendezvous before mentioned, with directions to remaine there until your Lordship shall returne me your pleasure in answer of these, and then what you shall prescribe unto me, I will dutifully and carefully effect, assuring my selfe that your Lordship will haue such a speciall regard to the State of this Province, as that you will not withdraw them, but upon certaine knowledge of the untruth of these intelligence. But as a Councillor to speake my opinion) if your Lordship can other wayes follow the prosecution in Linster, without calling Forces

from hence, it were very expedient to forbear the same, untill this Cloud be overpast, which cannot long hold in suspence; for all the danger is betweene this and the end of next Moneth, after which time untill the Cattle be strong, and giue milke, there is little doubt: All which humbly referring to your Lordships better consideration, I rest. Moyallo the second of February 1600. G. C.

Not many days after, the Lord Deputie by his Letters so well approoved of the reasons why the President stayed the Lord *Audley*, as hee thanked him for it, and willed him to make head against the Rebels descent, and hereafter when they might be better spared, then he prayed him to send them unto him.

The effect of the Lords of the Councells Letters to the Lord President.

In *Anuary* 28, the Lord President received Letters of great comfort from the Lords in England, saying, That they were exceeding glad, to see that in so short a time hee had reduced the Province to such tearmes, as that he could indure the cashiering of five hundred Foot, and spare the Lord Deputie one thousand more of his List, which was an evident demonstration of his Labours well spent in the Service; and that his holding of Assises and Sessions, so long dis-used, was a manifest signe of a new life in the Province, That

they had written to the Lord Deputie, to call *Theobald ne long Burke* in question for the murdering of *Dermond O'Conner*, and had required him to see it punished; That notwithstanding her Majesties pleasure was signified unto him, that *Iames Fits Thomas*, his brother *Iohn*, the Baron of *Lixnaw*, the Knight of the Valley, and *Pierce Lacie*, should not be received to mercy upon any condition, but to be left (as children of perdition) unto destruction, yet considering how long Rebels may continue (by underhand friendships) in Ireland, shee was pleased, that the Lord President should haue power (if he saw cause to induce him thereunto) to accept of the last three, but with this caution, That they should be pardoned for life onely, and not untill they had performed some signall services which might merit such gracious favour. Lastly, they admonished the President to carrie a strict hand upon the Commissaries of the Musters; for by Certificate from Dublin, they understood that they were very slacke in their duties.

The President knowing that it was a matter of no lesse moment, to retaine and keepe the Provincials in subjection and good order then it was at first to reduce them hereunto, imployed now a great part of his time, in devising such courses as might secure them from a future revolt, and therefore first resumed into his own hands all power of protecting, and then protested never to renew any protections (already granted) whereby they were constrained to use all

celerity and haste in obtaining their Pardons. In so much, that within lesse then two Moneths, (namely before the end of February) the President had recommended above foure thousand by name unto the Lord Deputie for Pardons, who had all put in such pledges or other Caution, as by the State of the Province, was thought convenient, which indeed was such and so warily taken, as no Governour in former times had ever done the like: All which notwithstanding, the President could not satisfie himselfe in the safetie of the one, and so consequently in the securitie of the other, so long as their pledges were remayning in the Cities of Corke, and Limerick, the places of their custodie not being of sufficient strength, the Keepers many times negligent or corrupt in their charge; and the Citizens so partiall, as they had rather helpe to convey them into the Countrey, than to retaine them within the Citie: for prevention whereof, the President became an humble Suitor to the Lords of the Councell in England, that they would be pleased to giue commandement, that the pledges of greatest moment might (by an order from them) bee commanded to the Castle of Dublin, which should not be any thing chargeable to her Majestie, and yet very profitable for the State: As also that they would be pleased to giue commandement to all such Vndertakers, as hold land within the Province, that they should make their immediate repaire unto their Signiories, that thereby the Countrey might bee the better furnished with English upon any occasion: As also that Her

Majestie might from them receiue their rents in some part, of that immeasurable treasure which was expended in these Warres.

And lastly being fully assured of a Spanish Invasion, in all his dispatches for England: He evermore put the Lords in mind of it, sending unto them the intelligences hee had, and, for that he would not be taken unprovided, hee continually in all his Letters besought supplies of Victuals and Munition. And for that in his last dispatch, he had intreated a large proportion of Victuals; now in this of the sixth of March hee forbare the same, requesting onely five Lasts of powder, and foure hundred quarters of Oates.

The young Earle of Desmond, having beene tenderly brought up in England, and not well agreeing with the manner and customes of Ireland, and also seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes, supposing that al his Fathers Followers would haue relied upon him, and obeyed his directions; whereof finding little or no appearance, desired the Lord President to giue him leaue to goe into England, whereunto (for the reasons aforementioned) the President easily assented; for in all the time of his being in Ireland no one Rebelle did for his sake submit himselfe to Her Majestie, *Thomas Oge* of Kerry onely excepted, who at his request submitted himselfe and rendered Castle-mange (whereof he was Constable) by *James fits Thomas* his assignement into Her Majesties hands, as formerly hath beene declared. But it may be truely

supposed, that wit and necessitie did perswade him to submit, and render the Castle as he did; for Sir *Charles Wilmot* had so blockt him up with Garisons, as at that present he was in feare of starving; and if he had not taken the opportunity offered upon the Earles motion, he was in danger to haue lost both his life and it. This I write not to upbraid the Earle, or to lessen him in any thing; for I must confesse, he was too good to liue amongst such traitorly Followers, and no man liuing had a more willing desire to serue Her Majestie then himselfe; but the truth is, that this was all the service which hee did or could doe during his abroad in Mounster, from whence he embarked the two and twentieth of March, and landed at Miniade in Somerset-shire, and so to the Court of England; where after a few Moneths he died. The Letters Pattents which Her Majestie had granted for his restoration, the President never delivered unto him, where in my opinion he did discreetly, and according to his directions, for they were sent unto him by Her Majestie (with caution) not to deliver them, except he saw sufficient cause so to doe, and that his services (or services done for his sake) should merit the same, of both which there was but weake and slender performance.

In this first Booke the Reader may behold in what a confused estate the Province of Mounster was in, when the L. President entred into his government; in the first yeare whereof these memorable accidents

hapned : the unfortunate death of Sir *Warham St Ledger*, the departure of *Tyrone* out of Mounster; The taking of the Earle of *Ormond* by the rebels; The defeat of *Florence Mac Cartie*; the losse and recovery of Cahir castle; the submission of the White Knight; the recovery of the Iland and castle of Lough-gier; the bold attempt of *Nugent*, and the effects which followed thereof, the burning and spoiling of West Clanwilliam, & *Omulrians* countrey; the taking and escape of *James fits Thomas*, the titular Earle of Desmond; the siege and winning of the Glinn; the freeing of the Province of 2500 Bownoghs; *Odonnels* harrasing of Thomond; the encounter betwixt Captaine *Roger Harvy* and the White Knights sonne; the planting of garrisons in Kerry; the perpetuall juglings of *Flo. Mac Cartie*; the taking of the Castle of Listoell in Kerry; the defeat (by the garrison of Kilmallock) given to the Sugean Earle; the poore and distressed estate he was driven unto; the submission of *Dermond Mac Owen*, L. of Dowalla, and sundry others; the comming into Mounster of the young Earle of Desmond; the submission of *Flor. Mac Cartie*; the rendring of Castle Mange; the murdering of *Dermond O Conner*; the burning and spoyling of East Clanwilliam, and Arlogh; the quiet setling of the Province, and the restoring the civill government: Whosoever with indifferencie will consider, how much was done in such short time, must acknowledge it to bee beyond expectation, and say that God fought for vs, and directed our Counsels, other-

wise it was not to bee hoped for: And had not the
comming of the Spaniards, given new inter-
ruptions, the worke of Mounster had
beene throughly finished: The Pro-
vince fully reduced to a settled
peace, and in all likeli-
hood so to haue
continued.

The end of the first Booke.

PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE

SECOND BOOKE

OF THE

WARRES IN IRELAND,

Whereby that Countrey was reduced to

Subjection and Obedience

CHAP. I.

Connaght and Vlster men drawen to a head to invade Mounster. A Regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaght to assist Sir John Barkley. Walter Burke and Tegg O Bryen slaine. The Lord President with the remainder of the Army come to Limrick. The rising out of the Countrey commanded by the Lo. Barry drawne neere to Limericke. The Rebels distressed for want of victualls, and defeated. Donogh Mac Cormocke Cartie slaine. Redmond Burkes letter to the Lo. President, with the Lord Presidents answer.

THE prosperous Successes of last yeere, did promise faire hopes, that the malice of the Warre was spent, and that the Province would within short time bee reduced to a settled conformitie: but the malicious practises of the Irish Papists, had so farre intraged the Pope and the King of Spaine, against our Sovereigne Mistresse, and her good Subjects, the Professors of the

true Religion, (whom the Romanists falsely tearme Heretiques) as in this yeare of 1601, the Province of Mounster was not onely set in a raging flame, but the whole Kingdome was indangered to bee torne from the Crowne of England: But God in his great mercie fought for his servants, and made this intended mischiefe to bee the breacke-necke of the Rebellion throughout the Kingdome, and consequently, the peace and tranquillitie, which by the goodnesse of God wee enjoy.

About the latter end of March, 1601, Intelligences were brought to the Lord President, and Letters intercepted, whereby it probably appeared, that Forces from Vlster and Connaght, were in preparing, (by the way of Thomond) to passe into Mounster, under the conduct of *Redmond Burke*, Captaine *Hugh Mostian*, and *Con Oneale*, (*Tyrones* base sonne) with about two thousand men, (besides Mounsters fugitiues) to releue the lurking Earle; but although the circumstances of that Relation prooved to bee untrue, both in the Leaders and number of men, yet that smoake did arise from some fire: for presently heereupon *Redmond Burke*, and *Hugh Mostian*, with eight hundred Connaght men, and *Teg Orwrk*, *Iohn fits Thomas*, *Donogh Mac Cormocke*, and *Pierce Lacie*, with seven hundred of the North came through Connaght; Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Governour in the absence of Sir *Arthur Savage*, being constrained to giue way to their greater force: Likewise the Barron of Lixnaw, and

Teg Kewgh Mac Maghon, were busie in providing Gallies to come by Sea, and the *Omaylies*, and *O Flagherties* had a purpose with sixe hundred men, (which they had already furnished) to invade Kerry. The President having received certaine intelligence of all those preparations, principally set on foot to disturbe his Government, first dispatched away one thousand Foot, under the command of Captaine *George Flower*, Sergeant Major of that Province, with direction to march forward in all haste into Connaght, to joyne with *Sir Iohn Barkley*, that they might doe some good service upon the Rebels at their passage over the Shenan, which of necessitie they must hazzard before they could come into Mounster.

The nine and twentieth of March, Captaine *Flower* rose out of Limerick, and that night lodged at Quyn in Thomond, had notice that the enemy had aduanced into Thomond, to spoyle the same, having the assistance of *Teg*, Sonne and Heire to *Sir Tirloghe Obrien*, who went into action not aboue three dayes before: The Sergeant Major discovering their Forces, came up close unto them; and when hee began to fight, they began to runne, whom notwithstanding he so well pursued (with my Lord of Thomonds Company) that they slew and hurt divers of them; and amongst the rest, *Walter Burke*, Sonne to the Blind Abbot was slaine, and *Teg Obrien* (now mentioned) received a mortall wound, whereof (within three dayes after) he died; besides these Forces by land, the President also made

certaine provisions by Sea, for preventing *Fits-Maurice* with his *Omaylies* and *Oflagherties* from coming into Kerry; upon which occasion there was a tall Merchant (lately come with provent apparell for the Armie, into the river of Limerick) together with certaine small boats, well victualled and manned, commanded to attend, about the month of Shenan, to doe service upon such Rebels as should appeare upon that Coast; all which being notified in the Countrey, the Enemy finding his purpose frustrate of transporting his Armie into Kerry that way, they retyred themselves into a strong Fastnesse in Tough-kinalehin, betwixt Clanrickard and Thomond; Her Majesties forces lodging so neere them as possible they might, The President also himselfe with all the rest of his forces except the Garrisons of Kerry) followed as farre as Limerick, aswell to giue countenance to the other Companies (that attended the Rebels) as also to bee ready (upon the first allarum) to intercept or interrupt them; if by any devise or chance they might escape the forces in Connaght, and because the Enemy should bee desperate of any helpe, and assured of strong resistance in the Province, the President tooke order that all the Chiefes of everey Countrey, should assemble themselves at Galbally in the County of Limerick, and to bring with them the best forces they could make of Horse and Foote, together with victuals for ten dayes, to attend such directions as they should bee commanded by the Lord *Barry*, who was appointed Generall of the Provincials. What service

they would haue done (if occasion had been offered) I know not; But sure I am, although they did somewhat exceede the time limited, before they were assembled, yet at last there was gathered thirteene hundred Foote, and one hundred and twenty Horse of the County of Corke only, with great alacrity as seemed of doing some acceptable service. In the meane time Sir *Iohn Barkley* layeth so hardly to the Rebels, still keeping within their fastnesse, that they could not possibly get any prey of the Countrey, but were constrained from the thirtieth of March to the thirteenth of Aprill to feede upon garrans flesh, and such unsavory meate: Afterwards being halfe starved, and altogether past hope of *O Donnels* coming to their reliefe with more forces, they stole away in the night, and drew into *Omaddins* Countrey; our men perceiving their rising pursued them and held them fighting all night, and in the morning found that wee had slaine many of them; yet by break of the day, they had recovered another strong Fastnesse, wherein Sir *Iohn Barkley* (though often assaying) could not annoy them: after two dayes being distressed with like want as before, they were inforced to dislodge againe in the night, our forces pursued them at the heeles, and coming close up unto them, put them to the route, and forced them over the *Sucke*, a deepe River, wherein they lost two hundred men, with the most part of their munition and baggage. In this service there was lost and hurt of our men one and twentie, but not

any of note, except *Nevile*, Sir *Gerrard Harry* his Lieuetenant onely: The Rebels were so terrified in this prosecution, that such as escaped the River sought not to vnite themselues againe: *Teg Orwrke* retired into his Countrey, *Redmond Burke* went to *O Donnell*, *Iohn fits Thomas*, to *Tyrone*, and the meaner sort dispersed into sundry places, and *Hughe Mostian* with his Company rested himselfe in *O Conner Roes* Countrey: In one of the aforesaid skirmishes in *Oshafnes* Countrey, upon the seven and twentieth of March, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* (afore mentioned) was slaine, being lately enlarged by *Tyrone*, to set a fire in Mounster. These affaires thus accomplished with good successe, although not fully so good as was both promised and expected; Captaine *Flower* with his Regiment, returned the one and twentieth of Aprill to Limerick.

Ever since the Presidents first coming into Mounster, there had beene (as formerly you may obserue) secret trafficke held betweene the Lord President and *Redmond Burke*, the pretended Baron of Letrim: *Burkes* ends was to haue the President to assist him for the recovering of his Fathers lands, against his Vncle the Earle of Clanrickard, and the President held him on with good words, and messages for two respects; the one for keeping him from joyning with the rest of the bownoghs in Mounster, the other to procure him (if he might possibly worke him unto it) to doe some signall service upon the Rebels: *Redmond* still pursuing his desires, (when Captaine *Flower* was

in Connaght with the Mounster forces as aforesaid) writes this Letter here inserted to the President, and the answer unto it was as followeth.

Redmond Burkes Letter to the Lo. President.

HONOURABLE Lord, having heretofore complained to your Lordship of the inestimable wrongs that are offered mee, which seeing your Honour cannot redresse heere, I would request your Honour, (in respect that I specially meane not to disturbe any place under your Lordships, or the Earle of Thomonds Iurisdiction) not to be a meanes to stop me from demaunding my right, or pursuing it in this sort, seeing by right or Law the state pleaseth not to satisfie mee; and assure your Honour, if your selfe had any power to minister Equitie betwixt her Majesties Subjects, the fame of the honourable worth and equitie your Lordship doth carry, would not only alien me to loath this kind of life, but also very many unspecified others. And thus requesting your Lordship to draw your Forces for the defence of your Lordships Charge, which otherwise might suddenly revolt, if they had any ayd by Sea or Land, as very many they expect; which if your Lordship wrong me not, I will stop to my best endeavour, I betake your Honour to God. From the Campe, the twelfth of Aprill, 1601.

Your Honours loving Friend,

Redmond Leitrim.

The Lord Presidents Answer.

I Haue received your Letter on the twelfth of this instant, and am glad to finde by the same, that the life you now leade is odiousun to you; I doe wish, that the feeling of your dutie may increase in that manner in you, as that you would make your-selfe capable of the Queenes mercie, which is farre more infinite then your transgression hitherto hath been; Of which Royall disposition of hers, the examples (of the offenders in this Kingdome) are plentiful and apparent. The pretence you make in your continuance in action, is the wrongs done unto you, by your Vncle, and to enable him farther to suppress you utterly; you adde heere to that Arch-Traytor *Tyrone*, and forsake your duetie to your Soveraigne, refusing her Lawes, (by the which you may bee righted) with opinion to be repossessed by the strength of his sword: your Youth may somewhat excuse your error, but beleeeue mee, you shall neither bee Barron of Letrim, or possesse your Fathers Inheritance by the ayde of that perfidious Traytour, which I know hath not the power any long time to support this Rebellion; and if he had, yet your selfe and all the English race of Ireland birth, is as odious unto him, as now we are, that are naturall English: If his power were able to make him Monarch of Ireland, the *Burkes*, with all of English descent, must looke for no other then assured extirpation: I am sure you are of discretion sufficient to conceiue as much as I

write, wherefore I need insist no longer upon the same: To be short, if you will follow the way which I doe by this Messenger prescribe you, you may make your self capable of the Queenes mercie, and find both meanes and friends to obtaine Iustice: The request you make unto me to forbear sending of Forces to annoy you, and in so doing that you will spare Mounster, and keepe others from harming the Province: If I were but an ordinary Subject, and not an Officer to the Queene, I neither might, or would make any such contract with you, and therefore much lesse may I hearken to any such motion, being an Officer of that qualitie as I am; and doe marvell that you would require mee to juggle with my Prince, whom I wish that you did serue with the like faith and dutie as I doe. I doe wish that your estate were such, that I might shew you friendship. If you persevere in rebellion, I hold you lost, and in a condition with them who haue made themselues unreconcilable. What I leaue unwritten, I referre to this Bearer, Limerick this fourteenth of Aprill, 1601.

*Your loving Friend when you
are an obedient Subject,*

G. C.

This Answer of the Presidents could not be very pleasing to *Redmond*, for it plainly manifested, that his purpose was not to doe him any courtesies, until^l hee had done somewhat that might deserue his friend-

ship, and Her Majesties grace : Neverthelesse it seems that there was some hopes for him to feede upon, in the messages sent, which he did not write, or else *Burke* could not haue beene contained from harming of Mounster as hitherto hee was. To conclude, he fed him with faire language and threats ; and sure I am that the President made his advantage by it.

CAHP. II.

Intelligence of Spanish Invasion. The escape of Teg O Brien brother to the Earle of Thomond, Florence his préparations for munition and men. A Letter from Tyrone to Florence. A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President, The report of Dermond Mac Awley touching the coming of Vlster men into Mounster.

I Must desire the Reader to excuse me, if I doe a little breake the rule of the progresse of this Storie, in lookig backe some few dayes, for that which proceedeth of the accidents of Captaine *Flowers* Service in Connaght, did so necessarily depend one after the other, as that I was inforced to continue that Relation untill this returne to Limericke, which made mee forbear to speake of Sir *Henry Dockwray*, who upon the seventh of this instant Aprill, wrote to the Lord Deputie, (as his Lordship advertised the President) that *Hugh Boy*, (who was a man of good estimation, and very in ward with *O Donnell*) assured him that the Spaniards would this yeare invade Ireland with sixe thousand men, and would land in

some part of Mounster, and that three of the chiefe Townes (which must bee Corke, Limerick and Waterford, for they were the chiefest) had promised to receiue them, and that *Florence Mac Cartie* (by the necessitie of the time onely) had submitted himselfe to the President, but upon the Spaniards landing he would assuredly come unto them, with all the force hee could make.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, the President leaving at Limerick, and neere unto it, twelue hundred Foote and fifty Horse for the Guard of those borders, returned towards Corke; and the seven and twentieth, the next day following hee heard that *Teg Obrien*, brother to the Earle of Thomond, having beene a long time Prisoner in Limerick, (by the corruption of his Keeper) made an escape; Immediatly hee wrote unto the President protesting his loyaltie to Her Majestie, professing to doe service, such as should merit favour. Humbly besought him (not desiring any protection) that hee might remaine with his Lordship: The President granted his request, and withall sent him a Protection, which in another Letter unto *Richard Boyle* the Clarke of the Councell hee besought. The reason which moved the President, to grant his request, was the absence of the Earle of Thomond, then in England, that during the same, the County of Clare might bee freed from bonfires, but now for a time we must leaue the President in Cork, & returne to *Florence Mac Carty*.

You heard before that *Florence* had a cutting (as they call it) upon Carberry, towards his charges in the pretended journey for England, but employed all the same, and whatsoever more hee could procure, to another end; for about this time he provided a Barke, which hee fraught with Hides, Tallow, and such commodities, committing the care and trust thereof to some of Kinsale, by whom the same merchandize should bee transported beyond the Seas, and in lieu thereof, munition, and abilliments of warre should be returned, and delivered unto him in the Harbour of Valentia: Moreover, about the same time, hee did earnestly solicit aide from the neighbour Provinces, to resist Her Majesties forces; and for the same purpose wrote a Letter in Irish (which was read by *James Welsh*, by whose relation I received this light) unto one in Ormond called *Cahir Mac Shane Glasse Omulrian*, desiring that he would leavy for him sixe hundred Foote in Linster, which if hee could not, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to come with so many to his aide, and if hee failed likewise herein, to deale with Captaine *Terrell* to the same effect, and hee would pay them upon the Countrey of Desmond: Lastly, *Donoghe Mac Cormuck* called *Mac Donoghe* (his Agent with *Tyrone*) laboured so much at his hands, and that so earnestly, as he procured a Letter from *Tyrone*; the Contents whereof were as followeth: And thus translated out of the Irish.

A Letter from Tyrone to Florence Mac Carthy.

OVr commendations to you *Mac Carthy More*, I send shortly unto you according to our trust of you, that you will doe a stout and hopefull thing against the pagan beast, and thereupon our Armie is to goe into Mounster, and with the will of God, we consent unto you, and will that you beleeeue not any word from us for ever, before wee write againe unto you; for you shall see trouble enough in England, by English men it selfe, so as there shall be easinesse of suffering their warres, at May next, in respect of that it is now: And since this cause of Mounster was left to you (next under God) let no weakness or imbecillitie bee found in you, and the time of helpe is neere you, and all the rest. From Dongannon the sixth of February, 1601.
Stilo Novo. *Oneale*

The Armie mentioned in this Letter, was the same which now you heard of, taking their journey by the way of Connaght, which as may appeare both by the examination of *Iames Welsh*, and the Contents of those Letters, were solicited and sent principally by the meanes, promises, and procurement of *Florence*, he being then and before under protection, the breach whereof hee nothing esteemed: But surceasing farther to rake in the filthy Channels of his malicious practises, like maladies immedicable, lest it should be loathsome to the Reader, I will leade him abroad

into the open Aire, to behold the hunting, rousi and fall of a great Stag, which was after sent into England to her Majestie, and by her received as a most acceptable Present, although it was not Gods will, that shee should live to reward the chiefe Ranger.

About the middest of May, the Lord President received a Letter from the Lords of the Councell in England, which bare date the eight and twentieth of Aprill, which for the Readers better vnderstanding, how the affairs of Mounster did sute with the Directions and Counsels in England, I thinke it meet to be inserted.

A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President.

AFter our very heartie Commendations to your Lordship: Although we haue before this time acquainted you with her Majesties gracious acceptation of your service, becauce wee know you had no greater object, than to deserue her Majesties grace and favour; yet now vve vvill forbear to touch it at this time, because her Majestie giues you notice of it with her owne hand, and for the present onely let you know what care vvee haue taken to satisfie all your demaunds for her Majesties service, because it may appeare unto you, seeing you doe orderly and carefully giue us an account of your proceedings, that wee will in no sort neglect such things as you in your discretion hold fit or necessary. Wee haue therefore

first by her Majesties Commandment, sent you a supply of munitions according to your request; We haue likewise given order for Victuals in good proportion, although it seemeth to us by the Certificate of the Victualler, that you were better stored at your writing, then you knew for: Wee haue also given order for Oates to be presently sent you; and because you haue so good use of a Ship for transporting of Victualls to and fro, besides the service shee may doe, in mastering those Barques and Boats which offend the Coast, wee haue sent Captaine *Harvie* with a good Ship for that purpose. And now that you may know, what Letters wee haue intercepted out of Spaine, concerning those bruits which wee perceiue are spread of Spanish succours, you shall receiue the Copies of three Letters, whereof wee haue the Originall, which were committed to the charge of *Peter Strong* of Waterford, whose Ship and Goods were taken in Famouth, where they were put in by storme; One of them comes from the Governour of the Groyne, and another from a Fryer that resideth with him, the third from one *Sennock* who as it seemeth, being unwilling to haue *Tyrone* deceived, sheweth him truly how little reason they haue to trust to any of the Spanish Succours as they expect; of these you may make such use as you thinke good As concerning your desire, to know what shall become of the Lady *Ione* of *Desmond*, wee thinke you should doe well to set her at libertie againe as shee was before, referring the care of her

well doing to some of her Sisters, that may haue an eye over her. We do also require you still to foresee, that her Majesties Forces being now so much diminished, may not be spent in maintaining private mens Castles and houses, but where those places are of use for her Majesties service. Lastly, concerning the Fine imposed on the Major of Limrick, for which we find you had so just occasion, wee wish you in no wise to remit it, but rather to bestow it upon the repaire of her Majesties Castle there, which as it seemeth, will serue to so good purpose for her Majesties service: And so wee bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall the 28 of Aprill 1601.

Your Lordships very loving Friends,

Thomas Egerton. C.

Ro. Cecill,

Tho. Buckhurst.

Ioh. Fortescue,

W. Knowles.

I. Herbert,

The eight and twentieth day *Dermond Mac Awlie*, who was lately come out of Vlster, and daily conversant with the Traytors of Mounster, and acquainted with all their proceedings and Councell, by mediation of friends, made his repaire to the President, and being examined whether they intended to come againe with new forces into the Province, hee affirmed that at his departure from them, they were ready to come away, and did particularize what Munitions, and woney every one of them was furnished withall by *Tyrone, viz.*

<i>The Lo. of Lixnaw</i>	{	Calievers,	40.
	{	Powder Barrels,	02.
	{	Lead one Sow,	01.
	{	Match, faddoms	120.
	{	Money,	14. pound.

<i>John fits Thomas.</i>	{	Calievers,	25.
	{	Powder Barrels,	01.
	{	Lead Sowes,	†
	{	Match faddoms,	
	{	Money,	10. li

<i>Pierce Lacie.</i>	{	Calievers,	20.
	{	Powder Barrels	01.
	{	Lead Sowes,	†
	{	Match faddoms,	
	{	Money,	8. li.

<i>Mac Donogh.</i>	{	Calievers,	25.
	{	Powder Barrels,	01.
	{	Lead Sowes,	†
	{	Match,	
	{	Money,	12. li.

<i>Redmond Burke.</i>	{	Calievers,	150.
	{	Powder Barrels	10.
	{	Lead Sowes,	05.
	{	Match,	
	{	Money,	500. li.

<i>Teg Orwrke.</i>	{	Calievers,	150.
		Powder Barrels,	10.
		Lead Soves	05.
		Match,	
		Money,	500. li.

From *Odonnell* to

<i>Teg Kewgh.</i>	{	Calievers,	12
		Powder Barrels,	02
		Lead Soves,	3
		Match Fathomes,	
		Money,	40. li.

CHAP III.

James fits Thomas the titulary Earle of Desmond taken Prisoner. James fits Thomas kept Prisoner in the Lord Presidents house. His arraignment and condemnation. His relation presented to the Lord President. The Lord Presidents Letter to Her Majesty. Two Letters from James fits-Thomas to the King of Spaine. The causes of the Rebellion in Mounster as James fits Thomas alleaged. Hussies report of the causes of the Rebellion in Mounster.

THERE was no man of account in all Mounster whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earle, still lurking secretly within this Province, promising very bountifull and liberall rewards to all, or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten aliue or dead, every man entertained these proffers, a

being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought; but at last it hapned after this manner. The Lord *Barry* having one hundred men in pay from the *Queen*, employed them many times about such service, as either the President should command or himselfe thought requisit; and namely about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one *Dermond Odogan*, a Harper dwelling at Garryduffe, vsed to harbour this Arch-rebell, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had beene made in his Countrey, the thieues making towards this Fastnesse, his Souldiers pursued them into this Wood, where by good fortune, this supposed Earle, with two of the *Baldones* and this *Dermond* were gathered together, being almost ready to goe to supper; but having discovered these Souldiers, they left their meate, and made haste to shift for themselves; they were no sooner gone out of the Cabbin, but the Souldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a Mantle (which they knew belonged to *James fits Thomas*) they followed the chase of the Stag now roused: by this time the Harper had conveyed the Sugean Earle into the thickest part of the Fastnesse, and himself with his two other Companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the Souldiers, and left the Wood with the Lapwings policie; that they being busied in pursuite of them, the other might remaine secure within that Fastnesse, and so indeed it fell out; for the Souldiers supposing that *James fits Thomas* had beene of that Company, made

after them till Evening, by what time they had recovered the White Knights Countrey where being past hope of any farther service, they returned to Barry Court, and informed the Lord *Barry* of all those accidents: On the next morning, the Lord *Barry* glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom hee hated, hasteth to the President, and relating unto him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the Arch-traytor had made, and that if the White Knights people had assisted his Souldiers, hee could not possibly haue escaped their hands: Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who being called before the President, was rebuked with sharpe words and bitter reprehensions, for the negligence of his Countrey in so important a busines, and was menaced, that for so much as hee had undertaken for his whole Countrey; therefore hee was answerable both with life and lands, for any default by them made: The White Knight receiving these threatnings to heart, humbly intreated the President to suspend his judgement for a few dayes, vowing upon his soule, that if the said *Desmond* were now in this Countrey (as was averred) or should hereafter repaire thither, hee would giue the President, a good account of him alieue or dead, otherwise he was contented that both his Lands and Goods should remaine at the Queenes mercy; and with these protestations he departed: and presently repairing to Sir *George Thornton*, hee recounted unto him the

sharpe reproofes, which from the President hee had received; Sir *George* finding him thus well netled tooke hold of the occasion, & never left urging him to performe the service, untill he had taken his corporall oath (upon a booke) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same: As soone as he was returned to his honse, he made the like moane unto some of his faithfullest Followers, as hee had done to Sir *George Thornton*, and to stirre up their minds to helpe him in the perill hee stood; hee promised him, that could bring him word where *Iames fits Thomas* was, he would giue him fiftie pound in money, the inheritance of a Plough land to him and his Heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedoms. One of his followers, which loved him dearely, compassionating the perplexity hee was in, but would you indeed (said he) lay hands upon *Iames fits Thomas*, if you knew where to find him? the Knight confirmed it with protestations, then follow me said he, and I will bring you where he is; The White Knight, and hee with sixe or seven more (whereof *Redmond Burke* of Muskry-quirke was one) presently upon the nine and twentyeth of May tooke horse, and were guided to a Caue in the Mountaine of Slewgort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deepe in the ground, where the Caytiffe Earle (accompanied onely with one of his foster brothers called *Thomas Ophegie*) was then lurking: the white Knight called *Iames fits Thomas* requiring him to come out and render himselfe his prisoner: But contrariwise hee presuming upon the

greatnes of his quality, comming to the Caues mouth required *Redmond Burke* and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight, (for both hee and they were his naturall Followers) but the vvheele of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawen they entred the Caue, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who caried him to his castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a Messenger to Sir *George Thornton*, to pray him to send some of the Garison of Kilmallock to take charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, who marching with his company to Kilvenny, had the prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir *George Thornton*, and Captaine *Slingsby* brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle adjoyning to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his Servant it may bee doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from her Majestie for the service.

The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Towne, appointed him lodging and a Keeper within Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, untill he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councell, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interrested in his Lands, but by act of Parlia-

ment, and also his brother *John*, was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earledome of Desmond. When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, *James fits Thomas* into Captaine *Slingsbyes* custody; he told him, now the house is yours, take care and charge of him.

And in conference with Captaine *Slingsby*, told him how much it grieved him, that the Lord President should suspect him to bee a Releever of *James fits Thomas*, contrary to his protestation of service to Her Majestie and to him; and to make it the better appeare what infinite prejudice hee had received by his meanes. For first at the comming of *Tyrone* into Mounster, *Iawes fits Thomas* having some jealousie (and not without cause) that the White Knight would quit the confederacie, and humbly seeke Her Majesties gracious favour acquainted *Tyrone* with it, who thereupon apprehended him, and willed him either to put in his Sonne *John* as Pledge of his perseverance, or else hee must detaine him Prisoner: which the White Knight being neither able nor willing to performe, committed him to the custody of *Redmond Burke*, who carried him out of the countrey, making him lackie it by his horse side on foote like a common Horse-boy; and that in his absence his Countrey being thus distracted for want of a Head, the Earle of Ormond came with some forces, preying, burning, and spoyling most part of his Countrey; and that he was forced to pay unto

Rebmond Burke two hundred pound ransome after three moneths imprisonment with his ill vsage, concluding that it might well be beleevd, hee had small cause to doe those favours to *Iames fits Thomas* (which were suspected) considering hee had received those harmes and losses from him, who was never able to repayr him of the least part thereof. But it may well be conceived that the White Knight had not (untill he was so pressed by the President) made any diligent inquiry after him; and that if he had more timely sought it, he might sooner haue effected it.

Captaine *Slingsby* having now the Prisoner and the whole house and keyes committed over to his charge and keeping, setting his Guards and Sentinels both within the house and without, as was fitting for the Guard of so welcome a Prisoner, went to where the said *Iames* was to be his watch that night, and judging a man in his case not capable of any favour from Her Majestie (as being the principall cause of all the rebellion of Mounster, though otherwise none of the bloodiest enemies) could take no comfort in discourse, was silent by him, not willing to griene him with discoursing on that which hee thought could not bee pleasing unto him, untill *Iames fits Thomas* himselfe first ministred occasion, who having had some notice what Captaine *Slingsby* was, after some complements, began in some sort to extenuate, though not to excuse his former faults to her Majestie, how he was inforced to take that title upon him, otherwise his brother *Iohn* would not haue beene so

nice in the accepting; and that hee never shed any English blood in the first insurrection, nor suffered any to doe it that hee could withhold (though many of his Followers did not so piously obserue it) but with the best respect of humanity did cause them to be sent out of the Countrey to the next coast Townes with the least offence that might be; and therefore hoped Her Majestie, who had extended her clemencie to farre greater crimes (though it was his hard fortune to bee so eminent a man in that action) she would now retract nothing of her wonted goodnesse and mercy: intimating withall his Father to bee elder brother to *Gerrot*, Earle of Desmond, who by the power of his Mother a second wife was disinherited, and her sonne, though a younger received and acknowledged for Earle of Desmond. With these and other discourses they spent the whole night untill t was day, when they made ready to goe to Corke to the Lord President, to deliver the Prisoner.

Vpon these reasons, the Prisoner at a Sessions (holden in Corke for that purpose) was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and adjudged, to bee executed as a notorious Traytor; which being done, the President advertised all the proceedings into England, and desired that he might be sent to the Tower of London, and there to remaine in prison; humbly praying that his life might bee spared, in policie of State; for whilest hee lived, his brother *Iohn* could not make any pretext to the Earledome; whereas to the contrary, he being dead, it was very probable that the Rebels

would set him up (for a new Idoll) in his place; whereof what inconveniences might ensue was apparent. These reasons although they are subject to every mans understanding that hath common sense; and therefore no marvell, that the Lord President should light upon them: Behold here what the Captive Earle himselfe doth say concerning that point, who being Prisoner in the Presidents house, having the favour to haue Paper and Inke; upon the third of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one, wrote this which insueth; humbly intreating the President to send it to Her Majestie, or to the Lords of her Councell in England, which hee performed in his next dispatch.

The Relation of Iames of Desmond, to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, most humbly beseeching your Honour to certifie Her Majesty, and the Lords of her most Honourable Councell of the same: Hoping in the Almighty, that Her Highnesse of her accustomed clemencie and mercy, by your intercession, will take most gracious and mercifull consideration thereof, to the end that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland shall be better planted, and maintained in good government by his release. The third of Iune, 1601.

First it may please your Honour to consider, that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawen by mee, nor my consent; but by my Brother *John*, and *Pierce Lacy*, having the oathes and promises of divers Noblemen, and Gentlemen of this Province, to mintaine the same, and not ever consented unto by me, untill Sir *Thomas Norris*

left Kilmallock, and the Irish forces camped at Rekeloe in Connolough, where they stayed five or six dayes; the most part of the Countrey combining and adjoyning with them, and undertooke to hold with my Brother *Iohn*, if I had not come to them; the next Sessions (before these proceedings) at Corke, Sir *Thomas Norris* arrested me (in person) therefore my Brother, he being then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall prison for him, untill I made my escape; by this the intent of Sir *Thomas Norris* being knowen, the feare and terrification thereof drew me into this action; and had I beene assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in prison for my Brothers offence, I had never entred into this action; Further, I was bordered with most English neighbours, of the Gentlemen of this Province, I defie any English that can charge me with hindring of them, either in body or goods; but as many as ever came in my presence, I conveyed them away from time to time

Also it is to bee expected, that the Spanish Forces are to come into Ireland this Summer, and *Oneale* will send up the strongest Army of Northern men into Mounster, with my Brother *Iohn*, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*; and when they are footed in Mounster, the most part of the Countrey will joyne with them: Preventing this and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life, is more beneficiall for Her Majestie then my death: For it may please Her Majestie to be gracious unto

me, I will reclaime my Brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*, if it please Her Majesty to bee gracious unto them, or else so diligently worke against them with Her Majesties forces, and your directions, that they shall not be able to make head, or stirre in Mounster at all; for by the saving of my life, Her Highnesse will winne the hearts in generall of all her Subjects, and people in Ireland, my owne service, and continuance of my alliance in dutiful sort, all the dayes of their liues.

Farther, I most humbly beseech your Honour to foresee, that there are three others, of my Sept and race aliue; the one is in England, my Vncle *Garrets Sonne, James*, set at liberty by Her Majestie, and in hope to obtaine Her Majesties favour, my Brother in Vlster, and my Cosen *Maurice fils Iohn* in Spaine, wherewith it may be expected, that either of these (if I were gone) by Her Majesties favour might be brought in credit, and restored to the House: It may therefore please Her Majestie to bee gracious unto me, asuring to God and the world, that I will bee true and faithfull to Her Majestie during life: By which meanes Her Majesties government may bee the better settled; my selfe and all others my Alliance, for ever bound to pray for Her Majesties life, long to continue.

But afterward being examined by the President, and the Provinciall Councell: He added some other reasons for his taking of Armes against her Majestie, which in its due place shall bee mentioned: In the

dispatch which the President made into England upon his apprehension, he wrote a Letter to her Majesty as followeth.

The Lord Presidents Letter to Her Majesty.

SACRED AND DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

TO my unspeakeable Ioy, I haue received your Majesties Letters signed with your Royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majesties Service, which from my cradle (I thanke God for it) was ingrassed in my Heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appeare to bee short of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majesties eternall prosperitie, shalt never faile to the last day of life; But when I compare the felicities, which other men enjoy, with my unfortunate Destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your Royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection (inferiour to none) evermore attends, I liue like one lost to himselfe, and wither out my dayes in torment of minde, untill it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeeme mee from this exile, which unlesse it bee for my sinnes, (upon the knees of my heart) I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same, as

spedily as may bee, since my time of banishment in this rebellious Kingdome, (for better then a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune, that depriues mee from beholding your Majesties Person) although I haue not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergoe, yet to make it appeare that I haue not been idle, (I thanke God for it) I haue now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of Iames fits Thomas that Arch-traytour, and usurping Earle, whom for a present with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may finde, I will by some trustie Gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this Province is made sure from any present defection. And now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech, that in your Princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to bee a greater affliction to mee then I can well indure: for as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, (as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound) in vassalage to your Majestie; so doth my heart covet nothing so much, as to bee evermore attendant on your sacred Person, accounting it a happinese unto mee, to dye at your feet: not doubting but that your Majestie out of your princely and royall bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service; and that my fortune shall not be the worse, in that I am not any importunate craver; Or yet in not using other arguments to mooue your Majestie

thereunto, then this, Assai dimanda qui ben serve e face. So most humbly beseeching your majesties pardon, in troubling you with these Lines, unworthy your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your Royall feet. From your Majesties Citie of Corke this third of June. 1601.

I may well terme him a notorious Traytour, because hee was within one year before his apprehension, the most mightie and potent *Geraldine* that had been of any of the Earles of Desmond, his predecessors: For it is certainly reported, that he had eight thousand men well armed under his commaund at one time, all which hee imployed against his lawfull Soveraigne; and secondly, a notorious Traytour, because hee sought to bring a most infamous slaunder upon a most vertuous and renowned Prince, (his Queene and Mistress) with his false suggestions unto forraine Princes; and notwithstanding that her name was eternized with the shrill sounding trumpet of triumphant Fame, for the meekest and mildest prince that ever raigned, yet was not hee ashamed, (so farre had the rancour of malice corrupted his venemous heart) to inculcate into the Eares of the Pope and Spanish King, that shee was more tyrannicall than *Pharaoh*, and more blood-thirstie then *Nero*: But because I may bee thought to faine these allegations, to aggravate his treasons, I will therefore (for satisfaction of the Reader) set downe the very words of two his Letters, bearing one date, which hee sent to the King of Spaine.

*A Letter from James fits Thomas to the King
of Spaine.*

MOst mighty Monarch, I humbly salute your imperiall Majesty, giving your Highnesse to understand of our great misery, and violent order wherewith wee are of long time opprest by the English Nation. Their government is such as *Pharaoh* himselfe never used the like; for they content not themselues with all temporall superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetuall destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity; as also our old Catholike Religion, and to sweare that the Queene of England is Supream of the Church. I referre the consideration hereof to your Majesties high judgement; for that *Nero* in his time was farre inferior to that Queene in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, high, mighty Potentate, my selfe, with my Followers and Retainers; And being also requested by the Bishops, Prelates, and religious men of my Countrey, haue drawn my sword, and proclaimed warres against them, for the recovery first of Christs Catholike religion, and next for the maintenance of my own right, which of long time hath beene wrongfully detained from mee and my father, who by right succession was lawfull Heire to the Earledome of Desmond; for hee was eldest sonne to *Iames* my Grandfather, who was Earle of Desmond; and for that Vncle *Gerald* (being the younger brother)

tooke part with the wicked proceedings of the Queene of England, to farther the unlawfull claime of supremacye, vsurped the name of Earle of Demsond in my fathers true title; yet notwithstanding hee had not long enjoyed his name of Earle when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that hee with the most part of those that held of his side, was slaine, and his country thereby planted with Englishmen: And now by the just judgement and providence of God, I haue utterly rooted those malepart bowes out of the Orchard of my countrey, and haue profited so much in my proceedings, that my dastardly enemies dare not shew their faces in any part of my countrey, but having taken my Townes and Cities, for their refuge and strength, where they doe remaine (as yet were prisoners) for want of means to assaile them, as Cannon and Powder which my Countrey doth not yeeld. Having these wants most noble Potentate; I haue presumed with all humility to addresse these my Letters to your High Majestie, craving the same of your gracious clemencie and goodnesse, to assist mee in this godly enterprize, with some helpe of such necessities for the warres, as your Majestie shall thinke requisit; and (after the quiet of my Countrey) satisfaction shall bee truely made for the same, and my selfe in person with all my forces, shall bee ready to serue your highnesse in any Countrey your Majestie shall command me.

And if your Majestie will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of Souldiers, I will place them in

some of my Townes and Cities, to remaine in your gracious disposition, till such time as my ability shall make good, what your Majestie shall lend me in money and munition: and also your Majesties high Commission under the broad Seale for leading and conducting of these Souldiers, according to the prescript order and articles of martiall discipline, as your Majestie shall appoint me, and as the service of the Land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I haue done by his goodnesse more than all my predecessors; for I haue reclaimed all the Nobility of this part under the dutifull obedience of Christs Church, and mine owne authority, and accordingly haue taken pledges, and corporall oathes, never to swarue from the same; and would haue sent them to your Majestie, by this Bearer, but that the ship was not of sufficiencie and strength to carry so noble personages, and will send them whensoever your Hig-nesse please. So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the world; but your Majesties assistance, which I daily expect: Thus most mighty Monarch, I humbly take my leaue, and doe kisse your Royall hands, beseeching the Almighty of your Majesties health and happinesse: From my Campe the fourteenth day of March, 1599.

Your Majesties most humble
at all command

James Desmond

*An other Letter from Iames Fits Thomas to the
King of Spaine.*

YOur Majestie shall understand, that the bearer hereof Captaine *Andrew Roche*, hath beene always in the service of the Queene of England, and hath performed her manifold services at Sea: whereby he had great preferment and credit, and being of late time conversant with Catholikes, and teachers of divine Instructions, that were sory for his lewd life, made knowen unto him the danger wherein his soule was; so that by their godly perswasions, hee was at that time reclaimed, and subverted to bee a good Catholike, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the Church: since which time of reconcilment, hee was to repaire to your Majestie with his Ship and Goods, as is well knowen to your Highnesse Councell, who confiscated that Ship to your Majesties use; himselfe being at that time stricken with extreame sicknesse, that hee was not able to proceed in the voyage; and when his Company returned into Ireland, they reported that the Lantado wished rather his person then the Ship, which made him fearefull ever since to repaire thither, till hee should deserue his freedome by some worthy service to your Majestie.

The Heire apparant to the Crowne of England, had beene carried by him to your Highnesse, but that he was bewrayed by some of his owne men, and thereby was intercepted, and himselfe taken Prisoner, where he remained of long, till by the Providence of God,

and the helpe of good friends, hee was conveyed into Ireland to mee in a small boat; and leaving these occasions to your Imperiall Majesty, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards mee, haue committed this charge into his hands; the rather for that I understand your Royall Fleete is directed for England this yeare, to the end he may be a Leader and Conductor to them in the Coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole art of Navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your highnesse to the Almighty: From my Campe the fourteenth of March, 1599

Your Majesties most humble
at all command.

James Desmond.

Consider I beseech thee gentle Reader, into what proud arrogancie, and audacious insolency this Arch-traytor was elevated (like a Vapor in a Sunshine day) when blind fortune laught upon him; the Queene a Tyrant, the English all cowards, the Cities and walled Townes all his, and the Mounster Nobilitie subdued under his authority; was there ever a Rebelle so farre transported with ambitious presumption, beyond the limits of reason? was it not sufficient for him like cursed *Shimei*, or blacke mouthed railing *Rabshakeh*, to revile the Lords annoynted, but he must challenge her territories, her Cities, her People, and her Nobilitie (whom shee and her ancestors had created) to be his owne, who had no portion nor in-

heritance in any part thereof, being the Impe of a borne Bastard. But surely I must perswade my selfe, all this was permitted by the unsearchable sapience of the allseeing Deity, who even as hee caused proud *Lucifer* to bee throne from the Chaire of highest Majestie, (whereunto hee presumed) into the lowest Dungeon of darke obscurity, for ever to bee tormented; so did hee suffer this aspiring *Absolon*, to magnifie himselfe in the height of vaine glory, *Vt lapsu graviore ruat*, that being throwen headlong downe from the Pinnacle of ambition, he might for ever bee poynted at as an exemplary mirror for all insolent Traytors.

Whilest hee remayned Prisoner in Shandon, the President thought good to send for him oftentimes, before himselfe and the Councell, and there to examine him upon such particulars, as they thought most materiall for the advancement of the present service. And amongst the rest, they questioned him concerning the originall causes and principall motiues, that induced this late rebellion in Mounster; hee answered that the foundation principally was religion, then the Vndertakers encroaching upon Gentlemens lands, the feare of English Iuries passing upon Irish mens liues, the taking notice of slight evidence upon such arraignements, the generall feare conceived of the safetie of their liues, by the example of the execution of *Redmond fits Gerald* and *Donghe Mac Craghe*, and the great charge (which was yeerely exacted) for Her Majestie out of every Plough land within the Province, called the composition rent;

and because these his pretences, doe not much vary from the allegations (surmised) by *Oliver Hussie*, a Schoole-master, a most pernicious member in this traiterous combination, I haue thought fit to interpose the same in this place. This *Hussie* therefore examined upon the same Interrogatories, answered as followeth.

First the Countrey was (much against their wils) driven to pay composition to the Queene, for three years upon certaine Covenants: These Covenants were not observed on her Majesties part, nor yet the composition ceased at the determination of the said tearme: Wherefore they thought the Composition would not only bee continued, but also augmented, from time to time, at the pleasure of their Superiors. till they should be weary of their Lands: Many new and extraordinary wayes were sought out in concealements (and such like) to the great discomfort and feare of Landlords and Frecholders.

The extortions and unlawful dealings of Sherifs and other like officers, to rob the Countrey-men of their goods; for they did use to keepe many Courts (for gaine) and not for Iustice, they did use to bring many Writs from Dublin, for very small causes; they did use to buy old caveling titles, to receiue bribes, for not going to poore Gentlemens houses, and other like inconveniences.

The continuall vexation by Processes from the spirituall Court, where by Fines and Bribes (to save mens consciences) they were greatly grieved, and specially by the High Commission.

The manner of execution of *Donoghe Mac Craghe*, and *Redmond fits Gerald*, and seeking of *Thomas fits Maurice* his blood, did greatly discomfort them, fearing that every of their liues were in like danger.

The severall examinations of these two (being both deeply ingaged in the action I have therefore inserted into this present relation, First that the world may bee satisfied, upon what weake pretexts, and imaginary supposed conjectures the Rebellion was grounded: And therefore the former scandalous suggestions which Hell had devised, and the Popes damned Legat had forged against Her Majestie, were the more abominable And secondly, that those Officers that should succeed in governing this kingdome, might carefully shun, and warily avoid all Bribery, Corruption, and Partiality, that the ex-clayming mouths of there discontented people may bee either altogether shut, or else opening the same, the may spue out nothing but their own shame. But to proceed.

About the begining of this Moneth of Iune, the President received gracious Letters from Her sacred Majestie, wherein she acknowledging her thankfulnessse for his services, and signified her pleasure unto him concerning base monies, and withall shee sent the proclamation, and the articles betweene her and Sir *George Cary* Knight, Treasurer of Ireland, touching the exchange for the alteration of the said monies, all which doe here ensue.

CHAP. III.

*A Letter from Her Majesty to the Lord President concerning base Monies.
A Proclamation concerning base Monies. Articles betweene Her Ma-
jestie and the Treasurer at Warres for Ireland, concerning base Monies.*

A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord President
concerning base Moneys.

Your loving Sovereaigne,

ELIZABETH R.

TRustie and wellbeloved, *Wee greet you well; Although We haue forborne when we intended to haue made knowen unto you by some expresse testimonie from Our selfe, Our acceptation of your Services, yet We haue given particular charge to Our Councell, that they should in our Name make you perceiue our liking of your proceedings, in such sort, as you might not conceiue that either the report of them came not to our eares, or that you served a Prince not willing to acknowledge the good merits of her Servants. But now that cause is ministered vnto vs, to giue charge vnto you of other matters specially concerning our service; We thought it convenient to incourage you to that which followeth, by thanksgiving for that what is past, and by assuring you by our owne Letters, that as you haue not deceived our expectation of your sufficiencie, or our trust reposed in your faith, So will not wee be wanting on our part to manifest how acceptable these things are vnto vs,*

whensoever *Wee* finde them in any one, whom *Wee* haue conferred trust in employment. The matter that now *Wee* thinke meet to acquaint you with, is that having found by long experience, that the using of sterling moneys in the payment of our *Armie* there and for our other Services, doeth bring marvellous inconveniencies both to that *Realme*, and to this; And that the wisdomes of all our Progenitors (for the most part) did maintaine a difference betweene the Coynes of both *Realmes*, (that in *Ireland* being ever inferiour in goodnesse to that of this *Realme*) howsoever by error of late crept in it, hath beene otherwise tollerated to the infinite losse of this *Kingdome*, Our Moneyes being out of that *Realme* transported into forraine Countreies, for lacke of Marchandize. We haue thought it reason to revieve the ancient course of our Progenitors in that matter of Moneyes, and haue caused a Coine proper for that Our realme of *Ireland*, to bee stamped heere, of such a Standard as *Wee* finde to haue beene in use for the same, and doe now send a great quantitie thereof thither by our Treasurer at *Warres*, to bee employed for the payment of Our armie, and for other uses, and the same doe authorise by Our Prolamation, and decree all other Moneyes. In the establishing of which course, as we doubt not but Our Deputie and Councell there, will as they are by *Vs* commanded, proceed according to such directions as wee haue given them: So because the Province (whereof you haue charge) is a place of most Traffique of any

other of that Kingdome, and therefore in it, it is most likely that Marchants at the first shew of such an innovation, will for private respects bee most opposite: Wee haue thought it fit to giue you particular notice of this our purpose, and to require you to use all your authoritie and your judgment likewise oward our people there, as well of the Townes as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them, vpon such reasons as are contained in our Proclamation, publishing the same, and as you may gather touching the same out of such other matters as haue passed from vs to our Deputie and Councell there, or betweene vs and our Treasurer for Ireland concerning this matter, whereof wee haue given order, that herewith Copies shall bee sent unto you, by which you will be sufficiently instructed of apparent reasons to leade vs to doe it, although it be a matter which wee need not make gracious with any reason at all, being meereley dependant of our Prerogatiue, to alter the Standerd of our Moneys at our pleasure. Wherefore, though we nothing doubt of your forwardnesse, to further whatsoever wee finde reason to command: Yet we require you in this thing, as a matter which wee would haue well founded in the first establishing, to giue all attention of it as well by your owne actions, as by assisting Our Treasurer and his Deputies in uttering of these newe Moneyes, and bringing in all others according to the course of Our Exchange, which by Our Proclamation, you may perceiue that wee haue instituted to

*make the matter better accepted of Our people.
Given vnder Our Signet at Our Mannour of Green-
witch this sixteenth day of May, one thousand sixe
hundred and one, in the three and fortieth yeere of
Our Raigne.*

*The Copie of the Proclamation for
publishing the new Money
for Ireland.*

THe Queenes most excellent Majestie finding by the Records of both her Realmes of England and Ireland, that in the times of divers of her Progenitors, Kings, of England and Ireland, it hath beene accustomed as a thing by them found convenient for good of the loyall Subjects of both Realmes; that there should bee a difference betweene the Standerds of the monies allowed to bee currant, in each of her said Realmes; and knowing by many Lawes of this her Realme of England; and namely by one made in the third yeare, and another in the nineteenth yeare of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King *Henry* the seventh, that the transportation of monies of the Coyne and Standard of England, into that his Realme of Ireland is severely forbidden under great penalties; perceiving also by experience in some part heretofore, but more fully and apparently now of late yeares, since the last rebellions (which haue caused Her Majestie to send

great summes of money into that Realme for the paiment of her Armie, & for other services) that a great part of such monies into that Realme sent, doe either come into the hands of the Rebels, by divers slights and cunnings of theirs, who by the use and meanes thereof, trafficking in forraine Countries, doe releue themselues with such warlicke provisions as they need; as with Powder, Lead, Match, Armour and Weapons of all sorts, and with Wines, Cloath, and other necessities; without which they could not possibly so long subsist in their treasonable courses, and bring so huge Calamities to the rest of her good Subjects, and waste the whole Realme; or else the said sterling monies, aswell in respect of their goodnesse, being better then the monies of other Countries, is also for want of merchandize wherein to employ them; which that Countrey now specially since the Rebellion doth not yeeld, are partly by Merchants Strangers, and partly by the naturall Merchants of the Countrey (vsing trade in forraine Countries) transported from thence into the said Countries, to the inestimable losse and impoverishment aswell of that Realme of Ireland, as also chiefly of this Her Majesties Realme of England: Hath therefore in Her Majesties princely wisdom, entered into consideration with the advice of her Privie Councell, how these great inconveniences might be avoyded; and found after long and serious debating, that the readiest way to prevent the same, is to reduce the State of her Monies and Coynes, to the ancient

course of her Progenitors, that is, to a difference in finenes, betweene the monies of this Realme of England, and that her Realme of Ireland: And for that purpose hath caused great quantities of moneys, according to the ancient Standard, which was in use for this Realme in the dayes of Her Majesties Father, Brother, and Sister, to bee coyned here into severall peeces of shillings, sixpences, and peeces of three-pence, stamped with Her Highnesse Armes crowned and inscription of her vsuall stile, on the one side, and on the other with the Harpe crowned, being the Armes of that her Kingdome of Ireland with the insription, *Posui deum Adjutorem meum*, and also certaine peeces of small moneyes of meere Copper of pence, halfepence, and farthings, for the use of the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other: And the same moneyes so coyned hath sent into her said Realme of Ireland, there to bee established as the lawfull and current moneys of that Realme, and so to bee uttered and issued as well to the Armies and Officers in payments to them, as also to all other her subjects of that Realme and others there abiding, or thither resorting for trifficke, and intercourse of buying, selling, and all other manner of trading amongst themselues; which sayd Coynes, as well of Silver of three ounces fine, as also of meere Copper for small Moneys, her Majestie doeth hereby publish and make knownen to all men, to be from thencefoorth, immediately after the publishing of this Proclamation, her Coyne of Moneys established and authorised to

bee lawfull and currant within that her Realme of Ireland, and proper to that Kingdome, and doeth expressly will and command the same to bee so used, reputed, and taken of all her subjects of that Realme, and of all others conversing there; And doth expressly charge and command, that they, nor any of them, shall not after the day of the publishing heereof, refuse, reject, or denie to receiue in payment of Wages, Fees, Stipend, or in payment of debts, or in Bargaine, or for any other matter of Trade, Commerce or dealing betweene Man and Man, any of the said Moneys of either kind, either mixt of Siluer, or pure Copper, but that they shall receiue and accept the same at such values and rates as they are coyned for, *viz* shillings, for shillings, pieces of sixpence for sixpence and so of all other the severall kinds of that Coyne respectiuely; Denouncing hereby to all such as shall be found wilfully, and obstinately to refuse the said Moneys of this New Standerd, being tendered unto them in payments, or in any dealings betweene partie and partie, that they shall for that their contempt, receiue such punishment, as by her Majesties Prerogative Royall may be inflicted upon persons contemning publique Orders established for the universall good of that her Realme: And to the end the said Moneys may the better haue their due course and passage among her Majesties subjects of that Realme, and the good intended to both the Realmes, the more speedily take place: Her Majestie doth hereby also publish and make knowne that her

pleasure is, that after the day of this present Proclamation, all other Moneys heretofore established, tollerated, or used as lawfull or currant Moneyes within that Kingdome, shall bee decryed, anulled, and called downe, and no other Moneyes, of what Coyne, Nature, Mixture, Allay or Finenesse, now used in that Realme of Ireland, bee they either Moneys of her Majesties owne Coyne and stampe, currant here in her Realme of England, or if any her Predecessors, or of any forraine Realmes permitted heretofore to be currant there, shall bee any longer currant within her Realme of Ireland nor offered, nor received by any person there inhabiting, or there conversing in any manner of dealing amongst men, but that all such Moneys be from that day forward held and esteemed for Bullion onely, meet to bee moulten downe and brought into her Majesties Mint, or Exchange, there as heretofore is expressed; although this open and publike notification of her Majesties pleasure, bee and ought to be to all her Subjects, and others being in that her Realme, a sufficient declaration and warning, as well of the authorizing of the New Moneys of the New Standerd, now appoynted to be currant, and also the calling downe, and decrying of all other Moneys whatsoever, from any use there either publique or private: Yet her Highnesse being a Prince, that in her gracious disposition, doth ever affect to make all her Actions cleare and allowable, in their owne nature rather then in the power of supream authoritie, intending in this cause to giue to all persons such sa-

tisfaction as is reasonable. And in the dayes of Her Progenitors, when such Moneys were in use, was not offered, doth likewise heereby make knowne, that shee hath established an Exchange to bee had and maintained in convenient places, in both her kingdoms of England and Ireland; as namely in Ireland, at *Dublin, Corke, Gallway, and Carrigfergus*; and in England at *London, Bristow* and at *Chester*, at which places shall bee from hencefoorth continually resident, Officers of her appoyntment and in other places also of both the Realmes, where it shall bee found convenient for the ease of her Subjects; At which places, and by which Officers, all her Subjects of either her Realmes of England and Ireland, and all others resorting into her said Realme of Ireland, in trade and Marchandise, and otherwise, shall and may, from time to time, exchange and commute, as well Moneys currant of England, into Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland; as also Moneys of this Standerd of Ireland into Moneys of the Standerd of England, at their pleasure, in a manner as is hereafter expressed.

First all persons being either Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State, in amity with Her Majestie, who shall bring to any place of Exchang within Ireland any monies of the Coyne of her Realme of England, or of the Coynes of any forraine Countries, or any plate or bullion, being of the Standard of England, or better, desiring to receiue for the same in England, now is currant of England, shall receiue from the Officer in Ireland a bill directed to such place of

Exchange in England, where the partie shall desire to haue his payment: By which bill hee shall receiue of the Officer in England, not onely monies of England, valew for valew, by tale or by weight, of the Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered in Ireland, but also an overplus of sixe pence English, money upon every twentie shillings English, by him delivered, by tale, or of eightene pence English upon every pound weight of such Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered by the partie by weight; and after the same rate for more or lesse, in quantity or number, delivered by weight or tale

Item, all persons being Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State in amity with Her Majestie, which shall haue in their hands any quantity or summe of the monies of this new Coyne appointed for Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, and shall be desirous to receiue for the same in England, monies currant of England, and thereupon shall deliver to any of Her Majesties Officers of the Exchange in Ireland, such summes of money as hee is desirous so to exchange, hee shall receiue of the said Officers in Ireland, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in England, as shall bee desired by the deliverer, by which Bill hee shall recline of the Officer in England, to whom the same is directed, the like summe of monies of England by tale, as by the Bill it shall appeare, he shall haue delivered in Ireland wanting onely twelue pence in the pound: So as for every twentie

shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, delivered in Ireland, hee shall haue in England nineteene shillings, currant monie of England, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered in Ireland.

Item, if any such person having in his hands, within the Realme of Ireland monies currant of England, shall bee desirous to exchange the same there for monies now appointed to be currant in Ireland; the Officers of the Exchange there to whom hee shall bring any summe of English money to bee exchanged, shall deliver to him for every twentie shillings of English money received, one and twenty shillings of the Coyne of Ireland, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie received.

Item, if any person being her Majesties Subject, or otherwise, having cause to resort into the Realme of Ireland, shall be desirous to exchange monies currant of England into monies currant of Ireland for his use there, and shall deliver to that end any English monies, to any of Her Majesties Officers of exchange here in England, the said Officers shall deliver unto the said person, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in Ireland, as the deliverer shall require, by which Bill the Officer of the Exchange in Ireland receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer thereof for every twenty shillings English, delivered in England, one and twentie shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, in Ireland, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered.

And whereas there are at this present, divers old Coynes of base allay within that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, vsed and passed in payments betweene men, which being now decryed, adnulled, and called downe, Her Majestie doth thinke fit, to haue the same brought in and reduced to one vni-forme Coyne of this new Standard; Her Highnesse is therefore pleased that every person who shall haue in his hands any quantity of such base Coyne, and shall bring in the same to any of her Officers of her Exchange there in Ireland, that the Officer receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer, money for money, or valew for valew, of the monies of this new Standard, now appointed to bee currant in Ireland,

And forasmuch as this notorious inconvenience aforesaid, cannot bee prevented, without there bee a due observation of such Lawes of this Realme of England, as heretofore haue beene made, restrayning the transporting of the monies currant in England into that Realme of Ireland, in *Specie*, wherein great disorder hath beene of late yeares committed, and thereby great inconveniences ensued; Her Majestie doth straightly charge and command, all Magistrates and Officers, to whom it shall appertaine, to see severe execution of such Lawes as doe prohibit the transportation of her Coyne of England into Ireland; and namely one Statute made in the nineteenth yeare of the raigne of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King *Henry* the seventh. Her Majesties pur-

pose being (by this Proclamation) to admonish all her Subjects of both her Realmes, and all others trading in her Realme of Ireland, that they shall from henceforth forbear all transportation of monies of England into Ireland, for that Her Majestie will cause the former Lawes (prohibiting the said transportation of money) to be so straightly looked into and executed, as the penalties thereof, shall fall heavy upon the Offenders against the same without any hope of remission.

*The Copie of certaine Articles contained in
the Indentures, betweene Her Majes-
tie, and Sir George Cary, Treasur-
er of Ireland, touching the
Exchange established up-
on the alteration
of Monies.*

I Tem, the said Sir George Cary doth covenant, &c. That hee shall and will mainetaine for the better exercise of the said Exchange, according to her Majesties princely meaning, three Officers at the least within the Cities of London, Bristoll and Westchester, or so many, and in such convenient places as hee shall thinke meete, discrete persons to be there continually residing by themselves, or their sufficient deputies to attend the said Exchange, and to performe the same according to the establishment. And other officers also in other parts of this her Majesties Realme of

England (if cause shall require) and likewise to place and maintaine at fower severall port Townes within her Majesties Realme of Ireland, viz Dublin, Corke, Galway, and Carrigfergus, or at such of them as shall bee found requisit other officers who shall be there continually resident by themselves, or their sufficient deputies to attend her Majesties subjects for the exchange of their monies according to the establishment; and if cause shall require, other officers also or under ministers in other places of the said Realme of Ireland, for the ease of her Majesties subjects.

Item, the said Sir *George Carie* doth covenant, &c. to discharge and acquite her Majestie of all Fees, Allowances, and wages, needfull for any of the sayd Officers, or Vnder-ministers aboue mentioned, and them to maintaine, entertaine, and wage at his owne costs and charges, for and in consideration of a summe of two thousand pounds of the Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland, mentioned in another Article of this Indenture, to bee by her Majestie allowed unto him for the Fee of himselfe, and all other Officers necessarie to bee had and used for and about this Exchange, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*; The sayd allowance of two thousand pound *per annum*, to take beginning, and to bee due unto him, from the first day of *May* now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during the time of the Exchange: And the Queenes Majestie our said Soveraigne Lady, doth

covenant and agree to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, that hee as _____ of her Highnesse sayd Exchange, shall haue full power, authoritie, and libertie, to make choyce of all Officers, and under-officers, needfull to bee had and imployed, for, and about the exercise and maintenance of his Exchange, as well within this her Highnesse Realme of *England*, as in *Ireland*, and them and every of them to nominate and place, and to them to assigne such Fees and entertainments as hee shall thinke convenient, and all and every the sayd Officers to remooue, alter, or displace, as often as to him shall be thought good, and others in their places and roomes to substitute without any interruption of her Highnesse, in or concerning the same.

Item, our said Soveraigne Lady doth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, and by these presents doth giue him power and authoritie, in and for performance of one breach of her Highnesse Proclamation aboue specified, whereby all persons are invited to bring in all manner of sterling Moneys, or if any other Standards, or like finenesse, or better, into her Exchange in *Ireland*, that hee the sayd Sir *George Carey*, shall and may allow to all bringers in of such Money, Plate, or Bullion, aboue the just and true value thereof, the summe of eighteene pence currant money of *England*, upon every pound weight, or sixpence upon every twentie shillings by tale; the same to bee taken, defaulted, and allowed by the

sayd Sir *George Carey*, out of such profits as doe arise unto her Highnesse upon this Exchange.

And our Sovereaigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, and by these presents doeth warrant and authorise him, that to all her subjects of her Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, and to all Strangers, Merchants, or others, being subjects of such Princes or States as are in amitie with her Highnesse, which shall bring to any place, for the Exchange appoynted within the Realme of *Ireland*, any Moneyes of this new Standard of *Ireland*, and desire to receiue for the same, moneyes currant of *England* heere within this Realme of England, That the sayd Sir *George Carey*, may deliver unto them and every of them here in England, moneys currant of this her Realme, by tale, for tale, viz. twentie shillings sterling, for every twentie shillings of her new Coyne, detaining only, and rebating to her Highnesse use, twelue pence sterling upon every twentie shillings so to bee delivered for twentie shillings of her sayd new Coyne, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

Item, our sayd Sovereaigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, &c. That hee shall and may to all persons which within her Highnesse realme of Ireland, shall at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, deliver to him or his Deputies, the value of twenty shillings sterling, in money, plate, or bullion, and de-

sire to receiue for the same, moneys Irish of this new coyne, for every value of twenty shillings, the summe of one and twenty shillings eight pence Irish by tale, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

And our Soveraigne Ladie, &c. That hee or his Assignes shall or may to all and every persons, which at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, heere within this Realme of England, shall deliver any Moneys, Plate, or Bullion of the Standerd of England, to the end to receiue for the same, within the Realme of Ireland, moneyes of the new Coyne of that Realme, pay, or deliver unto them for the value of euery twenty shillings sterling, one and twenty shillings Irish by the tale, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

Item, our said Soveraigne Lady, &c. That hee shall and may, to all and every persons, bringing into any place for the exchange appointed in Ireland, monies of base allay, heretofore currant, or now vsed within the Realme, deliver by himselfe or his deputies, like quantities by weight of the monies of this new Coyne, as he or his deputies shall receiue of any such old base monies by weight.

Item, our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That she wil allow unto the said Sir *Geo. Cary*, or his Assignes for the charges of transportation of the monies of this new Coyne, from her Tower of London into her Majesties said Realme of Ireland, aswell to the

Citie of Dublin, as to any other places where Exchanges are to be established, or payments to bee made for her service, after the rate of twentie pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pound of the same coyne, the same to bee allowed unto him upon his account, as her Majesties Treasurer at warres in Ireland.

Item, our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That whensoever and as often as any of the monies of this new Standard of Ireland, after their first uttering, in payment to her Highnesse Armie there, being brought backe againe to the Exchange to be converted in sterling, or otherwise shall by her Majesties commandement bee uttered againe for her Highnesse service in payment of her Armie, or otherwise: That so often her Highnesse will allow to the said Sir *George Cary* or his Assignes, after the rate of ten pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pounds of the same coyne by tale, the same to bee allowed unto him, upon his account as Treasurer of her Highnesse warres in Ireland.

Item, our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That shee will allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* for all such summes of money, as shall by her Highnesse from time to time, bee sent or delivered out of her Exchequer, for the furnishing & maintenance of this Exchange after the rate of upon every thousand pounds by tale, The said Sir *George Cary* taking upon him the charges and expence, of conveying her Majes-

ties said Treasure unto the places where the same shall bee vsed for the exchange.

Item our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That all hazard and danger hapning in the transportation of this her majesties monies, out of her Realme of England into Ireland, either by wrecke of Sea or tempest, or by violence of enemies, shall bee at the only perill of our said Soveraigne Lady her Heires and Successors, as, heretofore it hath beene in like cases; the said Sir *George Cary* making prooffe, that hee his deputies or Assignes, having charge of the said transportation, haue vsed all such care, heed, and diligence, for the safe conveyance thereof, as they would or might haue done for the assurance of their owne goods, or as heedfull provident men use to doe for the safetie of their goods in like adventures.

Item, our sayd Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That shee shall and will from time to time, furnish and deliver to the said Sir *George Cary*, or his Assignes, all such summes of money as shall bee requisite and needfull for Exchanging, and converting of this new Irish Coyne into moneys of the Standerd of England, according to her Majesties Proclamation, after the rate of one fourth part at the least, of such quantities of this Irish moneys, as her Majestie shall cause to be coyned from time to time, or after a greater rate (if it shall appeare by experience) that a greater portion then a fourth part of the same shal be returned to the Exchange.

Item, our sayd Sovereaigne Ladie doth, &c. That if at any time heereafter her Majestie shall thinke good to cease the Exchange, and not to continue the converting of Irish moneys into sterling, and that it shall happen, that at such time there shall bee remaining in the hands of the sayd Sir *George Carey* any quantities of Irish Monies, great or small, not issued for her Majesties service, that in such case her Highnesse will accept, and allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* upon his account all such summes of money at such rate, and valew as the same were delivered unto him, to bee issued in payment for her service

And further, her Majestie doth covenant, &c. That for the defraying of all Wages, Fees, and Stipends, as well to him the said Sir *George Cary* as of the Exchanges, as also to all other Officers needfull to bee established for the exercise of the same, either within the Realme of England or in Ireland, wheresoever her Highnesse doth, and will, allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* the summe of two thousand pounds of the monies of this new Standard, by the yeare to bee taken unto him and stayed in his owne hands out of such profits, as upon the exchange doth arise unto her Majestie: The said allowance of two thousand pounds *per annum*, to take beginning the first day of May now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during all the time that the Exchange shall be upheld

CHAPTER V.

A Regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaght. Intelligence of the Spanyards comming for Ireland, brought to the Lord President sundry wayes. Iames 'fits Thomas his report of Florence Mac Cartie. Dermond Mac Awlies report of the Counsell held in Vlster for the Spanyards landing.

THE Affayres of Mounster thus digested, the President, according to the Lord Deputies directions, expedited (with munition and victuals) one thousand Foot into Connaght, under the command of Sir *Francis Barkley*.

The list of the Captaines and Companies, were as followeth, *viz.*

Sir <i>Francis Barkley</i> ,	100. Foot.
Sir <i>Richard Percie</i> ,	150
Sir <i>Gerrard Harvie</i> ,	150
Sir <i>Edward fits Gerald</i> ,	100
Sir <i>John Dowdall</i> ,	100
Captaine <i>Iohn Bostocke</i> ,	100
Captaine <i>George Kingsmill</i> ,	100
Captaine <i>George Blunt</i> ,	100
Captaine <i>William Power</i> ,	100

Besides fiftie Horse under the command of Captaine *Richard Greame*; which Regiment was sent to giue countenance unto the service of Ballishanon, intended by Sir *Henry Docwray*, although the President was very loath to spare them at this time, for the ru-

mour of Spanish preparations for Ireland, (which had been secretly whispered all this Spring) was now strongly conceited, and confidently beleaved by all the Irish; And moreover, certaine Advertisment hereof was daily brought unto the President from the Irish Merchants Factors in Spaine, from the Priests in Italy to the Irish Lords; from the English in France to their private Friends, all of them agreeing in one; adde heereunto the constant Asseverations of *Iames fits-Thomas* the titular Earle, then a condemned prisoner, who after his Apprehension and condemnation, being often examinded, was still confident of the Spanyards comming; and being demaunded his cause of knowledge, answered, That the Spanish Fryer *Don Matheo de Oviedo*, (whom they call Archbishop of Dublin) did assure him of the Kings pleasure therein, and to hasten the same, hee tooke his journey from Spaine in February last, leaving great store of plate and other riches for a pledge behind him.

And being farther examined concerning *Florence Mac Carty*, hee answered that the said *Florence*, did ever by sight (or otherwise) acquaint him with what the President wrote unto him, and did continually sweare, protest, and giue all outward assurance, never to desist in this action, but to persevere therein to the end; and that the Spaniards and Rebels of Vlster did build their principall hopes of Mounster, upon himselfe and *Florence Mac Carty*: all this was also verified by certaine intelligences, which the Lord *Barry* received from *Dermond Mac Awley* lately

come from the North, the effect whereof was thus much: When the Spanish Arch-bishop was to returne into Spaine in February last, there was a Councell holden in Vlster by *Tyrone Odonnell*, the said Bishop, and all the chiefe Traytors of those parts, *Iohn of Desmond*, *Lixnaw*, *Pierce Lacy*, *Donoghe Mac Cormock*, and this *Dermond Mac Awley*, being called thereupon; the chiefest matter debated in this consultation was, what place of Ireland was the most convenient, where the Spanish forces should make their arrivall. It was without much difficulty or gainesaying resolved, for all respects Mounster was the fittest Province to be invaded; then it remayned to consider what place in that Province they should first attempt; and concerning this point the Mounster men were required to deliver their opinions: *Pierce Lacy* began and urged certaine reasons, why hee thought it most requisit for them first to gaine Limerick, and plant there, because the Provinces of Connaght and Linster were neere at hand, to minister aide to the Spanish Armie, and Vlster was not farre distant, being also the place most remote from England, especially for shipping: All the rest being induced by these reasons to subscribe unto his opinion, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* stood up, and withstood this Councell, saying that *Mac Cartie more* (from whose mouth he said he spake it) upon mature deliberation, did advise their comming to Corke; for the taking of that place would bee of most importance, as well for the countenancing of the action (where the President most resided) as the magazins of victuals and munitions were placed there.

and also it being a farre better outlet then the River of Limerick, the Citie weaker and sooner forced: And lastly in landing there, they should border upon *Barry, Roche, Cormock, Mac Dermond, and Mac Cartie, Reughe*; all which for feare of their estates, were partially affected to the English, and by that meanes, either constraine them to conjoyne with them in the action, or else to make their Countrey and people a prey unto the Army. After long disputation the Councell of *Florence* delivered by *Donoghe Mac Cormock* was most applauded, and so they concluded to land the Spanish Armie in the River of Corke.

CHAPTER, VI.

Florence Mac Cartie is by the Lord President committed to prison. A briefe Collection of Florence Mac Carties treasons and practises with the Rebels; not touching any thing formerly related.

VPON these and many other reasons (that shall hereafter be alleadged) the President thought that he could not possibly accomplish a service more acceptable to her Majestie, nor profitable for the State, and more availeable to divert the Spanish preparations, then to commit unto prison and safe custody the body of this *Florence*, which was accordingly effected about the beginning of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one, a man so pernicious and dangerous to the State, which had sundry wayes broken his severall

protections; upon his apprehension (which was in Corke) the President tooke present order that search should bee made in the Pallace (his chiefe house in Desmond) and other places of his aboad, for all such Letters and writings, as could therein bee found, whereby was discovered such a Sea of rebellious and traiterous practises, as her Majestie and her honourable Councell (being acquainted therewith) thought good that hee should be sent into England with the Arch-traytor titulary Earle of Desmond, *Iames fits Thomas*. The conduction of these two firebrands of Mounster upon the fourteenth of August, 1601. was committed to the charge of Sir *Anthony Cooke*, who brought them to the Tower of London, where they yet remaine. But for as much as this *Florence*, hath sithence his commitment, insisted upon his Iustification, complayning of hard measure offered him, by her Majestie and her Officers: I am therefore constrained (though much against my will) for satisfaction of all indifferent men, Welwillers, and confutation of all malicious Cavillers, to lay open briefly (as I may) his whole cariage and conversation, since his late landing within this kingdome, forbearing to insist upon such poynts, as haue already bin touched in this relation. Thou maiest bee pleased therefore to understand gentle Reader, that the rebels of Mounster being growne to such an exceeding strength as you haue heard; and amongst these *Donnell Mac Cartie*, *Florence* his base brother in Law (one of the chiefe) her Majestie thought good to diminish their forces

with sparing as much blood, and expending as little treasure as conveniently might bee, and therefore knowing that *Florence Mac Cartie* was better beloved in the Countrey then *Donnell*, having made many solemne vowes, and taken many voluntary oathes for his continued loyaltie, was dispatched into Ireland in the moneth of May, 1599. and to the end hee might bee the more encouraged, and better enabled to doe her Highnesse service, it pleased her Majestie to direct her favourable Letters to *Robert Earle* of Essex (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) authorising him to giue order for Letters Patents to bee made, containing an effectual graunt to the said *Florence Mac Cartie*, and *Ellen* his wife, and to the Heires males of their bodies lawfully begotten, of all the Countrey of Desmond, and such other Lands, whereof hee had any estate of inheritance: but withall authorising the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, to stay those Letters Pattents in the Hamper, or deliver them (according as they should see cause) in the prooffe they should make of the behaviour of the said *Florence*: Now that yee may see in what dutifull manner hee requited this trust, in what gratefull manner this kindnesse, and in what religious manner these oathes; I will recite a part of the examination of *Iohn Anias* taken before Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, and Iustice *Comerford*, which may explaine the same, the thirteenth of October, 1600.

He saith, that in May last, *Florence Mac Cartie*

sent one *Maur. More* to him, wishing him to repaire to his Lodgings at Corke, and that *Florence* was desirous to be acquainted with him; whereupon hee came to *Florence*, and in *Florence* his Chamber, hee the said *Florence*, (and none other but they two being present) said that he understood that this Examinee was an Enginer, and one that had skill in devising and erecting of Fortifications, and that he would willingly imploy him in the like. *Anias* demanding of *Florence*, what or where hee would haue his Workes raysed? He answered, at Dunkerran, wherein hee might upon any occasion of extremitie defend himselfe, and *James fits Thomas* against the English, and also wherein hee might giue succour to such Spanyards as should come to their ayde, &c.

Whereby the indifferent Reader may perceiue with what prepared hatred, and prepensed malice this Gallant was affected, even in this first scene of his devilish Tragedie; that there might bee no indecorum, his subsequent proceedings were in all poynts correspondent to these timely beginnings: For having now left Corke, and gotten footing in his (supposed) Countrey of Desmond, hee wrote severall Letters to the Gentlemen neere adjoyning, namely the *O Sulevan*, *Mac Finnin*, the two *Odonoghs*, and others, to assemble at a time and place appoynted, to create him *Mac Cartie More*; and whosoever he was that refused to come, he persecuted as his mortall enemy; and hereof *Owen Osulevan*, (eldest sonne to Sir *Owen Osulevan* deceased) had wofull experience: for upon

his absence from his meeting, hee caused the Bonoghs (which hee had now entertained) to pray and rob the said *Owen*, and some of his Tenants, taking one *John Oge* prisoner; and when the sayd *Owen* made suite unto him for release of the prisoner, hee answered, that hee would keepe him as his Pledge, to be true to him as *Mac Cartie More*, to follow his war, and keepe his peace. But when hee found that this course would not establish and secure unto him that Dignitie and high Title (after which hee so greedily gaped) then hee solicited *Tyrone* by frequent Letters, and importunate Messengers to come for Mounster, pretending many furtherances that thereby should arise to the Catholique cause, but desiring the same chiefly to his owne end, that hee might bee by him and the Romish Clergie saluted *Mac Cartie More*: and therefore *Tirone* comming into the Province about the first day of March, *Florence* posted with all speed to his Campe, and the fourth of the same hee combined with him, and was sworne upon a Masse Booke, to bee true to *Tirone*, and prosecute all hostilitie and cruell warre against the English; *Ex examinatione Owen Osulevan.* And to the intent it may appeare that this was no fained or counterfeit Narration of *Owen Osulevan*, you shall in part perceiue by his owne Letters written to *Donogh Moyle Mac Cartie*, upon this occasion: This *Donogh* (whether growne weary of the warrs, or for some other cause (I know not) determined to continue himselfe and his followers in subjection; and for the same cause had submitted himselfe to Sir *Warham St ledger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, Commissioners

appointed for the government of that Province, untill the coming of Sir *George Carew* to be President; *Florence Mac Cartie*, either to advance the Catholike cause, or else desirous that all his neighbours should run with him to the like excesse of ryot, joyning with *Owen Mac Eggan*, a Popish Priest, and most infamous rebell, and *Odonevan*, sent Letters to the said *Donogh Mac Cartie*, as followeth.

The Letter.

COusen *Donogh*, wee haue us commended to your selfe, and to your brother *Florence*: I haue (I assure you) taken the paines to come hither to *Tyrone*, not so much for any danger of my owne, as to saue the Countrey of Carberry from danger and destruction, which if it bee once destroyed, your living (in my opinion) will growe very scarce. These two Gentlemen, your Brother *Odonevan*, and *Owen Mac Eggan*, are verie carefull with mee of your good. Therefore if ever you will bee ruled by us, or tender the wealth of your selfe and your Countrey, wee are heereby earnestly to request you, to come and meete us to morrowe at Cloudghe; and so requesting you not to fayle heereof in any wise, to Gods keeping I commit you. *Oneales Campe* at Iniscare, *Martij* 2. 1599. subscribed

Your very loving Friends,
Florence Mac Cartie
Owen Mac Eggan.
Donnell Odonevan

Tyrone finding that *Florence* was not onely forward in his owne person but also a fartherer of others, making new Proselites the children of perdition, aswell as himselfe, by the consent of all the Popish Bishops, Fryers, and Iesuits, and all the Irish Nobilitie there assembled, created him *Mac Cartie More*, vsing in this creation all the Rites and Ceremonies accustomed amongst the ancient Irish.

Tyrone having left the Province in the latter end of March, this new *Mac Cartie More* did so well remember his vowes made to *Tyrone* (although hee quite forgot those that hee formerly made to her Majestie) as in the very next Moneth, namely in Aprill, 1600. he vsed all his policie, power and industrie, to defeate the Queenes forces, under the command of Captaine *Flower*, but because I have formerly touched his proceedings therein, I will not trouble the Reader againe with vaine tautologies, and needlese repititions.

In the Moneth of May, immediately following, by the importunate mediation of the Earle of Thomond, and *Iohn fits Edmonds*, hee came to the President at Corke, but he had no sooner left the Towne but hee sent present word to the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas*, aswell of his particular proceedings with the President, as of all such intelligene (as hee could possible understand) to giue impediment to the service, all which may appeare by a Letter remised from the said *Iames* unto him, the true Copie whereof here ensueth.

James fits Thomas his Letter unto him

MY good Lord and Cosen, your Letters of the eighteenth of May, I received the five and twentieth of the same, wherein you relate the manner of your proceedings with the President at Corke, and also of his determination towards the West of my Countrey: I thanke God I prevented that which hee expected here, for all the good pledges of the Countrey are committed to Castlemange, for their constant behaviour in this our action; the President with his force is come to Limerick, and intended presently to draw towards Askeiton, where I purpose with my Armie to resist him, I pray you the better to further the service, and the more to coole the bloody desire of our Enemy; let mee intreate you to put in effect, the meaning of my last Letters, by drawing your forces to joyne with mee here, which being done, I doubt not under God to performe service, that shall redound to the generall quiet of our Countrey, and so referring the due consideration hereof (to your Lordships carefull vsage) I commit you to the most Mighty: From the Campe at Adare this first of Iune, 1600.

Your very loving Cosen,

James Desmond

In the foresaid Moneth, the said *Florence* sent *Teg Oholloghan* and *Donoghe Offaly* to *Owen Osulevan*, vsing many strong Motiues and forcible perswasions to him, that hee should joyne with them (in action) against her Majestie, assuring him that all the *Osulevans* would presently shew themselues publikely for the Catholike cause, if they might perceiue that hee would partake with them, and afterwards *Iames fits Thomas* being taken Prisoner by *Dermond O Conner* towards the latter end of this said Moneth, *Florence* came in person to his rescue unto Castle Lyshin.

Also *Owen Osulevan* being with *Florence Mac Cartie* at the Pallace, heard him say, that hee had almost as willingly die, as come under the English government, and perswaded all those he spake with, to be obstinate in action, telling him how long Ireland had beene tyrannically governed by English men: All which *Osulevan* aforesaid did relate unto the President, and thereto tooke his corporall oath the one and twentieth of March, 1600.

In Iuly, hee taking upon him regall authority within Desmond, as *Mac Carty More* sent first to *ne Donnell Ferrers* to bee Sherife of that Countrey, perswading him that it would be very beneficiall unto him, which the said *Donnell* refused, answering that hee would not take that authority upon him, except hee could shew him a warrant from the President, authorising him to make such election, as hee knew the like heretofore graunted to the Earle of Clancare

in the times of trouble; whereupon he appointed another, named *Muriertagh Mac Teg* to the same office. *Ex examinatione Donnell Ferrers.*

In August Sir *Charles Wilmot* first planted his Garrisons in Kerry, and how glad this dissembling hypocrit was of his neighbourhood, besides his owne manifold Letters sent to Sir *Charles* (full of God damme him) if he were not heartily glad of his good successe here; you shall perceiue partly by the examination of the said *Ferrers*, in *hæc verba*: When the President in August, 1600. settled Garrisons in Kerry, *Florence* caused the Castle of Killorglan appertayning to Master *Ienkin Conway*, Vndertaker, to bee burned, fearing lest Sir *Charles Wilmot* should plant himselfe there, and when as the Governour afterward placed this Examinat therein, hee sent some of his kerne and tooke all his prey, threatning to pull them all out by the heeles, having no other quarrell against him, but onely because hee repaired the same Castle: Hee also releevd the Knight of the Valley at his house of the Pallace: And after (the said *Florence* was protected by the President) hee releevd likewise *Thomas fits Maurice* the Barron of Lixnaw, and ceased his Bonoghes in Desmond; but more plainly by examination of *Iames Welsh* taken the tenth of May, 1601. as followeth.

When *Iames fits Thomas* was in Kerry in September last, *Florence Mac Cartie* perswaded him to remaine there, promising him all the aide that hee could giue him, and being in his departure towards

Arlogh, hee sent *Thomas Oge* after him, praying him to returne, and hee would bring him to the killing of Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and the Garison of *Trale* that was with him, &c.

And when hee saw that *Iames fits Thomas* would not follow his Councell, but would needs goe to take *Arlogh Mountaines* for his refuge; hee wrote a Letter in Irish (which the said *Iames Welsh* read) directed unto *Cahir Mac Shane Glasse Omulrian* in Ormond, desiring him to levie for him in those parts sixe hundred Foote, which if hee could not doe, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to get so many for him; and if hee failed, then to deale with Captaine *Tirrell*, and that hee would pay them upon *Desmond*. About this time also hee sent a traitorous message to the *White Knight* (by his daughter) *Mac Donoghes* wife, together with a cunning Letter, written in Irish and translated as followeth.

A Letter from Florence to the White Knight.

DAmnation, I cannot but commend mee heartily unto you, as bad as thou art, and doe also most heartily commend mee to your wife, and to your two Sonnes, I would bee very glad to speake with you for your good; and because I cannot speake with you my selfe, yet I would haue you in any

wise credit your daughter Mistris *Mac Donoghe* concerning me, and to beleue from me, whom shee sends, or what shee sends you word of, by a trusty Messenger; I would haue you to determine about *Pierce Oge*, and that I may speake with you, I meane about *Gortnetoberd*, of *Tullylease*, send word to *Pierce*, and *Dermond* of the day with him, and send mee word, and I will come without all faile: In the meane time I leaue you to God, Pallace this seven and twentieth of August, 1600.

Your assured loving Friend.

Florence Mac Cartie.

This Letter was delivered, and expounded to the President by the White Knight: *Pierce Oge* before mentioned, was *Pierce Lacy*, the message which hee sent by *Mac Donoghs* wife, was to reprove him for his submission to the Queene, and to incite him to enter againe into rebellion, and if hee would not bee advised by him, and himselfe not able to mainetaine the action, that hee purposed to agree with *Donell Mac Cartie* his brother in Law, and to leaue the County of Desmond, and the Followers in his hands, and to imbarke himselfe into Spaine, to procure and hasten the long expected aide. In October, after

many and infinite delatory excuses, and protracted delayes, he submitted himselfe to the President, putting in such pledges as before you haue heard, and received a Protection for ten dayes, before the expiration whereof, hee earnestly laboured *Cormock Mac Dermond* about the mariage betwixt the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas* and his sister, promising to the said *Cormock*, all the Lands that hee had in Carbery, and undertaking that the said Earle should giue farther unto him, such portions of Lands as should bee to his owne content, so that he would consent to this mariage, and joyne in this wicked combination.

The next Moneth, diuers meanes were made to *Thomas Oge*, Constable of Castlemange, by the Governor of Kerry, and the young Earle of Desmond (lately come out of England) about the delivery of that Castle to her Majesties use; *Florence* receiving notice hereof, made many journies to the said *Thomas Oge*, urging him with forcible perswasions not to relinquish the said Castle to the English, promising that hee would undertake upon his owne charge and perill, to see him furnished with victuals (and all other necessaries) from time to time, whereof hee should stand in need; and when hee perceived an inclination in the said *Thomas Oge* (notwithstanding his perswasions) to yeeld the Castle, hee assayed by a craftie wile, to

haue conveyed away the two Sonnes of *Pierce Lacy*, which were held as pledges for *Iames fits Thomas* within that Castle; but the plot being frustrate (by meere accident) the children and Castle were within short time after delivered to the State.

When Sir *Charles Wilmot* came into Kerry with her Majesties forces, *Florence Mac Cartie* (as *Thomas Oge*, upon his examination confessed) intreated *Iames fits Thomas* to make the warre there, whereunto hee assented: But *Iames* could not perswade the Bonoghs unto it; Also after that *Dermond O Conner* had enterprised the taking of *Iames fits Thomas*, hee did then promise him to enter into open action of Rebellion, and to that end he solicited *Dermond Mac Owen*, *Mac Awley*, *O'keefe*, *Mac Finnin*, *Owen Mac Teg Carty* and others. And when *Tyrone* was in Mounster, *Florence* desired him to make it knowen to the King of Spaine, that hee would serue him faithfully; for the assurance whereof, the said *Florence* wrote a Letter to the King, and gaue it to *Tyrone* to bee sent into Spaine: And also tooke his corporall oath to performe his promises; whereupon *Tyrone* stiled and confirmed him *Mac Carty More*; hee also told the said *Thomas Oge*, that if the Spaniards did not land by May next, hee would goe into the North, and from thence into Spaine. And after that *Iames fits Thomas* was broken, hee told this examinat, that

if *Iames* could get forces out of *Vlster*; the said *Florence* would joyne with him. Farther, *Florence* intised *Connocke Mac Dermond* to enter into rebellion, and marry his Sister to *Iames fits Thomas*, who should giue unto him *Kerry*, whereby that his eldest Sonne should marry *Cormocks* Daughter, and *Cormocks* eldest Sonne to marry his daughter, who in mariage with her would giue *Carrigenesse* with twelue Plow-lands; which mariage, hee proposed for their firmer vnion in their rebellious enterprise: And that hee had loaden a Barque with Irish commodities to bee sent beyond the Seas, which should returne him munition, &c. Many other treasonable actions, and traitorly speeches, acted and spoken by the said *Florence*; the same *Thomas Oge* related unto the Lord President, which for brevitie sake I haue omitted, which was taken at Moyallo by the President in Ianuary, 1600.

The President not holding himselfe sufficiently assured of *Florence* with his two Pledges, his base brother and kinsman, still importuned the bringing of his eldest Sonne, according to his promise upon his first protection; hee having no pretext for his longer stay, sent to *Owen Mac Teg Mergagh* in *Desmond* to carry his said Sonne to *Corke*, there to bee left as a pledge for him; within a few dayes after this message sent, *Florence* receiving advertisement from *Tyrone*, of certaine Spaniards landed in the North, and hearing continuall rumors of Northern forces, to infest the Province, dispatched a Messenger to the said *Owen Mac Teg mergagh* to

make stay of his Sonne for a longer time; *viz.* untill hee might perceiue what would bee the issue of those preparations; but before the Messenger could come, the said *Owen* was with the child upon his way, and come to *Corke*, before the said Messenger overtook him, but had not as yet delivered the child out of his owne custody; wherefore receiving this countermand, hee secretly conveyed the child out of the Citie, and returned with him againe into *Desmond*, where he was kept as before, untill *Florence* had seene that there was neither Irish nor Spaniards appeared to his aide, succour and comfort.

In the Moneth following, namely in January, hee sent divers Letters to *Tyrone* and other his fellow traytors in the North, and from them received several answers, whereof some partchanced to come to our hands, which wee will here insert; and first there doth offer it self, one Letter written by *Donogh Mac Cormock* to the King of Spaine, in the name of *Florence Mac Cartie*, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

*A Letter from Donoghe Mac Cormock in
the name of Florence to the King
of Spaine,*

HAVING received direction from the Earle of *Clan-Care*, I would not omit this opportunity; at the departure of the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and *Don Martin de La Cerda*, to make knowen to your Majestie, how the said Earle hath written to your Majestie by

two or three wayes ; but understanding that these Letters came not to your Royall hands, hee hath now againe written by me to your Majestie, making offer as well of his person and lands, as of his vassals and Subjects to your Royall service ; humbly beseeching your Majestie to receiue favour, and aide him with your power and liberall hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against these Heretikes in this holy Enterprise : From Donegall the fift of Ianuary 1601.

*Your Majesties loyall Vassall
to kisse your Royall hands,*

Donoghe Cartie.

This Letter as it should seeme was originally written (and the Copie sent to *Florence*) by one *Thomas Shelton*, who wrote herewith other Letters unto him of his owne as followeth.

A Letter from Shelton to Florence Mac Carty.

M*Y honourable Lord, by direction of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and at the request of Mac Donogh (your agent here) I did write a Letter addressed to the King of Spaine, subscribed by him ; In which was signified how by your direction, hee had made offer of your service to his Majestie ; the Copy of which Letter goeth here inclosed : what the newes*

and hopes of Spaine are, the bearer will fully informe you. This only rests; that is I have ever desired to serue your Lordship, so finding now the opportunity of this Bearer, I would not omit so fit an occasion to kisse your honourable hands and signifie that respect I haue ever borne towards you; God preserue and assist you in all your designes, that wee may liue to see accomplished by you, these things (whereof your noble beginnings giue an assured hope.) Donegall Ianuary the sixth, sub.

Your most affectionate Friend.

Thomas Shelton.

Hee received also at the same time other Letters in Spanish (thus Englished) from the said Archbishop, subscribed, To the most Excellent Earle *Florence Mac Cartie.*

A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin
to *Florence Mac Cartie.*

Right Honourable Lord, God is my witnesse, that after my arivall in Ireland, having knowledge of your Lordships valour and learning, I had an extreame desire to see, communicate, and conferre with so principall a personage; but the danger of the way would not permit mee: I am now departing into Spaine, with grief that I haue not visited those parts;

but I hope shortly to retorne into this Kingdome, and into those parts to your satisfaction; and be assured, that J will performe with his Maiestie, the office that a Brother ought to doe, that he should send from Spaine. Because by letter I cannot speake any more, I leaue the rest untill sight. The Lord haue your Lordship in his keeping according to my desire. From Donegall the sixteenth of January, 1601.

Yo Mateo Arçobispo de Dublin.

After all this, namely in February next following, the said false-hearted *Florence*, wrote certaine Letters to *O Donnell*, the contents whereof may be gathered by the answer, that the said *O Donnell* remised in Irish therevnto, and therefore I haue thought good to remember the same (translated) in this place.

O Donnells Answer.

O*Vr commendations to you Mac Cartie: We haue received the Letter you sent the fourteenth of October, and we sweare by our word, that you are no lesse grieved, for that you see us not, then we our selues, and it was not more your minde to haue ayd, then ours to send vnto you, if wee could for the great trouble it would bee to our selues, to intend you, and by your hand, there was not many in Ireland more of the minde then mine owne person, to haue gone to visit you,*

had not the strangers neighboured upon my Countrey, and (as you know) my Countrey lying on the Sea, and they having the secrecie thereof to doe their endeavours, to conquer what they may vpon the same, which they would not doe vpon a Countrey not lying vpon the Sea: You shall receiue what Newes of Spaniards came to these parts by Iohn fits Thomas, and Donogh Mac Cormock and whatsoever they brought with them, we impart with you, and doe provide for the same, men to send unto you, if they may be had. Our Commendations to Patrick Condon, and to the rest of our friends in those parts.

Your very assured Friend,

Hugh O Donnell.

The Earle of *Thomond*, at the request of the Lord President, sent a Priest called *Teg Mac Gillipatrick*, as a Spie into Vlster, to learne what newes hee could get among the Rebels there, returned the one and twentieth of February, 1600, and came to the Lord President at Moyallo, reporting that at his being at Donegall, in the Christmas Holy dayes, *Tirone, Odonnell*, and most of the Northerne Captaines being there present, made a new combination to continue the Rebellion; at which assembly, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin was present, then ready to depart for Spaine, with sixteene Irish Priests in his company:

for the better assurance of their confederacie, the Sacrament was solemnely received by them all. At the same time, *Teg Mac Gillipatrick* (the Priest aforesaid) did see a Letter of *Florence Mac Carties*, lately sent to *Tirone* by a Messenger of his owne, which hee heard read openly, the Contents whereof was, That hee protested hee was not fallen from them, but had made a peace with the Lo: President of Mounster, untill May next, and that then he was at libertie.

One *Dermond Mac Cartie*, a kinsman and dependant upon *Florence*, and by him (as is supposed) was sent into Spaine, where hee continued his Intelligencer many yeeres, and by the Spanyards called *Don Dermutio Cartie*, wrote a Letter unto his Master *Florence*, dated at the Groyne the ninth of March, 1600. A long letter in Spanish, the materiall poynts whereof are thus abstracted and Englished :

That hee was glad to heare that his Lordship upon the fifteenth of December last, was landed at Corke, after his eleven yeeres restraint in England, whereof three of them in the Tower of *London*; that his Imprisonment was not for marrying of the Earle of *Clan Cares* daughter without leaue, as was pretended, but upon suspition which the State had of his loyaltie, which he understood by Letters written from the Lord Deputie, and Treasurer of Ireland to the Queene, (which was intercepted and brought into Spaine)

wherein it was suggested, that hee having so many kinsmen, friends, and followers, and himselfe (who was knowne to beare affection to Spanyards) it were fit hee were restrayned; and that this onely was the cause of his eleven yeeres restraint. Wherefore hee advised him, not to put any confidence in the English: for if they once againe lay hold upon him, they would never enlarge him.

Hee advised him to certifie his Majestie, how much hee was his Servant, what Townes and places hee could put into his handes, what number of men of warre hee could serue him withall; and if he could surprize Corke, he should bee well supplied by the King of Spaine.

That hee might send his Letters (written to the King) unto *Don Diego Brochero*, (who is a great favourer of the Irish Nation, and in great credit with the King) by which meanes they would bee safely delivered, as also his Letters unto him, for the solicitation of his businesse. That within three dayes hee might send him answere from the Groyne, which hee could not doe unto *Oneale*, and *O Donnell*, who were so farre off in the North of the Kingdome, and advised him to write unto them, that they in like manner should direct their Letters to *Don Diego Brochero*; but if he would not write unto him, hee would advise with *Don Diego*, and repaire himselfe unto him into Ireland.

Lastly, hee hoped that the King of Spaine would the next Spring send an Armie into Ireland.

It would bee too tedious to set downe at large all the manifest proofes of *Florence* his juggling Treasons; wherefore I will for brevitie sake, relate but a few more Abstracts of Letters and Examinations which heere ensue.

The thirteenth of May 1600. *Florence* received Letters from *Tyrone*, wherein hee prayeth him, that hee would constantly persevere in the Catholike cause, as hee had promised, that aide should come unto him from the North by Lammas next: That he had written in his favour to the King of Spaine, commended his service, and prayed the King to giue him assistance.

Tyrone wrote unto both the *Osulevans*, requiring them to giue obedience unto *Florence*; for hee had complained of them. *Tyrone* threatening the said *Osulevans*, that if they did not obey him (as they ought) hee would with his forces come into Mounster to destroy them: Dated the thirtieth of October, 1599.

Tyrone to *Florence*, dated the seventeenth of Aprill, 1600. that according to the trust and confidence he had in him, and his Confederats in Mounster, they should fight valiantly against the English, whereunto they were bound in conscience and for their Countries good.

Another from *Tyrone* to *Florence Mac Cartie*, dated the second of May 1600 wherein hee signifieth unto him of the arrivall of the Popes Archbishop of Dublin: And of present aides from Spaine, he thanked God that the Earle of Ormond is taken, hee incited him to entertaine as many Bonoghs as hee can against their enemies, that hee hath acquainted the King of Spaine of his service, unto whom hee hath sent his Sonne *Henry Oneale*, and that hee would shortly send him aide.

Garret Liston of Skehanaghe in the County of Limerick Gentleman being examined upon oath said, that *Florence Mac Cartie* met with *Iames fits Thomas* at Belaghafenan two miles from Castle Mayne, where *Iames* challenged him for not coming unto him with his forces, to fight with the Lord President as he had promised, whom after hee had with smooth language pacified; hee protested solemnly, and tooke his oath in the presence of *Iames fits Thomas*, *Mac Awlife*, *Thomas Oge*, *Muriertaghe Mac Shihie*, *Iohn Vlicke* and this Examinat, that hee would continue with *Iames fits Thomas* in this action. And although *Iames* should giue over the rebellion (which hee termed a just warre) yet hee himselfe would keepe life in it, so long as hee could get any to follow him, &c. This examination was taken by the Lord President the twentieth of August, 1600.

Another from *Oneale* to *Florence* dated the sixth of February 1600. wherein hee exhorteth him to serue valiantly against the Pagan Beast ; That before hee did write unto him againe, hee should see trouble enough in England itselfe ; and that yeare, May ensuing, the warres of Ireland would bee easie : And for that the cause of Mounster was left unto him, hee wished that no imbecility should bee found in him, and that the time of helpe was neere.

Florence Mac Carties wife told Sir *Charles Wilmot*, that her husbands heart was malicious to the State, and that hee would never come in, but upon necessitie, and that all hee did intend, or make shew of to the President was but to gaine time.

Shilie wife to *Osulevan More*, and Sister to *Florence Mac Cartie*, in September, 1600. speaking with the Lord President, exclaimed upon her Brother, as the cause of her Husbands imprisonment with the Rebels, and praying his advise and helpe for his enlargement ; hee told her there was no way to obtaine his liberty, but to giue his oath and promise, to enter into action of Rebellion and perswaded her to giue him that advise.

Thomas Oge being examined, said that *Florence Mac Cartie* told him, upon the delivery of his first pledge ; that if all the children living were in her Majesties hands for his loyaltie, or any other Follower, hee would loose no opportunity, if *Tyrone* were able

to assist his enterprize with any sufficient forces, or if Spaniards did land.

James fits Thomas upon the eighteenth of Iune, 1601. being examined by the Lord President, said that *Florence Mac Carty* did evermore acquaint him with all that passed betweene him and the President, and did continually sweare and protest, that hee would persevere in the action to the end; and that the principall hopes of the Spaniards and Vlster Rebels, were built upon the helpe and succour of himselfe, and *Florence Mac Carty*. And to what purposes hee employed himselfe in the times immediatly following, untill the time of his imprisonment, may bee gathered aswell by that which hath heretofore beene delivered, as by the ~~man, taken by Sir Francis Barkley, who being deposed; said that Florence Mac Carty sent his Letter and promise to Tyrone, to giue Bonnogh to Redmond Burke, and sixe hundred men upon Desmond and Carbery, and himselfe with one thousand more of his owne, would meete the said Redmond Burke in Arloghe; and at the same time hee saw foure and twentie Letters written by Tyrone, directed to Florence, and the Traytors in Mounster. You haue already perceived that this cunning hypocriticall Traytor, hath written Letters to the Arch-traytors, James fits Thomas, Tyrone, and Odonnell; and besides hath sent, or at the least~~

procured Letters to bee sent to the King of Spaine; moving and intreating him to invade her Majesties kingdome: And now for a perclose of all you shall behold, (*Ne quid desit ad summam impudentiam*) that hee might equall, if not exceed the most impudent and barbarous Traytor; his Letters sent to his holy Father the Pope, the contents whereof are as followeth.

A Letter from Tyrone, Iames fits Thomas,
Florence Mac Carty, and Mac Donogh
to the Pope.

S*anctissime Pater, cum superioribus annis Dei summi nutu & voluntate excitati ad recuperandum Hoc Regnum ab Anglorum gravissimo jugo, qui & Religionem & regionem vi & tyrannide multis seculis occuparere, id nunc tandem post multa pericula exantlata, pro majore parte excussimus, sanctitati vestræ exponimus, quod prima nobis & præcipua fuit cura perpetuoq; erit, statum ecclesiæ, hîc fere extinctum in integrum restituere & collapsum redintegrare, ita apud nos judicantes nostrarum partium esse, vitam ipsam omnemque substantiam nostram in eo augendo impendere, id quod libentiori animo præstare conamur (ut non dicamus cogimur) quia nisi tempestive communi malo in utroque statu occurserimus nobiscum deterius longe actum fuisset quam Turcæ solent agere, cum sibi subditis Christianis adeo ut vel fugæ esset consulend' vel hic*

mors obeunda. Rebus itaque in angustias has redactis, ad quem majore spe jureque accedere cujusque opem implorare possumus, ac debemus, quàm ad te Pater spirituum in terris, ut filijs spiritualibus miserè adhuc afflictis jugoque longe graviore & crudeliore quàm Pharaonico attritis adsis. Quod nos speramus à pietate tua consecuturos exemplo omnium afflictorum, qui ad sedem tuam in talibus ærumnis accedentes opem atque desideratiorem exitum fuerunt consecuti Ad te igitur communem omnium afflictorum, præsertim fidei causa laborantium pium & benevolum Patrem, tanquam ad unicum nostrum refugium & tutissimum asylum confugimus, fusisque lachrimis humiliter petimus, ut nostros gemitus audiat, vota suscipiat, ac postulatus concedat, ut eorum ora obstruantur franganturque vires qui oderunt Sion, ac impediunt diruta Ierusalem denuo reædificari Mænia, ubi si nobis credere dignetur tua Sanctitas; Nunquam antecessores nostri ex tempore quo Regnum hoc in manus Anglorum devenerat, adjutores fuerant quàm nos sumus ad fidem à nostro Apostolo Sancto Patricio, traditam suscipiendum ad eamque (proh dolor) in his partibus fere extinctam hactenus & pene sepultam excusso jam pro parte Anglorum jugo exsuscitandam, promovendam augendam, & amplificandam; Quia nihil aliud in his votis habemus quàm videre Dei gloriam & fidei orthodoxæ propugnationem: annuere itaque dignetur vestra sanctitas nostris petitionibus, qui spretis honoribus & commodis

quibuscunque diem ulteriorem vivere non desideramus, quàm videre Dei Ecclesiam toto orbe florentem: petimus autem imprimis, ut ad majora fidei incrementa illis sedibus vacantibus in hoc Regno ij qui vita moribus & literatura sunt conspicui, quique in negotio fidei promovendo plurimum nobiscum laborant præficiantur quosque nobiscum Reverendissimus Corcagen' ac Cloanen' Episcopus nominavit ac commendavit tanquam idonei Pastores ad Dei gregem verbo et exemplo instruendum, ne indignis qui sine ordine & fortasse summâ cum authoritate & ambitione sese animarum curæ ingererent, nisi occurreretur aditus pateat. Quod ut petamus movemur propter summam animarum jacturam, quam ob Pastorum paucitatem in utraque Monitione provincia qui undecim Episcopatus sub Metropoli Cassilensi complectitur: excipimus enim Reverend' Corcagen' & Cloaneum qui senio & labore jam pene est confectus, nostri potiuntur, & hoc eo confidentius petimus, quia qui electi consecrati, & ad nos dimissi fuerunt à vestra sacrosancta sede ad vacuas hjs in partibus sedes occupandas à nobis pro viribus in ijsdem Dei gracia defendantur, ut gregibus sibi Commissis tuto invigilare queant. Insuper desideramus ut quemadmodum felicitis recollectionis Pius Quintus, Pontifex Maximus contra Reginam Angliæ ejusque fautores Bullam excommunicationis ediderat; Necnon Gregorius 13. eandem continuaverat, ac vim habere in bello Giral-dinarum indicavit: similem quoque sententiam ad

hoc bellum promovendum, & ad felicem exitum deducendum, Sanctitas vestra emittere dignetur ac generatim sanctitati vestræ affectu quo possumus maximo regnum hoc vestrum à te solo post Deum dependens nosque humiles tuos subditos una cum procuratoribus præsentium latoribus quos pro nobis & nostro nomine deputamus, quique fuse & veraciter omnia quæ in hoc bello gessimus adjuti eorum opera & doctrina viva voce aperient plenius. Deprecantes ut Sancta vestra indubiam illis fidem dignetur adhibere eidem committimus & commendamus.—
Dat' in Castris nostris Catholicis 30. Martij 1600.

Sanctitatis vestræ Obedientissimi
 filij & fidelissimi subditi,

Oneale. James Desmond.
Mac Cartie More.
Dermond Mac Cartie, alias
Mac Donogh.

I will not trouble the understanding Reader with any long Commentary upon this plaine Text ; but onely will demand one question, whether that man which shall suggest, that her Majesties Subjects are in worse case then the Christians under the Turks, that her Majesties government is more tyrannicall then that of the Egyptian *Pharaoh*, that shall prefer a supplication into the Court of Rome, to haue his annoynted Prince excommunicated as an Heretike,

and deposed as an Vsurper, whether this man may bee adjudged to carie a loyall heart to that Prince, or deemed worthy to liue in that Common wealth. For my owne part I cannot suppose his leprosie like that of *Naaman* which may bee cleansed with washing seven times in Iordan; but like that of *Gehezi*, which will sticke to him and his posterity for ever, and that hee may ingeniously confesse with ever-cursed *Cain*, *Pecata mea maiora sunt quam condonari queant*, my sinnes are greater then can be forgiven, but fearing lest this digression will be as over tedious to thee in reading, as it hath bin unpleasant to me in writing, I will now proceed in my purposed relation.

CHAP. VII.

Dermond Mac Owen, Teg Mac Dermond, and Moyle Mo Omaghon arrested. Dermond Mac Owens answer to the Lord President. The services which the Mounster Regiment performed in Connaght, under the conduct of Sir Francis Barkley.

THE Lord President, notwithstanding all these intelligences of Spanish succours, had conceived a good hope, that so soone as the present State of the Province should bee knowen in Spaine; namely that the Chieftains were apprehended, and the rest generally appeased, it would bee a good means to divert the intended preparations; and yet farther, to secure the Provincials (so farre as the wit of

man could devise) he called a generall Sessions of Goale delivery in Corke, to bee holden about the eight and twentieth of Iuly, whither all the Freeholders in that Countrey were to make their repaire, where hee intended to lay hold of all such persons, as had beene most pernicious in the former warres, and likely to proue most dangerous in after times; these were principally foure, *Dermond Mac Owen Cartie*, alias *Mac Donoghe*, that was a Partaker in the petition to the Popes sanctitie; an other *Teg Mac Dermond Cartie*, brother to *Cormuc* Lord of Muskerry, the third *Moil Mo Omaghon*, chiefe of that Sept of the *Omaghons* in Kinalmekeghe, and the fourth and last was *Dermond Moil Mac Cartie*, brother to *Florence Mac Cartie*, so much spoken of. The three former making their apparance at the Sessions, were apprehended and committed Prisoners to the gentleman Porter; the fourth knowing himselfe guilty of many treacherous practises plotted by his brother *Florence*, durst not adventure himselfe within the Citie wals, but kept aloofe in Carbery till hee heard how the other sped, and then conveyed himselfe into the North amongst his fellow Rebels.

I may not here omit to relate unto you a passage which passed betweene *Dermond Mac Owen* aforesaid (the first of the foure aforementioned) and the Lord President; when he was first taken

in upon protection, did sweare and protest that he would remaine a good Subject; but (said the President) what if the Spaniards invade Ireland, what would you doe then? your Lordship puts mee (said hee) to a hard question; for if that should happen, let not then your Lordship trust me or the Lords *Barry* and *Roche*, or any other whatsoever, that you haue best conceit of, for if you doe, you will bee deceived, this was plaine dealing, and in divers it proved true, as hereafter you shall heare.

Vpon the determination of these Sessions aforesaid, namely in the beginning of August, the President dispatched his Letters to the Lord Deputie, and the Councill at Dublin, signifying the restraint of these men, and the reasons inducing him thereunto; for they all (being men of turbulent spirits, discontented minds, and ill affected to the English government) could not but proue very dangerous to the State in these doubtfull times, forraine invasions being daily expected; and although they had lately submitted themselues, yet was it sufficiently made knowen unto him, aswell by the confession of the condemned titularie Earle, as from other of good credit, that it proceeded not from any loyall or dutifull disposition, but by the necessitie of the time being constrained, and by the Popish Priests being licensed, they were contented for a time to liue in subjection, being

no longer able to hold out in rebellion: But yet notwithstanding, hee determined to proceed, either in the retayning or releasing of them, as hee should be directed by their graver wisdomes: The Lord Deputie and Councell approved of his proceedings, referring the farther pursuite of these affaires, together with all other matters within his government to his owne discretion.

You haue formerly heard how Sir *Francis Barkley* was sent with Regiment into Connaght: and although I doe confine myselfe to speake chiefly of the services of Mounster, yet this Regiment being still upon the List of Mounster, I doe not thinke that I shall erre in setting downe of any accident of note which it performed. The nineth of August, Sir *Francis* with his Troopes lodged at Alphine in the County of Roscoman; the morning following was darke and misty, *Odonnell*, *Orwrke*, *Tirrell*, and the traytorly Confederats, being fifteene hundred Foote and three hundred Horse, quartering not farre from us, presented themselues close to our Campe; Sir *Francis Barkley* finding that his store of munition was but weake, resolved not to fight, but the Enemy growing bold upon our slacknesse, pressed so boldly upon us, as we were forced to draw out; for two houres there was a hot skirmish, wherein our men served exceeding well, forcing them to retire to their quarter: Of

our side there was lost a Gentleman of Captaine *Kingsmils* Company, and foure and twentie hurt: Of the Enemy not so few as eightie slaine and hurt.

CHAP. VIII.

Six thousand men demanded by the Lord President to bee sent into Mounster to withstand the intended invasion of Spaine. The Lord Presidents opinion sent to the Lords of the Councell, of the likeliest place where the Spaniards would attempt to land their Forces in Ireland. The effect of the Lords of the Councels answer to the Lord President. A branch of the Lord Presidents Letter to Master Secretary Cecill. A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the Lord President. The intelligence had of the Spanish fleete comming for Ireland, and by him sent to the Lord President. A branch of Master Secretary Cecils Letter to the Lord President.

THE Lord President from time to time, certified aswell the Lords of her Majesties privie Councell in England, as the Lord Deputie and Councell at Dublin, of all such intelligences as hee received, and probabilities as hee conceived of the Spanish preparations: yet long it was before hee could induce them, to conceit any such thing: But now at the last, even as a vehement and violent Tempest, sometimes resoundeth in the aire for a good space before it falleth, and the neerer it approacheth, the more palpably and senseably is perceived; such was this tempestuous storme of the Spaniards intended invasion, which was now so vniuersally seconded

from all places, that it was generally expected both in England and Ireland ; and for this cause the President did earnestly sollicit the Councell of England that sixe thousand men might bee levied for this service ; whereof two thousand to bee sent presently for Waterford, and the rest to bee in a readinesse at an houres warning, to make speedy repaire to the Sea-coast ; upon the first notice of this invasion.

The President also thought fit to deliver his opinion to the Lords of the Councell, what places within the Province were most likely for the Spanyards to attempt, & most necessary for her Majestie both in pollicie and honour to defend : for to prevent their descent in any place, (where themselues thought meete) was by him deemed impossible. But it was to bee presumed, that they would attempt such a place, as should bee honourable for them to gaine, and disadvantageous for her Majestie to loose ; And therefore hee thought that their discent (most likely) would be at Limerick, Waterford, or Corke ; as for the other Townes, they were neither worth their labour to winne, nor her Majesties charges to defend : Limericke was farre seated within the land, neither could they disimboge from thence without an Easterly winde, (which being rare) it was not likely that they would hazzard their Fleet upon such disadvantage : Waterford (though weake and commodious for them) it was so neere to England,

and especially lying so conveniently for her Majesties Forces within that Kingdome, the Deputie on the one side, and the President on the other, being so neere at hand, as it was not likely that they would land there. Corke therefore hee supposed to bee most convenient for them to assaile, and most necessary for her Majestie to defend for these reasons: First, because those that had beene the greatest dealers about this Invasion in Spaine, namely one *Dermond Mac Cartie*, a neere kinsman to *Florence*, called by the Spaniards, *Don Dermutio*, did advise (as aforesaid) *Florence* by Letters, (which were intercepted) to surprise Corke; Secondly, the said *Florence* did advise the Spanish Archbishop, by his Agent *Donogh Mac Cormock*, (as you haue heard) that Corke was the fittest place for this designe; Whereunto both *Tyrone* and all the Northerne Rebels did subscribe. Lastly, her Majesties Magazines of Victualls, Munition, and Treasure residing there in great quantities, could not without infinite trouble, and great danger be remooved: for besides, if they should be removed, either to Limrick or Waterford, neither of those were altogether secure, yet it would give an apparant testimony of feare, conceived of their comming, which would not onely amaze the best affected subjects, through the Province, but give occasion to the rest generally to revolt: upon these reasons the President thought fit to assemble all the forces within the Province, (which was then but 1300 Foote, and 200 Horse

in list) unto Corke or the places neere adjoyning, for the manning and making good of that Citie, which in it selfe, by the naturall situation thereof, was very weake, and of small defence.

The Lord by his Letters understanding his resolution, by their Letters dated the twentieth of Iuly (which hee received in August following) wrote unto him to this effect; that they would presently send unto him 2000 Foote for his supply: That they would not direct him what he should doe if the Spaniards landed, leaving it to his owne judgement, as occasion should be offered; saying farther, that where by his own Letters they perceived, (whereunto al mens judgement did agree with him) that Corke was a weake towne, & not tenible against a powerfull enemy, they thought fit to give him this generall rule, that in case he should see such forces arrive, applying themselves to a place of weake defence, (which in his judgement must in the end be carried, that nothing can be more pernicious to her Majesties cause, and therefore he should not doe well to venture his small Forces, where they, with Her Majesties provisions, were sure to be lost, howsoever he might peradventure thinke to dispute it for some few dayes: But the President to make good his resolution, answered their Lordships, and maintaining the same (as by his Letters of the sixth of August, may appeare) wherewith the Lords rested satisfied,

and left him to his owne judgement; wherein it seemes hee did not erre, for their intention of landing at Corke proved true, (as hereafter shall appeare) whereof for farther testimony of the same, all the Letters which were sent from Spaine to *Don Ioan de Aquila*, after his landing in Ireland, were directed to Corke, which is an evident argument, that Corke was their designe, and that in Spaine it was conceived that *Don Iuan* was possessed of it, and also at the same time he wrote to M. Secretarie *Cecill* upon the same subject, his very words were as followeth. The resolution I held, I still hold, which is to defend and keepe Corke, the reasons (in my Letters to the Lords) I have at large discoursed, if Her Majestie shall relinquish any of her walled Cities, (as I am advised to doe) all will be lost, and a generall revolt will insue, wherfore it were better to put somewhat in hazard, then apparantly to lose all: The towne I know to be infinite weake, but many handes is a strong defence, and when the 2000 aides shall come, the enemy shall find it a tough piece of worke to gaine it: To remoove the Queenes Magazines, of victualls, Munition, and treasure, (as some doe advise) into the Countrey, I know no place capable of it, nor yet is there any meanes of carriage (especially in this Harvest time) to convey it away betweene this and Michaelmas, and to send it by sea, must be either to Waterford or Limricke, (which as farre as I know) may proue no lesse

dangerous then at Corke, no man certainly knowing where the Enemy will make his discent: But if the worst should happen, that the Towne must bee lost, the treasure (at least) shall be saved, and the rest, the Enemy shall never enjoy. The rasing of Shandon is to no purpose, for every Hill and Ditch (neere the Towne) commands the Citie no lesse then it, the defences of earth (which by my directions are in making) are onely made to winne time; and I haue so provided, that the charge of the workemen is borne by the Towne and Countrey, the Queenes expences is no more, but the use of her Shovels, Spades, Pickaxes and Whildebarrowes, &c.

Now wee may see how true a Prophet the President was, that the Spaniards would invade Ireland; but like unto *Cassandra*, untill this time could never bee beleaved, which proceeded out of the defects (which both the Lords in England, and the Lord Deputie of Ireland) had of good intelligence, whereof the President was better stored then either of them: of the undoubted likelihood of their comming; Sir *Robert Cecill* her Majesties Secretary wrote to the President as followeth.

*A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the
Lord President.*

SIR *George Carew*, on Wednesday last, certaine Pinnaces of her Majesties met with a fleete

of Spaniards, to the number of fiftie saile, whereof seventeene are men of warre, the rest are transporting ships, as by this Note inclosed doth appeare, which my Intelligencer sent me at their going out. These ships cannot bee but for Ireland, from which Coast the storme kept them, unlesse it should bee said, that the King will land them in the Low-countries, which I will never beleue hee durst adventure, knowing how long wee haue expected them; and haue fourteene good ships out, which if you compare with the note inclosed of his, you shall find that wee might be ashamed to suffer his Fleete to land so quietly, and our Fleete in the taile of them; but (which is more certaine) to confirme my opinion ever for Ireland, this proportion is fit for Ireland, there it may worke mischiefe; and besides, that they which met them, saw them set their course from the mouth of the sleeue (where they were on wednesday) just for Ireland, and (as I verily thinke) they will fall for Limerick; for in Spaine it was advertised me, that their Rendezvous was for the Blaskys, which you know is on that Coast, about the Dingle or the Ventrey: Lastly, if they had meant to haue come hither, they would haue beene here before this time, being on wednesday at Silley, and the wind having beene South-west since faire. If therefore they bee not in Ireland, they are certainly put Roomer with Spaine againe; but that I dare not hope. Now Sir, what my Lord Deputy and you shall doe there, is not

our parts to tell you, onely wee desire you to propound us possible things, and then shall you haue them; two thousand wee haue sent already into Mounster, at least the want of wind hinders them, in the imbarquing Ports: if we know once where they are landed, then must you also tell us, where you will haue us second you: for if you looke for our supplyes to come to you, in the West side of Mounster, or South parts, then can we put them by sea more properly, and land nearer the parts of Accon, then to send them to Dublin, or to Corke, but all this to you must bee referred, to whom I wish as great happinesse as I wish to my owne heart: And so I end from the Court at Windsore this twelfth of August, 1601.

Your loving and assured Friend,

Robert Cecill.

From Lisbona the fve and twentieth of Iuly, 1601.

Here at Lisbon, there are stayed about two hundred Sailes of Ships; out of which number, fve and fourtie onely are selected for transportation of Souldiers.

The number of Souldiers are sixe thousand, whereof three thousand are here kept aboard the ships, lest they should runne away; the other three thousand are a comming from Andaluzia and those parts,

in a fleete of ships and gallies, under the conduct of the *Adelantados* sonne unto Lisbon.

The ships which carie the Souldiers are of the burthen of one hundred, one hundred and fiftie, and not aboue two hundred Tuns: The Spaniards doe refuse greater ships of the East Countries, which are stayed at Lisbon, and make choise of the smallest Vessels they haue for their purpose.

Of their fiae and fourtie Saile of ships, seventeene saile onely are fitted for men of warre, whereof eleaven of them are but small ships, the other sixe are Gallions; the Saint *Paul* the Saint *Peter*, the Saint *Andrew*, and three smaller Gallions of the Kings, whose names I know not

For the manning of their ships, fiftene hundred Sailors were sent hither out of Biskay.

The Marques of S.^{ta} *Croce*, goeth Admirall in the Saint *Paul*, *Sibiero* alias *Seriago* Viceadmirall in the Saint *Peter*, they make account to bee ready by the last of Iuly, and ride with their yards a Crosse.

The two ships of Dunkerke (which haue remayned long at Lisbon) doe make ready to come away with the Fleete.

By this Letter, it appeares that they in England now were awake, and confident of the Spanish invasion; until which time (notwithstanding, the Presidents daily calling upon them for Men, Munition, and Victuals) they gaue a deafe eare; also hee re-

ceived an other of the same date, a fragment whereof I thinke it not unnecessary to relate, as well to shew the assurance which was held in England of the invasion, as the tender care her Majesties principall Secretary had of the President, and of the deare affection he bare him.

My deere *George*, now will I omit all the petty particulars of many things, because the great storme (which I presume is fallen upon Mounster) drownes all my petty cares, and wounds my soule for care of you, of whom I know not what to expect, but as a lost child; for though I know you are not so mad as to runne to the enemies mouthes, with a dozen persons in comparison; yet I am desperatly affraid that the Provincials should betray you; even those I meane that must or will seeme to be principally about you, &c.

CHAP. IX.

The crosse Accidents which hapned to make the Lord Deputy to be offended with the Lord President. The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord President. A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputy to the Lord President.

AS is formerly related, Sir *Francis Barkley* being in the Province of Connaght with one thousand Foote and fiftie Horse of the List of Mounster; when the President sent him thither, among other instructions which hee gaue unto Sir *Francis*, was that hee

should not (upon any direction) goe out of that Province, until hee first heard from him ; the reason which moved him to insert this clause into his instructions, was the confident assurance hee had of the Spanish invasion : But yet to prevent the worst, lest the Lord Deputie might peradventure command him to march into Vlster, or Linster ; hee presently dispatched a Letter to the Lord Deputie, signifying unto him, what direction hee had given unto *Barkley*, and the reasons that moved him unto it, beseeching his Lordship to allow thereof : But see the mischief, before the Presidents Letters came to the Lord Deputies hands, hee had sent Captaine *Henry Cosby* with a peremptory commandement to Sir *Francis Barkley*, to march to Ballisheman in Vlster : Sir *Francis* being perplext what course to take, at last resolved to obey his instructions, hoping that the Lord President would bee able to make his peace with the Lord Deputie ; but so slow and negligent was the Presidents Messenger (which afterwards was excused by sicknesse) as the Lord Deputie had received Sir *Francis Barklies* refusall, before hee had knowledge of the Presidents Letters : whereupon hee stormed at the President, and dispatched presently his Letters to the Lords of the Councell, complayning of the President, not sparing to tell them, that rather then hee would undergoe so great an indignity (by any man that served underneath him) hee would quit his government . And at the same time it fell out so crossely, that

another accident did no lesse moue the Deputie to bee enraged then the former ; for of the two thousand supplies which were to come into Mounster, the President (to giue contentment to many worthy men, that without charge had followed him in the former services) had obtayned from the Lords in England, that sixe hundred of them should bee bestowed upon such as he should make choise of, to bee their Captaines ; this added to that aforementioned, did so much increase his Lordships indignation to the President, (whereunto many ill disposed, to increase the flame gaue fuell) as his Lordship wrote this ensuing Letter to the President,

*The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord
President.*

MY Lord, as I haue hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truely as ever I did professe it unto you ; and I protest rejoyced in all your good successes as mine owne ; so must you giue mee leaue, since I presume I haue so just cause, to challenge you of unkindnesse and wrong, in writing into England, that in preferring your Followers, Sir *Henry Dockwray* hath had more power from me then yourselfe ; and consequently, to sollicit the Queene to haue the nomination of some Captaines in this kingdome : for the first I could haue wished you would haue beene better advised, because upon mine honour, hee never without my speciall warrant, did

appoint but one, who I after displaced, and I doe not remember that ever since our comming over, I haue denied any thing, which you haue recommended unto me, with the marke of your owne desire to obtaine it: and in your Province I haue not given any place (as I thinke) but at your instance. For the other, I thinke it is the first example, that ever any under an other Generall, desired or obtained the like suite. And although I will not speake injuriously of your deserts, nor immodestly of mine owne; yet this disgrace cannot make me beleue, that I haue deserved worse then any that haue beene Generals before me: But since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must endure it, and you choose a fit time to obtaine that or any thing else against me: Yet I will concurre with you in the service, as long as it shall please her Majestie to employ us here: but afterward, I doubt not but to giue you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong: The Councell and my selfe upon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of Mounster out of Connaght, when wee heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but wee received from them a flat deniall to come, and the copie of your Letter to warrant them therein. If you haue any authority from the Queene to countermand mine, you may very well justify it, but it is more then you haue vowed to me to haue, when I (before my comming over) protested unto you, that if you had, I would rather serue the Queene in prison, then here. My Lord these are

great disgraces to me, and so conceived, and I thinke justly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all Ireland. My allegeance, and owne honour are now engaged with all my burthens, to goe on in this worke, otherwayes no feare should make mee suffer thus much; and what I doe, it is onely loue doth moue me unto it: For I know you are deare to one, whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection. And so my Lord I wish you well, and will omit nothing (while I am in this kingdome) to giue you the best contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured Friend

Mountioye.

In this meane time, before these stormes came to the Presidents knowledge (for yet hee had not receiued the Lord Deputies sharpe Letter, hoping that the time of the Spaniards comming, would admit Sir *Francis* his Regiment some longer absence, sent him word to march to Ballishenan, or elsewhere (as it pleased the Deputie) and withall by his Letters, he acquainted his Lordship of his directions, and beseeched his Lordship to haue a care of Mounster, which hee was no way able (his places of Garison guarded) with his small forces remayning, to confront *Tyrrill*, and the Vlster aides, then ready to enter into it, much lesse to defend the Cities of Corke, Limerick, and Waterford against the Spaniards, whose arrivall hee daily expected: After this second dispatch to the Lord Deputie, the President received his Lordships thunder-

ing Letters; but when the Lord Deputie by his answer saw, how much hee was mistaken, and had well considered upon what good ground the Presidents instructions were given to Sir *Francis Barkley*, and also that he had retrenched the same before hee knew that his Lordship had sent for them: And that although hee had gotten the favour to bestow sixe of the Companies that came out of England, hee knew that they could stand no longer then hee pleased, and so left them to be disposed of at his will, he not onely blamed himselfe, but wrote a satisfactory, kindly* unto him, which to shew the good nature of that Noble-man, I thinke I should doe him wrong if I did not relate it.

*A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputie
to the Lord President,*

MY Lord, if my Letter did expresse some more then ordinary passion, I will now desire you, if you haue any opinion of my judgement or honesty, to beleeeue mee, that at that time I had so much reason to bee so moved, as I presume, when I next speake with you, I shall induce you to confesse, that my expostulation did neither proceed from undervaluing you, or overvaluing my selfe, private respect to my owne ends, vanity in desire of preheminences, nor lightnesse, or evill nature in quitting slightly so worthy a friend; and if I can farther perswade you by the effect it tooke with me, I protest the miserable

* The word *Letter* should have come in here, but we have adhered to the copy.

tragedie of those I held here my dearest friends, the unkindnesse I tooke by their shewing themselves my most mortall enemies, the danger that I knew they brought my fortune into, nor any thing which hath beene much, that hath hapned to me since my coming into this kingdome, did ever so much moue me, as this, and the circumstances that did accompany it ; the which being unfit to be trusted either to paper, or at the least to this passage ; I will reserue for my owne defence till I speake with you, or may send a more safe and assured Messenger unto you, and so leaue my case, *Sub iudice*, but in the meane time absolue you from any wrong or unkindnesse you haue done me, with this assurance, that the desire you shew to giue me satisfaction, hath, and shall increase that affection I haue borne you ; and in the world you shall not find for ever hereafter a more just, and sure friend and this much for your owne sake, but for his unto whom I know you are so deare, I am so much in my heart a servant to the worthinesse that hee hath shewed in his kindnesse unto me ; that if hee should desire me, to traile a Pike under a farre meaner friend unto him then you ; I would doe it willingly, because my fortune doth otherwayes so little enable me, to shew my thankfulness unto him, and this I doe not write out of my base observation of his fortune ; but upon my Christianity, I doe acknowledge him to haue deserved more of mee, then all the world besides, and I doe truely thinke him to be the most honourable man,

that ever (in this unworthy world) my fortune was to haue any thing to doe withall. And therefore noble Lord, of all these things I will write as I haue read in my dunses of Logicke, *Sustine pro nunc*: Onely I beseech you dispose of the Companies, and all things else to your liking, which shall bee (I assure you) to mine, but to the great trouble I haue in hand, I must confesse, was never more pusselled in my Councels, for many just respects; but especially by an intelligence I haue received this day: And if I would like *Diogenes*, take a Candle in my hand, to seeke a wise man in this kingdome, unto whose judgement I would trust to assist mine (in the case in question) I know not where I should find any except it be you; and therefore if it be possible, send me word, where I may speake with you presently, though I come as farre or farther then Kilkenny, for I would faine resolute with you of all, and joyntly with you make a present dispatch into England; I pray dispatch a speedy Messenger, though it be a Horseman, and I will leaue all things so, as I will be prepared to goe on a suddaine, and so I commit you to God, whom I beseech to send us a happy meeting: The fift of September 1601.

Your most assured Friend

Mountioye

What an opinion of wisdom and worthinesse the President had now gayned by his painefull and

politique proceedings, I cannot but remember, the same being acknowledged by so many and worthy persons of her Maiesties Privie Councell : for if that bee *vera laus* which proceeded *à viro laudato* ; or if that rule of *Aristotle* be true, *viz.* That thing is justly to bee preferred, *quod à pluribus & sapientissimis approbatur*, then may I without flattery conclude, that his deserts were Honourable, and his wisdom was in such great esteeme, as his Counsailes were so well allowed of the Lords of the Councell, as never doubt was made of them and all things concerning that Province was left to his discretion, as occasions with their circumstances hapned.

Lastly, the Lord Deputie, whose judgement was second to none for the prosecution of the warre in Ireland, being now mightily distracted betwixt the Northren prosecutions, and the Spanish preparations, did write to the President, that there was no man, that could so well assist him in this dolefull case, and upon whose judgement he would so much rely (in all that kingdome) as upon his, and therefore requested him earnestly, to repaire speedily to Kilkenny, (neere to his Province) for so farre would hee come to meete him.

