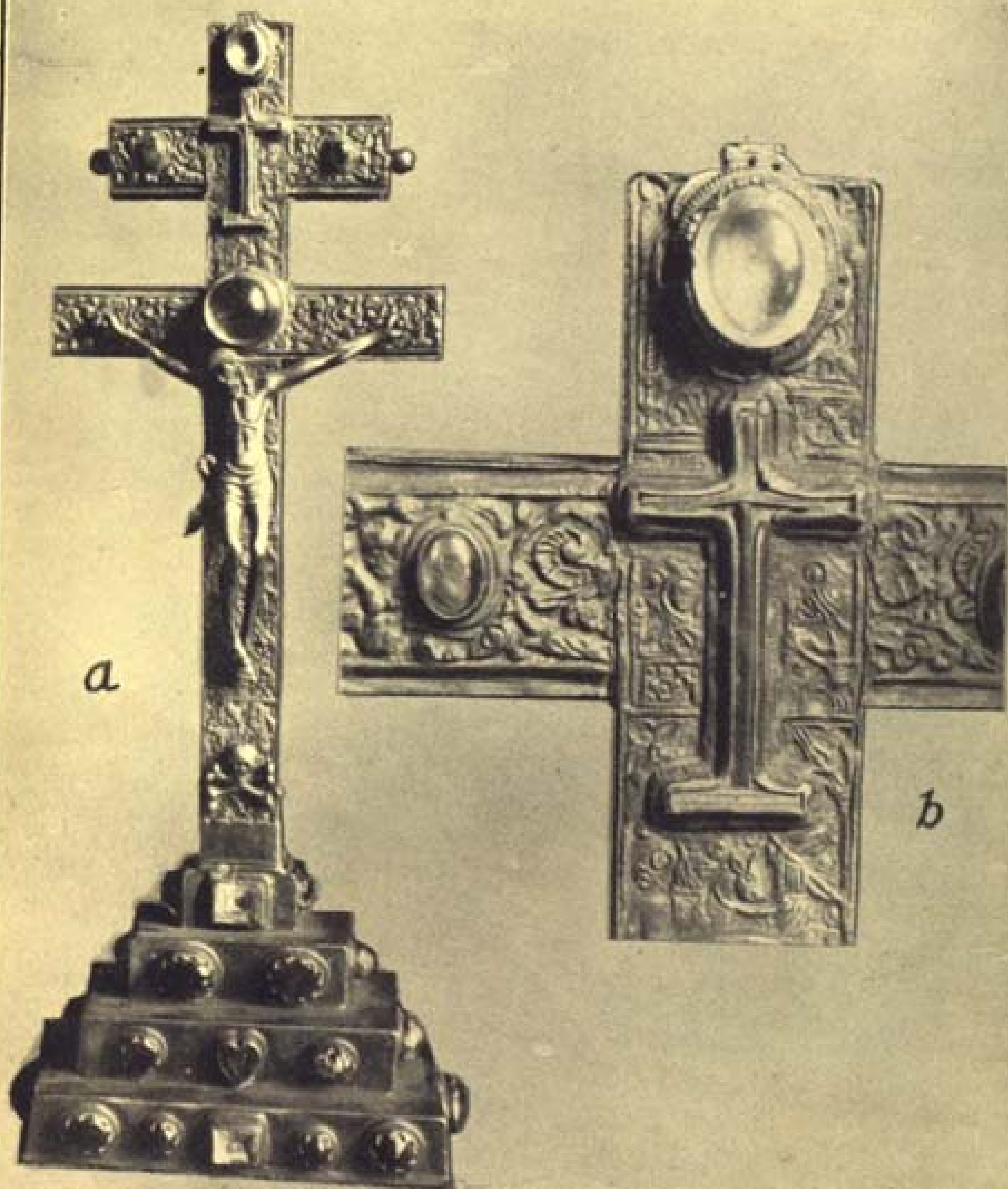


THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK



Hanc crucem cum s.^{ma} Crucis Xpi particulis antiquissimis
 fieri fecit Richardus Arthurus Epus limericen partim ex
 sumptibus Ioannæ Fox viduæ Jacobi Lange et aliorum
 A^o D. 1625

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(a) CROSS. (b) ENLARGEMENT OF UPPER PART OF CROSS.
 (c) INSCRIPTION.*

* Translated means:—"Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick, partly at the expense of Jane Fox, widow, James Lange and others, had this cross made to contain some very ancient particles of the Most Holy Cross of Christ, A.D. 1625." (See p. 441.)

The Diocese of Limerick

In the Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries

BY

JOHN CANON BEGLEY

P.P., V.F., M.R.I.A.



BROWNE AND NOLAN LIMITED
DUBLIN BELFAST CORK WATERFORD
LONDON—1 & 2 IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C. 4

1927

X

274-194

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Nihil Obstat :

DIONYSIUS O'BRIEN, D.D.,
Censor Deputatus.

Imprimi potest :

✠ DAVID,
Episcopus Limericensis.

LIMERICI, die 20^a Septembris, 1927.



TO
MY LORD BISHOP
THE MOST REV. DAVID KEANE, D.D.,
THIS VOLUME
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

I.—THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK. ANCIENT
AND MEDIEVAL. 9s.

II.—THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CEN-
TURIES. 21s.

III.—THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK FROM THE
TREATY OF LIMERICK TO OUR OWN
TIMES.

Author, JOHN CANON BEGLEY.

DUBLIN : BROWNE AND NOLAN, LTD.



PREFACE

THE first volume of this history was published in 1906 under the title of *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*.

The present volume, which is a continuation of the former, has been withheld until now, as it was felt that the materials at hand were too meagre, unreliable and one-sided, to present a true historic picture of the period under consideration. By perseverance in search of contemporary documents, and through the kindness of friends, a good deal of new and valuable information has been collected from various and distant sources, and is now used for the first time to illustrate the history of this diocese and, incidentally, of all Ireland. It will place the reader in contact with the originals of this volume, and enable him to form his own judgment independently of the author.

The history of the diocese of Limerick from 1500 to 1691 is in miniature a history of Ireland. The outlook of the people here was much the same as in the rest of the country, the problems that confronted them were similar, and the policy of the government in dealing with these problems was uniform.

Without giving a long list of authorities, it may be mentioned that every book and MS. that was likely to throw light on the subject has been consulted. The work is based on the Irish State Papers, as far as they are accessible in book form. They contain a large amount of information, but are often unreliable and always prejudiced, as the writers were interested, and told the story in their own favour. The Roman and other Continental documents quoted in this work will help the reader to estimate the State Papers at their

true value ; and many isolated statements reflecting on Irishmen which occur in the latter, will be found, when placed in their proper setting, to have often little or no foundation in fact.

This book was written, and in great part printed, while the author was Parish Priest of Drumcollogher—a cherished spot, where a little of that old Celtic world we knew so well in our youth still lingers.

I have now the pleasing duty of returning thanks to the many kind friends who assisted me in completing this formidable task. I beg to thank in a special manner the Rev. Patrick Woulfe, P.P., Cappagh, for giving me permission to use in this history some very rare and valuable papers in his possession. Father Woulfe also read all the proof sheets, and made valuable suggestions. I beg to thank the Rev. John MacErlean, S.J., who placed at my disposal his vast store of Irish historical materials gleaned from the libraries of Europe, and which, it is to be hoped, will soon appear in book form. I have to thank Mr. M. J. MacEnery who assisted me in many ways. My best thanks are due to his Lordship, the Most Rev. Dr. Keane, for permitting me to have Dr. Arthur's cross photographed, and to the Rev. Thomas Hogan, P.P., Ballingarry, for the photograph.

SEÁN Ó BEAḠLAOIC.

SS. PETER AND PAUL'S, KILMALLOCK,
5th September, 1927.



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THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK

IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY

IN the opening years of the sixteenth century the Geraldines were the leading Anglo-Irish family in the kingdom. The representative of the Kildare branch was chief governor of that portion of the country subject to England; the house of Desmond had acquired great power and influence in Munster, and its chiefs living at a distance from the seat of government, assumed the airs and authority of independent princes. This circumstance did not escape the attention of the kings of France and Spain who alternately sought their aid as useful allies in their wars with England.

On the accession of Henry VIII, in 1509, Kildare was re-appointed lord deputy, and according to the custom of the times, summoned to court. While preparing to obey the command of his sovereign, a petition was sent to the king by Maurice, Earl of Desmond, and Piers Butler of Ormond to allow Kildare to remain in Ireland to settle the controversies that existed between them and Lord Burke of Connaught and his associates. The request was granted. Kildare thereupon mustered a large army composed of the English and Irish of Leinster, together with a contingent from the North under the command of O'Donnell, and marched into Munster. At Carrigkettle, in the parish of Kildeely, he erected a castle, of which, however, not a vestige now remains. Thence he proceeded, with great display of power,

through Duhallow and Great Desmond, taking the castles of Kanturk, Pailis and Castlemaine on the way. On his return to County Limerick, his forces were augmented by detachments from the Earl of Desmond, under the command of his son James, and the MacCarthys. The united forces marched to Limerick city, where they received intelligence that the Burkes and O'Briens were in the vicinity of the wooden bridge, called Portcrusha, which Turlough O'Brien had erected a few years before and on the site of which stands the present O'Brien's Bridge. Kildare hastened to meet the enemy and having crossed the bridge into Clare caused it to be demolished. He encamped so close to the O'Briens that the voices of each of the contending hosts could be distinctly heard in the other's camp. Next morning the deputy marshalled his army placing the Munstermen in the van, but without striking a blow, quickly retreated through Monabraher to Limerick, hotly pursued by O'Brien, who slew some of the principal leaders of the fugitive army, and returned to his own country with great spoils.* With this sudden retreat, for which no reason is assigned, ended the efforts of Kildare as a peacemaker between the rival factions.

JAMES, THE ELEVENTH EARL OF DESMOND

James Fitzgerald, who succeeded to the vast possessions of the house of Desmond in 1520, was an active participator in the stirring events that took place in his father's declining years. On assuming the title, disputes arose between him and Ormond which required the intervention of government. Ormond was in league with the MacCarthys, who were only too glad to have the support of so powerful an ally against the aggressive policy of Desmond. A peace conference effected no permanent reconciliation. Desmond on some trifling

* *A. F. M.*

pretext invaded Muskerry. The two MacCarthys united their forces, and placed the cavalry under the leadership of Thomas Moyle Fitzgerald, who was uncle of the invader, but married to a sister of Cormac Oge MacCarthy. A pitched battle was fought near Mourne Abbey. The earl performed prodigies of valour, but had finally to abandon the field.

Henry VIII during the early years of his reign was actively engaged in European politics, and paid very little attention to Irish affairs. In 1523 he declared war against France at the instigation of Charles V of Spain. To embarrass his adversary, the King of France entered into negotiations with Desmond whom he addressed as an independent prince. Count de Candalle was deputed to come to Ireland and arrange a treaty on behalf of France. The meeting between him and the earl took place at Askeaton castle. After an interchange of views, a treaty was drawn up and signed on the 20th of June, 1523. Desmond undertook to make war on the King of England with an army of four hundred horse and ten thousand foot, for which the French king was to provide money and equipment. No peace was to be made with England which did not include the earl and his father-in-law, Turlough O'Brien. In case the earl was attacked by the English, the French should come to his aid with men, ships and artillery. It was also agreed that the earl and his seneschal, David Fitzmaurice of Rathkeale, should be provided with suitable pensions. The treaty was ratified when the count returned to France, but the provisions were never carried out, as Francis was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia by Charles in 1525. News of this intrigue, however, reached London, and a dispatch was immediately sent to the Earl of Kildare to arrest his kinsman. Accordingly he marched into Munster to apprehend the delinquent, but in vain, as Desmond fled into the mountains and baffled pursuit.

Meanwhile the European situation assumed a new phase : Charles, not Francis, was now the enemy of England. Having failed to secure any practical benefit from the French alliance, Desmond turned to Spain in the hope of obtaining the aid of that powerful nation in favour of his cherished project, for the earl was perhaps the first Irishman of modern times to entertain seriously the idea of a free and independent Ireland. He sent his chaplain Godfrey ostensibly with a present of Irish hawks and wolfhounds, but in reality with despatches containing an outline of his projects. This was favourably received. Charles, however, before committing himself to any definite policy, commissioned his chaplain, Gonzalvo Fernandez, to proceed to Ireland and have a personal interview with the earl. The report of this emissary is still preserved and supplies an interesting picture of the Desmond country from an unprejudiced pen. The Spanish envoy landed at Dingle on the 21st April, 1529.* He was honourably received by the townspeople and the earl's attendants. In the evening the earl himself rode into the town, attended by fifty horse and as many halberdiers, and went immediately to greet his distinguished guest. After dinner Fernandez made known his instructions, first in English to the earl, and afterwards in Latin to his council. The earl held a brief consultation with the council and then unfolded his grievances against England. He enumerated, with their resources, the nobles who were ready to take the field with him in redressing these wrongs. He had also, he declared, formed an alliance with the Scottish king, who by frequent embassies thoroughly understood the Irish question. But to carry his undertaking to a successful issue he earnestly requested to be supplied with cannon, which was indispensable for land service and battering down castles. At the request of

* Froude's *Pilgrim*.

the envoy the earl's speech was committed to writing to be presented to the Emperor. At the close of the interview Fernandez returned to Spain and drew up an account of his visit to Ireland. He describes his host in the following terms: "The earl himself is from thirty to forty years old and rather above middle height. He keeps better justice throughout his dominions than any chief in Ireland. Robbers and homicides find no mercy, and are executed out of hand. His people are in high order and discipline. They are armed with short bows and swords. The earl's guard are in mail from neck to heel, and carry halberds. He has a number of horse, some of whom know how to carry a lance. They all ride admirably without saddle or stirrup."

These negotiations were, however, destined to bear no fruit, owing to the sudden death of James a few months later, but the policy he initiated embodied, in succeeding ages, the hopes and aspirations of multitudes of his countrymen. By his marriage with Amy O'Brien he had one daughter, Joan, who married James Earl of Ormond, and became the mother of the Black Earl, who, strange to say, was the implacable enemy and destroyer of the Geraldines of Munster.

THOMAS MOYLE, THE TWELFTH EARL

Thomas was an old man when he succeeded to the title and family possessions. He obtained livery of the estates from Henry VIII, whom he promised to obey and loyally serve during his life. He died in 1534, and was succeeded by his grandson James, who was at the time a page at the court of Henry.

JAMES, THE THIRTEENTH EARL

Maurice, the father of this youth, was married to the daughter of the White Knight, but died before his

turn came to rule. When James was about to assume the title he was opposed by his granduncle, John Fitzthomas, on the ground that he was the issue of an invalid marriage. Fitzthomas, then a very old man, claimed that he was himself the rightful heir.

In the beginning of October, 1535,* Lord James Butler and Stephen Ap Harry travelled through the South and interviewed the various chiefs as they went along. In the vicinity of Cork they met James, the reputed earl, accompanied by his father-in-law, Cormac Oge MacCarthy. James is described as speaking very good English and "keepeth his hair and cap after the English fashion on his head." He pressed his claim before them and volunteered to go into England, if Sir John of Desmond (Fitzthomas) would do the same, in order to have the dispute decided by unprejudiced judges. The emissaries then journeyed to Mallow, Kilmallock, and as far as the city of Limerick, where they were informed that O'Brien had come within three miles of the city, but retreated into the mountains when he heard of their arrival, being afraid of the ordnance. On leaving Limerick they went to the Franciscan convent of Adare, where they met Donough O'Brien, a son of the Lord of Thomond by his first marriage. Donough was married to Lord James Butler's sister. For this he was ostracised by his kindred and had nothing to live upon. He begged to be taken into the king's service, and furnished with a piece of cannon to capture Carrigogunnell castle† which, for many years, had not been under English rule. Next day Sir John of Desmond put in an appearance and "spoke good English, but was full of mischief." After some persuasion he promised to meet his rival at Youghal, and there in presence of Lord Butler and his companion to parley and put in pledges.

* Carew MSS.

† Ibid.

When Silken Thomas was outlawed for his unsuccessful rebellion, he fled to Limerick for shelter and support from his kinsman. But the government, anticipating this, had already entered into correspondence with Sir John, holding out the alluring hope of recognising him as the Earl of Desmond. This produced the desired effect. Thomas then sought the hospitality of O'Brien, and was not disappointed. Sir John, further to show his zeal on behalf of the government, seized the Kildare manors in the County Limerick. After having achieved in effect power and authority over all the Englishry of Munster, he died in 1536, without being acknowledged Earl of Desmond.

James, the eldest son of the deceased aspirant, now assumed the title and entered into possession of the greater part of the estates. He also took over, as his father had done, the manor of Adare with its dependencies, Kilgobban, Castle Robert and the manor of Croom belonging to the Kildare family. The manors of Rathcannon, Tobernea and Carrigkettle were found to be waste. Having succeeded in winning over the support of O'Brien, as well as of the English of the province, he bade defiance to the government. James Fitzmaurice, however, notwithstanding the formidable combination arrayed against him, still asserted his claim.

In a parliament, held in Dublin in 1536, the debate turned on the state of parties in Munster, and it was thought advisable to adjourn to that province, with the hope of reconciling the warring factions and restoring peace. To add lustre to the undertaking, Lord Leonard Gray, the deputy, mustered a large army. He encamped for three days near Cashel, where James Fitzjohn had promised to meet him. On the failure of Fitzjohn to put in an appearance, Gray moved into the County Limerick, hoping to break up the alliance between him and O'Brien. He found the castle of Lough Gur, which was reputed to be as great a stronghold as

Maynooth, without either doors or windows, and the roof burned by Fitzjohn. The castle was quickly repaired and a garrison placed in it.

Here Donough O'Brien again offered his services against his father and brothers, as he had done the preceding year to Lord James Butler, asking only the castle of Carrigogunnell as a reward. The deputy and council accepted the offer, as it seemed to them that the castle from its situation was the key to the county of Limerick. The army was put in motion, and after a short march the castle was invested, but before a shot was fired the warder surrendered. It was then handed over to Donough to encourage his loyalty and stimulate his zeal.

O'Brien's wooden bridge across the Shannon, though broken by Kildare some years before, had been repaired and was still a menace to Limerick and Tipperary. The deputy resolved to attack and finally dismantle it. Donough O'Brien led the army to the place by a secret way. The bridge was well fortified and calculated to defy the ordnance of those times. It was a curious construction. The centre, three hundred paces in length, was of timber; at each end there was a protecting castle in the water, the remains of one of which are still visible. The four arches connecting the castle with the Limerick side were broken down. This greatly impeded the besiegers, but after a few days of vigorous cannonading the bridge was captured. Having thus secured an easy pass into Clare, Lord Gray was eager to invade that country and subdue the Lord of Thomond. The army, however, would not move until they received a portion of their pay which was long overdue. To prevent a mutiny he had to retrace his steps to Limerick, where, after some persuasion, he induced them to retake Carrigogunnell, which, in the meantime, had reverted to the rightful owner. The royal army, without achieving any notable success,

had to return to Dublin, leaving intact the combination between Fitzjohn and O'Brien. Fitzjohn still carried on negotiations with the government, making such proposals as he thought would influence them in his favour. Both parties, in fact, spent the remainder of the year in fruitless negotiations, without any intention of healing existing differences.

In June, 1538, Fitzjohn increased his influence by marrying the daughter of O'Carroll, the chieftain of Ely. The fact did not escape the notice of Ormond. The next month the deputy, by command of the king, paid another visit to the South to interview Fitzjohn and, if possible, induce him to submit. The meeting was friendly, but failed in its object.

James Fitzmaurice, instead of taking the field, went to England and spent his time at court, pressing his claim to the earldom. The king at length acknowledged him as the rightful heir, being influenced by the fact that he would be a great check to the growing power of the rival claimant. Fitzmaurice, thereupon, hastened home to fight for possession of the family estates, and landed at Youghal in August, 1539. In November the deputy came from Dublin to assist him. He succeeded in recovering the eastern portion of County Cork, and obtained the submission of the Desmond vassals. He then marched to Cork, where the sons of Cormac Oge joined him, and with the united forces proceeded into the O'Callaghan country as far as the Blackwater. Here James Fitzjohn suddenly appeared on the opposite bank and hurled defiance at the deputy. Owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to cross and punish the audacity of a rebellious subject, and without waiting for the fall of the waters returned to Dublin, leaving the young earl to shift for himself. The latter settled down in East Cork in baronial splendour among his followers. As the year advanced he ventured

towards County Limerick, but his movements were closely watched by Maurice "of the burnings," a brother of Fitzjohn, by whom he was slain between Fermoy and Mitchelstown.

JAMES, THE FOURTEENTH EARL OF DESMOND

James Fitzjohn, having now no rival claimant to the earldom, repaired to Youghal, where he was well received, and became master of Munster. When it was satisfactorily proved that he had no hand in the murder of the young earl, the king authorised Ormond to pardon him, if he became an obedient subject. Fitzjohn hesitated to accept the offer without first coming to an understanding with O'Brien, who had proved himself such a sterling friend in the long-drawn-out contest for the earldom. A new deputy, in the person of Sir Anthony St. Leger, appeared on the scene, and displayed great tact in conciliating the unruly lords. He cultivated friendly relations with Fitzjohn, which ripened into a warm friendship, and ultimately succeeded in reconciling him to the government. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, 1541, Fitzjohn publicly submitted to the deputy at Cahir in the presence of two hundred gentlemen, and received the king's pardon, on condition that he would acknowledge Henry his lawful sovereign and never confederate with his enemies. He promised utterly to deny and forsake the Pope and his usurped primacy and authority. He renounced the privilege his family had enjoyed of not attending parliament or entering walled towns. He consented to assist and maintain the judges and other officers in executing the laws and levying the revenues. He would allow all such taxes as should be granted by parliament or otherwise to be levied within his land, and would defend the king's

cities of Limerick and Cork, and the towns of Kilmallock, Youghal and Kinsale. He knelt down a rebel before the lord deputy, but rose up a loyal subject of the king, throwing off at the same time, with his saffron shirt, the manners and customs and the religion of his youth and early manhood. He reappears on the scene wearing a second-hand suit of clothes, after the English fashion, supplied from the wardrobe of St. Leger, and presenting an appearance which must have greatly amused his old friends and associates. There and then the new Earl of Desmond was made a privy councillor and received a lease of the Kildare manors in the County Limerick. To show his gratitude for the favours received, at Kilmallock, a town where an English official had not been seen for at least one hundred years, he gave a great banquet in honour of the deputy, which lasted two days.

Later in the year a parliament was held in Dublin at which he and many of the other lords who had been reconciled to the government, assisted, and shared the doubtful honour of conferring the title of King of Ireland on Henry VIII. A code of laws was drawn up for the benefit of Munster, and for administering them certain perquisites were allowed to the earl, who often felt the need of money, which was a scarce commodity with an Irish chieftain, as his wealth lay in broad acres well stocked with flocks and herds.

The earl made rapid progress in acquiring the English fashion, and at the suggestion of St. Leger paid a visit to the king, who treated him with a certain amount of courtesy, but kept him at a respectful distance. It is easy to realise the little intimacy that existed between them from the description of their farewell meeting supplied to his king by the Spanish ambassador: "On last Sunday as the king was

returning from Mass, the Earl of Desmond and the other lords and gentlemen took leave of him respectfully and humbly enough, for all the time their interpreter was talking to the king in their name, they themselves were on their knees. Nor have I heard what presents, if any, that the king made them on the occasion."*

On his return to Ireland, he was utilised as a medium for popularising the changes which Henry was attempting to effect in the civil and religious affairs of the country. The monastic institutions of the counties of Cork, Kerry and Limerick,† were still untouched by the Act of Suppression. The earl and a few others were appointed to take an inventory of the goods attached to each house, to eject the religious, and place the property in safe keeping for the king. As a reward for his labours, he was granted a portion of the spoils, which, however, he did not covet, as after events prove.

Henry died in January, 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI, who was then only nine years old. The government of Ireland underwent no change, but a careful watch was kept on the movements of the newly-converted lords. To encourage Desmond in the interests of the crown, the deputy procured for him the treasurership of Ireland, with the accustomed fees payable out of the ports of Dublin and Drogheda. As the year advanced he received a friendly letter in the name of the king with an offer to bring up his son at court. During the remainder of Edward's reign Desmond interested himself in advancing the Protestant reformation within the limits of his estates.

When Mary came to the throne in 1553, Desmond, in accordance with the spirit of the age, immediately

* Spanish State Papers.

† Details in *Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*.

reverted to the old religion which he had professed during the greater part of his life and in which his children were educated. He died on the 14th of October, 1558, at Askeaton castle, and was buried in the Franciscan church of that town. "The loss of this great man," say the Four Masters, "was woeful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle or close doors from Dunquin in Kerry to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters on the confines of the province of Eochaidh, the son of Luchta, and Leinster."

He was married four times.* His first wife was a daughter of Lord Fermoy, from whom he was divorced, as the marriage was within the forbidden degrees of kindred. Thomas Roe, the issue of this union, was disinherited, but towards the end of the century his son James was elected to the title. He then married, in or before the year 1538, More, daughter of O'Carroll of Ely O'Carroll. This good lady died in 1548, leaving two sons, Gerald, who became the 15th earl, and John, commonly known as Sir John of Desmond, who was slain near Castlelyons, in 1582. The third wife was daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, and widow of Lord Poer. She died without issue at Askeaton on 17th March, 1552. His fourth and last wife was Ellen, daughter of Donal MacCarthy More, who became the mother of James Sussex and one daughter. After the death of Desmond she married the Earl of Thomond.

GERALD, THE FIFTEENTH EARL OF DESMOND

Gerald was a youth of great promise and enjoyed unbounded popularity among his followers. He had been selected by his father as heir to the title at the

* Pedigree, Journal R.S.A., Ireland, 3rd series, vol. i.

beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and from an early age took an active part in the administration of the estates.* According to a marriage settlement, Muskerry, in County Cork, belonged to his father, but was forcibly held by Teige MacCormick MacCarthy, who was the next heir in the male line. Gerald led an army into the territory to vindicate his father's right. An engagement took place in which Teige was worsted. His son was captured and confined at Askeaton for a few years until the dispute was settled by the deputy in July, 1558.

Gerald became the third husband of Joan, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Desmond. The marriage was, perhaps, suggested by his father, who may have thought that it would be a bond of union between him and young Ormond whose mother she was. When the old earl died at Askeaton, Gerald was at once proclaimed his successor by the retainers of the house of Desmond. He met Sussex, the lord deputy, by appointment at Waterford, and took the oath of allegiance and did homage. Sussex then proceeded to England, and on the journey heard of the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth. When the news reached Ireland the young earl petitioned her majesty for the confirmation of his liberties and county palatine of Kerry. The petition was granted without difficulty.

At first it was uncertain what policy the new queen would adopt regarding the religious question, but all doubt was removed when Elizabeth, in her first parliament, abrogated all the laws made by Mary in favour of the ancient religion and revived, with certain emendations, those of her father and brother for establishing the new creed. Sussex, who had fostered Catholicity in Ireland during the greater part of

* 15 Report Hist. Com., Appendix, p. 59.

Mary's reign, was reappointed deputy, and received instructions to call a parliament to legalise the new religious laws lately made in England. He immediately returned to Ireland, and after due preparation the parliament met at Dublin, 12th of January, 1560. The only contemporary account of what took place in that assembly is preserved in a despatch of the Spanish ambassador in London to his king, in which he states that "in Ireland the parliament passed the same decree about religion as here (in England), although against great opposition and in spite of the refusal of the Earl of Desmond and others to take part in it."*

This vigorous protest of Desmond, so determined and unexpected, was a serious obstacle to the progress of the new religious scheme imported from England. He was overlord of the greater part of Munster, comprising the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork and Waterford, and to attempt a reformation of religion in that vast territory without his hearty co-operation was certain to end in failure. From that day he became a suspect, and the insult offered to his sovereign was never forgotten. All his movements were closely watched and the most sinister interpretation put upon his ordinary actions. The religious question was, however, studiously kept in the background, as his consistency was a standing reproach to officials, such as Sussex and Sydney. But other methods were adopted to make him feel the delicacy of his position. Reports were sent to London that a plot was being hatched by Kildare and Desmond against the queen. Instructions were forwarded in due course to Sussex to induce the plotters to come to court, and if they refused, to arrest them. Kildare being a courtier, went immediately and satisfied the authorities by

* Spanish State Papers—(Hume).

ceasing to attend Mass in public. Desmond, being at a distance from Dublin, was more secure and could afford to dally. The old feud between the houses of Desmond and Ormond was conveniently revived "concerning lands about the Suir and Eoghanacht Chaisil, the lawful patrimonial inheritances of the descendants of Eoghan Mór and Cormac Cas, which those earls of foreign extraction were parcelling out among themselves."* A conflict was, however, averted by the intervention of friends, but it was considered necessary to summon the rival earls to England to have their disputes adjusted by the crown. Ormond was a Protestant. He had been a nursery companion of Edward VI, and was a near relative of the queen. A man of comely appearance and polished address, he had a decided advantage over his adversary. Desmond, reluctantly obeying the summons, left Ireland in May, 1562. He had to appear before the council, where he adopted an independent tone, evidently on the religious question, with the result that, by order of the queen, he was imprisoned in the lord treasurer's house. Her majesty at the same time wrote to the Countess of Desmond explaining the necessity of this course. As the year advanced the earl saw no prospect of returning to Ireland unless he complied with all the conditions proposed. He had to promise to give up his Irish mode of living and conform to English usages. Concerning the furtherance of religion in Munster, he confessed that he had no learning and was ignorant of what was required of him, but whatever the commissioners suggested, he would maintain to the utmost of his power.† He signed the conditions in February, 1563, and was released from restraint in April, but it was only in the following January that he was allowed to

* *A.F.M.*, 1560.

† *Morrin's Patent Rolls*, Feb., 1563.

return to his own country. After the home-coming fresh troubles arose. The countess, his wife, died and was buried at Askeaton. Her death had the effect of widening the breach between Ormond and himself, as she was a wise counsellor to both. Before the end of the year he was again married, this time to Elinor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne. He spent the honeymoon visiting his various estates and looking after his interests among the tenants, some of whom, taking advantage of the recent disturbances, had refused to pay the usual rents. When repeated applications to Maurice Fitzgerald of the Decies, a first cousin to Ormond, failed to elicit a favourable response, he proceeded to recover his rents by force. Fitzgerald, having heard of the earl's approach, appealed to Ormond for protection. Ormond immediately advanced with a strong force, and on his arrival found Desmond's men collecting the rents. A conflict took place between them at Affane, in which Desmond was wounded in the thigh and captured by Ormond, who bore him in triumph to Clonmel. On hearing the news of the engagement Elizabeth wrote angry letters to the combatants and ordered them to London. Arnold, the lord justice, came south, and after holding an inquiry into the state of affairs, shipped Desmond from Waterford to London in charge of a trustworthy keeper. Ormond crossed over on his own account and used all the influence at his command to prejudice the court against his opponent. But being a court intriguer, he had of necessity to identify himself with one of the circles that revolved round the throne. This, naturally, placed him at enmity with others, the most powerful of whom was Leicester, who espoused the cause of Desmond. The London investigation was tinged with the prejudices of the rival court factions. Desmond was allowed to return in January, 1566, not, however, until he had agreed

to several restrictions and renewed the promises made on a former occasion. During the inquiry the power and influence of John, the earl's brother, was incidentally revealed. Other chieftains, too, in different parts of the country, were giving trouble, and it was considered necessary, for the healing of the nation, to send over a new deputy.

Sir Henry Sydney, a gentleman who had served in Ireland under Queen Mary and in the early years of the present reign, was selected as a man of resolute character and great experience. He was appointed in July, 1565, while the Desmond dispute was being discussed in London. He received two sets of instructions, one public and the other private. Amongst other things he was to inquire whether the bishopric of Limerick was void, as that was an important factor in enabling Desmond to introduce the religious changes so long promised but not yet attempted. Sir John of Desmond was to be sent to England as a hostage for the fulfilment of his brother's promises. Besides these instructions Elizabeth wrote a private letter to Sydney, the contents of which were to remain a dead secret and the letter itself to be destroyed when read. Fortunately the letter was preserved, and reveals the inner mind of the queen towards Ormond and Desmond. "Make," she says, "some difference between tried, just, and false friends. Let the good service of the well deservers be never rewarded with loss . . . suffer not that Desmondes denyinge dedes far wide from promised work, make you trust to other pledge than either himself or John for gage, he hath so well performed his English vows, that I warn you trust him no longer than you see one of them."* Here we see how keenly Elizabeth felt and remembered the parliamentary action of Desmond, when she had recourse

* Sydney Papers, vol. 1, p. 7.

to such an underhand method of policy. He was to be pursued, and every opportunity availed of to crush him, ostensibly for defiance of the law.

Ormond, his old enemy, was busy in representing to the queen, perhaps at her own suggestion, that he was growing strong in confederacy and affording an asylum to outlaws. She became day by day more incensed against the earl and his brother John, apparently without any reason. The exaction of coyne and livery was considered a crime when levied by Desmond, though freely allowed to Ormond, and furthermore, his brethren and friends were encouraged to annoy and resist the earl. Harried on every side by open and covert foes, he had to strike out occasionally, and when he did it was magnified to the skies, while the aggressors were treated as injured innocents. The deputy, well knowing the state of affairs, was humane enough to insist on fair dealing with Desmond, but for this he was accused by the queen of favouring him. Even Cecil, when he ventured a kind word, was tossed "in a sea swelling with storms of envy, malice, disdain and suspicion." * It soon became evident, rightly or wrongly, that only the arrest and imprisonment of Desmond would appease her majesty.

Goaded by many a bitter letter Sydney at length realised his position and marched into Munster, in January, 1567. He met Desmond by appointment at Carrick and commenced immediately to investigate the charges made against him by Ormond. The party then moved on to Waterford, and thence to Cork, discussing as they went the merits of the various controversies. The decision was invariably in favour of Ormond. Desmond showed his displeasure at the marked preference given to his enemy, and determined

* Irish State Papers (Hamilton), also Froude's *History of England*, p. 567.

to leave the company. Sydney, however, would not permit him to depart, and for greater security appointed a secret guard to watch over his movements day and night. When they came to Kilmallock, Desmond became aware of his position, and secretly organised a rescue party. But to prevent serious consequences his brother John and Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, informed the deputy, who there and then announced to the assembled gentlemen of his train that the earl was a prisoner, and asked their help, which was readily given. The army set out for Limerick with the noble prisoner well guarded. There Desmond was indicted, among other things, on the treasonable charge of levying war against her majesty's representative. Sir John was then appointed by Sydney as seneschal and ruler over his brother's estates, with instructions how to administer them. The deputy then led his captive through Clare and Connaught to Dublin, where he was kept in custody until the queen's pleasure should be made known. To rehabilitate himself in her majesty's esteem, Sydney sat down and wrote a graphic account of his journey, painting a lurid picture of the atrocities of Desmond, with the joyful news of his capture and confinement. His epistle was coldly received, and without consulting him the queen ordered that the earl and his brother should be sent to England. To comply with this mandate Sir John was inveigled to Dublin on the pretence of conferring with the lords justices and visiting the earl. On his arrival he was secured and confined with his brother. When the necessary arrangements were completed both were sent to London, where they arrived at Christmas, after experiencing much hardship on the journey from sickness and the lack of money. They were allowed to rest for a few days in the city, and then relegated to a cold and dreary room, without fire or light, within the gloomy portals of the Tower. In February Desmond plucked up sufficient courage to

ask Cecil for some furniture and a table for his chamber.

In January, 1568, they were put on their trial. The principal witness against them was Cormac O'Connor, a prisoner in the Tower, who, knowing what was expected from him, gave a graphic description of his travels and entertainment in the Desmond estates while an outlaw. The earl and Sir John were then examined. All the old charges were again brought forward and supported by the testimony of interested witnesses, with the result that the earl, to save his life, had to throw himself at the feet of the queen and surrender his vast estates into her hands. This was in July, 1568. Having thus silenced the clamour of their enemies, the brothers were allowed to live in the Tower.

On the arrest of Sir John of Desmond, the Desmond estates were left without an overseer. Thomas Roe, the disinherited brother, aspired to the vacant office, but James Fitzmaurice claimed to have been appointed by the earl, who was his first cousin. Before any serious disturbance could arise, both competitors were arrested pending an amicable adjustment of the matter. Fitzmaurice was eventually appointed by the government, and the countess and Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, were selected to assist him. He is described as a young man, but a good Catholic and a brave captain. He had manifested at one time an inclination to enter a religious order, or at least to quit Ireland and go to live in some Catholic country; but by the advice of some good prelates and Catholic religious he elected to remain at home for the good of the country.* On assuming authority he led some of the Desmond vassals of Connelloe into Kerry to collect the customary rents from Fitzmaurice, the lord of Clanmaurice, but that nobleman, instead of meeting the demand, shut

* Calendar of State Papers, Rome, Rolls Series.



himself up in the town of Lixnaw, and assisted by the O'Malleys of Connaught, who happened to be there on a visit, put up a stout defence. When provisions were running low he suddenly sallied forth, and taking the enemy by surprise, put them to flight, slaying in the pursuit Wall of Dunmoylan, a son of the White Knight, and some of the Clan Sheehy. James was reported to the government for raiding his kinsman, but little notice was taken of the complaint, as they had other and more pressing business to engage their attention.

About this time the son and heir of Thomas Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, was convicted and executed at Limerick for devastating and burning the lands of his enemies ; and his castles and lands were seized by the government. His father barely escaped the same fate by a legal technicality.

Sydney, the deputy, crossed over to England shortly after his noble prisoners. On presenting himself at court he met with a cool reception, and had to listen to the severe rebukes of an angry sovereign ; but before the end of the year he was again appointed deputy, and, returning to Ireland, assembled a parliament in which many new laws were enacted.

The Desmond vassals were not a little disappointed at the return of Sydney without their leaders, and became alarmed at the number of Englishmen who had come over and were endeavouring to seize lands in West Cork and Kilkenny on the strength of bogus titles. The Butlers, younger brothers of the Earl of Ormond, were up in arms against Sir Peter Carew, who had raided their lands on the plea that they formerly belonged to a remote ancestor. A determined attempt was also made to uproot whatever remained of the old religion in Munster. In these circumstances MacCarthy More, James Fitzmaurice, and some other chiefs held a meeting in Kerry, and availing themselves of the Butler quarrel with the English, resolved on a common

rising, to protect themselves against the impending danger. An address to King Philip of Spain was drawn up, purporting to be signed by the most influential lords and bishops of the land, many of whom, however, could not have personally attached their names. In this document they declared their undying fidelity to the Catholic Church and their great desire to live under the protection of his Holiness and the Catholic King of Spain. They have resolved, they declare, with the help and favour of the most clement Catholic King, to accept the person of any active Catholic prince of his Catholic Majesty's blood, specially appointed by him for that purpose, and to receive him as their natural king, and thereby to re-establish in perpetuity the royal throne in Ireland, and to venerate the presence of one King, one Faith, and one Kingdom, the donation of that island being first obtained from and confirmed by the Apostolic See. An earnest request was also made that his majesty should send a large and well-equipped army immediately into the country in aid of the chiefs who had already commenced to root out the English government. 3

Maurice Fitzgibbon, Archbishop of Cashel, was chosen as ambassador to the court of Spain and the Vatican. * When setting out on his mission, in February, 1569, he was escorted from Cashel to the sea-coast with solemn pomp by James Fitzmaurice and other leaders of the confederates. While Fitzgibbon was pleading for help at the Spanish court, the allied chieftains of Munster were active. All the English settlers were driven from West Cork and their settlements broken up. James Fitzmaurice then went to Kilkenny and rendered valuable services to the Butlers. Having returned to County Limerick in July, 1569, he compelled Kilmallock to purchase peace at the cost of £160. He then proceeded to Castletown of Kenry and took possession of the lands of the late Knight of Glin, which had been

for some time in the hands of the government. The mayor of Limerick became alarmed at his success, and wrote to the authorities for instructions as to what course the city should take against the rebel.

The deputy, having heard of the insurrection, hastened to Limerick, where he met Ormond, who expected to be appointed to quell the disturbance. But Sydney thought it more prudent, as Ormond's friends were implicated, to place Captain Gilbert over the army and government of the province. He immediately took the field against Fitzmaurice, and towards the end of the year succeeded in capturing the principal castles in County Limerick, wading through a sea of innocent blood in the usual English fashion. A successful attempt was made by promises of future favours to withdraw MacCarthy More from the hostile combination. Fitzmaurice though weakened by this desertion, was not, however, subdued.

It had often been suggested to the queen that a president should be appointed over Munster, who would devote all his time and attention to the administration of that unruly province. Sir John Perrott, a reputed son of Henry VIII, was selected to fill the office, and was invested with authority almost equal to that of the deputy. On landing at Waterford in March, 1571, he was informed that Fitzmaurice, a few weeks before, had sallied out of the Glen of Aherlow with a considerable force and captured, sacked and burned Kilmallock, alleging as a reason that it was used as a sallyport by the English against him. Perrott at once buckled on his armour and took the field against a "man, very valiant, politic and learned as any rebel hath been of that nation for many years." * The Lords Barry and Roche, with MacCarthy, were summoned to join his standard with their forces. To make sure of their

* Life of Perrott.

services he placed them in the centre of the army under pretence that it was done for their greater safety.

The campaign against Fitzmaurice was vigorous, but not very successful, as he kept to the woods, appearing and disappearing as suited his tactics. Perrott growing weary of the many marches through bogs and mountains in pursuit of the elusive enemy, challenged Fitzmaurice to single combat, hoping thereby to bring the war to a speedy finish. The challenge was accepted, and the preliminary arrangements made by both champions. The fight was to take place at Emly. On the appointed day Perrott and his party arrived, but Fitzmaurice contented himself with sending his poet, Connor Roe O'Harnan, to say that he was not afraid to fight, but that as on his life depended the safety of his party, he thought it wiser to decline ; whereas if he slew Perrott the queen could easily supply his place. The president concluded that the best way to break the power of his adversary and pacify the country would be to liberate Sir John of Desmond, as the people were continually referring to the peace they enjoyed under that nobleman's rule. Fitzmaurice, now realising that the appeal to Spain was a failure, thought it better to accept the offer of a surrender on honourable terms. Accordingly, on the 23rd of February, 1573, the ceremony of submission took place in the church of Kilmallock. Fitzmaurice had to lie prostrate and place the sword of Perrott next his heart in token that he received his life from the hands of the queen. The president thought the repentance so sincere that he ventured to predict that Fitzmaurice would become a second St. Paul for the services he was like to do. To enhance his own reputation, he tells the privy council that while in Munster he killed eight hundred persons with the loss of only eighteen English.

We now return to the Earl of Desmond and his brother, who were safely housed in the Tower of London,

where they suffered much from cold and hunger. Enjoying a princely revenue at home, they were reduced to the level of the beggar craving the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. As the doors of the prison closed behind them, the hope of seeing ever again the green hills of their native land grew faint and dim. Friends soon began to make suggestions as to how her majesty might be appeased. The surrender of their lands was an acceptable offering, but it was not enough; they should go a step further and surrender their souls, or, as it was put, conform to the law. This would be much more gratifying, since the Pope, the head of the odious religion they professed, had excommunicated her majesty. At length, and as a last resort, they were forced to conform, at least outwardly, to the new creed. This must have added the sting of conscience to complete their misery, especially as they saw or heard how their fellow-prisoner, Dr. Creagh, the Primate of Armagh, bore with fortitude the indignities heaped upon him for loving his God better than his queen.

When James Fitzmaurice unfurled the banner of independence, the Countess of Desmond was permitted to visit London to beg from her majesty the earl's release. Having failed in her mission she took up her residence with him in the Tower, employing her time in patching and piecing the hose and shoes he was forced to wear. These were afterwards carefully preserved as curios at Lough Gur, and were often shown to loyal friends as proof of the humiliation he endured in an English dungeon. In the summer of 1570 the noble prisoners were removed from the Tower and handed over to the keeping of Sir Warham St. Leger, who applied from his house at Southwark for their maintenance, as he had to keep the earl, the countess and Sir John, with over a dozen servants, without as "much of their own as to buy them a pair of boots." While here the countess gave birth to a son, who was called James

after his grandfather, and whose life was filled with sorrow as keen and piercing as the wail of the banshee.

In 1572 Perrott was supposed to be making headway in Munster, and it was thought advisable to make an inventory of the Desmond property, with the intention of confiscating and dividing it among English adventurers. To attain that end Desmond should be put out of the way. The necessary steps were taken by tempting him to escape from captivity. An English pirate was introduced to him who, having discussed and arranged the plan of escape, informed the council, who, it may be presumed, were already aware of it. The Earl of Ormond paid him a visit at the same time and dined with him. He too was, no doubt, sent by the plotters to lull their victim into a false security. Happily for Desmond, Perrott was not strong enough to quench the fires of rebellion enkindled by Fitzmaurice. The information concerning the intended flight of Desmond was not further considered, and a new policy was inaugurated by releasing the prisoners and sending them back to Ireland.* But before liberty was granted, certain articles were drawn up and agreed to, the principal of which were, that the earl should procure that all the laws established in that realm (Ireland) by Act of Parliament for the maintenance of true religion and suppressing of all jurisdiction claimed by any foreign potentate, would be duly observed and that he should maintain all the bishops, ministers and preachers in the Church of Ireland. He promised to live in peace with the neighbouring lords and extinguish the smouldering embers of the recent rebellion. The queen admitted the brothers into her presence, spoke kindly to them, and hoped that they would be good and dutiful subjects for the future. They were then released and sent to Ireland in charge of Fitton, who was going over as vice-treasurer.

* Carew MSS.

On the 25th of March, 1573, the earl and party landed in Dublin. We can well imagine the feelings of joy that arose in the breasts of the exiles as they once more trod the soil of their native land. Perrott had never met the earl, but having heard much about him from interested parties, had formed an unfavourable opinion of his character, and used all his influence to have him detained in Dublin. Others also, of lesser note, who were enjoying fat livings out of his estates, left no stone unturned to have the will of the president put into execution. These ominous murmurings were encouraged from London, and soon became audible and menacing. New conditions were imposed which Desmond at first refused to accept, loudly protesting against the breach of faith which placed him again under arrest. Sir John was allowed to return home, but the earl was detained a prisoner in Dublin Castle. Though he had on second thoughts submitted to the new restrictions, he received neither favour nor liberty. Being privately informed by a friend that his enemies were plotting to have him sent back to England, he availed of the first opportunity that offered and fled from Dublin. In the early stages of his flight he was escorted by Rory Oge O'More, and as he advanced into the midlands his bodyguard became so numerous that it assumed the aspect of a triumphal procession. In Limerick he was received by James Fitzmaurice and hosts of his retainers; the hills blazed with bonfires and the whole country celebrated the homecoming of their chief. At Lough Gur the countess and himself threw off their English dress, and appeared before their followers clad in Irish raiment, the earl in a saffron shirt and the countess in the fashion of the country becoming her rank.

Desmond of the saffron shirt was a very different man from Desmond of the patched hose and broken shoes. At the close of the festivities the earl, to assert

his authority, issued a proclamation that no sheriff, or constable, or agent of English law should execute their office within his territory. The English warder who was in charge of Castletown of Kenry since that barony had been taken from the Knight of Glin, together with other like officials, was expelled. The earl then placed his man, John Dore, at the head of all the carpenters and masons on his estate, with instructions to demolish the strongholds of Castletown and Glin.

In religious matters, now that he was at liberty to act according to his conscience, the earl was equally decisive. He ordained that ecclesiastics and men of learning should be restored to the possession of their privileges, and he re-established the religious orders in their respective places according to the law of the Pope.* During his long absence from home his lands had been plundered and his estate documents abstracted. He spent the remainder of the year in the County Limerick, as is evidenced by his correspondence with the government addressed from Ballyallinan, Askeaton and Croagh. In December he went to Castleisland, where he spent Christmas.

When Desmond fled from Dublin the deputy was filled with fear of fresh trouble, and hourly anticipated a formidable rising. The government, under the circumstances, thought it more prudent to cultivate friendly relations with him, as they were informed that he was marching up and down the country at the head of eight hundred armed men, to the terror of those Munster chiefs who were friendly with the authorities. Edward Fitzgerald, a brother to the Earl of Kildare, who had spent the most of his life in London, was dispatched to interview him and impress on him the necessity of disbanding his followers and settling down to a quiet life. But Desmond refused to follow

* *A.F.M.*; also Wolfe's *Description of Ireland*, Appendix.

his friend's advice until Captain Bouchier withdrew his garrison from Kilmallock, which he had occupied for some time.

In the spring of 1574 Desmond became more aggressive, or at least some of the government officials were busy circulating reports to that effect. Justice Walsh said he was about to level all the castles in his territory; another alleged that he would have only brehon law, and that he had threatened to cut out the tongue of the sheriff of Limerick. The controversy was brought to a head when James Fitzmaurice captured Bouchier and handed him over to his enemy Fitzdavid. Lord Essex happened to be in Dublin at the time, on his way to the north, and hearing of the fate of his cousin Bouchier, applied to Desmond for his liberation. Negotiations were set on foot by Kildare, Essex and Ormond on behalf of the government to induce Desmond to submit to certain conditions. These Desmond considered too exacting, though he was willing to agree on the principal points in dispute, but resolutely refused "to repair into England to be a spectacle of poverty to all the world." *

On his return from captivity Desmond called together his chief vassals and sought their advice on the existing situation. The result of the conference was embodied in a document afterwards known as the Desmond Combination. Twenty gentlemen approved of his action and promised to support him in arms should the lord deputy or any other official covet his lands. The queen wrote to the lord deputy that a very good way to weaken the earl's power would be to win over Sir John of Desmond and James Fitzmaurice to the side of the government and, as an inducement, to offer the one a portion of the earl's land and the other such gifts as seemed reasonable. The earl, perceiving

* Carew MSS.

the treachery that was being secretly employed to undermine his authority among his own blood relations, adopted the most prudent course in the circumstances.

He met the deputy at Clonmel by appointment, and made an humble submission, surrendering, at the same time, all his castles and dispersing his forces as the government required, thus professing himself once more a loyal subject. In return he received an assurance that he and his followers would be protected from all undue exactions. In religious matters the queen was willing to grant him the toleration he required until the reformation be general.*

Being now at peace with the authorities, Desmond thought it better—considering the perils he had escaped and the uncertainty of the future—to arrange his affairs in such a manner as to secure his property and provide for his family. In September, 1574, he made over all his lands in Ireland to Lord Dunboyne, Lord Power and John Fitzedmund of Cloyne, in trust for himself and wife during their joint lives, with provision for his daughters and final remainder to his son. He appointed Robert Liston and Maurice Shighan (Sheahan) of Rathmore, his bailiffs and attorneys to enter and take seizin of all the said lands and deliver them to the said barons and Fitzedmund.

We now return to the Archbishop of Cashel and his mission to Spain. He was received at Madrid with courtesy and respect, and, in due course, his petition from the Irish chieftains was presented to the king. The latter, in his foreign policy, had to take into consideration rival interests, and advance those most beneficial to his own country. In theory he was inclined to help the Irish, but in practice friendship with England seemed more useful and desirable in the existing juncture

* Carew MSS.

of Spanish affairs. This is the policy he unfolds to the Duke of Alva. "The Archbishop of Cashel," he says, "came to Madrid with a letter from the Earl of Desmond and other leading Catholics soliciting aid to expel the English out of Ireland. On religious grounds I would be anxious to help the Irish, but it would create jealousy in France and prevent our carrying on *the present negotiations with the queen*. If she returns to her old friendship it would not be desirable to entertain the Irish, but to humour the archbishop with fair words. If all comes to all it would be a great thing to seize Ireland, and then we would give the queen something to think about." *

While the archbishop was being entertained with fair words about court, an English spy named Huggins was busy ferreting out the object of his mission and transmitting the results of his labours to England, scanty enough, indeed, yet sufficient to put the diplomatic service in the various European courts on the alert. As the year wore on and there was no response to the petition, the ambassador was becoming uneasy, but had to content himself with a slight ray of hope that glimmered afar.

Another advocate of the Irish cause, Thomas Stukley, an Englishman, now rather unexpectedly appears on the scene. He was a native of Devonshire and of good family. He had spent his youth and early manhood in London and mixed in court circles, where he acquired expensive tastes which soon reduced him to poverty. Then, like a good many of his countrymen of this period, he endeavoured to retrieve his fortunes by robbing his neighbours; he became a pirate, and operated with success on the Irish coast. He became well known in Ireland and enjoyed the confidence of the leading chieftains, with whom he must have often discussed the future of

* Spanish State Papers (Hume).

their country. At this time there was a growing feeling among all the influential families of the country, apart from the Munster rebellion, that the time had come when the Irish should have a king residing amongst them, who would defend the rights of the nation and maintain the Catholic religion. Stukley was an intimate friend of Sydney, the deputy, and had often been employed by him to negotiate with Shane O'Neill and other chiefs who were giving trouble to the government. With two such friends as Sydney in Ireland and Cecil in London, he endeavoured to obtain a position under the crown, but owing to the hostility of the queen was foiled in the attempt. He renewed his application in 1567 in more favourable circumstances, as he purchased from Captain Nicholas Heron his office of seneschal of Wexford and his estates. Sydney placed him in possession and invested him with the authority of his predecessor, with the hope of being able to overcome the prejudices of the queen. The queen, however, was obdurate, and an attorney named White was chosen by Cecil, to the manifest chagrin of the deputy, who required a man of military training.

The Irish chiefs immediately became active against the new seneschal, and it was strongly suspected that Stukley was urging on the opposition. White, on the evidence of a soldier, soon trumped up a charge against Stukley of conspiring to levy war on her majesty, with the result that he was committed to Dublin Castle.

Father David Wolfe,* the papal nuncio, when coming to Ireland in 1560, was instructed to report on the actual situation and condition of places, cities, harbours, fortresses, and their provisions, as well as on the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people. Accordingly, during his sojourn in the country, he visited all the strong castles and ascertained their actual

* Wolfe's *Description of Ireland*.—See Appendix.

strength from personal observation. While prosecuting his mission he was made prisoner, in or about Carrigfergus, in July, 1567, perhaps on information supplied by Miler Magrath, Bishop of Down, who had just then conformed to Protestantism and had no scruple in helping to secure him as an agreeable offering to Sydney and a proof of his own sincerity, which was rewarded soon after by his promotion to the bishopric of Clogher. Wolfe was imprisoned in Dublin Castle, where at first he suffered much from the unwholesome atmosphere of his cell, the stench of the place being so great that when Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, called to see him he had to leave without transacting any business.

We may presume in the light of subsequent events that Stukley and Wolfe became acquainted in Dublin Castle and that they discussed the Irish question in all its bearings, especially the prospects of the Munster rebellion and the necessity of obtaining Spanish aid to secure a permanent victory, resulting in the freedom and independence of Ireland, a consummation so ardently desired by the leading chieftains of the country. Doubtless this object could easily have been accomplished at that particular time with the aid of a Spanish force led by a few men of such courage and resource as Fitzmaurice and Stukley.

While in Dublin Castle Stukley resolved to devote his life to the Irish cause, and being a man of action he immediately formed his plans. He applied for and obtained permission from Sydney to go to London, ostensibly in the hope of obtaining an audience with the queen and regaining her goodwill. While preparations for his departure were going forward he had an interview among others with the Earl of Kildare and, perhaps, also with Fitzmaurice, who must have given him instructions to visit Madrid, where, as a man of military standing, he would be more likely to hasten the expedition than the archbishop, whose embassy

was so far a failure. Having completed his arrangements, Stukley sailed out of Waterford harbour ostensibly for England, but directing his course to Spain, landed at Vivero on the 24th of April, 1570. After a little delay he succeeded in gaining access to the court and presented a petition to the king in favour of the Catholics of Ireland which had probably been drawn up by David Wolfe as a result of their conferences in Dublin Castle. Philip had thus the material at hand that he required, and skilfully used it to bring Elizabeth to a better frame of mind. Stukley was feted and became the lion of society in Madrid. Rumours were industriously circulated that an army was to be placed under his command for the invasion of Ireland, and the idea was ingenuously encouraged by the Archbishop of Cashel in a letter to the king. In due course the news reached Elizabeth. She felt nettled at Stukley's reception and the influence he wielded over the king. She complained bitterly to the Spanish ambassador that her sworn enemy had been received by his royal master, and assured him that she meant to defend herself and had called out her fleet.

As the year advanced a quarrel arose between the Archbishop of Cashel and Stukley, with the result that the archbishop's influence began to decline. Seeing clearly from the trend of events that his mission was a failure, he quitted Madrid towards the end of 1571. He went to Paris and endeavoured through the English ambassador to obtain a free pardon from the queen and permission to live at home in peace as Catholic Archbishop of Cashel. His request was ultimately refused, and after many wanderings and much adversity he died in exile at Oporto in 1578.

When Stukley's presence in Spain was no longer required by Philip, means were found to transfer him to another sphere without dispensing altogether with his services. Don Juan of Austria was preparing a fleet to

fight the Turks; Stukley joined the expedition and fought with honour and success at the battle of Lepanto, October 7th, 1571. On his return he settled down in Rome and became the idol of the English refugee Catholics, who were planning a descent on England to relieve their persecuted brethren. The Holy See looked with favour on the enterprise and solicited the King of Spain to assist in such a deserving cause. Stukley volunteered to lead the enterprise, but Philip refused to commit himself definitely to the scheme.

David Wolfe escaped from Dublin Castle on the 26th of July, 1572. The event attracted very little attention at the time, as there is no reference to it among official documents until October, 1573. The escape was well planned and successfully carried out. He must have left the castle in the early morning, as his words seem to imply that he entered Wexford after nightfall of the same day. Thence he got into communication with James Fitzmaurice. The route chosen by him on his escape was so unexpected, and the skill with which the whole affair was managed so superb, as to point to a master-hand who was well acquainted with the dangers that beset his path, and knew how to avoid them. The name of his benefactor has not yet transpired, but it may be surmised that Stukley, if not the actual rescuer, organised the plan of escape, as he had plenty of Spanish gold, knew every inch of the Leinster country, and had numerous friends who were ready and willing to give him assistance. This would explain why Wolfe always speaks in such high praise of Stukley's magnanimity, courage and bravery.

The government, on learning of Wolfe's escape, made every effort to recapture him. Orders were sent to the authorities in all cities and seaports to keep a strict watch for him, and a proclamation was issued offering

a large reward for his apprehension. As escape from Ireland was then impossible, he retired to a remote part of the country, and encountered many perils and endured great hardships during the year that followed. When the submission of James Fitzmaurice had eased the situation somewhat, it would seem that he returned to Fitzmaurice and discussed with him the main points of the appeal to the King of Spain, which were afterwards incorporated by him in his *Description of Ireland*. After deliberating together on the many issues involved, Wolfe left for the Continent, in September, 1573, taking with him Fitzmaurice's eldest son, a beautiful boy of twelve years, to be offered to the Spanish king as a pledge of his father's fidelity. He placed the youth in charge of the Jesuits in Lisbon, where he himself took up his residence and carried on negotiations with Madrid and Rome. Here he succeeded in winning the confidence of the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan Borgia, who was so impressed with his account of Irish affairs that he commissioned him to write a detailed description of Ireland, which he undertook to lay before Philip II, with a view to persuading that monarch to send speedy assistance to the chieftains in their struggle with a government by which their religion was persecuted. Wolfe, accordingly, wrote a most valuable treatise on the Ireland of his day, which throws great light on the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country from the Irish point of view.

It will be necessary here to make a digression in order to give the substance of this very valuable document, since it contains many new and interesting facts and gives a new complexion to this period of our history.*

The author anticipated much hostility from

* This treatise is printed in the Appendix from an Italian copy preserved in the Vatican Library.

Englishmen on account of this work, but he assures them that his sole motive in writing it was zeal for the honour of God, the salvation of souls in Ireland, and the rooting out of the Lutheran pest from that kingdom; and he declares that in doing so he felt happy to think that the name of traitor could not be applied to him, as he was no longer a subject of Elizabeth, having been absolved from his allegiance to her by the Bull of Pius V, which was published on the 25th February, 1570.

By way of preface he gives a short synopsis of the early history of the country, including the Norman invasion, taken from Giraldus Cambrensis, and emphasises the fact that Henry II was received by a people already divided into factions, not as king but as feudatory of the Pope. Thus the title of King of Ireland went out of use; but of the lesser nobles, each retained his proper title in his own territory, and so continues down to the present time (1574), except that the kings of England according as occasion offered made earls of certain persons whose merits deserved recognition. These have very extensive territories and jurisdiction.

Ireland was anciently divided into five parts, namely: Ulster, Leinster, the two Munsters (now three, namely, Desmond, Ormond and Thomond) and Connaught. Besides this division, Meath, a very beautiful stretch of country, was set aside as the special domain of the monarch.

Ulster is in the northern part of the kingdom, and has many fine and safe harbours. In all Ulster there is no strong city, nor any fortress, except the castle of Knockfergus which is in the hands of the English.

There are in Ulster nine episcopal sees, namely, the archbishopric of Armagh, and the bishoprics of Derry, Raphoe, Clogher, Dromore, Down, Connor, Kilmore and Ardagh. The episcopal sees are not great cities,

nor are they walled, because formerly reverence, devotion, fear of God and the holiness of the people were universal; but now, owing to the sins of the clergy and people, these episcopal sees lack not only walls but people to inhabit them, so that they are deserted and almost abandoned. There are in that province upwards of nineteen great lords and many of lesser rank who possess extensive territories but have small incomes. The following are the names of the lords:—O'Neill, O'Donnell, the lords of Claneboy (of whom there are three), O'Reilly, O'Rourke, O'Dougherty, O'Kane, O'Hanlon, Maguire, Magenniss, MacQuillin, MacMahon, the three MacSwineys, MacDonnell, and the three O'Farrells. There are several lordly castles in Ulster, although the owners for the greater part of the time, especially in summer, live in tents and frequently change from one place to another, according to the needs of their flocks.

Ulster is divided into three parts, namely Tyrone, Tirconnell and Claneboy. O'Neill possesses Tyrone; O'Donnell owns Tirconnell; several nobles, all of the family of O'Neill but not styled lords, hold Claneboy, which is the most beautiful and fertile of the three divisions. All these countries are constantly at war with one another, but they are ever ready to combine to make war on the English, and are always victorious. All the other Ulster lords obey one or other of the two lords, O'Neill or O'Donnell.

It is to be noted—and this applies not only to Ulster but to the whole of Ireland and to all its parts—that any lord or gentleman or other person whose name or surname begins with O or Mac belongs to the Irish nation. But the lords are called by the surname alone as the proper title of their lordship, and if anyone were to address one of them by his baptismal name, he would take it ill. The other gentlemen and persons of base condition who are of Irish extraction always

prefix O or Mac to their surname which follows their proper name, as John O'Neill.

Meath is situated in the east of Ireland, between Ulster and Leinster, and is most rich and fertile, superabounding in everything necessary for the life of man. It is a strip of land about sixty or seventy miles long and about twenty wide. Of Meath the author says: "*I can truly say that I have never seen in Italy or France or any other country so many noble lords, knights and gentlemen in so small a piece of territory; for in Meath there are at least fifteen hundred knights, and as many more stipendiaries and gentlemen—for in Ireland no one is a knight unless a gentleman—who have chargers fully accoutred.*"

There is no maritime city in this territory, only a large town near the sea called Drogheda. It is walled after the ancient fashion and has a population of about seven or eight hundred, all of whom are either merchants or tradesmen and all Catholics, though they go under compulsion to hear the alkoran of the heretics. There are neither military stores nor artillery in the town, as all their arms consist of bows, arquebuses and such like.

In this territory there are at least six barons of great dignity, namely, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Dunboyne Skrine, Navan and Galtrim. Besides these there are several lords who are personages of great authority, as the Viscount Gormanstown, Plonkett of Killeen, Plonkett of Rathmore, Plonkett of Dunsany, Plonkett of Louth, Bernaval of Trimleston, the Lord of Howth, O'Melaghlen, O'Molloy, MacCoughlan, Mageoghegan and many others. The four Lords Plonkett belong to the same house, and in time of war muster under the banner of the Lord Plonkett of Killeen, not because he is the most powerful but because his ancestor was the senior of all the brothers. "The Lord of Rathmore," he says, "who was for many days my companion in

prison, told me that these lords of the family of Plonkett can put on the field five hundred well-armed knights and as many more footmen of the same house and family."

All the above-mentioned are Catholics, except the Viscount Gormanstown, and they are under the Lady Elizabeth for want of a Christian prince who would take upon himself the duty of governing them and defending them from the heretics, and they are constantly crying out to God to send them some Catholic prince to whom they could give obedience.

The culture and mode of living in Meath is just the same as in France and England, because coming with King Henry into Ireland, the Meathmen have retained their own customs and their ancient civilization, and have never shown any inclination to intermarry or mix with the old race, but the whole of that territory has ever been, and still is, united and bound together as if it were one city or a well-governed republic.

There are two bishoprics in Meath, namely Meath and Clonmacnoise, subject to Armagh.

Leinster is in the east of Ireland between Meath and Munster. Dublin is the principal city not alone of Leinster but of all Ireland, because the viceroy resides there with the court and the counsellors of the kingdom. It is an old walled city, but not strong. The population might be two thousand or thereabouts. There is in the city a castle built by John, the son of Henry II, where the viceroy resides for the past seven years. Some say he does so through fear of the country gentlemen, because in former times the viceroy usually lived in other places outside the city. "In that castle," Wolfe writes, "I was by the will of God a prisoner for five years. I doubt not it was His most holy will, that I might learn the weakness and scanty provision of the castle and of the whole kingdom. Many a time I purchased with my own money permission to go in

and see the munitions in the armoury, which I examined minutely, saw and tried repeatedly, and they appear to me to be things of little value." In former times there were many pieces of artillery and much powder in Ireland, but the Lady Elizabeth had taken them away out of the kingdom and sent them to the Prince of Condé to make war against the King of France, but they were seized by the French at sea and converted to the king's use.

Dublin is a beautiful city, three or four miles distant from the sea. The citizens are almost all Catholics, especially the natives, although they go by compulsion to the communion and preachings of the heretics.

In Leinster also is the harbour of Wexford, a large town, walled on one side and protected on the other by the sea, and a great shipping centre. "I heard," he says, "that there are three hundred large boats and ships in the harbour, though the ships cannot be large on account of the bar at the mouth of the river. I passed that bar when I escaped from the prison of Dublin Castle on the 26th of July, 1572, but as it was already night when I entered the town I could not examine it closely nor learn the strength of the castle which is there, but I heard from others that for many years past it is a ruin and totally abandoned." In Wicklow there is a castle belonging to the Earl of Ormond. It is a pretty safe harbour, but few ships enter there, as it is not a place of commerce.

In Leinster there are one archbishopric and four bishoprics, namely, the archbishopric of Dublin and the bishoprics of Kildare, Ossory, Leighlin and Ferns. The bishops of all these sees are heretics or schismatics, for they have received their bishoprics from the Lady Elizabeth, still some of them would very willingly be Catholics only for the fear of losing their bishoprics.

In Leinster there are many temporal lords of English as well as of Irish origin, as Sir Gerald Fitzgerald,

Earl of Kildare ; Sir Roland, Lord of Kilcullen ; Sir Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, Sir Edmond, Lord of Mountgarrett ; Sir Thomas Stukley, an Englishman ; Bermingham, *alias* MacKeoris, MacMurrough, who is of the royal blood of Leinster and a great lord ; O'Toole, O'Byrne, O'Dempsey, O'More, O'Dunne, O'Connor Fally, MacGillapatrik, and many other lords and gentlemen whose names are for brevity omitted.

Wolfe's reference to Stukley is interesting : " The above-named Englishman, Thomas Stukley, is now at *the court of his Catholic majesty*. He is a man of very noble rank, who purchased with his own money large territories and possessions, but lost a vast amount of goods a few years ago through certain rebels. A man of courage, liberality and great bravery, and much esteemed for his rare virtue and magnanimity, as well as the hatred he bears the English heretics and his great zeal for the Catholic faith, the Irish lords of Leinster wished to make him their captain-general, to whom they would give obedience as to their superior and lord, but the persecution of the Lady Elizabeth forced him to leave the country, because these lords are constantly at war with the viceroy and those that obey the Lady Elizabeth. All the gentlemen of Ireland and all the soldiers, as well as all the nobility, not only of Leinster, but also of Munster, Connaught, Ulster and Meath, most anxiously await his arrival with an army, the good Catholics to aid and lovingly receive him and the heretics to flee before him with fear. He has put such fear and terror into the hearts of the English authorities in the Kingdom of Ireland that they do not know what to do or say. . . . I have much to say about his magnanimity and about what he could do in that island and in what esteem he is held by the great lords of the kingdom, and how many there are who would willingly receive him, but I cannot say it in writing, nor would it be proper to write it for the present."

Besides Dublin there is no other city in Leinster, but many flourishing towns, some of which are walled, as Wexford, Ross, Carlow, Balathy, Dangin, Leighlin, Kildare, Maynooth, Inistioge, Thomastown, Kilkenny, Callan, and many strong castles.

Munster is divided into three parts, namely, Ormond Desmond and Thomond, Desmond being greater than the other two parts. It is a very beautiful and fertile country. Sir Thomas Butler is Earl of Ormond. A portion of his territory lies in Leinster, and he has under him many gentlemen and vassals who render him obedience and pay him tribute, as Theobald, Lord of Cahir; FitzPiers, Lord of Dunboyne; Edmond, Lord of Mountgarrett; Sir Edmond Butler, Sir Edward and Sir Piers, brothers of the earl and lords of vast estates; O'Carroll of the Irish nation; O'Dwyer, O'Meagher, O'Kennedy Don, O'Kennedy Finn, MacTeige; with many other lords and gentlemen. There are no cities in Ormond, but there are some large and walled towns, as Cashel, Gowran, Callan, Fethard, Carrick, Clonmel, and many strong castles.

Desmond.—Lord Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, has in his dominions many lords and noble knights who ever render him the most ample obedience, as the Earl of Clancarthy, previously called MacCarthy More; Sir John, brother of Earl Gerald, who is a great lord; Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald; Sir Thomas Fitzgerald; John Le Poer, Lord of Curraghmore; Gerald, Viscount of Decies; James, Lord Barrymore; Lord Barryoge; David, Lord Roche; Sir Cormac MacCarthy, Lord of Muskerry; Thomas, Lord Baron of Lixnaw; MacCarthy Reagh and O'Mahony in the west; Lord Barryroe, Sir Patrick Condon, Sir Patrick de Courcy, Sir William Burke, Lord of Clanwilliam; O'Driscoll Don, O'Driscoll Finn, O'Driscoll Roe, O'Donoghue of the Glen; O'Sullivan More, O'Sullivan Beara, MacGillacuddy, MacDonough, MacAuliffe, O'Callaghan, O'Keeffe,

O'Connor Kerry, O'Molrian, MacBrien of Coonagh, Mac I Brien of Ara, FitzThomas Fitzgerald, and the red Lord Roche. The Knights of Kerry, of the Valley and of Clan Gibbon, although called knights, are in reality lords of very extensive territories and of many castles and towns. There are also many other knights and gentlemen in Desmond.

In this territory there are three cities—Waterford, Cork and Limerick—and many harbours, safe and easy to be entered; among the number mentioned Inis-chatty is set down as a harbour for Limerick.

The city of Waterford is well walled in the ancient fashion, and is the richest city in Ireland. The population is upwards of a thousand or thereabouts. The citizens are all Catholics, except four or five young men, and they are all either merchants or tradesmen. They are devoted to commerce rather than to warlike affairs; nor have they any munitions of war except four or five pieces of artillery, and even these small and of little value. The city occupies a very fine position on the river Suir, about twelve miles from the sea, the river being so deep that ships of one thousand tons can sail up in front of the city even at low water.

The city of Cork is well walled and in a strong position in the centre of the river Lee. It is entered by wooden bridges, so constructed for the greater security of the city, but there is a hill overlooking the city from which the houses could be battered down by artillery and even the people killed by arquebuses in the centre of the square, so near is the hill to the city. The river is so deep and wide that Wolfe saw in it three Flemish hulks of fourteen hundred and sixteen hundred tons of corn that had been seized by English pirates. The city has about eight hundred inhabitants who are all merchants, fishermen, or tradesmen, and are all Catholics, although they have for their bishop a heretic who is constantly preaching the Lutheran heresy to them,

but all in vain. It is true they go under compulsion to his sermons and the other ceremonies that he performs, but they wish for nothing more in this world than the Catholic religion. The city is about eight or ten miles from the sea, and abounds in meat, fish and corn, but has scarcely any arms and could be taken without the least resistance.*

Besides these cities there are several large and well-walled towns, as Dungarvan, Youghal, Kinsale, Kilmallock, Dingle, Cahir Dunihiessk, Askeaton, Tralee and the Earl's Island (Castleisland).

Thomond is the third part of Munster and its lord down to our time called O'Brien, a name very celebrated and much revered throughout Ireland. Henry VIII, in order not to tolerate such a celebrated name in that territory, about the year 1540 called to England the gentleman who was then O'Brien and made him lay aside that name, calling him Earl of Thomond. The present lord, Connor O'Brien, has few gentlemen in his territory that obey him, but rather make constant war on him, as the Baron of Inchquin, the two MacNamaras, who are great lords; the two MacMahons, O'Loghlen, O'Grady, O'Connor of Corcomroe, Sir Donald O'Brien, and many other gentlemen of Irish blood. The greater part of these refuse him obedience because he sides with the English and they do the contrary. There is no city in this territory, nor even harbours, although there are many fine castles on the Shannon beside which large ships could anchor safely, but in these castles there is no commerce, nor in any of the towns. There are in Thomond metal and silver mines; Connor O'Brien, the present Earl of Thomond, extracted ore from them, but the English do not permit him to work them any longer.

There are in Munster one archbishopric and ten

* Wolfe's account of his native city of Limerick is given below. Chapter III.

bishoprics, namely, the archbishopric of Cashel in Ormond, the bishoprics of Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Ross, Cork, Ardfert, Limerick and Emly in Desmond, and Killaloe and Kilfenora in Thomond. All the Catholic bishops of Munster have been deprived of their sees by Lady Elizabeth and some of them banished out of the kingdom, as Maurice of Cashel and Maurice of Emly; while Thomas of Ross is a prisoner in England, but like a true shepherd, constant in the faith. Hugh of Limerick, who is already an old man, is a fugitive in the island with some of his relatives and friends.

Connaught is a very fine country lying between Ulster and Munster, in the western part of the kingdom. It has eight episcopal sees consisting of the archbishopric of Tuam and the bishoprics of Kilmacduagh, Clonfert, Annaghdown, Mayo, Killala, Achonry and Elphin. The bishops of these sees are for the most part Catholics, but some are schismatics, having obtained their sees from the Lady Elizabeth. All, however, are desirous to see the re-establishment of the Catholic Church. There is no city in Connaught, but Galway is a strong walled town situated on the sea. All the inhabitants are Catholics, except about fifteen young men who embrace the Lutheran novelty to please the Lady Elizabeth.

There is in Connaught a very strong castle called Roscommon, which was built by the English in the time of John, son of Henry II, on the lands of O'Connor Don against his will. O'Connor Don seized it, and it was retained by his successors for three hundred years until the present O'Connor Don, not suspecting any evil, went in April of the year 1567, with a safe conduct to the viceroy, Henry Sydney, who was then at Galway, and was forced by Sydney, notwithstanding his safe conduct, to surrender the castle to the English before he was allowed out of their hands.

There is also in Connaught a well-walled town, called Athenry, which James Fitzmaurice and the sons of Earl Richard Burke destroyed and burned in 1572, together with a great number of houses, castles and large towns that favoured Elizabeth. Fitzmaurice crossed the Shannon to aid the sons of the earl who were then waging war against Elizabeth because she was detaining their father a prisoner in Dublin, and having gathered a great army they burst into Meath, where they did great destruction, and finally burned the town of Athlone, the residence of the president of Connaught, Edward Fitton, who defended the castle but had not the courage or strength to come out and meet the Irish army.

Earl Richard Burke, a strong Catholic and a virtuous man, is lord of nearly all Connaught and has under him many other lords and gentlemen who render him obedience, such as his relative, Sir John Burke, O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Sligo, O'Kelly, O'Dowda, O'Flaherty, O'Shaughnessy, O'Hart, O'Beirne, MacDermott, MacDonogh, MacCostello and many other nobles and gentlemen who belong to the same family of Burke, but have not the style and title of lords. They are brave men and of great strength, nearly all red-haired, handsome, tall of stature, and always ready for war.

Here follows a short general description of Ireland in which we are told that the country abounds in all kinds of corn and fine, beautiful horses of every kind. Birds of all kinds, wild and tame, are numerous. Herrings and salmon are so plentiful that large quantities are exported every year to England, France and other countries. Great quantities of the most beautiful and precious pearls are found every year in the Irish rivers. There are silver, tin, lead and copper mines in the island, and the iron mines are so extensive that they could supply other countries.

Rabbits are so numerous that large quantities of their skins are sold at high prices in England, Flanders, France and other places. So vast are the woods, supplying timber for the construction of ships and the building of houses, that perhaps in the whole world there are not the like. And how abounding the kingdom is in meat, wool and milkfoods is fully shown by the fact that merchants who trade there never take anything else out of the country except hides of cows and other animals, cloth, sheep's wool, butter, tallow and such like.

The author then proceeds to exhort the King of Spain to take Ireland under his protection and root out the Lutheran pest, but before doing so he should have the authority and commission of the Apostolic See—a commission revoking that which was first given to Henry, King of England—to enter the Kingdom of Ireland with an army, that kingdom being the patrimony of St. Peter. With this commission and the authority of the Supreme Pontiff it would be well that his majesty should make his brother, the illustrious Don Juan of Austria, king of that kingdom, as all the lords and nobles of Ireland desire and would wish. If, however, his majesty should wish to take the kingdom for himself, or for some other person, it would be essential for that purpose to have as captains the two knights, namely Sir James Fitzmaurice and Sir Thomas Stukley, in order to reconcile the others and secure peace and true obedience to his majesty and, if necessary, make incursions against the disobedient and rebellious, because they are well acquainted with the roads, paths and fortified places of the whole country, and also know the character and disposition of each one, as well as the strength of his forces and the extent of his resources.

According to expert opinion four thousand soldiers would be sufficient to conquer the kingdom, but he

would never advise sending less than twelve thousand exemplary and God-fearing men, consisting of eight thousand soldiers and four thousand tradesmen, as agricultural labourers, masons, smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and armourers; also citizens and merchants to inhabit the cities and episcopal sees, which lack nothing but inhabitants. It would be necessary that the captain-general should be a duke or a great prince, for much depends on his being a man of high rank and generous, kind and affable, such a person being always much loved by the Irish and at the same time much respected and feared. Above all he should have a care that women and girls be not put to shame or corrupted by the soldiers. This would be a very detestable thing before God and man, and it is that also which the natives fear most from the Spaniards, the English having many a time insinuated it when the conversation happened to turn on the Spaniards or Italians.

The most suitable time for landing is the end of June and any time during July or August, for then begins the time for gathering in the corn; and if it were gathered into the cities and castles there might be a little difficulty in getting food for the army. In July and August meat begins to be fat and good, and there is then grass and oats for horses and other beasts of burden. There is no lack of fine and very beautiful horses in Ireland, where they are sold for a few pence, so there would be no necessity for bringing horses into the country. The harbours nearest to Spain and the most convenient for landing in Ireland are Waterford, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and all the other harbours of Munster, for with a favourable wind one can sail in four days from Biscay to these harbours.

This remarkable document reveals the inner minds of the Irish nobles and their hopes and aspirations for religion and country, and places the history of this

period in a new and more favourable light. The suggestions made by Father Wolfe for the reconquest of Ireland from the English were faithfully carried out, except in regard to the supply of men, as the sequel will show.

The Spanish ambassador in due course presented the report to Philip II, who was favourably impressed, as Father Wolfe, in December, was granted a personal interview with the king, when they discussed matters in greater detail.

During his stay at Madrid, Wolfe became acquainted with Nicholas Saunder, if he had not already known him. Saunder was educated at Winchester, and later on went to Oxford, where he became a fellow of New College. He lived through the religious changes in England, and at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign fled to the Continent. He was present at the Council of Trent and afterwards, being a man of energy and character, became one of the leaders of the Catholic exiles and an enthusiastic advocate of a Catholic crusade against the intolerance of Elizabeth. He wrote a history of the schism in that country which, though virulently abused by his enemies, is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. He was then at Madrid endeavouring to influence the king in favour of his persecuted countrymen, and when he learned the object of Father Wolfe's mission his sympathy went out to the Irish who were victims of their common enemy Elizabeth. Here also he met Patrick O'Hely, an Irish Franciscan, who had just completed, with marked distinction, his studies at the famous University of Alcalá, and became an ardent advocate of the religious war that was in preparation at home. Both in after years proved the sincerity of their zeal by dying martyrs to the cause, Saunder in the fastness of Cleanglass and O'Hely on the scaffold at Kilmallock.

Early in December, and much sooner than he expected,

Wolfe received the king's reply to his requests. The reply was not altogether unfavourable. Wolfe was sent back to Ireland with a large sum of money for his friend James Fitzmaurice.* While on his way back, however, he received a letter from Fitzmaurice, announcing his arrival in St. Malo, and asking him to meet him there.

The political and religious outlook in Munster was, from the Geraldine point of view, full of uncertainty; for, though peace prevailed throughout the province, the government was slowly, but surely, restricting the earl's hereditary rights and pushing forward the new religion. Fitzmaurice, conscious of the danger, consulted his friends as to the best policy to adopt. The conclusion they came to evidently was that Fitzmaurice should seek help from the King of France, as the English enterprise was engaging the attention of the Spanish court and little hope of assistance could be expected from that quarter, at least for a time. Accordingly, on the 28th of February, 1575, Fitzmaurice, accompanied by his wife, son, and two daughters, and a few others who shared his views, sailed from Glin for France. Before leaving he wrote to Ormond that he was going abroad for the benefit of his health. This in turn was communicated to the government. It was also circulated and believed by the government, who had evidently heard of his pecuniary resources, that he had taken with him £1,000 worth of plate. After a favourable voyage the little party landed at a village in Brittany, where they remained until French wearing apparel was procured. Then they proceeded to St. Malo, where the governor and the principal citizens, with their wives and daughters, met them on the sands and accompanied them to their lodgings. Here Fitzmaurice left his family and proceeded to Paris with

* Transcripts from Rome (Public Record Office, London).

his companions. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with the king, who appeared to be favourably impressed and is said to have granted him a pension as a mark of esteem. Spies were immediately dispatched to ascertain why he had left Ireland, but Fitzmaurice anticipated them by giving out that he had come to seek the influence of the king on his behalf with Elizabeth. Latin versions of letters said to have been written by Henry III to the queen, and to Fenelon, the ambassador, were shown in Ireland by his friends. After his visit to the French court he returned to St. Malo and there lived quietly with his wife and family for the remainder of the year. In the beginning of 1576 Sydney, on information received from his spy, was able to report that "he keepeth a great port, himself and family, well apparelled and full of money; he had oft intelligence from Rome and out of Spain; not much relief from the French king, as I can perceive, yet oft visited by men of good countenance. This much I know of certain report, by special of mine own from St. Malo." *

There is no definite account of Father Wolfe's movements during the year 1575. It is unlikely that he visited Ireland while Fitzmaurice was in France, in spite of certain expressions which seem to imply the contrary, but it may be safely conjectured that he accompanied him to Paris and acted as his interpreter in his audience with the king, as he is later on called Fitzmaurice's interpreter. He may also have assisted him in his correspondence with the Roman Court. The exhortation addressed by Pope Gregory XIII† to O'Neill, Earl of Ulster, O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, Mac William Burke and the Earl of Desmond, in April of this year, and to each of the bishops in May, was, doubtless,

* Carew MSS.

† Transcripts from Rome (Public Record Office, London).

suggested by the *Description of Ireland*, which he presented to the King of Spain, by whom it had been forwarded to Rome. When Fitzmaurice, who had intended to go to Rome for the jubilee of 1575 in company with Father Wolfe, changed his mind and remained in France, the latter went on by himself about the end of that year. He may have been one of those of good countenance whom Sydney's spy in January, 1576, reported as having been observed visiting Fitzmaurice some time before, as Father Wolfe informed the nuncio at Madrid that Fitzmaurice was then about to return to Ireland. The nuncio when transmitting the news to Rome remarked that some Irishmen were anxious, and perhaps, among them Father Wolfe, to have Fitzmaurice appointed to the sole charge of the army in Ireland, but that to avoid jealousy it would be better that an Italian should be appointed.

During the year 1576 the advocates of the Irish invasion worked diligently to bring matters to a head. Father Patrick O'Hely was the chief agent at Madrid, and more than once he visited Rome. On the 4th of July he was appointed Bishop of Mayo, which added considerably to his influence. In November, he was dispatched by the Pope with a letter to the King of Spain urging that monarch to give his assistance to the Catholics of Ireland and pointing out how easy it then was to rescue that island from the English and place it under his own dominion. It was, he said, a question of restoring religion and the Catholic faith. The Pope regretted that owing to the distance he could not himself co-operate as he would wish in so good a work.

Fitzmaurice spent the whole of this year at St. Malo watching the course of events in Ireland and on the Continent. There he was visited by the Seneschal of Imokilly and some others, a fact which did not escape the vigilance of an English spy. While the continental plans were maturing, he went to Rome, in the beginning

of February, 1577, and spent some time visiting the holy places out of devotion. He had several interviews with his Holiness Pope Gregory XIII, who warmly received him and listened with sympathy to his projects for the liberation of the Church in his native land. It is not expressly stated in any document who was Fitzmaurice's interpreter on this occasion. O'Hely assures us that he was not. It must, therefore, have been Father Wolfe, as he alone was thoroughly conversant with the state of Ireland, knew the views of Fitzmaurice, and could accurately interpret them for his Holiness.

As a result of the audience, Fitzmaurice received the flag of the Church, an authoritative brief to the Irish and a distinct promise of material aid, together with letters to Madrid and Lisbon where it was expected he would be liberally supplied with men and money to begin the enterprise in Ireland. In February he left Rome, in company with Bishop O'Hely and Father Wolfe, and travelling by Genoa, where a delay occurred, arrived in Spain in the beginning of May. While the bishop went to Madrid, Fitzmaurice remained at a distance from the court, lest his presence might arouse suspicion. O'Hely and Saunder earnestly besought the king for material help in accordance with a previous promise. Fitzmaurice, however, after a few months' delay, had to be satisfied with a rich present. He left on the 24th of July for Portugal, where he presented the letter he had received at Rome to the nuncio at Lisbon. Here he began to prepare for the homeward voyage. At the suggestion of the nuncio two hundred copies of the brief from the Pope were secretly printed in Latin and English for circulation in Ireland. Anxious inquirers were informed that he had come to see his son who a short time before had been transferred to the Jesuit college at Coimbra. He had great difficulty in procuring a ship, as the King of Portugal was hostile to

him, but through the influence of the Spanish ambassador, he was allowed to purchase a Breton vessel at his own expense. Having expended all the money at his disposal on arms, ammunition and men, he had to leave with a scanty purse. Before sailing from Lisbon he wrote to the Cardinal of Como (5th November, 1577) : " I came to Lisbon to go to Ireland and would long ago have been there had I not been detained by the nuncio in Spain, who thought he could get me some assistance. He now tells me he can do nothing. I am therefore going to Ireland without delay, unarmed, without a fleet, without men, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and fortified by the apostolic authority, trusting to your prayers and the goodness of God to obtain a victory over the enemies of Holy Mother Church. . . . I beg you in whom I trust to hasten after me to Ireland the promised assistance and to solicit the King of Spain for the succours he promised the Bishop of Mayo."

On the 18th of November, 1577, he set sail for Ireland, taking with him O'Hely. Father Wolfe, who is called his interpreter by Fontana, the papal collector at Lisbon, remained behind to help on the cause, and, with the Bishop of Killaloe, to visit the court of Madrid for that purpose.

How Fitzmaurice fared on his homeward voyage is best told in the words of Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo. Writing to the Cardinal of Como from Paris, on the 31st of March, 1578, he says he did not expect to write until he had reached Ireland and was able to report a victory over the enemies of the faith, but it happened otherwise. For, after they had set out from Lisbon for Ireland on the 18th of November, they met an English ship which they began to attack; but to avoid bloodshed in the presence of a bishop and to show the benignity rather than the severity of the apostolic leader, he asked the Geraldine to set at liberty the

Englishmen who had been taken, when they had sworn to be thenceforward faithful to the Apostolic See, or at least to have them sent to the Spanish inquisitors, for they were still on the Spanish coast. The latter course was agreed to, and they were sent to the inquisitors. The ship then proceeded on its way, but after struggling for more than a month with the sea and storms, it was finally forced back again to the Spanish coast, where they were compelled by the storms to remain for twenty days. As provisions then began to fail, many of their soldiers deserted them. One day when they went on land with some friends to celebrate a festival which was being held, the master of the ship and the sailors went on board unknown to them and, hoisting the sails, fled to Brittany, the native place of the master, leaving them on the shore, without provision of any kind. Fitzmaurice and he (the bishop) followed them to France in the hope of recovering their property. The former remained at St. Malo and he (Bishop O'Hely) came to Paris to beg a mandate of the king for the restoration of their property. Meanwhile, those who had robbed them of their property warned the Queen of England. So far he has not been able to obtain the king's mandate. Had he when he went to Rome for the second time been the Geraldine's interpreter with the Pope, and had his views been adopted, his Holiness would never have granted the flag of the Church without sufficient forces to prevent the authority of the Church from being made little of and their adversaries from being given an occasion to laugh at them; nor indeed would the Geraldine ever have left the Roman Court as he did had he not hoped that the apostolic collector in Portugal, to whom he carried letters from the Cardinal, would supply him with some succour. "As matters now stand," the bishop continues, "there is no going back consistently with the honour of God and the authority of the Church. James

Fitzmaurice is now in Brittany. Nothing is to be hoped for from the King of France. The only hope of assistance is from the Holy See, without which it is to be feared that all the magnates and nobles of Ireland and the friends of James Fitzmaurice will be in a short time slain. Three of the most powerful of the Irish chieftains—*O'Neill, O'Donnell* and *O'Rourke*—have risen against the queen." The bishop finally urges the Pope to publish the apostolic brief in favour of Fitzmaurice and to send him through the nuncio in France sufficient money to buy a ship.* Father Wolfe was the first to receive intelligence of the failure of this attempt to reach Ireland and immediately forwarded the news to the nuncio in Madrid, just at the time the Stukley expedition was on its way to Lisbon.

From the unsatisfactory nature of the reception accorded Fitzmaurice in Spain on his homeward journey, the Roman authorities realised that the English expedition was not likely to be undertaken by the Catholic king. The Cardinal of Como for that reason thought it better to concentrate on Ireland and send assistance to Fitzmaurice; and Thomas Stukley, who had been reserved for the English expedition, was, accordingly, selected as captain-general of the auxiliary forces for Ireland. To enhance his reputation among the Irish the suggestion of Father Wolfe in his description of Ireland was adopted, and Stukley was created Marquis of Leinster, with a number of lesser titles.

Preparations for the expedition commenced in October, but were not completed until January, 1578, when Stukley sailed from Civita Vecchia with six hundred soldiers and provisions and arms for three thousand men. He reached Cadiz on the 5th of April, but he was not allowed to refit there. By order of King Philip, his secretary was, however, allowed to land

* Transcripts from Rome (Public Record Office, London).

and made his way to Madrid, where the fate of Fitzmaurice's expedition was already known. An effort was now made towards concerted action between Fitzmaurice and Stukley, and Dr. Saunder* wrote a manifesto showing the lawfulness of the enterprise. In the meantime Stukley sailed to Cascares. There he met Sebastian, King of Portugal, who at once sought to induce him to take service in the expedition he was about to lead into Africa, promising him on his return a large army for the invasion of Ireland. Stukley, having learned the failure of Fitzmaurice, hearkened to the proposal. He wrote to the Cardinal of Como a statement of the whole affair, and asked his consent to join forces with those of the king. This consent was only very reluctantly given. Stukley fell fighting in the front rank at the disastrous battle of Alcazar, on the 4th of August, 1578, a cannon ball having carried off both his legs early in the fight. The King of Portugal was also slain in the same battle.

Fitzmaurice remained at St. Malo until June endeavouring to recover some of his property. When he had succeeded, he went to Paris and while there received a subsidy from Rome. He wrote to the Cardinal of Como asking him to send Jesuits to Scotland and Ireland to stir up the people. He then again returned to Brittany, and in August went to Madrid to prepare for another expedition to Ireland. There he learned the fate of Stukley. After long and weary waiting he decided to go forward, leaving his two sons at Madrid under the protection of the nuncio. Dr. Saunder determined to accompany him to Ireland. For this he had to obtain the permission of the king. He was to be the accredited agent of the Pope, but does not appear to have been appointed nuncio, as there is no reference to such an office. Fitzmaurice went to Galicia in December to

* See Document in O'Daly's *History of the Geraldines*.

join his wife and daughters, while Dr. Saunder and Captain Bastiano di San Joseppi, who was second in command in Stukley's late army, went to Lisbon and procured a ship which they fitted up for the homeward journey. As they were about to depart, one of San Joseppi's soldiers was brought before a magistrate of the town for some trifling offence against civil discipline. He surprised the magistrate by claiming exemption from his jurisdiction on the ground that he was a papal soldier. The whole story of the expedition in consequence became public and was soon the talk of the town, with the result that the King of Portugal ordered the disbandment of the forces and expelled the leaders from his kingdom.

Seeing no hope of further assistance, Fitzmaurice was resolved to go to Ireland with "sword and cloak," and Saunder was equally determined to accompany him. Much dejected, no doubt, but not despairing, they now chartered one small coasting vessel, then another, and finally started with a few ships and some troops from Ferrol, on 17th of June, 1579, having on board Fitzmaurice's wife and two daughters, the Bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Saunder, Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan who rendered very valuable services to the cause, and some other ecclesiastics. On the voyage they captured three vessels and, on the 17th of July, reached Dingle Bay in safety. After a short stay, they went round the peninsula and disembarked at Smerwick harbour. There they entrenched themselves in an old fort which in a short time became the scene of a bloody massacre. On the 25th they were joined by two galleys carrying one hundred fighting men.

It will be necessary here to take a glance at how Desmond and his followers fared at home while Fitzmaurice was away on his foreign preparations.

On the 5th of August, 1575, Sydney had been appointed lord deputy for the third time. He was some-

what of a favourite because he took a broader view of the Irish situation than most of his contemporaries. He travelled through Munster early in 1576 accompanied by Desmond and the other lords of the province. His arrival in Limerick, on the 4th of February, was the occasion of a great display of pomp. All the leading gentlemen of the country came to visit him, including the Burkes, Lacys, Supples, Purcells and several others living to the south of the Shannon. They, it is alleged, of their own free will "craved to have the forces of their mean or over lords suppressed, to be equally cessed to bear an English force, to have English laws planted amongst them, and English sheriffs to execute these laws, and to surrender their lands to her majesty." * These proposals, doubtless suggested by English officials inspired by Sydney, were eagerly listened to. They would, if adopted, have placed the freeholders directly under the crown and given them a position of equality with Desmond. Further on in the letter just quoted, Sydney adds: "I am of opinion that the dissipation of the great lords and their countries, and the reducing of their lands into many hands is a sound way of proceeding to perfect reformation, yet the attempting of it is perilous." On his recommendation, Sir William Drury was appointed President of Munster. Drury was a native of Suffolk, and already a veteran in the service of the crown, having won distinction by sea and land. He was expected to win fresh laurels by advancing the English interest in Munster. In the beginning of August, Sydney installed him in the office of president, and instructed him on the best methods to adopt in governing the province.

Early in the following year Desmond had to complain of the exactions of the president's men from his poor

* Carew MSS.

tenants, but without the slightest satisfaction. On the contrary, Drury showed his resentment by several petty vexations. He went into the palatine of Kerry, summoned the freeholders and, without a particle of justification, held a court of enquiry into the rights of the earl. Sir John of Desmond, the earl's brother, was taken into custody for holding an interview with John Burke; and it was industriously circulated that Sir John was about to discard his wife and marry a lady of the Burke family. Sir James, the earl's youngest brother, offended by going into Duhallow and taking contributions from the inhabitants. Desmond received private information that Drury intended to take his life on the first opportunity; and to meet the new danger he assembled an army and refused to disband or meet the president. The deputy, having heard of the strained relations that existed between them, summoned the earl and Drury to a conference at Kilkenny where, after discussing the situation, he succeeded in reconciling them. The earl then promised to disband his army and obey the president. The deputy sent a spy to watch Desmond. He accompanied him to the confines of Kerry, and reported on his return that the earl and president were together for two days' journey, and that during the time they lodged and ate in the same house; that the earl behaved himself orderly and reverently to the president, and that after coming home he took order for the dispersal of most of his company.* He was considered the least dangerous of his kinsmen, "being such an impotent and weak body as neither get up in horseback, but that he is holpen and lift up; neither when he is on horseback can he himself alight down without help." † The queen was very pleased to hear the good news, and wrote a letter to Desmond congratulating him

* Carew MSS.

† Ibid.

on his submission, and assuring him of her protection. In the March of the same year, the president furnished a report of his administration, which throws a lurid light on the situation. He had hanged four hundred persons by "justice and martial law." All sorts suffered that were considered in any way dangerous. Amongst others a friar was hanged in his habit at Limerick. He was caught while attempting to fly the country. A brehon, who was much esteemed by the people, but taught such laws as were repugnant to her majesty's, met the same fate. As a reward for his labours he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland on the recall of Sydney, in the following month. Sydney, for diplomatic reasons, remained in Dublin until September. Desmond, being now treated with the respect due to his rank, kept in close touch with the authorities; and when Sydney was about to leave the country for ever, he went to Dublin to see him off. His action on that occasion was considered a further proof of good-will to the government.

Drury was well acquainted with the movements of James Fitzmaurice on the Continent and his intended invasion of Ireland. When he came to Limerick, in October, 1578, Desmond and a great many of the Munster chiefs came to meet him. A court was held there to arrange some minor disputes between the Geraldines and the Butlers. Sir James, the earl's brother, as a punishment for some offence, was not allowed to appear amongst the guests until he publicly acknowledged his fault. The earl was won over on the occasion to accept from his tenants, instead of coyne and livery, a yearly rent of £2,000. It was thought that by efforts of this kind Desmond's power might be crippled by degrees, and that, when his dealings with his tenants were transacted through government officials, he would be easily reduced to the level of a private gentleman.

Desmond, though friendly with the authorities, was alive to the fact that his liberty might be at any moment imperilled. Under the hard pressure of tyranny, he must often have wished for the return of Fitzmaurice with an army sufficiently strong to put an end to the intolerable rule under which he lived, and so may have told his friends. But so far as can be discovered, he wrote no letter to Fitzmaurice, though messages may have passed between them. As early as April, 1579, Desmond must have known exactly how matters stood with Fitzmaurice on the Continent, and knowing how intent he was on a descent on Ireland, had prudence enough not to compromise himself in so risky an undertaking. Whatever information he could gather he sent to Drury. The beacon fires were soon burning brightly on the hills of Munster; couriers were flying through the country announcing the arrival of Fitzmaurice, and delivering letters to sympathetic chiefs, inviting them to rally round the flag of religious freedom he had unfurled. Desmond was at Cullen when he received a letter from Fitzmaurice reminding him of the ancient glory of their house, and that now was the time to come forward and vindicate the traditions of the Geraldines. It was an anxious time for the earl. Visions of former days, when he could roam through his vast estates untrammelled by English officials, may have floated through his mind and fired his imagination, but the shadow of the Tower and the remembrance of the patched hose and broken shoes must have had a soberising effect and counselled prudence. He selected the safest course, but the most unpopular among his followers. He immediately wrote to Drury enclosing Fitzmaurice's letter, and renewed his promise of adherence to the queen.

Sir Henry Carter, the provost-marshal of Munster, wrote to the same authority from Cork that he would raise the country and draw to the coast.* Being joined

* Hamilton Calendar.

by Henry Davells, constable of Dungarvan, they went to Tralee, but their design becoming known, Sir John of Desmond pursued them, and slew them in their lodgings in that town. Desmond set out for Dingle with his followers to view the fortification at Smerwick, but retired without attacking it, perhaps because his forces could not be relied upon, as they undoubtedly sympathised with the invasion. It is alleged that Fitzmaurice on the occasion presented the earl and countess with a great basin and ewer of silver and a chain of gold.

The brothers of the earl, Sir John and Sir James, had more readily responded to the call of their kinsman, and brought with them as many of their followers as they could muster. On their arrival Fitzmaurice unfurled the papal banner, and the united forces marched towards the woods of Cleanglass to await developments. After a few days' march Fitzmaurice, with a small detachment, separated from the main body with the intention of visiting Holy Cross. Desmond was informed of his design, and pursued him from Coggeriekerry, near Castleisland, to Castletown of Corcomohide in the county of Limerick, without, however, inflicting any serious injury on the little band of warriors. When Fitzmaurice arrived at Bohereen, supposed to be the present Barrington's Bridge, his progress was opposed by the Burkes, nephews of Desmond, and therefore kinsmen of his own. An encounter took place in the course of which Fitzmaurice received a shot in the chest. Though mortally wounded, he rushed at the Burkes and slew William and Theobald, with the result that their supporters fled. Then dismounting from his horse, and calling to him his chaplain, he received the last rites of the Church and made his will, appointing Sir John of Desmond commander in his place. His body was buried under an ancient oak, where it was found by a hunter who brought it to Kilmallock. The English were highly pleased, and not having had

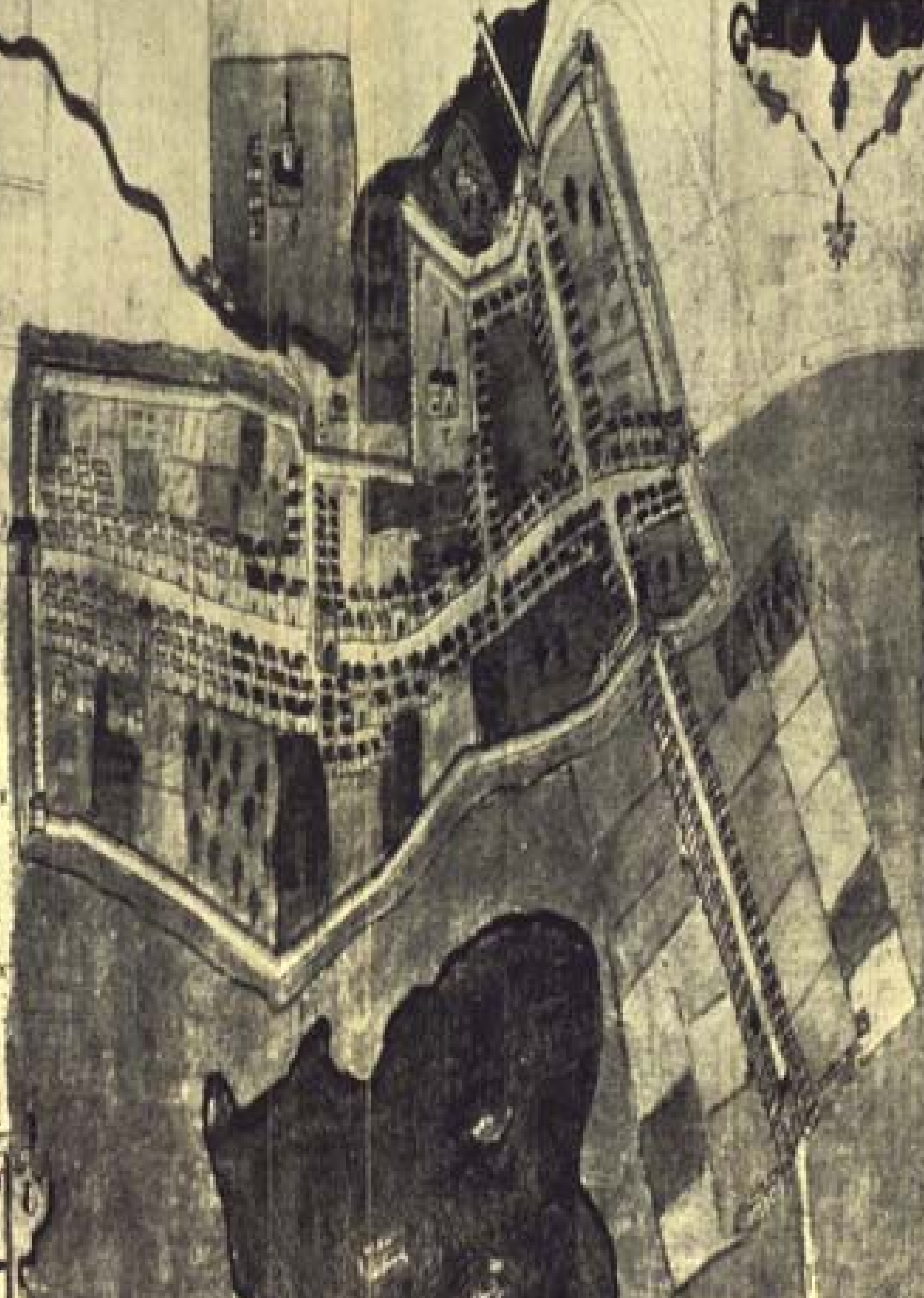
an opportunity of inflicting punishment on Fitzmaurice while alive, now placed his corpse on a gibbet, using it as a target for the soldiers to practise at. Thus perished James Fitzmaurice, who had been a terror to his foemen and a beacon star to his friends.*

Lord Justice Drury set out from Dublin with all the forces at his command to meet the invaders. On the march he was joined by the Earl of Kildare at Limerick, and by Malby, the president of Connaught. Thence the whole army marched to Cork in the hope of enlisting the Munster lords on their side. There it was insinuated to Drury by interested parties that no matter how zealous Desmond might appear to be against Fitzmaurice, he was secretly aiding the rebels. When Drury moved to Kilmallock in the beginning of September, Desmond† came to welcome him and offer his services, but instead of receiving a friendly greeting, as he naturally expected, he was placed in custody for three days, until he promised to surrender his son and heir, then little more than an infant, as a pledge of his fidelity. An assurance was then given him that his territory would not be plundered, but the assurance was "more honoured in the breach than in the observance."

Another event took place at Kilmallock on this occasion which deserves to be here recorded. Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, is not mentioned in any of the continental documents relating to Fitzmaurice's expedition after July, 1578. He remained in France until the following June, when he succeeded in obtaining a passage to Ireland and landed at Dingle. He had for his companion Conn O'Rourke, a son of the Prince of Brefny, who had exchanged the pleasures of the world for a life of humility and poverty in the Order of St. Francis. What happened immediately after their landing is differently told by different writers. Some say that

* O'Daly's *Geraldines*.

† A.F.M.



Map of the River Thames

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97. St. Dunstons	98. St. Dunstons
99. St. Dunstons	100. St. Dunstons

they were immediately arrested by officers of the government who were stationed along the southern coast on the look-out for such arrivals, and taken by the sheriff to the residence of the Earl of Desmond; others that they went themselves to seek hospitality from a family who at all times had been patrons and protectors of the Franciscan order, and that in the absence of the earl they were received with great kindness by the countess, but that after three days she handed them over to the English. It is not easy to say which version is correct, but the first seems the more probable. In the absence of the earl his wife, no doubt, took his place. We may well believe that she had no desire to injure the venerable bishop and his companion. But it was a critical time for the earl. His kinsman, James Fitzmaurice, was on the Continent organising, with the aid of the Pope and the King of Spain, an expedition for the invasion of Ireland, and though the earl had outwardly given him no assistance or encouragement, nevertheless he was suspected of being in secret sympathy with the movement. When, therefore, the prisoners were brought before the countess, she could not well have dismissed them without compromising her husband, and aggravating the suspicions already entertained of his loyalty. In any case, it is certain that the countess was concerned in the handing over of the two ecclesiastics to the English, and it is probable also that it was by her orders that they were transmitted to James Gould, the queen's attorney, at Limerick. By him they were committed to the common prison, where they remained for fifteen days or more until Drury came to Kilmallock, when they were sent out to him. Drury, though a harsh and cruel man, was suspected of favouring the Catholic religion, and now he had an opportunity of showing how groundless were such suspicions. His examination of O'Hely and his companion is recorded by several writers. The bishop openly confessed his dignity, and

said that his purpose in coming to Ireland was to exercise his episcopal function. When asked what he knew about the intentions of the Pope and the King of Spain in regard to the invasion of Ireland, he made no reply. This so enraged Drury that he ordered him to be tortured. Thin, sharp pieces of iron were placed on his fingers, and hammered down so that they slit the fingers. It is also said that his hands and legs were beaten with a hammer, and that needles were cruelly thrust under his nails. Drury's question seems to have been prompted by mere suspicion. The only charge that could be brought home to the bishop and his companion was that they upheld the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff as Head of the Church. For this they were condemned to death as traitors, and ordered to be taken immediately to the place of execution, which was a mound situated at a short distance from one of the gates of the town. The mound is still to be seen, a short distance from the spot where formerly stood St. John's gate and immediately outside the walls of the town, at the rear of the present parochial church. They were hanged with the girdles which they wore as part of their religious habit.

In the meantime Sir John of Desmond, the new leader, encamped in Cleanglass, and sent out letters to friendly chiefs inviting them to join his standard. Drury, to cope with the situation, split up his army into small companies, which he sent in different directions through the great wood extending along the borders of the counties of Cork and Limerick from Charleville to the bounds of Kerry. A detachment came westward by Drumcollogher, and meeting with Sir John of Desmond in an open field, called by one authority Gort-na-Tiobrad * and by another Moneoun, a fierce engagement took place in which the English were worsted, losing three officers named Herbert, Price and Eustace, together

* Gort-na-Tiobraide (Springfield). A large quantity of bones were found about sixty years ago in a well field near the town of Drumcollogher.

with three hundred soldiers. The cause of the defeat was attributed to the timidity of the Connaught auxiliaries ; but perhaps, if the whole truth were known, their action was a protest against the cruel treatment of their countrymen at Kilmallock. Dr. Saunder, during the engagement, knelt on a mount in front of the wood, like another Moses, praying with all his fervour for the success of the Geraldines. At this juncture Drury was seized in his camp at Athneasy with a terrible disease, which baffled the skill of his physicians. He was removed to Waterford where he died raving, as it is alleged, about the unjust death he had inflicted on the bishop.

Sir John, elated with his victory, set out from Springfield with his little army, and marched into the heart of the county of Limerick. At Manister he accidentally encountered Malby at the head of six hundred English soldiers, and a large contingent of Irish auxiliaries under the command of the sons of Clanricard and John and Peter Lacy of the county of Limerick. Both parties drew up in battle array, Sir John unfurling the papal banner, and marshalling his army with such skill that Stanley, when writing to Walsingham after the battle, was forced to admit " that they came as resolutely to fight as the best soldiers in Europe could." After a long and doubtful contest, the Irish were routed with considerable loss, including Dr. Allen,* a medical doctor, who was mistaken by the English for the well-known English Catholic refugee priest on the Continent. This battle was fought on the 3rd of October, 1579. After the victory Malby attacked and burned the old Cistercian monastery near the battlefield, in which some of the wounded had taken refuge. Next day he entered the manor of Rathmore, killed the keepers, burned the town and castle, and abstracted valuable documents belonging to the earl.

Malby had informed the English, and truly, that

* Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 195.

Desmond, when he left Kilmallock, had not three men in the country to follow him in her majesty's service. After the battle of Springfield, however, he desired his presence and assistance, but Desmond looked upon him as an enemy and declined the invitation, assuring him at the same time that he would pursue the rebels. Malby, flushed with victory, assumed the airs of a conqueror, and leading his army to Rathkeale, spoiled and burned that town. He then continued his march to Askeaton, burning farmhouses and villages on the way, and killing all he met. At the gates of the castle, where the earl was in residence, he peremptorily demanded admission. When this was refused, as needless to say it was, with fiendish malice he smashed to pieces all the Geraldine monuments in the Franciscan church, and burned the monastery and town. Having spent his vengeance on inanimate nature, he retired, placing a garrison at Adare. His brief authority expired with Drury, and before resuming his severities he had to await the instructions of a new master.

Sir William Pelham, who had recently arrived from England, was appointed by the council in Dublin to fill the vacant office of lord justice. On being invested with the insignia of office, he immediately set out for Munster, increasing his forces as he went along. The different contingents were mobilised in one camp at Fanningstown, between Croom and Patrickswell. Ormond was dispatched by Elizabeth from London, where he had spent the last three years, to take charge of the army during the campaign against his old adversaries. At a council of war held in the camp, it was decided that Pelham should summon Desmond before him by letter, and that whatever complaints he had against Malby would be enquired into. The earl refused to attend personally, but sent the countess to explain the reason. On the 28th of October, Ormond was sent to interview him, and to demand the surrender of "that

papistical, arrogant traitor Dr. Saunder who deceived with false lies." * On account of the suspicions of his loyalty, he was also required to deliver up the castles of Askeaton and Carrigafoyle. He was to submit and repair to the lord justice. He should unite his forces with those of the crown and fight against his rebellious brethren. If he refused these conditions he would be declared a traitor and a price set on his head. The interview took place at Croagh, but without result. Next day Desmond wrote to Pelham relating all the sacrifices he had already made to demonstrate his loyalty, even to the delivering up of his only son. He was willing to serve with the army if he were recompensed for his losses, and would deliver up his castles, except Askeaton, which he required for his own use. Pelham replied from Croom, giving him a few days to make up his mind. The conditions were most unreasonable, as he had not even met Saunder, nor had he decided to join his brothers. His position was a very delicate one, as he felt assured from the attitude of Malby and the other government representatives, that if he visited the camp he would be again imprisoned and end his days in an English dungeon. The mind of the authorities found expression in Treasurer Wallop's letter to London, suggesting that "Desmond's son might be executed as an ensample of Desmond's disloyalty."† Pelham then marched to Rathkeale, where, with a flourish of trumpets, he proclaimed Desmond a traitor on the 2nd of November, 1579, on a series of flimsy charges amounting to nothing more than mere suspicions. The proclamation was signed by Pelham, Malby, seven of the Butlers, the Mayor of Waterford and Waterhouse, who, it was said by a disinterested party, were induced to do so in the hope of benefiting by the forfeiture of his vast estates.

Pelham, being for want of cannon unable with any

* Carew MSS.

† Hamilton Calendar at 1579.

success to attack Askeaton, decided to place his army in garrison at Limerick, Adare, Croom, Kilmallock, Lough Gur and Any*, thus hoping to hold the insurgents in Connelloe. The queen was displeased at the high-handed action of the lord justice in proclaiming the earl; but he cunningly palliated his offence by informing her majesty that Desmond "in all his skirmishes and outrages since the proclamation cried Papa, which is the Pope, above even you and your imperial crown." †

Desmond, with a price on his head, had now no alternative but to join his brothers and fight for his existence. Slipping out of Askeaton in spite of the garrisons, he marched rapidly through Cork and unexpectedly invested Youghal, which yielded after a short siege. It was an English settlement and full of wealth. This was confiscated, and the houses burned. The earl returned to Newcastle and, on 29th of November, wrote letters to all the Irish chieftains exhorting them to rally round his standard. Ormond, on the 6th of December, by way of retaliation entered the southern part of the county of Limerick and marched westward as far as Newcastle, burning and spoiling the country as he went along. Only a few skirmishes here and there kept the flame of war alive during the winter months. Brian Duff O'Brien, of Carrigogunnel, joined the Adare garrison in a raid into Kenry, and brought away two hundred cows. As a set-off to this, John Lacy, Sheriff Apsley's man, surrendered Croom to the insurgents and burned the town. Ships were frequently plying between Ireland and Spain bringing the most cheery accounts of assistance which might any day arrive.

When Pelham had completed his arrangements for prosecuting the war with vigour, he marched out of

* Carew MSS. The *Four Masters* add Rathmore and Castle Murisin.

† Carew MSS.

Limerick with his forces, and met Ormond by appointment at Rathkeale, on the 11th of March, 1580.* Having been informed that Desmond had gathered all his forces in the neighbourhood, they entered Connelloe in two companies, Ormond going towards the Shannon and Pelham to Newcastle. They marched all day, wasting and burning the country, the people with their cattle flying in all directions before them, pursued by horsemen and light footmen. After the sanguinary labours of the day both divisions encamped close to Shanid castle. The next day's programme is thus sketched in the report: "Finding the country plentiful and the people newly fled, we left our camps guarded next day and searched some part of the mountain. There were slain that day by the fury of the soldiers above four hundred people found in the woods, and wheresoever any house or corn was found it was consumed by fire." The traditional account of this savagery supplies some interesting details. When the people of the locality learned that the army was encamped at Shanid, they fled into the Clounlahard woods for safety during the night. Next morning they were surprised by a party of soldiers led, it is said, by a traitor named Sheahan, and slaughtered without mercy. The fleet of foot, who alone escaped, afterwards gathered the remains of their dead friends and buried them on the spot. A large mound is still pointed out as an enduring monument of this great crime. In a neighbouring field a few iron cannon balls and swords were found, which to some extent confirms the tradition. Next day Pelham reached Glin, where provisions were awaiting him in the custody of Oliver Stephenson, who had been appointed constable of the district. Word came

* While here it was thought advisable to destroy a castle near the bridge which Desmond had broken into one dark night in spite of the ward. I take this to be Castle Murisin.

at the same time that ships with provisions and artillery had arrived at Dingle, and Pelham set out to meet them. On the 16th of March, he entered Slivelougher, which was accounted sixteen miles in breadth and fifty miles in length, and passing through Athea, encamped for the night at or near Purt castle. The next day he reached Tralee, only to find the town and surrounding country burned. Having received intelligence that the ships had left for the Shannon, he turned back and marched through Clanmaurice, keeping close to the sea. While crossing the Cashen, near its mouth, a number of horses and men were drowned and carried out to sea. On the 25th, he reached Carrigafoyle where the shipping was anchored. The large guns were brought ashore and placed in position. Fire was opened on the castle, which was forced to yield after a short siege. While Pelham was in this part of the country, Maurice Lee, of Ard-goule, in the parish of Nantenan, the earl's physician, who fled into Kerry when the war broke out, came to him and was granted protection for his wife and family. Pelham, being now supplied with artillery, marched along the Shannon and arrived at Askeaton on the 3rd of April, only to find the castle abandoned by the earl's warders, who had failed to blow it up before leaving. After a few days' rest, a detachment was sent to attack Ballygleaghane castle, but the warders saw them approaching and abandoned their post. In this campaign all the strong castles belonging to Desmond were captured, and the army was again placed in garrisons, Askeaton being added to the number. The soldiers of these stations were kept in exercise as marauding parties who were let loose on the surrounding country to murder and pillage the inhabitants and burn their homesteads. An old gentleman named Wall, of Dunmoylan castle, who was blind from his birth, fell a victim to the vengeance

of a marauding expedition from Askeaton under the command of Oliver Stephenson. According to local tradition, he took the old man from the castle into an adjoining field where he beheaded him on a large rock which is still pointed out. The garrison of Adare was still more sanguinary, for they slew in cold blood Supple of Kilmacow, an old gentleman over one hundred years of age, William Fitzwilliam of Drumarde castle, Robert Og Cushin of Grange, with many others at different times.

Pelham was determined to keep the enemy on the run. No one was to receive mercy who did not come with bloody hands, or who had not slain someone more important than himself. He summoned the principal lords of Munster to a meeting to be held at Limerick, on the 10th of May, to consult as to the best means to be employed in prosecuting successfully the war against Desmond. On the appointed day Ormond arrived, accompanied by White, Master of the Rolls, Lords Dunboyne and Power, and James Fitzgerald of the Decies. From the county of Cork came Lord Roche, his son and heir, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Lord Barry and Sir Cormac MacTeige (MacCarthy). None of the other chiefs put in an appearance. Lord Fitzmaurice, of Kerry, sent an excuse, but Lord Clancarty neither appeared nor made any answer. As a result of the conference Lords Barry and Roche were reconciled, and it was arranged that they would join with Sir Cormac, under Ormond's directions, in warring against the rebels, particularly in keeping them out of the county of Cork. A like arrangement was made for Waterford, and Ormond was to encamp in or near Kilmallock. Pelham and Ormond agreed to make another raid into Kerry early the next month. When the preparations were complete the whole army left Limerick on the 12th of June, the lord justice going to Askeaton and Ormond

to Kilmallock.* Next day Ormond went over Slieve-Ghyr by the way of Lord Roche's country, and encamped that night at Lisgriffin, three miles to the west of Buttevant, having with him an army of about eight hundred men. Pelham started from Askeaton on the 14th, and marched up the valley of the Maigue.† He pitched his camp near the border of Cork, and sent out into the great wood, as far as the wilds of Dellige, marauding parties who showed mercy to neither the strong nor the weak. It was on this occasion, and not in the spring, as the Four Masters assert,‡ that the lord justice proceeded to Kerry by Teamhair-Luachra. During the day of the 15th, Pelham joined Ormond at Lisgriffin, and the whole army moved into Duhallow, and camped together beside the Blackwater. While here MacDonough, chief of Duhallow, and his under lords, O'Keeffe, O'Callaghan and MacAuliffe, came to meet the lord justice and tendered their services, which were readily accepted. Ormond then separated from Pelham, and passed over Slieve-lougher into the wild mountainous country of Desmond in order to bring with him the Earl of Clancarty and the other lords of Desmond who were not to be trusted. Pelham marched through MacDonough's country towards Kerry, passing by the castle of Kanturk, where he was met by MacDonough's wife, a sister of the Countess of Desmond and a pretty woman, who spoke good English. He camped that night at a place called Glanossyran§ adjoining a fair river and great wood. Next day he marched to the foot of Slievelougher, which begins at Bally MacAuley, and is fourteen miles across to the plains of Kerry. He must have traversed

* White's Journal of the journey. See Hickson's *Old Kerry Records* also Carew MSS.

† *Four Masters*.

‡ The *A.F.M.* give all the facts without observing the sequence of events.

§ Perhaps Killasseragh, which answers description.

the old track that passed quite close to Taur hill, the only Teamhair * in the Luachra district, and therefore, both for this and other reasons as cogent, certainly the place where the palace of Teamhair Luachra once stood. Towards evening he pitched his camp at Kilcushy,† within three miles of Castleisland. His approach was observed by scouts who gave Desmond notice, thus enabling himself, the countess and Dr. Saunder to escape. So hurried, however, was the flight that some of the sacred vestments and a chalice were left behind. They were found by Pelham, who forwarded them as presents to his friends in England. The march of destruction was continued, and at Castlemaine Ormond again joined him, bringing in his train the doubtful lords of whom he had gone in quest. After a return journey through Cork, Pelham came to Limerick, and spent the last few months of his term of office between that city and Askeaton.

* It is written Tawer in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I. (p. 285) and, according to tradition, was always called Tawer Luachra by the old Irish speakers of the locality, the last of whom died about thirty years ago. It answers the description given in the Mesca Ulad inasmuch as on the eastern slope of the hill the seven pillar stones in a row are still there overlooking the glen. In a field, a short distance to the west of the pillar stones, there were a number of large stones standing within the memory of men still living, but they were dug up, broken in pieces, and carted away by the owner of the farm. These may have been the remains of the palace of Curoi. About a quarter of a mile further west there is a stone circle, consisting of eleven stones in the circle and a large block, almost square, in the centre, which made a comfortable seat, or more likely a pedestal for some idol worshipped by our ancestors in ages long gone by. About a few hundred yards from the circle, on the western slope of the hill, are the remains of a stone fort about sixty feet in diameter and a few feet in height, with a subterranean passage running from the centre of it in a southerly direction, with an exit about forty feet from the rampart, exposed to view by the cutting of a trench across it. The Ultonians on their march to Temhair Luachra passed Lough Gur on the right, crossed the Maigue and went on to the hill of Druimcoll-chaili (Hogan's *Onomasticon*) or Druimcollechaelli (*Black Book of Limerick*), which is the present Drumcollogher, but erroneously placed by the author of the Mesca Ulad on the top of Knockainy, thereby obscuring the identity of Temhair Luachra.

† Now Kilcusnaun.

When Desmond fled from Castleisland, he moved to the coast and had an interview with Sir William Winter, the admiral, but without result. The countess returned to Newcastle, and wrote to the authorities in England to complain of the cruel manner in which the earl was treated. In answer to this communication, Pelham received instructions from the queen to receive the earl to mercy if he delivered up the "pestiferous traitor Saunder," together with his brothers Sir John and Sir James. The countess was now employed as an intermediary between the government and her husband; and so cleverly did she play her part that some of her enemies denounced her as a wicked woman, and the chief instigator of her husband's rebellion.

The Geraldines, though hotly pursued, were still powerful in the field. While avoiding direct contact with the enemy, they inflicted considerable damage on them at different points. In July, Sir James, the youngest brother of the earl, raided the lands of Sir Cormac MacTeige MacCarthy of Muskerry, the sheriff, who was expected to perform some act of treachery on his countrymen, which would remove the suspicions formerly entertained of him, and rehabilitate him in the esteem of the government. As Sir James was driving off his prey into the hills to the west of Macroom, an encounter took place between him and the sheriff in which he was wounded and captured. He was immediately handed over to Sir Warham St. Leger, who took him to Cork, where he was hanged and quartered, and his head placed on a spike over one of the gates of the city. While in prison, he had devoted all his time to religious exercises, and died a fervent Catholic. About the same time Sir John and Dr. Saunder had a narrow escape from the enemy near Kilmallock.

A new ally now arose in the Pale in the person

of Viscount Baltinglass, a fervent Catholic, who commanded a good following. He issued a manifesto explaining why he had drawn the sword, and inviting his friends to join him in upholding the faith of their fathers. Sir John of Desmond and Dr. Saunder went to him, and remained a considerable time cheering and animating his men.

Pelham's term as lord justice was now expiring ; but before leaving Limerick he issued an order to Sir George Bouchier, "to repair into Kerry and prey, burn, spoil and destroy all that you may of the traitors' goods, cattle and corn." He delivered up the sword of state to Lord Grey of Wilton, the new deputy, on the 7th of September, 1580.

Shortly after the landing of Fitzmaurice at Smerwick, Matthew de Oviedo, the Spanish Franciscan who had come with the expedition, was sent back to Spain to give an account of the initial success and to hasten the reinforcements which were daily expected and were necessary to bring the enterprise to a successful issue. Captain Bastiano di San Joseppi, an Italian, who had been commissary and paymaster in Stukley's expedition, and, as we have previously remarked, was about to accompany Fitzmaurice, but did not reach Ferrol in time to join him, was now utilised to organise and command the new expedition, which was financed ostensibly by the nuncio at Madrid but in reality by the King of Spain, and which after countless delays was at length ready to sail in August, 1580. Bastiano set out with his little fleet of six ships, "with five hundred and fifty soldiers besides Irish soldiers and others, apparently to the number of eight hundred," on the 28th of August, and reaching Smerwick on 13th of September, disembarked and reoccupied the old fort of Fitzmaurice. Father Matthew went inland and having found Dr. Saunder and the Geraldine chiefs, delivered a letter from the Pope

addressed to the Irish chieftains, encouraging them to union among themselves and bestowing on all who should join the Catholic army the same indulgences that were in former times granted to the Crusaders.

Desmond and the leaders of his party went to Smerwick and welcomed Bastiano and his army. They strongly advised him to abandon the fort and bring his forces inland, as in his present position he was exposed to the attack of the enemy by sea and land. San Joseppi, who had arrogated to himself the title of colonel, rejected the counsel of the chiefs he had come to serve, and not having the robust fibre of a fighting leader, resolved to return to Spain unless reinforcements arrived immediately. Matthew de Oviedo, disgusted at his obstinacy, left him and went with the earl and party into the interior of the country. After a short stay he was again dispatched to Spain on important business.

Ormond, the governor, hastened to the coast to encounter the enemy, expecting at the same time that the fleet would have arrived from England and that a united attack would soon deliver them into his hands. His march, however, was not so easy and rapid as he anticipated; Desmond attacked him in a wood and inflicted serious damage on his army. Having succeeded at last in reaching Smerwick, he surveyed the fort, but refrained from attacking it as the fleet had not yet arrived, though the enemy went out to skirmish with him. Under the circumstances he thought it safer to return to the county of Limerick and place the English portion of his army at Rathkeale.

Lord Grey, the new lord deputy, eager to wipe out the disgrace of Glenmalure, also set out from Dublin with all the forces he could muster to meet the invaders. He arrived, towards the end of October, at Rathkeale where he found the auxiliaries awaiting

him. On his staff came two very remarkable men, Walter (afterwards Sir Walter) Raleigh and the poet Spenser. When the troops were refreshed, the camp was broken up and the army commenced a long and weary march to Kerry. A number of the natives came to view the remains of the camp, but while gratifying their curiosity were set upon and slaughtered by Raleigh, who had remained behind in hiding with his company. For this achievement the gay courtier and man of letters was presented with the freedom of the town by the obsequious corporation. Grey arrived at Smerwick in the first week of November and began to erect trenches and prepare for a siege. The fleet was now at hand, and a bombardment commenced on the 7th of November by sea and land. On the evening of the next day Bastiano lost courage and parleyed for a surrender. A meeting took place between the leaders of the opposite camps, and a conversation was carried on by the aid of an interpreter. It was agreed to surrender the fortress, the garrison being led to believe that they would be allowed to return to their own country. The viceroy required all the arms to be given up, and when this was done Raleigh entered the fort with a detachment of armed men and massacred every human being in the place to the number of about six hundred. This savage act was lauded at court, and Elizabeth wrote with her own hand a choice sentence in the congratulatory dispatch to Grey, which was considered the highest compliment that could be bestowed upon him. Bastiano and some other officers were taken to England, where they were imprisoned. After a few years Bastiano was fortunate enough to make his escape by the aid of the Spanish ambassador.

The English officials in the country, no matter how much they disagreed among themselves, were unanimous in representing to the queen that Ormond

was not the man to bring the war to a speedy finish. St. Leger was the leading spokesman. He was ably backed by Raleigh, who was now stationed at Cork and pursuing the same bloody tactics against the defenceless natives that had won for him such proud distinction at Rathkeale. All manners of crimes were charged against Ormond, such as embezzling public money, communicating secrets to the enemy with fatal results to the English, etc. If only half of them were true, he richly deserved the gallows, as Desmond was outlawed on far more flimsy pretexts. The real cause of their animosity was the fear that if Ormond was successful he would have the lion's share of the spoils. Grey lent a willing ear to the accusation, with the result that Ormond was dismissed from the command of the army. The queen, however, thought it a favourable opportunity to lessen expenses by reducing the forces ; and to hasten the end of the war a general pardon was offered to all who would surrender, except the Earl of Desmond, his brother John, and Baltinglass. This was received by the English faction with murmurs of discontent, as it might curtail the extent of the confiscations.

After the Smerwick disaster, Dr. Ryan, Bishop of Killaloe, and Dr. Saunder withdrew into the mountains awaiting the course of events and no doubt buoyed up with the hope that fresh reinforcements would arrive in time to save the cause. Saunder's health began to fail in February, 1581, and about March he passed to his eternal reward in the wood of Cleanglass. It was only in June that the English learned the news and then falsely reported that he was found dead with his breviary and bible under his arm. Burghley preferred the version that he died raving in a frenzy. We learn, however, from a more reliable source that he was seized by dysentery and that one evening feeling weaker than usual he asked his companion,

the Bishop of Killaloe, to anoint him.* The bishop did not consider his condition serious, but as the night advanced the patient grew worse. Then, having received the last sacraments, before cock-crow he gave up his soul to his Creator. The next night he was secretly buried, being borne to the grave by four gentlemen, of whom one was the father of O'Sullivan the historian. This caution was necessary lest anyone should betray his grave to the English, who had the reputation of displaying their cruelty even against the dead. "He was the supporting pillar of the Catholic faith and the chief counsellor of the Geraldines during the war."† A tradition still lingers in Ballycomane, the western part of Cleanglass, that a priest was buried in the locality under similar circumstances; perhaps it may be a vague memory of Dr. Saunder's funeral.

The Geraldines were active during the year 1581, and inflicted severe punishment on the enemy at various points. In the beginning of summer, Sir John of Desmond penetrated the Butler country, and in the neighbourhood of Cashel destroyed a number of towns without serious opposition. He returned in triumph with great spoils to his camps in Kilmore and Cleanglass. The earl was not so fortunate, as Captain Zouch nearly captured him with most of his followers at Aghadoe. Nothing daunted, however, he gathered together his forces and marched into Tipperary, where he preyed and burned the Butler country along the valley of the Suir, capturing great spoils. While returning he was pursued by some of the Butlers, who endeavoured to rescue the booty, but after a brisk engagement he compelled them to fly, leaving four hundred dead on the field. He then retired to Aherlow, where he remained until the

* *Hist. Iber.* (O'Sullivan).

† *A.F.M.*

following autumn, not without having many a narrow escape from his watchful enemy.

In the county of Limerick, the garrison of Adare was active in pursuing the natives. A body of bold and merciless soldiers made a raid into Kenry in quest of fight or booty. At Ballycalhane castle they encountered David Oge Purcell, lord of the district, who slew a great number of them. When the news reached Adare, Captain Achin assembled his men and marched into Kenry to avenge the death of his soldiers. At the castle, the scene of the slaughter, he slew one hundred and fifty women and children, together with all he met inside and outside the castle. Purcell, though a loyalist who had hitherto always supported the English even in the present contest, fled in a boat down the Shannon and sought refuge at Iniscathy. But MacMahon of Clonderalaw, seeing an opportunity of winning the favour of the English at the expense of his countryman, pursued him with a body of men and succeeded in arresting him. Purcell's followers were hanged the next morning, while the chieftain himself was forwarded to Limerick, where he was immediately put to death.

On the 2nd January 1582, Captain Zouch received intelligence that David Barry was at Castlelyons and might be easily captured. Acting on the information, he took with him one hundred men, and after a hurried march arrived at the castle the next morning, but only to find that the prize had fled. Sir John of Desmond* happened to be passing in the vicinity with a few companions partly unarmed, as they apprehended no danger. The day being dark and misty, they accidentally rode into the enemy. Sir John was mortally wounded by one Fleming, who had formerly been his servant, and died a short time after receiving the

wound. His body was sent to Cork and placed over one of the city gates where it remained for a few years until a great storm blew it into the river. The head was sent to Dublin to adorn a spike on the castle wall. The mayor of Cork had public rejoicings to show his appreciation of the event, which was highly rated by the authorities. A Mr. Hill was dispatched to London with the news. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, in a dispatch to the King of Spain, mentions that "a captain has come from Ireland to report to the queen that a soldier of Captain Zouch has killed John of Desmond, brother to the earl. When he was mortally wounded the English asked him if he was sorry for what he had done against the queen, whereupon he said with his last words that his only sorrow was that he had not life granted him to do a great deal more against her in defence of the Holy Catholic Religion. His death has caused great rejoicings here as they considered him a man of energy who ruled his brother and the insurgents"* His fair turquoise set in gold was sent to the queen and his *Agnus Dei* with its glass and gold frame to the Earl of Bedford.

The exterminating policy of Pelham and Grey was producing its effect. The lowing of a cow could scarcely be heard from Dunquin to Cashel in Munster.† St. Leger writes from Cork: "There hath died by famine only, not so few as thirty thousand in this province in less than half a year, beside others that are hanged and killed" The common people of the province were divided into two classes, the young men, the kerne, who were recognised as the fighting element, and the middle-aged who were the tillers of the soil. Both classes led a most embarrassed existence. If they happened to be on friendly terms with the English they were liable to be attacked by their own

* *Spanish State Papers*—(Hume).

† *A.F.M.*

people ; and unless their services were placed at the disposal of the government, the English were inclined to look upon them as enemies, and treated them as such. Grey, the lord deputy, in answer to a rebuke, clearly expresses the policy he adopted towards them : " If the taking of cows, killing of kerne and churles had been worth advertising I would have every day to trouble your highness." He was continually pressing for money to make a Mahometan conquest of the land, which annoyed the queen, and drew from Burghley the observation that " the Flemings had not such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as is reported the Irish people have." Grey, like his predecessors in office, was an expensive failure, and had to be recalled. He delivered up the sword, the emblem of authority, on 31st August, 1582, to Wallop and Archbishop Loftus, who were appointed lords justices. Spenser, his friend and admirer, tells us that he was called " a bloody man who regarded not the life of her (majesty's) subjects no more than dogs, but had wasted and consumed all, so that she had nothing almost left but to reign in their ashes." The country was reduced to a pitiable state, as the effect of the famine was felt by the garrisons as well as by the Irish.

Desmond was now the sole surviving member of his family, except his son, who was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Yet he was full of that determined courage which was so conspicuous a trait of his character. He spent the greater part of 1582 between Drumfineen in Waterford, East Cork, Aherlow and Kilquige woods, actively engaged in raiding the Butler country. In the autumn, he went to Kerry and encamped in Clanmaurice, whence he sent a party of his followers into O'Keeffe's country to collect provisions. When returning to camp they were pursued by O'Keeffe and his son, who fell into an

ambuscade and were both slain. St. Leger reported on the hearsay authority of an enemy that the earl on the occasion cruelly tortured some of his kinsmen who were lukewarm in his cause. This gentleman, St. Leger, is described by Ormond as an "old alehouse knight, an arrogant ass, that had never honesty or truth in him, nor put him on a horse one hour in the field to do any service." Accusations emanating from such a source are to be received with caution and require confirmation before being accepted as facts.

Ormond after his dismissal repaired to England, and soon became a favourite with the queen and Burghley. It was rumoured that he was to be made lord deputy, as the only man capable of restoring peace in Munster. The English officials were furious at the idea of such power being vested in him, and combined in opposing the appointment. Various reasons were alleged for the opposition, but the real reason was that he might not have the glory of hunting down Desmond and snatching from them the reward they considered already within their grasp. Loftus set the thing going by recommending that Desmond should be pardoned. This was considered by St. Leger and others as a good solution of a difficult question. The suggestion gained some favour at court, and St. Leger, who had been at one time the jailor of the earl in England, was allowed to make a private communication to him, advising him to surrender, and that his life might be spared, and that, perhaps, some further concessions might be granted, but that he was not to expect to be restored to his earldom. While these suggestions were being discussed in Ireland, the appointment of Ormond was under consideration in London. The opposition so far prevailed as to prevent his appointment as lord deputy, but he succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Munster. Burghley endeavoured to obtain more liberal terms

for Desmond if he surrendered, but the queen was obdurate. A private communication passed between her and Ormond, somewhat similar to that addressed to Sydney in 1565. Ormond was the avenger, and to him she insisted that the decision should be ultimately referred. In January, 1583, he landed in Waterford, and proceeded to locate the seat of the rebellion. He fixed his headquarters at Clonmel, which was within easy reach of Aherlow and the other haunts of Desmond in that part of the country. He held out the hope of pardon to all who would surrender, and many stout adherents of the Geraldines, such as the Seneschal of Imokilly and the Condons, embraced the offer, since there was then no hope of any foreign assistance, and all their resources were exhausted. The earl thought it safer to leave the vicinity of Kilmallock where he had recently had many narrow escapes, and return to Kerry with a small bodyguard. While resting at Abbeyfeale he addressed the following letter to St. Leger, which is simply a restatement of his case in regard to surrender: "Where I understand that the Earl of Ormonde giveth forth that I should submit myself before him as Attorney to her majesty, you may be sure he doth report more thereof than I have sent him either by word or writing. But this I have offered in hope to prove the unreasonable wrongs and injuries done to me by her highness's officers in this realm from time to time, unguilty in me behalf as God knoweth. I am contended upon these conditions, so as me country, castles, possessions and lands, with me son, might be put and left in the hands and quiet possessions of me council and followers, and also me religion and conscience not barred. With a pardon, protection, and passport for me own body, to pass and repass, I would have gone before her majesty to try all those causes just and true on me part, as still I do allege if I might be heard or have

indifferency, and likewise hoping I might have more justice, favour and grace at her majesty's hands when I am before herself than here at the hands of such her cruel officers as have me wrongfully proclaimed. And as thereby thinking her majesty and I may agree, if not that I may be put safe in the hands of my followers again, and I to deliver my son and me said possessions back to her highness's officers. At Abbeyfeale, April 28th, 1583. Garrot Desmond."

Ormond despatched John Lacy to the earl in the hope of influencing him to surrender, but without success. The countess, seeing that her presence was more embarrassing than helpful to the earl in his present circumstances, returned with Lacy and submitted to Ormond without any conditions.

Reports were daily arriving of the sad plight of the earl, and his capture was expected at any moment. To shut up every avenue of escape and to stimulate the pursuers, Ormond set out from Cashel, on the 18th of June, for a tour in Kerry. On the 22nd he arrived at Newcastle in Connelloe, whence he wrote to Burghley that the earl was deserted by all, save a priest and a few horsemen, and expressed the hope that he would not be supplanted by the malice of his enemies until he had reduced the rebel. He then crossed the mountains and visited Castlemaine and Dingle, returning home by Cork. During the expedition he learned that MacAuliffe of Duhallow was secretly supplying the earl with provisions and he had him arrested. Godfrey MacSweeney, who was also performing the same charitable office, eluded arrest, but soon after fell by the dagger of a hired assassin.

The earl was now confined to Kerry and barely managed to eke out a subsistence. By limiting his range it was calculated he would inevitably fall into the hands of the Moriartys, his foster brothers, whom Ormond during his recent visit to Castlemaine had sworn to

kill him. The Moriartys dwelt by the sea to the west of Castlegregory, and had been trusted dependents of Desmond, whose patronage of them excited the jealousy of some of his friends. The father of the present representatives of the family had been employed at Askeaton as a confidential man. On one occasion he stabbed the guardian of the Franciscans, in a fit of passion, at the door of the monastery, in revenge for a supposed slight on his dignity. But though he was a fosterer of the earl, who was a bountiful benefactor to him, his crime on this occasion could not be allowed to go unpunished. Moriarty fled from the anger of his lord, but through the influence of the countess succeeded, but not without difficulty, in obtaining pardon. The consequences of this incident now began to manifest themselves.

With a few trusted friends and the secret sympathy of the countryside, the earl wandered from place to place, enjoying a certain amount of security in the Castleisland district. Having run short of provisions in this locality, he moved westward, together with his companions, to the woods near Tralee bay, whence he sent twenty of his followers to take a prey from the Moriartys, while he himself with John MacElligot and a few footmen remained at a place then called Doiremore. While here the earl must have thought of the happy days of his youth when he wandered as a child with his foster brothers, Owen and Donal Moriarty, over the hills in pursuit of game, and contrasted them with his present forlorn condition. He felt, however, he was on familiar ground and among tried and trusted friends. But the unexpected happened. The little band that had gone in search of the prey pursued their quest until they came to Cahirnafahy where they took forty cows and nine horses, principally from Maurice MacOwen who was married to a sister of the Moriartys, telling him that the earl was near at hand and that the cattle

were required for him. MacOwen sent word to his brothers-in-law, Owen and Donal Moriarty, who immediately organised a party to rescue the prey and perhaps secure the reward of £1,000 offered for the earl's capture. At Castlemaine they applied for aid to the warder and obtained five soldiers armed with guns. The party, now numbering twenty, followed the track of the cattle along the bank of the river Maine until late on the evening of the next day they located them in the vale of Glenageenty, in the parish of Ballymacelligot, five miles east of Tralee. Having ascended an eminence commanding a view of the glen, smoke was observed to ascend from a particular spot, which one of the Moriartys explored during the night and discovered the cabin in which the earl was resting. When day dawned Owen and Donal Moriarty and Daniel O'Kelly, an Irish soldier who had served some time in England, led the way, and, closely followed by the others, rushed to the hut. O'Kelly, who was the first to enter, with a cut of his sword nearly severed the arm of an old man who was sitting before the fire. The earl exclaimed, "I am the Earl of Desmond, spare my life." But they were deaf to his appeal. Dragging him out of the cabin, Donal Moriarty carried him a short distance when Owen, fearing a rescue party might snatch the prize from them, ordered O'Kelly to cut off his head. The head was secured and sent to Ormond, who received the ghastly trophy at Kilkenny. He in turn dispatched it to her most gracious majesty as a proof of his fidelity and a complete refutation of the calumnious reports circulated by the English officials in Ireland. The head was ordered to be exposed on London Bridge. The body was hidden by friendly hands for a time, and finally interred in a small chapel called Killnamanagh, near Castleisland, where it was said only Fitzgeralds were buried. The spot where he fell is still pointed

out and is much frequented by tourists. Desmond is generally described as a decrepit old man, but in reality he had only reached middle age, not being more than forty-five. As he was of a delicate build and somewhat feeble owing to the wound he received at Affane, the English authorities underrated his martial powers; some admitted his courage, but all combined to blacken his character. The Four Masters are unfavourable to him; but they judge his actions from a different standpoint. They wrote from a Gaelic point of view, and Desmond to their eyes was an English subject in rebellion against his sovereign, whilst a Gael performing the selfsame acts would be lauded for deeds of valour. When the clouds of calumny which have obscured the lustre of his character are brushed aside, it shines like the diamond in comparison with the sordid tribe of officials who were out only for plunder and confiscation. It may be truly said that he and his brothers sacrificed their lives and fortunes for faith and fatherland. It may be taken as a good test of his sterling qualities that he won and retained the love and esteem of his countess, who shared all his privations and only left him when her presence was a peril to his safety. After the death of the earl, she received a small pension for the support of herself and her daughters. Eventually she remarried with Donogh O'Connor Sligo, and died in 1636.

Desmond left one son, James, in the Tower of London, and five daughters to mourn his loss. Margaret, the eldest, married Dermot O'Connor of Connaught, who was slain in 1600. Joan married Dermot O'Sullivan Beare, who died 1619. Catherine was married first to Viscount Fermoy, and secondly to Sir Donald O'Brien, who was living in 1615. Ellen was married first to Donal O'Connor Sligo, secondly to Sir Robert Cressy, and thirdly to Edmond, Lord Dunboyne. She died 1660. Alice married Sir Valentine Browne of

Ross Castle in Kerry, the son of an undertaker, now represented by the Earl of Kenmare.

We cannot close this chapter without giving an account of the fate of Desmond's chaplain.

Maurice MacKenraghty (or Enright, as the name is now generally anglicised) was born in the town of Kilmallock, where his father, who was a native of Iraghticonnor in Kerry, and by trade a goldsmith, had settled.* Maurice chose the ecclesiastical state, and having pursued a course of studies and obtained the degree of bachelor in Sacred Theology, was ordained a priest. An eloquent preacher of the word of God, he laboured with success for some time in his native town and the surrounding country. Later on he became chaplain to the Earl of Desmond, and when that nobleman and the other Irish leaders took up arms in defence of their religion and country, he accompanied them to the field, preaching to the soldiers and administering the sacraments to them. In September, 1583, he was captured in Duhallow by Lord Roche, to whom he had been betrayed by one Murtagh Swiney, who had been formerly an officer in the earl's army, but had deserted his lord. Ormond ordered the priest to be sent to him to Clonmel, and thither he was sent handcuffed to one of Ormond's servants, so that no one could speak to him privately. In Clonmel he was cast into prison, where he remained for more than a year.

On Easter Eve, 1585, Victor White, one of the leading citizens of Clonmel and a pious Catholic, being anxious to do a kind turn to the imprisoned priest and also to satisfy the piety of his Catholic neighbours who were eager to make their confessions and receive

* The following references to him occur in the Fiants of Elizabeth :—

A.D. 1566.—Pardon to Thomas McEnryekty of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, burgess.—No. 840.

A.D. 1569-70.—Pardon to Thomas Kinraght of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, goldsmith.—No. 1470.

the paschal communion, went to the head jailer and arranged with him for a sum of money to allow the priest to pass the night in his house. Father MacKenraghty was thus released, Mr. White becoming surety for his return. The wretched jailer, however, not satisfied with the reward he had received for the brief release of the priest, that very evening approached the authorities and informed them that if they wished to seize the principal citizens hearing Mass they could easily do so in the house of Victor White at dawn of day.

Father MacKenraghty spent the night hearing the confessions of the faithful, and in the morning everything was ready for the Mass, when suddenly a band of soldiers burst into the house. Mr. White was immediately placed under arrest. The chalice and other things used in the celebration of Mass were discovered, but the priest, who had found a hiding place under some straw in the courtyard, escaped. As soon as he got the opportunity he left the town and went into the country. The authorities failing to find him threatened Mr. White with death and the confiscation of his property unless he delivered him up to them. When Father MacKenraghty, who was now safe in his hiding place, heard of the danger that threatened his host, he sent him word that in order to save him he would give himself up to the authorities. This Mr. White would by no means allow, being prepared to lose everything, both liberty and life, rather than that the priest should be put to death. Father MacKenraghty, however, cut the matter short by returning to meet the danger from which he had escaped. He was immediately seized and cast, bound hand and foot, into prison. He was offered not only his liberty, but whatever he might ask, if he would acknowledge the queen as head of the Church. When, however, he remained steadfast in the profession of the Catholic faith, he was

condemned to death as a traitor. He was drawn at a horse's tail to the place of execution, where he was hanged from the gallows, taken down half-alive, and beheaded, on the 30th of April, 1585. The head was placed on a spike, but the Catholics ransomed the body and buried it in Clonmel.

CHAPTER II

*THE SURVEY, CONFISCATION AND PLANTATION OF
THE DESMOND ESTATES*

By the death of the Earl of Desmond the Geraldine combination was completely broken up. The survivors of that noble family with their adherents were either in exile or hiding in the mountains. The property of the vanquished had passed to the crown. A new deputy was appointed in the person of Sir John Perrott, who had already acquired experience in Munster and was likely to carry out successfully the new scheme of plantation which was under consideration.

A commission was appointed in 1584 to survey the forfeited lands. It consisted of the vice-treasurer, Wallop, just released from the duties of lord justice after imbruing his hands, with his partner Loftus, in the innocent blood of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel; Sir Valentine Brown, a man who had acquired great experience as revenue officer in England; Surveyor-General Alford, and the auditors Peyton and Jenyson. They commenced work in September with one hundred or more assistants.

The country, which a few years before abounded in all kinds of wealth, now presented the appearance of a desert. Not one in thirty of the inhabitants was left; the lordly castles, towns and villages were in ruins. The commission managed, however, to collect a vast amount of information about the county of Limerick, which was enshrined in a formidable bundle of parchments and preserved in the Irish Record Office.

Another and a more minute survey of the confiscated lands of the county, made by Peyton in 1586, was also preserved in the same office. There is also a note, made in 1589, of the chargeable lands in Conno-laghe which is preserved in the English Record Office.*

Hy Conaill was divided into sixteen tuaths. Each tuath was divided up among several families, some of whom held lands in different tuaths from that in which they resided. For purposes of taxation the tuath was further subdivided into chargeable, free and church lands. The latter two divisions were considered outside the tuath, as they were subject to little or no tribute to the earl. The chargeable lands bore the burden of the various cesses that were raised for the maintenance of the earl and the incidental expenses requisite for upholding the rights and liberties of his vast possessions.

A fixed rent of forty marks, called 'shragh,' payable at Easter and Michaelmas, and twenty fat cows, called 'mart,' payable on the first of May, out of every tuath, was levied off the tenants according to the extent of their holdings. Besides these taxes there were others of an uncertain kind which depended on the will of the earl and were, with certain limitations, extended to all the lands of the tuath. 'Coyne' was a charge of meat and drink for the army when billeted in a district, and 'livery' food for their horses during their stay. 'Sorren' or 'Sorothen' was a charge on a freeholder's land for a number of gallowglasses during certain days in the quarter. These were armed with axes and were considered very formidable in battle. The 'kerne' were a body of light-armed soldiers who aided and assisted the justices, seneschals, receivers, stewards of courts and sergeants in the execution of the laws and customs of the country and in the receiving.

* The writer has copies of all these documents.

levying and gathering of the revenues. 'Bonnibeg' and 'bonnibur' were soldiers kept in readiness in peace as well as in war, who had to be supplied with meat, drink and wages. 'Musterron' was a charge laid upon the country to help the earl in his works, with cappels, garrons and men, at his bidding. 'Taxe' and 'tallage,' otherwise 'southe,' was a convocation of all the tenants, freeholders and inhabitants to help to pay the earl's debts, or help him with money in his need. 'Coshery' was a charge on the earl's people for lodging sixty or one hundred together under one roof, and 'cuddy' the support of his men while in 'coshery.' 'Gillearie,' a studkeeper, and 'gillycon,' a huntsman, were also maintained by the people.

The commissioners in the survey adopted the quarter or carucate, also called ploughland, as the unit of measurement. It consisted of eighty acres of arable land according to Irish measure, allowing twenty-one feet for every perch or pole.* The appurtenances, namely, meadow, pasture, feedings, waste lands under woods, bogs, furze, heaths and the like, were not computed in the measurement, but were added on as a useful appendage, though containing as much land as the quarters themselves. In giving a synopsis of the survey we follow Peyton as the fullest in detail, but where necessary supplement him from the other records.

Hy Conaill was divided into sixteen tuaths of chargeable lands, which are here set out in detail, as

* This was the usual measure through Munster, but in Connello twenty-five feet four inches were reckoned to the perch. The Connello acre was, accordingly, considerably larger than the ordinary Irish acre or the English statute acre. Eighty Connello acres are reckoned equal to one hundred and sixteen acres one rood twenty-seven and a half perches, Irish measure; and to one hundred and eighty-eight acres two roods and thirteen perches, statute measure. When we remember that the quarter, in addition to the eighty acres of arable land, contained a like amount of appurtenances, we see that a quarter really meant two hundred and thirty-two acres three roods and fifteen perches, Irish measure; and three hundred and seventy-seven acres and twenty-six perches, English statute measure.

they are necessary in order to understand the social upheaval that was soon to take place.

TUATH BRUREE—Fourteen Quarters.

The earl held in his own hands in this tuath Bally-naughte, with castle, containing, by estimation, two quarters, presently let by the government to George Thorneaton, marshal of Munster, and inhabited; Shanecclone, one-half quarter which is waste, about one and a half miles from Kilmallock; Ballygillycroghe, one half quarter, also waste. It was from it Kilmallock was principally supplied with firing.

Eady Lacy, a rebel, afterwards pardoned by the lords justices, held Bruree Woghter, or in English Upper Bruree, with a well-built castle, one quarter; Bruree Yeaghter, or Bruree Lower, with three well-built castles there, one quarter; there is a water-mill on the Maigue, and the land is inhabited; Bohermore, one quarter, which lies waste; Le Garrows, one quarter, waste; Lyshenakonno, one quarter, adjoining the Maigue, well-wooded, but waste.

Richard McThomas* of Pallice (near Kilmeedy) held Garrifoyne, with ruinous castle, two quarters, waste, well-wooded; Ballyntubred, one quarter, waste, wooded; Cloneferty, one quarter, waste, wooded.

James McMorris Oge Lacy held Ballyfowken, one quarter, waste, and underwood with some ash trees; Ballynowrane, one quarter, waste; Palmerstown, alias Ballynalmor, one quarter, waste, and ash wood.

TUATH CLONHENNERY—Twenty-three Quarters

John McKennery held the town and lands of Bally-castellane, with a ruinous castle; there are here

**Alias* Richard FitzThomas Fitzgerald. He was slain in the rebellion.

several woods of oak and ash, the land waste ; Gortincappaquin, wooded and waste ; Beallaghanulley, with woods of oak and ash ; there is here an aerie of goshawks ; the land is inhabited and manured ; Gortroo, with woods as above, waste ; Cappane Nanta, with woods as above, waste ; Cappaghneaghan, with woods, waste ; Engrage and Dyrryallen, both waste, with woods as above ; containing in all five and a half quarters.

Edmund McManus McSheehy, slain in rebellion, held Gragnekerrelaghe, one quarter, waste, and woods as above.

Richard McThomas of Pallice, slain in rebellion, held Kyllehallagh, one half quarter, waste, and woods containing timber.

Thomas McHugh McManeroghe held Kyllwarrenmaning or Kilmoryenanany (1589 document), with woods, and inhabited, one quarter ; Molloharde, one quarter, with woods, waste ; Gurtenrynehelagh, one quarter, with woods, waste ; Ballymcclonohan (or Lenacan), twenty-seven acres, with woods, waste. These quarters lay in the district of Poblemyntergwyrren.

Richard McThomas of Pallice held Clonecripp, with woods ; Clone Connenerrey, one quarter, with woods ; Ballyferrode, three and a half quarters, with woods ; Ballymartin, and woods with timber ; Moduleheye, and woods with timber. All these lands of McThomas were in the district of Poblemynterquyllan, or Cullane, and contained four and a half quarters.

Mahon Oquyllane (or Ocullane) held Abehyne, one quarter, with woods in Poblemynterquyllan ; Kyllmydye, fifty-two acres in the same district, with woods.

The earl held Carrowgarrowe (or the short quarter) in the same district, with woods called Ballinwrely and Garrannemene, in which there is timber.

Teige McPhilip O'Cahill (O'Kaell) held Ballinwrely,

one half quarter, in same district, with wood, called Barrinwrely, in which there is timber.

Richard O'Nownan held Kyllrye, one and a half quarters; Knockakreywygg, or Knockecreaghe, one half quarter, with woods; Droomecolloghan, one half quarter, with woods, waste; Cowleboye, one quarter, with woods, waste; Gortenegarry, one half quarter; Aharraghe, one half quarter; Ahadaghe, one half quarter. These quarters, which were all lying waste, were held by O'Nownan from John Fitzedmund of Cloyne who held them from the earl, and were known by the several names of Muskery Nownan, Drumcollogher, or Cooleboye. O'Nownan held Castlelysine and the lands belonging to said castle, which was also in Muskery Nownan, directly from the earl.

This tuath corresponds with the old Celtic division called Corca Muicheat, and is equivalent to the pre-Reformation parish of Corcomohide.

TUATH TAWNAGHE* *alias* MOHAWNAGH—Eleven Quarters.

This tuath was co-extensive with the present parish of Mahoonagh and corresponded with the old Celtic division.

The earl held in his own hands the town, castle and land of Meane; a parcel called Knockannevean; a parcel called Cowleleloske; parcels called Garranemeane, Killclonekleaghe, and Clonekurvane, in all two quarters, with woods, waste; the castle in good repair.

Thomas Cam Fitzgerald, of Clenless (Cleanglass), held Nohonagh, or Enfohenagh, one quarter; Clonefernaghe, one quarter, with woods, waste; all, with the earl's portion, were in the district of Treanmeane; Gromanemoore, forty acres; Groman-

* See *Manors in Diocese of Limerick, Ancient*, etc.

nemodagh, forty acres; Aglassnagroman, forty acres; Awylke, or Athenvolcke, forty acres; Clonelomenoghtagh, twenty acres; Gurten-on-yeltane, twenty acres; Clonemore, forty acres; these lands were in the parish of Aglassnegroman (now Aglish) and district of Treanfaltaghe, all waste; also woods with timber.

Philip McGibbon held Cloneshrin, thirty acres, in which there was an aerie of goshawks; Monelenagh, thirty acres; Ballymollen, fifteen acres; Ballynekyilly, forty acres; Lyskyllyne, Gortskeagh, Gortelinagh, Ballinekylley, two Curraghies, containing twenty-five acres each; Clonedehyne (or Clonedegan) and Clonfert, twenty acres; Ballynuskeye, Kyllreader and Ballikillen, or Ballynykilly, thirty acres; Dynganmore and Dinganbeg, twenty acres; Ballinbrannyg (Walshstown), fifteen acres, with woods in all these townlands containing timber, one called Dyreen in Killreader. The above lands, amounting to four quarters, were all in the district of Trean Tawnaghe, and were all lying waste.

TUATH GORTCULLIGAN—Thirty-six and a-half Quarters.

This tuath is substantially co-extensive with Ballin-garry parish.

John London and his brothers held Cowlerushe and Shanecloghe (or the old stone), two and a half quarters; a large ruinous water-mill here; also woods and a castle; London was executed for felony; waste.

Thomas McPhilip, of Ballinlyne, held Ballynlyne, one quarter; Dorrelesse, one quarter; Kyllmore, one quarter, with woods; all waste.

John Supple, of Kilmucho, held Grannaghe, one quarter; Kyllatell, one quarter; Lysdowane, one quarter; Kilmuckoo, with castle and a water-mill; Kylloughto, one quarter; Ballyvologe, one quarter; Ballyconyllagh, one half quarter; Ballinhahagh, one

half quarter ; Ballywohyll, one half quarter ; Ballyroo, twenty acres ; Ballyferis, twenty acres ; Kyllbeg, thirty acres ; Lysbane, forty acres, with woods ; all waste. Supple was slain during the rebellion.

Richard McThomas, of Lysemoto, held Lysemoto with castle ; Boddestoke (Woodstock), with castle and water-mill, together one quarter ; Gortnefohee, one half quarter, with woods ; all waste.

David Fitzjohn Roe Lacy, who died during the rebellion, held Ballygrynan, in the parish of Ballingarry, one quarter, with woods, waste.

John Lacy, of Ballingarry, or Garestown, held Kyllmckenerle, Ballygylletagle, or Tagyll, each one quarter, with wood ; Ballyneale, fifty-three and a half acres, with wood ; Cappakane, fifty-three acres ; Kyllvohoge, fifty-three and a half acres ; Kyllmehele, fifty-three and one third acres, waste ; Cloneregan, fifty-three and one third acres—this parcel is inhabited ; Ballingarry town, with castle, fifty-three and a third acres—the part of this land on which the castle and water-mill are built is called Rylane ; inhabited.

Garrott Balluffe, who died in rebellion, held Gragen-curragh, one quarter, waste.

The earl held Ballyelane, one quarter ; Ballynasse, one quarter ; Ballyworrogho, one half quarter ; Farrentancklen, one half quarter ; Farren Tegen, one half quarter ; and Shradenruddery, otherwise Knight's Street, in Ballingarry, containing large old buildings with crofts and gardens ; both townlands taken together, one half quarter ; also water-mill, called Segin's or Knight's mill ; quarry for millstones, which is on the top of a mountain called Knockfearyny (which furnishes a commonplace explanation of the heap of stones at the mouth of the cave).

Pierce oge Lacy, of Bruff, held Dorrocloghe, with a ruinous castle, two quarters ; Motoghe, one quarter ; Kyllmokodan (or Kyllkomedan), one quarter ; Ballyn

Rankeye, one quarter, with woods called Kyllglantanna-ne-tonnaha, with timber, and Kyllglannedunna-cloghe; all waste.

John Leo held Lyskanned, one quarter, waste and wooded.

Rorie McSheehie, of Ballyeyleynan, held Ballinrogye, one quarter, with castle; manured and inhabited.

David Encorrig* held Clonellarre, one half quarter; Ballykeavan, one half quarter; all waste.

James Oge Nashe, of Asketon, held Ballykeavan, one quarter; wooded and waste.

Michael Fitzwilliam, slain in rebellion, held Ballynehahaghe, one half quarter, with wood, called Kyll Lysscappalassawre, with timber; there is here also a stone quarry.

TUATH OLYBANE—Twenty-one Quarters.

This tuath would correspond with the parish of Kilcoleman and the south-eastern part of the parish of Rathkeale.

Owin McBrian, who was slain in rebellion, held Carrowmore, in parish of Kilcoleman, one quarter, with wood, waste.

Henry Fitzjames held Gortnekrehye, two quarters; waste.

Gerald Fitzwilliam, of Clouncagh, held Ballyhahell, in parish of Kilcoleman, with wood, waste.

John Supple, of Kilmucho, held Ballymockymore and Ballymuckybeg, one quarter, waste.

David Encorig held Downeberran, one quarter, with wood and water-mill, waste.

John Lacy, of Ballingarry, held Bealdorrod, one half quarter, with wood, waste.

* An Chomhraic, that is of the combat or duel, lord of the great wood, Kilmore, Co. Cork, died 1582—*A.F.M.*

Nicholas Fitzwilliam, general receiver of the earl, slain in rebellion, held Ballyea, one quarter—in this townland there is a quarry of millstones; Ballynlahaghe, one quarter; Kilcoleman, one half quarter; Ballyhaell, or Ballycahill, one half quarter, with woods called Kyllolebane; Swytrasse, one quarter; all waste.

Richard Oge White held Logheill, one quarter, wooded and waste.

Rorie McSheehie held Ballyalenan, with castle, one quarter; a part of this quarter is called Curranegehee, otherwise the wood of the spears; the aforesaid lands are inhabited and manured; Ballynmynterroerke, in the parish of Rathkeale, two quarters; and wood, called Bellayoolloke, with timber; waste.

Richard Rydall, who died in rebellion, held Rahen-nahan, one quarter, with wood; waste.

Maurice FitzEdmund held parcel of Rathkealye, one quarter and thirty acres; no woods; doubtful if inhabited.

Patrick Woolfe held a parcel of Rathkeale, comprising Gortnemonymore, Nehacrye and ffarryneglanne, fifty acres; Ballywilliam, two quarters; Eneskoysh, sixty acres; wooded and waste. Wolfe was slain during the rebellion.

Droomeard was lately taken over by the earl from Nicholas Fitzwilliam, and is waste and overgrown with woods. There was a castle.

TUATH OF CROGHE OR CROAGH—Twenty Quarters.

Thomas McRedmond Roe Wall, who died before the rebellion without heirs, held Kylltennan, one and a half quarters; wooded and waste.

Ullig ffaltaghe, alias Wall, slain in the rebellion, held Kylltennanlee, one and a half quarters, wooded and waste.

Thomas McRuddery, Knight of the Valley, who was executed at Limerick in 1569, held Croghnemoore and Dyrrenegawogg, two and a half quarters; Ballingowle, one quarter, with ruinous castle; Derriskilloghe, a parcel of wood, one and a half quarters; Cloghtredboye and a castle lying in the parish of Cloghe, one quarter; Lysnemuckye, one quarter; Ballyogoughlan, one quarter; Ballyaducke, one quarter; these townlands were in the parish of Croagh; a certain wood there, called Kyllvargy; all waste.

Pierce Purcell held Shane Court, with the old court and castle there, one quarter; Garrocloenmoore, one half quarter; Garrocloenbegg, one half quarter; Ballyoline, one half quarter; Gareballye, one half quarter; Ballygussan, forty acres; Ballyyeaghan, one half quarter; Enaghroo, one quarter; a parcel of wood here, called Killpursell and another called Kylladame; all these lands very well wooded, but lie waste.

Maurice McEdmund Sarcell (Sarsfield) held Omoganmoore, with castle, one quarter; Omoganbeg, forty acres; Garran, one half quarter; Clonemoore, one half quarter; Ballynemucka, one quarter; with several woods; all waste.

Edmund McMorris Hubert held Ballynwyrig, one quarter, with wood; waste. The above townlands are in the parish of Croagh.

TUATH NANTENAN—Twenty Quarters.

Richard London of Callow held Ardgowlebeg, one quarter; Ballynegurran, Doheillmore and Doheillbeg, two quarters; Callow with ruinous castle, one quarter and twenty acres; Ballyperce, one half quarter; Ballymorishyen—there is an island, called Ilanballyworyshyn, and a lough there, called Loughballyworshen—twenty acres; Ballintetrahallick, twenty

acres ; Ballyhomycke, twenty acres ; Ballyhebyn, twenty acres ; Nagragaghe or Negregy, one half quarter ; woods with timber in Ardegowlebeg ; all waste.

Mahon Boye McTerrelagh McDonnogh held Ballinvearyck, twenty acres ; doubtful whether inhabited or not

Tirrelagh McBryan held Curreynesleddy in Cowgoner-Motingaghe district, called after an Anglo-Norman family that settled in Nantenan and lived near the church, one quarter, with wood, called Bellaghneecullenaghe ; doubtful whether inhabited or doth lie waste.

Bryan McDonnogh held Dyrreye in above district, one quarter ; with timber wood called Kylderry-yeaghtagh ; doubtful if inhabited.

The earl held Bologlass, or Bowlyglass, in above district, one quarter, and woods there containing much timber ; waste.

William Oge England held Ballyvokgoke, one half quarter, with wood ; doubtful if inhabited.

Richard Wall held Cloghkatred, also written Cloghencotery, with castle in parish of Rathkeale, two quarters ; contains a mine of metal at present unknown, but supposed to be gold or silver.

Maurice Lee, the earl's doctor, held Ardgowlemore, with castle and a water-mill on a river called Dylebeg, two quarters ; is manured and inhabited.

John Lacy of Ballingarry held Inchemore, one half quarter, in parish of Rathkeale ; waste.

Maurice McEdmund Hubbert held the land of Rathkeale, with castle, in the parish of Rathkeale, two quarters ; with woods ; inhabited.

TUATH OF ASKEATON—Twenty-four Quarters.

This tuath of Askeaton is given in the Rental of Hy Conaill, 1452, when it contained only the town-

lands of the parish, but here we have the parish of Clonelty and other detached portions added on.

Richard Fitzwilliam, slain in rebellion, held Athlyne, one quarter; Ballinbrowne, one quarter; both in the parish of Clonelty, and waste. There is a wood here called Kilcroye, or Hardwood, now Kilcruig, which has supplanted Ballinbrowne as a townland.

Owen McEdmund McSheehie, slain in rebellion, held Killgullobon, in the district of Treanmoyreyney, parish of Clonelty, one quarter; Killtanna, in the same district and parish, one quarter; with woods called Parkekillgulbane, in which there is timber; these lands all lie waste.

Rorie McSheehie held Knockaderry with castle, one quarter; Ballynbosearye, one quarter; Lyslegustye, one quarter; Ballycolman, one half quarter; these lands are thought to lie waste; Ballybegg McThomas, thirteen acres; Curraghan, thirteen acres; with woods; lying waste.

Robert Oge Cusshen, or Quisshen, slain in the rebellion, held Lyscorro and Ardfynnan, both together one quarter; with a wood, called Omolaneelowrane; Ballyrobuck, one half quarter, with wood called Bollaroo; all waste; lie in Treanmorynye.

Garrott Duff McDavid Oge Crone held Rathbriley, one half quarter; Lysenoskeye, one half quarter; Ballybeg-McDegan, fifty-four acres; with woods in the above district and parish; the lands all waste; Cloghenaralta, two quarters, in parish of same name, with castle; belonged to David Encorig, but in pawn with Rorie McSheehie; also wood, called Kyllkowle, in which there is timber.

Rorie McSheehie held, in same parish, Ballynrydealye, one quarter; Toneyerraghe, one quarter, with wood; doubtful if inhabited; in same parish as above.

Moynerley, alias Moyana, in parish of Askeaton, held by the earl, four quarters ; partly inhabited.

Thomas England held Ballyengland with castle, one quarter ; with wood, called Kyllmore ; inhabited.

The earl also held Ballynequilleye, alias Woodstown, one half quarter ; Gortsethan, one half quarter ; Ballytomen, one half quarter ; Clonelagh, twenty acres. These lands are in the occupation of Captain Bartlet, inhabited and fed by his tenants of Askeaton.

Moriertagh McMorroghe held Courtbrowne with castle, two and a half quarters ; with wood, called Ilan Ewoghul, alias the boy's island ; inhabited.

Richard Nashe held Ballynasse, one half quarter ; Shannedyrrey, twenty acres ; wooded and waste.

James Nashe held Ballyneckarra, one quarter ; Ilanengore, alias the goat's island ; also a wood called Garranballyneckarra ; inhabited and manured ; Ballymore which included the burgage of the town, was divided into the following parcels, viz.—Tanglont, four acres ; Lehesseragh Rahyn, twenty acres ; Lehesseragh Lynarde, one half quarter ; Lehesseragh de Raboher, twenty acres ; Lehesseragh Mannagh, twenty acres ; Lehesseragh Lacy, one half quarter ; Lehesseragh Colbane, twenty acres. All the said lands of Ballymore are manured ; there is no free land of the burgesses there, but all chargeable.

The castle of Askeaton was one of the chief houses of the earl, and was in good repair, as Pelham, during his residence there, renovated it. It was situated on a rock and surrounded by the river Deel, the Shannon being only a short distance, so that a boat of twelve tons could come to the bridge of the castle at spring tide. The castle contains two courts and a balne, and divers strong buildings here and there placed, namely, a large hall, a great chamber, three cellars, a kitchen and other necessary places and cubicles, of which two have iron doors, a garden

triangular in form, in which there is a fish pond, on the southern side of the castle; all of which are shut in by a strong wall of stone.

HALF TUATH OF LISMAKERRY OR LISMCKIRY— Ten Quarters.

John Lacy of Ballingarry held Tullagh, alias Tullaghawson,* one and a half quarters; Ballenmollen, one and a half quarters; Conygar, one half quarter; Creaveyeragh, one quarter; this quarter was always waste and never inhabited; all now waste.

James Roe Lacy, executed in Limerick during the rebellion of James Fitzmaurice, held Lismakerreye with castle, one half quarter; Laghbane, one quarter; Creavehurragh, one quarter; all waste; also a wood called Feahenecurralea.

Edmund Oge Lacy, slain in Knockpatrick church during the rebellion, held Ballynecloghy with castle, one quarter; Garrinfarson, one half quarter; these lands are inhabited.

James Oge Nashe held Ballycollen with castle, one half quarter; Bally Ellanan, one quarter; with woods without timber; all waste.

HALF TUATH DRYNAN—Ten Quarters.

This half tuath was partly co-extensive with the parish of Kilbrathran.

Rorie McSheehie held Ballynekillbradron, thirty-two acres; Ballynegrager, thirty-two acres; Ballynedyrrey, thirty-two acres; Ballynelleffare, thirty-two acres; Ballballylyne, thirty-two acres; Ballyinte, one quarter and twenty-seven acres; Kyllbraheraghe, forty-eight acres; Cloneyelgod, five acres; Cultomen, one quarter; doubtful if inhabited; also woods.

* Desmond Survey.

Ullig Wall, alias ffaltagh, held Ballyestyne, one quarter and thirty-eight acres; manured and inhabited; also woods.

Dermod McKonougher McSheehie held Rathnagarro, fifty-three acres; doubtful if inhabited.

David Encorrig held Ballyany, one quarter and twenty-seven acres; also wood called Feeballyan; waste.

Garrott Roe held a parcel of Cultomen; he was slain in rebellion.

Thomas Cam, lord of Cleanglass, who died while under protection but without pardon, held Arloman, forty-three acres; with woods here, called Bellaballygwol, or the bellagh of the coals, and Kyllarloman; waste.

TUATH DUNMOYLAN—Twenty-three Quarters.

Ullig Wall, alias ffaltaghe, held Dunmoylan with a great castle with a balne surrounded by a stone wall strongly built for defence, one quarter; Mone-moell with castle, one quarter; woods of Killglansharrowen, Kyllbarneye, Kyllbreagh, Kyllbellakannig, Knockeffalintig, with timber; Dowonecahe-west and east, two quarters; Ballintlabbye, one quarter; Rathcrogan, one quarter; Carrenmore and Carrenbeg, two quarters; Lysbeane, twenty-eight acres; Rathfera, one half quarter; Teeremore, one half quarter; no woods; manured and inhabited by Oliver Stephenson.

Conougher Oge Okonno held Ballinverneligg, twenty-seven acres; Lysmacken, twenty-seven acres; both waste.

Edmund McPhillip, who died without heir, held Morrorgan, with castle, twenty-seven acres; with woods, fishery on the Shannon; waste.

Donnell McClankey of Ballyrobert held Cloneclare,

in the parish of Ballyrobert, one quarter; Bowlymore, one quarter; thought to be inhabited; and the free land of Ballyrobert is manured by Mr. Wingfield.

The earl held ffoynes with castle, fifty-four acres, with wood, called Kyllfoyne; Durenyshe, twenty-seven acres; these quarters are not part of the manor of Corragg; Corrag with castle, Grannagh, Belldirrigverra, three quarters, in parish of Ballyrobert; a quarry of stone, fishery on the Shannon; no woods; Leathe, one quarter; with wood called Kylleathe; waste; Ballylawras, one quarter; with woods; waste. The manor of Corragg contains seven quarters, whereof the above five quarters are chargeable lands, the other two are charged amongst the earl's free lands, and the castle is built upon the chargeable lands.

Edmund and Richard London held Kyllcosgrane, in parish of Kylmoylan, one quarter, with castle; wooded and waste.

TUATH SHANNID—Twenty Quarters.

The earl held the vill of Shannid which included the following parcels, viz.—in Shannid proper, now Upper and Lower Shanid, there were two castles, one on the top of a high mountain, surrounded by a bar-bican which, with the castle, was on the point of falling, the other near the foot of the mountain near the north-west side; Carrownecloghy, with castle, Gawer on Slieve Luachra; Knocklaboskor, four quarters, on same mountain; Kullenaghe on the same mountain; Duranes, alias the three raughts, or the three entrenched rundells; Ballyhaell,* one quarter; Ballycormack; several parcels of woods. one in

* The late Rev. John Reeves, P.P. got an Irish speaker to pronounce this name in Irish. He pronounced it Béal Átha dhá Thuile—the mouth of the ford of the two rivers, a perfect description.

Kyllenagh, called Killnekullenaghe, and one in Ballyhaell, called Bellaghnebingye; contained seven quarters and twenty-seven acres; all waste; Knocknegorna, in the parish of Kylmoylan, in district of Templeclee, two quarters; wood called Tworintogeley; a mine of ironstone on Slieve Luachra; a parcel of land called Clonelaharde on Slieve Luachra, parish of Kylmoylan, which is a district with the following townlands, viz.—Clonecoman, one quarter; Classroo, Laskylltofte; a wood called Glanbane, with an aerie of goshawks; woods called Barney, Kyllneglassroo, Kyllclonecoman and Kylleynye; the above lands in Clonelaharde which all lie waste, belonged to Morroghe McKeaghan, of whose family the greater part was slaughtered during the war; Crag McTeige, Bouannyn, Ballyknockane, Mollaharde; these lands belonged to the Monastery Nogellagh, now Old Abbey, but were held by Murrough McTeige from the earl; also woods called Kyllnecraggy, Bellacronan, Kyllmolloharde and Kyllvomanyn; the lands all waste. Murrough also held ffynnor on Slieve Luachra and in the parish of Kylmoylan, with wood called Kyllffynnor; Beallneglare, Cloneclohere, Clonekedegan, all situated as the above, with woods; all waste; two quarters.

Tirrolagh McMoriertaghe held Ballyogwyn, twenty-seven acres; Ballynokylly, twenty-seven acres; with woods; both waste; a parcel called Downesahell, one quarter; Carrowe Monaster Negelly, one quarter. These two quarters are manured and inhabited.

HALF TUATH OF GLANCORBRYE—Ten Quarters

Thomas McRudderye, alias the Knight of the Valley, held Towlowglass, one quarter, with wood; Keynarde, one quarter, with wood; Ballycollan, one quarter, with wood; Ballykoughlan, one quarter, with wood; Meanes, two quarters, with wood; Tan-

nacourte, one quarter, with wood, called Kyll-shanacourte; Ballynemodagh, one quarter, with wood; Ballynegalte, one quarter, with wood; all in the parish of Killfaresie. These quarters were supposed to be inhabited by Captain Collum.

Kahell McDermode I Knoughor held Ballygonnoho, one quarter, with wood called Bellanecullena; waste.

TUATH FARRENSESSERAGH, ALIAS OFFARGUS—Eighteen Quarters

This tuath would embrace the parishes of Clounagh, Kilscannell and a part of Rathkeale.

Pierce Wall, who was executed at Limerick, held Ballyegny with castle, one quarter; Corragg, one half quarter; both have woods and are manured and inhabited.

Maurice McShane Wall held Ballynuskeye, one half quarter, with wood; waste.

David Encorrig held a part of Kyllcohan, one half quarter; Dealus, one half quarter; with woods; both waste.

Thomas Cam, lord of Cleanglass, held Lysnekylleye with castle; Garran Dromegagy, one quarter; Ballinkenrye, one quarter; Rareoughmore, or Rathrieghe Lysgaddye, one half quarter. These were now in the possession of Edmund Allen and were inhabited and manured; no woods.

David Oge Hubbert held Ballyrobyn, in the parish of Newcastle, one half quarter, with wood; waste.

Richard Oge White held Rareoghbeg, one half quarter; Ragonan, one half quarter; with woods; waste.

Richard Liston of Listonaghe held Skahanoghe, one quarter; waste.

Richard Rydall, who died without pardon after the rebellion and without heirs, held Carrowbeg, twenty acres; waste.

The earl held Lyscarroghe, one half quarter ; Clonebrowne, one half quarter ; Garrymore, Parkeclonegwillen, with a ruinous castle, Kullnowran, Garranboye, four quarters ; all in the district of Clonegwillen and parish of Kilscannell, with woods ; waste ; also Carrowbegmolog, which also lies waste.

Rorie McSheehie held Kyllahen, one quarter ; Rath McCandon, one quarter ; Ballyloyney, one quarter ; not certainly known to be inhabited, except Ballyloyney which certainly is.

TUATH MEAGHAN—Twenty-five Quarters

This tuath was substantially co-extensive with the parishes of Newcastle, Ardagh and Rathronan.

Pierce Wall of Ballyegny held Lysbane on Slieve Luachra, in the parish of Rathronan. in toghe yeaghtragh, i.e., the lower part of Tuath Meaghan, one quarter ; now in the occupation of Oliver Stephenson ; Ballyloddan, one quarter ; Dedanes, or Endyaden, called the two towns of the dedanes, one quarter ; in the occupation of Maurice Allen, a cousin of the above Oliver, and inhabited ; a mine of ironstone here.

Maurice McShane held Lyskordan, alias Liscorenane, one quarter, situated as above lands ; a mine of ironstone here.

Dermod McKnougher McSheehie, who was slain in the rebellion, held Ballymackerry, one quarter ; situated as above lands, with the same kind of mine ; also a wood.

Garret McMorris Hubert held Carrowbogh, or Caherowbogh, fifty-four acres ; Ballywoghan with castle, one quarter with woods and a mine ; situated as above lands.

Edmund McMorrice Hubbert held Ballyhylaghe, one quarter ; Raronan, one quarter, waste ; Ballygowan,

one quarter; Ballymollin, twenty-eight acres; Canmoy, one quarter; and Cahormoell as free tenant; all on the mountain of Luachra, with woods and a mine of ironstone; all waste.

David Encorrig held Ballylondyrryg, one quarter; with a wood and a mine; waste.

Tuath Meaghan Woghtro, or the upper part of the tuath, extending from the vicinity of Newcastle to Athea, was called the Grannagh.

Morrogh McBryan, alias McTirrelagh, who died in rebellion, held Ruskagh, one quarter, viz.: Lysenemoykan, twenty acres; Banemore, twenty acres; Lysseneffooke, twenty acres; Lysseanillean, twenty acres; the aforesaid are in the parish of Ardagh, the Grannagh, and on Slieve Luachra; there are woods, called Shrahan, Cam, Crosbohur, Laghill, Cappablongye, Glanedonno, all of which contain timber; also a mine of ironstone. Morrogh also held Droomen, one quarter, viz.: Droomen McTirrelaghe, twenty acres; Ballynekrye, twenty acres; Glasscloen, twenty acres; Gortocullen, twenty acres; the last three townlands are a part of Droomen and are in the parish of Newcastle; also woods and a mine; all waste; Bally-Inge, parish of Ardagh, one half quarter, with wood called GlanballyInge, and a mine; Ballyloghan, one half quarter, with a wood called Baneedderaglan, and a mine; Downegonewoollye, one quarter; Ballyknockane, twenty acres, in parish of Newcastle; Gortreogh, twenty acres, in same parish, all waste; with woods and a mine.

Brian McDonogho of Dyrrey, in the parish of Nantenan, held Ballynenaghe in the Grannagh, one quarter, with a wood and a mine; Astaregh, one quarter, with wood, called Glan Estary and a mine; Lysnebrannagh, one half quarter, with wood and a mine; all in the parish of Newcastle.

Murroghe McEdmund Oge McSheehie and Tirrelaghe

McEdmund Oge McSheehie, of whom the latter was executed in Dublin, held Ballyferris, alias Ballypierce, one quarter; and Glannegowen, one half quarter; with woods called Kyllpierce and Kyllglannegowen, and a mine; lands waste.

John O'Konnor, one of the earl's sergeants or under receivers, held Corroclas, one quarter, with woods Kyllcorroclas, Kyllnedromendarrey and Kyllmonyn-toppwygg; Croghnemullogh, one quarter, both in the Grannagh on Slieve Luachra and parish of Newcastle; also a mine; the lands waste.

Donnell McNeale held Doacatten, one half quarter, with wood called Kylldoacatten, and a mine; waste.

James Wall of Cloneskreaghan, who died in rebellion, held Garranekevan, in the Grannagh, one half quarter, with wood and mine; the lands waste.

The earl held TempleClee, alias TempleAthea,* one quarter; Corbally, one quarter; Glanygourty, one quarter. In Templeathea there are the following woods, viz.—Curraghduffe, Curraghadohane, Monegorme, Shronemane, and Kyllknaffe, in all of which there is timber; also a mine of ironstone. There is a salmon fishery in the river Gayley. The above lands all lie waste.

Newcastle was a great castle in quadrilateral form, formerly a chief house of the earl. It had a round tower at every angle, with several places and cubicles in each tower. There is in the southern angle, on the western side of the castle, a quadrilateral high tower or peel built for defence within the walls of the castle, and also there are within the walls several buildings, namely, a great hall, a large chamber and very good cubicles (sleeping rooms), a garden and in the same two fishing ponds. All are now ruinous and waste. Without the walls, but near by, there are

* But in the 1589 document the Clan Cragh are given, which is correct, a John McCragh of Templeathea was pardoned in the reign of James I.

several orchards and yards. David Oge Hobert, or Harbert or Hubert, was the last constable under the earl. There was in the town a street called Shradegower, which was called after a family of the name McEgowre, with a mill of the same name, lately called Goat Street, but quite recently named South Quay. There was another street, called Shradeneta, and various parcels of land lying around.

The manor of Portrynarde, or the fort of the three enemies, was built on a parcel of land, called Ballymahine, on Slieve Luachra and in the parish of Monastery of the Feale, otherwise Abbeyfeale, and partly in the parish of Templecley, that is, Athea. Subdivisions :—Derrinmoymore, Knockydullane, Knocknehannagh, Knocknorman, Knockharryne, Tworyn Nagleraghe, Nastange, Cosheowally, Mollen Effourte, Efforte mill. Tirrelagh McEdmund Oge McSheehie, captain of gallowglasses, was constable of this manor.

There were a few districts in the county of Limerick bordering on the river Feale which belonged to the manor of Brosnagh, alias Kyllidroomekyeren, in the county of Kerry, also known as Rhymer's town and in the possession of Daniel McAwly, rhymer, viz. :—Knockcoolkeare, Knockroedermud,* Caherlevoy and Kinconlea, all in the parish of Monagay and in that part of Slieve Luachra called Slieveglantan. The other lands of the tuath not mentioned here were under another kind of taxation, and comprised small portions held by the tenants of the chargeable lands as free tenants. Besides these were the lands held by the Bishop of Limerick, which are not mentioned at all, as they were not confiscated.

TUATH GORTCOYTHE—Fifteen Quarters

This tuath was co-extensive with the old Celtic

* Now obsolete but represented by Ballybeg, near Caherlevoy.

division of Corcoidhe and with the parish of Monagay.

Tirrelagh McEdmund Oge McSheehie, who was executed in Dublin, held Ardnacraghy—viz., Treanlyssen Ine, TreanManna, Treanwotrogh, in all one quarter, with woods, in the parish of Monagghe Adare, as Monagay was then called.

Morrogho McEdmund Oge McShehee held Garryduff, on Slieve Luachra, one quarter, all waste, with woods, called Garraghneneagre, that is, the wood of the wild studs, Balladuffe, Glanleigh and Glankeel, all with timber; also a mine of iron-stone.

Gerald McThomas, of Kyllfinny, who was slain in rebellion, held Rathkaell lying on Slieve Luachra, fifty-three acres; and in the wood of Nohoragh, another division of the same name was held by Edmund Gankogh, twenty-seven acres, with the woods of Beallacarta and Currynnebobackye, alias the wood of the lame cow; and also a mine of iron-stone.

Donole O'Daly, the head of the rhymers, held in that part of Slieve Luachra called Slieveglantan, Droometaresna, Templeglantan, Knockbrackmoynetredale, Gorteawrohanna, Kyllendroomelarra. Moynetorym, Knocknedohee, Tullygolyne, Knockroyne, Kyllquolleye or Kylycullyne, Knockneskeigh, Seskenmore and Seskenbeg, Lagh ne Cowntis, alias half the Lady's land, Cloneheyrye, five quarters; also woods of Bellabehee, alias Birchwood, with timber; Lackholgolyne, Glangortwrohanna, Carrownegall, Monegorumknocknedoghe, Derryknockneskeighe and Ulloghan, all with timber; contain iron-stone mine, and all lie in Monagay parish; Ballymorogho, including the following parcels, viz.:—Ballycarrowell, Gortavallig, Towlerymore, Gortetyrrey, Ballykylknydane, Ballykyllecappaarda, ffaren ne gonyna, alias the conyes ground or the rabbit warren; with the woods of Glanskeigh, Glanmaggin,

Carroghnegonyna, Glannecappaarda, and some in the other lands ; also the usual mine. The above lands are all waste. Kylkynlea is given in the 1589 list.

The earl held Glannowhym in his own hands ; it was outside the tuaths, but is given here with Gortecoythe. One of the McSheehies held the castle for the earl. It contained five quarters, viz. :—Glannowhym with castle, twenty acres ; Culloghboye, twenty acres ; Cloghehaghe, twenty acres ; Gortenowlorte, twenty acres ; Gortennowre, twenty acres ; Gortneclona, twenty acres ; Nekilltye, twenty acres ; Nekillynaghe, twenty acres ; Crackeneye, twenty acres ; Ballykenyne, twenty acres ; Clonekurvane, twenty acres ; Bane-kyllkye, twenty acres ; Camus, forty acres ; Ballynvogan, forty acres ; Rathneconerey, twenty acres ; Gurtenegarreye, twenty acres ; Ballynvickary or Vicarstown, twenty acres ; Nurrana, twenty acres. There is a parcel of wood here, called Encowragh, with timber ; also the woods of Glanmore-Glannowhyn, Curragh en Ahyn Shohee, and Curragh Egubgan. These five quarters were situated in the parishes of Monage Adare and Killidy, and the portion on Slieve Luachra had a mine of iron-stone. These lands all lie waste. Glannowhym is given in the 1589 document as follows, viz. :—Glane y kyme, Caheroweenteample, Enaranaghe, Ne Killynaghe, Shanaglane, one quarter each.

THE HALF TUATH OF KILLEDYE—Seven Quarters.

This is not an old division, but was made for purposes of taxation ; it comprises parts of the old tuaths of Cleanglass and Gortcoythe and of the parishes of Monagay and Killeedy.

The lands of this tuath were in the hands of the earl and were formerly in the possession of the constable of Newcastle, viz. :—Gort Eanaghet, Droom-

rodowell, Ballylownohan, Tyreogallo, with woods, Glandowell, Kyllballylonagan and Killtyreogallo, one quarter and twenty acres, all lying waste; Croghean, one half quarter, with woods, the names not yet known; waste; Kyntogher, one half quarter; Ballyregan, sixty acres; Gortmoynan, Ballyowen, Ballygwoyle, Ballymackaffe, Cullynagh, Ballykurke, Ballyshane, alias Johnstown, Ballyclowan, BallyMcRanell, Crean, Rahanna, Ballynehowe, Ballyconno, each twenty acres; much the same as at the present day; also woods; all waste. In the list of 1589 only the following names mentioned:—Dowle, Caentoker, Ballyregane, Ballygyle, Bally McRanell, Ballynehowe; and these are given as quarters.

Thomas Cam, lord of Cleanglass, held ffyneglass, sixty acres; Monroo, twenty acres; Bally Gale, twenty acres; with woods of Glanamurlare, in which there is an aerie of goshawks, Askaghneumonavoy, Ballaghnegrussan and Curraghballygall.

THE HALF TUATH OF KYLLHEYLAGH—Five Quarters

This division like the last was made for purposes of taxation, and is composed of land lying in the detached portion of Monagay parish.

Thomas Cam held Kylleylaghe, twenty acres; Gortnehynnono, twenty acres; Lysduff, twenty acres; Bally Eroughan, Gortnecloghy, Larrydroma Nehoultye, Cappawoghtra, twenty acres each; Cappayeaghtra, thirty acres; Clonecannon, ten acres; Gortrobin, twenty acres; Banemore, twenty acres; Cloneskahagh, twenty acres; Lysnefallaghe, twenty acres; Clonfeakan, twenty acres; the woods are many, viz.:—Lackbally Eroughan, Bellagurtennemeele, Knocknecorkye, Glan-davoure, Glannecappa, Lysballin-Cannana; the others are the same names as townlands, except one called Droomeballyvallor; all are situated on that part of

Slieve Luachra called Slieve ne Clenles ; all waste. The list of 1589 sums them up in four quarters, viz. :—Kylheylagh, Dromebally-valder (the name of a wood in Peyton's list), Encappagh and Lisnyfollye.

Gerald McThomas of Kyllfynney, slain in rebellion, held Ballintubbred, Cappagoughlane, Gortedoyne, Gortegarry, ffanleghan, sixty-seven acres, with woods ; the land waste.

Edmund Gangoghe held thirty-three acres in the above townlands.

THE HALF TUATH OF OGALLAWHORE—Twelve Quarters

This is an old division, a part of which was called Rathgalway in the rental of 1452. Some of the townlands are placed in that document in the division of Shanid, and still earlier, in 1298, it was a member of the manor of Shanid. At present Evegallahoo would represent the word, and the parish of Grange the extent of the division.

The earl held Graunsha, Moyne Graunshe, Inchen-droyde, Lysnelyen, Lyskeryne, Lysnesellagh, Garrymoore, with woods, the names as of townlands, except Barne-Ballinvoseherey, four quarters ; all waste.

Rorie McSheehie held Bohergaell, one quarter, waste.

Edmund McThomas McRedmund Ro Wall, who was slain in rebellion, held Ardedryne, one quarter, waste.

Richard McThomas of Pallice held Carrowgarrowe, sixty acres, waste.

Robert Oge Quisshen held Ogallawhore, one quarter ; Ballymoryshen, twenty acres ; both waste.

James Wall, of Cloneskrehan, held Cloneskreggan, viz. : Garreycloneskrehan, Ballylynnan, Monemullogye, Gortclare, each twenty acres—in all one quarter ; Droomeon, Clonemore, Garrenmore, Downegehemore, and Downegehebeg, Ballingowne, all in the district of Cloneskrehan, two and a half quarters ; with woods

called Locknegerragh, Glandaraghe, Garrenmore, Coy Eduffe and Kyllballygowen; the lands waste.

LANDS OUTSIDE THE TUATHS

Rathkeale, a borough town and lately a part of the tuath of Olyban, was situated in a very fertile piece of land near the Deelee, in which borough there were formerly ten burgesses, to whom belonged many burgages, gardens, yards, orchards, and very fertile land, containing three quarters, for which the burgesses paid the earl fifty shillings a year as free rent. The borough is now completely devastated and much depreciated in value.

A court baron was held within Rathkeale and Croagh for the sixteen tuaths and a court of piepowder; the perquisites of same, viz.: amercements for the bloodsheds, affrays, and other abuses and misdemeanours committed against the ordinances made for the better government of the country, were valued at sixty-six shillings and eight pence.

Two fairs were held yearly within the borough for the space of two days, namely on the first and second day of the Blessed Virgin Mary in autumn. The following customs were reserved to the earl: For every cow or garron coming and being in said fair, 4d. half-face; from every barrel of wine or beer or whiskey, three quarts; and a tenth part of all merchandize there for sale, unless the seller of the same hired a shop or paid for some other place where he might sell his merchandize and goods.

There were eight tuaths, called 'cally' or church tuaths, out of which the possessors or tenants paid 'sorohen' for wages, stipends, lodgings, and food of soldiers, called gallowglass, kerne, and horsemen.

Henry Fitzjames, for the lands of Clonecravo (Clon-

crew), in parish of same name, paid 'sorohen' for twelve gallowglasses for the space of eight complete days yearly, namely, two days every quarter of the year, victuals due out of aforesaid quarter, being in money 13s. 4d., and two cows.

The tuath of Killagholiehan, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Kells in the county of Kilkenny, for the lands called Farriheconnagh, in the parish of the same name, paid, 26s. 8d., and four cows.

Oliver Fitzjames and his brother, for the lands, castle and vill of Tomguille (Toomdeely), containing four and a half quarters of land, paid as 'sorohen' for twenty-four gallowglasses for two days every year, 36s. 8d. and four cows.

The occupiers of the castle and vill of Klynecappagh, otherwise Carrenbeg, being the tuath of Cappagh, containing one quarter of land, paid 'sorohen' for twelve gallowglasses for two days every quarter; but the lands formerly belonged to the late Thomas McRuddery, alias the Knight of the Valley, who was attainted, and were now in the hands of Queen Elizabeth.

John FitzEdmund of ffynetres castle, for the tuath of Poblenskath, lying in the parish of Ballynakille, and containing four quarters of land, paid 'sorohen' for sixty gallowglasses for eight days every year, 53s. 4d. and eight cows.

The lands of the Bishop of Limerick, called the tuath of Ardagh, in the parish of the same name, four quarters of land belonging to burgesses there, paid 'sorohen' for twenty-four gallowglasses for the space of eight days yearly, 60s. and nine cows.

Richard Liston, for his lands of Killskannell, in parish of same name, being parcel of the tuath of Ardagh, containing one and a half quarters of land, paid for twelve gallowglasses for eight days yearly, 20s. and three cows.

Terrelagh McMorierto of Disert, for his lands of

Cragclanmahownagh (now Crag), two quarters, paid for twelve gallowglasses yearly, 26s. 8d. and four cows.

The barony or cantred of Kenry was divided principally between the Knight of the Valley and Purcell. The portion held by the knight comprised the parishes of Iveruss, Kilcornan, and some of the parish of Croagh, which the government succeeded in wresting from the family after the execution of Thomas of that house, in 1569. Purcell held the part around Ballyculhane.

The earl was entitled to receive from his free tenants throughout the country, who held their lands from him, certain services, namely 'sorothen' for wages, lodgings and victuals of soldiers; 'mosteron,' a tax paid to the earl for the fortification and the repair of castles, &c.; 'sowth,' money that was to be raised for the payment of debts and other necessities of the earl as often as he required.

The country called Pubblebrien came into existence about the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was made up of a few of the old Celtic divisions, and after the coming of the Anglo-Normans was known as Esclon. When the O'Briens succeeded, with the assistance of the Earls of Desmond, in gaining sway over the territory they stipulated to pay that noble house the above-mentioned taxes. Donough, son of Brian Duff O'Brien, won the esteem of the government by aiding them during the Desmond war, and having surrendered his lands in June, 1584, got a regrant of them in the following February, which gave him a standing equal to that of an undertaker.

The tuath of Oryley in the territory of Clanwilliam was equivalent to the present parishes of Donaghmore, Cahervalley and some of the surrounding parishes. The earl received certain services from William Oge O'Hurley (who was either a brother or nephew of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel), Donnell

MacCanna or Canny, free tenants, and the other inhabitants of this tuath, which contained seven quarters, namely, Lyckadowne, three quarters; Kyltorogg, two quarters; the land of Edi McShae, one quarter; Boherenlloyde, now called Boherload, one quarter. William Bourke, lord of Castleconnell, was lord of the territory, which was very extensive. One portion, called simply Clanwilliam, contained eighty quarters and the other called Nester Moy Clanwilliam, contained forty quarters, both of which paid the earl 'bonaght' for one hundred gallowglasses for the space of eighty-four days every year. The district is well manured and inhabited.

The manor of Ainy, or Knockainey, passed under the sway of the house of Desmond, and the earl received taxes of the usual kind from the burgesses, the details of which are outside the scope of this survey, except those portions of it that lie within the diocese.

LOUGH GUR, WITH BALLENCULLEN AND OTHER APPURTENANCES OF THE SAME

The castle of Lough Gur was one of the chief houses of the earl and is in a good state of repair, with an iron door at the entrance. It is strongly situated at the foot of a round mountain towards the east; which castle and mountain are shut in by a fish pool, otherwise a lough full of river fishes. The castle contains nine sleeping rooms and two reception rooms; a barbican constructed of stone surrounds it, at every angle of which a small round tower is built for defence. There are two entrances to the castle, one on the east side by a narrow causeway and two doors, the other on the south-western side, where there is another small castle or peel with a drawbridge. There are within the island, as parcel of the same, towards the north, an orchard and a garden, and several

cottages with gardens attached, also appertaining to the aforesaid castle. The Grange of Lough Gur, which lies to the east of the castle, used to pay to the late monastery of Nenowgh 13s. 4d. Ballecullen, lying on the east side of the said castle, and Killogh, on the southern side, contain in all four carucates of land lying in several parishes, viz.—one part within the parish of Ainy, of which the tithes appertain to the Hospital of Ainy; the second part within the parish of Nenowghe, which abbey and the hospital are in the possession of the queen; and the third part in the parish of Tullabrackey. All these lands were occupied by George Bouchier and inhabited.

GLENOGRE, WITH CREANS AND OTHER APPURTENANCES

The manor of Glanogre, containing four quarters, is presently in the possession of George Bouchier. The castle here is very ruinous, without a room or roof. It is surrounded by an enclosure or balne, the walls of which are in great decay, so that the castle is not defensible. There is beside the castle a vacant house, containing but one upper room or storey which is habitable. The land in the locality is very level and fertile. The vill of Creans was a part of the manor of Glanogre, and before the war there were buildings there, but they are now altogether destroyed; the walls of an old chapel only are left.

THE BARONY OF FEDAMORE, WITH APPURTENANCES

The barony of Fedamore comprised the castle and vill of Balliea with lands, an old castle in Fedamore with the lands in the same, containing half a carucate of land lately in the tenure of John McDaviegeleogh,

and another half lately in the possession of John O'Grady. The castle, villate and lands of Coalick, one carucate, and the castle and lands of Fanyngstowne alias Ballynanying, with appurtenances, two carucates, were valued by the commissioners. The barony is not inhabited, but lies waste.

RATHMORE, WITH APPURTENANCES, IN THE
PARISH OF NENOGH

The castle is in some parts ruinous, with a barbican around the northern part, and with an enclosure shut in by a stone wall and in great decay. There are in the castle several other necessary places or cubicles, strongly built for defence. At the entrance of the castle there is an iron door. Two carucates of land lying in the parish of Nenowgh are attached to this castle. The tithes of the same appertained to the late monastery of Nenowgh, but now belong to the queen. They were all granted by the late earl and his countess by indenture, dated the 25th of January, 1571, to Maurice Sheighan for a term of ninety-nine years, paying yearly one peppercorn. Droomebegg in the parish of Creans, one half quarter, is in possession of John McSawerly, harper. Kahergyllymoore, with a castle in ruins, one quarter, is in the possession of Stephen White of the city of Limerick.

James ffox held Ballygrenan, with castle, in the district called Poblebuskaghe, alias ffoxes country, in the parish of Owegare, one quarter; he also held Bulgaden and other lands in the same locality.

The earl had a tenement in the middle of the town of Kilmallock, near a certain castle, called Lavery, and on the eastern side of it. This tenement is in the possession of John Wall, who paid no rent for it, but was accustomed to carry and supply to the said earl wood and fuel, taken and lopped out of the woods and

underwoods growing near the town, as long as the earl sojourned there. The earl also received a cess, called 'colpe,' out of the town of Kilmallock, which was collected and paid by the inhabitants. The collector of the tax was appointed by the sovereign of the town for the time being. The tax was levied off cattle and wood brought into the town for sale.

John Okahisse, a rebel who was slain in war against the queen, held Kilderry, with castle in Pubulbryan which was ruinous, one carucate of land; the vill of Rahin, with the site of an old castle, one half carucate, and a third part of Clonany, containing forty acres.

The manors of Adare, Croom, Athlacca and Effin are not given in the survey, as they belonged to the Earl of Kildare.

The survey gives a vivid picture of the diocese of Limerick as it existed at the close of the Desmond war. Incidentally it reveals the continuity of the Irish Nation that still flourished in the different tuaths, preserving the old Celtic organisation and nomenclature, together with the manners and customs of Celtic Ireland. In some localities the people are found living under their own chiefs, but dominated by the Norman, who introduced the stone castle to overawe the earthen forts of their forebears; and when forced to adopt the foreign style of house they looked on the old forts with a holy reverence which in after ages grew into a superstition. The fairy tales connected with them are often only a personification of the Old Ireland that centred around them, just as in the 18th century Irish Ireland was kept alive under various disguises among the children of the Gael. The tuath of Clonhennery, for instance, was practically as Irish in the year 1583 as in 1100, when it was known as Corca-Muicheat. The organisation and nomenclature were the same. John McKennery the principal landholder, was a lineal descendant of

the old Celtic chief of the district ; and the O'Gwyrrons, O'Cahills, O'Quillans, O'Nownans and many other families, whose names and occupations are mentioned in the pardon lists of Elizabeth, still represent the old native population. The Anglo-Normans lived among the people only in small numbers, and instead of introducing any radical changes, quietly accommodated themselves to their new surroundings. The Norman gloss, as it appears in the manor of the thirteenth century, had more show than reality ; it was brushed aside in the ordinary everyday life of the people and only appeared as a State ornament.

The survey was completed in November in a rough and ready manner which was considered sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended, namely, the distribution of the lands. Details could be attended to later on.

The next step was the assembling of a parliament to legalise the queen's title to the confiscated estates. It met in April, 1585, but owing to the determined opposition of the majority of the members to some proposals of the government, it had to be prorogued until the following April, when it resumed its functions. To secure the passing of the Act of Attainder against Desmond, concessions had to be made to those gentlemen who had been out in rebellion, but availing themselves of the proclamations of pardon published during the war, had made their peace with the government. When the bill was being debated in parliament, John FitzEdmund of Cloyne, a staunch loyalist, rose in his place and producing the enfeoffment made by the earl in 1574, argued that it was a *bona fide* document executed without collusion. This produced a great impression on the members and aroused their opposition to the passing of the bill. Wallop, however, according to himself, produced a certain document containing an assurance of some of his influential followers that if

the government acted unjustly towards Desmond they were determined to defend his rights. This document* had been drawn up before the enfeoffment, and was interpreted by the house as a combination of treason. On that account it expedited the passing of the bill, but the promise of security given beforehand to interested parties was more effective.

In the meantime the English authorities were busy elaborating a scheme for the colonisation of the confiscated property. Limerick, with the other Munster counties, was mapped out and divided on paper into seignories of twelve thousand acres to be held on quit rents from the crown. Beautiful pictures were drawn, which remain among the curiosities of the Record Office, of model Irish properties—great squares with a church in the centre of each; at one angle the lord's demesne; a thousand acres of park with a handsome Elizabethan manor house over against it, her majesty's portion; four hundred acres set apart to maintain a police station; in a third angle, the school; and the rest divided into smiling farms, with solid barns and cattle-sheds.†

THE UNDERTAKERS

Many members of the nobility in the western counties of England tendered for a share of the spoils, but only those were accepted who were supposed to have capital to work the seignories allotted to them and able easily to bring with them a retinue of tenants, labourers and artisans for the same locality, to form the nucleus of what it was hoped would grow to be flourishing communities, living as loyal subjects and true to the motherland. The mere Irish were not to receive any

* See Appendix.

† *History of England*, Froude.

standing among the new colonists, nor to intermarry with them, a safeguard which was little attended to in practice.

In 1587, the undertakers began to take over the lands granted them, without waiting to have accurate measurements made or other details arranged, which were left to be attended to later on.

William Trenchard, a gentleman of Wiltshire who was desirous to settle in Kerry, was recommended to the government by a friend. He is described as having one thousand pounds in his purse, very able of body, young and of good discretion, and able to procure twenty others to go with him, who also had money in their purses. For some unexplained reason he failed to obtain a place in Dingle ; but, in 1587, as an alternative, he was accommodated in the county of Limerick with twelve thousand acres of land, besides two thousand one hundred acres of bog and waste, which lay principally in the parishes of Robertstown, Shanagolden, Kilmoylan and Clounagh, together with the church and lands of Knockpatrick. The seignory was to be held by the name of Mount Trenchard for ever in fee-farm grant by fealty in common socage. The rent payable to the crown was to be £75 until 1594 and after that date £150 ; also a half-penny yearly for every acre of bog or waste enclosed. If found on measurement to contain more than the estimated number of acres he was to pay 3d. rent for each acre in excess. He was bound to erect houses for ninety-five families, of which one was to be for himself, six for freeholders, six for farmers, and forty-two for copyholders ; with other reservations common to all the undertakers in Munster.

Edmund FitzThomas, gentleman, heir to his grandfather Thomas, late Knight of the Valley, attainted, who had been in the late rebellion but availed himself of the proclamation of pardon, was fortunate enough to obtain the manor of Glancorbery, with demesne lands,

in the parish of Kilfergus, now Glin, containing ten and a half quarters of land; to hold to him and the heirs male of his body for ever for the service of one-fourth part of a knight's fee; rent for each quarter twenty shillings immediately after coming into possession. His large estate in Kenry was confiscated.

Oliver Stephenson had been engaged by the government during the earl's rebellion as constable of Glin. He was entrusted with dispatches to Burghley in September, 1583, by Sir Warham Sentleger, who informed his patron that the bearer, Oliver Stephenson, has drawn more blood of the traitors than any one man. It was by him, according to tradition, that Ulick Wall of Dunmoylan had been put to death during the rebellion. As a reward for his barbarity he succeeded in obtaining a lease of Wall's lands, and now a grant to hold them for ever in free socage at the rent of £5 12s., and to maintain one English horseman. He married a lady of the O'Mahony family who was doubtless a Catholic as their descendants were ardent Irish Catholics.

Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, a Devonshire knight whose family was scarcely surpassed by any in Europe in antiquity of descent and splendour of connection, was granted the castles and lands of the parishes of Newcastle, Monagay, Abbeyfeale, Athea, and parts of the parishes of Ardagh, Kilscannell and Killeedy, containing ten thousand five hundred English acres; to hold by the name of Newcastle for ever in fee-farm at £131 5s. from the year 1594, half only for the first three years. If the lands should be found on survey to contain more than the estimated number of acres he was to pay 3d. for each additional acre. He was bound to build houses for eighty families and carry out the other conditions usual in grants to the undertakers in Munster.

Henry Oughtred, a Devonshire man, was granted practically the whole parish of Mahoonagh, parts

of the parishes of Kilmeedy, Bruree, Grange, Clonelty, and the lands of Thomas Cam (Fitzgerald) of Gortnetubbrede, alias Springfield, containing eleven thousand five hundred English acres; to hold on the same terms as the other undertakers. He was bound to erect houses for ninety-one families, one of which was to be for himself, six for freeholders, six for farmers, and forty-two for copyholders.

Robert Stroude, esquire, was granted the lands of the parish of Corcomohide and parcels in the parishes of Killeedy, Grange, Clonelty, Kilcoleman-east, Monagay, Kilmoylan, Kilscannell, Clonnagh, Killbradran, Ballingarry, Croghe, Nantenan and Cappagh; to hold under the name of Beawliewe, on the usual conditions, containing eleven thousand two hundred and twenty English acres. He was bound to erect ninety-one houses, one for himself, six for freeholders of three hundred acres, six for farmers of four hundred acres, four for copyholders of one thousand acres.

Captain Robert Collum, an ancient captain and good servitor, and the first Englishman who went to inhabit after the wars, was granted parcels of land in Mahoonagh, Kilcoleman-east, Ballingarry, Newcastle, and in nearly every parish in Connelloe, as will be seen more clearly in the table of confiscations; to hold under the title of Collum's Vale; containing twenty-two and a half ploughlands and forty-five acres. He also got some lands in Kerry.

Francis Barkley, who had been in charge of Askeaton, was granted the castle and lands around Askeaton, but he died a short time after they had been passed to him, and they were now granted to his brother, Sir Edward, who was in charge of the castle. The seignory amounted to seven thousand five hundred and twenty acres, and was to be held under the title of Rock Barkley. He was to erect houses for fifty-six families. The castle and forty acres were exempt.

The estate of the Knight of Glin in the barony of Kenry included Castletown and Iverus parishes, together with Cappagh, an ancient castle with barbican on the south and three hundred and twenty acres of land, also parcels in Croagh parish. These lands, after the attainder of Thomas, Knight of the Valley, were granted to Edmund Fitzthomas of Glin for a term of twenty-one years, ending the 30th May, 1599. He assigned his interest and term of years in them to Arthur, brother of William Carter. Carter was allowed to export corn, grain and victuals to England and Wales free of duty. He was bound to erect houses for twenty families. At first it was intended to give the lands to Beston and Bostock, but it was found that they did not come into the possession of the crown by the attainder of the Earl of Desmond in the late rebellion, but by a former title.

Edward Manneringe or Mainwaring, of the Springe, Cheshire, was granted the barony of Fedamore with its appurtenances, Ballyea, Fanningstown, and other parcels of the Earl of Desmond, and the castle and lands of Dunkipp, the whole amounting to three thousand seven hundred and forty-seven acres. He also got the rent and services of the free tenants of the barony, namely, of John Stritch for the two Schulls, the heir of Carnon, the heir of Roche of Ballenrossy, alias Rohey; was bound to erect houses for twenty-eight families.

Sir Henry Billingsley, an alderman of London, and his associates were allotted Killamakow, late of John Supple, the castle, town and lands of Kilfinny, the town of Rathkeale, certain parcels in Ballingarry and Nantenan parishes, the whole amounting to eleven thousand eight hundred English acres; to be held under the name of Knockbillingsley with the usual conditions.

Sir George Bouchier, knight, lieutenant of the fort of Philipstown, but formerly an active officer against the Earl of Desmond in and around Kilmallock, was

now rewarded for his services by a grant of the castle and lands of Loughgur, Glenogre, and the lands of Creans, together with parcels in Puble O'Brien; the whole amounting to twelve thousand eight hundred and eighty English acres. He was bound to erect houses for ninety-four families.

Robert Annesley got a grant of the lands of Rathurd* and other places, including Courtbrack on the verge of the city of Limerick, amounting to two thousand five hundred and ninety-nine English acres; to be held under the title of Ansloe's Lot. He was bound to build houses for eighteen families.

George Thornton received the lands of John Lacy Fitzwilliam at Dunaman and in Uregare parish, amounting to one thousand five hundred acres, under the title of Mylott. He was bound to build houses for eighteen families.

Edward Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, got lands around Kilmallock and in the parishes of Bulgaden, Kilfinnane, Ardpatrik and Kilflyn, together with large tracts in Co. Cork.

Fitzharris had a grant of lands in and about Kilfinnane and Ardpatrik.

Sir Edward Fitton got a grant of Knockany and surrounding country.

Richard and Alexander Fitton got some lands around Ardpatrik and the lands and castle Clogtaache, in Puble O'Brien, the whole amounting to three thousand and twenty-six acres, with the usual conditions.

The undertakers began to take possession of their seignories in 1587 under certain reservations relative to the extent and boundaries of their estates. Commissioners were appointed to settle disputes and supervise the work of settlement. As the work proceeded many complaints were made to the com-

* This was made up of scattered lots to the south-east of the city of Limerick.

missioners by the freeholders who had not been in rebellion, and they got protection against undertakers who were entering upon lands to which they had no title, though allotted to them by the government. Shane O'Nee claimed the lands of Knockpatrick which had belonged from time immemorial to his family, but were now granted to Trenchard. John McEnery of Castletown claimed lands around Castletown from which he had been wrongfully dispossessed by Henry Oughtred. Similar complaints were made by William Wolfe of Williamstown, Clement Faning of Faningstown in Fedamore, Philip Supple, Donough O'Grady of Killfeadmore, John Fitzmaurice FitzGerald of Feadmore, Thomas FitzThomas Reoghe of Lesserote, Edmund Kearney of Kilmallock, and several others whose lands were claimed by the newcomers. The commissioners reported in September, 1587, "that there were five times as many Irish inhabitants in the county of Limerick as were within this two years. So as within two years more there will be little room for English for the Irish will take farms with harder conditions than any English can or will and therefore the true performance of her majesty's articles and plot may be justly doubted."

When the undertakers arrived they found plenty of Irishmen ready to take up and work the lands at a rent which would give them a reasonable income, without drawing on their capital. Many of the old proprietors of the chargeable lands were in consequence not disturbed, but in some instances a portion of their lands was given to the undertakers, who relet them to the former owners at a moderate rent. The commissioners then examined the complaints of the dispossessed proprietors, who according to her majesty's pleasure should be reinstated, notwithstanding Desmond's attainder, if they gave proof of their dutiful behaviour since their submission. One of the first to feel the

benefit of this act of clemency was Maurice Cam, heir of Thomas Cam (FitzGerald) of Springfield, who was an infant on the death of his father at the beginning of the Desmond rebellion. He was restored to twelve ploughlands, called Clenlishe, which had been allotted to Henry Oughtred, but for which no patent had as yet been passed. Maurice also claimed that portion of his property which had been already passed to Trenchard and other undertakers by letters patent, but failed in his suit. The freeholders that got a grant of their lands under similar circumstances were Pierce Lacy of Bruff; Lacy of Ballingarry, chief of his name; McEnery of Castle-town, chief of his name; Rorie MacSheehy, chief of his name; certain freeholders of the O'Briens and Bourkes who had great freeholds and lands; the Knight of the Valley and a great number of small freeholders who were later on considered as weeds that had been allowed to grow among the undertakers.

The government watched over the new plantation, and to stimulate the undertakers several minute enquiries were held as to how each one was progressing with his allotted task. In a report made in December, 1592, it was found that Sir George Bouchier had twelve thousand acres tenanted by Irishmen and the most part in contention, and eight English inhabitants. Sir Edward Fitton had nearly the same amount of acres with divers Irish and twenty-four Englishmen. Messrs. Richard and Alexander Fitton had over three thousand acres possessed by Irishmen and in controversy for the most part, but none by Englishmen. Captain George Thornton held one thousand four hundred acres for the most part inhabited by Irishmen, but only six English families. Mainwaringe had three thousand seven hundred and forty-seven acres for the most part inhabited by Irishmen, but only six English families. William Trenchard had twelve thousand acres let to divers Irish tenants, but with only fourteen English inhabitants.

Henry Billingsley had eleven thousand eight hundred acres let to divers Irish tenants, but with only twenty-six English inhabitants. Barkley of Askeaton had twenty-one English inhabitants. As regards the buildings that were to be erected, they were very few, the undertakers excusing their fault by alleging that they had until 1594 to perform the work. Sir William Courtenay from some unknown cause never proceeded with the enterprise. Oughtred and Stroude, a man of his denomination, did not take out patents for their lands, though in possession; nor did they pay rent for the past year.

Pierce Lacy of Bruff, a gentleman of courage and some eloquence, a justice of the peace and captain of sixty kerne, who when sheriff of the county did good service for the crown against his countrymen, was now persecuted by his own tenant, George Thornton. He and others who were similarly treated went to Ormond and showed him their griefs and the wrongs done them. Ormond gave them protection and succeeded in getting letters of pardon for Lacy in spite of the opposition of Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, who sided with his friend Thornton.

The great victory of Hugh O'Neill over the English at the Yellow Ford, in August, 1598, aroused the drooping spirits of the oppressed Irish and inspired them with the hope of recovering their lost inheritance. Owny O'More of Leix was already in action against his enemies. Pierce Lacy, exasperated by the officials of the crown, spurned the pardon offered him and went to O'More, who received him warmly and listened to the story of his wrongs. They resolved to lead an army into Munster, make James Fitzthomas Earl of Desmond, and restore all the dispossessed freeholders to their old homes. O'Neill, who was consulted, highly approved of the project, as it helped his own cause by dividing the forces of the enemy. At Michaelmas, according to

arrangement, Owny O'More, Captain Tyrrell, Redmond Bourke and Dermot O'Connor led an army of twelve hundred men to Manister Owny (now Abington) in Co. Limerick, where they encamped for the space of three days. Sir Thomas Norris, the president, having been informed of their movements, had already raised *an army of seventeen hundred men, and while at Kilmallock* circulated a report that he intended to attack the invaders. He changed his mind, however, and in the course of a few days disbanded his army and went to Cork. The same day the invading army divided up into several companies. That night and the following day, the 7th of October, "they did burn, kill and spoil the English inhabitants," and encamping in the evening at Rathkeale remained there for two days during which they sent out parties to harass the English lately settled in the surrounding districts.

The undertakers, having got timely notice of the impending danger, sought safety in flight. Henry Oughtred with his wife fled from Meane to Limerick, leaving behind in his house sixteen men, who, two days later, ran away like their master. The castles of Meane, Pallice and Ballenwilly, which were found deserted, were burned by some of the Sheehys. Edward Fitton fled to England, leaving Glenogra, his house and lands, to the rebels. Sir George Bouchier fled, leaving Richard Rawley as his tenant in Loughgur; he put Ulick Browne in possession, who gave everything to the rebels. The castles of Newcastle, Glenquin and Purtrinard in the neglected seignory of Sir William Courtenay were manned by servants who were careless of their defence. Mr. Trenchard's executors, after his death, through neglect left his castles of Shannid, Corgrage and Foynes open to the enemy. Tarbert and Ballancory, belonging to Justice Goold, were forsaken. Mr. Aylmer left Kilfinny without men or victuals, and Captain Calvin left his house and fled to Askeaton. The abbey of

Adare belonging to George Thornton, where he had thirty men, was forsaken, for they all fled ; and Bruff, which he had leased from Pierce Lacy, was also found abandoned, and possession was retaken by Lacy. Faningstown was deserted by William Mainwaring. " I marvel at him more than all the rest," says a contemporary writer, " considering his old occupation in England, acquainted with robbers and thieves in the land, that the rebels in Ireland, brought up in the same school, would not favour him, or at least that he had more of his school-points to defend himself." The same writer observes that the lord-lieutenant " was therewith much moved, and especially seeing how shamefully the undertakers in general (very few, not past three or four, excepted) did forsake their castles and strong houses before any enemy entered the county of Limerick, which so animated the traitors in pride to go forward, no resistance being made or one shot discharged out of any castle, as the very Irish churls, their tenants and country people took spoil of their landlords, and ran to the enemy, furnished with the arms and munition which the undertakers had in their castles, to her highness's dishonour and their own deserved shame and discredit for ever." So great were the spoils* of this campaign that a cow was sold in the camp for sixpence, a brood mare for threepence, and a hog for one penny.

On the 8th of October, Thomas Butler and Arthur MacHugh came from Ranelagh and encamped at Ballingarry. Here they awaited the arrival of James Fitzthomas, son of Thomas Roe, the supposed illegitimate brother of the late earl, who had been invited to assume the title of Earl of Desmond ; if he refused to hold of O'Neill, his younger brother John would be created earl. James accepted the honour, and in a few days,

* *A.F.M.*

accompanied by twenty horse, joined them. The Irish having then united their forces at Rathkeale and Ballingarry, set out together and encamped at Farrentanklin, about half a mile to the east of Ballingarry. After a short stay the army marched towards Kilmallock. As they approached that town intelligence was brought them that Ormond and the president were already there. They came in view of the president's army as it was retreating from Kilmallock, and marched for the space of a day beside it to Mallow, where they challenged the English to battle. They then marched towards Kerry, where they were favourably received, many of the local chiefs coming to greet the new earl and acknowledge him as their over-lord. Having secured the earl in his new dignity, O'More returned to Leix and Bourke went into Ormond. The new earl had in less than a few months won back almost all the territory of his predecessors in the title and enjoyed all their popularity; only Askeaton, Kilmallock, Mallow and Castlemaine were still in the enemy's hands.

Francis Barkley, who was in charge of Askeaton when the rebellion broke out, was one of the few who kept his post. Its gates were open wide as a haven of refuge for the neighbouring loyalists, five hundred of whom were sheltered there. Some were put on board an English ship which happened to be in the Shannon; others were conveyed to Limerick, where they were warmly received and well cared for by the mayor and citizens. The castle successfully resisted every attack, but Barkley's property up to the gates was wasted and destroyed.

Oliver Stephenson was more fortunate than his friends, as he had married a lady of the O'Mahony family of Kerry, who acted as a successful intermediary between him and the earl when summoned to surrender Dunmoylan to Wall, the rightful owner. He

succeeded in obtaining a respite until the following May.

England became alarmed at the formidable rebellion that now raged throughout Ireland, and to cope with the perilous situation a new and energetic viceroy was necessary. Robert, Lord Essex, a great favourite of the queen, was chosen for the post, and as a mark of esteem received with office the title of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Essex with a great army, well equipped and furnished with war materials, landed at Dublin in May, 1599. O'Neill was the most formidable enemy on the field; but instead of facing him Essex led the flower of his army to Munster. In the opinion of some writers he was informed that there would be little difficulty in overcoming the Geraldines. The opportunity of winning a speedy victory over a portion of the enemy was warmly welcomed, as it would enhance his reputation as a general and give pleasure to the queen and court. His march to the South was a severe trial, as he was continually harassed and annoyed by a watchful enemy who cut off large numbers of his men in passes and defiles. He besieged Cahir, which after some days he succeeded in capturing, the only achievement worthy of mention in this disastrous expedition. Sir Thomas Norris, the president of Munster, while awaiting his arrival at Kilmallock happened one day to ride out with some of his troops, when he unexpectedly encountered Thomas Bourke, also accompanied by an armed band of followers. An engagement immediately took place in the progress of which the president received a thrust of a pike in the jaw which, notwithstanding the skill of the best physicians, proved fatal in a few weeks. Essex marched forward to Limerick and encamped for some days in the suburbs to refresh his troops and consult with leading nobles who were favourable to the government. He then set out to relieve the garrison of Askeaton, which

was without a sufficient supply of provisions to sustain a prolonged siege. At the end of the first day's march he encamped at Adare. Next morning, while passing through Rower bog, his army was attacked by the Earl of Desmond, not so successfully as might be expected, owing to a misunderstanding among some of his generals. A running fight was kept up the whole day until Essex arrived at Cappagh hill, where he encamped for the night. The next day being Sunday, he gave orders for "divine service and sermons in every quarter." After dinner he went to Askeaton with a detachment of the army to relieve the town and superintend the landing of the provisions and war materials sent by boat from Limerick. The Irish who were blocking the entrance of the river withdrew to a distance when they were informed of the approach of the enemy. Essex returned the same evening to the camp and spent the night at Callow castle. Next day, after a consultation with the guides, he set out on his homeward journey to Dublin. When passing Finneterstown (Baile an Eleteraigh) the Geraldines made a fierce onslaught on the army and kept up a running fight the whole day as far as Croom, where he encamped for the night. In this engagement Essex lost Sir Henry Norris, an accomplished general, and a considerable number of men. Next day he marched to Bruff, where another consultation was held about victualling the army and procuring ammunition from Cork. Here he decided to march by Waterford and Wexford to Dublin, where he arrived without having performed any feat worthy of note, but with only a remnant of his army.

Dermot O'Connor, who, with a large body of mercenary soldiers, had spent the greater part of the year in the service of Desmond, went early in December on a visit to Hugh O'Neill, and having related his adventures in Munster, was sent back again in January with a message to all the chieftains he might meet on his way that

O'Neill would visit them immediately. When passing through Clanwilliam, O'Connor was pursued by the Baron of Castleconnell and his brothers, who killed many of his officers and men. While crossing Grange bridge* the Bourkes, who had advanced at the head of their followers too close to O'Connor's men, were immediately surrounded and unsparingly put to the sword. O'Neill, true to his word, came to the South, in the middle of January, through the heart of Ireland, showing favour to his friends and inflicting punishment on his enemies. He encamped at the gate of Holy Cross abbey, where he offered gifts and kissed the relic of the True Cross. He was received at the gate of Cashel by the Earl of Desmond. They marched together through East Limerick into South Cork and Kerry, interviewing the chiefs, endeavouring to heal local feuds and animating all with fresh courage to strike another blow for the freedom of the old land, which was to all appearance well in sight.

Essex having failed to realize the expectations of Elizabeth, was set aside, and Lord Mountjoy was selected to restore the tarnished prestige of the English crown. Sir George Carew,† an able assistant who knew the country well, was appointed president of the two Munsters. He had been stationed in Waterford, in 1575, and later on spent some years in the county of Limerick in charge of a company of Devonshire and Cornish men, where on one occasion he had a narrow escape from being cut off at Adare. Sir Peter, his elder brother, who had come to Ireland at the same time, was not so fortunate, falling in an ambush at Glenmalure in 1580. The sudden and unexpected death of his brother filled Sir George with a deep-seated hatred of the Irish. In writing to his friend Walsingham, he says, "the loss that I have sustained

* *A.F.M.*

† Introduction Carew, MSS.

by this wicked nation is too grievous to remember, if hope of revenge did not breed me comfort." The following year he stabbed in cold blood an Irishman who was supposed to be one of the company that had killed his brother, without waiting to investigate the matter. It was considered a foul act even by his admirers, who thought he should be punished. It did not, however, cloud his prospects nor lower him in the esteem of his friends. He crossed over to England and became a great favourite at court. Returning again in 1588, he was employed by the government, in 1599, to accompany Essex as treasurer of war, and on the death of Sir Thomas Norris was installed in his place. Carew remained in Dublin for some months arranging his affairs. On 7th April he set out from the metropolis, and towards the end of the month arrived in Cork, having narrowly escaped capture, together with his travelling companion Ormond, by O'More. He assembled a council of the well-disposed in order to find out for himself the state of affairs; and no time was lost in putting his plans into execution. Florence MacCarthy of Desmond, an able and influential chieftain, was the first important personage to be deluded into neutrality by fictitious promises. The next step was to disorganise the Irish by sowing seeds of distrust and dissension among them. A plot was set on foot to capture the Earl of Desmond as the surest way to end the war in the South. Dermot O'Connor, leader of the mercenaries, who had married Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of the late earl, was found to be an easy subject to work upon through the medium of his wife. The details of the plot were arranged by Miler Magrath, the wily and unprincipled Protestant Archbishop of Cashel.* It was suggested to Margaret that if the present earl was secured, dead or alive, her brother,

* Hatfield Papers—Hist. MSS, Com, Part 10.

from his youth a prisoner in the Tower of London, would be released and perhaps restored to the title and possessions of his father ; and that her husband, in the event of success, would, with other favours, receive £1,000. She succeeded in obtaining Dermot's consent. He swore to accomplish the task, but required pledges from the English as a guarantee of good faith. It was decided that Captain William Power and his brother John, of Kilmedan, county Waterford, who were foster brothers of Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, and the two sons of the archbishop would be at Ballyhoura on a certain day by appointment. The youths, with some companions, were captured, and imprisoned in Castleishen, then a strong fortress about a mile to the south of Drumcollogher and in the county of Cork. Another unprincipled ruffian, named Nugent, was pardoned and employed to compass the ruin of either of the Geraldine brothers.

The president having set his secret agents to work, intimated that he intended to start immediately for Limerick. He left Cork on the 21st May, marching direct to Kilmallock without any opposition from the Irish, who were taken by surprise. On the way he encamped at Effin, whither the White Knight came to make his submission, and remained with him. He then set out for Limerick, and on his way called at Bruff, which had been garrisoned by Pierce Lacy since he recovered it from Thornton. Fearing it would be a convenient place for the enemy, Lacy now pulled down part of the castle and burned the rest, by the light of which he ran into the woods. Carew* placed a garrison there to secure the pass between Limerick and Kilmallock. Having taken a view of Loughgur he decided that the castle was too formidable to be then besieged, as it was garrisoned by two hundred men under the com-

* *Pacata Hibernia*

mand of John Fitzthomas. He therefore continued his march to Limerick, where he arrived without any adventure worth noting.

Nugent, the secret service agent, had succeeded in obtaining a position under John Fitzthomas at Loughgur castle. When riding out one day with his master and another soldier he thought it a favourable opportunity to execute his commission. He allowed Fitzthomas to go before him, and then drawing his loaded pistol took aim at him, but the soldier, perceiving his wicked intention, knocked the pistol out of his hand. Nugent was arrested and on examination admitted the plot, adding that though he failed there were others who might succeed. This incident had a depressing effect on the Geraldine brothers, who became thenceforward very distrustful of their followers. John Fitzthomas immediately left Loughgur, placing a stranger, named Groome, in charge of the castle. Groome secretly delivered it to Carew for a bribe of sixty pounds.

Before resuming hostilities the president gave Dermot O'Connor an opportunity of maturing his plans for the capture of the earl. To help on the plot Carew wrote a letter to the earl, as if it were an answer to one received from him. The letter was sent to O'Connor, who was thereby enabled to show that he had sufficient reason for seizing the earl as a traitor to O'Neill. The army was about this time placed in garrisons, and the Irish in like manner withdrew to their homes. O'Connor sent an invitation to the earl by a trusty messenger to meet him at a place of parley in order to confer with him about certain matters concerning the prosecution of the war. The earl had got secret information of the treacherous part O'Connor intended to play, and, as a precaution, brought a bodyguard of two hundred men. When they met at the appointed place a quarrel was started according to a preconcerted plan between the subordinates of both chiefs. This was encouraged by

O'Connor, but the earl, who was of a peaceful disposition, ordered his men to retire. O'Connor, now fearing no opposition, seized the earl, producing as his justification Carew's letter which he pretended he had intercepted. The earl was conveyed to Castleishen and placed under a strong guard. O'Connor sent an invitation to Carew to come to Kilmallock where his wife, Lady Margaret, would meet him and receive the promised reward.

In the meantime Fitzmaurice of Kerry, the Knight of Glin and Pierce Lacy, with about four thousand followers, attacked Castleishen from four different points and succeeded in liberating the earl before Carew or his forces could reach the place. O'Connor took refuge in Ballyallinan castle, where in a short time he was besieged by the infuriated Geraldines. Carew returned to Limerick, breathing vengeance against the rebels.

In July, Carew mustered his army with the intention of capturing the castle of Glin and those of North Kerry. As he was setting out, word came that O'Connor was being besieged at Ballyallinan, and that unless timely assistance arrived he would surely fall a victim to the fury of the Irish. Carew hastened to answer the call, but when he reached Ballingarry he learned that a truce had been arranged between O'Connor and the Geraldines. As however, he was in the vicinity of Croom he secured that castle, which was held by Pierce Lacy's men, as he considered it a dangerous place, having command of the entrance into Connelloe. Wheeling round he marched through Kenry, a safe country, to Askeaton. Here he remained for three days awaiting provisions by water from Limerick. During his march to Ballintare on Slieve Luachra, the Irish followed all day at a distance, watching for a favourable opportunity to attack him. Next day he surrounded Glin castle, and after a short siege succeeded in capturing it. He then moved into Kerry and took all the strong castles of the northern part

of that county, meeting with very little resistance, as the Irish had become distrustful of one another.

O'Connor, now feeling that his treachery to the Geraldines had blurred his prestige among the Irish, thought it safer to withdraw to his own country. To secure a peaceful passage he procured a safe conduct from Carew, which, however, availed him little, as the Bourkes attacked him when passing through Clanwilliam.

On the return journey from Kerry, Carew took Corgrage castle, and placed it in the custody of Oliver Stephenson of Dunmoylan. He then placed his troops in garrison.

Barkley, with his men at Askeaton, harassed the surrounding country. He pursued Garret Fitz-Nicholas, who lived near the garrison, until he deprived him of his riding horses and captured the castle of Meane, wherein was found a large quantity of corn. He next seized the castle of Glenquin, burning and spoiling all the corn in the locality.

To hasten the end of the war in Munster, the English brought back to Ireland James, son of the late Earl of Desmond, who had spent most of his life a prisoner in the Tower of London. It was hoped he would be the means of withdrawing all the old retainers of his father from the 'Sugane Earl,' as the new earl was contemptuously called by the English. James was taken to Kilmallock on a Saturday evening, and was received with great joy by a vast multitude who came to welcome him back to the land of his fathers. As he passed along the street salt and wheat, in accordance with an old Irish custom, symbolic of future peace and plenty, were showered upon him. Next day being Sunday, he went to the Protestant church, but on the way was accosted by his friends of yesterday with "loud and rude exhortations" to which he lent a deaf ear. On his coming forth of the church he "was railed and spit upon"

by his former admirers. James was no longer a favourite; he could walk through the town without any one taking the slightest notice of him during the rest of his stay. The undertakers had been jealous of his arrival, naturally fearing that he might be restored to his father's inheritance and that their rents, now paid to the crown, would eventually be conferred upon him. Finding that the stay of this unfortunate young nobleman was so far from producing the effect expected from it, he was allowed to return to England, and, in a few months, sank into an ignoble grave, his end being hastened, as some say, by poison.

The 'Sugane Earl,' defeated by Carew's secret service rather than by any conflict in the field, was now a fugitive deserted by his followers and supporters, many of whom made their peace with the government. His brother John, Pierce Lacy, the Knight of Glin and a few other trusty followers went to the North. The worry and anxiety of his position brought on a fever on the earl, and he was removed by his friends to a cave near Mitchelstown. The White Knight, becoming aware of his hiding place, sold the secret to Carew for a thousand pounds. He was arrested and delivered up to the president, who in turn transported him to London, where he died in 1608, a prisoner in the Tower.

The Geraldines being thus disposed of, Florence MacCarthy, the strongest and most influential Irish chief in the South, was the next to be secured. A pretext was soon found for inveigling him into Carew's presence, in June 1601, when accusations were found to justify ostensibly a seizure of his person. A letter was produced which he wrote from Pallace, Kilmeedy, to the White Knight appointing Gortnatubrid or Tullylease for a treasonable meeting. Garret Liston of Skehanaghe, near Ardagh, swore that he met Florence at Bellaghafenan where he promised on oath

to support James Fitzthomas, the earl. He too was transported to England and ended his days a prisoner in London.

The long-expected aid from Spain landed at Kinsale in 1601 under the leadership of Don Juan d'Aquila, who fortified that town while awaiting a junction with the Irish. When Carew heard the news, he mustered his forces and went towards Kinsale to reconnoitre the enemy. Lord Mountjoy, the viceroy, since his coming to Ireland had been engaged against O'Neill in the North. Like his partner the president, he held "it a very good piece of policy to make the Irish cut one another's throats without which this kingdom will never be quiet." He now hastened to the South and joined forces with Carew before Kinsale. O'Neill and O'Donnell with all their forces hastened to join hands with the Spaniards. O'Donnell started from Ballymote, where he had collected his army, accompanied by the Munster chiefs, Fitzmaurice of Kerry and the Knight of Glin, who had fled to Ulster after the dispersal of the Earl of Desmond's army the preceding year.* When he came to Moydrum, a conspicuous hill to the south of Roscrea, he rested there for twenty days awaiting the arrival of O'Neill. Here he received intelligence that Carew had left Cork with a large army to intercept him and was encamped in the vicinity of Cashel. O'Donnell, who did not wish to fight at that early stage, decided to give him the slip. He was favoured in his design by a great and unexpected frost which made the path over Slieve Phelim into County Limerick passable for horse and carriage. He rose in the night, crossed the mountain and entered the county of Limerick by the pass at the abbey of Owny, never halting until he reached the house of the Countess of Kildare at Croom, a distance

* Pierce Lacy was shot near Armagh while attacking the English camp.

of thirty-two Irish miles and one of the greatest marches on record. Carew abandoned the chase of the light-footed Ulsterman and returned to Cork. The following morning O'Donnell led his army into Connelloe and rested there for a few weeks to refresh his troops. He then passed over the upper part of Slieve Luachra into Duhallow and in due course arrived in the vicinity of Kinsale. A few days later O'Neill came by another route and both generals joined forces. A council of war was held, at which it was resolved in concert with the Spaniards, to attack the English. The plans miscarried, the Irish were defeated and the Spaniards surrendered. The war in Munster was over; but Carew pursued the vanquished into the glens, woods and valleys of South Cork and Kerry, slaughtering the young, the old and the wounded. What happened in Limerick will be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE AFFAIRS OF THE CITY

WHILE the country portion of the diocese during this century was agitated by domestic quarrels and open opposition to the government, the citizens stood loyal to the crown and eagerly adopted the ways and manners of the English whom they loved to imitate. In 1512 it was enacted that any citizen aspiring to a seat on panel should be married, have his hall, chamber, spins and kitchen with complete harness, be able to speak English well, and be clothed in English apparel, that is, in gown, doublet and hosen. The style of living was greatly improved, as salad, carrots, turnips and various kinds of cabbages were imported from abroad to add to the enjoyment of the table.

Being a maritime city, the prosperity of Limerick depended on trade with foreign nations. The wealthy merchants had their own trading fleets with which they transported vast quantities of raw material and manufactured goods to England and the Continent, bringing back in return whatever produce of these countries was suitable for distribution among the citizens and surrounding districts. The home-coming of these vessels was closely watched from the numerous castles that studded both banks of the Shannon from its mouth to the city. As they sailed up the river they were boarded by the local chieftains, who appropriated to their own use a certain portion of the cargo, a custom which continued to the middle of the century. The chief offenders in this respect were O'Connor of Carrigafoyle, O'Cahan of Kilrush, Donough Gowe of Corgrigg, MacMorrough of Foynes, Morrough MacMahon of

Baliolman, and Mahon O'Brien of Carrigogunnell. The MacNamaras and O'Briens levied a tax on all goods passing from the city through their territory. In former times Ormond and Desmond did likewise.*

But a still greater menace to the trade of the city arose in 1524 when the neighbouring town of Galway, which was now becoming a dangerous rival, adopted an aggressive policy towards Limerick. A mercantile dispute arose between David Comyn of Limerick and some merchants of Galway over the purchase of salt. Comyn complained that justice was denied him, and to have satisfaction, he seized Ambrose Lynch of Galway and kept him a close prisoner in Limerick. This led to hostilities by sea and land between the rival communities. Limerick at length grew weary of the contest and selected two citizens, Christopher and Nicholas Arthur, to proceed to Galway and arrange terms of peace. After a discussion with the leading citizens, an amicable settlement was arrived at.

When Henry VIII interested himself in Irish affairs, Limerick became an important centre. Edmond Sexton, a merchant of the city and a man of ability who filled the offices of alderman and mayor, seized the occasion to forward his interests by espousing the cause of the king. He made several journeys to England and was well received by Henry, who promoted him to the office of sewer of his bed-chamber. In all the political disturbances of Munster, Sexton took a leading part in promoting the interests of his royal master. His energy and tact prevented Silken Thomas from receiving any support in Limerick in 1535. While mayor, in 1536, he entertained Lord Gray during his visit to the city and accompanied him to O'Brien's Bridge. In the opinion of his fellow-citizens, however, his zeal sometimes outran his discretion, but the charges they

* Arthur MSS., and Lenihan's *History of Limerick* p 91.

brought against him did not lessen him in the esteem of the government. When the monastic houses were suppressed in 1537, he succeeded in obtaining the possessions of the Augustinian and Franciscan orders in and near the city. They remained in the possession of his family until they were sold some years ago by his descendant, the Earl of Limerick. He was further awarded the sum of eight pounds per annum as a pension for life from the fee-farm rent of Limerick. To add to his other accomplishments he became an author, and at the express command of the king, wrote a book "for the reformation of those parts." Among his papers was found a description of Scatterry Island, where, he tells us, the merchants of Limerick dwelt and had castles and storehouses of their own inheritance.

During Lord Gray's visit to the city, an intelligence officer informed Cromwell that "the city of Limerick is a wondrous proper city, and standeth environed with the river Shenon, and it may be called Little London for the situation and plenty, but the castle hath need of reparation."* The castle,† being the chief defence of the citizens, was under the rule of a constable who received as a salary ten pounds yearly from the fee-farm of the city, two gardens on the south side and the pasture and grazing of the island. The inhabitants of the city had, however, free ingress to the island for their pasture without any interruption. He had in addition ten shillings yearly rent from an eel weir on the east side of Corbally, and besides from every ship resorting to the city with wheat or salt, being no freeman's goods, one measure of salt, one of wheat, and of every boat resorting to the city laden with herrings or oysters, one hundred of each kind.

Henry, to show his appreciation of the zeal of the

* Carew MSS., year 1536.

† Inquisition, 33rd of Henry VIII. Arthur MSS., British Museum. See Lenihan, p. 89.

citizens in his interest, permitted the mayor, in 1543, to carry a rod as the ensign of his authority. When the representatives of the sovereign visited the city, they were received with great rejoicing, all the leading citizens and country magnates vying with one another in doing honour to the official guest. The visit of Lord Deputy Sussex, in June, 1558, is thus described by an eye-witness.* He approached the city from Caherconlish, and on the journey was joined by the Earl of Ormond, young Lord Cahir, Lord Gerald of Desmond, MacCarthy More, Sir Morris of Desmond, and a goodly company of horsemen. When he arrived at St. John's Gate, the mayor and his brethren in scarlet gowns met him and delivered into his hands the keys and mace of the city, which were immediately returned to the mayor. Then a procession was formed, the mayor having the mace and the officers of arms going before him, until the viceroy came to the stile of St. Mary's churchyard, where he alighted. In the churchyard he was received by Bishop Lacy and the clergy in procession. And there he knelt down, was incensed and kissed the cross, and when he rose up holy water was sprinkled upon him. Then he went into the church, and in like manner before the rood, and from thence to the high altar, where he knelt until the Te Deum was sung, and then departed to his lodgings at Sir Dominick White's house. All the footmen stood in the churchyard, and after the viceroy had entered his lodging, they shot off their guns and the town shot off the great ordnance. The following Sunday, in the afternoon, at the bishop's house was bishoped (confirmed) James, the son of the Earl of Desmond. Lord Deputy Sussex acted as godfather on the occasion, and the child was called after him James Sussex of Desmond. The officers of arms, while the sacrament was conferring, in their coats of arms, pro-

* Carew MSS., year 1558

claimed the child James Sussex of Desmond three times. Then Sussex gave the child a chain of gold. In after years this child did not, like his godfather, deny the faith in which he was that day confirmed. He was the first of his family to fall in its defence.

MacCarthy More was the next to receive favours from the viceroy. He was dubbed a knight and called Sir Dermot MacCarthy, and then presented with a chain of gold and a pair of gilt spurs. On the 10th of July, the viceroy attended High Mass at the cathedral surrounded by a distinguished body of gentlemen who loomed large in the subsequent history of the country. The bishop was the same Dr. Lacy who, a few years later, felt himself bound in duty to resist the religious changes that Sussex, the guest of the day, was ordered to introduce into Ireland. The preacher on the occasion was Richard Creagh, the future primate and martyr. Sir Henry Sydney, Ormond, and Gerald, future Earl of Desmond, assisted at the holy Mass as fervent Catholics. Later on Desmond was destined to suffer dire persecution for conscience' sake from Sydney and Ormond. The representative of the O'Briens, after the religious rites were over, took the title of Earl of Thomond and swore to forsake the name of O'Brien, thereby turning his back on the traditions of his family.

In the year 1574 the city is described by Father David Wolfe as "the strongest and most beautiful of all the cities of Ireland, and encompassed by great walls of living rocks of marble." "The city," he says, "forms an island in the middle of the rapid river Shannon, and can be entered only by two stone bridges, one of fourteen arches and the other of eight. It is distant about sixty miles from the ocean, but ships of four hundred tons come up as far as the city. The houses, for the most part, are built of square blocks of black marble, and like towers and fortresses. The burg of

the city is better walled than the city itself, having a wall ten feet thick and in some places forty feet high, and encircled by ten very beautiful and strong towers or bulwarks to prevent people from approaching the walls. The city has about eight hundred citizens, of whom all are Catholics, except about seven or eight young men who embrace the Lutheran leprosy, rather to please Lady Elizabeth than from any other reason.

“In the city there is a castle built by John, son of King Henry II, but now for many years uninhabited, so that the houses and the roof of the castle are in ruins. A part of the wall of the castle has already fallen, but it could be repaired at a trifling cost. The castle is built on a beautiful site overlooking the city, in order to dominate and keep it in subjection, although the citizens have been ever and always faithful to their English princes. The city has not more than two very small pieces of artillery, and I can truly affirm that there is not in the whole city half a pipe of powder for them; nor has it any other munitions of war, except a few arquebuses, bows and cross-bows. The city is beautifully situated between Desmond and Thomond, the great river Shannon dividing the one from the other, and were it not for war, has always an abundant supply of corn, meat, milk-foods and fresh-water fish.”

During the Desmond wars, Limerick rendered material services to the crown. Whenever the queen's forces came to the city they were always entertained, and men were equipped to assist the deputies against the “Irish enemy” and “English rebel.” When Sydney arrested Desmond at Kilmallock, the citizens sent three hundred men to enable him to bring his captive safe to Limerick. In like manner, when Pelham made the city his headquarters, one thousand men were raised to augment his army against Desmond. While some of the merchants' vessels were taking

provisions down the Shannon to the army, the merchants themselves were busy in the ports of Spain and Portugal collecting information concerning the movements that were on foot among their countrymen in these lands for advancing the Irish cause. During the campaign the citizens generally suffered much and wrote to the queen in 1582 that "they were spoiled in peace by wrongs of neighbours, in war by enemies; in peace by extortion of officers, in war by oppression of soldiers; that many honest housekeepers are begging about the country. They pray for allowance of petitions by bearer, the mayor."* At the close of the war the militia of the city amounted to eight hundred men, while those of Waterford were only six hundred and Cork four hundred, which would indicate that Limerick was the most populous of the Munster cities. In 1590, Richard White reported to London that Limerick was then a very poor city, being impoverished by a few rich merchants through usury.† When the corporation sought new favours by way of grants of land about the city, the charter was examined and found to contain privileges enjoyed by few English cities. "They were granted" it was declared, "in respect of their loyalty in doubtful and troublesome times, but now that peace is established, such immunities may be some impeachment to the course of justice."‡ The citizens had been ever true to the call of duty from the government; and to assist the authorities in defeating O'Neill they sent to the North under the leadership of Captain David Woulfe§ "one hundred tall men." But when the religious question became acute their loyalty grew cold, and the efforts to bring them into the Anglican Church met with a strenuous resistance.

* Irish State Papers.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., 1592.

§ Sexton Annals (1594), quoted in Lenihan, p. 700.

In the early years of the century, there must have existed some kind of school in the city where the wealthy class of merchants were prepared for transacting business with England and the Continent. About 1558, Richard Creagh opened a regular school on popular lines. It continued under the care of the Jesuits from 1565 until 1568, when it was closed owing to the attempt to enforce the State religion. The same year, at a parliament held in Dublin, it was enacted "that there shall be from henceforth a free school within every diocese of this realm of Ireland, and that the school-master shall be an Englishman, or of English birth of this realm." In 1568 the mayor's petition to the queen for the establishment of a school was granted. An Englishman named Payne visited the city in 1589 and, to his great surprise, found a grammar school there containing "one hundred and twenty scholars, the most of them speaking good and perfect English, for that they have used to construe the Latin into English."* From this school were withdrawn in 1589 the sons of Brian duff O'Brien, chieftain of Pubblebrien, Conor O'Mulrian, chieftain of Owney O'Mulrian, about five miles from Limerick, Shane O'Mulrian, brother of Conor, Richard Burke of Caherconlish, Esq., J.P., who pretended title to Clanwilliam, fearing lest they might be detained as pledges for their fathers upon the landing of the foreign power, an allusion to the Spanish Armada.

During the remaining years of the century, the history of the city centres round the religious question, which will be treated in the next chapter.

* *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, Vol. 1, Archae. Publications.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS OF THE DIOCESE

WHATEVER political and racial prejudices may have existed among the different sections of the population in the diocese, all were united in the same religious belief and recognized the Pope as Head of the Church, to which they were ardently attached. The government wantonly endeavoured to abolish the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff and, later on, to introduce fundamental changes in religious doctrine, but these innovations were bitterly resented by the people, who persevered in the ancient faith, then and in the succeeding ages. The origin and development of the struggle form the chief feature of the ecclesiastical history of the sixteenth century.

JOHN COYNE OR QUIN

After the death of John Folan, Bishop of Limerick, in 1522, the Council of Ireland petitioned Henry VIII to use his influence for the preferment to the see of Walter Wellesley, prior of Conal in the county of Kildare, whose services to the State were deemed worthy of such recognition. A more eligible candidate was however found in the person of John Coyne or Quin, a Dominican friar of the Kilmallock convent, remarkable for his learning and virtue. As a native of the diocese, it was considered he would be more successful than a stranger in ruling a see where such jarring elements as the loyalist, the English rebel, and the Irish enemy abounded. He was appointed by papal provision on the 21st of October, 1524.

At a provincial synod held in Limerick in 1529, over which the Archbishop of Cashel presided, a law was made empowering the mayor to imprison ecclesiastical debtors until they made satisfaction to their creditors, without incurring excommunication. Hitherto, according to the discipline of the Church, clerics were tried in the ecclesiastical courts for all offences. This enactment, which abolished an immemorial privilege, was deeply resented by the clergy who had expected to find in their bishop a vigilant guardian of their rights.

When Henry VIII renounced his allegiance to the Holy See, on his failure to obtain a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, he assumed, in spite of considerable opposition from his subjects, the title and office of spiritual head of the English Church, an assumption which was confirmed by parliament in 1535. The archbishopric of Dublin had become vacant in July, 1534, and Henry appointed to the see, without papal sanction, his favourite, George Brown, an ex-provincial of the English Augustinians, whom he considered well qualified to bring the Irish Church also under his spiritual supremacy. On taking possession of the archdiocese, Brown immediately set about his master's work, but after many fruitless efforts had to declare that "the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here." The summoning of a parliament was suggested as the most effectual means of securing the end the king had in view. Accordingly a parliament was called and met in 1536. After much contention, Henry was declared head of the Church, and any future communications with Rome were banned as treasonable. In 1538 Lord Grey, the viceroy, visited Limerick. During his stay he summoned the mayor and corporation before him and had them sworn according to the Statute of Supremacy,* to

* Carew MSS.

renounce the "usurped power" of the Pope. Dr. Quin was sworn in like manner and commanded to call his clergy together and administer the same oath to them. The ready compliance of the bishop with the royal mandate indicates his sympathy with the religious innovations of the king. But personal motives of a more pressing kind induced Dr. Quin to repudiate the authority of the Pope, which had already become irksome to him.

Many parishes in the diocese were without pastors, and the king, in his new role as head of the Church, appointed Thady O'Mulrian, canon of Emly, to the rectorship of Croom; William Casey, the future Protestant bishop, to the vicarage of St. Nicholas, Adare; William Kelly to the vicarage of St. Munchin's; and Thady Boe to the rectory of Effin. Andrew Creagh, Bachelor of Decrees, resigned the deanery and received pardon for some unknown offence in 1544, and the king appointed Andrew Stritch to succeed him in that office. Though Dr. Quin sided with the government in rejecting the authority of the Pope, there was but little change in the external rites of religion, as Mass was still celebrated in the churches and the sacraments administered. A serious loss was sustained by the poor in the suppression of the monasteries, which, however, was not carried out as drastically as in England.

During the reign of Edward VI greater and more fundamental changes were made in religion. The Mass was abolished, and the law explicitly denied the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist.

St. Leger was again appointed lord-deputy in 1550 and entrusted with the task of introducing these radical changes into Ireland. In a letter to Cecil he says, "I have caused books to be sent to the city of Limerick, who have gladly condescended to embrace the same with all effect, although the bishop there, who is both

old and blind, be most against it."* The books referred to were copies of the Book of Common Prayer which were to be distributed through the diocese. The action of Dr. Quin was looked upon as a serious offence, and steps were taken to supplant him by a more pliant tool.

When James, Earl of Desmond, who had embraced all the new doctrines, learned that the bishop would not be allowed to officiate any longer, he applied to the crown for the nomination of his successor. The request was readily granted. With apparent cheerfulness, Dr. Quin, being unable to discharge the duties attached to his office, resigned the bishopric into the hands of Edward VI as supreme head of the Church in Ireland. Being defective in sight, he was unable to minister or govern, and his debility hindered him from preaching. He acted thus, not through force, guile, fear, or fraud, but of his own free will. He appointed John Quin, a cleric of the diocese, his procurator, and empowered him to arrange with the authorities the details of his resignation. The document was drawn up at Kilmallock and dated 9th of April, 1551.

Desmond, acting on his grant from the crown, nominated to the see William Casey, rector of Kilcornan, and a member of an influential family long resident in the county. The king approved the selection, and after the formality of an election by the dean and chapter had been gone through, the new bishop was consecrated, according to Ware, in Dublin by Brown, assisted by the bishops of Kildare and Ferns. During his short term of office many clergymen were appointed to benefices, who were not only schismatic but heretical. A goodly number of the older clergy were confirmed in their livings under the new regime provided that each found security by recognizance in £20 to rebuild the

* Shirley's Letters, p. 47.

chancels of their churches within a year, to minister divine service according to the king's most godly proceeding, and to endeavour to secure the rebuilding of the body of the churches by the parishioners.*

Edward passed away in 1553 and was succeeded by his sister Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and a staunch adherent to the old faith. William Casey at once realized the altered state of affairs and hastened to Rome, where he pleaded earnestly for recognition as Bishop of Limerick. During his sojourn he found that a deputation from the diocese had been in Rome since 1551, discussing ways and means with the Pope for circumventing his heretical teaching among the people. Father David Wolfe, who in after years played an important part in the religious history of the country, was the principal delegate. Wolfe became acquainted with St. Ignatius of Loyola, to whom he unfolded the state of religion in his native diocese. Ignatius became a warm advocate and used all his influence to remedy the crying evils that pressed heavily upon the faithful Catholics of Limerick. In 1555, when sending Father Bernard Olivier, one of his fathers, to the court of Queen Mary, he gave him special instructions regarding Limerick. The letter is now published and throws a flood of light on the characters and conduct of Quin and Casey. A literal translation from the original Italian is given here, as it contains a résumé of the whole question.

"The information which an Irish priest of the diocese of Limerick gives of the bishop and coadjutor of said diocese. The bishopric of Limerick is held by John Coin who in the year 1522, being a friar of St. Dominic and reputed very virtuous, was legitimately made bishop, but immediately after obtaining the bishopric he became a public *concubinarius* and still has that same woman by whom he had two sons and two daughters.

* Fiants of Edward VI.

For the past six years he has been afflicted with blindness and so indisposed that he cannot move from bed. This Bishop John has resigned the bishopric into the hands of King Henry (*recte* Edward) as supreme head of the church, in favour of a certain William O'Caysio (O'Casey) a public Lutheran, who, having been consecrated by the said John and two other Lutheran bishops, immediately began to do all in his power against the traditions of the Catholic Church, and in order to surpass other heretics, who had retained the crucifix while removing other images, he removed this also from the church. This William, coming to Rome a short time ago to obtain from the Apostolic See confirmation of his bishopric, did not obtain it, as was right.

Speaking of the aforesaid things to Cardinal Morone, as I made it my business, it seemed to him two things should be done. One is to cite these two to the forum of the Inquisition, and also proceed against them, considering that there are many witnesses in Rome of the aforesaid things, and this will be done. The other is that orders be given that their majesties, the king and queen, nominate a fit candidate on whom His Holiness would legitimately confer the bishopric; whether it be a matter of depriving both the older and younger man, or leaving the older and depriving the younger, if one may speak of depriving him of what he never had. In looking for a suitable man to appoint bishop, or as coadjutor and successor to Bishop John Coyn, there turned up the name of an Irish priest studying in Louvain, Master Richard Creache, a man of great learning, a pious Catholic and a zealous defender of the honour of Christ Our Lord, and well fitted, if any Irishman is, to heal by word and example the wounds that flock has received from such pastors, and so far removed from ambition that he is never for speaking of this, that, or other dignity, but being called, it is believed that he will not refuse the labour to help his

country. The request is being made to the most illustrious legate (Cardinal Pole) by many of the Irish nation and of the said bishopric, that, if he finds the said Richard suitable for such ministry, he should speak for him to their royal majesties that they may present him to His Holiness. If this did not seem good to the most reverend legate, that he should help that bishopric by getting information about some suitable person, who, being nominated by their majesties, would be confirmed by His Holiness, and in such a manner provide for that flock so much in need of a good pastor desirous of their salvation."*

Before Father Bernard left Belgium on his mission to the English court with his instructions from Saint Ignatius, it was ascertained that Bishop Quin, availing himself of the change in government, had resumed possession of his see and driven out William Casey. The united people of the diocese approached Dr. Creagh, who was still living at Louvain, and offered him the bishopric, but he refused. Dr. Quin died towards the end of the year, which simplified matters very much for his successor.

A commission was appointed by Queen Mary, consisting of Primate Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Walsh, bishop-elect of Meath, who were empowered to remove from the episcopal bench any bishops guilty of concubinage or heresy. Casey and others were formally deprived of their dignities and jurisdiction. Father David Wolfe succeeded during his visit to Rome in getting Thomas Fanning appointed Dean of Limerick in 1555, an office which had been held irregularly by Creagh and Stritch. Wolfe then placed himself under the guidance of St. Ignatius and became a distinguished pioneer of the Jesuit order.

* *Monumenta Hist. Soc. Jesu*: Mon. Ignatiana: Epistolae, Tomus 29. Madrid, 1909.

HUGH LACY

The diocese being now free from the bishops who had assisted the government in propagating the new doctrines, Hugh Lacy was selected to restore religion among the people and build up the Church anew. He was a member of an old Anglo-Norman family long settled in County Limerick, and for centuries holding a leading place among the local gentry. As early as 1540 he was a canon of the cathedral, as he is mentioned in that year as assisting, with Maurice Maddy, official of the diocese, at a court held in the chapter-room of the Franciscan convent at Askeaton, when a suit between the bishop and the Knight of Glin, concerning the rent of the lands of Cappagh, was amicably arranged. He was appointed bishop by the Holy See, on the recommendation of Queen Mary, on the 24th of November, 1556, and obtained restitution of the temporalities on the 13th of April, 1557, having previously taken the following oath:—"I, Hugh, Bishop of Limerick, elected and consecrated, do acknowledge that I have and hold all the temporal possessions of the said bishopric from your hands, and from your successors, kings of England, as in right of the crown of your Kingdom of Ireland; and to you and your successors, kings of England, faith will I bear, so help me God and His Holy Gospels."

Dr. Lacy proceeded immediately by word and example to undo the evils wrought by his predecessors. Churches had to be repaired, the liturgy revived, careless and indifferent pastors to be reprimanded, and in some cases to be set aside. The queen issued a commission to the bishop, mayor, and some others to enquire after the chalices, ornaments, books, bells, houses and lands belonging to the parochial churches and chapels of the diocese, and to find out in whose hands they were. Nothing of what was then recovered has survived to

our times except the Black Book and the O'Dea mitre and crozier. The laxity of discipline that had crept in during the disturbed times is illustrated in the action of Denis Casey, priest, and Edmund Harbarde, clerk, who, by false pretences, obtained bulls for the arch-deaconry, the canonry of Killeedy, and the rectory of Mahoonagh, a grave offence for which they obtained pardon. Dr. Lacy was also appointed by the authorities to take part in commissions for the advancement of the civil government in Limerick, and for the healing of long-standing controversies between the leading chieftains. Queen Mary died in 1558, after making the old faith once again the religion of the country.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne it was uncertain whether or not she would remain loyal to the Catholic religion she then professed. Speculation on the point was however set at rest when the parliament of England renewed and intensified the penal laws of Henry and Edward against the Catholic Church. The beginning of the year 1560 was chosen as a suitable time to introduce the same changes into Ireland. A contemporary tells us how this was accomplished. "The parliament held in Ireland ended in the issue of a decree changing the religion to that of England, but only passed it with such opposition and tumult that five bishops have been arrested, and a great number of the knights and noblemen of Ireland, amongst whom the Earl of Desmond and the grand O'Neil (Shan) would not take part in the passing of it. The decree has been carried out in Dublin, and the rest of the country has been given until May."*

Dr. Lacy attended this parliament, and was undoubtedly a vigorous opponent of the government policy on the religious question, and may have been

* Spanish State Papers: Roll Series. A later and fuller account than that quoted in reference to the Earl of Desmond.

one of the prelates arrested. The deputy was incensed at his conduct and reported in 1562 that he was "a stubborn and disobedient man in causes of religion, and had committed offences whereby he hath, by the laws of the realm, forfeited his bishopric."* His appointment by government to various commissions, even though he acted on them, does not necessarily imply that he had ceased to be a Catholic, as some would have it, just as the appointment of Archbishop Brown of Dublin to commissions in Mary's reign is no proof that he had returned to the old faith.

The religious laws of Elizabeth met with a far more vigorous opposition than had the innovations of her father and brother. Their real import was better understood, and timely steps were taken to counteract and render innocuous the venom of their sting. The offences of the bishop were not condoned, but tolerated for the present, as the government thought it wiser in the circumstances to retain his services for the benefit of the State. Yet, for the sake of example, his wings had to be clipped. He was deprived of the temporalities of the see, but allowed the spiritualities, with the title of bishop, until such time as he could be safely set aside. When Dr. Webb, the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, was endeavouring to establish a title to the episcopal lands of Ballynash, Knocknabuly, Currobane, and Lisready in 1641, he was informed by a "neighbour of these parts, of good repute, how the lands began to be alienated from the bishopric by Hugh Lacy, commonly known by the name of the Black Bishop, who succeeded William Casey, who was deprived at the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, and being himself deprived at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, during the small time in which he held that bishopric, made havoc thereof and parted the above-named and divers

* Carew MSS.

other lands among his kindred and affinities who ever since have and still do withhold the same from the Church."* The deprivation here mentioned must have reference only to the lands, for Dr. Lacy officiated in the cathedral, according to the Roman rite, until the reappointment of Casey in 1571.

Before any progress could be made in changing the religious belief of the people of Munster, Desmond had to be won over to the cause. He was summoned to England, and while there it was necessary to imprison him to overcome his obstinacy. He was granted his release when he promised, among other conditions, to "assist the bishop in the furtherance of religion." The government now resolved to remove Lacy and appoint one who would work out the reformation with Desmond. But once back in Ireland, Desmond felt no obligation to fulfil promises made in 'durance vile.' The government project thus collapsed and Lacy was suffered to remain. When Desmond was again a prisoner in England, in 1565, the former process was repeated, and Sydney was instructed to consider whether the bishopric of Limerick was void. Desmond returned home and acted as before, much to the annoyance of his sovereign. Elizabeth grew impatient and determined to put an end to Desmond's backsliding. She ordered Sydney to have him arrested and sent to England. The task was successfully accomplished, and Lacy rendered important service on the occasion by informing the deputy at Kilmallock that Desmond intended to escape. Having arrived in Limerick with the prisoner, Sydney proceeded to the cathedral, where he was received by Dr. Lacy "in the churchyard with a procession, and the said bishop was in his pontificals after the popish fashion and all the rest of the priests and clerks in their

* Rental in I.R. Office published in *N. Munster Arch. Journal* from MS. copy in my possession

cofes, and a cross borne before them, and so they entered the church."*

In the following year the bishop was appointed one of the commissioners for Munster. When at the request of that body he brought the Countess of Desmond with him to Cork, he was so poor that he had to borrow the travelling expenses. As a further mark of confidence in his loyalty, he was appointed with James Fitzmaurice to rule the Desmond estates while the earl was in prison. Fitzmaurice, an ardent Catholic, soon unfurled the banner of religious freedom in Munster. After a vigorous campaign, Perrott, the new president of Munster, failed to capture or kill him, and was forced to receive his submission on terms.

Desmond being in prison and Fitzmaurice subdued, Perrott at once took steps to introduce the new religion. Lacy, not consenting to stand sponsor for the new creed, was set aside and, at the invitation of Perrott, William Casey came forth from his solitude and resumed the office of Protestant bishop in the hope that the people would follow his lead and embrace the Protestant religion now formally established by law.

We now return to trace the inner life of the Church during these eventful years. Rome was duly informed of the attempt to impose the religious views of Elizabeth upon the Irish; and means were adopted to counteract the evil effects of such a policy by sending to Ireland a pious and prudent man who would examine into the state of religion, select suitable candidates for vacant bishoprics, and confirm the faithful in their faith and fidelity to the Holy See. David Wolfe, now a loyal son of St. Ignatius, was chosen to accomplish this responsible and perilous task. The skill and prudence he had already displayed in similar duties

* MSS., T.C.D., quoted by Brady: Irish Ref.

entrusted to his care was a guarantee of success. The Pope, having approved of the appointment, wished to have him consecrated a bishop and sent to Ireland with the full powers of an apostolic nuncio, but at the request of his superiors he was not raised to the episcopal rank.

Father Wolfe left Rome with another member of his order named Dermot, who was also probably a native of Limerick, on the 11th of August, 1560. After an unavoidable delay on the French coast he set sail from Bordeaux and landed at Cork on the 21st of January, 1561. Though the journey was performed with secrecy, his arrival in Ireland did not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth, who, that same year, resented his presence in the country, and gave it as one of her reasons for not sending representatives to the Council of Trent. After making known his mission, he withdrew to Limerick and generally resided with his relative David Arthur, Dean of Limerick, at Kilquane, a townland at the Clare side of the Shannon opposite Corbally.

Donat O Teige, a Limerick priest, was promoted in February, 1560, to the archbishopric of Armagh, and took possession of his diocese the same year. It was reported to Elizabeth that he was seen in July, 1561, in company with Shane O'Neill on a hill outside the walls of Armagh, and was seen to walk up and down the lines of the Irish army exhorting them to go forward to battle. He retired soon after to Loughgur, where he died towards the end of that year, perhaps visited and consoled in his last illness by David Wolfe, who must have known him well.

In the critical times through which the Church was passing, the services of her ablest and most virtuous sons were required to cope with the enemy. Father Wolfe, according to his instructions, began to select suitable candidates for the sees then vacant. Richard

Creagh, who had declined the bishopric, had returned to his native city, and was engaged in conducting a school at the old Dominican priory. He was assisted in this meritorious work by Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, who had been expelled from his see by the government. Creagh was commanded by Father Wolfe to proceed to Rome and place himself at the disposal of the Holy See for the spiritual benefit of his country. Being commanded under obedience, he at once bowed to the order of his superior. Dr. Lacy and others contributed the greater part of his travelling expenses. In the meantime the names of Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, William Walsh of Meath and Hugh Lacy of Limerick, were sent to Rome as suitable candidates for the vacant see of Armagh. They were described as men who had never wavered in their allegiance to the Church. It was further stated that Lacy was a man steadfast in the faith, and that when asked by the commissioners if he would obey the queen in all things, he had replied: "I know only one head of the Church on earth, and to him and no other have I promised obedience."* He would, however, be a great loss to his own diocese, as the Earl of Desmond sought his advice in almost everything. In the same document Creagh is recommended for the vacant see of Cashel. When R. Creagh arrived in Rome he wished to join the Theatine order, but was prevented by a cardinal, who directed him to await the instructions of the Holy See. On the 22nd of March, 1564, he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, and consecrated at Easter in the Sistine Chapel. He received the pallium on the 12th of May.

During his stay in Rome, Creagh was maintained by the Pope in a manner befitting his rank. In July, after a farewell audience with the Holy Father, he

* Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, Appendix, p. 420.

started on his homeward journey. He travelled on horseback, visiting Louvain on the way. While here he entertained some of his old friends to dinner, at which he presided in his archiepiscopal robes. William Good, a native of Glastonbury, formerly a secular priest, but now a member of the Society of Jesus, joined the archbishop to labour on the Irish mission, at the command of his superior. They set sail from Antwerp for Ireland, but were driven to Dover by contrary winds. Dr. Creagh landed privately and journeyed to London, where he spent some days sight-seeing. Then he set out for home and arrived safely in his native land. Soon after he was arrested while celebrating Mass in a monastery, probably at Drogheda, by soldiers from a neighbouring garrison who had been privately informed of his movements. William Good reached Armagh only to be disappointed at not finding the archbishop. Not knowing their language, he could not converse with the natives, and realizing that men of his race were not in favour at the court of Shane O'Neill, he withdrew to Limerick. Father Wolfe found him employment with his fellow Jesuit, Edmund Daniel, who at that time had charge of Dr. Creagh's school, and there he laboured for four years or more. During his stay in the city he also resided with the dean at Kilquane. Some of his spare time must have been spent with the Anglo-Norman element, whose profound prejudices against the Irish he appears to have imbibed and transmitted to Camden, the historian, who published them as a faithful description of the manners and customs of the Irish of that day.*

The new regime, though tolerating a bishop here and there, was active in impeding Catholic worship. In some places opportunities for assisting at Mass were restricted, and the Holy See, in consequence, granted

* *Britannia*, Gibson's edition, Vol. 2, p. 1466.

permission to have the holy sacrifice offered, with due reverence and solemnity, in suitable places outside the churches. The rude altars that are still pointed out in the glens and lonely valleys of the diocese are memorials of those far-off times when our fathers heard Mass at the peril of their lives. The law of fasting, too, was relaxed during Lent. In places remote from the sea, or where fish was scarce, permission was granted to use butter, cheese and other such food. The matter of education was remembered, and the Pope issued instructions to Primate Creagh and Father Wolfe to have a university opened for the advancement of learning among the people. The struggle to maintain the faith, however, became so acute that the project had to be abandoned.

While Dr. Creagh was a prisoner in the Tower of London the government had him examined as to his previous life, from which it transpired that David Wolfe usually resided in Limerick. He was secured and confined in Dublin Castle. Here, too, Creagh was now imprisoned, following his recapture in Ireland after his escape from London. Both prisoners suffered much from foul air, cold, hunger and filthy cells. Pope Pius V, having heard of their plight, instructed the nuncio at Madrid to ask the King of Spain to apply for their liberation through his ambassador in London, but without success. Dr. Creagh was transferred for a short while to London and then back again to Dublin Castle. Though within prison bars, his presence disturbed Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, at whose instance Deputy Fitzwilliam wrote in February, 1574-5, that "there is occasion to send away Creagh, a Romish thing that wonderfully unfitteth this people and hindereth the Archbishop of Dublin's goodly endeavours to promote religion."*

* I.S.P.

Towards the end of February the primate arrived in London, and was imprisoned this time in the Gatehouse at Westminster. When Nugent, Bermingham and other young Catholic gentlemen of the Pale, who were studying law at Gray's Inn, heard of his arrival, they went to see him and became constant visitors, bringing him presents of books and clothes.* This was reported to the authorities, and Bermingham was imprisoned and examined as to the nature of his visits to Dr. Creagh. He confessed that he and his companions dined with the primate and the other prisoners. The primate was troubled with a flux, and asked him for a gown. He brought him Seagrave's and his own, also shirts and other articles of underwear. When about to leave, the prisoner asked him to call a few times in the week and gave him ten shillings to buy Eusebius' History, and Bible prayers in various languages, which he did. About this time Dr. Creagh was treated with some kindness by his jailers, and his health improved. He was never more allowed outside the Tower, as he was considered a dangerous man to be at large among the Irish for the reverence that nation bore unto him. In December, 1586, his sufferings were brought to a close by poison administered by his keepers.

When James Fitzmaurice began his campaign for religious freedom the Catholic school in the city was closed, and the Jesuit teachers, William Good and Edmund Daniel, left the country. The former went to Rome and thence to Naples, where he died; the latter to Portugal, as he is doubtless identical with "Edmund O'Donnell, scholar," who was residing in Lisbon in 1572.. From Portugal he returned to Ireland in the summer of 1572, was arrested and imprisoned in Limerick. Some communications between the Holy See and the Earl of Desmond and the Irish bishops are

* Hatfield Papers, Part II.

said to have been found on him, on which account Thomas Arthur, Recorder of Limerick, sent him to Sir John Perrott, who was then in Cork. There he confessed the faith and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Elizabeth in Church matters. He was there hanged, disembowelled while still alive and his body cut in quarters. He met death joyfully and exhorted the citizens to persevere in the faith, 25th October, 1572.

The deposition of De Lacy by the government, in 1571, effected a complete separation between Church and State in the diocese. The good prelate remained loyal to Rome and fed his flock as best he could in adverse circumstances. He was then an old man and a fugitive with some of his relatives and friends.* The Holy Father appreciated his resolution and constancy, and as a mark of confidence sent him special faculties not only for his own diocese, but for the province of Cashel in 1575.†

About the same time a Franciscan friar, Father Teige O'Daly, suffered death at Limerick. The year is variously given as 1576 or 1579; very probably the true date was 1 January, 1577 (new style). O'Daly was a native of Askeaton. He had been attached to the convent of Roscrea, but when that convent was broken up and the friars dispersed, he fled to Limerick. He was apprehended while seeking to escape beyond the seas, attention having probably been drawn to him by the Franciscan habit which he was wearing. For nine weeks he lay in prison before being brought to trial. Freedom and honours were offered him if he would acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of the queen, but when he refused to do so and remained constant in the profession of the Catholic faith, he was sentenced by Drury, the president of Munster, to be hanged, drawn and quartered. Amid the tears of the citizens, he was led forth to execution.

* See Wolfe, S.J., in Appendix.

† *Hib. Ign.*, p. 22.

With his hands bound behind his back, he was dragged at a horse's tail through the streets to the gallows. But so far was the brave soldier of Christ from showing any sign of grief or fear, that the joyful strains of the *Te Deum*, which he sang with great fervour, as a pæan of victory, proclaimed that he regarded the mournful procession rather as a triumph. After he had hung for a short time he was taken down half-alive and his head struck off. Many of the bystanders declared that the head when cut off distinctly pronounced the versicle of the psalm: *Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi*. The body was quartered and the quarters fixed over the gates of the city where they remained for a long time.

It is stated by several writers that Father O'Daly was arrested at Askeaton. This, however, is an error, due probably to the fact that he was a native of Askeaton, and that on the occasion of Malby's attack on that town, as related in a former chapter, some friars were there seized and put to death. One of these was Father John O'Connor whose remains were interred in the chapter-room of the convent. Wadding gives the name of another as Geoffrey O'Farrell.

Sydney, the deputy, tells us that in his journey through Munster in 1576, there "came to me three or four bishops of the provinces of Cashel and Tuam, which bishops (albeit they were papists) submitted themselves unto the queen's majesty and unto me, the deputy, acknowledging that they held all their temporal patrimony of the queen's majesty, and desired humbly that they might (by her highness) be inducted into their ecclesiastical prelacy. Here was some hold between the bishops and me, too long to be here recited, for they stood upon *salvo suo ordine*, etc., and I on the queen's absolute authority."* Lacy was doubtless one of the

* Carew MSS., par 1583, p. 352.

prelates who approached Sydney on this occasion, and he may have acted as spokesman, for he was well acquainted with the deputy. If Dr. Lacy was not successful in regaining his see, he was, however, gratefully remembered by old friends, who, though they detested his religion, rewarded his loyalty, as we read in the *Fiants of Elizabeth*, for 1577-8, that Hugh Lacy, clerk, late bishop of Limerick, and Jordan Roche, Limerick, got a lease for twenty-one years of the rectories of Ballingarry, Askeaton, Kilmacow, Lysmikery and Iverus with tithes, formerly possessions of the priory of Keyshame, England. But clouds were gathering over Limerick, and few were trusted, least of all churchmen, who were suspected of sympathy with Fitzmaurice's impending campaign. Dr. Lacy suffered much, but there are no grounds for the assertion sometimes made that he died in prison. According to the best authorities, he passed to a better world towards the end of 1579, or early in the following year. On the 8th of April, 1580, Robert Lawless, a canon of the diocese, and a relative of the bishop, with whom he suffered much in defence of the faith, was expelled and deposed from his benefice by English Lutherans. He left Limerick most probably early in 1580 and went to Spain, bearing a testimonial letter from Dr. Lacy, who was, therefore, alive at his departure. He petitioned the University of Salamanca for means to enable him to finish his studies, as he was in extreme want. The university authorities examined his credentials, which consisted of letters from his bishop, the head of the Jesuits, and other influential personages, and having found them satisfactory, granted him an allowance. The bishop was, however, already dead when his letter was presented in April, for he is then referred to as of "pious memory." Before April, 1581, Canon Lawless, too, was dead,

and found a lonely grave far from the banks of the Shannon.*

Father David Wolfe, the companion and friend of Lacy and Creagh, was now an old man residing at Lisbon anxiously watching the trend of Irish affairs. Some suppose him to have died in 1578, but there is strong evidence to show that he was in Ireland after that date, helping his countrymen in the struggle for religious freedom. He spent the closing years of his life in North Clare. "I have learned," says Archdeacon Lynch, "that he was a man of extraordinary piety, who fearlessly denounced crime wherever it was committed. When the whole country was embroiled in war, he took refuge in the castle of Clunoan (near Rockvale in the parish of Kilkeedy, barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare), but, when he heard that its occupants lived by plunder, he believed it a sin to take any nourishment from them, and sickened and died."† This statement receives confirmation from the fact that Mahon O'Brien McInasbig is called the fosterer of Mallaghlin O'Mullony and David Wolfe, in 1582, and had the reputation among the English of being a notorious thief.‡ Bingham laid siege to Clunoan castle in 1586, and slew O'Brien, who was described as a great champion of the Pope.

CORNELIUS O'BOYLE

On the 20th of August, 1582, two years after Dr. Lacy's death, the Holy See appointed an Armagh priest, Cornelius O'Boyle, to be Bishop of Limerick. He had the reputation of being a talented and virtuous man, and when the Pope ordered a list to be compiled of distinguished Irish priests at home and abroad, suitable for promotion to bishoprics, Cornelius O'Buil (O'Boyle)

* *Arch. Hib.* vol. 4, pp. 111-127.

† *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. 2, p. 735.

‡ *Irish State Papers*.

is mentioned as living in Portugal, aged thirty-five years, and knowing Irish better than the English language. After his consecration at Rome, he went to Spain to advance the Irish cause, and to provide whatever assistance he could for Desmond, who still kept the field. In June, 1583, he wrote from Madrid to Cardinal Como, recommending William Nugent to his care, as he had suffered much for the faith, and kindly treatment of him would greatly encourage others who were zealous in the cause. In November of the following year he wrote from the same address to the Pope, recommending Maurice Fitzgerald, who was one of the earl's staunchest supporters, and kept the field until compelled to retire for want of men. He had come to Spain seeking aid from "his Catholic majesty to enable him, by God's help, to shake off from the necks of his countrymen the deadly yoke of England, which may be accomplished more easily now than ever, inasmuch as O'Neill, the bravest and most powerful of the Irish nobles, is waging war against the Queen of England."

O'Boyle incidentally remarks that he was awaiting a favourable opportunity to visit Ireland. If he at all succeeded in reaching his native country, his stay must have been short, as he is mentioned by spies as living in Spain in 1591. In a state paper, he is called "Cornelius O'Neil" by Bernard O'Donnell who informed the government that he received priesthood from him. He is sometimes confounded with Cornelius O'Naughten, a Limerick Franciscan, known in religion as Bonaventure, who was made Bishop of Ross about the same time. O'Boyle is supposed to have died in Spain about 1597. During his exile the spiritual wants of the diocese were not neglected. In a list of distinguished missionaries, supplied to Rome in 1580, James Gool is mentioned as archdeacon and Edmund Arthur as archpriest, and the latter is said to be more fluent in

Irish than in the English tongue. Under their guidance religion flourished during the remainder of the century in spite of all opposition.

THE PROTESTANT RELIGION IN THE DIOCESE.

WILLIAM CASEY

The reappointment of William Casey as bishop, in 1571, was the first serious attempt of the Elizabethan government to establish the Protestant religion in Limerick. After his deprivation early in Queen Mary's reign, Casey had retired into private life, spending his time in meditating on the errors of his early manhood, and preparing himself for a thorough reconciliation with the Church he had so shamefully deserted from worldly motives. When David Wolfe came to Limerick in 1561, with plenary powers from Rome, Casey sought an interview with him, and, in the presence of witnesses, humbly renounced the errors of Protestantism, and once again professed himself a loyal son of the Catholic Church.

A copy of his profession of faith is still preserved in the English Record Office and runs thus :—" I, William Casey, priest, sometime named bishop of the diocese of Limerick, yet nothing canonically consecrated, but by the schismatical authority of Edward, King of England, schismatically preferred to the bishopric of Limerick aforesaid, wherein I confess to have offended my Creator, my soul, and my neighbours, and to have suppressed the Catholic Faith, not without great offence of all men and danger to their souls, have openly, in the Cathedral church before the people preached against the sacraments and rites of the Church, and, in my sermons, have called the said Edward (to the intent I might obtain his goodwill) against my conscience the

supreme head of the church of England and Ireland ; the altars dedicated to God I have destroyed ; the communion of heretics I have set forth to the clergy and people ; and have compelled the Catholic priests thereunto against their consciences ; and the name of the Sacrifice of the Mass I have abolished. Alas ! wretch that I am, I have committed many other evils, wherefore I, wretched sinner, desirous to repent and to beware hereafter, being smitten inwardly with sorrow of my heart for my wicked deeds, I will, if I may be, numbered among the sons of the Holy Mother the Church and be united and reconciled to the same. And because that I know that that most gentle mother doth not shut her bosom to any that returns, neither doth she receive any man which doth not acknowledge himself to be hers by his confession, therefore, by this my confession, not compelled thereto but by mere goodwill, my conscience accusing me for satisfaction of my offence, I do confess and believe, as a Christian and a Catholic man ought to believe, all the articles of the Faith and all the sacraments of the Church, and I believe that the Roman Church is the head of all churches and that the Bishop of Rome, Pius IV., or any other rightly and canonically ordained in the Catholic see, is the Vicar of Christ on earth. I believe that he hath all power of binding and loosing by Christ, and do believe and hold whatsoever the Catholic Church doth believe and hold, and do detest all the errors, opinions, and ceremonies of Lutheran heretics or their sects, being estranged from the Catholic Faith and instructions of old fathers. I renounce also, if I might have the same, the bishopric of Limerick, the charge and administration of the said cure, also other benefits and privileges received from the said Edward or other heretics and schismatics. And I draw unto the said holy and universal church and do bow myself unto her laws, and I embrace the Revd. Lord David Wolfe, appointed the Apostolical Messenger for all

Ireland from the Most Holy Lord the Pope. And I pray and beseech that as a lost child he receive me again into the bosom of the Holy Mother the Church, and that he will absolve me from all the ecclesiastical sentences, censures, punishments, heresies, rules and every other blot, dispense with me and reconcile me again to the unity of the same Church. In assurance of which reconciliation, submission and confession, I have put and caused to be put, my seal together with my own hand subscription." There being witnesses :— David Arthur, Dean (1557-1583); Thomas Fanning; John Lynche; Edmund Arthur and others.*

Trollope, an English intelligence agent in Ireland, unearthed this document and forwarded a copy to Walsingham in 1587, remarking that he was credibly informed that "it was within these sixteen (?) years made by the now Bishop of Limerick in the presence of the now Dean of Limerick." This would mean that the confession was made in 1571 or later. During 1571 Wolfe was in prison. Richard White, a Limerick man, who acted as an agent for the city to Burghley in 1590, informed him that Casey recanted to the Pope's legate at the beginning of her majesty's reign. In view of all the circumstances the earlier appears to be the correct date.

Tempting offers of power and preferment, however, allured Casey back to the office he had so solemnly renounced. During the early years of his second tenure of the episcopacy, his name appears in the State Papers as busying himself about the movements of James Fitzmaurice. Pelham in 1579 removed him from his house and placed it in the custody of a captain "because it had a postern whereby it might have annoyed the town, and his brother in active rebellion."† Though a suspect, the government occasionally

* Ir. Church State Papers. Brady.

† Carew MSS.

employed him on commissions. When Walsingham received the report of his recantation, he must have had grave doubts about the sincerity of his Protestant professions of faith, and Denis Campbell, a Scotchman who had filled successively the offices of archdeacon and dean of Limerick, was united with him in the administration of the see.

Campbell became very active in pushing forward the Reformation, but all his efforts to sow discord were thwarted by the old bishop, who perhaps was beginning to feel that the hour of reckoning was drawing nigh. In White's statement it also appears that Casey's wife, when the Pope's legate was in Youghal, received absolution from him for an "angel of gold, which she amid her drunken cups uttered." Worn out with age, Casey died in February, 1591.

JOHN THORNBURGH

There were many applicants for the vacant see, but Burghley thought it necessary to appoint an energetic reformer, who would place the new religion on a firm basis. He conferred the dignity on his tried and trusted agent, John Thornburgh, a native of Salisbury, who had been educated at Oxford. The influence of his patron, the Earl of Pembroke, and his own pertinacity in suppressing Catholicism, had brought him under the notice of Burghley, who promoted him to the deanery of York. In January, 1593-4, he was consecrated Bishop of Limerick. He proceeded to launch on the citizens a vigorous campaign of oratory and exhortation, but with results entirely disproportionate to the vigour displayed. Indeed he had to apply to the privy council of England to have letters written to the mayor and aldermen, compelling them to bring their wives, families and children to church, where

he had painfully preached every Sabbath day. In the temporal affairs of the diocese he was equally intrepid. He sought to have annulled a lease of the castle and lands of Loughill, which his predecessor had made to Golde, the second justice of Munster, on the ground that Casey's recantation had invalidated his title. At his own request, he was appointed an Irish privy councillor, as the post was calculated to add much to his prestige among the Limerick people. Before and after his coming to Ireland as a bishop, he was employed as a kind of inquisitor for discovering papists and bringing them under the penalties of the law. William Udall, a spy in the special pay and protection of Robert Cecil, was the most efficient instrument in working up the cases, examples of which are to be found among the Hatfield papers.

Udall was employed by the Earl of Kildare, or rather succeeded in getting himself employed by that nobleman, and then acted as a spy on his household at the instigation of Cecil. When Kildare went to London in 1595, Udall accompanied him, and there unbosomed himself of the secrets of the family at the proper quarter. The following year Udall returned to Ireland on a mission to Tyrone, whose acquaintance he made before his introduction to Kildare. His villainy must have become known in Dublin, for as soon as he appeared in the city he was imprisoned for debt. His old friend, the Bishop of Limerick, came to his assistance with money for his release, but the ransom was stolen from his servant during the journey. In pleading with Cecil for Udall's liberation, Thornburgh alleged that that worthy had undertaken to accomplish a design which would prevent Tyrone from doing any further mischief, presumably by compassing his death. For such services the reforming bishop of Limerick rose high in the opinion of his good patron Cecil, who availed himself of an

opportunity to promote him to Bristol in 1603. Thirteen years later he was appointed to Worcester, where he died at a very advanced age. He had erected his own monument in the cathedral with an appropriate epitaph.

The activities of his lordship while at Limerick were not appreciated by the citizens ; in fact they resented his religious intrusion in a very marked manner. When his emissaries were successful in arresting Catholic priests in the city, the populace immediately assembled and rescued them from their captors. Andrew Stritch, however, a priest of the diocese, who had studied in Paris and spent many years labouring on the mission about Limerick, was captured and sent to Dublin, where he died in prison about the year 1594.

The order made by the English council to compel the mayor and aldermen to attend Thornburgh's sermons was only a partial and temporary success. Geoffry Galway, a wealthy citizen, who had spent many years in London studying law, returned home and became a civic councillor. Having gained experience by study and travel he was looked up to by his fellow-citizens, and " by his malicious council and perjurious example succeeded in preventing them from attending the Protestant service." He was mayor in 1600 when Carew visited the city, and his conduct was reported to that official. Soon a dispute occurred which gave Carew an opportunity of punishing him, not so much for the matter under controversy as for his previous behaviour. Galway had used his mayoral power to imprison a soldier for a criminal offence. Carew ordered the soldier to be released, but the mayor pleaded the city charter to vindicate his authority. His defence was treated as contempt towards the president and government. Carew ordered the mayor to be imprisoned, and after some days had him summoned before him and fined four hundred

pounds, which sum was to be applied to the repairs of the city castle. He was also dismissed from the office of mayor. A deputation was sent by the citizens to England to beg to have the fine remitted. One account says that the appeal was unavailing, as Carew's friends were too powerful at court. According to another version, the correct one,* the fine imposed on the mayor was qualified upon his submission by letters from Cecil and the council. The city was very useful at that critical time, and required to be treated, at least outwardly, with some show of respect.

* Hatfield Papers, Part II.

Seventeenth Century

CHAPTER V

THE COUNTRY AFFAIRS OF THE DIOCESE

THE CONDITION OF THE SEIGNORIES

THE late war had made no substantial change in the county of Limerick. A few of the undertakers had already returned, and were busy reorganising and repeopling their estates. The majority, who were still in England, were now commanded to return or send representatives to work their lands. It was furthermore resolved to re-establish the seignories on a more secure basis, and to accomplish this design, new patents were to be taken out and the settlers were to live together in colonies. The Irish were not to be allowed to mix with them, but if their services could not be dispensed with, care was to be taken to have them disarmed.

In 1589, a report was made to the government that Sir William Courtenay had been allotted the seignory of Newcastle, but that he had never proceeded with the enterprise. He took out his patent for the property in 1591, and thenceforward seems to have paid some attention to the working of it, for in 1598 he had tenants on the lands and warders in the castles, the vast majority of them, doubtless, Irishmen, as the absence of any mention of their nationality goes far to show.

Sir William was a native of Devonshire and belonged to a family which had few equals in antiquity of descent

or splendour of connection. He was, moreover, a staunch Catholic, who had himself suffered persecution for conscience' sake, and thus, though he came in the garb of a hostile stranger, there was a bond of union between him and the Irish Catholics, with whose lowly condition he doubtless sympathised. "In Powderham, his residence in Devonshire, he did receive into his house and harbour the Jesuits and other popish priests which came secretly into England and spent a great deal of money in maintaining of them. For there is a tradition that in a dark, secret room which is in Powderham Castle many popish priests lay concealed." * In 1624, he was denounced in the House of Commons as a papist recusant. He died in London in 1630, and was buried in the family vault, where a cross was discovered in 1761 which clearly proves he died a fervent Catholic.†

Sir William, being advanced in years and possessing a splendid estate at home, bestowed the property in the county of Limerick on his second son, George, who came over and took up his residence at Newcastle. George, no doubt, professed the same religious principles as his father, but, perhaps, secretly, for it would not be prudent for one in his position to act too openly in defiance of the government officials. Doubtless, too, he, like his father, treated his Irish tenants with kindness and consideration.

Sir George Oughtred, who already held Meane, had acquired by purchase the seignory of Robert Stroud and, dying during the war, bequeathed both seignories to his wife, who in turn bestowed them on George Courtenay, with the obligation of taking the additional

* Cleaveland's *General History of the Courtenays*.

† The cross has the following inscription:—"Hic Jacet Sepultus. Gulielmus Courtenay de Powderham Miles Catholicus Romanus et Confessor qui obiit Londini in festo Sti Johannis Baptistae Anno Salutis 1630, aetatis suae 77^o pro cujus/Anima intercedant/Beata Virgo et omnes Sancti."

name of Oughtred, so that in future he was to be known as George Oughtred Courtenay. No undertaker in Munster had now such an extensive and valuable tract of country, for instead of one, he possessed three seignories, namely, Newcastle, Meane and Beaully,* embracing the greater part of the south-west of the county of Limerick.

In 1611, the government instituted an enquiry into the manner in which the undertakers were carrying out the terms of their patents. The return discloses how the different seignories were let and what class of people were in occupation.

In Newcastle there were one thousand four hundred acres in demesnes, one hundred acres in fee-farms, and eight hundred acres let in leases. Small tenures and evicted land amounted to three thousand five hundred acres. Several Irish husbandmen were dwelling in part of the lands. A reduction of rent was granted by the crown in compensation for the portion that had been evicted or taken away.

In Meane there were three hundred acres in demesnes, four thousand five hundred acres in fee-farms, eight hundred acres in leases, nine small tenures, and four thousand and twenty acres evicted and detained. In Beaully the demesnes are not mentioned. There were three hundred and forty acres in fee-farms, five hundred acres in leases, and nine thousand and eighty acres evicted and detained. The grants and leases in this seignory were made to Englishmen, but everywhere there were Irish inhabitants.

The muster or number of troops kept by Courtenay for the defence of the three seignories was twenty-four horse and thirty-one foot-soldiers.

Courtenay, having settled down in his new home, married a daughter of Sir Francis Barkley, the Askeaton

* Also written Beawliewe.

undertaker, an alliance which linked him up with an influential circle of colonists. He became very active in working his estate and took care to recover any portion he considered unduly withheld from him. A number of the native Irish had settled at Knockroedermot, a district lying near Mount Collins (at present represented by the townland of Ballybeg), where they considered themselves entitled to enjoy without molestation the scanty produce of the soil. Courtenay, however, proceeded against them and recovered the district as a portion of his estate. In like manner he endeavoured to gain possession of Clenlish, or Springfield, a large tract of land including Broadford and the surrounding country, on the plea that it was included in Sir George Oughtred's grant. The manor of Clenlish, or Springfield, belonged to a branch of the Fitzgeralds, known as Cam, who had been settled there for centuries and held the lands by knight's service *in capite* from the Earls of Desmond. Thomas Cam, who held the manor at the time of the Desmond war, died in 1583 at Burdenstown in the county of Cork, leaving as his son and heir Maurice, then twelve years old. Sir Henry Oughtred and Thomas Trenchard, undertakers, by virtue of an inquisition, entered upon the lands in the hope of annexing them to their seignories. Maurice, through his guardians, opposed the intrusion and sought the aid of the government to protect his rights, but in vain, as it was alleged his father had been attainted and, moreover, had entered into actual rebellion after her majesty's proclamation. In the following year a more minute investigation was made, with the result that the commissioners, in October, 1589, wrote to the privy council, "whereas of late your lordships by letters signified to the lord deputy that her majesty's pleasure is that such of her subjects as submitted themselves upon the general proclamation of her majesty's free pardon offered in the late rebellion should, upon proof

of their dutiful behaviour since their submission, be restored to their lands and pardoned for their lives, the act of Desmond's attainder notwithstanding, we have received direction from the lord deputy for accomplishment of her majesty's pleasure, and thereupon have restored the heir of one Cam (Thomas Cam) to twelve ploughlands or thereabouts called the Clenlish in Conillo, which we think was allotted by particular to Mr. Henry Oughtred but no patent passed thereof. He claimed restitution of other lands which for that it was already passed to Mr. Trenchard and other undertakers by letters patent, we did forbear to dispossess them,"* Maurice thus recovered the principal part of his father's inheritance. His wardship and marriage, together with the custody of his lands during minority, were then granted by the crown to James Meagh, gentleman, of Clenlish. In 1596 he attained his majority and was granted livery of his estate, paying at the same time a fine of ten pounds for possession. Courtenay having learned something of the circumstances of the case, endeavoured to gain possession of Clenlish by a legal process and succeeded in enlisting the assistance of the deputy. The latter wrote a glowing account of his success as an undertaker to Salisbury in the hope of influencing that official to favour his friend. The next year, 1610, both litigants were ordered to attend the privy council to have the matter adjusted. The lawsuit was evidently decided in favour of Fitzgerald, as he remained in possession.

Maurice died in 1616, leaving as heir to Clenlish a son, Thomas,† whose wardship was granted to Sir Thomas Wingfield, marshal of the army, for a fine of 20s. and an annual rent of £10 9s. 6d., retaining £5 9s. 6d. for his maintenance and education in English religion and habits in Trinity College from the twelfth to the

* I.S.P., 1589.

† Patent Rolls James I., p. 311.

eighteenth year of his age. He had as fellow-students under similar circumstances Fergal O'Gara of Moygara, in County Sligo, who in after years became the patron of the Four Masters, and Owen MacDermot of Moylurge, in County Roscommon. The religious gloss they acquired in the college soon wore off once they obtained possession of their estates, and their descendants were remarkable for their tenacious adherence to the Catholic faith.

Thomas obtained livery of his lands at Dublin upon fine of £55 5s., but the date is not given. In 1625 he was pardoned for alienating his estate to Lord Brittas and Turlough O'Brien of Glenogra, to hold for the use of his wife, Slany ny Brien, during her life and then to Thomas Fitzgerald, son and heir of feoffer, during life, with remainder to his heirs male.*

Courtenay was involved in other lawsuits with neighbouring undertakers and the Protestant bishop about lands of which the boundaries were not properly defined, as well as concerning some townlands that were being withheld from him by one or other of the litigants.

James I had been informed that the Irish plantations were not in as flourishing a condition as might be expected from the care and attention bestowed on them by the government. A commission under the great seal accordingly issued, on the 30th July, 1622, to a number of officials authorising them to make an exhaustive enquiry into the general state of the plantations in Ireland. The report of the commissioners contains valuable and interesting information concerning the seignories of the county of Limerick.†

The commissioners found George Courtenay living in Newcastle, which they described as a fair, large

* Patent Rolls, James I.

† British Museum, Sloane, 4756. Copied by Revd. J. J. O'Kelly, P.P., Templeglantine.

castle, which had been somewhat ruinous, but was much repaired, and in continual reparation, having also a very fair, strong bawn. Courtenay held in his demesne two hundred and forty acres. There were planted on the estate eleven freeholders of English birth and descent, the principal of whom was Maurice Herbert, evidently one of the family of that name who had been freeholders under the Earls of Desmond, and were living in Templeglantine down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the name disappeared and the lands passed by marriage to a member of the Lacy family. Other freeholders were Thomas Tinckor, Winter Bridgman, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Midlam, and Edmund Burgos, who made no enduring impression in the locality. Richard Rutledge settled at Rathcahill; and his grand-daughter married Edward Lacy, who inherited the lands. Henry Sidley lived in Ballintubbrid, as the name was still there in 1641. These held from four hundred to one hundred and twenty acres each. Of leaseholders, there were eighteen whose names are given, among them the familiar names of Gibbon, Purcell, Wall, Neash, Herbert and Liston. These tenants held large tracts of land ranging from twelve hundred to sixty acres, on which there were built many good, sufficient houses. The copyholders whose names are given were nearly all English of a recent importation. Seven of them had tenements with gardens and sixty acres of land each, the rest tenements and gardens with small portions of land. They appear to have been all living in the same neighbourhood, and may have been the inhabitants of the town of Newcastle. There had been two alienations to persons who were "mere Irish," namely, Donnid O'Bryan and Teige O'Dunno (O'Donnough), of whom one had three hundred and sixty and the other two hundred and forty acres. These were, perhaps, des-

cendants of the Desmond tenants of these names who had held lands in the tuath Meaghan.

In the seignory of Meane, the castle, then in lease to Captain Paul Arundell, was decayed and unrepaired, but George Courtenay intended to get it into his own hands, and have it repaired. He held in his demesne there sixty acres. There were eight freeholders on the property, namely, Charles Aylmer, Patrick Kerney, George Mayde, John Tanner, David Hanksworth, Robert Geare, James Tanner and Margaret Worth, holding from seven hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty acres each. Kerney and Geare were Irish names slightly disguised. George Mayde and James Tanner, who appear here as freeholders, were also leaseholders in the seignory of Newcastle. There were sixteen leaseholders, namely, Paul Arundel, Thomas Williams, Oliver Dondon, Edward Odell, Richard Foster, Richard Parker, Thomas Sollman, Thomas Gerrald, Edward Vaughan, John Simpkin, Edward Odell, jun., Henry Worth, Maurice Herbert, Edward Verdon and Philip Nicholas, the first three holding from seven hundred and twenty to three hundred acres each, the rest from two hundred and forty to sixty acres each. There were four copyholders, named Jordan, Gray, Kingswill, and Jones, who held from two hundred and forty to sixty acres each. There were in the seignory two estates made to the "mere Irish," one of sixty acres to Dermond Tonge, the other to Cahell Moyminny.

Beaully is given in an old map as near Castletown and the name may be a corruption of that of the townland called Balleoniffe. In this survey it is called Muskerynownan, as the lands around Castletown had been taken from Courtenay and restored to MacEnery. There were four freeholders, surnamed Aylmer, Southwell, Crogh, and Bridgman, holding from six hundred to two hundred acres each, with good houses and English

inhabitants, and three leaseholders for ninety years, namely, James Tanner who held nine hundred and sixty acres, Thomas Higgins, who held six acres, and George Cooke, whose acreage is not given.

Courtenay also held five ploughlands and twenty Irish acres, making twelve hundred and sixty English acres, as part of this seignory. These had been decreed to Sir John Dowdall in right of Sir Henry Billingsley, as prior patentee, and Courtenay held as assignee of Sir John Dowdall. On this portion there were planted three freeholders of English birth and descent, namely, Thomas Phillips, James Roberts and Nicholas Boarde, who had two hundred and forty acres each, on which there were sufficient houses and English inhabitants. The leaseholders, Edmond Herbert and George Germont, held two hundred and forty acres each, and William Thomas, copyholder, had sixty acres. Courtenay showed in these three seignories one hundred and twenty horse armed only with swords.

The introduction by Courtenay of a few English families into his seignories was considered a great advance and showed that he had made some effort to fulfil his obligations as an undertaker; and as he belonged to an ancient and honourable family, the king, in December, created him a baronet. The same year he was granted, as a further mark of royal favour, the constablenesship of Limerick castle, which became vacant by the death of his brother-in-law, Maurice Barkley. In 1625 he received a grant to hold a Saturday market and a fair on the 21st of September at the town of Newcastle, and a Wednesday weekly market and a fair on 24th October at the town of Kilmeedy, with courts of pie powder to be held before the seneschal of the manor of Newcastle, with all the usual tolls and customs.

An interesting letter preserved in the Egmont Papers gives us a glimpse of Courtenay himself. It was written

by him to his agent, Morris Purdon, who died June, 1638. He complains of his hard lot in this world and wishes to be out of it, as he finds no comfort in it. He is surprised at the number of his adversaries, being so innocent. If he could get permission to return to England he would soon bid Ireland adieu, as he is very weary of it. "Will and myself," he says, "are so deeply out of clothes as we have none to our backs. Wherefore I would have you to make us each a suit, but not of stuffs, for I cannot abide them. Let Will's be a handsome holiday suit with a cloak and lined as the fashion with taffety or somewhat you see fittest for gentry, and let mine be good cloth with the like handsome lining of what the tailor thinks best, but let it not be heavy."*

Through the influence of Wentworth he succeeded, after many applications, in getting a regrant, in 1639, of all his lands, which must have been a great boon to him.

Under pressure of pecuniary circumstances he sold outlying portions of his estate, reserving a nominal yearly rent for ever. In 1627 he made a grant by deed of Portrynard† in consideration of £400 paid by Sir Geoffrey Galway to Andrew Comyn, a Limerick merchant, and his heirs. In 1625 he granted Caherlevoye to Dominic Roche in consideration of £400 and £7 12s. yearly rent forever. In December, 1637, he demised unto W. Langford the lands of Gorteengarry, Rossykreenygh and Teenkneigh, situated in the parish of Drumcollogher, for the term of fifteen hundred years at the yearly rent of 2s., with other conditions. All these lands are now included in the townland of Gardenfield. In 1639 he disposed of the lands of Ballinworelly in the manor of Meane. In 1641, Clounlehard was let to Francis Creagh

* Egmont Papers, Vol. I., Hist. Com.

† Items from Survey of Manors of Sir M. Courtenay, A.D. 1701 MS.

Fitzandrew, a Limerick merchant, for £400. Coolebrowne was let the same year to Francis Bourke for £300 and a yearly rent of £3 15s. od. forever, with the obligation of having one man with an English surname on the lands. As years went by large tracts were disposed of under similar circumstances, but the bulk of the seignory of Newcastle remained in the possession of the Courtenay family until sold to the tenants under the Land Purchase Act in 1903.

Captain Robert Cullum settled down in his seignory at Ballyegny. He received by deed from Thomas Reaghe, in 1595, the castle and lands of Lisvoto (Lismota), Gortnefoyhie, Ballihohill, Boddestone, Ballynockane and Lisvarra, in the parish of Ballingarry, which substantially increased his estate. When the war broke out he must have remained in Ireland, as his name is not on the list of absentees in 1603. For his long and valiant service during the Irish wars he was granted a pension of 4d. per day, which he surrendered to the crown in 1610 with a request to have it conferred on his son William. The king, when informed of the extraordinary services William had rendered in the time of the late queen, granted the favour. He was told particularly of "a cruel fight against the Munster rebels wherein he received twelve grievous wounds on his body, one being in his head, besides the loss of his right hand."*

According to the inquisition held in 1611, Cullum held in demesnes six hundred acres, in fee-farms fourteen hundred and seventy, and in lease one hundred and twenty. There were evicted and detained by the crown five ploughlands and several other parcels of land. It was found that the under-tenants for the most part were Irish. There is no mention of the number of men he could muster for defence. He died in 1612 and was

* I.S.P.

succeeded by his son, William, who obtained a fresh grant of the seignory from the king. In 1622, the seignory is called Ardagh or Cullum's vale, as the greater part of the land lay in and around the village of Ardagh, which at that date consisted of twenty thatched houses, none of them of any strength or sufficiency. There were planted there, of English birth and descent, four freeholders, eighteen copyholders, and three leaseholders, but no house for the principal undertaker.

Being in need of money, Cullum had borrowed a considerable sum from Job Gilliot, of Limerick, on the security of William Lacy and Richard Morgan, but as he was unable or unwilling to repay the loan, the creditor had one of the sureties imprisoned for two years and, furthermore, obtained an order in chancery against himself and his sureties for payment of the debt, with ten per cent. interest. In 1626, he petitioned the English privy council, setting forth the sufferings he had endured in the Irish wars and how some of his estate was unfairly detained by various persons, with the result that he was in monetary difficulties, and requesting at the same time that the arrears of his pension be paid to Gilliot until the debt was discharged, and in the meantime that he and his sureties be left unmolested. The petition was favourably received. Enquiries were ordered to be made in Ireland respecting the case, and instructions issued for the payment of the arrears of his pension. In the course of the investigation it was found that he owed a considerable sum of money, not only to Gilliot but to several other persons. He had been arrested by the late high sheriff of Cork, but broke prison and escaped to England. It was also ascertained that he was of a contentious and turbulent disposition. An order was made for his arrest and when found he was to be sent back to Ireland and compelled to treat his creditors with fairness. Evidently this was not to his taste, and ultimately he

Lancelot. After a protracted lawsuit Carter recovered his portion. He then sold it to Anthony Aucher, whose son, Sir Anthony, was in possession in 1611. He had at that date five ploughlands, and two hundred acres in fee-farms. The articles of the plantation had not been observed. The greater part of the dwellers on the land were Irish. The muster for defence consisted of six horse and ten foot-soldiers. In 1622 the whole seignory was leased for twenty-one years to Gregory Bland and Edmond Ashton. The castle of Castletown had been well repaired and made a good, sufficient dwellinghouse, and there were besides forty good, convenient dwellinghouses built upon the seignory. There were planted seven freeholders and seven copyholders of English birth and descent, but the quantity of land held by each could not be ascertained. There were twenty English families and not more than sixty Irish living in the whole seignory. The muster for defence consisted of twenty horse and as many foot, but they were able to arm eighty able men of English birth.

It must have been about this time or shortly after that Sir Hardress Waller settled at Castletown, probably as a free tenant. He did not receive it as a dowry with his wife,* who was a daughter of Sir John Dowdall, as Sir John had no property in that part of the country.

Henry Billingsley had come over from England after the war and worked diligently for a time on the seignory, but growing weary of the task, he disposed of his interest to Sir John Dowdall in 1609. The new proprietor obtained a patent in his own name from the government the same year with a licence to hold forever a Thursday market at the high cross of Rathkeale and in the adjoining street, and fairs in the same town on the eve and feast of the Annunciation and for two days after,

* Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

nine leases for years with farms of from seven hundred acres to a house and garden, whereon were a number of English tenants and several houses, but the names are not given.

Sir Francis Barkley, of the seignory of Askeaton, alias Rock Barklie, was one of the few who had stood firm during the war and taken an active part in quelling the disturbance. When peace was restored he was made constable of Limerick castle, and, as a further reward for his services, was granted the castle of Askeaton and four hundred acres of land, which had been withheld in the former grant, on condition that the castle should be in time of danger a refuge for the English of the surrounding country. He also obtained a new patent of his estate with the rights of a fair and weekly market. He kept a small garrison of one hundred and fifty men at Askeaton.

In 1611 he held in demesnes twelve hundred acres, in fee-farms nine hundred acres, in leases for years eleven hundred acres, thirty-six small tenures, and evicted twelve hundred acres. There were several Irish husbandmen dwelling upon part of the land. He mustered for defence seven horse and twenty-one foot. Sir Francis was very zealous for the Protestant religion, which he gave his Irish retainers every inducement to embrace, and was highly pleased with the number of them that attended Lismakeery church. He died in 1615, and was succeeded by his two sons in succession, the last of whom died in 1625. The constablenesship of Limerick castle thereupon passed to George Courtenay, and the lands to Sir Francis' daughters, Elizabeth Crofton and Gertrude Taylor, who received livery of the estate. The Taylors of Ballynort are descended from the last named.

The seignory of Castletown, in the barony of Kenry, had been granted to William Carter, but by a mistake the lands were subsequently given to George Beeston and

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* Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

the eve and feast of the Assumption and two days after, and the eve and feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and two days after ; also power to hold a court leet and court baron there for the portion of the estate lying in and around the town, and a court baron at Kilmacow for the part lying around that castle. In 1611 he had eight hundred and twenty acres in demesnes, three thousand seven hundred and fifty-one acres in fee-farms, and sixteen leases. There were evicted and detained by the government two thousand nine hundred acres. The muster for defence consisted of eleven horse and forty-five foot. Sir John died in 1614 and was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name.

In 1622 the commissioners in their report called this seignory Kilmacow, or Knockbillingsley. At Kilfinny, upon the site of the old castle, there was a fair house built, strong and defensible, to which adjoined a fair garden and orchard, with several houses of office, and also a fair, strong bawn. The building of the house, they were informed, had cost £700. Dowdall held as demesne belonging to the house eight hundred and forty acres, and had in the house sufficient arms for forty or fifty men. There were planted on the seignory six freeholders of English birth and descent whose names are given : Edmund Southwell, whose father (John) and family had come over from Barham in Suffolk and settled in Limerick at the beginning of King James' reign, held ten hundred and eighty-eight acres, and had under him ten English families. He married Catherine, a daughter of Garrett Hubert or Herbert, an old free tenant under the Earl of Desmond, an alliance that strengthened his social position in the locality. He resided at Castle-mattress, and his lands lay in that neighbourhood. Richard, the eldest son, who with Roland Delahyde obtained a licence in 1616 to keep forty taverns within the city and liberties of Limerick to sell wine and whiskey during their respective lives, had the lands of

Clogkothred, now called Cloghatrida, to the west of Rathkeale, a part of the Dowdall seignory. Francis Borsted, or, as the name is written later on, Borstye, was then living at Callow where it is to be presumed he held fifteen hundred and sixty acres, with nine English families under him. Myles Jackson held eight hundred acres, with eight English families under him. He lived at Lisdwane, where his descendants flourished until the close of the eighteenth century. William Cullum held four hundred and eighty acres near Ballingarry, with six English families under him. He was also the owner of a seignory which has been already mentioned. Maurice Herbert, a representative of one of the old families, held four hundred and sixty-four acres, with twenty-five English families living under him. His portion must have been in and near the town of Rathkeale. Thomas Gould held seventy English acres.

There were sixteen leaseholders, namely, William Butler, who held eighty acres; Walter Gill, who had eleven English tenants under him; Maurice Herbert, who held six hundred acres, with eight English tenants under him; Nicholas Dowdall, Randal Howley and Hugh Soyer, who held two hundred and forty acres, with nine English tenants on the lands; Richard, John and William Blacknall, who held as joint tenants two hundred and forty acres; David Lacy, who held two hundred and forty acres; John Gerrald, Garrett Gerrald, John Rowligh and James Gerrald, who held one hundred and twenty acres each, with two English tenants on the lands; Richard Shrimson, who held eighty acres with two English tenants on the land; and Thomas Philips, who held sixty acres, with two English tenants.

There were eight copyholders on the seignory, namely, Richard Agard, who had two hundred and forty acres, with two English tenants; James Datten, who had two hundred acres, with four English tenants under

him ; Godfrey Dowdall, who had one hundred and twenty acres, with three English tenants ; Richard Parker and George Harris, who held fifty acres each, with three English families on the lands ; John Tye, Edward Oliver and Richard Bush, who held forty acres each.

Sir John married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Southwell of Polylong, County Cork, and had issue five daughters. Anne, the eldest, married John Southwell, son of Edmond of Castlematress ; Elizabeth married Sir Hardress Waller before 1630 ; Jane married Redmond Roche, a son of Lord Fermoy ; Bridget married Thomas Casey of Rathcannon, and Honora married Lawrence Dowdall of Mountown, County Meath. In 1623 Sir John made a settlement of his estate, in virtue of which, John Southwell and his wife Anne having paid the customary fees, Charles I confirmed the lordship and manor of Knockbillingsley to hold to them and the heirs of her body, the remainder to the heirs of her sisters Jane, Bridget and Honora. Southwell^d did not live long to enjoy his newly acquired estate, as, on Easter Tuesday, 1642, he was ambushed and killed by MacGibbon of Mohoonagh at Grange bridge, on his way to relieve Newcastle. He left no heir, and his wife soon after married William Piggott of Kilfinny, the town of Rathkeale and the surrounding country passing with her into that family.

The seignory of Ballyrustan, or Dunnaman, lay partly in the western part of the parish of Croom and partly in that part of the parish of Uregare adjoining Bruff. In 1611 there were in demesne fifty-one acres and three leases. There were Irish tenants on the lands who, however, did not hold directly from Thornton, the undertaker. The muster for defence was two horse and five foot. In 1622 there was a fair castle, built by Sir George Thornton, as a dwellinghouse for the principal undertaker, at Ballygrenan. There was no plantation of freeholders or copyholders or any other English tenants.

The seignory of Fedamore was, in 1611, still in the possession of Captain Edward Manneringe, the original undertaker, who had in demesnes two hundred acres, in fee-farm three hundred acres, five leases, and evicted and detained by the government three and a half ploughlands and two hundred acres. The muster for defence consisted of one horse and four foot. In 1622, the commissioners found that Manneringe had alienated the seignory to the Earl of Thomond. One ploughland had been evicted from the first patentee by one Fitzsimons, who was in possession. Four and a half ploughlands were detained by some freeholders of the county. The old castle was in good repair. There was one freeholder who had carried out the conditions of the plantation and had three hundred and seventy-five acres, and one leaseholder, made by the former patentee, who held one hundred and eighty acres, upon which he had built a good, sufficient house.

The seignory of Lough Gur had been granted to Sir George Bouchier, and in the year 1611 was in the possession of Sir John Bouchier. At that date there were in demesne lands fourteen acres, in fee-farm one thousand acres, in leases three thousand seven hundred acres, and twenty-three small tenures. There were evicted and detained two thousand five hundred and eighty-eight acres. The muster for defence was nine horse and fifteen foot. In 1622 it had the additional name of Bouchier's Hall. The castle of Lough Gur had been covered, but little had been expended on it. It was intended, however, to be soon put in good repair and a strong bawn built to it. The castle of Glenogra, with the hall, had been burned by the rebels in the late war. It was likewise to be repaired. There was already a fair, strong bawn about the castle. There were two other strong castles in the seignory which had been put in good repair by the tenants. The undertaker had on his own hands nine hundred acres. There were

planted six freeholders of English birth and descent, of whom James Gromwell had twelve hundred and sixty acres, John Suppell seven hundred and twenty acres, Garrett Suppell one hundred and eighty acres, Henry Meath and John Hoare tenements in Kilmallock, and Maurice Huckley one hundred and eighty acres. There were eight leaseholders for years, of whom Thomas Brett had sixteen hundred and twenty acres, on which several houses were built, Sir George Sexton seven hundred and forty acres, Nicholas Meath seven hundred and twenty acres, on which were several houses, William Cardin three hundred and sixty acres, on which there were several houses, William Blurt one hundred and eighty acres, James Lea three hundred and sixty acres, Henry Verdon one hundred and eighty acres, and Maurice Fitzdavid two tenements in the town of Kilmallock.

The seignory of Ballygibbon, or Fitton's Fortune, had been granted to Alexander and Francis Fitton, but in a short time passed through many hands. In 1611 no demesne lands are mentioned; fee-farms amounted to six hundred acres, leases to two hundred acres. The greater part of the tenants of Ballygibbon were Irish. The muster for defence was three horse and four foot. In 1622 the seignory was divided into two parts, one held by Gibbon Fitzmorris, and the other by William Haly, alderman of Limerick. There were planted two freeholders of English birth and descent, one having two hundred and seventy acres and the other one hundred and eighty acres. There were four leaseholders, but the amount of land each one held could not be ascertained.

The plantations in the county of Limerick were fairly well populated by Englishmen, but out of consideration for the feelings of the dispossessed, the old residents of English descent had been given freeholds and tenancies under the new regime, even where they had been restored to a portion of their former inheritance. The com-

missioners of 1622 noted serious defects in the organisation of the new settlements. They observed that the number of English inhabitants was greater in show than in substance, for one and the same person was often tenant to three or four undertakers, and sometimes to the same undertaker, first as a freeholder then as a leaseholder, and lastly as copyholder; and oftentimes one undertaker was tenant to another. The English tenants, too, instead of building in villages or towns, which was best for their safety, had settled down in the portions of land allotted to them. The undertakers and their tenants were not sufficiently armed, as most of those the commissioners saw had been furnished from his majesty's store. Many conveyances and alienations, besides estates for years or for lives, had been made to the "mere Irish," which was a violation of the articles of plantation. The undertakers for the greater part did not reside upon their seignories, and some of them, upon the pretence of evicted lands and want of measure, withheld portions of the rent due to the crown.

The Desmond freeholders who had obtained portions of their confiscated lands, as well as those who had joined the rebellion under the Sungan Earl, were pardoned and returned to their old homes. The lands of Pierce Lacy of Bruff had been taken from his family by the crown and given to one Standish. This gave rise to a prolonged lawsuit, the result of which will be related later on. Edmund Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, true to the tradition of his family, had been a determined opponent of the government through the late war. When the rebellion collapsed in Munster he fled to the North, returned with Hugh O'Donnell and fought at Kinsale. Only with great difficulty did he succeed in obtaining pardon and possession of his estate. The castle of Glin was, however, detained for a short time. In 1609, Patrick Crosby sought and obtained a king's

letter addressed to Chichester to be put into possession of the castle. The knight, when he heard of Crosby's action, went to London and succeeded in getting the execution of the king's letter stayed until further enquiries were made. Chichester, being in favour of Crosby, informed the English council that the knight's father and grandfather had been rebels, that he himself was always obstinate and ill-affected, and that his eldest son and heir was for a long time beyond the seas, where he still abode. The knight eventually succeeded in retaining the castle.

William Lacy obtained a new patent in 1613 for the town of Ballingarry and small portions of his former possessions, together with a grant to hold a Tuesday market in that town and a fair on the feast of St. John the Baptist and the day following.

John MacEnery, "chief of that nation," of Castle-town, Gerald, his cousin, and Shane McThomas McEae obtained a patent in 1612 for their lands.

Purcell of Croagh obtained a patent for nearly all the family lands in Croagh and Ballyculhane, and several other families grants of small portions of their former possessions.

The manors of Tobbernea, Rathcannon, Croom and Adare, which belonged to the Earl of Kildare, escaped confiscation. The free tenants on these estates were Irish and Catholic. They held their lands from the earl at a nominal rent, but were otherwise independent. The government was careful in exacting the fees allowed by law, as is shown by the result, still extant, of inquisitions held concerning the lands of some of the families. According to one held in 1636, James Lacy of Athlacca had possessed during his life the castle, bawn, and mill of Athlacca, twenty acres of burgess land, called Cooleboy, in Killyne and Rathelyn, thirty eight acres of burgess land, of which twelve acres lay in Gortnigh, and the ville of Athlacca, together with one and a

half carrucates of land called Rathbane and Glanvall. He enfeoffed as his heir, his son, Thomas Lacy, who was bound to pay certain duties to the government. A similar enquiry was held the same year into the property of James Lacy, late of Ballyfookin, then dead. It was found that he held five and a half carrucates of the lands of Dromin, otherwise Drominfearky, Clogher, Ballyfookin, Ballynorin and Ballinwallin, that Maurice Oge Lacy, his son, was his heir, and that he was in possession at the time of his father's death. He was bound to pay a certain tax to the government and a head-rent to the Earl of Kildare.

Another family arrangement, which was made about the same time and in the same locality, gives us an interesting picture of the social side of Irish life in those days. Thomas Casey, gentleman, a relative of the late Bishop Casey of Limerick, married Bridget, daughter of the late Sir John Dowdall of Kilfinny, and lived at Rathcannon. As he felt death approaching, in order to provide for his family, he made a deed of feoffment, on the 7th September, 1637, between himself on the one part and William Comyne of Whitestown and William Bourke FitzEdmund of Cloghnedromon on the other part, by which he assigned them the castle and lands of Rathcannon and his other estates to be held to the use of his wife Bridget, his two daughters, Anne and Juane, and his sister Ellen, with remainder, in case of failure of direct heirs, to his uncle, John Casey, and his son and heir, James Casey, and failing him to the other nine sons of John Casey and their heirs in succession.

Thomas died on the 13th of October, and Sir Philip Perceval, escheator of Munster, applied to Sir William Parsons, master of the Court of Wards, for the wardship of the two daughters and co-heirs of Thomas, which was duly granted. Perceval was a keen business man and had a personal interest in securing the guardianship of the young ladies. Sir Hardress Waller of Castletown,

who had married their aunt, was also naturally interested in the case. Perceval wrote to him that his principal reason for looking after the children was to prevent their patrimony from being wasted and to secure that they were brought up in the "true religion."

An enquiry concerning the property was held in Dublin, at which Bridget, the widow, John and Donough O'Heyne of Rathmore, Conor Clovane, Morrish Casey of Rathcannon, Edward O'Henchie of Uregare, and Teige Casey of Ballingaddy, were present. Henry Casey had a mortgage on Rathmore for £320, which Perceval paid off. He then let the lands of Rathcannon to his friend, Sir Hardress Waller, during the minority of Anne Casey, Juane having died in the meantime. The moiety of the parsonage of Uregare was let on lease to Thomas Lysaght, and Rathmore to Theobald Bourke of Ballynegarde.

Anne reached the age of fourteen in 1650, at which she was considered of full age. Perceval, the guardian, had a son who sought her in marriage, but she declined the offer. Later on, by the persuasion of Sir Hardress Waller, she married Captain Drury Wray, who settled down at Rathcannon and, though an Englishman, became very popular among the Irish.

The religious question was kept well to the front during the early years of this century. The government made use of all the machinery the law could supply to enforce a strict observance of the Protestant creed. To ensure a Protestant majority in the Parliament of 1613, new boroughs were called into existence and arranged in such a fashion as to secure a Protestant representative at the election. Askeaton, in the county of Limerick, was one of the boroughs so constituted.

The common people were all admitted to the benefit of English law, and were enrolled in the Patent Rolls of James I as having received pardon for past offences, so that the "Irish enemy" was in name a thing of the

past, though the reality remained down to our own times. The confiscations and plantations of Mary, Elizabeth, and James I were festering sores in the body politic, and an eruption, though not apparent, was near at hand.

THE CONFEDERATE WAR

The alien minority who were invested with authority to root out the manners, customs and religion of the Irish, and make the nation thoroughly subservient to English interests, but little realized the depth of feeling in the Irish heart. The murmurs of discontent among the natives might have been driven under the surface for the moment, but their wrongs were not forgotten. And beyond the seas, in Spain and France, the thoughts of Irish exiles were ever wandering back to the scenes of their childhood, to which distance lent an irresistible charm, and their hearts were throbbing for the call to return and repossess the homes from which they had been driven by the strong hand of tyranny and oppression. Leading Irishmen, at home and abroad, were in correspondence, eagerly discussing plans for regaining their lost inheritance.

The originator of the movement was John O'Neill, titular Earl of Tyrone, a son of the great Hugh O'Neill, who at that time commanded an Irish legion in the Spanish service. On 12th May, 1641,* a message was received from him in Ireland informing his friends in the North that he had succeeded in obtaining from Cardinal Richelieu, prime minister of France, a promise of arms, ammunition and money, and bidding them hold themselves in readiness. They replied that they would be able to take the field about the 1st of November.

* Public Record Office, London.

But scarcely had the reply been despatched when news came that O'Neill had been killed in a skirmish between the French and Spaniards in Catalonia. A messenger was then sent to Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill, who was engaged in the Low Countries, acquainting him with the present position and prospects of the Irish cause. Events at once began to move rapidly. The Scots rose in arms against the king to obtain a redress of their grievances and were successful beyond their highest expectations. The parliament of England ordered the "popish" army raised by Strafford in Ireland to be disbanded, but licence was given the men to enter foreign service. Certain officers were thereupon deputed to enroll them, ostensibly on behalf of foreign powers, but the real object was to keep them together at home in readiness for the king's service. Operations commenced in the North on the 23rd October, 1641. The Anglo-Irish Catholics of the Pale, on the first news of the rising, applied to the authorities in Dublin Castle for arms to defend themselves. The application was not only refused but their emissary was put on the rack. Government troops made excursions from Dublin into the surrounding country and slaughtered all the Irish papists who happened to cross their path. As a precautionary measure the Anglo-Irish gentry met in December on the Hill of Crofty, near Drogheda, where they had an interview with Rory O'Moore, one of the principal leaders of the Confederates, who informed them that the rising was not against the king but the parliament, which was determined to extirpate Catholicity from Ireland. The whole country became alarmed and united for common safety.

Sir William St. Leger, the president of Munster, who was an old man, resided at Doneraile castle. He was left to defend his position with only one troop of horse, all the remaining forces having been requisitioned for the defence of Dublin. No move was made in that

province to take up arms until the policy of the government became known through a proclamation the lords-justices published on the 31st of October, which St. Leger considered ill advised and, instead of soothing the humour of the people, calculated to produce the contrary effect. "We had," he said, "read it to O'Sullivan, and at the words 'ill-affected Irish papists,' I never in my life observed more venomous rancour in any man's face than was in his."*

In December, St. Leger commenced to suppress outrages in Tipperary by committing others of a far more atrocious kind, an action that roused all Munster to resistance. The English colonists and settlers, who were living in the open country, observing the warlike preparations of their serfs, withdrew to the towns and strong castles for safety, as their countrymen had done in 1598.

The war commenced in the county of Limerick by local attacks on the various castles that were fortified and defended. Edmund Fitzgerald, lord of Clenlish, attacked the Pallice, a castle near Kilmeedy, not a vestige of which now remains, and after a short siege, succeeded in capturing it. Some of the settlers who were in the castle at the time afterwards alleged that the keepers were put to death but the rest were allowed to depart. Mahoonagh castle was besieged by Thomas MacGibbon, a descendant of the ancient proprietor, who succeeded in taking it by the aid of his servant, Casey, who was in the castle. Casey's exploit is thus described in the deposition in Trinity College: "He got up early on Shrove Tuesday and went to the top of the tower, unobserved by the inmates, and whistled. He then came down, roused up the porter, Thomas Everard, and asked to be allowed out to reconnoitre. Everard complied with the request, but no sooner did Casey find the

* Egmont Papers, Vol. I, Part II., p. 144

door open, than throttling the porter, he whistled again and before the alarm could be given, the Irish ambuscade was in possession and made one hundred captives." Escott, who held the castle, Josias Walker, Daniel Jennings, the local minister, and others to the number of forty, were, it is alleged, stripped naked by MacGibbon. Four of them were hanged at the wind-mill of Meane, one near Kilbolane castle, while the rest were allowed to retire in safety.

George Courtenay, being constable of the castle of Limerick, had to leave his home at Newcastle and repair to the city to defend it. During his absence, in the beginning of the year 1642, the settlers in that part of the country, fearing violence, betook themselves to the castle, which was thenceforward continually watched and frequently attacked. The attacking parties were led by Thomas MacGibbon, who kept a garrison of one hundred men at Mahoonagh, Edmund MacSheehy of Ballyallinan, Brian MacSheehy of Glenagown, MacSheehy of Garryduff and Daniel Fitzgerald of Ballymakey (perhaps Ballymakesy). Nothing remarkable happened until Easter Monday, when the besiegers burnt the town. Captain John Southwell of Ballinkill, near Killfinny, having heard the news, set out with forty horse and one hundred foot to relieve the place, but on his way he was ambushed at Grange bridge by the Confederates and killed. In the month of May the garrison plucked up courage and sallied out in quest of the enemy. They soon encountered MacSheehy of Garryduff and Fitzgerald, who captured and hanged five of them and put their bodies on poles, where they left them, to the terror of the English. The siege dragged on until cannon was brought from Limerick in August when the occupants of the castle surrendered.

A number of English who had fled to the chancellor's castle at Rathkeale, were besieged by Maurice Herbert, who raised a fort against the castle. After enduring a

long blockade they were compelled to surrender. Clog-narold and Castlematrix were also besieged and taken by Herbert and Stephenson. Callow castle fell after a little pressure, and Cappagh, after a short resistance, was surrendered by Francis Morton. During these operations a number of English were slain, evidently in the skirmishes that took place during the blockade. The castle on Aughinish island, belonging to George Courtenay, was defended by Nicholas Meade, but like the others was soon forced to yield on terms, which some of the inmates afterwards complained were not observed, as the garrison was imprisoned and some of them drowned off the bridge of Limerick. Adare fell without a blow. Castletown, the home of Sir Hardress Waller, held out for six weeks, but was obliged to surrender for want of water. A long list of the furniture and domestic utensils has been preserved and gives a good idea of what a gentleman's house was like in those days. The castle of Lough Gur was defended by W. Weeks, but the garrison was watched and often attacked by Dr. Higgins until it finally surrendered to Lord Castleconnell. Croom was held by Edmund Perry, but despite the assistance of Lady Dowdall, was forced to surrender in May, 1642. All the castles of those who were presumed to be in rebellion against King Charles I and taking part with the parliament were now captured by the Confederates in the county of Limerick, except Askeaton and Kilfinny.

Lady Dowdall, the heroine of Kilfinny, has left a description of the siege she successfully sustained for many months, which is unique of its kind. Towards the end of 1641, when rumours were afloat of the troubles that were agitating other parts of the country, she thought it desirable to put her house in order. She repaired the castle and got together a little army of her tenants, numbering thirty horse and fifty foot-soldiers. To put them in proper military trim she procured a

skilled "soger" who drilled and trained them for any emergency that might arise. They were not long in training when word came that the manor grounds were being raided and some of the cattle taken away. Immediately a party went in pursuit of the raiders, from whom they recovered the prey and then chased them to the castle of Leo of Tullovin. Several other raiders at different times had a like experience. On New Year's day, 1642, Captain Francis Courtenay, son of George Courtenay of Newcastle, joined Lady Dowdall, having been sent by the president of Munster to assist her ladyship in the defence of the country. During his stay, which lasted only a fortnight, he was busily engaged with the enemy and narrowly escaped being entrapped by the high sheriff, being saved only by the foresight of his hostess. After Courtenay's departure, Eady Lacy of Bruree, with one hundred men, raided the place and took away a number of cattle, which were, however, afterwards rescued. The next visitors were Richard Collum of Ballingarry and Robert Lacy, who were also beaten off. Then the high sheriff, Richard Stephenson of Dunmoylan, appeared with his drums and pipers, one thousand men and all the appliances necessary for capturing a castle, but, says Lady Dowdall, "I sent him a shot in the head that bade him wish the world good night and routed the whole army, we shot so hard." After forty week's siege she had to capitulate, when the cannon appeared before the castle and fired a few volleys, lest, as she said, they "throw my house over my head."

At the commencement of hostilities in Munster, Colonel Gerald Barry had twelve hundred men of Strafford's disbanded army collected at Kinsale, ostensibly for shipment to Spain. He had purposely delayed his departure, and then, instead of shipping his men to Spain, employed them in the service of their native land. He was joined by Lord Muskerry and other magnates

of the south with several bands of recruits. At a council of war it was decided to take Cork city, but the attempt proved unsuccessful. Then, taking advantage of the open country, they proceeded to Limerick. On their arrival before the walls Mr. Dominick Fanning, the mayor, and the citizens opened the gates to them. Captain George Courtenay, who was in command of the garrison, finding that he was unable to defend the city, withdrew into the castle with sixty fighting men, twenty-eight warders and others, to the number of two hundred men. The Confederates invested the castle on the 18th May, 1642. They stretched a boom made of aspen trees across the river below Corragour falls and opposite Mockbeggar Mear, fastening one end with iron links to two mill-stones at the Thomond side and the other to a tower on the quay. This prevented the ships on the river from advancing near enough to relieve the castle. A cannon was placed on the tower of St. Mary's cathedral which effectually played by turns on the castle and the ships on the river. During the first week the firing on both sides was well sustained. The Confederates* had begun to mine the castle from St. Nicholas' churchyard, where they were protected by a wall, and on 21st June the bulwark fell down. Captain Courtenay, realising that his defences were exhausted, parleyed for terms. On the 23rd June the castle was surrendered. The besieged were allowed house accommodation and other necessaries during their stay in the town, and horses and carriages to convey them to Cork on payment for what they took. While the negotiations were going on, Dr. Webb, the Protestant bishop of Limerick, died in the castle, where he had been during the siege, and was buried in St. Munchin's churchyard on the day of the surrender. The Lord

* See Essay by M. J. McEnery, in R.S.A.I. XXXIV., p. 163.

president, who had been unwell, died of grief, it is said, when he heard that Limerick had fallen.

The taking of Limerick was a great victory for the Confederates who were now supplied with cannon, which they badly needed to batter down the castles that still resisted. Askeaton had to yield to the superior forces directed against it, even before the cannon was brought into action. The terms of surrender were arranged and agreed upon on 14th August, 1642, between Lieutenant-General Patrick Purcell of Ballyculhane, erroneously stated to be of Croagh, and the council of his majesty's Catholic forces for the province of Munster of the one part and the warders of Askeaton of the other part. The warders were to yield up arms, ammunition, engines of war and their horses, and restore all Catholic property. It was likewise concluded that the warders, English and Irish, were to have their lives, with safe conduct for those who were to go aboard a ship as well as those who were to go to Doneraile or Cork, with all their proper goods, together with half the books of the castle. They were forthwith to take their oath upon the Holy Evangelist never to take arms against his majesty, either in this or any other service, and finally it was agreed that the said warders were not to be disturbed in their Protestant religion—very different treatment from that meted out to the Irish by Barkley, the undertaker.

A list of the gentlemen and freeholders who were at the siege of Askeaton is preserved. A comparison between it and the list of gentlemen of the Desmond confiscation is interesting, as it reveals the fact that most of those in the one were the sons or grandsons of those on the other. Though they had seen hard times, they still retained some of the old property and a good deal of the old prestige. Their names were :—Patrick Purcell of Ballyculhane, Lieutenant-general of the confederate forces, Oliver

Stephenson of Dunmoylan, captain, Garrot Fitzthomas of Ballyglahan, capt., John Fitzgerald of Glin, John Oge and Thomas Fitzgerald, his son, capt., Garrott Purcell of Croagh, counsellor-at-law, Patrick Oge Purcell of Ballycarrig, capt., Edmund Purcell of Ballycallain, capt., Thomas Purcell of the same, capt., Thomas Purcell of Balliveyry, John Purcell of Ballyhamerhan (Ballyhanrahan), John Fitzgerald of Pallases, capt., Garrett Purcell of Curro, capt., Edmund Oge Purcell of the same, Morris Herbert of Rathkeale, capt., Garrett Herbert of the same, capt., Morris Oge Herbert of the same, capt., Donogh O'Brien of Carigogonell, capt., Edye Oge Lacye of Bruree, capt., Morris Ley of Argoole, John Ley of the same, Breyne McDonnogh of Derry, Breyne McMurragh of Scart, Terlugh McBreyne of the same, Edmund McSheehy of Ballyalynev (Ballyallinan), capt., Captain Dermott O'Breyne of Ballykett, Co. Clare; Capt. Murragh O'Breyne of the same, Capt. Macknamara of the same, Donnogh McDonnell of Cloineties, Rowry McConnor of Lisready, Thomas Lacy of Milltowne, Edmond Lacy of Conyger, John Lacy of Creanis (Creaves), James Lacy, his son, Thomas and Andrew Dondon of Balle Steeven (Ballysteen), Gerrald Fitzthomas of Ballynacorty, David McGerrald of the same, Moylemurry McDowell of Ballymullen, John McMoylemurry of the same, John McRowry McDowle of Englandstown, Thomas Oge Fitzgerald of Morenau, Garrott Fitzgerald of Ballydo, Edmund Fitzgerald of the same, Thomas Fitzgerald of Ballymona, Morris Fitzgerald of the same, John Lycett of Fannigistown, James Lycett of Killcueeclo, Murtagh McTirlogh of Cragge, Donnogh McMahowne of Grange, Donnell Roe McDonnogh of the same, Mahowne McDonnogh of Toagh, and Dominick Fanning, Mayor of Limerick.*

The Confederates, having thoroughly reduced

* Gilbert's *Irish Conf. War*, Vol. 2, p. 53.

Limerick, both city and county, proposed to march into Cork and resume hostilities with Inchiquin, who was in command of the government forces since the death of his father-in-law, St. Leger. Oliver Stephenson, son of Richard who was killed at Kilfinny, and grandson of that Oliver Stephenson who in the reign of Elizabeth obtained Wall's land at Dunmoylan, was a distinguished soldier who had learned the art of war on the Continent. He was a Catholic, and had now a splendid troop of horse under his command. Before setting out for Cork he turned aside to visit his wife and mother at Dunmoylan and leave them his last will and testament. Kneeling down before all his household, he confessed that his sole aim in the war was the promotion of religion, the welfare of which he desired more than anything in this world. He then humbly asked his mother's blessing on the undertaking. She, however, required as a condition that if he met her nephew, Inchiquin, in battle and had the upperhand of him, he would spare his life. Oliver remonstrated that such a condition might mean the sacrifice of his own life. The mother, however, persisted, and seeing how useless any further remonstrance was, he at last assented to the condition and received her blessing.* Then having taken a long farewell of his family and Dunmoylan, he set out with the army for Liscarroll, marching by Drumcollogher, Castleishen and the heights of Aughrim.

The Confederates brought with them the cannon that had been captured at Limerick. One piece, the battering piece, which was of considerable weight, was placed on a beam of timber, hewn hollow and drawn by twenty-five yoke of oxen over the soft ground where wheels would sink. The army, consisting of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse, was under the command of Colonel Gerald Barry. On 30th August, they

* *Aphorismical Discovery*, Vol. I., p. 38.

invested Liscarroll, which was considered one of the strongest fortresses in Munster. After a siege of a few days, Sergeant Raymond, leader of the defenders, being no longer able to maintain his position, surrendered.

Meanwhile, Inchiquin had withdrawn all his forces from the various garrisons in County Cork and was hastening to relieve the castle with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, all old and experienced soldiers. The Confederates, having learned his intention, arranged their army in battle array near the castle, awaiting his attack. On the first encounter the impetuosity of the Confederates succeeded in scattering their opponents, but at the same time disorganised their own ranks, which told fatally against them before the close of the battle. At an early stage of the conflict, Oliver Stephenson engaged his cousin, Inchiquin, and succeeded in making him a prisoner, but while leading him out of the field was shot by a foster-brother of Inchiquin's through the eye of his helmet, the only part of his body exposed from the saddle upwards. Stephenson simultaneously aimed a blow with his sword at his assailant, cutting him in two, and they both fell dead. When it became known among the Confederates that their champion was slain, they lost heart and began to fly from the field, seeking refuge in Sir William Power's bog, near Kilbolane, where pursuit was impossible. All the cannon brought from Limerick fell into the hands of Inchiquin, who, however, was unable to follow up his victory for want of food and pay for his soldiers. Next day he had to march back to Mallow and disperse his men into garrisons. The Confederates returned to their homes and there awaited future developments.

The body of Oliver Stephenson was borne from the battlefield to the Franciscan convent of Askeaton, where it was buried in the choir of the church beside that of his father. The widows of the father and son, Margaret ni Brien and Elinor Browne, erected a mural

monument with a suitable inscription over their graves, which still survives, but in a dilapidated condition.*

Elinor Browne, the widow of Stephenson, was a daughter of Sir Valentine Browne of Molahiff, ancestor of the Earl of Kenmare, and Alice Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, the fifteenth Earl of Desmond, who was slain in 1583.† She married secondly Donald O'Sullivan More and was living in 1689. Margaret Ni Brien we shall have occasion to mention again in the course of this narrative.

The bishops of Ireland met at Kilkenny on the 10th May, 1642, to consolidate the efforts of the Confederates and formulate a national policy. They declared the war which the Irish were waging in defence of the king's rights, the Catholic religion and their own lives and property, to be lawful and just. They then framed an oath to be taken by all Catholics, and those so bound together were called the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. They ordained that a general assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the gentry should be held to select deputies from the different provinces to the supreme council which was to sit from day to day and carry on the government of the country.

The council was to consist of twenty-four members, twelve of whom were to be immediately named and the president to be elected by them. In each province there was to be a provincial council and in each county a county council. The provincial council was to consist of

* The inscription is as follows :—

Epitaphium Chronographicum
Hic Oliverus inest genitus genitorque Richardus
Stephenson Cleri candor uterque choro est

Anno 1642

D.O.M.

Maritis suis D Richardo Stephenson ejus et filio D Olivero
Stephenson ac posteris suis hoc bustum fieri fecerunt
D Margarita ni Brien et D Elinora Browne

Anno Do 1646.

† See Smith's *History of Kerry*.

two members from each county and these were to elect a president from among themselves. The county council was to consist of two members from each barony of the county. The county council was to have the power of a justice of the peace and to do all things as a justice of the peace was accustomed to do, and in each county there were to be coroners, high sheriffs, high constables, petty constables and gaolers, who were to act in their respective offices as they were accustomed to act. In November a committee, consisting of Baron Brittas (Theobald Bourke), Morrish Baggot, John Hurley, John Baggot and Marcus Fitzharris, was appointed to enquire after Protestant goods in the county.

The national or supreme council assembled on the 24th October at Kilkenny and made all the arrangements necessary to prosecute the war until their grievances were remedied.

During the war the county of Limerick lay outside the sphere of action, only supplying men and war material for the battles and sieges that were carried on in other parts of the country. When the cessation was proclaimed in September, 1643, which was to last for a year, the city and county of Limerick were to remain in the possession of the Catholics, except such lands as were in the possession of the Protestants before the proclamation of peace.

During the cessation free intercourse was established, and traders were allowed to buy and sell, and frequent fairs in any part of the province provided they had a permit signed by their respective leaders. Sometimes these regulations were not observed, and traders suffered inconveniences owing to misunderstandings and misinterpretation of orders. The following is a case in point :—Philip Oge Vaghane, gentleman, Dermot O'Murrough and William Hickie, butchers of Mallow, with others, English and Irish, went with the required permits about the 1st November to a fair in Thomond

to buy cattle. On the return journey they were stopped at Bruff by John Lacy, the sheriff of Limerick, who declared he had a warrant from the county council, under direction of the supreme council, for the stay of such cattle as should pass through the county until the magazines were fully supplied. On a representation of the matter to the proper authorities, the butchers were allowed to proceed with their purchases.

In January, 1644, Inchiquin crossed over to Oxford, where he had an interview with the king. The purpose of his visit was ostensibly to ask for reinforcements, but he had a strong hope that his majesty would make him president of Munster. Though his zeal in the cause was undoubted, yet, as an Irishman, he could not well be trusted.* He returned very much disappointed, his cherished hopes dashed to the ground by the preferment of Lord Portland to that office. In July he declared for the parliament and proceeded to turn the Catholics out of Youghal, Cork and other towns. This naturally aroused the anger of the Munster Confederates. Both parties, however, remained inactive until the expiration of the cessation in April, 1645. Castlehaven then led a confederate army into Cork, but his siege of Youghal was fatal to the enterprise, as the town was relieved by sea. Had he first taken the other towns along the coast, Youghal would have, from want of supplies, to surrender without a fight. As it was, the Irish army had to return into winter quarters.

The following year Inchiquin, in his new role as parliamentary leader, with reinforcements from England, made a raid into the county of Limerick and burned the country around Kilmallock, "to induce them," as he said, "to purchase what I must have done for my own safety, they sent me an offer of a composition to be gone out of their confines, when indeed I could not

* Egmont Papers, Vol. I., p. 1.

have made a longer stay, and agreed to give me £1,000 for one month's forbearance from their country."

Nothing worth noting took place in the county during the remaining years of the war. It was an open country through which the rival armies passed and repassed, especially to and from the city, around which the history of these few years is centred.

THE CROMWELLIAN REGIME

The king having paid the death penalty in England at the hands of his subjects, the parliament became the supreme ruling power in the country. Oliver Cromwell was despatched to Ireland with a large and well-equipped army and landed at Dublin on the 15th August, 1649. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford will always secure him a foremost place among the most sanguinary monsters of modern times. He had to return to England in 1650, but the war was prosecuted with undiminished vigour by his generals, under Ireton, whose task was made comparatively easy by the jealousies and divisions of the Confederates. On his return to England, Cromwell urged the parliament to send over commissioners to make provision for the civil government of the country. Accordingly a select body of four gentlemen were chosen as commissioners for the affairs of Ireland.

On their arrival, on 24th January, 1651, the commissioners proceeded to place the government of Ireland on a stable basis. They divided the portion of the country under their sway into six administrative districts or precincts. Over these newly formed divisions they placed a military governor and in each they established a number of commissioners, called the Commissioners of Revenue for the administration of justice, local affairs, and the collections of taxes.

As the war progressed the Confederates were showing signs of collapse, but though Limerick had fallen, they had still a large army in the field which, if united and better equipped, could hold its ground for a long time. This was fully realised by the commissioners, who began to throw out feelers for a general surrender of the confederate army, the leaders of which were in turn discussing among themselves the best means of securing favourable terms for the nation. Colonel Fitzpatrick, however, frustrated their hopes by surrendering with his whole division, thereby securing special terms for himself, an act of treachery which evoked an outcry of indignation throughout the country, but was warmly welcomed by the commissioners, who were not slow to use it as a means of sowing further dissensions among the Irish. The fall of Galway, on 11th April, 1652, strengthened the movement for a general surrender. Negotiations were opened with the commissioners, and a meeting with the generals of the English army took place to discuss terms. At the meeting the commissioners became formally acquainted for the first time with the massacres alleged to have been perpetrated by the Irish on the Protestant settlers. Scout-master Henry Jones, who had been appointed early in the war by the Anglo-Irish government, as one of the commissioners to enquire into and collect evidence as to what robberies and murders had been committed by the Irish on the English and Protestant settlers, selected this meeting to deliver a one-sided and exaggerated report of the result of his investigations, which produced the desired effect of hardening the hearts of the commissioners and shutting out any feelings of commiseration for their adversaries. As the year advanced the confederate resistance completely broke down and they were forced to lay down their arms and submit unconditionally.

In August, 1652, the English parliament passed what was called an Act of Settlement, of the most drastic and

comprehensive kind, placing the whole nation at its mercy. To form a correct estimate of the atrociousness of this Act, it will be necessary to examine its provisions somewhat in detail. It excluded three classes of persons from pardon for life and estate, namely: (1) all such as at any time before the 10th November, 1642, the date of the first sitting of the supreme council at Kilkenny, had advised, counselled, promoted, or acted rebellion, murders, or massacres done or committed in Ireland; (2) the Earls of Ormond, Castlehaven and others; and (3) principals and accessories to murder since the 1st October, 1641. The Act then admits to pardon with certain qualifications four classes of persons: (1) All such as, while not falling within the unpardonable groups, had taken up arms against the Commonwealth of England should suffer banishment for such time as parliament should decree and lose two-thirds of their estates; (2) all such as, while not falling within the same groups, had aided in the rebellion, should be pardoned as to their lives, but should forfeit two-thirds of their estates and receive the residue in such place in Ireland as the parliament should appoint; (3) all such as did not manifest constant good affection should forfeit one-fifth of their estates; and (4) all persons not possessed of real or personal property to the value of £10 who laid down their arms and subscribed a declaration to be true and faithful to the commonwealth should be pardoned.

The three classes that were unpardonable were to be sought out and proceeded against in the courts of the commissioners. Of the four classes admissible to pardon, the first comprised the confederate army, the second the land owners and occupiers, of whatever creed, who had favoured the confederate army. The third relates solely to the Catholics who, even if innocent, were doomed to lose one-fifth of their estates. The fourth brought under the qualification test all

such as had real or personal property to the value of £10.

By this Act every inhabitant of the country, whether Irish, English or Scotch, was presumed to have been implicated in the confederate war and such only as were able to prove their "constant good affection," and non-Catholics, were exempted from its consequences.

The parliament was next engaged in satisfying the clamours of the adventurers who in London and elsewhere had, in 1642, subscribed money to raise and equip an army for the suppression of the Irish rebellion on the security of lands to be conquered from the Irish. The rates varied according to the province in which each one wished to invest. The rate for Munster was eight shillings per acre. The arrears of army pay since 1649 had also to be met out of the confiscated lands. This entailed a good deal of extra trouble. Cromwell and a committee composed of representatives of the soldiers and adventurers met at the Grocers' Hall, London, to determine by lot what baronies were to fall to the soldiers and what to the adventurers.

The result as regards Limerick was that the baronies of Clanwilliam, Kilmallock, Small County, Owenybeg, Coshma, Coshlea, and the city and its liberties, fell to the army, and the baronies of Connello, Coonagh, Pubblebrien, and Kenry to the adventurers.

Parliament realised that to put this scheme into execution a survey of the country was necessary. This was already commenced in a loose fashion, to be later on revised and his exact portion of land assigned to each claimant.

Many thousands of the Irish army, as also many civilians, took advantage of the concession granted them of emigrating to countries friendly to the parliament. The fate of the remaining population was not yet determined, nor had it perhaps been considered until it was decided to pay the adventurers and

the soldiers out of the confiscated lands. In October, 1652, by a proclamation ordered to be made at each of the precincts by beat of drum and sound of trumpet on some market day, it was declared that it was not the intention of the Commonwealth to extirpate the whole Irish nation, but that mercy and pardon was to be extended to husbandmen, ploughmen, artificers and others of the inferior sort. These classes were specially exempt, because, as a great Protestant statesman remarked, they were useful to the English as tillers of the soil and herdsmen, and without them the gentry would themselves be forced to work and thus in time become peasants, or die if they did not. Besides, it was thought that, deprived of their priests and leaders in civil and military affairs, and living among the English, they would soon become Protestants. Little did Colonel Ingoldsby, the governor of Limerick, think, when giving expression to these sentiments, that he had among his audience a Franciscan friar, perhaps disguised in the capacity of a servant.

In September, 1653, the parliament passed an ordinance explaining what was only expressed in general terms in the Act of Settlement of August, 1652. Now it was definitely announced that Connaught and Clare, excepting a long belt of land four miles wide along the Shannon and the sea-shore, had been chosen as the place of transportation of such of the Irish nation as were comprehended under the qualifications mentioned in that Act. All were to be removed and transplanted before the 1st May, 1654, and after that date any such persons found in the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, or Munster without sufficient reason were to be treated as spies and enemies and liable to suffer the penalty of death. Commissioners were appointed to perfect the machinery for putting these measures into execution throughout the country. In the county of Limerick garrisons were placed at Kilmallock, Ballingarry, Gort-

natobrett (Springfield), Dunmoylan, Castletownkenry, Adare, Brittas, Tuogh, Loughgur and Galbally, which had the desired effect in expediting the progress of the transplantation of the unfortunate natives, principally of the better class, who were thus forced to leave their ancestral homes. The transplanters were to present themselves at the precinct of Limerick to give a return of their belongings, the number of their household and the retainers who were to accompany them. The certificates thus granted were so minute that even the colour of the hair and eyes of the victims of this cruel law was set forth. The following is a specimen of one of those documents ; it relates to the transplanting of John Fitzgerald of Finneterstown a survivor of the Elizabethan confiscation : —

Connollogh Barony, County of Limerick.

John Fitzgerald of Finntanstown (sic), Esq.

We, the said Commissioners do hereby certify that John Fitzgerald of Finntanstown (sic) in the County and barony aforesaid hath upon the 10th day of January, 1653/4 in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered into us in writing the names of himself and of such persons as are removed with him with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz.—The said John Fitzgerald, aged 35 years, middle stature, black hair ; Sarah, his wife, aged 26 years, brown hair, tall stature ; David Fitzgerald, aged 4 years, black hair ; his two daughters, called Joan and Mary, under the age of two years, flaxen hair ; Edmund Fitzgerald, tenant, aged 30 years, tall stature, flaxen hair ; Ellen, his wife, aged 40 years, tall stature, brown hair ; Elleanor, Margaret and Eliza, three daughters of the said Edmund, all under the age of four years ; David Woulfe, gentleman, aged 24 years, black hair, middle stature ; Mauria Manning, aged 26 years, middle stature, black hair ; Dermod Halpin, aged 24 years, tall stature, flaxen hair ; Donough McCarthy,

aged 36 years, middle stature, black hair; Amy ny McNamara, servant, aged 40 years, black hair, tall stature. His substance 24 garrans (horses), three cows, two sows, four acres of winter corn. The substance whereof we believe to be true. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 10th day of January, 1653/4.

There are several other specimens to be found in Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement.

Fitzgerald's lands were granted to Oliver Lambert, who received seven hundred and sixty-five acres, and Thady Quin,* a mysterious individual, got seventy-eight acres.

Transplanters from Limerick were to present themselves at the precinct of Limerick, with a return of their belongings, and there they each obtained a certificate. The next step was to present this certificate at Athlone, where it was minutely examined and checked. The holder was then subjected to an examination as to his culpability during the war. The confederate books from Kilkenny had been brought to that precinct and were used as evidence for or against the applicant. If he passed the test another certificate was drawn up, which was to be presented to the commissioners at Loughrea, who gave instructions as to the land he was to receive and the locality where he was to fix his abode. If he were able to afford a bribe, as some were, he was sure of preferential treatment. The inhabitants of the counties of Limerick, Carlow and Waterford were assigned the baronies of Dunmore, Kilconnell, and the half-baronies of Loughrea and Leitrim, in the county of Galway.

It may well be imagined with what grief and anguish those innocent victims of oppression, young and old, often weak and disabled, prepared for the long and

* He could not be Lord Dunraven's ancestor, who was not more than ten years of age at that time.

weary journey, through rough and unknown ways, from Limerick to Athlone and thence to Loughrea, in the depth of winter. Before starting, they visited according to Irish custom the old churchyard where generations of their kindred lay buried and said a parting prayer beside their graves, the Mass-house where they so often assisted at the holy sacrifice of the Mass in happier days, then the holy well to invoke the protection of the patron saint on their journey. They walked around the farm, visiting every nook and corner that recalled the memory of childhood and departed friends. They took some mementoes, simple in themselves, but precious as the only relics they could carry away, to remind them of the old home and bygone associations. After a fond look at the old house and lands they were perhaps never to see again, they turned their faces to the north, with hearts steeled by the memory of bitter wrongs, but perhaps sometimes softened by the gentle hope that brighter days might dawn again and that in the evening of their lives they might repose in peace under the old roof-tree, from which they were so unfeelingly and ruthlessly thrust out into the bleak world.

The registers of the certificates issued by the Loughrea commissioners to the transplanters of Leinster and Munster are preserved, or were until recently. From this trustworthy source it is ascertained that one hundred and sixty-eight certificates were granted and that two thousand two hundred and eighty-three of the inhabitants of Limerick were transplanted up to May 1654, the time limit.* But though the laws were strict and the method of enforcing them exact, still there were influences at work in Limerick, as elsewhere, that were powerful enough to keep many of the doomed families in their homes. The lands of the old undertakers had

* Essay by Hardinge, R.I.A., 1865.

not been confiscated, and the owners naturally exerted themselves on behalf of their tenants and under-tenants, and being on the right side and in touch with the leading Roundheads, were able to keep their retainers on the land as rent-payers and the inferior sort as earth-tillers.

In July, 1654, a new council came to Ireland with new instructions, and with them the transplantation practically ceased, as one of their instructions was to moderate it as they thought fit. The portion of the inhabitants that had been allowed to remain in their homes were not forgotten. Instructions were issued in 1654* that those Irish in the county of Cork who had not transplanted were to form villages of not less than thirty families, provided that their so doing would not be injurious to the settlers. Care, however, was to be taken that no such village was allowed to stand within half a mile of any bog, wood, or mountain that might be adjudged a shelter for tories. It was furthermore ordered that in each of these villages there should be a headman, a constable or tithing man, who was to take care that the cattle belonging to the village were brought together at night and that a watch was set in convenient places, and at least thirty men at every watch, which would prevent any outrages being committed.

These instructions were put in force in the county of Limerick as circumstances permitted. In the lands that had not been confiscated the number dwelling in any of the various townlands was small, but in the east of the county, where the soldiers were located, the native population seems to have been grouped according to the instructions. This grouping of the Irish brought its own advantage to that downtrodden and much despised people. They had their own language and the companionship of people of their own race and religion. No matter how small the group, it was able

* See *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, by R. Dunlop.

to supply a piper, a shanachie, a poet and a schoolmaster, who cheered their drooping spirits and infused an element of refinement into their squalid surroundings. Their outlook on life became brighter under such genial influences and inspired them with ambition to retrieve their fallen fortunes. The consolations of religion, too, were at hand and, no doubt, in most of the villages, the priest moved about amongst them, clad in the garb of a husbandman discharging the ordinary labours of the day to lull the suspicions of their taskmasters.

The adventurers were allotted their portions in the county of Limerick according to the value of their claims. A good many of them sold their shares to others and but very few of them became residents. The same may be said of the soldiers, as they sold their shares to the officers, all of whom were comfortably settled down in the east of the county.

The following census, or, as some think, poll-tax list, which was taken in the year 1659 gives us a fair idea of how the population was divided and shows that, notwithstanding every effort of the Cromwellians to root out the natives, they were still numerically predominant to a surprising extent. The greater part of the Irish gentlemen who had not transplanted are given among the common folk. The county is divided into baronies, the baronies into parishes, and the parishes into townlands. The more important residents in the various townlands, who are called by the Anglo-Spanish compound *Tituladoes*, were for the most part new settlers.

SMALL COUNTY BARONY

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Part of Glinogry and in part of Tullabracky	Rathmore	78	Jno. Ferinshaugh, Richd. Heyne and John Heyne, Gents. ..	7	71
	Ballia	22	Thos. Carpenter, Esq., and Wm. Carpenter, Gent. ..	5	17
	Feadmore	82	James Woods and George Woods, Gent. ..	6	76
	Kildromon	39			39
		58	John Parker, Gent. ..	2	56
	Crean	53		2	51
	Doone Crean and } Boheregely	88			88
	Howardstowne ..	85	Fras. Vincent and Edmd. Deane, Gents	4	81
	Kilbroody	23			23
	Fannings Cluone ..	40	Richd. Thorne and Wm. Payne, Gents. ..	9	31
	Carnane	30		5	25
Killfrush ..	Ballecarony	45		2	43
	Ballelany	12		2	10
	Kilfrush	28			28
				44	619
Killfrush ..	Elton and Brittas ..	27	Thos. Hurley, Gent. ..		27
	Ballinloghy	83			83
	Ballyhakish	16			16
	Ballynegalliagh ..	26	James Browne, Gent. ..		26
	Hospitall	244	Wm. King and Thos. Browne, Esq., Richd. King, Gent. ..	21	223
Rallenlogh ..	Ballygearane	7			7
	Ballyneganana	29	Arthur Blnerhasett, Esq. ..	2	27
	Ballycahill	25			25
	Kilkellane	38			38
	Ballecolleroe	23	William Ogle, Gent. ..	2	21
	Gorticlne	12	Owen Grady, Gent. ..	2	10
	Kilgobanemore and } Ballynistellibeg	20	John Bagott and William Bagott, Cent. ..		20
	Ballincurry	17			17
	Bagottstowne	77			77
	Scoole and } Cloghdullerty	44	Henry Tirrell, John Croker and Mich. Croker, Gent. ..	6	38
				33	655

SMALL COUNTY BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Ballenlogh ..	Bulgeden Fox } Upper Scoole }	23		4	19
	Clogdullarty	14			14
Uregare ..	Bulgedeen Fox ..	111			111
	Tankardstown ..	4			4
	Ballycallowe ..	19	Henry Verdon, Gent. ..		19
Athenesi ..	Goramstowne and } Adamstown }	28			28
Ballinard ..		159	Gerrot Fitzgerald, Esq., } and Thos. Fitzgerald, } Gent. .. }	2	157
	Cloghovillow ..	44			44
Pt. of Glinogry ..	Glenogry Towne ..	101	William Weekes, Gent. ..	2	99
	Drombegg ..	12			12
	Caherguilymore ..	18			18
	Tullybrackin ..	57			57
	Coscamadde and } Gortemore }	11			11
				8	593
	Loghguir ..	46		7	39
	Killilogh ..	48			43
	Ballyculleene ..	54			54
	Patrickswell ..	25			25
	Grange ..	66			66
P. of Glinogry ..	Knockincellor ..	41			41
	Sixmilebridge ..	12			12
	Ballingerly and } Rawlietowne }	111			111
	Cromwell and } Killeenanalifbeg }	22			22
Any ..	Rathany and } Kilgobanbeg }	47	Edmund Perry, Gent. ..	10	37
Kilkellane ..	Herbartstowne and } Ballenscooly }	28	{ Darby Grady and } Thos. Grady, Gents. }		28
	Herbartstowne	10			10
Any ..	Ballynamoneymore ..	28	Joseph Ormsby ..	2	26
				19	519
Kilpecane ..	Kilpecane towne ..	27	John Carew, Gent. ..		27
	Garry Elline ..	12			12
Kilteely ..	Carrig Kettle ..	38			38
	Knockany ..	173		8	165
	Oldtowne ..	106	James Bagott, Gent. ..	3	103
	Craverstowne ..	16			16
	Cloghnemanagh ..	82	Richard Harte, Esq., } Jno. Harte and Percival } Harte his sons, Gent. }	5	77

SMALL COUNTY BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Kilteely ..	Kilballyowen ..	33			33
	Ballyda ..	9			9
	Ragamsbeg ..	8			8
	Garrynachery ..	32			32
	Milltowne ..	14			14
	Ballenbranny ..	10			10
				16	514

COSTLEA BARONY

Ballingarrey and Lavaghea	Ballinfrentagh ..	35	John Gibbon, Gent ..		35
	Ballingarry ..	26			26
	Knockary ..	13		2	11
	Clogcasty ..	23	Samuel Bennet and Robert Mease, Gents. }	6	17
Ballinlondry ..	Glanlary ..	8			8
	Gleanlary and pt. of Ballingarry }	39		5	34
	Ballynegristoonagh ..	13	Thos. McTeige, Gent. ..		13
	Killeene and Ballinlondry }	44	John Heffernane, Gent. ..		44
	Spittle ..	28	Teige McCraith and Edmond Richard, Gents. }	3	25
	Cullane ..	39	Robert Gease, Gent. ..		39
	Ballinduff ..	14			14
Ballyneskaddane	Ballyfaskeene ..	16	Teige O'Liddeene ..		16
	Gleanahagushly ..	15		4	11
	Ballyneskaddane ..	34	Giles Powell, Gent. ..	2	32
				22	325
Par. Ballyneskaddane	Lickelly ..	12			12
	Scartteene ..	16			16
	Doonehoone }	88	{ Capt. Lewis Griffith, Esq. } Humphrey Coleman, Gent.	10	78
	Ballynehensy, pt. of Ballinbreeny }				
Doone and Long ..	Knocklonge ..	72	Cornelius James and Francis Swayne, Gents. ..	7	65
	Hamonstowne ..	8			8
	Michelstowne ..	24		7	17
	Cnock Torin ..	13	Cornelius Madden, Gent. ...		13
	Ballysbonedehy ..	8	Francis Creed, Gent. ..	3	5
	Bally McShaneboy ..	27	Walter Stephen, Gent. ..	3	24
	Ballingrughty ..	12			12
Pt. of Effin ..	Jamestowne ..	32			32
	Garrycoonagh and Rathnevitagh }	60			60

COSTLEA BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Pt. of Effin ..	Ballinveerly Ballycarrowagh and Cleaghah	31		30	31
Pt. of Effin ..	Ballyshonekeene ..	43	Gerald Gibbons and Garrott Gibbons, Gent.		43
	Galbally ..	163	William Hughes, Gent. ..	14	149
	Killinane ..	7	John Ward, Gent. ..	3	4
	Corbally ..	11	John Petford, Gent. ..	2	9
	Bohercarrin ..	15	Edward Moore, Gent. ..		15
	Lisacannonell ..	30	William Barnaby, Gent. ..	4	26
	Ballylooba ..	12		3	9
	Milstowne ..	8		2	6
	Duntreleage ..	52	Hugh Massy, Esq., and Richd. Huthings, Gent.	9	43
	Lakadary ..	12	John McCragh and Philip McCragh, Gent.		12
	Castle-Krea ..	18	Robert Cooke and Nichs. Clarke, Gents.	6	12
	Corragharosty ..	15	Thomas Loyde ..	7	8
	Ballynervodagh ..	23			23
	Barnegurrehy ..	14			14
	Ballylishecne ..	20			20
				30	193
Kilfinane ..	Kilbeheny, two pl. } lands ..	146			146
	Kilglesse ..	63	John Condon, Gent. ..		63
	Cloghmotefoy ..	70	Robert Oliver, Esq. ..	3	67
	Fannistowne ..	15			15
	Ballyngreny ..	15			15
	Ballyorgan ..	23			23
	Ballyneeyny and Ballyngeagoge	86			86
	Ballyroe Als Ballynygoseragh	36			36

COSTLEA BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Kilfinane ..	Ballynanima ..	43	David Gibbon, Gent. .. Donogh Manyhyne, Teige Manyhyne John Walsh and John Shyhane		43
	Morestowne ..	30			30
	Ballyperode ..	14			14
	Ballyroskenoge ..	44			44
Par. Kilfinane	Ballynacourty ..	63	David Touchstone and Henry Touchstone, Gent. ..	3	587
	Mortellstowne ..	31		5	31
	Keale ..	14			14
	Ballynvoty ..	32	John Bluett, Gent. ..	4	28
	Tallow ..	27	Robert Welsh, Gent. ..		27
	Roplagh ..	81			31
	Kilfinane ..	102		4	98
	Garrynalacy ..	8			8
	Darragh ..	23	George Vallane, Gent. .. and Thos. Vallane, Gent...	4	19
	Lawrencetown ..	26			26
	Ballyntoby ..	18			18
	Garryarture and Kelvrnoge }	25			25
	Spittle Darage ..	19			19
	Fantstowne ..	67	Richard Grice, Gent. ..	5	62
	Ballyidin ..				
Eadin ..	55		2	53	
				24	517
Kilbridie ..	Ballyguine ..	11			11
	Gibbinstowne ..	53			53
Athenesie ..	Dorrenstowne ..	51			51
	Ballynsealy and Stephenstown }	23			23
	Ballycullane ..	46			46
	Cosse ..	51			51
	Killmurry ..	13			13
Ballyngaddy ..	Ballyngaddy More ..	91			91
	Ballennehow ..	25			25
	Ballingvosy ..	119		2	117
	Garrikettine ..	37		2	35
	Glindinnane ..	22			22
	Mardovellane ..	31			31
	Ardpatrick ..	11			11
				4	580

CLANWILLIAM BARONY

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
	Robertstowne ..	46			46
	Ballenroan ..	4			4
	Rochtowne ..	17			17
	Ballenloghane ..	37			37
	Fryarstowne ..	8			8
	Williamstowne ..	17	Edwd. Andrews, Gent. ..	4	13
	Bally McGnara ..	83	Capt. Faithfull Chapman ..	3	80
	Whytstowne ..	68	John Casey, Gent. ..		68
	Kilcooline ..	36	Wm. Cobb and Thymotie } Dickson, Gent. }	7	29
	Ballymakree ..	13			13
	Luddenbeg ..	31	Edmd. Bourke and } Mortagh O'Beara, Esq. }		31
	Strahane ..	41	John Hall and Wm. } Clarke, Gents. }	6	35
	Knockatana } Cushland }	47	John Friend, Esq., and } Edwd. Whilly, Gents. }	13	34
	Cahercoureehy ..	38	Donogh O'Hea, Gent. ..	6	32
	Inchy Lawrence ..	7			7
	Greenanebegg ..	44			44
	Knock Meagh ..	24	John Loftus	4	20
				43	318
	Boherskeagh } Aganiffe }	17	Richd. Willy and } Nathalian Watts, Gents. }	6	11
	Cloghnadromon ..	16		2	14
	Kishy Quirke ..	14	John Syms, Gent. ..	5	9
	Lismollane ..	22	Thos. Burton, Gent. ..	4	18
	Caherkinlish ..	66	Stephen Towers ..	3	63
	Boskill and } Temple Michell }	39	Humphrey Curteis } and Edmd. Curteis, }	7	32
			Gents. ..		
	Castlevorkine ..	41	Edwd. Allen, Gent. ..	2	39
	Both Greenanes ..	20			20
	Ballyvorneene ..	39	Wm. Ingram, Gent. ..	1	38
	Killenure and } Gortinskeagh }	18	Wm. Chapman, Gent. ..	2	16
	Graingerbeg ..	17	John Cooke, Gent. ..	2	15
	Graingmore ..	33	James Collins, Gent. ..	5	28
	Brytas and Eque ..	58	Capt. John Mansell, Esq. . .	7	51
	Dromkeene ..	48			48
				46	402
	Killineneivearah ..	14	Theobald Bourke, Gent. ..		14
	Caherlish ..	27	Patrick White, Gent. ..		27
	Breakdone ..	5	Arthur Brocke, Gent. ..	5	

CLANWILLIAM BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
	Caherconnareffy ..	42			42
	Knockischie ..	12			12
	Clashbane ..	26	Robt. Thorenborrogh, Gent.	5	21
	Ballyvecode ..	16	Wm. Gabberd, Gent. ..	3	13
	Caherline aud Ballyhobine }	16	Ralph Russell, Gent. ..	1	15
	Doonevillen ..	36			36
	Rathjordan ..	31	Nichs. Hanragane, Gent. ..		31
	Cahirelly ..	64	Robt. Wilkinson, Esq. ..	5	59
	Cahirelly West ..	59		5	54
	Ballybrikin and Ballynebwohy }	73	Major George Ingoldsby, Esq. }	7	66
	Luddenmore ..	37	Nicholas Jenkins ..	2	35
	Clownekine ..	6			6
	Maddeboy ..	27	Will Bradford ..	3	24
				36	455
	Ballygey ..	23		2	21
	Knockihursimtah ..	36	Symon Whyte, Gent. ..	4	32
	Collinatrunny ..	2			2
	Gortballyboy ..	4			4
	Killerknegarriffe ..	9		2	7
	Ballylucki ..	4			4
	Dromenboy ..	20		3	17
	Gurteene ..	5			5
	Knockanebane ..	5	Thos. Turner, Gent. ..	4	1
	Castle Connell ..	72	Thos. Wilkinson, Gent. ..	9	63
	Lower Port }	22			21
	Crussy ..				
	Upper Port }	18			18
	Crussy ..				
	Boherquiele ..	11		8	3
	Parke ..	18	William Giles, Gent. ..	2	16
				34	415

CONNOLOGH BARONY

Rathkeil ..	Castle Matricks ..	26	Edmond Southwell and Thos. Southwell, Esqrs. }	6	20
	Court Matricks ..	45			45
	English Couch ..	20		3	17
	Ardbohill ..	12		2	10
	Ranahan ..	4			4
	Cloagh ..	8			8

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
	Knockan	6			6
	Ieland More ..	2			2
	Kiltane	8			8
	Inseypostoge ..	7			7
	Ballywilliam ..	42		4	38
	Graige	10			10
	Ballyyea	42	John Massy, Gent., and John Massy, his son, Gent. .. }	4	38
	Ballydoroug ..	15			15
	Ballymackey ..	10			10
	Kilcoleman ..	37		4	33
	Ballyallynane ..	62		2	60
	Loghall	22			22
				25	351
	Dromard	33	Francis Dowdall, Gent. ..	6	27
	Ballynalaugh ..	26		3	23
	Lissadine	29		5	24
	Rathkeil towne ..	186	Brooke Bridges, Esq. ..	40	146
Cloynagh ..	Cloynagh	26			26
	Lisnakelly	12			12
	Kilquane	7			7
	Part of Ballyegny }	43			43
	Rathgownane ..	27	Eustace Whyte, Gent. ..	2	25
Rath Ronane ..	Rath Ronane and Ballyvohane }	42	St. Copely, Gent. ..	8	34
	Dromaddy	56			56
	Athy	19		2	17
	Ge. $\frac{1}{4}$ Plowland of Derryncebaymore }	10			10
	Templetlea ..	17			17
				66	467
	Ballyegnie Pt. ..	12			12
Downdaniell ..	Ridlestowne ..	61	Henry Wendle, Gent. ..	3	58
	Clognarold	30		7	23
	Coolenoran	20	Thos. Watson, Gent. ..	2	18
	Clonybrowne ..	11			11
	Killscanell	11	John Chesterman, Gent., and John Jurin, Adven- turer, 10 % }	4	7

GONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladores' Names	English	Irish		
Croagh ..	Reenes	26	Capt. Thos. Walchott, Gent.	6	26		
	Clonogulline ..	34			34		
	Ballinlynne ..	34			34		
	Amogane	24			23		
	Ballynimaud ..	16			16		
	Cloagh	23	George Aylmer, Gent. ..	4	23		
	Croagnaburgess ..	62			58		
	Lisnimuky ..	32				32	
	Ballincurry						
	Ballynigoole						
			27	461			
Cappagh ..	Ballyadocke ..	4		6	4		
	Balliniveiry ..	11			5		
	Ballaghmaghilly ..	12			12		
	Kilteneane ..	2			2		
	Cappaghtowne ..	20			20		
	Ballindigany ..	4			4		
Clonshire ..	Clonoule	5		4	5		
	Clonshiremore ..	20			16		
Clonshire ..	Gorthne Grewre ..	11			11		
	Clonshirebeg ..	18			18		
Ballingarry ..	Graige	2	Thos. Boare, Esq. .. Nicholas Monckton, Gent.	2 5	2		
	Ballingarrytowne ..	95			93		
	Knightstreet ..	83			78		
			17	270			
Cloncha ..	Ballinanleeny ..	91	Jonathan Barron, Gent. ..	4 1	91		
	Lisanane ..	84				84	
	Bohernagh and Lisconett						
	Lisconett ..	3			3		
	Loghdroomcare and Glassemalaffe	52			52		
	Bally McRogie ..	66			62		
	Ballebeggane ..	9			8		
	The Glebe of Cloncha	8			8		
	Gurteenchagherane ..	20			20		
	Bally McEvagie, Pt. of Bally McFrankie belonging to Mr. Courtney	19			19		
	Gortnetrehy ..	41			41		
	Ballykenedy ..	16			16		
						5	404



CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish	
Kilfenny ..	Teerenakelly ..	21	William Cox, Gent. ..	6	21	
	Ballybahill ..	13			13	
	Ballykeavane ..	33			33	
	BallyMcFrancky ..	20			20	
	Ballynoe ..	70			64	
	Killmacow ..	70	Thomas Butler, Gent. ..		70	
	Borneane ..	22	John Feild, Gent. ..	2	22	
	Kill McAnerly ..	10			8	
	Kilbeggana } ..	14			12	
	Lismoatty }					
		72			William Piggott, Esq. ..	7	63
	Pt. of Ballingarry	Shanaflogh ..	5			5
		Ballyvolloge ..	17			17
		Ballygrynane ..	34			34
		Killatall ..	31			31
Graignacurry ..		21			21	
Ballynehagh ..		20			20	
				17	456	
Brury, Cloun- coragh and Corchomohir	Brury Towne ..	103	Charles Odel, Gent. ..	3	103	
	Ballyfookine ..	64			64	
	Forte and Carraghmaddery }	56			56	
	Garryfoyne ..	21			18	
	Clounbanaff and KilmacDaniell }	12			12	
	Ballyshalogh ..	27			27	
	Cappinreechane ..	25			25	
	Cappintintinta ..	12			12	
	Killcalla and Gortmore .. }	17			17	
	Ballyhadiane ..	20			20	
	Castletowne ..	52			52	
	Culegoune ..	26			26	
	Grage ..	37			37	
	Ballyauliffe ..	5			5	
	Clounce ..	12			2	10
					5	484
	Gortenegary } ..	58			6	52
	Keales and Bohonure }					
	Ahidaigh ..	20			2	18
	Clounyneigh ..	6			4	2
	Bohard ..	8			2	6
	Clonenlary ..	9				9
	Callahow ..	6				6
	Tulligg ..	43				43

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Newcastle ..	Clounpastine ..	2	Robert Fencell, Gent. .. Lieut. Chas. Williams, Gent. John Odell, Gent. .. Capt. Nicholas Brumley .. Capt. John Mead and Lieut. John Williams, Gents. ..	10	2
	Dromcollohir ..	44			34
	The Glebe of Drom- collohir ..	6			6
	Coolabwey ..	2			2
	Clashnasprelagh ..	18			18
	Clouncreaw ..	15			15
	Mollaghard ..	18			18
	Kilmurry and Cappaculane }	15			15
				24	246
	Enshyneshedry ..	16			16
	Rosemarielane and Ballinlangie }	26			26
	Pt. of Mollaghard ..	10			10
	Ballymorphy ..	34		2	32
	Moddelly ..	35		6	29
	Pallice ..	147			147
Newcastle ..		154		36	118
	Churchstowne ..	4			4
	Dualy ..	23			23
	Glangoune and Ballypierce }	26			26
	Dromonstowne ..	37			37
	Ballylahiffe ..	21			21
	Gurraine Keavane ..	12		2	10
	Dongonwell and Glanstare }	28			28
				46	327
	Ducateene ..	5			5
Grangle ..	Ballymany ..	10			10
	Curraghnomullaght ..	12			12
		6		2	4
	Carhugare ..	33		5	28
	Ballyfraty ..	4			4
	Dromin ..	3			3
	Gorthrogh ..	3			3
	Lower Grange ..	15		5	10
	Dungee ..	4			4
	Ardrine ..	4			4
	Clounsirrihane ..	8			8

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladotes' Names	English	Irish
Ardagh ..	Ballyrobine ..	43	Richard Exham and Philip Exham, his son, Gents. .. }	5	38
	Cahirmoihill ..	10			10
		12		4	8
	Liskilleene ..	6			6
	Ballynebarny ..	21			21
				19	180
	North Ballinlahane ..	8			8
	South Ballinlaghan ..	4			4
	Ballinie ..	11		3	8
	Kilrudane ..	30			30
Abbeyfeale ..	Eanagbgare ..	4			4
	Killaghteene ..	36			36
	Rusgagh ..	28			28
	Town ..	39			39
	Portthreenaud ..	13			13
	Dromtarnsy ..	38			38
	Killmagh ..				
	Bolighbeheene ..	18			18
	Caherdogafie and Cnockrahidermody ..				
	Killinlea ..	10			10
	Cnockbrack ..	30			30
				3	266
Mahownough ..	The towne ..	56	Richard McGuire, Wm Fitzgerald and John Fitzgerald, Gent.		56
	Ballydarta ..	17			17
	Bally McKelly and Coollockey ..	24			24
	Ballybrenagh ..	12			12
	Garryduffe ..	30	Teige O'Connell, Absentee, Gent.		30
	Shanraught ..	23		2	21
	Fanelehane and Ballinvulline ..	42			42
	Monelany ..	30			30
	Aherrulke ..	64			64
	Teteraine ..	23		3	20
	Inniskin ..	10			10

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladotes' Names	English	Irish
Clounelty ..	Curraghetgeare ..	17		16	17
	Gorterouyne ..	16			16
	Rath ..	50			34
	Coolecormane ..	12			12
	Clounemore ..	27			27
	Fohynough ..	34			34
			Thos. Bramley, Gent. ..	21	466
	Ballygullin ..	14			14
	Meane ..	51			51
	Garrandraugh ..	6			6
	Coolerahan ..	2			2
	Ballynusky ..	2			2
	Gortskar ..	11			11
	Ballynoe ..	84		4	80
	Kilgobun ..	18			18
	Cahirahanbeg ..	8			8
	Aheliny ..	24			24
	Lisnisky ..	54		4	50
	Cnockedirry ..	19			19
Monagea ..	Camus ..	24	Thomas Maguire and Lawrence Maguire, Gent. }		24
	Ballynatiborad ..	29			24
	Ballymorrogh ..	69	John Hanksworth, Gent. ..	2	27
	Rahcahill ..	50			69
			Anthony Shydy, Gent. ..		50
				10	455
	Glanquen ..	15			15
	Tempulglantane ..	14			14
	Thulliguline ..	29			29
	Mynyloyne ..	14			14
	Cnockane } ..	24			24
	Icallane }				
	Glanduffe ..	33			33
	Rathneconnerie }				
	Fearne Willen and }	53			53
	Dromroe ..				
	Ardnacrohy ..	10			10
	Killehylen ..	42	George Bruttnell, Gent. ..		42
	Ballyquirke ..	8			8
	Ballyclorane ..	4		4	4
	Ballygeill ..	16		2	12
	Ballyconoce ..	11			9
	Gurteen McGarry ..	6			6
	Ballycogane ..	12		3	9
	Aranugh ..	18		2	16
	Ballynebow ..	10		2	8
				13	306

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Robertstowne	Shanagarry ..	5	Wm. M. Trenchard, Esq., living in England, Francis Paluis, Gent. ..	2	5
	BallyMcRannell ..	4			2
	Lisurclane ..	2			2
	Garryduffe ..	4			4
		15		7	8
Shanagolden ..	Lyahy ..	24		3	21
	Robertstowne ..	15			15
	Ballydonavane ..	8			8
	Garreenantobur ..	11			11
	Mineragh ..	17		3	14
	Cnockpatrick ..	2			2
		19		5	14
	Ballycormacke ..	17		5	12
	Tootemore ..	10			10
	Ballynecraggie ..	21			21
	Shrewlane ..	15			15
	Ardueneere ..	20			20
				25	184
Shanagolden ..	Ballyantlaba ..	11	Capt. John Copplen, Gent.		11
Killmoclane ..	Killeosgrave ..	9		5	4
	Shannett ..	74			74
	Ballyane ..	4		4	
	Ballyconockane ..	8			8
	Craigg ..	15			15
	Abby ..	10			10
	Craggard ..	6			6
	Tibberad ..	2			2
	Carrue ..	2			2
	Mollogh and Mochraneene }	21			21
	Clounety ..	13			13
	Fynoe ..	8			8
	Ballyhahill ..	10			10
	Clounelehard Cnocknegerneagh }	13			13
				9	209
Nantenan ..	Town ..	29		3	26
	Currocheene ..	19			19
	Scarte ..	12		2	10
	Shanaclogh ..	8			8
	Derry ..	13			13
	Ballymoriscene ..	4			4
	Grageene ..	6		2	4
	Ballingarran and Farranree }	40			40

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands		No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish	
Doonmoylen and Kilcoleman	Ballyhomocke	..	10	Robert Peacocke, Gent. ..	4	10	
	Gragagh	..	12			12	
	Ballyvococke	..	16			12	
	Ballytreteady	..	13			13	
	Ballinvirick	..	10			10	
	Collagh	..	25			25	
	Dohellbeg	..	8		2	6	
	Rathnesheare	..	16		16		
	Doonemoylen	..	22		4	18	
						17	264
Loughill	Lisbane	..	10	Peter Middleton ..	4	6	
	Ballenloyhane	..	11			11	
	Moneymohill	..	4			4	
	Doonecahy	..	18			3	15
	Kilcoleman	..	21			21	
	Carns	..	12			12	
	Glansarroole	..	12		12		
	Loughill Towne and lands		57		10	47	
	Curry	..	30		Thos. Chamberline, Esq. . .	4	26
	Li ready	..	6			2	4
Askeaton	Carrubane	..	14	Sir Nicholas Crosby, Knight	4	10	
	Cnocknabuoly	..	6			6	
	Kilteery	..	21		2	19	
	Cappagh	..	24			24	
	Askeaton Towne	..	131			131	
	Neogh-Nearly	..	54		2	52	
	Ballyhomyne	..	11		Ensign Master Philips, Gent.	2	9
						33	409
	Lower England towne		10		Nicholas Southcott, Gent.	2	10
	Bally Noert		18				16
Ballynekelly and Gortsheaghane							
Upper England towne		21	21				
Court Browne	..	28	6	22			
Ballynaish	..	6		6			
Ballynacarragh	..	23		23			
Morgans	..	32		32			
Tomdely	..	29	4	25			
Aughinis disert Ilauimore, etc.		30				30	
Craige	..						

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish	
Killaghaliahane	Gortnatiberad ..	58	Edwd. Odell, Gent. ..	6	52	
	Killmurry ..	18			18	
	Killeans ..	26			26	
	Ryleans ..	8			8	
	Currimore ..	6			6	
				18	205	
Killydy ..	Tulloe ..	20	John Congreife, Gent. ..	2	18	
	Barnygarrane ..	11			11	
	Killoghaliahane ..	66			66	
	Lisnafully ..	21			21	
	Lower Cappagh and Killconroe }					
	Killines ..	8			8	
	Killydy ..	16			16	
	Ballyowen ..	4			4	
	Pt. of Killydy ..	10			10	
	BallyMcKerry ..	6			6	
	Glean Gort ..	17			17	
	Caherlevoile ..	5			5	
	Killeulline ..	26			26	
	Pt. of Fyneglassy ..	40			40	
	Pt. of Glanucoyner ..	8			8	
	Ballyshane ..	11			11	
	Clounsericke ..	4			4	
	Clenagh ..	15			15	
	Cleanmore ..	23			23	
					2	309
Kilbraderane ..	Ballinity ..	21			21	
	Gragure ..	7			7	
	Dromturke ..	8			8	
	Ballyline ..	17			17	
	Arlemane ..	2			2	
	Ballyanes ..	19			19	
	Listotane ..	2			2	
	Kilbraderane ..	18			18	
	Teginis ..	8			8	
	Couk Tomyne ..	25			25	
	Lismakeery ..	16			13	
Lismakeery ..	Ballyneclohy ..	38	Capt. George Burges, Gent. Lieut. Coll. Symon Eaton, Esq. John Purdon, Gent. ..	3 6 2	32 36	
	Tulloe ..	38			2	36

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladotes' Names	English	Irish
	Conniger	23			23
	Milltown	4		2	2
	Creave	13			13
	Lefane	9			9
	Ballyculline	13			13
	Ballyttelane	11			11
				13	279
Kilfergus ..	Ballydonoghoo	15	Alderman Barker, Esq. ..	1	14
	West Meanus	15			15
	East Meanus	10		2	8
	Faran Miller	21		5	16
	Tolloghlash	24			24
	Cooleenecarrigy	16			16
	Caharagh	69			69
	Killeacallan	23	Alderman Hunt, Esq. ..	1	22
	Tulloleige	11			11
	Tullery	3			3
	Kilfergus	3			3
Adare ..	Finterstowne	56	Coll John Bridges, Esq. ..	7	49
Ballyfoline ..	Kilfeny	23	Gerrald McWilliam, Gent.		23
				16	273

KENRY BARONY

Irosa ..	Ballysteene	35	Thos. Donden and David } Donden, Gent.	3	32
	Ballyvadicke	8			8
	Ballinvohir	11	Philip Boyles, Gent. ..	1	10
	Boah	6			6
	Ballynecourty	20			20
	Milltowne	26			26
	Ballyncheglish	12			12
Kilcornane ..	Mornane	22	Latimer Sampson, Gent. ..	4	18
	Disirt	11			11
	Garraneard	16			16
	Teaghnekellie	13	Philip Fitzgerald, Gent ..		13
	Ballynemony	22			22
	Clonkelly	17			17
	Kilbrydy	15			15
	Ardloman	8			8
	Killeene	6			6
	BallyInickane	10			10
	Ballycahane	9			9
				8	259

KENRY BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Kildimo	Ballyhetrick ..	5	Garrott McMorris .. John and James McMorris, Gent.	4	5
	Clanogullyne ..	17			17
	Ballyshersie ..	15			15
	Moch ..	21			21
	Ilanmore ..	40			40
	Ballymartine ..	24			24
	Dromeherbeg ..	8			8
	Dromehermore ..	7			7
	Kilcornane ..	9			9
	Ballyglahane ..	21			17
	Ballygoage ..	7			7
	Ballynoe ..	18			18
	Shanballymor ..	7			7
	Ballycollane and Ballyvarrin }	127			123
	Fahey's Ruddy ..	11			11
	Bealane ..	26			26
Ardcaham	Drominore ..	25	John Barry, Advent., Gent.	4	21
	Ballyvadane and Cahir }				45
	Ballygossy ..	48	Garrett Fitzgerald and Maurice Fitzgerald, Gent.	3	31
	Court and Killacollam ..	34			33
	Kildimo ..	37	John McCad, Gent. ..	4	11
	Cragg McCree ..	26			2
	Ballyashea and Kilmurry }		20	John McGarrett, Gent. ..	5	14
	Pallich and Shanapallice }	11				19
	Middle Killashura ..	11	Garrett McJames Purcell, Gent. ..	11	15
	Muckenagh ..	2			7
	North Killashura ..	5	Morris Gerrald, Gent. ..	11	7
	Ren Mulleene ..	14			8
	Ballydovle ..	19	Morris Gerrald, Gent. ..	11	73
	Ballycharra ..	15			
	Mullane ..	7			
		Carbeeney ..	7			7
Farrena Bryan ..		8			8
Ballycarigg ..		37			73

KENRY BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladotes' Names	English	Irish
Pt. of Adare ..	Currey	8	Veere Hunt, Esq. ..	2	6
	Twough	50			50
	Currobridge ..	30		4	26
	Ballylongford ..	22			22
	Killcurrellis ..	17		2	15
	Cloghranes	55			55
				8	226

OWHYNY BARONY

Duogh	..	Tone Iterrife	..	13		13
		Ballybeg	..	31	4	27
		Killuragh	..	18	2	16
		Tuogh	..	66	18	48
		Abbey Owhny	..	325		
					James Loyde, Gent. Thos. Iacson and Wm. Groves, Esq., and Richd. Nay, Gent., Richd. Ingrame and Robert Kent	38 287
						62 391

CONAGH BARONY

Doone	..	Conocknycarrig	..0	9	Wm. Whittle, Gent.	..	2	7	
		Kilmoglin	..	22				22	
		Covgy	..	8	Edmd. Dwyier, Gent.	..		8	
		Mogorough	..	16				16	
		Faranane	..	22	John Whitechurch, Gent...		4	18	
		Ballycausow	..	10	Thos. Butler and James Butler, Gent.			10	
		Castlenegaurae	..	14	Henry Bally and John Bally, his son, Gent.		3	11	
		Gorte Ivalle	..	19				19	
		Gourt ne gaurae	..	10			2	8	
Castletown P.	..	Castletowne	..	103	Giles Harding and Wm. Harding, his son, Gent.		20	83	
Ulla	..	Garrishee Rin	}	48				48	
		Garremoragh							
		Ballyterrin			..	23				23
		Shanabally	..	40	Hen. Harding and John Harding, Gent.		5	35	
		Cloaghdaulton	..						
Downe	..	Killmacoy	..	4				4	
							36	312	

CONAGH BARONY—*continued.*

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Ulla ..	Ulla and Newtown ..	9	Donogh McBrien, Gent. ...		9
	Boher McGragey	19			19
	Knockballyfucon ..	44			44
	Coolenepesley ..	37			37
	Pallarastowne ..	48			48
	Ballylahiff	18			18
Clogin ..	Knockullo	23	Conor Hickey, Gent. ..	3	23
	Neutowne	60	John Gebard, Gent. ..		57
	Meillrath	8			8
	Clogin	20			17
	Garey Praskey ..	6			6
	Garretowne ..	12			10
Ballymyclogher	Kilduffe	40	Mallcome Craford, Gent., and Simon Askin, Gent.	4	36
	Ballynecloghy ..	13	Jason Whitere, Gent. ..	2	11
	Kilduffe	13			11
	Ballynegatty and Temple Bredane }	40			40
				14	196
Ballynecloghy ..	Garridoolis	16	Thos. Marshall, Gent. .. Thos. Lysaget and Garrett Ralagh, Gent. .. Thos. Obsom, Gent. ..	15 3 3 2	16
	Cloughkillvarily ..	24			24
	Dearke	12			12
	Garran	17			17
	Ballincurry	7			7
	Knockare	3			3
	Clohin	5			5
	Kiltillee	7			7
	Ballyveden	3			3
	Scart	18			18
	Pallice and Greane	79			64
	Ballytorsy	41			38
	Grellagh	23			20
	Gartenaleen	15			13
	Ballymoneen	7			7
	Miltown	16			16
	Ballynegallat	22			20
	Ballynewgane	6			6
	Knockare	30			30
				25	326

POBLE BRYEN BARONY

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladotes' Names	English	Irish
Kilkeedy ..	Carrigoguniell ..	21	Daniel Clancy and James Clancy, Gents.		21
	Boskeagmor ..	19			19
	Cloghtarky ..	16			16
	Muckenish ..	15			15
	Knockrumram	32	Donogh Mahon and Morogh Mahon, Gents.		32
	Upper and Lower Melidee, Ballima- veene, Inchy, Ballyeightea Cloghanaron Knockbrack and Cragane	69	Daniel McTeige and Garrett McMorris, Gents		69
	Killmykally ..	20	Dan McMabowny, Gent. ..		20
	Tyrvoe ..	4	John Cullynane, Gent. ..		4
	Ballybrownny ..	16	Philip Fitzgerald, Gent. ..		16
	Killboy ..	13	Robert Wardinges, Gent.		13
	Craghbegg ..	14	Donogh McTherlagh, Gent.		14
					239
	Brostobryenbry ..	5			5
	Kiltemplane ..	18	Conor McDermody, Gent.		18
Mungret ..	Faha ..	8	Philip McShane, Gent. ..		8
	Ballyancakan ..	11	Donnogh O'Bryen, Gent. ...		11
	Bearnocoyle ..	11	Roger Byrne, Gent. ..		11
	Graige ..	19	Wm. Peacocke, Gent. ..	6	13
	Dooneene ..	5			5
	Lower Dooneene ..	14			14
	Knockballyglass ..	12			12
Clounanna ..	Clounanna ..	78	Patk. Arthur and Will Casey, Gent. ..		78
Killonoghten ..	Dromloghane ..	46	Richd. Newman, Gent. ..		46
	Ballyvaloge ..	13	Teige O'Byrne, Gent. ..		13
Monasterneny ..	Monasterneny ..	14			14
	Caherduff ..	5			5
Creconry ..	Barnageehy ..	27	Thos. Blackhall and Thos. Blackhall, his son, Gent.	5	22
				11	275
Killonoghan ..	Ballycahane ..	28	John Dribson, Gent. ..	2	26
	Knockgrany ..	15	Thorlo Oge, Gent. ..		15
	Lacknegrea ..	19			19
	Ballybronoge ..	9	Henry Towner, Gent. ..		9
	Killonoghan ..	17	Francis Berkley, Gent. ..	4	13
	Ballyregan ..	11			11
	Killcorley ..	5			5
	Knockdromashill ..	25	Walter Browne, Gent. ..	2	23
	Atteflin ..	25	Edwd. Lewis, Gent. ..	5	20
				13	141

COSMAY BARONY

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
	Bruffe	178	John Standish, Will Meagh and Nichs. Meagh, Gent.	3	175
	Tankardstowne ..	140	John Leacy, Gent. ..	5	135
	Killbreedy Minor ..	103	Wm. Blakney, Gent. Jeffrey Owens, Gent.	6	97
	Killpeackon ..	110	John Carpenter, Gent. ..	4	106
	Pt. of Ephraim ..	171	Edmd. Spranger, Redmond FitzHarris, George Aberly, Esq.	3	168
	Athlaca	210	Pierce Lane, Gent. Drurie Wray, Esq., James Fox, Gent.	15	195
	Pt. of Uregare ..	144	John Fitzgerald, Richd. Condon, Donagh Grady.		144
	Pt. of Tulleabrackye ..	116			116
	Dromin	164	John Rogers, Gent., and Arthur Ormsby, Esq.	12	151
	Adare	249		4	245
	Dumeane	36			36
	Droheatrassny ..	4			4
	Disert and Carriggin	35			35
	Monasterneanagh ..	59	Richd. Betsworth, Gent., and John Neunham, Gent.	4	55
	Croom	472	Henry Supple, Richd. Traghne, Robert Rathcrum, John Cuthbert, Marcus Harrison and Edy Lacie, Gent.	14	458
				70	1121

KILMALLOCK TOWN AND LIBERTIES

No. of People	Tituladoes	English	Irish
610	Matthew Griffin, Esq.; George Gould, George Benson, John Holmes, Thomas James, Edward Harris, Jonathan Tilly, Thomas Holmes, Henry Glover, John Darby, Will. Hill, Beckingham Bentham, Richard Cooke, Thomas Jubbs, and William Bound, Gent.	73	537

SMALL COUNTY BARONY

Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.
O'Bryen	13	O'Hogan and O'Hogane	18
McBryen	12	O'Hea	31
O'Bryne	15	Hurley	10
Bourke	29	Hickey	9
McConnor	14	O'Kiefe	13
O'Connor	7	O'Meary and O'Mary	11
O'Connell and McConnell	8	O'Mullowny	21
O'Cahane	15	McMorish	9
O'Clery	9	O'Mulrian and O'Mulriane	9
Cullane	10	Nugent	8
McDavid	12	Ryane and Ryan	32
McDonell	9	O'Ryderane	8
McDaniell	25	Rawley	11
McDonogh	17	McShane	32
McDermott	12	McTeige	23
McEdmond	9	O'Trassy	9
O'Grady	26	Walsh	15
Fitzgerald	13	McWilliam	16
O'Glissane and O'Glassane	17	Casey	8
O'Heyne	6		

COSTLEA BARONY

Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.
O'Brine and McBrine	10	O'Sullivan	12
Barry	11	Sullivan	
Bourke	12	McDavid	20
Bryen and O'Bryen	17	McDonogh	14
Browne	9	McDaniel 17, Daniell 2, O'Daniell 3	22
O'Cormack and McCormack	9	McCamona	11
Casy	15	Fleming	12
O'Corbane	11	Gibbon and Fitzgibbon	22
O'Cahey	23	Henesy	16
McCraith	17	Hiffernane	12
O'Cluvane	11	O'Hogan	11
O'Connor and McConnor	11	O'Hea	9
Condon	10	O'Keilly	12
O'Currane	12	O'Kelly	10
O'Keife	8	O'Kenny	9
Murphy	13	Langan 6	12
McShane	23	Langane 6	
McShihy 9	12	McTeige	29
McSheehy 3		McWilliam	18
McDermod	8	Walsh and Welsh	17
		Meagh	8
		Tobine and Tobin	8

CLANWILLIAM BARONY

Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.
O'Bryne	8	Bourke	29
McBryan and O'Bryan	11	McConnor and O'Connor	22
Clancy	8	Dwyer	9
McDonogh	11	McDaniell	11
O'Heyne	17	O'Hea	24
Hickey	8	O'Howrogane	}
Hogane	11	O'Howrigane	
Mulclahy	11	O'Howregane	
Mulclahy		Muldowney	12
Ryane	57	McShane	20
McTeige	20	Browne	7
McKeogh	7		

CONNOLOGH BARONY

Allen	9	O'Fearly and Ferrally	13
Bane	9	Fitzgerald	36
Barry	40	O'Neale	20
Browne	9	McOwen	15
Bourke	16	McPhilip	19
O'Bryen and McBryen	39	McRichard	11
Brennagh and Brennagh	9	O'Reidy	15
O'Cahill	11	McRory	15
O'Conty	9	O'Ryan	8
O'Comane	10	Russell	11
Condon	9	O'Regane	10
O'Croneene and O'Cromeene	15	O'Rierdane	13
O'Callaghane	17	Roch	20
McConner and O'Conner	59	O'Shea	11
Carthy and McCarthy	18	McTeige	90
O'Connell	41	McTurlogh	10
O'Casey	10	Wailsh and Welsh	27
O'Curtaine and McCurtane	13	Whyte	16
O'Cullane and O'Collane	35	McGibbon	22
O'Culhane	6	McGarrett	19
O'Cashane	9	O'Grady	31
O'Dillane and O'Dillene	21	Hely and O'Healy	13
Donaghow	11	O'Haley and O'Hally	11
McDermott	45	O'Hea	25
McDaniell	55	O'Herley and O'Helyhy	20
O'Donnell	19	O'Hogane	21
O'Dally	14	Herbert	12
O'Daly	10	O'Hickey	11
McDavid	31	Hecky	9
McDermody	16	O'Hanraghane	19
McDonogh	43	O'Hanrahane	3
McEdmond	36	O'Hourogane and O'Howregane	11
O'Flyne	13	Hurly	12

CONNOLOGH BARONY—*continued.*

Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.
Halpin	15	O'Nonane and Nunane	12
McJohn	12	O'Nea	11
O'Keife	11	Nash and Naish	21
O'Kelly, O'Kelly, and O'Kealy ..	39	Nagle	11
O'Kally	6	Sheaghinsy	14
O'Kennedy and McKennedy ..	24	Shaughinsy	
O'Linchy and O'Lenchy ..	13	Shagnis.. .. .	
O'Lency	8	O'Sheaghane	
O'Lacy	18	O'Sheghan	29
O'Leyne	23	O'Shyghane	
O'Madigan and O'Madagane ..	38	McSheedy	
McMorrogh	12	McShyhy	10
O'Mallowny	16	O'Sullivan	33
McMorris	40	O'Skanlane	29
McMurtagh	21	McShane	91
McMahon	15	McSheane	
McMahony	11	McThomas	39
Morphy and Murphy	30	Wall	15
O'Mulriane	11	McWilliam	50

KENRY BARONY

McConnor and O'Connor	16	McDonogh	8
McDaniell 11	13	O'Dillane	6
O'Donnell 2		McEdmond	9
Fitzgerald	7	O'Hagane and O'Hogan	9
O'Kelly 6	10	Linchy	9
O'Kealy 4		McMoris	12
McPhilip	8	McShane	22
McTeige	16	McThomas	9
McWilliam	18	Walsh	7

OWHYNY BARONY

McDonogh	7	McLoughlin	5
O'Ryan	5	O'Rea	5
Rayne and O'Rayn	16		

CONAGH BARONY

Brian, O'Brieen and McBrian ..	24	O'Cato and McCato	14
O'Cassy and Cassey	8	O'Connor 4 }	8
Dwyer and O'Dwier	10	McConnor 4 }	
McDonogh	8	McDaniel	7
O'Donevan	10	O'Gleasane	7
O'Hea and Hea	31	O'Hickey	8
McKenedy	9	Rayne 10 }	15
McShane	9	Reigne 5 }	
McTeige	11		

POBLE BRYEN BARONY

Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number	No.
McByrne and O'Byrne	8	Casy	6
McO'Connor and O'Connor ..	7	McDonogh	9
O'Dea	7	McDermody	5
McDaniel	8	O'Hea	6
Kenedy	5	McMahon	6
Mollowny	6	McTeige	17
McShane and McSheane	14	McTherlogh	7

COSMAY BARONY

Bourke	8	O'Brien 5	}	11
O'Carrul	13	O'Brine 6		
Casie	7	O'Conor		15
Browne	8	McConnor		15
O'Connell	8	O'Daly		9
O'Donnell	}	McDonnogh		11
McDonnell		McDavid		10
McDermott	8	McEdmond		7
Fitzgerald	9	O'Hea		18
Hickie and O'Hickie	17	O'Kelly		7
O'Lyne and O'Lein	7	Lacque		9
Linchy	10	O'Muldowny		13
McMurtagh	7	Murphy		8
McMonish	9	McPhilip		7
O'Neale	6	O'Rierdan		9
O'Rergan and O'Regan	10	Shanoghan	}	8
Sullivan	27	Shannoban		
McTeige	14	McWilliam		11

KILMALLOCK TOWN AND LIBERTIES

O'Brine	6	Kelly	6
McConor	4	McTeige	7
McDonogh	6	McShane	4
Griffin	4	McWilliam	4

	Pages	English	Irish		Pages	English	Irish
Barony of Small County	1	44	639	Barony of Kenry	24	8	259
	2	33	655		25	27	833
	3	8	593				
	4	19	519			35	1,092
	5	16	544		Total	1,127	
		120	2,950				
	Total	3,070					
Barony of Costlea				Barony of Owhyny	26	62	391
	4	22	325				
	5	80	776		Total	453	
	6	27	1104				
	7	4	580				
		132	2,7075 2710				
	Total	2,908					
Barony of Clanwilliam				Barony of Conagh	27	36	312
	8	34	518		28	39	722
	9	82	857			75	1034
	10	34	215		Total	1,109	
		159	1590				
	Total	1,749					
Barony of Connolagh				Barony of Poble Bryen	29	11	514
	11	25	353		30	13	141
	12	93	928			24	655
	13	22	674	Barony of Cosmay			
	14	22	940		31	70	2121
	15	24	246		Total	2,191	
	16	65	707	Kilmallock Town and Liberties			
	17	24	732		32	73	537
	18	10	455				
	19	38	490		Total	610	
	20	26	455				
	21	51	704				
	22	2	309				
	23	29	552				
		431	7545				
	Total	7976					

THE RESTORATION

After the death of Cromwell, in 1658, the English nation began to manifest a desire for the restoration of the monarchy. Secret negotiations were soon opened by leading statesmen with the exiled king and made such progress that it seemed certain that before many months Charles II would be seated on the throne of his ancestors. The Cromwellian leaders in Ireland were not slow to read the signs of the times, and began at once to lay their plans to secure themselves in possession of the lands they had acquired with no better title than the sword. Coote and Broghill convened a meeting in Dublin of those who had shared in the confiscations to devise means to exclude the old proprietors who, in the event of the return of the king, confidently expected to be restored to their homes and lands.

Coote despatched Lord Forbes to Bruges to inform Charles that he was able and ready to restore him at once, but stipulated for the security of the grants from Cromwell to himself and all those he should name. Charles agreed to all his demands, but thought it wiser to await the march of events in England. The remnant of old Irish gentlemen still in the country, lest they might by their influence share in the glory of the restoration, were imprisoned. An agent was despatched to England to spread the report that the Irish were already in rebellion and cutting the throats of the Protestant settlers. And so cleverly was the whole affair managed that Charles was hardly seated on the throne when he was asked to sign a proclamation against the Irish papists, to which was added an order that none of the adventurers or soldiers in possession of land in Ireland were to be disturbed.

Only eight years before Charles had written to Lord

Muskerry : " We will not leave any way unattempted which may enable our good subjects there (in Ireland) to continue and maintain so necessary a defence of themselves, who can expect nothing but misery and slavery under such merciless enemies."* During his exile he had had practical proof of the fidelity of the Irish to his cause, since they had not only sacrificed every thing that made life dear to them at home but had followed his fallen fortunes on the Continent, spending themselves in his service, fighting for France or Spain as it suited his interests. The restoration was welcome news to these war-worn exiles, and they naturally expected, now that Charles was on the throne, to obtain possession of their old homesteads. Indeed, so certain were some of them that they returned and ejected the intruders, thereby giving a colour of truth to the rumour of murders and massacres so industriously circulated in England and, needless to say, listened to with avidity. Some, indeed, of the more influential of the Confederates were restored, those of the Ormond faction, who during the war had communicated to him the secrets of their party, with disastrous consequences to the Irish Catholics. Others who had also rendered valuable services, but were of lesser note, had, in order to regain their inheritances, to submit to terms as drastic as those of the Cromwellian regime. But the very men who had been most active in aiding and abetting Cromwell in Ireland were those now selected to frame Acts of Parliament and dispense justice to the king's faithful Irish followers. Broghill, Coote, and Clotworthy were raised to the peerage as Orrery, Mountrath, and Masserene. These, with a few kindred spirits, elaborated the Act of Settlement, designed to secure themselves and their associates in their ill-gotten possessions. The Act was passed by the Irish Parliament and approved by Charles,

* Ormond MSS., Vol. I., Hist. Com.

though the injustice of the measure was clearly pointed out by the agent of the Irish Catholics.

In accordance with this Act, a Court of Claims was established in Dublin, presided over by three Englishmen who were independent of parties, and who administered the law, such as it was, without partiality. The Irish proprietor who applied for restoration to his land had to prove that he was "innocent," that is, that he had not joined the Confederation before 1649, or the party of the nuncio, or had lived quietly on his lands while the whole country was in the hands of the Confederates. If guilty under any of these heads he was declared "nocent," and debarred from restoration. Two hundred and seventy-seven cases were heard by the tribunal during the first three months, and only in nineteen were the parties declared "nocent," to the great rage and disappointment of the Cromwellian faction. Ormond was just then appointed lord-lieutenant, and quickly lent a hand in propping up the desperate position of the Cromwellians. When only eight hundred out of three thousand claims had been heard, the court was closed, and a new Act, framed by Ormond and known as the Act of Explanation, was passed through parliament. This Act excluded all papists who had not been judged "innocent" by the Court of Claims, thus depriving several thousand Catholics of their estates without any trial.

Sir William Domville, attorney-general and one of the framers of the Act, gives an instructive explanation of its scope as regards the Irish. "The Act of Explanation," he says, "admits no man to be restored on the ground of innocency, or as one who served under his majesty's ensign beyond the seas, or under any other qualification whatever, but as he shall be personally and particularly named to be restored; so that all the Irish not already restored are now in a state of election to be restored or not. Those who are thought

fit will have their estates in specie or equivalent lands. The rest will be excluded for ever."*

The adventurers, now thinking it wise to appear magnanimous, agreed to surrender one-third of their lands, since otherwise there was not enough left to compensate those who had proved themselves "innocent," especially after the large grants that had been made to Ormond, Coote, Broghill and others of that "ilk" who preferred themselves to either king or country. One hundred and seventy thousand acres were taken from those who had been directly concerned in the death of the late king, but instead of being restored to the Irish owners, were granted to James, Duke of York, the king's brother, who had no scruple in taking possession of them, the basest act in this whole sordid transaction.

Let us now see how it fared with the Catholic gentlemen of Limerick who had been dispossessed by Cromwell and had made great sacrifices in the cause of the king, not only at home but in foreign fields.

Pierce Lacy, of the Bruff branch of that family, a descendant of that Pierce who so stoutly resisted the English officials in 1598, expected, after valiant and faithful service in the royal cause, to be restored to his ancestral home. In his petition to the king, which was recommended by Ormond, he states that Pierce of 1598 fame enfeoffed his son John of the lands of Bruff, Dorrougclock and other lands. John was deprived of these lands under colour of a supposed attainder of his father. The lands came into possession of Sir Thomas Standish who, to secure his title, succeeded in getting a bill through the Irish House of Commons as far as the second reading, when John Lacy petitioned the House, in October, 1614, to be heard against it through counsel. A day was appointed and the case

* I.S. Papers.

was debated at the bar by learned counsel on both sides, with the result that the bill was rejected by eighty-four to sixty-four votes. Lacy then had recourse to the common law to enforce his title, but was prevented from proceeding by unwarrantable orders from the Irish council, and so powerful were his enemies that they succeeded in keeping him in prison until, to regain his liberty, he had to resign his title to those in possession for £100. In consideration of this injustice there was an express article in the peace of 1648-9 ensuring petitioner justice in the next parliament. Lacy had loyally served the royal cause and raised a troop of horse under Ormond which was cut to pieces at the battle of Rathmines. He again recruited it and defended Limerick against Ireton, and to impede the progress of the parliamentary army, he burnt the paternal home at Bruff. For this offence his aged father was cast into prison, where he died after six years of untold suffering. When the Irish surrendered, Colonel Lacy was transported with one thousand men to Spain, but while on the voyage he compelled the captain of the vessel to land them in France, hoping thereby to assist the king (Charles). He returned from exile with the king, and naturally expected that his sufferings and service would entitle him to take possession of his family inheritance, but, like a good many more, was doomed to disappointment.

In another petition he was more successful. Sir Nicholas Comyn of the city of Limerick had been transplanted to Connaught. In his certificate he is described as "numb at one side of his body of a dead palsy, accompanied only by his lady, Catherine Comyn, aged 35 years, flaxen-haired, middle stature, and one maid servant, Honora ny McNamara, aged 20 years, brown hair, middle stature, having no substance but expecting the benefit of his qualifications."* Sir

* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 104.

Nicholas, after lingering for a time in his new home beyond the Shannon, sank into a lonely grave.

After the Restoration, Lady Catherine returned to Limerick, and meeting Colonel Lacy, probably an old acquaintance of better days, married him. She had been declared an "innocent" under the Act of Settlement and ordered to be restored to her late husband's estate, which was more easily said than done. She made a joint petition with Lacy to the king, which received a favourable answer, inasmuch as she was to be restored by way of dower to one-third of such houses as Sir Nicholas was seized of in the city of Limerick during the coverture between him and her, to which title of dower was found by the Commissioners of Claims. The colonel succeeded in becoming a tenant of Curragh, in Co. Limerick, a part of the estate of the Duke of York.

Sir Edward Fitzharris was a claimant for his extensive estate around Kilfinane, then in the hands of Oliver, a Cromwellian soldier. Sir Edward, who was very young and a ward of the king when the war broke out in 1641, had taken no part in the early years of that struggle. When he grew up he tried his best to incline the Irish to submit to royal authority. When the Cromwellians became supreme in Ireland he crossed over to London, and would have gone to the Continent and enlisted in the royal army, had he not been prevented from doing so by Ormond. He busied himself in the king's cause and sent good intelligence to Flanders, and joined with others of his countrymen in Sir George Booth's design. He sought not only the restoration of his own estate, but also a declaration that he was entitled to jointure of his wife by her first husband, Redmond Condon, and to the estate of his late father-in-law, Thomas Fitzgerald of Glin. Fitzgerald, the Knight of Glin, who died in 1659, was considered an "innocent person." He was an

“unwieldye man,” and had never been in arms among the Irish. He accepted the peace of 1648-9, helped the several English that suffered in the war, and paid contributions to the maintenance of the royal army. The king graciously granted an order to the lords-justices in 1661 to have Fitzharris restored to the Glin property with rents for the last term.

Glin was at this time in possession of William Barker, a London alderman, and, according to Carte, “a proud, cross, unmannerly, but an artful and indefatigable man,” who had bought the interest of two adventurers, named Cunningham and Dick, and was in possession of the lands as their assignee. In February, 1662, Barker got a grant for a market and fairs for the town of Glin, the market to be held every Wednesday and the fairs the second Tuesday in May and the second Tuesday after Michaelmas—each to last two days. When Barker’s title was reviewed in the courts it was found to be worthless, as Cunningham and Dick had no title to the lands. He had, however, power and influence enough to have his case debated in the English House of Commons, but failed to establish his claim.

In the meantime another claimant appeared on the scene in the person of Major Gerald Fitzgerald, who claimed to be entitled to the estate by entail. A government official, who had hopes of securing it for himself, described old Thomas Fitzgerald as an arrant rebel and thought the major, though an ensign, no better. An order was made by the council in England that Sir Henry Finch should investigate the rival claims of Major Gerald Fitzgerald and Sir Edward Fitzharris. Finch, having duly examined the case in all its bearings, decided, in December, 1671, that the major was entitled to the manor of Glancorbery, in the parish of Kilfergus. Fitzharris was granted some townlands in his old property, but before receiving them

Oliver was to be compensated with lands in some other place, which left things pretty much as they were. Sir Edward had to bear a still greater cross in the infamous career of his son, Edward, who having published a libel on the king, endeavoured to escape the consequences by reviving the popish plot, which brought him to the gallows. He suffered death together with Blessed Oliver Plunket, and according to a report furnished to Ormond by his son, a friend of Fitzharris, is supposed to have died a penitent Catholic.

Colonel John Fitzgerald received as a reward for good services the wardship of the body and lands of Gerald, the infant son of and heir of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Balliglighan, in the parish of Kilcornane, and was to be restored to all the lands of which the family had been deprived under the rule of the usurper, but the decree was not carried out, as the Duke of York was in possession.

Margaret O'Brien, the widow of Richard Stephenson who was slain at Kilfinny, applied for a grant of some of her husband's lands at Dunmoylan and received a favourable hearing, as she was the mother of Colonel John Barry,* a great friend of Ormond's, who had fought in the royal army. Thomas Chamberlain, the adventurer who had possession of Dunmoylan, seems, however, to have successfully resisted her claim. He was a London merchant who had subscribed £1,600 as an adventure on Irish land and sent ships laden with corn to several seaport towns to relieve the poor Protestants who had fled thither. He had also

* He was the owner of Liscarroll where Margaret had spent the early days of her married life and where her other son, Oliver Stephenson, was slain in battle with her nephew, Inchiquin, a place of bitter memories in her declining years. He addressed some of his letters in 1643 and later in 1649 from Dunmoylan, where he must have been on a visit to his mother. He died at Waterford before the close of the war in 1650, and his estate of Liscarroll passed to the Percevals, who had a mortgage on it.—See Egmont Papers.

assisted the army with food and rendered other valuable assistance, for which he received the lands of Stephenson who, he claimed, had been killed in open rebellion.

The following case is remarkable as an illustration of how, in some instances, the Cromwellian confiscation was successfully evaded by the Catholics. It also shows the friendly relations that not infrequently existed between the Protestants and Catholics, no matter how far they were apart in religious matters.

Samuel Avery, a London merchant, drew his lot as an adventurer in the barony of Connolloe. When the barony was surveyed and divided up, he was allotted the following lands which were in the hands of Irish papists:—Ardgoulemore (North part) and Shaneclogh, the property of Maurice Ley; Upper Derry and Ballybane, the property of Dermot oge and Denis O'Brien; Currihine, in the parish of Nantenan, the property of Edmund Sheehy; North Miltown, in the parish of Lismakeery, the property of T. Lacy; South Miltown, the property of James Lacy; Conniger, the property of Edmund Lacy; East Creave and Lisanelly, in the parish of Lismakeery, West Creave in the parish of Dunmoylan, and South Creave in the parish of Kilmoylan, the property of James Lacy; lands in the parishes of Corcomohide and Cloncrew, belonging to Simon and Murtagh MacEnery; and Cappacullane and Kilcolman, in the parish of Colmanswell, belonging to Hugh and Teige O'Gorman. Instead of taking up these lands, Avery entered upon and enjoyed the lands about Bruree allotted to Sir Charles Lloyd, Bart. In August, 1663, Sir Robert Byron became acquainted with the tenure of these lands, and applying for them in compensation for the land he had surrendered, received the king's letter granting him a lease of them at a rent to be fixed by the lord-lieutenant, as they were not in the possession either of adventurers or soldiers. In the meantime Avery

died, and on looking up his accounts Godolphin, then a clerk to Secretary Bennet, discovered the real state of affairs. Avery owed £10,000 to the crown and had left no other asset but the lands to satisfy the debt. Godolphin, who made the discovery, applied for them. His request was granted in 1666, at a rent of 2½d. per profitable English acre. The old proprietors, notwithstanding the searching times through which they lived, had remained all the time in possession and kept the profits without rendering an account to anyone who could claim it. They were now compelled to furnish an account of the mean profits since the Restoration. Godolphin (afterwards Sir William), by deed dated the 24th April, 1674, sold these lands and premises to Sir Robert Southwell of Kinsale.

Captain John Purdon of Tulloe, in the parish of Lismakeery, who was guardian of Edmund Lee, an infant and heir to Ardgoyle, being a descendant of Lee, physician to the Earl of Desmond, made an appeal on his behalf. He was supported by Inchiquin, who certified to the loyalty of his father and grandfather. The latter, Maurice Lee of Ardgoyle, was then an aged man; John Lee, the father of Edmund, had served in Flanders in Captain White's regiment. The appeal was favourably received and a king's letter was forwarded for his restoration. How he afterwards fared history does not relate, but it may be conjectured that he resided with his grandfather until the new landlord came into possession of the property. There is no trace of the name or family now in the locality.

The new proprietor had little sympathy with the dispossessed Irish owners, as he considered that "there is not among them one in twenty that turns their minds to an industrious course, but expect to be regarded as unfortunate gentlemen who yesterday lost an estate and were to be restored to-morrow."* He

* Egmont Papers, Vol. II., p. 115.

was not in favour of retaining any of the old proprietors as tenants, either on his own estate or on those of his friends.

Edmund Lacy of Coniger was one of the first to feel the change. In 1642 he was present at the siege of Askeaton. Nothing is heard of him again until 1654, when some one reported to the government that Sir Thomas Southwell of Rathkeale, the high sheriff of the county, and his officers were guilty of oppressing the people by refusing to return a charge unless the expenses of the court were paid beforehand. It was also alleged that the officers, attorneys, bailiffs and jurors were all Irishmen, and that one Edmund Lacy, lately in arms against the Commonwealth, was at that moment clerk of the court. Lacy had married Alice Conway, widow of Patrick Dowdall of Cappagh, and being favoured by Southwell, he had a good social standing among the influential people, who, no doubt, protected him and his friends during the Cromwellian regime.

Another reason why so many of the Catholics of Limerick escaped transplantation to Connaught may have been that Sir Thomas Southwell was appointed commissioner for the precinct of Limerick, on 21st November, 1653. It was his duty to examine the transplanted, and being a kind-hearted gentleman, he saved as many as possible.

George Courtenay of Newcastle, who had been compelled to surrender King John's castle at Limerick, died in March, 1644, during the cessation, leaving two sons, William, who died in 1651, and Francis, who died in 1659, both childless. The property then reverted to Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham, in Co. Devon. who was son of Sir Francis Courtenay, elder brother to George.* Sir William visited his newly acquired estate about this time and lived in

* Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, Vol. 6, p. 18.

a munificent style, entertaining gentle and simple. He made the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Southwell, and before leaving married his youngest daughter, Joan.

Edmund Lacy, being well recommended by his patron, obtained a new home under Sir William at Rathcahill in 1677, and in 1679 was granted a lease of the lands for thirty-one years or the life of Francis Routledge. From him were descended the famous Russian generals.

Edmund Fitzgerald of Gortitibred (Springfield), or Clenlish, had been active at the commencement of the confederate war, but at the cessation he joined the party in favour of Ormond's policy. His merits and influence were brought under the notice of Charles I, who, to encourage his loyal attachment, conferred on him the title of baronet at Oxford, in April, 1643, the patent for which was issued in Dublin the following year. He went into exile with Charles II, and like the rest of the Irish nobility, trailed a pike in his service, but more fortunate than most of them, succeeded in regaining his old castle and two thousand acres, which, however, was considerably less than half his estate. Other representatives of the old families, such as O'Brien of Carrigogunnell, Lacy of Ballingarry, John Bourke of Cahermoyle and a few others, were restored to a portion of their former property. The old undertakers, with the exception of Collum and Thornton, were confirmed in their original grants.

Reviewing the effects of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, as far as they affected the county of Limerick, the greater part of the Catholic gentry saved at least a portion of their old estates, and those that were less fortunate succeeded in obtaining the status of middlemen on the larger estates. What remained of the rank and file of the people fell in silently as earth-tillers. The settlement of the country

was effected by 1670. The villages were broken up, and the people once more were free to roam through the fields and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

On the retirement of Ormond from the office of lord-lieutenant, in 1669, the noblemen who succeeded him came to the country with open minds and free from party prejudices, with the result that the Catholics were not interfered with on religious grounds. The happy effect of that policy was felt in Limerick, as some of the restored Catholics were appointed justices of the peace. John Bourke, of Cahermoyle, and Teige MacMahon were appointed in the year 1671. Sir John Fitzgerald of Springfield and his neighbour, John Ankettle, were appointed in 1672, and Edward Lacy in 1673. These must have been considered great honours by the Catholics, as they gave their leading men a social standing equal to that of the settlers.

Whatever change the convulsions of recent times had made in the material welfare of the people, they effected no change in their manners and customs. Irish was still the ordinary language of the people, and the Irish poet, as of old, was a welcome guest in the halls of the gentry. David O'Bruadair, who frequented the west of the county, has enshrined in poems of exquisite beauty the joys and sorrows and pastimes of his patrons. He was present at the funeral of Sir Edmund Fitzgerald, who died, an old man, at Springfield; and he tells in one of his poems how that old chieftain, according to the custom of his class, was after nightfall placed on a bier drawn by horses and, accompanied by a torch-light procession of the countryside, taken to Askeaton, where his body was received by the "humble tonsured friars" and consigned to its last resting place within the abbey.* At another time he is at the wedding of Elinor, daughter of John

* MacErlean, *Duanaire D. ui Bhuadair*, I., pp. 138-83.

Bourke and Anne Hurley of Knocklong, to Oliver Stephenson, which was celebrated with great splendour and hospitality in the white-walled castle of Cahermoyle where all the neighbourhood gathered to feast and dance.*

THE POPIISH PLOT

Just as a wave of prosperity was setting in for the impoverished Catholics of Ireland, a fresh danger arose from a most unexpected quarter. In September, 1678, Titus Oates startled England by the pretended discovery of a plot contrived by the papists—particularly the Jesuits—to re-establish the Catholic religion by force of arms and put to death the king and royal family. They burned London in 1666, it was alleged, and were the originators of other fires that broke out in the suburbs. To effect their purpose an army of twenty thousand men was enlisted and officered, and ready to take the field at the same time in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, Peter Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was to be lord chancellor, and his brother Richard and other leading Catholics were mentioned as holding official rank. Much innocent blood was shed in England by the perjuries of Oates and his companions, who were exploited by the Earl of Shaftesbury for political purposes. Ireland, where the Catholics were more than fifteen to one Protestant, was very disappointing to the promoters of the plot. Proclamations inviting informers to come forward were transmitted from England and published in Ireland. This had the desired effect. Hethrington, the principal agent of Shaftesbury in Ireland, soon found a number of unprincipled ruffians who rivalled Oates in their efforts to swear away the

* Ibid., II., pp. 50-97.

lives of leading men, both Catholic and Protestant, who had happened to incur their dislike.

David Fitzgerald,* a Protestant, who lived near Rathkeale, was at this time in prison at Limerick awaiting trial for uttering treasonable words, or, according to another authority, for breaking into the pound at Rathkeale and rescuing his cattle, which had been seized by Sir Thomas Southwell's bailiff for rent. When evidence of the pretended plot in Ireland was sought for, Fitzgerald saw a chance of shaking off his fetters, and immediately communicated to the Protestant bishop of Limerick and the sheriff of the county that he had valuable information to impart. Word was sent to Ormond who was then at Clonmel. He ordered the sheriff, with the permission of the judges, to bring the informer to him for examination. When brought before the duke, Fitzgerald pretended to give in writing whatever he could recollect of the design, but as he was much wearied by his journey and disturbed by the malicious prosecution against him he could not, he declared, remember all he had to communicate. If, however, arrangements, he said, were made with the judges for a speedy trial, he would return and complete his information. He was tried, acquitted and set at liberty.

Before again presenting himself to Ormond, Fitzgerald made some disclosures to Broghill, who informed his father, Orrery, who in turn secretly sent the information to England, where it would naturally be taken as a proof of his zeal in the cause and at the same time be an indirect thrust at Ormond. In the meantime other informers of the same type had come forward with similar tales, and Ormond, while giving them little credence, thought it safer to comply with the instructions he had received from England. Accord-

* *David Fitzgerald's Narrative*, London, 1680.

ingly, with the assistance of the council, he pieced the evidence together as best he could. Fitzgerald in due course presented himself and completed his story, and the informations were despatched to England.

Fitzgerald's story was substantially as follows: In March, 1673, Captains Daniel MacNamara, John Lacy, Con O'Neill, MacMahon, Hurley and several other Irish officers in the French service came to Ireland under pretencé of raising recruits for the Irish Brigade. Many of those gentlemen were old acquaintances of Fitzgerald, and in conversation with Lacy he learned that if the Dutch were once subdued, the French would re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in all the northern parts of Europe. All the officers returned again to France. About a year after Lieutenant Hurley came back and resided for half a year in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, where it was credibly reported that he trained several gentlemen in the use of pike and musket. Captain Lacy returned in 1675, and gave an account of affairs abroad to Bishop O'Moloney of Killaloe and the rest of the popish clergy in Ireland. It was generally rumoured among the clergy and gentry that Charles would not be king longer than 1677. When Fitzgerald received this intelligence from Bishop O'Moloney he communicated it to John Pigott of Kilfinny, esquire, justice of the peace. About the 2nd of November, 1677, Colonel Pierce Lacy asked Fitzgerald to go with him to Limerick, as he wished to treat about the design with Lord Brittas, John MacNamara of Cratloe, and several others. In January, 1667-8, Lord Brittas and Captain Thomas Bourke came into Connolloe and had several private consultations at the house of John Hicks, innkeeper, at Rathkeale, where more than twenty persons met them, and another at Newcastle, but what took place at these meetings was kept secret. In February, Fitzgerald met Mr. Eustace White of Rathgogan (near Ardagh), at

the Commons of Croagh Burgess, who told him he had two letters, one from Sir John Fitzgerald of Cleanglass and another from Mr. Hurley, to Lord Brittas who, it was believed, had got his commission, and the letters were enquiries, as Sir John expected to be a lieutenant-colonel and White himself to have a captain's command. Agents were constantly passing to and fro between the leading men in Ireland, and between Ireland and France. Colonel Lacy went to Dublin to confer with Colonel Richard Talbot, agent of his royal highness in Ireland, and when he returned a great meeting of the clergy of the diocese was held at the house of Dr. James Stritch, parish priest of Rathkeale, at which there were present Dr. James Dowley, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Hetherman, vicar-general, Dr. Creagh and Dr. White, Father Fox and several others. It was announced that the French were to land in Kerry and that their arrival was to be the signal for a general massacre. Hetherman, three days after, went to France, but before he left Fitzgerald informed Sir Thomas Southwell with all the particulars, and desired that Hetherman and his papers should be seized, but Sir Thomas did nothing. Sir John Fitzgerald called some time later on Colonel Pierce Lacy, who told him how much obliged he was to Sir Thomas Southwell for sending him word that Fitzgerald had reported the colonel and others as being engaged in a conspiracy then on foot in Ireland. Sir John warned his kinsman, the informer, that the report he made to Sir Thomas was known to Lacy and to have a special care of himself, lest it might cost him his life. Fitzgerald went to Southwell's house to accuse him of betraying his information to Lacy. That gentleman was, however, not at home, but he met his son-in-law, Mr. Pigott, and told him the news he had heard from his friend Sir John. Pigott became alarmed, as he was married to Sir Thomas' daughter and his sister was Fitzgerald's former

wife. In the afternoon Pigott sent a note, written by Sir Thomas, to Fitzgerald denying that he had told Lacy of any such information. Sir Thomas next day sent his servant, John Herbert, with an invitation to dine. He showed the note which he had received to Colonel Lacy in the presence of Bishop Dowley and Lady Comyn (Lacy's wife) who were also at dinner. On the 26th August, 1679, he returned to his residence, and about twelve o'clock a great multitude of people to the number of 62 surrounded the house.* By the aid of Philip Glisson, Fitzgerald escaped through a window two storeys high. Mr. Alymer, J.P., assisted him in securing the attackers, but they were discharged by Sir Thomas Southwell. The conspirators now got one Walter Huet to swear high treason against Fitzgerald, who at first fled through fear, but on second thoughts returned and surrendered to the law and was then locked up in Limerick gaol, whence he wrote to Ormond revealing the plot.

The next informer was James Nash, who deposed that Captain John Purdon of Tulloe, in the parish of Lismackeery, called him outside after Mass in the year 1676, and advised him to go to France, as it was the only place to improve himself, telling him there were going to be troublesome times and that there would be need of such improved men; that a good many of those gentlemen mentioned by David Fitzgerald were

* The names of the attackers were:—John Barret, Thomas Fisher, junior, Garret Leo, John Paunsey, Ed. Newland, Maurice Ornane, Tobias Barret, John Magynane, John Herbert, Maurice Herbert, Humphrey Farrell, Nicholas Halpin, David Lewis, John Lewis, Robert Poore, Charles Callanan, Henry Gibbins, John Stretch, Nicholas Stretch, James McTeigue O'Connor, Murrough Madagane, Patrick Cooke, Samuel Parker, Cahill O'Connor, John Wall, John Bluet, Ed. O'Daniel, Teige Shaughinsey, Michael Noone, Donough McTeige, Jas. Bren, John Creagh, Charles Harrison, Gerald Sinkin, John Spicer, James McNicholas, Francis Taylor, John, James, Maurice and Gerald Rauleigh, Hugh the butcher, John McTeige, John Murfey, John Mortimer, Daniel Cavanagh, John McTeige, Michael Levy, Michael Hanahan, Mortaugh O'Shea, etc.

sworn on a book which Nash thought was the Lives of the Saints ; and finally that the parish priest, Father Brodeen, bitterly cursed him if he did not observe secrecy in regard to the plot.

The depositions of Maurice Fitzgerald, a man of the better class, and a few others were taken before Captain John Odell at Ballingarry. The evidence of Maurice was similar to that of David, but introduced a few other of the local gentlemen, such as John Ankettle of Farrihy, who were to receive commissions in the phantom army.* David Nash and Donough Lyne were presented to Odell by John Massey, and imparted what was considered very valuable information, but when they were taken before Ormond they proved very unsatisfactory witnesses.

Donough Lyne, on his return from his interview with Ormond at Kilkenny, wrote to Captain Drury Wray an account of the whole proceedings, which throws a good deal of light on how the evidence of some of the informers was procured. Lyne seems to have been a doctor, and was of the better class. He tells how he was present at the examination of David Nash before Odell and how Nash was therein surprised in many circumstances by Odell and Massey directing him by leading questions, particularly in mentioning the names of persons they wished to have included in order to make the evidence agree with that of David Fitzgerald, and how, in relation especially to Lord Brittas and Sir John Fitzgerald, they were anxious to have the Knight of Glin, Lord Clare and Thomas Brown of Hospital incriminated. Odell offered Lyne £300 and a pension, besides many good treats in his

* When Odell was high sheriff of the county, in 1678, his sub-sheriff, who was a papist, was murdered, as it was alleged, by some Irish for doing his duty, and Orrery was anxious about the case lest it should disarrange his friend Odell's accounts. Odell and his brother, Charles, had raised a troop of horse, which Broghill, the son of Orrery, commanded, as they wished to be his son's officers.

own house, to draw him to witness and swear to the informations; at other times he threatened him with imprisonment and corporal punishment if he did not do so. As a further inducement, Massey, one of Odell's chief instruments in the promotion of the design, assured Lyne that the estates of John Bourke of Cahermoyle and Eustace White of Rathgogan would be divided equally between Lyne, Nash and himself as their reward for this service. When William Stokes became a discoverer, great promises were made to him. In the first place, instead of the brogues in which he came, he had a pair of shoes bought for him, and was promised later on to be supplied with a horse and boots. Stokes was taken to Limerick, where he was arrested for debt, but through the influence of his patron was released. Before his examination, Lyne and others were employed to prepare him with plenty of wine, and he was partly drunk when called to make a statement. The evidence of Nash was read for him, and it was suggested that if he did not corroborate Nash his evidence would be worthless. Stokes, however, drunk as he was, could not be brought to incriminate some of the gentlemen mentioned, though on other matters he was prevailed on to swear and subscribed his name. Massey then took Lyne to the house of John Nash of Tirnenahille, to whom he offered £5 and a cow if he would be a witness to Nash's information. John answered that for £5 he would swear anything.

In due time David Fitzgerald and his associates in infamy were ordered to London to be examined before the Council. Meanwhile Ormond had secured the local gentlemen who were supposed to be implicated in the plot. During the progress of the inquiry in England, the Earl of Arran wrote to his father, Ormond, "that Lord Brittas, Colonel Lacy and Sir John Fitzgerald were ordered to be sent in custody (to England)

and Sir Thomas Southwell, because he had a very good estate, is only summoned to appear." Colonel Lacy and Sir John were kept prisoners in the gate-house of the Tower of London for two years. After the exposure of the plot they were allowed to return to Limerick. The alleged conspirators at home were tried at the Limerick assizes and honourably acquitted. So ended the plot hatched in England through enmity to the Catholic religion, the back-wash of which was felt in Limerick, with, however, no very serious consequences, except the annoyance and worry it brought on innocent men.

It is interesting to know what Ormond thought of some of the principal informers. Writing to his son in 1683, he says: "I came just now from the Duke's and met going thither Foxen and David Fitzgerald the witness and I presume they have laid their wise heads together to give more information of disaffected persons in trusts and commands in Ireland. I may be mistaken, but it is no more than anybody will be that thinks the one has wit or the other honesty."* In August of the same year he writes to Sir John Temple: "Murtagh Downey one of the king's evidence in the first plot had the impudence to come to me yesterday in order to be a witness in this against Captain Odell, Mr Drury Wray, one Alymer and Capt. J. Seymour. He and his fellow Owen Callaghan, have been already whipped at Basing for vagabonds, and I have sent Downey to the porter's lodge in order to transmitting him and his companion when he can be had to Bridewell. This differs from the treatment they found heretofore in London, but I take it to be suitable to their desert."

The trade of informer was now at a low ebb, as it signally failed the promoters. Patrick French, who lived somewhere on the borders of Limerick and Cork

* Ormond MSS., Vol. 7, p. 74, Hist. Com. Series.

and in the vicinity of Drumcollogher, though too late to share in the spoils of the popish plot, thought that something could still be realized by betraying his brother tories who frequented the hilly country on the borders of Cork, Limerick and Kerry. They became active about 1685 and made several raids on the houses of local gentlemen, taking away a considerable amount of property in money and goods. The house of Edward Rice of Ballyneety, in the parish of Kilbrathran, was attacked on the 11th of December, 1685, about two o'clock in the afternoon, by Mr. William Fitzgerald, John Carroll, and sixteen others. They broke the windows of the house and stable and carried away money, horses, arms and other things to the value of £71. Oliver Nagle, a servant in the house, was able to prove that one Enraghty, who was arrested in Kerry, belonged to the party. Sir John Perceval had an interview with Patrick French who volunteered to "set" the tories, most of whom had been his companions in arms. In the first attempt he succeeded in bringing the army on them, with the result that a fight took place in which one Dermod Aherne, a tory, was killed. This enhanced the value of the spy in the estimation of the authorities. He was promised a free pardon and £100 reward. At the same time he asked for protection for John Carroll who would be of great assistance. Carroll was accordingly granted protection and promised to bring in William Fitzgerald, his former accomplice at the robbery of Rice's house. Fitzgerald was under the protection of Captain John Odell of Ballingarry and on the strength of it enjoyed a certain amount of security. He ventured to meet his old companion, French, who succeeded in capturing him and then handed Fitzgerald and Carroll over to the authorities, who sent them to Cork gaol. Some of Fitzgerald's friends allured French to the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, and while there one Burke "swore the

peace " against him before Mr. Cox, J.P., of Ballinore, who sent him to Limerick gaol, where, says Sir John Perceval, " they every night chain him to a post, not suffering him to lie down, and I hear, have laden him with actions of debt, as well as a horse-load of irons to keep him fast there, and is used with more severity for attempting upon Fitzgerald, whose friends, having the colour of Captain Odell's protection to warrant their concern for him, do use the greater rigour to French."* To this letter which Sir John wrote to Dublin Castle, a reply was received stating that the lord-lieutenant was much displeased with Mr. Cox's action in the affair and had issued an order to the sheriff of Limerick to allow French to make his escape from prison.

THE CATHOLIC KING

James II was now on the throne, having succeeded his brother, Charles II, and though a Catholic, his elevation carried with it the good wishes of the people of England. In Ireland, the favoured few were naturally hostile to him because of his religion, but above all they feared that his advent might lighten the burden of the oppressed majority, many of whom were still expecting justice and more equitable laws. James, however, allayed their fears by assuring them through the Earl of Clarendon, the new lord-lieutenant, that the Acts of Settlement and Explanation would not be touched.

In England, James' popularity was short-lived. He aroused the ire of the Protestants by advocating religious toleration, and to make matters worse, an heir was born to him who would in all likelihood succeed to the throne and perpetuate the Catholic religion.

* Egmont Papers, Vol. 2, p. 180.

Some of the leading statesmen plotted to bring over William, Prince of Orange, and place him on the throne. William gladly responded to the call and landed in England on the 5th November, 1688. James, abandoned by all except a few trusty friends, fled to France on the 23rd of December.

Colonel Richard Talbot, now Earl of Tyrconnell, had been appointed head of the army in Ireland. He set to work to remodel it and endeavoured to make it representative of the nation, rather than of an influential and bigoted minority. The Protestant militia had to give up their arms and stand on the same footing as their Catholic neighbours, who had been disarmed by Ormond a few years earlier.

When Clarendon visited Limerick and became acquainted with the old cavaliers, he thus wrote of Pierce Lacy to the Earl of Sunderland: "Here is a Colonel Lacy, an old cavalier, who hopes the king will when he has an opportunity put him into employment. I am sure he deserves it. He was an officer in the time of Charles I and I believe his majesty remembers him with himself in Flanders, where he served very bravely. This poor gentleman was settled here in a very comfortable way, when in the Oates' 'reign' he was sent to England and kept a prisoner at the gate-house about two years besides other severities to his person and estate." At the same time he wrote a special letter to the king on behalf of Lacy. Subsequently, alluding to the floating rumours that the restoration of their land would be sought by many from James, the viceroy adds: "All this would be very easily remedied and the king have all done as he has a mind to, if men would be discreet in their states as several are, amongst whom ought to be remembered Sir John Fitzgerald, Lacy, and many more, who have moulded their troops and companies to their mind without the least dissatisfaction to anyone. They are beloved in their quarters, they cherish

and comfort the people and punish those who talk impertinently."

Though England had deserted James, Ireland was still loyal to the throne. Now that the king was in France, couriers were constantly passing between Dublin and the Continent. After some negotiations James, urged on by the French king, resolved to go to Ireland, where at least he would be king in his own dominions, until a favourable opportunity arose for his triumphal return to England.

Tyrconnell had secretly organised an army of fifty thousand men, at least on paper. They were men of splendid physique on the field, but were without arms or military training. When the critical time arrived, he issued a summons to the Catholic nobility and gentlemen to call out their regiments, at the same time investing them with authority to grant commissions. Sir John Fitzgerald succeeded in raising a regiment of foot. All the old followers of royalty took sides under the banners of James, while the settlers, with few exceptions, joined up under William of Orange. James landed at Kinsale on 12th March, 1689, with French officers, men, money and ammunition. He was met by Tyrconnell at Cork, whence he proceeded to Dublin. As he passed along through the country, his march was a triumphal procession.

The next act in the drama was the holding of a parliament, the first of the kind ever presided over by a king in Dublin. It was composed of representatives of the nation. Sir John Fitzgerald and Gerald Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, represented the county of Limerick; Alderman Thomas Harold and Alderman Nicholas Arthur, the city; Sir William Hurley and John Lacy, Kilmallock; John Bourke of Cahermoyle and Edward Rice of Ballyneety, Askeaton. The laws that were enacted, while in favour of the oppressed, gave due consideration to the interests of the oppressors, the

details of which are to be found in any of our modern histories of Ireland. A commission was issued on 10th April, 1690, for applotting £20,000 per month on personal estates and on the profit of trade and traffic "according to ancient custom of this kingdom in time of danger." Men of local influence were appointed to assess this tax in the several counties. Sir John Fitzgerald, Dominic Roche, John Bourke of Cahermoyle, John Rice of Hospital, Edward Rice, John Baggott, senior, Henry Wray, Thaddeus Quin and George Evans, Esq., were appointed for Limerick. A good many of the Protestant party in the county left Ireland when Clarendon retired. These were outlawed by the parliament of 1689, if they did not return within a certain time.

Sir Thomas Southwell, of Callow and Rathkeale, succeeded his grandfather in title and lands. His grandmother was Elizabeth, daughter of William Starkie, of Dromoland, in Co. Clare, and his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Morrough, first Lord Inchiquin. After the death of her husband, Richard Southwell, she married secondly John MacNamara of Cratloe. It was the opinion of young Southwell's guardians that if these good ladies lived long he would be but a poor baronet. The grandmother was of a very autocratic disposition and caused a good deal of trouble by contesting the will of her husband; she succeeded in getting a verdict in her favour, but the executors arrested judgment in the hope of inducing her to make a settlement. Young Sir Thomas was sent to Oxford to acquire the education and accomplishments of an English gentleman, but growing weary of the dulness of college life, he removed to London, where he acquired extravagant habits, to the annoyance and worry of his guardians, Sir William King, Mr. Pigott and Mr. Bourke, who proposed to sell the old lady dowager's plate to increase the heir's income. When Sir Thomas came of age he returned to Rathkeale. In a few years the war broke out between the rival kings of

England, when, like all his family, he espoused the cause of William. After the surrender of Mallow to King James, Sir Thomas, his brothers, and one hundred Munster gentlemen resolved to march to Sligo and join Lord Kingstown for their common defence. James Power, the sheriff of Galway, having heard of their resolution, succeeded in capturing them on the journey. They were imprisoned in Galway, but through the influence of Lord Seaforth, Sir Thomas obtained his release and was allowed to accompany that nobleman to Scotland,

Captain John Southwell, in a letter dated from the camp, Aug. 14th, 1690, entreating protection for the goods, stock, and tenantry of his brother, Sir Thomas, remarks, "my brother has been a great sufferer by a long imprisonment in Galway and lying under the sentence of death, and through the particular favour of a Scottish lord was reprieved and got his liberty; yet he never took service under the enemy (Jacobites) or changed his religion, as both were falsely reported. He is now in Scotland, with no other interest than to make his escape to England which he reported to many before his going."*

Captain Taylor of Ballynort, Askeaton, was also very zealous in the Orange cause, using all his endeavours to muster an army of the natives in the interest of the new king. He wrote that "the estate of the Courtenays in this country is obliged by patent to raise a troop of horse and a company of foot when required for the king's service, and there been none of them in the country nor from them at this time to look after it, and I being a near relation to them cannot but be concerned, have prevailed on Captain Hart to raise a company of foot on it.* The Captain lived at Lower Grange and was a tenant on the Courtenay property at the time.

* Thorpe (Col. Southwell MSS.).

The whole country was now engaged in war, arrayed under the banners of one or other of the rival kings. The military affairs of the country are so interwoven with those of the city that the events connected with the close of this momentous struggle will be given in the chapter relating to the city

CHAPTER VI

THE AFFAIRS OF THE CITY

THE citizens of Limerick, like those of the other cities of Munster, believed that the laws for the suppression of the Catholic religion had come to an end with the reign of Elizabeth, and that her successor, James I, was favourable to religious liberty. They thereupon took possession of St. Mary's cathedral and St. John's church, which were re-consecrated and fitted up for Catholic worship by Dr. Arthur, the vicar. The viceroy, however, alarmed at the new movement, hastened to pour troops into the city, and without finding it necessary to have recourse to violence, forced the Catholics to relinquish the churches and confine their worship, as before, to private houses. And so far was the new king from showing himself an advocate of religious liberty that, on the advice of his council, he resolved to root out Catholicity and plant the Protestant religion in Ireland, believing that he would thus be able to unite all classes in one religious fold of which he himself would be the temporal and spiritual shepherd.

Sir Henry Brouncker, from whom much was expected as a religious reformer, was appointed president of Munster in the summer of 1604. He concentrated all his attention on the cities, as it was his belief that "if the cities be reformed, the country would follow, they being lanterns to the country round about. The flame of true religion breaking out in the towns, the sparks would fly abroad and kindle a fire in the country that will burn up all the weeds of barbarism in time."*

* Irish State Papers, 1603-6.

His ardour was damped for a while by the plague which was imported from England and spread through Munster with fatal results, sweeping away three hundred citizens of Limerick. In August he issued a proclamation ordering all "Jesuits, seminaries, and massing-priests" out of the province for seven years. Whoever entertained any of them after the last day of September was threatened with imprisonment during his majesty's pleasure and the forfeiture for every such act of £40, one half to go to the informer and the other half to the king's use. To interest the public in the priest-hunt, now for the first time organised, a reward of £40 was offered for bringing in a Jesuit, £6 3s. 4d. for a seminary priest, and £5 for a massing-priest. The Acts of Supremacy and Conformity passed in the reign of Elizabeth were considered sufficient to induce the laity to submit to the religious policy of the government.

Brouncker visited Limerick in 1605, and not being successful in capturing any priests, turned his attention to the mayor, Edmund Fox, who was commanded to take the Oath of Supremacy and observe the Act of Conformity, that is, acknowledge the king as head of the Church and attend the Protestant service. On his refusal to obey the mandate, he was deposed from office a few weeks before Michaelmas. The citizens were then forced to elect a new mayor in the person of Andrew Creagh, who was the first Protestant to fill the office. At Kilmallock the College of Ministers there on every Sunday go from house to house to collect the fines of 12d. from each person who does not go to church and in that way they catch the poor in their net.*

James I also issued a proclamation informing the Catholics of Ireland that he abhorred and forbade the practice of any religion but that established by law,

* Works of Fitzimon, S.J., page 154.

and at the same time commanded all the priests to leave the country by a certain date.

In order to establish respect for the law and administer justice to the people, it was thought necessary to hold assizes regularly in each county. They commenced early in 1606, and Sir John Davies, one of the presiding judges, has left an account of their progress through the province of Munster. From Mallow, he tells us, the judges went by Kilmallock, a good corporate town, over a sweet and fertile country into the city of Limerick, which he describes as "a town of castles, compassed by the fairest wall that ever I saw, underneath which runs the goodly river Shannon, which makes it a haven for ships of good burden." Yet, with all its advantages, the sloth of the inhabitants impeded progress, and there was nothing to be found within the fine structures that adorned the city but "sluttishness and poverty."

At the assizes held in Limerick a trial for murder took place which is of some importance as an illustration of the conditions of the time. One Downing, a lieutenant in the late war, had received a commission from Brouncker, the president of Munster, to execute by martial law vagabonds, masterless men, and such as had borne arms against the queen in the late war; in other words, authority to hang without trial anyone who might incur his displeasure. It happened that two fools, one belonging to the Earl of Thomond and the other to Sir John MacNamara, wandered into the village where Downing lived, and Downing meeting them on a Sunday morning, took them into custody and immediately hanged the two innocent creatures.

This cruel deed was reported to the earl, who finding on investigation that Downing knew well to whom the fools belonged, had him indicted for murder at the assizes. Downing was arraigned and found guilty, though a very partial jury had been selected to try

the charge. The trial was over when the president arrived in Limerick, but having learned the facts of the case, he felt annoyed at the action the earl had taken without consulting him, and some heated expressions passed between them, which led to an estrangement. The judges, too, were sorry for Downing's fate, as they looked upon him as a worthy pillar of the State, and they asked the lord deputy to pardon him.

The last case on the list was the indictment of the citizens for not going to church in accordance with the statute. A conviction was easily obtained, as the foreman of the jury was a well-affected Protestant. Two hundred of the burgesses were convicted, and as the offences extended over a period of six months, it was expected that the fines when levied would amount to two hundred marks. The fines were assigned for the repair of the cathedral, which was in a ruinous condition.

A few months later, the president paid another visit to the city, and was very pleased with the religious fervour displayed by some of the citizens. The mayor, Dominick Roche, his brother the lawyer, old Stritch and Mr. Younge accompanied him to church, and he expected before leaving that many more would act in a similar manner, especially since the capture of Dr. Cadame, the most notable priest in the province and a constant resident in Limerick. Many of the best houses were searched since his apprehension without the least resistance, which was remarkable, as the like was never before seen, even in the presence of the president. The persecuting zeal of Brouncker was, however, soon to end, as he fell a victim to the Herodian disease, of which, after lingering for a time, he died.

The poverty noticed by Davies was a real and pressing grievance, as it was occasioned by the sacrifices of the

city in maintaining the government in the late wars against O'Neill. In 1609, P. Arthur made an appeal to Salisbury, recounting the sufferings of the people and requesting to be allowed the cocket customs which all other cities of the kingdom enjoyed, as there were no other sources of revenue to repair the walls and bridges, with so many castles, bulwarks and towers of defence. Unless immediate relief was forthcoming it was feared, he said, that the inhabitants would forsake the city and take up their abode in the other towns of Munster, which were free from that kind of taxation. A remission of the fines inflicted at the last assizes was asked for, not only by Limerick but by all the towns of Munster. The appeal was referred back to the Irish authorities to examine into each case and enter into a composition with the aggrieved parties.

To reward the fidelity of the citizens and relieve the depression from which they suffered, James granted the city, on the 3rd of March, 1609, a new charter in which all the old privileges were confirmed and some new ones conferred. It was ordained that Limerick should be and remain for ever a free city, and that the mayor, bailiffs and citizens, and their successors, should be constituted one body corporate and politic by the name of "The Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens of Limerick," with all the rights and privileges they enjoyed under former charters. The city itself, with all the lands extending from the outward walls to the utmost limits of the ancient suburbs, liberties and franchises into the counties of Limerick and Clare, and the island of Inniscattery, should be formed into a county district and should for the future be known as the County of the City of Limerick.

To avail of this favour, four commissioners were empowered to measure three miles from the outward wall on every side to form the liberties, and to mark the bounds or limits with great stones or other notable

marks. The king, however, reserved to himself and his heirs the king's castle, the county jail situated under the tholsel, and the whole of the late abbey of St. Francis as a place convenient for the king's justices to hold assizes for the county of Limerick.

An admiralty court was established, having jurisdiction from three miles north of the city to the main sea, and all the admirals, or other king's officers, were strictly forbidden to exercise any power belonging to the office of admiralty within these limits. The mayor, recorder and sheriffs were to continue to be chosen on the accustomed day to serve for a year. On the same day four aldermen were to be elected to act with the mayor and recorder as justices and keepers of the peace, and they were empowered to hear and determine all manners of felonies, homicides, assaults, or other crimes committed within the county of the city, with the exception of treason and murder.

The charter was granted to twenty-four citizens, who were named, and they and all others should thereafter be of the society of merchants of the staple, and for ever form a body corporate of themselves, and have all the privileges that the merchants of the staple possessed in the cities of Dublin and Waterford.

The powers conferred by the new charter did not, however, save Clement Fanning, the mayor, from being imprisoned for disobeying a warrant of the president, but on application to the deputy he was promptly liberated.

In 1611, the customs of the various ports of Ireland were valued in the interest of the king. In the return Limerick is said to have a fair, commodious river and to stand on a fertile soil, but that its trade was small in comparison with the other cities. It consisted of corn, hides, pipestaves, woolfels, skins, tallow, salmon, and beef, and the returns, wines, iron, salt, and English commodities from Bristol fair twice a year, to the value

of £10,000 per year; while that of Waterford was £30,000, and that of Cork and Galway £20,000 each.*

Owing to depredations of pirates on the Shannon and the uncertainty of trade arising from the poverty of the surrounding country, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the late wars, the wealthy citizens invested their money in land, many of them purchasing large tracts from needy undertakers, and while thus residing in their country houses they had an opportunity of practising their religion without fear of molestation.

The election of mayor became at this time a burning question in the city. Year after year, almost without exception, a Catholic was elected, but on refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, was deposed and a Protestant put in his place. In 1615 the Catholics became more determined in their opposition, and no sooner was one Catholic mayor deposed than they elected another. As a consequence there were five elections during the year, at the last of which Christopher Creagh was chosen for the office. He had taken the oath in 1611, but now positively refused, whereupon he was taken to the Star Chamber and fined £40, and ordered to be imprisoned during pleasure. Simon Fanning, who functioned for a part of the same year without taking the oath, was brought before the same tribunal, where he was fined £30 and sentenced to imprisonment during pleasure.† The sturdy resistance of the citizens to the oath soon bore fruit, as the mayor and sheriffs went publicly to Mass in 1626, without being molested by the authorities.

These vexatious proceedings had a depressing influence on trade, and the outlook of the city was gloomy in the extreme. To add to its misfortunes, in the month of May, 1618, two great fires broke out. The first con-

* Carew MSS.

† George Verdon, the sovereign of Kilmallock, was fined thirty marks for a like offence.

sumed all the houses in Creagh-lane, Quay-lane, and along the quay to the Dean's Close, which would include all the houses around St. Mary's cathedral. The second burned from the shambles in the Irishtown to the spittal-house outside St. John's gate. Two years later another fire destroyed all the thatched houses in Bonfield's lane and Hemlin's lane and in the precincts of the abbey of St. Francis.

An English visitor, in or about the year 1618, wrote a description of the city as it then appeared. His description shows what a great change had taken place since 1574 when David Wolfe considered Limerick the most beautiful city in Ireland.

At the period when the Englishman wrote, we are told that "the base or Irishtown was fenced by a strong wall that travellers affirm that they have not seen the like in Europe. It is a mile in circumference, and three men abreast may walk the round. There is nothing there now but a street of decayed houses with orchards and gardens, saving a church and a storehouse, monuments of former habitation. The other part, an English town, lofty buildings of marble. In the high street it is built from one gate to the other in one form, like the colleges in Oxford, so magnificent that at my first entrance it did amaze me, *sed intus cadavera*, noisome and stinking houses. The cathedral is not large, but very lightsome, and by the providence of the bishop, fairly beautiful and gloriously served with singing and organs. There is in the city an ancient castle, bishop's palace, and a bridge with fourteen arches. But what is most notorious to my judgment is the quay wall. This wall is extended from the town wall into the middle of the river and was made for defence and harbour for shipping. It is about two hundred paces, and is a double wall. In the bottom it is a main thickness, and so constructed until raised above the water. There is within a gallery arched

overhead and with windows most pleasant to walk in, and above that a terrace to walk upon, with fair battlements. At the end of it there is a round tower with two or three chambers, one above the other and a battlement above."

The deputy, Lord Falkland, paid a visit to the city in 1624, and was received by Mr. Sexton, with whom he stayed. Such visits were always esteemed as favours, and were much appreciated by the citizens.

In 1626 a question arose regarding the billeting of soldiers which incidentally reveals the poverty of the city and the ruin of its trade. Charles I had raised and equipped an expedition consisting of ninety sail and having on board an army of ten thousand men. In October, 1625, it left Plymouth harbour and landed at Cadiz, where the soldiers got out of hand and had to be brought back to the fleet. When they returned home they were billeted in the port towns of Ireland, where their support became a burden on the unfortunate citizens. The following September, the deputy wrote to the mayor of Limerick that it was proposed to billet a further number of soldiers in the city. The mayor assembled the citizens, and communicated to them the contents of the deputy's despatch. After deliberating on the question, a reply was sent on behalf of the citizens that they were very poor, owing to the annual fires which stopped only two years before, and since that time, to pirates, Turks, Dunkirkers and Spaniards, who lately took six of their ships at sea and ruined the townsmen who had ventured their goods with them. The captives were enslaved in Barbary, where they were still living, and their relatives and the town were too poor to redeem them. They were impoverished by supporting the fleet-soldiers, "which cause did abandon two hundred dwellers out of the city since first of January last." Only three ships, two with salt and one with nine butts of wine, came to the harbour in a whole year.

The mayor did his utmost to persuade the people, but the most they would guarantee was a fortnight's lodging and victuals for the soldiers. If more was required they were determined to leave the town. The soldiers were placed where they would be well fed, but it was stipulated that at the end of the time other sources of supply should be forthcoming, otherwise the city would be depopulated.*

Very little was done during these years to advance the material prosperity of the people or to beautify the city. Mungret gate, which had been shut for a number of years, was re-opened in 1622. The next notable improvement took place in 1634, when Peter Creagh Fitzandrew built the causeway through Monabraher to Parteen to save the people from the exorbitant tariff charged by a Scotsman who had obtained a patent for a ferry to the place. This useful work was completed the following year, and to commemorate the event a suitable inscription † was placed in the bridge near Whitehall, then known as Mile-end. Four years later a new road was made to the Mayor's Stone on the high road to Ennis, and in 1640 the city courthouse was built.

The great event of those dull times was the visit of Wentworth to the city in 1637, when he was received with much pomp and splendour by the citizens. He was entertained and lodged during his stay by Dominick White. A guard of fifty young men of the best families was appointed to attend him and minister to his pleasures. They rowed him in the city barge to Bunratty, and afterwards entertained him to a sumptuous banquet at the Lax-weir. So pleased was he with the reception and entertainment that he knighted the mayor and presented the corporation with a silver cup, valued at £60, as a memento of his visit.

* Irish State Papers, 1626.

† "Hunc pontem fieri fecit Petrus Creagh filius Andreæ major civitatis Limericensis sumptis ejusdem civitatis, 1635."

During the confederate war the city was the scene of stirring events. The confederate army, having failed to capture Cork city at the commencement of the war, directed its attention to Limerick, which was secured by the aid of the mayor, Dominick Fanning, for the national cause. But on the departure of the Irish army to reduce the few castles in the county that still adhered to the government, those who sympathised with Ormond succeeded in becoming masters of the city, and taking advantage of the absence of the army, shut the gates and adopted a neutral policy, to which they strictly adhered, in so far as keeping aloof from the popular party.

Perhaps the most influential citizen of Limerick at this time was Dr. James Arthur. He was born in the city in 1593, of a wealthy mercantile family. In his youth he crossed over to France, with many of his fellow-citizens, to acquire an education befitting his rank. He commenced his studies in the University of Bordeaux, where he graduated. At Paris, he began the study of medicine, and having completed his course at Rheims, received with honours the degree of doctor of medicine. In 1619, he returned to Limerick and began to practise his profession. Being influentially connected and skilled in the art of healing, he soon became eminent throughout the country. He enjoyed immunity from the religious disabilities of the time, as his talents were much appreciated by the government officials, and he was generally patronised by the dominant caste.

In 1625, Archbishop Usher of Armagh went to England to seek relief from a peculiar disease with which he was afflicted, but after consulting the most eminent physicians in London, had to return home without any hope of a remedy. Hearing of the wonderful skill of Dr. Arthur, he invited him to Drogheda. Dr. Arthur diagnosed the malady and had the satisfaction of restoring the prelate to his usual health. This cure

enhanced very much Arthur's reputation as a physician and led to an increase of his practice among the wealthy families of the kingdom.

A gentleman of tact and good address, he was employed by the mayor and corporation of Limerick to put their views before the public on important occasions. When Father Francis Scarampi, the representative of the Pope at the Supreme Council in Kilkenny, informed some of his friends that he intended to visit Dr. Richard Arthur, the aged bishop of Limerick, the mayor, as leader of the conservative party, feared that the visit might be the occasion of an uprising among the popular party within the walls ; and when, on the 25th of October, Father Scarampi appeared before the gates and asked permission to enter the city, he was requested by order of the mayor to withdraw to either of two houses in the suburbs and remain there until the following morning, when he would receive another communication from him. This was a great affront to the representative of His Holiness from a Catholic city, and Bishop Arthur, to show his indignation, interdicted the mayor and leading members of the corporation as the authors of the indignity offered to such a distinguished visitor. Dr. James Arthur was employed by the mayor and his companions to write a very humble apology to Father Scarampi, stating, among other things, that their aged bishop, "venerable for the dignity of his love and merits," had punished them for their rude and inhospitable reception, and asking him to intercede for them with the bishop. The papal envoy received with grace the explanation and apology, and succeeded in having the censures imposed by the bishop removed.* This created a good impression on the citizens, whose real fear seems to have been that the Supreme Council might force its way into the city

* Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 153.

with the papal envoy, and that could not be allowed without running the risk of irritating the Earl of Thomond, who lived at Bunratty and could damage the mercantile fleet of the city.

It was well known, too, that Dr. James Arthur and many of the leading citizens were in close correspondence with Inchiquin and Thomond. The Supreme Council, while in residence at Clonmel, had dispatched Sir Daniel O'Brien and George Comyn to Limerick to confirm and strengthen the confederate party in the city and to find out what was the object of the negotiations with Inchiquin and Thomond. The mayor thought it better to make a clean breast of the whole affair, and sent to the Supreme Council a copy of the correspondence that had passed between him and these noblemen, which proved on examination not to be of a very incriminating character. From it the Supreme Council "first discovered that principle of theirs (the citizens of Limerick) from which, during the whole course of the war, no power of the Confederates, no authority derived from the king, could break them off from keeping themselves in the condition of a free state depending as far as pleased them upon those whom they thought fit to acknowledge their superiors, and to increase their traffic by an undisturbed commerce with all men."*

The agents of the Supreme Council had also been instructed to secure an invitation of that body to Limerick, but the mayor and some of the aldermen, in a joint letter to the Council, lamented their unhappiness that, owing to the scarcity of corn in the city, they could not be honoured with their presence, an excuse which was declared genuine by George Comyn. The Supreme Council knew at the same time that the mayor was in no way displeased at having the excuse, and

* Gilbert's *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 135.

that the citizens wished as far as possible to be independent of any government ; and as it was useless to irritate them by resenting their action, it was decided to leave them quietly alone and in the meantime try to secure Bunratty castle and the Earl of Thomond. Sir Daniel O'Brien and Daniel O'Brien of Duogh were appointed to execute this commission, which, however, was not accomplished at that time.

In response to the petition of the Supreme Council, Pope Innocent X appointed John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, Nuncio to Ireland. After much delay and many adventures, he entered Kenmare harbour on the 25th October, 1645. Word of his arrival was sent to the Supreme Council, and a battalion of horse, under the command of Sir Richard Butler, brother of Ormond, was dispatched to escort him to Kilkenny. It was thought advisable, as a matter of policy, that he should visit on his way the city of Limerick, which had at length declared its adhesion to the confederate cause. He travelled by Ardtully, Macroom and Kilmallock to Limerick, where a royal reception awaited him.

The country through which he passed, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, are described in glowing language by the Dean of Fermo, one of the party : " The country through which we passed, though situated in a mountainous district, is agreeable, and being entirely pasture land, is most abundantly stocked with cattle of every kind. Occasionally one meets a long tract of valley interspersed with groves and woods, which, as they are neither high nor densely planted, partake more of the agreeable than the gloomy. For seventy miles the country which we met was almost of this character, but having once crossed the mountains we entered into an immense plain occasionally diversified with hills and valleys, highly cultivated and enriched with an infinite number of cattle, especially oxen and

sheep, from the latter of which is obtained what is known amongst us as English wool.

The men are fine looking and of incredible strength. They are stout runners and bear every sort of hardship with indescribable cheerfulness. They are all devoted to arms, especially now that they are at war. Those who apply themselves to study of literature are most learned, and such persons are to be found of every profession and in every branch of science.

The women are remarkably tall and comely, and display a charming union of gracefulness with modesty and devotion. Their manners are marked by extreme simplicity, and they freely mix in conversation without surprise or jealousy. Their costume is different from ours and somewhat resembles the French. They moreover wear a long cloak and profuse locks of hair, and go without any head-dress, contenting themselves with a kind of handkerchief, almost Greek in fashion, which displays their natural beauty to great advantage. The families are very large. There are some that have as many as thirty children all living, and the number of those who have fifteen or twenty children is immense, and all these children are handsome, tall and robust, the majority being light-haired and of clear white and red complexion. The entertainments were superb and consisted of flesh and fish, together with butter, which was used on all occasions."* The country in and around Limerick is described as teeming with wealth of every description.

On the approach of the nuncio to the gates of Limerick, vast multitudes of people flocked from all quarters, and falling on their knees, welcomed him and implored the apostolic benediction. At St. John's gate he was welcomed by the mayor and corporation, who then

* See Appendix to Cardinal Moran's *Persecutions of the Irish Catholics*.

made way for the clergy, by whom he was conducted under a canopy to the cathedral.

Dr. Arthur, the bishop, then in his eighty-second year, had been brought in a chair to a place midway between the cathedral and the city gate, and on the arrival of the nuncio, he prostrated himself, and could not be prevailed on to rise until he received the apostolic blessing. He was then borne by a short way to the cathedral, where he presented the cross to the nuncio and wished also to offer the crozier and mitre, saying: "These I have received from the Holy See and these I now return to the Holy See's representative." When the ceremonies of reception were finished in the cathedral the nuncio was escorted to his lodgings by the mayor and citizens.

After resting for a while at Limerick, the nuncio set out for Kilkenny, the seat of the national government, where he was received with great pomp by the Supreme Council. His presence breathed a new spirit into the confederate party and the temporising policy of the Ormondists was cast aside.

Owen Roe O'Neill had hardly been supplied with funds to put his army in fighting trim when he encountered the English and defeated them at Benburb, on the 5th June, 1646.

The news of this great victory was brought to Limerick by Father O'Hartegan, S.J., who presented the nuncio, then in the city, with thirty-two banners taken from the enemy, and the standard of their cavalry. These were deposited for the night in the church of St. Francis. Next day the nuncio and all the leading citizens, the army and a great multitude of the people, assembled before the church, and taking the trophies there deposited, marched in procession to the cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was chanted by the choir, and next morning Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated.

Early in this year, the Earl of Thomond having heard from his countess, who was then in England, of the

helpless position of King Charles, sought to win the favour of the Parliamentarians by surrendering to them Bunratty, his chief residence, situated six miles below Limerick on the Clare side of the Shannon. In March, 1646, the parliamentary forces sailed up the river and took possession of it, while the earl betook himself to England.

Bunratty was a place of importance, as it commanded the port of Limerick, and it became a matter of necessity to dislodge the enemy. A small Irish army, stationed at Sixmilebridge to keep the Parliamentarians in check, was attacked by superior numbers and forced to fly to the neighbouring wood for safety. In the middle of May, the confederate forces settled down seriously to capture the castle. Lord Muskerry with a strong force encircled the place, and frequent encounters took place between the contending parties, but without material results. Bourke, the mayor of the city, who seemed to lack warmth in the cause, was fined £500 on the 16th of June, for not permitting Colonel Bourke's regiment to pass through the city, the shortest way to Bunratty. The nuncio visited the place and assisted in bringing the siege to a head. On the 14th July, the parliamentary garrison surrendered and was allowed to depart in boats under the Quaker, Penn.

The melancholy aspect of that famous castle in our time is in marked contrast with the splendour of its surroundings at the time of the siege. Rinuccini was astonished at the beauty of the place; even in Italy "there was nothing superior to the palace and pleasure grounds of the Earl of Thomond, nor anything like its ponds and park with its 3,000 head of deer."*

During this year the Supreme Council had been carrying on negotiations with the Duke of Ormond, and a treaty of peace was concluded with him on the

* *Catholic Bulletin*, vol. 8, p. 141.

1st of August. The bishops and priests assembled at Waterford to discuss the merits of the treaty. After a long and careful examination of the articles, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the safeguards of religion for which the Confederates had fought were not assured, and they therefore condemned the treaty as it stood. They submitted, on the other hand, certain proposals to the Supreme Council to be incorporated in the treaty, and pointed out certain articles that should be deleted. In case the Supreme Council refused to agree to these proposals, the bishops demanded that one or other of the following alternatives should be chosen : firstly, the civil and military control and all things else to remain in the hands of the Catholics as independently as before the treaty until King Charles was free to act on his own responsibility and until the pleasure of the Sovereign Pontiff should be known regarding the religious question, the Catholics and the Protestant royalists in the meantime to combine and wage war against the Parliamentarians ; secondly, if this proposal was not feasible, a general assembly of the whole kingdom to be held in a free place to accept or reject the peace as should be decided.

The Ormondists paid little attention to the remonstrance of the bishops, but endeavoured to have the peace as it stood proclaimed in all the principal towns.*

As Walter Lynch, the vicar-capitular of Tuam and warden of the college of Galway, was passing through Limerick on his way home from the episcopal meeting at Waterford, the clergy and venerable fathers called at his lodgings, eager to learn all about the proceedings at Waterford. He showed them the printed decrees of the synod and gave a brief explanation of how matters stood. He also gave a printed form to

* *Ap' : Discovery*, Gilbert's ed., Part 2, p. 697.

Dominick Fanning and another to a zealous priest, who went through the city and published its contents. Though it was already the hour appointed by Bourke, the mayor, and the corporation for proclaiming the peace, at the earnest request of the clergy and by invitation of the mayor, Dr. Lynch went to the mayor's house, where many of the aldermen and city council followed, so that in a short time the mayor's hall was full of auditors and spectators. Having explained the nature of the peace and the excommunications fulminated against its supporters by the bishops, Dr. Lynch exhorted his audience as good Catholics to oppose it. White, a doctor of canon law, and Dr. James Arthur began to argue with him in favour of the peace. Dr. Lynch replied to their arguments and satisfied the well-disposed on the disputed points. He was then escorted to the cathedral, where the clergy were assembled. To them he explained in greater detail the nature of the peace they were required to accept.

While the conference was in progress, it was learned that the populace was ready to oppose the proclamation and pull down the sergeant-at-arms, if the clergy gave the lead; and towards the close of the proceedings Dominick Fanning brought word that, in spite of what Dr. Lynch had said, the majority of the council had voted for the immediate proclamation of the peace, and that some of the city fathers were already clad in their robes to go forth. The clergy thereupon went into the street and addressed the people, who flocking to the mayor's house, "flung a shower of stones against his window, broke his window glasses, broke in the doors and wounded both the mayor and his men that stood in defence, took his rod of office from him, which they have given by unanimous assent to Mr. Dominick Fanning." The aldermen of councillors were roughly handled and one severely beaten. A portion of the populace went to the house where the

king-at-arms and his sergeant were staying, and pulling them down the stairs, belaboured them in such a fashion that they had a narrow escape from death. The power of the oligarchy was overthrown, and the popular voice was once more in the ascendant. The determined stand taken by the citizens of Limerick on this occasion influenced public opinion to such an extent that the peace was rejected by the country.

Ormond endeavoured to enlist the influence of the nobility of Munster on his side, but the response was feeble and discouraging. He attempted to visit some of the towns, but they shut the gates in his face. When he heard that Owen Roe O'Neill was advancing rapidly with his army towards Kilkenny to support the views of the people, he fled to Dublin.

The immediate result of the peace with Ormond was the dissolution of the Supreme Council, after placing the reins of authority in the hands of the viceroy ; and now that the peace was rejected, the Confederates were without any definite form of government. To remedy this evil, the nuncio and clergy returned to Kilkenny, and after a short deliberation, chose four representatives from each province to form a temporary council to steer the ship of State until the election of a new general assembly. The representatives of Limerick in the house of peers were Edmund O'Dwyer, the bishop of the diocese, and William Bourke, baron of Castleconnell. The commoners were John Baggot of Baggotstown, George Comyn, Patrick Fanning, John Haly, Daniel Higgins, Bartholomew Stackpoole, of Limerick city, and Edmund Fitzgerald of Clenlish (Springfield) and John Lacy of Bruff.

Under the new council the confederate army was very successful in the early part of the year, but as time went on it failed to maintain its victorious position. The old party disputes were revived in a more acute form during the following year, when Lord Inchiquin,

who had taken offence at the action of his puritan friends, professed himself eager to join the royal cause. Though the massacre and sacrilegious pillage at Cashel, and other cruel deeds, filled the minds of the Irish with horror at the mention of his name, the Anglo-Irish party, who had again succeeded in securing the control of the Supreme Council, agreed to a truce with him, notwithstanding the emphatic remonstrance of the nuncio and the Irish party. Ormond, after his flight to Dublin, surrendered that city to the Parliamentarians and withdrew to Paris, where he continued to intrigue with his friends of the Supreme Council. Now that they had Inchiquin on their side, they were ready to re-open negotiations with him. The Supreme Council, not having funds to prosecute the war to a successful issue, thought that by securing the assistance of Inchiquin and a treaty guaranteeing freedom of religion, whereby the ends for which the confederation was formed would be substantially obtained, it might be possible to unite all parties in favour of the king. The united effort they expected from the nation in favour of their policy was, however, a failure, as the adherents of the nuncio did not hearken to the call. The unprejudiced mind of the nuncio was able to penetrate more deeply into the motives actuating Ormond and his party, and he saw that at any time Ormond, if successful, could manipulate a parliament that would readily nullify the advantages gained by the treaty of peace then under consideration. Depending on the loyalty of the bishops, as in 1646, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all the aiders and abettors of the truce and peace with Inchiquin, with an interdict against all the towns and cities that would accept them. But he, too, was disappointed in his expectations, as some of the bishops and all the religious orders, with the exception of the Capuchins and Dominicans, favoured

the treaty, and to add to the confusion, looked upon the censures of the nuncio as null and void, and therefore not to be obeyed. The Confederates were thus split into hostile factions, and the nuncio, seeing that his presence was no longer useful or profitable to religion, thought it better to leave the country. He set sail from Galway on the 23rd of February, 1649. His mission was not a success. He came too late, when Ormond had already sown dissension among the Confederates.

Ormond, who by the peace became viceroy and chief of the nation, immediately commenced operations against the Parliamentarians. An attack on Dublin proved a failure, as the parliamentary forces sallied out and inflicted a crushing defeat on Ormond's newly raised army. The bishops and people became very dissatisfied with his administration, as he placed Protestants of little experience over generals who had acquired distinction for tact and valour in several engagements. Cromwell, the leading parliamentary general, was dispatched from England to bring the Irish war to a close. He arrived at Dublin on the 15th of August with a large and well-equipped army. Ormond appealed to Limerick for funds and asked the citizens to receive a garrison. They subscribed a small sum of money, but sternly refused to admit any soldiers within the gates. He then visited the city to see what diplomacy could do, but was received coldly and without any of the ceremonies which were customary on such occasions. He knighted Nicholas Comyn, the mayor, and left some of his papers in his keeping. These were afterwards put on board a Dutch vessel in the harbour to be taken to the Continent for safety, but the populace, led by Dominick Fanning, boarded the ship and seized the trunks, thinking they contained money. The mayor called together the town-council, before whom the rioters were brought. In defence of

their action they said that they did not know the trunks belonged to Ormond. They were pardoned on consenting to take an oath to obey the lord-lieutenant and to do nothing in future without the licence of the magistrates.

The popular element was again gaining ground in the city, and the repeated efforts of Ormond to obtain a footing there were all in vain, though he was supported by some of the leading citizens. Dominick Fanning and Father Woulfe were the leaders of the popular party. In spite of the mayor, they admitted into the city Murtagh O'Brien, a zealous supporter of the Old Irish party, with his regiment, a proceeding which gave great offence to Ormond.

In the meantime Cromwell was pushing his conquest with vigour and success through Leinster and South Munster. Hugh O'Neill, nephew of Owen Roe, succeeded in defending Clonmel for a time against his assaults, and when no longer tenable, he artfully evacuated it. After the fall of Clonmel, Cromwell left Ireland, on the 26th May, 1650, having appointed Ireton, his son-in-law, commander of the forces.

The citizens of Limerick, to provide for the defence of their city, which they foresaw would soon be attacked, asked Ormond to allow Hugh O'Neill to be governor, a request which he readily granted. Ormond made another effort to gain admittance to the city, but his appeals and commands were alike disregarded. He was treated in like manner by the city of Galway. At length, realising that the country had lost confidence in his administration, he quitted Ireland in December, 1650, sailing from the same port by which the nuncio had left a year before.

Before attacking Limerick, Ireton* devoted his attention to the reduction of Carlow, Waterford and other

* Most of the documents relating to the Cromwellian period are to be found in *Aph. Discovery*, Gilbert's edition, Part 6.

places in Munster and Leinster that still held out. On the 4th of October, 1650, he encamped at Lough Gur and sent an embassy to Limerick with instructions to tell the citizens that he took serious notice of their refusal to receive a garrison, but that if they would submit and allow his army a passage through the city, they would have protection. Moving nearer the city, he received a message from the mayor, refusing his request. A council of war was then held, at which it was considered too late in the season to attack the city, but it was decided to blockade the Limerick side and build a bridge across the Shannon at Castleconnell. Thus the winter and spring passed by in comparative inactivity.

Meanwhile Ireton had succeeded in getting into communication with some traitors within the walls who were plotting to betray the city to him. The night of the 26th of May, 1651, was chosen for an attack. Colonel Ingoldesby, with one thousand horse, foot and dragoons, was stationed near the walls, awaiting the pre-arranged signal from the conspirators within ; but the plot failed, and he had to retire.

Ireton was now convinced that to capture the city it was necessary to cross the Shannon and beleaguer it at the Clare side. To effect his purpose he moved the army to Killaloe, where a crossing was thought feasible. That pass was guarded by Lord Castlehaven* who had also fortified O'Brien's Bridge. Ireton wrote a long letter to that nobleman, expressing his regret at finding him in such a position, and promising that if he would retire and live in England, he should not only enjoy his estate, but live in safety under the protection of the parliament. The offer was rejected and all further communications with Castlehaven ceased, but Ireton was more successful in his dealings with other officers of the Irish army.

* *Castlehaven's Memoirs.*

Having remained inactive for a time, in the expectation that Coote, who had entered Connaught, would march to his assistance and attack Castlehaven in the rear, Ireton, disappointed in his hope, proceeded to demolish the bishop's house on the Clare side of the Shannon, and took possession of a little island in the river, where a guard was placed in the ruins of a small building. Boats and cots were brought from Dromaneere through Lough Derg and moored above Killaloe. All these preparations were watched by the Irish who, it was thought, were under the impression that an attempt would be made to force a passage at that point. Ireton, however, had another object in view. He had bought over Captain Kelly, the commander at O'Brien's Bridge, and was resolved to cross the river at that place. But the ground from Killaloe to O'Brien's Bridge was so uneven and swampy that trees had to be felled in an adjoining wood to prepare a passage for the army. At nightfall three regiments of foot and one of horse, with four pieces of cannon, began to march silently, and one hour before day arrived at their destination. They found two boats awaiting them which were able to carry over three files of musqueteers and six troopers. The latter, having unsaddled their horses, made them swim beside the boat, and all were safely landed at the other side. Of two sentinels who were there in an old castle, one was shot, but the other made his escape. A considerable portion of the army was transported before the Irish knew of their landing. Castlehaven having received the news set out to oppose them, but without success. During his absence, Colonel Fennell, whom he had left in command at Killaloe, deserted his post and fled to Limerick, leaving the pass open to the enemy, who crossed over in great numbers. At the same time Colonel Ingoldesby succeeded in crossing at Castleconnell with three hundred horse and dragoons, and fell upon some of the Irish fleeing to Limerick.

Having secured the passes over the Shannon, Ireton next day advanced with his army to Limerick. The first opposition he encountered on his march was at the causeway constructed to Parteen in 1634 and at present called Forbae,* the old name of the ploughland in which it is situated. The Irish were drawn up at the entrance of this pass, which is described as a narrow way with bogs on either side and the ruins of a stone building in the form of a gate at the city side. Here Colonel Ingoldesby charged the Irish, consisting of three hundred horse and some foot, who fought a rear-guard action while retreating to the city and suffered considerable loss, if we are to believe the Cromwellian historian.

On the 3rd of June Ireton pitched his camp at Thomondgate, whence he found parliamentary ships on the river with provisions for the army. The reader must bear in mind that the city of those days consisted only of the English and Irish towns, in other words, the parishes of St. Mary's and St. John's, surrounded by a wall of some strength.

The city was now completely invested on every side, but the difficulty was to effect an entrance. A castle which stood on the Shannon at the Lax-weir still maintained a garrison, and when summoned to surrender, refused. Fire was then opened upon it, and after a fierce cannonade the Irish abandoned it. By taking to their boats they exposed themselves to the fire of the enemy, and to save their lives had to row ashore and surrender. Those who landed at the Clare side of the river received quarter from the soldiers, but fourteen of them were put to the sword by orders of Colonel Tottihill, whose conduct, when reported to Ireton, so aroused that general's indignation that he cashiered him. The party that landed at the Limerick'side of the river received more humane treatment.

* *Limerick, Ancient and Medieval.*



On the 14th of June the city was formally summoned to surrender, and two days later the citizens replied that they were willing to arrange a peace and to appoint commissioners. After some difficulties about the preliminaries, a commission was appointed. Six commissioners were chosen by the city, two to represent the soldiers, two the citizens, and two the clergy. They were Major-General Purcell, Bartholomew Stackpoole, recorder of the city, Colonel Butler, Geoffrey Barron, Mr. Baggot and another. Ireton was represented by Major-General Waller, Colonel Cromwell, Major Smith, Adjutant-General Allen, Ludlow and another. They met between the town and the camp, where they dined together and discussed the terms of peace for several days.

While the commissioners were deliberating over the peace, the armies were actively engaged in hostilities. A castle standing at the Clare side of Thomond-bridge on the site now occupied by the new Catholic church, was next attacked, and a breach having been made, it was stormed, but when entered was found to have been abandoned by the defenders, who retired to the city, breaking down some of the arches of the bridge to prevent pursuit. This capture was of little value to the besiegers, as King John's castle within the walls answered its purpose. The prospects of entering the city at that point having been frustrated, Ireton endeavoured to effect a landing on the King's Island. Some boats and part of the float-bridge which had been prepared for crossing the river near the Lax-weir were utilised to transport the army. Three regiments of foot and one of horse were appointed to be wafted over. They fell down the river at midnight. The first three hundred were foot-soldiers, commanded by Colonel Walker. Travelling more quickly than the others, they landed on the upper part of the island, where the river divides, and ran to the fort

erected there by the Irish. The latter were well prepared for the attack, and when the English arrived at the breast-work of the fort, the Irish sallied out and made such havoc among them that only a few survived to tell the tale. The other portion of the attacking force was so discouraged by the fate of the first contingent that the enterprise had to be abandoned.

The float-bridge constructed for crossing the Shannon from the lower end of St. Thomas's island* to the Limerick side was laid down, and a small fort built on the island to protect it. Ireton then crossed over to the Limerick side with the greater part of the army and marked out ground for three bodies of men to encamp separately, each consisting of two thousand men.

The only hope that now remained of a speedy end of the siege was the ability of the commissioners to arrange terms of peace. After due deliberation a number of articles were drawn up embodying the concessions which the Parliamentarians were willing to grant the citizens if they immediately surrendered. The conditions are here set out, except the first, which is nothing more than a preamble to the others :

“(2) That all persons whatsoever within the city and garrison of Limerick shall have quarter for their lives and liberty of their persons, without pillage, plunder, or military violence to their persons or goods during their continuance under safe conduct or protection, by virtue of the ensuing articles respectively.

(3) That all officers and soldiers of the forces in pay and not belonging to the militia of the city of Limerick, shall have liberty to march away to any garrison or quarter of the Irish party with their horses, arms and other equipage suitable to the several qualities they serve in respectively, bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, their fire-arms loaden and primed,

* Some historians identify this island with the King's Island.

bandeliers and flasques full of powder, matches lighted, at both ends ; and to have such carriage for their goods as the county will afford provided for them (they paying reasonable rates for the same), and shall be allowed [blank] months' time for the removal of any goods to them duly belonging which they leave behind them, except arms, ammunition, or other furniture of war.

(4) That all other persons of what quality soever now in the said city, that desire to march with them, shall have liberty to do so, with the same freedom, privileges, time and benefit, for the carrying away their bag and baggage, and removing of their goods (except ammunition, and all arms or other furniture of war, save travelling arms, with which they will be allowed to march) as is granted to the soldiery in the last preceding article.

(5) That any of the officers, soldiers, or others now in the city (except clergymen, and such as were in arms or otherwise in hostility, which, or for those that committed the murders and outrages in the first insurrection before the first general assembly, or that sat in the said first assembly) if within [blank] days they shall desire to lay down arms, and submit to the authority of the parliament of England, shall be admitted to do so, and to live at their homes or with their friends, and shall have protection in their persons and estates on the same terms as the rest of the inhabitants of the country of the same conditions or qualifications with themselves.

(6) That all the citizens or inhabitants in the said city that are freemen or members of the corporation, and were so before the first of October, 1650, and all the widows and children of them that were such (with their families and servants) who shall be willing to live under the government of the Commonwealth of England, and submit to contribution proportionably with their

neighbours (except such as come within the exception made in the last foregoing article) shall freely enjoy all their personal estates wherever the same be (except arms, ammunition and other furniture of war) to themselves and their assigns (paying to the State of England one-third part of the value of their personal estates visible within this Dominion, from such only as have personal estates to the value of one hundred pounds and upwards, but the rest to enjoy the whole freely; and shall likewise enjoy two-third parts of their estates real (lying without the city of Limerick and liberties thereof) or the full value of the same to themselves, their heirs or assigns; and shall enjoy their respective interests in their houses in the city, except such of them as shall be thought fit to be removed out of the garrison, in order to the securing thereof, who shall have liberty to set or sell their said houses to the best advantage of themselves their heirs or assigns, paying (in case of sale) the part of the price they make, to the use of the State of England, and shall have [blank] months time (after warning being given them to depart) for removal and disposing of themselves, their families and goods as they please, and protection to live in any part of this dominion within the power of the Parliament of England (not being a garrison, or a country planted entirely with English, or set apart to be so), or shall have passes to remove to any foreign parts if they so desire. And those of the said citizens (not within the aforesaid exception) who shall submit upon these terms, and perform the same on their parts, shall have indemnity for any things done in prosecution of the war."

The city commissioners proposed a number of amendments to the above conditions, some of which were accepted, but that concerning religion was rejected, as the Parliamentarians declined to treat concerning religion with the Irish. The citizens refused to accept

the terms offered, as religion was excluded and so far they were in a good position of defence, and relief might yet come from the Irish forces still under arms in other parts of the country.

We now pass within the walls to examine the condition of the city under such trying circumstances. When it became known for certain that the town was to be attacked by Ireton, the national party, on the 6th of October, 1650, elected as mayor Thomas Stritch, a leading citizen and an ardent Catholic. On receiving the keys of the city, the insignia of office, he placed them in the hands of a statue of the Blessed Virgin, begging her to take the city under her protection. He had the corporation walk in procession before him to the church, where this pious action was performed with due ceremony, and at its close delivered an effective discourse, exhorting the whole assembly to inviolable fidelity to God, to the Church, and to the king, offering at the same time to lay down his life in upholding such a noble cause.

During the term of office of the new mayor, Hugh O'Neill, the governor, was most active in circumventing the enemy at every point. As the siege wore on, some of the decrepit with their families were allowed to leave the city, as the provisions had to be carefully husbanded for the fighting men. This so annoyed Ireton that he threatened to take strong measures to prevent any others from leaving the city. On the 16th of June another batch was allowed out, and Ireton, true to his word, ordered four of them to be knocked on the head, but instead of four, the whole party, numbering about forty, were executed. It was on this occasion that an old man, seeing his daughter singled out for death, offered himself to be hanged in her place, which, however, was refused. The more active of the non-combatants attempted to escape in boats across to the Clare side of the river, but they

were in nearly every instance shot. The plague, too, began to spread in the city, and many deaths were taking place daily. This urged some of the citizens to agitate for a surrender, but the mayor and his party resolutely held out and suppressed all opposition. Ireton was informed of the quarrels of the different parties within the walls, and by letters and messages made every effort to widen the breach.

The Irish forces scattered through the South now endeavoured to unite and come to the assistance of Limerick. Fitzpatrick collected the Leinster forces at Galbally, near the Glen of Aherlow, and Lord Muskerry, who had about three thousand fighting men in Kerry, set out to join him. They were then to attack the parliamentary forces on the Limerick side of the city, while Captain Roche and Murtagh O'Brien were at the same time to attack them from the Clare side, with the city army co-operating by taking the enemy in the rear.

Ireton, who somehow got hold of the secret, immediately dispatched word to Broghill, with orders to intercept Muskerry on his way to Galbally. Broghill, having mobilised his forces, set out from Castlelyons, where he was stationed, and on his arrival at Mallow, learned from a spy that Muskerry had passed a few hours before from Drumagh to Castleishin, one of the fastest places in Ireland, and on the direct route to Limerick. About midnight, in a storm of wind and rain, he fell upon the Irish outposts, but without much success, as the ground, which was covered with brushwood, was too uneven. Muskerry then retreated to Drumagh through "a place and country that the very Teigues themselves could hardly march in."* Both armies manœuvred for a few days near each other and finally came to battle, on the 26th of July, at Knockbrack, called by the Irish Knocknaclashy, to the south

* Irish State Papers. Addenda.

of Banteer station, where Muskerry was defeated. All hope of succour from the South was thus cut off. The intended attack by O'Brien and Roche on the Clare side of the city was also frustrated.

Limerick had now to depend on its own resources. It was believed by the more sanguine of the citizens that if they could hold out until the winter, the enemy would be compelled, owing to the inclemency of the weather, to raise the siege. The plague was, however, still raging among the inhabitants, and provisions were becoming scanty. These facts, coupled with self-interest, were powerful incentives to some of the more influential of the citizens to clamour for peace. A secret correspondence was carried on between Ireton and the Ormondists, who kept him informed of the varying phases of opinion in the city. It was reported to him, on the 7th of August, that the sickness among the inhabitants was on the increase, that as many as twenty-four were buried in a single morning, and also that large shot was becoming scarce. On the 17th of September, he was informed that an assembly in the city had debated the question of surrender, two parts out of three being for a present treaty, but that as the minority included the leading citizens, it was arranged as a compromise that for fourteen days they should forbear treating, as in the meantime some relief might come.

Thomas Stritch, the mayor, nobly fulfilled his promise that the city would not surrender during his year of office. He was constantly cheering and animating the citizens, and having command of the city militia, he had at hand a ready means of keeping in check the discontent among the reactionaries.

In accordance with the charter of the city, the election of a new mayor was bound to take place on the 6th of October. Piers Creagh Fitzpiers, one of the Ormondist faction who were most anxious for a surrender, was chosen. When taking the oath of office

in the presence of the bishop at the Dominican convent, he pledged himself that he would take no steps to surrender the city without the approval of the clergy and the military authorities. The defence of the city was practically in his hands, since he had command of the city militia who divided with the garrison the custody of the gates. But he was an Ormondist, and was so worked upon by that faction, then very powerful since the popular party had lost heavily by the plague and the hardships of the siege, that Ireton, who was highly elated at the turn of affairs in his favour among the citizens, resolved to make another attempt at negotiations. A new treaty was drawn up and negotiations for its acceptance opened with the new mayor and his party.

Ireton had been furnished by the traitors with a list of his chief opponents in the city, and, to show his resentment at their action, had their names specially mentioned as to be excluded from the concessions he was willing to grant. But while intriguing with the Ormondists he did not neglect to provide for the possibility of a winter campaign by building stables in some of the forts and securing a sufficient amount of forage for the horses. Writing to England, he says: "If it proves a winter siege it will go very hard with many of our garrisons and quarters, unless a considerable supply of force come from England to prosecute effectually the reducing the country to your obedience, which was generally desired as the army was greatly thinned by sickness and hard marches."

To hasten the surrender, it was thought advisable to assault the city at various points, particularly one part of the wall, the weakness of which had been evidently pointed out by one of the traitors. A few volleys produced the desired effect. On the 23rd of October a long debate took place among the Ormondists on the necessity of completing the treaty. A mixed council

of war and civil government was then held in the courthouse, at which it was decided to accept the treaty such as it was, and not to hold out for any persons exempted or to be exempted from quarter for life or goods. When the result of the meeting became known, the bishops of Limerick and Emly and the clergy then resident in the city went the next morning into the courthouse, where commissioners were being selected to arrange the surrender, and announced the excommunication to be incurred by every one of them, if they should deliver up the prelates to be slaughtered. As, in the face of such a solemn warning, the meeting still persisted in selecting agents for completing the treaty of surrender, sentence of excommunication on their persons and perpetual interdict of the city was published and affixed to the church doors.

The Ormondists, when they heard of the publication, sent, that very night, Colonel Fennell, William Bourke FitzTibbott and Lieutenant-Colonel MacNamara with their men into St. John's gate and Cluam's tower, who turned away the guard appointed for the place. Colonel Fennell, on being questioned by Hugh O'Neill, the governor, regarding his presence in the place, as he had been appointed to relieve the island posts, replied that he had been commanded to be there by the mayor and the best of the town. The mayor, having been sent for, never answered directly any question put to him, but always said that there was no harm in the parties being in the place; and on being furthered questioned as to whether he had given them the keys of the gate, answered in the negative, which was afterwards found to be untrue. A courtmartial sat to try Fennell, but he refused to appear, although sent for more than once. The court then determined to proceed against him for neglect of duty and contumacy, but Lord Castleconnell started up and took his part. The court was then dissolved, and Lord

Castleconnell went to Fennell and had a long private conversation with him. Fennell, having afterwards got four firkins of powder from the mayor, turned the muzzles of the artillery that was to play on the enemy upon the city and declared that he would not leave the place until the city was surrendered. This action silenced the opposition, and the city delegates concluded the surrender on the 27th October. By order of the mayor, Fennell admitted into St. John's gate tower two hundred redcoats, and also a company into Prior's mill, which was virtually surrendering the city, though the formal surrender only took place on the 29th October.

The articles of capitulation are here set out in full as they illustrate the policy afterwards pursued by the Cromwellians in their dealings with the city.

"Articles agreed upon the twenty-seventh day of October, 1651, by and between Henry Ireton, Esquire, Deputy-General of Ireland on the one part, and Bartholomew Stackpool, Recorder of the city of Limerick, Dominick White, alderman of the same, Nicholas Haley, Esquire, Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy, Lieutenant-Colonel Donogh O'Brien, and John Baggot, Esquire, Commissioners appointed by and on behalf of the Governor and Mayor of the said city, to treat and conclude for the surrender thereof on the other part.

(1) That the city of Limerick with the castle and all places of strength in the city be surrendered into the hands of the said deputy-general of Ireland for the use of the Parliament and Commonwealth of England, upon or before the 29th day of October instant at noon, together with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition and other furniture of war therein, and all the goods of any kind not allowed by the ensuing articles to be carried away or kept by the owners, and this without waste, etc. And the full possession of St. John's gate

and Prior's Mill shall be delivered into the said Deputy-General or such guards as they shall appoint (not exceeding one hundred men for John's gate) this day by sunset ; and for the performance hereof the above-named Lieutenant-Colonel Piers Lacy, Lieutenant-Colonel Donogh O'Brien, Alderman Dominick White and Nicholas Haley, Esquire, shall remain hostages with the said Deputy-General until the surrender of the said city.

(2) That in consideration thereof, all persons now in the city (except such as are hereafter excepted) shall have quarter for their lives, liberty of their persons, their clothes, money and other goods, so as to be free from pillage, plunder, or other hostile violence in their persons or goods during their continuance under the said Deputy's safe conduct or protection, by virtue of the ensuing articles respectively : But whereas by the practices of some persons more eminent and active than the rest, both amongst the clergy, military-officers, the citizens and other sorts of men within the large conditions formerly tendered for surrender, have been rejected. The subsequent occasions or opportunities for timely making of conditions neglected and avoided the dispositions and desires of many persons within to that purpose, is opposed, resisted and restrained, and the generality of the people partly deluded and deceived (to the keeping of them in vain expectations of relief from one time to another), and partly overawed, or enforced by their power to concur and contribute this long to the obstinate holding out of the place ; therefore the persons hereafter named, viz. : Major-General Hugh O'Neill, the Governor, Major-General Purcel, Sir Jeffry Galway, Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy, Captain George Wolf, Captain Lieutenant Sexton, the Bishop of Limerick, the Bishop of Emly, John Quillin, a Dominican Friar, David Roche, Dominican Friar, Captain Laurence Welsh, a priest, Francis Wolf,

a Franciscan Friar, Philip O'Dwyer, priest, Alderman Dominick Fanning, Alderman Thomas Stretch, Alderman Jordan Roche, Edmund Roche, Burgess David Rocheford, Burgess, Sir Richard Everard, Doctor Higgin, Maurice Baggot of Baggotstown, and Geoffry Barron being, as aforesaid the principals appearing in such practices in this siege and the holding out so long ; as also Evan, the Welsh soldier, who ran into Limerick ; and all other persons that have been employed and come into the city as spies since the fourth day of June last, shall be excepted and excluded from any benefit of this article, or any other articles ensuing, and such of them as can be found within the garrison shall be rendered up at mercy upon the surrender of the city : And any such persons as shall be found to hide or conceal any of the said excepted persons or be privy to their concealment or attempt of escape, and not discover and do their best endeavour to prevent the same, shall thereby be understood to have forfeited the benefit of these articles to themselves ; but otherwise none shall lose the benefit for other men's default in their concealment or escape, or for the not rendering of them up as aforesaid.

(3) That all officers, soldiers and other persons now in the city (not excepted in the last precedent article) shall also have liberty to march away with their clothes, bag and baggage, money, and all other their goods of what kind soever, except arms, ammunition, and other utensils of war (carrying nothing but their own) to what place or places they shall choose respectively within the dominion of Ireland, not being a garrison for the Parliament (all the field officers of horse and foot, and captains of horse with their horses, pistols and swords, and the other commissioned-officers with swords only) and shall have three months time after the surrender to remove any goods of their own, that they shall not think fit sooner to carry with them ;

and such of them as shall choose to go to any garrisons, or parties of the enemy, shall have convoy or safe conduct for that purpose, for such time as shall be requisite for their march, at the rate of ten miles a day, and shall have carriages and provision allowed from the county at the usual rates.

(4) That such as of the citizens and inhabitants interested in the city, as are not excepted in the second article, and shall not presently march away aforesaid, but desire to continue longer in the city, shall (upon application for that purpose to the said Deputy-General, or the chief officer commanding in Limerick after the surrender) have licence given them to stay, either for such further time as the said Deputy-General, or the said chief officer present shall think convenient, or until further warning given them to depart; and in case of such licence given till further warning, shall have four months time allowed from and after such warning, for the removal of themselves and their families and six months for the removal of their goods, and during such further time limited, or in case of reference to further warning, during their continuance there to the time of warning given; and for the said four months and six months after respectively, shall be protected in their families and goods from all injury and violence, and at any time as they shall desire within the said space or spaces respectively shall have liberty and safe conduct for the removal of themselves, their families and goods, to any place or places within this dominion, not being garrisoned for the Parliament as aforesaid, and if they shall not be admitted to reside elsewhere in protection within this dominion, they shall have liberty for themselves, their wives, children and goods, to pass beyond the seas; provided that they pay their due proportion of what taxes and other contribution shall be charged upon the city from the day of the surrender to the day of the removal, in due proportion

with other places in Ireland, and behave themselves as becometh: And such of the said citizens and inhabitants as having not licence to stay until further warning, shall within a month after the surrender be ordered to depart, shall have the same benefit of the third article, as those that march away immediately upon the surrender.

(5) That all such persons now in the city as shall desire to live peaceably under protection, and submit to the Parliament of England (except persons excepted in the second article aforegoing, and except all clergymen, priests and friars of any Order) shall upon their application to that purpose, have licence and protection to live quietly at any such place or places within this Dominion as they shall desire, and the said Deputy-General find convenient to admit, but such protection shall not be understood to extend either to the assuring of them in the enjoyment of their lands or other hereditaments; or to the granting of other indemnity or freedom from any question or prosecution to justice in a judicial way, for any crimes they may be guilty of, except to such persons as shall be found fit to have that mercy and favour expressly granted to them, or to others for a certain time to be limited for that purpose; but to such as shall have protection for a limited time, either citizens or others, it is intended they shall be freed from any suit or censure in the civil judicature for things done in relation to the war during the time limited.

MEMORANDUM.—As to the fourth article aforegoing, it is intended that the citizens (not excepted within a month) may tarry (without particular application) and have four months after warning given to remove themselves and families, and six months to carry away their goods.

MEMORANDUM.—Also that all the soldiers or other persons, not excepted in the third article, who through

sickness are disabled to remove themselves at present, shall have liberty to march away when they shall recover, and have equal benefit with others in their conditions respectively ; and that from twelve of the clock this day, there shall be a cessation of all acts of hostility on either part, but the persons besieged not to come without the walls or island, saving into John's Gate, until the time limited for surrender, without licence from the other party respectively.

And lastly it is agreed, that no person shall be understood to forfeit the benefit of any of the articles for another man's breach thereof, unless he be found consenting thereto, or privy to it, without discovering or endeavouring to prevent it, provided this extend not to indemnify the hostages in case of failure or surrender."

On the 29th of October, the day chosen for the surrender, the army assembled in St. Mary's church, and having laid down their arms, marched out of the city to the number of twelve hundred, some going to Clare, some to Muskerry, and others towards the party still in arms in Co. Tipperary. As they were passing through the gates a few fell dead with the plague. There were left in the city about four thousand men able to bear arms, and the city looked populous, though it was said that about five thousand of the inhabitants had perished by the sword outside and the plague and famine within.

Ireton was received at the gate by Hugh O'Neill, who presented him with the keys of the city and then surrendered himself prisoner, being one of those excepted from the Articles. A council of war was held the same day to decide the fate of the excepted persons who had voluntarily surrendered with O'Neill. O'Neill was condemned to death as one of the leaders in the obstinate resistance of the city, and, no doubt, his defence of Clonmel was not forgotten. Next day,

the 30th of October, he addressed the following letter to one of Ireton's chief officers:—"The relation I have of your noble and generous disposition induceth me to presume pleading your favour in my present condition (which I presume to be innocent), being guilty of no base or dishonourable act, having only discharged the duty of a soldier as became a man subject to a superior power to which I must have been accountable. Neither in relation of this was I transported either with passion of my own or the violent strain of others, who would not be directed with reason, and in the whole course of my proceedings since I came into this garrison. I appeal to the judgment and censure of the most [blank] and men of best understanding within this city what my behaviour had been, and with what difficulty and patience I endeavoured the surrender of this place, being satisfied in all human reason and policy (even from the beginning) that it could not withstand your power. I shall therefore humbly entreat your Honour to take my condition into your serious consideration, that I be not otherwise dealt with than the justice or injustice of my case requireth, which I shall undoubtedly expect from a person of my Lord Deputy's honour, and through the intercession of your Lordship, which shall remain an undoubted obligation never to be unacknowledged by your Lordship's most humble servant, Hugh O'Neill." This letter created a favourable impression on some of the officers who presided at the courtmartial, and by their influence his sentence of death was rescinded on the 1st of November, though Ireton was until the last moment much opposed to any clemency.

Sir Richard Everard, a member of the Supreme Council from the beginning and a consistent supporter of the Irish cause, was also sentenced to death, but owing to his advanced years, the sentence was commuted to imprisonment.

Dr. Higgins, a physician, who had been on the popular side from the commencement of the war and was considered a dangerous man, having been powder maker and money coiner to the Confederates, was found guilty and executed.

Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, was found in the pest-house ministering to the sick. He was considered a valuable prize, as he bore the reputation of being the most active of all those opposed to the surrender. He was a native of the city, where he had spent some years as superior of the Dominican priory before being promoted to the see of Emly. As a bishop, his case was hopeless. When asked by the court if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he replied, that having many sins to confess, he required some time to prepare himself for that purpose, which was granted.* Father Hanrahan, a member of his own order, was allowed to pass the day and night of the 30th of October with him.† He met death with courage and fortitude, after addressing a few consoling words to the multitude who witnessed his execution, and summoning Ireton before the Judgment Seat of God to answer for his crimes. The bishop's head was struck off and placed on a spike on the tower which stood on the middle of the bridge. As a striking coincidence, eighteen days afterwards Ireton was seized with the plague, and expired in great pain.

Major-General Purcell was a veteran who had fought with distinction through the whole war. He was a consistent supporter of Ormond until deprived of his command after the battle of Rathmines, when he became a leader on the popular side. When condemned by the courtmartial, he earnestly begged his life, but his request was refused. He was hanged, and

* Ludlow.

† O'Reilly's *Irish Martyrs*.

afterwards his head was struck off and placed on a stake over St. John's gate.

Geoffry Barron, a brother of Bonaventure Barron and a nephew of Father Luke Wadding, was a man of singular eloquence and uprightness of character, and had represented the Supreme Council for some years at the court of France. When charged by Ireton with rebellion, he declared that he had merely taken up arms, as Ireton himself had done, for the liberty and religion of his country. He, too, suffered with courage the extreme penalty.

Thomas Stritch, the late mayor, who had proved true to his trust, and valiantly kept the city intact during his term of office, now cheerfully laid down his life for the cause. He was hanged and quartered, and his head set up on a pole over one of the gates. He had the reputation among his contemporaries of being "a right honest man."

Sir Geoffrey Galway, another Limerick citizen whose father had made a noble stand against the tyranny of Carew in 1603, was one of those excepted from the Articles. He was condemned and executed with his friend Thomas Stritch.

Dominick Fanning was a well-known figure in the public life of the city for many years. He enjoyed the esteem of his countrymen for the purity of his motives and the uprightness of his character, and was, as we have seen, a consistent advocate of the popular cause. When Ireton entered the city, Fanning evaded arrest by taking refuge in the ancestral tomb in the abbey of St. Francis. But being overcome with cold and hunger he came out into the body of the church where there was a guard with a blazing fire. The captain recognised him as a man of some quality, and anxious to spare his life, ordered him out of the place. A servant of Fanning's, however, told the captain that he was one of the most violent opponents of General

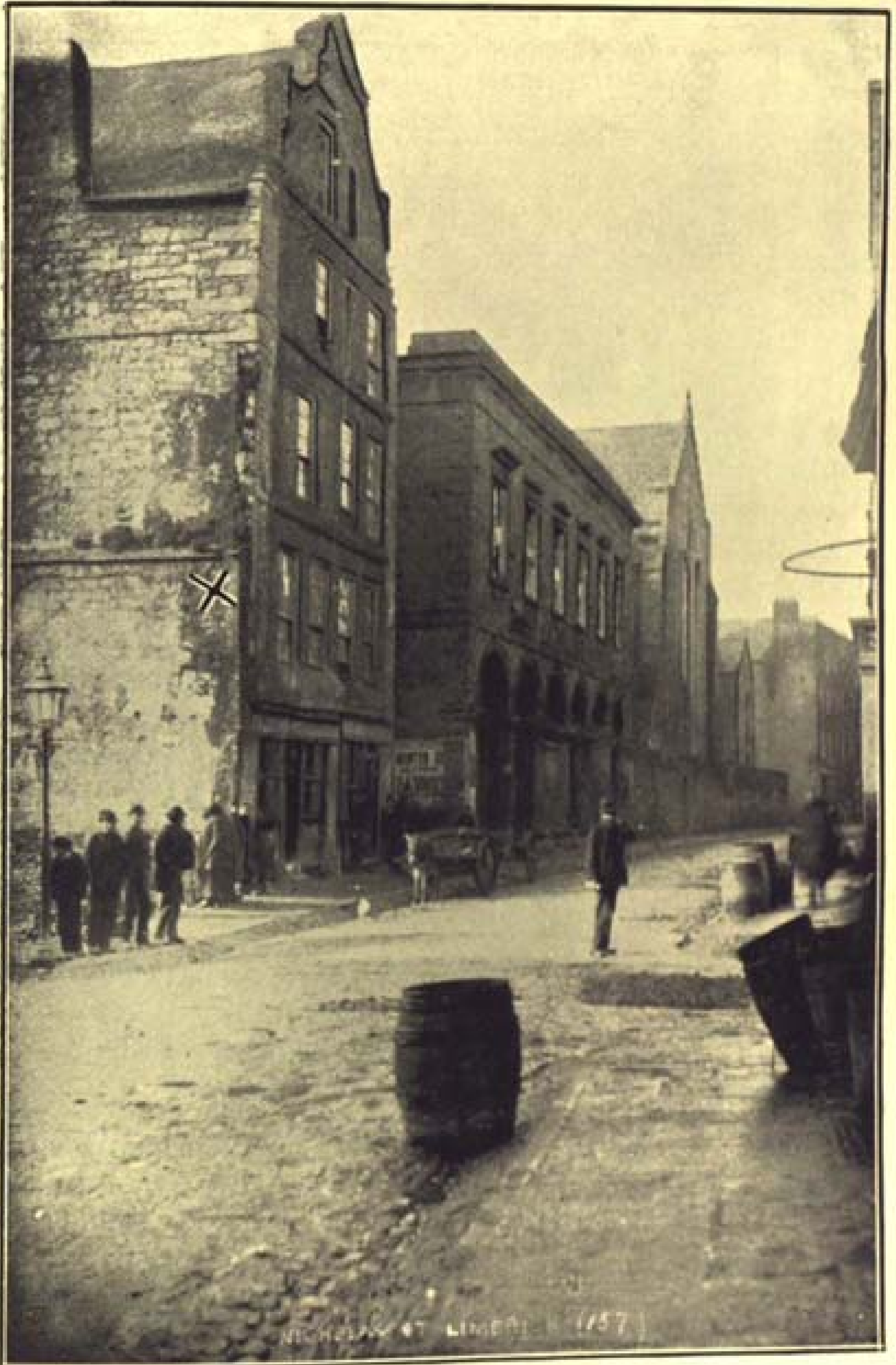
Ireton. No heed having been paid to him by the captain, he went to another authority, and while giving his information, implicated the captain, who, in order to save himself, had to surrender Fanning. His trial was short. Sentence of death was passed upon him and carried out in due course. His two sons and his brother were also hanged.

X Father James Woulfe, the Dominican, who took such a prominent part in advocating the policy of the nuncio, was taken and hanged, together with Father Francis Woulfe, guardian of St. Francis'.

Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, adopted the guise of a soldier, and with his knapsack on his back, marched out of the city undetected. He succeeded in making his way to Belgium, where he died in 1654.

After the Cromwellians had gained supreme control of the city, an investigation was held into its resources for prolonging the siege. The part of the wall that was supposed to be weak and capable of being easily battered down, was found on examination to be so strong that any attempt to force it would have been little better than desperate. The provisions found in the stores were calculated to be sufficient to last the inhabitants two or three months longer. There was plenty of ammunition to prolong an active defence, as there were delivered up eighty-three barrels of powder, twenty-three of shot, three tons of match and a large quantity of arms, together with twenty-one pieces of ordnance of various kinds.

Ireton next turned his attention to Clare, where there was a considerable remnant of Confederates scattered through the county. It was during his campaign against them that the germs of the plague which he picked up while in Limerick developed into a fatal malady. He returned to the city and, according to tradition, took up his residence in the house of the late Sir Geoffrey Galway, which was known as No. 3, Nicholas St., but



THE HOUSE X WHERE IRETON DIED, ACCORDING TO
TRADITION.

was taken down some years ago, when the site was added to the grounds of St. Mary's cathedral. There he daily grew worse, and, on the 26th of November, expired, raving about the Bishop of Emly, whose execution was supposed to have hastened his end. Lest his death should be regarded as a triumph by the Catholics, the English in Limerick for some years kept Thursday, the day on which he died, as a day of solemn festival. His body was embalmed and transmitted to England. Hugh O'Neill was a passenger on the same boat, and was permitted to be present at the interment in Westminster Abbey, after which he was committed a prisoner to the Tower. By the influence of the Spanish ambassador he was released and allowed to return to Spain. After the Restoration he wrote to Charles II, pointing out that by his cousin John's death he had become Earl of Tyrone, and saying that he would be grateful to the king to acknowledge him as such. The attainder, however, was never reversed, and O'Neill is supposed to have died soon after.

The chief plotters in the betrayal of the city were Piers Creagh Fitzpiers, Piers Creagh Fitzandrew, Bartholomew Stacpoole, the recorder of the city, Dr. Dominick White, James Bourke, Nicholas Fanning, Alderman James White, and many burgesses, of whom Laurence White, Laurence Rice, David Creagh, Stephen White, Patrick Wolfe and James Mahony were the principal. It was understood that they were to receive preferential treatment from Ireton, who recommended them to the authorities. They were supposed to have at least £2,000 in safe keeping in Holland and France, and it was suggested that this money should be secured for Charles II.

Colonel Fennell and Bourke, who seized St. John's gate at the instigation of Stackpoole, were later on sentenced to death at Cork for being implicated in some murders at the beginning of the war. Fennell

pleaded his assistance to the Cromwellians, but the judges ordered him to clear himself of the murder laid to his charge, which he was unable to do to the satisfaction of the court. He was condemned to death, and was hanged together with Bourke, who was also found guilty of a similar offence.

The precinct of Limerick was now established, embracing the city and county of Limerick, and the county of Clare.* It was to be taxed from the 1st of January, 1651-2, at the rate of £3,150 per month, of which Clare was to pay £1,350, the county of Limerick £1,600, and the city £200 for a period of six months beginning at the third day of the previous December. Companies of soldiers were scattered through the area to enforce payment, but the country was impoverished from the long war, and it was found very difficult to realise the amount levied.

Sir Henry Ingoldesby, who was actively engaged as a Cromwellian officer during the siege, was appointed governor of the city. He was a younger brother of Sir Richard and a son of Richard, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Later on Sir Henry married a daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, and with that gentleman and his son, Walter Waller, represented Limerick and Clare in Cromwell's parliaments.

In August, 1652, Ingoldesby reported to the authorities the names of a number of the Irish who had been turned out of the city. He received the agreeable reply that it was believed he acted for the better securing and planting the place with English, and that when such a meritorious work was accomplished, permission would be readily granted for another removal of the Irish. He acquired a lease of Dominick White's house for three years, on the condition that he should keep it for his own use, or let it to an English inhabitant.

* *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Dunlop.

Commissioners were appointed to look after the collection of the tax and to arrange any disputes that might arise. The Irish were kept in the city as long as they were able and willing to pay the monthly levies imposed upon them, but when they began to flag it was found convenient to turn them out as unprofitable servants.

Those who by willingly accepting the surrender had forfeited all right to their houses and property, but for that base act expected favourable treatment, were made to feel the scorn attaching to the name of traitor both by their fellow-citizens and their Cromwellian friends.

According to the declaration of the 27th March, 1654, the Catholics received notification to transplant themselves. They presented a petition through Dr. James Arthur, who was supposed to have great influence with the authorities, stating that they had laboured as much as they could to preserve the English interest in the city and to surrender it to the English, thereby becoming odious to the Irish, and that they wished to have some place on the river Shannon assigned to them for their residence. They received an answer that instructions would be given to the various officials concerning them.*

The wealthy individuals who thought that by betraying the city to the enemy they would receive preferential treatment, learned with surprise that the general sentence of banishment fell upon them as well as on the common people. Peter Creagh Fitzandrew, who was sent out privately to Ireton by his kinsman, the mayor, was sentenced to be banished from the nation. He pitifully pleaded for mercy on the ground that Ireton made promises to him for the good services he did that gentleman, and also for the

* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 383.

sacrifices he made by appearing on the English side at the beginning of the war, to the danger of his life and property. In consideration of these services the sentence of banishment was removed, and he was permitted to remain. He was also allowed to enjoy such part of his estate as was not disposed of, provided he paid the contributions.

Dr. Arthur, who was a consistent champion of the English cause, was treated with scant courtesy when his case came before the authorities. To retain some of his property, he had to make a most abject appeal, reminding them that he was of old English blood, his ancestors having come in with the Conqueror. He had been always loyal to those whom the Irish deemed their oppressors and tyrants. For this reason, in 1642, he was plundered, and had to take refuge in Limerick, as Dublin was too far to be reached without danger to his life from the Irish. Though he obtained a licence from Ormond to dwell in Limerick, then rebels' quarters, he was driven out by affronts and forced to shelter elsewhere. He was excommunicated by the Irish national clergy in 1650, and put in prison for counselling the men of Limerick to be loyal. On 21st July, 1656,* in consideration of his great sufferings and his good services to the English, and his having parted with several good houses and castles, the lord-deputy and council recommended him to the Loughrea commissioners for an assignment of land, with a house on the belt or mile line round Connaught for his subsistence. Stacpoole and some others received consideration, but nothing like what they expected.

The Protestant settlers in the city, who were not pleased at the dilatory process adopted in rooting out the native Catholics, submitted a set of queries to the authorities on the subject, which were answered in

* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 280.

July, 1655. It was declared that such of the Irish as were upon watch and ward during the siege were understood to be persons in arms, and consequently liable to transplantation into Connaught and Clare.

On 1st September, it was decided that the Irish papists were to be driven from Limerick, but the order was only partially enforced, and a final one had to be made on 14th November, 1659, withdrawing all dispensations and ordering that no Irish papist whatsoever be permitted to reside within the city.

For four years the city was under military rule. In 1656, when order was restored, a charter was granted by Cromwell at the request of the citizens, under which the puritan party elected twelve aldermen. These, in June of that year, elected Colonel Henry Ingoldesby as mayor. The weekly market for the future was to be held outside the walls of the city, as it was considered dangerous to have such a number of Irish vendors assemble in the city.

The houses in the different streets were falling into ruins, and to induce Protestants to become residents, the houses belonging to the Commonwealth were offered to them under very favourable terms, with a lease for thirty-one years, on the express condition that they were not to be relet to any papist without special licence from the government.

The small planters who settled in the liberties were not encouraged to remain, and obstacles were placed in their way which sometimes prevented them from enforcing their claim to rent. William Harryman, a merchant tailor of Canon St., London, had to write, in 1657, to Ellis Roberts, a member of the Committee of the Grocers' Hall, in the following strain: "I am obliged for having writings for £100 lot of land in the barony of Pubblebrian. Governor Ingoldesby, of Limerick, will not, however, allow me have any soldiers to help. Without them I cannot collect rent. I am reviled

here, arrested, and some of my houses pulled down. I pray you for help."* Evidently this adventurer was living in a desirable locality, and by a little pressure it was thought he might be tempted to sell to some larger holder.

The political horizon became clouded after the death of Cromwell, but Ingoldesby attached himself to the party in favour of restoring the king. He crossed over to England and seized Windsor Castle on behalf of Monk, for which he was thanked by parliament and rewarded by Charles II on his restoration. To keep the natives in subjection, a band of volunteers was formed among the Protestants of the city, amounting to about sixty, and armed from the government stores. The puritans ruled the Irish with a rod of iron. They had at one time serious notions of annihilating the race, but found on consideration that they could not dispense with their services.

The census of the city, taken in 1659, shows the relative strength of the English and Irish in the borough and liberties.†

* Irish State Papers.

† The year 1659 is the correct date, as the names of sheriffs of the city mentioned in the census correspond with those in the published lists of our local histories under that year.

SOUTH WARD—No. OF PEOPLE 480.

Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
Christopher Keyes, Will Thomlinson, Walter Davies, Gent., Col. Ralph Wilson and Major Wade, Esq., Liut. Jess and Liut. Dowdas, Esq., Thos Lucas, Esq., Capt. Liut. Coughlan, Gen. John Crabb, Sheriffs Patrick White, William Barisell, James Arthur, and James Ash, Merchant.	255	225

MIDDLE WARD ON WEST SIDE—No. OF PEOPLE 357.

Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
Dr. Whyte, Esq, Lt. Howard, Wm. Royal, Capt. Peterson, Mr. Peacock and his two brothers, Wm. Perry, Hugh Mongomerie and Ensign Benden, Gent., Capt. Humphrey Hartwell, Esq, Christopher Holmes, W. Gribbs, W. Hooper, Alderman Bennett and James Craven, Gent., Thos. Poone, Mr. Garnett, Thos. Phellps, Thos. Benius, Peter Rice, Francis Casey and Mr. Holulient, Merchants, Thos. Sanders, Thos. Phetiplus, Ensign Thos. Browne, Teige Bryan, Dominick Meagh, Henry Saltfield, Henry Price, Ter. and Liut. Will Pope, Gent., Thos. Poone, George Comin, Esq., Daniel Higneek, Town Clerk, St. John Comyn, Thos. Martin.	194	163
	449	388

MIDDLE WARD EAST SIDE—No. OF PEOPLE 370

Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
Peter Van Hugarden, Robert Collisson, John Cruice, Alderman Boeman, Richd. Lennard, Henry Price, senr., Nat. Walpes, Sheriff Pausy, Alderman Warr, Randal Cossens, Robert Shute, Samuel Foxen, John Banting, Anthony Bartless and Richd. Wallis, Merchants.	183	187

NORTH WARD—NO. OF PEOPLE 160

Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
John Hurst, Gent., Ald. Will Farwell and Will Hartwell, Esq., George Bock and Alderman Miller, Merchant.	88	72
	271	259

THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
S. Michael's	.. ..	15		2	13
	Belananurry ..	26	Capt. Bentley, Esq. ..	8	18
	Fearangalleagh ..	18			18
	Without; Mungret Gate	29			29
Mungret	Gortskolleipp ..	16			16
	Temple Mungret ..	56			56
	Bellegreen ..	58			58
	Cnockseard ..	32			32
	Tirvoe ..	24	Donnogh Mighane, Gent. ..		24
	Cloghkeaton ..	27	Arthur Carten, Gent. ..		27
	Hanannane ..	10			10
	Ballicomen ..	28		2	26
	Cloghicosky ..	14			14
	Taaradyle ..	38			38
Cruory	Annagh Roche ..	28			28
Cnocknagaule	Derricknockan ..	23			23
	Ballinacloghy ..	4			4
				12	434
Caber I Valley	Caber I Valley ..	16	Patk. Creagh, Gent. ..		16
	Priertown ..	12			12
	Lickedoone ..	79			79
	Thenakelly ..	25			25
Carnarry	Skarte ..	19		2	37
	Carnarry ..	42	Wm. Keun and Jno. Ouzzell Gent.	5	17
Carrigpherson	Carrigpherson Town ..	23			23
	Tooreen ..	15			15
Derrigellaneme	Sheadfed ..	47			47
	Killenenoge Skarinea and Cluonconny	17		2	15
	Coolehenane ..	15		2	13
Donoghmore	Drombanny ..	46			46
Kilmurry	Newcastle towne ..	82			82
	Bellasimon ..	23			23
				11	440

THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladocs' Names	English	Irish
Kilmurry ..	Bellanellen	16	Robert Theobald, Gent. ..	4	11
	Kilonan	48	John Matthews, Gent. ..	21	27
	Ballinaclogher	13			13
	Castle Troy	54			54
	Balliglessine	17			17
St. Lawrence ..	Spittle	46	St. John Carr, Gent. ..	2	44
	Killeleen	17			17
	St. John's Acre	24			24
	Ratheure	18			18
	Ballisheaa	15			15
Pt. of Stradbally	Banalisheen	4		2	2
	Upper Garane	9		2	7
	Gransigh towne & lands	14		2	12
	Lower Garrane	15			15
	Clounclieffe & Bally- bollane	34		2	32
				35	309
Killecknegarriff	Ballingeile	16		6	10
	Lishnegrey and Garrinoe	48	Sir Henry Lee, Gent. ..	2	46
	Ballyvarry	46		2	44
	Cleydulle	3			3
	Ballinlosky	29			29
St. Patrick's ..	Raheene	13		3	10
		16	John Miller, Gent. ..	3	13
	Parke	34			34
	Singland	45	Wm. Twayts, Gent. ..	5	40
	Corbally				
North Liberty .. of Limerick ..		6		2	4
	Ballingrenane	4			4
	Cluoncanane	16			16
	Shannolly	4			4
				23	268

THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK—NORTH LIBERTIES

Parishes	Townlands	No. of People	Tituladoes' Names	English	Irish
North Liberties of Limerick	Cnockardnagalleagh ..	3	Patrick Sarsfield, Gent. ..	2	3
	Cluendrenagh ..	21			19
	Coonagh ..	30			30
	East Coonagh ..	8			8
	Cluonmaken ..	2			2
	Kilrush ..	4			4
	Castle Blake ..	4			4
	By ye Strand from ye ..	44			44
	bridge westward				
	From South Side ..	34	John Collins, Gent. ..	8	26
	westward			8	48
	Kilbegley ..	52			
				18	188

THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Principal Irish Names and their Number				No.	Principal Irish Names and their Number				No.
Arthur ..	..	..	..	11	O'Bryen and O'Brian ..	..	..	..	17
Bourke ..	..	..	..	20	Creagh ..	..	..	..	11
McCreagh ..	..	..	..	6	O'Dule ..	..	..	..	9
McDaniell ..	..	..	..	13	McDonogh ..	..	..	..	9
McConnor ..	..	..	..	9	O'Carroll ..	..	..	..	8
O'Griphane ..	..	..	..	7	Fitzgerald ..	..	..	..	8
O'Gerrane ..	..	..	..	8	O'Hally ..	..	..	..	6
O'Hogan and O'Hogane ..	..	..	..	19	O'Hea ..	..	..	..	9
McKelly ..	..	..	..	14	McKeogh ..	..	..	..	7
Linchy ..	..	..	..	7	O'Mulcahy ..	..	..	..	6
O'Mulloney ..	..	..	..	10	Mulrian ..	..	..	..	12
McNamara ..	..	..	..	12	McRory ..	..	..	..	6
McNamarow ..	..	..	..	12	Roe ..	..	..	..	7
Ryan and Ryane ..	..	..	..	17	Rice ..	..	..	..	6
Smith ..	..	..	..	6	McShane ..	..	..	..	29
McTeige ..	..	..	..	14	Whyte ..	..	..	..	12
McWilliam ..	..	..	..	13					

LIMERICK CITY WITH YE NORTH LIBERTIES AND COUNTY OF YE CITY.

	Pages	English	Irish
	33	449	388
	34	271	259
	35	23	874
	36	58	577
	37	18	188
		819	2,286
Total		3,105	

The restoration of Charles II was hailed with joy by the scattered Catholics of the city, for in it they saw a prospect of being restored to their homes and permitted once more to follow their accustomed avocations. Those in the humbler ranks of life had been but little interfered with, since they were useful to the Protestant traders who had settled down there, but the wealthier class who possessed houses and lands in and around the city were subjected to many vexations, and every means employed to keep them out of the city and the enjoyment of their property. Petitions from this class, especially those who were instrumental in betraying the city, are still extant. They had looked to the Cromwellian government for favours on the strength of services rendered to Ireton during the siege, and now they humoured their old friend, Ormond, by reminding him of their support of the English interest and their faithful observance of their treaties with him, whereby they incurred the odium of the Irish. Piers Creagh, to whose petition to the Cromwellians reference has already been made, now sought a reward from Ormond on the ground that he had been transplanted by the usurping government simply because he was a Catholic and lived in Irish quarters. He got two parts of his former interests and estates in Clare. He asks, for the reasons alleged, and because he adhered to the peace of 1646 and 1648, for which he was excommunicated by the nuncio and his goods seized, to be restored to his former estate. Stackpoole and some others had the estates they received from the Cromwellians increased and confirmed by Charles II.

The majority of the wealthy traders went to France and settled down in the maritime towns, where they became rich and prosperous merchants.

Lord Orrery was appointed governor of Limerick and president of Munster under the new government. In December, 1662, the king passed letters granting

to him and his nephew, the Earl of Roscommon, their arrears out of the forfeited houses in Limerick. Orrery was very pleased with the grant, and set about making Limerick a flourishing place. He immediately imported eighty Dutch families,* and was daily increasing the number. Their presence, it was thought, would help to beautify and enrich the city. It delighted his heart to see the industry with which they worked to improve trade and brighten their surroundings. He was, however, continually alarming the government with rumours of plots among a section of the Cromwellians in Ireland to overthrow the monarchy. Being a man of talent, he had only one object in view—his own advancement—and always assiduously cultivated the man or party in power as long as it served his purpose, and even Ormond fell a victim to his blandishments.

The temper of the new Limerick is well illustrated by the address presented by the corporation to Ormond, in 1662, when he became viceroy: "The news," they say, "of your appointment filled the hearts of the loyal English and Protestants here with joy. Your gallantry in the time of rebellion and subsequent loyalty can never be forgotten. We have no sympathy with the 'inhuman treachery and contemptuous disloyalty' of former inhabitants, and are loyal to the king. We approve of your endeavours in support of the royal cause against the new and erroneous enemies of our church and the kingdom's peace."† The officers of the counties of Clare, Limerick and Kerry also presented an address couched in somewhat similar language.

Stable government having been established in the city, tradesmen's tokens were permitted to circulate in order to facilitate business, which had been hampered

* Irish State Papers.

† Ibid.

by the scarcity of genuine coin.* They were issued from about 1658 to 1679, and bore the name of the individual merchant or guild by whom they were issued. The ravages of the siege, in and around the city, were repaired by degrees. The Lax-weir had suffered severely owing to the float-bridge having been laid down beside it, but in a short time it was restored. Sir George Preston succeeded in getting a patent for the weir and fishery of the Shannon from its source to the sea. The corporation, however, disputed the grant, and after lengthy litigation, a compromise was effected in 1677, when the corporation paid Preston £1,500 for the surrender of his patent.

In 1666, Orrery writes that, as governor of Limerick city and castle, he receives ten pounds per year, with the profits of the king's portion of the island. The city stands on the west portion of it, and the east is kept for the grazing of the town cattle, and a little spot is kept for a bowling green, which perquisites he gives to the deputy-governor, who let the green for ten pounds per year, and the grazing realised twenty-eight pounds per year. He then adds, in an apparently most disinterested kind of way, that if his Majesty would give him a lease for ninety-nine years of the island, he would pay for it £38 per year and build upon it, which would be an enlargement, a beauty, and a strength to the city.†

Ormond thought it his duty to come to Munster and personally inspect the defences that were being erected for the protection of the country against a threatened French invasion, of which Orrery had private information. On his visit to Limerick he was met at the bounds of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick by Orrery and other nobles, with a large division of militia lately

* Some of these coins are occasionally found. They are generally about the size of a farthing.

† Irish State Papers.

recruited. At the city gate he was met by the citizens headed by the mayor, Sir William King, who delivered an eloquent speech of welcome. He was then escorted to his lodgings by musicians on horseback playing kettle-drums, the first music of the kind ever heard in the city, the sword of State being borne before him by Lord Barrymore. The next day being Sunday, he went to the cathedral, and having inspected the strong places in the city, after a sumptuous entertainment, left for Charleville.

The variations of the weather during this and the succeeding years are worth recording.* An extraordinary drought occurred, during which the Shannon was so low that the mayor and citizens walked round the city dry-shod outside the walls, and the cattle had to be driven many miles to water. On the 16th of February of the following year, a violent storm arose from the west and south-west. At the same time there was a spring tide which did not ebb for fourteen hours, and swelled so high under Ball's bridge that it forced up one of the arches and swept away several houses and families. On the 3rd of October, 1683, the severest frost known in Ireland commenced, and continued for more than three months. The ice was seven or eight feet thick on the Shannon, and carriages frequently crossed it from the King's Island to Parteen.

X In 1670 Lord Berkley became viceroy. Having no personal bias against the Irish Catholics, a more liberal policy was inaugurated, with the result that the old Limerick merchants were permitted to return and trade in the city. The weekly market was again allowed to be held within the walls.

The corporation was determined to allow no relaxation of its newly acquired authority over the Catholics who were allowed to live in the city, and in this they were

* White's MS.

aided by the advent of Essex, who came to Ireland as viceroy in 1672. To inspire the Protestants with confidence, a set of rules was drawn up by him for the several corporations of the country, by which it was ordered that the names of the magistrates annually elected should be presented for the approbation of the lord-lieutenant and council, and that they should take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. All matters in debate were first to pass the common council before being proposed in the tholsel. All foreigners, strangers and aliens, as well as Protestant merchants, traders, artificers, artisans, or seamen then residing in the town were to be admitted freemen during residence, and to be deemed denizens of the kingdom on paying a fine of twenty shillings, taking the oath, and paying charges. Notwithstanding all these precautions, however, John Halpin, a papist, was elected sheriff of Limerick, and continued to act for twenty-seven days until, on refusing to take the oath, he was deposed. He appealed to the lord-lieutenant, but without success.

In October of the same year, Essex issued a proclamation requiring the corporation to give a return of their tolls and customs duties, and to declare under what authority they were levied. In obedience to the order, a schedule of tolls was submitted with the following letter :—" These are the customs and duties received by said corporation, as well as by grants made unto them, as by subscription and usage, whereout we are to maintain the walls of both divisions of the city, four draw-bridges, two great stone bridges, one with five and the other with fourteen arches, twelve gates or posterns in the city walls, above ten bridges in the liberties, and several leading to and from the city, at least twelve miles of paved causeway, and since then the weir and mill given away to Sir George Preston. We have not above £100 a year in revenue by houses or lands, more than the casual revenue arising by the

above schedule. All of which we humbly certify, dated at Limerick, 4th of December, 1672, George Ingoldesby, mayor."*

Daniel Bourin, the mayor elected this year, introduced or revived the edifying practice, intended to foster local patriotism, of gathering all the boys of the city, and bringing them for two days with him to show them the city bounds and point out the extent of the county of the city.

In 1673 William York, a Dutchman, on being elected mayor, began to build the Exchange at his own cost, and being continued in office, finished the building and presented it to the city. He also presented St. Mary's cathedral with a peal of bells. On the 14th of March, when peace was proclaimed in Limerick between the English and Dutch, the new bells of the cathedral rang out for the first time, while the mayor and corporation rode through the city, the city militia marched under arms, and great rejoicings followed.

The domestic affairs of the city were peaceful until 1678, when the "popish plot" aroused the ire of the government, and a proclamation was published banishing the Catholics out of the city; but on the facts becoming known, the ban was removed.

In 1679 the corporation had the pleasure of again letting the Lax-weir, which was recently recovered, at the handsome rent of £2,845 per year, all the members of the council to have a salmon or more to eat in the weir-house castle at any time for nothing. All freemen were to have as many salmon as they could eat in the castle at 9d. each.

Charles II died in London on the 6th of February, 1685. Though friendly to Catholics, he was unable to grant them freedom of worship, as the various Protestant bodies in the kingdom were united in crushing the Catholic religion.

* Appendix to Report on Limerick taxation, 1822. Blue Book.

James, Duke of York, the younger brother of the late king, ascended the throne as James II. He had been for some years a convert to the Catholic Church, and the Irish naturally expected toleration of their religion under his rule.

James was proclaimed king, with great rejoicings, at Limerick on the 13th of February, 1685. The mayor and sheriffs, the governor (Sir William King), the Protestant bishop and clergy, in surplices and robes, and the corporation in their robes were all on horseback. The trades and militia walked with their colours, and great enthusiasm was displayed by the whole city.

Richard Smith, the mayor at this time, made some improvements in the city. He flagged the courthouse and built the jury-room at the end of it. He opened the newly-built King's Island gate and tower, and over the gate placed a suitable inscription, which he cut with his own hand. At his own expense, he also set up in the Exchange a brass table* standing on a short pillar, and with his own hand engraved the Latin inscription indicating that he presented it to the citizens. It was afterwards placed in the new Exchange, and called 'the nail,' being intended as a public place for paying down money, though not actually used for that purpose. It is at present an object of much interest in the local museum.

The new government wrought a welcome change in the position of the Catholics of the city. On the 1st of August Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Hamilton came to Limerick as governor in place of Sir William King, who was deposed. Hamilton was a Catholic and the first governor for thirty-five years to go publicly to Mass in the city. The troops, who were quartered on the people for an entire month, were also Catholics, and went every Sunday publicly to Mass, which was said

* White's MS.

in the King's Castle and in the citadel near St. John's gate, marching to the accompaniment of drums and hautboys.

The next mark of distinction conferred on the Catholics was the elevation of twelve merchants from among them to the dignity of freemen of the common council. William Turner, the recorder, became a Catholic, and having been annoyed by the corporation, he procured from the lord-lieutenant the deposition of George Roche, the Protestant mayor, and his sheriffs, and in their places got nominated for the rest of the year Robert Hannon, a Catholic, as mayor, and Thomas Harold, a Catholic, as sheriff, with Peter Monsell, a Protestant. The corporation, however, refused to accept the new appointments until the assizes, when the lord chief baron, Stephen Rice, declined to hold the court until Hannon was admitted. The common council then formally elected them, and, on the 8th of April, 1687, the rod, sword and mace were delivered up to Mr. Hannon. For the remaining year of James' reign the Catholics went openly to Mass and enjoyed equality with their former oppressors. When the Prince of Wales was born, on the 10th of June, Hannon, the new mayor, celebrated the event in the city in magnificent fashion, distributing three hogsheads of wine among the populace at his own expense.

The Catholics of Ireland were just beginning to enjoy a new era of prosperity in equality with their oppressors, who bitterly resented the change, when their hopes were once more dashed to the ground by a sudden turn in the current of events in England. The English people were not prepared for the toleration of Catholicity in their midst, and in the birth of an heir to the throne they saw a danger to the national religion, to avert which they invited William, Prince of Orange, son-in-law of James, to seize the throne. On his arrival in England the whole country rallied to his standard, and

James, finding himself deserted, fled to France, where he was hospitably received.

An attempt to regain the throne by going to Ireland, which was still loyal to James and ready to espouse his cause, was suggested by the exigencies of French politics, and an expedition having been fitted out, he set sail from Brest on St. Patrick's Day. After a swift but eventful voyage, his little fleet anchored off Kinsale on the morning of the 22nd of March, having on board a number of French officers, and some Irish and English who had been with James in France, among them Patrick Sarsfield, who was destined to win renown during the subsequent campaign.

James hastened to Dublin and summoned a parliament of the nation, in which many useful and patriotic laws were passed. Limerick city was represented by Nicholas Arthur and Thomas Harold, aldermen. This parliament, which represented the vast majority of the Irish people, is denounced for its intolerance by a certain type of historian, who at the same time laud the parliament of Charles II, its counterpart, which represented, and enriched at the expense of the nation, a numerically insignificant minority.

A shortage of money to conduct the campaign was met by melting down cannon and bells, out of which coins, varying from five shillings to sixpence, were put into circulation, on the understanding that at the end of the war the holders would be allowed their full value in genuine coin.

The Protestants of Ulster became active in favour of William. On the 1st of July the rival kings met on the banks of the Boyne, where, after a prolonged contest, James was vanquished. He fled to Dublin and in a few days returned to France, leaving his supporters to fight on his behalf as best they could.

The Irish army, though defeated on the Boyne, was still vigorous, and, to prepare for another effort,

concentrated on Limerick, the determined resistance of that city to the Cromwellians not having been forgotten. Without observing much military discipline, the Irish soldiers, each one as best he could, made their way to Limerick. John Stephens, an Englishman of letters and an officer in the Grand Prior's regiment, has left us a very interesting account of what happened around Limerick during the seige.* It has a special value, as Stephens was an eye-witness and a participator in the stirring events that took place during this period.

On the 9th of July, the soldiers of the different regiments that had assembled near Limerick were formed up into companies under their own officers and billeted in convenient places until further orders. Stephens' regiment was stationed at Carrigogunnell and the adjacent district in free quarters among the inhabitants. A graphic description of the manners and customs of the people of this locality, as he saw them during his stay, has been left us by Stephens. He found the people kind and hospitable, but was doubtful whether it arose from love or fear. They supplied the soldiers with plenty of meat and barley bread baked in cakes over or before the fire, with abundance of milk and butter, but no sort of 'drink.' The people were great lovers of milk, which they ate and drank in above twenty several sorts of ways, and for the most part loved best when sourest. Oaten and barley bread was the common fare, and was used in cakes and ground by the hand. None but the wealthy class in the great towns ate wheaten bread baked in an oven and ground in a mill. The poor had to content themselves with a little bread supplemented by potatoes, with sour milk, their drink for the most part being water, sometimes coloured with milk. Beer or ale they seldom drank, unless they sold something considerable in a market town—a custom which still

* *Journal of John Stephens, 1688-91* ; Ed. by Rev. R. H. Murray.

survives in a good many places. They all smoked, women as well as men, and a pipe an inch long served the whole family for several years, and though never so black or foul was never suffered to be burnt. Seven or eight would gather to the smoking of a pipe, and each having taken two or three whiffs, would give it to his neighbour, commonly holding his mouth full of smoke till the pipe came about to him again. They were much given to the taking of snuff. The foot-wear was a kind of sandal of uncurried leather without heels, and required a considerable amount of grease to keep them limber. The houses were known by the name of cabins, in the better sort of which there was generally one flock bed which served the man and wife. The rest all lay in straw, some with one sheet and blanket, others with only their clothes and a sheet to cover them. The cabins had seldom any floor but earth, and rarely so much as a loft; some had windows, others none. Chimneys had lately been introduced, yet the houses were never free from smoke. This short description gives us a glimpse at country life in 1688, and shows how little the people had changed, in the matter of food and drink, down to forty years ago.

The defences of Limerick were in such a decayed condition that, in the opinion of experts, it would be unable to stand a siege of any length. It was described as "a weak town, having no outward works, but a toy of a palisade before a little part of the wall, nor a rampart within. The wall is of old standing and far from being thick." The Duke of Berwick wrote that "the place had no fortifications, but a wall without ramparts and some miserable little towers without ditches. We had made a sort of covered way all round and a kind of horn work palisaded the great gate, but the enemy did not attack it on that side." Lauzun, who was very careful of himself after the battle of the Boyne,

while riding by Limerick on his way to Galway, exclaimed that it was a place that could be captured by a bombardment of rotten apples.

The city was much the same in extent and fortifications as in Cromwell's time, but in the interval two extensive suburbs had grown up. The main street of one extended southward from St. John's gate for about a quarter of a mile to Cromwell's fort on the Kilkenny road. It also extended eastward, and on the other side westward until it joined Mungret gate, and thence almost to the Shannon. The other suburb, which was outside Thomondgate, was of considerable extent. Though the buildings, for the most part, were not equal to those in the city, it contained many fine houses, and the united suburbs contained more inhabitants than the town within the walls. The city before the siege, we are told, was considered the second in Ireland, being inferior only to Dublin and to a few in England, but after the siege the same authority laments that it was reduced to a heap of rubbish, the greater and better part having been demolished, and scarcely a house left that had not been damaged.

For the better defence of the city, all these beautiful suburbs were razed to the ground, and when King William was approaching, the dragoons burned the country all around, turning it into a desert. The parapet of the citadel near St. John's gate, which was of stone, was taken down and replaced by a strong sod-work capable of bearing six or seven cannon to play on the enemy's batteries. Timber for making palisades was brought from a wood at the Clare side of the river, near O'Brien's Bridge. As there was no outer work to the city, but the bare walls, it was resolved, if time permitted, to erect a covered way around the walls, with three or four little works, like bastions, within, and slight lines of communication between them. On the eastern side two redoubts were erected, almost

opposite the south-eastern angle, at a little distance from each other, and another of stone without mortar opposite St. John's gate.

Having as far as possible completed such defences as were absolutely necessary, the soldiers at the east side of the city were marched into the King's Island, carrying with them materials for building huts, and there encamped. There were, according to the best authorities, twenty thousand fighting men within the walls, but of these only about ten thousand were fully armed and equipped for battle.

William delayed for a time before advancing, as he expected that the Irish would surrender. The question had been debated in the Irish council, and Tyrconnell, who remembered the Cromwellian days, thought that under the circumstances it would be better to make peace with William, who, it was understood, was prepared to grant favourable terms. The opposition was led by Patrick Sarsfield, a young and chivalrous officer, who argued that they had a sufficiency of men, plenty of courage, and that they would have a consummate general out of France to govern the army, and were therefore likely to win the day. Berwick and Boisseleau were of the same opinion, and their view, which was also the popular one, was enthusiastically adopted.

On the 7th of August, 1690, William arrived at Cahirconlish, at the head of about twenty thousand men and a field train of light artillery. The heavier guns were on the way. On the 8th, he sent forward reconnoitring parties, who came within half a mile of the city, and having inspected all the posts, retired. Later on in the day William himself appeared with his train on the heights overlooking the city and viewed the ground that was to be traversed the following day. That night a council of war was held at which it was decided to start early next morning in battle array for the city. Accordingly, at daybreak, on the 9th of August, the

camp at Cahirconlish was broken up and the army began to march. As they approached the city the country was a net-work of hedges, which sheltered detachments of Irish foot, who disputed every field with the English and retired from hedge to hedge after firing several volleys, until they came under cover of their own cannon and outer works, where they continued in small bodies in the ditches and kept their ground during the night. In this preliminary skirmish the Irish losses were very small.

William then encircled the city at the Limerick side, taking up his position in the old Cromwellian forts of the former siege. He pitched his camp at Singland, where the pillar on which the royal standard was unfurled is still pointed out. The day was spent in selecting advantageous sites from which to prosecute the siege and placing men and cannon in position.

As soon as the army was posted and ready for action, William sent a trumpeter to summon the city to surrender on honourable terms, which he professed he would be happy to grant. Boisseleau, the governor, replied "that he was surprised at the summons and thought the best way to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion was by a vigorous defence of the town which his master had entrusted him with."* That evening William sent a party of dragoons to view the pass of Annabeg, which is the shallow part of the river at Plassy, the opposite bank and land being still known by that name. They found a large force of Irish foot and horse posted at the Clare side of the river, beside the large brick house built by Samuel Foxon, a Dutch merchant, the ruins of which are still there. The Irish having fired a few volleys, retired during the night. The next day the English seized the pass and guarded it during the siege. On the 10th a gunner from William's army escaped into the city and informed the Irish of the

* Storey's *Impartial History*.

position of the different regiments encamped around the city. He also informed them that a siege train was coming from Dublin, escorted by two troops of dragoons.

Sarsfield, having heard of the siege train, determined to intercept it. He rode that evening to the cavalry camp, and, with the permission of the Duke of Berwick, selected about five hundred horse, well-equipped for the daring enterprise. Having secured as guide the well-known and trusted rapparee, Galloping O'Hogan, he set out on his perilous journey. Crossing the Shannon, he moved cautiously along the country-side under cover of night until he reached the Keeper hills, where he rested among trusty friends until the next day, while scouts were abroad collecting reliable information respecting the approach of the convoy. The scouts returned towards evening with the welcome news that the convoy would encamp for the night near Ballyneety hill, a remarkable conical eminence about fourteen miles from Limerick and not far from Oola railway station, in the east of the county. In the silence of the night, when the convoy were in deep sleep, Sarsfield swooped down on the camp at the head of his horsemen, shouting when challenged for the password, "Sarsfield is the word and Sarsfield is the man." Having surprised and disarmed the guard, he filled the eight battering pieces with powder, and fixing the muzzles in the ground, blew out their breeches. He then destroyed all the ammunition and whatever military stores were in the camp, but such was his haste that six guns were found afterwards to be fit for use. Having thus accomplished his object, he wheeled round and galloped to Banagher, where he crossed the Shannon, and returned to Limerick without meeting with a single mishap, which is admitted by all to have been a very brilliant achievement, and was undoubtedly the cause of William's failure to capture Limerick.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by Sarsfield

to hide his movements, his departure from Limerick was not unobserved. The morning after he crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, the news was brought to the Williamite camp by one Manus O'Brien, who alleged that he must be on some important expedition. The information was at first considered of little importance, but when it reached the ears of King William, he at once saw its significance and gave orders to Sir John Lanier to take five hundred men and proceed to meet the convoy. Lanier, for some unexplained reason, did not set out until one o'clock the next morning. He was not an hour on the march when a blaze of light appeared in the sky, and a loud rumbling noise told the tale of destruction. Lanier made an abortive attempt to pursue Sarsfield and cut off his retreat to Limerick.

The loss of the guns and ammunition was disconcerting news to William and his army. Nevertheless he continued the siege, planting his guns in the most advantageous positions. The batteries planted in Cromwell's fort at Gallows Green became active, but did little execution. On Sunday, after having been a week at work, the English advanced near the walls on the southern and south-eastern sides. Not far from the south-east angle there were, as we have seen, two redoubts, and another on the south side, opposite St. John's gate. The latter, though made of loose stones, laid one upon another, was vigorously defended by Hamilton's and Eustace's grenadiers, who repulsed the English and maintained their ground until ordered to retire when the place was no longer tenable. A detachment of the Grand Prior's regiment, who were in the more remote of the other two redoubts, quitted their post at the first charge, some retreating to the third redoubt and some to the trenches, but with such precipitation that they lost their arms, the officers being the first to run. An attempt was made by Lieutenant Connel to rally them, but in vain. The

English were heard working hard during the night, and in the morning it was found they had raised a new battery in Cromwell's fort, which began to bombard the city from that point. In the evening of the same day the English made an attempt to capture the redoubt that still remained in the possession of the Irish, and also made some show of attacking the trenches, but were forced to withdraw without gaining any material advantage. In another attack, made on the 21st of August, the English were twice repulsed, but the redoubt was then abandoned by the Irish.

William, having thus gained possession of the redoubts, moved in his men and erected cannon in them, thus shortening the range of the guns and making the firing more effective. On the 24th it was discovered that the English had advanced their trenches within fifty paces of the counterscarp on the east side and were planting a battery on the redoubt last gained. An intense cannonade, directed against the southernmost part of the east wall, levelled the sloping side of the covered way, broke down the palisades, and opened in the wall a breach of about twelve yards. The breach was rather high, but owing to the vast quantity of rubbish beaten from the upper part of the wall and tower having filled the counterscarp, there was no difficulty in mounting it. On the 27th, during the early part of the day, the English raked the walls as far as Ball's bridge with shot and shell and at the same time widened the breach, so as to facilitate the ascent. Through the breach thus made, Boisseleau saw that the English would certainly attempt to storm the town. He, therefore, immediately set about erecting an inner defence some thirty yards behind the old wall. Along this rampart he placed three small cannon, with their muzzles pointing to the gaps through which the storming party was likely to come, and kept them concealed until the last moment. At about two o'clock in the

afternoon William gave the signal to his men to charge the breach, which was done so silently that twenty of them got into the street before the alarm was raised. At first sight they were mistaken for the guards retiring from the counterscarp—as both parties were dressed in red coats—until it was discovered that they wore green boughs on their hats, the distinguishing mark of the Williamites, the Irish wearing white paper. Three regiments of Irish lined the entrenchment within the breach, and when word was given to fire, the masked cannon and guns went off together, inflicting severe damage on the enemy, and the Irish renewed their charges with such vigour that not one of the Williamites was left alive within the breach. Unconscious of their losses, the enemy continued to advance, until after an hour's hard fighting they realised the situation and abated the vigour of the attack. At this point M. De Beaupré, a Frenchman and lieutenant to Boisseleau, leaped over the entrenchment, and followed by a resolute band, soon recovered the top of the breach. Here the fight was renewed, and continued for some time with sword in hand and butt end of rifle. The MacMahon regiment, though unarmed, did good execution by throwing stones at the assailants from the walls, which greatly annoyed them. The besiegers endeavoured to establish a means of communication between the part of the covered way they occupied and their trenches, but the dragoons stationed at St. John's gate were ready to move forward in support of the defenders of the breach. William ordered two regiments to dislodge them, but they were compelled to retreat in disorder, which was greatly increased by the explosion of four barrels of powder. This killed about thirty of them, whereupon the rest took to flight, believing that the place was mined. Talbot, the commander of the horse, perceiving the confusion, attacked them with great energy, and although able to reform, they had to abandon the

Map of Limerick

- A Cusnall's Fort.
(Nanna's.)
- B Iretin's Fort.
(Machoy's.)
- C Old Church Fort.
- D Other Forts and Batteries.
- E First Crossing of River.
- F Devil's Tower.
- G John's Gate.
- H Breach in 1690.
- I Breach in 1691.
- K Causeway.
- L Iretin's Attack on Island.

Home of Fanny's House

Abstract

10

covered way. Besides their losses in the close engagements with the rival host, the greatest damage was inflicted on the English as they advanced to the breach by two pieces of cannon that played on them from the citadel near St. John's gate, on the site of which now stands the hospital of that name. Two other cannon from the King's Island and two from the roof of the old Augustinian convent, near Ball's bridge, manned by Capuchin fathers, scoured the whole counterscarp, which was filled with English soldiers. The battle was fought for three hours with intense energy. For half an hour longer the English made a feeble effort, and then withdrew to their trenches, beaten and discomfited. The English losses in the engagement amounted, according to reliable authority, to little less than three thousand killed. On the Irish side the dead and wounded did not exceed five hundred. Lieutenant-Colonel De Beaupré and Colonel Barnewall were the only chief officers killed, and very few were wounded. Storey's legend, embellished by Macaulay, about the Limerick women participating in the fight has no reality in fact.

William kept up a warlike attitude for a few days, but on the 29th he raised the siege and stole away in the dead of night to Waterford, whence he sailed for England.

The Irish were naturally elated at their victory. They unbarred the gates, within which they had been cooped up for such a considerable time, and went forth with joy to breathe the fresh air and visit the site of the deserted camps. The army, too, came out into the country and encamped near Cromwell's fort, and a large body of the soldiers went for a long march to refresh themselves.

We have an account of the tour of this party from the pen of Stephens. The first night, they rested at Grange, which contained only some poor, thatched cottages, so that some of the men lay in the fields,

while the rest crowded into the houses. The next day they marched to Bruff, a small but not contemptible town, where they found plenty of provisions. After a short halt they moved on to Kilmallock over a good road, there being a causeway between the two towns. Kilmallock is described as surrounded by a stone wall with battlements, but not broad enough for two to walk on it abreast. The ruins—for it was then in ruins—showed it to have been in times past a good town, the houses, which were lofty and large, having been of stone, but most of them were then ruined, and of those that remained only a few were inhabited, for both armies having been in the place, the inhabitants had removed their effects. There was no provision to be found in the town, except butter and a little drink, which was soon consumed. The soldiers had brought with them on their march six days' allowance of bread, and from the gardens in the neighbourhood, which were all full of cabbage, they helped themselves liberally.

While the Limerick battalion was in Kilmallock, the Duke of Berwick visited the town and reviewed the troops on Kilmallock hill. On the following day they marched away, leaving behind detachments who burned Kilmallock. The horse similarly burned Charleville, having previously wasted the country round about and burned several villages. On reaching Bruff, on the homeward march, the Horse Guards and the Duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horse encamped in the garden of a great house, called Ballygrenan, belonging to one Evans, which, since it was very large and built like a castle, with large stone walls and battlements, had been burnt by the army. The rest of the troops were quartered in the town, which was small and in consequence very congested. The country about Bruff was considered very pleasant, being a large valley of good land, well-peopled and improved. The town was small and contained nothing worth observing. "There was

corn and cattle enough in the locality, plenty of cabbage in the gardens, and, what was the great support of the people and soldiers, large fields of potatoes, yielding prodigious quantities, but all little enough, considering the vast consumption, for they often served instead of bread, and the soldiers would be feeding on them all day." From Bruff the march back to Limerick was accomplished for the most part in a storm of wind and rain.

On arriving at the city, the army went into winter quarters, and lived upon salt beef and bread. For a short time the men received an allowance in brass money, which, however, was of very little value, for a captain's pay, which was a crown a day, could purchase only one quart of ale, and that of an inferior quality, while for four Irish halfpennies much better drink could be had ; and every other article was dear in proportion, a pair of boots costing £5 and a suit of clothes £18. The officers were quartered in the inhabited houses and the soldiers placed in companies in the empty houses. "It was really wonderful, and will perhaps to after ages seem incredible, that an army should be kept together above a year without any pay, or if any small part of it received any, it was, as has been said, equivalent to none. And what is more to be admired, the men never mutinied, nor were they guilty of any disorders, more than what do often happen in those armies that are best paid. Nor was this all they might have complained of. In Limerick, as has been said, all the garrison lay in empty houses where they had neither beds nor so much as straw to lie on, nor anything to cover them during the whole winter, and even their clothes were worn to rags, in so much that many could scarce hide their nakedness in the day time, and abundance of them were barefoot, or at least so near it that their wretched shoes and stockings could scarce be made hang on their feet and

legs. I have been astonished to think how they lived, and much more that they should voluntarily choose to live so when, if they would have forsaken the service, they might have been received by the enemy into good pay and want for nothing. But to add to their sufferings, the allowance of meat and corn was so small that the men rather starved than lived upon it. These extremities, endured, as they were, with courage and resolution, is sufficient with reasonable persons to clear the reputation of the Irish from the malicious imputations of their enemies."*

During the winter months the men were employed repairing the damages of the siege and strengthening the walls in case of another attack on the city. A covered way was made all round the wall of the Irish town, and the part near Ball's bridge was protected. A covered way was also constructed around the English town, and a fort erected in the middle of the King's Island, which was connected with the covered way.

The war was not renewed until the following spring, when all the Irish regiments left Limerick and marched towards Athlone to oppose the Williamite forces, who had left Mullingar on a westward march. The hostile armies engaged in battle at Aughrim on the 12th of July, 1691. The Irish, though they fought with the utmost bravery,† had to yield to the overwhelming numbers, rather than to the valour, of the enemy Ginkel, the English commander, immediately after his victory invested Galway, which surrendered, the vanquished being allowed to retire to Limerick.

All eyes were now turned towards Limerick, as the only stronghold of importance that still remained faithful to James. Ginkel hastened to besiege it for the second time, hoping, if possible, to bring the war to a close before the winter set in.

Tyrconnell was still lord-lieutenant, and had regained

* *Journal of John Stephens.*

† *Ibid.*

a good deal of his popularity. He was determined to keep the Stuart flag flying over Limerick, at least until the spring of 1692, by which time aid must, he thought, come from France.

The conduct of Henry Luttrell at Aughrim, in the opinion of many, amounted to cowardice and required to be investigated. At the end of July, when news was brought to Limerick of the approach of the Galway garrison under charge of an English escort, Luttrell was sent with his regiment to take over the men at Sixmilebridge. There he became acquainted with one of Ginkel's officers, named Sebastian, with whom he discussed the prospects of the war. Luttrell volunteered the opinion that peace could be easily arranged if Ginkel had sufficient powers. This was conveyed to Ginkel who, being anxious to terminate the conflict immediately, set about sifting the matter. A few days later a trumpeter was sent into the town, ostensibly to enquire if the Irish had made certain persons prisoners at Aughrim, but in reality with a letter addressed to Luttrell. The letter was intercepted and taken to Sarsfield, who broke the seal and read the contents, which revealed the fact that Luttrell was corresponding with the enemy. Tyrconnell had Luttrell arrested and tried by courtmartial, but the evidence of guilt was not conclusive enough to warrant a sentence of death. He was kept in prison, however, until peace was concluded. On his release, his services were rewarded by the Williamites with a pension of £500 a year and exemption from the penal laws newly made against the Catholics, which must have been requital for much more valuable aid than appears on the surface. Among the Irish he was known as "False Luttrell," and in 1717, when it might be thought the memory of the siege had passed into oblivion, he fell at his own door by the hand of an assassin who was never discovered. Tyrconnell, who at this stage had a good idea of

the treacherous intentions of some of the leading men under him, thought it advisable to call on the army and people to take an oath of loyalty, binding themselves not to make peace until the following spring, which would lead us to believe that he had some secret, but definite, promise of help. The oath was administered with all the solemnity of the Catholic Church, and bound under pain of excommunication.

Tyrconnell had been for some time in failing health, but still directed operations with a certain amount of vigour. He dined with the French general, D'Usson, on the 11th of August, and spent a very enjoyable evening with his host in the best of health, but when retiring to rest that night he was suddenly seized with extreme weakness, and four days later expired, as some say, from poison. Before passing away he signed papers appointing three lords-justices, Sir Alexander Fitton, Sir Richard Nagle and Francis Plowden, to administer the kingdom in the name of King James. He passed away in a house near St. Munchin's church, long since pulled down, and was interred on the night of the 15th of August in St. Mary's cathedral, but the exact spot is unknown.

The government, though entrusted to the lords-justices, was directed by D'Usson and Sarsfield.

Ginkel lingered at Cahirconlish for about ten days, in the hope, it is presumed, that secret negotiations would result, as in 1651, in the surrender of the city. He published a proclamation of terms of peace, but receiving no favourable response, began to prepare for a siege. Sir William King, who had been governor of Limerick in the reign of Charles II, and on his escape from prison had sought refuge with the English army, was, from his knowledge of the city and surrounding country, able to render valuable service.

On the 25th the army began to move towards the city, marching very quietly and without the beat of

drum, so as not to attract attention. About three o'clock in the afternoon they came near the former Williamite forts, which they found occupied by the Irish. The latter appeared to be prepared to make a stand, but withdrew after a little fighting, and the English took possession of the forts. A fleet of ships in the river, quite close to the city, was a new feature in this siege. On the 29th, the English had established all their lines of communication and mounted the batteries, some of which began to play on the town.

The Protestant prisoners, amounting to about two hundred, were kept in St. Thomas' Island for safety. A proposal to bring them off was made by a few officers of the Irish army who had deserted to the English commander in guard over the Annabeg pass at the Limerick side of the river. The commander immediately took four boats, manned by sixteen dragoons, and having entered the island, brought off all the Protestants who were imprisoned there in much misery, with only two cabins to shelter them from the weather and only a little hay to lie on. Bad as was the treatment they received from the Irish, they did not, however, fare better with their deliverers, for these stripped them of what the Irish had left them.*

The cannonading was continued, and on the 8th of September, a breach was made in the English town wall, which day by day became wider, owing to the constant firing, but brought the besiegers no nearer to securing the city.

Ginkel, who saw clearly that no headway could be made until the city was surrounded at the Clare side, began to make preparations for crossing the Shannon. A large number of tin boats were brought from Athlone, and float-bridges were constructed. The river was

* Storey's *Impartial History*.

carefully examined from St. Thomas' Island to O'Brien's Bridge for a suitable crossing. After much deliberation a place, now called Islandroan, about one mile above the English town, was chosen. Near this island there was another, long since removed by the Board of Works. To protect the making of the bridge, a battery was erected at the northern end of Corbally, to command the causeway from Limerick to Parteen, and a number of cannon were placed on a rising ground to the left of bridge to annoy any horse that might come down from the camp on that side. Four-pounders were also placed at the end of the bridge to defend it. At midnight the bridge to the island was commenced, and to protect the workmen engaged in laying it, one hundred grenadiers were wafted over in tin boats to the island, beyond which the river was fordable. Captain Parker, one of the officers who was wafted over and spent the night on guard, and one of the first to cross the river on this memorable occasion, tells, with the bluntness of a soldier, the naked facts. "It was very difficult," he says, "to effect this (the crossing), as the enemy kept constant guards and patrols going all hours of the night on their side of the river. He (Ginkel) discovered, however, by means of a secret correspondence he held with Colonel Luttrell, that to preserve his estate he was inclined to favour him in passing the river, and accordingly when Luttrell had that guard, he gave the general notice of it. We had everything in readiness, the bridges laid at the place appointed, and part of the army over before it was day. As the morning proved foggy, we marched up to the camp undiscovered and were the first that brought them the account of our passing the river. Here we found most of them asleep in their huts, and the sudden and unexpected attack put them into such consternation that they ran about in a distracted manner in their shirts, some quite naked, most of them making towards

the town."* The diarists embellish the story of the crossing by introducing a sentinel or two who discovered the English at work towards morning and gave word to to the Irish commander.

It would appear from Parker's narrative that Luttrell was at the head of a party in favour of surrender, and that he carried on negotiations all the time with Ginkel. Owing to his being in confinement he would be least suspected, but would at the same time have no difficulty in arranging matters with Clifford, who was a subordinate of his and ready to obey orders. Without such an understanding, the English could have slaughtered all the Irish, but evidently they were satisfied with their running away. Clifford was encamped on this occasion at Annabeg, with a large force to guard the passes of the Shannon thereabouts, but on the fatal night he was conveniently asleep. The Irish horse, who were a few miles distant, are censured for not charging down from the Parteen side, but from what is now known they acted wisely in retreating, for had they advanced they should surely have been mown down by the artillery prepared for such an emergency.

When the alarm was given that Ginkel's troops had crossed the river, the Irish, in order to impede the advance of the enemy, commenced to break down the two small bridges on the causeway from Parteen to the city, but the cannon on the Corbally heights was turned on them and they had to fly.

The lords-justices and the élite of the city encamped during the siege in a field, which is still known as the Camp field, in the townland of Shanabola, about a mile from the city, on the old Ennis road. They were

* *Memoirs of Captain Parker*, p. 32. Cf. Richards' Diary in end of Jacobite narrative, edited by Gilbert; Storey's *Impartial History*; Dowd's *Sieges of Limerick*. Diary of siege published by authority makes a mistake in calling the island whither the guard was wafted over to protect workmen while making the bridge St. Thomas's Island, instead of Islandroan.

protected by a few squadrons of horse and foot, who lined the hedges to cover their retreat to Limerick.

Having crossed the river and put the Irish horse and foot to flight, Ginkel was master of the situation. The small forts along the river were summoned to surrender, and an ensign and twenty men who occupied the castle on the salmon weir immediately submitted. There was also a small garrison in St. Thomas' Island (in a stone redoubt erected there by the Cromwellians), who obeyed the summons of surrender and volunteered to serve. Here were found two pretty brass field-pieces.

On the 16th of September, Ginkel issued another proclamation to the besieged, in which he offered them, if they laid down their arms, the same terms as on the 7th of July. The offer, though tempting, was not accepted.

As the situation of the float-bridge was found to be inconvenient, it was removed to St. Thomas' Island, where the Cromwellian fort had been erected when Ireton blocked up the place. Ginkel selected this spot as the most suitable, being assured of a good ford over the stream at the Clare side of the island. The stream between Corbally and the island took all the pontoons, so that a bridge of boats had to be constructed to convey the foot across the ford. On a second trial the ford was found to be so bad, owing to the unevenness of the ground and great stones, that it had to be abandoned, and the bridge was again ordered to be removed to about the distance of a musket shot further up the river, to a point between the place of the first crossing and the island. It was finally fixed a few perches above Kilquane church, where there is a rock, called Carrig-clouragh, or the chain rock, to which were attached the chains which supported the bridge. A difficulty was experienced in fixing the bridge, as the recent rains had swollen

the river and there were not boats enough to reach the whole way across. The want was, however, supplied by some large carts and barrels which were placed next the banks, and in that manner was the bridge finished.

A considerable portion of the army then passed over to the Clare side of the river and fell into line, with orders to march towards the city. The advanced guard was at first repulsed, but on reinforcements coming up, the Irish had to give way. About five o'clock in the afternoon orders were given to attack the two forts guarding Thomond bridge, but its strongest defence was a line of stone quarries and gravel pits in which there were detachments of Irish soldiers, numbering in all about eight hundred men. The skirmishing was in the beginning very hot, but the superior numbers of the English forced the Irish to retreat over Thomond bridge, whither they were quickly pursued by the enemy. A French major who was in charge of the drawbridge near King John's castle, perceiving the onward rush of friend and foe across the bridge, ordered the drawbridge to be pulled up, which precipitated a number of the unfortunate Irish into the river. Those who escaped a watery grave were slaughtered by the enemy. Colonel Lacy is mentioned as one of those engaged in this skirmish, but as his name is not heard of afterwards, it may be presumed that he perished in the fight. The number of the Irish that fell in this engagement is given by some as six hundred, while other authorities just as reliable say that not more than two hundred were slain. The English losses must have been considerable, as they were exposed to the fire of cannon and small shot from the walls during the encounter.

Sarsfield and his party must at this time have been considering the futility of prolonging the contest, since it was evident that English gold had demoralised their

supporters, and many more might be prepared to act the part of Luttrell and Clifford. The crossing of the river had rendered the position of Limerick hopeless; provisions were running low; the garrison was enraged at the conduct of the French major; and, above all, they were confronted with the danger that, if the city fell—as surely it would fall in a short time—into the enemy's hands, they would be completely at the mercy of their conquerors. As matters stood they were in a fairly strong position, and by coming to terms would be entitled to an honourable peace. The French officers in the city were bitterly opposed to any surrender, as they expected aid from France, but of this there was only a remote possibility which, under the circumstances, was not worth considering. The oath they had taken to hold out until the spring was to be considered, but the circumstances had so changed that the obligation of observing it was no longer binding.

The day after the fight on the bridge, Sarsfield and a brave Scottish general, named Wauchope, arranged an interview with Ginkel, when they proposed a cessation of arms for three days in order to include in the capitulation the cavalry outside the city. The surrender having been agreed upon, the preliminaries were quickly adjusted. The cavalry officers at Clare Castle immediately rode over to Ginkel's camp and then passed into the city. Ginkel entertained the leading men of the city at dinner in the evening. Next day the general terms were agreed to and hostages were given on either side. Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, Lord Galmoye, Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon and Colonel John Browne were chosen to act as commissioners for the Irish party. Ginkel acted as his own commissioner, but called to his aid all his officers above the grade of brigadier-general. After long and angry debate, the terms of peace were arranged. On the 1st of October

the lords-justices, Coningsby and Porter, arrived in the camp, and on the 3rd the memorable treaty of Limerick was signed, according to tradition, on the old Gothic stone now standing on an ornamental pillar near Thomond bridge.

The treaty was divided into two separate sections, one containing the military articles, which were signed by the officers on both sides and numbered twenty-nine. These articles related to the surrender of the troops in arms and their conveyance to France. All persons, without any exception, were to be free to leave for any country beyond the seas, excepting England and Scotland, and they were allowed to take with them their families, household goods, plate and jewels. All the garrisons were likewise allowed to leave the country.

The military articles were faithfully carried out. A difficulty arose about the departure of the women and children belonging to the soldiers. Lord Nassau thought from the wording of the treaty that shipping was only to be provided for the men, but on Lord Lucan writing a letter of protest to Ginkel the difficulty was removed.

Though the military men were allowed to leave the country, an inducement in bounty and pay was held out to them if they took service under William. Many thousands of them embraced the offer. Later on, however, they deserted in France and Spain, which annoyed the English authorities so much that eventually they refused to employ any Irish Catholic in the army. The most notable recruits to Ginkel's army were Luttrell and his friend Clifford, together with Sir Nicholas Purcell. The bulk of the army sailed away from Ireland, hoping to return at some future time and enjoy the blessings of civil and religious freedom by their own firesides.

The civil articles, numbering thirteen, were signed by the lords-justices, and affected the Catholics of Ireland. How they were observed will be told in another volume.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the government had established the Protestant religion in the diocese of Limerick, and on the return of Bishop Thornburgh to England, a cleric of missionary experience was sought to fill the vacant see. The choice fell on Bernard Adams, who was supposed to be in every way qualified to expound the new doctrines to the Irish and draw them to the Protestant faith.

BERNARD ADAMS (1603-1625)

Adams was born in Middlesex in 1566. At the age of seventeen he was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, and five years later was elected a fellow. After some time he was appointed, through the favour of Sir Robert Cecil, one of her majesty's preachers within the county palatine of Lancaster. In 1601, he informed his patron that in the district in which he was labouring there was an outward, indifferent, although not a perfect, reformation. The people still retained some dregs of their superstition, but their attendance at church was nothing inferior to any of the best professing localities. There was nothing, however, that would help the good work more than the stirring up of the justices of the peace, who could bring pressure on the obstinate.*

A great increase of proselytes was expected from his administration in Limerick, especially when Brounckner, the secular arm of the church, was clearing the ground before him. He was appointed bishop in 1603, and consecrated in April, 1604.

* Hatfield Papers—Hist. Com., Pt. II.

The arrival of Bishop Adams in Limerick was marked by the inauguration of an active campaign against the Catholics, and the putting into force of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. The spiritual labourers were few, but, so far, quite sufficient to husband the sickly harvest. The principal difficulty was the unsatisfactory state of the finances of the diocese, a large portion of the land belonging to the see, amounting to £50 yearly rent, being wrongfully detained by some of the patentee undertakers. Adams petitioned the king for redress or compensation for the loss of revenue, and his majesty, having acquainted himself with the particulars of the case, wrote to the lord-lieutenant directing him to have the bishopric of Kilfenora attached to the see of Limerick, as its revenue was supposed not to exceed £50 a year. Dr. Adams was to hold it *in commendam* as long as he should continue to be bishop of Limerick, or until the king should otherwise recompense him for the loss of his rents. The undertakers were not in the meantime to be disquieted by the bishop.

Having thus obtained partial relief in regard to his temporal affairs, Bishop Adams set about evangelising the people in a rather novel fashion. He procured the services of an informer, named William Wood, who pretended to become a papist, to ferret out the secrets of the Catholics, but Wood must have been regarded by them with suspicion, as the yield of his labours was by no means considerable.

It was soon evident that the bishop was making but little headway, as he appeared, in his report to the government, to be very much annoyed at the number of Catholic priests in the diocese, the chief of whom were Father Arthur and Father Lenon. "Kilmallock," he says, "is half-dozened with sirs, viz., David Lawless, Patrick White, Daniel O'Neill, Merriote (Moriertagh) Halfpenny, Morris Hurley and Henry Trustrim, all

of whom darken not themselves, like owls in the night, but chirp like sparrows about every house at noon-day ; and how they swarm in the country everywhere throughout this diocese is incredible to be spoken." *

His lordship's avidity for secret information about the Catholics must have been well known, as he frequently became the dupe of designing informants, so much so that Chichester, when forwarding his information about priests and plots to Salisbury, remarks that the bishop's statements were wrong, and he gives his reason for so thinking. He was described by Andrew Knox, Protestant bishop of Raphoe, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1611), as having no credit.

That the progress of religion in the country was by no means as rapid or effective as might be expected, could no longer be denied. The principal reason advanced by the fault-finders was the incapacity of the clergy to grapple with the situation. They were said to be for the most part unlearned, and in several cases unable even to read and write.† According to Justice Saxey, they were more fit to sacrifice to a calf than to meddle with the religion of God ; and Sir John Davies calls them mere idols and ciphers.

It is not difficult to account for the backwardness of the Irish Protestant clergy at this period. Clergymen educated in England did not come to Ireland except to fill the fat livings, which were few in any diocese, and Trinity College was not yet able to send forth any great number to work the various parishes. In order to meet the emergency, Dr. Adams and the rest of the bishops, following the example of their brethren in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, had to select and ordain laymen of good life and honest conversation, but without training or any other

* Irish State Papers.

† Ibid.

befitting qualifications, and place them in the different parishes throughout the diocese, under the title of reading ministers or Bible readers.* These, such as they were, were the instruments chosen for the conversion of the Irish, and the Irish had, it is to be presumed, at least as much respect for their ministrations as had Saxey or Davies.

Reports of the spiritual destitution of the church were continually reaching the king from different sources, and these soon became so disconcerting that a commission was issued, on 22nd June, 1615, for a regal visitation of the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, with instructions to report on the name and state of each church and what manner of person officiated therein.

The commission sat in Limerick from the 28th to the 30th of July, 1615, and its findings, which are here set out, give a very clear and succinct account of the Protestant Church in the diocese of Limerick.†

THE DIGNITARIES

Bernard Adams, the bishop, was a doctor of divinity, minister and preacher. The value of the bishopric, according to himself, was £126 17s. 4d. He also held the see of Kilfenora *in commendam*, worth, as he alleged, £132 os. 4d. The palace was suitable and in good repair. The cathedral church of St. Mary was in good condition, and the citizens were bound to keep it in repair.

George Andrews, the dean, was M.A., and a minister and preacher. The dignity was valued at 100 marks.

* Mant, *Church History of Ireland*, Vol. II. p. 377.

† The original Report from which this is taken is in Latin and preserved in the R.I.A.

The residence was suitable and in good repair. The following rectories* belonged to the dignity, namely, Mungret, Carnary, Rashtree, St. Nicholas', Brury and Ballihoward (Howardstown), and the chapel of Cappagh, which was wasted.

The precentor's house was in a very dilapidated condition. He was, therefore, seriously admonished to have it repaired and made a comfortable dwelling within a year, which he faithfully promised to do.

Benjamin Austin, the chancellor, was M.A., according to himself. He was found, however, to be a very artless man, who had obtained the dignity by underhand means, and had never preached a public sermon in the cathedral. He had held the dignity, which was worth £60 a year, for five years. The commissioners, on account of his unfitness, deprived him of the dignity, and prevailed on the bishop, who was the patron, to appoint in his stead John Steares, M.A. and preacher, who was installed before they left. The following appertained to this dignity, namely, the chaplaincy of the castle and land near the city, Rathkeale entire, *i.e.*, the rectory and vicarage; the rectories of Kilscannell, Clonagh and Clonshire.

Robert Southwell, the treasurer, was a bachelor of laws. He was resident, and had the residence in good repair. He had £70 a year out of the dignity, which comprised Carnvallig, St. Patrick's entire, the chapel of Kilcloyne and the rectory of Emlygrinan.

Richard Boyle, the archdeacon, was M.A. and preacher, and he was non-resident.† The dignity was worth £50 a year. The following belonged to it, namely, the rectories of St. Michael's, Kildimo, Clone and Ardagh entire.

* See list of churches in *Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*.

† Those are called resident who lived in the same diocese in which they had benefices or curacies.

THE CANONS

St. Munchin's, in which John Hull, M.A., bachelor of theology, was the prebendary and non-resident. The following belonged to the prebend, namely, St. Munchin's, within the walls of the city, Kilcome entire, Kilconeegan entire, Kilanaghan rectory and Drehidtarsna rectory.

Donoghmore, resident. Robert Chaffe was prebendary and a reading minister. The prebend was valued at £20, but £10 had been demised to the late Dean Campbell's friends. The following belonged to it, namely, the rectories of Donoghmore, Kileelie, Cratloe and Ardpatrik.

Ballycahane, the prebendary of which was bound to residence. The then prebendary, Robert Raymer, minister and preacher, was not resident, but was bound to be in residence before St. Michael's Day. It was worth £20. The rectory of Ballycahane, which belonged to this dignity, was ordered to be sequestered.

Effin was worth £30. To it belonged the rectory of that name. The commissioners procured this for a preacher whom they located in the town of Kilmallock, where he was to reside and preach.

Kilpeacon, resident. George Allen, prebendary and reading minister; valued at £15. Kilpeacon entire, Kilcoyne, otherwise Hacknis, belonged to it.

Tullabracky, valued at £20. Thomas Lysagh, a deacon and student in college, had the fruits of this canonry.

Ardcanny. Latimer Sampson, a student in college, enjoyed the fruits, which amounted to £9. The rectory of Ardcanny belonged to it.

Croagh. The bishop held it *in commendam*. It was valued at £30, and the rectory of Croagh belonged to it.

Dysert, resident. Richard Fuller, a reading minister,

was prebendary. It was valued at £5 ; the rectory of Dysert belonged to it.

Anet belonged to the bishop's table, and was valued at £6. The rectory of Anet belonged to it.

Killeedy. No prebendary mentioned, nor value given. The rectory of Killeedy belonged to it.

THE VICARS-CHORAL

In the cathedral there were seven vicars-choral, namely, Robert Chaffe, Richard Manneringe, Richard Hutchinson, William Magock, Anthony Andrews, Higate Bone and Nicholas Bright, to which office belonged the vicarages of Rashtree and St. Nicholas', the rectories of Crecorah, Corcomhow, Clonelty, Magrenie. *alias* Kiltanna (in Clonelty parish), Cloncagh, Chapel Mineta entire, the rectory of Kilmoylan, Morgans, and the rectory of Kilfergus. The vicars-choral were bound to have every day in the cathedral matin and vesper prayers, and to reside in the college near the cathedral, where they had suitable rooms. Each was allowed £10 as an annual stipend.

There were also in the town of Kilmallock vicars-choral to the number of six, who had there a small college, with suitable rooms. They were bound to attend in the parish as residents. Their names were Richard Good, reading minister, James and Henry Quin, and Josias Walker, reading ministers. Francis Forthingham, minister and preacher, and Samuel Powe, minister and preacher. They had attached to the college the vicarage of Kilmallock, Athin rectory, the chapel of Sochell, the chapel of Kilodmayne, Dugannon and Durnaris, Chapel Mortel, Ballingaddy, and Kilflin, out of which they were allowed an annual salary of £8 each for their sustentation.

THE DEANERY OF LIMERICK

The church of Croom, resident, Nicholas Laylis, a resident reading minister, who had £40 a year. The following belonged to this rectory, viz., Croom rectory, the chapel of Dromassell, the chapel of Sey, the church of Dolith entire, the rectory of Dunnaman and the rectory of Clonanny.

Kilkiddy, resident. This rectory was impropriate.* The vicar was Nicholas Bright, a minister and preacher. The value of the living was £10. The church and chancel were repaired and thatched with straw.

Mungret, a curate resident. The bishop held the vicarage there *in commendam*; value of living £8. Philip Jenkins, a reading minister, served the cure. The church and chancel were in good repair.

Karrivalla entire, resident. The treasurer was rector of this church, which was served by William Magock, one of the vicars-choral.

Crewally entire. The precentor was rector of this church. The church and chancel were in ruins, and he was bound to repair the chancel.

Carnarry, resident. The dean was rector. The vicar was William Magock, as above; value £3.

Kilpeacon, resident. George Allen was rector and prebendary, and Philip Jenkins curate.

Kilmurry rectory, impropriate. The Earl of Ormond farmed it. The vicarage there was vacant, and the church and chancel in ruins. The fruits were sequestered.

* That is, a lay appropriation, which imported that the rectorial, if not the entire, tithes of the parish were in the possession of laymen or lay corporations. These secular parsonages had their origin at the time of the Reformation, for, on the dissolution of the monasteries, the parishes which had been appropriated to them were by the statute of dissolution granted to the king to hold in as ample a manner as the monasteries held them. The king in turn granted them to laymen, who were supposed to endow a living for a vicar in the parish. Kilkeedy was a part of the living of the Hospital of Knockany and had been granted to the Earl of Ormond.

Derigalvan entire, resident. Value 20 marks. Richard Manneringe was rector. He was admonished to provide a curate.

Donoghmore. The rector was Robert Chaffe, a reading minister. The vicarage was of no value.

Rashtree. The dean was rector. The vicarage belonged to the vicars-choral of St. Mary's cathedral, who alternately ministered there.

St. Patrick's in Singland, resident. The treasurer was rector. It was near the city. The curate was William Magock.

The chapel of Kilquane belonged to St. Patrick's.

St. Laurence entire. No congregation; the fruits sequestered.

St. John's entire, a curate resident. Improprate; Edmund Sexton farmed it. The curate was Richard Manneringe.

St. Michael's, curate resident. The archdeacon was rector. Richard Manneringe served the cure. The vicarage was vacant, and the church and chancel in ruins.

St. Munchin's. The rector was not resident, but a curate resident. The rector was John Hull, bachelor of theology, and the vicar Robert Chaffe, a reading minister. The value was 20 marks. The church was in repair, but the chancel in ruins. The rector was bound to repair the edifice.

St. Nicholas', resident. The rector was the dean. The vicarage belonged to the vicars-choral of the cathedral. Robert Chaffe served the cure. The church and chancel were in good repair and supplied with books, etc.

Killeely, resident. Robert Chaffe, rector of Donoghmore, who vacated the vicarage as being of little value.

Cratloe, a parcel of Donoghmore. The vicarage was vacant, being of little value.

Kilfintenan. The rectory was impropriate. The Earl

of Thomond farmed it. The vicarage was vacant, and there being no incumbent, the fruits were sequestered.

Fedamore and Baleon. The rectory was impropriate. Sir Richard Boyle farmed it. The vicarage was vacant by the resignation of Richard Steares who was appointed chancellor in place of Benjamin Austin. Value £15.

Crecorah, a rectory appertaining to the college of the vicars-choral. Francis Manneringe, a boy, was found in possession of it. He was deprived and the fruits sequestered.

THE DEANERY OF KILMALLOCK

Kilmallock. Rector, the college of vicars, Limerick ; vicar, the college at Kilmallock. Samuel Powe, minister and preacher, was in charge of the cure.

The prebend of Effin, resident. Situated near Kilmallock ; was given to Francis Forthingham, one of the vicars of Kilmallock, who was bound to preach there. The value of rectory was £30. The vicar there was Henry Quin, reading minister, who served the cure ; value £10.

Athennessy. Rector, the college of Kilmallock ; vicar, James Quin, a reading minister, who served the cure ; value £5 per annum.

Kilbridee Major, resident. The rector was Nicholas Laylis, a reading minister, and the vicar Richard Manneringe, reading minister.

Kilcloyn. Belonged to the prebendary of St. Munchin's, who was seriously admonished to provide for the service of this church.

Emlygrinin. The rectory appertained to the treasurer. The vicar was said to be Roland Hey, but there was no cure attached, and the fruits were therefore sequestered.

Kilfynan, resident. The rectory was impropriate.

Sir Richard Boyle farmed it. Samuel Powe,* reading minister, was the vicar who served the cure. Value £7.

Katun, *alias* Katin, belonged to the bishop's table.

The chapel of Sochell belonged to the college of Kilmallock; no church there.

Dermacow, resident. The rectory was impropriate; Sir Richard Boyle farmed it. The resident vicar was Samuel Powe, as above; value £8.

Ardpatrick belonged to the prebend of Donaghmore. The vicarage was vacant owing to poverty.

The chapel of Kildomayne belonged to the college of Kilmallock.

Dugannon and Durnaris belonged to the college of Kilmallock; no church there.

The chapel of Ballingaddy. No church there. Samuel Powe was in charge.

Kilbreedy Minor, entire. Rowland Hey, reading minister; value £10. No attendance, therefore the fruits sequestered.

Kilcoyne, *alias* Hackins, belonged to the prebend of Kilpeacon; no church there.

Kilconegan belonged to the prebend of St. Munchin's, no church there.

Cloneoure (Colman's Well) belonged to the bishop's table; no one in charge.

Ardevolan belonged to the bishop's table; no church there.

Ballintankard, resident. The rectory was impropriate; John Downing farmed it. The vicar was Francis Forthingham, minister and preacher.

Bruree, resident. The dean was rector, and the vicar William Meriton, a reading minister.

Athlacca, resident. The bishop held the rectory *in commendam*. The church and chancel were well repaired. The vicar was Richard Good, a reading minister.

* Powe is mentioned above under Kilmallock as a preacher.

Dromin, resident. Richard Southwell was rector by dispensation. The value of the living was £20. The vicar was James Quin, who served the cure; value £10.

The chapel of Camus was impropriate to the monastery of Magio, i.e. Manister.

Uregare, resident, was a rectory impropriate; James and William Casey farmed it. Richard Good, a reading minister, was curate. The church was repaired, but the chancel in ruins.

Bruff, resident. The rectory impropriate; Sir Thomas Browne farmed it. Richard Good was curate.

Glenogra, resident. The rectory was impropriate; the Earl of Ormond farmed it. The vicar was Philip Jenkins, a reading minister, who served the cure.

THE DEANERY OF ADARE

Adare, resident. The rectory was impropriate; Sir John Jepson farmed it. The vicar there was Richard Hare, a reading minister, and was resident. Value £10.

Killonehan, resident. The rectory belonged to the prebend of St. Munchin's. The vicar, Robert Long, a reading minister, resided there; value £5.

Killenatan belonged to the bishop's table.

Croome, with the chapels of Dromassell, Saye, and the church of Dolith. The rector was Nicholas Laylis. The vicar there did not appear; he was therefore deprived, and the fruits sequestered into the hands of Richard Foard, minister and preacher, whom the commissioners placed there.

Trustany, *alias* Dunaman, resident; belonged to Croom. The vicar there was William Meriton.

Disert, resident. Richard Fuller was prebendary, and the curate Philip Jenkins, a reading minister.

Athanid belonged to the bishop's table.

Drehidtarsna. The rectory belonged to the prebend

of St. Munchin's. The vicarage was vacant ; value 30 shillings.

Kilcornan entire. The rector was Bartholomew Gibbins, who was studying in college ; value £40. The curate was Francis Rogers, a reading minister.

Chapel Russel was sequestered into the hands of the said Rogers for the service of the cure.

Ardcanny, resident. The rector, Latimer Sampson, was in Dublin College. The vicar was Robert Remington.

Clounana. This rectory belonged to the rector of Croom. The vicarage was vacant, and the fruits sequestered into the hands of Rogers above.

The church of Kilgoban belonged to the college of Limerick.

Kildimo, resident. The archdeacon was rector, and the vicar Richard Hutchinson, reading minister ; value 20 marks. The curate was Francis Rogers.

Ballycahane, rector not resident, but curate resident. The rector was Robert Rayner and the curate Philip Jenkins.

THE DEANERY OF BALLINGARRY

Ballingarry. Vicar not resident, but the curate resident. The rectory was impropriate ; Sir Richard Boyle farmed it. The vicar was Richard Boyle, dean of Waterford ; value £20. The curate was Andrew Chaplin, a minister and preacher. The dean lived too far away to attend to the wants of the church, and, furthermore, there were in the locality a number of English settlers who eagerly flocked to the church to hear the word. The fruits of the vicarage were therefore sequestered and given to Chaplin, who served the cure.

Corcomohide belonged to the college of vicars-choral, Limerick. The rectory and vicarage were

vacant. Andrew Chaplin was curate; value £20. The fruits of the vicarage were sequestered and placed in the hands of Robert Rayner, minister and preacher.

Cloncrew. The archdeacon was rector. No church or chapel there.

Mahonagh, rector and vicar resident. The rector was George Allen, a reading minister; value £10. The vicar was Daniel Jennings, a reading minister; value £5. The church and chancel were in excellent repair.

Clonelty, resident. The rectory belonged to the college of vicars-choral, Limerick. The vicar was Daniel Jennings; value £5.

Magrenie, *alias* Kiltenna (in Clonelty parish), belonged to Corcomohide and with that rectory to the college of vicars-choral, Limerick.

Croagh, resident. The bishop held the rectory *in commendam*. The vicar was Robert Long; value £7.

The vicarages of Cappagh were vacant; value 30 shillings; sequestered and given to Andrew Chaplin, minister and preacher.

Cappagh rectory belonged to the dean. The church and chancel were in excellent repair.

Clonshire, resident. The chancellor was rector, and Richard Hart, a reading minister, was vicar; value 30 shillings.

Kilfinny, resident. The precentor was the rector, and the vicar was Andrew Chaplin; value 30 shillings. The church and chancel were undergoing repair.

THE DEANERY OF ARDAGH

Ardagh entire, resident. The archdeacon was rector. Roger Sidley, a reading minister, was curate. The church and chancel were undergoing repair.

New Grange. The rectory was inappropriate; Sir John Jepson farmed it. The church and chancel had fallen down; no curate.

Newcastle, resident. Rector and vicar, George Allen, a reading minister, resident ; value £10 ; church and chancel in excellent repair.

Monagea, resident. Nicholas Laylis, a reading minister ; value £10 ; vicar, Roger Sidley ; value £6. The chancel excellently repaired, the church undergoing repair.

Killeedy, vicar resident. Rector, Marcus Paget ; vicar Roger Sidley ; value £6. The chancel in excellent repair, the church undergoing repair.

Rathronan, vacant and sequestered.

Killahelihan. The rectory was impropriate ; the Earl of Ormond farmed it. The vicarage, which was vacant, was sequestered.

THE DEANERY OF RATHKEALE

Rathkeale entire belong to the chancellor, who was admonished to provide a curate for the church.

Kilscannell, resident. The chancellor was rector. The vicar was John Wood, a reading minister ; value £5. The church and chancel were in a ruinous condition.

Nantenan entire, resident. Belonged to the precentor. The curate was Richard Ford, minister and preacher.

Clonagh, resident. The rector was the chancellor ; the vicar John Wood, a reading minister ; value £5. The church and chancel were in a ruinous condition.

Askeaton, resident. The rectory was impropriate ; Sir Richard Boyle farmed it. The vicar was Edmund Halcome, minister and preacher ; value £10. The church and chancel were well repaired and provided with books and all requisites.

Lismakeery entire, resident. Edmund Halcome was rector ; value £16. It was contiguous to Askeaton. The church and chancel were well repaired and supplied with books, etc.

Dromdeely, resident. The precentor was rector. The vicar was E. Halcome ; value 40 shillings.

Kilbradran, resident. The rectory was impropriate and farmed by the Earl of Ormond. The vicar was Richard Hutchinson, a reading minister ; value 40 shillings. The church and chancel were in ruins.

Kilcoleman, resident. The rectory was impropriate, and farmed by the Earl of Ormond. The vicar was Conor Clancy, an Irish reading minister, with the communion book in Irish ; value 40 shillings.

Dunmoylan. The rectory was impropriate ; Sir John Jepson farmed it. The vicarage was vacant, and there was no incumbent.

Disert Morgan, entire, belonged to the precentor. The chancel was in ruins.

Chapel Mineta belonged to the vicars-choral, Limerick.

Castle Robert, resident. The rectory was impropriate and farmed by Sir John Jepson. The vicar was Christopher Forthingham, a reading minister, who served the cure ; value £7.

Shanagolden, resident. The rectory belonged to the precentor. The vicar was Christopher Forthingham, as above ; value £7.

Loughill, resident. The precentor was rector, and the vicar John Wood. The church and chancel were in good repair.

Kilmurly, resident. The precentor was rector, and the vicar Donat Clancy.

Kilfergus, resident. The rectory belonged to the vicars-choral, Limerick. The vicar was Thomas Birne, a reading minister. The church and chancel were repaired.

The investigation into the working of the diocese revealed the fact that there were only eleven ministers who were able to preach a sermon, and that only eight of these were resident, that is, resident in the diocese, but not necessarily in the parish from which they drew

their income, There were twenty-five ministers who were able only to read the service, and that too, it may be inferred, in an indifferent manner and in the English tongue. Only one, who ministered at Kilcolman, was master of Irish and conducted the service in that language. The churches, for the most part, were not much better than ruins, and in these the service was supposed to be held. It is not surprising therefore that the attempt to win over from their religion an intelligent people like the Irish, through the agency of ministers and Bible readers such as we have described, should end in failure, even though the secular arm was active in compelling them to come and listen to the outpourings of such primitive evangelists.

The commissioners also give a valuable account of the condition of education among the Catholics. When passing through Kilmallock, a popish schoolmaster, named Barry, presented himself before the lord president and commissioners, to make an oration. They had, however, been informed beforehand of his recusancy, and not only refused to hear him, but next day took him along with them to Limerick and there required him to put in sureties that he would thenceforth forbear the teaching of a public or private school, unless he did first publicly conform himself. As he either could not, or would not, provide the sureties, he was left in the lord president's custody.

At Limerick the commissioners were informed that one Arthur, a popish schoolmaster, taught a public school there and had a great attendance of scholars. Arthur, however, "conveyed himself out of the city," and so escaped the fate of Barry; but an order concerning him was left by the commissioners with the lord president, similar to that which they had previously issued in the case of the schoolmaster, Flahie, who kept a very efficient school in Waterford and prepared

many distinguished students, who refer to him in their entrance papers to the Irish College at Salamanca.* Flahie, like Arthur, had escaped arrest, "whereupon," the commissioners say, "we left a letter with the lord president of the province under our hands praying and requiring him in his majesty's name to take order to suppress him from the exercise of teaching and instructing the youth, for he trains up scholars to become seminaries beyond the seas and ill-affected members; which the lord president did undertake to perform."

Nothing is said about any Protestant school in the diocese of Limerick; if any existed, it would doubtless be mentioned. A report is, however, furnished of the Protestant school in Cashel and the manner in which it was conducted, which is an eloquent illustration of the condition of Protestant educational establishments at this period.

The archbishop solicited the lord deputy to appoint a schoolmaster, named Flanagan, to a public school at Cashel at a salary of £20, or 40 marks a year. Flanagan for a time "idly" discharged the duties of his office, but about three months before the visitation of the commissioners he became official to the archbishop and thereupon substituted in his place a popish schoolmaster. When the commissioners were acquainted with the state of affairs, calling Flanagan and his popish schoolmaster before them, they committed them to prison and took good security of the substitute to forbear teaching.

The commissioners noticed another kind of irregularity in the diocese of Cork, which may be referred to here as a further illustration of prevailing conditions. They report that four preachers were presented by the Ordinary for not observing the form of prayer

* Students of the Irish College, Salamanca, *Archiv. Hibern.*, Vol. 2.

prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, and also that there was a general complaint by the clergy of that diocese that the undertakers changed their lands from tillage to grazing and thereby refused to answer the tithe of their herbage, to redress which an order was made.

Bishop Adams must have discovered about this time that spreading the light among the papists was a hopeless task, for he once more turned his attention from the spiritual to the temporal affairs of his see. A considerable portion of the lands belonging to the diocese had been wrongly included in the patents of certain of the undertakers, and some were unlawfully withheld by the lessees. In 1617, he set himself, with the aid of the authorities, to recover these lost lands.

The manor of Mungret, which had been alienated from the see, formerly contained the two carucates of Ballyguy, now called Ballykeeffe, a carucate of Templemungret and another carucate, more or less, with Derryknockan castle. These lands lay around the manor of Mungret,* and had been without doubt part of the manor, but during the troubled times they were seized and alienated from the church lands, so that the manor of Mungret then consisted of only six and a half carucates and one castle in Castlemungret. This manor had been let by his predecessor in perpetuity for 20 marks Irish, and this Adams succeeded in recovering from the holder.

The manor of Loughill had been in like manner let at a small yearly rent, but Adams restored it to the see, and it then yielded a yearly rent of £50.

The bishops of the diocese had held from ancient times the manor of Kilmallock, but the sovereign and inhabitants of the town resisted their claim. After a long suit, the case was finally decided in 1619, when Adams was declared lord of the manor.

* See Black Book of Limerick, edited by MacCaffery.

The manor of Drumdely, containing four and a half ploughlands and a castle, was in the possession of Thomas Cam (Fitzgerald) of Gortnatiobrad. It had been in question at the council table in Dublin, when Thomas, through his counsel, pleaded nonage, and that he was the king's ward, whereupon the case had to be adjourned until Thomas reached his majority.

The manor of Ardagh had been thrust into the patent of Captain Robert Cullum in Elizabeth's time, but Adams kept courts there, himself and his steward, when Robert and his son, William Cullum, attended and did suit and service. William, whose career we have already sketched, is called by the bishop a 'debayst fellow' who presumed to call Ardagh his manor and kept court there in order to extinguish the bishop's right. The bishop had a *quo warranto* against him, but 'he careth for nothing.'

The gentlemen who detained lands unjustly from the bishopric were, according to Adams :—David Roch, Limerick merchant ; James Sexton, Clarina ; David Rice, Clogcokie ; Kateren Crumwell and her son, Ballynecloghy ; Mr. Donogh O'Brien, Carrigogunnell ; Dominick Roch, alderman of Limerick ; Edmund McCanny, Thomas Cam Fitzgerald, William Cullum, Edmund Oge Herbert, Thomas Gerrald, Rathneseir, Connor McTeige and Morrogh O'Connor. By degrees these lands were recovered by Bishop Adams and his successor.

In 1617 Adams resigned the see of Kilfenora. In the following year he received a grant of the vicarage of Ballingarry from the crown, in whose gift it was, and in 1619 a grant of £100 was made to the see. A grant was also made to John Urquhart, a Scotchman, to have and possess the lands of Elizabeth Campbell (wife of the late Protestant dean) deceased, namely, Singland, one plowland, the parsonages, rectories, or vicarages of Corcomohide, Drumcollogher, Kilmeedy, Cloncagh, the rectories of Clonelty and Killmollane,

with their chapels and all tithes and glebe lands, the rectories of Bruree and Howardstown, together with one castle, called the dean's castle, in the parish of Bruree, the parsonage or rectory of Donaghmore, and the vicarages or parsonages of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, to hold during the residue of the term of years granted to the said Elizabeth.

In 1621, Bishop Adams ornamented the cathedral and installed an organ, not however at his own expense, as Ware asserts, but at that of the citizens. He died in March, 1625, and was buried in St. Mary's cathedral under a monument erected to his memory and on which are the following inscriptions in Latin and English :

Bernardus jacet hic en Adamus, Episcopus olim.
Omnia non vidit Solomonis, at omnia vana.
A bishop once, here Bernard's bones remain;
He saw not all—but saw that all was vain.

Sufficient God did give me, which I spent;
I little borrowed, and as little lent;
I left them whom I loved enough in store,
Increased this bishopric, relieved the poor.

Nemo mihi tumbam statuatur de marmore faxit,
Urnula Episcopolo satis ista pusilla pusillo.
Angli quis vivus fueram et testentur Hiberni;
Caelicolae quis sim defunctus testificentur.

To me, since I have met my doom,
Let none erect a marble tomb,
Or monument;—this humble urn
Will serve a little bishop's turn.

Let Albion and Hibernia fair
What I have been in life declare;
What I am truly since I fell
The heav'nly ones alone can tell.

FRANCIS GOUGH (1625—1634)

Francis Gough, a cleric of the diocese, was chosen bishop in succession to Dr. Adams. A native of Wiltshire, he received his education at Oxford, where he graduated M.A. In 1618 he was presented to the chancellorship of the diocese by the crown. Having taken possession of that important dignity, he discharged the duties attached to it so well that he won the confidence of his superiors. When the opportunity occurred they showed their appreciation of his merits by appointing him to the bishopric. He was consecrated at Cashel on the 7th of September, 1626. His elder brother, Hugh, succeeded him in the chancellorship.

Bishop Gough, like his predecessor, devoted his attention to the neglected state of the temporalities of the see, and finally succeeded in recovering the townlands of Ballykeeffe and Toomdile and adding them to the manor of Mungret.

Wentworth, the deputy, writing to his friend Archbishop Laud, tells how he settled a dispute in Limerick in connection with a gift of £80 a year, which one Lofthouse (whose daughter and heir had since married one Streach) had given to "the Catholic bishop of Limerick." The deputy "held ours the Catholic bishop, and therefore rectified the knowledge of the donor, and applied it to the right bishop, so it is ordered at the board that Streach shall convey and release all his interest to the church and take back a lease of one and twenty years from the bishop, paying £40 a year rent and £40 fine." Streach refused, so the bishop of Limerick took the lands into his own hands. Laud approved of the transaction and expressed his delight that Streach had refused, since the bishop had the land.* Acts such as this contributed to make the deputy's name a household word as "Black Went-

worth" among the Catholics of Limerick, while his dealings with the Protestant dean, George Andrews,* did not tend to elevate him very much in the esteem of his own co-religionists. The dean, it would appear, presided at the convocation, and not being sufficiently subservient to the wishes of Wentworth, the latter, as a punishment, promoted him to the bishopric of Ferns, which was very poor and much inferior in value to the deanery of Limerick. The ready acceptance of the offer amused Wentworth, as Andrews was unconscious that the preferment to the bishopric was intended, not "for a preferment, but rather as a discipline." Writing to his friend Laud, Wentworth relates in a jesting manner that when Andrews left the deanery of Limerick, "he hath let a lease very charitably to himself, contrary to the Act of State, which he will cause him to restore. and so make that deanery three score pounds a year better than it is and furnish his lordship with an argument to move those to do the like to him that usurp the rights of the bishopric of Ferns. For he may truly say, you see, Gentlemen, my lord deputy spares none, he hath made even me myself to restore a lease I held of the deanery of Limerick, and if this be done to the green what shall become of the dry."

Bishop Gough died in Limerick of the quinsy on the 29th of August, 1634, and was interred in St. Mary's cathedral. His widow represented by petition to the king that her deceased lord was in great charges as well in building and improving the demesne lands of the bishopric as in suit for lands belonging to the see, in which he spent £600 or £700, thereby recovering £160 sterling a year for ever to the same bishopric, but did not live to reap any benefit from the said improvement; whereupon she applied for the benefit of the temporalities during the vacancy, her husband having left eight

* Strafford's Letters.

small children all unprovided for, and at least £200 in debt, the present bishop making no claim for them. The king granted her request and by letters from Westminster, dated 2nd May, 1635, directed the same to be paid to her, provided that they were under £200.*

GEORGE WEBB (1634-1642)

The next bishop was George Webb, also a native of Wiltshire, who had studied at Oxford, where he became a doctor of divinity. He was in his early days in the ministry rector of Steeple-Ashton in his own county, where he taught a grammar school. While employed in a similar occupation at Bath, he was appointed rector of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul. He was next appointed a chaplain to Charles I, and while at court had the reputation of being a "person of strict life and conversation," and was greatly distinguished for his preaching, as well as for the elegance of his style.

On the death of Dr. Gough, he was appointed bishop of Limerick and consecrated in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, on the 18th of December, 1634.

He commenced his labours in Limerick at a comparatively quiet period and devoted a good deal of his time and attention to recovering a considerable part of the church lands that had passed by various devices into secular hands.

The confederate war commenced in 1641, and on the 18th of May, 1642, the city was captured by the Confederates, with the assistance of Dominick Fanning, the mayor, whereupon the garrison, commanded by Captain George Courtenay of the manor of Newcastle and constable of King John's castle, retired into that castle, together with civilians to the number of about two

* Rot. II, Charles I.

hundred. Dr. Webb took refuge in the castle with the army, and remained there during the siege, which lasted a little over a month, when Courtenay surrendered on honourable terms. While the terms of peace were being arranged, the bishop died, and was interred the following day 23rd June, in St. Munchin's churchyard, with every mark of respect.

In the depositions* relating to the alleged massacres of the period, it is related by Ursula Lorry that after the bishop had been buried some four or five days he was dragged out of the ground, stripped of his shroud and his body mutilated, as she was informed by his own children. It is strange, if the story were true, that the children, who were directly concerned, did not appear before the commission and endeavour to have the perpetrators of such a horrible outrage punished. The story is indeed extremely unlikely, the city and county being singularly free during this period from any revolting outrages.

In medieval times the bishops, like the lay lords, held large manors in the diocese, well studded with castles, each of them containing a window of stone made in the shape of a cross, probably the window of the oratory. Bishop Adams remarks that the formation of the window was a sure sign that the castle was ecclesiastical property, and he used it as an argument for their recovery. Bishop Webb calls the window a "hole like to a crosse."

The following rental was compiled in 1641, as there is mention in the margin of a lease made on the 9th of August, 1608, for forty-one years, and there were still eight years to run. It is a valuable and interesting document, as it gives details relative to parcels of land not mentioned in the Elizabethan rolls of Desmond or Peyton's survey and shows the methods adopted by

* Preserved in Trinity College.

those in high places to retain these lands. This will be best realised by a perusal of the rental itself:—

LAND ALREADIE IN Y^e POSSESSION OF Y^e
BISHOPRICK OF LIMERICK.

MUNGRET, the Demeasnes of y ^e Bishoprick alwaies being kept in y ^e hands of y ^e Bishop and neuer leased forth, containing 4 plow lands & half, which at my cost of aboue 250 libs in making sea bankes, and other fences about it, is well worth per Annum ..	Yearly Rent	Yearly Value
	<i>lib</i>	<i>lib</i>
	400	400
BALLIQUOY & Tower o Deale parcel of y ^e Mannour of Mungret, contayning 3 plow lands, being lately recouered by Bishop Gough, now leased forth to his widow for 21 yeares whereof 4 yeares only are expired, paid by yearlie Rent 80 lbs. And is worth per Annu 200 lib	B. P. Webs great Booke says 2½ ploughlands	
	<i>lib</i>	<i>lib</i>
	80	200
BALLICOMIN parcell of the Mannour of Mungret, containing 1 plowland now in lease to Aurelius Embleine, of which lease there remaineth as yeat 8 yeares unexpired, paieth yearly Rent 30 lib and may be esti- mated to be worth per Annu 70 lib .	B. P. Webs great Booke sayes 1 & ½ ploughland	
	<i>lib</i>	<i>lib</i>
	30	70
BALLIBRENAGH parcell of y ^e mannour of Mungret containing xx Irish acres now in lease to Bishop Adams his widdow, to which lease there remaineth as yeat un- expired, paid the yearlie rent xx lb viii, and may be estimated to be worth p ann. xx lib	<i>lib</i> <i>s</i>	<i>lib</i>
	20 8	20
CLONSHARE alias Clonshiru; A Mannour of the Bishoprick containing 4 plowlands, held by lease now in the Tenure of Bishop Adam his widdow of which lease there remaineth as yeat 4 yeares unexpired, paid by rent yearly 13 ^{lib} 6 ^s viii ^d : And is esti- mated to be worth per Annum 130 lib ..	Rent	Valeiew
	<i>lib</i> <i>s</i> <i>d</i>	<i>lib</i>
	13 6 8	130

	Rent	Valeiew
DISERT & TETKASNIE parcel of y ^e mannour of Clonshare contaning 2 plow lands an ar fully leased long since to Nicholas Lyllis clearke for y ^e tearme of 51 yeares, whereof there remains neare twentie as yeat unexpired, paid y ^e Rent yearlie 41 ^s And may be estimated to be worth per Annum 100 ^{lib}	£ 2	d 1 lib 100
	B. P. Webs great book sayes 130	

LOUGHALL another mannour of y ^e Bishoprick containing 2 plow lands & upward, leased to one Mr. Tuxuill for 21 yeares, whereof there remaineth as yet unexpired, paid yearlie Rent—vi ^{lib} vi ^s viii ^d , and may be estimated to be worth per Ann 100 ^{lib} ..	lib 6	s 6	d 8	lib 100
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In this mannour of Loughall there has bene a search for pit coale, and some good experiment hath bene made hereof: But for as much as by ye lease made to Tuxuill, if there should be found anie quantitie of good coales the Bishop was to have ye moitie thereof. The said Tuxuill hath giuen over ye search for it, whereas by some minerall men of good experience it is thought ye good store of good coale would be there found.

For this lease of Loughall I have bene long in suit with Tuxuill, because there was noe valuable consideration of Rent upon his lease. But Hee although at ye first Hee suppressed ye same, yeat before ye commissioners brought forth such evidence of ye approbation of his lease for made both from the state here and the Counsel in England, and I have little hope or recoverie.

	Rent	Valuai
KILFERGUS a parcell of the mannour of Loughall containing not fully half a plow land, recouered by mee Anno. Dom. 1637, from Thomas Fitzgerald Knight of y ^e Glinne, and leased to the said Thomas Fitzgerald for xxi yeares, paid by yearly rent 5lb. And is estimated to be worth ̄ ^q Ann. xii ^{lib}	lib 5	lib 12

KILLAUGHTIN parcele of y ^e mannour of Ardagh containing 1 plow land and an half, leased to Mr. Georg Courtneie for 21 yeares (and by him againe to one James Lacie) of which lease there remaine as yet 11 yeares unexpired, paid the yearly Rent, 35 lib. And may be estimated to be worth ̄ ^q Annum 80 lib	lib 35	lib 80
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	Rent	Value
TULLIBRACCHI half a plow land. A long lease hereof was made to Thomas Lysaught for 41 yeares, whereof 8 yeares remain as yet unexpired. The yearlie Rent but 2 lib whereas the land is estimated to be worth per Annum 70 lib ..	lib 2	70
	this lease was made August 9, 1608	

There is much land lost from this mannour of Tullibracchi, and now withheld by the heire of Sr. Thomas Standish, which may easily be recouered.

KILMURRIE MORE half a plow land leased this present yeare to Sr. Edward Fitzharrice for the tearme of 21 yeares, the yearlie rent 15 lib, estimated to be worth per ann. 30 lib ..	lib 15	lib 30
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CLONAGH half a plowland, a long lease whereof was made to Sr. Richard Southwell for 60 yeares, 29 whereof remaine as yeat unexpired, the yearlie Rent but 1 lib, the land estimated to be worth per Annum 30 ..	lib 1	lib 30
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	Rent	Value
KILMALLOCK acknowledged by the inhabitants thereof to be y ^e Bishop's mannour : I sued for 9 plowlands, but upon surueis found it to be aboue 10. The inhabitants who withhold the same have nothing to show (but descent) how they do hold the same ; I recouered the Rent to be raised up to xxxii ^{lib} vi ^s xiii ^d which they pay only in Irish monie. And soe it cometh to be but xxiii 5 ^s . The land & y ^e mannour is well worth 7 ^l Ann. 1200 lib ..	lib s 24 5	lib 1200

The Demeasnes there acknowledged by y ^e inhabitants to belong unto y ^e Bishop, as the Quarrie Lysendarra, Gortinaspuke, fraudently gotten from mee by lease for 21 yeares at my first coming to y ^e Bishoprick by one Nicholas Faunt, a Protestant, who promised to be a great help to mee in y ^e recourie of my whole right at Kilmallock, but hath proued the most treacherous enimie combining against mee,	lib 9	lib 30
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	Rent	Value
was (Lysendarraha excepted) leased to y ^e said Nicholas Faunt for 21 yeares with a promise that Hee should build y ^e shambles mils, bakehouse & kill (which as yeat Hee hath not done, nor as it seemeth intendeth to doe) for y ^e yearly rent of 9 lib, worth per ann at y ^e least 30 libs	lib 9	lib 30

As to mouring his

and for y^e repayment of 9 lib which I receaued as a fine, and XX lib more to be giuen unto him I am to redeeme my lease, if soe

Whereas it was acknowleged by the inhabitants of Kilmallock at y ^e Counsell Table that there were 20 houses belonging to y ^e Bishop neare the Quarrie without ye gates of Kilmallock ; They suffer not mee to enioy one of them in quiet, but withhold y ^e whole from mee, with y ^e gardens, and appurtenances, while they might be quietly enioyed, would yeeld yearly Rent, 15 lib	15 lib
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Whereas by three several orders, there is awarded unto me all the roialties, court leets, & court Baron, & they are all to grande at my will or I can have no benefit of that order for my Steward cannot keepe Court Baron there, unless Hee will acknowledge them that sit there to be freeholders, and soe quite out of my claime to y ^e land ; and for all fines and penalties of y ^e Court leet they will not suffer him to leaue any off them. They keep up 9 mills against mee ; And will not be brought into anie order, but are growne mutinous and prone to rebellion, neither durst anie intermeddle with them [as having late experience how in B ^b . Adams his time, an officer of his being there for his Lords receits had his braines beaten forth, and an other had his house burnt ouer his head, himself and all his	lib 200
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familie perishing in that flame]. Neither dare anie undertake y^e building of these mils for mee, Or to take anie lease at my hands by reason of the barbarous tyrranie of that incorporation, who will not suffer anie English to dwell near them, whereas if I might peaceably enioy what is alreadie ordered for mee at y^e Counsel table, the Roialties, Courts, mils, customes and other perquisites therehence to be gotten would accrue well nigh to 200 lib per ann. ..

lib
200

LYSENDARRHA, a quarter of a plow land (belonging to y^e mannour of Kilmallock) by a long lease granted to Henrie Coyne, and now in the Tenure of his widdow for about 40 yeares, whereof as yet remaine 17 unexpired. The yearlie rent thereof is but 8^d whereas the land may well be estimated worth vi^{lb} vi^s viii per ann

d lib s d
8 vi vi viii

PREBEND OF ANNAT pertinet ad mensam Episcopi. It hath bene known to haue been worth XX lb ꝑ ann. But now by reason y^e most part of y^e houses there are demolished and y^e land there come into one man's hand, who neglecting Tillage, keepeth only sheepe to depasture in it; This yeare yeelded mee only 8 lb. But communibus annis it may be worth xii lib

lib lib
8 12

The Parsonage tithes of Ardeuolan belonging to y^e Bishoprick and yearly rented at 14 lib

Rent	Value
lib	lib
14	14

The Parsonage tithes of Killenothan belonging to y^e Bishoprick are yearly rented at 14 lib

14	14
----	----

The Parsonage tithes of Clonerough belonging to the Bishoprick are rented by me to ye Vicar of y^e same parish, to augment his poor salarie there for 3 lib per ann. but are worth 10 lib per Annu.

3	10
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There were also auncientlie belonging to y^e Bishoprick Tithes in divers other places, which because by my predecessors they were allotted for y^e excelleng of a Quire in y^e cathedrall church, and for y^e maintenance of y^e choiresters there, I cannot reckon on them as profits accruing to y^e Bishoprick.

These are :

Kilfentenan, rented yearlie at	—	10 lib
Killealy, rented yearly at	—	5 lib
Ardpatrick, rented yearly at	—	4 lib
Emlygreddan, rented yearly at	—	4 lib

Rents yearly payed, as is supposed by them who pay the same as Chief Rents, But (as may be proved concerning the most of them) indeed out of lands properly belonging to y^e Bishoprick :

					<i>lib</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Forefited	Ballifollin	—	—	—	2	13	4
F.	Killiscannel	—	—	—	2	0	0
F.	Ardagh	—	—	—	0	12	0
	Drumdeely	—	—	—	3	6	8
F.	Ballinhuntie	—	—	—	0	6	8
F.	Brurie	—	—	—	0	10	0
	Ballideganah	—	—	—	0	10	0
F.	Bally Nase & Knocknabowly	—	—	—	1	0	0
17 March	Lysreedie & Currabane	—	—	—	0	16	0
	Bally Roberts	—	—	—	0	16	8
	Shrowland	—	—	—	0	10	0
	Cloncrough	—	—	—	2	0	0
	Gortineach	—	—	—	0	10	0
	The Cragge	—	—	—	0	13	4
F.	Donnaghmore	—	—	—	0	10	0
	Kilroe	—	—	—	0	10	0
F.	Moilan	—	—	—	0	12	0
F.	Ballinvolahan	—	—	—	0	5	0

Soe the now yearly reuenues of y^e whole Bishoprick in Rents and demesnes cometh to

716 2 8

Whereunto if the proxies be annexed yearly to be receaved from y^e cleargie which is 32 lib,
The whole profits of y^e Bishoprick will
appeare to be but

748 1 8

LAND TO BE QUESTIONED AS OF RIGHT BELONGING
TO Y^e BISHOPRICK.

KILMURLY alias Kilmurrely: half a plowland, now in y^e Tenure of Dominick Roch, Alderman of y^e citie of Limerick. ¶ It is a parcel of the mannour of Loughall, It may appear by y^e Bishop's black booke where wee finde two fines discoveries upon it, and thrice leasing out y^e same by seuerall Bishops. It was formerly ioyned and let fouth to lease ioyntly with Kilfergus, which land of Kilfergus I recouered May 25, 1637. Wee haue as much right for y^e one as for y^e other. Besydes that another euidence for it is this: *The chaunter* of y^e Cathedral Church of Limerick hath y^e tithes thereof, and it is knowne wheresoeuer the chaunter hath y^e tithe, the land is the Bishop's. As I am informed, both Kilfergus & Kilmurly are but one parish, The parish Church thereof being at Kilfergus. Rents from thence I could not receaue anie since my coming to this Bishoprick, But have found some 4 or 5 Acquittances for y^e rent of 6s. 8d. a yeare, among y^e papers of my predecessor. Dominick Roch, who now enioyeth y^e benefit of that land, pretendeth ¶ He hath a pattent from y^e King for y^e same, But being desired to show that pattent, cannot as yeat be brought to doe it, neither as wee think, hath anie for it. His often wauering, sometimes seemingly willing to compound about it, sometimes shewing himself auerse from it, doe I more confirme opinion of right. It may be estimated at - - - xiii lib

BALLINASS & KNOCKNABULLY, 1 plowland & half, now held by y^e executors of Teauge mac Donach, a parcell of the mannour of Loughall, in y^e same state as Kilfergus & Kilmurly & wee finde often mention thereof in y^e black booke, fines and recoueries upon it. A suit commenced about it in Bishop Adams his time, which when it was readie for hearing & censure was put by, by means of a bribe given to one Richard Hayes then servant to Dr. Adams and one who altogether overruled his lord & y^e said Hayes himself confessed unto mee since my coming I began to renue y^e suit, which hath bene declined by the earnest entreatie of y^e said Teauge, who at y^e last professed to relinquish his claim to that land if I could procure a lease to be made thereof to him for three score years: Before which could be effected the said Teauge mac Donach died; And there

being an enquirie for an office to be found about that and other lands, within the Countie of Limerick about Michaelmas last : His heire as I heare is found possession of it. Notwithstanding I in person appeared and contested against it, claming right unto it. It is estimated worth per annu
140 lib

CURROBANE & LYSREEDIE & KILLIN plowland, parcell of y^e mannour of Loughall, withheld partlie by Rorie mac Connour and pbly by Morrough mac Connor ; it is in y^e same case as Kilfergus and Kilmurlie is ; wee finde often mention made of y^e same in y^e black booke ; there was a suit commenced about it in Bishop Adams his time, and a verdict made for it, but put by by the like treacherrie as y^e former mentioned was. I renewing this suit with Murrough mac Connor, wee came to Bill, aunswere and reionder, which Sr. Daniel o Bryan hearing of and having a morgage upon that land from Murrough mac Connor, Hee by a secret devise caused the said Murrough to be imprisoned here at Limerick and to be kept in prison there for about a twelve months space ; During which time the said Murrough often sent unto mee, pressing plainly to discover by what indirect meanes y^e said land was withheld from y^e Bishoprick, as also to resign y^e same unto mee for y^t Hee might haue a lease of anie of y^e same from mee : But Sr. Daniel o Brien kept him in jaile to y^e end y^t his resignation might be of noe validitie. And in y^e meane space ousted y^e said Murrough, his wife and children out of house and home, taking all into his possession so that wee know not now against whome wee may commence the suit. The said land is estimated to be worth per annu — 150 lib

Concerning the above named Ballynasse, Knocknabully, Currobane, and Lyssreedie, I have of late farther information by a neighbour of these parts of good account, how ye said lands began to be alienated from ye Bishoprick by Hugh Lacie commonly known by the name of ye black Bishop, who succeeding William Casie who was deprived at the beginning of the raigne of Queene Marie, and being himself deprived at ye beginning of ye raigne of Queene Elisabeth, during ye small time in which Hee held that Bishoprick made hauoc thereof, and parted the above named and divers other lands among his kindred and affinities who ever since haue and still doe withhold ye same from ye church.

ARDAGH is an ancient mannour belonging to y^e Bishoprick, where they have alwaies kept Court leet and court Baron, containing in it of y^e Bishops demesnes 1 plowland and

60 Acres. Wee finde in y^e black booke fol 2 . page 1, A fine and recouerie of 24 A^{cr} [———] upper tenements, leased afterwarde by y^e bp. to one Rogers y^e sonne of David and Isabell his wife reseruing y^e rent of 5 lib per Ann. and another fine fol. 25, page 2, and recouerie of 15 Acr. w^t The Apurtenances for which the then [———] gave ten marks.

Those lands and the whole mannour of Ardagh of late captaine Cullam hath gotten into his patent by a fraudulent supposall y^t it was concealed land : his fraudulent getting of that patent most of the gentrie about those parts have revealed unto mee, and y^e greate wrong done thereby to y^e Bishoprick.

Since which time of Cullam's encroaching upon us by y^e inquisition of Mr. Kemies office there was found yearly rent to y^e Bishop iii^{lib} which hath not bene paid these 30 yeares. By another inquisition upon record, there was found belonging to this mannour 180 Acr. whereof 30 were reckoned glebe land ; 60 were held by Oliver Stephenson, 30 by Garrett Herbert, 33 by Captain Cullam, 36 by y^e rest of y^e burgesses, 35 by Sr. William Curtnie, And the rest did belong to y^e Abbie of Rakeele called Drumman Garragh, ex ab sol. Cx. in Conniloe y prince Lacie ante prodit, Desmond. It was called one of the 8 watchels belonging to y^e bishoprick—Ibid. Captaine Cullum and Garrett Herbert were served for this at y^e suit of Bishop Adams 1618, to awnswere at y^e counsell table, where Herbert appeared and acknowledged 1 plowland & 60 A^r. Cullum not appearing was prosecuted for his contempt. But before the full ensuring of y^e cause, The Bishop died, and the suit ceased.

In y^e yeare 1611 The whole inhabitants there were freed from cess at y^e humble petition of bishop Adams, because they acknowledged it was the Bishops land.

In another role I find y^t y^e Rent yearly paid out of y^e same came to 3 lib 6s. 8d.

An in another Role I finde mention of 4 plowlands belonging to y^e Bb. and ye rent paid out of it to 7^d Annu vi lib

In ye rolls which were left in my hands I finde but xii^s y^e yeares rent which notwithstanding is denied unto me ever since sent to this see.

I haue for these two yeares space bene following this suit againste Captaine Cullam, wee have bene at Bill & awnswere & Reionder, and now whereas we should ioyne in commission for ye examination of our euidences, Cullam is soe fugitiue y^t Hee cannot be found. Hee standeth much upon his pattent, which yeat noe longer agone than the last tearme was ouerthrowne in y^e like suit against him for Killiscanel a good loading for us. And besides the equitie of our cause, this Cullam for his vitious conversation is so odious and hated in y^e countrie, y^t we shall giue all the helpes in the
to surprise him. yearly value ..

lib
200

KILLISKANNEL parcell of the mannour of Ardagh containing plowlands, lately withheld by the said Captain Cullam but in Trinitie Tearme it was recouered against him by one bad ————— who notwithstanding hath no right unto it. As not only the black booke in diuers places maketh it manifestly to appear to belong unto y^e Bishoprick, But also all the witnesses thereabouts are readie to maintaine when they shall come to be examined about the same: The yearlie rent paid out of it at this present to y^e Bishop is 40^s The whole
land may well be valued at

lib
100

BALLIFOLLIN 2 plowlands parcel of the mannour of Clonshare withheld by y^e Fitzgeralds, of it we have record black booke fol. 7 : 8: The encroachers on it being said by Bisb. Adams in y^e yeare 1617 confess y^t they have none other euidence for them, but descent from their forefathers, and that for noe long time. I perceau by some conferences held betweene mee and them, y^t they may soone be brought to composition, worth p annu ..

lib
100

KILDEMO & KILDECULLAM two plowlands pcell of y^e mannour of Clonshare proued by y^a black booke, fol 7 & 8, to be Bb's land, betraied away from y^e Church by Gerret Herbert then Archdeacon of Limerick, who shortly afterwards had his speech and y^e use of his right syde taken from him. As wee have lost the land, soe likewise haue now no rent paid out of it. These 2 plowlands are estimated to be worth pr. annu

lib
100

CARASS alias Cytharissa one quarter of land, parcel of ye mannour of Clonshare, I finde it leased by y^e Bb. Deane & Chapter to one Reginaldus de Jacobe for 15 yeares with the fishing of the river Maio appertaining unto it. After y^e expiration of which 15 yeares it was to returne to y^e Church againe. Black booke fol. 22, p. 1. It is now withheld by y^e widdow Gerald, who is daughter to Sr. Edward fitz Harrice, who is suing forth y^e wardship of her sonne (against which I have contested) pretending that it appertaineth to y^e Earl of Kildare's mannour of Croome. But I hauing had conference with y^e Earle of Kildare about it, Hee disclaimed anie interest unto it, And desiring y^e Steward of y^e said Earle to peruse his writings about it Hee told mee that noe such thing was found therein. There is not so much as anie rent at this day paid out of it. The land being estimated to be worth yearly ..

lib
60

DRUMDEELY alias Thomedeely alias Thomalie Aboue 2 plow land is called the Bishop's mannour, black booke fol 6, p. 2, & fol 7, p. 2. Divers Bishops in former time (as Gerrhardus, Robertus Constantinus Cornelius o Dea &c) have for y^e most part kept their residence there. In fine lib. procurationis we finde thus recorded: Inhabitantes in Iniscaria insula veneubar carriane lignu . flx amende victualia ad tria predcipua maneria epiju Limeni: viz Leam kill (now called Loughall, Thomdeely & Mungret. A fine and recouerie for a quarter of land in Thomdeely, leased afterwards by the then Bishop to Margaret y^e wife of Turlough de Kandif for her life paying yearly rent of 10^s 6^d & within these 50 yeares Bp. Casie was in possession of that mannour as may appeare by an inquisition taken upon his decease. It is withheld at this day by y^e Earl of Cork, who only payeth 3^{lib} 6^s 8^d rent yearly for it, With him so manie favours and courtesies receaued at his hands I am loath to contest. But my successor may easily recouer ye rights of it. It is farmed at this day at ye yearly rent of ..

lib
140

GARRAN NY CROAKE, GARRANE NY BOY & KILTENAN in all 1 plowland, half plowland and quarter in y^e

possession of Richard Stephenson. This is soe plainly proued to be y^e Bishops land y^t Bishop Adams in y^e yeare 1618 recouered y^e same, and was for a while in y^e possession of it; But upon monie; partly receaued by the said Bishop, and partly by his man Richard Hayes (who is live and reddie to confes y^e same) the Bishop gave ouer the possession of it againe soe y^t now there is not so much as anie rent paid out of y^e same. The land being well worth per Annu

lib
120

CLONCROUGH, 2 plowlands called the Tough of Cloncrough mention is often made in y^e black booke of y^e Bb. right thereunto. Sr. William Poore & Mr. George Courtnie share it betweene them having gotten it in their pattent, but without anie colour of right. There was usually a rent of 40^s p annu paid out of it. Two parts thereof by Mr. Courtnie and a third part by Sr. William Poore; Sr. William Poore duly paieth his part but Mr. Courtnie denieth payment, and would never pay anie rent to mee, prtending y^t whatsoever rent was before paid to y^e Bishop, Hee is not now bound to pay y^e same by reason y^t Hee paieth rent to y^e King for that land. It is well worth p annu

lib.
40

TEN PLOWLANDS OF OMAILE passed ouer during y^e raigne of King John, and with his consent, by y^e citizens of limerick out of these 40 plowlands giuen by y^e said King John to that citie & corporation, to y^e Bishop of Limerick and his successors for euer by way of exchange for y^e Salmon fishing of y^e great wire neare Limerick commonly called the King's weere, which before that time did belong to y^e Bishop, but ever since is in y^e Tenure & possession of y^e Incorporation of Limerick, for prooffe hereof we have records of y^e grant and charter of King John; of y^e resignation and acknowledgiment of y^e chief citizens there then living; as also a late confession of a Jurie impanelled about y^e latter end of y^e raigne of King James, about enquirie of certaine lands belonging to that citie; where the same is acknowledged and

confessed. But now y^e same land is in divers men's hands, and hardly to be discovered; not so much as anie rent accruing to y^e Bishop out of ye same. The same land lying neare y^e citie of Limerick being well worth p^{a} annu lib 700

CLONELTIE a quarter of land: Released by y^e Bishop, and a fine & recouerie of y^e same. In consideration whereof the then Bishop made a lease of those lands for 21 yeares at 13s. 4d. yearly rent. Black booke fol 5, p. 2. Alsoe it was indented by that lease, y^t the Tenant should doe suit and service at y^e Bishop's Court of Clonshare foure times a yeare; see more of it fol. 48, p. 2. It is now in y^e possession of Mr. Courtnie; and neither doth suit & service nor paieth anie rent. It is estimated to be worh p^{a} Annu .. XXX

CLONBALLITARSNIE, y^e 3 part of two quarters of land, a fine and recouerie of it, and a lease granted by the then Bishop to one Ceth & Cybill his wife, for their lives & afterwards to returne to y^e church; This is withheld (as yet I know not by whome) noe rent paid, estimated to be worth per Annu .. lib xx

DONAGHMORE, a ploughland & an half found by an officed inquisition in King John's time to be y^e Bishop's land. Black Booke fol 7 & 9, soe also by another inquisition fol. 13, p. 2, and another fol. 15 p. 2. In y^e end of y^e black booke William L B^b hath recouered it in these words: Recuperaui terras de Donnaghmore. Hee made a lease of it to one Hugh mac Burgo. This is partly in y^e possession of Peirce Creugh, partly of William Commin and partly of one Fanning—paieth rent p^{a} annu 5d. It is estimated to be worth p annu lib 120

GORTENDECANIE alias y^e Deanes Towne is parcel of Donughmore and for ever reputed, soe is Drum-bannie alias called the free land of ye church, yeat it is withheld and no rent paid out of y^e same; estimated to be worth p. annu lib xx

KILROIS half a plowland withheld by Thomas Arthur, this was recouered by Bp. Adams XXX

All y^e above mentioned lands gaue faire euidence in my favour for their recouerie : The rest that follow grounds for to sui at law ; But for aught that I can finde, hitherto not questioned.

BALLI BROWNE, 2 plowlands withheld by y ^e Stackpoles of Limerick for which as I heare, they have nothing to shew, worth per annu	lib 120
RATHURE 2 plowlands withheld by James Burke of Limerick and 3 plowland within y ^e same withheld by Nicholas Streeche, reputed coud only to be y ^e Bb. land. Val per annu	200
CORROMORAN A quarter of land, detained from y ^e Church ; the Bp's right thereunto is to be seene : Blacke booke fol. 2, p. 2. Val p annu	xx
LYSENERMADDA ; two plowlands, the Bp's right thereunto appeareth Bl. Bo. fol. 52, 28 ex charta William de Burgo. Val per annu	120
CLONTIPPI, 1 plowland, released by y ^e Bishop. B.B. fol. 1, p. 2. Val	70
CLONSIMON a quarter of land & 30 Ar. A fine and recouerie made by y ^e then Bishop for which Hee gave x lib. B.B. fol. 2, p. 2, & fol. 14, p. 2. Value per Annu	lib 50
CRAGGE alias Clan Mahowne a Tough belonging to y ^e Bb. ye ancient Rent was 4 lib. Both land and rent held from y ^e Bb. B. b. fol. & records found in Sr. James Ware's office. Value p annu	80
PUBLENA SCAGH 4 Toughes : the ancient rent paid to y ^e Bishop was 8 lib ʒ annu. The Castle in it hath a hole like to a crosse as most of y ^e Bishop's Castles have : The rent and lands are now detained to y ^e value ʒ Annu	180
KILLEELY 1 plowlands : A fine and recouerie upon it by y ^e Bb. B. B. fol. 25 p .2. Value ʒ annu	70

BALLYNANIMA 1 plowland neare unto Kilmurrie (and as it may be probably considered) parcell of Kilmurrie detained from y ^e Bb. by Sr. Edward fitharrice. Val. p annu	60
KEPPACH dicitur villa seu manerium de Keppach Kilmachronie debat Epo Limeric. 5 mearcs sterling. B. B. fol. 6 y ^e yearlie value	50
BALLYCOLMAINE half a plowland weastward of Balynagarrie withheld by Murtoch mac Shee. val $\frac{7}{8}$ ann	50
GORTIN CARROWSAN 1 plowland withheld by Murrough mac Shie. Bb. Casie receaved ye rent of it as Dyonise Comier hath informed—value at p annu	80
BALLYNIKELLY 2 scolds besydes 3 gardens of ye Bbs. gleabe, Brian mac Turlough holden 1 field & 3 gardens hereof, and hath lately broke downe a crosse the Bishop and the the gdner of Sir John Dowdale withhold y ^e rent val p Annu	40
BALYNHURRIE 2 plowlands in y ^e tenure of y ^e ladie Dowdall paid the yearly rent vi' viii/ value p. Annu	80
SHKOWLAND, plowland in y ^e tenure of Edmond Lacie per yearly rent Annatim x lib. valeat per Annu	80
MOLAN 1 plowland withheld by Sr. Dominick White paieth rent Annatim, 13s. 4d.—valeat p Annu	100
ARDIMEERE 9 a plowland withheld w'held by y ^e gdiner of Sr. Edward Wingfield, payablle rent annatim xb. valeat	50
ROBERTS TOWNE, a plowland withheld by the heiress of Sr. Edward Wingfield yearly rent annatim 17 ^s 8 ^d —valeat	50
BROWRIE g a plowland withheld by Edwd Lacie paible rent Annatim x lib valeat p. Annu	50

BALLYCOLMAN, TYREWEENIE & GORTINGARRIE withheld by Murroch Mac Shie should pay yearlie rent 14^s 4 —which rent is detained. Val. 7^d Annu .. 100

BALLYDEGANAGH xx Ar withheld by James Scaruage ye yearly rent is 13^s 4^d. Valeat 7^d Annu .. xx

BALLIOLAHAN, a plowland whheld by Dominick Roch : The yearly rent x^s valeat p. Annu xx

BALLINOUSCI, BALLINACARTIE, & BALLINNOLLIN, 3 plowlands all in the parish of Asheelon withheld by Mahowne Mac Shurlock. Val. p. Annu .. 200

GORTINCARRAH two parts of a plowland, Gildecrew o Kerrie paid two gales Rent to Rorie mac Shee in y^e Bp's name. y^e Rent being x lib p. annu. Val. p. Annu 40

————— FitzGerald holdeth a pacell of land in Ardagh which is well known to be Bb's land, and Hee himself cannot well denie y^e same. Val per Annu xx

Wee finde in fine libri Nigri by an Inquisition taken de profit mannery de Mungret, These Rents following which are now wholly detained.

						lib	s	d
Creualli alias Creueally	7 ^d	annu	—	—	—	5	0	0
Ballicahane	—	—	—	—	—	0	3	4
Killenothan	—	—	—	—	—	0	6	8
Monishard alias Monitor	—	—	—	—	—	0	6	8
Insula voiana seu Boyana	—	—	—	—	—	1	13	4
De Geraldo de Rupe forte	—	—	—	—	—	0	2	6
De Matthceo Fitz Roger	—	—	—	—	—	0	2	6
De Galfrido o Cooke	—	—	—	—	—	0	3	0
De Richardo Harting de Villa Keeting	one	capon						
Rathgrallan alias Rathgralli	in	termini	—	—	—	0	13	4
Kilrogi	in	termino	—	—	—	0	18	0
Clarine	2	plowlands						
Ballimolliman neare Kilmallock								
paid 4 lib in termino,	7 ^d	annu	8 lib	Suma		18	10	0

By Records taken out of Sr. James Ware his office I fynde
besidess y^e afore mentioned thesse parcells of land following
belonging to y^e Bishoprick :

Ballinicknor & Ballynickbegge in y^e parish of Kilcolman.

A parcell of Glebe containing a quarter of land & an half in
Balligerrie upon y^e mountaine of Slewloghar & in y^e parish
of Castlenoe.

The Tough of Megan contayning a quarter of land, villa de
Rathronane & Carrowbloy in y^e pish of Rathronan upon
Slewloghar.

A parcell of land of Balligarrie in y^e parish of Ballingarie,
called The Tough of Gurticallaghan.

A parcell of land in Ballinroe in y^e parish of Ballingarie
20 Acrs of land in Rathnego & Drum Turke in ye parish of
Kilbroderan.

53 Ars. in y^e parish of Drynan.

A parcell of land at Coneskereath in y^e parish of Mahowna
called Troutneenagh.

The Tough of Tawnagh containing 30 Ar.

A parcel of land in the parish of Moneghah.

Certaine lands in Lyshin, Gortiskeagh, Gortineagh & Balline-
killi.

2 plowlands in Ballyworlagh in y^e parish of Mahownagh.

Certaine landes in Clonedyne & Clonfert in y^e same parish.

Certaine lands in Morragan.

Parcel of y^e Tough of Dunmoylan.

The village and lands of Carrowbeg Rydall in y^e pish of Rakeele.

Parcel of Tough of Ferranghegheragh containing xx Acr.

A certaine burgage or Tenement in Cregh called Russel with
divers other Burgages there.

Parcel of y^e Tough of Meyhan & certaine land called farram-
bolagh contayning xxx Ar. with a mill in y^e pish or burgage
of Ardagh.

Parcel of y^e Tough of Ardagh & of y^e Toughes of Callough
containing Church Toughes.

Certaine land called Roray Rudderi.

Kintere & he Spittle contayning xxxiiii Ac. in y^e same parish
of Ardagh.

A parcell of land called y^e Tough or Burgage in y^e same parish
contayning xxxv acr.

A parcell ol fand called Dromranagh containing x Acr. pcell
of y^e Monasterie of Rakeele.

A pcell of land called Athie & Maymore in y^e pish of Templedoe
contayning 2 quarters.

The land of Ballyrobin & Lysduff in ye pish of Ballingarrie.
 30 Acres of land in ye parish of Adare.
 Pcells of land of Ballilloghan & Lerelower in y^e parish of
 Kilferies.
 Certaine land called Tarmon land alias Church land said
 contayning xxx acr.
 The Tough of Killisskannel contayning 8 Toughs.
 The Toughs of Callough called Church Toughs by estimation
 quarter of land.
 2 messuages in Vill de Kilmallock in y^e tenure of James
 Gant & Robert Gent.
 A quarter of land in Ballicullen.
 34 Acr. in Ballinberrie.
 20 Acr. in Clansuil.
 Certaine land in Adare called Tomagoe and Cappapeacon in
 all worth at least — — — — — 800 lib.
 The Patronage of y^e Rectorie of Rathronan nuper in donaconi.
 Thomo de Pallice. Now usurped upon by Sr. Richard
 Southwell.
 The patronage of y^e Rectorie & vicaridg of Mahownah given
 by the attainer of y^e Earl of Desmond to y^e bishop. Now
 usurped upon by Mr. Georg Courtne.
 The patronage of y^e prebend and vicarage of Croagh, now
 usurped upon by Mr. Courtne.
 The patronage of Tealogian in donaconi com. Desmond now
 I know not where to be found.

Lands holden by y ^e undertakers by His Ma ^{ties} letter pattents, which formerly paid yearly rent to y ^e Bb. But now ye rent is wholly unpaid — — — — —	85, 16		
Kilfinam no held by ye ladie Dowdall —			
Kilnemonie in patent of Sr. Henrie outreeh —	Ciii	iiii	
Rathinissai in patent to same Sr. Henrie —		vi ^s	iii ^d
Iniscospie beyond castle materert —	yvi ^s	viii	
Balinoe als. Newton in patent of Sr. Henri outreht — — — — —	iii ^{lib}		viii ^d
Shanagolin in patent of Mr. Trencher —	iii ^{lib}	ii	viii
Ardagh holden by captaine Cullam —	iii ^{lib}	vi ^s	viii ^d
Ballydeganie in pattent to Sr. Francis Barklie	xiii ^{lib}	iiii ^s	
Kappali in patent to Sr. Robert Stephenson	iii ^{lib}	vi ^s	viii ^d
Clonsheir beg in patent to Mr. Billingslye —	iii ^{lib}	vi ^s	viii ^d
Garranboy held by Oliver Stephenson —		v ^s	viii

Gortinegash holden by Mr. Billingslie	—	v ^s	viii ^d
Mowetaddi holden by Mr. Billingslie	—	v ^s	viii
Gortintemple holden by Mr. Bilingslie	—	v ^s	viii
Tyrweedie holden by Mr. Billingslie	—	v ^s	viii
Arderis Croherie holden by Mr. Billingslie	—	ii ^s	vi ^d
Bonibuada holden by Mr. Billingslie	—	v ^s	viii
The Kappagh holden by Mr. Edmd Goulde		iii ^s	iiii ^d
Ballinasse holden by same Mr. Edmd Goulde		iii ^s	ii ⁱ ^d
Craggan holden by same Mr. Edmd. Goulde	—	vp	viii ^d
Ardpatrick holden by Maurice leggan	—	oi ^s	viii ^d
Gouthaire holden by Sir Georg Boucher	—	ix ^s	
Gouthlinecarie holden by Sr. Georg Boucher			x ^d ii ^d
The Abbie of Kilmallock holden by the convenience and corporation there paid yearly a pound of pepper and	— — —		iiii ^d
Summar Totalis	xxiii	xvii ^s	viii ^d

ROBERT SIBTHORP (1642—1649)

Robert Sibthorp, a native of Essex, who held the treasurership of Killaloe and the prebend of Maynooth, was consecrated bishop of Kilfenora in St. Patrick's, Dublin, on the 11th of November, 1638, and transferred to Limerick in 1642. Owing to the war, he received no revenue out of the diocese. He died in poor circumstances at Dublin in April, 1649, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church.

During the confederate war all the benefices and churches were seized by the Catholics and renovated for Catholic worship, and it was only in the city of Limerick, or some other secure place, that any Protestant service was held. When the Cromwellians became the governing class in Limerick they introduced their own form of worship, the principal exponent of which was one Claudius Gilbert, a minister of the Gospel. Some queries regarding religion which were circulated anonymously about Limerick, in December, 1656, drew from him a book in which, under the title of "The Libertine School'd," he refuted, at least, to his

own satisfaction, the arguments of the author. The book was dedicated to Henry Cromwell, from his study, Limerick, December 22nd, 1656, and published in London in 1657.

At this period the well-known body of Quakers, who had already settled in Limerick, also engaged the attention of the Cromwellians. A letter was written by the clerk of the council in Dublin informing Colonel Ingoldesby that the council was credibly informed that there were in the city of Limerick divers persons, commonly called Quakers, who had repaired thither out of England and wandered up and down the country, seducing honest people and impoverishing their families, disturbing the peace of the nation and interfering with the congregations of sober Christians in the worship of God, aspersing and discouraging several ministers of the Gospel in their faithful labours and thereby bringing into contempt the ordinance of God. An enquiry was ordered to be made into their conduct, and speedy and effectual means taken to exclude them from the garrison and not permit them to return or reside there. If any of the inhabitants should profess themselves such, due care was to be taken to have them made amenable to the law. Acting on these instructions, proceedings were taken by Ingoldesby, the governor, assisted by Hurd and Wilson, against the Quakers, who had settled in the city about 1654, and severe penalties, such as imprisonment and scourging, were inflicted upon several of them. Barbara Blagdon was banished out of the city.

Very little respect was shown to the churches by the Cromwellians. They stabled their horses in St. Mary's cathedral, and in other parts of the country they appropriated the churches to whatever use was most pressing at the time.

The church and churchyard of Croagh, with steeple and broken wall about it, was only fit for a bawne or

defence for cattle to preserve them from stealth. George Aylmer applied to have it used for that purpose, and a licence was granted to him, in April, 1653, to enter into the said church, churchyard, steeple and bawne, provided he did not demolish any part of it and would surrender it in as good condition as it was when he received it.

EDWARD SYNGE (1661—1663)

The Protestant Church was revived immediately after the restoration of Charles II. A new bishop was appointed in the person of Edward Synge, a doctor of divinity of the University of Dublin and Dean of Elphin. He was consecrated as one of the twelve new bishops in St. Patrick's, Dublin, on the 27th of January. A clause was inserted in his patent enabling him to hold the united bishoprics of Ardfert and Aghadoe and the entire rectory of Tradery, in the diocese of Killaloe, in addition to the bishopric of Limerick. He was not well settled down when he was removed to Cloyne in 1663.

Little progress could be made during Dr. Synge's occupancy of the see, but a place was secured by Act of Parliament for a bishop's residence, and by degrees the parishes were again organised and tithes levied off the parishioners, Catholic and Protestant, for the support of the local minister.

WILLIAM FULLER (1663—1667)

William Fuller was born in London in 1608. He received his early education at Westminster School and then proceeded to Oxford, where he studied for fifteen years. His first promotion in Ireland was to the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1660, and

shortly afterwards to the treasurership of Christ Church. When the sees of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe became vacant, he was appointed to them and consecrated in Christ Church.

The income of the see * was considerably increased by a grant of land from the government during his term of office, which embraced only four years. Limerick, evidently, was only utilised by him as a stepping stone to a richer and more desirable see, as he succeeded in obtaining the bishopric of Lincoln in 1667, where he died in 1675 and was buried in his own cathedral.

FRANCIS MARSH (1667—1672)

Francis Marsh succeeded, and like his predecessor, was only a bird of passage. He was a native of Gloucestershire and received his education at Cambridge University, of which he became a fellow. When Jeremy Taylor was promoted to the united dioceses of Down and Connor he immediately sent for Marsh, and putting him into priest's orders, bestowed upon him the deanery of Connor. Later on, through the influence of his patron, he received other livings.

On the resignation of Fuller, Marsh was promoted to the see of Limerick, with all the appurtenances attached to it since the Restoration. In a short time he grew weary of life in the South and longed for a change. Writing to Lord Ossory in 1671, he says, "I grow weary of Munster, and it would be a great comfort to me to be encouraged to hope that by his grace's favour and your own I might live in expectation of being translated elsewhere, though not of equal value with Limerick."† He had not long to wait until his wish was gratified. He was translated the next

* See Appendix.

† Ormond MSS. Hist. Com., Vol. 3.

year to Kilmore and Ardagh, and finally to the archbishopric of Dublin, where his name is well known in our own day in connection with Marsh's library.

JOHN VESEY (1672-1676)

John Vesey was a native of Coleraine, where his father was a minister. He began his studies at Westminster School and completed them in Trinity College, Dublin, where he took the degree of doctor of divinity. He became chaplain to the House of Commons in 1661, and during that year was further honoured by the crown by his presentation to the rectories of Ightur-murrow and Shandrum. Later on he was appointed vicar of Charleville, in the diocese of Cloyne. He was also Archdeacon of Armagh, in which office he was succeeded by his father. In 1672 he was appointed to the vacant see of Limerick, where he remained only four years, when he was called to rule the archdiocese of Tuam.

SIMON DIGBY (1676-1691)

Simon Digby was a north country man, and the son of the bishop of Dromore, though he was born near Maryborough, in the Queen's County. He was educated in Trinity College, Dublin. He filled many minor offices in his Church, and finally the deanship of Kildare, from which he was advanced to the see of Limerick, where he remained for thirteen years, until translated to the see of Elphin.

The bishops since the Restoration ruled the diocese only for short periods, and could do little to advance the spiritual interests of their flock. The succession was maintained in the various dignities of the diocese, as can be seen in Cotton's *Fasti*.



CHAPTER VIII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH (1603-1691)

THE religious innovations of Elizabeth were firmly resisted by the Irish people, or, when they could not be resisted directly, they were, as far as possible, evaded. Converts were in any locality extremely few.

The attitude of the people in general towards the Protestant evangelists is well illustrated in a report of Thomas Jones,* a preacher, who afterwards became Archbishop of Dublin. When, on the 18th of November, 1581, three Catholic young gentlemen of the Pale, George Netterville, Robert Sherlock and Christopher Eustace, were being led forth to execution, Jones either went, or was sent, to convert them on their way to the scaffold. But to all his arguments and exhortations, their only reply was, as he sorrowfully complains in his report, "*Vade, satana—Vade post me, satana*"—that is, "Begone, satan—go behind me, satan." And Christopher Eustace asked, "Is it not enough for you to have our lives, but you must seek also to draw us from our religion?" The intensity of religious feeling displayed by these young gentlemen was in no way exceptional; it represents the general attitude of the people towards those who attempted to interfere with their religious belief.

When the banning of the priests became a settled policy of the government, the people of the diocese, esteeming their souls more precious than the fleeting treasures of this life, were determined not to be deprived of the Catholic religion and the spiritual comforts of

* Brady's S. Papers *re* Irish Church.

that Church. Accordingly each district sent the most talented and virtuous of its youth overseas, to Rome, Spain, Portugal, France and the Netherlands, in order to be trained as good and efficient priests. During the reign of Elizabeth numbers of these young priests, highly trained in Catholic universities abroad, were entering the diocese of Limerick and labouring with the zeal of apostles to keep the embers of religion alive among the people, notwithstanding the wars which raged with such ferocity through the county. The priest always felt secure amongst his flock. Realising the sacrifice he made to bring them the consolations of religion, they, in turn, kept a constant watch over his person to shield him from danger.

When James I ascended the throne and it was thought that the days of persecution and oppression were over, the priests, who were still numerous, began to show themselves publicly, and to celebrate the mysteries of religion without fear of molestation.

The ruler of the diocesan clergy at this period was Dr. Richard Arthur,* a member of an old Limerick family, whose parents, Christopher Arthur and Catherine Gerald, had settled down in the city of Cork, where he was born about the year 1560. He must have received a good education in his youth, as he became a clerk in the courts of Dublin, where he had as a colleague Richard Boyle, then a poor man, but afterwards very wealthy, and known in later life as the Great Earl of Cork. An elder brother who was engaged in the father's business having died, Arthur returned home and took his place in the firm. His principal occupation was trading in merchandise between Ireland and England. Having encountered a violent tempest on one of his voyages, he made a vow that if he escaped shipwreck he would abandon the life of a merchant and devote the rest of his days to a higher and holier

* Life in Lynch's MS. History of the Irish Bishops, T.C.D.

calling. In accordance with this vow he left home and went to the Continent, where he commenced his studies for the priesthood. He remained for a short time with the Capuchin fathers and then went to Louvain, and later on to Douay, where he read a distinguished course and in due time was ordained priest. Having returned to Cork, full of zeal, he soon became remarkable for his preaching and exemplary life, which had the effect of leading back to the Church many who had gone over to Protestantism. He then removed to Limerick, where he was sheltered by his friends, and spent his time in preaching and instructing the people with marked success. About the beginning of the century he was appointed vicar-general of the diocese, as the bishop, Cornelius O'Boyle, was dead and no successor had as yet been appointed.

At the accession of James I, the Catholics, who were the vast majority of the city, immediately took possession of St. Mary's cathedral and St. John's church, and had them re-consecrated for Catholic worship by Dr. Arthur, who, on the occasion, delivered a long address to an assembly of Catholics and Protestants in the cathedral grounds. In a few weeks, however, the city was inundated with Protestant soldiers, who, with the aid of the civil authority, compelled the Catholics to surrender the churches. Many of them, too, were severely punished, notably D. Nicholas, who was fined £500. During the Brouncker activities they had to practise their religion in private, bury their dead at night, and bear with patience other indignities. Dr. Arthur did not, however, despair, and he foretold that he would consecrate these churches again before his death.

In 1606 Pope Paul V wrote a touching letter to the Irish Catholics, warning them against an insidious oath of allegiance which had been proposed to them by the government, and encouraging them to resist the efforts

that were being made to compel them to attend Protestant services.

“ Sadly have we mourned, beloved children,” wrote his Holiness, “ over the tribulations which your unshaken devotion to the faith has brought upon you. But when we learned that even now you are more bitterly afflicted the measure of our sorrow has been increased. We have heard that you are compelled under heavy penalties to frequent the temples of heretics and to assist at their solemnities and sermons. But, truly, we do believe that those who have already suffered so much affliction and atrocious persecution, that they might walk without erring in the way of the Lord, will never sully their honour by now communicating with those who have deserted their God. Nevertheless, zeal for our pastoral office and that paternal solicitude with which we watch over your spiritual interests compel us to admonish and conjure you never to approach the churches of these heretics and never to be present at their rites or ceremonies, lest you incur the anger of God . . . We confidently rely on your ready compliance with this request when we call to mind all you have already suffered and the alacrity with which you are prepared to sustain torments more atrocious, nay death itself, rather than outrage the majesty of God. Yea, verily, our faith in you is strong when we consider that the early Christians endured not more than yourselves.”*

The ordinary life of the priest is thus described by the Archbishop of Cashel in a report of his diocese which he sent to Rome in 1609. “ As for us ecclesiastics,” he says, “ being always encompassed with dangers, we imitate the skilful seaman who, when the tempest threatens, draws in his sails, and unfurls them on the return of the calm. When the persecution presses us and the soldiers are in pursuit of us we fly to secret

* *The Geraldines*, by O'Daly, p. 171.

recesses. When persecution is relaxed, we gradually venture to appear in public. The higher each one's dignity is, the more eagerly do they seek to compass his destruction and lead him to prison or the scaffold. But as they leave nothing undone to capture us, so we are ever on the alert, and seldom can they obtain any certain intelligence as to our whereabouts. We go around from one city to another dressed in secular clothes, only using the longer dress at the altar, and, following our Redeemer's counsel, we fly from one town to another, generally a very distant one. We do not stop for any time in one place, but pass from one house to another, even in the cities and towns. We journey, too, at morning's dawn, or when night has set in, sometimes even at the third or fourth watch of the night. Yet we love the protecting darkness, nay, we prefer even the winter to the summer time. It is at night we perform all the sacred functions—that we transfer the sacred vestments from one place to another—celebrate Mass, give exhortations to the faithful, confer Holy Orders, bless chrism, administer the sacrament of Confirmation, and discharge, in a word, all our ecclesiastical duties . . . Last year, when the persecution relaxed for a little while, I administered the sacrament of Confirmation, at noon-day in the open fields, to at least ten thousand, for our Catholics so venerate this sacrament that they come even from the most distant parts of the country when an opportunity is presented of administering it."*

The government was constantly seeking for information, and made use of every means at its disposal to penetrate into the inner lives of the Catholics. In 1613, it was so far successful as to obtain a list of the priests in the diocese. Their names, which are worthy of remembrance, were :—Richard Arthur, vicar-general ;

* Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*.

Connor Fitzmorrish, Anthony Mosten and William Donoghoe, Franciscan friars; Andrew White, priest; Morrish Roche, priest; Tiege O'Grada, priest; William Lawler, priest; Robert Arthur, Dominic White, priests of the Order of St. Dominic; John FitzDonogh, priest; Dermott Fitzconoe, priest; John FitzDavid, priest of the Order of St. Dominic; Morrishe Hurly, priest; Cormocke Hickey, Henry Foriston, Diarmot Cuinn, priest; John Fornan, priest; Thomas Gorman, Franciscan friar; Dermot Doa, Torlough Magenus, Morris O'Duinn, Daniel FitzCredon, priest, and Daniel Daly, priest.* The list contains the names of twenty-three priests, of whom four were Franciscans and three Dominicans. There may, perhaps, have been some others who escaped the observation of the informant.

DR. RICHARD ARTHUR

As the population of the diocese was increasing, the need for a bishop was felt by both clergy and laity. In 1617 a government spy reported that Dr. Arthur was "bishop-elect and resident in the diocese, and that he was supported by special friends and kinsmen of his own, as well as by private tithes." He did not, however, then occupy the position assigned to him, but it was supposed that he would be selected to fill that important office. According to the Consistorial Acts,† he was not appointed until the 18th of May, 1620, and even then, owing to the scarcity of prelates and the uncertainty of the times, he was not consecrated until the 7th of September, 1623. The ceremony was performed by David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, assisted by William Tirry, Bishop of Cork, and Luke Archer, Abbot of Holy Cross.

Though ousted from the churches, Bishop Arthur

* Fitzgerald's Declaration, 1613 (MS., T.C.D.).

† Brady's *Irish Episcopal Succession*.

clung to the old organisation and spoke of St. Mary's cathedral and the parochial churches of the diocese as if he were in possession of them, as the vast majority of the people in the different parishes were Catholics. The year after his consecration, when he had occasion to absent himself from the diocese for a considerable time, he appointed Philip Hogan and Philip Harrow as commissaries and vicars-general to govern the diocese in his stead. The return home of young priests, full of zeal and ability, from the Continental colleges, gave a great impetus to religion at this period.

On the 20th of July, 1630, Dr. Arthur applied to the Holy See for a coadjutor, his health having been impaired by his strenuous life, as a priest and bishop, for more than thirty-two years, in the diocese of Limerick. During these years he had laboured with all his might, as a preacher and catechist, propagating and strengthening the faith, as parish priest administering the sacraments to his flock, as vicar-general and bishop watching over and ruling the whole diocese. Nor did he confine his attention exclusively to his own diocese, but as the exigencies of the times required, often journeyed afar to comfort and console his afflicted brethren—to Cork, Kilkenny, Galway, Cashel, Kinsale, Fethard, through almost the whole province of Munster and partly through Leinster and Connaught. Now that he was approaching his seventieth year, he felt unable to discharge with efficiency the duties of his office, and feared that nettles and briars might spring up in the vineyard which he had planted and watered for so many years. He asked, therefore, that an opportunity might be given him, now that he was on the brink of the grave, to atone for the ignorance of his youth and the faults of a life time, and to recall the memory of past years in the bitterness of his soul, in true grief and sorrow of heart.*

* *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1866, p. 359.

He submitted the names of three priests, all natives of the city, members of honourable families, and irreproachable alike in life and character, any one of whom, if appointed his coadjutor, would have been an ornament to the diocese.

The first was that of Richard Gould, a member of the Trinitarian order, and a professor of theology.* This distinguished priest was the son of Patrick Gould and Genet Fanning, both of the city, and a nephew of the martyred primate, Dr. Richard Creagh. He received his early education in Limerick, and entered the Irish College, Salamanca, on the 29th October, 1605, at the age of twenty years. After completing his studies at that seat of learning, he joined the Trinitarian order, and was appointed a professor of theology. In 1621 he obtained a diploma of theology from the University of Alcalá.† His great ability and virtues were well known amongst the exiled Irish nobility in Spain. In February, 1630, he was recommended by O'Sullivan Beare to the Holy See for the diocese of Ardfert, and later on for the see of Cashel.

The second name on the list was that of James Arthur, a native of the city and the son of William Arthur and Beatrice Creagh. He also entered the Irish College, Salamanca, on the 5th of November, 1606, at the age of nineteen years. Later on he joined the Dominican order and became a professor of theology in the University of Salamanca. As early as the year 1626 he was recommended as one of many qualified to fill the vacant archbishopric of Cashel.

The third name was that of John Creagh, also a native of the city. He studied at Alcalá, where he received the degree of doctor of divinity, and, on his return home, engaged in missionary work under the direction of the bishop.

* Gould and Arthur, *Archiv. Hib.*, vol. 2.

† Irish Franciscan MSS., Hist. Com. Series.

The names of the candidates were forwarded to the Holy See, but for two years the bishop's petition remained unanswered. The dignitaries and priests of the diocese then sent another petition from themselves, asking the Holy See to sanction the appointment of one of the priests whose names had been sent forward by the bishop, and verifying the character he had given of them. This document, which was dated at Limerick, the 15th of July, 1632,* was signed by the following priests:—John Vuarring, dean of Limerick; Philip Harrow, rector of St. John's and vicar-general of the diocese; Jordan Bourke,† archdeacon of Limerick; Philip Hogan ‡ vicar-general and treasurer; James Galway, parish priest of the cathedral church of St. Mary; William Hibert, priest; John Cantilon, Robert Rudel, James Long, rector of Ballingarry; Edmund FitzGerald, Maurice Nichol, Cornelius Conel, William Hourigan, parish priest of St. Nicholas', Limerick; Roger O'Brien, rector of Killeedy, and Donat Haly, priest.§

This petition, too, failed to elicit a favourable answer, and yet another was despatched in the name of the bishop and chapter, asking to have Richard Gould appointed. This, the final petition, likewise failed in obtaining the bishop's request, and singular to say, none of the candidates ever attained episcopal rank. Richard Gould lived and died in his order. James Arthur lived for many years as a professor, and died, full of years and honours, in Lisbon, in 1670, leaving a monument more enduring than brass in his two volumes of commentaries on the works of St. Thomas. John

* *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 1866.

† Some dispensations in the beautiful handwriting of Jordan Bourke, the archdeacon, are still preserved in the archives of the diocese.

‡ Philip Hogan was recommended, with James Arthur, O.P., for the archbishopric of Cashel; the one is described Old Irish, the other Anglo-Irish.

§ It may be inferred from this list that Dr. Arthur had partially re-established the chapter.

Creagh had an eventful life, and his name will frequently occur before the close of this volume.

The reason of the failure of so many petitions may be traced to a document* that was drawn up and presented to the nuncio at Brussels in 1626, and which he forwarded to the Holy See, as a guide to the curia in the selection of bishops for the Irish sees.

The writer of this document states that the Catholics of Ireland were divided into Old Irish, Mixed Irish and Anglo-Irish. The Old Irish were the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country. They were Celts by race, spoke Irish, and in the late wars always sided with the Pope. The Mixed Irish were the descendants of the English colonists who intermarried with the Irish and adopted their manners, customs and mode of living. The Anglo-Irish were the descendants of the English who settled in Ireland, but lived apart from the Old Irish, so that they desired neither firm friendship nor intermarriage with them, disdained to share their laws and language, and lived as aliens among them, always inclining towards English interests, even where the Catholic religion was concerned. The reasons put forward by each party, showing why its members should be preferred to ecclesiastical offices before those of the others, are then stated, and the writer sums up by saying that where the Old Irish were in the majority they should have a bishop of their race, and that the Anglo-Irish, under similar circumstances, should have a bishop to suit them. This document may have influenced the Holy See to defer the appointment to Limerick, as the three priests recommended were of the Anglo-Irish party.

Dr. Arthur, whose health was much impaired, does not appear from this date to have taken an active part in public life, but confined his attention entirely to diocesan

* Irish Franciscan MSS., Hist. Com. Series.

affairs. When, after the outbreak of the confederate war, the bishops of Ireland called a meeting of the clergy at Kilkenny, in May, 1642, to place the country under a stable form of government, Dr. Arthur's name does not appear among the signatories to the acts of that council, but he was represented by Dr. John Creagh, who signed as his procurator. John Wareinge,* the dean, and Jordan Bourke, the archdeacon, signed on their own account.

On the surrender of Limerick to the confederate forces, the Catholics re-took possession of the churches, and Dr. Arthur once again consecrated them for Catholic worship, thus fulfilling his prophecy of nearly forty years before.

The houses and property of the religious orders had long since passed into secular hands, but provision had been made for the continuity of the orders themselves, by sending novices to the Continent, where they were hospitably received and educated in the colleges of their respective orders. These, like the secular priests, in due time returned and lived near their old foundations, where possible in community, moving about among the people in secular dress to avoid detection. The records of those days are scanty, as the compilation of Catholic documents was then a dangerous occupation.

The Dominicans† must have maintained their succession in the diocese, as it is incidentally mentioned that Sir John Bourke of Brittas, about eight miles from Limerick, who was executed for the faith in 1607, had been received into the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, recently established by Father Halaghan, and three Dominican fathers are given in the list of priests in 1613. In the course of time they began to increase in number, for in 1622 there was a community of six priests living in the city under Prior Bernard O'Brien, an uncle of

* This name later on becomes Warren.

† O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans*, edited by Father Coleman.

Bishop Terence Albert O'Brien, the martyr. When the confederate war broke out the Dominicans re-took possession of their old convent of St. Saviour.

The Franciscan fathers,* likewise, kept up their succession. They had three large convents in the diocese, Limerick, Askeaton and Adare, around which they worked in secular dress. When Father Mooney visited Limerick, in 1615, he found the Franciscan fathers living in a hired house in the city, where he preached and made a visitation of the place with the provincial. They, too, re-took possession of their old house in 1642. Askeaton and Adare were also taken over by the fathers, who, during the confederate war, went about the country instructing and administering the sacraments to the faithful. The Crutched Friars, a branch of the canons-regular of St. Augustine, popularly known in Limerick as the Augustinian fathers, abandoned their connection with the city after the suppression of the monasteries. Archdall, on the authority of Anthony Bruodin, states that there were two houses of the Augustinians in the city, one of the canons-regular, called of St. Mary and St. Edward, king and martyr, the other, the house of the B. V. Mary and Holy Cross. But, according to the Roman documents,† these are one and the same house; and this is confirmed by the Patent Rolls of James I, 1610, where it was granted to Edmund Sexton as "the house, site, etc., of the abbey, friary, hospital, or cell of the B. V. Mary and St. Edward, king and martyr, otherwise Holy Cross, in Limerick."

The Jesuits were constant visitors to Limerick and its neighbourhood, where their labours were much appreciated. They succeeded in attracting to the Society some brilliant young Limerick men, who became zealous members of the community. One of the most notable of these was Father Thomas Filde. He was

* Meehan's *Irish Franciscans*.

† *Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*.

born in the city in 1549, where his father was a medical doctor ; his mother was a member of the Creagh family. Perhaps in his youth he met Father David Wolfe in his father's house. In order to preserve his faith, he was sent to study at Paris and Douay, where he read humanities for three years, followed by a course of philosophy for a like number of years at Louvain. He entered the Jesuit novitiate on the 6th of October, 1574, being then twenty-five years of age. He volunteered for the South American missions, and laboured for ten years in Brazil and forty years in Paraguay, of which mission he was one of the founders. After a life fruitful in good works he died at Asuncion in 1626.*

The Jesuits made no permanent settlement during the first years of their missionary labours in Ireland. About the year 1620 they began to settle down in communities, and in 1640 they are mentioned in the annals of the Society as having a school at Limerick.

The bishop and clergy having failed to procure a coadjutor for the diocese, the corporation and leading citizens drew up and forwarded to the Holy See a petition in favour of John Creagh, in which they set forth the superior talents and virtue of that holy priest†; but this, like the others, having failed to elicit a favourable reply, the Supreme Council, in 1644, wrote to Father Luke Wadding, guardian of the Irish Franciscans at Rome, asking him to use his influence to have Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer appointed coadjutor to the Bishop of Limerick, with the right of succession, Dr. Arthur being then very unwieldy. The request was granted, and for the last year of his life the aged bishop had the consolation and assistance of a vigorous helpmate in governing the diocese. His meeting with the nuncio, to whom, as already related, he gave a reception worthy of his position in Limerick, was the last public act of

* Father Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen of the 16th Century*.

† Franciscan unpublished documents in Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

his life. He died, full of years, on the 23rd of May, 1646, and was buried in St. Mary's cathedral. The nuncio presided at the obsequies, which were carried out with all the solemn splendour prescribed by the ritual.

Though possessing only a slender income and living in poor and distressed times, he enriched the cathedral with many precious gifts, some of which still remain as memorials of his generosity and munificence. In 1624, he gave two plated cruets for wine and water, engraved and partly gilt, but unfortunately they cannot now be traced. In 1625 he gave, with the assistance of some friends, a large plate-gilt crucifix, hollow on the inside and intended for a reliquary. This crucifix, which was nicely engraved, stood on a pedestal, or degrees of plate, set with stones, and contained a large piece of the Holy Cross. It was designed to be carried before the bishop on certain ceremonial occasions. It has been handed down as an episcopal heirloom, and is in the possession of the present bishop. In 1627 he gave a large plate-gilt chalice and enamelled paten, and a plate pax, nicely enamelled, the enamelled work representing the crucifixion and the soldier piercing Christ's side with a lance. In 1634 he gave a gilt plate remonstrance for the Blessed Sacrament, supported by four pillars and over it a crown. There is also in the National Museum, Dublin, a chalice with an inscription, that once belonged to him. Nor is it to be forgotten that it was he who conferred priest's orders on the celebrated John Lynch of Galway, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus* and other valuable works on Irish history, which have won for him a niche in the temple of fame.

DR. EDMUND O'DWYER

Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, the successor of Dr. Arthur, was a scion of the O'Dwyer family, formerly chiefs

of Kilnemanagh, in Co. Tipperary. He was a man of great ability, and took an active part in the public affairs of the stormy times in which his lot was cast. Having acquired the rudiments of learning at home, he proceeded to France to study for the priesthood. He commenced his studies at Rouen, then passed on to the Sorbonne, at Paris, where he became acquainted with Malachy O'Quealy, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, an acquaintance which ripened into an enduring friendship. He completed his ecclesiastical studies at Rheims, where he graduated as doctor of divinity. On his return home he devoted his time to missionary work in the diocese of Emly, which was so fruitful that it won him the esteem and appreciation of his superior, who promoted him to the dignity of arch-deacon, in 1621.

Owing to the difficulty and uncertainty of travelling, the Holy See, in 1625, granted to the Irish bishops the privilege of performing their visits *ad limina* by procurator, and in 1632 the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Tuam, influenced, no doubt, by Dr. O'Quealy, the archbishop, wrote to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland informing him that they had unanimously selected the Revd. Edmund O'Dwyer, D.D., a man of great parts and sprung from a noble family, as their procurator at Rome.* O'Dwyer immediately took up his residence in Rome and faithfully discharged the duties imposed upon him by the bishops. He was also employed by other prelates throughout the country in a like capacity. The archbishops of Ireland, in 1635, addressed a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, suggesting that an agent of the Irish bishops should reside in Rome to represent to his Eminence the wants of the Irish Church and the desires of the respective bishops, and to communicate to

* *Spic. Ossor.*, Vol. I.

them in return the decisions of the Holy See.* They further represented that their pecuniary resources were almost destroyed by the uninterrupted persecution of so many years, and earnestly solicited the Holy See to provide their agent with an ecclesiastical benefice, so that he might be able to devote himself wholly to the duties of his office, which would confer a great benefit to the whole Irish nation. The following year the Cardinal intimated to them that Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, already in Rome fulfilling the duty of agent for some of the Irish bishops, had been appointed their accredited agent to the Holy See.

In the important and responsible position to which he was now appointed in the Eternal City, Dr. O'Dwyer guarded with vigilance the interests of the Irish church. He became acquainted with Father Luke Wadding, at that time the leading Irish Franciscan in Rome, and one of the best known and most learned divines, who exercised great influence in the papal court.

On the outbreak of the confederate war in 1641, representations were made at Rome that as it was a religious uprising, the Pope should undertake the expense. But Urban VIII, with that prudence which has always been a characteristic of the Roman Pontiffs, before making any promise or guaranteeing any assistance, thought it necessary to make himself acquainted with the scope of the movement and the aim of the leading men on the Irish side.† On the suggestion of Wadding, who recommended him to the Cardinal Protector, Dr. O'Dwyer was chosen as a confidential agent and immediately dispatched to Ireland. He was to travel ostensibly on his own account, and return with authentic information for the guidance of the Holy See. Highly esteemed by the clergy,

* Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*.

† Transcripts from Rome in Public Record Office, London.

his prudence and knowledge of the affairs of the country were a guarantee of the success of his mission.

Having received his instructions, especially to observe secrecy as to his mission, he set out in company with Signor Valamanni and arrived at Lyons on the 15th of February, 1642.* Here he was detained for some months by the nuncio at Paris, who was not prepared to receive him, as he was conducting other negotiations on the same subject, with authority from Rome. O'Dwyer wrongly placed the blame for the delay on the nuncio's shoulders. At last, when preliminaries were arranged, he was summoned to Paris, where he arrived on the 21st March, and having received his final instructions from the nuncio residing in that city, he went to Crosicke, in Brittany, whence he set sail, early in April, on a French barque which was bound for Waterford.

Soon, however, his troubles began. After three days' sail two Moorish men-of-war bore down on the barque and made prisoners of all on board. For twenty-one days Dr. O'Dwyer was kept in irons by his captors and then sold as a slave at Sale, in Barbary, on the north-west coast of Africa. Soon after a Calvinist merchant of Rochelle purchased him for £40, on a promise of receiving £60 for his ransom. Having regained his freedom from slavery, O'Dwyer, in the last week of August, was taken by his new master to Rochelle, where he had to remain until the ransom was paid. He wrote at once to his brother, Dermot O'Dwyer, a Jesuit who was then residing at the college of Beauvais, informing him of his sad plight and impecunious circumstances. The brother approached the nuncio at Paris, entreating him to advance the amount of the ransom, but having received no decided answer, he had recourse to Father

* Letters addressed by him to Luke Wadding in the Franciscan library, Dublin, some of which are published in Franciscan MSS., Hist. Com. Series.

Luke Wadding. In the meantime, Dr. O'Dwyer had to remain a prisoner on parole at Rochelle, and what he endured there is best told in his own words :—" If I were able to part for Paris it were much in my way for to inform better the nuncio and save charges, but my merchant would yield no such licence at all, being cursed a thousand times by his confederate Huguenots touching my releasement, and would wish he had never seen me. The Huguenots here do daily report I will slip away and never pay him, which is but part of their malice. I treated here with some of our merchants to be bound for me, but no good answer, out of Paris there is no good to be expected, so that now all relies on the Cardinal's resolution. I have not a farthing, but already indebted of twelve pounds sterling, by reason I had not a stitch on my back when I came hither but old rags . . . If all things fail I can have a soldier's pay ; may be it will be the nearest way to Heaven."*

Wadding was untiring in his endeavours to procure the necessary funds for the ransom of his friend, and at length succeeded in raising the sum required by the merchant. When forwarding the money to Dr. O'Dwyer he invited him back to Rome, but the anguish of mind and bodily pains which he had endured for the past few months aroused in him a longing for home. In answer to the invitation, which is dated 25th December, 1642, he says : " And truly for me I will no more live in hopes and will first go home and there adjust myself for returning or staying there, according as I find, for I assure your reverence there is as much need of advertisement at home as there is office in Rome to be done them, and for me, I have lived there long enough, shifting how to live with honour, which now I do not know how to do. All men close here and there. I will away hence, as soon as I can, and your reverence shall hear of me

* Letter in Franciscan MSS., Hist. Com. Series.

wheresoever I live, in whose affection, if please God, I mean to die as in the whole company of your fathers ; I have need of their prayers. Tribulations upon tribulations annexed to my ribs, I am not able to write so much to another beside your reverence, being much weakened these four weeks. Thus wishing you all a new happy year."

Free from the worry and care he had to undergo, he sailed for Ireland with a light heart, and landed there early in 1643. A welcome sight greeted his eyes when he beheld the new Ireland, full of hope and promise, and saw his persecuted brethren and kinsmen in the enjoyment of their rightful inheritance, amid happy homes and altars free.

The Supreme Council was by this time recognised throughout western Europe, and the Holy Father, Urban VIII, had sent to Ireland an accredited representative who was residing at Kilkenny and assisting the council by his prudent advice.

Dr. O'Dwyer was soon engaged in advancing the confederate interests. Through his friend, Malachy O'Quealy, Archbishop of Tuam, his merits became known to the principal members of the Supreme Council, who employed him in many important affairs. While thus engaged, his old friend Luke Wadding wrote to the council for the assistance of Dr. O'Dwyer, or some other competent person, to assist him in advancing the Irish interest at Rome. The council, in reply to his request, sent Dr. O'Dwyer to Rome. He was entrusted with certain despatches to Wadding, among the number, one asking that great man to use his influence to have O'Dwyer appointed coadjutor to the Bishop of Limerick, with the right of succession.

Urban VIII having died in July, 1644, Innocent X was appointed to succeed him in September. A few months later Wadding found a favourable opportunity of laying before the Holy See the merits of Dr. O'Dwyer

and his fitness for the coadjutorship of Limerick, with the result that, on the 6th February, 1645, he was appointed Bishop of Calma *in partibus infidelium* and coadjutor-bishop of Limerick. Having received his bulls, he set out for Paris, where he was consecrated, together with his friend, Dr. Kirwan of Killala, in the church of St. Lazarus by the Bishop of Senlis. There is strong reason for believing that St. Vincent de Paul was one of the assisting priests on that memorable occasion; he was a personal friend of Dr. O'Dwyer—a friendship which produced blessed results. He returned to Ireland in the company of the nuncio, Rinuccini,* who, having been detained in Paris much longer than he anticipated, at length set sail from Rochelle on the 16th October. The voyage and reception of the nuncio have been already described.

On his arrival in Limerick, Dr. O'Dwyer commenced, under the direction of Dr. Arthur, a complete re-organisation of the diocese, a report of which he sent to Rome in 1649,† St. Mary's was the cathedral as of old, large and beautiful, but not yet adorned. In it there were five dignitaries, ten canons and ten vicars-choral, who daily recited the divine office—a thing not done for one hundred years before. There were, besides, in the city four parishes and two convents, one Dominican and the other Franciscan, and the Jesuits, Capuchins, Discalced Carmelites and the Hermits of St. Augustine had also houses and oratories there. In the town of Kilmallock there was a collegiate church, governed by a superior, with six vicars. In the country portion of the diocese there were thirty-four parish priests and two convents, namely, one of St. Francis at Askeaton and one of St. Dominic at Kilmallock. Almost all the parish priests had two parishes each, by dispensation of the

* "My Campaign," by the Dean of Fermo, *Catholic Bulletin* 1916.

† "Relatio" of Dr. O'Dwyer, 1649, *Arch. Hib.*, Vol. 5.

Holy See, on account of the smallness of the income. Several of the churches had been destroyed and some burned by the enemy, and would require time to replace. The regulars, for the most part, by using privileges and faculties they received during times of persecution, greatly hindered the reformation of the clergy, for in the very safest places in the kingdom they went about in secular dress, with long hair, in military fashion, celebrated the divine mysteries in private houses where the churches were open, and even twice in the same day without necessity.

To remedy the abuses that had crept in, and to promote the spiritual advancement of his flock, Dr. O'Dwyer, as one of his first works, took on hand a thorough organisation of the ministry of preaching.* A list of preachers was drawn up and certain days appointed for them to deliver a discourse in the cathedral.

The bishop was to preach on Pentecost Sunday, the feast of the Assumption of the B. V. Mary, the festival of All Saints, the first Sunday of Advent, Christmas Day, the first Sunday of Lent, the feast of St. Patrick, the feast of the Annunciation of B. V. Mary, Easter Sunday and the feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

Other days were appointed for the dignitaries. The dean had to preach on the third Sunday of Lent, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost, and the Finding of the Cross; the precentor, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, the feast of St. Andrew, and on the second Sunday of Lent; the chancellor, on the third Sunday after Pentecost, the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, and the fourth Sunday of Lent; the treasurer, on the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, Passion Sunday and Dominica

* MS. of Rev. Jasper White.

in Albis ; the archdeacon, on Trinity Sunday, the feast of St. Sylvester and Palm Sunday.

The prebendaries and rectors throughout the diocese had also their appointed days : The prebendary of St. Munchin's, Septuagesima Sunday and Easter Tuesday ; the prebendary of Donaghmore, the fifth Sunday after Pentecost and the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany ; the Prebendary of Ballycahane, the sixth Sunday after Pentecost and first Sunday after Easter ; the prebendary of Kilpeacon, the seventh Sunday after Pentecost and the third after Easter ; the prebendary of Tullebrake, the eighth Sunday after Pentecost and the fourth after Easter ; the prebendary of Killeedy, the ninth Sunday after Pentecost and the fifth after Easter ; the prebendary of Ardcanthy, the tenth Sunday after Pentecost and the sixth Sunday after Easter ; the prebendary of Effin, the prebendary of Athnid and the prebendary of Croagh, the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost and Easter Monday ; the prebendary of Desert and the rector of Killcurnan, the thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Croom, the fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Athlacca, the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Dromin, the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Newcastle, the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Monagea, the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Rathronan, the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Mahoonagh, the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Dundonald, the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Lismakeery, the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Killbridy minor, the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost ; the rector of Killbridy major, the first Sunday after the Epiphany ; the rector of Derrygalvin, the second Sunday after the Epiphany.

The religious orders also got their turn. The

Dominicans preached in the cathedral on the feasts of Corpus Christi and St. Laurence the martyr, the second Sunday of Advent, and on the Purification of the B. V. Mary ; the Franciscans, on the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, the Nativity of the B. V. Mary, the third Sunday of Advent and the feast of St. Matthias, the Apostle ; the Augustinians, on the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, the fourth Sunday of Advent, and on Ascension Day ; the Jesuits, on Whit-Monday, the feast of St. Matthew, Apostle, St. Stephen, Protomartyr, and Quinquagesima Sunday ; the Capuchins, on the Epiphany, the third Sunday after the Epiphany, the fourth Sunday after the Epiphany, and Parasceve Sunday ; the Carmelites, on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, Apostles, Whit-Tuesday, the feast of the Holy Innocents, and Sexagesima Sunday.

Thus, on every Sunday and festival day throughout the year, the cathedral had its special preacher. It was in those days the centre of Catholic worship in the diocese. The divine office was daily recited by a number of clerics, and the chapter was officiating. During the long night of persecution these liturgical observances had been suspended, but every favourable opportunity was availed of to revive the ancient ceremonial of the Church.

Another great work for the sanctification of the people which Dr. O'Dwyer quickly took on hand was the promotion of missions through the diocese.

When Vincent de Paul founded his congregation of priests for giving missions through France, some of those brilliant young Irishmen who had gone to the Continent to study for the priesthood, attracted by the fervour and zeal of that great priest, attached themselves to him.* Among these were a number of young Limerickmen, of whom John MacEnery of Castletown-MacEnery, a

* *Irish Vincentians*, by Father Boyle.

member of an old Irish family who had long held sway in that locality, was the leading light. Born in 1616, MacEnery joined the Congregation in 1642 and made his vows in 1645. Having filled the important office of professor of theology and director of the students in the mother-house of St. Lazarus at Paris, he was promoted to the chair of theology in the newly-founded college at Genoa, but there fell a victim to the plague that raged in the town. The death of this very eminent priest was announced to the community of Paris in feeling words by St. Vincent, who spoke of him as "a wise, pious and exemplary man." Thady Moloney, a native of the city, was another of the young Limerick priests who joined the Congregation of the Missions. He was ordained priest at Rome and made his vows in 1655. Patrick Walshe joined the Congregation in Paris in 1644, at the age of twenty-five, and was ordained priest in 1646. Francis White, Dermot O'Brien, George White and William Cart joined about this time and became pious and exemplary fathers of the Congregation.

Having so many young Irish priests in his Congregation, Vincent de Paul was in a position to give a favourable reply to a letter from the Congregation of Propaganda requesting him to send some of his fathers to Ireland, where the bishops, and especially Dr. O'Dwyer, were anxious to have them labouring in their midst. Vincent, accordingly, from among his Irish subjects, selected as men of experience for this arduous mission Fathers O'Brien, Barry, White and Duggan, together with some others whose names are not known. In a letter to Dr. O'Dwyer, he says, "I have the pleasure to send eight missionaries to Ireland—one is French, the others are Irish—and a brother, who is English."

The missionaries arrived in May and immediately divided into two bands, one going to Thurles, and the other to open a mission at Rathkeale. The missions,

consisting of catechetical instructions and simple, but impressive discourses, suited to the capacity of the people, produced a wonderful effect. Dr. O'Dwyer, in his report to Rome, says that in his diocese they were attended by great multitudes of people, and that by their means very many were brought back to a better state of life. During the progress of the mission at Rathkeale, a certain gentleman having blasphemed in the public street, another gentleman, who happened to be within hearing, admonished him to kneel down and kiss the ground as a token of sorrow for the offence he had committed. Finding, however, that his fraternal admonition had no effect, he himself knelt down and kissed the ground. This only made the blasphemer more obstinate, and he began to ridicule his monitor. A few hours later, on his way home, he fell from his horse and was severely injured. Taking the accident as a punishment for his crime, he hastened to make a good confession, and ever after led an exemplary life.

When the enemy began to raid the country, and the fathers were unable any longer to carry on the missions with safety, it was considered advisable that they should return to France. Fathers O'Brien, Barry, and another priest, whose name is not recorded, together with a brother, named Thady Lee, volunteered to remain at their post, a resolution at which Vincent de Paul was much pleased. Dr. O'Dwyer at the same time wrote to the superior in glowing terms of the great good the missionaries had accomplished in his diocese and the surrounding country.

When, in 1650, the parliamentary troops were devastating the country round about, and the people, to avoid the danger, flocked into the city, the bishop got the fathers to preach a mission to them. This mission was a wonderful success; it was estimated that no fewer than twenty thousand persons approached the sacraments. At its close Dr. O'Dwyer again wrote to Vincent

de Paul, telling him, in very touching words, of the extraordinary success of the fathers, and of the great numbers that had been converted to a better life by their preaching, whereby they were strengthened and encouraged to cope with the enemy during the siege.

While the Vincentian fathers were devoting their attention to the towns, the older orders were busy going through the villages and country-side, gathering the people together and delivering to them stirring exhortations and spiritual consolation. The Franciscans of the diocese were specially active in relieving the spiritual wants of the people, and not a few of the fathers fell victims to their zeal.

Eugene O'Cahan, a native of Thomond, having joined the Franciscan order in his youth, was sent to St. Isidore's, Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1622. His remarkable talents brought him under the notice of his superiors, who detained him in Italy for some years as a professor in some of the colleges of the order. On his return to Ireland he opened a public school at Quin, where he had the honour of imparting the rudiments of learning to Anthony Bruodin, who afterwards became a Franciscan father and the author of many valuable works relating to Ireland. When the war assumed a serious aspect in Clare he had to abandon the school and devote his time to missionary work. In 1650, he was guardian of Askeaton,* and while there, during one of his missionary excursions in company with William O'Kelly, a secular priest who had spent many years in France as a professor, he fell into the hands of the Puritan soldiers. Staff, the officer in charge, ordered O'Kelly to be hanged immediately. The friends of O'Cahan, however, prevailed on the commander, for a valuable consideration, to spare his life, and he was set at liberty. The good father soon afterwards started on a

* *Father Luke Wadding*, by Rev. G. Cleary, O.F.M.

tour through west Limerick, and continuing his journey to north Cork, he was again apprehended and strangled without mercy.

A tradition is still fresh in north-west Cork that during the Cromwellian period a friar was surprised and put to death by the garrison of Newmarket in the townland of Scarteen, midway between Meelin and Newmarket. In a secluded spot in that townland the grave of the friar is still pointed out, and is much revered. Here, perhaps, it is that the mortal remains of Father Eugene O'Cahan await a glorious resurrection.

In 1645, the Franciscan convent of Adare was in a flourishing condition, under the guardianship of Anthony Hanly, but the year 1647, which was a disastrous one for the national cause and during which Limerick county suffered severely from hostile raids by the parliamentary troops, proved fatal to this convent. In midsummer Inchiquin invaded the county, and having penetrated without opposition as far as O'Brien's Bridge and captured large herds of cattle, returned to Cork.* About the same time Colonel Byron started from Dungarvan on a plundering expedition through Tipperary, and having entered Limerick, he proceeded as far as Adare, where he burned the Franciscan convent. Four of the friars were, it is said, consumed in the flames and three who escaped were taken prisoners.

There is extant a beautiful Irish poem,† marked with great depth of feeling and religious fervour, which describes the sad event and mourns over the death and dispersal of the friars. It erroneously attributes the cruel deed to Inchiquin, but appears to be more reliable in other respects. According to this authority, only two of the fathers perished in the flames, and only two were taken prisoners, the rest having scattered through

*Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. 2.

†"Adare Abbey," in *Mungret Annual*, 1901, by Rev. John MacErlean, S.J.

the country. The poet laments in a special manner the death of Father William O'Hickey, who was much beloved for his gentle and amiable disposition. His secular name was Andrew,* and he is to be identified with Father Andrew Hickey, who was reported† to have been captured by the Puritans in his habit, near the village of Adare, and strangled with a rope, through hatred of the Catholic faith. A record of his death is preserved in the Franciscan archives, though there is no special reference to the fathers who perished in the burning.‡

A precious relic of this convent in the shape of a silver chalice, doubtless the one used by the martyred friars at Mass, is still preserved in the parochial church of Kilbehenny, in the diocese of Emly. The inscription, which is in Latin, informs us that Honora M'Cormockn, a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, presented it to the convent of Adare in 1630.

The Dominican fathers were also very zealous in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, and many of them, as already related, suffered death for their stubborn defence of the faith. A body of Inchiquin's troopers, when raiding in the east of the county in 1648, on a stormy night burst suddenly into the convent of Kilmallock, which was situated outside the walls, in the hope of being able to slaughter the community, but most of the friars were fortunate enough to escape. Gerald Fitzgerald, a cleric, and David Fox, a lay brother, who were discovered kneeling before the altar, with their rosaries round their necks, were run through with swords, and, as they lay in a pool of blood, their brains were blown out by musketshots.

Dr. O'Dwyer, while thus engaged in organising his

* Gilbert's *Obituary List of Franciscans*.

† *Our Martyrs*, Denis Murphy, S.J.

‡ "P. Guillelmus Hicquaens" is given as one of the Franciscan martyrs in a list kept by the Order, dated 1663. See *Spic. Ossor*, Vol. I. p. 437.

diocese, was not unmindful of the secular affairs of the country. He assisted at the council of bishops at Waterford, and signed the decree condemning the peace with Ormond. When the new Supreme Council was formed he became a member of the upper chamber, but in debatable questions always sided with the Ormondist faction.

On the occasion of the proposed truce between the Supreme Council and Inchiquin, the nuncio called a meeting of the bishops—such as were able to attend—at Kilkenny. At the first congregation fourteen bishops assembled. The articles of the truce, so far as they were known, were examined by the bishops, the secret articles not having been communicated to anyone. On a patient examination of the case, it was thought that, under the articles as they stood, Inchiquin would become so powerful in Munster as to be able to flout the Catholics. The nuncio, further, called attention to the fact that the army commanded by Inchiquin did not amount to more than three thousand men, and that they were almost naked, so that O'Neill's army, which was possibly six thousand strong, could disperse them in a few days; and finally, to remove all excuse, he volunteered to pay O'Neill's army with the papal money, and besides to take the whole weight of Munster on his own shoulders, so that it would not cost the Confederates one penny. The Archbishop of Tuam* was at first inclined to oppose this arrangement, but when he heard the nuncio's offer he took his pen and signed with the rest, declaring, however, that it was the money only that moved him to do so. "All being resolved to proceed in the same manner as when the peace (of 1646) was rejected, they delegated authority to proceed to censure, if, as on the former occasion, this should prove necessary, and in case

* *The Embassy in Ireland*, Rinuccini, p. 526.

obstacles should arise, they also granted authority to sub-delegate."*

"It is to be noted," says the nuncio, "that the bishops of Tuam and Limerick, who were the first to subscribe the instructions given by the (Supreme) Council to the commissioners sent to treat with Inchiquin, could not do less than subscribe to this contrary declaration; in this matter, however, it is only the conduct of the bishop of Tuam which excites our wonder, since, with regard to him of Limerick, it is now eighteen months since, to my great astonishment and the astonishment of everyone, he joined the Ormond faction, and every time an English law comes into conflict with the laws of Rome, he shows but little gratitude for the benefits he has received from the Holy See. And he has reaped the reward of his conduct, since he has incurred the universal hatred of the other party, and is looked upon as eccentric and as separated from the rest of the clergy."†

On the publication of the declaration of the bishops, violent tumults arose in Munster and Leinster, and the life of the nuncio was considered by some to be in danger. The members of the Supreme Council adopted more astute tactics to hide the awkwardness of the situation. They endeavoured to humour the clergy by informing them that all things would be arranged to their satisfaction. The nuncio was, however, informed that the commissioners had been already sent secretly to Inchiquin, and that all the fair promises of the Supreme Council were a sham. From the Bishop of Limerick it was that he learned the whole truth. The bishop was "one of the council, who, rather than be excluded from all participation in their power, has assented to share in their deliberations and assist in carrying out their plans."‡

* Ibid., p. 526.

† Ibid., p. 382.

‡ Ibid., p. 411.

The nuncio, clearly perceiving the trend of affairs, saw that, as the chief opponent to the truce, he would either be compelled to keep silence, or face imprisonment if he attempted to speak out. To avoid such an alternative he fled from Kilkenny and succeeded in reaching in safety O'Neill's camp at Maryborough, where he awaited the march of events. His first impulse was to leave the country.* When he saw that all that the Irish, with the encouragement of the Holy See, had fought for was passing into the enemies' hands, he deemed his presence no longer beneficial to religion or the country. The Catholic party, the great majority of the bishops, O'Neill and the Old Irish, besought him, however, to remain, and not to abandon them at the very moment when they were most sorely pressed by their enemies. All were of opinion that he ought to exercise the authority delegated to him by the bishops convoked at Kilkenny, and in view of the injustice of the truce, proceed to the censure. Accordingly, on the 27th May, 1648, together with the sub-delegated bishops, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who were accomplices in, or adherents to, the truce, and interdict on all the cities that should recognise it. Seventeen bishops were in favour of the nuncio's action and eight against it; among the latter, to the astonishment of all, were four who had already signed the condemnation of the truce.

It is difficult to understand the action of the Bishop of Limerick on this occasion, but it is well to remember that Dr. O'Dwyer belonged to the family of the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh, who owed their existence to the protection of the house of Ormond, and that the chief of the clan was underlord to Ormond. In the stormy times through which the country was

* *The Embassy in Ireland*, pp. 530-32.

passing, Dr. O'Dwyer clung to the interests of his chief, and was able, no doubt, to persuade himself that in so doing he was advancing the civil and religious freedom of his country. When he saw the censures posted up on the church doors at Kilkenny, he wrote to the nuncio, on the 29th May, telling him of the effects of the censures on the council, as well as on some of the bishops. All were troubled, he said, and discord reigned in the town, which he bewailed, but not being able to restore concord among them, he intended to return to his diocese.

As the bishop was still at Kilkenny, the censures and letters,* which the nuncio had sent to Limerick for publication, were received by the vicars-general. The censures were promulgated, according to instructions, on the following feast, which fell on the 4th June, and were regularly observed.

On the 12th of June, Dr. O'Dwyer arrived in the city. He immediately called a meeting of the clergy of both orders, and having discussed the state of affairs, addressed two letters to the nuncio,† one from himself alone and another from himself and the following clergy, viz. :—John Warren, the dean, James Woulfe, prior of the Dominican convent, Thady Gorman, guardian of the Franciscan convent, Maurice Lacy, prior of the Hermits of St. Augustine, Father Chrysostom, superior of the Capuchins, Limerick, and Stephen Tirry, superior of the Discalced Carmelites, Limerick. This letter gave a number of reasons which, it was hoped, might influence the nuncio to conform to their views in suspending the censures for some time in the city. The nuncio‡ immediately answered their appeal, pointing out that it was a well-known fact that the people of Limerick were anxious to accept the peace when there was no danger of an army near

* Rinuccini MS.

† *Spic. Ossor.*, Vol. I.

‡ Rinuccini MS.

the city. The danger to religion, he said, was evident to everyone, and in that case the eternal was to be put before the temporal. He reminded them of how the priests in 1646 had defeated the peace terms of that day, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their predecessors. To the bishop he wrote that the publication of the censures should not be deferred, since they were intended as a remedy for the people, and it did not appertain to the bishop or his office to defer them.

Dr. O'Dwyer sought to justify his opposition to the censures on the principle that, according to the common opinion of the doctors of the Church, a precept of the Church, when it became hurtful, as in the present instance, was no longer obligatory. Acting on this principle, on his return to Limerick he set the censures at naught, boldly opened the cathedral doors, which had been shut by the vicars-general, and celebrated, as it suited him, with great scandal to the good people, who abhorred his conduct. The vicars-general,* however, observed the instructions of the nuncio. So also did the Jesuits of the city, who only opened their oratory on the feast of their patron, although they received a mandate to the contrary from Father Malone, their superior in Ireland. On the 6th of August, John Creagh, one of the vicars-general, wrote to the nuncio for a relaxation of the censure. "I repeat my request," he said, "for we suffer much, as I have already written, on account of it"; and the nuncio entered in his diary,, on the 11th of November: "all the clergy of Limerick having asked, it was considered worthy to have it taken away."

Dr. O'Dwyer remained closely allied to his Ormondist friends until it became evident to everyone that the interests of the country required a firmer and more

straightforward policy. He then attended the meeting of the bishops and signed the resolutions condemning Ormond. This action, together with the manly part he took in the defence of Limerick, went far to redeem the shortcomings of former years. When the siege was about to commence he went into the city and proved a warm advocate of a vigorous defence against Ireton, as did likewise his brother, Father Philip O'Dwyer, who was also in the city and active on the popular side, with the result that they were both in the number of the exempted. Father Philip, however, died of the plague before the surrender. The bishop, after the surrender, made his escape out of the city in the guise of a soldier, and succeeded in reaching Brussels, where he lived a quiet and retired life, maintaining to the last his attitude of opposition to the censures. He died there and was interred in the church of Condensberge,* on the 7th of April, 1654, not without some opposition from his countrymen, who sought in vain to deprive him of Christian burial because of his disobedience to the nuncio.

Archdeacon Lynch, in his *Lives of the Irish Bishops*, has an interesting appreciation of Dr. O'Dwyer. "As to Edmund O'Dwyer," he writes, "he learned knowledge in Paris, prudence and business habits in Rome, piety in both cities. He was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, a graceful poet, a subtle philosopher and a deep divine. Rome knew his worth, not by hearsay, but, if I may so speak, by eyesight. He was promoted to the episcopacy, not through the recommendation of friends, but through personal merit, for his superiors knew thoroughly his excellent gifts, his habits of study and his piety. On his return home he laboured hard for his flock, and was the first to introduce the Fathers of the Mission into Ireland for the instruction and edifi-

* So named in a certificate of his burial.

cation of the young and for the correction and reformation of the old. Having distinguished himself by his prudence in the government of his diocese, he was elected a member of the Supreme Council of State, and when the Confederation was broken up he withdrew to his own city of Limerick and there, during a long siege, encouraged his people to resist the enemy. When, at length, the city was driven to surrender, his persecutors would not spare his life, nor suffer him to escape. Putting on, therefore, the knapsack of a soldier, he passed quietly through the gates, withdrew from the city, and made his way to Belgium, having suffered all but the bloody death of a martyr."

Dr. O'Dwyer wrote two short poems in hexameter and pentameter measure, one on the miracles of St. Brigid and the other on the inextinguishable fire of St. Brigid at Kildare.*

On the surrender of Limerick, many, if not most, of the priests who were in the city escaped into the country, where they found a friendly welcome and temporary shelter. The question of providing priests to minister to the spiritual wants of the Catholics who were allowed to remain in the country under the Cromwellian rule was urgent. It was suggested by Dr. Phelan of Ossory that it would be more expedient, until the persecution subsided, to privately promote to Holy Orders young men living in Ireland, whose faces were familiar to the heretics around them, for the priests who were strangers in a locality were more readily discovered. By adopting this method of procuring priests for the occasion, a sufficient supply would easily be obtained to tide over the emergency, without much fear of detection.

In January, 1652, the statute of Elizabeth was republished, whereby all priests were declared guilty of high treason, and those who relieved them guilty of

* *Trias Thaum.*, p. 608.

felony ; but the priests still braved the law and remained at their posts, assuming various disguises to evade the enemy. A favourite rôle played by many priests was that of a gardener, so that when they came into the town to dispose of fruit and vegetables they had an opportunity, as they passed along the streets, of visiting the houses of the Catholics, and while inside, of ministering, without much risk, to the spiritual wants of the occupants.

Ingoldesby, the governor, was busy in Limerick seeking out such as offended against the law. Father Morison, a Franciscan friar, relates what he witnessed of Ingoldesby's work in that city. " A gentleman from Thomond, named Daniel Connery, was accused of harbouring a priest, and having been convicted on his own confession, although the priest had a safe conduct from the governor himself, he was sentenced to death ; but the sentence, having been as a matter of mercy mitigated into confiscation of all his goods and imprisonment, was afterwards commuted for perpetual exile. He had a wife of a noble family of Thomond, and twelve children ; his wife fell ill and died through want of the mere necessaries of life, and of his children, three handsome and virtuous girls were shipped as slaves to Barbadoes, where if they yet live, they live in miserable slavery ; the rest of his children, who were too young to work, are either dead of hunger or drag out a miserable life in the hands of their enemies." " I also saw," he continues, " the law for denouncing a priest put in force in Limerick, under the same governor, in the year 1652, against a noble and honest Catholic of the name of Daniel Moloney of Thomond, who, coming to Limerick on some business, chanced to meet at a Protestant inn a priest, a relative of his, named David Moloney. The priest was afterwards betrayed and taken prisoner, and Daniel was summoned to answer why he had not informed the magistrates that a priest was there. He

answered that he was a Catholic, and that there was no law obliging a person to denounce a priest, although there was a law forbidding one to harbour or feed him ; and this was correct, for this clause was not added to the law until three years later. The governor, notwithstanding, ordered his ears to be cut off by the executioner, and this was done. These were only a few out of the many such cases."*

The rewards offered by the government for the capture of such priests as still remained in the country stimulated the zeal of the informer. In 1652† an order was granted to one Butler for the raising of £34 upon the barony of Connolloe, where, he said, money had been taken from him by Thomas Lacy, a priest. It is not mentioned how the priest took the money, but, in 1656, he was arrested by Lieutenant William Sheldon and Corporal Rostoll who, on the certificate of Henry Ingoldesby, received £5 reward for his capture, to be divided equally between them. Lacy was committed to prison at Limerick. In the February of the following year he applied to be liberated on his own security for his transportation beyond the seas within a reasonable time, to be prescribed by the board. The case was referred to the next assizes to be held in the place where he was confined, and the application was ultimately granted, as he will be met with later on.

Sergeant Walker and Robert Fellows were granted £5, to be divided equally between them, for apprehending a priest at Kilmallock, in May, 1655.

On the 24th February, 1654, an order was made to have Morris Hine, George Bourke, John Harvey, Darby Scanlan, Terlogh O'Kerryne and Henry Coyne, priests of the precinct of Limerick, shipped and transported into some foreign parts beyond the seas, provided none of them was found guilty of blood. A little later the

* *Threnodia*, etc., a very rare book.

† *Arch. Hib.*, Vols. 6 and 7.

following priests were secured, namely, T. Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, Roger Byrne, Richard Fitzgerald, friar, Richard Linniher, Maurice Fitzgerald, Ulic Burke, T. O'Hearn, W. McDermody, Michael White, James Walsh, Owen MacNamara, J. Harvey, Rowland Comyn and Brady. They were ordered to be removed (transported?), and three of them were sent to Carrigfergus, the port for the Barbadoes. Still, notwithstanding the activity of the priest-hunters, a great many must have eluded the pursuit. The name of the Revd. James Duffy, D.D., a priest of the diocese and an alumnus of the College of the Sorbonne in 1652, is preserved in the fly leaf of his MS. copy of Keating's History of Ireland, now in the Franciscan Library, Dublin.

Though the members of the religious orders were dispersed and pursued with a vengeance, some of them remained in the diocese, labouring among the people in disguise. These did not always escape. Father Cullen, O.P., was put to death for the faith in the city, and Father David Roche was sent as a slave to Barbadoes.

A Capuchin father, who travelled through the greater part of Ireland in 1655, met, near the city of Limerick, one of his fathers, named Antonio, who was engaged in missionary work extending over an area of thirty miles. He visited a different district each day, and slept at night in a hut erected for him by the people in some lonely place, as it was dangerous to remain in any house for fear of being discovered by the authorities.*

The Jesuits† had a flourishing school in the city in 1649. It was presided over by the Revd. William Hurley, aged fifty, of a noble and ancient stock. The father minister was Thomas Burke, an ex-professor of polemic divinity, who was remarkable for his knowledge of the classics. Father Nicholas Punch was the

* *Spic. Ossor.*, Vol. I.

† Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 666 et seq.

procurator, a man of great amiability and humility. Revd. James Forde was professor of rhetoric. In 1656, he selected a firm spot in the midst of a vast bog, upon which he built a hut. Thither flocked the youths of the district, some of whom built huts for themselves round about and formed a little village, where they learned virtue and literature. To the Limerick school also belonged Piers Creagh, who fled to Poitiers. He is said to have been a brother of the mayor who acted so shamefully during the siege, but as the latter was also called Piers, the statement cannot be true.

Of all the Jesuits of those times, by far the most outstanding was Father Matthew O'Hartegan. He took up his residence at Paris in 1644, by order of Father Scarampi, to look after Irish interests at the French court, and so successful was his handling of the affairs of the nation that he obtained from the queen and Cardinal Mazarin forty thousand livres for the Irish cause, and, as a mark of esteem, was allowed to wear the dress of a secular priest. It is said that it was he that brought to Limerick, in 1646, the standards captured by Owen Roe at Benburb and presented them to the nuncio, who was residing in the city at the time. The Dean of Fermo, however, says it was Father Egan, the Franciscan, who afterwards became Bishop of Elphin, and this is more likely to be in keeping with the facts, for it is almost certain that Father O'Hartegan never returned to Ireland from Paris. He evidently fell foul of the English faction over the peace of 1646, and was removed from Paris by his superiors. The nuncio in France wrote to the Cardinal Secretary, in May, 1655, that "Father O'Hartegan, the Irish Jesuit, formerly lived at this court, by order of Pope Urban VIII, to look after the interests of the Catholics of Ireland, and he has influence with the ministers here and with the Queen and King of England. But in the beginning of the pontificate of Pope Innocent, he was removed by

his superiors far from here, for some unknown cause. Some months ago he was sent for to return to Paris by the ministers here, who had then an idea of trying to unite the Catholics of Ireland, as a counter-move against the rising power of Cromwell and the parliament of England. He was assigned four hundred scudi a year for his board in the convent in which he lived, and out of what remained over, was to give alms to the poor Irish, but as this idea vanished, so did the assignment, and Father O'Hartegan cannot support himself, unless his superiors are ordered to keep him." It is certain that he was, since 1646, working in the south of France, in and around Bordeaux. He returned to that district after 1655, and there laboured with great zeal until his death, which took place in 1665.

Of the Vincentian fathers* who remained in Limerick during the siege, one died of the plague and the other two left the city after the surrender, together with five or six score priests who, all in disguise, mingled with the soldiers. After escaping they separated, so that if one perished the other might live to tell his superiors the history of their mission. Father O'Brien went towards his native place with the vicar-general of Cashel. Father Barry, who was a native of the diocese of Cloyne, sought refuge in certain mountains near the sea, where a charitable lady kept him concealed for two months. At the end of that time he embarked in a vessel that was sailing for France, and arrived safely at Nantes. The fate of Father O'Brien was for a considerable time in doubt, as there was no account of him, but at length he too succeeded in reaching the same port.

Thady Lie, or Lee, a cleric, but not in Holy Orders, who had accompanied the fathers to Ireland, retired after the siege to his mother's house. There he was dis-

* *The Vincentians in Ireland*, by Rev. P. Boyle, C.M.

covered by Cromwellian soldiers, who dashed out his brains and cut off his legs in the presence of his mother, thereby procuring for him the crown of martyrdom. He is said to have been a native of Toua, which has been identified with Tuogh, in the parish of Adare ; but the parish of Tuogh, in the barony of Owneybeg, or the parish of Toughcluggin, in the barony of Coonagh, both in the diocese of Emly, would more likely have been his native home ; and both were more exposed, since they lay on or near the route of the Cromwellian army to Tipperary and Waterford.

Cornelius O'Connor and Eugene Daly, fathers of the Trinitarian order, also suffered death for the faith during this period.* The former was born in Adare of noble parents, descendants of the founders of the Trinitarian convent. After a course of grammar in his native town, he went to France to study for the priesthood, and in due time was ordained at Bordeaux. He said his first Mass in the presence of the Duchess of Guillon, who had supplied him with the means of support during his studies. He then went to Paris and had an interview with the father-general of the Trinitarian order. He asked to be clothed in the habit of the order and allowed to return to Adare to re-establish the convent his ancestors had founded there. The father-general, deeming it more prudent that he should receive the habit from the Bishop of Limerick, gave Dr. Arthur power to invest him, and asked his lordship, if feasible, to aid him in getting back the convent.

Father O'Connor, having set out from Paris, after some thrilling adventures arrived in Limerick, and received the habit from the bishop, who encouraged him to seek to recover the convent for the order. On his arrival at Adare, he spent some time in preaching and in con-

* *Our Martyrs, Murphy, and Memorials of Adare.*

soling the people, but finding that he had no chance of recovering the convent, he decided to return to France and make his solemn profession.

Having informed Eugene Daly, a virtuous young man of Adare, of his intention, the latter offered to accompany him. They both set off for Paris, where they met the father-general, who received them kindly, and after subjecting them to a course of probation, had them admitted to the order. From Paris they went to Spain, where they obtained permission to establish a convent in which Irishmen, Scotchmen and Englishmen should be trained in the religious state. After some time they determined to return to Ireland, but when near the coast of England, they were captured by a notorious pirate, named John Plunket. A fellow-passenger informed the pirate that they were priests in secular dress, on their way to Ireland to preach the Catholic faith. On being asked by Plunket if this was true they both answered in the affirmative. Thereupon, having failed to convert them to his form of heresy, he put round their necks a rope to which heavy weights were attached and cast them into the sea. The date was the 11th of January, 1644.

During the Cromwellian regime the diocese was governed by Dr. William Burgatt, who was appointed vicar-general by Dr. O'Dwyer before his flight; later on he was called *custos*, or guardian, of the see. A great many of the older priests left the country and settled down in foreign lands, where some of them, by sheer ability, rose to important positions in the Church.

John Creagh, who had been recommended as a coadjutor to Dr. Richard Arthur and continued to be vicar-general under Dr. O'Dwyer, was sent by the latter to Rome with an account of the diocese, dated 26th March, 1649, and arrived there in July. After performing the duties imposed on him by his bishop, he visited the holy house at Loreto and some other shrines in

Italy. He then returned to Rome and petitioned the Holy Father, Innocent X, for some means of support in the Eternal City, where he intended to spend the remainder of his life. In his petition he says that he was legitimately born of noble Catholic parents, who were always respected for their integrity of character. He had laboured in the vineyard for more than twenty years in Ireland, chiefly in the city and diocese of Limerick, and was vicar-general there for eighteen years. During that time he was recommended by the priests and bishop, together with the corporation, as a coadjutor to Dr. Arthur. He had always supported the Catholic side during the confederate war; when the nuncio published his censures, he obeyed them; and because of his adherence to that policy, he had to leave Ireland and seek refuge in a Catholic country.* When, however, he learned of the death, two years later, of Dr. O'Moloney of Killaloe, he applied to the Holy See to be appointed vicar-apostolic of that see.† But in this he had to face a rival candidate, also from the city of Limerick, namely, John Moloney, P.P. of St John's. The vacancy was not, however, filled until after a long interval, and then by a nephew of the former bishop.

Alexander VII, who became Pope in 1655, must have been acquainted with John Creagh and known his worth, for he made him a domestic chaplain and gave him apartments in the Quirinal palace. During the Cromwellian period Creagh proved a great friend to the Irish bishops, then scattered over the Continent, and represented them at Rome.

James Douley, another distinguished priest and a vicar-general of the diocese, escaped to Spain after the surrender of the city. He was a native of Limerick and

* Propaganda documents which I received from the late Mgr. O'Riordan, Rector, Irish College, Rome.

† Ibid.

had studied with *éclat* in Paris, where he won the esteem of his fellow-students, as he was by them elected procurator of the German nation in the university in 1637. On his return to Limerick he was appointed chancellor and vicar-general of the diocese by Dr. O'Dwyer. After his escape to Spain he served the Cardinal of Toledo. There he met his countryman, Dominick O'Daly, O.P., author of the *Rise and Fall of the Geraldines*, to whom he gave an account of the siege and related some extraordinary occurrences during the progress of the blockade.

One such occurrence is thus narrated by O'Daly : On the 13th of July, 1651, a little before midnight, an extraordinary luminous globe, brighter than the moon and little inferior to the sun, appeared in the eastern side of the mountain, to the north of Limerick, shedding a vertical light on the city, and then faded into darkness over the enemy's camp.* The same phenomenon was observed by a Cromwellian diarist, who relates what he saw almost in similar words : " This night, about eleven o'clock, a flame of fire passed over Limerick, giving the light by which one might read. It moved from north-east, continuing about half a quarter of an hour."† This is a very strong confirmation, from an unexpected quarter, of O'Daly's story.

Another wonder recorded by the same writer was the apparition of the Mother of God, about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the summit of the great church dedicated to her name, when she was seen by some people who were working in the fields, accompanied by St. Francis, St. Dominic and five other celestial beings, who seemed to follow her to the convent of the Dominicans, and thence to the Franciscan church outside the walls.

Dr. Douley went to Rome in 1655 and applied to be

* *The Geraldines*, O'Daly.

† Gilbert's edition of the Hist. of the Affairs of Ireland, pt. 6, p. 244.

appointed vicar-apostolic of Limerick,* but failed to obtain the position. He was, however, probably through the influence of John Creagh, appointed rector of the College of the Neophytes, and thus joined a distinguished circle of exiled Irish priests and clerics, some of whom held important positions in the city. Oliver Plunket and Dr. Brennan were professors in the Propaganda, the one afterwards Archbishop of Armagh and the other Archbishop of Cashel. John Creagh was chaplain to the Pope, and Peter Creagh and James Stritch students in the Irish College; and several others distinguished members of religious orders. Those were the days when men used to flock to the religious houses in Italy eagerly asking "what news from Ireland?"†

Matthew Teige‡ was another distinguished Limerick priest who devoted his life to study and teaching. He graduated M.A. of the University of Louvain in 1622, then became a professor of Greek in the College of Busleiden, and eventually president of the Irish Pastoral College at Louvain. He died in 1652, and was interred in the cathedral of that city. A little behind the altar of St. Peter may yet be seen the handsome tombstone, inlaid with white marble, which marks his grave. The epitaph is, however, almost obliterated by the constant tramp of visitors to the cathedral. The two lines,

"Matthaeus Theige
Limericensis"

alone remain to indicate his name and birthplace. He left to his college the sum of 5,702 florins to found a burse for the benefit of students in philosophy and theology, to be presented by the visitors and president, and to be held in the first instance by the kindred of the founder, then by natives of Limerick, and in default of these by natives of Ireland. This and other burses

* Brady's *Irish Episcopal Succession*.

† *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October, 1864.

‡ Introduction to Historical works of Dr. French of Ferns, Vol. I.

belonging to this college were transferred, through the courtesy of the Belgian government, to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, for the benefit of the students for whom they were originally intended.

Dr. Burgatt* had been deputed, in 1659, by the clergy of Munster to represent them, as their sole agent, in the papal court for the transaction of the ecclesiastical business of the province. At the time he was unable, for want of funds, to proceed to Rome, but when Charles II was restored to the throne, money began to circulate more freely, and at length, in 1663, he was able to undertake the journey. Before proceeding he thought it well to consult Lord Clancarty, who had returned to Ireland. His lordship advised him not to stir without consulting Father Peter Walsh, the Franciscan, who had come into prominence owing to his determined opposition, by voice and pen, to the nuncio, which gave him an introduction to Ormond.

Father Walsh had been appointed by some of the Irish bishops, after the Restoration, to convey to the government an expression of their loyalty to Charles II, on the strength of which he arrogated to himself the title of procurator. Ormond, finding in him a pliable tool, utilised him to draw up an address of loyalty to the king, better known as the Remonstrance,† which he was to get the bishops and leading ecclesiastics to sign. The Remonstrance was stuffed with statements prejudicial to the Holy See, which no conscientious Catholic could sign, but Ormond hoped, by pressing the adoption of it, to split the bishops and clergy into warring factions.

Burgatt having written to Walsh, an interview was arranged, which took place in Dublin. At the interview the Remonstrance was produced and read to Burgatt, who was pressed to sign it. He, however, artfully

* Life in Renehan's *Archbishops*.

† Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*.

reminded Walsh that he had come from the whole province of Munster to receive information, and that by returning home unpledged he would have more influence with those who delegated him. There was good reason for this caution. Walsh strongly opposed the journey to Rome in a public capacity, and Burgatt could not act contrary to Walsh's wishes without exposing himself to the danger of being apprehended when embarking. He succeeded in satisfying Walsh by saying he had to go as far as Paris to take some youths to school in that city. Walsh seemed fairly well pleased with the interview, and offered no opposition to the proposed journey to Paris.

Burgatt, however, instead of proceeding immediately to Paris, returned to Emly, and having appointed Dermot Horan, Henry Burgatt and Thomas Lacy* to administer the diocese of Limerick in his absence, set out for Rome. This arrangement did not meet with the approval of the priests of the diocese, and they elected instead the Revd. Jasper White, a young priest who had studied in the Irish College at Salamanca, and who on his return home, in 1658, had been appointed precentor of the cathedral and parish priest of St. John's.

Father White belonged to a priestly family, and had two brothers in the ministry. One of them, Francis,† in 1645, joined the congregation of missionary priests founded by Vincent de Paul in Paris. In 1651, he and Father Dermot Duggan were sent by Vincent, at the request of the Roman authorities, to evangelise the Highlands of Scotland, where the Catholics were sorely persecuted. They entered the country in the guise of merchants in company with Lord Glengarry, at whose

* The Thomas Lacy here mentioned must be the same Thomas Lacy who was transported by the Cromwellian government. A silver chalice which he got made with the assistance of Edmund Lacy of Conniger, Askeaton, in 1662, is still preserved in St. Mary's Church, Limerick. — *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1866.

† Boyle's *Irish Vincentians*.

castle they rested for a time before entering on their labours. Father Duggan took the Hebrides as his mission, as he had a better knowledge of Gaelic than his companion. The wonderful zeal they both displayed and the extraordinary number of converts they brought back to the church is still on record for our edification. Father Duggan died in Uist on the 17th of May, 1657. The people among whom he laboured long mourned his loss. By them he was revered as a saint, and they gave his name to the chapel where his remains were laid to rest.

Father White, while prosecuting his mission on the mainland, was more exposed to detection. He and some other priests happened to be, on Ash Wednesday, 1655, at the house of the Marquis of Huntly,* when they were seized by English soldiers and lodged in Aberdeen prison. Vincent de Paul, having been informed that Father White was captured, went immediately to the Queen of France, with whom he had great influence, and by her orders the diplomatic service was set to work with good results. The captured priests, who had at first been condemned to transportation to the Barbadoes, were instead taken to Edinburgh, where, after a form of trial, they were liberated on condition that they would present themselves again after two months, when they would be finally discharged, if nothing was proved against them. On his acquittal, Father White returned to his mission and worked in another part of the Highlands. He paid a visit to Paris, in 1660, and having spent a short time at the mother-house, returned to Scotland, where he died on the 27th of January, 1679. His memory was long held in veneration in the districts where he laboured, and he is still remembered with reverence by the Highland priests of the diocese of Argyle.

* Transcripts from Rome, Public Record Office, London.

James White, another of the brothers, laboured like Father Jasper in the diocese, and was canon of Ard-canny—a fact which proves that the chapter continued to exist in those perilous times. He was a historian, and it was among his papers that Father Jasper found the torn rolls containing the taxation of the churches of the diocese, which he copied, and to which he added the patrons of the parishes, as far as he could discover them. The manuscript consists of about six leaves, the contents of which are already published in Lenihan's *History of Limerick*.

The arrangement favoured by the Limerick priests of making Father Jasper White superior was not sanctioned by the Holy See, as Dr. Burgatt, who was then in Rome, supported his own appointments.

John Creagh, the doyen of the Irish clerical colony at Rome, was now growing old, but with advancing years he manifested an ever expanding love for Ireland, which he never failed to express to sympathetic ears. Sir Robert Southwell, in his *Travels in Rome*,* says of him : “ My Lord Creagh would rather be buried on the highest mountain in Ireland than in St. Peter's, such is his lordship's love of country.” He died on the 6th of March, 1663, in the Quirinal Palace. Deprived of the happiness of laying his bones in Holy Ireland, he did what, under the circumstances, was the next best thing by consigning them to the care of the Irish Franciscans in the church of St. Isidore, where he was laid to rest just outside the chapel of St. Joseph, on the left-hand side of the entrance, with the following epitaph† :

JOANNI CREVAEO HIBERNO
LIMERICENSI EX ORDINE PATRICIO
S. TH. DOCTORI ABULENSI
PATRIAE DIOCESEOS OLIM VIC. GENERALI
ALEXANDRO VII PONT. MAX.

* Thorpe's Catalogue.

† Supplied to me by V. R. Father Dominic Enright, O.F.M.

A SECRETIORI SACELLO
 PROTONOT. APOST. S. PAL. ET AULAE LATER. COMITI
 EQUITI AUR. NOB. ROMANO
 VIRO GENERE DOCTRINA PIETATE CONSPICUO
 PATR. ET ANDR. CREVAEI EJUS CONSANGUINEI
 TANQUAM PARENTI OPTIME MERITO
 MOERENTES POSUERUNT
 OBIIT ANNO XPI MDCLXIII
 DIE VI JANUARIJ.*

A few days before his death he made a will † in which he ordered his body to be buried in St. Isidore's, the church of the Irish Franciscans, to whom he bequeathed, over and above the cost of his burial, the sum of eighty scudi of Roman money, with the obligation of saying one hundred Masses for the repose of his soul, and others according to his intention. He left the Irish Capuchins the sum of seven thousand livres, standard French money,‡ which was in the hands of Richard Creagh, in the city of Rochelle, on condition that the fathers would build a convent of their order within five years in the city of Limerick, and in the event of their not being able to build within the specified time, to his undermentioned heir. He left to Catherine Creagh, *alias* White, his relation by marriage, the whole of whatever money he had, or might become possessed of, and what was in the hands of the above-mentioned Richard Creagh. All his other movable or immovable goods, or any rights or things he might die possessed of, he left to Andrew Creagh, son of the late James Creagh and the above-mentioned Catherine of Limerick. He appointed as executors James Douley, D.D., of the Parisian faculty, and Peter Creagh, his nephew, who was at the time a student in the Irish College, Rome.

* According to his will, this should be 6 March.

† I got a copy from the late Mgr. O'Riordan, Rector, Irish College, Rome.

‡ The livre Tournensis, or the standard French livre, was superseded by the franc in 1795. 80 francs = 81 livre tournois.

The Capuchin fathers* built a church in the Irish-town during the reign of James II, in which, when completed, Father Maurice White, a Capuchin friar of Clonmel, said the first Mass. The war broke out shortly afterwards, and the church was turned into an infirmary, a purpose it served for many years. It was situated in Palmerstown, and lay midway in the street and on the western side of it. The building was taken down in March, 1797, and in a short time the site was forgotten. Father Jasper White, it is said, went security for the building money, which he had afterwards to pay. Considering that the money left by Dr. Creagh for the erection of a convent of Capuchins in Limerick passed to Mrs. Catherine Creagh, alias White, who may have been a sister or near relation of Father Jasper White, and that Father Maurice White, the friar, may also have been a relative, the raising of the funds might very well have been a family affair, the burden of which fell on Father Jasper White, the parish priest of St. John's.

Though the church has disappeared, the bell† is still in existence and hangs on the belfry of the Protestant parochial church of Benburb, Co. Tyrone. It has a Latin inscription in raised Roman capitals which reads in English thus: Jesus, Mary, Francis. Praise Him with tymbrel and dance. Brother in Christ (stigmata of St. Francis) Matthew MacMahon, Superior of the Capuchins of the Limerick district, caused me to be made, 8th July, 1688."

After some years the Irish clerical colony at Rome began to break up, as their services were required at home. Dr. Burgatt was appointed Archbishop of Cashel on 11th January, 1669, and on the 9th of July of the same year, Dr. Douley, who assisted Burgatt as Roman agent for Connaught, was appointed vicar-apostolic of Limerick. The names of Denis Harty,

* Jas. White MS.

† Essay by Jas. Grene Barry in *North Munster Arch. Journal*, 1910.

about sixty years of age, John White, orator, theologian and professor, aged fifty years, and Dermot Hederman, B.D. of Paris where he resided, aged about forty years, priests of the diocese who were remarkable for learning, mature judgment and shining virtue, were mentioned as suitable for the bishopric.*

It would seem from a letter of Dr. Burgatt's that some of the priests of the diocese were opposed to the appointment of Dr. Douley. Writing from Nantes, on the 12th October, 1669, to the Franciscans at St. Isidore's, Dr. Burgatt says :—" Here we understand they make a cabal to see how to exclude Dr. Douley, but if God send us safe, I undertake to settle him in spite of all opposers ; as I begun to serve (I) will continue to do . . ."† But whether through Dr. Burgatt's efforts, or the better sense of the clergy, Dr. Douley was received with open arms by the priests and people of the diocese, with whom he was to spend the remainder of his life.

After his arrival Dr. Douley made a visitation of the diocese to ascertain exactly the state of religion in each parish, a report of which he forwarded to the Holy See on the 13th January, 1671.‡ Considering the long period during which the see had been without the surveillance of a bishop, it was gratifying to behold religion in such a flourishing condition. He found many schools through the diocese, in which the young were taught the rudiments of faith, and there were in nearly every parish one or two schoolmasters. In the city, the Jesuits had a house and taught schools with great fruit, instructing the youth in the articles of faith and good morals. These schools were frequented

* Transcripts from Rome, Public Record Office, London.

† *Spic. Ossor.*, Vol. I. p. 498. Dr. Burgatt mentions in the same letter that Dr. Stritch was also waiting for a passage to Ireland—evidently "little James Stritch," who, having finished his studies, was returning home to Limerick, which had sad memories for him.

‡ *Spic. Ossor.*, Vol. I.

by many of the Protestants. In two villages philosophy was taught, and there were also primary schools. On Sundays and feast days there was a sermon or catechetical instruction. At the close of the jubilee a great many general confessions were heard. He himself assisted in hearing confessions and preaching in the different parishes. For the spiritual advantage of the faithful, he asked permission to establish a confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the city, all the members of which could gain a plenary indulgence on the feast of the Blessed Sacrament and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, this privilege to last for thirty years. He also asked permission to establish in another house in the city a confraternity of St. Patrick, with a plenary indulgence, in like manner, on the feasts of St. Patrick and of All Saints.

From this report it may be inferred that religion and learning were progressing, and that under the fostering care of such a vigilant shepherd, still greater progress was to be expected, as there was an abundance of pastors to attend to the wants of the flock.

In June, 1670,* the bishops of Ireland held a national council in Dublin, and drew up many useful laws to promote discipline and stimulate the piety of the people. They petitioned the Holy See for an increase in the episcopate, and recommended a number of priests as very suitable to be promoted to episcopal rank. Dr. Douley was strongly recommended for the bishopric of Limerick, over which he was presiding as vicar-apostolic with marked success, but the appointment did not take place for some years. At this synod Dr. Brennan, professor at the Propaganda, was appointed agent in Rome for the Irish bishops, but owing to bad health he resigned the following year, with the intention of returning to Ireland. In the meantime, however, he was made

* Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunkett*.

Bishop of Waterford, and Dr. Peter Creagh, a young priest of the diocese, was appointed to the important position left vacant in Rome.

Creagh was born in the city, and in his youth went to Poitiers, where he was carefully educated by his uncle, Father Piers Creagh, S.J. He then passed on to Rome and entered the Irish College, where he acquired great honours under the protecting wing of his uncle, Dr. John Creagh, who was influential enough to obtain from his patron, Alexander VII, the title of duke for the family and an addition to their arms. Having been ordained priest, young Creagh returned to Ireland and engaged in missionary work in the diocese, under his friend, Dr. Douley. While a student he was well known to the Irish clerical circle in Rome. Oliver Plunket, the primate, speaking of his fitness for the office of agent in Rome, says: "He knows the French and Italian well, and is of a most gentlemanly deportment." * He discharged the duties attached to his office in the Eternal City with such marked ability that he won the confidence and esteem of the Holy Father, who promoted him, on the 4th of May, 1676, to the see of Cork, which had long been vacant. On the same day, his friend, Dr. Douley, was appointed Bishop of Limerick, and another friend, Dr. Brennan, was translated from Waterford to the archbishopric of Cashel.

DR. DOULEY

The consecration of a bishop in Ireland at that time was a serious offence against the law, and if discovered by the government, the parties to it were liable to be severely punished. The risk had, however, to be taken, and the better to escape detection, a remote and unfrequented place was selected for the consecration of Dr. Douley. The date of the ceremony was well known ;

* *Life of Oliver Plunket*, Moran, p. 192.

it was the 19th of August, 1677 ; but where it took place remained for some years a secret. When, at length, it accidentally became known to Ormond,* his zeal for worrying clerics had considerably cooled down. It happened in this way. In August, 1681, one Patrick French, a native or resident of Drumcollogher, called on his grace, at Kilkenny castle, to unbosom himself of some fresh information about the popish plot, as he felt himself entitled to a share of the government money that was then circulating so freely through the county of Limerick. In the course of his examination he solemnly declared that he had a witness of quality and credit who could discover the whole plot, but that he was bound not to name him to anyone but Ormond, and not even to him until promised his pardon. When that was granted, French named John Ankettle. Having heard already of that gentleman's name in connection with the plot, Ormond said he would send for him by post. This did not please French, who began to express some misgivings about his witness, and said that if he should deny the statement, he (French) had two butchers, named Sullivan, his neighbours in a little market town within a mile of Ankettle's house, who would prove it, as he had placed them behind the wall of a garden, where they heard the discourse. On being put under restraint, and so deprived of an opportunity of schooling his supposed witnesses, French became violent and abusive ; and Ankettle, when he arrived, " denied that he ever told French he had anything to discover, or desired that he should move for his pardon." He confessed, however, that, about three years before, there was a meeting of popish bishops in a waste house on his land for the consecration of a new bishop, at which he and many gentlemen of the same persuasion were present.

* Ormonde MSS., Vol., 6, Hist. Com. Series.

Ankettle, who was a gentleman of standing and married to a sister of the late Lord Castlehaven, lived in that part of the townland of Farrihy which is midway between Broadford and the little market town of Drumcollogher—the only one within a mile of it. The ruins of the mansion are pointed out in a field to the south of the entrance to Springfield castle, called the white gate.* The ceremony must have taken place near the mansion, though the place is not remembered. The consecrating prelates were Dr. Douley's old Roman friends, Dr. Brennan of Cashel and Dr. Creagh of Cork, together with Dr. Phelan of Ossory.

After his consecration Dr. Douley, in company with Dr. Hedderman, his vicar-general, visited the whole diocese, parish by parish, and was delighted with the progress of religion, which was visible in every locality, and the peace that prevailed through the country.

In 1678 he held ordinations at Curragh, the property of Pierce Lacy, those ordained being, perhaps, students of the famous school that once flourished in Croagh parish, near to Curragh.

The gleam of happiness that brightened the opening year of Dr. Douley's episcopate soon faded, and he and some of his friends were to endure much persecution in the panic created by the popish plot. The banishment of the bishops and clergy was proclaimed, under severe penalties, in October, 1678. Dr. Douley, who was an old man and stricken with rheumatism, went boldly and surrendered himself to the authorities. They, however, treated him kindly; he was neither imprisoned nor subjected to close supervision, but was ordered, in 1680, to give sureties to appear when called upon by the government. He held ordinations in 1679 at Ballygiglane (Holly Park), and in the following years down

* The farm which contains the field belongs to Mr. Richard Stack, who is alive to the historical importance of the spot.

to 1684, at Curragh or Limerick, according as it suited his convenience.*

The "learned and exemplary James Douley," as he is styled, closed his eyes to this world at the end of 1684, or the beginning of 1685, after a long and eventful life, a part of which was spent in exile in many lands, and he was vouchsafed the signal favour of resting with his kindred, a privilege rarely shared by eminent Irishmen of that period.

Dr. Douley's Roman friends, Oliver Plunket and Peter Creagh, had to pass through severer trials, the former, with gentle fortitude, dying a martyr at Tyburn, the latter, though persecuted almost to death, providentially escaping the malice of his enemies.

On the publication of the proclamation against the bishops, Dr. Creagh secreted himself with his brother, John Creagh, near Killaloe, where, through the treachery of a servant, he was located by the Protestant bishop and arrested. He was detained a close prisoner at Limerick, whence after a time he was removed to Dublin. The intention was to send him to London, together with his friend, Oliver Plunket, the primate, but having been seized with a violent fit of sickness, he was unable to travel. On his recovery he was put on his trial at Cork. During the trial an extraordinary thing occurred. Just as the false witness had kissed the book, after calling on the vengeance of heaven to fall upon him if what he swore was untrue, the floor of the courthouse collapsed, and all the people upon it tumbled into the cellar, the perjurer being crushed to death in the ruins. The judge, whose seat was supported by an iron bar, and Dr. Creagh, who happened to be placed on a beam that did not give way, were the only two that escaped. The judge cried out that heaven itself had acquitted him, and he dismissed his lordship with honour.

* *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1876

One by one, that noble band of Irish priests who, in the middle of the century, were companions at Rome, returned to Ireland to occupy important positions in the Church, and by their courage and fortitude under the most trying circumstance, and the example of their lives, preserved for their successors a rich and glorious inheritance.

Shortly after the publication of the proclamation of 1678 the government officials became very active in the city. Father Jasper White, P.P. of St. John's, was arrested while saying Mass in his parish. He was led through the city in his vestments to the guard-house by a young lieutenant and a company of soldiers, and there detained for some hours, until the governor, Sir William King, happened to visit the place, and on recognising the prisoner as Father White, immediately ordered his release. The following year some of the Protestants in the city, on the 29th of June, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, dragged the Pope's picture down the river Shannon in a boat and afterwards, amid great shouting, publicly burned it in the city. This occurred during the mayoralty of Sir William King,* who was the first mayor to quarter all the soldiers on the Catholics, and that out of prejudice, because they disputed in law their freedom.

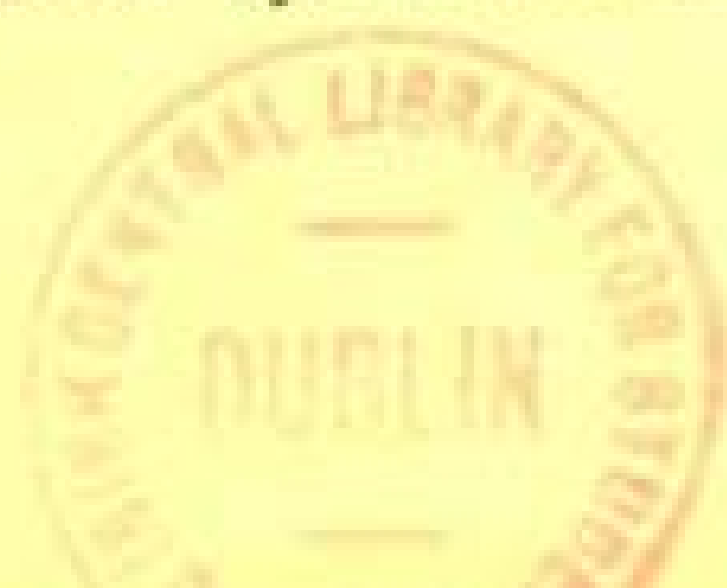
Dr. Douley, during his episcopate, had zealous assistants in the members of the religious orders, who had increased in numbers and were living in community as best they could.

The Dominicans had their houses at Limerick and Kilmallock, with fathers in residence, who were a great help to the secular priests. Leading quiet and peaceful lives, they did not attract the attention of the government, except in the panic over the popish plot.

Henry Burgatt,† of the Kilmallock priory, was a

* White's MS.

† O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans*, edited by Father Coleman.



man extremely small in stature, but a gifted preacher and a learned expounder of Catholic doctrine. Among others he converted to the faith John Purdon, who is said to have been high sheriff of the county. In the correct list of the sheriffs at this period, the name of Purdon does not, however, appear, which casts a doubt on the statement; but a well-known family of that name lived at Tinerana, near Killaloe, and according to their pedigree,* which is, however, a late compilation, John Purdon, a member of that family, lived at Tullagh, Co. Clare.

This John,† whose life would fall within the period, was married to Grace, daughter of John Hurley, who was the son of Sir Maurice Hurley of Knocklong. Two other of her sisters were married, Anne to John Bourke of Cahermoyle, and Ellen to John Lacy of Ballingarry, the father of John and Pierce Lacy. In the compilation of the pedigree, John Purdon is placed at Tullagh, Co. Clare, as being near Tinerana, but the actual townland where he settled down was Tullagh, in the parish of Lismakeery; and in the census of 1659 he is mentioned as living there. He had been a captain in Inchiquin's army, and after the war must have settled down at Tullagh, and as we have seen, exercised his influence with the authorities in behalf of young Lee of Ardgoule. Tullagh, or Tulloe, was known in the reign of Elizabeth, and long before, as Tullaghawson, but neither of the names is now applied to any townland in the parish, though Tullagh is locally remembered as the old name for Newbridge; and this is confirmed by the patent for the fairs held there in years gone by, in which the place is called Tulow or Newbridge.

The informers in the county of Limerick, at the time of the popish plot, have incidentally left us in their depositions a good deal of family history, which throws

* *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

† *Hickson's Old Kerry Records.*

a flood of light on this case. James Nash, gentleman, deposed that in 1676 Captain Purdon called him aside after Mass and advised him to go to France, as it was the only place to improve himself, since it was likely that there would be trouble in the near future and that in consequence there would be need of such men. On another occasion soon after, when he was at Mass at Purdon's house, a priest, named Burgatt, commanded him to go to the house of Captain MacEnery, who engaged him to carry letters to Colonel O'Sullivan at Berehaven; and on his return with answers, Captain MacEnery went to Captain Purdon's house, where there was a great meeting of the popish gentry of the locality, who rejoiced at the answers to the said letters. John Purdon, Thomas MacEnery, Eustace White, John Hurley, John Bourke, and a great many more were sworn to secrecy, and finally Father Brodeen, the parish priest (of Askeaton), bitterly cursed him if he did not observe secrecy in regard to the plot. Here we find Father Burgatt in Purdon's house. Purdon's wife, Grace Hurley, who was a Catholic, no doubt kept the priest as chaplain, and it must have been his instructions that influenced Purdon to join the Church. It is related that the government officials on one occasion visited Purdon's house in search of Father Burgatt, but though he was in a large room when they entered it, he escaped detection. He must have died in Purdon's house; he was laid to rest in Askeaton abbey, only a few miles away.

John Bourke, of Cahermoyle, in his will placed his widow under the care of her nephews, John Lacy and Sylvester Purdon, the latter evidently a son of John Purdon. He is mentioned in Dalton's Irish Army List, but unaccounted for.

When James II came to the throne, the Dominicans in Limerick were able to erect a chapel in the old abbey grounds of St. Mary's.

The Franciscan fathers, with their usual energy and piety, were actively seeking out the poor scattered Catholics, on the hillsides and lonely valleys, and ministering to their spiritual needs. Limerick city had the honour of being the birthplace of Francis Harold,* a nephew of Father Luke Wadding, who became one of that galaxy of brilliant sons of St. Francis who did so much for the history of Ireland during the 17th century. He was brought up in St. Isidore's, under the eye of his uncle, whose reputation for learning was world-wide. On the completion of his studies for the priesthood, Father Harold was sent to Prague, where he became professor in the archiepiscopal seminary and subsequently at Vienna. He returned to Rome in 1651 and was made annalist to the order. He devoted the remainder of his life to letters, and published a number of works, the principal of which is an epitome of Wadding's *Annals of the Franciscan Order*. He died at St. Isidore's in 1685.

On the death of Dr. Douley, Dr. James Stritch, parish priest of Rathkeale, was appointed to rule the diocese until a bishop should be appointed. As a child he lived through the horrors of Ireton's siege, and perhaps was present at the execution of his father, who was executed for having prolonged the siege during his mayoralty. He succeeded in reaching St. Malo with his uncle. After landing he wrote to Father O'Brien,† the Vincentian, telling him that his grandmother, mother, brothers and sisters remained in an island, called Augnish, on the Shannon; his uncle, Patrick, died a few days after landing. Through the recommendation of the Vincentian father, he obtained a place in the Irish College, Rome, where he had as fellow-student Peter Creagh. After reading a brilliant course, he was ordained in 1666

* Cleary's *Life of Wadding*, Rome, 1925.

† Moran's *Persecution of the Irish Catholics*.

and returned to the diocese, where he was warmly welcomed by Dr. Douley, who had befriended him at Rome. After a short time on the mission he was appointed parish priest of Rathkeale and vicar-general of the diocese. He lived in the street of that town and had a well-kept garden attached to his house.*

When James II ascended the throne and Catholics were in consequence enjoying toleration, the Archbishop of Cashel held a provincial synod, at which Dr. James Stritch assisted as vicar-general of the diocese and procurator of the chapter of Limerick. During the long night of persecution, in the midst of doubt and uncertainty, many of the rites and ceremonies of the liturgy had to be dispensed with, but as an opportunity presented itself of reviving and observing them, the more urgent were once more put in force, less important points of discipline and ceremonial being left over to be attended to later on when the Church would be better organised.

DR. JOHN O'MOLONEY

Having a Catholic king on the throne, and freedom of conscience for all, the diocese of Limerick was not left long without a bishop. Dr. John O'Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe, on the nomination of the crown, was appointed by the Holy See on the 24th of January, 1689. His early life and episcopate belong to the diocese of Killaloe. He was a nephew of Bishop John O'Moloney I, and had spent his youth in the household of his uncle. He then went to France and commenced his studies for the priesthood, which were rapid and brilliant, and he was always in the front rank. He cultivated the acquaintances he was fortunate in making among the French dignitaries, some of whom bestowed benefices upon him. In 1671 he was

* Fitzgerald's *Narrative of the Popish Plot*.

appointed Bishop of Killaloe, having been highly recommended by French and Irish bishops, who praised him greatly for his zeal and activity in defence of the Holy See. On his way back to Killaloe, he remained for a considerable time in Dublin, during part of which he was employed in arranging the difference that existed between the primate and Dr. Talbot on the question of precedence.

Essex, the lord-lieutenant, writing in 1673, remarks that he spoke several times to O'Moloney and found him a very wise, discreet man and, without doubt, the ablest among those of the Roman persuasion. "He has spent most of his time in France," he writes, "and I am apt to persuade myself is too eminent a man to lie concealed there without being taken notice of . . . I perceive, too, that he lives in a better condition than the small profits which he can make out of his titular bishopric would put him into. All of which gives me ground to suspect he is a pensioner of France. In case France and England should not be on so good terms as I presume they now are this person may be a most mischievous instrument."* In the end of this same year a proclamation was published banishing all dignitaries and friars out of Ireland. Dr. O'Moloney went to France and remained there during Essex's administration. At the time of the popish plot he was anxiously sought for, and several fruitless searches were made for him through Clare; but though the government offered £150 for his apprehension, he succeeded in escaping to France. When the storm had blown over he returned to his diocese. As the bishop of a neighbouring diocese and well known to James II, he had no difficulty, when Limerick became vacant, in being appointed to that see; and as a further mark of confidence in his wise rule, he was allowed to retain the administration of

* *Burke's Irish Priests in the Penal Times.*

Killaloe until a successor should be appointed. His term in the diocese was of short duration. When the siege commenced, in 1690, he left for Paris, where we find him the following year pleading on behalf of his brother bishops who were in exile. Here we shall leave him until after the siege, when his life will be resumed in another volume.

On the outbreak of the war between the rival kings, the churches of the city were taken over by the Catholics. St. Mary's cathedral * was in daily use for worship, but the part of the nave near the tower was utilised for a magazine of meal. St. Munchin's had been in decay for some time, and at the beginning of the siege it was turned into a workshop for gunsmiths and later on a store for war material. The Dominicans, as we have already mentioned, had a new chapel in the grounds of St. Dominick's abbey. The Augustinians had a chapel on the river side near Ball's bridge. On the east side, outside the walls, there was a considerable suburb in which the Franciscan abbey stood, though for the most part in ruins ; but the nave of the church, which was very large, was in use, the other parts being cut off. The Franciscans rented the building from Lieutenant Perry, a descendant of Sexton, to whom it was originally granted. On the 4th October, 1687, they took possession of the church, which was consecrated by Dr. O'Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe. The bishop said the first Mass in it ; and the Rev. Jasper White said the second Mass.

The Catholic religion flourished in the city and county down to 1691, when, in consequence of the violation of the Treaty of Limerick, a change took place, an account of which will be given in another volume.

During the whole of this century the priests led a perilous and uncertain life, and only saved themselves by the exercise of great caution and prudence in the

* Stephens' Journal, edited by Murray.

places they frequented. Though poor, some parishes managed to procure silver chalices of a very beautiful and chaste design for the celebration of Mass. A dozen or more of these chalices, dating from 1619 to 1685, are still in use. Pewter chalices and oil stocks were more common, and some of them that have come down to us show signs of wear and hard usage. Intrinsically, they are of little value, but priceless as relics of sad, though glorious days, and as mementoes of saintly, heroic men, who faltered not in the service of their Master in storm and strife.

APPENDICES

I

RESIGNATION OF BISHOP QUIN.*

Pateat universis per praesentes quod ego Johannes Dei gratia Limiceñ. episcopus vollens et affectans ex certis rationabilibus, veris, iustis ac legitimis causis animum meum in hac parte monentibus, puta, visus debilitate ad ministrandum gubernandum et praedicandum inhabilitate et impotentia, ab onere cura et regimine mei episcopatus Limiceñ. penitus [exui (?)] et exonerari, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude, aut aliqua sinistra machinatione ad hoc inductus aut coactus, eundem episcopatum cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentibus universis in potentissimas manus [——]ctissimi ac illustrissimi nostri principis Edwardi sexti Anglie Francie et Hibernie regis supremique in terris Anglicanae et Hibernicanae ecclesiarum capitis aut egregii viri Anthony Sentleger singulo nobilissimi ordinis militaris garterii nostri regis insingniti ac deputati dicti nostri regis in Hibernia pure sponte simpliciter et absolute resigno cumque re et verbo dimitto jurisque titulo et postsessioni meis qualitercumque in eodem episcopatu []ctis renuntio et ab eisdem omnino et expresse in his scriptis recedo, et quia huic meae resignationis praesentationi variis ex causis impeditus personaliter interesse non possum, ad ducendum praestandum et exhibendum pro me et meo nomine hoc scriptum meum dicto domino regi aut [procuratori] suo deputato seu justiciario in Hibernia, ego praefatus Johannes ordino facio et constituo discretum virum Johannem Coyn clericum Limicen. dioc. meum verum ac legitimum procuratorem actorem factorem et mearum negotiationum gestorem ac nuntium specialem Cum potestate substituendi ac facultate et auctoritate faciendi omnia et singula quae ego [puñ] in praemissis et ea concernentibus facere possim aut deberem, et promitto me ratum gratum et firmiter [] habiturum totum et quicquid per dictum meum procuratorem aut eius substitutum actum gestum factum seu procuratum fuerit in praemissis seu eorum praemissorum subypoteca et obligatione omnium bonorum meorum et mea parte [] realitatem (?) expono per praesentes in cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum quo ad maiora utor huic [] scripto meo apposui seu apponi procuravi. Datum Kyllocie nono die Aprilis Anno Dñi MVLI et regni regis Edwardi Sexti quinto testibus his [] honestis et discretis viris [] David Daniell legum bacctlaureo ac officie Limicen. Dño Philippo Greffye presbytero David Loys burgen, ville Kylloc. Jacobo Gowll clerico ac notario publico et Tatheo O'Grady nuntio cum multis aliis.

* Patent Rolls, 4 Ed. VI, Part ii, Membrane 27, n. 226. (This document was preserved in the I.R. Office, Four Courts, Dublin.)

II

THE COMBINATION OF GERALD, EARL OF DESMOND.*

18 July, 1574.

Whereas Garret, Earl of Desmond has assembled us his kinsmen followers and servants, after his coming out of Dublin and made us privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July, 1578 (recte 1574), to be performed *and to his answers to the same which answers we find reasonable*; and has declared to us that if he do not yield to the performance of the said articles and put in his pledges the Lord Deputy will make war against him; we counsel the said Earl to defend himself from the violence of the Lord Deputy and we will assist the Earl against him, 18th July.

Garret Desmond

Thomas Lixnaw.

John of Desmond

John Fitzjames.

Rorye MacSheaghe.

Moroughe O'Brien.

Moriertaghe McBrien of Lonforth.

Ia. K. E. F. D. K. B.

Theoball Burke.

Donell O'Brien.

Richard Burke.

John Browne.

Daniel McCanna of Drombraine
(Drumbanny).

James Russell

Richard FitzEdmund Gerald

Ulicke McThomas of Billuncarrighe

Ulicke Burke.

John FitzWilliam of Karnedirrye.

Teighe O'Heyne of Chairreyleye

III

DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND BY FATHER DAVID WOLFE, S.J.,
A.D. 1574.†

La Descrittione del Regno d'Irlanda, delli suoi porti marittimi, et cittadi di quella insieme con li nomi delli vescovati, delli signori conti, et nobili di quel regno fatta all'istanza del ill^{mo} signore don Giovanne di Borgia ambasciatore di Sua Catholica Maestà nel regno di Portogallia. 1574.

V. S. Ill^{ma} m' ha dato carico di notar le cose di Irlanda, et scriverle minutamente, il che faccio io voluntieri, benchè cognosco esser cosa a molti Inglesi assai noiosa, et non meno odiosa; ma avanti che io la comincio protesto inanzi al cospetto d' Iddio, che non lo faccio con colera, ne con rancore di cuore, ni per odio veruno che posso haver alla generatione Inglese (la qual con tutto el cuore se fosse conforme alla catholica chiesa d' Iddio imbracciarei) ne a Donna Elisabetha per qualsivoglia ingiuria, che dalli suoi ho patito: ma solamente per il zelo santo del honore d' Iddio, et della catholica sua chiesa, di cui sonno indegnissimo membro, et figliolo, et per salute dell'anime di quell' Isola, et per estirpar, et sradicar la peste lutherana di quel Regno.

Sapendo io quanto sia odiato, et malevoluto da tutti li principi non solamente, ma anchora pagani il nome di traditore, o di colui che in suo paese fa alcun tumulto, io (per schivar cotal nome) non haverei attentato per tutto il bene del mondo scriver questa mia descrittione, se prima non havessi visto la bulla di Pio Quinto fatta alli XXV. di Febraro (se ben ni ricordo) del anno 1570 nella quale bulla escomunicò Donna Elisabetha pretensa Regina d'Inghilterra, et la privò del titolo

* Taken from the Carew MSS. under the year 1578, which, however, is a mistake, as the meeting took place after the Earl's escape from Dublin in 1574.

† Arch. Vatic. AA. Arm. I-XVIII. 4048 (antica segnatura: Arm. XIV. caps. 2. n. 26).

del Regno, assolvendo anchora tutti suoi subditi del giuramento di fidelità a lei fatta, et escomunicando tutti quelli che la obediscono. Hora per Dio gratia essendo io alieno, et libero d'ogni tal nome di traditore, et havendo assai giuste, et honeste occasioni a scrivere questa mia descrittione a gloria d'Iddio, la comincio.

COME LI CINQUE FIGLIOLI DEL RE DI SPAGNA, OVERO DI CANTABRIA INTRORNO IN IRLANDA, ET COME DIVISERO QUELL'ISOLA IN CINQUE PARTI. CAP. I.

Geraldo Cambriense Inglese, et maestro di Gioanne Re d'Inghil' terra seguitando l'historiographi d'Irlanda scrive en (sic) suo libro della historia Hibernica che in circa cinquecento anni dinanzi il nascimento del Salvator, et Redemptor del mondo furono sbanditi dalla parte di Spagna cinque figlioli d'un Re per nome Milis per causa di qualche conspiratione fatta di loro contra il detto Milis, et questi introrno nell' Isola d'Irlanda per habitarla, et havendo soggiogato quell'Isola, la divisero en cinque parti: cioè in Holtonia, Lagenia, Connacia, et le due Momonie, che hora sonno tre dando a cadauno di loro sua parte, et facendosi Re ognuno in suo paese, ordinarono però il più vecchio Monarca sopra li altri quattro regni, al quale ogn' uno di quelli quattro Re dava homaggio, et tributo, et così succedette quella divisione della detta Isola quanto alla terra insino a hoggidi, benche li nomi delli Re cessaro, come dirò da poi.

Oltra questa partitione dettero al Monarca per segno di preheminentia una bellissima particella di terra che si chiama Media, la quale contiene da 60 overo 70 miglia, come saria a dire 34 leghe commune di Spagna (perche una miglia d'Irlanda è tanto longa come mezza legua qua) in longhezza, et quasi 20 miglia in larghezza.

La successione delli Re da quel tempo durò insino al tempo di Henrico 2°. Re d'Inghilterra, al quale un Dermitio Makmorochou Re di Lagenia per occasione di guerra ch'havea con altri Re del Isola, andò per domandar soccorso, et aiuto contra suoi nemici, il qual Henrico essendo all'hora, come scrive Geraldo Cambriense, in Aquitania contra suo proprio figliolo con grande armata, perche esso figliolo tiranezzava in quel paese contra la volontà del padre, di cui era all'hora Aquitania, diede licentia a tutti suoi subditi, che volessero andar, et aiutar quel Re Dermitio, et questa licentia gli diede in scritto sotto il suo gran sigillo per poter dimostrarlo per tutto il Dominio del detto Henrico.

COME DERMITIO MAKMOROCHOU RE DI LAGENIA MENO GL'INGLESI IN IRLANDA, ET COME PAPA ADRIANO 4°. FECE RE HENRICO 2° SIGNORE D'IRLANDA, ET CON CHE CONDITIONE GLI FU DATA. CAP. II.

Venendo Dermitio Re di Lagenia di Francia in Inghilterra, et havendo mostrato quella sua comissione a molti signori, et soldati, alcuni mossi di charità, et altri d'ambitione, et desiderio di soldo determinorno andar col detto Dermitio; fra gl'altri signori, il signor Ricardo comes Strangulensis detto Strangbow intrò in Irlanda insieme col nobile cavagliere Mauritio de Geraldinis con molti altri.

Havendo quel Conte Ricardo con li suoi cavaglieri, et capitani posto quel Re Dermitio in suo stato, et Regno; et vedendo la bontà, bellezza, fertilità, et altre commodità di quell'Isola insieme con la facilità d'acquistarla per le varie dissensioni, et continue guerre et discordie, che vi erano fra gli Re, et Signori del paese, scrissero al Re Henrico che dovesse pigliar arme per soggiogar, et unir quel Regno al suo stato d'Inghilterra. Il che non potendo lui alhora far senza licenza del Summo Pontifice (essendo quella Isola patrimonio di Santo

Pietro) mandò al detto Summo Pontifice (il quale era allora Adriano 4^o, nativo d'Inghilterra) per impetrar da lui licenza d'intrar in quell'Isola con armata. Il Summo Pontifice, o sia per volontà d'Iddio meritandolo cossi li peccati deli Irlandesi, o sia per compiacer al detto Henrico, ovvero per dir meglio per ingrandir il dominio d'Inghilterra suo nativo paese dette licenza al detto Henrico d'intrar in quel Regno et l'ordinò Signor, et non Re di quello con conditione però assai utili sì per li habitanti di quel Regno, come anchora per la chiesa Romana, et salute dell'anime della detta Isola se fossero poste in essecutione delle quali conditioni ne scriverò qui poche, come l'ho letto nell'istessa Bolla di Papa Adriano 4^o. fatta a Re Henrico nel secondo anno di suo Papato, 1165.

La prima conditione è ch'il Re Henrico dovesse riformar quell'Isola dalli suoi costumi barbari, et superstitiosi nelle cose civile, come nelle cose pertinenti al honor d'Iddio.

Che dovesse mandar predicatori catholici, et dotti per estirpar quelli suoi barbari costumi, et piantare, et seminare la vera, et pura catholica fede, et dottrina apostolica, et evangelica.

Che dovesse fabricar, et dotar chiese, et luochi religiosi in quel Regno.

Che dovesse conservar l'immunità della chiesa, et delle ecclesiastiche persone non molestandole con veruna gravezza, o taglia, ovvero essactioni.

Che dovesse pagar ogn'anno al Summo Pontifice, et alli suoi successori in perpetuum un denaro da qualsivoglia casa per tutto il Regno d'Irlanda, et questo denaro è la quarta parte d'un real di Spagna.

Queste, et molte altre conditioni furono scritte nella Bulla della licenza del detto Pontifice Adriano 4^o. concessa al detto Re Henrico 2^o, d'Inghilterra nel sopradetto anno 1165 come scrive Cambriense en sua historia più diffusamente.

Con questa licenza intrò il Re Henrico in Irlanda, et il populo già diviso in più parti lo ricevette non come Re, ma come feudatario del Summo Pontifice, et cossi cessò il nome deli Re d'Irlanda, et ogn'uno teneva suo proprio nome in suo paese, et lo tene anchora insino a hoggidi salvo che le Re d'Inghilterra secondo li meriti d'alcuni, et secondo l'occasioni a loro offerse fecero certi Conti, li quali hanno grandissima signoria, et dominio come scriverò di poi in suo luoco.

DE MAURITIO GERALDINIS, ET DELLI SUOI FIGLIUOLI. CAP. III.

Fra li più nobili cavaglieri, che andorno en Irlanda fu Mauritio Geraldinis (come già ho detto) il quale non solamente era huomo valoroso, et esperto nelle cose di guerra, ma anchora virtuoso, et zeloso del honor d'Iddio, come nel fine di sua vita dimostrò: per che fundò due monasterii in Yochel, l'uno di S^{to}. Francesco, essendo anchora quel glorioso santo en questa vita, et altro di S^{to}. Domenico, et lui morio nella detta religione portando l'habito di religioso, come si suol fare.

Quel Mauritio de Geraldinis era dela nobilissima casa, et famiglia di Giralдинis in Fiorenza, et fece grandissimi fatti d'arme per il Re Henrico in Irlanda, ma con tutto questo sua magnanimità, et stremità, et quella delli suoi figliuoli insino a hoggidi era malamente remunerata, et sempremai dalli Re d'Inghilterra sospetta in tal modo, che essendo loro per la maggior parte di quel tempo insino alli nostri tempi Vicerey in quel Regno cercavano occasioni distinguir (sic) quella casa di Geraldinis, dove la doveano essaltar, et ingrandir per suoi meriti grandissimi.

Questo Signor Mauritio de Giralдинis acquistò tanti paesi, sì per

via di matrimonio contratto con altri nobili, come anchora con la sua spada che li suoi figliuoli hoggidi souo Conti, et signori di gran dominio, et il suo primogenito è stato fatto Conte di Kildare, et quasi signore di tutta la Lagenia.

Il secondo suo figliuolo, et suoi soccessori si diportavano tanto valorosamente ch'erano fatti Conti di Desimonia, et quasi signori di tutta la Momonia, et da quel tempo in qua essi possedevano quelli suoi paesi, et dominii con grandissima desterità, et fortezza.

Geraldo de Geraldinis che hora è Conte de Desimonia, et suo fratello Giovanne furono menati dolosamente dal Vicere Henrico Sydnei come captivi in Inghilterra alli 17 di Novembre, 1567, et avanti che partissero per Inghilterra cognoscendo già da molti anni inanzi la bontà, fidelità, et la generosità del S^{re}. Jacomo Mauritio de Geraldinis suo parente (che sono figliuoli di duo fratelli) lo fecero capitano generale, et governatore di Desimonia in luoco loro: E esso S^{re}. Jacomo cominciò valerosamente a difender la chiesa d'Iddio, et le persone ecclesiastiche, et religiose dal impetu dalli heretici lutherani, et di poi a governar il dominio del Conte suo parente dalli circumvicini signori, li quali cercavano rovinar, et guastarla secondo il modo del paese.

Essendo il Conte Geraldo, et suo fratello Giovanne in prigione nella torre di Londres in Inghilterra, il Vivere Henrico Sydnei tornò in Irlanda, et con essercito di sei milia soldati inglesi, et irlandesi andò in Momonia per scontrar il detto S^{re}. Jacomo, et per ordinar di parte di Donna Elisabetta un altro capitano generale in luoco suo; ma dopo d'haver perso parecchi soldati, et cavalli tornò in Dublinia con suo gran dishonore, et confusione, et il S^{re}. Jacomo restò in suo stato.

Fu mandato d'Inghilterra in Momonia un cavagliere per nome Joanne Parot come presidente di quel paese con molti capitani, et soldati; et spesse fiate sforzava li signori di Momonia d'andar con esso lui contra il S^{re}. Jacomo con l'aiuto d'Iddio vincitore in tal modo, che il detto Joanne Parot era sforzato di star continuamente nelli cittadi, et deffendersi in quelle, insin a tanto che fece tregua con sua grandissima vergogna, et dishonore col S^{re}. Jacomo, et non possendo far più in quella Momonia si partì d'Irlanda per Inghilterra a li 17 di Giulio del anno passato 1573 et per la vehementia dela guerra del Signor Jacomo contra l'Inglesi era sforzata Donna Elisabetta di slargar il Conte Giraldo et suo fratello Giovanne, et mandarli in Irlanda liberamente. Imbarcandosi Jovanne Parrot nella città di Corck per Inghilterra voltò sua faccia ali signori che l'accompagnavano alla barca, et con grande efficacia gli diceva queste parole che seguitano. O Signori miei son stato qui in Irlanda più di tre anni, et vado adesso in Inghilterra, et non so quel che sarrà de li fatti miei, ma v'affermo con verità, che mai ho visto un signore o cavagliere più nobile, più valoroso, più fortunato, et felice nelle cose di guerra, più virtuoso, et fidele che il povero Signore Jacomo Fiz Mauritio, per che posso dir, et affermar che se lui avesse le forze, et ricchezze delli altri principi, non solamente havrebbe scacciato noi altri Inglesi da questo Regno, ma anchora dell'istessa Inghilterra, ma conciosiacosa che io l'ho trovato così virtuoso come hora vi dico, tuttavia trovo in lui due deffetti indegni di tale persona, li quali deffetti si fosse possibile per oro, et argento, et anchora per una parte del mio sangue io gliele vorria levare, et il remedio di questi è solamente nella mano d'Iddio quanto al uno, ma quanto al altro è in mano di Sua M^{te} (parlando di Donna Elisabetta) et io farò il debito mio per rimediarlo. Di questi difetti l'uno è che lui è papista, l'altro che lui non è vero subdito a Sua M^{te}.

Questo è il testimonio del nimico capitale del Signor Jacomo dinanzi molti signori, li quali stettero molti (sic) allegri sentendolo cossi ben parlar del Signor Jacomo alhora absente.

La verità è che il Sig^r. Jacomo non havrebbe mai accettato questa sua tregua con Donna Elisabetta se non havesse sentito, come il Ser^{mo}. Re Catholico havea fatto tregua con la detta Elisabetta dal quale Re Cattholico esso Sig^{ra}. Jacomo spettava di giorno in giorno haver qualche soccorso di genti, come più volte faceva instantia per haverla di sua M^{ta}. Hora questo Signore Jacomo sta di mala voglia per haver fatto mai tregua con quella scomunicata Elisabetta, et per non mancar della sua parola non fa mal veruno a lei, ni alli suoi subditi, et esso desidera venir fuori di quel Regno per vivir, et morir fra christiani più presto, che star in esso sotto una scomunicata, et heretica tyrana, per questa cagione esso mandò suo primogenito figliuolo meco a Sua Cath^{ca}. M^{ta}. a ciò mandi una nave ben armata per levarlo di quel Regno, et servirsi di quello in qualsivoglia altro Regno, o paese, vedendo che in quel Regno non può viver sicuramente senza periculo del corpo, et dell'anima.

Per questo effetto ha mandato suo amato, et primogenito figliuolo a S. M^{ta}. Catholica come hostaggio, et pegno di sua fidelità, et non havendo altra cosa più cara, che quello l'ha dato, et offerisce se stesso medesimamente a Sua Maestà, et di questa cosa non dirò più per adesso lasciandolo alla discretione di Sua M^{ta}. et del suo buon consiglio.

Hora essendo io mandato in Irlanda dalla fe. me. di Pio Quarto, nell'anno 1560 come Nuncio Apostolico, et per cognoscer la buona dispositione delli catholici signori di quella Isola, et per confirmar li buoni nelli suoi buoni propositi, et reconciliar li mali, et li heretici al gremio della santa madre chiesa, ho cercato di saper minutamente non solo la dispositione delli cuori delli buoni, et cattivi, ma anchora (come m'è stato comandato) la vera situatione delli luochi, cittadi, porti maritimi, fortezze, et monitioni di quelli, delli quali ne scriverò qui alcuna cosa quanto si richiede alla descrizione della terra.

L'Isola d'Irlanda è divisa, come già ho detto, in cinque parti. 1. Holtonia. 2. Lagenia. 3 et 4. Momonie, cioè Desimonia, Ormonia, Tuomonia. 5. Connacia.

DE HOLTONIA, ET DELLI PORTI SUOI, VESCOVATI, ET SIGNORI. CAP. IIII.

Holtonia è nella parte settentrionale del Regno, et vi sonno bellissimi, et sicuri porti, nelli quali infiniti navi possono intrar sicuramente, et deffendersi d'ogni vento, et tempesta, come il porto Dunnagail, di Keali Beaggthy, di Assarno, di Suilli, del lacho di Froyl, di Banna, di Knockfargus, di Carlingford, di Dundalk, di Ariglas.

In tutta questa Holtonia non si trova città forte, ni fortezza, salvo il castello di Knockfargus, il quale tengono gl'Inglesi, et essendo io in quel castello avanti che fossi captivo, non ho visto più di dua pezzi d'artegliaria grosse (ma nessuna di loro era mezzo cannone) le quale furono scaricate in quel dì, perche il Vicerre Henrico Sidnei intrò in quel castello, et gli fecero quella festa.

Holtonia tene nove sedie episcopali, cioè archivescovato Ard-machano, il vescovato Derensis, Rapotensis, Clochorensis, Dromorensis, Dunensis, Conorensis, Kilmorensis, Ardachadensis.

Le sedie episcopali non sono cittadi grandi, ni morate, perche nel tempo passato, la riverenza, divotione, il timor d'Iddio, la santità del populo era i costumi di quelle; ma hoggidi per li peccati del clero, et del populo mancano in quelle cittadi episcopali non solamente li

mori, ma anchora populo per habitar in quelle, di modo, che sonno deserte, et quasi tutte derelitte.

Sonno ancora in Holtonia da 19 Signori grandi, et molti altri nobili senza titolo di signoria, et hanno grandissimi paesi, ma poche intrate, et li nomi delli signori sono questi, il Sr Onyell, O'Doneill, li signori di Clanebuy che sono 3 Oreyn, Oruoyrk, Odochoro, Ochain, Ohailon, Makuir, Makenisa, Makeillin, Makmalahowna, Maksoina li 3, Makonell, Oferally li 3.

Sonno parrechi castelli di signori in Holtonia benche loro per la maggior parte del tempo (massime nell'estate) abitano en tentorii, et mutano loco spesse volte per conto delli suoi animali.

Holtonia è divisa in tre parte, cioè in Tirouen, Tirconnel, Clannebuy; Il Oneyll possiede Tirouen, il ODoneill possiede Tirconnel, diversi nobili possedeno Clannebuy senza titolo di signoria, et tutti sono della famiglia d'Oneyll, ma Clannebuy è più bella, et fertile di tutti li 3 parti.

Tutti questi paesi sono sempre mai in guerra l'uno contra l'altro, ma sempre accordano per far guerra contra l'Inglesi, et sempre sono vittoriosi.

Tutti l'altri signori di Holtonia ubidiscono all'un o all'altro di questi dua signori, cioè Oneyll, over Odoneill.

Questo è da notar nella generatione d'Ibernia, non solamente in Holtonia, ma anchora per tutto il Regno, et in tutte le parti d'Irlandia che qualsivoglia signore o gentilhuomo, o altra persona ch' habbia O, overo Mak nel principio del suo nome, o cognome, questo è della generatione hispanica, come sarebbe dir Oneyll, Obrien, Oduyer, Makuir, Makonly, Makray, Odoyn, Makbrien, etc.

Ma li signori solamente hanno questa litera O overo Mak per nome proprio di signoria, come Oneyll, Obrien, Odoneill, Makeig, Makchonocho, et s'alcuno li chiamasse per il suo proprio nome ch'ebbe del baptesimo l'havrebbero per male, ma li altri gentilhuomini, overo altre persone di bassa conditione, che sono di quella natione hispanica, sempre pigliano questa litera O, overo Mak per il suo cognome adgiungendolo col proprio nome Joanne Onell, Philippo Oduyr, Mauritio Makbrien, etc.

LA DESCRIPTIONE DI MEDIA, DELLI SIGNORI ET VESCOVATI DI QUELLA. CAP. V.

Media è situata nella parte orientale d'Irlanda fra Holtonia, et Lagenia, et è paese fertilissimo, richo, et abundantissimo d'ogni cosa necessaria alla vita del huomo.

Questa Media è un pezzo di terra come già ho detto di sesanta, o setanta miglia in lungo, et in circa 20 in largo, et posso affermar con verità, che non ho mai visto in Italia (non parlo dela multitudine delle cittadi) nè in Francia, nè in nessun altro paese in cossi piccolo pezzo di terra tanta nobiltà di signori, cavaglieri, et gentilhuomini, come in quella Media si trovano al manco 1500 cavaglieri in quella Media, et altri tanti di stipendiarii, et gentilhuomini, perche in quel Regno d'Irlanda nissuno è cavagliere si non gentilhuomo, li quali hanno suoi bravi cavalli aparechiati con ogni armatura, et l'altre cose necessarie alla guerra ad ogni hora et tempo, che sonno chiamati.

Sonno parecchie terre grosse in quel paese, et mi pare che non vi sia un miglio che non si truova terra grossa, o castello, overo palazzo di Signore, o di gentilhuomo in quello.

Di cittadi maritime non v'è nissuna, ma vi è una terra grossa appresso del mare per nome Droheda, et è ben murata all'antiqua,

et tene in circa 700, overo 800 vicini, et tutti sonno, o mercanti o artigiani, ma sempre mai sonno catholici benche sforzati vanno ad udir la alcorana de gli heretici.

Non v'è munitione, nè artiglieria in quella terra, ma tutte l'arme loro sonno archi, archibusi, et altre simili.

In tutta Media vi sonno almeno sei Baroni di gran signoria. Baroni in Inghilterra, et Irlanda sonno signori di più gran dignità, et stimatione che quelli che si chiamano Lordes, et sonno li Baroni di Slany, di Dealigna, di Dubuigna, di Schirina, di Nauen, di Gallatrim.

Oltra questi Baroni vi sonno più Signori, che nella lengua inglese si chiamano Lordes, et sonno di grande authorità, come los Lordes, il Viceconte di Germastone, li Plonkett di Killin, Plonkett di Rathmore, Plonkett di Dunsanni, Plonkett di Lutthe, Bernaval di Tremenstone, L. di Haude, il Signor Omelachlin, Omoluua, Makochlan, Makeochigain, et molti altri signori. Non dubito che vi sonno più Lordes in Media, ma non scrivo qui se non quelli, con li quali ho praticato, et ho conosciuto tanto la dispositione del animo, come quella del corpo.

A me saria impossibile a cognoscer, et scriver li nomi di tanti cavaglieri, che nella lengua inglese si chiamano Knighthes, et d'altri nobili, et gentilhuomini, et signori di castelli, che non hanno titolo di signoria in quella Media, ma posso affermar con verità, che fra tanti Baroni, signori, cavaglieri, et gentilhuomini non cognosco (a Dio gratie) alcun heretico salvo il Visconte di Gormonstone. Questi quattro signori delli Plonketti sonno della medesima casa, et tutti in tempo di guerra si raccolgono sotto la bandiera del Signor Plonkett di Killin non già per esser più forte de gl'altri, ma per che suoi antecessori erano più antichi di tutti l'altri suoi fratelli, et il Signore di Rathmore (essendo molti giorni mio compagno di prigione) mi diceva, che quelli Signori della medesima famiglia di Plonkett possono metter in campo 500 cavaglieri ben armati senza altri tanti pedoni della medesima casa, et famiglia.

Tutti li sopradetti Baroni, signori, et nobili sonno catholici salvo il sopradetto Visconte di Gormonstone, et sonno sotto donna Elisabetta per mancamento d'un Principe christiano, che pigliasse la cura di governarli, et defenderli dalli heretici, et sempre mai gridano a Iddio perche gli mandi qualche principe catholico al quale dariano obediienza.

La civiltà, et il modo di vivere di questa Media non è più, nè meno di quel di Francia, o d'Inghilterra, perche venendo loro col Re Henrico dui in Irlanda, sempre mai tenevano suo modo di viver, et sua antiqua civiltà, et non volsero mai maritar, nè mescolarsi con quelli che dinanzi di loro erano nel Regno, ma sempre tutta quella Media è stata, et anchora è unita insieme, et incatenata come se fosse una città, o Republica ben governata in amore, et charità.

In Media vi sonno sotto l'Archivescovo Ardmachano dua Vescovati, cioè Medensis, et Clonensis. Questo Vescovato Medensis non hà città, ma della diocesi (cioè Media) ha il suo titolo.

DE LAGENIA DEL SUO SITO. CAP. VI.

Lagenia è un bellissimo paese, et fertile, la quale era del Re Dermitio Makmorochou della natione Hispanica (come già ho detto) et dapoi haver menato Inglesi al suo Regno per rimetterlo in suo statto, essi vedendo la bellezza del suo paese cercavano di trovar qualche occasione per scacciarlo di quello, il che fecero ingiustamente.

Hora la possiede il Conte di Childar, Geraldo di Geraldinis, et Don Thomaso Butler, Conte di Ormonia, benche vi sono anchora alcuni

nobili della istessa nazione, che godeno una grandissima parte di quella, li quali sempre stanno in guerra contra l'Inglesi.

Lagenia è situata nella parte orientale del Isola d'Irlanda fra Media, et Momonia, et vi sonno alcuni porti assai sicuri per salvar navi in quelli, come li porti di Dublinia, d'Archolou, di Macleu, di Wesifordia, alias Guasifordia.

DE DUBLINIA.

Dublinia è la città principale non solamente di Lagenia, ma anchora di tutto il Regno d'Irlanda per conto che il Vicerre fa sua residenza in quella con la corte, et consiglieri del Regno.

Dublinia è una città murata a la antiqua, ma non è forte, et al mio parer può haver da duo mila vicini, o in circa, in quella città vi è un castello fatto di Giovanne Re d'Inghilterra figliolo del Re Henrico 2^o. et in quel castello il Vicerre fa sua residenza da sette anni in qua, et alcuni dicono, che la fu fer paura delli signori del paese, perche nel tempo passato solevano li Vicerre far residenza in altri luochi fuora della città. In quel castello per volontà d'Iddio (non dubito che sia sua santissima volontà per cognoscer la fiatezza, et poca provisione d quel castello, et di tutto il Regno) son stato prigionero per cinque anni, et in quel castello guardano sue artiglierie, armerie, et altri monitioni di guerra. Et spesse volte ho comprato licenza con le mie danari per intrar a veder le monitioni di quel armaria, la quale ho ben minutamente considerato, provato, visto, et revisto, et mi par cosa di poco valore, per che non ho visto più di tre pezzi grossi d'artiglieria (che si chiamano mezzo cannone) in quell'armaria.

Sonno anchora da diece a dodice pezze piccole, che tre, o quattro cavalli potriano tirarle. Sonno infinite balle, et tanto grande che [non?] v'è artiglieria in tutto quel Regno, nè anchora in Inghilterra, alla quale possino servire, et sonno più presto per ostentatione, che per utilità, o necessità veruna. Ho inteso d'uno delli guardiani, che hanno cura di quella armaria, che non havevano tre pipe di polvere in tutto quel castello, et lo credo facilmente, vi sonno archi, et saette per duo mila soldati, et non vi sonno archibusi per cento persone.

Quanto all'armature di cavalli non n'ho visto nissuna, et anche ve ne sonno poche per huomini a piede masime camise di maglia per seicento soldati al più.

Ho visto anchora in circa seicento allabarde, et al mio parer in circa a mille lance, ovvero piche si per cavallieri, come per fauti.

D'altra provisione di guerra non si truova in quella armaria del Regno, ne manco per tutte le cittadi et castelli d'Irlanda salvo dua pezze d'artiglieria ch' ho visto in Cork, et due altre in Dinghel, et una pezza in Leglen; nel tempo passato erano molte pezze d'artiglieria et polvere in Irlanda, ma Donna Elisabetta l'ha levato del Regno, et le mandò al principe di Conde per far guerra contra il Re di Francia, et per gratia del Signore Iddio furono dalli Francesi prese nel mare, et li pigliorno per il Re.

DEL ORATIONE, CHE FECE IL VICERRE HENRICO SIDNEY NEL ULTIMO PARLAMENTO DEL ANNO 1569, INANZI IL POPULO. CAP. VII.

Da molti anni in qua par che gl'Inglesi intendendo li cuori delli Irlandesi alienati da loro tenghono il Regno d'Irlanda come cosa derelitta, abandonata, et persa, massime che temeno molto la santa liga delli Principi catholici esser fatta solamente per intrar in Inghilterra

et Irlanda, et per questo hanno levato via la provezione del Regno, et non fortificano, nè fabricano città, nè castelli in quel Regno, sapendo per certo d'haverlo già perso.

Che questo sia vero si può ben intender dalle parole che diceva Henrico Sidney Vicerre nel ultimo parlamento (al quale pochissimi signori del Regno venivano, sapendo per certo ch'era congregato per utilità propria di Donna Elisabetta, et non per gloria d'Iddio, nè manco per utilità commune del populo, che fu in Drogheda nel anno 1569, le quale parole sono queste.

O Signori miei honorandi havendo già finito, o per dirlo meglio differito questo parlamento, ogn'uno di voi altri può tornar in casa sua con la benedittione d'Iddio: ma avanti che si parti vi voglio avisar da parte di sua M^{ta} come dovete considerar, et spesse volte ricordar li benefici grandi che dalli Re d'Inghilterra havete ricevuti, et come vi fecero Conti, Signori, cavallieri, et gentilhuomini, et come vi dettero possessioni, castelli, signorie, et grandissimi nome et titoli, et anchora pace fra li termini vestri, et come hanno speso infiniti thesori per quietar, et pacificar questo vestro Regno per utilità vestra, et come non cercavano di caricarvi con tributi, essattioni, come fanno li altri principi a suoi subditi, et finalmente come con tanta charità, et amore hanno perdonato a molti da questo Regno suoi enormi manchamenti, et prodizioni, et insino à hoggidi vivono di quelli ch'hanno sperimentato la loro clementia, liberalità et favore: et hora questa nostra divina, et clementissima Regina, ch'Iddio per sua gratia et infinita bontà n'ha dato, et ha conservato da molti pericoli di suoi nemici, et dalle loro sanguinolenti mani, non ha meno volontà di farvi il medesimo, che li suoi famosi antecessori fecero, et desidera di governarvi in tale modo, et con tal'et tant'amore, che con verità possiate dir che sete li più felici subditi di sotto il sole havendo cossi benedetta Regina et santa per vostra madre, sorella et governatrice. Ma una cosa è fra l'altre, che affligge il cuore di sua M^{ta} ch'intende, come questo Regno non vuole imbracciar la parola d'Iddio, nè ascoltar li predicatori, che sua M^{ta} manda a tale effetto, ma più presto attendono et volentieri danno orecchie a certe ciancie et superstitioni d'alcuni papiste, li quali danno certa vana speranza a questo populo leggiero et tumultuoso d'alteratione di religione, (che Iddio cene guardi) pertanto di certi ribelli et traditori (parlando delli Conti di Westmerland et Northumberland con suoi compagni, li quali all'hora erano en campo contra Donna Elisabetta) che sonno levati contra sua M^{ta} sotto pretesto di religione, volendo introdur il Papa (come loro hanno scritto al populo in una certa protestatione che fecero in campo) in questi Regni d'Inghilterra, et Irlanda con essercito spagnuolo, et altri forastieri per rovinarli, et sottoponerli alli superstitioni papiste. Ma spero che questi traditori haveranno mal fine, et che li suoi machinamenti saranno ridotti in niente. Quanto alla nostra Inghilterra, siamo per Dio gratia tanto uniti, et innamorati della nostra benedetta Regina, che non havemo paura se tutto il mondo fosse levato contra di noi. Ma questo populo d'Irlanda seditioso, incostante, ostinato da molti anni in qua (come sa ben sua M^{ta}) cercano la ruina loro a voler introdur forastieri in questo Regno per scacciar noi altri fuori di quello: imperò sua M^{ta} vuol, et comanda, et io da parte sua comando che ogn'uno sia vigilante a vigliar, et guardar suoi porti maritimi, et massime nella parte meridionale del Regno, con ogni diligenza, come Cork, Kensale, Ballatimor, et altri porti in quella parte, et se vedrà alcuni navi (oltre cinque, o sei navi insieme) arrivar al Regno, incontenente faccia segno alli suoi vicini signori, et questo sotto pena

della vita : Non dubito io che ci sonno qui, et per tutto questo Regno infiniti ribaldi et ingrati quali vorriano veder questo Regno sotto il governo di Spagnuoli più presto che sotto il governo d'Inghilterra, ma se sapessero come li Spagnuoli, trattano li Sicliani, li Neapolitani, li Milanesi, li Fiamenghi et gl'Indiani, et tutti li altri luochi dove signoreggiano, io vi so ben dir et affirmare che questo populo non li bramaria venir al paese. Hora ogniuno di voi altri signori miei pigli buen animo, et publiche queste mie parole alli suoi subditi quando tornarete a case vostre, et fatte che siati fideli subditi a sua M^{ta} et io vi prometto da parte di sua M^{ta} che non mancherà di favorir, et di far ben a ogn'uno secondo li suoi meriti: oltre a quello ch'Iddio nostro Signore serrà ben servito, et gratuito del vostro servitio, al quale preghiamo tutti che dia longa, et prospera vita a sua M^{ta} et vittoria di tutti suoi nimici. Et finita sua oratione diceva, God save the Quene, et il populo respondeva Amen. Questa oratione del Vicerre dava assai da pensar alli heretici Inglesi, et da lamentar del Vicerre per haver detto tal cosa in cossi publico luoco, et dava anchora occasione d'allegrezza alli catholici pensando che dalli a poco tempo tale parole havessero da venir a qualche buon effetto, ma oimè che li nostri peccati meritano più di quello che patimo.

Questo ho voluto scriver per dar ad intender, che li istessi Inglesi et li magistrati si diffidano de la loro fermezza in Irlanda per le sopradette cause.

DE DUBLINIA, ET ALTRI PORTI DI LAGENIA. CAP. VIII.

Dublinia è una bella città, 3 o 4 miglia lontana dal mare, et si governa (come fa ogni altra città del Regno) per un Maiour et altri ufficiali dalli istessi cittadini eletti, et quel suo officio dura per spacio d'un anno.

Sonno quasi tutti catholici, et specialmente quelli che sonno nativi della città benche sforzati vanno alla communione, et prediche delli heretici.

Nel castello del quale già ho detto non v'è guardia ordinaria salvo quella che il Vicerre tene intorno di sua persona, et non si truova vettovaglia in quel castello, perche insin adesso non ci era di bisogno essendo tutto il paese d'intorno pacifico, ma il castello non è forte per diffendersi di artiglieria grande per esser vecchio, et di pietre guaste, et la larghezza, o grossezza del muro, è come novi piedi, come io l'ho misurato parecchie volte.

Il paese, o contato d'intorno la città è molto fertile, et abbondante di grano, di carne, di pesce, et d'ogni altre cose necessarie alla vita del huomo.

In Lagenia sonno altri porti maritimi, come Arclou, 24 miglia di Dublinia verso il mezzo giorno, et è una terra piccola, dove è un castello sopra una rocca per non lasciar intrar nave d'inimici in quel porto, ma quel castello è da molti anni in qua abandonato da gli Inglesi, et è quasi ruinato, et si dice communemente che il glorioso apostolo del paese Santo Patritio intrò prima in quella terra quando venne a predicar la fede di Christo nostro Signor a quel populo de Irlanda. Si dice ch'il detto Santo maledisse il fiume di quella terra, li pescatori di essa cavandogli a un suo compagno un dente, et dal hora in qua non si pesca nissun salmone in quel fiume, benche si veddeno ogni giorno et io l'ho visto con li proprii occhi migliara di essi saltando sopra l'acqua dinanzi la terra, et non si puonno pigliare. Dal hora che al compagno di Santo Patritio segli cavò il dente in quella terra, si chiama detta

terra nella lingua hibernica Kilmantayn, che vuol dire in italiano Santuario di mancadenti, ovvero di dentulo.

V'è anchora in Lagenia il porto di Wessifordia, alias Guessifordia, et quella terra è grande, et è murata d'una parte, et dall'altra tien l'acqua per muro, et è terra di molti navi, et barche, et ho inteso che fa 300 barche grosse, et navi benche le navi non possono esser grandi per conto della barra, che v'è nel intrar del fiume.

Io passai quella barra quando fuggi dalla prigione del castello di Dublinia alli 26 di luglio 1572, et essendo già notte quando intrai nella terra io non potei ben especularla, nè cognoscer la fortezza del castello che v'è, ma ho inteso d'altri che da molti anni in qua è rovinato, et abbandonato d'ogniuno.

In Werclow v'è un castello del Signor Don Thomaso Butler, Conte di Ormonia, et il porto è ben sicuro, ma poche navi intrano in quello, peiche non è terra di traffico di mercanti.

DELLI VESCOVATI DI LAGENIA, DELLI NOMI DELLI SIGNORI DI QUELLA, ET DELLE TERRE GROSSE, ET CASTELLE DI ESSA. CAP. IX.

In Lagenia v'è un Archiepiscopato, et quattro Vescovati, cioè l'Archiepiscopato Dublinensis, li Vescovati Kildarensis, Osserensis, Leglinensis, Fearnensis. Tutti questi Vescovi sonno o heretici, ovvero schismatici, perche hanno ottenuto li suoi vescovati di Donna Elisabetta, non dimeno io cognosco alcuni di loro, che molto voluntieri sarebbono catholici se non fosse per non perder suoi vescovati.

In Langenia sonno molti signori temporali tanto della natione Inglesa, come della Hispanica, come:

Il Sr. Geraldo di Geraldinis Conte di Kildar.

Il Sr. Rolando Lorde di Killeullyn.

Il Sr. Mauritio fitz Thomaso di Geraldinis.

Il Sr. Comodo Lorde di Montgerard.

Il Sr. Thomaso Stukley Inglese.

Il Sr. Bremengiam, alias Makeoris.

Makmorochou ch'è del sangue reale di Lagenia, et gran Signore.

Othuotill, Obreyn, Oduyn, Odymosa, Omoro, Oconocahour alli, Makilliphadrik, et molti altri signori et cavaglieri nobili, et gentilhuomini senza titolo di signoria, delli quali non escrivo più per non esser troppo tedioso.

Il sopradetto Thomaso Stuklei Inglese è adesso nella corte di Sua Catth^{ca}. M^{ta}. et ha comprato con li suoi denari grandissimi paesi et possessioni, et è persona molto nobile, et ha perso infiniti beni pochi anni passati per certi ribelli, et essendo lui persona animosa, liberale, et molto valerosa per sue rare virtudi, et magnanimità, et per l'odio che porta alli heretici inglesi, et per il suo gran zelo della fede catholica li signori di Lagenia che sonno della natione hispanica lo volevano far et ordinar suo capitano generale, al quale dariano ubidienza, come al suo superiore et signore, ma la persecutione di Donna Elisabetta contra di lui lo sforzò a partir del paese, perche essi Signori sempre mai fanno guerra contra il Vicerre, et contra quelli che ubidiscono a Donna Elisabetta.

Tutti li signori, et gentilhuomini d'Irlanda, et tutti li soldati anchora tutti li nobili non solamente di Lagenia, ma anchora di Momonia, di Connacia, di Holtonia, et di Media l'aspettano con grandissimo desiderio con armata, li buoni et catholici per adgiutarlo, et imbracciarlo con amore, et li heretici per fugarlo con timore. Ha posto anto terrore, et timore nelli cuori delli magistrati inglesi del Regno d'Irlanda che non sapeano che far, nè che dire, di modo, che

alcuni dicevano ch'il Vicerre Henrico Sydney demandò licenza di Donna Elisabetta di lasciar suo officio per paura di detto signor Stukley.

Io ho molto da dir della sua magnanimità, et di quello che lui può far in quell'Isola, et di quanta stimatione sia appresso li grandi signori del Regno, et quanti sonno che l'imbracciariano voluntieri, ma non lo posso dire in scritto, nè manco conviene di scriverlo per adesso, lo dirò ben con la gratia del Signore in suo luoco et tempo conveniente, ma solo questo dico et affermo con verità, che lui è ben voluto dalli buoni, et temuto dalli mali, et questo è buon segno.

In Lagenia non ve sonno più cittadi, che Dublinia; ma vi sono molte terre grosse et abondante, et alcune sonno murate come Wessifordia alias Guessifordia, Rossa, Keaharlach, Balathy, Dagbyn, Lechlyn, Kildare, Moynode, Inis Dioge, Thomastowne, Kilkinni, Callyn, et molti altri castelli grossi, et al modo del paese forti. Non-dimeno non v'è terra, nè castello, che possi resister a una compagnia de saldati havendo solamente due pezze d'artiglieria di mezzo cannone.

DI MOMONIA, ET COME E DIVISA IN TRE PARTI DEL SUO SITO, ET PRIMO D'ORMONIA CH'E LA TERZA PARTE. CAP. X.

Momonìa è divisa in tre parti, cioè Ormonia, Desimonìa, Tuomonìa, ma Desimonìa è più grande, che le due altre parti.

Momonìa è situata nella parte meridionale d'Irlanda fra Lagenia, et Connacia, et è paese assai bello, et fertile.

Il S^r Thomaso Butler è Conte d'Ormonia, et tien anchora una parte del suo dominio (come già ho detto) in Lagenia, et ha molti signori et vassalli in quel suo paese, che l'ubidiscono, et gli pagano tributo, come il Signore Teobaldo Lorde di Cahyr.

Il Sig^r Fiz Piers Lorde di Dunbugna.

Il Sig^r Edmondo Lorde di Montgerart.

Don Edmondo Butler	} fratelli del detto Conte Tomaso, signori di grandissimi paesi.
Don Eduardo Butler	
Don Petro Butler	

Il Sign^r Okearrull dela natione Hispanica.

ODuyr, Omeacchir, Okenedy doyn, Okenedy feyn, Makeig con molti altri signori, Baroni, cavaglieri, nobili, et gentilhuomini di castelli, et di grandissimi paesi, et possessioni.

In Ormonia non vi sonno cittadi, ma sonno alcune terre grosse, et murate, come Cassell, Gouran, Callin, Fegart, Cnach, Clomell, et molti altri castelli forti.

DE DESIMONIA, ET DELLI SUOI SIGNORI, CITTADI ET PORTI. CAP. XI.

Il Signore Geraldo di Geraldinis (che cossi anchora si chiama il Conte di Kildare) Conte di Desimonìa tiene in suo Dominio molti signori, et cavaglieri nobili, li quali sempre l'ubidiscono, come, et quando gli piace, et ad ogni hora.

Il Conte di Clenkarby (ch'è della natione Hispanica) fatto nuovamente Conte di Donna Elisabetta et prima si chiamava Makarthymor. V'è il sig^r Don Giovanne fratello del Conte Geraldo, ch'è gran signore.

Il sig^r Don Jacomo fiz Mauritio di Geraldinis.

Don Thomaso di Geraldinis.

Il S^r Giovanne Lepore Lorde di Corrachmor.

Il S^r Geraldo Viceconte di Desagh.

Il S^r Jacomo Lorde Barrimor.

Il S^r Lorde Baryogge.

Il S^r David Lord Roche.

Il Sr. Cormak, Makarthy Lord di Moscri.	
Il Sr. Thomaso Lord Baron di Licknar.	
Il Sr. Makarthy Riache, Makmahonna nel occidente.	
Il Sr. Lord Bary Ruo.	
Il Sr. Patrik Condon.	
Il Sr. Patritio de Cursy.	
Il Sr. Guillermo di Burgo Lord di Fizwillam.	
Odrischeol Dowin.	
Odrischeol Feyn.	Odrischeol Ruo.
Odonochou Ingleana.	Osuillavan mor.
Osuillivan Biarra.	Makillicodda.
Makonnocho.	Makoviley.
Okeallachain.	Okist.
Okonochour Kierrey.	Omolrian.
Makbrien oghuonache.	Mak y Brien Arrath.
Mak Thomas di Geraldinis.	
Il Sr. Lord Roche Ruo.	

Li tre Knightes, cioè il Knight de Kearry, il Knight de Walle, il Knight di Cleyn Gibbon, li quali tre Knightes (benche sono chiamati Knighthes) sonno signori di grandissimi paesi, di molti castelle, et terre. Sonno anchora molt'altri signori cavaglieri, et nobili, et gentilhuomini in quella Desimonia, che qui non scrivo per non esser troppo tedioso.

In Desimonia sono tre cittadi, et molti porti assai sicuri, et facili per intrar in quelli, come

Il porto dela città di Waterfordia.
 Il porto della città di Cork,
 Il porto della città di Limerico,
 Il porto di Yochele
 Il porto di Dungarrivan,
 Il porto di Kensale,
 Il porto di Ballintimor,
 Il porto di Capo di Clero,
 Il porto di Crouchan,
 Il porto di Dunbuyn,
 Il porto di Dunchiaran,
 Il porto di Ballinschelinghy,
 Il porto di Dinghel,
 Il porto di Fintra
 Il porto di Smeruich, alias Ardchanhy,
 Il porto di Byal,
 Il porto de Inschatty per intrar a Limerico.

Tutti questi porti sonno porti principali, et vi sonno anchora altri porti, nelli quali intrano navi per necessit , o violentia di tempesta per assicurarsi di quella.

DELLA CITTA DI WATERFORDIA. CAP. XII.

La citt  di Waterfordia   nella Desimonia, et   citt  ben murata, all'antico, et   la pi  riccha d'Irlanda, et pu  haver da mille vicini in circa, et tutti li cittadini sonno catholici da quattro, o cinque giovanetti in fuori, et sonno tutti o mercanti, over artigiani: sono huomini datti pi  presto alli suoi negotii, che a cose di guerra, et non hanno munitioni di guerra eccetto da quattro o cinque pezze d'artiglieria, et quelle ben piccole, et di poca estimatione per non haver gente per resister a mille soldati armati.

La città di Waterfordia è in bellissimo luogo discosta dal mare da 12 miglia, et è sopra un gran fiume, che si chiama Seurus, tanto profondo, che navi di mille pippe puonno navigare dinanzi alla città etiandio quando il mare è basso.

DELLA CITTA DI CORK. CAP. XIII.

La città di Cork è in Desimonia, et è ben murata, et forte in mezzo d'un fiume, che si chiama Ligh, et s'entra in quella città per ponti di legnami cossi fatti per maggior sicurtà della città, ma v'è un monte sopra, et appresso la città dal quale si potria non solamente bater in giù le case della città con artiglieria, ma anchora amazzar la gente in mezzo della piazza con l'archibusi per esser il monte tanto vicino alla città.

Il fiume è tanto grande, et profondo, che viddi in quella tre ulche fiamenghe di 1400 et 1600 di fromento presi di certi pirati inglesi.

La città può far in circa 800 vicini, li quali sonno tutti mercanti, piscatori, et arteggiani, et tutti sonno catholici, benche hanno uno heretico per vescovo, il quale predica sempre mai l'heresia lutherana al populo, ma per la Dio gratia indarno, vero è che vanno sforzati alla sua predica, et altre cerimonie che lui fa.

La città non ha munitione per defendersi salvo due pezze d'artiglieria, et messuno è mezzo cannone, et anchora non hanno polvere, nè balle per quelle, et senza nissuna resistenza si potria pigliar, perche so bene l'animo, et la volontà delli cittadini, li quali non desiderano altra cosa in questo mondo che d'haver la religion catholica.

La città è molto fertile, et abondante di carne, pesce, fromento, et altri grani, et è discosta dal mare otto, overo dieci miglia.

DELLA CITTA DI LIMERICO. CAP. XIII.

Limerico è più forte, et più bella di tutti l'altri cittadi d'Irlanda, ben murata di grossi muri di pietre vive di marmore, et è fatta la città isola in mezzo di quel rapido fiume del Senen, et non s'intra se non per ponti fatti di pietre, delli quali uno dei dui che sonno tene 14 archi, et l'altro otto.

E' discosta dal mare grande in circa 60 miglia, ma intrano navi di quattrocento pippe insino alla città.

Per la maggior parte sono le case d'essa di pietre quadrate di marmore negro, et fabricate a modo di torre, o fortezze.

Il borgo della città è meglio murato, che la medesima città, il muro del quale è dieci piedi largo, et in alcuni luoghi 140 (sic) piedi alto, et ci sonno dieci torri, overo propugnaculi bellissimi et forti intorno, che non lasciano acostarsi gente al muro.

Può far la città da 800 o 900 vicini, et tutti sono catolici da sette o otto giovani in fuori, li quali abbracciano quella leprà luterana più presto per compiacer a Donna Elisabetta, che per altra causa.

V'è un castello a detta città fatto da Joanne figliuolo del Re Henrico 2º et da molti anni in qua è dishabitato, et le case, et tetto di detto castello rovinate, et cascata già una parte del muro, ma con poche spese si conciarà, et è in bellissimo luogo eminente sopra la città per tenerla sempre mai in sugettione, benche li cittadini di quella città sonno sempre mai stati fideli alli suoi principi d'Inghilterra.

La città di Limerico non ha più artiglieria, che due pezze assai piccole, et non ha altra munitione di guerra salvo pochi arcibusi, archi et balestre, ma in verità posso affermar, che in tutta la città non si truova mezza pipa di polvere per quella artiglieria.

È' la città situata in bellissimo luogo fra Desimonia, et Tuomonia, per che quel gran fiume del Sennen divide l'un paese da l'altro, et la città se non fosse per causa di guerra è sempre abbondante di grano, carni, latticinii, pesci fluviali.

Oltre queste tre cittadi di Desimonia ci sonno molte altre, terre grosse, et ben murate in quella, come Dungariuan, Yochel, Kinsale, Kilmohalogge, Denghel, CayrDunihiesk, Askettine, Traglie, l'Isola del Conte cossi chiamata.

Sonno infiniti altri castelli di signori, et gentilhuomini, che saria tedio, et fastidio non solamente a me di scriverlo, nua anchora al lettore di leggerlo, et per ciò lo lascio in nome di Dio.

DELLA TUOMANIA CH'È LA TERZA PARTE DI MOMONIA. CAP. XV.

La terza parte di Momonia si chiama Tuomonia, et il Signor d'ella insino alli nostri tempi si chiama Obrien, il quale nome era molto celebrato, et reverito per tutta l'Isola per sua antica nobiltà, et destrezza in fatti d'arme, et altre sue rari virtudi, et soleva esser nelli tempi passati sempre mai Re di tutta la Momonia, et spesse volte Monarcha di tutta l'Isola. Henrico 8^o per non patir cossi celebre nome in quel paese, in circa l'anno 1540 chiamò in Inghilterra quello che alhora era Obrien, et gli fece deponer quel nome, et lo chiamò Conte di Tuomonia. Hora il Signor di quel paese si chiama Cornelio Obrien Conte di Tuomonia, et ha pochi signori in quel suo paese che l'ubidiscono, per che alcuni nobili della medesima nazione gli fanno continna guerra, et sonno quei che seguono.

Il Barone d'Insichoyne.

Li dui Maknamarry che sono grandi signori.

Li duo Makmohonni anchora grandi signori.

Olochlin, Ograda, Ochonochour corchomoruo, il signor Donaldo Obrien, et molti altri nobili cavaglieri, et gentilhuomini della nazione hispanica, li qualli non hanno titolo di signoria benche hanno grandissimi paesi, castelli, et terre, ma la maggior parte di quelli non ubidiscono al Conte, perche lui mantiene la parte de gl'Inglesi, et loro fanno il contrario.

In questa Tuomonia non v'è città alcuna, nè manco porti maritimi, benche il Conte tien molti belli castelli appresso il fiume del Sennen, appresso li quali più navi posson ben esser sicure di qualsivoglia tempesta, ma non v'è traffico di mercanti in quelli suoi castelli, o altre sue terre.

In Tuomonia si truovano mine di metallo et d'argento, et cossi si truovano in tutta l'Isola, delli quali è molto abbondante, et questo Cornelio Conte di Tuomonia cavò molto di quello, ma gli Inglesi non gli lasciano più cavar, et fu sbandito dal suo dominio da Donna Elisabetta nel anno 1571 et di poi per l'intercessione del Re di Franza fu ricevuto in gratia, et favore di Donna Elisabetta, benche non è troppo saldo nel suo dominio, nè sicuro per la malvagità, et perfidia di Donna Elisabetta.

DELLI VESCOVATI DI TUTTA LA MOMONIA. CAP. XVI.

In Momonia si truovano un archievescovato, et dieci vescovati, cioè: l'archievescovato Cassellensis in Ormonia. Li vescovati Waterfordensis, Lismoriensis, Clisonensis, Corkagensis, Recessis, Ard-fertensis, Limericensis, Emelicensis in Desimonia, Leonensis, Finabrensis in Tuomonia.

Tutti questi undeci vescovati sonno bellissime sedie episcopali, et cossi hanno anchora tutti l'altri vescovati del isola, ma non sonno cittadi come nell'altre parti del mondo, salvo Dublinia, Waterfordia, Limirico, et Cork.

Tutti li catholici Vescovi di Momonia sonno privati delli suoi vescovati da Donna Elisabetta, et alcuni sbanditi fuori del Regno, come Mauritio Cassellensis, et Mauritio Emelicensis, ma Thomaso Rossensis è captivo in Inghilterra come vero pastore delle pecore di Christo costante, et forte nella fede catholica. Hugo Limaracensis è già vecchio, et è fugitivo nell'istessa isola con alcuni suoi parenti, et amici.

Momonia è più vicina all'Hispania, che tutti l'altri paesi del Regno, et quanto sia affettionata alla natione Hispanica non lo posso scriver per buoni rispetti.

DE CONNACIA, DEL SUO SITO, VESCOVATI, PORTI, ET NOMI DELLI
SIGNORI DI QUELLA. CAP. XVII.

Connacia è un bellissimo paese situata fra Momonia, et Holtonia nella parte occidentale del Regno d'Irlanda, et ha sedie episcopali otto — cioè :

L'archivescovato Tuamensis, li vescovati Duacensis, Clonfertensis, Anachdunensis, Muyonensis, Alladensis, Achadensis, Elfinensis.

Li Vescovi di questi vescovati sonno per la maggior parte catholici, et alcuni sono schismatici, li quali hanno ottenuto suoi vescovati di Donna Elisabetta, et tutti essi schismatici desiderano veder la rifattione della chiesa catholica.

Questa Connacia non ha città veruna, ma ve sono alcuni porti maritimi, come Galvia, Sligo, alias Sligheach, Moeyn.

Galvia è una terra ben murata, et forte vicina al mare, et tutti gl'inhabitanti di quella sono catholici da quindici giovanetti in fuori, li quali per compiacer a donna Elisabetta imbraccian quella novità lutherana.

In Galvia non v'è munitione di guerra in artiglieria, nè polvere, et è terra (se ben ho detto ch'è forte) assai facile da pigliare per conto d'un monte ch'è vicino a quella, et anchor molto facile da tener, et guardar massime d'alcun principe forte ch'havesse cura di quella.

In Connacia v'è un castello fortissimo, che si chiama Roscoman, fu fatto da Giovanne figliuolo de Henrico 2^o essendo all'hora Vicerre d'Irlanda per il suo padre.

Questo castello è fatto in un bellissimo campo appresso d'un gran lago, il quale viene quasi intorno al castello, et essendo fatto sopra il territorio del S^r Oconochour doyn contra sua voluntà esso lo pigliò, et è stato dalli suoi sucessori ritenuto da 300 anni in qua insin a tanto che questo moderno Oconochour in Aprile del anno 1567 con salvo condotto al Vicerre Henrico Sidney non pensando male veruno essendo allhora in Galvia, ma non ostante suo salvo condotto (o perfidia grande) fu dal detto Henrico Sidney sforzato di render quel castello alli Inglesi avanti ch'il povero vecchio partisse dalli mani loro benche pativa molti disaggi meco nel castello di Dublinia per un anno avanti che desse il detto castello. Il buon vecchio mi diceva che se lui fosse in quel castello havendo vettovaglia, et pochi monitioni, che non faria conto di tutte l'artiglierie del mondo che si trasse contra il detto castello. Ma è molto difficile a g'Inglesi di tenerlo longo tempo per esser più d'ottanta miglia discosto di Dublinia, dove tengono quella poca munitione ch'hanno.

In Connacia v'è una terra ben murata, che si chiama Ardy, et il Sr. Don Jacomo fiz Mauritio con li figliuoli del Conte Richardo di Borgo l'ha rovinato, et bruciato l'anno 1572. con più di 300. ville, castelli, terre grosse, li quali ubidivano, et favorivano a Donna Elisabetta.

Per il gran fiume del Sennen passò il Signore don Jacomo Mauritio in Connacia per adiutar li figliuoli del Conte Richardo di Borgo, li quali facevano crudelissima guerra contra Donna Elisabetta per conto del detto Conte, il quale teneva Donna Elisabetta in prigione in Dublinia, et havendo fatto un gran essercito passarono un'altra volta il fiume del Sennen, et introrno in Media, dove fecero infiniti mali, et danni, et rovinarono castelli, terre, ville, et abrugiorno la terra d'Allon, dove stette il presidente di Connacia per nome Edoardo Fitten, il quale difendeva il castello, ma non gli bastava l'animo, nè le forze per uscir contra il Signore Jacomo.

Questo castello d'Allon è sopra il Sennen, et è ben forte, et è tenuto, et posseduto dal Inglesi, ma non ha monitioni in più da dua pezze d'artiglieria assai piccole, come una persona molto reverenda m'ha detto.

Oltre le sopradette terre, et castelli ci sonno molt' altri castelli di Signori, et gentilhuomini, ma non sonno per resister a pezze grosse d'artiglieria, et non hanno anchora munitione alcune.

In Connacia v'è un conte che si chiama Ricardo di Borgo, et è huomo molto catholico, et virtuoso, et è come signore di tutta Connacia, et tien molti altri signori sotto di sè che l'ubidiscono, come il Signor Joanne di Borgo suo parente. Ochonochoyr doyn. Ochonochoyr Ruo. Ochonochoyr Slyghi. Okealli. O Dudo. O Flahirty. Oshachenassa. O Hairt. O Berryn. Makiermodo. Makonocho. Makostella.

Et molti altri signori, cavaglieri, nobili, et gentilhuomini di castelli, terre, et di grandissimi paesi, li quali sono della medesima casa di Borgo, et non hanno titolo, et nome di Signoria. Questa casa di Borgo è francese, et erano Conti nel tempo di Henrico 2^a il quale essendo francese menò questa Ricardides (che cossi si chiamavano all'hora in Irlanda) et gli diede li più belli luoghi di quell'Isola, sonno huomeni valerosi, et di gran virtù, et quasi sonno tutti rossi, belli, et grandi di statura, et sempre pronti alla guerra.

Questa è la descriptione d'Irlanda in particolare, et hora voglio dir poche parole in generale, acciò sappia V. S. Ill^{ma} che sua Cattholica M^{ta} non deve lasciar l'oportunità di pigliar cossi buono et bel Regno come quello.

LA DESCRITTIONE GENERAL DEL REGNO D'IRLANDA. CAP. XVIII.

Irlanda dunque è abondante di fromento, horgio, avena, legumini, et simili grani. Sonno in quel Regno infiniti belli, et bravi cavalli d'ogni sorte. Ci sono in Irlanda infiniti moschardini, falconi, et altri simili ucelli. Ci sono infiniti ucelli grandi, come grucigni, domestici et selvatici, ocche domestiche, et selvatiche, anatre, pavoni, pernici, fasani, et altri ucelli domestici.

Ci sono belli, et grossi fiumi, molti rivi, fonte d'acque limpide, et purissime. Sonno anchora infiniti laghi, ovvero stagni grandissimi pieni di pesci, come anguille grosse, lucci, trodi, et altri simili pesci. In Irlanda si truova tanta abondanza di harenghe, et di salmoni, ch' ogn'anno si caricano molti navi di quelli pesci per Inghilterra, per Francia, et per altri Regni.

Nelli fiumi d'Irlanda si truovano ogn'anno infinite bellissime margarite assai pretiose, et di gran valore.

Si truovano mine d'argento, estanno, piombo, et cupro in quell'isola, ma le mine di ferro sonno tante, che basteriano per altri Regni.

Ci sono tanti conicoli, che si chiamano morteri, ch'infinite delle sue pelle si vendono assai care in Inghilterra, in Fiandra, in Franza, et altri luoghi.

Vi sono grandissimi bosci, et legnami per far navi, et fabricar case che forsi in tutto il mondo non ci sonno simili.

Quanto sia abondante detto Regno di carni, di lana, et laticinio si può ben cognoscer in questo, che li mercanti di essa non cavano altre cose fuori di quello, se non pelle di vacche, et d'altri animali, panno et lana di pechore, butiro, sevo, et altri simili.

Non si truovano animali venenosi in quel Regno, et la temperanza del aira, è tanta che mai fa mal alla testa se l'huomo dormisse fuori di notte. Il freddo non è tanto eccessivo in quel Regno, come è qui in Spagna, nè manco il caldo, ma tene un mezzo temperato fra l'uno, et l'altro.

Una sola cosa manca in quel Regno, cioè un Re Christiano, et zeloso del honor d'Iddio, che sempre mai stesse nel Regno, et sforzasse gli huomini ociosi a lavorar, et castigasse li mali, et cattivi, et premiasse li buoni, et virtuosi.

Questa è la conclusione della mia descrittione, et prego le M^{ta} d'Iddio che ne dia un Re secondo il cuor suo, et non secondo li peccat nostri. Amen.

CAP. XIX.

Qui si ha lasciato questo capitolo per brevità, dove il author discorreva las causas, per che non nomina in scritto alli catholici di quel Regno, ne le voluntadi, et affectione di ciascheduno signor, città et cittadino in particolare, et è perche li Signori gl'han tolto giuramento di che non lo dirà per il danno, che indi gli potrebbe venire, et per li molti spioni inglesi che andano nella corte catholica ma offerisce di venire in persona, et scoprirlo a solo sua M^{ta} catholica benche questo anchora è obligato con conditione che sua M^{ta} gli porga soccorso, et adiuto, et prenda sopra di se la sua empresa, et protectione.

COME SI DE ESPUGNAR QUEL REGNO D'IRLANDA, ET IN CHE MODO.

CAP. XX.

Il nostro Signore e Salvatore n'ha mostrato nel Evangelio, come si debbe espugnar un Regno dicendo: Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur, et domus supra domum cadet, la quale regola è molto infallibile.

Il Regno d'Irlanda come già ho detto è diviso in cinque parti, et ogniuna parte in più particelle, et anchora cadauna particella è divisa di tal modo, che quanti parti ha in se, tanti sono anchora li huomini fra se divisi, perche è una regola commune: Par in pari non habet imperium.

Gerardo Cambriense in suo libro dell'historia Hibernica dice che Irlanda è dalli antichi divisa in 200 cantaredi.

Cantaredo è un spatio di terra, che contiene da 100 ville. Villa è una quantità di terra arabile di 160 achre con pastura di cento animali l'anno. Acra di terra è una mensura di 40 pertiche in longo, et di diece pertiche largho. Perticha è mensura de 18 cubiti.

In tutta l'Isola d'Irlanda di Media in fuori io son certo che non ci truova un cantaredo che non vi sia guerra, l'una villa contra l'altra,

un cantharedo contra un altro, et un fratello contra suo fratello, et un parente contra l'altro, ergo tutto quel regno cossi diviso è già spugnato a chi vuole pigliarlo.

Credendo io che sua M^{ta} non habbia tanto gran desiderio di dilatar suo dominio temporale, quanto di essalter la gloria di Christo, et di stirpar la peste lutherana dalla sua santa chiesa, et piantar la vera catholica et apostolica fede in quella, imperò mi pare moltò espediente imo necessario ch'habbia l'authorità, et commissione (revocando quella che fu data prima a Henrico Re d'Inghilterra) della sedia apostolica per intrar con armata in quel Regno d'Irlanda essendo (come già ho detto) patrimonio di S^t Petro. Havendo questa commissione, et autorità dal Sommo Pontefice sarebbe benche sua cath^{ca} M^{ta} (come in effetto tutti li signori et nobili d'Irlanda desiderano, et vorriano) ordinasse, et facesse l'Ill^{mo} S^r Don Giovanne d'Austria suo fratello Re di quel Regno.

Molte cose me movono a dir questa cosa, la prima, et più principale è l'honor d'Iddio, perche essendo sua Al^t zelosa della religione christiana, et catholica non dubito che riformeria la chiesa d'Irlanda.

Mi muove anchora l'utilità del ben commune di quel regno, perche sicome l'occhio del patrone ingrassa il cavallo, cossi l'occhio del Re ingrassa, conforta, et pacifica il regno, come per il contrario sua ausentia nutrisce dissensioni, discordie, ribellioni, povertà, et altri infiniti mali; Il che si vede manifestamente in quel medesimo regno d'Irlanda, al quale manco (sic) la presentia d'un Re più di 400 anni.

Anchora me muove a questo, che essendo sua M^{ta} confalone, et capitano generale della chiesa d'Iddio, et havendo per Dio gratia havuto più volte vittoria deli infideli inimici capitali d'Iddio et della sua santa chiesa meritamente è degno d'haver qualche guiderdone dalla detta chiesa, et non so che cosa gli può dar più facile, che quella corona regale d'Irlanda ch'è sua.

Tutte l'altre provintie della chiesa sono già date ad altri principi christiani salvo quella provintia del regno d'Irlanda, et non dubito ch'il Signor Iddio l'habbia conservato per il S^{re} Don Giovanne, et ch'il Summo Pontefice gli concederà quel regno se sua M^{ta} Cath^{ca} vuole domandarlo, et procurarlo. Ch'il figliuolo di cossi buon padre, come Carolo Quinto era, il fratello, et fidelissimo servitore di cossi gran Re, come il ser^{mo} Re Cath^{co} et il confallone, et propugnatore di cossi santa, et pietosa madre come la Chiesa Romana non merita haver meno dignità che una corona regale, perch'in queso s'essalta la gloria del padre, l'honore del fratello, et la dignità, et riverenza della madre.

Me muove anchora a dir questa mia ragione ch'il consiglio di sua cath^{ca} M^{ta} non gli lascierebbe diminuir sua paterna heredità per ingrandir quel nobile cavagliere suo fratello Don Giovanne imperò Irlanda saria al proposito.

Anchora li signori d'Irlanda non imbracciano volontieri, ne manco ubidiscono alli Vicerre, perche in verità infin adesso li Vicerre di quel Regno, et anchora in ogn 'altro luoco, come si vede nell' India di Portogallo, et altrove non fanno altro, che pelar, et piglier li beni del regno, et in capo di quatro, overo cinque anni si partino con li sacchi pieni, et per li nuovi Vicerre, et presidenti bisogna nuovi doni, et presenti, di maniera ch'hanno spogliato il regno delli suoi beni imperò quelli del regno d'Irlanda bramano haver un Re nel Regno che li difenderia, et al quale daria obedientia, et sommamente desiderano per suo Re il S^r Don Giovanne udendo la sua buona fama, et fortuna, et il suo zelo del honor d'Iddio.

Oltra questo dico il mio parer, che se esso S^r. Don Giovanne fusse creato Re d'Irlanda sarebbe un gran flagello, et terror alli heretici d'Inghilterra, perche tengono per una profecia, che la ruina d'Inghilterra ha da cominciar in Irlanda, la profecia in lingua inglese è questa ; He that will England winne, lett him in Irland beginne, che vuol dire, colui che vuol pigliar Inghilterra bisogna che cominci per Irlanda.

Ancora questa creatione, et coronatione del S^r. Don Giovanne nel regno d'Irlanda faria gran danno alli heretici fiamenghi perche vittovaglie, et munitioni che donna Elisabetta manda di giorno al soccorso delli heretici in Fiandra li tenerebbe in suo regno per paura d'esser assaltata d'una banda, o d'altra dal S^r. Don Giovanni, et dalli Irlandesi, li quali volunteri guastariano Inghilterra.

Se paresse questo negotio inconveniente a sua cath^{ca}. M^{ta}. per la guerra del Turco, nella quale il detto S^r. Don Giovanni è occupato per adesso, io dico che havendo authorità dal Summo Pontefice facilmente potria pigliar la possessione di quel regno con l'armata della santa lega, et dopo d'haver pigliato il giuramento di fidelità, insieme con hostagii dalli Signori et nobili dal detto Regno, lasciando suo Vicerre, et munitioni nelle cittadi, et fortezze di quello, potria tornar ala guerra del Turco nel Oriente.

Quelli Signori d'Irlanda, et anchora molti Inglesi tengono per ferma fede ch'il S^r. Don Giovanne ha havuto già la corona regale del regno d'Irlanda dal Sommo Pontefice, et l'aspettano con grandissima allegrezza per accettarlo, et imbracciarlo per suo Re.

DELLE COSE NECESSARIE PER ESPUGNAR IRLANDA, ET DEL TEMPO, ET PORTI CHE SARANNO CONVENIENTI. CAP. XXI.

Hora havendo detto mio parer, et la volontà delli Signori d'Irlanda circa la coronatione del Signore Don Giovanne d'Austria, et questo disegno mio non piaccia a su M^{ta}. et che volesse pigliar quel Regno per se stesso, o per qualsivoglia altra persona è necessario d'haver questi dua cavaglieri per quel effetto, cioè il S^r. Don Giacomo fiz Mauritio, et il Sig^{re}. Tomaso Stucley come doi capitani, li quali sonno valerosi di sue mani, zelosi del honor d'Iddio, conosciuti, et ben voluti dalli Signori del regno, et molto fortunati, et felici, et esperti nelle cose di guerra.

Tutti li Signori del regno riveriscono, amano, et con timor riverentiale temono il S^r. Don Giacomo, et questo si cognosce nell'ultima sua guerra contra Donna Elisabetha, et suo presidenti, et capitani, nella quale guerra benche essi signori stettero con il presidenti et Vicerre in propria persona, mandavano tutta via suoi soldati, et servitori per adgiutar il S^r. Giacomo.

È necessario d'haver questi dua Signori per reconsigliar l'altri del paese per tractar di pace, di concordia, et vera ubidienza a sua Cath^{ca}. M^{ta}. et se fosse bisogna per far incursioni contra li inobedienti et ribelli, perche sanno bene la estrada, li sentieri, et li luochi muniti di tutto quel regno, et sanno bene anchora l'inclinatione et humore d'ogniuno insieme con le forze, potentie, et possibilità di qualsivoglia persona.

Havendo la commissione, et authorità del Sommo Pontefice in quel Regno per soggiogarlo, dico, che con poca gente si potria farlo, tuttavia non convien a sua Catth^{ca}. M^{ta}. di mandar troppo poco essercito per paura, che l'Inglesi mandariano un essercito grande all'incontro.

Il S^{re}. Don Giacomo Mauritio mi diceva che se lui havesse duo miglia soldati spagnuoli, con quelli ch'havea, havrebbe scacciato tutti li heretici inglesi dal Regno d'Irlanda.

Il Sr. Thomaso Stucley (secondo, che io ho inteso) diceva che con 4000 soldati spagmoli havrebbe soggiogato tutto quel Regno, io dico anchora che questo è vero tanto al uno, come al altro, noudimeno non consigliaria mai di mandar a quel regno manco di 12000 huomini timorati d'Iddio, et di buon essempro, perche in verità li peccati delli Spagnuoli, et la loro insolentia, et superbia fanno gran male, et fanno l'ubidienti ribelli, li benigni crudeli, et li amici inimici, et per questo dico che bisogna mandar huomini da bene, et timorati d'Iddio, et zelosi della fede cattholica.

Quando dico dodici mila huomini per quelli intendo 8000 soldati et 4000 huomini di mistiero, come lavoratori di terra, moratori, ferrari, falegnami, sartori, calzolari, et altre persone per far armature, et anchora cittadini, et mercanti per inhabitar le cittadi, et le sedie episcopali, ch'in verità sonno bellissimi luochi, et non manca altra cosa in quelli se non habitatori, soldati senza questi non possono durare nè vivere nel paese, nemanco espugnar quel regno.

Il Capitano generale di quel essercito bisognaria che fosse Duca, overo gran Principe, perche importa molto che sia huomo di gran qualità, et che sia liberale, benigno, et aabile, perche tale persona è sempre molto amata dagl' Irlandesi, et molto riverita, et temuta, et sopra ogni cosa bisogna che sia zeloso del honor d'Iddio, amator dela institia, et correttor de cattivi, et molto vigilante a corriger l'insolentia de li soldati, latroni, violatori delle chiesie, et delli genti simplici, et poveri del Regno.

Sopra ogni cosa bisogna ch'habbi cura, che donne, et puscelle non siano svergognate, o corrotte dalli soldati essendo cosa molto detestabile dinanzi a Iddio, et gl'huomini, et è cosa anchora che quelli del paese più temeno delli Spagnuoli essendogli proposto da gl' Inglesi spese volte dinanzi l'occhi quando accade parlar degli Spagnuoli, o Italiani.

Li porti più vicini al Hispania, et più convenienti per intrar nel regno sono questi Waterfordia, Yochel, Cork, Kensale, et tutti l'altri porti di Momonia (come già ho detto nel XI. capitolo) perche in quattro giorni si può navigar di Biscaia in quelli porti con buon vento.

Il tempo più conveniente del anno per intrar in quel regno, è nel fine di Giugno, et per tutto Luglio, et Agosto perche allhora comincia il tempo di racogliere il grano, et se fosse raccolto dentro le cittadi, et castelli, io haverei paura che sarebbe qualche poco di difficoltà per l'essercito di trovar che mangiar, benche non dubito che le cittadi gli dariano assai.

In quel tempo di Luglio, et Agosto comincia la carne ad esser grassa, et buona, et si truova feno, avena, et serve per cavalli, et altre bestie di vectura in quel tempo.

Si come li soldati debbono haver sua armatura ogniuno secondo sua vocatione, cossi l'altri huomini di mistiero debbono haver suoi instrumenti secondo la qualità loro. Non mancano bravi cavalli et molto belli in quel regno, et si vendono per pochi danari, et cossi non mi pareria di portar cavalli in quel regno.

Quando ho detto di menar dodici milia huomini in quel regno, non mi par dir male, perche si potria mandar altro tanto da gl'Irlandesi fuori del regno per servir sua catth^{ca}. M^{ta}. di loro in Frandra, o altrove, et essi voluntieri andariano perche non demandano altra cosa, che guerra, et soldo. Volessse Iddio che fossero levati di quel regno 12,000 ognanno, acciò che questi con le (sic) suoi barbari costumi fossero totalmente sradicati, et stirpati da quel regno, per che in verità

difficilmente si potrà castigarli, et guardarli dalli suoi latrocinii, et mali costumi.

Quanto al armatura, et arme de soldati, la generatione di quel regno temeno oggidi le balestre, più che l'arcabusci.

Di portar molta artiglieria grossa, come canone, o doppii canoni in quel regno, non mi par troppo necessario, perche non sonno cittadi forti, nè fortezze, contra le quale si possono tirare, et anchora seria una grandissima pena, et fastidio di trasportarle, ma portar di cinque, o sei pezze di canone, et con molt' altri di mezzo cannone par molto bene, et conveniente, et anchora necessario per far terror a quelli ch' hanno castelli forti, et per altri rispetti.

Essendo tutta la Momonia di quattro, o cinque anni in qua rovinata da gl'Inglesi, et dal S^{re} Jacomo Mauritio, et l'inhabitanti di quella alcuni sono morti, et altri partiti di quella, di modo che la terra non è stata coltivata per tutto quel tempo, imperò se fosse la volontà d'Iddio, et di sua M^{ta} di mandar armata in quel regno seria necessario molto di mandar vettovaglie almanco per sei mesi con l'armata, altramente moreriano di fame, benchè Media è sempre abondante di fromento, et altre cose.

Se io sapessi per certo che sua M^{ta} volesse pigliar questo assunto, et quando lo volesse pigliar, io ne scriverei molto più di questo, et a più proposito, et seria necessario, ch'io stessi sempre mai appresso di sua M^{ta} per avisarla delle cose occorrenti a tal' effetto.

Dapoi d'haver scritto questo ho inteso, come il Sig^{re} Giraldo Geraldinis Conte di Desimonia sta dopo sua prigione scapato, et andò al suo paese dove tiene molti soldati sempre in campo per non lasciar gl'Inglesi intrar in suo paese, et tutti gl'Inglesi che son già stati nelli suoi castelli, et fortezze da Donna Elisabetta esso li sforza d'andar via, et non gli fece male veruno.

Il medesimo fece il Sig^r Ricardo di Borgo Conte di Connacia, il quale ha grande essercito in campo, et ambidoi li conti sono gionti, et uniti insieme per far guerra contra l'Inglesi.

Il S^r Oneill, et il S^r Odoneill sonno uniti insieme per adgiutar il Conte di Desimonia, et l'altro Conte di Connacia di modo che hora è il tempo d'adgiutarli, se sua M^{ta} senza pregiuditio del suo honore quanto alla tregua volesse mai far niente in quel paese.

Almanco deve mandar qualche persona d'authorità in una nave ben armata in quel paese per confortar quelli signori et per animargli in quel suo proposito di guerra insin a tanto che sua M^{ta} gli mandi qualche gran soccorso, et per cognoscer ancora la dispositione delli cuori di detti signori se sia conforme a quella informatione ch'io ho da dar a bocca a sua catholica Maestà.

Lascio quest' altra parte del mio libretto bianca per scriver più in quella, quando saperò che questa mia descrizione non dispiacerà a sua M^{ta} et in questo mezzo prego l'infinita bontà d'Iddio che li dia victoria di tutti li suoi nimici corporali, et spirituali, et a noi tutti sua gratia, et facendo fine mi raccomando con tutto il cuore insieme col mio figliuolo Mauritio, et tutti li negotii d'Irlanda a V. Ill^{ma} Signoria. Di Lisbona alli 24 di Marzo del anno 1574.

Di V. Ill^{ma} Signoria

Servo sempre deditissimo

DAVID WOLF.

IV.

THE CROMWELLIAN CONFISCATION.*

SOUTH LIBERTIES OF LIMERICK

ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Thos. Arthur	Bealincurry	Sir Ralph Wilson.
Pat Harold	Farranonelagh	Daniel Bowerman.
J. Oge White	A Garden	do.
R. Rice	do.	do.
J. Stritch	do.	do.
Corporation land	Corkenree	Not sequestered.
Earl of Thomond	Farrangalla	do.
Do.	Courtbrack	do.
Christopher Sexton	Prior's land	do.
Corporation land	Monegealagh & bog	do.

ST. NICHOLAS' PARISH.

John Fox Fitzjames	Ballysheda	Richard Waller.
Alderman Thos. Arthur	Rathmisteele	Edward Weir.
Do.	do.	Duke of York.
Dominick Fanning	Rathbane	Sir R. Wilson.
Do.	do.	do.
Do.	Banelisheen	John Winckworth.
Do.	Two Ardnevokes	do.
Do.	Turf bog common	
Do.	Rathgrellane	Sir R. Wilson.
Pierce Creagh	do.	do.
Dominick Fanning	Sken Abbey	do.
Bart. Stackpoole	Bannerec	do.
Nicholas Bourke	North Rathurd	John Friend.
James Bourke	do.	J. Winckworth
Nicholas Power	Gorteenonelagh	Sir R. Wilson.
Robert Long, Merchant	Clownelong	D. Bowman.
Do.	Bog in Common	
Do.	Spittle land	Not sequestered.

ST. JOHN'S PARISH.

T Arthur	} A number of gardens }	Daniel Bowman.
P. Creagh FitzStephen		
R. Fanning		
Sir Nicholas Comyn		
R. Gavin		
Sir D. Bourke		

*Extracts from the "Cromwellian Settlement in Co. Limerick," published by Mr. James Grene Barry in the *Limerick Field Club Journal* (1900-1909), and from "Grants of Land under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation"—(1666-1684)—taken from the *Public Records, Ireland, Vol. II* (1825)

ST. PATRICK'S PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Alderman T. Arthur	Reboge	Sir William King.
Sir N. Comyn	do.	do.
Sir Jeff. Galway	Park Calleboolane	do.
Thos. Arthur	Gortneskagh	John Vaughan.

ST. LAWRENCE PARISH.

Laurence White and Margaret Creagh	} Gortacoliboe	} Daniel Bowman.
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KNOCKNEGAUL PARISH.

John Rawley	Lisnalta	Francis Gregory.
Do.	Commons do.	do.
Donough O'Brien	Derryknockane	W. Pope.
John Arthur, Limk.	Ballynecloghy	R. Waller.
Do.	do.	Abraham Green.
M. Oge Stritch	Annaghrosty, (bog in common)	F. Rollestown.

DONOGHMORE PARISH.

Sir Jeff. Galway	Knockanenanty	Mary Francis.
Do.	do.	Randal Clayton.
Do.	do.	E. Warr.
Do.	Bog in common	
Pierce Creagh	Donoghmore	J. Friend.
Do.	do.	Sir R. Wilson.
Do.	do.	Wm. Farwell.
Alderman P. Creagh	Drombanny and Gortygarane	do.
Do.	Gortrackly	do.
Do.	Ballybrenanbeg	do.
Bishop's land	Ballybrenanmore	Not sequestered.
N. Bourke, FitzWilliam	Kilprichaune and South Rathard	J. Friend.
Nicholas Haly	Tworeen, Coolihenane and Kilpatrick	R. Clayton.*
The same and J. Bourke	Garryglass	A. Green.
Do.	do.	Duke of York.
Sir R. Wilson	Inchmore	Not sequestered.

DERRYGALVIN PARISH.

Alderman Fanning	Shedfeacle	A. Green.
Do.	Ardmore.	Duke of York.
Corporation land	Three commons	Not sequestered.
Bishop's land	Kilkelleen	do.
Do.	Knocknamontilly	do.
Do.	Garryglassy	do.
Do.	Garrybeg and	do.
Do.	Garrymoney	do.
Glebe	Singland	do.
Do.	do.	do.

* Randal Clayton bought Ballynecarde for £428 and sold it again to Captain John Croker.

KILMURRY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Baron Brittas	Callaghitroy, <i>alias</i> Castletroy	Hallow Blades.
Jordan Roche and Ed. Bourke	Newcastle, Lislea and Ballyknock	do.
Jordan Bourke, Limk. Ed. Bourke FitzRichard	Ballyglassane Ballysimon, Towleton and Derryland	do. Duke of York. Hallow Blades.
Thos. Arthur, Limk. Ed. and James Bourke	Drumrus Ballyneclogh	J. Winckworth. R. Jacob.
Do.	do.	Thos. Walcott.
Do.	do.	A. Green.
Do.	do.	R. Child.
Sir Geff. Galway	Bealavolin	Mary Francis

CARNARRY PARISH.

John & W. Bourke	Scarthballyvallish	R. Garner
Do.	do.	R. Twigg.
Do.	do.	W. Power.
John Wand, Tho. Bourke and M. Haly	Carnarry do.	John Cripps. Thos. Power.
William Comin	Coolreagh and Carrigmartin	Sir W. King
Lord Brittas and Jordan Roche	Ballyloughane	R. Twigg.
Jordan Roche	Brownstown	W. Farwell.
Do.	Cnocklarmore	do.
Lord Brittas and Jordan Roche	Ballyogarline	do.
Thos. Power, Park	Park, Drombanny and Ballymackin	R. Twigg.
		Standish Hardstonge.

MUNGRET PARISH.

Bart Rice	Cloghenrory (bog in common)	Henry Bindon.
Lady Dowager Castle- connell	Cloghenkeaton (bog in common)	David Bindon.
Do.	Islaneouran	Patrick Vannts.
Alderman Creagh	Tiervououghtragh	Sir R. Wilson.
Do.	Cahir Keilgeneragh	do.
John Creagh	Corbally	Patrick Vannts.
Lady Dowager Castle- connell	do.	Samuel Eames
Bishop's land		Not sequestered.

CAHERVALLEY PARISH.

Jordan Roche	Liccadoone	Thos. Bishop of Limk.
David Roche	Cahirvally (bog in common)	Hallow Blades.
Protestant land	Ballynabraher	Not sequestered.

BARONY OF PUBBLEBRIAN.

MONASTERNEANY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Lady Southwell	Monaster and Ballymacstradeen	Not sequestered.
Ald. F. Fanning and his assignees, and Dermot Clancy, I. P.*	Garranamanach	Arthur Ingram and John Newenham.
Earl of Bath†	Cahirduff	
Ed. Bourke	Lacknegrenane	Hallow Blades.
T. and M. O'Brien	Knocknegrane and	Sir A. Ingram and John Newenham.
Do.	Garranebeg	Thos. Blackall, Sir A. Ingram and W. Webb.
Do.	Ballymartin	
Do.	do.	
Earl of Thomond	Kilcurley	Not sequestered.
Margaret Brian, <i>alias</i> Stephenson, I.P.‡	Charabudd	Sir A. Ingram J. Newenham.
The Same	Mackinreagh	Lucas Taffe.
	Knockdrumassell bog.	Hallow Blades.
Michael Fox, Limk.	Turf bog belonging to adjacent lands, a lough beside the same, and lands in controversy	Col. Carey Dillon.

KILLNATTIN PARISH.

Sir Morice Hurley, Kilduff, I.P.	Killinath	Sir A. Ingram and Newenham.
Francis Barkley	Drumloghan	do.
Do.		Thos. Blackall.
Do.		Hallow Blades.
	Bog belonging to same.	

KILPEACON PARISH.

Margaret Brian	Ballyshane	Geo. Peacock.
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KILLONAGHANE PARISH.

Morogh O'Brien of Gransy	Killonaghanmore	Thos. Blackall.
Margaret Brian	Killouaghanbeg	do.
Do.	do.	R. Sweet.
Do.	do.	John Parker.

* That is, "Innocent Papist," as so declared under the Act of Settlement. See page 268.

† He was John Bouchier, fifth Earl of Bath, who died 1654, leaving this and his estate at Lough Gur to his widow. He died without issue. The estate was granted to his father, Sir George Bouchier.

‡ This Margaret was daughter of Richard Stephenson of Dunmoylan (who was killed at Kilfinny Castle in 1642) and Margaret, daughter of Sir Brian duff O'Brien of Carrigogunnell. Sir Brian died 1615, and was succeeded by his only son Donogh, who died without issue 1632. Donogh was succeeded by a third cousin, named Donogh of Downe, who married the above Margaret Stephenson.

KILLONAGHANE PARISH—*continued*.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Margaret, Dowager Castleconnell	Ballinvinoge	J. Blackal.
Do.	do.	Hallow Blades.
Do.	do.	W. Barker.
Margaret Brian	Attyfloyne	Mountifort West- ropp.*
	Cahernatanaha	Mary Sweet.
	do.	Sir S. Barnardiston.

CRECORA PARISH.

Margaret Brian	Ballivilis	R. Sweet.
Sir D. Bourke	Shanaclogh	do.
Margaret Brian	Bearnanaguishy	do.
Earl of Thomond	Ballinviella	Not sequestered.
David Bourke	Lakavauntan	R. Sweet.
Sir Morice Hurley	Ballinrosty (shrubs in same)	do.
Margaret Brian	Ballynamurragh	do.
Teige Brian, Graige	Graige	Mary Sweet.
Do.	Field of Graige	G. Peacocke.
Do.	Downeen	J. Blackall.
Do.	do.	R. Sweet.
Nicholas Stritch, Limk.	Lower Downeen	G. Peacocke.
Do.	Simminey	do.
Margaret Brian	Cahirphola	R. Sweet.

BALLYCAHANE PARISH.

Francis Barkley, I.P.	Ballycahane	G. Peacocke.
Do.	do.	Sir A. Ingram.
Do.	Kildonnell	W. Webb.
Do.	do.	Marta & May Fowler
Do.	do.	Sir A. Ingram
Earl of Thomond	Bog belonging to same	Col. C. Dillon.
Earl of Bath	Boherowen	Not sequestered.
Margaret Brian	Ballyregan	do.
	Skeaghanamore and Skeaghana beg	G. Peacocke.
Do.	Gortifluchenny and Leachnageroge	G. Peacocke.
	Commons of Bally- cahane.	do.

KNOCKENAU PARISH.

Sir D. Bourke	Knockbeehyglisly	G. Peacocke.
	Hevane	do.
	Wet bog in common.	

* Westropp failed to get confirmation of his grant, but succeeded in buying the estate when confiscated by William III.

CLUONANA PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Donagh O'Brian	Cluonanabeg	W. Barker
Do.	Lisduffe	do.
Wm. Casey, I.P.	Cluonana	Hallow Blades.
Anne Casey	do.	W. Barker.
Dermot O'Brian of Knocknagransy	Lisnemoire	do.
Do.	do.	do.
W. Casey	Lisheenhinibeg	do.
Lady D. Castleconnell	Ballycanow, part of the ploughland of Clounatample	do.
Half claimed by Anne Casey	Gortamell and Bougagh	
Donogh O'Brian, I.P., of Carrigogonill	Ballyanrahanbeg	Sir S. Barnardison
Margaret Brian	Kilcolman	W. Barker.
John Haly, Limk.	Broskamore	Geo. Evans.
Margaret Brian	Liscoulta	W. Barker.
Pat Kearney	Cloghateacka	do.
Margaret Brian	do. South	do.
Do.	Glasclohe	do.
Cornelius MacDermody	Killtample	do.
Brian McMurtagh	Cloghteacka	do.
John Fanning, Limk., I.P.	Garranyweelanbeg	George Evans.
Daniel MacMahon	Killincally	do.
Do.	Bog of same	W. White.
Do.	Graigebeg	W. Barker
W. Stritch of Limk.	Faha	Sir S. Barnardiston.
Do.	do.	W. Osborne.
John Purcell	Ballianraghanmore	Sir S. Barnardiston.
		Col. Dillon
		Thos. Blackall.
		Hallow Blades.
		John Parker
		W. Osborne.
		George Evans.
		Not sequestered.
		do.
Donogh O'Brian	Broskeagh	
	do.	
Margaret Brian	Broskeabeg	
Earl of Bath	Ballinvologe	
Do.	Kilboy and Gort-skeaghmore	
Margaret Brian	Clarinney and Knockbrinney	W. White.
Margaret, Lady Castleconnell	Rahinnie	W. White.
W. Roche, I.P., Limk.	do.	John Parker.
Do.	Ballycurry	G. Evans.
	Garranmucky	W. Osborne.
	do.	Thos. Page.
Margaret Brian	Farranamalloran	Lucius Taaffe
Do.	do.	John Parker.
Do.	Ballybrownmore	Col. Dillon
Oliver Bourke	Leackarowley	W. Barker.
Do.	Ballinveene	do.
Mahon MacMahon, I.P.	Downe	W. White.
Margaret Brian	Leackeanamore	W. Barker.

CLUONANA PARISH—*continued.*

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
George Creagh, I.P., Limk.	Indromard	W. Barker.
	Ballyfaday	do.
	Cahirmore	do.
Do.	Ballybeg	do.
	Creaghmontane	do.
Nicholas Stritch	Corkabyney	do.
	Cregane	do.
	Farrananowney	do.
	Culnegore	do.
	Knockebracka	do.
Wm. Roche, Limk.	Gortanmurragh	do.
	Meelick and Bally- hagh	do.
John Comyne	Upper Meelick	do.
Donogh O'Brian	Carrigogonill	M. Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin.*
	Knockleleagh	do.
	Knockcurrane	do.
	Mackinis and half of Ballynoe	do.
	Cahernakillie, being two parts of quarter Tiervowe, bog be- longing to them	do.
Earl of Bath	Leaghensy	Not sequestered.
Margaret Brian	Rathclachan	Lucius Taaff:
	Lickamonoge	do.
Do.	Currymonoge	do.
Lady Bourke	Carricketan	J. Parker.
	Goule and Carrigort	Not sequestered.

MUNGRET PARISH.

W. Roche	Barnacoyle half ploughland	Sir Samuel Barnardis- ton.
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BARONY OF CLANWILLIAM.

CAHERVALLY PARISH.

Thomas Bourke of Bally- loghlan	Ballyloghlan	Laurence Clayton.
Theobald Bourke	Ballynegarde	do.
Do.	Lismullanebeg	Thos. Bishop of Limk.
Dominick Roche of Limerick	Boherlode and Ballynevrana	do.

BARONY OF SMALL COUNTY.

ATHENSY PARISH.

Darby Grady and Ed. Fox	Gormanstown	Robt. Morgan.
	do.	R. Coote.
	Adamstown	do.

* Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin, got a grant of the above lands in 1666. In 1692, he gave a lease of the lands for lives renewable for ever to Thomas Monsell who was high sheriff of the County in 1697 and a direct ancestor of the Monsells (Lord Emly) of Tirvoe.

URAGARE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Ed. Fox	Ballygilden and Garrysullivan	Rob. Morgan.
James Verdon Thos. and Ed. Browne and P. Lysaght, I.P.	Ballycalloo Camus	do. Lord Kingston.

FEDAMORE PARISH.

W. Stritch, I.P., Limk.	Scule do. Commons of Scule and Ballyloghane Another parcel of same	George Ingoldsby. do. do. do.
Theobald Bourke, I.P.	Carnane Bog	do. Lord Kingston. do.
John Lysaght of Adare	Garryelline	do.

GLENORGRA PARISH.

Ellen and Wm. Stritch of Limerick	Cahergillamore do. 8 parcels of Glebe	Rob. Morgan. Anthony Raymond.
Bishop's land, Glebe	Tullybracky Cloghane	

KILPEACON PARISH.

Sir David Bourke, I.P.	Kilpeacon and Inchmorrismore	Sir W. King.
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BRURY PARISH.

W. and Mary Marshall	Cloghviller do. Part of same Heywardstown	Oliver Ormsby. R. Coote. do. Sir T. Southwell. J. and T. Verdon. Arthur Ormsby. Archbishop of Dublin. R. Passey. F. Folliott. Henry Tynt.
Richard and Mary Dundon, I.P.		
M. Haly of Toorheen, I.P. David Power, I.P.	Kilbreedy Farranguilenemur- rana	

KENRY BARONY.

ARDCANNY PARISH.

Patrick Purcell, I.P.	Ballinecarigey and Farrant Byren	Phineas Bury.
More Purcell, <i>alias</i> MacMahon, relict of Rich. Purcell of Croagh	Croagh, Cohenny and Ardglahane Common to three adjacent towns	do. do.

ARDCANNY PARISH—*continued.*

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
David and Catherine Fitzgerald of Ballygarren	Ballygarren Liskmackane	Phineas Bury. do.
R. Fitzgerald	Farrenannie	do.
Wm. S. Fitzgerald	Ballinecurry	do.
Thos. McGarret	Fryennaghnaigh	do.
Ness Fitzgerald, relict of Garret Oge, Pallice, I.P.	Ballyduff	
James Fitzgerald Pat Purcell	Pallice and bog Ballinecarrige bog and lough	John Bury
Theobald R. Purcell	Dromanabrock	do.
Pat Purcell	Knocketerstown	do.
Ed. Purcell	Lishaneshallan	Phineas Bury.
John Fitzgerald	Killasuragh Middle	John Bury.
	do.	do.
James and Ed. McShane, I.P.	do.	do.
	Marsh	Lord Kingston
E. Fitzgerald	Killasuragh North	Phineas Bury.
	Marsh	Duke of York.
Garrat Oge Fitzgerald, I.P.	Mullans	Phineas Bury.
Sheely, relict of Pierce Purcell of Creagh	Rynemoylane Bonegallven	do. do.

KILDIMO PARISH.

The late Major-General Pierce Purcell	Ballycallane	Sir S. Barnardiston.
Joan Fitzgerald, relict of Thos. of Bolane	Faha in dispute	
Gerald Fitzjames	part of Kildimo	Phineas Bury.
FitzGerald	part wood	do.
John Hally of Limk., I.P.	Court	
Gerald McMorish	Killacullum	do.
Gerald, I.P.	Ballyogassy	Lord Kingston.
John Fitzgerald	Ardnevalloge	Phineas Bury.
Phil. Fitzgerald	Ballyurrian bog	do.
Wm. Fitzgerald	Beolane	do.
Ed. Purcell	Ballyonollane	do.
Nicholas Fanning, Limk.	Cahir $\frac{2}{3}$ of Dromore	do.
Ed. Purcell	Scarteene	do.
Do.	Croghy	do.
Do.	Ballinnolan	do.
Do.	Ballynehaisea	do.
Murrough McMahon	Dromore and	do.
	Ballyvodane	do.
Pat Purcell	Kilmoryne	do.
	bog of same	do.
Pat Hogan	Kilnamona $\frac{1}{3}$ plough-land, Ballyassy	
	Craganetry	

KILCORNANE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Phil Fitzgerald	Dromoherbeg	Phineas Bury.
Ed. Fitzgerald	Dromohermore	do.
Thos. Fitzgerald	Ballinshornickmore	do.
Sir Geff. Galway	Graige	John Bury.
Thos. Fitzgerald	Ballymony	Wm. Taylor.
Gerald Fitzgerald, I.P.	do.	Ed. Bray.
Gerald Fitzgerald	Ballygleaghane*	W. Taylor.
Sir Hardress Waller	rest of parish	Not sequestered.

ASKEATON PARISH.

Thos. Dundon	Ballysteen	Thos. Westropp.
	Mitchelstown	Sir S. Barnardiston.
	Ballincannaroe	do.
W. Roche, late of Limk., I.P.	Ballinvoher	Teige McMahon.
David Fitzgerald	Ballinacourty	Phineas Bury.
Mich Malone of Limk.	do.	
Garrat McThomas	do.	
Pat Hogan	do.	
M. McPurcell, I.P.	Milltown	Capt. Teige McMahon.

PART OF ADARE PARISH.

Dermot McMahon	Tuogh	
Ed. Purcell	Curry bog	
Dermot McMahon	Rennigarrane	
Kennedy McTillogh and Morrogh McDaniel	Killamamgo	
	do.	
	bog	
Bryne McTullagh	Kilgograne	Henry Widenham.†
	do.	Phineas Bury
	Cnocklo	do.
John Lysaght	Killkerill	do.
	Land in dispute	
John Fitzgerald	Curra and bog	John Hunt.‡
John Lysaght	Kilvokan	Henry Widenham.
Dermot McMahon	Ballycleherane	Phineas Bury.

COSHMAGH BARONY.

KILBREEDY PARISH.

			TOTAL ACRES.
Nell Lacy, <i>alias</i> Fitzgerald	Ballygibbon and Tankardstown	Charles Ormsby	1036
John Gold	Knocksowney	do.	
Garret Fitzgerald	Thomastown and Gortnepequiney	Jeff Owens	226
		Peter Wallis	113
		Wm. Blackney	450
		Chas. Pym	225
		Earl of Orrery	84
		Peter Wallis	54

* These and other lands were given to the Duke of York under the Act of Settlement.

† Henry Widenham was one of those officers of Inchiquin who seized Youghal for Cromwell. He was rewarded with grants of land in Limerick and Cork. He settled at Court, near Pallaskenry, and his grand-daughter and heiress married Valentine Quin of Adare, ancestor of the Earl of Dunraven.

‡ John Hunt was the ancestor of the De Veres of Curraghchase and of the Protestant families of Hunt in Limerick and Tipperary. Most of the Hunts of these counties are of Irish origin.

DRUMIN PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Pat Kearney	Clounigar	A. Ormsby.
James Lysaght	Clogher	do.
John Fox	Ballyvenoge and Ballysallagh	do.
Jas. Lacy	Ballinchory	do.
Eady Lacy	Parcels of land	do.
Wm. Rahilly	Rahalysacre	do.
Jas. Fox	Foxe's Acres	do.
Nic. Haly, I.P.*	Druimn, Faunt's land	do.
	Gorteencoogy	do.
Jas. Fox, I.P.	Scoule	do.
John Fox, I.P.	do.	do.
Ed. Kearney, I.P.	do.	do.
Jas. Kearney, I.P.	Two parcels	do.
Jas. Lacy	Part of Ballinclouney	do.
Nich. Haly, I.P.	Knockallyturlis	do.
	Ballingegaura	do.
	Ballineely	do.
Symon Hurley, I.P.	Ballinlea	do.
Wm. Marshall, I.P.	Garbally Marshall	Standish Hartstonge.

ATHLACKA PARISH.

David Lacy, I.P.	Athlaca	Chas. Ormsby.
David Fox, I.P.	Ballincolloe	do.
Geo. Thornton, I.P.	Ballincurragh	do.
	Ballinamona	do.
Pat Kearney, I.P.	Clonbrien	do.

IFFIN PARISH.

John Supple, I.P.	Cregans	Earl of Orrery.
	Ballingaule	Geo. Evans.†
	Farrangeiliragh and Rathgoban	Earl of Orrery.
George Thornton, I.P.	Ballinanty N.	Duke of York.
P. Lysaght.	Ballinanty S.	Sir. Ed. Ormsby.
	Farranfincealay	Ed. Warr.
	part of Ballyvaroon	do.
Nich. Haly, I.P.	Grallagh	Sir E. Ormsby.
Earl of Bath	Rahane	not sequestered.

* I.P. means "Innocent Papist," as so declared under the Act of Settlement. These were all free tenants under the Earl of Kildare who was entitled to a head rent out of the various lands.

† George Evans, *i.e.*, George of Ballvgrenan castle, M.P. for Co. Limerick. He was succeeded by his son George, who built Bulgaden Hall and resided there until it was burned down. His son, George, who was made Baron of Carbery in 1715, resided at Caherass, where he died in 1749.

UREGAR PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
John Fox, I.P.	Ballygrennan	Geo. Evans.
Geo. Thornton and Jas. O'Grady	Carrowreagh	John Bailey.
	Ballywollen, <i>als</i> Mulltown	
Geo. Thornton	Ballinstonemore	Geo. Evans.
Do.	Ballinstonebeg	do.
Same and Jas. Fox	Uregare, Mulltown	John Bailey
George Fitzgerald, I.P.	Farranhenymore and Uregare hill	Geo. Evans.
Pat Kearney, I.P.	Ballyhanmore	do.
Ed. Kearney, I.P.	Ballyoney	Ed. Kearney
Ed. Lacy, I.P.	Ballylananbeg	Geo. Evans.
	Crostoge Edy	do.
	Bog, curragh and common	

DYSART PARISH.

Bishop of Limerick	Dysart and Carrigeen*	not sequestered.
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CROOME PARISH

Richard Dundon, I.P.	Creanebeg	Dublin College.
Pat Meade, I.P.	Ballinfiory	Arthur Ormsby.
Jas. Bourke, I.P.	Ballinscroy	Sir E. Ormsby.
Maurice Herbert, I.P.	Mullanes	do.
Nich. Kearney	Bellagh	Dublin College.
Geo. Thornton, I.P.	Carhow	Sir T. Southwell.
Earl of Kildare	Ballygrene	not sequestered.
Ed. Leo, I.P.	Dallagh	Arthur Ormsby.
Maurice Fitzgerald	do.	Sir E. Ormsby.
W. and M. Leo	Turlowoig	Chas. Ormsby
Stephen Leo	Ballycullen	do.
Ed. Leo, I.P.	Rostemple	do.
Jas. Leo, I.P.	Ballinta	do.
Jas. Bourke	Doenkip	Heyard St. Leger.
	Ballymuckane	Sir E. Ormsby.
	do.	Chas Ormsby.
	Cloncullane	Sir E. Ormsby.
Stephen Leo, I.P.	Clorehane	Chas. Ormsby.
	Bog ditto	do.
Jas. Leo, I.P.	Tullavin	do.
	Bog thereto	do.
Morise Hickey	Tworine	Sir E. Ormsby
Henry Casey, I.P.	Carhuekeel	do.
Henry Casey, I.P.	Shanacluan	do.
	several gardens in Croome	do.
Earl of Kildare	several parcels	not sequestered.
Pat Purcell, I.P.	Garraunroe and	Sir E. Ormsby.
Do.	Ballyphookoe	do.
Do.	Commons and bog	do.
Do.	Ballylosky	do.

* Other parcels belonged to Protestants, as it was a "great surround of Protestants."

CROOME PARISH—*continued*.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE
Teige O'Fanning	Rathbrenagh	Sir E. Ormsby.
Ed. Fanning	Fanninstown	do.
Elinor Fitzgerald	Keoghowney	do.
	George	do.
	Ballybally	do.
Garrett Fitzgerald	Caherassy	do.
John Lysaght, I.P.	Mondellighy	do.
Maurice Fitzgerald	Lisnamully	do.
G. Thornton, I.P.	Donomean and	do.
Do.	Ballystraw	do.
Do.	Curraghninoge	Peter Wallis.

ADARE PARISH.

The several gardens & parcels of land in and about the town	Sir Ed. Ormsby.
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COSHLEA BARONY.

ATHENESSIE PARISH.

Nich. Haly and Gibbon Fitzgibbon	Ballinscalla Ballinvreny Dorrinstown Steevenstown Martinstown Bog in common	Lord Colloney.* do. do. do. do. do.
Henry Wall of Milltown Do.	Ballygraneady and Ballyqueen	Hugh Massey. Rich. Grice.
Pat Kearney, Kilmallock	do.	Sir John Ponsonby.
Nic. Haly and G. Fitzgibbon	Ballycullane Cosse	Rich. Grice. Henry Ponsonby.
Nichalos Haly Do.	Tirmore Gibbonstown	Robert Oliver. Rich. Grice.
John Burgett	Fyanstowne and Kilbreedy	Henry Ponsonby. Lord Collooney. Hugh Massey.

BALLINGADDY PARISH.

Wm. Meagh	Miltown	Chidley Coote †
Rich. Creagh	Flemingstown	do.
Do.	Bohernabotony	do.
Sir Ed. Fitzharris	Ballingaddy beg	do.
Do.	Garrykitten	do.
Do.	Carrowgarraffe	do.
John Meagh	Old gort 2 parcels	do.
Do.	a Curragh	do.
John Gold of	Anlambony and	do.
Knocksowney	Ballymaulagh	do.

* Richard Coote was created Lord Colloney by Charles II. in 1660.

† Chidley Coote was the ancestor of the Cootes of Mount Coote and Ash Hill, Kilmallock.

OLD PROPRIETOR.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Robert Gnosy of Kilnosy,	Ballingurry	Chidley Coote.
Pat Kearney and	Ballynophoyne	do.
Garret Fitzgerald	A Curragh in Ballinosy	do.
Nic. Haly	Ardpatrick	do.
Do.	Ardevolane	do.
John Fox	Ballynehew	do.
Randal Hurley	Ballyvoodane	do.
Do.	Garryphooky, Graige and Glendoenane	do.
KILCOAN PARISH.		
Miles Fitzharris	Ballymacshanby	Chidley Coote.
Do.	Ballyshondehy	Wm. Mead.
Do.	Ballyknoghy	do.
Do.	Jamestown	Chidley Coote.
Do.	Garrymonagh	do.
Do.	Rathnewhittagh	do.
Do.	do.	Rich Grice.
Do.	Cleaghagh	Chidley Coote.
Do.	Ballycarrowney	do.
Do.	Ballenveely	John Moland.
Sir Ed. Fitzharris	Cloghnodfoy	Henry Ponsonby.
Do.	Laurencetown	do.
Do.	Ballynamona	do.
Do.	Ballyvosknody	Lord Colloney
Do.	Morestown	do.
Do.	Killeenan	Robert Oliver.
Do.	Roplogh	Lord Colloney
Do.	Ballyshane	do.
Do.	Towerenhoan	do.
Do.	Tullo	do.
Do.	Spittle	do.
Do.	do.	do.
Do.	Darragh	Robert Oliver
Do.	Garryarthur	do.
Do.	Bog and Mountain	
Do.	Ballinnecourtey	Lord Colloney.
Do.	Keale	Rob. Oliver.
Do.	Keelcragy	do.
Do.	Abbeyballinegaule	Dublin College.
Do.	Waste	
Do.	Ballyagoge	Rob. Oliver.
Do.	Ballyoregan	do.
Do.	Waste	do.
Do.	Ballygreny	Henry Ponsonby.
Do.	Ballyvotory and Mullans	do.
Do.	Bog and curragh in common	do.
Do.	Mortelstown	do.
Do.	Kilfinane and Ballygeorge	Rob. Oliver.
Do.	A glean, part of Kilfinane	do.

KILCOAN PARISH—*continued.*

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Sir Ed. Fitzharris.	Ballynlemy	Rob Oliver..
Do.	Ballynecoaty and	do.
Do.	Ballyneghursh	do.
Do.	Balliniggin	do.
Do.	Ballingerode	Ed. Cooper.
	Commons	
Do.	Garrylassy	Rob. Oliver.
Do.	Half cornes	Chidley Coote.
Do.	Fanningstown	Henry Ponsonby.
Eneas Og McGrath	Ballintobles	Rob. Oliver.
	Commons	Ed. Cooper.
Rich. Creagh, I.P.	Ballycrany and	
	Ballycaroney	Henry Ponsonby.

LIBERTIES OF KILMALLOCK.

Sir M. Hurley, I.P.	Gortnestrangby	Chidley Coote.
John Burgett, I.P.	do.	do.
Rich. Creagh, I.P.	do.	do.
Randolph Hurley	Gortnegappan	do.
Mich. and Mat. Hurley	4th part of land	do.
Bishop's land	Farrenvasleenmore	
Gleabe	Gurtmaell	
John Fox	Ardsherall	do.
Sir M. Hurley	Bantard	do.
John Meagh and	3 parcels	do.
Lucas Stritch		
P. Kearney and R. Creagh	Ardkilmartin	do.
Do.	Bonaghnurry	do.
Do.	Moneclarine	do.
Do.	Coolroe	do.
William Lewis	Rahinlinassy	Bishop of Limk.
	Rahineynosengooly	
John Gold	Parknemonegeile	
Matt. Haly	several parcels	
Pierce Creagh, Limk.	A parcel	Ch. Coote.
Gleabe	Vicars' land	Not sequestered.
Matt. Haly	Maghareragh	
	Ferrangillanbert	Bishop of Limerick.
James Meagh	Gortacollis	
Pierce Creagh	Deebert	Ch. Coote.
Nicholas Farret	Ballycallanbeg	Nich. Farrut.
Bishop of Limerick	Gortanevooly	
	Gortneskeagh	
Henry Wall	Stoalaults	H. Ponsonby.
Do.	do.	Bishop of Limerick.
	Gortbealneboy	do.
John Fox	Pronce	Ch. Coote.
Sir M. Hurley	Parknacourt	do.
Rob. Hay	Gorticlagan	do.
P. Creagh	Glownesteevane	do.
John Gold	Killericoge	do.
	Killcoreske	do.
Pat Mead	Gortinpark	do.
	Keybruss	do.

LIBERTIES OF KILMALLOCK—*continued.*

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Pat Mead.	Moangarriffe	Ch. Coote.
	Gortborbergragh	do.
	Gortboy	do.
	Gortinprickedoosy and Barracklieg	do.
John Gold	Garryivamnack	
	Knocknacash	
	Small parcels	
	Gorteenacoynne	
Sir M. Hurley	Racknovane	R. Grice and
Thos. Hoare and	Gortgarriffe	R. Smith.
David Meagh	Gortgamffno	
	Gorteenakevadagh	R. Grice and
	Gortneghlagh	R. Smith.
	Gortannemoyle	Rob. Hely.
Francis Creagh	Rapeneraherny	Ch. Coote.
	Bantraghcreagh	do.
	Gorteenoushy	do.
John Fox	Callamore	H. Ponsonby.
	Gortknockane	do.
John and Ed. Gould	Gortinvorish	Ch. Coote.
	Parkeale	do.
	Gortnacloghy	do.
	Finereghy	do.
	Gortlewis	do.
	Rhindoologhy	R. Grice & R. Smith.
	Gortindraigh and Deeglam	
Rob. Haly, I.P.	Camlane	
	Parcels of land	Not sequestered.
	Farrenlewis	do.
	Tryanlewis	do.
	Lisheendaragh	do.
	Gurlisheen	do.
	Farrencrassa	do.
	Mounteen I parson	do.
	parts of Gortclayey	do.
	Brisheen, Garryowen	Bishop of Limerick.
Sir M. Hurley	Gortnatrim	do.
	Gortyknockanpeirsse	do.
	Gortboy	do.
	Garryneita	do.
Nicholas Haly	Inchynaghien	R. Grice and R. Smith

BARONY OF CONNELLOE.

NEWCASTLE PARISH.

Denis Byrne	Glenstaire	R. Hunt.
	do.	John Bourke.
	do.	Philip Packer.
Morogh Sheehy, I.P.	Glenagoure	S. Purton.
	and Ballypierce	W. Shippley and John Bourke
Jas. Stritch of Limk.	Corraghnamallagh	R. Hunt.
Kathern Herbert	Ballynona	do.

MAHOONAGH PARISH.

The lands of Sir Ed. Fitzgerald, Springfield, were forfeited, but restored later on in the reign of Charles II.

The same may be said of the greater part of Killeedy parish.

It appears from the list of townlands given that Leaviebeg and other townlands are now included in Ratheenagh.

Abbeyfeale parish, which belonged to the Courtenay family, was not confiscated, except the portion Courtenay had sold to D. Roche.

CORCOMOHIDE AND CLONECREANE (COLMAN'S WELL) PARISHES.

The part about Castletown, belonging to the MacEnerys, was confiscated, but the order was not carried out, as is related in the text.— See page 274.

BALLINGARRY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND,	GRANTEE.
W. Lacy	Belane	Thos. Boon.
	Knightstreet	Earl of Orrery.
	Clonicregan	Thos. Boon.
Ed. Sheehy	Ballykeanane	A. Brandon.
Nich. Haly of Toworine	do.	R. Dowges.
	Dourlass	Francis Belears.
	do.	W. Thompson and W. Field.
	do.	S. Barnardison.
	Killitmore	
	Killmore	A. Brandon.
	Both Cool Rosses	Ol. Lambert and Brooke Bridges.
Phil Collam of Ballyknockane	Ballyknockane	Dublin College.
Nich. Kearney of Kilmallock	Liskanned	do.
W. Lacy	Kilmihille	Thos. Boon.
	Commons of Same	do.
	Ballynaile	do.
	Ballyteaghmill	do.
W. Collam of Lisamota	Lismota	do.
	Gortanafaha	Bishop of Ossory.
	Scartnamadery	do.
	Ballyroe Ballyferniss	Duke of York.
	Woodstock and Cahernaffa	A. Bandon.
	Kilmiteria	
John Fitzgerald	Lisacurry	Henry Widdenham.
	Commons to all adjacent lands, by name Knockfeerna	
	Ballinfranky	George Percevall.
	Kilcomedone	do.
	Mota	do.

RATHKEALE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Morish Herbert and Sir E. Fitzgerald	Rathkeale 3 ploughlands	M. Herbert and O. Lambert and Brooke Bridges. do.
David Lacy Thos. Fitzgerald and Jas. Bourke, Limk. W. Fitzgerald W. Lacy, Ballingary	West Gortroe Rathkeale Douberron Grange and Ballywilliam Ballyhahill Ballydorogge	C. Dillon. A. Brandon. Lord Kingston. Nich. & John Bourke, A. Brandon. Thos. Boon. E. Cooke. Lord Kingston. Thos. Boon. N. Bourke and Southwell. Sir Thos. Southwell. O. Lambert and Brooke Bridges.
Do. Jas. Bourke	Reylane Ardboglane	
Ellin Butler, I.P. R. Wall	Ballyallinan Knockbanevord Common of three parishes Croogh, Nantenane and Rathkeale	

CLONCAGH PARISH.

Ed. Sheehy	Ballinerogy Gorteenneca aghan Ballikennedy Ballicolman and Castlecarince Tynehelly Commons Gleebe	A. Brandon. Wm. Hampton. Bishop of Ossory Henry Widdenhams A. Brandon. do. do. do.
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CLONELTY PARISH.

Elinor Butler Sheehy Widow	Knokaderry Caheraghan and Lislegasta	W. Hampton. Jas. Webster. Bishop of Ossory.
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CROAGH PARISH.

Thos. Purcell	Ballinnory do.	Ol. Lambert. Brooke Bridges. O. Lambert. do.
R. Stephenson, late of Dunmoylan, I.P. Giles Purcell	Kiltenane Milltown Brelaghnegilly Fihidie & Ballagh Avangor Croaghtown and lands	do. Ol. Lambert or Bridges. do.
R. Hunt, I.P. Mr. Purcell, Beakley		

CLONSHIRE PARISH.

R. Stephenson	Garranboy Gorteenecorve*	O. Lambert. do.
---------------	-----------------------------	--------------------

* The rest bishop's land and not confiscated.

KILFINY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
G. Fitzgerald	Ballyfloyne	Bishop of Limerick.
Thomas Moynane	Ballyfallen	
	Granard	Lord Kingston and Thady Quin.
John Fitzgerald	Finneterstown and Grange	O. Lambert and Thady Quin.

ARDAGH PARISH.

Denis O'Brien	Ballineberna	Lord Kingston.
W. Collum	Part of Ardagh	R. Hunt.
	do.	do.
	do.	Trinity College, Dublin.
Sir Daniel O'Brien*	Farrentabla	Brooke Bridges.
	Dromgour	
	Lisbrenagh	R. Hunt.

GRANGE PARISH.

John O'Shea	Ballyearla	Dublin College.
Jas. Bourke of Limk.	Ballyrobin	John Bourke.

RATHRONAN PARISH.

Sir D. O'Brien	Keanmoge	
Do.	Cahermoyle and Ballynard	D. O'Brien and Southwell.
	Rathronan	
Wm. Collum	Athea	
	do.	
R. Stephenson	Ballyvoughan	
	Liscordon and Caherlogh	D. O'Brien.
Morris Herbert	Ballykealy	Southwell.
John Hurley of Knock-long	Ballyduane	
	Lispeakan	
	Gadanard and Fadarite	John Hurley.

DUNMOYLAN AND KILCOLEMAN PARISHES.

Rich. Stephenson was the proprietor but all was confiscated.

NANTENANE PARISH.

Mahon Kennedy	Ballinvirrick	Ned Bourke.
Thos. Fitzgerald	Rathnescare	J. & N. Bourke.
Morrish Lee	Argowlemore	Godolphin.
	and Argowlebeg	
Brian and Turlough Kennedy	Scart	Bridges.
Dermot Og O'Brian	Derrywantry and Ballybane	Godolphin.
Denis O'Brien	Ballineberrin in Ardagh Parish	
Edmund Sheehy	Currahine	

* O'Brien recovered his lands under Charles II.

LISMAKIRY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETOR.

TOWNLAND.

GRANTEE.

See page 274.

ASKEATON PARISH

Nich. Fanning and
Ed. NaishLower Englandstowne
Ballyhomine
CommonsBridges.
Orrery.

CAPPAGH PARISH.

Garraat Carnoge

Ballindigany
CloneoldDuke of York.
Bishop's lands.

KILRADRAN PARISH.

David Vaughan

Kilbradran,
Loughfane

Sir Southwell,

R. Stephenson

Balliston
RathnegoneChamberlain.
Lord Kingston
Bourke.

Mary Fitzgerald

Ardmaine

CLONEAGH PARISH.*

James Rice, Limk.

Balljeiny
Listotan
Ballinitty
Gragan & ClonaghEd. Cosgrave.
do.
do.
do.

Sir E. Fitzgerald

Lisnacullia
Rathneemore
Ballinsky

Sir Southwell,

John Rice

Inismare
RathvallyEd. Cosgrove.
John Hurley.

John Hurley

Ballyegry
do.

Duke of Yorke.

KILLSCANNELL PARISH.

John Liston

Killscannell

Bishop of Limerick.

Jas. Bourke, Limk.

Reynie
Coalybrowne
Liscarraknockavody

J. Bourke

A. Rice

Killehene

John Bourke.
Sir T. Southwell.
do

James Bourke

Ballinlyny

do.

R. Stephenson

Skyhanagh

Dublin College.

Murragh Mahon

Ballyknockane

Wm. Godolphin.
do.

Do.

Graige
do.Dame Anne Crisp.
Dublin College.

Wm. Culline

Derenenmoymore

Turlough McMahon

Knocknegoura

Dnl. McDonagh

Ballysome, Ballykane,
Kearowloghan.

* Bishop's lands not touched.

KILMOYLAN PARISH

OLD PROPRIETOR.	TOWNLAND.	GRANTEE.
Jas. Creagh FitzAndrew and Dnl. Shyhane	Clounlehard	Thady Quin.
Donagh O'Brien Rich., Banogue and Rathbradine	Waste 1100 ac. Clounterch	Sir T. Chamberlain. do. do. do.

SHANAGOLDEN PARISH.

Tirlagh McMahon Rich. Stephenson	Ballynash Tirvor Rathfana Robertstown	Bishop of Limerick. Sir T. Chamberlain
Do. Col. Courtenay	Carne Aughanish and Faunvore*	Protestant land.

KILFERGUS, ALIAS GLIN.

Tho. Fitzgerald, Knt. His property in the parish was confiscated and given to Barker, who was dispossessed by Gerald Fitzgerald, the next heir.

V

THE PETITION TO THE POPE OF THE MAYOR, CORPORATION AND LEADING CITIZENS OF LIMERICK TO HAVE REVD. JOHN CREAGH APPOINTED BISHOP.

Nos Prætor Magistratus Senatus ac Cives Limericensis Civitatis fidem facimus et attestamur R^{dm}, ac Eximium D^m Joannem Creagh seu Crevæum Sacerdotem n^{ræ} Civitatis S. Theol. Doctorem Notarium Ap^{licum} ac R^{dm}, Dⁿⁱ Richardi Limericensis E^pi Vicarium Generalem esse virum probum, virtute, pietate, doctrina, vitæ morumque integritate ac benemeritis apprime ornatum et instructum ; ætate maturum : familia et natalibus honestis ortum : nullius infamiæ macula unquam aspersum : Ecclesiasticis ac Laicis semper gratum utilem et acceptum : a prudentia et discretione satis cōmendatum : in suo munere obeundo strenuum, discretum ac vigilem ; de Civitate n^{ra} ac Ecclia optime meritum, proinde omni favore, honore, ac Ecclesiastica dignitate satis dignum : nosq. promotionem ejus optare, desiderare et a Sua Sanctitate ac sede sua ap^{lica} suūopere humiliter et enixe rogare ac petere. In quorum omnium fidem ac testimonium præsentibus

* The rest of the parish was divided between Trenchard, the descendant of the undertaker, and the Bishop of Limerick.

subscripsimus et sigillum Prætorii Officii Civitatis nræ affigi curavimus
Limerici in Hibernia 24 die Martii anno Dominicæ Incarnationis
Millesimo sexcentesimo quadragésimo tertio.

Petrus Creaghe prætor
Patritius Sarsfeldus
Supremus Consiliarius
Civitatis Limerici
Senatores qui Prætorio
Officio functi sunt.
Jacobus de Burgo
Dominicus Vitæus, J.
V. Doctor
Nicholaus Fleming.
Andreas Cusaght
Petrus Creagh
Jacobus Vitæus

Philosophiæ ac Medicinæ Cives Primarii

Doctores—

Thomas Arthurus
Michael Vitæus
Thomas Sarsfeldus

Tribuni plebis quos
Vicecomites vocant—
Laurentius Vitæus
Laurentius Ricæus

Magistratus qui tribu-
nitia auctoritate
functi sunt—

Daniel Nikell
Jacobus floxius
William Stritch
Francis Flaninge
John Creagh
Nicholaus Foxius
Jacobus Hacquetus
Lucas Stretch
Thomas Poerus
Thomas Vitæus
Jacobus Vitæus
George [Wooulf]
William [O'Haghy]
P. A.
Gulielmus Creagh
David Viteus
Will. Roche

David Rocheus
[Hector Selgaux]
Patrick Arthur
David [Creagh]
John Roche
Nicholaus Poerus
Dominicus Creagh.
Thomas Danyell
[Dionysius Creagh]
Georgius [Craghe]
Johannes Halleranus
Edwardus Goldeng
Richard Arthurus
Gulielmus Langius
Gaspar Woulfe
Dionisius [Ronanus]
Carolus de Burgo
Patritius Creagh
Patritius Arthurus
Patritius Vitæus
Johannes Sexley
Stephanus Creagh
Daniel Creagh
Jacobus Ronanus
Franciscus [Meagh]
Osmund Creaghe
Jacobus Mahon
Andreas de Burgo
[Hy] Bovrke
Ja ; Creagh
William Creagh
Nicholas Hareold
Regrius*
Paulus Creagh
Pat [uchR]

[Stephen] Creagh
Franciscus Ricæus
Joannes Vitæus
Edward Rochæus
[Gt (?)] Rice
Bartholomeus Rice
Thos. [Stretch]
Edmundus Poerus



Juris periti
Thomas Poerus
Bartholomæus Stacpol.

Vellum : 2 ft. x 1' 1½" : no endorsement : only a fragment of the
seal remaining.

VI

LIST OF MAYORS, BAILIFFS AND SHERIFFS OF THE CITY.

MAYORS.

1509 Nicholas Arthur,
1510 Nicholas Stritch,
1511 Thomas Roche,
1512 Richard Harrold,
1513 Robert Stackpole,
1514 Richard Fox,
1515 Thomas Comyn,
1516 Nicholas Harrold,
1517 Nicholas Harrold,
1518 David Comyn,
1519 John Rochford,

BAILIFFS.

David Comyn, Nicholas Comyn.
Walter Rice, Richard Fanning.
Patrick Fanning, Thos. Rochford.
David White, Pierse Comyn.
James Stritch, Christoph. Harrold.
Christopher Creagh, James Arthur.
William Arthur, William Long.
Richard Arthur, Geoffry Stritch.
James Harrold, Pierse Arthur.
George Stritch, Pierse Creagh.
Edmund Harrold, Daniel Arthur.

* Registrarius.

MAYORS.

- 1520 Walter Rice,
- 1521 David Comyn,
- 1522 David White,
- 1523 Thomas Young,
- 1524 Christopher Arthur,
- 1525 James Arthur,
- 1526 Thomas Young,
- 1527 Nicholas Creagh,
- 1528 Nicholas Stritch,
- 1529 Patrick Fanning,
- 1530 Stephen Creagh,
- 1531 Edmund Harrold,
- 1532 Daniel Arthur,
- 1533 Thomas Young,
- 1534 John Arthur,
- 1535 Edmund Sexton,
- 1536 Bartholomew Stritch,
- 1537 Nicholas Comyn,
- 1538 William Fanning,
- 1539 Leonard Creagh,
- 1540 Dominick White,
- 1541 Patrick Everard,
- 1542 George Creagh,
- 1543 David White,
- 1544 James Harrold,
- 1545 Dominick White,
- 1546 Stephen Creagh,
- 1547 John Arthur,
- 1548 William Stritch,
- 1549 John Stritch,
- 1550 James Fox,
- 1551 James Creagh,

James Creagh died in his Mayoralty, and was succeeded by James Fox.

- 1552 William Stritch,
- 1553 William Verdon,
- 1554 James Stritch,
- 1555 John Stackpole,
- 1556 John Comyn,
- 1557 Clement Fanning,
- 1558 Edward Arthur,
- 1559 David Comyn,
- 1560 P. Leo. Creagh,
- 1561 Richard Fanning,
- 1562 Nicholas White,
- 1563 Nicholas Harrold,
- 1564 George Roche,
- 1565 Thomas Arthur,
- 1566 Rowland Harrold,
- 1567 Christopher Creagh,
- 1568 Dominick Fanning,
- 1569 Philip Rochford,
- 1570 John Comyn,
- 1571 George Fanning,
- 1572 Richard Stritch,

BAILIFFS.

- Stephen Creagh, Thomas Woulfe,
- William Fanning, Andrew Harrold,
- John Rice, Thomas Arthur,
- Stephen Comyn, James Creagh,
- Pierse Creagh, John Verdon,
- Richard Comyn, Patrick Everard,
- Nicholas Creagh, John Nagle,
- John Arthur, Pierse Arthur,
- William Creagh, Leonard Creagh,
- Nicholas Comyn, Patrick Long,
- Wm. Verdon, Richard Stackpole,
- John Harrold, Rowland Arthur,
- George Creagh, William White,
- David Rice, Thomas Long,
- Bartholomew Stritch, John Stritch
- Dominick White, Humphry Arthur,
- John Comyn, Jasper Fanning,
- William Young, Patrick Rice,
- John Fox, James Roche,
- William Stritch, Thomas Creagh,
- David Creagh, James Loftus,
- Walter Harrold, Dominick Comyn,
- William Stritch, James Stackpole,
- William Creagh, William Young,
- Andrew Harrold, Hector Arthur,
- Patrick Long, George Rochford,
- William Verdon, John Stritch,
- Thomas Arthur, John Stackpole,
- Walter White, James Creagh,
- John Harrold, Christopher Creagh,
- James Stritch, Edward Arthur,
- Clement Fanning, Nich. Harrold,

- Rowland Harrold, Phil. Rochford,
- Nicholas White, John Creagh,
- William Fox, Richard Fanning,
- David Comyn, Thomas Creagh,
- Pierse Creagh, George Roche,
- Richard Arthur, John Everard,
- Stephen White, Dominick Creagh,
- Dom. Fanning, Thomas Stackpole,
- Thos. Creagh, Richard Young,
- Patrick Rochford, David Gromwell,
- Nich. Woulfe, Patrick Fox,
- John Comyn, John Fanning,
- George Fanning, Thomas Harrold,
- Patrick Creagh, William Creagh,
- Roger Everard, Stephen Fanning,
- James Creagh, John Woulfe,
- Thomas Arthur, Rich. Gromwell,
- Nicholas Rice, Stephen White,
- Edward Everard, Dom. Arthur,
- George Comyn, George Arthur,
- Philip Comyn, Jordan Roche,

MAYORS.

- 1573 Thomas Arthur,
 1574 Thomas Harrold,
 1575 Roger Everard,
 1576 Stephen White,
 1577 Thomas Arthur,
 1578 John Woulfe,
 1579 Nicholas Stritch,
 1580 Jordan Roche,
 1581 James Galwey,
 1582 John Stritch,
 1583* Nicholas Comyn,
 1584 James Fanning,
 1585 Stephen Sexton,
 1586 Thomas Young,
 1587 Jordan Roche,
 1588 George Harrold,
 1589 Nicholas Stritch,
 1590 Thomas Stritch,
 1591 Oliver Bourke,
 1592 Nicholas Arthur,
 1593 P. Creagh, Dom.
 1594 John Stritch,
 1595 James White,

BAILIFFS.

- George Gromwell, Nich. White.
 Thomas Stritch, Miles Arthur.
 Stephen White, David Rochford.
 William Arthur, Patrick Fanning.
 Walter Rice, Nicholas Stritch.
 John Stritch, Pierse Stritch.
 Thomas Stritch, Pierse Creagh.
 Andrew Creagh, Edward Arthur.
 Thomas Young, George Harrold.
 Pierse Creagh, Dom. Pierse Arthur.
 Oliver Harrold, Nicholas Bourke.
 Nicholas Harrold, Patrick Mitchell,
 Patrick Woulfe, Oliver Bourke.
 Robert White, James Gromwell.
 Martin Creagh, Patrick Woulfe.
 Martin Creagh, Stephen Stritch.
 Wm. Creagh, Leonard Stackpole,
 Thomas Woulfe, Nicholas Fox.
 Edmund Fox, Richard Woulfe.
 John Comyn, David Woulfe.
 Bartholomew Stritch, Ed. White.
 Dominick Arthur, Edward Stritch.
 John Stritch, Clement Fanning.

James White died in his Mayoralty, and in his place was chosen Pierse Creagh.

- 1596 Robert White,
 1597 Dominick Roche,
 1598 James Gromwell,
 1599 William Stritch,
 1600 Sir Geoffry Galwey,
 1601 Stephen Roche,
 1602 Philip Roche
 1603 Nicholas Bourke,
 1604 James Galwey,
 1605 Edmund Fox,

- Barthol. Stackpole, W. Bourke.
 William Arthur, James White.
 Philip Roche, Thomas Bourke.
 David White, Michael Walters.
 Simon Fanning, Robert Arthur.
 William Stritch, David Rice.
 James White, William Meagh.
 Thomas Comyn, Pierse Roche.
 David Comyn, Thos. Creagh, Pat.
 Dominick Creagh, James Woulfe.

Edmund Fox was deposed for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, and go to church; in his place was chosen Andrew Creagh, first Protestant Mayor.

- 1606 Edmund Sexton,
 1607 Nicholas Arthur,

- Christopher Arthur, P. Creagh.
 Nicholas White, William Haly.

The title of Bailiffs was now changed into that of Sheriffs.

MAYORS.

- 1608 Patrick Arthur,
 1609 David White,
 1610 Clement Fanning.

SHERIFFS.

- Wm. Creagh, Martin, Geo. White.
 William Meagh, Dominick Creagh.
 Walter White, Jasper White.

* In this year, Queen Elizabeth granted the Abbey of Inniscattery, with twenty-four acres of land, an house and castle in this island, to the Mayor and citizens of Limerick, and their successors for ever, at the annual rent of £3 12s. 8d. Also, ten cottages, one church in ruins, twenty acres of wood and stony ground in said island, called Beachwood, with all the tithes, and the several customs following: from every boat of oysters coming to the city of Limerick, once a-year, a thousand oysters; and from every herring-boat, once a year five hundred herrings.—See *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 51.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

1611 David Comyn,

David Rice, Christopher Creagh.

David Comyn and David Rice were deposed, for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, and not going to church: in their places were chosen

1612 Edmund Sexton,
William Meagh,Christopher Creagh, Pat. Lysaght,
Patrick White, John Skeolan.

This Mayor and both Sheriffs were deposed for refusing the oaths, &c., and in their places were chosen

1613 Christopher Creagh,
D. Creagh Pierse,George Creagh, John Lysaght,
John Arthur, Pierse Woulfe.

This Mayor and Sheriffs were deposed for the same cause, and in their places were chosen

1614 William Haly,
Michael Walter,David Bourke, Thomas Power.
Nicholas Stritch, William Roche.

The Mayor, and Nicholas Stritch, Sheriff, were deposed for not going to church, and in their places were chosen

James White,

P. Creagh, Patrick, Wm. Roche.

They were likewise deposed for the same cause, at the following Assizes, and then were chosen

1615 James Galwey,
William Stritch,Arthur Fanning, Chris. Arthur.
James White, Walter Arthur.

This Mayor and the Sheriffs were deposed for the same cause, then chosen

Simon Fanning.

George Sexton, George Rochford.

This Mayor also, and George Sexton, were deposed for the same cause, then were chosen

David Comyn,

Nicholas White, George Rochford.

This Mayor and Nicholas White resigned the office, then were chosen

James Galwey

James Stritch, George Rochford.

This Mayor and George Rochford, were deposed for refusing the oaths, then were chosen

Christopher Creagh,

Patrick Lysaght, James Stritch.

This Mayor, for now refusing the oaths which he took in 1611, when Sheriff, was brought to the Star-chamber, was fined £100, and was confined.

616 Dominick Roche,

John Stritch, Richard Lillis.

617 John Stritch,

George Creagh, Pierse Harrold.

618 Dominick Roche,

He resigned in Dublin, then was chosen

619 Pierse White,
Edmund Sexton,
620 Henry Barkly,Edward Sexton, David Roche.
Edward Sexton, Philip Ronane.

Who was deposed by the Earl of Thomond, on the very day of Election, then was chosen

MAYORS.

- Dom. Roche, fourth time.
 1621 John Stritch,
 1622 John Stritch,
 1623 Edmund Sexton,
 1624 Pierse Harrold,
 1625 Henry Barkly,
 1626 James Bourke,

SHERIFFS.

- James Lillis, Robert Lillis.
 James Sexton, Edward Barkly.
 Pierse Harrold, Philip Ronane.
 Geo. Creagh, James, Patrick Lillis.
 Geo. Creagh, James, Wm. Seward.
 Nicholas Fanning, John Meagh.
 James Stackpole, George Bourke.

The Mayor and Sheriffs went this year publicly to Mass.

- 1627 James Stritch Fitzjohn,
 1628 P. Creagh, Fitz Pierse,
 1629 Dominick White,
 1630 Nicholas Fanning,
 1631 Andrew Creagh,
 1632 James Lillis,
 1633 John Meagh,
 1634 P. Creagh, Fitz Andrew,
 1635 Thomas Arthur,
 1636 Sir Dominick White,
 1637 Jas. White, Fitz James,
 1638 Robert Lillis,
 1639 Jordan (Oge) Roche,
 1640 William Comyn,
 1641 Dominick Fanning, ;
 1642 Pierse Creagh,
 1643 Sir Dominick White,
 1644 Francis Fanning,
 1645 John Bourke,

- Andrew Creagh, Patrick Harrold.
 Dom. White, Edmund Skeolan.
 Pierse Creagh, William Roche.
 Stephen White, Robert Haly.
 Stephen Stritch, Dominick Terry.
 Jas. White, Fitzjames, F. Fanning.
 James Fox, Pierse Creagh, Pierse
 John Bourke, Wm. Creagh, Pierse,
 David Nihell, John Rice.
 Luke Stritch, Wm. Lysaght.
 John Creagh, James Hacket.
 John White, Nicholas Fox.
 David White, Wm. (Oge) Stritch.
 John Comyn, Henry Casey.
 Thomas White, George Rochford.
 Laurence White, Laurence Rice.
 Thomas Comyn, James Sarsfield.
 James Mahon, Patrick Meagh.
 Thomas Stritch, Edmund Roche.

This Mayor was deposed by the Clergy and populace, for endeavouring to proclaim Ormond's peace, and the rod given to

- 1646 Dominick Fanning,
 1647 P. Creagh, Fitz Andrew,
 1648 Sir Nicholas Comyn,
 1649 J. Creagh, William,
 1650 T. Stritch, Fitzpatrick,
 1651* P. Creagh, Fitz Pierse,
 1656† Col. H. Ingoldsby,
 1657 Captain R. Wilson,
 1658 William Yarwell,
 1659 William Hartwell,
 1660 Thomas Miller,
 1661 John Comyn,
 1662 Henry Bindon,
 1663 Sir Ralph Wilson,
 1664 Sir Ralph Wilson,
 1665 Sir William King,
 1666 Samuel Foxon,
 1667 Sir Ralph Wilson,

- David Creagh, Pierse, Jas. Sexton.
 Bartholmew Rice, Patrick Woulfe.
 Patrick Arthur, Andrew Bourke.
 David Rochford, James Bonfield.
 Martin Creagh, Andw., N. Ronane.
 Stephen Skeolan, Wm. Creagh.
 John Comyn, Peter Ash.
 John Comyn, Peter Ash.
 Jeremy Haywood, Chris. Keyes.
 Robert Passy, John Crab.
 Henry Price, Robert Shutt.
 James Banting, William Pope.
 Henry Salfield, William Joint.
 Thomas Martin, John Burn.
 John Lence, Samuel Foxon.
 Henry Price, John Symmes.
 John Backner, John Arthur.
 William York, Anthony Bartlett.

* This year, after a tedious siege, Limerick was surrendered to Ireton; the Mayoralty was then vacant for four years, and the city was ruled by a military governor until June, 1656, when twelve English Aldermen were elected, and Colonel Ingoldsby was chosen Mayor for the remainder of the year.

† After this time the Mayors and Sheriffs are entitled Esquires.

MAYORS.

- 1668 Sir Ralph Wilson,
 1669 E. Werendoght,
 1670 R. Suttendoght,
 1671 John Bourin,
 1672 Sir G. Ingoldsby,

 1673 William York,
 1674 William York,
 1675 Edward Clarke,
 1676 Humphry Hartwell,
 1677 Humphry Hartwell,
 1678 William York,
 1679 Sir William King,
 1680 Anthony Bartlet,
 1681 Francis Whitamor,
 1682 William Gribble,
 1683 William Gribble,
 1684 Robert Smyth,
 1685 George Roche,
 1686 George Roche,
 1687 *Robert Hannan,
 1688 Robt. Hannan, 2d time,
 1689 *Thomas Harrold,
 1690 *J. Power of Drogheda,

SHERIFFS.

- Edward Clock, John Bennetts.
 Rowland Bouton, Henry Cliton.
 Francis Whitamor, G. Bockendoght.
 Daniel Hignett, John Hart.
 John Beer, John Halpin, who was
 deposed, then J. Phillips, chosen.
 Robert Higgins, Bartholmew Ash.
 Thomas Rose, Robert Smyth.
 George Roche, William Craven.
 Pierse Graham, Edward Wight.
 Richard Lyllis, William Clifford.
 Thomas Long, John Bond.
 William Allen, Moyses Woodroff.
 Richard Ingram, Thomas Meagher.
 John Craven, Nathaniel Web.
 Edward Clarke, Giles Spencer.
 Richard Allen, John Ford.
 Daniel Bowman, Simon White.
 Thomas Breveter, Samuel Bartlett.
 John Young, James Robinson.
 *Thomas Harrold, Peter Maunsell.
 Francis White, Philip Stackpole.
 *Thomas Creagh, Richard Harrold.
 *James Arthur, Nich. Morrough.

Thus marked * were Roman Catholics

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