

# HISTORY OF THE QUEEN'S COUNTY



COMPILED CHIEFLY FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE

V. REV. JOHN CANON O'HANLON, P.P., M.R.I.A.

BY

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AND

REV. MATTHEW LALOR, P.P.

VOLUME II.

HISTORY OF THE TERRITORY FROM 1556 TO 1900

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

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## PREFACE.



Two causes, chiefly, have delayed the appearance of this volume. One was the necessity of securing a sufficient number of subscribers to render its publication possible. To those who have enabled us to overcome this difficulty we tender our grateful thanks.

The other cause of delay was the insufficiency of the material collected by Canon O'Hanlon. At the time of his lamented death he was but midway in his work. We were thus obliged to undertake the duties rather of compilers than of editors. And, as compilers, our progress was bound to be slow. Living at a distance from public libraries, and from the Record and other Public offices, where research work had to be done, our task proved, as might be expected, both toilsome and tedious. That we did not abandon it in despair is due, in a large measure, to the encouragement, and help, received from three friends to whom it gives us sincere pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness. These are Lord Walter Fitzgerald, Martin J. Blake, Esq., B.L., and the distinguished historian of the diocese of Ossory, the Very Rev. Dr. Carrigan.

Lord Walter Fitzgerald placed at our disposal his valuable "Notes on the O'Mores of Leix, and their territory," published in the Journal of the Kildare Archæological Society. We have inserted these "Notes" almost *verbatim*, as well as the appendices with which they were accompanied. To Mr. Blake we are indebted for the exceedingly interesting lists of those who became landowners by *Fiant*, or Patent, in the Queen's County during the sixteenth, and seventeenth, centuries. The preparation of these lists specially for this volume involved an amount of labour, and research, on the part of Mr. Blake for which it would be impossible for us to adequately express our appreciation. Dr. Carrigan wrote for us the portion of the chapter on "The Mass-places of Penal Times" which has reference to the Queen's County part of Ossory diocese. In addition, he most readily gave us, on every occasion when appealed to, the advantage of his invaluable advice, and assistance.

## PREFACE.

Our acknowledgments are also due to all who kindly lent us books, family records, letters, newspapers, and other documents.

Amongst these we desire, in an especial manner, to express our gratitude to the following :—Sir Algernon Coote, Bart., H.M.L.; Sir Anthony Weldon, Bart.; Captain Lachlan White, of Gracefield; Miss Chetwode, of Woodbrook; Mrs. Fitzpatrick, of Tenakill; the proprietor of the *Leinster Express*; Mr. James Carey, Secretary of the County Council; and Mr. O'Neill, Secretary of the Agricultural and Technical Committee of the Queen's County.

A word of explanation may be added regarding the insertion of lengthy extracts from Blue-books, newspapers, etc., instead of a synopsis, or specially prepared version. Our object throughout has been to avoid the expression of any personal views (historical or otherwise) which might conceivably be found out of harmony with those of Canon O'Hanlon, or might tend to lessen his well-earned reputation as an accurate, and impartial, historian. We had no pretensions, or ambition, to pose as historians. Our sole motive in undertaking an arduous task was to discharge an office of friendship in response to an appeal made to us from the death-bed of our friend. His thoughts, during many years of a long life, had been given to the worthy compilation of a history of his native county. That he was not spared to bring his project to fruition will be regretted by all who read this volume. In that regret we can honestly say we heartily share.

THE EDITORS.





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# HISTORY OF THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

## BOOK IV.—GENERAL HISTORY.

### CHAPTER XV.—LEIX AND ITS PEOPLE IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

THE reign of Queen Elizabeth marks a turning point in the history of Ireland. In all outward aspects of nationality—language, laws, customs, and policy—Ireland at the accession of Elizabeth might fairly claim to be a distinct and independent nation. It was the great wars of this reign that finally broke the power of the native chiefs, and paved the way for English ascendancy and supremacy. That the object of these wars was to extirpate the native race is the verdict of history. It suffices to quote the testimony of Lecky. "The war, as conducted by Carew, by Gilbert, by Pelham, by Mountjoy, was literally a war of extermination. The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men, but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English, were deliberately and systematically butchered."<sup>1</sup>

At this momentous epoch in the history of Leix it seems well, before resuming the course of our narrative, to give a brief sketch of the then condition of the district and of its inhabitants. Much interesting information bearing on this subject can be derived from the old map of the period, a *facsimile* of which is prefixed to the present volume. In 1561 the Crown appointed a commission to define the bounds of the recently annexed Irish districts of Leix, Slievemargy, Irre, Clanmaliere, and Offally; to divide them into baronies; and to select a place for a jail in each of the King's and Queen's Counties, as enacted by Statute of 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary (1557). The map, which was a part of the work of this commission, is supposed to have been made in 1563.<sup>2</sup> The information with which it supplies us may be said, for one thing, to have all the interest of the absolutely unexpected. The picture it puts before us is that of a backwoods region where "the forest primeval" still holds sway. Of towns, of villages, of roads, of any of the commonplaces of modern life the indications are sadly to seek. Making all due allowance for the map's manifest deficiencies, the general impression remains that in the golden era of Spenser, and Shakespeare, the King's and Queen's Counties were little better than a wilderness of trackless woods and treacherous bogs.

<sup>1</sup> History of Ireland in the 18th Century, vol. i., p. 5. London, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Not before 1563, since the *Fiants* of

C. Porter and C. Delues, or Delves (marked on the map) date from 1563.



Of the natural features of the district the interminable woods are the most striking. A study of the map makes intelligible the continual recurrence in the State Papers of the period of references to the steps to be taken to clear the country of its super-abundant timber. Thus in a Paper of Cardinal Wolsey's time on "Social Reform in this Kingdom" special emphasis is laid on the necessity of cutting down "the thyke woods of hassel and sallis which they (the Irish) take for great assurance. . . . Ons their castells taken and ways cutt throw their woods they be matyd and past all succour."<sup>3</sup> In Mason's Statistical Survey it is stated that an English officer received the thanks of Queen Elizabeth for having brought a troop of cavalry in safety through the woods of Iregan from Birr to Athy. In 1548 a pass in Leix is described as three miles long, through a forest of great timber mingled with hazel.<sup>4</sup> Chief Baron Finglas in his *Breviate*, written in 1529, mentions among the "dangerous passes in this kingdom, two passes in Feemore,<sup>5</sup> in O'Morye's country." How easily such a pass could be converted into a fortified defile by the Irish strategy of *plashing* (i.e., interweaving the undergrowth—an anticipation of our modern barbed wire entanglements) the English learned to their cost at the "Pass of Plumes" and elsewhere. On the map these passes are marked with short straight lines of a dark grey colour.

Next to the natural features, the objects on which attention centres are the evidences of English occupation. Besides the fortalices of the Anglo-Norman settlers of the 12th and 13th centuries, the more pretentious castles of more recent invaders are specially conspicuous: C. Porter, C. Cosbeye, C. Delues, C. Owton, etc. Of the O'More strongholds Dunamase holds pride of place—shorn alas! of much of its ancient glory, but destined to survive another century before being dismantled and destroyed by Cromwellian conquerors.

Many of these oldtime castles combined the baronial residence with the military fortress. The following is the description given of them by the Author of "Elizabethan Ireland":—"The more important castles were about eighty feet square and forty feet high, the walls of immense thickness, flanked with towers and sometimes faced with sods of turf. The towers, as a rule, were square also, and lit with narrow loop-holes. One floor of the main building—some of them had four storeys—was reserved for the females of the family, recesses in the walls forming sleeping places. The different floors were reached by a winding stone staircase. In some of the castles the stairs were built in the thickness of the walls. In others the staircase was outside them, and assisted, through the loop-holes, to command the sides of the main building. In the better class castles separate stairways were used by the family and by the domestics and soldiers.

"Bawns, or fortified enclosures, followed the shape of the out-works. In the space between them and the main building, the cattle, horses, or other stock, were kept for safety. On the borders of these enclosures, and under the shelter of the battlemented wall and moat which encircled the whole area, were rough shanties of turf, littered with straw, intended for the sleeping accommodation of soldiers, servants, and followers. In the smaller castles and houses of the

<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne MSS. in B. Museum, 159, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Calendar of State Papers, 1509-73, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *peaó móir* means the great forest.



gentry the bawn was seldom protected by more than a ditch and bank, fringed with bushes on the near side, sufficient to shelter the stock at night, or from a sudden foray."

At this period some of the native chiefs had conformed to British usages, and obtained land on the terms, and under leases similar to those of the English planters. The terms, as specified in a *Fiant* of Edward VI., were the following:—(1) The lessee and his successors should dwell upon the premises; (2) No Irish exactions, such as coyne, livery, etc., should be levied upon the tenants; (3) The tenants should be always fully armed for their own defence, and for the king's service; (4) The lands should bear all cesses, as is done in other districts; (5) The rent should be a fixed one, and not paid in customs; (6) The assignment or alienation of lands should be made to persons of English nationality, and that only with the sanction of the Lord Deputy and Council; (7) All passes, fords, and roads should be kept up in serviceable repair; (8) All great Hawks breeding on the premises should be reserved to the King's use; (9) The lessee should bear his proportion of all cesses for the safeguard and furniture of the King's Fort, called "The Protector of Leix."

A large number of extensive ecclesiastical edifices can be traced on the map: *e.g.*, Chloenenagh (Clonenagh); Timochu; Kilmaynan; Stradbess (Stradbally); V. Abbey (? Ye Abbey, *i.e.*, Abbeyleix), etc.

The two chief military stations were *Dingan* in Offally, and *Protectour* in Leix. These twin defenders of British rule had, as we have seen,<sup>6</sup> been re-christened in the previous reign, and denominated respectively Philipstown and Maryborough. On the 16th January, 1567, they attained the dignity of market towns; and in 1569 they became county boroughs and returned two members to Parliament.

The sept, or seven-partite, system had endowed the Clans of Donil, Dermot, Kedagh, O'Kellie, O'Lalor, O'Doolin,<sup>7</sup> etc., with separate parcels of land, all of which are clearly indicated on the map, as well as two important districts which were Church property, *viz.*, *Feranoprior*<sup>8</sup> and *Franamanagh*, *i.e.*, Friarsland, and Monksland. The entire area of Leix is divided into sixteen cantreds, and these we shall now proceed to describe. The location and bounds of places as given on the map are fairly accurate. The same, however, cannot be said for the spelling, *e.g.*, *Stradbess* for *Stradbally*; *Foke* for *Fossy*; *Cunoloen* for *Curraclone*. The explanation may be that the map was copied from a rough sketch, and that in many cases the copyist was unable to decipher the handwriting. By comparison with the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of the county the correct form of most of the place names can be recovered.<sup>9</sup> Needless to say several of the names given on the old map are long since obsolete.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 437.

<sup>7</sup> The seven chief clans were the following:—O'More (ua móiré), O'Kelly (ua Ceallais), O'Deevy (ua Duib), O'Doran (ua Deoráin), O'Lalor (ua leat-loðair), O'Dowling (ua Dunlaing), and MacEvoy (mac fíodburóe).

<sup>8</sup> *Feran* (feriann) means "land." We find it spelt *Ferney*, and also *Farren*—as

in Farren-English.

<sup>9</sup> This comparison has been made by O'Donovan in his Letters during the Survey of the County, written in 1838. Also by Lord Walter Fitzgerald in the "Journal of the Kildare Archæol. Society," vol. vi., No. 1. Our information is largely derived from these two sources. See Appendix No. I., 2<sup>o</sup>.



I. *Tou Mologan* (? Tuath Melaghlin, or Clanmelaghlin, *i.e.*, Clan Melaghlin O'More), situated in the northern part of the territory, embraced the Castle of Shean, the entire of the Frughmore or Great Heath, the fortress of Dunamase, and the hills extending to the vicinity of the Church of Dysart, the churches of Kilmurry and Killeny, and all the lands thence to the neighbourhood of Coolbanagher Church, Morett Castle, Garrymaddock, and the stream of Morett. The castle marked *C. Owton* is identified with Coolbanagher; and that marked *C. Delues* (or Delves) with Shaen.

II. *Eughterhir*, or *Eightertyry*, was bounded on the north by the Morett river, on the south by the Stradbally river, and on the east by the Barrow. It included the parishes of Stradbally, and Ballyadams (*Baliadoo*); the castles of Blackford (*C. Porter*) and Garrymaddock (*Garymadeg*); the Churches of Moyanna (*Muianoo*), Ballintubbert (*Balitybrid*), Oughaval (*Ochoual*), and the Monastery of Stradbally (*Stradbess*), also the townlands of Derrybrock and Druelknocker. Its eastern boundary, lying along the Barrow, appears heavily wooded.

III. *Feran O'Doulin* (*i.e.*, O'Dowling's land, *Feapann ua n-Dunlaing*) extended from the western boundary of Tou Mologan to the Slieve Bloom Mountains. On the north Y-regan lay, and to the west Ely O'Carroll. It comprised the Castle or house of Ballyfin, the Castles of Knockandegre, Clohenreher, Clogheregan, Cloghcharge, the townlands of Kildarragh, Naire, Cloghaclonan, and Pallis, the Churches of Cloandermuy and Clonkeen, the house or Castle of Bochfean, with the fort of Maryborough, situated near its eastern extremity. The greater part of this division was comprised in the parishes of Clonenagh and Borris, near Maryborough. It appears to have been traversed extensively by woods, especially towards the west.

IV. *Clandibui* (*Clann Fíodhbuidhe*)<sup>10</sup> extended from near Clonkeen to the boundary of Upper Ossory, with the River Nore running along its western limits. The castle, formerly called Ballycaslane, now Castletown, stood without its western boundary. This division embraced the Churches of Clonenagh, Dysartbeagh, with the townlands of Kilmain, Mogera, Trumro, Roskelton, Arlena (? Ardlea), Kilmaga, and Capaloughnan (?). All this territory was situated in the south-western district of the large parish of Clonenagh.

V. *Feranolauler* (*Feapann ua Leactlobair*, *i.e.*, O'Lalor's land) is situated south of *Feranodoulin* and south-east of *Toumologan*. "Lalor's Mills" in this district is famous as the place where the treaty was signed on St. Patrick's Day in 1607 between the Seven Septs and Crosby (acting for the Government) as a result of which the Septs of Leix were transplanted to Kerry.<sup>11</sup> The townland of Ballycarney is still locally known as Lalor's Mills. *C. Duccurd* (or Ballynockan castle) presents

<sup>10</sup> The sept-name of *Clandeboys*, *i.e.*, Clan McEvoy, is found in the Calendar of State Papers, 1606-8, p. 467. Two derivations have been offered of the clan name:—*Macaodhabuide* (son of yellow Hugh), and *Mac Fhiodhbuidhe* (son of the yellow tree [*i.e.*, hero]). Dr. Carrigan considers the second derivation the correct one. The "Touayavi" on the

old map (*i.e.*, *Tuath-Fíodhbhuidhe*) was portion of their ancestral territory. This portion would seem to have been wrested from them prior to the reign of Philip and Mary. See vol. i., p. 76. *Tuath-Fhíodhbhuidhe* appears as *Twoaweway*, *Twawewoy*, *Tuadowy*, *two Ofithwy*, *Tovayovi*.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 21 *infra*.



a difficulty. The name *Duccurd* does not occur in any Fiants or Inquisitions. We must only conclude that the map-maker fell into an error, as he did in a similar manner when writing *C. Owton* for Coolbanagher. *Feran O'Lalor* comprised the townlands of *Carigmban* (? Cremorgan), *Crochedongan* (? Croshyduff); the castles of Dysart (*C. Pigot*) and Ballyknocan; and the Churches of Dysart-Enos, and Kilcolmanbane.

VI. *Feran O'Prior* (ṽṽṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽṽṽ, the land of the Prior [of old Conall]) was situated south of the district immediately described. It comprised the Churches of Timahoe, Fossy, and Kilcolmanbrock,<sup>12</sup> at Cremorgan. The parish of Timahoe or Fossy receives the *alias* name of Feranoprior in an inquisition regarding the murder of Rory O'More.

VII. *Feran O'Kelly* (ṽṽṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽṽṽ) lay eastward of *Feran O'Lalor* and *Feran O'Prior*. It extended from Ballymaddock, which it included on the northern angle, to a hill called Colerknocka at the southern extremity. The Parke, Grange, Loghteog, *i.e.*, Loughteeog, Timoge, Clopoke, *Corrogh*, *i.e.*, Luggacurran, Kochidinnin (?) appear on the map as the sites of castles or churches in this district.

VIII. *Fasagh-Reban* (*i.e.*, the wilderness of Reban). This district is now the parish of Churchtown (Reban) in the barony of Narragh and Reban West, Co. Kildare, and contains about 7,500 acres formerly in the Queen's County. The old map marks the following place-names in this lordship:—*Balachalun* (*i.e.*, Castletown-Reban); *Peahuchstowne* (? Ye Churchtown); *Roorenogh* (? Raheenadeeragh); *Woodshik* (Woodstock); *Dumebrenin* (Dunbrin); *Shongan* (Shanganagh).

IX. *Feranclandidonnil* (? Ferran-clan-McDonnell) includes the parishes of Tankardstown, Monk's Grange, and the northern portion of Killabban. The map shews the Churches of *Tankerston*, *Kilibin*, and *Graungemanagh* as belonging to this lordship.

X. *Feranclandikedoh* (? Ferran-clan-mac Kedagh).<sup>13</sup> In this division we notice the Churches of *Tecolm* and *Rathaspick*. There is a castle marked on the river Douglas, and a place spelled *Rughodadry*, neither of which can be identified.

XI. *Touachlou* (Tuath-maclowe)<sup>14</sup> lay south of the cantreds of *Feran O'Doulin* and *Feran O'Lalor*, and west of *Feran O'Prior*. It comprised the Church of Cullenagh Beg, the Castle and village of

<sup>12</sup> "Kilcolmanbrock."—All old forms of this name show with absolute clearness that it should not be rendered, as it now always is, Kilcolmanbrock; the proper form of the name is Cill chluana bhric, *i.e.*, Church of Cluain breac, or of the Speckled Pasture.

<sup>13</sup> O'Donovan is of opinion that this clan and the preceding were two subdivisions of the O'Mores. The "Clan Kedagh" is mentioned as an O'More sept in 1567 in the State Papers, Calendar 1509-75, p. 348.

<sup>14</sup> The name signified the territory of the McLowes, McAlowes, or Aloowes, a tribe name long extinct. Patrick M'Lowe

and David M'Alowe, with many others of Leix, were pardoned October 20th, 1559; Ferdoragh M'Lowe, February 17th, 1565-6; David M'Low, of Tymocow, July 11th, 1567; Terrelagh M'Rory O'Clanlowe, Owen M'Rory O'Clanlow, Tirrelagh M'Neale O'Clanlow, Rosse M'Neile O'Clanlow, Rosse M'Neile O'Clanlowe and Moriortagh owre O'Clanlowe, in 1579, all of Leix, and clearly a branch of the O'Moores. Rev. Conell Aloowe was a priest of Leighlin Diocese in 1683. The name of the Territory appears as Twoaghclowe, Tuoaghclowe, Toaclowe, Twodacclowe, and Tovachlov.



Ballyroan, Clandiggon, *Cludio* (? Clontycoe), *Tolouir* (Tullore), *Balliffcasshe* (?Ballypickas), Ballygaggin, and Dromselege, near Abbeyleix. The mountains of Cullinagh are represented as surrounded with forests and extending across this district, from east to west.

XII. *Fearna Managh* (i.e., *ƿearann na manac*, land of the monks, or Abbey-lands) lay to the west of Touachlou and Galin cantreds, the Nore River forming a part of its western boundary, as also a line extending east and west to the Gully River, north of Abbeyleix. The Castle of Gortnaclea stood near its extreme western boundary, and without the cantred. From the Gully, near Gortnaclea Castle, a line extended due north to the southern angle of Clandeboy, and the last-named district closed it in on the north-west. *Fearna Managh* included the village and Monastery of V. Abbey (? Ye Abbey, i.e., Abbeyleix).

XIII. *Galín* is shewn as reaching from the eastern boundary line of the last-mentioned district to the bounds of the barony of Slievemargue. Touachlou lay north and Ossory south of it. This district, formerly well wooded, took in Lisbeggan, Clonkeen, Carintolane, Ballinakill, Kilcronan, Disert-Galen, Ballycastlane, and Knockardagur.

XIV. *Sleamerg* (*Sliab Mairge*) was originally known as *Ui-Bairrche*, the O'Barry country. The *Ui-Bairrche*, descendants of Daire Barrach (second son of Cathaoir Mor, King of Leinster), were for centuries owners of Slievemargy. About the 11th century they assumed the surname McGorman, or O'Gorman. The territory came under the sway of the O'Mores, and was denominated by them Slievemargy. In an "extent" or valuation made in 1549 at Catherlagh (Carlow) we read:—"That Slewmerge is divided into three parts called Clandirremogho (or Clandiermote), Clanlowes, and Clanmac-Moriertaghe, the patrimony of Patrick O'More formerly Captain of his Nation." These sub-divisions are not given on our map; and we find of place-names only Arles, Old Derrig (*Oldarig*), Ballynagall (*Balainga*), and Castletown.

XV. *Kilihide*. This district appears to coincide with the parish of *Killeshin*. The map shows a group of buildings, including a round tower, which, although not named, are evidently the church and round tower of Killeshin. The hills of Tomard (*Sleu Tommarre*)<sup>15</sup> separate this district from *Idough* (barony of Fassadineen, Co. Kilkenny). A building marked *Garo* may be *Garrough*; and *Balimabehe* may perhaps be Ballyhide.

XVI. *Keildounan* or Kildownan corresponds with the Slievemargy barony portion of the parish of Rathaspick. *Dounan M.* (the hills of Doonane) probably gives the district its name. The place-names are Moyadd (*Muiadd*), Kilgorey (*Kilgourou*), Aughnatubrid (*Aghinte-brid*), and Slievemargy hills (*Sleomagre M.*).

<sup>15</sup> *Sleu Tomarre* represents the Irish *Sleibhte Ua m-Bairrche*, or the mountains in the territory of the *Ui-Bairrche*. *Sleonotoigre*, the mountain on the bounds of Co. Kilkenny, at Edough,

represents *Sliab na coigcríche*, or Mountain of the Boundaries, because here it separates Leix from Ossory. Its present name is "Knuckcogrisheen Hill."



A few words may be added regarding the social and economic condition of this district of Ireland—as of Ireland generally—at the period when the map was made.

That at Elizabeth's accession the country generally was in a comparatively prosperous state seems certain. The testimony of Spenser and Hollinshed is to the effect that Ireland was "most rich, and plentiful, full of corn and cattle." Even if only one-fourth of the area of the island had then been cleared it has to be borne in mind that the entire population did not exceed three-quarters of a million.<sup>16</sup> Such a population, it is quite evident, could be supported in comfort upon the produce of the comparatively restricted area under cultivation in the 16th century. We have the testimony of Lord Deputy Sydney that before the wars the circumstances of the principal people had so improved that there was as great a contrast between their condition and that of their predecessors "as between a yeoman and a good squire." Wool, hides, tallow, honey and fruit were in general use, and with a large surplus for exportation. Corn and other cereals were extensively cultivated. Traffic in corn was particularly valuable, and had been for centuries.<sup>17</sup> "The large land-owners exported cattle and horses, the famous Irish stag-hounds, and hawks."<sup>18</sup>

As regards amusements, the Irish of 400 years ago were as devoted to manly sports and pastimes, and as proficient in them, as their descendants of to-day. The numerous wild animals lurking in the immense forests, and the abundance of small game, afforded ever-present opportunities for indulging the sporting instincts of the people, and provided a recreation in which both nationalities frequently met in friendly rivalry. Hunting those animals, and hawking, were favourite amusements of the chiefs and gentry. The wolf-dogs, and deer-hounds were in great request for the chase, and laws were passed for their preservation.<sup>19</sup> Many of these dogs appear to have been carried to Spain and other countries, when the native chiefs were obliged, through forfeiture of their possessions, to seek service in foreign states.

In the sixteenth century, the Earls of Kildare and Ossory, with their families and trains, seem frequently to have put up in the castles and houses of the O'Mores, and sometimes in the monasteries, which served as inns at that time.<sup>20</sup> Falconry was an amusement much in vogue.<sup>21</sup> Trained hawks and hounds were highly appreciated; and the practice of sending them to England for presents attained such proportions that it became necessary to impose a duty to discourage their exportation. For a goshawk thirteen shillings and fourpence had to be paid; for a tiercel half this amount. In return, the English sent horses adapted for chargers—"chief" horses—as they were termed. From the Duke of Albuquerque soliciting a grant of two goshawks and four greyhounds, and the King of Spain having been presented with hounds and hawks, it would appear they were as fully appreciated abroad as in Ireland, and Great Britain.

<sup>16</sup> See "Elizabethan Ireland," by G. B. O'Connor, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> See "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing," by Mrs. Green, c. iii., p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>19</sup> A declaration against transporting

wolf-dogs was issued from the Castle of Kilkenny on the 27th of April, 1652.

<sup>20</sup> See "State Papers of King Henry VIII.'s Reign," vol. ii., part iii., p. 185.

<sup>21</sup> See "State Papers of King Henry VIII.'s Reign," vol. iii., part iii., p. 48.



The goshawk, falcon, or faucon tarsell, tarsell-gentle, the marlion or merlin, the sparhawks or sparrow-hawk, the jacke, and musket or tarsel, are mentioned as peculiar to Ireland by John Derrick, a servant to Sir Henry Sydney:—<sup>22</sup>

“ These are the hawks which chiefly breed  
In fertile Irish ground;  
Whose match for flight and speedie wing  
Elsewhere by hardly found.”<sup>23</sup>

## CHAPTER XVI.—THE 16TH CENTURY—1558-1577.

THE accession of Queen Elizabeth had the effect of temporarily alleviating the condition of the native Septs of Leix and Offally. State policy dictated the advisability of restoring some of the Sept lands to the original owners. “ For that the Mores and Chonors wol not be quieted till they have a portion let them so have and be placed many together.”<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's interest in this part of her Kingdom of Ireland is shewn in the following letter written in May, 1559, to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex:—

“ Our two countries of Less and Offaly do yet remain unestablished or unhabited, being planted only with our men of war, whereby they lie waste without peopling, and our charge is likely to grow daily more intolerable. The good season of the year being past, they cannot be planted with building houses and towns as we see were best, but you shall therein do as much as the season of the year and other accidents there will permit, to take the straights and strengths of the same countries, and build such castles and houses of strength as have or shall be by you thought meet for the better possessing of the same countries, and appoint such portions of land thereto as shall seem most convenient, and likewise to distribute such part of the rest of the country as ye shall perceive that ye may have convenient persons to take and inhabit the same, and to use the same grounds in manner of husbandry for increase of tillage for corn. And as for the reservation of the rent, although we would that for augmentation of our revenue ye should reserve for every acre during the first ten years 2*d.*, and for the other ten years 3*d.* and so afterwards 4*d.*, yet not knowing how at this present the same may be compassed, we remit the same to your wisdom and good consideration. And for other covenants or corporal service to be done by the tenants to whom ye shall make any grants, we also remit the same to your discretion, foreseeing that you do not make any estate to any person better than to them and the heirs males of their bodies lawfully begotten.”

<sup>22</sup> His account of Ireland in doggerel metre was composed in 1578.

<sup>23</sup> See a very interesting paper, “ Of Hawks and Hounds in Ireland,” by John P. Prendergast, barrister-at-law, in “ Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæo-

logical Society ” for the year 1852, vol. ii., part i., pp. 144 to 155. Also “ Elizabethan Ireland,” p. 68.

<sup>1</sup> See Lansdowne MSS., No. 159, p. 97.



On the 11th September, 1560, the Attorney-General of England orders that some Noblemen and Gentlemen of England should be planted in Leix and Offally; and that the Garrison should be reduced to 500, or 600, and be afterwards still further diminished. The revenue of the two districts is set down at £500; and the charges for maintaining 200 footmen in both places is estimated at £2,600.<sup>2</sup> The new Planters were to hold by a species of military tenure, and were under obligation to erect castles to overawe the natives.<sup>3</sup>

In the first Irish Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, held in Dublin in 1560, we find on a Rolls Office Record, largely illegible, the entry, "Vicecomes de le Quene's Countie milites electi ibidem [ ]." The names of the two Knights of the Shire have been effaced by the decay of the document. Their election was entirely by their own followers. The natives at this period treated English laws with indifference and contempt. This so-called Irish Parliament was Irish only in the sense that it was held in Ireland.

In the third year of the Queen's reign returns were made to a Commission which had been appointed for reducing and limiting the bounds of the King's and Queen's Counties. The following endorsement on an ancient map of Idrone shows of what clan territories the two counties were made up. "The King's County consisteth of these countries following: Offaly, lately possessed by the O'Connors; Fercal, possessed by the O'Moloyes; Moynterlagan, called the Foxes Country; Delvin-Maccoghlan; and that parcel of Glanmeliry, possessed by the O'Dempsies. The Queen's Countie consisteth of these countries following:—Lex, Slemarg; as much of Glanmeliry as lieth on the south side of the Barro, Yregan, possessed by Odun, bordering on the mountain called Slebleme."

On the 24th May, 1561, the Earl of Sussex, on his return as Viceroy, is instructed to grant part of the two forfeited counties to the natives. In the same year Ormond acknowledges a royal letter of thanks for his services against the Leix outlaws. Abbeyleix is granted him as a reward for these services.<sup>4</sup>

On the 22nd September, 1563, the Lord Deputy informs the Queen that Lisough MacKadough More had a company of armed men, but was not troublesome, and had offered to submit.<sup>5</sup>

Great disturbances having arisen within the English Pale during the year 1564, Commissioners were appointed to parley with the O'Mores, Geraldines, and O'Connors, the fomentors of these disorders.<sup>6</sup> Conditions were to be offered them, but if, at the next parley, the O'Mores would not consent to a further peace the Lord Lieutenant and Council were to pursue them to the uttermost. It was ordered also that provisions should be supplied to the forts of Leix and Offally.<sup>7</sup>

In the June of this year we read that Sir Edmond Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormond, having taken up arms to defend his castle of Cloghrennan against the O'Mores of Leix, succeeded in surprising and defeating them with great slaughter. In describing his exploit he

<sup>2</sup> See "State Papers," vol. x., No. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See Cox: "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., pp. 313, 315.

<sup>4</sup> According to "Liber Munerum Hiberniæ," and "State Papers," p. 1212.

<sup>5</sup> "Irish State Papers," vol. ix., No. 17.

<sup>6</sup> See "State Papers." Letter dated the 2nd February, 1564.

<sup>7</sup> "Irish State Papers," vol. x., No. 31.



informs the Lords Justices that having met Lisagh, Cahir, and their company "at Clonyn, in Idogh, by Gorrydene near where they had burned a town, he killed two of the leaders, Turlough MacShane and Teigh O'Dowlyn (whose heads he sent up) together with a dozen of their kerne."<sup>8</sup> The Lord Justice, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and Council in reply send a letter of congratulation, also £40 for his two horses killed, and a promise to advise the Queen of his services.<sup>9</sup> Orders were at the same time issued to the Marshal, the Earl of Kildare, to repair with his forces unto the borders against the O'Connors and O'Mores.<sup>10</sup> Similar orders were despatched to Francis Cosbie, commander of all the Kerne of the Queen's retinue, including the following:—Sir H. Radcliff's 40, Jaques Wingfeld's 40, Francis Cosbie's 100, Ownhe McHugh's 40, Richard Kettyng's 40. Through Cosbie the call to arms was to be transmitted to the Lord of Upper Ossory, and to O'Carroll. Special emphasis was laid on the necessity of securing Florence Fitzpatrick's son as one of the hostages.<sup>11</sup> The Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, is called on to pursue the O'Mores and O'Connors as proclaimed traitors. His instructions were to lie in wait for them in case they drew towards Piers Grace. As a result Ormond and Kildare were engaged for the remainder of the year in hunting down and extirpating O'Mores and O'Connors; and Captain Francis Cosbie exerted himself in the same direction with such success that he was made Seneschal of Leashe (Leix) and Constable of the Fort,<sup>12</sup> and was allowed for its garrison one porter, one drummer, one ensign, one surgeon, and thirty-nine arquebusiers. This appointment he was to hold during the Queen's pleasure, with a fee of 2s. a day for himself, 12d. a day for each of the four officers, and 8d. a day for each of the arquebusiers.

About this time representations were made on behalf of the two sons of Rory Caech O'More, Kedagh and Callough; and we find that in November, 1565, the Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy on the subject. He was ordered to inform the home Government as to the manner of Rory Caech's death (in 1545), why his lands were annexed to the Crown, and what was expedient to be done for his son Kedagh. The Council Book contains a notice of "an Act to give Kedagh, and Calluagh, the sonnes of Rory O'More, in respect of their father's fidelitie, £20 yearlie apeece to maintain them at Oxford for 3 years."

In 1567 it was recommended to appoint a Commission for granting lands in Leix (*i.e.*, for robbing the natives). As a consequence we learn that in this year the O'Mores were in the field with 1,000 Gallow-glasses, and were promptly proclaimed traitors.<sup>14</sup> In 1568 further measures for the despoiling of the native chiefs were taken. Authority was given the Lord Deputy to lease lands in Leix and Offaly, and instructions were issued regarding the leasing.<sup>15</sup> Chiefs and people were thus driven into taking up arms in defence of their homes and

<sup>8</sup> "Irish State Papers," June 11th and 12th, 1564.

<sup>9</sup> "Irish State Papers," vol. xi., Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7.

<sup>10</sup> "Irish State Papers," vol. xi., No. 55.

<sup>11</sup> "Irish State Papers," vol. xi., Nos. 47 to 55.

<sup>12</sup> See "State Papers," 17th February

and 3rd March, 1565-6, and "Eliz Fiant," No. 819.

<sup>13</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers" for 1565, p. 280.

<sup>14</sup> See Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 327.

<sup>15</sup> From Greenwich of date 2nd July, 1568.



possessions; and skirmishes, battles, and murders were of daily occurrence. The State Papers contain little more than announcements of such incidents as that recorded under date of 16th July, 1568, viz., that the head of Piers O'More had been sent up by Cosbie. Cosbie informs the Lord Deputy that the Butlers—Sir Edmond, and his brothers Piers and Edward—had burned several towns and castles in Leix the previous night. Amongst other castles he mentions Ballyknockane (where all the Castellans were slain), Ferny Priory, and Loughteoge. Worse still, his own town of Stradballie was burned. He adds that McCarthy More and James MacMaurice Desmond had separated from the Butlers before the perpetration of these barbarous deeds.<sup>16</sup> On Sunday, 7th August, Cosbie wrote to the Earl of Kildare that Sir E. Butler had entered Ossory with 500 horse and had taken a great prey. He begs his Lordship to send him 50 or 60 horse and 100 kerne, as he expects an attack from Butler on Monday.<sup>17</sup>

In 1570 the Queen granted Maryborough a charter of incorporation conferring on the town the same privileges as those enjoyed by Naas, Drogheda, and Dundalk. In an Inquisition taken in this year Ginkene Hedrington, late of Ballyrone, is found to have died seized of the castle of Ballyrone, and towns and lands in that locality amounting to 484 acres, etc. "He held all the aforesaid castle, houses etc., of the ladie Quene, as of her castle and manor of Maryborough, by the service of the twentieth parte of a knight's fee, and which was evicted and taken from the rebels the Moores, late called Leix, and were parcel of her crowne and inheritance as by authoritie and effecte of an Acte of Parliament holden at Dublin, within this realme of Ireland, the third and fourthe year of King Philip and Quene Marye, more at lardge appeareth. The said Ginkene and his heirs male are bounde to paye yearely unto the hands of the sub-treasoror or Generall Receiver of Ireland, for and to the use of the said ladie Quene, her heirs and successors, for all the saide premises the some of £11 7s. 2d., Irish, and also he, and his heirs male for ever, shall give on custom plowe day, yearly, to the use of the Castell of Maryborough, for every plowe that is then plowing on the ground. He and his heirs male are bounde to have, keep and manteyne, continually upon the said castle, lands, and all the aforesaid premises, thre horsemen of English native, both of name and blode, for the better inhabitinge and preservinge the premisses; and they shall have good and efficient horses and harness, and, uppon lawful warninge, geve attendannce with moste parte of their houshold and familye, in there defensable array, with the dayes victualls, to attend for the defence of the saide countrie. The saide Ginkene Hedrington was slayne by certayne rebels of the Moores, and died the 12th of Julye in the year aforesaid. David Hedrington is the sonn and heire of the said Gyngkin, and is of the adge of 22 yeares and above."

In 1570 Lisagh O'More was appointed Captain by Sir H. Sydney and served with distinction against the Ulstermen. Afterwards charges of disloyalty were brought against him, and on conviction he was hanged at the bridge of Leighlin.<sup>18</sup> Sydney now promised he

<sup>16</sup> "Calendar of State Papers." Letter dated Friday, 1st July, 1569.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> See Thady Dowling's "Annals," p. 41.



would lay such a hand on the whole name of the O'Mores that he trusted the Queen's County should be quiet.<sup>19</sup>

In July, 1569, Callough O'More, younger son of Rory "caech" by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Edmond Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, petitioned the Government for a continuance of the pension of £40, which had been allowed to him and his brother Kedagh, lately deceased. He also prays to be restored to his father's lands. His father, he adds, was loyal to the Crown and lost his life, when "Captain of Leix," in prosecuting the rebels. In 1571 Callough's cousin, the Earl of Ormond, interested himself in his behalf, and wrote to Lord Burghley, then Secretary of State, for permission for Callough to leave Gray's Inn and return to Ireland, and to afford him some means of living. The result was Callough was granted, in 1573, a pension of £20 a year, until such time as he should receive a grant of lands to the yearly value of £30. This soon came about, as, in August, 1574, he obtained a grant of the Manor of Ballina (or Balyna) in the County Kildare; and in June, 1575, he was granted the Preceptory of Kilmainham Wood in the County Meath, with its appurtenances. Cosby being blamed for his government (probably by Ormond)<sup>20</sup> requests to be permitted to go over to England for six weeks, and that Ormond should be staid to meet him. "At this time," we learn, "the English colonists of the Queen's County could not for any entertainment get 20 Englishmen."<sup>21</sup>

In 1572, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, when President of Munster, prosecuted Piers Grace, Rory Oge O'More, and others as traitors, and brought Rory Oge to Rosse to make his submission to the Lord Deputy Fitz William.<sup>22</sup> In March, 1573, Piers Butler Fitz Edmond, of Butler's Wood, County Kilkenny, slew, according to his own statement, Tirrelaghe More, a leader of kerne, who took a prey of Idogho, and who committed divers murders; also Walter Stoke, a gentleman and confederate of Tirrelagh More; and Edmond M'William M'Fyrre, a gentleman and strong rebel, at Cloghgreennan.<sup>23</sup> He also took alive Moriertaghe M'Arty Boye, "a notorious traitor," and leader of kerne at Ballimacka, who was sent to the Lord Deputy and duly executed.

About this time Rory Oge O'More, the son of Rory Caech by his first wife, finding himself excluded from his inheritance in Leix, and persecuted by the new colonists, made arrangements for a rising. Thomas Lambin, John Whitney, and John Barnys write, on the 11th of March, 1573, expressing their hope that order will be taken "for rooting out those *wicked traitors* Rory Oge O'More and his adherents, who intend to overthrow the Queen's Co. next winter." In April, 1573, the Lord Deputy writes to Burghley about recovering the Queen's County from the O'Mores. He recommends the banishment of Rory Oge, who, he says, mostly resorts his dwelling in Gallin. Gallin he describes as a waste district consisting for twelve miles of bog, mountain, and wood, viz., Scaghafouro, Sleunecrie, the Wolf's Mountain,

<sup>19</sup> Letter in "State Papers," dated 28th May, 1570.

<sup>20</sup> Letter of 18th February, 1572-3.

<sup>21</sup> Lord Deputy to the Queen, February, 1573.

<sup>22</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manu-

scripts," 1575-1588, p. 414.

<sup>23</sup> Slaying and murdering went merrily on during the last quarter of the sixteenth century according to the "State Papers," vol. cxlix. December, 1589.



Kildowney Wood, and Sletemore. He would exterminate the entire O'More clan excepting only Owen McHugh. This Owny McHugh (or McEvoy) was probably the same who is described in the Reports of the Record Com., vol. ii., p. 518, as "captain of kerne in the service of the Crown." In June the Deputy sends a request to the Queen that Gallin should be passed to Owny McHugh; also that the freeholders of Leix and Offaly should have warrants to take surrenders and make estates.

The Queen appears to have entertained some particular dislike towards Francis Cosby, and this is expressed in a communication,<sup>24</sup> dated from Greenwich, March 30th, 1574, to the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, in which she enquires why Cosby is continued in Leix. The troubles excited by the O'Mores and the O'Conors are alluded to; and she probably entertained the suspicion that Cosby had not been sufficiently active or energetic in quelling those disturbances. On the 18th of April the Lord Deputy explains<sup>25</sup> why he suffered Cosbie to remain in Leix, while he gives a good reason for Mr. Harvyne succeeding Cosbie.

The Queen directs the Lord Deputy, on the 18th of May, to punish severely some horrible outrages committed upon the tenants of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, by a brother of Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick. Ormond himself is directed, with 200 English, to repress the O'Mores and O'Conors, then committing outrages even to the gates of Dublin.<sup>26</sup> He took as prisoners Lysaghe MacKeadaghe, Neale M'Lisaghe, Melaghlin O'More, and others of the O'Mores.<sup>27</sup> Towards the close of 1574, Captain Malbie organised a general hosting to extirpate Rory Oge, with the O'Mores and O'Conors, who are said to have cost the Crown of England £200,000. In 1575, it was resolved to grant Leix and Offaly to English undertakers.<sup>28</sup>

During the second term of Sir Henry Sydney's administration, which commenced in the autumn of 1575, he adopted a policy of alternate conciliation and repression, in relation to the Irish and English residents. Thus it is related<sup>29</sup> that he effected a reconciliation between the race of Rossa Failghe<sup>30</sup> and the descendants of Conall Cearnach.<sup>31</sup> This seems to have been accomplished through the restoration of certain lands to their rightful owners;<sup>32</sup> or more probably, by some sort of arbitration between rival claimants, in reference to their respective possessions. Sir Henry went to Kilkenny, where he held a sessions by commission of Oyer and Terminer, but in person he would not sit on the bench, lest the Ormondists should say that he was there by speech or countenance "to engrieve any matter against them."

<sup>24</sup> "Calendar of the State Papers, 1574-1585," edited by Hans Claude Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A., p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> In a letter from Dublin Castle. See *ibid.*, p. 18, 19.

<sup>26</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1574-1585," p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, p. 414.

<sup>28</sup> See Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 342.

<sup>29</sup> See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of

the Four Masters," vol. v., pp. 1682, 1683.

<sup>30</sup> The O'Conors of Offaly and their correlatives.

<sup>31</sup> The O'Mores.

<sup>32</sup> The following are the words of De Thin, at A.D. 1575:—"O'Conoros item et O'Moros seditionibus ciendis in Lagenia natas familias, quæ bona avita in Leisa et Ophalia iudicis auctoritate sibi adempta vi occupaverant, ad quietis consilia adegit."—"Historiarum sui Temporis," tomusiii., lib. lx., sect. i.x., p. 403.



Although much thwarted by the Butlers, the Deputy had a great number of that county lawfully indicted, "according to the laws, arraigned, judged to die, and executed for abetting, favouring and aiding Rorie Oge. This matter remains of record." The Earl of Ormond made representation in England, that Sydney lay in Kilkenny for no other end but to make himself rich by the spoil of that country, and that he paid for nothing he took.<sup>33</sup> On the 15th March, 1575, an order from the English Privy Council is approved, that Leix be held by Francis Cosby, for whom 33 kerne are provided, and Owny Ma Hewgh, who is allowed 21 kerne.<sup>34</sup> A year later, in March, 1576, we find the Lord of Upper Ossory Lieutenant of the forts in the King's and Queen's County, at 6s. 8d. a-day with an allowance of 40 kernes at 3d. each. Francis Cosbye was constable of Maryborough at 2s. a-day, and had a porter there at 12d.; George Harvey is named as his petty captain, with four officers, and 100 men; all these were paid for 56 days' service. Likewise Humfrey Mackworth, who succeeded him, is paid for 127 days.<sup>35</sup> At the same date, Francis Cosby is styled General of kernes for life, at 3s. 8d. a-day, while he is paid 3d. sterling a-day for 32 kernes, who served 193 days. Owen McHugh is also paid for 20 kernes. At June 30th, 1577, among the sums due to warders in sundry Irish forts and castles we find to Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Lord of Upper Ossory, is due £33 15s. 2d.; to Francis Cosbie towards payment of 24s. 3½d. due to Oliver Bamford (10s. 8d.). Robert Harpoole and his creditors are allowed £201 14s. 8d. Owen McHugh of the kernes is represented as owing 19s. 8d. to O.B.—the same Oliver Bamford—who would seem to have been a lender<sup>36</sup> of money for Government work. An enumeration of the Irish Garrisons in pay on September 12th, 1577, sets down Francis Cosbye, General of her Majesty's kerne at 3s. 8d. a day with 32 kerne at 3d. each. The total number of soldiers for waging war against the O'Mores and O'Connors is stated to be 337.<sup>37</sup>

In 1576 "The Annals of the Four Masters" state that:—"At this time Rury oge, the son of Rury, son of Connell O'More, and Conor, the son of Cormac, son of Brian O'Conor Faly, opposed the English with their wood-kerns; and they were joined by all that were living of the race of Rossa Failghe and of Conall Cearnach. Shortly afterwards these people formed troops of many hundreds. They burned and desolated large portions of Leinster, Meath, and Fingall."

On New Year's Day, 1577, occurred the massacre of the Irish gentry of Leix and Offaly in the great rath on the summit of the hill of Mullaghmast, County Kildare. The "Annals of the Four Masters" thus refer to it:—"A horrible and abominable act of treachery was committed by the English of Leinster and Meath upon that part of the people of Offaly and Leix that remained in confederacy with them, and under their protection. It was effected thus: they were all summoned to show themselves, with the greatest number they could be

<sup>33</sup> The Deputy declares, that this was utterly untrue; "for not only my household officers, but all other that followed me, paid ready money for everything they took in any town where I came. And when the Earl of Ormond was so said to by Mr. Edward Waterhowse,

sometimes my secretary, he answered that his officers had written so to him."

<sup>34</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1575-1588."

<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.



able to bring with them, at the great rath of Mullach-Maistean; and on their arrival at that place they were surrounded on every side by four lines of soldiers and cavalry, who proceeded to shoot and slaughter them without mercy, so that not a single individual escaped by flight or force."

Clyn, in his "Annals of Ireland," referring to this butchery, states that Moris mac Lisagh mac Connell O'More, Lord of "Merggi" (? Slieve Margy), with forty of his clan, after consultation with Rory O'More, and when under protection, was slain at "Molaghmastyn," in the County of Kildare, having been invited there by "magistrum" Cosby and Robert Harpoll, on the pretence of consulting him on the affairs of the country. To Clyn's entry is added, "Harpoll excused it that Moris had given villanous wordes to the breach of his protection."

A Captain Thomas Lee, of the Government forces in Ireland, puts the truth plainly in reference to Mullaghmast when he states that:—"They have drawn unto them by protection three or four hundred of those country people, under colour to do your Majesty's service, and brought them to a place of meeting, where our garrison soldiers were appointed to be, who have there most dishonourably put them all to the sword; and this hath been by the consent and practice of the Lord Deputy for the time being. If this be a good course to draw these savage people to the State, to do your Majesty's service, and not rather to enforce them to stand upon their guard, I humbly leave to your Majesty." Equally outspoken is another English contemporary writer, viz., Fynes Moryson (Folio edition, p. 3):—"About the 19th year of her Majesty's reign, viz., in anno 1577, a horrible massacre was committed at Mulloghmaster on some hundred of the most peaceable of the Irish gentry, invited thither on the public faith, and under the protection of government."

The "Annals of Lough Key" mention this massacre thus:—"Treachery was committed by Master Francis (Cosby) and by Macomas (?) and the Saxons on Muirchertach O'Mordha and on his people: and the place where this treachery was committed was in the great rath of Mullagh Maistin; and Muirchertach and seventy-four men were slain there; and no uglier deed than that was ever committed in Erin."

We find the following interesting reference to Mullaghmast in Holinshed's Chronicles:—"There is also in the Countie of Kildare a goodlie field called Mooleaghmast, between the Norrough and Kilka. Divers blind prophecies run of this place, thet there shall be bloudie field fought there between the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish, and so bloodie forsooth it shall be that a mill in a vale hard by it shall run four and twentie hours with the streame of bloud that shall powre down from the hill. The Irish doubtless repose a great affiance in this balductum dreame. In the top of this height stand motes or rundels verie formalie fashioned, where the strength of the English armie (as they saie) shall be incamped."

Mullaghmast, formerly known as *Carmen* (the enclosed place), and *Naasteigham* (or the place of assembly of the southern states of Leinster until supplanted in the 6th century by Naas) is in the parish of Narraghmore about five miles east of Athy. The fort, called by the Four Masters Rathmore, is about 200 feet in diameter internally.



Near the rath stood a large stone, erected, as is supposed, by the Baal or Fire-Worshippers. Sixteen conical hills in the neighbourhood are pointed out as the places on which the Elders assembled in Council were wont to sit: "Aloft in awful state."

The condition of the English settlers in 1577 was so desperate that, given the opportunity, a massacre of the Irish enemy was inevitable. The cess collected for the maintenance of the forts of Maryboro' and Philipstown was a standing grievance, especially as it failed to purchase protection from the inroads of the O'Mores and O'Connors. The exactions of rapacious landlords constituted another element of discontent.<sup>38</sup> To exterminate the natives by one sure and well-aimed blow seemed a ready remedy for their many ills; and so the murder of Mullaghmast was planned and perpetrated.

O'Donovan in his edition of the Four Masters (p. 1693) has the following note regarding the slaughter of Mullaghmast:—"The following traditional account of this massacre is printed, verbatim, from a copy made by the late Laurence Byrne of Fallybeg, near Luggacurren, in the Queen's County. He states that he made it from an old manuscript sheet of paper which he had borrowed for that purpose in 1792, from the Rev. James O'Neill, P.P., of Maryborough, who had (at the sale of the books of the Rev. John Whelan, P.P., of Portarlinton, who died a very old man in 1775), found the original loose sheet of manuscript in one of the volumes, and preserved it: 'An account of the murder at Mullaghmast. In the year 1705, there was an old gentleman of the name of Cullen, in the County Kildare, who often discoursed with one Dwyer and one Dowling, actually living at Mullaghmast when this horrid murder was committed, which was about the sixteenth year (*recté, nineteenth*) of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and the account he gives of it is, that those who were chiefly concerned in this horrid murder were the Deavils, the Grehams, the Cosbys, the Piggotts, the Bowens, the Hartpoles, the Hovendons, the Dempsys, and the FitzGerald. The last five of these were, at that time, Roman Catholics, by whom the poor people murdered at Mullaghmast were chiefly invited there, in pretence that said people should enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with them. But their reception was to put them all to death, except one O'More, who was the only person that escaped. Notwithstanding what is said that one O'More only had escaped the massacre, yet the common tradition of the country is, that many more had escaped through the means of one Henry Lalor, who, remarking that none of those returned who had entered the fort before him, desired his companions to make off as fast as they could, in case they did not see him come back. Said Lalor, as he was entering the fort, saw the carcasses of his slaughtered companions; then drew his sword, and fought his way back to those that survived, along with whom he made his escape to Dysart, his family's ancestral home."

The property of the murdered Irish was "acquired" by their assassins. But (as if in retribution) it is said every portion of it has

<sup>38</sup> The Chancellor Gerrarde writes to Walshingham in February, 1577, regarding landlord exactions. The tenants he

describes as "only starved, beggarly misers."









**MOST REV. DR. DOYLE, J.K.L.**



**OWEN ROE O'NEILL.**  
Portrait painted in Flanders.



**RORY OG O'MORE.**  
From *Pacata Hibernia*.



**"BLACK THOMAS"**  
**10th Earl of Ormond.**  
From *Pacata Hibernia*.



passed away from those who obtained it so foully.<sup>39</sup> The question of the cess cropped up again in September, 1578; and the gentry of the Queen's County through the Baron of Upper Ossory, Francis Cosby, Esq., Robert Harpole, and others, agents for the shire, presented a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council at Dublin. They prayed not to contribute with the English Pale to the composition for cess, giving as reason their impoverishment owing to the rebellion of the Butlers, and the charges they bore for service against the O'Mores.<sup>40</sup>

## CHAPTER XVII.—THE 16TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1577-1583.

IF the massacre of Mullaghmast was not adequately avenged it was not the fault of Rory Oge O'More, Chieftain of Leix. In conjunction with his allies the O'Connors and other Septs (united together in the Geraldine rebellion) he desolated large portions of Leinster, Meath, and Fingal.<sup>1</sup> He ravaged Kildare and burned Naas.<sup>2</sup> He attacked the latter town by night; and taking his stand on the steps of the market cross directed the movements of his followers, and in half an hour had the town in flames.<sup>3</sup>

With the assistance of Shane Bourke he also burned Carlow and Leighlin. "Rorie (reports Deputy Sydney) came soddeinelye unto Caterlaugh the viii day of this present November, an Hower before Day, *the Towne being large and greate, and the Walles ruined and downe in maney places*, entered and bourned most of the thatched Howsies, some fewe Ricks of Corne, and committed a fewe other Spoyles without any further Harme doinge; but retyred hym selfe, and in his marche away Robert Harpoll, with halfe a score of Horsemen, chardged upon them in the Ford, and there killed xvii or xviii of

<sup>39</sup> The Skeltons were amongst the settlers who got grants of the lands *cleared* by the betrayal and butchery of Mullaghmast. Hartpole, Hovenden, Skelton, and Davells forfeited as "English Papists" in 1653. Henry Davells, the Elizabethan grantee of Killeslin, and Capoly (now Sheffield, near Maryborough), was stabbed in his bed at Tralee by Sir John of Desmond. Two or three ladies, the last descendants of Davells, died in a hut at Lambstown, near Killeslin, early in the 18th century, in great poverty.

<sup>40</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers," 1574-85, p. 144.

<sup>1</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney states that "Rori Oge O'More and Cormacke MackCormake O'Connor, accompanied with not more than 140 men and boys, on the third of the monethe burned between vii. and viii. hundred thatched housies in a markett towne called the Naas. They had not one horseman nor one shot with them. They ranne through the towne being open like haggis and furies of hell with flakes of fier fas-

tened on pooles and so fiered the lowe thatched housies; and being a great windie night one house took fiere of another in a moment, they tarried not  $\frac{1}{2}$  an houre in the towne, neither stode they upon killinge or spoylinge of any. There was above fyv hundred mennes bodies in the towne manlyke enough in appearance, but neither manful nor wakeful as it seamed, for they confess they were all aslepe in their bedde after they had filled themselves and surfeited on their patrone day (St. Davd's Day, 1st March), which day is celebrated for the most part of the people of this country birthe with gluttonye and idollatrie as far as they dare."—Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council, dated Dublin, March 17th, 1577.

<sup>3</sup> A stone cross was erected in the market-place of Naas, about 650 A.D., in memory of the liberation of certain captives by St. Fechin of Fobhair during his visit to Naas. It was in existence in 1707, for there is mention of it in old leases of that date. "1707, a brick house opposite ye Market Cross to Richard Eustace." See "Journal of the Kildare Arch. Society," vol. i., p. 330.



his men." Thus, during the year 1577, the O'Mores and O'Connors wreaked vengeance on their enemies; and though they lost many brave followers, they maintained their ground in their native territory owing to their fastnesses, bogs, and woods, as also to "their watch and spial so good."<sup>4</sup> In the month of November the Lord Deputy proclaimed a general hosting to extirpate them, stating that they had cost the Crown of England £200,000.<sup>5</sup> He followed Rory Oge into his fastnesses, at the head of a considerable force, but Rory, avoiding an encounter, retired before him.

In September, 1577, Rory had captured two important prisoners. One was Sir Henry Harrington (nephew, by his mother Lucy Sydney, to the Lord Deputy); the other was Alex. Cosby, son of Francis Cosby who had commanded the kerne at the massacre of Mullaghmast. Rory's right-hand men at this time were his "marshal," Shane grany Mac Rory reagh O'More, and Connor MacCormac mac Brian O'Connor of Offaly. Negotiations for the release of the prisoners were entered upon by the Lord Deputy, but "nothing prevailed without such conditions as I would not have enlarged Philip my son." The Lord Deputy continues his account as follows:—"Then I made war on the rebel; I went into his fastest places, and though my men prevailed he still kept my nephew; but through Robert Harpoole I beset his cabanish dwelling. The rebel had within it 26 of his best and most assured men, his wife, the wife of his marshal, and Conor O'Connor who in that place and time was killed by a man of mine named John Parker. There was also killed the wife of Rory Oge, and all the men; only there escaped himself and his marshal in truth miraculously, for they crope between the legs of the soldiers into the fastness of the plashes of trees. Rory Oge confessed and so did the wife of his marshal whom the soldiers saved, that the skirts of his shirt was with an English sword cut from his bare body. In this assault and conflict, being done in the dark night, the villainous rebel fell upon my most dear nephew, being tied in chains, and him most shamefully hacked and hewed with my nephew's own sword, to the effusion of such a quantity of blood as were incredible to be told. He brake his arm with that blunt sword, and cut off the little finger of one of his hands, and in sundry parts of his head so wounded him, as I myself in his dressing did see his brains moving. Yet my good soldiers brought him away, and a great way upon their halberts and pikes, to a good place in that country where he was relieved, and afterwards (I thank God) recovered."

In the following year Rory Oge's chequered career came to a close. He met his death at the hands of one of his fellow-countrymen, a MacGillapatrik of Ossory, the 30th of June, 1578. In a continuation of Sir Henry Sydney's account of his services to the Crown he describes how the end came about:—"After the rescue of my nephew Harrington from the rebel, Rory Oge, I placed a garrison to persecute the rebel under Sir Nicholas Malbye, Captain Collyer, Captain Furies, Captain Mackworth, and others; lastly and most effectually under the Baron of Upper Ossory, my particular sworn brother. The vile Rorie was killed by a household servant of the Baron's; his marshal, Shane mac Rorie Reogh, escaped, and the rebel's

<sup>4</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, p. 110. Letter from the Privy Council of Ireland to the

Queen, dated September 12th, 1577.

<sup>5</sup> This letter is dated from Dublin Castle, November 26th, 1577.



body, though dead, was so well attended and carried away, as it was the cause of the death of a good many men on both sides, yet carried away he was. But not long after his head was sent to me, and set upon the Castle of Dublin, for which I had proclaimed 1000 marks to be given to him that would bring it to me, and £1000 to him that would bring him to me alive. The Baron of Upper Ossory, who was nurtured under Edward VI, would take but £100 to divide among his men."<sup>6</sup>

The "Annals of the Four Masters" thus notice Rory's death:—"1578. Rury Oge, the son of Rury Caech, son of Connell O'More, fell by the hand of Brian Oge, son of Brian MacGillapatrik. This Rury was the head of the plunderers and insurgents of the men of Ireland in his time; and for a long time after his death no one was desirous to discharge one shot against the soldiers of the Crown."

Rory Oge's followers were determined that their chief's body should not be dishonoured by being quartered by his enemies. His staunch friend, the marshal—Shane mac Rory reagh O'More—in defence of his master's body received twelve wounds, seven of which were not yet healed when he tendered his submission on the 4th of November at Kilkenny.

Rory's successor in the chieftainship appears to have been James mac Kedagh O'More (also styled Myaghe, or Meaghe), who is first mentioned in 1581, when in September he made his submission to the Lord Deputy, and in the following month he and his son, George O'More, received a pardon. In January, 1583, James Meagh, *alias* O'More, was in receipt of a pension from the Crown, which shows he was then in favour.

In May, 1577, Piers Butler FitzEdmond of Butler's Wood, County of Kilkenny, slew at the Castle of Galyne in Leix one Edmond O'Dewie, a strong rebel and confederate of Rory Oge, as also Edmond Riogh O'Kelly, an adherent, and Edmond Leaghlór, or Lalor, "a chief man about the said Rory Oge O'More."<sup>7</sup>

As Hugh M'Shane O'Byrne had been aiding and abetting Rory, Sir N. Bagenall proceeded to take prey from him. He lodged for one night in the house of Viscount Baltinglass, who complained that spoils had been committed by the soldiers of the Knight Marshal. This was denied by Bagenall, who stated that payment had been made for everything taken by the soldiers. An investigation was ordered by the Lord Deputy and Privy Council, and witnesses were examined, who gave conflicting evidence.<sup>8</sup> However, Bagenall's service against Rory Oge deserved well,<sup>9</sup> and he was acquitted. The Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, writes to Burghley, that he will follow his advice as to the O'Conors and O'Mores.<sup>10</sup> He resolved to spend his Christmas in Offaly and Leix, to bridle the Conors and Mores whose old protections were almost expired.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Brewer's "Cal. of Carew MSS.," 1575-88.

<sup>7</sup> See Piers Butler's Petition for a pension to the Privy Council, State Papers, vol. cxlix., December, 1589.

<sup>8</sup> Bagenall excuses himself in a letter to the English Privy Council, dated Dublin, August 24th, 1578.

<sup>9</sup> So states Sir William Drury in a

letter to Secretaries Walsyngham and Wilson, dated from Dublin, August 24, 1578.

<sup>10</sup> Letter dated Dublin, September 21st, 1578.

<sup>11</sup> This is noted in a letter of December 2nd, 1578, from Dublin, and directed by the Treasurer Fyton to Burghley.



In a highly interesting journal, kept by the Lord Justice and Sir Edward Fyton, Treasurer, and addressed to the Privy Council, we have an account dated November, 1578, of Shane M'Rory, Rory Oge's "marshal," having come to meet them on the 30th of September, with other Irish chiefs, at Castledermot. With him was Teig McGilpatrick O'Connor. Both made their humble submission to the government. On the 4th of November, when Drury and Fyton arrived at Kilkenny, Geoffrey FitzPatrick, brother to the Baron of Upper Ossory, "a notable malefactor, that brake prison out of the Castle of Dublin," as also Conell M'Gilpatrick O'More and Shane Grany (who had received twelve wounds at the time of Rory's killing, whereof he bore seven then unhealed) with others, gave their submissions in writing, and put in their pledges. On the 10th, Drury and Fyton departed from Kilkenny, and on the same day arrived in Catherloghe (Carlow) taking with them Edward Butler, against whom many complaints had been exhibited. The chief men of the Cavenaghs met them there; and (by the advice of Peter Carew, Henry Davells, Thomas Masterson, and Robert Harpole) the submission of Cahir Duff and his followers was received on such pledges as were demanded. The Keatings promised also to send in their pledges.<sup>12</sup>

On the 7th of May, 1578, an agreement was entered into between the Lord Deputy, on the part of the Queen, and the three septs of Clandonnells of Leinster, viz., Turlogh Oge MacAlexander, of Wicklow, Mulmurry MacEdmund, of Rahin (in the Queen's County), and Hugh Boy MacCallogh (or Calvagh), of Tinnekill. It was agreed that "in respect of the auncient and contynuall fydelitye, loyaltie, and true service of the Captaynes, gent, and septs of the said Clan donilles, alwayes borne and done towards her Magestie and her most worthy progenitors, and hencforth to be contynued, doth covenant and graunte that there shallbe henceforth payd yerely out of her Magestie's Exchequer, a yearly pencone of three hundredth pounds, unto handes of the said three chiefe captaynes, . . . in lieu and recompense of all dead payes, blake mail, and such like advantage as they or any of them were wont to receive. Provyded that henceforth none of the said Captaynes, etc., shall use weapon or armour in serving of any other than her Magestie," etc. An *Inquisition* finds Hugh Boy, above-mentioned, possessed of the town and castle of Tennekill, etc., and bound "to keepe and mainteyne 12 able galloglas on said castle and lands, sufficiently armed for the better inhabiting and preserving of the premises; upon sufficient warning to attend upon the Governor of Ireland or his Deputy, and to go upon any Irishman bordering upon the said County of Leix."

In the month of April, 1579, the Privy Council appear to have adopted some plan, whereby lands might be allotted to the O'Mores and O'Conors,<sup>13</sup> with a view to keep them in quiet and subjection. In this month, also, information was communicated to Walsyngham, that Rory Oge's brother, who had said Mass for him in the woods, during the whole time while he was in rebellion, had been taken.

<sup>12</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, pp. 140 to 145: also "Calendar of the State Papers, 1574-1585," pp. 144, 145, 146.

<sup>13</sup> State Papers, 1574-85, p. 165.

<sup>13</sup> State Papers, 1574-85, p. 165. Under date 2nd October, 1579, we read in the State Papers that George Harvyne held

Maryborough at 2s. *per diem*, with 8 soldiers; James Foster being porter at 12d. *per diem*. Also that R. Harpool held Carlow with 9 footmen. Francis Cosby was general of Her Majesty's kerne—himself at 4s. 8d. *per diem*, and 32 kerne at 4d. each *per diem*.



On the 28th of November, 1579, the O'Mores and others were reported from Dublin to be engaged "spoiling on the country by nightly stealths."<sup>14</sup>

In the summer James Fitzmaurice, a kinsman of the Earl of Desmond, with Stukely, an Englishman, supposed to be an emissary from the Pope, had landed at Smerwick Harbour in Kerry, with a small force of 700 Spaniards.<sup>15</sup>

Lord Drury had succeeded Sydney as Deputy. With the Earl of Kildare, Lords Mountgarrett, Dunboyne, Upper Ossory, Viscount Baltinglass, and Sir Nicholas Malby,<sup>16</sup> with 300 horse and a large force of foot, he went into Munster, *via* Kilkenny, against Fitzmaurice. At Kilkenny, Baltinglass told Kildare that as James Fitzmaurice came to maintain the Roman Catholic religion, it was against his conscience to oppose him;<sup>17</sup> so he was permitted to return home. Near Kilmallock they met the Earl of Desmond, who gave them an assurance that he had taken no part in the rebellion. Here Lord Drury sickened and died, and they brought back their forces to Dublin.<sup>18</sup>

Sir William Pelham, who succeeded Drury, taking the Earl of Kildare with him, set out for Munster against the rebels. He placed garrisons at Adare, and other places, and returned to Dublin.<sup>19</sup>

This second retreat of the English forces from Munster decided the Earl of Desmond, and in November of this year he joined the rebels, and was proclaimed a traitor.<sup>20</sup> He and his confederates<sup>21</sup> wrote to various powerful chiefs in Leinster,<sup>22</sup> to urge on them the necessity for joining in rebellion,<sup>23</sup> as they were bound by conscience and by nature to drive the English out of Ireland.<sup>24</sup> Among these are named Feagh M'Li., Mc Shane of Glandolr (?); Teige M'Gilpatricke O'Connor and his brother Brian; Rosse M'Melaughline O'More; Donnoughe Reoughe Cavenaught and Donell Spaniaghe; Connohour M'Cormoke and Cahill O'Connohht sons to O'Connohor.

The year 1580 opened with a gloomy outlook for the English power in Ireland. A general rising was expected, and frantic preparations were made to oppose O'Neill and O'Donnell in the North, O'Roarke and O'Connor, in Connaught, the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, Kavanaghs, O'Mores, and O'Connors in Leinster, and the Desmonds and Spaniards in the south.<sup>25</sup>

In the month of July, John, son of the Earl of Desmond, went to the woods of Aherlow, in the southern part of Tipperary. Taking a prey of cattle at Dovea he carried them in triumph to the fast and solitary woods of Bealach-mor-Muighe-dala, now Ballaghmore, near Borris-in-Ossory.<sup>26</sup> Bealach-mor-Muighe-dala, or "the great road of the plain of meeting," was also called Bealach-mo-Osraighe. This

<sup>14</sup> "Calendar of Carew Manuscripts," 1575-88, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> See "Earls of Kildare," page 220.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229, and Addenda, p. 263

<sup>17</sup> *Idem, ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, addenda, p. 182.

<sup>21</sup> The names appended are G. Desmond, Jo. FitzGerald, and Ja. Fitzgerald.

<sup>22</sup> This letter is dated Newcastle, 29th November, 1579.

<sup>23</sup> In the communication is found:—"We took this matter in hand with great authority both from the Pope's Holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need."

<sup>24</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, p. 177.

<sup>25</sup> "Earls of Kildare," addenda, p. 199.

<sup>26</sup> The townland contains the ruins of a castle, close to which the present high road from Mountrath to Roscrea passes.





was a name given to the leading road from Tara towards the south-west of Ireland.<sup>27</sup>

Here he was joined by the sons of Mac Gillapatrik and O'Carroll, with a great number of insurgents. All set out for Slieve Bloom, and there the men of Offaly and Leix, who were able to bear arms, united with them. The manner in which John lived on this mountain, was worthy of a true freebooter. He slept only on couches of stone or earth; he drank but from the pure cold streams, using the palms of his hands or his shoes for the purpose. The long twigs of the forest served him in cooking the flesh meat carried away from his enemies. From the heights of Slieve Bloom, he made frequent plundering raids upon Ossory, and the Butlers' lands. In these he was joined by Pierce Grace and the O'Mores. In August, 1580, he burned several of Ormond's towns. Entering Leix, he burned and plundered Abbey-Leix, which was then possessed by Pierce Butler, son to the Earl of Ormond. He slew some of the guards of Port-Laoighise, "the fort of Leix" (now Maryborough) and afterwards plundered the town. George Henry wrote to the Lord Deputy Grey from Maryborough, August 28th, that John of Desmond and the Mores threatened his fort with ladders, and attempted to kill Mr. Berns and his men.<sup>28</sup> From the garrison Desmond carried away horses, weapons, armour, accoutrements, and various other effects. During that same day, he plundered seven castles in Leix. From one territory to another he proceeded, until reaching Glenmalure, he joined Viscount Baltinglass, with the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, Kavanaghs, and Kinsellaghs. Then, with united forces, they devastated Leinster and Meath, taking much property from the English.

The Deputy this year was Sir Arthur Grey de Wilton. With the Earl of Kildare he advanced into Wicklow, against Baltinglass, at the head of a large force. The battle was fought in Glenmalure, where the Irish had posted themselves, the 25th August, 1580. The English entered the glen and made the attack, but were completely defeated, lost many of their officers, including Francis Cosby,<sup>29</sup> and were forced to retreat to Dublin.

In October, 1580, in the County of Kilkenny, Piers Butler Fitz Edmond of Butler's Wood, slew Neale M'Moriertaghe, gentleman, of Leix, Moriertaghe Rowe O'Hiffernan, servant and guide to John of Desmond in his rebellion, Teige O'Leighlor (O'Lalor), Shane O'Forgurtie *alias* Shane e Coggie, a piper to the aforesaid Neale M'Moriertaghe, as also Geffrey Duff O'Kelly Kernaghe.

In July, 1581, the Earl of Kildare with his army went to Wicklow to parley with Baltinglass, and induce him to surrender, but without result.

In the same year, John Fitzgerald of Desmond pursued his career of pillage throughout various parts of Munster.<sup>30</sup> The English forces

<sup>27</sup> Haliday's edition of Keating's "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 304.

<sup>28</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1574-1575," p. 246.

<sup>29</sup> See "Camden's Annals," 1580.

<sup>30</sup> See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. v., pp. 1748 to 1751, and nn. (x, y, z, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k), and pp. 1754 to 1757, and nn. (x, y, z, a, b).



were again at work in Leix during the year, and O'More, after the departure of his ally Fitzgerald, gave in his submission.<sup>31</sup>

In 1582, John Fitzgerald fell into the hands of Captain Zouch; but he defended himself until mortally wounded. His head was cut off, and sent to Dublin in token of the triumph achieved.<sup>32</sup> Two sons of Rory Oge O'More were put to death, and the son of Fedhlimidh O'Tuathail was executed along with them.<sup>33</sup> Directions were given by the English Government to repair the fort of Leix,<sup>34</sup> which had been previously destroyed.

On the 11th of November, 1583, the Earl of Desmond was slain by Daniel Kelly, and the insurrection called "the great Geraldine Rebellion" came to an end.<sup>35</sup>

## CHAPTER XVIII.—THE 16TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1584-1599.

AMONG other matters recommended by the English Privy Council in January, 1584, to Sir John Perrot was, to have a survey taken of the forts of Leix and Offaly, which were greatly decayed, and to set down cost of repairing them. All freightage and such sorts of labour were to be borne by the inhabitants. Also a statement was to be made of the state of the two counties; their present condition to be compared with their condition, as it stood after the Act of Parliament made in the Earl of Sussex's time, when estates were made in tale to Englishmen, "and to advertise hither the differences, with the cause of the decays."<sup>1</sup>

On the 18th of January is dated a memorial to provide some places of habitation and residence for the principal men of the O'Mores and the O'Conors; from which we may infer, that they had been forcibly ejected from their homes. The State Papers<sup>2</sup> also disclose a plot, that had been entered into, towards the close of this month, and to which Rafe Lane with James More and his brother Thomas Myaghe, chief men among the O'Mores, were privy, to deliver the English Pale from the annoyance of the O'Mores. The project was to draw the whole sept into any part of Munster then uninhabited, which had fallen into Queen Elizabeth's hands. So far as we can understand it, this was a clandestine intrigue (of which the sept at large was to have no knowledge) to be managed by the undertakers, with the approval of the Lord Deputy.<sup>3</sup> On the 31st of January, Sir Warham Sentleger wrote to the Queen, offering to reveal what should benefit her Majesty

<sup>31</sup> See Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 367.

<sup>32</sup> See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. v., pp. 1778, 1779, and nn. (w, x, y, z).

<sup>33</sup> See "Annals of Loch Ce," edited by W. M. Hennessy, vol. ii., pp. 450, 451.

<sup>34</sup> See Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 367.

<sup>35</sup> See "Earls of Kildare," addenda, 263.

<sup>1</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," 1576-1588.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. cvii., Jan. 31st, 1584.

<sup>3</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1574-1585," pp. 490, 493, 494.



to the amount of £20,000. During the succeeding month of February informations were delivered—most probably by the same Sir Warham Sentleger—accusing the Earl of Ormond of treason, and of having fostered with Rory Oge O'More, whom he relieved.<sup>4</sup>

On the 12th of March, Rafe Lane wrote to Lord Burghley regarding the removal of the O'Mores into Kerry, not forgetting to petition for remuneration for this service to Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, writes to Lord Burghley from Dublin, April 5th, that Onie M'Lysaghe and his son Teige M'Neil, with three other O'Mores, had been executed at Maryborough.<sup>6</sup> Under the month of May is found an advertisement, that William Nugent, the Baron of Delvin's brother, and Connell O'More, of Leix, are in great credit with the King of Spain and the Pope.<sup>7</sup> On the 1st of July, the Treasurer Wallop writes from Dublin to Walsyngham, announcing the death of the chief of the O'Mores.<sup>8</sup>

After his death the O'Mores were divided into two or three septs, and pledges were taken for them. Deputy Perrot, in marching against the Scots, who had invaded Ulster, resolved to take with him the principal men of the O'Conors and O'Mores, not so much for the confidence he had in them, as "for that he will not leave behind him so doubtful men in so loose a time."<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, he marched into the North, accompanied by the O'Mores and the O'Conors with their followers. Perrot was in favour of having several fortified castles in different parts of Ireland; one of these he named Galin Castle, in the Queen's County.<sup>10</sup>

On the 28th of May, 1585, Sir Warham Sentleger writes from Dublin to Walsyngham the cause between himself and Sir George Bouchier, touching the government of Maryborough and the Queen's County, and also desiring a patent.<sup>11</sup> In the month of June is found a letter of Wallop to Burghley, for payment of £216 4s. to Robert Harpoll, Constable of Carlow<sup>12</sup>; also one from Johan, Baroness of Upper Ossory, written from Dublin, August 26th, 1585, to Walsyngham for a pardon of her brother-in-law, Teig FitzPatrick.<sup>13</sup>

Captain T. Lee wrote, August 15th, from Castle Reban to the Lord Deputy Perrot, about the forward services of Owny M'Shane O'Moor on Caher Ore Kavanagh, and that a child of Rory Oge O'More by Feagh M'Hugh's sister had been offered to him, and that the matter lay with John Barry. On the 8th of September, a copy of this was enclosed to Walsyngham by the Lord Deputy Perrot from Dublin Castle.<sup>14</sup>

We next find a petition of Teige FitzPatrick, brother of the late Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to Queen Elizabeth, dated September 10th,

<sup>4</sup> This memorandum is apparently only the copy of an original.

<sup>5</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers," p. 499.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 505.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 514.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 517. His name is given as James Meagh. See Appendix I.

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 521 to 523.

<sup>10</sup> See letter dated Dublin Castle, Oct. 25th, 1584, addressed to the Privy Council in England.

<sup>11</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1574-1585," p. 564.

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 570.

<sup>13</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 577.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 579.



1585, showing how he was apprehended on false charges and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. He prays for a pardon, and for her Majesty's letters to the Lord Deputy, that his chattels might be restored.<sup>15</sup> This is followed by another petition dated September 27th, from Johan Lady Dowager of Upper Ossory to the Privy Council, to cause Edward Fitzgerald to pay £300 sterling which he owed to the late Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick.<sup>16</sup>

Instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy and Council by Geoffrey Fenton, in December, 1585, that the composition in lieu of £2,100 cesse was to be revived in such counties as should agree to it, as well for the army as for all other duties heretofore imposed. The countries of Leix and Offaly were not to be dispensed with, and if they refused, soldiers were to be placed upon them by the Deputy *pro rata*.<sup>17</sup> The services of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, are set forth, viz., his being employed against the O'Mores of Leix, when he took Lisaghe Mac Keadaghe, Neal McLisaghe, Melaghlin O'More, and others of the O'Mores. Also that in 1572, he prosecuted Piers Grace, Rory Oig O'More, and other traitors, and brought Rory Oig to Rosse to make his submission to FitzWilliam.<sup>18</sup>

In the year 1586,<sup>19</sup> occurs a recommendation that Athlone should be carefully kept in the custody and Government of the Chief Commissioner of Connaught, and among the reasons given is—"that it should be a great stay to the bad borders of the English Pale, as Leix, Offaly, Annaly, and the other districts adjoining." The Lord Deputy and Council write from Dublin, February 20th, a representation to the Privy Council in London to counteract the efforts of certain persons who endeavoured to move her Majesty to shew mercy towards Cahil O'Connor. They add:—"Your Lordships know what a canker to this state the O'Conors and O'Mores have ever been, insomuch that all governors have been driven, not so much of policy as necessity, to seek to extirp, or at least to keep them as much under as might be, which hath been a matter of long trouble and no small charge. And forasmuch as of all that race there was never any one more maliciously-minded to the State, nor otherwise generally more mischievously-given, delighting in burning and blood, than this Cahil, we think it our duties to give that notice of him; and withal to let your lordships understand, that of all the murthers he hath committed the last (whatsoever is otherwise there reported to move the more on this behalf) was the most treacherous which he did upon Captain Mackworth, an honest gentleman, and a servitor of as good valour as any of his sort in this land, whom, after he had laboured for him and procured his protection which he had delivered him, he on a sudden slew, when he least suspected him. . . . Besides these matters past, we do think ourselves bound in duty to let your lordships understand further how we are of opinion, that if he, being a chief fellow amongst them, should now (after he hath been driven to be a long time a fugitive) be returned home with any show of grace, not only the example would do harm, and breed a stomach and contempt in others of his sort, but also soon stir up those of his nation (that are now low enough) to rear head under

<sup>15</sup> State Papers, vol. cxix., No. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 41.

<sup>17</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1575-1588," p. 409.

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 414.

<sup>19</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1586-1588, July."



him as a fit leader for them, and so put her Majesty and this State to no small charge and trouble, where now, wanting such a one to depend upon, they are the liker to be held still down. . . . But if her Majesty and your lordships do find there any cause to hope better of him, and so will grant him mercy, we would under correction think him fitter to be held still there, or employed into the Low Countries, than returned hither, where he can do no good, but is likely to be an instrument of much hurt."<sup>20</sup>

On the 17th of July, 1586, there is an offer from George Harvy, Constable of Maryborough, for the governing of the County of Leix, at less charge to her Majesty than it was at that time by £1,041 10s. per annum. He relates, that her Majesty's County of Leix was governed by a Lieutenant, who had to discharge that office at 6s. 8d. per diem, as also having 4s. sterling per diem, being captain of 100 footmen, with petty captain and all other officers thereto belonging, amounting on the whole to a charge of £1,520 16s. 8d. sterling. He describes himself as being in the chief place of that county, having served her Highness in the realm of Ireland for thirty years. He adds:—"In respect of the quietness that the realm standeth in at this present with likelihood of continuance, besides other particularities, which being questioned withal doubteth not but shall be thought expedient, having a special bounden regard to the greatness of her Majesty's charges, touching that office needless, to discharge that place of chargeable service to her Majesty's profit, demanding only the increase of 34 men in pay, whereby to make his own ward 50, with sterling pay for the 50. So her Majesty may save the charge of £1,041 10s. per annum in lieu of the small increase aforesaid."

In 1587 the O'Connors and O'Mores are reported as continually preying the English tenants in Leix, Offaly, and Kildare, that "the O'Connors have increased to a great number of swords, and the O'Mores are waiting for Rory Oge's son, who hath already taken in hand weapon, and is of a stirring spirit."

On the 20th of February, 1587, the sept of the Leix O'Mores are described as more increased, and grown strong in number of men, than any other sept within the province of Leinster.<sup>21</sup> Some of these, whom their masters could no longer answer for, had lately turned to shift for themselves, and had joined Walter Reagh, one of the Geraldines, and one of the Kavanaghs, said to have been chiefly maintained by Feagh M'Hugh. Walter Reagh and Connell O'More, with some of the Kavanaghs, were in the habit of making raids among the Earl of Ormond's tenants, whose cattle and spoils were carried into Feagh M'Hugh's country, as also into the woods of Shilelagh. Whereupon, the Deputy Perrot apprehended the father, mother, and two brothers, of Walter Reagh. These were committed to Dublin Castle; and one of the brothers was executed.

Walter Reagh was now obliged to hide himself; and it was suspected in May, that he was lurking in Feagh M'Hugh's country, with the knowledge of the latter chief, who was supposed to encourage him in his enterprises, as he did "all Robin Hoods" that disturbed the

<sup>20</sup> This document is signed by Perrot, Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, John Garvey, Bishop of Kilmore, Vice-treasurer Wallop, Sir Edward

Waterhous, and Edward Brabazon.

<sup>21</sup> In a letter of Sir H. Wallop to Lord Burghley, dated Dublin, February 20th, 1587.



State. A suggestion is made, that with an additional force of men and some money the time was most opportune to root Feagh out of Wicklow, as he was weak, while the O'Mores, O'Conors, and Cavanaghs were "brought so low, as they are little or nothing to be feared for anything they could do, whilst that service were in hand, to hinder the same."<sup>22</sup>

On the 8th of April, 1587, Perrot wrote to the Earl of Leicester, complaining that the Earl of Ormond had procured some sharp letters to be written "by my Lords," and these were intended to impugn conduct which should be disproved under the testimony of all the Council's hands. Giving an account of those who were detained as prisoners in the Castle of Dublin, he states:—"I caused to be hanged Conell McLysaghe O'More, Lisaghe McWilliam O'More, three notable men of the Kellies, and I have Conell McKedaghe O'More's head upon the top of the Castle, so as there resteth not one principal of the O'Mores, but Shane M'Rosse, who was within these four days sore hurt, and like to be killed; and so was Walter Roghe also; whose heads I am promised very shortly. I have also taken the young fry of all the Mores, saving one whom I am promised to have. So as I do not know of one dangerous man left."

In this year Daniel Kavanagh, Bishop of Leighlin, wrote to Perrot that after a diligent inquiry he found over one hundred churches or chapels, the names of which he supplies, ruined or waste in his diocese. He also states, that there were no free schools in the diocese.<sup>23</sup>

From the book of wages due to the Lord Deputy, chief officers and others of Her Majesty's army in Ireland for one half year, beginning 1st October, 1587, and ending 31st March, 1588, we find the following items in reference to the Queen's County:—Warham Sentleger, Lieutenant of the Queen's County, 6s. 8d. a-day; George Harvy, Constable of the Fort of Maryborough, entered by warrant from Sir Henry Sydney, dated 7th July, 1578, allowed for sixteen wardens; George Pleasington, porter, had an allowance; Robert Harepool, as Constable of Carlow, was allowed ten wardens; John Barrington, as a pensioner, was allowed 5s. 4d., and George Harvy, as a pensioner, 2s. a-day.<sup>24</sup>

On the 20th of June, 1588, Sir John Perrot assured the council that the Queen's County was in good estate, "though the Mores do increase in number, who are under pledges with Captain Sentleger." Also that Upper Ossory was "in good case."<sup>25</sup> In a declaration of his services in Ireland, Sir John states, that he went into the King's and Queen's Counties, where he took pledges and assurances of all the chief Conors and Moores, since which time he hung "most of them by justice and martial law, so that there is not one of them now left to make head against your Majesty."<sup>26</sup>

Three Franciscan Fathers, Rev. John O'Molloy, Cornelius Dogherty, and Wilfrid Ferrall, who had spent eight years administering the consolations of religion, especially throughout the mountainous districts of Leinster, were seized about the year 1588 in a remote dis-

<sup>22</sup> State Papers, vol. cxxix.

<sup>23</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1575-1588," pp. 457, 458.

<sup>24</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," pp. 464, 465.

<sup>25</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1586-1588, July," p. 526.

<sup>26</sup> See State Papers, vol. cxxxix., December 14th, 1588.



strict of the Queen's County by a party of English cavalry. They were bound hand and foot and conducted with every species of insult to the garrison of Abbeylax. There they were flogged, and then put on the rack. Having been strangled, embowelled, and quartered, they yielded their souls to their Creator.

It was probably incidents of this kind which impelled Spenser to write:—"A great wonder to see the oddes which is between the zeale of the Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospell: for they spare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle, and dangerous travayling hither, where they knowe perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richness is to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome."

The Lord Deputy Fitzwylliam wrote to Walsyngham, on the 17th of July, 1589,<sup>27</sup> in favour of the bearer, Mr. Cosbie, who had served in every journey and who had very little imprest. At the same date, we find a petition<sup>28</sup> from Alexander Cosbye to Burghley, which states that his father Francis Cosbye was one of the first English gentlemen at the winning of the Queen's County, and that he was slain while serving against Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne. He prays that he may have the inheritance of his father's lands, notwithstanding a defect in the estate, his father having made a feoffment of his lands for the use of his children, without license of alienation first obtained from the Lord Deputy. Then follows an estimate of his lands in the Queen's County, the total number of acres being returned at 1,184. Besides the rent, the charges issuing out of the lands were:—For every plough that tilleth 2s. 4d. sterling, or else a day's ploughing to the Constable of Maryborough, while by tenure he was bound to find seven horsemen of the English nation to be residing on the lands, and also bound to all general hostings for forty days, *quando scutagium currit*. This he describes as the straightest tenure that any of Her Majesty's subjects were tied to. Moreover, the lands lie upon the worst borders in the shire, to be burned and wasted by two men "as they list in one night." Along with this petition, his wife, Dorcas Cosbye, wrote to the Queen a request that her husband may have the charge of twelve horsemen, "the better to enable him to keep house in the waste country he inhabits in Leix."<sup>29</sup>

An Inquisition taken at Maryborough on the 23rd of February, 1589, grounds the right of Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and successors, to all the lands and tenements in the territories of Leix, Slewmary, Irry, Glynmaliric, and Offaly, on an act of parliament held in Dublin the third and fourth of the reign of Philip and Mary, by which these territories were annexed to the crown of England and Ireland. As a consequence the jury then summoned find, "*virtue ejusdem acti*," that the following tenants living in and near Maryborough had concealed from the Queen what they unjustly held,<sup>30</sup> viz., Richard Chapman had a messuage in the town of Maryborough, with certain lands in the plain of Clowroske, with 12 acres of arable soil, 4 acres of pasture, and

<sup>27</sup> This letter is dated from Kilmainham.

<sup>28</sup> This is dated from Dublin.

<sup>29</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1588, August, 1592, September," pp. 220, 221.

<sup>30</sup> This practice was common among the English settlers, who wished to avoid paying rent or tributes to the Crown; and informers were encouraged by rewards to discover such cases.



wood within the liberties of the town; Richard Fox held one messuage in Maryborough, with 12 acres of arrable land, 4 acres of pasture, wood, &c., in the same plain of Clowroske and within the town liberties; John Densbet formerly held one messuage in Maryborough, 12 acres of arrable land, 4 acres of pasture, wood, &c., in the plain of Duncoco and elsewhere, as also one messuage in the aforesaid town of Maryborough, with certain lands, viz., 16 acres, *ut antea*, in the plain of Donmorough and elsewhere, these being then in occupation by John [ ],<sup>31</sup> and within the aforesaid liberties; Thomas Parsons held one messuage in the town of Maryborough; Michael Marshall one messuage; Thomas Reynolds one messuage; Katherine Woodward one messuage; John Starling held a meadow and small park; Arnold Cosby one messuage; Walter Laurence held two messuages; Robert Eare one messuage; John Burtall one messuage; in the holding of William Eire or Donatus White was one messuage; William Drom one messuage with a garden in occupation of Isaac White; Nicholas Harmon one messuage; John Payntor held one messuage with a garden formerly in possession of Roger Joynar; John Whitney one messuage; Dermicius Dowley one messuage; Henry Good one messuage; John Barrington one messuage; John Starling one messuage; Elizabeth Cosby one messuage; Edward Parsons one messuage; Walter Lawrence one messuage; Robert Harpole one messuage; John George two messuages; George Pleasenton one messuage; Robert Bowen one messuage; Richard Holland one messuage; Richard Appowell one messuage; and John Casey one messuage.

One Laghlen M'Ony O'Moore, of the Queen's County, filed a petition to the Queen in December, 1589, for a yearly pension, in consideration that his father had been slain by Rory Oge O'More, and thereby lost the custodiam of certain lands. He also alleges his service in killing James Sweetman, a notorious rebel, and others.<sup>32</sup>

The execution of Arnold Cosbie, and the manner of Lord Burk's death, are mentioned in a letter<sup>33</sup> of Arthur Bostock to Anthony Staughton. It appears Lord Burk had been murdered by Captain Cosby; and on the 15th of March, 1590-1, the Lord Deputy writes from Dublin Castle to Lord Burghley, in reply to his letters of the 28th of January. In these it had been signified as Her Majesty's pleasure, for the younger brother—then Lord Burk—that he should have a grant of such things as either his brother or Cosby had. The Lord Deputy promises that the matter shall be seen to.<sup>34</sup> In April, 1590-1, there is a note for arrearages of rent in the Queen's County.<sup>35</sup> In May a petition<sup>36</sup> was addressed by Captain Warham Sentleger to the Privy Council, that the offices of Constable and Lieutenant of the Fort of Maryborough might be united. He had agreed to purchase the constablenesship from Mr. Harvie; and he presented a commendation from the Deputy and Council that his suit be granted.<sup>37</sup>

In November, 1590, Donoghe O'Connor Slygo answers to Burghley that he never wrote in favour of, nor had any acquaintance with one More, brother to Rory Oge O'More, nor any dealing with any other of that sept or nation.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Obliterated.

<sup>32</sup> State Papers, vol. cxlix.

<sup>33</sup> Dated 1590-91, Feb. 5th, York House. Copy among the State Papers, vol. clvii.

<sup>34</sup> State Papers, vol. clvii.

<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> This is dated Hackney, May 9th, 1590-1.

<sup>37</sup> State Papers, vol. clviii.

<sup>38</sup> See State Papers, vol. clv.



In September, 1591, Edmund St. Leger sued to the Privy Council in England for certain lands at Slewmargin, given to the Crown by act of Parliament in Queen Mary's reign, and disposed of already to certain persons. The Council wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council to certify his title, so that further order might be taken.<sup>39</sup> In October George Harvie, Esq., sent a petition to Lord Burghley to grant him payment of £327 10s., due for his entertainment as Constable of Maryborough.<sup>40</sup>

On the 18th of December, 1591, Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Lord Deputy for passing the fee-farm of the Palace in the Queen's County to Patrick Crosbie, as also relative to information given by him touching the advowson of Burreis and other parsonages passed to sundry persons in fee simple.<sup>41</sup> The Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam replying to Burghley, December 30th, 1591, encloses a letter of Milerus M'Grath, Archbishop of Cashel, to Patrick Crosby, who was attending in London for some causes. This letter is declared to be "full of vanities and untruths in some parts," and is published in full, with comments of Fitzwilliam interspersed.<sup>42</sup>

In August, 1594, Fitzwilliam and the Council, in giving an account of the state of the realm to Sir William Russell, among other particulars, report as follows:—"And touching the O'Connors, O'Moores, and Cavanaughes, there is as good an eye had on them as may be, that they increase not to multitudes as heretofore they have done. And for the O'Moores, Captain Sellinger, Lieutenant of Lex (within whose charge they are), being now called before the council table, affirmeth that he knoweth none of the O'Moores to be dangerous, other than a son of Rory Oge's, who from his childhood hath been fostered by his uncle Feagh McHughe, and is still with him; and for the residue he saith that they answer law and justice as other good subjects do." This son of Rory Oge—Owny—succeeded James MacKedagh as chief of his sept, and proved himself one of the most daring and illustrious of his race, as the sequel will prove.

On the 20th of March, 1596, the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, rode to the Fort at Maryborough returning from Phillipstown. On the 22nd he went to Stradbally (Stradbally) where he stood for Mr. Gosbie's (Cosbie's) son's child, Sir Harry Warren being the "deputy for the same." On the 23rd, Sir William went to Monasterevan, where he appears to have lodged with Captain Warren St. Leger.

On the 17th or 18th of May occurred the battle of Stradbally Bridge, between Owny MacRory O'More and Alexander Cosby, to which the Four Masters thus refer:—"Owny, son of Rory Oge, son of Rury Caech, son of Connell O'More, was at this time a gentleman (skilled) in the arts of war; and Leix was totally ravaged by him, both its crops, corn, and dwellings, so that there was nothing in the territory outside the lock of a gate, or a bawn, which was not in his power. He slew a gentleman of the English, who was (seated) at Stradbally-Leix, who possessed a large portion of the territory by authority of the sovereign, namely (Alexander) Cosby, the son of Master Franns." Mr. Hardiman has given the following account of

<sup>39</sup> State Papers, vol. clx.

<sup>40</sup> State Papers, vol. clxi.

<sup>41</sup> See *ibid.* Also ch. 21 *infra*.

<sup>42</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers, 1588, August, 1592, September," pp. 446 to 448.



the conflict from an original MS., which belonged to Admiral Cosby :—  
 “In the year 1596, Owey MacRory O'More, chieftain of Leix, demanded a passage for his men over Stradbally bridge, and the request, being considered as a formal challenge to fight, was refused. On the 18th of May, Cosby, hearing that the O'Mores were on the march, headed his kerne, and proceeded to defend the bridge, taking with him his eldest son, Francis, who was married a year before to Helena Harpole of Shrule, by whom he had a son, William, born but nine weeks before this fatal battle of the bridge. Dorcas Sydney (for she would never allow herself to be called Cosby), and her daughter-in-law, placed themselves at a window of the abbey to see the fight, and for some time beheld their husbands bravely maintaining their ground. At length Alexander Cosby, as he was pressing forward, was shot, and dropped down dead. Upon this his kerne, with melancholy outcries, began to give way; and Francis Cosby, the son, apprehensive of being abandoned, endeavoured to save himself by leaping over the bridge, but the moment he cleared the battlements he also was shot, and fell dead into the river.”

An Inquisition taken at Maryborough, the 17th August, 1596, finds that Francis Cosby, late of Stradbally, was seized in fee of the site, circuit, etc., of the Monastery of Stradbally, with a water-mill in the same town, and 1,380 acres of land in the townland of Stradbally, Ballynowlane, Kilroury, Ballyreder, Longhell-park, Ballycolman, Ballymadok, Kilmarten, le Graunge, Garrymadok, Cloneveok, Ballyvicar, Kilmogho, Moyanagh, Corryell, Rathcrehin, Cloduff, Noghwale, Ballaghmor, Shenemollan,—15 acres belonging to Edward Brereton excepted,—and Ballymacmanus, and the Castle of Dirrybrock, all which are held of the present Queen, in capite, by military service. The aforesaid Francis was slain by the rebels, and died after his father Alexander, who was likewise slain at Stradbally, the 19th of May, 1596. William Cosby is the son and heir of the said Francis, and the aforesaid William was aged 9 weeks at the time of the death of the aforesaid Francis. Dorcas Cosby, *alias* Sydney, was widow of the said Alexander Cosby; and Helen Hartpole, *alias* Cosby, was widow of the said Francis Cosby.

In August, 1596, Warham Sentleger (or St. Leger), afterwards knighted and made Governor of Leix, wrote to the Lord Deputy that Owey mac Rory desired a protection with the view of bringing about a thorough peace. His chief demand then was :—“To have land at a reasonable rent in ‘Gallyn’ (now the Parish of Dysart-Gallen), where his predecessors and himself were born; to which it was answered that ‘Her Majesty had already disposed of the same, and that it was unfit that he, who had killed the owner of the land, should now be tenant of it.’ At the same time Captain Sentleger informed the Lord Deputy that he was in favour of Gallyn being rented to Owey mac Rory, because the land was then waste, and also because it was his experience that “the Moores ever in times past did trouble and keep stir in this country, till they had some place in the same to set down upon, except in these late times, in which the offspring of those that are dead were but children.”

On the 11th January, 1597, Sentleger, writing from Monasterevan, to the Lord Deputy, reported that Faghtna O'More, “the best gentleman of them all but Onie (mac Rory), is hurt and not like to live.



And another of Onie's best men, called Donnell O'Doran, is also hurt. One of the Connors has been once or twice taken up from his grave near the place of skirmish, and a great moan (? keen) made for him."<sup>43</sup> This latter piece of news is peculiar, but the explanation may be that the corpse was exhumed for interment elsewhere.

On the 13th May, 1597, Brian reogh O'More, a brother of Owny mac Rory, a man who had seen much service in Ulster under the Earl of Tyrone, wrote from Leix to his former leader that with seven score soldiers he defeated Captain Butler, who had nineteen score men under him, and that if five or six hundred soldiers could be sent to him he would undertake that the most part of Ireland should be under his control.

From a "Declaration of the Estate of the English Pale in Ireland," drawn up in June, 1597, we learn, "that contrary to her Majesty's interests, the soldiers not much less than the rebels, consumed, impoverished, and annoyed the Pale, and especially the loyal inhabitants, owing to their disorderly habits of marauding and exactions." A proposition that bands should be trained as a local force "to withstand any invasion or sudden brunt of the rebels," had not, it appears, been accepted, "upon suspicion of lack of due affection in us towards your Majesty's service, owing to difference in matters of religion and conscience; but by our loyal bearing of the before-mentioned burthens and calamities, by the deaths of sundry gentlemen of the English race of the Pale in resisting the rebels, by the fact that the most notable rebels have been slain and overthrown by your subjects of this country (as the Earl of Desmond, James FitzMorries, Callough O'Connor, Rowry Oge, Con McCollo and others), it may plainly appear what faithful and hearty affection we carry towards your Majesty, upon whose gracious care and regard of us our whole hope doth altogether depend."

In "A Summary Report made of the Estate of the Realm of Ireland at this present in the several Provinces, debated in Council 5th November, anno 1597," we find that as regards Leinster and the English Pale:—"The garboils are greater than ever. It was thought that, by cutting off Feoghe McHugh, they would have come to an end, but the quarrels have been renewed by his two sons." It is added:—"They have been with Tyrone all the last summer, and have wrought him to send forces with them into Leinster under the conduct of sundry chief lords, some remaining about himself, and others chosen out of Leinster, as Breon Reoghe O'More, the Nugents, and Feoghe's two sons themselves . . . to the number of 600 and upwards, divided and sorted into shot and pikes, and other short weapons. These have of late committed sundry burnings in Leax, Offaly, the Ranelaghe, the Byrne's country, Kildare, and in some part near Dublin, where they have done several hurts upon the subjects, and especially upon the English, as they could come by them; . . . whereby it is apparent, that this great rebellion in Ireland is a mere Irish war followed upon the English of purpose to root them out, and reduce the realm to the old Irish laws and tyrannical customs of Tanistry. To these are adherent sundry of these Irish families in Leinster, as the O'Mores, O'Connors, some of the Cavannaughes, some of the Birnes and Toolles, some of the

<sup>43</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers," 1596-7, p. 206.



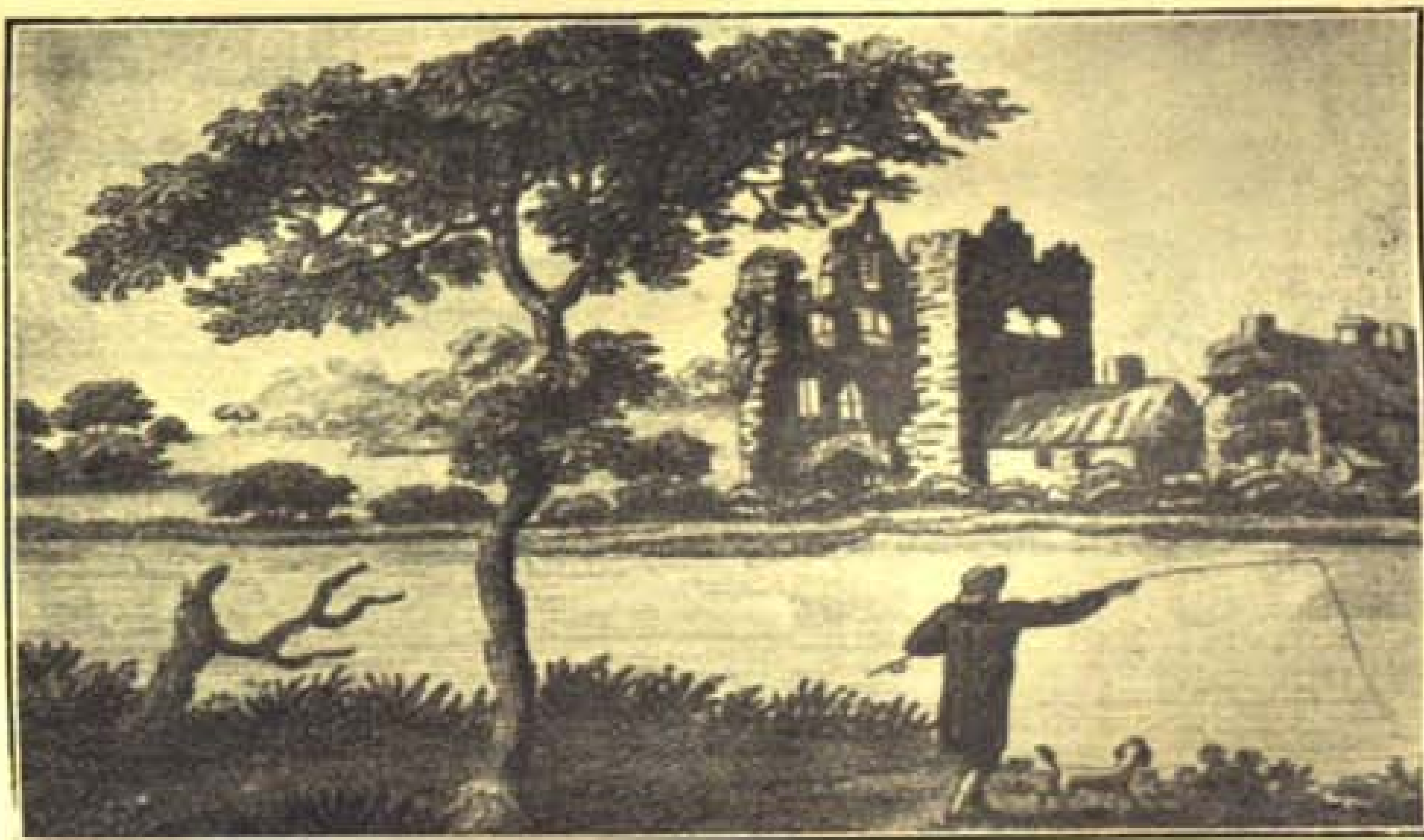
**CARLOW CASTLE.**

Vol. II., pp. 451, 515,  
525-31, 803.



**ATHY.**

Vol. II., pp. 524-5-9,  
803.



**REBAN CASTLE.**

Vol. II., pp. 524, 804.







McCaughlons, O'Malaghlins, O'Moloies, O'Dempsies, and others." We are then informed, that in the English Pale many were suspected for unsoundness, "even for that in ordinary warrants . . . . for her Majesty's service, they are far more backward than good subjects ought to be; . . . besides, two base brethren of the Earl of Kildare, called the bastard Geraldines, having drawn to them a number of loose people, do range up and down the English Pale, extorting meat, drink, and money at their own wills, and so terrify the subjects of the Pale as many do forsake their dwellings for fear of their lives."

Another Report of this time reads as follows:—"In Leix the poor decayed bands of Captains Sentleger and Gifford, accompanied with a few of the freeholders there, had an encounter with that dangerous traitor Tirrell (*i.e.*, Captain Richard Tyrrell, one of Tyrone's ablest officers). They killed thirty of his rakehells, and Tirrell himself, as it is thought; for, being struck on the left side with the push of a pike, near the one-half of it was seen out at his back, and it is hoped it lighted not wholly on his clothes or missed his body-clean; but he was carried off with his numbers, which were near 400. Twenty of our best men were killed in the bickering."

On the 7th December, 1597, the English garrison in the Fort of Maryborough met with a serious reverse. Owny mac Rory, and Captain Richard Tyrrell, had permission from the Lord Lieutenant, during his truce with Tyrone, to evacuate Leinster with their forces and proceed to the North. On their way through Leix they were attacked by the garrison in Maryborough, which they cut to pieces. Two accounts of the fight, one from either side, were sent to the Earl of Ormond for the information of the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardiner, who decided that the Maryborough garrison was to blame.<sup>44</sup>

Sentleger sent in his despatch by the hands of his brother-in-law, Robin or Robert Pigott, of Dysart-Enos. The despatch is as follows:—"Captain Sir Warham Sentleger to the Earl of Ormonde [Monasterevin, 9th Dec.]. Has advertised the Lords Justices of the mishap fallen to his company and Captain Walter Hovenden's, on Wednesday last, the 7 instant. Tirrell and Ownie mac Rory, accompanied by at least 400 fighting men, came into Leix, and encamped first in Slyemarge, then near Fearne Priory (*i.e.*, Farranaprior, *alias* Timahoe), and so the third day, taking the whole spoil of the country in every place where they lay. Hearing this, and that their determination was to pass through with the like spoil of the country, he (Sir Warham) sent a despatch to the soldiers of Athy, and himself assembled the force of this side of the country, but was answered only by Terence O'Dempsey (of Ballybrittas, afterwards created Viscount Clanmalier). Meantime his Lieutenants drew out of the Fort (of Maryborough) with the two companies, near to the Sheriffs town, where Captain Hovenden lay sick. Finally divers messages passing betwixt them, a matter purposed by Tirrell, and not well considered by our leaders, they fell together by the ears and both our companies are utterly defeated. My Lieutenant is only escaped, with I think some 20 others of no mark. My self was come within a mile of the place before this happened, and had sent to them a man, or two, of mine, to hold a speech till I had come; one of which they slew, the other they

<sup>44</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers" for 1596-7, p. 471.



took prisoner, after which they went and burned the town of Maryborough, and lay about the Fort with many menaces to force it, in which was a most slender ward; so removing a little further the next day they put ladders a making, while I understanding, with those few I had, for your Lordship must understand that not a man of the country nor borders came to me but Terence O'Dempsey and Robert Whitney (of Shaen), I went to the Fort, and put in my Lieutenant with as many as I had left. They returned me my man that they took, and told me that my soldiers had broken the peace, and yet if I would grant them protection for twelve days, they would be sworn to do no further hurt, till they should hear from the North. I answered that I would not grant any protection to them, but was contented to promise them to seek no revenge till your Lordships return, or till your pleasure were signified."

The Lords Justices in writing of the affair to Cecil state that they are unable to apportion the blame, as neither Pigott nor Sentleger was outspoken enough in his report. They add that they "have sent to bolt out the very truth thereof."<sup>45</sup>

The version sent to the Earl of Ormond by Owny MacRory and Captain Tyrrell is as follows:—"They were passing with their companies through Leix, while Captains Sentleger and Hovenden were lying at the Fort. The latter came out to lay the way for them. They, understanding thereof, sent one or two gentlemen of the country to certify that their meaning was not to hurt the country in sort: notwithstanding, the companies followed them, and they sent to them again desiring them to leave dogging after them, and that their meaning was to keep the peace till they heard from the Earl of Ormond. Notwithstanding the companies, thinking it was fear that made them so entreat with them, came upon them with a full charge, so that they were forced to do what they could for their lives; and 'as it was the will of God, who knew their malicious intent, gave them the worst.' They beg for his Lordship's protection, whereby they may prove before him the above to be true."

This battle, though the locality is not clearly stated, appears to have taken place somewhere about Dysart-Enos, which lies between Timahoe, Maryborough, and Athy. The account in the "Annals of the Four Masters" is:—"1597. Captain Tyrrell, Captain (William) Nugent, the Kavanaghs, the O'Conors Faly, the O'Mores, and the Gaval Ranall (*i.e.*, the O'Byrnes of Ranelagh, County Wicklow), were making great war, plunder, and insurrection in Leinster, and the country of the Butlers, from the festival of the Virgin Mary to the Christmas this year; and it would be tedious to write of all they plundered and destroyed in these territories during this period. On the 7th day of December they slew two bands of soldiers that were stationed in Port Leix."

In the "Description of Ireland anno 1598" we read:—"The new planted inhabitants have been so molested continuallie with the multitudes of the first natives thereof, and the Omoores, and especially at this present, as that they have in a manner recovered the countrie again and expelled all the Inglysh inhabitants saving 3 or 4 which contayne themselves within their castles till they be relieved from Ingl. These

<sup>45</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers," 1596-7, p. 471.



Omoores was almost extinct, but they have increased againe chieflie for lack of good government. . . . The chief Towne is Marie borrow ruled by a Portrie, and wherein is a Fort guarded with 150 Footmen or Sometymes 200, as need requireth, and some few Horsemen." Sir Henrie Power is named as Lieutenant and constable of the Fort.

The truce did not prevent James Butler, nephew to the Earl of Ormond, from proceeding at Easter-tide on an incursion against Brian Reagh O'More. The latter was passing his Easter in Ikerrin. The attempt, however, miscarried. Butler himself was taken prisoner; but in a week afterwards, was delivered over to the Earl of Ormond, by Brian Reagh, when he ascertained that this attempt had not happened by instigation of the head of the Ormond family.<sup>46</sup>

Soon afterwards hostilities were resumed; and in the month of June Ormond drew his forces together and proceeded towards Leix. His troops consisted of twenty-four companies of foot and two hundred horse. About evening, he encamped on a high hill, on the borders of the O'More's territory. His chief purpose was to supply the garrison of Maryborough with provisions, which were then greatly required. Ormond had been informed that only a few of the natives were guarding their tribelands. On the following morning, which was Sunday, he ordered his nephew James to go with six or seven companies into the nearest part of Leix territory to discover, or draw the enemy. Although loath to advance on Sunday, James set out, but found the first road on which he entered deeply furrowed and otherwise barricaded. His former adversary, Brian Reagh O'More, having arrived on the same day with one hundred and fifty soldiers, a desperate encounter followed; for Brian received Butler and his forces with vigour. They were hemmed in and surrounded. Attacked in front and rear, the Ormondians were piked and shot, and many were left mangled along the pass. James Butler himself fell in this engagement. Greater expectations it is said had been formed regarding him, than of any other member of his family then living. The Ormondians who escaped returned as broken-shielded fugitives to the Earl and his camp.<sup>47</sup> Of this engagement O'Sullivan relates, that "a thousand English and auxiliary Irish foot soldiers, engaged only three hundred, under the leadership of Bernard Fuscus O'Morra." (Latinised form for Brian's name).<sup>48</sup>

The Earl of Ormond, in his report on this defeat, makes light of it, and writes that the loss on his side was "my dearest nephew, Captain James Butler, who was slain with some few private soldiers, and no other man of account. Brian Reagh O'More, the most mischievous and malicious traitor and practiser among them, being the commander of all the rest, was slain."

Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary in Ireland, writing on the 24th of July from Dublin to Sir Robert Cecil, states that this fight took place on the 10th of July (the "Annals of the Four Masters" appear to have antedated it by a few days), and that "the fight was sharp for the time it continued; and the place being 'plashed' (*i.e.*, fortified) before, to the advantage of the rebels, the attempt was so much the more to

<sup>46</sup> See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2050.

<sup>47</sup> See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., pp. 2056 to 2059.

<sup>48</sup> See O'Sullivan Beare's "Ibarnia Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium," tomus iii., lib. iv., cap. iv.



our disadvantage and danger; and yet, God be thanked, we lost not above a dozen or twenty men, and as many hurt; and no man of reckoning slain but Captain Butler, the Lord Lieutenant's nephew, a young man of red hair, whom your Honour may remember to have been brought up in the Court as page to his lordship. Since this exploit, nothing has ensued worth advertising, but the Lord Lieutenant, being grieved and nettled at the loss of his nephew, is preparing to attempt the rebels again in their places of strength."<sup>49</sup>

Meantime Owny Mac Rory besieged the garrison in the fort of Leix, and it suffered greatly for want of provisions. A force of over four thousand horse and foot marched from Dublin, under Ormond, to relieve it. O'More, who was able to muster only about one thousand four hundred men, took his station at Blackford, on the eastern border of Leix.<sup>50</sup> When Ormond had advanced a certain distance, O'More, Captain Tyrrell, and Redmond Burke, bravely attacked his forces. In the encounter, we are told, the Earl lost more than the value of the provisions in men, horses, and arms. It was with great difficulty he himself escaped, after having been wounded. He lost six hundred men; whilst the Irish had only sixty killed and about eighty wounded. To conceal the number of those slain on their side, the English piled the bodies into certain houses which were near, and reduced them to ashes. The Irish could only hope to make an impression on the wings or detached companies of their adversary's army; and these were frequently driven in upon the main body. Ormond ultimately reached Maryborough fort, and brought relief to its famishing defenders.

In the month of August letters came from O'Neill to the Leix chieftains informing them that the sons of Thomas Roe Fitzgerald had specially requested assistance in Munster. After reading the letters, the chiefs started with the greatest force they could command into Ossory, where, with the exception of Fineen Fitzpatrick or Mac Gillpatrick, son of Brian, the people flocked to join them. They proceeded towards the northern extremity of Slieve Bloom, where the O'Molloys, MacCoughlans, and O'Carrolls, who had submitted to the Queen, united their forces with them. Soon afterwards they overran the two Ormonds, and other districts in Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, and Kerry. The Lord President of Munster, Sir Thomas Norris, and the Earl of Ormond, in vain attempted to stop the progress of this invasion. The insurrection spread with the rapidity of lightning, the castles and houses of the Munster undertakers were levelled, and the settlers killed or forced to fly. James FitzThomas was proclaimed Earl of Desmond. After a few weeks, only a small number of garrison towns were held by the English. Having effected these great achievements, the Irish leaders took leave of the Earl, Captain Tyrrell only remaining with him to aid in his wars. The Ulster men proceeded with a great booty to their own province. Redmond Burke continued to garrison Ormond, while Owny O'More, with his soldiers, set out for his principality of Leix.<sup>51</sup>

It must not be supposed that all the O'Mores were of the same patriotic stamp as Rory Oge, and Owny Mac Rory. As "there are black sheep in every flock," so there were renegades among the leaders

<sup>49</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers," 1598-9, p. 211.

<sup>50</sup> See O'Sullivan Beare's "Ibarniaë,"

etc., tomus iii., liber 5, cap. 8.

<sup>51</sup> See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., pp. 2076 to 2083.





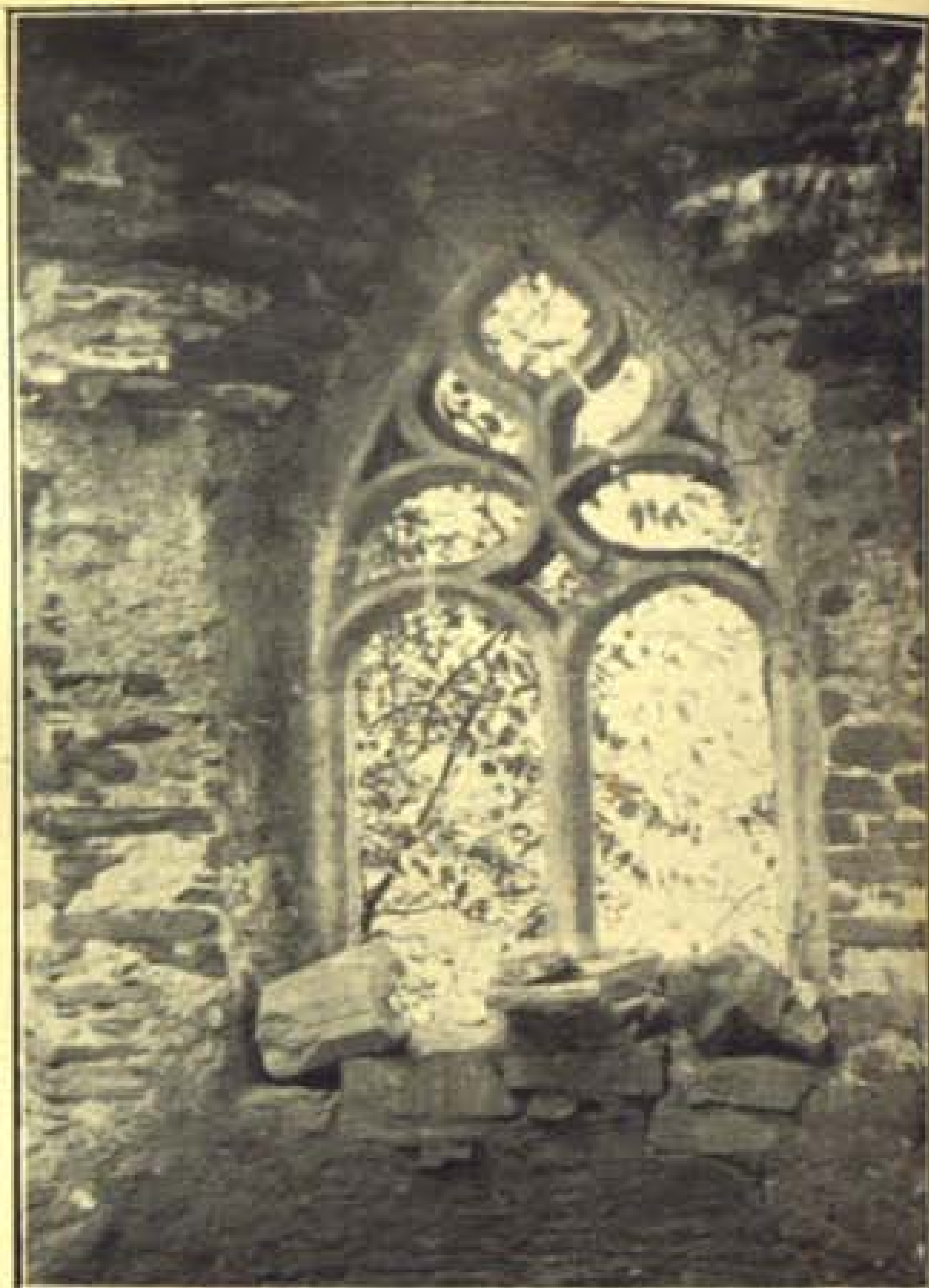




**BLACKFORD CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 223.

[Photos by]



**AGHABO WINDOW,  
Now at Heywood.**

[Rev. E. O'L.]



**AGHAMACART—From Grose.**

Vol. I., p. 178.



**GORTNACLEIGH,  
Where Ormond was imprisoned.**

Vol. I., p. 187.



of the sept. Thus we find that a Loughlin mac Owny O'More in 1589 petitioned Queen Elizabeth for a pension in consideration that his father Owny had been slain by Rory oge O'More, and the custodian of some lands was thus lost to him.<sup>52</sup> Four years later (1593) one Brian O'More, of Kyllennye, in Leix (? Killenny, in the Barony of Stradbally), also petitioned the Queen for a pension in recompense of his services to the Crown, he having spent all his youth in Her Majesty's service against his own kith and kin; and his father did the same, losing his life in 1577 while serving against Rory oge O'More at the time that he took Sir Henry Harrington prisoner. His further complaint is that when he went over to London to learn English fashions, on the very night of his arrival he was arrested by Sir William Webb, the Lord Mayor, and lodged in the Compter, where he was detained and suffered great miseries for two years and three months.<sup>53</sup>

In other cases members of the Sept obtained grants of land from the Crown, only to be forfeited a few years later. This occurred in the case of Kedagh mac Pierce O'More, who was granted Dooary and Monaduff, in the Parish of Ballyroan, in 1563, which were forfeited in 1598 by the rebellion of his son and heir Shane.<sup>54</sup> Murtagh oge O'More is another example. He received a grant of the lands of Raheenduff in 1563, and of those of Cremorgan in 1570; they, too, became forfeited to the Crown by the rebellion of his grandson, Patrick mac Lisagh O'More, in 1598.<sup>55</sup>

## CHAPTER XIX.—BATTLE OF THE PASS OF PLUMES.

WHEN the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland, on the 15th of April, 1599, as commander of Queen Elizabeth's forces, consisting of 13,000 horse and 16,000 foot—afterwards increased to 20,000—he resolved on an expedition to subdue the Munster Geraldines. He deemed it inexpedient or impracticable, at that time, to operate against the Ulster Irish, under the leadership of the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell. The Earl designed forcing his way through Leix, where Owny<sup>1</sup> MacRory O'More<sup>2</sup> had assembled his clansmen.<sup>3</sup> About seven or eight thousand

<sup>52</sup> "Calendar of State Papers," 1588-92, p. 288.

<sup>53</sup> *Ib.* 1592-96, pp. 195, 197.

<sup>54</sup> "Queen's County Chancery Inqn.," No. 7 of Elizabeth, and Elizabeth Fiant 514. See Appendix I.

<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth Fiants 518, 1553.

<sup>1</sup> "The Irish name Uaithne is sometimes Anglicised Anthony, but more frequently Owny."—Haverty's "History of Ireland," Chap. XXXV., p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> "He was, by right, the sole heir to his territory [of Leix], and had wrested the government of his patrimony, by the prowess of his hand and the resoluteness of heart, from the hands of foreigners and adventurers, who had its fee-simple possession passing into a prescribed right for some time before, and until he

brought it under his own sway and jurisdiction, and under the government of his stewards and bonnaghts, according to the Irish usage." See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., pp. 2178, 2179; and Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> An anonymous document graphically describes the Earl's expedition. The writer was Sir John Harrington, translator of Ariosto. His account of the battle of the "Pass of Plumes," making allowance for his sympathies and prejudices, has the advantage of being that of an eye-witness.

This was published in "Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society," vol. ii.: A Treatise of Ireland; by John Dymock. Edited by Rev. Richard Butler, A.B., M.R.I.A., pp. 30 to 33.



English soldiers constituted the forces with which Essex marched southwards, according to O'Sullivan Beare, and the "Annals of the Four Masters." Other divisions of his army served to garrison some towns north and south of Dublin. The fort of Maryborough, then held for the Queen, had been invested closely by the O'Mores, and all supplies had been cut off from the garrison. To relieve the besieged, and revictual the stronghold, was a matter of pressing importance.

On the 10th of May Essex left Dublin to join his forces, which had been encamped between the town and bridge of Kilcullen, County Kildare. Thence they were led to Tallacoury, where the Earl of Ormond joined them with 700 foot and nearly 200 Irish horse. Continuing their march, the vanguard took that part of Athy which lay on the south side of the River Barrow. A mile below the town the main body forded the river, in order to assault the castle on both sides at once. As soon as the passage of the river had been effected, James FitzPierce, who held the castle, delivered it and himself into the Queen's hands. Essex remained at Athy on the 13th and 14th to repair the bridge, and to await the provisions and ammunition coming from Naas. On the next day the Earl prepared to march into the country of the O'Mores<sup>4</sup> to relieve the beleaguered fort of Maryborough, where Francis Rush, the governor, and his men had been living on horseflesh for nearly twenty days.

Leaving 100 men to guard Athy, 350 soldiers were despatched to Carlow, and 750, under the command of Sir Edward Herbert, to Offaly. Four days' provisions were issued, to be carried by each one on his back. On the 15th, Essex, with the main body, marched through the pass of Blackford, which had been entrenched by the O'Mores, but abandoned. That evening Essex arrived in Stradbally. Owny Mac Rory had retreated before him, in an orderly manner, closely observing every movement of the invading forces.

Early next morning the English line of march was resumed. On the way Essex must have passed the O'More's great stronghold, "the castled crag" of Dunamase. On the 16th, the Earl reached Maryborough Fort, where he reinforced the garrison, and left a sufficient supply of provisions for the use of the defenders. Without making any unnecessary delay, he started forward in nearly a direct line for Ballyknockan and the "Park of Cashel," as it was called.

It would appear that Dunamase was deemed impregnable, or not deserving the delay a siege might require. Owny MacRory, securely posted on the Dysart hills, hung menacingly on the flank or rere of Essex's army. From this vantage ground he was enabled to watch the movements of his opponent; and from his thorough knowledge of

<sup>4</sup> At the time of Essex's arrival in Ireland, Fynes Moryson states:—"In the County of *Leax*, called the Queen's County, lately all *English*, now usurped by the Rebel *Owny Mac Rowry* *o Moore*, and all the sept of *o Moores*, and the chief of the Gallowglasses in that county, of the sept of *Mac Donnel*, the sept of *o Dempsies* (except *Sir Terence o Dempsy*), the sept of *o Doyne* (except *Teague Oge o Doyne*), were all in rebellion, and a base son of the Earl of Kil-

*dare*, a *Geraldine*, lately came in upon Protection; the Rebels were in number five hundred seventy Foot, and thirty Horse; *Mr. Hartpole*, *Mr. Bowen*, and *Mr. Pygot*, were the only *English* Inhabitants by whom, and some others, certain Castles were kept for the Queen, besides the Fort of *Maryborough* kept by the Queen's Garrison.—"History of Ireland, from the year 1599 to 1603." Dub. 1735, vol. i., p. 72. See also "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1589—1600," p. 298.



the country fastnesses, on the anticipated route towards Kilkenny, he was able to post his small force in the most secure positions, while he had the choice of retreat or attack for a considerable distance along a line of road very inconvenient for a large and well-appointed army to traverse, and very suitable for the enterprise of a resolute and daring leader, with even an insignificant body of courageous and devoted clansmen. O'More's military genius was evinced by his prompt withdrawal from the hastily constructed defences at Blackford, where defeat and disaster were almost certain; while his admirably planned surprise, and vigorous flank attack, in the dangerous defiles afterwards selected, covered his name with renown.

The Earl, having strengthened the fort of Maryborough, encamped "at the foote of a very highe hill called Croshy Duff," about three miles from Maryborough. This is called "the general Ratehill<sup>5</sup> of the Province of Leinster." There Owny MacRory showed himself, it is said, "with 500 foote and about 40 horse, two myles from our campe." Having viewed from the top of Croshy-duff—which affords a most extensive prospect—the country around, and particularly the line of that day's march, the Lord Lieutenant led his army through the modern townlands of Kilcolmanbane, Ballyknockan, Ballyheyland, and Pass, "towards a passage called Cashell," and then along the eastern slope of a ridge, on the western declivity of which may be seen at present the old ruined church of Kilcolmanbane.<sup>6</sup> According to well authenticated local tradition, the line of march lay through almost impenetrable woods, which afforded a very secure cover for the Irish, while the trees and thickets screened their preparations for a surprise from the advancing English. The road wound through a natural depression in the ground. Leaving the ruined Castle of Ballyknockane to the right, the English heads of columns had probably reached the small stream, which now runs under a low arch of masonry, at Ballyknockane cross roads.

To make his way through the passage with security, Essex divided his army into three divisions. Before the vanguard marched the forlorn hope, consisting of "40 shott and 20 shorte weapons," as Sir John Harrington states. The musketeers received orders that they should not discharge their fire-arms until they presented these pieces to the rebels' breasts in their trenches. Then, suddenly, with the short weapons they were to enter the trenches pell-mell. Ranks of soldiers marched upon either side of the vanguard. Similar order was observed also in the middle division, and in the rearguard. Thus marched "wings of shott, enterlyned with pikes to which were sent secondes, with as much care and diligence as occasion required." Hence, it would seem, the English were threatened on both flanks.

<sup>5</sup> The term above used, a "rate-hill," may imply some relation between raths and rates, or taxes, ordered to be levied at meetings in these primitive ante-covert, or ante-court, places of parliament. Probably Croshy Duff was no more than the place of assembling for the clansmen of Leix. "Eriottes," or parliaments were held by Brehons on the hills.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel O'Byrne, who has recorded

many popular traditions in his "History of the Queen's County," states that in the townland of Ballyknockan, where Prince Anthony slew hundreds of Essex's army, the remains of the slain have been discovered, and that "they lie beneath the surface on a high gravelly part between the cross roads and the ruins of the Castle." See chap. xxiv., p. 111. of his "History of the Queen's County."



The baggage and part of the horse, marched before the main division, while "the rest of the horse troopes fell in before the rearewarde, except 30, which in the head of the rearelorne hope, conducted by S. Hen. Danvers, made the retreit of the whole army." Then the vanguard "haveing by a provident order of march gayned" the end of the passage or road along the steep hill side, discovered "a large champion." This must have lain to the south-west of Ballyknockan Castle. In that place, until the horse, baggage, and whatever else was an incumbrance in upper hill roads, had been advanced into "the playne," a halt had been commanded. We are then told by Harrington, that "order of march providently appoynted by the Lord Lieutenant" had not been "observed in all partes of the army with lyke dilligence." How far into the open plain Essex had advanced his forward columns does not appear, from what has been written; but the subsequent account seems to favour the supposition that his rearguard and flanks had been thrown into confusion by the O'Mores attacking them in the defile. Probably a running fight and a hurried march by the English to gain the open country would best describe the nature of this onset. Like hornets, the Irish bands galled their opponents from the woods and high embankments over the road. Here the English were unable to use their cannon or cavalry, while the light-armed kernes of Leix were found to be swift in retreat, as they were sudden and daring in attack.

Although three days afterwards Essex calls them "rogues and naked beggars," when writing to the English Council from Kilkenny, yet he candidly acknowledges "this people against whom we fight hath able bodies, good use of the arms they carry, boldness enough to attempt and quickness in apprehending any advantage they see offered them." In reference, apparently, to this encounter, he complains that they fight in woods and bogs, where they have the advantage of lighter equipment, and where cavalry are utterly unserviceable, although these latter may "command all campaigns." Essex found his "new and common sort of men" had "neither body, spirits, nor practice of arms," to match the Irish enemy: while he commends the superiority of the English discipline, and the extraordinary courage and spirit, of the men of quality in his army. The lords, and principal officers, showed great forwardness, and contempt of danger. These would have exposed themselves, and would have gone too far in attacking the Irish, had not their commander-in-chief "assigned them not only their places, but their very limits of going on;" or, to use another phrase of Essex, "tethered them in their allotted stations."<sup>7</sup>

When the attack commenced, the English army must have been thrown into great confusion, and especially towards the east of the hill-road, where desultory skirmishing was maintained at various points along the flank. When, however, their superior numbers enabled the invading force to drive away the Irish in this quarter, it is likely their scattered bands rallied towards the high ridge, extending from a village near Ballyheyland townland, and towards the graveyard of Kilvahan. At the village, which was on the frontier northern line of the present Pass townland, trenches across the roadway and plashed

<sup>7</sup> See Essex's letter from Kilkenny, 20th May, 1599, in Bouchier's "Deve-reux," ii., 28.



woods, had in all probability been held by the O'Mores; and as those obstructions must have been removed before Essex could advance his army, "the forlorne hope" had a difficult and dangerous action to maintain. There, too, it seems likely, Owny MacRory and his bands made a desperate but unavailing effort to crush the heads of the English columns. Essex succeeded in beating back the Irish towards the upper grounds on the left of the road leading towards the Pass of Cashel. After sustaining considerable loss near the village, he cleared away the barriers. To this part of the battle-field probably applies the account given by Harrington, that "there was loste in the retreyte of the dexter winge of the forlorne hope, capten Boswell and lieutenant Gardner." Here, too, many of the English soldiers must have been slain.

Before reaching this point, the downward road from Croshy Duff sinks into a small valley, and then ascends a rather steep elevation. Here, according to the country tradition, the engagement commenced. If, as we may suppose, the attack and surprise were first attempted at this spot, most who fell there belonged to the vanguard of the English army. O'Sullivan's account of this battle, however, would serve to convey the notion that the vanguard had been allowed to advance without much molestation; while Owny O'More chiefly directed his attack against the rear-guard. It seems probable the O'Moores had occupied in advance the ridges over the road which lay southwards, near Kilvahan, and that this was the post "where the rebell Ony MacRury O'More shewed himselfe with 500 foote and about 40 horse, two myles" from the English camp. Yet the meaning of Sir John Harrington's statement may be, that Owny's position was on Croshy Duff the evening of May 16th, before Essex's forces occupied that commanding site. The intended movement of the Earl was now apparent to the wily Irish chieftain, who, with consummate judgment, selected the quarters for his men, and the places for a simultaneous onset, when the English battalions had advanced sufficiently on the road, leading in the direction of Ballyroan.

After passing the sloped ridge, the road sunk into a level plain, which yet shows marshy ground—although partially reclaimed—on either side of the highway. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the place must have been almost in a state of nature, and very impracticable for the movements of cavalry or baggage. Yet being covered probably with trees or copsewood, it afforded very safe coverts for the lightly armed and nimble footed Leix Kerne. Attack in the mode of skirmishing on their part, and defence, in a confused and irregular array on the English side, give us the most correct idea of the nature of the action.

The rear-guard of the English suffered very considerable loss. The very old peasantry of this neighbourhood state it has been constantly handed down to them in tradition from their forefathers, that after the battle commenced, it continued over the road nearly half a mile in extent. It ended afterwards in the marshy ground a little towards the east. Here great numbers fell on both sides, so that to the present day the spot is known by no other name than *Moneen na fullagh*, or the "little bloody bog." On a higher slope from the old Dublin road, and leading in the direction of Cherry Hill, numbers of skulls and human remains have from time to time been exhumed.



According to the statement of Sir John Harrington, "His Lordship was this daye in all places, flyinge lyke lightninge from one parte of the army to another, leadinge, directinge, and followinge in the vanguard batle and rearegarde." This was the first rude shock he had experienced in conducting his disastrous southern expedition. It appears to have impressed him with a great respect for the bravery of his opponents, and a dread of their tactics, as developed in this attack. It is evident from his letter, dated Kilkenny, 20th May, 1599, he had sinister forebodings regarding his future success. He there writes:—"All that I can comment upon this plain narration is, that this war is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it, and Her Majesty's patience that must maintain it."<sup>8</sup>

The Irish accounts of this engagement are exceedingly meagre. The Four Masters merely state that O'wney O'More and his allies made fierce and desperate assaults, and furious, irresistible onsets on Essex in intricate ways and narrow passes. "Both parties came in collision with each other, so that great numbers of the Earl's people were cut off by them." Philip O'Sullivan Beare tells us only that while passing through a defile in Leinster, Huon Omorra with 500 footmen set on the Earl of Essex, and put his rere-guard in great disorder, killing some of his captains and soldiers.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the English historians, such as Fynes Moryson, Camden, Lingard, and the author of *Pacata Hibernia*, are silent on the subject; but local tradition is eloquent on the Battle of the "Pass of Plumes"—so called from the numbers of British helmets bedecked with plumes which covered the field of battle.<sup>10</sup>

The O'Moores, meantime, after Essex had marched by Ballyroan, Rosconnell, Ballyragget, and Kilkenny, into Munster, had been enabled to send a strong force into Wicklow. These men assisted at the memorable defeat given to Sir Henry Harrington and his command, near Wicklow town. Essex was very unsuccessful during the prosecution of his southern campaign. Returning from Munster, towards the close of June, on approaching Arklow—for he avoided the men of Leix in their native fastnesses—the Earl had a sharp brush with the O'Moores, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Kavanaghs. He then returned to Dublin, after the army under his command had sustained various reverses.

## CHAPTER XX.—THE 17TH CENTURY—1600-1607.

ON the 7th January, 1600, Sir Francis Rush, commander in Maryborough Fort, wrote to the Lords Justices, describing a trap he had successfully laid for the destruction of the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

"He called to account an Englishman, whom he greatly suspected, and whose wife, being Irish, had much recourse to the rebels in cessation time. He threatened

<sup>8</sup> See "The Devereux, Earls of Essex," volume ii., chapter i., page 28.

<sup>9</sup> "Hist. Cath. Ib. Compendium," tom. iii., lib. v., cap. ix., p. 207; Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition.

<sup>10</sup> According to O'Sullivan Beare, this well-contested road, by reason of the quantity of helmet-feathers taken from the English cavalry by the Irish, was afterwards called *Bearna na cleit*, or

"transitus plumarum." It was denominated Barnaglitty, or "the Pass of Plumes," according to Cox and l'Abbé MacGeoghegan. See "Hibernia Anglicana," Part i., Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and "Histoire de l'Irlande," Tome ii., chap. xxviii., p. 532.

<sup>1</sup> See "Cal. of State Papers," 1599-1600, p. 398.



him much, and urged him (as a proof of his honesty) to be the means by his wife and her alliance, to get intelligence from time to time of the rebels' proceedings, wishing him to send them some idle intelligences, to give him the more credit with them. Found him willing, and exceedingly faithful and honest; notwithstanding, at the entrance of this practice, he laid bolts upon him colourably, and after upon bonds released him. 'Then I devised to send him to Ownie mac Rory, to speak with him, and to utter his discontent against me, and that he would do him a great service, assuring him if he would follow his counsel, he would deliver him the Castle and the munition, whereupon the Fort must surrender or be put to the sword.' The practice could not be effected within the limit of the cessation, and thereupon he arranged that the rebel should seek for one week more, for the poor man to pass and repass. By this new plot of cessation he gained some wood and poles to make a little palisado, and recovered some bullets for his artillery from Athy.

"To be brief, my good Lords, it was thus resolved upon, that upon Friday at night, the fourth of January, the moon and his watch-night serving fitly, the poor man should, out of the vault where he lay in the Castle, and where was some time a great hole stopped up, well-known to some of the rebels, open the same, go out himself thereat, and up the ditch to them lying close by in the ditches, to bring in two, the one before and the other behind him, to search and view the Castle within for ambushes or treason. And many came at the first to the ditch-side with a ladder, to come more quietly down the ditch; but only two then came down and entered the hole, and seeing as they thought all passages free, and every man asleep, they went out to fetch the rest, myself lying in the constable's chamber close, with some twenty-four good men, and provided with sufficient matter and device to choke and dam up the stairs at an instant.

"In the interim of their return to fetch the rest, which was ever plainly and secretly discovered at a Spike-hole, I laid myself with my men of choicest pick to possess the stairs; where I stood and made good a long time until I thought there were enough, or all, entered, that were appointed for the entry.

"Then with my first device, which was a great pack of wet hay to prevent fire, though in the entry of the vault where the passage was up to the stairs, I had placed a great hutch (or chest) full of stones, and a chest upon the top of the hutch likewise filled with stones, so that the passage was but for one man sidelong, I let down my pack and then called for light; and so, having barrells ready to cast down, I fought awhile, until they offered to press out at the hole where they came in. Then my Lieutenant I had laid ready to guard the hole of the entry with some six musketeers with quarter shot, and a pike or two, right over the hole to strike such as offered to press out, insomuch as they were so beset that they took to the great cellar and stayed there for fear; where, it is strange to tell, the villains with their skeens (daggers) and barrells of pieces (gun-barrells), before noon the next day, had wrought out a hole so big as a man might go out. Notwithstanding we found them play in at spike-holes with our shot (gunners) all the night and day.

"I, seeing these villains pressed fair for their liberty, took resolution with my gentlemen and best men to enter the cellar. So I opened the stairs again and entered the cellar, where, my good Lords, the villains were many more than we that went down to assault them. They fought exceeding well, but my brave and valiant men, by force of sword and blows, put them up into a little portion of the cellar where we held them in very close and killed and galled many, until in the end, after a long conflict, perforce they yielded themselves.

"The soldiers, some hurt, in their fury instantly killed them all, saving some three that escaped miraculously out at the hole from half a dozen good men that I had placed without.

"What their loss is, I know not, but I am sure there lieth in the Castle, yet unburied, some four or five and thirty carcasses. For our particular loss, I have not a man lost, though many hurt, in regard we were reasonably well armed at our entry. Myself, I fear, I have lost an eye by the splinters of a shot, and shot in the right hand. Wherefore I beseech your Lordships to excuse me that I write not myself. I hope by the grace of Jesus Christ to recover all my poor men, notwithstanding some of them are sore hurt.—The Fort (of Maryborough), January 7th, 1599(-1600)."

In the following April, Owny paid the English back in their own coin. Captain Sir Francis Stafford, on the 16th April, reported to the authorities that:—

"There hath been of late a practice (? attempt) to surprise the Fort of Leix; and to effect their purpose, there was an offer made unto Sir Francis Rush's Lieutenant,



he being at Dublin, to bring him where he might have some good store of corn for the relief of the garrison. And the party which offered the service, to declare that he meant nothing but truth, left a pledge in the Fort with his wife and child, and willed that they should be hanged, if he failed of that he offered. Whereupon there was appointed twenty soldiers to go with this man for the bringing away of this corn, and when he had brought the soldiers to the place where the corn was, there lay Onie Mac Rory with 120 men, who charged the soldiers and killed them all."<sup>2</sup>

We now come to an incident in Owny's career which created the greatest consternation and anxiety amongst the Government officials, viz., his making a prisoner of "Black Thomas," 10th Earl of Ormond, Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Ireland. This occurred at a conference between him and Owny at a place called "Corrane-duffe," near Ballyragget in the County Kilkenny, on the borders of Leix, on Thursday evening, the 10th of April, 1600. "The Annals of the Four Masters" thus allude to the incident:—

"A day of meeting was appointed between the Earl of Ormond and Owny, the son of Rury Oge O'More, with an equal number of men in arms and armour, to hold a conference; and the Earl of Ormond brought Sir George Carey (Carew), the President of the two Provinces of Munster, and the Earl of Thomond to be present, at his own side, at that conference. When they arrived at the appointed place, which was in the neighbourhood of Bel-atha Raghat (Ballyragget), they began to state their mutual covenants, and to argue their claims on each other, until a gentleman of Owny's people placed his hands on the reins of the bridle of the Earl of Ormond's horse, and finally determined to take him prisoner. When the President and the Earl of Thomond perceived this, they turned their horses back, and did not halt until they arrived at Kilkenny. The Earl of Thomond, however, was wounded in that rencounter. Owny, the son of Rury, then took the Earl of Ormond with him into the fastnesses of his territory; and it was a wonderful news all over Ireland that the Earl of Ormond should be detained in that manner."

A fairly full account of this startling event is given in the letters and reports sent in to the Lord Deputy. The Lord Deputy himself, writing to Cecil, Secretary of State, announcing the disaster, expresses the greatest surprise that so wary a man as the Earl of Ormond should have risked his freedom in such a manner, and added that he was quite unaware of Lord Ormond's intention to confer with Owny. Whatever arrangements had been come to between these two, the meeting ended quite unexpectedly, owing, it appears, to the Earl of Ormond's loss of temper and want of tact.

The Earl was accompanied by Sir George Carew, President of Munster; Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; Captains James Tobin, Harvey, and Brown; Brian mac Donough Kavanagh, lately pardoned; Pierce Butler, a lawyer named Philip Comerford, of Kilkenny, and other citizens of that town.

Owny mac Rory's principal companions were the Rev. James Archer, S.J.;<sup>3</sup> Shane oge MacGillapatrik, a nephew of the Earl of Ossory; Melaghlin O'More and Calvagh mac Walter MacDonnell, a nephew of Hugh Boy MacDonnell, of Tinnakill, in the Queen's County.

<sup>2</sup> See "Cal. of State Papers, Ire.," 1600, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> James Archer was born in Kilkenny in 1551. He received his classical education in the famous school of Peter

White. He seems to have completed his studies in Louvain. See Father Edmund Hogan's "*Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum Societatis Jesu Patrum Monumenta*," Tomus primus, p. 36.





**CLONAGHADOO MASS STATION.**

Vol. II., p. 588.

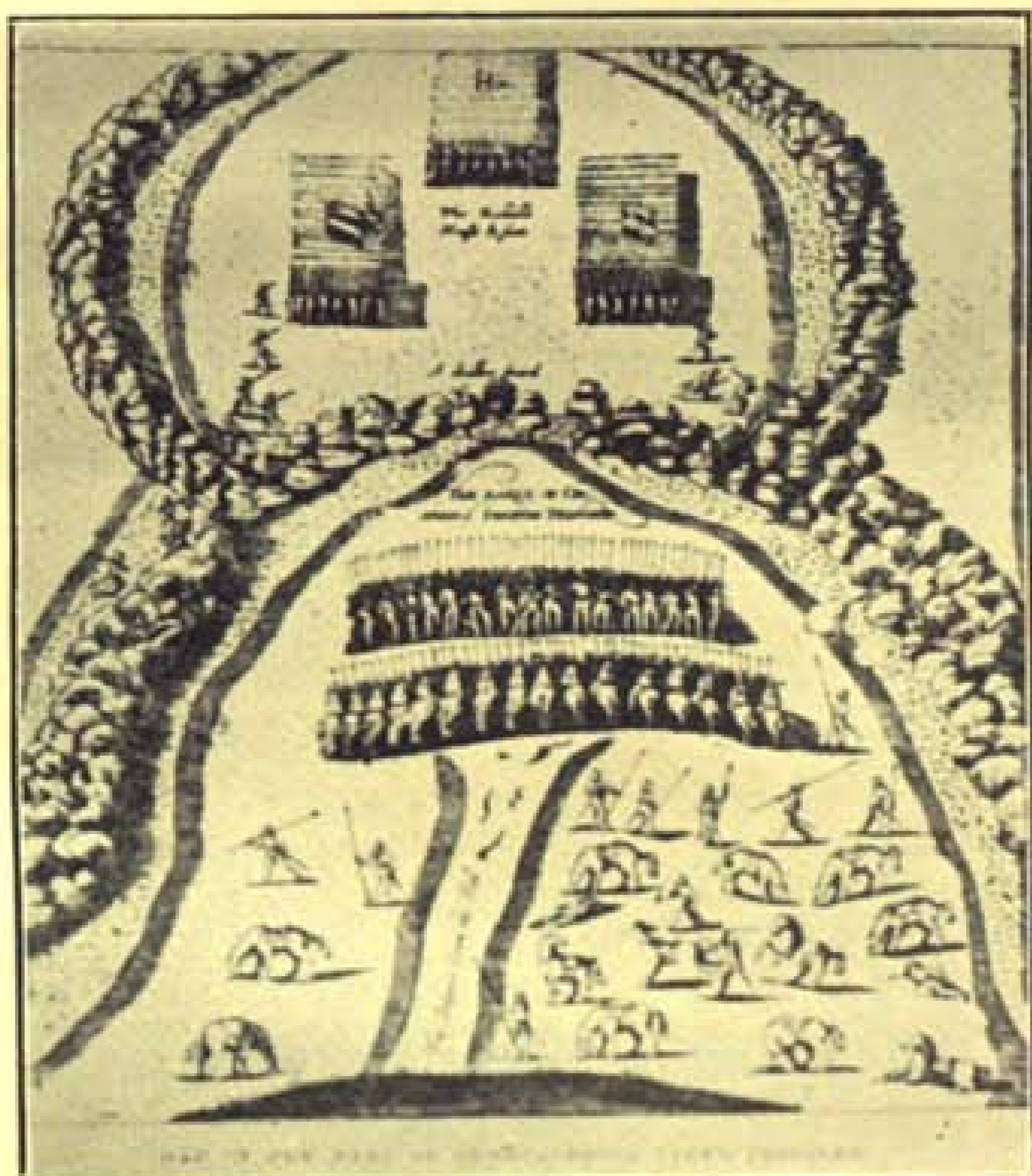
*Photos by]*



**KILLENARD MASS STATION.**

Vol. II., p. 591.

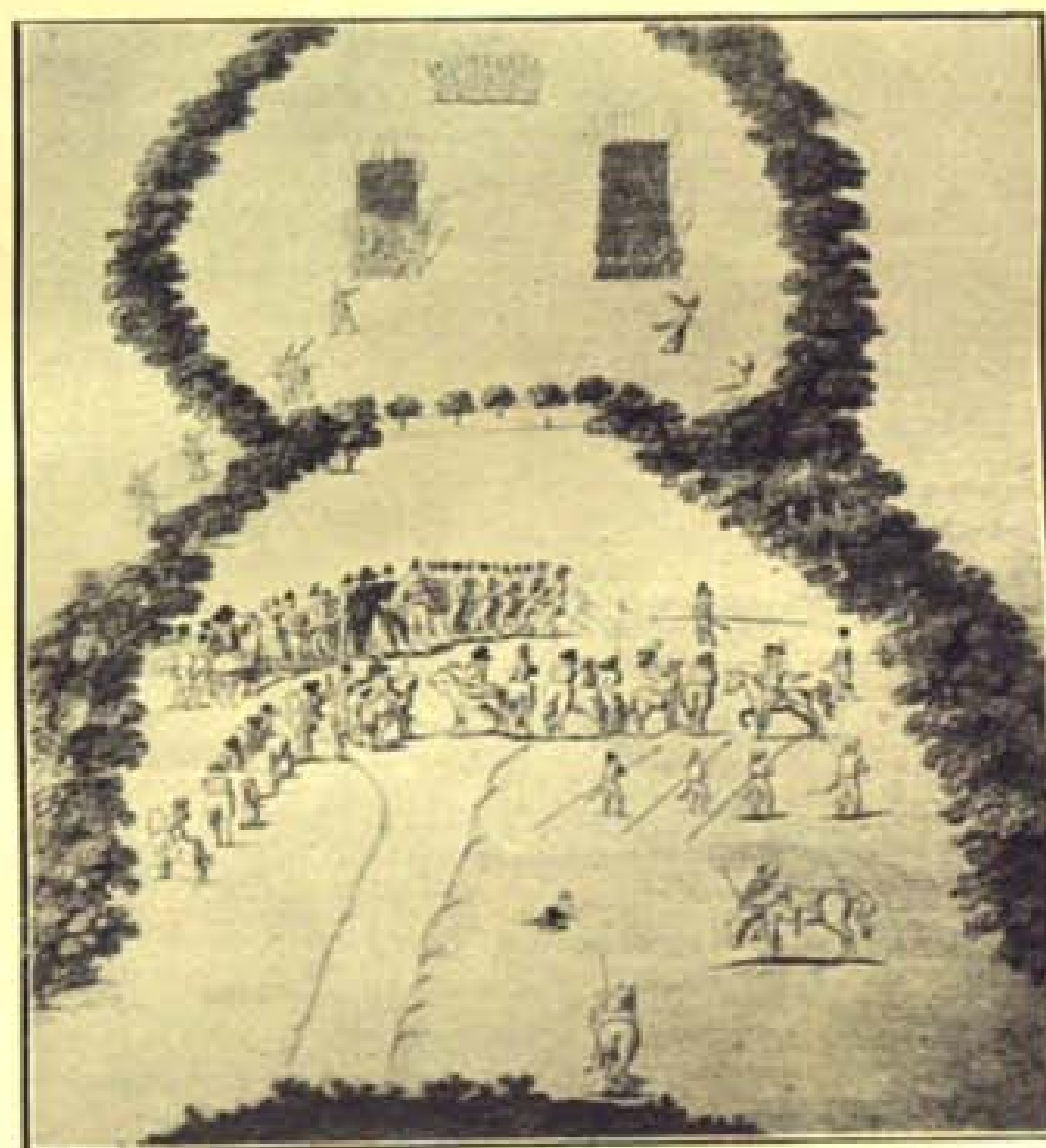
*[Rev. E. O'L.]*



**ORMOND A PRISONER.**

Vol. II., p. 485.

From *Pacata Hibernia*.



**ORMOND A PRISONER.**

Vol. II., p. 485.

From Ledwich.







Sir George Carew and the Earl of Thomond supplied a conjoint version of the affair starting with their arrival in Kilkenny the preceding evening :—

"Where we found the Earl of Ormond, who, as soon as we came unto him, acquainted us that he had appointed the next day to parley with Onie mac Rory. We told his Lordship that we would attend him, and I, the President, desired his Lordship that my 100 horse might be sent for to go with us for his Lordship's better guard, which he refused, thanking me for my offer, saying that he had no need of them.

"The next day, being the 10th of this present, after dinner, his Lordship not having in his company above the number of 17 horsemen of his followers armed, and not a little above the like number of all sorts, whereof we were part, and the rest lawyers, merchants, and others upon hackneys, with no other weapons than our swords, rode out to the place of meeting, eight long miles from Kilkenny, called Corraneduffe,<sup>4</sup> upon the borders of Idough,<sup>5</sup> leaving his Lordship's own company of 200 footmen short of the assigned place about two English miles.

"The place where we met with the rebels was upon a heathy ground descending towards a narrow strait, having on either side a low shrubby boggy wood, within three pikes' length at the farthest from the place where we parleyed, and the like distance from the strait aforesaid, the choice of which ground we much disliked.

"Onie mac Rory, when he came unto us, brought with him a troop of choice pikes, leaving in a little plain beyond the strait, within half culiver shot of us, in our sight, all his gross (main body), being all to the number, as Redmond Ketinge, one of the rebels, did swear unto me, the President, of 500 foot strong and 20 horse, whereof 300 were bonnaughts,<sup>6</sup> the best furnished men for the war, and the best apparelled that we have seen in the kingdom. At our first meeting, and so during the parley (which was appointed for some good causes best known to his Lordship), they stood as close as they might, every man trailing his pike and holding the cheek of the same in his left hand, ready to push.

"The Earl himself was upon a little weak hackney, unarmed, as all we were that were about him, standing with the side of his hackney so near to the rebels as they touched him.

"After an hour or more was idly spent and nothing concluded we and others did pray his Lordship to depart, but he desirous to see that infamous Jesuit Archer, did cause him to be sent for. As soon as he came, the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer a traitor, and reprov'd him for seducing, under pretext of religion, Her Majesty's subjects into rebellion.

"In this meantime the gross of the rebels had left their standing in the plain, and some crept into the shrubs aforesaid and others did so mingle themselves among us that we were environed, and stood as if we had been in a fair; whereof divers did advertise his Lordship, and at last the Earl of Thomond willed Onie to put back his men, and I the President desired his Lordship to be gone, for that I did not like their mingling with us. Wherewith as his Lordship was turning his horse, at an instant they seized upon him and us two. His Lordship was in a moment drawn from his horse. We had more hanging upon us than is credibly to be believed; but our horses were strong, and by that means did break from them, tumbling down on all sides those that were afore and behind us, and (thanks be to God) we escaped the push of their pikes, which were freely bestowed, and the flinging of their skeynes (daggers) without any hurt, saving that the Earl of Thomond received from a pike a wound in the back.

"The Earl's horsemen which were armed were far from us, for every one was dispersed and talking with particular rebels about their bordering business, so as we do protest to your Lordships, in all we were not above ten unarmed men near unto him; and, as soon as the alarm was raised every man of his Lordship's followers ran away without looking behind them.

"After we had cleared ourselves within a butt length at the most, we made halt, and called for the trumpet, and cried upon the Earl's men for a charge, but none stood by us, but Captain Harvey, Captain Browne, Mr. Comerford a lawyer, and

<sup>4</sup> In his "History of the Diocese of Ossory," vol. ii., p. 103, Dr. Carrigan states that "Corraneduffe" is now Corrandhu (*i.e.*, the black cairn), the name of a hill in the townland of Toormore, to the east of Ballyragget, in the Co.

Kilkenny.

<sup>5</sup> Now the County Kilkenny Barony of Fassaghadin.

<sup>6</sup> Hired soldiers from another province or district.



three of our servants, which was all the company we had there, and all of us without armour or other weapon but our swords; so as, for want of more company, we were enforced by the enemies' shot (musketeers) to leave the ground to them. But we do assure your Lordships, the place wherein we parleyed was of such advantage to the enemy, that 500 foot would not have cared for 500 horse; and therefore his Lordship not having foot with him, it was impossible to do the enemy any harm with horse. Onie mac Rory laid his hands on me, the President (as they report), and, next unto God, I must thank my Lord of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him, and, at my back, a rebel newly protected at my suit, called Brian mac Donogh Kavanagh, being afoot, did me good service, and wounded one of those traitors that laid hand on the Earl of Ormond. For the rest I must thank my horse, whose strength bare all down about him.

"On our side there was but one man slain, not above five hurt, whereof Piers Butler, a kinsman of the Earl's, was one who behaved himself valiantly; and about fourteen taken prisoners; and of the enemy one was slain (by a pistol shot) and a few hurt. The prisoners were taken by their own negligence, who were afoot grazing their horses."<sup>7</sup>

The one man slain of the Earl's party was Philip Comerford, the lawyer. The men who actually seized the Earl's horse were Melaghlin O'More and Calvagh mac Walter MacDonnell. The Earl himself was not touched, though he lost, or was deprived of, "his hatt, George, sword, and dagger."

The Government party naturally charged Owny mac Rory with treachery in making prisoner of the Earl; but the Irish account of the transaction, as given by O'Sullivan Bere, puts a different complexion on Owny's conduct. Father Archer, it would seem, accompanied the chieftain of Leix purposely to have speech of the Earl, whom he felt confident he could win back to the Catholic faith which he had but recently abandoned. In the heat of the debate between himself and Ormond the Jesuit raised his hand-staff; and the three Irish soldiers present, not understanding English, and thinking Archer was preparing to defend himself against an attack from the Earl, advanced to his assistance. This caused others to act similarly; and the Earl became surrounded and separated from his followers. A melee then ensued with the results stated.<sup>8</sup> Had there been treachery the Earl of Tyrone would not have acted as he did. He wrote on the 5th of June, 1600, to the Countess of Ormond, that he had been assured by Owny and others that the Earl's capture was brought about entirely "without any kind of treachery or word given; and if the contrary happened, your Ladyship may be assured that I will never favour Onie, unless, without any kind of thing (terms), he will immediately enlarge his Honour; and, although by his release all Ireland were destroyed, yet if treacherously he was taken, I will procure his enlargement according to the uttermost of my power, for, while ever I live, I will never maintain an act so dishonourable."

The following information on the movements of the Earl during his captivity is gathered from letters and reports sent in at various times to the Lord Deputy and others, as recorded in the "Calendar of the Irish State Papers":—

After the Earl was captured at Corraneduff he was taken six miles off to a place of safety, mounted on a hackney; but for greater security he was lodged in a different cabin each night, and closely

<sup>7</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1600, pp. 100, 101.

<sup>8</sup> See O'Sullivan Beare's "Catholic

History," etc., Tome iii., Book v., c. 8, and Fr. E. Hogan's "Ibernia Ignatiana," etc., pp. 69, 70.





guarded by Owny's bonnaghts. On the 12th April one of the Earl's servants, who had been allowed to convey bedding, food, etc., to his master, returned and reported that he was being well treated, but that food with the rebels was very scarce, the Earl's meals consisting at that time of bread, eggs, and water.

On the 13th April he was lodged in the FitzPatrick Castle of Gortnaclea, situated on the Gully River, between Abbeyleix and Aghaboe. From here he wrote on the 14th to Sir George Carew, thanking him for his endeavours to bring about his release, and urging him not to attempt to rescue him by force, as his life would thereby be endangered; his correspondence, too, is all read both coming and going. On the 25th April the Earl was still at Gortnaclea, where "Onie himself is his keeper, and giveth him the favour to have his diet dressed by his own cook, and brought to the iron grate<sup>9</sup> of the castle by his own men; but there Onie himself receiveth the diet and carrieth it up to the Earl, not suffering any of his Lordship's own servants to come within the grate."

By the 30th of April he had been moved from Gortnaclea, as on that day he wrote from "The Woods" of Leix to the Lōrd Deputy, saying he had been instructed to ask for a safe-conduct for James Archer and Robert O'Lalor,<sup>10</sup> priests, and others with them, to proceed to Dublin to explain to the Council their demands for the pacification of the country. He also enclosed the conditions on which Owny would consent to give him his freedom. These were<sup>11</sup> :—

1. To take away all Her Majesty's forces from the garrisons of Leix, and to deliver the garrisons up to Owny mac Rory.
2. To deliver sufficient good pledges to Owny to put no garrison in any place within Leix from the time of removing them for ever again.
3. That in case the pledges be not forthcoming, all the garrisons in Leix and Offaly be removed out of these territories, and every man to shift for himself thereafter.
4. To grant a general Protection for Owny and all his confederates for the space of six weeks, after the receipt of which Owny will inform the Council who desire to avail themselves of it; and during that time no further forces shall be sent by the Council to Ulster.

As these conditions were not accepted, the Earl remained in captivity. Early in May, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of the Council, employed two spies to confer with the Earl; one is described as "an Irish messenger," and the other a lady named "Honora," afterwards referred to as "Imperia Romana,"<sup>12</sup> to preserve her incognito. On the 9th of May "Honora" reported to her employer that she had made herself known to the Earl by a certain token which he knew well, viz., that he had a "green silk bag with books of Sir Geoffrey's which he had failed to return"; that she found difficulty to converse

<sup>9</sup> *i.e.*, the iron outer door of the Keep.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Robert O'Lalor was Vicar-Apostolic of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns from 1594 to 1606. In the January of 1607 he died a martyr's death

in Maryborough. See vol. i., p. 109, and c. 20, *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1600, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 170 and 181.



with him, as the bonnaghts had crowded round them, until Owny himself sent them away, and stood just out of earshot while she, the messenger, spoke with the Earl; that since the Earl was removed from Gortnaclea he has suffered from the hardship of having to rough it in the woods; however, he has his own cook and butler, dines at a table by himself, lieth in his own bed, and is allowed to take exercise at certain times of the day under a close guard; that persons from Kilkenny are permitted to see him, but no conversation in private is allowed; that he is frequently removed from one fastness to another with fatigue to his body and no ease to his mind; and that the Earl of Tyrone has twice written to Owny to send him under escort to Ulster.

On the 14th of May Sir Geoffrey Fenton wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, that he had that morning heard that, at the particular desire of the Earl, Sir Terence O'Dempsey had placed his Castle of Ballybrittas at the Earl's disposal for his better comfort, and that he was a prisoner there, guarded by twenty of Owny's most trusted men. He was taken there by night under a subterfuge to deceive the bonnaghts, who probably wished to convey the Earl to Ulster. To outwit them, Owny caused one of his trusted men, who resembled the Earl in height and appearance, to put on the Earl's night-gown, and walk by the wood-side, where he was accustomed to take exercise, while Owny and his guard placed the Earl on horseback, and quietly rode to Ballybrittas. By this time the Earl's health had broken down, and it was absolutely necessary that he should be properly housed and cared for. His life was of far more importance to Owny mac Rory's schemes than his death would have been.

On the 27th May rumours first reached the Council in Dublin that Owny was prepared to release the Earl upon pledges. However it was not until the 12th of June that he regained his freedom by handing over hostages as the guarantee for the payment of, in those times, the very large sum of £3,000.<sup>13</sup> This Owny mac Rory had consented to on receiving instructions from his Chief, the Earl of Tyrone. The £3,000 was never paid; as after Owny mac Rory's death, two months later, those persons who had custody of the hostages, viz., Redmond fitzJohn Keating,<sup>14</sup> of Ballymoyleran ( ), the O'Kellys, and the O'Lalors, were forced to deliver them up to the Lord Deputy.<sup>15</sup>

The Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, finding that the O'Mores could not be suppressed by fighting, determined to subdue them by famine. For this purpose he organised an expedition with the main object of destroying the growing grain crops; and he entered Leix, as the "Annals of the Four Masters" describe, "with many harrows and *pracas* (*i.e.*, harrows with very long spikes), with many scythes and reaping-hooks, and destroyed or reaped the ripe and unripe crops of the territory."

At this time, notwithstanding the various and long continued warlike operations, we learn from no friendly source<sup>16</sup> that the lands

<sup>13</sup> "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1600, p. 237.

<sup>14</sup> He, his wife Elizabeth Kavanagh, and their son Arthur Keating, received pardons on May, 1601 (*vide* Eliz. Fiant

No. 6506).

<sup>15</sup> "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1600, p. 396.

<sup>16</sup> See Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary."



of Leix were well manured, the fields "orderly fenced," while the towns were numerously inhabited, and the highways and paths were in good repair,<sup>17</sup> when the Lord Deputy marched into the territory. The execration of mankind must cling to the name of Mountjoy and his followers when the account of his doings in Leix, as recorded by himself, is perused. We may well imagine what depredations and sufferings the inhabitants must have endured after the commission of such deeds as are related in a despatch from Leix, dated August:—"Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful), the common soldiers, did cut down, with their swords, all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upward: the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonnaghts, or hired soldiers. It seemed incredible, that by so *barbarous* inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, the highways and paths so well beaten." Mountjoy considered this fiendish work pleasant and enjoyable, for he writes of it to Carew—a kindred spirit:—"I am very busy at harvest, cutting down the honest gentlemen's corn." Nor did he desist from his "harvesting" until he left the country a howling wilderness, full of starving women and children.

On the 13th of August, 1600, O'More addressed an indignant and eloquent letter to his released captive, Lord Ormond. His doing so shows that he was conscious of having treated the latter most honourably. In it, the chieftain protests that he is outraged at the Lord Deputy's abominable and new device, to cut down the green corn wherever he goes. This he truly denounces as "an execrable course, and a bad example to all the world." Besides, so far as regarded himself, he declares that "he had been taught bad lessons by the English before, and that, as they did not mean to give over schooling him in actions, which he protests he loathes: yet, having little to lose, if this be lost, he shall give over tillage, and take to living on the tilling of others, neither sparing friend nor foe."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> "The reason whereof was," adds Moryson, "that the Queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came amongst them." This, however, was not the case; for, as we have seen, the town of Maryborough had long been garrisoned with English soldiers, while Essex with his large army had passed through the very heart of this district, not to mention the incursions of the Earl of Ormond, and other Anglo-Irish supporters of the Queen's Government.

<sup>18</sup> The following is the letter:—"Right Honourable,—Whereas I have heartofore written unto your Honour to take order for your pledges, I knew your Honour, being encombred with other dyvers wayghtie matters, cannot accomplyshe your desier therein, wherwith I am well contented, although I have no so secure a place to keep them as I would: nether would I hetherunto send them where they might be salflie and securelie kept, least the sendinge of them therein should be anie things grevous to your Honour. I

understande, Right Honourable, that the Lord Deputie doth nowe sett forth with an armie, and whither I knowe not, but as I understande they pretende a most abominable course, which is, wheresoever they goe, to cutt and reape down grene corne, which is a most execrable course and badd example unto all the world. And as for my owne parte, Right Honourable, I have been taught as bad a lesson in a manner by them heartofore, and, as I am enformed, they meane not to give over scholeinge of me yet in bad accions, which I protest unto your Honour is very loathsome unto me; but the best is, I have but litle to loose, and if it be lost in that sorte, I protest I meane not to seek for no more tillage, but rather live uppon the tillage of others, not spareinge frend nor foe. But, Right Honourable, fearing lest my cruell dealing herein should hereafter be objected against me, there is no reasonable course that might be taken for me but I would be presentlie advised by my frends to



The Earl wrote in reply, on the 14th, that when it was known for certain that such an expedition had set out, he would meet the Lord Deputy and consult with him as to the best course to take. In the meantime he advised Owny to refrain from "more extremities until you shall hear from his Lordship. It is reported that you dealt without conscience or other good regard in killing Gerald FitzGerald of late being your prisoner four days before, which, with the outrageous burnings and spoils committed by you lately in the English Pale, may move my Lord to be revenged on you, wherewith I have not been made acquainted as yet."

We now arrive at the final scene in Owny mac Rory's stormy career, his tragical death, which occurred on the 17th of August, 1600.

In a journal of the Lord Deputy's movements on this expedition it appears that he started from Dublin on Tuesday, the 12th August, and reached Naas. The next day he proceeded on to Moone; the strength of his force was then 800 foot and 100 horse. From Moone he wrote to the Earl of Ormond to march his company and that of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, both horse and foot, into Leix by Idough, and to meet him on Sunday night at Cullinagh Castle. On the 14th he made a detour from Moone towards Donnell Spaniagh Kavanagh's country (the County Carlow Barony of Idrone), and in the evening turned to Carlow. On the way he directed Sir James fitz Pierce FitzGerald, of Ballyshannon (County Kildare), and Sir Henry Folliott, with 400 men, to enter Leix that night in another direction to capture cattle. On the morning of the 15th the Lord Deputy ordered the horse to meet Sir James and Sir Henry; but they returned without any prey, having had a brisk encounter with Owny and 100 kerne, in which "some were killed with the sword on both sides." On the 16th, Sir Oliver Lambert was sent to devastate Slievemargy, Mountjoy himself holding his course towards Ferney Abbey. In the evening the two forces met and encamped; here Owny mac Rory, the Lord Deputy adds, "sent a boy to me with a letter, which I refused to read, but delivered it to one Neale Moore, an Irish fool that attended me, to answer. It entreated that some gentleman might be sent to him for conference. Neale answered that there was none in the camp so base as to confer with him, but if he would come and submit himself on his knees to him, the said Neale, he would undertake that either his submission should be accepted or he should return safe." On the 17th (Sunday) the army encamped at "Ferney Abbey."<sup>19</sup> During the day,

take the same, rather than use such cruell plotts as are sett down to destroye this poor commonwealthe of Ireland. Wherefore I am humblie to beseech your Honour yf by protection or otherwise you cann stoppe this armie if they be comeinge hither, that your Honour will showe your Honour's good will to the furtheraunce of the commonwealth of your poore country, I meane the whole realme, whereby we maie take further deliberacion as we shall further consult, and also that I maie not be dryven to remove your pledges, which I must doe yf they remayne in the countrie anie

tyme, specyallie yf they spoyle corn. So humblie taking leave, I ende this xiii.th of August 1600."

<sup>19</sup> "Ferney Abbey" is written "Farrinmabee" in a Queen's County Inquisition (No. 13) of Charles I.; and appears as Farrynmabin and Farrininabin in the Fiants of Elizabeth (Nos. 538, 4748, and 6593.) The name is now obsolete, but this townland was situated near Arless, in the Barony of Slieve Margy. Dr. Carrigan is of the opinion that "Ferney Abbey" is intended for "Farraneprior," *alias* Timahoe.



on the march to this camping-ground, while the army moved along the valley, the rebels kept in touch with it along the hills; and—

“a little before the quarters where that night we resolved to encamp, they mustered themselves upon a mountain, from the which to the army there was a glade between two roads; and his Lordship being with the vanguard of foot, having sent the Marshal before to make the quarter, made a halt till the rest of the army might come up. And being alighted to rest himself, divers of the rebels came from the hill, waving us to them with their swords, and calling to us, as their manner is, with railing speeches. Whereupon his Lordship sent for Sir Oliver Lambert, and willed him to send out 100 men, and appoint a good second to go and fire certain houses close by the gross (main body) of the rebels, and not to entertain skirmish with them, except they were forced to it; which his Lordship did to answer their braving with a scorn. Sir Oliver himself drew into this glade upon the mountain with some few horse, and the rebels came down in gross to the rescue of the houses. Our men presently charged them back and fell into their greatest fastness with them. In this skirmish Onie mac Rory was mortally wounded in two places, whereof he died that night, and Callogh M'Walter (MacDonnell), one of the most stirringst rebels in Leinster, and the most bloody, was killed in helping of Onie, who for a time was in a sound (swoon), and left till night hidden in a bush. Callogh's head was presently brought to the Lord Deputy. This man, besides the killing of Captain Boswell and Sir Henry Dockwra's lieutenant the last year, and divers famous murders in these parts, was, as is reported, the first man that laid hand on the Earl of Ormond, when he was taken prisoner by Onie. The report was for the present that Onie was only hurt, but the next day by divers which came from the rebels it was known he died the same night; and, as it is said, fearing his head should come into the Lord Deputy's hands, willed it to be cut off after his death, and buried, and appointed Onie mac Shane to be O'More. Upon the death of Onie, the Moores dispersed themselves by six and ten in a company, every man seeking to save his own.”

Of Owny mac Shane O'More nothing remarkable is recorded. The Fiants of Elizabeth mention pardons to him in 1579, 1582, 1585, and a pension of 20*d.* a day from the Crown for life in 1587; but, in 1599, he is named as one of the principal rebels in Leix.<sup>20</sup> His wife, Anne Coffey, was pardoned, with many others, not of the O'More sept, in 1601 (Elizabeth Fiant No. 6,551).

From this period there is no further mention of an elected chief of the clan.

“The Annals of the Four Masters” state that—

“After the fall of Owny, the son of Rury oge O'More, Leix was seized by the English; and they proceeded to repair their mansions of fime and stone, and to settle in the old seats of the race of Conall Cearnach, to whom Leix was the hereditary principality, for there was no heir worthy of it like Owny to defend it against them.”

At this time, the close of the sixteenth century, the “settlers” of Leix were—

Barrington, at Cullenagh (1564).

Bowen, at Ballyadams (15 ).

Brereton, at Loughteeog (1562).

Butler (Earl of Ormond), at Abbeyleix (1563).—

Cosby, at Vicarstown (1551); Stradbally (1563); Timahoe (1569).

Davells, at Killeshin (1563); Ballyknockan (15 ).

FitzGerald (Earl of Kildare), at Timogue (from an early period).

Harpoole, at Blackford (1575); Monk's Grange (1577); Shrute (1575); Clonreher (1576).

<sup>20</sup> “Calendar of State Papers,” 1599-60, p. 371. See Appendix I., 10.



Hetherington, at Ballyroan (1567); Tully (? Tullomoy) (1567).  
 Hovenden, at Killabban (1570); Tankardstown (1570).  
 Keating, at Coolrain (1563); "Ballymoyleran" (1563); Ballyckmoyler (1563); Coolhenry (1563); "Croughtentegle" (1563); all situated in the Barony of Slieve Margy.  
 MacDonnell, at Rahinderry and Kilmorony (1563); Castle-noe, *alias* Newcastle (Farnans, Barony of Slieve Margy) (1563).  
 MacEvoy, at Ballyfin (1563).  
 O'Kelly, at Rathaspick (1563); Corbally (1563).  
 O'More, at Cremorgan (1570); and Raheenduff (1563); Dooary (1563).  
 Pigott, at Dysart-Enos (1563).  
 Sentleger, or St. Leger, at Leagh (1563).  
 Skelton, *alias* Lynt, at Sleaty (1563).  
 Whitney, at Shaen (1569).

Of these, only two direct representatives—Cosby and Pigott—now remain.

With the exception of the Irish "settlers" (who afterwards joined O'Noy's rebellion) the planters lived a wretched existence. The "Calendars of Irish State Papers" frequently mention their miserable plight, and, in 1598, they describe how their farms are utterly spoiled and wasted, "the poor English gentlemen not daring to manure one foot of their land, nor almost to venture to look out of their castles, which they are now even ready to abandon for lack of means to relieve them, their tenants being already departed from their dwellings and become rebels with the rest, so as now we account the Queen's County as no better than lost, the gaining whereof hath heretofore cost England so much blood and treasure."

The Earl of Ormond in the same year wrote that "the gentlemen of Leix, upon whom Her Majesty bestowed large territories and lands, and who should have kept 140 horse and 280 foot, have encouraged the traitors of Leix, whom they could have prevented from rebelling if they had continued their forces as by their tenures they were bound. But now some of them yield up their strong castles without resistance, which the traitors break as soon as they be possessed of them. So as if mine advice were followed, those that thus yield them up should never be restored to them again, but the castles should be bestowed upon others that would better keep the same."

The same complaint is repeated by an anonymous writer in the following year (1599). He is of the opinion that he "cannot commend the valour of the gentlemen of Leix of English blood. It were a good course they should better be looked to, both as regards the tenure of their lands, and as to answering Her Majesty's service, wherein they have been slack and faulty. This has greatly increased the pride of the rebels."

Not satisfied with the devastation he had committed in Leix, Mountjoy resolved to draw down upon Upper Ossory (deemed to have been the nursery of rebellion) and to burn the people's corn. He desired also that the chief rebels there should give in their submission with pledges. Accordingly on the 21st of August, 1600, he marched



against the town and castle of Teig FitzPatrick, a rebel, and son of Lord Upper Ossory. On Mountjoy's approach, both town and castle of Castletown were abandoned, and Teig set his town on fire. There the Deputy encamped for that night, and there too Redmond Keatinge submitted, with a condition exacted, that he should deliver the Earl of Ormond's pledges remaining in his hands. That evening, the army engaged in their customary occupation of destroying all the corn, which grew in that fertile country about the River Nore.

On the 22nd, the army passed the river. The O'Kellys and O'Lalors received protection for a month, provided they brought the Earl of Ormond's pledges in their custody (committed to their keeping by Owny O'More) within ten days. On the 23rd Richard and Edward, the sons of Lord Mountgarrett, entered into engagements and took their oaths to become true subjects. The following day, Lord Mountgarrett signed a recognizance of £2,000, and gave securities for the re-delivery of Ballyragget Castle, upon twenty days' warning.

Another, but exceedingly feeble, rally was attempted by the men of Leix, who divined the course Mountjoy was about to take, and, accordingly, mustered with a considerable force at the Pass of Cashel. One person—probably a deserter—delivered a list to the Earl of Ormond, and affirmed on oath that 2,500 rebels were there seen by him. At that time, a great waste of bog and forest lay between Castletown and Maryborough; to avoid this the Lord Deputy, on his return march, *must have moved* by way of Ballyroan, and along the foot of the Cullinagh range of mountains to strike the old road leading through the Pass of Cashel. The Rock of Cashel and an opposing high hill, on which Donell Spaniagh appears to have been posted, commanded the old road there, which is yet to be seen. No better position could have been chosen; for, an impassable bog lay to the west, and a high-land ridge led gradually upwards to the Cullinagh Mountains, towards the east, and either course afforded a good ground for retreat in case of reverse to the attacking Leix light-footed kerne.

They were, however, demoralised and distrustful of success; and when the English army entered the most dangerous defile, where Donell Spaniagh was to have maintained the fight on their right flank, losing courage, he came forward, and fell on his knees before the Lord Deputy, desiring protection for twelve days, until he might come to Dublin. This request was granted, as the narrative adds, "for at that time his Lordship could do him no harm." Notwithstanding this defection, the roadway was beset with an opposing force, who charged on Mountjoy with a great cry. However, they were soon beaten into the lower pass, which bore northwards, into the bogs around, and thence into the woods. During this encounter, Captain Tyrrell was shot in the reins, and the wound appears to have been mortal.

Afterwards, the army marched to Stradbally. Thence Mountjoy went to see the fort of Leix with twenty horse. On the 25th, the companies were sent to their respective garrisons, and his Lordship went to Naas, where he found 700 of the new men placed. On the 26th, after an absence of over two weeks in Leix, Mountjoy arrived in Dublin.<sup>21</sup>

In some Notes for the Government of Ireland, 1600, Sir George Carew recommends the building of a bridge over the Barrow at

<sup>21</sup> See "Calendar of Carew Manuscripts," etc., p. 430-3.



Bealin, and another at Portnehinsh, between the forts of Phillipstown and Mariborough. He adds furthermore:—"Now that the Moores and Connors are fewer in number and poorer than ever they were, and therefore the easier to be removed to some foreign country, which will be the best means to quiet all Leinster, her Majesty thereupon may extinguish the two governments of Leise and Ophalie, and save all that charge, except only the wards of the two forts; and the countries to be governed as the rest of the Pale."

On the 1st of May, 1601, Mountjoy wrote from Dublin Castle to the English Privy Council a hopeful letter, regarding the general subjugation of Ireland, and among other statements he says that nearly all Leinster was reduced "except the Moores and Connors, whom I have refused to receive to mercy; yet banished the one clean out of Opaly, and left of the others not above forty living, scattered in the fastness[es] of Leash."<sup>22</sup> He proffers a request that "it may please your Lordships to give me leave to wage some of these Irish by agreement and for a certain time, as they use among themselves; whereby by them I should consume many of the rebels, and by the rebels consume many of them, and both for the good of the service."<sup>23</sup> Afterwards he adds:—"For the inhabiting of such land of the English as lieth waste, I know not how it can be done in their possession that now have interest therein, the owners being so poor and the quantity so great, . . . there being both in Leash and Ophaly many gentlemen, and every one of them alone is possessed of so much land as, well inhabited, would maintain more men than all the rebels in both the countries at this time are. Yet, these lands not being inhabited, the Queen must keep continual garrisons, or have these countries as receptacles for such as at any time can gather together and make any head."

On the 22nd of June, the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to Sir George Carew, in reference to preparing for an anticipated campaign against O'Neill in the north, that he might spare some soldiers from Munster, "especially seeing we have so well provided to stop the Ulster men from passing either through Leinster or Connaught towards you, as we are very confident you cannot be disquieted that way, but may rather . . . assist the Earl of Ormond's horse and foot lying next you on the borders of Kilkenny. . . . His Lordship is directed both with them and the forces commanded by Sir Henry Power, to give your Lordship all good furtherance if the Moores should step into your government, when they shall be so chased and pursued as they cannot longer continue in Leashe and thereabout, as we hope in short time they will be."<sup>24</sup>

The dispositions now made—among others elsewhere—provided that the Earl of Ormond's company of 150 foot and 50 horse, and Sir Henry Power with 400 foot and 32 horse should be diverted for Lease; while the Earl of Kildare with 150 foot in list—many of whom were in wards—and 37 horse should lie in Ophaly. These forces were to co-operate, and with them were to be "the subjects of the Irishry" to the Lords of Upper Ossory, Hugh Boy, Sir Terence O'Dempsic, O'Dunne, O'Molloy, O'Carroll, and Sir John Macoughlan.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1601-1603," p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 88.



We find, likewise, in the Disposal of the Queen's Forces for this Summer's Service, the following arrangement, viz.:—"In Ophaly: Horse—Earl of Kildare 25, Sir Edward Harbert 12; Foot—Earl of Kildare 150, Sir George Bouchier 100, Sir Edward Harbert 100, Captain Carroll 100, Sir H. Warren 100. In Leashe: Horse—Mr. Marshal 20, Captain Pigott 12; Foot—Sir H. Power 150, Sir Francis Rush 150, Sir Thomas Loftus 100. In Kilkenny: Earl of Ormond, 50 horse, 150 foot. All these may co-operate."<sup>26</sup>

The Lord Deputy wrote to Sir George Carew on the 12th of October, 1602, that he thanked God Leinster was all quiet: "the Moores consumed, the O'Connors banished; and all that Leinster feareth is their return, who, I am informed, are not above thirty;"<sup>27</sup>—he probably means chief persons of the clan.

It would appear that about this time Mr. Philip Harvy, a cousin to Sir George Carew, preferred some claim in reference to the fort of Leix; and the Lord Deputy writes to the latter<sup>28</sup>:—"For Mr. Harvy, I am so far from doing him any hurt as I cannot but pity him as you do, and out of partiality to Sir Henry Power I protest I am no whit led, neither have I any great reason to affect him extraordinarily, otherwise than as a worthy servitor for the service' sake; for, first, he got into that government not only without my privity, but flatly against my will, when I had given that place to another, and since his being there hath divers times distasted me more than haply some other would have endured. Yet I confess I hold it very fit for the service that that fort were in the possession of the Governor, considering the country is to answer the Constable, and not the Governor, as their Lordships from England have been pleased to note; especially seeing, as I conceive, Mr. Harvie hath neither loss nor wrong thereby, for if he be paid *bona fide* £350, which is the sum that I am borne in hand it is mortgaged for, I hold it as much as it is worth, or as any man else will give for it. But, if in that point I be deceived, I shall be very glad that Mr. Harvie may be relieved by any better satisfaction, and to that end will once more speak with Sir Henry Power, whom I will persuade to deal conscionably with him."<sup>29</sup>

In April, 1604, the Chief Baron and Sir John Davies having gone circuit through Leinster report favourably to Cecil, especially as regards Lease and Offaly, where the Moores and Connors "being well-nigh destroyed and rooted out by the late war, the English families that were planted there began to govern the country, so that the Irishry remaining seemed to conform themselves to a civil life, and gave their attendance very dutifully."

On the 6th of January, 1605, Davies wrote to Viscount Cranbourne, that the Irish priests and Jesuits were daily expecting a proclamation from King James I., to banish them out of the Kingdom, and to make

<sup>26</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>28</sup> From Dublin Castle, November 8th, 1602.

<sup>29</sup> In a P.S. in Mountjoy's own hand, he adds:—"I did not conceive how the matter of the fort of Lease could be any prejudice to your cousin Harvey, for [he] hath already received as much as he was in all to receive for Captain Fischer, and

as much as I think any will give for his interest; the which was wholly forfeited into Captain Fischer's hands. But, the cause depending between any other, I do think it far fitter to be in hands that shall have or hath the government. If you redeem it to his use I will not gainsay it, if it be *bona fide*; otherwise Sir Henry Poore shall give your cousin as much as he was any otherwise to have."



them traitors if they returned to any part of the King's dominions. He was also persuaded, that the common people would willingly go to church, if they had churches and churchmen to perform ecclesiastical duties. The week before Christmas, Sir James Ley and himself held a session at the port of Leix; and there, among other petitions, they received one from the sept of the Mores, in which they complained that they had no church, or priest to marry, or bury, or baptise any of them: they desired the judges there to take order therein, and promised by their petition ever after duly to frequent the church. Orders had been afterwards given that the vicar of Mariborough should every Friday say divine service near the ruins of an old church within their parish, and that he should receive a certain portion of tithes for his travel.

That the priests had only too good ground for their apprehensions was soon evident. The Rev. Robert Lalor had been Vicar-Apostolic of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns from 1594 to 1606. He was arrested in December, 1606, accused of exercising foreign jurisdiction and of denying the King's spiritual supremacy, tried, convicted, and barbarously executed.

Writing of this brutal murder, J. F. Taylor in his *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill* says:—"Although the penal statutes of Elizabeth were graciously allowed to lapse, old acts passed against Rome 'in Catholic times' were now resuscitated; and by Father Lalor's trial and condemnation for *præmunire* in 1607, Davies accomplished all the purposes of Elizabeth's Acts through the older Acts of Edward III. and of Richard II. Priests were again banned, churches were closed, schools suppressed, and education forbidden."

An Inquisition, made at Maryborough, 7th September, 1607, records that "John Wesley, late prior of the priory of Connall in the County Kildare (was seized) of fee in right of said priory, of the rectory of Disertenen, and of all churches, tiethes, etc., thereto belonging (which said rectory extendeth into two thirde partes of all the tiethes and alterages issueing out of the severall townes and lands of Disert, Gra ( ) Rahineduff, the old mille, Ballinegorbane, Rahineneuske, Loughticoge, Loughdrudnie, Munneygrave, and Coolekreggh, and of the presentacion of a viccar to the church of Disertenen aforesaid; the rectorie of Kilteal (which said rectorie extendeth itselfe unto the two third partes of all the tiethes and altarages issueing out of the several towns and villages of Kilteale, Carricknaparke, Ballicarroll), Coolarne, Kilmartire, Kilpatrick, Kilmorry and Ballymadocke, and also of the presentacion of a vickar to the church of Kilteale: the rectorie of ( ) which said rectorie extendeth into the two third partes of ( ) and of the presentacion of a vickar, etc., as above; the rectorie of Noughwall, *alias* Stradbally, together with all churches, etc., to the said rectorie belonging, and of the presentacion of a vickar in and to the said church of ( ) to whiche vickare belongeth the other third parte of all the tiethes aforesaid; and also of the rectory of Gallen *alias* Disert-gallen, together with all churches to the said rectory belonging (which said rectory extendeth into the two third partes of all the tiethes, etc., issueing out of the severall townes of Ballanekilly, Kilcronan, Kilnashane, Ralishe, Clogheoge Killrush, Ballahancarr, Castlemoat, Grage, Athanacrosse, Gragnahone, Gragnasmuttan, Moyarde, Knockorocroughan, Doghill, Bouleybegg, Leaseoconnan,



Bonlanabane and Ballanageragh, together with all other the hamletts to the same belonging; and also of the presentacion of a vickar to the church of Gallen, *alias* Disert-gallen aforesaid, to which vickar belongeth the other third parte of all the tiethes aforesaid; and ther belongeth to the rectory of Gallen aforesaid 5 great ackers of land, whereof the vickar hath a third parte; the rectory of Aghatobret, together with all churches, chappells, etc., to the same belonging, and of the presentacion of a vickar to the church of Aghatobret, to whome belongeth the third parte of all the tiethes of the said parsonage; the rectory of Clonkine together with all churches, chapells, etc., to the same belonging, and also the presentacion of a vickare to the church of Clonkine, to whome belongeth the third parte of all the tiethes of the said parsonage; the rectory of Ballycullane, together with all the churches, chapells, etc., to the same belonging, and also the presentacion of a vickar to the church of Ballycullane, to whom belongeth the third parte of the tiethes of the said parsonage; the rectory of Kilcolmanbane, together with all churches, chapells, etc., to the same belonging, and also the presentacion of a vickar to the church of Kilcolmanbane aforesaid, to whome belongeth the third parte of the tiethes of the said parsonage; all of which severall rectories, above written, were appropriate to the prior and convent of the said Priory of Connall."<sup>30</sup>

## CHAPTER XXI.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1607-1641.

AMONGST the memorable events connected with the history of Leix the most remarkable is perhaps that to which we have now come, viz., "the Transplantation of the Septs." As the natives had survived war and famine it was obviously expedient to apply other methods for their extirpation; and so the Government of the "wise fool" who was then King decided to adopt his Majesty's patent remedy for Ireland's ills, viz., transplantation. As always happens in such cases an agent, base enough for the Government's needs, was ready to hand. This person had, it is said, changed his name from Crossan, or Macrossan, into Crosby, or Crosbie; and being prepared to do any amount of dirty work, whether as informer, or spy, or transplanter, in the natural course of things he amassed wealth, and founded one of our "county families." Having obtained by informing, and fawning, and begging, estates in County Kerry he offered (for a consideration) to bestow them, or portions of them, on the natives of Leix, whom he undertook to induce, or compel, to accept the transfer. That he was a man of

<sup>30</sup> On Wednesday next after the feast of St. Catherine V., 5th of Edwd. VI., the Prior of Connall was found seized of the

following, amon<sup>st</sup> many other, lands in Queen's County:—

In Tymeguo, alias Tymecho,	150 a. ar.,	30	past.,	an.	val.	besides reprises,	26s. 8d.
In Ballenecloe,	35	" "	10	"	"	"	30s.
In Balleyntley,	30	" "	20	"	"	"	30s.
In Raynebarron,	55	" "	10	"	"	"	40s.
In Garyglasse & Eskreparke,	70	" "	20	"	"	"	40s.
In Fosse,	20	" "	10	"	"	"	10s.



ability and energy is sufficiently evident.<sup>1</sup> That his honesty was frequently questioned by his employers is on record.<sup>2</sup> A strong motive for the transplantation was, it would seem, the desire of those in authority to prove to the Irish and to the world the capacity of England to carry out successfully the transplantation of Ulster, then in hand. "If we cannot compass the transplantation of the Moores and O'Connors how can we plant Ulster? If we can, the world will see that we shall accomplish the new planting of Ulster."

To carry out the Government's nefarious policy of hunting the native septs from their patrimonial lands of Leix, Crosbie obtained the seignory of Tarbert, beyond the mountains of Slievelogher, in the County of Kerry, with an abatement of his Majesty's rent, from £55 to £3 15s. a year, reserving to himself three-quarters for his own demesne. He was to grant terms for the residue of the said seignory at reasonable rates; so that the people of the seven septs, being provided with sufficient lands, might have no cause for returning to those places whence they had been driven.

On the 26th of January, 1607, Sir Arthur Chichester notified to the Earl of Salisbury that it was then in hand "to remove the Moores and septs out of Leixe, who have been always ringleaders in rebellion, and the notablest disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, shooting at the recovery of their lands taken from them for their rebellion, and bestowed upon the English in the time of Queen Mary." Since that grant, they are charged with having been eighteen several times in rebellion, which was only suppressed with great charge and loss of men. He adds, that "their last hath brought them so low," that he conceives the government may without disturbance put the design into execution. He also states, that if allowed to remain in Leix, they would be out in rebellion once more, and within a few years, so that it would be better to begin with them at once than to wait till the Moores began the attack. Nor should he desire them to be settled in Leinster, nor in the "Counties of Crosse and Tipperarie," all the rest of the kingdom being open for them; and as he understood of them, they would make choice of Munster about Kerry. If they refused to depart by fair means, Chichester wishes to have the king's permission to attempt their removal by force, for he was in no way doubtful of them. Moreover, when he had done with them, the like course should be held with the O'Connors of Ophaly. When those districts had been disburthened of their septs, he hoped for a good settlement in all Leinster, while there would be an assured disturbance if they were not removed.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem that in April, 1607, the Lord Deputy and Privy Council of Ireland took care to represent once more the discontent of

<sup>1</sup> His elder brother John, who was in clerical orders, had been Prebendary of Disert; and on the 25th of September, 1600, Sir Robert Cecil writes to Sir George Carew, that he recommended him to be Bishop of Kerry. In the patent of his promotion he is described as "of competent private fortune, a graduate in the schools, of English race, and yet skilled in the Irish tongue." (See p. 470 *antea*.)

<sup>2</sup> An interesting account of Patrick Crosbie, his brother Bishop Crosbie, and

their descendants, will be found in Mary Agnes Hickson's "Selections from Old Kerry Records, Historical and Genealogical, with Introductory Memoir, Notes and Appendix," pp. 1 to 20, second series. London, 1874, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> See "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I., 1606-1608," edited by Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., and John P. Prendergast, Esq., p. 95. See p. 463 *antea*.



the Moores and Connors inhabiting the King's and Queen's Counties for the sixty previous years. They inform the English Privy Council, that the Moores especially, being the chief cause of former disturbances and losses, the remedy was to be found in "removing the old inhabitants, viz., the Moores and their followers, the Kellies, Lalors, Clannelaughlins,<sup>4</sup> Clandebojes,<sup>5</sup> Dorans, and Dolins,<sup>6</sup> into some remote parts of the other three provinces."

The intriguing Patrick Crosbie, in a letter dated Dublin, 10th June, 1607, proposes to remove the sept of the Moores from Leix into Munster, Ulster, or Connaught, and hopes that his proposal may be favourably considered.<sup>7</sup> However, as a counterfoil to his endeavours, the humble petition of the Moores, and the six other septs of Leix, otherwise called the Queen's County in Ireland, is found addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Salisbury,<sup>8</sup> in the following terms:—"Declaring how they are daily troubled by the English freeholders of that county, and specially by one Patrick Crosbie, so that they are like to be banished from that county to inhabit in some remote part of the kingdom, notwithstanding that they hold land by leases which they have ready to show. Pray therefore, as this is contrary to equity and law, and to his Majesty's general and gracious pardon bestowed upon them by public proclamation, that they may not be troubled in any interest or farms which they have now in that county, until their full time be expired, and that then they may have license to dwell in any place within his Majesty's kingdoms during their good behaviour, or else a great many of them will starve, to the number of three or four hundred poor persons, for want of their buildings and charges, and the other means by which they live in that country, which they cannot have in remote waste places. Humbly crave him, therefore, in consideration for the estate of poor people, to procure his Majesty's warrant in their favour."<sup>9</sup> This petition seems to have been referred to the king; but it neither excited his sense of justice nor his commiseration for these poor people, who were to be dispossessed of their homes and lands.

James I. wrote to Chichester,<sup>10</sup> that he had been made acquainted with the petition of one Kelly, on behalf of the O'Moores, and other septs of the Queen's County, to stay their intended remove by the Deputy; and that he [Kelly] received such answers from the King's Council, that he and they shall perceive how little private men's suits prevail with him (the king) against the determinations of those whom he trusts with his estates in Ireland.<sup>11</sup> He then declares, that the lords of the Council would give such assurance more particularly; that the king himself gives warrant to Chichester, that he should proceed in his resolution; and that he grants to Patrick Crosby, in fee-farm, the lands of Tarbert, in the County Kerry, which the Deputy had appointed him in recompense for his pains in that service, at the rent

<sup>4</sup> Or MacLaughlins.

<sup>5</sup> Or MacEvoys.

<sup>6</sup> Or Dowlings.

<sup>7</sup> "State Papers of Ireland," vol. 221, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78A.

<sup>9</sup> Signed P. S. Kellies, Laloures, Clainmellaghlines, Clainboies, Dorains, Dullinges (Dowlings).

<sup>10</sup> This Chichester in early life had been a highway robber. See Mr. Biggar's account in "Ulster Journal of Archæology," for Jan., 1904.

<sup>11</sup> To this is found an added note: "This point to be enrolled in the Chancery," in the handwriting of Sir Arthur Chichester.



of £5 per annum, and such other services as the Deputy shall think fit to reserve.<sup>12</sup>

Sir Arthur Chichester writes on the 4th of August, 1607, to the Lords of the English Privy Council, begging their lordships to render his Majesty humble thanks for his allowance of their determination to transfer the sept of the Moores, with some others, their dependants and followers, out of the Queen's County into that of Kerry, who otherwise must assuredly at one time or other, have been utterly extinguished for their demerits. It will be for the welfare and tranquility, not only of the English inhabitants there, but also of the whole realm.<sup>13</sup>

That there was not a shadow of just charge shewing the septs of Leix had caused any disturbance or fear to the English settlers among them is proved by the statement of Sir John Davys to Salisbury,<sup>14</sup> that he had lately visited the Counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford, the King's County, and the Queen's County, where it was almost a miracle to see the quiet and conformity of their people, for in all those five shires there was but one poor churl convicted, and executed, and that for a petty theft only; while the gentlemen and freeholders of those several counties stated, that the Irish kerne and idle gentlemen, who had not departed to the wars abroad, were engaged there in husbandry, while they wanted more people of that quality to break up and manure their waste grounds. Moreover, as those gentlemen, who were civil magistrates, strictly enforced the laws against recusancy, in the King's and Queen's Counties especially, where there were colonies of English, many entire parishes were reformed, while in the towns of Philipstown and Mariborough, numbers of the natives had come to church on Sundays and holy days.

In January, 1608, the Lords of the English Council write to the Deputy and Irish Council, that touching the transplanting of the Moores, yet unfinished, and the like course to be taken with the Connors, they were to receive his Majesty's further directions.<sup>15</sup>

When the septs were expected to depart with Crosbie they refused to do so; and he alleged to Sir Arthur Chichester that some of the freeholders, envying him the employment, had wrought underhand with some of those people to withdraw from him. The Lord Deputy suspected, however, as he found no proof that the freeholders caused such backwardness and perverseness, that Crosbie had framed such a statement to make the service appear more difficult. This the Lord Deputy told him somewhat roundly; but afterwards he found their reluctance "to proceed merely from the wavering dispositions of those inconsistent people, who, indeed, are very unwilling to depart unless they be constrained thereto." Wherefore Chichester sent for one of the chiefs of every sept to appear at the Council board. They were there confronted with Crosbie, and the matter debated. It was then conveyed to them that as they were formerly required, so they should now depart. They refused absolutely to do so, and made suit that they themselves might be made freeholders of Tarbert, for which they

<sup>12</sup> The "Philadelphia State Papers," vol. i., p. 211. See "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I., 1606-1608," July 16th, 1607, pp. 221, 222.

<sup>13</sup> "State Papers of Ireland," vol.

ccxxli., p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> In a letter dated August 7th, 1607, among the "State Papers of Ireland," vol. 222, p. 117.

<sup>15</sup> "Philadelphia Papers," vol. 3, p. 244.



would give £40, instead of the £5 which Crosbie undertook to pay his Majesty for that estate per annum. Were this offer accepted, they promised to remove without further trouble or coercion. This proposal of theirs seemed so reasonable, that the Council consented to it, and dismissed them to prepare for their departure.

On returning to Leix these chief men explained their resolutions to their friends and followers, and meetings were held to debate the matter jointly, but for long there seemed to be no unanimity of opinion. At last they agreed generally to choose Crosbie. They sent for him and desired him to undertake the business, as it seemed to be a matter of necessity for them to remove. They promised to depart with him, some to Tarbert, and others farther into the land of Kerry, wherever he should dispose of them. They besought Sir Henry Power, then Governor of Queen's County and resident among them, to declare this determined course, from which they would not alter, to Sir Arthur Chichester. This he did in a letter, dated March 24th.<sup>16</sup> As Crosby found there were many loose people among them, who had nothing to engage them, and who should be relieved at his own charge until he could win them to some better habit of life, he prayed to have some of them in his Majesty's entertainment. He undertook, in return, that the Septs of Leix should become good subjects, and perform good service.<sup>17</sup> With a recommendation to Lord Salisbury, he went over to England, where he desired to address himself to the Lords of the Council, with what he called a true relation of what had been done throughout the foregoing transactions.<sup>18</sup>

The Lord Deputy, Chichester, and his Council, having previously communicated their project to the Lords of the Privy Council in England for the removal of the seven septs, afterwards write from Howth on the 8th of April, 1608, to the following effect:—

"The freeholders—all of English descent—of the said county, having of long time solicited the removal from amongst them of that name of the Moores, and the other six septs, their followers, but the matter not succeeding as they expected, the freeholders, and some of themselves, agreed to employ this gentleman, Crosbie, therein, as the likeliest man to effect it; if it might be done, as was intended, with the assent of the parties without charge to his Majesty, and without disturbance or grievance to the country. . . . Finding some impediments and crosses, he made suit to be discharged of it, to which they yielded. . . . The septs also seem to repent of their determination, as appears by their resignation under their hands which is sent enclosed. Have tried all means to bring it otherwise, but can find no better possibility to effect it than by Mr. Crosbie, who will not undertake it without some means to be supplied for the wants and maintenance of the idle people of all their septs, for it seems he cannot draw them away without very hard conditions. . . . Without a Moore it is thought there would be no rebellion in Leix, which has always been the nursery

<sup>16</sup> To be found among the "Irish State Papers," vol. 223, p. 69, III.

<sup>17</sup> In a letter dated April 1st, to be found in the "Irish State Papers," vol. 223, p. 69, IV.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earl of Salisbury, dated "Howthe, 29th of March, 1608," in the "State Papers of Ireland," vol. 223, pp. 53, 54.





of all rebellions in Leinster."<sup>19</sup> With this letter was sent a copy of Sir Henry Power's letters in answer to a letter despatched to him by Chichester, and the Irish Privy Council, to know the dispositions and purposes of the Leix septs. The following is a copy of the agreements referred to in these letters:—

"Agreements between Mr. Crosbie and Leixe at Mollin-O'Lalour<sup>20</sup> upon St. Patrick's Day, being the 17th March, 1607-8.

"That Mr. Crosbie shall swear to revenge upon any of the septs any anger or controversy that happened between them since the beginning of this matter, and that he shall procure his heirs to do the like.

"That he shall give six ploughlands of Tarbert, of that ten ploughland there, to the six persons subscribed and to their heirs, they paying him and his heirs £6 sterling chief rent, with other services and rising out; and for the rest of the six septs he shall place them in the Abbey of O'Dorny, Coishcassan, and upon the 'Plountaine' in his other lands, and shall divide amongst them twelve ploughland, upon long leases, giving them such freedoms, and for such rents as the Lord Bishop of 'Kurry' (*sic*) and John M'Murtoghe shall set down; and they both from time to time shall end all controversies that shall arise between Mr. Crosbie and any of the septs who shall depart with Mr. Crosbie at Midsummer's Day next.

"That the septs and their heirs for ever shall be faithful, loving, obedient to Mr. Crosbie and his heir Piers, and their heirs for ever, and shall be directed by them in all service of the King's, and all other lawful courses.

"That Mr. Crosbie and his heirs shall answer all matters for them, both at Dublin, as before the President and in sessions, they helping to bear his charges, and yet every of them will appear, if need be.

"That Mr. Crosbie and his heirs shall disburden and discharge them from giving meat, drink, and clothing to the 288 persons who are not able to live, in this paper annexed, subscribed by John M'Mortough and Leig Laloure, but shall keep them himself or dispose of them as he thinks good.

"That Mr. Crosbie shall give to John M'Mortough the worth of £400 in land either inheritance or mortgage, as the Lord Bishop of Kurry [Kerry] and Leig Laloure shall value it.

"That he and his heirs shall maintain and defend the said septs and their heirs in all lawful causes, and not suffer them to be wronged or oppressed by any officers or others. And that he and they to swear to perform these articles truly, and he to bring his son Piers to the county, before Easter Day, to be sworn to perform the same.

"Signed: John M'Mortough, Teig Lalour, Robert O'Dowling, Mortogh M'Williams, his mark, M'Eboye's mark, Farre M'Gerrott's mark, Patrick O'Doran's mark."

[Then follow the names of the members of the septs, 289 in number.] The first few names of each sept are subjoined.

<sup>19</sup> The foregoing document is signed: Arthur Chichester, Tho. Dublin, canc., Geor. Derrie, Tho. Ridgeway, James Ley, Humfrey Wynche, Ja. Fullertone. It is in two pages, signed, sealed and

endorsed: "Lord Deputy and Council to the Lords of the Privy Council."

<sup>20</sup> The townland of Ballycarney, in the parish of Maryborough, is locally known as Lalor's Mills.



## THE MOORES.

Keadaghe M'James O'Morre.  
 Mortoughe M'Rourie and his two sons.  
 Patrick M'Connell and his two sons.  
 Donell M'Connell, his brother's two sons.  
 Pierce M'Kedagh and his son.  
 Lisaghe M'Mourtoughe's six sons.  
 Owen M'Shane's five sons, &c. In all, 102.

## THE KELLIES.

Tirlaghe O'Kellie.  
 Cahill M'Euryn O'Kellie.  
 Hughe M'Rorie O'Kellie.  
 Teig M'Brassil O'Kellie.  
 Hugh M'Brassil O'Kellie.  
 Gerrott M'Brien O'Kellie.  
 Gerrald M'Brien O'Kellie. In all, 39.

## THE LALOURS.

Hugh M'Shane O'Lalour.  
 Donell M'Shane O'Lalour.  
 Donough M'Diermot O'Lalour.  
 Hughe M'Diermot O'Lalour.  
 Donell M'Teig O'Lalour.  
 Donogh M'Donnell O'Lalour. In all, 87.

## THE DORANS.

Teig M'Diermot O'Doran.  
 Diermot M'Edmond, Donell, and Laughlin.  
 Mortogh O'Doran and his two sons, Teigh and Hugh.  
 William O'Doran, and his son.  
 Laghlin O'Doran and his son. In all, 13.

## THE CLANDEBOYS.

Geffrey M'Ehoi.  
 Thomas M'Mulrony, Murtough, Edmond, Kien, Diermot,  
 and Pat—six.  
 Teig M'David, and his four sons.  
 Laghlin and Diermot, and their two sons.  
 Laghlin and Neile Donell Moyle.  
 Edmond Arte, Leig, Donell and Neile M'Donall, brothers.  
 In all, 43.

## THE DOWLINS.

Donell M'Edmond O'Dowlin.  
 Donagh M'William O'Dowlin.  
 Teig O'Dowlin, &c. In all, 5.

On the 16th of March, 1609, Crosbie writes to the Earl of Salisbury that he had been stayed by Chichester in bringing to an end the transplanting of the O'Moores. On the 17th of June Chichester writes of Crosby and his devices for removing the septs. The Lord Deputy gives it as his opinion that if (as was the case in the Plantation of



Ulster) a resolution was taken to remove the swordsmen out of some of those shires, he thought it would have been one of Hercules' labours to have attempted. They could not effect this with all the providence, care, and travel they had employed, and, therefore, he resolved to add force to persuasion, and so with the terror of the one and travail and charge of Crosbie, with the good assistance given by Mr. Pigott, an honest and discreet gentleman of that county, the business was now fully brought to pass, as all the seven septs had departed thence, some into Thomonde, more into Connaught, and most into Kerry with Mr. Crosbie. For that service, he passed to him the manor of Terbert, and had forgiven him five years' rent due to his Majesty for his lands in the Queen's County. Chichester adds that he was greatly maliced for what he had done, and that those septs should ever hate him deadly; but he fears not the harm they can do to himself; all he desires herein is, that Mr. Crosbie may have his Lordship's favour for speedy dispatch in his reasonable demands, so that he may return to overlook and to welcome his unruly guests into Kerry, and that Mr. Pigott may know that he has recommended his honest service.<sup>21</sup>

A little later,<sup>22</sup> Chichester wrote to the Privy Council, that the O'Moores, together with some other Irish septs, their fosterers and followers in the Queen's County, were all removed thence and dispersed into sundry and remote places of Munster and Connaught; by which it was to be hoped, others might be warned by their example to forbear such desperate and rebellious courses as they had often attempted. Only some young children of that name, without parents or other near kinsmen having any care of them, were yet remaining among their fosterers in and about those borders. He wished they were taken into England to be put to occupations and other services, where they might forget their fierceness and pride, which they should otherwise retain though they be but bastards of that name.

In the Royal Irish Academy a manuscript is preserved written, it is said, by one of the O'Moores exiled in Kerry from the land of Leix, of date June, 1610, which states that the banishment and extirpation of all the survivors of his sept—men, women, and children—was then finished. During a whole week the governor and sheriff of Leix had been employed in destroying the people remaining there, in seizing their cattle and all they possessed, while a savage order had been issued to hang any of them found in their ancient principality.

From 1610 to 1641 the Annals of the County are uninteresting. The following extracts from State Papers and other Records contain the chief incidents that seem worthy of note.

On the 1st of January, 1611, the following garrisons and wards among others are returned as serving to guard the district of Leix, viz., at Maryborough, under Sir Henry Power, 100 men; at Gallon, under the Treasurer, 50 men, although he commanded 100, but the rest were divided into other garrisons in sundry places; while 20 men garrisoned Athy.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> This letter, dated from Dublin Castle, is to be found among the State Papers of Ireland, vol. 227, p. 86.

<sup>22</sup> July 4th, 1609. State Papers of Ireland, vol. 227, p. 96. "Black Moores," used by Chichester, is his playful way of

contrasting the O'Mores of Leix with the people of Morocco.

<sup>23</sup> See "Calendar of State Papers, relating to Ireland of the Reign of James I., 1611-1614," pp. 8 and 9.

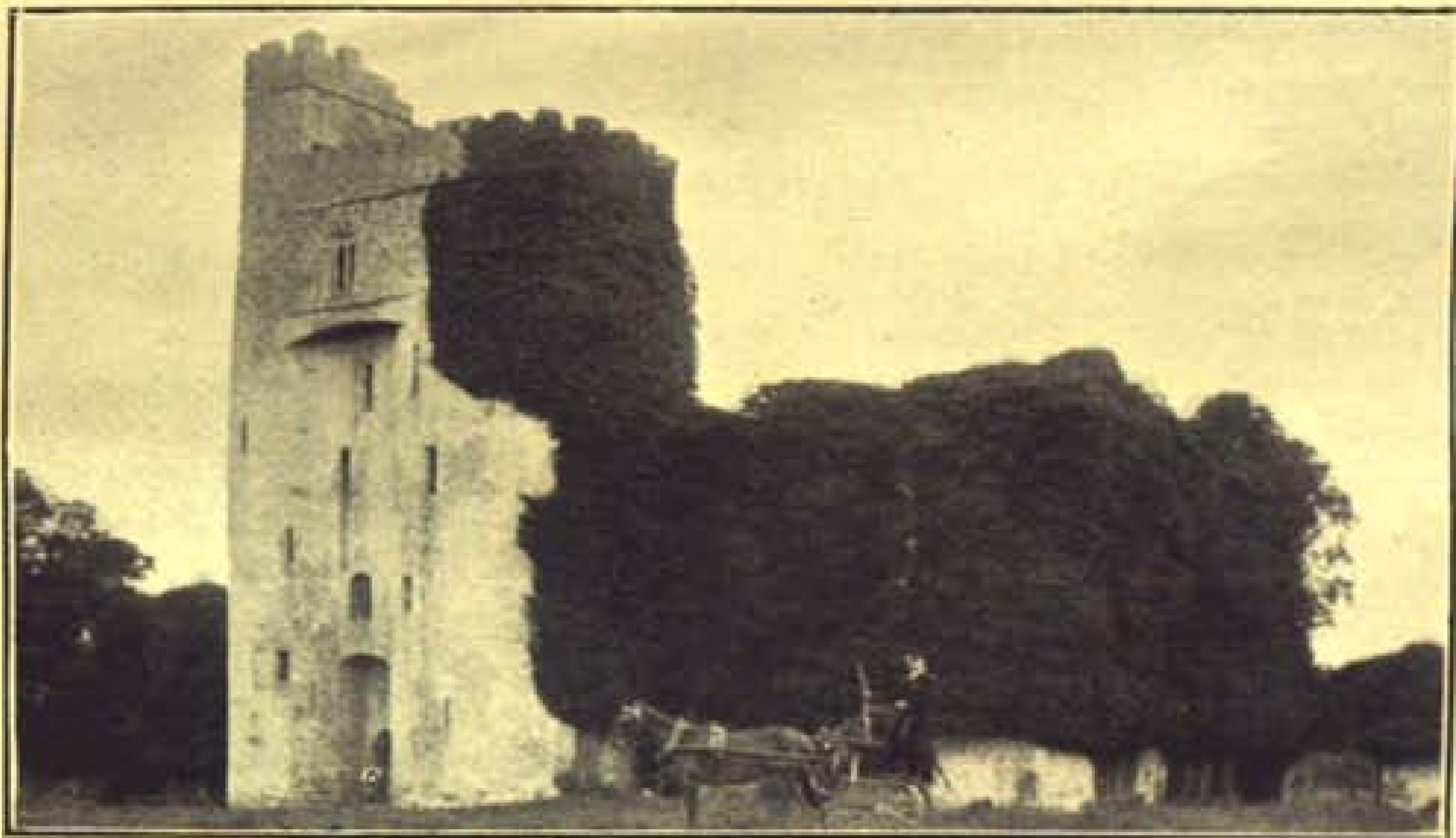




**ST. MOLÚA'S STONE.**  
Vol. I., p. 279.

**RATHASPICK  
CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 302.



**BALLYADAMS  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 184. Vol. II.,  
pp. 506, 523.







On the 1st of June, 1611, a warrant was issued from Dublin Castle to Sir John Davies, to peruse the pardon obtained by Tiede FitzPatrick, of Clanbussen, Queen's County, dated February 15th. He was to draw up a *fiat* of letters patent, granting a pardon to the said T. FitzPatrick, leaving out the provisos of pleadings, and inserting a proviso that his pardon shall not extend to any offence committed since the date of his presaid pardon.<sup>24</sup>

On the 12th of June, Chichester signs a warrant directed to the Attorney-General, to draw forth a *fiat* of letters patent granting to Robert Whittney, of the Sheane, Queen's County, with license to alien to William Chishull, certain lands called Kilmurry, with 140 leased acres, for the term of sixty years.<sup>25</sup>

Among the debts and sums due to King James I. by several recognizances, and held to be "desparable," the following are on record in the office of the Remembrancer of the Exchequer, on the 1st of October, 1611, viz., Fynnen M'Gillpatricke, Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, 34 Eliz., surety for William Dougan, £400 str.; Ferragh McTirlagh McDonnell, and others, for various sums.

There is a curious paper, signed by Chichester in the year 1611, while preparations were being made for the summoning of a parliament in Dublin. Enumerated among the lords, entitled to sit in the Upper House, the only temporal peer from the Queen's County seems to have been FitzPatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory; and of the spiritual peers, the Protestant Bishop of Farnes and Laughlin.<sup>26</sup> The Queen's County had been usually represented by two members of the Lower House, as also by two for the borough of Maryborough. But, it was now resolved to create new boroughs,<sup>27</sup> and among these is Callon—placed in the Queen's County by Chichester, although in reality in the County Kilkenny.<sup>28</sup>

An order from Chichester House, Dublin, dated 13th November, 1612, to draw forth a *fiat* of incorporation for the town of Ballynaskill, in Gallen-Ridgeway, Queen's County, appoints as provost, or sovereign, Thomas Viccars, with the following burgesses:—Sir Thomas Ridgewaie, knight and baronet; Sir Robert Ridgewaie, knight; Arthur Bruerton, Esq.; Thomas Smyth, Edward Brookes, Abraham Rogers, James Richeforte, Henry Wright, William Wright, Baptist Hazell, John Goldinge, Hugh Humes.<sup>29</sup>

On the 1st of April, 1613, among the names of Irish counties and boroughs entitled to send members to parliament, are the Queen's County, and its two boroughs of Marieborough, an old borough, and Ballynekill, in Gallen Ridgeway, a newly created borough.<sup>30</sup>

During 1615, an Inquisition of the king's title to part of Iregan, otherwise O'Doyn's Country, in the Queen's County, was taken.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See Carte Papers, vol. 62, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> This deed is countersigned by He. Perse, Carte Papers, vol. 62, No. 25.

<sup>26</sup> To form an idea of the freedom to be allowed this parliament, after the enumeration Chichester writes:—"Of those 44 lords spiritual and temporal, we may assure ourselves of the 19 bishops; of the temporal lords three are under age, and five Protestants, and so we may sway the Upper House by seven voices."

<sup>27</sup> Chichester adds:—"From these new

corporations we may expect Protestant burgesses. And so of the Lower House, consisting of 218 knights and burgesses, we may expect 123 Protestants, and then we shall exceed them by 28 voices."

<sup>28</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1603-1624," pp. 134 to 136.

<sup>29</sup> Carte Papers, vol. 62, No. 125.

<sup>30</sup> State Papers of Ireland, vol. 232, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1603-1624," p. 313.



In 1618 the Earl of Ormond asserts his title to the Abbey of Leix, with the temporalities thereof, and other lands, etc., in Queen's County, conveyed by fine by Thomas, the late Earl, and Dame Ellen his wife, to Pierce Butler and heirs; and afterwards to the late Earl and his wife; and the said Butler and the rest conveyed the same unto Sir Richard Welsh, and others in fee by deed of feofment dated 8 Sept., 12 Jac., to the preceding uses, etc., remainder to Sir Walter Butler.<sup>32</sup>

An Inquisition, taken at Maryborough, 14th January, 1622, finds that Robert Bowen was seized in fee of the following:—the castle, town, and lands, of Ballyadame; the town and lands of Rathgilbert, the castle, town and lands of Ballentobrid *alias* Fontstowne, parcel of the lands called Dirrearowe, the towns of Crevagh and Ballitarsney, the town and lands of Killaganor, and the town and lands of Downe-brinne, Ballintle, Killmohoide, Farraghmore, and Monestrebane; all which premises contain a total of 902 acres. These were (with other possessions) granted to the said Robert Bowen and his heirs in tail, by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, dated 31st of August, 1578, and are now held of the king in capite by military service. . . . The aforesaid Robert Bowen had a grant of the patronage of the parochial churches of Fonstowne *alias* Ballentobrid, and Killmoheide, and of the town and lands of Rossebrannagh, containing 5 acres, besides wood and brushwood, mountain or bog, etc., with a water-mill, parcel of the possessions of the late religious house of St. John of Athye, but by what right of tenure the jury is ignorant. . . . He was also seized in fee of one tenement and one garden within the town of Maryborough, which he holds of the king as a burgage. The said Robert obtained licence of the king to alienate all the aforesaid castles, towns, lands and tenements, as by letters patent bearing date the 22nd May, 1608, appears; by deed dated 2nd May, 1617, he enfeoffed George Hetherington of Tully, David Hetherington of Ballirony, and Henry Brereton of Loghtioge, of all the foregoing, for the use in said deed set forth. The said Robert Bowen died on the last day of July, 1621. John Bowen is his son and heir, was aged 48 at the time of his father's death, and was married. The said possessions passed to the said John under the deed referred to.

By an Inquisition taken at Maryborough, the 22nd of May, 1632, it appears, that George Hartpole of Monksgrange was seized in fee tail to himself and his heirs male, of the town and land of Shrowell, of which the hamlets of Ballehorner, Rossenalgan, Ballyrahan, Rathduffe, Ballycollin, Garrybrickin, Aghetinan, and Cappiscribedore are parcel, all of which contain 1 castle, 10 messuages, and 22 acres of land of the small measurement, in the country called Slewmarginagh. The aforesaid George was also seized in fee of the lordship of —, and of the town and land of Newcastle *alias* Castlenoe, Ballynegall, Ardlisse *alias* Narlisse, Clonevacan, Clowlenowle, Farnans, Garrans *alias* Negarran *alias* Clonecangarran, Kilcloghe, Cossan, Rathtillge, Garrendenny, Killgore, Clonebrocke, Killnemore, Rossenamount, Rosseconse, Emelaghe, Barenestlatte, Ballynekillie, Garrowghe, Aghenecrosse, Tenesraghe, Cargin, Farrminabee, Killcollykin, Killagin, and Garrymore, which are all parcels of the said lordship, and contain 1 castle, 20 messuages, and 50 acres of land of the said small measure; 2 mes-

<sup>32</sup> See "Carew Manuscripts," vol. 607, p. 179.



suages in the town of Maryborough, and the town and land of Le Grange of Kilmagobbock *alias* Monksgrange, with the tithes of same, containing 1 castle, 1 water-mill, and 40 acres, with the rectories of Killabban and Corclone, and all the tithes belonging to them, together with the advowson and right of presentation to the vicarage of Killabban aforesaid. The said George Hartpole died on the 24th of January, 1631. Robert Hartpole, his son and heir, was then of the age of 25 years, and married.

By another Inquisition taken at Maryborough, 17th May, 1638, it appears that Teige, or Thady O'Doyne, late of Castlebrack, was seized of the town and lands of Castlebrack, *alias* Ballycasslanbrack, and of Parkemore, Cappinlinge, Grange, Mucklone and Grange, and Mucklone and Grangecore, all which are parcels of Castlebrack aforesaid, and contain 447 acres, etc., etc.

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## CHAPTER XXII.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1641-2.

WE have now reached the Catholic Confederation, and the Civil War of 1641-1652. The events of this period have been grossly falsified by writers hostile to Ireland and to the Catholic Church. And this, too, in face of the fact that the State Papers preserved in Trinity College, on which the case is made to rest, actually give the lie to the calumniators. Since these papers have become accessible to the public, the truth has begun gradually to prevail, and the history of the war of 1641 to be impartially written.

Our present concern is with him to whom the conception and initiation of the Confederation were chiefly due, viz., Roger O'More. He was the elder of the two sons of Callough or Charles O'More (of whom we have already given an account), and grandson of Rory "Caech," Chieftain of Leix, who was slain in 1545. Friends and enemies alike unite in describing him as one of the most remarkable men of his time. The following is a contemporary pen-portrait:—"Roger O'More possessed all the qualities of the heroic—character, talents, promptitude, courage and love of country. His person was remarkably graceful, his aspect dignified, his manners courteous."<sup>1</sup>

His enemy Carte (historian of "James, Duke of Ormond") writes of him as follows:—"He was admirably qualified . . . being endowed with all the talents and qualifications proper for persuasion; he was one of the most handsome, comely, and proper persons of his time; of excellent parts, good judgment, and great seeming; affable and courteous in his behaviour, insinuating in his address, and agreeable in his conversation. He understood human nature, and knew men perfectly well. . . . He was a man of fair character, highly esteemed by all who knew him, and had so great a reputation for his abilities amongst the Irish that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a phrase amongst them: 'God and our Lady be our assistance and Roger More.'"

He spoke English and Irish with equal fluency, and was possessed of literary and oratorical gifts of a high order. He was connected

<sup>1</sup> See Sir H. Parnell's "Penal Laws," p. 113. Also Appendix I., 100.



by birth and marriage not only with the native chieftains of Leix and Offaly, but with the two great Norman houses of Butler and Fitzgerald;<sup>2</sup> and from his boyhood's years the one ambition of his life, the one purpose to which he made all others subsidiary, was to raise his country, and his religion, from the degradation and serfdom to which they had so long been reduced.

A favourable opportunity seemed to offer itself in 1628. J. F. Taylor in his life of Owen Roe O'Neill has done such justice to the character and efforts of Rory O'More in connection with the events of 1628 onwards that we offer no apology for quoting from his work at considerable length. He says:—"In 1628 a great opportunity arose once more for a permanent settlement of Ireland. Lord Falkland was Viceroy, and he was overflowing with professions of sympathy and friendship to the Catholics, who on their part were ebullient with loyalty, and only too ready and eager to respond with assessments and contributions to any appeal from the Crown. In such a temper both sides seemed to approach the consideration of public affairs; and for the first time it looked as if a great career were open to an able and instructed Irish constitutional leader. Such a leader was soon seen and recognised.

"Roger Moore, or Rory O'Moore, of Ballyna in the County Kildare, was a scion of the princely house of Leix. . . . In all accounts of the time we see him as a deep and thoughtful man of singular fascination and charm, to which a stately form and handsome face naturally contributed. He was a 'travelled' man; had seen cities and men, courts and camps, senates and universities. A convinced Catholic himself, he was tolerant in a time of intolerance, and looked for National advancement, not in the lifting up of one ascendancy on the ruins of another, but in the purging of the State and statute book from all partiality and injustice. Guided by him and his father-in-law, Sir Patrick Barnewall, Irish landowners and merchants entrusted agents in Parliament to make terms on their behalf, and he, with other Irish gentlemen of all creeds, fixed the basis of settlement early in 1628. The Irish claims for redress were embodied in a list of 'Graces' which his Majesty, 'out of his own exuberant mercy,' was to grant as a token of royal recognition of his subjects' loyalty. The main articles were:—

- "(1.) The confirmation of titles to estates, notwithstanding mere formal flaws;
- "(2.) Restriction of Monopolies; and Trade with England to be free;
- "(3.) Billeting of soldiers to be restrained, and no one to be punished by martial law in time of peace;
- "(4.) The unconstitutional Court of Castle Chamber not to hear private suits nor to tamper with witnesses;
- "(5.) That surplus fees, tithes, and other exactions by the Protestant clergy be regulated by law, and that 'writs of

<sup>2</sup> Kedagh and Callough O'More were stepsons of the Sir Maurice FitzGerald, Kt., of Lackagh, County Kildare, who died on the 26th December, 1575, as their mother, Margaret Butler, took to her

second husband Sir Maurice FitzGerald. The latter in his Will, which is not dated, thus refers to his stepsons:—"Item. I bequiet to my sones Kedaghe and Calughe O'More all my appareile."



assistance' be discontinued; and that Church lands should be liable to public burdens;

"(6.) That wholesale reprieves of convicted criminals be prohibited, and the royal prerogative be entrusted to impartial ministers only;

"(7.) That the exorbitant fees of sheriffs, officers of courts, and clerks of markets, be moderated; and

"(8.) That the grievous oppressions of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects be mercifully considered.

"Lord Falkland solemnly promised full satisfaction of all the demands made by the agents; and relying on that promise the Parliament on the 1st day of April, 1628, voted three annual subsidies to his Majesty's use. . . . The Houses were dissolved, not one of the Graces having been carried into effect, and the Parliament had to content itself with a vague promise, that the administration should be carried on in the spirit of the popular demands."<sup>3</sup>

Had this promise been kept, the name of Roger O'More would figure in Irish history only as a constitutional leader, such as Grattan or O'Connell. Even after the utter failure of the King to carry out his promises, O'More would seem to have still cherished a hope of obtaining redress by constitutional means. He laboured unceasingly to form an independent parliamentary party (in opposition to Government) composed of Catholics and Presbyterians. Nor were his efforts without success, for in the sessions of 1640 and 1641 the Irish House of Commons presented a stubborn front to the Executive. It even brought the Lord Chancellor to the Bar of the House of Lords under the newly revived process of impeachment.

"Roger O'Moore and Captain Audley Mervin were the leaders of the Catholic and Puritan parties respectively, and all hopes of separating them were soon abandoned, as they were found in firm alliance against the party of the Castle. Agents from the Irish Parliament were despatched to London to present to the king and the House of Commons a Great Remonstrance, in which Strafford's high-handed acts of tyranny were particularised. This remonstrance was almost certainly the work of Roger O'Moore, and it was admirably calculated to draw Catholic and Puritan together. North and South seemed now united in Parliamentary opposition, and the work of O'Moore seemed at last to promise a rich harvest. An impartial hearing by the King and Parliament in London would have brought his labours to full fruition."<sup>4</sup>

This, however, was not to be; and matters in Ireland were rapidly precipitated to a climax. The Puritans becoming by the King's favour the party of power, turned against the Catholics; and threats of penal laws and of extermination were heard on all sides. Sir John Clotworthy stated in the House of Commons that the "conversion of the Papists of Ireland was only to be effected with the bible in one hand, and the sword in the other"; and Sir W. Parsons asserted openly that "before a twelvemonth, not a Catholic would be seen in the land."<sup>5</sup> Even

<sup>3</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," pp. 23,

<sup>24</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 32

<sup>5</sup> See Curry's "Civil Wars," ed. 1810, p. 148. Also Taylor's "Civil Wars," vol. i., p. 274. The following extracts





those who had been strongest in their hope of a redress of grievances through Parliamentary action lost all hope, and abandoned the cause in despair. Fourteen Catholic peers, with Lord Fingal at their head, had been sitting for weeks preparing amendments, resolutions, and remonstrances; but when they saw how the Lords Justices stopped Parliamentary business, they ceased their efforts and retired in disgust from constitutional action. Roger O'Moore, too, had given a full and patient trial to constitutional methods. Powerful within the House, outside the House he was simply idolised. Hopes rested on him alone, or as the people piously sung, their hopes were "in God and our Lady and Rory O'Moore." Henceforth he was to stand as the deviser and leader of a great national uprising. He now held in his hand an instrument more potent than Parliament itself. Thousands of brave and daring soldiers were at large, and O'Moore took instant steps to organise them into secret battalions. They were unarmed; but the castle of Dublin was bursting with "arms, munition, and ammunition," and if the Irish by a bold swoop once made themselves masters of that hated hold, an Irish insurrection must almost certainly succeed, even though the Irish troops abroad, or the Catholic States of Europe, should fail to give assistance.

When he finally came to the conclusion that all hopes from constitutional activity were vain, he looked abroad for guidance, and early in 1641 he put himself in direct communication with Owen Roe O'Neill. He had already made an extended and minute tour through all Ireland. Afterwards he approached some leading members of both Houses of Parliament, one of whom, Lord Maguire, has left an account of O'Moore's persuasiveness and skill which puts before us the work of the Irish leader during the year 1641:—"Being in Dublin, Candlemas last was twelvemonth, the Parliament then sitting, Mr. Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me that if I could in that spare time I would come to his House (for then the Parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn expecting a new commission), and I answered that I would; and thereupon he himself came to town presently, and I went to see him at his lodging. He spoke of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives, particularly in the late times of my Lord Strafford's Government, and he particularised the more ancient Irish natives as having suffered most, and how on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors' estates. All which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent in both bodies of natives, to wit, the old and the new Irish. And if the gentry were disposed to free themselves they could never desire a more convenient time, the distempers in Scotland being then afoot. . . . He then told me the gentry in Leinster and

from Taylor (non-Catholic) are illuminating:—"This was a war for property rather than religion. The northern Irish wished to recover their estates; Parsons and his supporters desired to enrich themselves by new confiscations." As regards the conduct of the war, it is the opinion of Lecky, and of all impartial historians, that abominable cruelty and wanton shedding of innocent blood characterised the government troops, especially under Sir Charles Coote, who but too faithfully carried out the instructions

given to Lord Ormond by the lords justices—viz., that "he should, with his majesty's forces, wound, kill, slay, and destroy by all the means and ways he may, all the said rebels, their adherents and relievers; and burn, waste, spoil, consume, destroy, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where the rebels have been relieved, and all the hay and corn there; and kill and destroy all the men there capable of bearing arms."



Connacht had been sounded by him, and to gain Ulster I came, said he, to speak to you. Then he spoke of my narrow estate, overwhelmed in debt, and the greatness of the estates of my ancestors. He next spoke of the Catholic religion, and said, 'I fear, and so do all understanding men, this Parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion.' By this persuasion he obtained my consent."

Now that the die was cast, Roger O'Moore made way for the chief to whom henceforth he gave his whole allegiance. The strength of the new movement lay in the leader abroad. Neither Roger O'Moore nor Lord Maguire nor Sir Phelim O'Neill were military men. Of "the Five" who met to plan the attack on Dublin Castle, two, Conn O'Neill and Ever M'Mahon, were special envoys of Owen Roe O'Neill from Brussels. The officer placed in general command in Ireland, Colonel Brian O'Neill, "came out of Flanders from Owen Roe" carrying full orders for the conduct of affairs. In the military rising now planned the sole director was Owen Roe O'Neill.<sup>6</sup>

One of the tragedies of Irish history is the frequency with which treachery has brought defeat on well devised schemes when success seemed fully assured. Had not O'More's plans for the seizure of Dublin Castle been frustrated by the work of the informer in what a different channel the after course of Irish history might have flown! Everything seemed to conspire in favour of his plans. Says Taylor:

"The castle was poorly guarded. Old worn-out soldiers were on sentry, the gates were in bad repair. A sudden attack would most probably have succeeded in capturing the place. . . . The Castle rulers were in blank ignorance of any coming danger up to the very evening before the intended outbreak. Lord Justice Parsons in his house at Merchants' Quay was told that a strange man wished to see him. The Lord Justice sent out an evasive answer; but the stranger was inflexible. He *must* see the Lord Justice, he said. Parsons came out and found a man of the fairly well-to-do class of servitor and tenant, 'much in drink,' who stated that his name was O'Connolly, and that he was in the service of Sir John Clotworthy. He had overheard plotting, and had been allowed into the counsels of the plotters. Dublin Castle was to be seized early next morning; his foster brother, Colonel Hugh McMahan, in his cups had told him so, as they had been drinking in Winetavern Street. McMahan said that four or five hundred men were to come to town that very night, 'and our design,' said he, 'is to take the Castle of Dublin, which we can easily do, they being secure and off their guard. The Castle once taken the kingdom is ours, for there is artillery, powder, and ammunition there which my Lord Strafford had brought over from Holland, enough for 30,000 men; and the greatest part of the town being Papists would join with them.'"

"Parsons having consulted Borlace, a resolution was come to that the city gates should be strongly guarded, and strong posts set at various points of the city. Willoughby, an able officer, was placed over the garrison, which he immediately rendered sufficiently strong to repel any possible attack. And so ended the hopes and designs of O'More and Owen Roe! Instead of a military insurrection, aided by a great popular revolt, and directed from the seat of Government at

<sup>6</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, pp. 35-40.



the Castle, the rising now could only be the tumultuous outburst of an angry and undisciplined multitude.<sup>7</sup>

For some time after the commencement of hostilities in October, 1641, the scene of conflict was confined to the North. But soon the province of Leinster was in arms; and battles, sieges, and surprises were of daily occurrence. In Leix the followers of the O'Mores and their allies took the field, and attacked and besieged several castles belonging to the English settlers. The fort of Maryborough was beset, and the garrison reduced to great straits. This condition of things obliged the Earl of Ormond, acting as general under Parsons and Borlace, to march from Dublin to the relief of the beleaguered garrisons. His forces consisted of 500 horse, and 300 foot with 5 field pieces, and large supplies of food, ammunition, etc. He proceeded first to Stradbally and arrived there in April, 1642. From Stradbally he despatched Sir Charles Coote to reinforce the garrisons of Borris, Knockmenease, and Birr. He strengthened the garrison of Maryborough, and supplied it with arms, ammunition, and provisions. So far he had met with no organised opposition. The besiegers had been withdrawn from the various castles and forts by order of O'More, and concentrated in a solid body said to have amounted to about 6,000 foot and 100 horse. These were under the command of Roger O'More and Lord Mountgarrett. They were mainly raw levies, badly disciplined and poorly armed. Most of them had never taken part in a regular battle, nor encountered trained soldiers. To make matters worse the command had not been vested in any one person. Nor, apparently, had any definite plan of action been outlined. Ultimately, however, they resolved to cross the Barrow, to unite with the followers of Hugh McPhelim O'Byrne, and to give battle to Ormond on his return journey to Dublin.

Ormond's army, though inferior in numbers to that of his opponents, was composed of veteran soldiers, and his officers were men of skill and experience. The two armies came into collision at Kilrush in the County Kildare on the 15th of April, 1642. The leading Irish division under the command of Roger O'More, his brother, Colonel Lewis O'More, and Mac Thomas (? Fitzgerald), soon began to yield before the charge of the English horsemen. One hundred were killed, and all were obliged to retreat. No prisoners were taken, and the Earl of Ormond continued his march to Dublin<sup>8</sup> without further molestation.

In March, 1642, a general meeting or council of the clergy was held at Kells, under the presidency of Hugh O'Reilly, Primate of Armagh, to provide a constitutional government for the country in the crisis which had arisen. It was decided that the Leinster peers, the Lords of the Pale, and the Bishops, assisted by the leading Catholic lawyers, should draw up the constitution which was to consist of a General Assembly and a Supreme Council. The counties, boroughs, and towns were to send 226 representatives to constitute the General Assembly, and out of these, the provinces were to elect by ballot six councillors each, to form the Supreme Council. These might be all bishops, all lay lords, or all commoners. Sovereign power was delegated to the Supreme Council, but the acts of this body were liable to

<sup>7</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," p. 90-1.

<sup>8</sup> See Carte's "Life of James, Duke of Ormond," vol. i., p. 278.



be revised by the General Assembly. All the Supreme Council, except those from Ulster (who seldom attended), were friends of Ormond, which brought disastrous results, as we shall see.

Later on there grew up a Clergy Congregation, where the lower ecclesiastics deliberated, and in them Owen Roe found his truest and most steadfast support.<sup>9</sup>

In May, 1642, the Irish Catholic Bishops and noblemen, with many of the gentry and clergy belonging to the various provinces, met in Kilkenny, and there established the Supreme Council and the General Assembly, to guide the affairs of the Irish Catholics. Lord Viscount Mountgarrett was elected President of the Council, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. An oath of association was framed, and enjoined to be taken by all the Confederates, that obedience should be paid to the decrees of the Confederation.<sup>10</sup>

About this time Letitia, Baroness of Offaly,<sup>11</sup> relict of Sir Robert Digby, and grand-daughter to Gerald, the eleventh Earl of Kildare, was besieged by the O'Dempseys, in her castle at Geashill, in the King's County. The besiegers were commanded by Lewis, Lord Clanmalier. On being summoned to surrender, Lady Offaly sent the following answer:—"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this castle by His Majesty's authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you; and therefore cannot but wonder at such assault. I thank you for the offer of a convoy, wherein *I hold no safety; and therefore my resolution is, that, being free from* offending his Majesty, or using wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Tho' I have been, and still am, desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall in no wise dismay me,—LETTICE OFFALIA."

Finding their threats of no avail, the besiegers now opened fire with some cannon. It is related, that one shot struck the castle wall near a window, where the Baroness had been sitting. Immediately she rose, and opening the window, wiped the place struck by the ball with her handkerchief, and then cried out to her foes, that one hundred such shots would not intimidate her nor cause her to remove from her situation.<sup>12</sup> She contrived to send a messenger to Sir Charles Coote, then at Naas, urging him to relieve her, and the request was granted. Lord Lisle, and Coote marched at the head of 600 men towards Philipstown and Geashill. When Lord Lisle, who had command of the force, approached the castle of the Baroness, the O'Dempseys raised the siege and retired.

At this time an English garrison was in possession of Ballinakill; and as Lord Ormond<sup>13</sup> had great reason to fear it would be exposed to an attack from the Irish, and as it required re-victualling, he despatched

<sup>9</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, p. 124 & seq.

<sup>10</sup> See Rev. C. P. Meehan's "Confederation of Kilkenny," cap. i.

<sup>11</sup> This title she had assumed by command of her father, the Earl of Kildare, and with the assent of King James I.

<sup>12</sup> See "Historical Account of the Castle of Lea, Queen's County," pp. 14, 15. Maryborough, no date, 18mo.

<sup>13</sup> A very detailed account of Ormond's operations, including his march with 8,000 foot and 500 horse to Athy, is to be found in Borlase's "History of the execrable Irish Rebellion traced from many preceding Acts to the grand Eruption of the 23rd of October, 1641, and thence pursued to the Act of Settlement, 1662," pp. 73 to 76. London, 1680, 4to. Book first published in Dublin, 1743.



Colonel Monck<sup>14</sup>—afterwards the celebrated Duke of Albemarle—to supply it with provisions and ammunition. General Thomas Preston, who had come from the Low Countries, where he had served in a military capacity, and the Earl of Castlehaven, who had escaped from a prison in Dublin, were then in Kilkenny, preparing for the warlike organisation of the Confederates. At the head of one thousand foot and three troops of horse, they resolved to seize on Ballinakill castle, and capture its garrison. Some of the Irish officers who had come from beyond the seas, and who were then expecting military employment, accompanied the expedition.

Meantime the castle at Timahoe had been seized and garrisoned by the Irish, under the command of Colonel Lewis Moore. At a few miles distance, Mr. Barrington held his own castle, on the slope of Slieve Dubh, or the Black Mountain—the highest of the Cullenagh range of hills—for the English. The castle was one of those fortified houses, built by the early English settlers of Leix, combining a semi-baronial appearance of comfort with strength for defence, in case of an attack from the Irish.

Colonel Monck, having accomplished the work on which he had been sent, was on his march towards Timahoe. Not far from Timahoe there were thick hedges on either side of the road leading downwards from Ballinakill. These hedges had been lined with musketeers by Colonel Lewis Moore. Soon the scouts of Colonel Monck brought intelligence that Preston's force was rapidly advancing, and hanging on his rear. Having left some horse and a foot company in a position for observation, and taking with him only a few horsemen to view the country, Monck came to a stand on a hill not far distant from Mr. Barrington's house.

When he beheld the dangerous pass through which the road led, he resolved to disentangle himself from it. He drew off his soldiers to a plain, and having placed his foot on the rising ground to the rear, he ranged his horse lower down towards the valley. If he were worsted in the encounter, he thought his horse, at least, in that formation might secure their retreat. Shortly after General Preston, in command of the hastily-collected Irish levies, arrived, and drew up his lines for the attack.

The Irish horse stood in a body, awaiting the onset of their foot. Seeing his great numerical superiority in cavalry, Monck at once gave orders for a charge, while the foot soldiers on either side were preparing to engage. This judicious manœuvre soon decided the contest; for, after a brief conflict, the Irish horse were broken in upon and scattered. Their foot were then assailed by the English infantry and cavalry, in front and flank; and, after a feeble resistance, they retired to take shelter under the Castle of Timahoe.

Meanwhile, mistaking the group of Irish within view for the advanced guard of a reinforcement, Mr. Barrington had despatched a messenger to Colonel Monck, and advised him to retire to prevent his being surprised by the relief which, he supposed, was marching to support General Preston. At the moment of warning, the English were again forming to attack the Irish, under the walls of Timahoe.

<sup>14</sup> Of the regiment of Leicester. For a very complete account of him the reader is referred to M. Guizot's "Mémoires de

G. Monk, Duc d'Albemarle," Paris, 1838, 8vo.



Colonel Monck, however, deeming it prudent to abandon the attack, drew off his forces.<sup>15</sup>

At the beginning of the insurrection, Sir Morgan Kavanagh and Dermot M'Dowling Kavanagh, having made up two irregular regiments of foot, and brought all the County of Carlow—except the Castle of Carlow—to the Irish obedience, burned Carlow town, and afterwards, marching into Leix, demolished several castles of the English in the Queen's County. Taking thence great prey, and pillaging as they went, they turned towards the County Wexford.

Meanwhile, in the north-eastern parts of the Queen's County, the O'Dempseys rose in arms, the Lord of Clanmalier himself winking at their proceedings. Some of the neighbouring Puritans had already spoiled their houses and lands, when Barnaby M'Lisagh Dempsey, of Cnocard Ogurra (Knockardagur) and Henry Dempsey, brother to the Lord of Clanmalier, took up arms. At this time the Castle of Lea, belonging to the Earl of Kildare, was held by a Puritan. Having plundered and pillaged all of that persuasion in the neighbourhood, and having taken the castle, "Henry Dempsey brought those that kept the Castle of Clunbrock under the Irish obedience, and he gave enough to doe to the aforesaid garrison of Manisterevin, my lord Chauncellour's house, though in former time a monasterie of St. Bernard's order."<sup>16</sup>

In the north-western parts of the Queen's County, the Duynes (O'Doynes or Dunnes) were in arms, and foremost among them were Edward and Daniel. The latter "proved a good servitor in those beginnings." By a stratagem he took Ballenasagarte, *alias* Castle Cuffe, a fine residence, belonging to Sir Charles Coote, in the Queen's County. He caused a great block of half burned timber to be drawn towards the place by six or eight oxen. He then sent a summons to the garrison to surrender the castle, upon quarter of their lives, before he planted his ordnance; which if once planted, he should, he said, show them no mercy. Filled with terror, and deceived by the apparent preparations made for a siege, the garrison surrendered the castle, upon condition of being sent to Birr, where Sidly Coote was governor. Daniel Duynes then took possession, and found a great booty of arms and ammunition, also household stuff and furniture, in the place. After having safely removed what he chose to take away, he demolished the house. The garrison was sent to Birr, according to covenant.<sup>17</sup>

Two miles north of Carlow, on the west bank of the River Barrow, Robert Hartpole made up a troop, and manned his Castle of Shrute for the Irish; while Edward Butler, of Tullow, Walter Bagnall, and James Byrne, joined their forces in that part of the country in the same cause. Indeed, throughout Kildare, Kilkenny and the King's County, the rising was almost universal, before any general plan had been arranged to second the efforts of Sir Phelim O'Neill in the north.

<sup>15</sup> See the account of this action, by Richard Bellings, in a "Narrative of Affairs of Ireland from 1641 to the conclusion of the Treaty for the Cessation of Hostilities between England and the Irish in 1643." See John T. Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1643," vol. i.,

pp. 90, 91.

<sup>16</sup> See "Aphorismicall Discovery of Faction." First Booke. The second chapter, No. 17, 18, p. 16, and John T. Gilbert's "Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652," vol. i., part i.

<sup>17</sup> See *ibid.*, ch. ii., No. 22, p. 18.



Lewis, Lord of Clanmalier, chief of the O'Dempseys, having had two pieces of ordnance moulded, a field piece and a batterer, resolved to again besiege the Castle of Geashill. Captain Barnaby Dempsie, having made a great wooden engine called "a hogg," under the shelter of which he hoped to undermine the castle, began the siege. For a fortnight, or upwards, he was able to effect no more than kill some of the defenders, burn their turf and fuel, and cut them off from water. The Lord of Clanmalier next brought his pieces of ordnance, which had been made by an Englishman; but at the first shot one of them burst, doing no other damage to the castle than breaking off part of the chimney. He then raised the siege, bringing the broken piece to be repaired, and afterwards returned, but with no better success; for the second piece also broke, and after this he left the defenders to themselves. One Teige O'Connor, a young boy, gave great annoyance to the garrison, by making occasional onslaughts on those who ventured abroad, having sometimes twenty, and sometimes not more than six men to aid him. Sir John Gifford, who had been away in Dublin, was anxious to relieve the garrison, but durst not march owing to the difficulties that beset the way. The defenders next sued one Major Greenfield, Governor of Trim, to bring a force of horse and foot to their relief. Meanwhile Teige O'Connor, learning that Greenfield had marched to Philipstown, gathered all he could muster, and occupied a pass, where he attacked the enemy so fiercely that many were killed. This caused Greenfield to retreat in disorder, and whether by the Irish, or through accident, his ammunition was blown up. Sir John Gifford, being notified of this disaster, wrote from Castlejordan to Mrs. Jane Itchingham, his cousin, and sister to Lady Clanmalier, that she should obtain quarter for the garrison, and retention of their arms, with a convoy as far as Philipstown. There he would receive them, and place the castle and its chattels at her disposal. The lady showed her brother-in-law, Lord Clanmalier, the letter and desired him to take the same into consideration. Lord Clanmalier assented to the terms, and the garrison of Geashill accordingly withdrew.<sup>18</sup>

The Irish being known to be unprovided with ammunition and the necessaries for war, Sir Charles Coote was emboldened to march upon Leix, in order to bring relief to his son Sidly Coote, the Governor of Birr. Thence he returned to secure the passages of the River Barrow, which lay between himself and the City of Dublin. Whereupon, Hugh Mac Phelim Byrne, chief commander of the Catholics of Leinster, and Lord Mountgarret, and Mac Thomas, colonel of foot, collected a force from Munster to join that of Leinster. The Munster men were under the command of Lord Ikery. These forces were only partially armed when they reached the Barrow—then in possession of the enemy. The latter were well furnished with field pieces and all the necessaries of war. They were also well-disciplined troops, and supported by a large contingent of horse that had been collected under command of the Earl of Ormond and Sir Charles Coote. The Irish commanders, Hugh Mac Phelim and Mac Thomas, were rightly of opinion, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, that their raw and undisciplined recruits, having little or no ammunition, should not engage with such trained soldiers as those opposed to them. However,

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.*, chap. v., No. 46, 47, p. 28.



Lords Mountgarret and Ikery differed from them, and the unruly troops under their command were eager for a battle.

The English commanders, fearing the Irish might pass between them and Dublin, resolved on crossing to the Kildare side of the Barrow, and advancing rapidly in the direction of Naas. This movement gave spirit to the Irish, and Lord Mountgarret ordered their advance. Already the Munstermen began to reproach the Leinstermen, and to boast that as, without their aid, they could defeat the flying soldiers, so they should alone enjoy the spoils of their anticipated triumph. The disorder and confusion of their divided bands, as also their want of arms, were well known to the enemy; and, Ormond, having selected a favourable position on the side of a hillock, called Cnocaterife, drew up his forces in battle array, and mounted his field-pieces so as to sweep the open plain which lay before him.

In vain did Hugh Mac Phelim and Mac Thomas offer advice as to the disposition of their men. Mountgarret would not accept their opinions, but exposed his half-armed rabble to the fire of the enemy. Mac Thomas led his regiment round to the rere of the English; and, had he been well supported by Mountgarret, some chance remained to make an impression on their lines. But Ormond's musketeers marching steadily against them, seconded by a select and choice troop of horse, the Irish musketeers gave way, and their example was followed by those in the rere. The rout was complete. Only Robert Harpole and Walter Bagnall on the Irish side, with their troops of horse, made any head to stem the pursuers. In this battle the brother of Hugh Mac Phelim, and Dermot Mac Dowling Kavenagh fell, both very valiant gentlemen. The head of the latter was cut off, and carried to Dublin, where it was placed on Newgate tower. He had a presentiment of his approaching fate, owing to a prophecy that he should be killed in a battle between the Irish and English on that same plain of Cnocaterife; and before setting out on this expedition, he made his last will and testament. He also made a general confession and received Holy Communion immediately before the battle.

"In 1642," says a contemporary report, "the garrison of Athy and Maryborough with the assistance of Captain George Greames made out 400 foot and 80 horse for the relief of Borris-in-Ossory, a castle belonging to the Duke of Buckingham in which were several English in great distress. It was no sooner resolved on than two soldiers of the county fled, and gave the enemy notice of our coming. The Lord of Upper Ossory prepared to give resistance with about 800 foot and 60 or 80 horse, and on a 'straight' on a bog side set on our men. They received them with great resolution, and four of Gream's troops charged and routed them with the assistance of musketeers who were sent to clear the passage; yet they stood again, and our foot killed 80 of theirs. Their horse retreated further off, and on the bog side made a stand, which being perceived by Cornet Wilbrow (Cornet to Sir Adam Loftus) he rode up to them and charged them home. They had the bog at their back; our horse so bestirred themselves, they slew 40 of their best freeholders; among them was the brother of the Lord of Upper Ossory who was slain, and Florence Fitzpatrick they say is desperately wounded. The names of the chief rebels slain were—Dermot MacTeague Fitzpatrick, uncle of the Lord of Upper Ossory; Dermot Oge, his son; Captain Layler, a low country soldier; Burke,



his Lieutenant; Captain Dermot MacAboy; Patrick Cashion, of the Cross; Bryan Connor, heir to Patrick Connor; Captain John Cashin, Gentleman; Morgan Cashin; William O'Carrol, a chief freeholder; Donogh Fitzpatrick, Gentleman; a son of Bryan MacWilliam; Loughlin Costigan; Patrick Costigan; Friar John Costigan; Patrick Hoare, a priest; Mat Dulaney, a sub-sheriff; John Tobin, a merchant of Kilkenny; Sergeant Bryan Burke, etc., besides Lieutenant O'More, prisoner at Burras."

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## CHAPTER XXIII.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1642-1645.

THE most important event in the early years of the Confederation was the coming of Owen Roe. He had been in touch with the movement from the beginning. In conjunction with O'More he had planned the seizure of Dublin Castle. When that enterprise failed, he devised new plans, and lost no time about putting them into execution. Early in 1642 Owen's final plans were fully made. Ulster was mostly in Irish hands; Leinster had just thrown in her lot with the northern province; the great seaports of the south were open. "I shall bring with me three ships"—so ran Owen's memorandum of his final dispositions—"with three or four hundred officers, and with munition and ammunition for horse and foot, and with all miners, cannon, and cannoniers."

He left Dunkirk with about 200 veteran commanders—"old, war-beaten soldiers," as a contemporary writer calls them; put out into the North Sea; touched at Denmark and Norway; then "gave a wheel round Scotland," and passing along the northern coast of Ireland, landed at Doo Castle in the County Donegal. From this place Owen proceeded to Charlemont, where at a council of war, attended by Sir Phelim O'Neill, and other leaders, he received full particulars of the incidents of the past year, and the hopes entertained for the future. Chief amongst these particulars was the Union of the Lords of the Pale with the Ancient Irish of Ulster and Connaught, and the steps taken by the clergy to form a national government. He was told how eagerly the Puritans in Dublin had seized the opportunity offered by the Ulster rising to issue a proclamation against "Irish Papists"; how the Catholics of the Pale had protested; how the Lords Justices formally explained that they only meant the Ulstermen, but still continued to cut off all communication with the Leinster Catholics; how from the "Camp before Drogheda," O'Moore and his retinue rode down to the confines of the Pale, and were there met by the Lords and their retainers; how after the formal demand—"Why come ye armed into the Pale?"—Mr. Roger Moore replied, "My Lords, our sufferings are grown too heavy for us to bear. We are the sole subjects in Europe incapable of serving our Sovereign in places of honour, profit, and trust. We wished redress in Parliament, and had they listened to us, or to you, we should have sat down contented. But the Lords Justices are merely bent on ruining our nation, and they involve you in the same distrust with us. Lest the brand of Rebellion, which they put upon us, may deter you, we here protest in the sight of heaven, that we fight against the Malignant Party in Parliament who encroach on the King's prerogative, and we invite you to join us in so glorious



an undertaking;" how the Lords welcomed these words, and declared, "Since such and no other are your intentions we will join with you"; and how from the Hill of Tara, on December 7th, 1641, the Lords of the Pale, joining hands with O'Moore, bound themselves in life and fortune to be his allies, and hastened to the help of the starving Irish army in the Camp of Drogheda.

At the end of the winter O'Neill was summoned to Kilkenny to confer with the General Assembly on matters of grave importance. Clandestine negotiations were on foot between the Supreme Council and a foreign Power, by which the Council proposed that a few Irish towns (Wexford and Waterford were named) should be assigned as fiduciary pledges, and that in consideration of these, money, arms and ammunition should be advanced by the foreign prince, and an informal protectorate inaugurated. Owen warned the General Assembly against this proposal, and reminded them that Ireland would not be bettered by changing one set of chains for another; "and," said he, "in my time, and in all other times of which books tell us anything, foreign fingers close tightly on whatever comes within their grip." "Besides," said he, "we are not mercenary soldiers and may well be satisfied with what our own people are willing to give us."<sup>1</sup> It was ordered by the General Assembly on the 16th of November that for the support of the war in Leinster, the Queen's County should furnish 400 foot and 40 horse, and be assessed at £2,400.

At the same time the Supreme Council, or executive, assigned one-half of the Queen's County and the King's County for Roger Moore's charge and residence; while the other half of the Queen's County and Kildare County were allotted to Anthony Preston.<sup>2</sup>

The Castle of Ballinakill had been strengthened, and abundantly supplied with arms and provisions, by the English settlers in the neighbourhood. When the insurrection broke out, these flocked for protection to the town, which they placed in a condition of defence. There was abundance of water, and the castle was fortified by a strong wall, built by the proprietor, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, created Earl of Londonderry by King James I. Turrets and flankers had been erected; and an iron-mill had been kept at work below the town, at a place still known as Iron-mills, near Kilcronan. The estate of Lord Mountgarret, President of the Supreme Council, adjoined Ballinakill; and his tenants were often molested by excursions from its garrison. General Preston was appointed to march against the place, and lay siege to it. Preston had landed in Wexford with arms and ammunition supplied by Cardinal Richelieu,<sup>3</sup> and had been selected as general for Leinster. Although at first successful in a few enterprises, his incompetence was soon apparent. Being sent against Ballinakill, he undertook the duty all the more willingly because the garrison was environed by a country for the most part devoted to the Confederate cause. Besides he was assured of constant supplies from Kilkenny. But he laboured under one great disadvantage; he had no cannon to

<sup>1</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, pp. 111, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1643," vol. ii., p. 88. Also Examination of Anthony Preston, taken the 14th

day of February, 1643, before Sir Robert Meredith, Knight.—*Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> See Leland's "History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II." vol. iii., Book v., chap. v., pp. 169 to 184.





batter the fortifications, and without cannon these might well be deemed impregnable.

The garrison being summoned to surrender returned an answer of defiance. General Preston then drew his lines about the place. Some sallies were made and men slain on both sides. The besieged flung into the camp the heads of some of the besiegers, whom they had killed; and, by way of reprisal, the besiegers spiked, in sight of the castle, the heads of the slain.

At length a vessel from Spain arrived at Dungarvan, with Father Peter Talbot on board, in charge of two iron guns for twenty-four pound bullets each, and an iron mortar piece, with necessary equipment. These were despatched to Waterford and Kilkenny, whence they were sent on to Ballinakill. In the meantime Colonel Crawford, with a strong party, advanced from Monasterevan to raise the siege, and General Preston sent the Earl of Castlehaven to oppose him. On the way, the Earl cut off the troop of Captain Hetherington, who fell in the action, and afterwards met and defeated Colonel Crawford. This ill news soon reached the beleaguered garrison, and greatly depressed their spirits.

When the cannon had been brought, after considerable delay, into position, the guns were mounted, and began to play effectively on the castle. A part of the walls was soon demolished; and a bombshell, falling directly on the top of the roof, broke through the planks, beams, and partitions within, and damaged two lofts beneath. This caused such consternation and loss of life to the besieged, that they called for quarter. A capitulation was agreed to; the soldiers were allowed three-score muskets, with a convoy to Dublin, and the place was surrendered. The magazines, and provisions of all sorts, were given up to the besiegers, and the country around was for a long time freed from the enemy.

Soon afterwards General Preston and his army advanced to Borris-in-Ossory, the garrison of which surrendered upon summons and quarter given. Thence he marched to Birr, of which place Sir William Parsons was Governor. For some time a stout resistance was offered; but the country around being for the most part in possession of the Confederates, the garrison, losing all hope of relief, was surrendered on the 20th of January, 1643, on honourable conditions.<sup>4</sup>

The Earl of Castlehaven, General of the Irish horse, undertook to escort the Governor of Birr, Captain William Parsons, and his garrison, according to the terms of surrender, through the woods of Iregan and the waste countries around, to Athy, then garrisoned by the English.<sup>5</sup> There, to the number of seven hundred, he delivered them safely to their friends.

Other places in the King's and Queen's Counties were captured by Castlehaven at this time.

After reducing Ballinunry, the Earl marched to Ballylinan, in the Queen's County, where there was a strong garrison "kept by the Greames, English and Scotch mongrels, the best horsemen in those

<sup>4</sup> An account of this siege, from November, 1641, to the time of its surrender, has been left us by an eye-witness, Captain Chidley Coote, in a manuscript belonging

to Trinity College, Dublin, and classed, F. 2, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See "Memoirs of James, Lord Audley. Earl of Castlehaven," London, 1680.









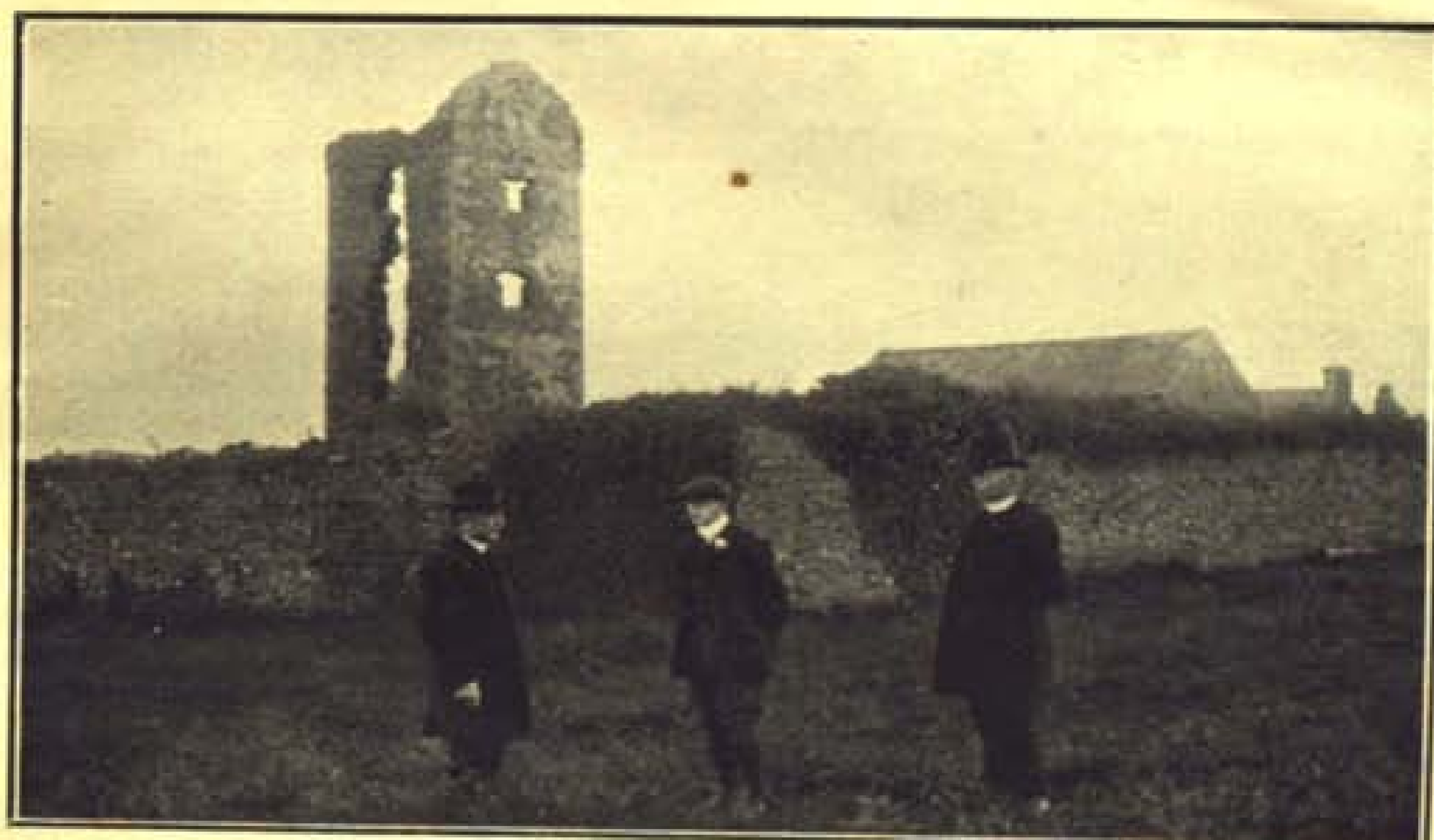
**BRITTAS OLD  
BALLINAKILL  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 268.



**CASTLECUFFE.**

Vol. I., p. 268. Vol.  
II., p. 515.



**BALLINAKILL  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 234. Vol.  
pp. 514, 519



parts. Refusing to yield, their castle was battered, no quarter granted, but came out under my lord's mercy, which was freely obtained, with their lives and arms."<sup>6</sup>

From the opening of the Supreme Council in Kilkenny,<sup>7</sup> Ormond had many partisans there, and that wily statesman knew how to foment discord, and to guide all the proceedings, solely with a view of upholding the Royal cause. Through his intrigues, when Hugh O'Byrne had been appointed Lieutenant-General of Leinster, and given a command of 4,000 foot and 500 horse to form a running army, the most he could muster never exceeded 1,500 and 100 horse, badly provided with munitions of war. Then the Supreme Council summoned the captains of the irregular bands of Leinster Militia to Kilkenny, where it was resolved to form six regiments of foot and 600 horse, as a regular standing army; but many of the best officers who had assumed the title of colonel were cashiered. Among them were Roger O'More, Florence Fitzpatrick, Art Molloy, Art Kavanagh, Awly Ma Gawley, Luke Byrne, Luke Tuhill, Walter Nugent, Richard Dalton, Henry Dempsie, Robert Fox, Thomas Tyrrell, Daniel Duynes, John O'Carroll, and John Coghlan. Most of these were capable leaders, and had shown great zeal and self-sacrifice in the Irish interest. Edmund Butler, Sir James Dillon, Sir Morgan Kavenagh, Colonel Cullen, and Anthony Preston were selected as the colonels over five regiments to be embodied. The sixth regiment had been reserved for Owen Roe O'Neill or Thomas Preston. The command of the horse was given to John Butler, Lord Mountgarrett's brother. MacThomas and Lewis O'More were appointed captains of horse, but the latter was not attached to the regular force.<sup>8</sup>

About this time, one Kiran Fitzpatrick, a captain of foot, of Gortnaclea, was arraigned for sending intelligence to the enemy. He was tried for treason in Kilkenny, found guilty, and executed.

Lord Ormond had very accurate intelligence of all the Confederate movements, having numbers of influential friends attached to their body who carried on constant intrigues with him. The Confederates had bound themselves by an oath to unite in defence of religious freedom, to bear allegiance to the king,<sup>9</sup> and to assert the rights of their country. In 1643, the Earl of Castlehaven, having obtained some successes in Kildare, left Maurice Fitzgerald in custody of Monasterevan, and marched towards Meath, where Owen Roe O'Neill was in command of the Ulstermen. Passing through Omey, a garrison in Richard Oge Fitzgerald's house surrendered to him upon summons, but the owner was left there. Thence he marched to Kilmensie, near Maryborough. Gilbert, the Governor of the latter fort, resided there with his family. Having refused to surrender, his house was battered with cannon, and being taken, the defenders were allowed to march into Maryborough under convoy.

Soon afterwards the Earl of Castlehaven received a packet, which conveyed to him the Article of Cessation agreed upon between Ormond

<sup>6</sup> See "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction," part i., p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> A very complete account of their proceedings may be found in "The Confederation of Kilkenny," by Rev. Charles P. Meehan. New Edition, 1882, 18mo.

<sup>8</sup> See "A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652," and "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction," Book i., chap. ix., pp. 39 to 42.

<sup>9</sup> See Francis Plowden's "Historical Review," Appendix No. xxvi.



and the Supreme Council.<sup>10</sup> Castlehaven was commanded to bring his ordnance to Kilkenny, and to restore Kilminchy to its owners, the Gilberts.

In the assignments of soldiers and applotments for money on the province of Leinster for an expedition into Ulster in 1644, the Irish Confederation imposed on the Queen's County the allotted share of 105 foot and 10½ horse,<sup>11</sup> and £525 sterling, or £700 current. The men were thus distributed:—"To Captaine Fitz Patrick, my Lord of Upper Ossory his brother, 100; to Sargeant-Major Fitz Symons, 5. The horse being 10½, viz., Colonel Lewes Moore's troope."<sup>12</sup>

On January 1st, 1644, Charles appointed Ormond to be Lord Lieutenant<sup>13</sup> in place of Parsons, whom he had dismissed during the previous year.<sup>14</sup> We learn, that the Irish Confederate regiment of Colonel William Warren, as mustered on the 8th of May, 1646, was to be thus enumerated:—"The officers of that regiment, the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, sergeant-major, two chaplains, two chyrurgeons, quartermaster, provost. The companies of that regiment, consisting as followeth: viz., the colonel's companie, besides officers and drummers, 100; Lieutenant-Colonel Geoghigan, 100; Major Henry Fitzgerald, 100; Captain Brandon Cusack, 60; Captain Daniel Carroll, 100; Captain Nicholas Devereux, 60; Captain Roger Darcie, 80; Captain James Fitz Gerrald, 87; Captain Art Geoghigane, 99; Captain Anthony Hore, 80." Quarters were assigned for this regiment at Durrow and Ballyroan; and it is represented as being in full force. Captain Barnewall's troop was assigned this year as a guard for Ballynakill. Lewis O'More's troop, consisting of 48 horse, when they were mustered, served in Colonel Richard Farrell's regiment in Owen Roe O'Neill's army. Sir Piers Crosby (son of Patrick Crosby of the "Transplantations") had also lately raised a troop, although they were not then mustered, but their quarters were in the Queen's County. In various other regiments of the Confederates, we find the names of officers that apparently belonged to the Queen's County, and had been recruited there. The men of influence, recommended for service from it about this period, are the Lord of Upper Ossory [Bryan Fitz-Patrick], Florence Fitz-Patrick, the Lord of Clanmaliry [Lewis O'Dempsey], Sir Piers Crosby, Robert Hartpoll, Esquire; Terence Doyne, and Andrew Fitz-Patrick. On the 1st of July, 1646, the County was chargeable with £209 10s. for a composition to support the war.<sup>15</sup>

In 1647, in the returns of pay to the respective officers in the Confederate army, we meet the following:—"Captain Lewes Moore, 3 horse not including as aforesaid, each horse per diem, in the field, 1s. 6d.; in garrison, per week, 6s."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Carte's "History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, from his Birth in 1610 to his Death in 1688," vol. i., Book iii., p. 451. London, 1736.

<sup>11</sup> The King's County was to furnish 225 foot and 25½ horse, which meant 36 horsemen for the two counties.

<sup>12</sup> See "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland," vol. vii., 1646-1649, edited by John T. Gilbert.

Appendix 2, pp. 282, 283.

<sup>13</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, p. 161.

<sup>14</sup> See *idem.*, p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> See John T. Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland," vol. vi., 1656-1648. Letters, documents, etc., pp. 79 to 85.

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, vol. vii., appendix 9. p. 344.



## CHAPTER XXIV.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1645-48.

By the cessation agreed upon with Ormond, the Confederation bound up the fortunes of the Irish Catholics with the cause of King Charles, and declared war on the Parliament of England, at the very time that Cromwell was coming into power. By the terms of the cessation the Irish Confederates were to abstain from all acts of hostility against Ormond and the Royalists, and were to send an army of 10,000 men to help the king in England. They were, besides, to bear the brunt of battle in the south against Inchiquin, who was now fighting on the side of Cromwell; against the Puritans under Coote in Connaught; and against the Scotch under Munroe in the north. All lands were to remain in the hands which held them at the moment of its signing; which meant that all the Catholic Church property, lands, abbeys, churches, etc., were to remain with whatever Protestants, lay or cleric, had got possession of them. The Confederation was torn with factions and cabals during the cessation, and until John Baptist Rinuccini arrived in Ireland. When he came (in October, 1645) he called the Bishops around him, and exacted a solemn promise that they would never agree to any treaty which he, as Papal Nuncio, did not consider a full guarantee for the protection of the Church's rights. He insisted that all nominations for vacant Sees should be made by him to Rome; and thus he secured a majority of the Episcopate in his favour.<sup>1</sup>

The Nuncio had an interview with Owen Roe at Kilkenny in the spring of 1646. O'Neill was then preparing for a decisive encounter with the Scots under Munroe. The Scot's army consisted of between 6,000 and 7,000 picked troops. O'Neill's forces amounted to about 5,000 foot and 500 horse. The issue was decided on the 5th of June, 1646, at Benburb, where the Irish obtained a complete victory.<sup>2</sup>

Before the rejoicings over this splendid triumph had yet ceased, the Confederation entered into peace negotiations with Ormond. The Nuncio was indignant that the interests of religion should be sacrificed for the temporal interests of the Anglo-Irish; and he would seem to have had a meeting with Owen Roe and General Preston at Kilkea Castle, County Kildare, with reference to the subject. As a result of this conference it was resolved to reject the Treaty of Peace offered by Lord Ormond. Accordingly, O'Neill marched upon Leix, by way of Ballyroan, about the end of September, 1646, when he took the fort of Maryborough, also Kilmensie,<sup>3</sup> and Stradbally, which latter was surrendered by Francis Cosby on conditions.

Colonel Lysagh or Lewis Moore had the chief share in directing these movements; and it afforded him, no doubt, special pleasure to have recovered so much of his ancestral territory from the grasp of his hereditary enemies. Among other strongholds, the Castle of Miltown was surrendered to him. Tulloe, Cullentra, Ballylethane, and Bally-

<sup>1</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, p. 160, 168.

<sup>2</sup> See Carte's "History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," vol. i., book iv. See also "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J.

F. Taylor, p. 183 and *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Kilminchy, near Maryborough, where a strongly fortified castle formerly stood.



adams Castle were captured; also Harristown, Cothlanstown, and Castlewaring. Into all these places—Maryborough and Athy being garrison towns, and the others only private houses or forts—the Irish put garrisons to hold them for the Confederates.<sup>4</sup> The Ulster *creaghts* were largely availed of by Owen Roe O'Neill to guard the large and fruitful territory of Leix, which was now in his possession; while he took care to strengthen the Nuncio's adherents in the divided assembly at Kilkenny, by "such an overcharge of supernumeraries, as for some boroughs, three have been returned and actually voted."<sup>5</sup> Following up these successes, Castle Rheban, held by Captain Flower, Athy (of which Captain Weldon was governor), and also Grange-Emellan or Grange Mellan, fell into the hands of the Irish Confederate forces.<sup>6</sup>

When the treaty of peace was concluded between the Earl of Ormond and the Supreme Council at Kilkenny, the Nuncio and clergy denounced the transaction, and retired to Waterford, while Ormond advanced at the head of 1,000 foot and 500 horse to take possession of Kilkenny. This intelligence created much division in the Confederate army; and the three Leinster regiments of Hugh Mac Phelim O'Byrne, the troops of Colonel Wareinge, and Richard Butler, with the horse of MacThomas, declared for the Nuncio, who now sent a message to urge Owen Roe O'Neill to march upon Leinster. When the latter put his army in motion, Ormond left Kilkenny and made his escape to Dublin. O'Neill advanced to Kilkenny, and pitched his camp at Aghanaparky, where he was joined by the Nuncio.

The city was recovered for their party, and after a few days both entered it. The Supreme Council was superseded, and a new one was chosen,<sup>7</sup> consisting of two laymen and one bishop from each province, the Nuncio being president, and the generals *ex-officio* members.<sup>8</sup> It was resolved that General Preston should take possession of Carlow, while General O'Neill should wrest the garrisons of Leix, not yet subdued, from the enemy; and then both should unite their forces and march upon Dublin to take it from Ormond, who was planning to hand it over to the Parliamentarians. In Leix, Sir John Pigott, a captain of foot, held the castle of Dysart O'Lalor, formerly the main stronghold of the O'Lalor family.<sup>9</sup> He had sixty musketeers to defend his possessions; and the castle was supposed to be strong enough and sufficiently provisioned to resist the Confederates. "Shewing himself so stiffnecked, the Catholic General (though his well-wisher) grew mighty discontented, and commanded Colonel Farrell and Colonel Roger McGuire's regiments to take that castle. With Pigott were six score musketeers, well appointed, the house strong enough as was thought for such a party. No sooner did this party arrive at the fort, and merely advancing, than a volley of shot issued from the castle, whereof one McAllen, a captain of Roger

<sup>4</sup> See Letter of Ormond, dated Dublin Castle, the 24th of October, 1646.—*Carte ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> See Belling's Narrative, &c.,—*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> See Meehan's "Confederation of Kilkenny," chap. vii., p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Gerald Og Fitzgerald of Morett Castle, High Sheriff of the Queen's Co.,

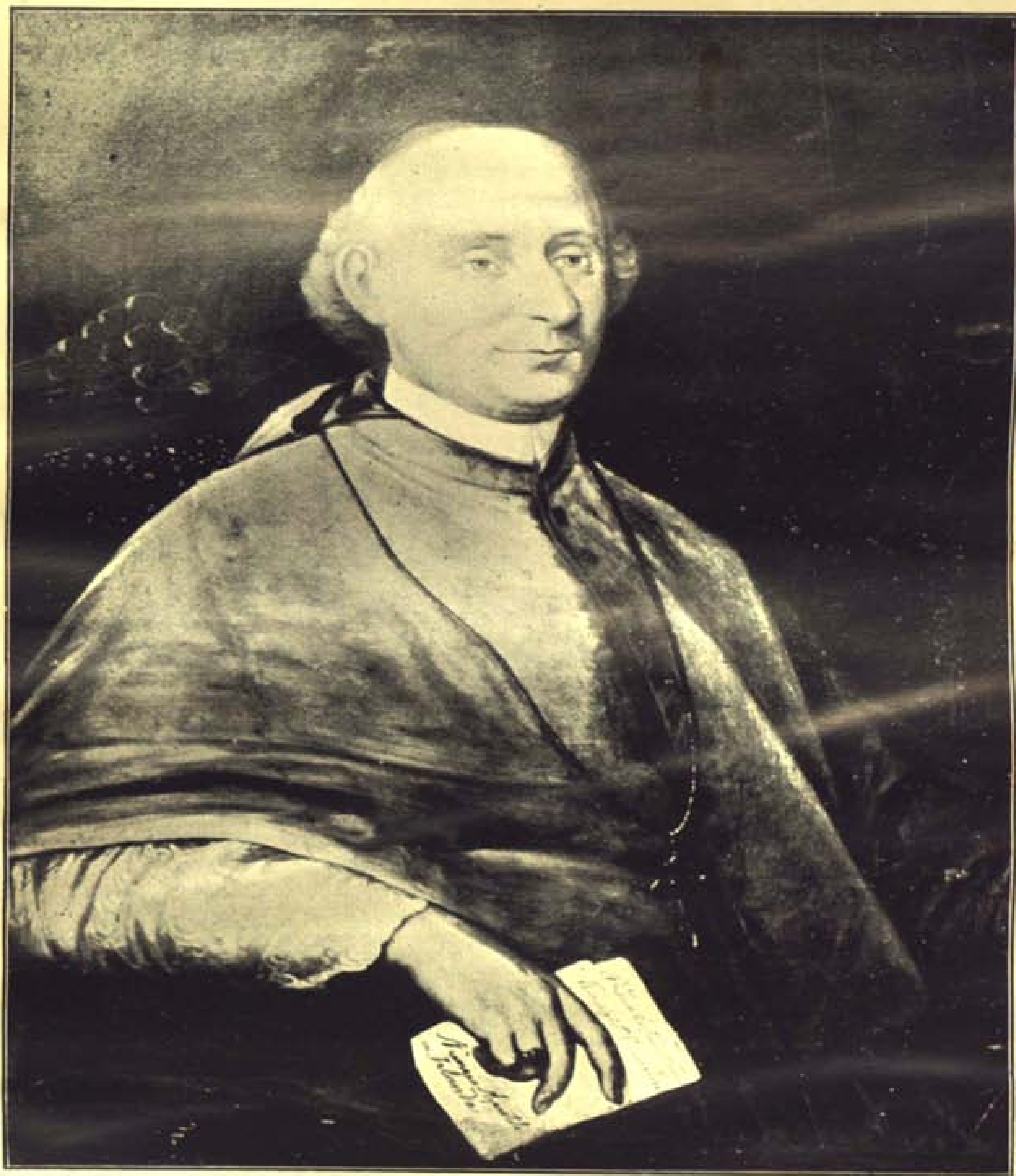
was a member of the Supreme Council.

See "Journal of the Kildare Archeological Society," vol. iv., p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> See "Owen Roe O'Neill," by J. F. Taylor, p. 204.

<sup>9</sup> The ruins of this castle are yet to be seen on a considerable elevation, near the former old church of Dysart Enos, and not far from Dunamase.





RINUCCINI.







McGuire's regiment, was killed; hereby growing discontent, advancing towards the haggard whence (as the ill-luck of the defendants would have it), the wind with a good blast did blow towards the castle, Farrell commanded to set the same on fire, the musketeers playing still on the enemy, the pikemen carrying on the points of their pikes lighted sheaves, throwing them as thick as hail into the castle windows, and thrusting armed men to oppose if any offered to quench the angry progress thereof, enkindled also the castle door through the grate, so that the defendants could act no service, were all smoked and returning to corners, as from the fury of both fire and sword, were slaughtered within before any entered the door, such outcries were heard within as if on doomsday.<sup>10</sup> Bryen Oge O'Dwyne, a rank Puritan, a brother-in-law of said Pigott, and chief mover of his obstinacy, ran to the castle door, now half-burnt, some of the assailants offering to enter, presented himself to Colonel Farrell, and begged his life; it being promised, with all the danger of his own, defended him from the militia fury, who, rushing in, did butcher all that came in their way, both Pigott and others, except women and children, as by the General commanded under pain of death not to offer violence to either of these classes; 10 or 11 men were mercifully saved, under female disguise. The house was very rich, and in an instant rifled all for the common soldiers, or such as laboured most for it. Thus was Disert taken by force, Pigott and the wooden-legged minister being slain."<sup>11</sup>

On the 10th of January, 1647, the General Assembly met and rejected the Ormond peace by 288 votes to 12. But in a few months after the departure of the Ulster and Connaught representatives, the Ormond clique elected a new Supreme Council composed of their own party. Meanwhile Owen Roe was awaiting at Athy Preston's forces from Carlow to unite with his own for the attack on Dublin. The two armies, composed of 16,000 foot and 1,600 horse, with field and battering pieces, marched from their respective cantonments at the close of October, O'Neill at the head of his troops crossing the Barrow at Athy, where he was met by the Nuncio, and where he had been building ovens and furnaces to supply bread for his men. The new council held a session in the Castle of Kilkea, and ordered O'Neill to encamp at Harristown and Coghlanstown, where he remained for four weeks. Preston, whose route lay through Carlow, declined storming the castle there, although feebly garrisoned, and lingered on the road temporizing with the enemy, giving him time to strengthen himself in the capital. At last, Preston with his ordnance reached Lucan, where it was agreed that his head quarters should be at Leixlip, and O'Neill's at Newcastle.<sup>12</sup>

On the 11th of November Clanricarde appeared in Preston's camp and submitted to him, on behalf of Ormond, three propositions for acceptance. Preston signed the proposals, and sending for some of his chief officers, invited them to follow his example. In this, however, he was disappointed; for Lieutenant-General Hugh MacPhelim

<sup>10</sup> See Belling's Narrative of Affairs in Ireland, &c., in J. T. Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland," vol. vi.—1646-1648, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> See "Aphorismical Discovery of

Treasonable Faction," book ii., chap. ix., p. 129.

<sup>12</sup> See Meehan's "Confederation of Kilkenney," p. 198.



(O'Byrne), MacThomas (*alias* Fitzgerald), Majors Geoghegan, Warring, Lalor, and others walked out of the tent after refusing to subscribe. He then forwarded the instrument to O'Neill, requesting him to sign it; but the latter replied that he was only a servant for the kingdom—for the Church especially—that both Nuncio and Council were in the camp, and that if they put their hands to it he would not be wanting, but not otherwise.

As no progress was being made in the siege, the Nuncio summoned a council of war to decide about future operations. During its sitting word was brought that the Parliamentarians were at that moment in Dublin. Instantly all was confusion. The next morning the councillors fled to Kilkenny. O'Neill, who suspected Preston of treachery, constructed a pontoon of trees and house timber over the Liffey at Leixlip and marched his soldiers back to Maryborough.

At this time the Nuncio, who had been inclining in favour of the Supreme Council, was invited to Kilkenny, and there he learned to his horror that there was a treaty being concluded between the Council and Inchiquin. Apprehensive of being arrested by the Council for opposing this treaty he resolved to leave Kilkenny clandestinely.<sup>13</sup> He passed through the garden of Mr. Shea's house, where he lived, mounted the town wall by means of a ladder, and made his way to Leix, where Owen Roe O'Neill had possession of the fort of Maryborough. The Nuncio had previously sent a message to Owen Roe instructing him to send a party of horse to Ballynakill on a certain night to serve for an escort. After he arrived at Maryborough, the Nuncio and O'Neill had their quarters at Kilminshee. The treaty with Inchiquin was proclaimed in Kilkenny on the 22nd of May, 1648.<sup>14</sup> This led to an open rupture between O'Neill and the Supreme Council.

From Kilminshee, then in occupation of Henry Roe, son of Owen Roe, the Nuncio issued the following excommunication against all who should adhere to the cessation of arms, as agreed to between the Supreme Council at Kilkenny and Inchiquin:—

"Nos, Joannes Baptista Rinuccinus, sedis Apostolicæ gratia, Archiepiscopus et Princeps Firmanus, ac in regno Hiberniæ Nuntius Apostolicus extraordinarius, et nos Episcopi, ad effectum de quo infra specialiter delegati, et sub-delegati, &c.:

"Cum jam compertum habemus, die vicesimo Maii instantis publicatum fuisse cessationem armorum inter Supreme Concilium Confæderatorum Catholicorum et Dominum Baronem de Inchiquin, in qua multi sunt articuli, prius ab omnibus Archiepiscopis et pluribus Episcopis hujus regni coram nobis Nuntio Apostolico congregatis, mature ac diligenter discussi et tanquam injuste ac inique per eosdem die 27 Aprilis (nemine excepto) damnati, prout constat ex declaratione per supradictos Prælatos eadem die 27 Supremo Concilio regni præsentata, ut religionis Catholicæ augmentum, Ecclesiæ libertas, et bonum hujus [regni] ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, ac innocentis populi Patriæ prosperentur; Nos Joannes Baptista Archiepiscopus Firmanus, et in regno Hiberniæ Nuntius Apostolicus extraordinarius, et nos eorundem Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum autoritate delegati, et in defectum delegatorum subdelegati, sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ omnibus et quibuscumque tam ecclesias-

<sup>13</sup> See Leland's "History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.," vol. iii., book vi., chap. i., p. 325.

<sup>14</sup> The date as given by J. F. Taylor is 24th April, 1648.



ticis quam secularibus in quacumque dignitate et præeminentia constitutis, præcipimus et mandamus, ne supradictam cessationem quocumque modo per se, vel per alios, directe vel indirecte, consilio, auxilio vel favore faveant, vel defendant; necnon sub eadem pœna præcipimus omnibus et singulis Generalibus, Colonellis, Ducibus, officialibus, militibus et quibuscumque aliis Catholicis, ne cum prædicto Barone de Inchiquin, vel cuicumque alio hæretico, sese jungere, aut quovis alio modo ex superius enarratis, eidem vel eisdem adhærere præsumant; vel audeant arma sumere contra exercitum, seu exercitus Catholicos dictam iniquam cessationem impugnaturum vel impugnaturum; cui etiam pœnæ omnes et singulos subjacere volumus et decernimus qui supradictam cessationem acceptarunt etiam si sunt de corpore ipsius Supremi Concilii, si ipsam ulterius quoquo modo, ut supra sectentur, et pertinaciter defendant, nisi infra novem dies a notitia habita præsentium etiam per viros fide dignos, rescipuerint; quorum tres primos pro primo termino, tres alios pro secundo, et demum tres ultimos pro peremptorio omnino constituimus, et assignamus; omnes vero communitates, sive urbium sive oppidorum, villorum aut pagorum si predictam cessationem acceptaverint vel acceptatam ut supra quovis modo defenderint; et nisi infra novem dies pariter, ut dictum est superius, rescipuerint, Interdicti, pœnamque cessationis a divinis incurrant, districtè præcipiendo mandantes ut omnes religiosi cujuscumque Ordinis, etiam societatis Jesu, non obstantibus quibuscumque privilegiis, etiam missionariorum, inviolabiliter prædictum interdictum observent. Mandantes insuper omnibus Vicariis generalibus et cappelanis exercituum ut, iis literis visis, sive impressis, sive habita earundem copia manu cujuscumque Episcopi vel notarii Apostolici subscripta, eas statim sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ et aliis arbitrio nostro injungendis in ipso exercitu publicent: Vicariis autem sive curatis et quacumque ratione curam animarum habentibus, ut sub eadem pœna prima die festiva inter missarum solemnias publicare, et in foribus ecclesiæ eas affigere teneantur. Si qui vero contra attentare præsumpserint maledictionem æternam se noverint incursuros.

“Datum Kilmensi, die 27 Maii, 1648.

“Joannes Baptista, Archiepiscopus Firmanus et Nuntius Apostolicus extraordinarius.

“Euerus, Clogherensis Episcopus.

“Fr. Boetius, Rossensis Episcopus.

“Fr. Antonius, Clonmacnosensis Episcopus.

“Robertus, Corcagiensis Episcopus.

“Arthurus, Dunensis Episcopus.

“Amoventes et lacerantes sint ipso jure excommunicati.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> We subjoin a translation of this interesting historical document:—

“We John Baptist Rinuccini, by the grace of the Apostolic See, Archbishop and Lord of Fermo, and Apostolic Nuncio Extraordinary in the Kingdom of Ireland; and We the Bishops, &c., &c.

Having clear evidence that on the 20th of the present month of May a cessation of arms (or truce) was ratified between the Supreme Council of Catholic Confederates, and the Lord Baron of Inchiquin, in which there are many Articles which, having

been already fully and carefully discussed by all the Archbishops and several bishops of this Kingdom assembled in presence of us the Apostolic Nuncio, were unanimously condemned as unjust and iniquitous on the 27th of April, as is clear from the declaration presented to the supreme Council on that day by the above-mentioned prelates: wherefore, in order that the increase of the Catholic faith, the liberty of the Church, and the good of this (Kingdom) may be promoted to the glory of God, and (the benefit) of the innocent



## CHAPTER XXV.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1648-1660.

THE sentence of excommunication was duly remitted to Kilkenny and there affixed to the doors of the churches. The Ormondists immediately retaliated. The Supreme Council proclaimed O'Neill a rebel and traitor. They issued orders to have anyone arrested who maintained the validity of the Nuncio's censures, and threatened to deprive the bishops of the churches, "for which," they said, "they would themselves provide proper subjects." They ordered the Nuncio to quit the Kingdom as a rebel to the English Crown and unworthy the common necessities of life; and finally they directed their troops under Preston and Castlehaven to attack those under O'Neill, and to storm and capture any strongholds in his possession.

Twelve days after his arrival at Kilminchy a message was brought to the Nuncio that Preston with 10,000 men was approaching. Taking a hurried leave of Owen Roe, the Nuncio set out, under an escort of 200 men commanded by Henry O'Neill, for Kilcolgan. Thence he proceeded to Athlone, and ultimately reached Galway in safety. A portion of Preston's forces took possession of Stradbally.

people of this country:—We John Baptist, &c., and we the authorized delegates and sub delegates of the same Archbishops and bishops, do hereby under pain of excommunication, to be directly incurred, order and command all and several both Clergy and laity, of whatsoever dignity and condition, in no way, either by themselves or others, directly or indirectly, by advice, aid, or favour, to recognize, or uphold the before-mentioned cessation of arms. Furthermore under the same penalty we command all and each of the Generals, Colonels, &c., not to ally themselves with the afore-mentioned Baron of Inchiquin, or any other heretic, or in any way of those specified, to presume to unite with him or them, or dare to bear arms against the Catholic army or armies about to wage war in opposition to the iniquitous cessation; and we will and decree that all and several be subject to this same penalty who have already accepted this cessation, even though they belong to the Supreme Council, if they further support it in any way or stubbornly defend it; unless they repent within nine days from receiving knowledge of these presents from reliable persons: and we assign and ordain three of these days for a first term, three for a second, and the last three for a final and deciding term. Further, all communities, whether of cities or towns, of villages or hamlets, if they accept the cessation or, having accepted, defend it, and unless, as above specified, they repent within nine days,

shall incur the penalty of Interdict and of cessation of religious services; and we strictly command all Regulars of whatsoever Order including the Society of Jesus, and notwithstanding any special privilege they may enjoy, even those of missionaries, to inviolably observe the Interdict in question. Further, we command all Vicars-General and Army Chaplains, as soon as this letter is seen by them, whether it be imprinted (officially) or be a copy subscribed with the signature of any Bishop or Notary Apostolic, to immediately publish it to the army, under pain of excommunication directly incurred and other penalties to be imposed at our discretion; and (we command) pastors, and all others who in whatever way have the care of souls, under the same penalty to publish it during the celebration of Mass on the first feast day that occurs, and to hang a copy of it outside their Churches. If any persons shall attempt (to act) contrary to these injunctions let them understand that they shall incur an eternal curse."

Given at Kilminchy the 27 May, 1648.

John Baptist, Archbishop of Fermo,  
and Nuncio Apostolic Extra-ordinary.

Heber, Bishop of Clogher.

Fr. Boetius, Bishop of Ross.

Fr. Anthony, Bishop of Clonmacnoise.

Robert, Bishop of Cork.

Arthur, Bishop of Down.



In part three of the Aphorismical Discovery the capture is thus described:—"Edmond Roe Butler, son to Lord Mountgarrett, after taking the castle of Cullenagh, next morning turned home himself, and commands a party to Stradbally, where none did inhabit except two poor friars, living most beggarly in that despoiled town, and two poor country tenants who lived within the monastery mure or bawn; the friars never suspecting to receive any violence. But far deceived; for all that belonged to both friar and other, was snatched away by this party; neither regarded friar or other in their pursuit; . . . they thought it a lawful prey, as siding and obeying my Lord's Nuncio's censures. The Commander-in-Chief of this party was one Patrick Mcney (or Mooney), appointed Lieutenant of foot and Governor of the said demolished Cullenagh. The friars exhibiting complaint unto Edmond Roe Butler, who granted his orders for the restoring of them, which is: 'Patrick Money—Understanding that Tieve Gaffney has taken some hogs belonging to the friars of Stradbally, which upon sight hereof must be restored. This 24th of April, 1649. Edmond Butler.' The friars were nothing the better of this, though severally complained unto the said Edmond of the non-compliance of this party to their high prejudice. Neither yet those unchristian and inhuman Tories satisfied, but next morning, after the said thievish robbery, came like enemies unto the said Stradbally to garrison the monastery, which they did in disrespect of religion, packed the friars into one and the poorest cottage in all their proper monastery, consumed all they had for their proper relief and sustenance, made the Abbey a stew-house; the said Butler hereof certified, did never redress the same, rather augmented their grief with fresh supplies of untoward people, belonging to Edward Loftus, brother-in-law to Francis Cosby, antagonist of the said friars."

The approach of Owen Roe on his return from the capture of Birr obliged Preston's troops to evacuate Stradbally, and to rejoin their main body in Carlow.

O'Neill had left four companies of foot as a garrison in Athy. These were commanded by Captain John O'Hagan, the Governor, Captain Con Roe O'Neyll, Captain Daniel McCana, and Captain Daniel O'Mellan. The latter had been left in charge of Ballilehan Castle, but was ordered by the Governor to burn it, and repair with his company to Athy, where, all told, there were about 200 foot soldiers to guard the town. The Governor and his company kept the castle, which covered the River Barrow, and which was now attacked by Preston. Although several breaches were made in the walls, Preston found he could effect nothing unless his ordnance were passed over the Barrow. This being done, the Dominican monastery, which had been imperfectly fortified, was assailed, the friars and some soldiers within it constituting the defenders. The Governor had sent despatches to General O'Neill for succour, and the latter immediately dispatched Phelim McTuhill O'Neill with 200 men to his relief. To gain time for the arrival of O'Neill, and to ascertain the enemy's force and position, O'Hagan sent a drummer to arrange for a parley, and as if to capitulate on terms. When Captain McCana was admitted on that business, Preston had some suspicion of the relief advancing. Whereupon, he despatched McThomas with his regiment of horse, and one of infantry, to make good the only ford on the river between



Reban and Athy. He also ordered his soldiers to attack the monastery. They broke into the lawn and garden; but were fiercely repelled, showers of stones descending from the roof on their heads.

While the assault was pending, Phelim McTuhill O'Neill and his force advanced to the Barrow ford, where the flood was then great. Tying their clothes to their necks, and carrying their arms high over the water, which reached their breasts, the soldiers marched in a dense body, some even swimming. All got over safely, and on delivering their first volley, McThomas' horse fled, while Captain O'Hagan fell upon the rear of Preston's infantry with 60 musketeers. The rout was complete. About 140 were killed, several officers and privates were captured, whose arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

Having captured Birr, General Owen Roe O'Neill left a garrison there under the command of Sir Phelim O'Neill; and set out with all expedition towards Stradbally. Preston's garrison there having had information of his movements, had all left about half an hour before his advanced guard, under Major Owen O'Dogherty, arrived. The friars had no knowledge of what course Preston had taken; so General O'Neill having encamped in Stradbally, sent forward his son, Henry O'Neill, with the horse to Athy, to keep Preston at bay, until he should be able to march there with the main body. When Henry O'Neill arrived in Athy, he sent Major O'Dogherty to pursue the retreating forces of Preston, who moved in the direction of Carlow. Finding himself unable to overtake the enemy, O'Dogherty and his party returned; when, with Henry Roe and his men, all were directed to join the camp at Stradbally.

The Castle of Nenagh had been surprised and taken by Inchiquin after losing 200 men. The garrison yielded on conditions which were not complied with; for, although quarter had been granted, the defenders were disarmed, and sent as prisoners to Kinsale, thence to be transported as slaves to St. Christopher's in the West Indies, or to Algiers.

On hearing of this disaster, Owen Roe marched with his army to Ballicullin, in Iregan.<sup>1</sup> He sent orders to Birr, directing the garrison there to evacuate the place, and having destroyed the castle, to join him in the field. He sent ammunition to Benchore by Colonel Cahan, and despatched messengers to Lieutenant-General Ferrall ordering him to repair to his camp from the County of Longford. O'Neill promised to await his arrival about Iregan, and until their forces could join that he would not advance against Inchiquin and Clanrickard. Meanwhile Inchiquin commenced the siege of Falkland Fort, but without doing it much injury with his ordnance. Having found Birr deserted by the garrison, he placed a party there to keep possession.

The delay of Lieutenant-General Ferrall, to comply with Owen Roe's instructions, prevented the General from marching to Ballagh-anohire to hinder Inchiquin and Clanrickard from laying siege to Falkland Fort. When Ferrall did arrive with his regiment and

<sup>1</sup> More probably it may be identified with Ballycullenbeg, at present a townland in the Parish of Ardea, in the

Barony of Portnahinch, and adjoining Mountmellick town.



four troops of horse, from Monahorny, O'Neill proceeded by forced marches to Ballaghanohire.

No less than four armies were then closing in on the Irish General. Inchiquin and Clanrickard had pitched their camp at Streamstown, at the house of John Coghlan; while Preston, from Carlow, and Lord Taaff were converging on Birr. Falkland Fort was at length yielded by its commandant, Captain Maguire, to the extreme displeasure of Owen Roe. About the same time, a skirmish took place between the rival forces, to the disadvantage of the Irish. Major Edmond Ferrall was killed, while Major Con Backagh O'Neyll and Colonel Lewis Moore were both wounded.<sup>2</sup> This repulse only inflamed the Irish army the more; and both officers and men cried out to be led against their enemies; but, after a council of war, Owen Roe decided to avoid the risk of a defeat. He even left a passage open for Inchiquin, who immediately posted off to Birr, where he placed a garrison under Major Richard Grace, intending thence to march upon Kilkenny. Meantime, General Owen Roe advanced to Tullamore, and encamped there for two nights. On the third day he marched to Kilbeggan, then by Crebeg and Ballymore to Baskneagh, in Dillon's country.

The garrisons left by O'Neill in Maryborough, Reban, and Athy, did not number more than 400 men; yet by their activity, they brought the whole of the Queen's County under contribution, and even parts of the adjoining Counties of Kilkenny, Kildare, King's County, and Carlow. Their preys of cattle were taken from circuits of twenty miles around, although both horse and foot were on guard in different places to prevent them. In the beginning of 1649, Lieutenant-Colonel Bryan Roe O'Neill arrived with a reinforcement of horse at Maryborough, and the three garrisons above-mentioned were greatly strengthened and encouraged.

During one of the raids, a trooper named Hussey received some reproof from his commanding officer. Wherefore, feeling resentment towards Bryan Roe, he joined Preston at Carlow, promising good service against these garrisons, if supplied with a party of horse. Four score troopers were accordingly sent with him, and coming near the town of Maryborough one foggy morning, when the prey of cattle had been driven out to pasture, five or six horsemen rode between the fort and the cattle, and whipped them away. When the alarm was given, Bryan Roe mounted his horse, and his musketeers followed in haste. When they came up with the enemy they rescued the cattle without difficulty.

In this brush Lieutenant-Colonel O'Neill was in advance, and he alone chased the troopers who dared to oppose him; but his horse falling under him, the scattered enemy turned and made him prisoner. They promised him fair quarter, should he proceed quietly with them; otherwise, they threatened to put him to death. The musketeers, having driven the cattle to their bawn, would have attempted to rescue their commander, but he ordered them to desist, and they reluctantly obeyed. Afterwards his enemies placed him on an old jade, stripped him of his uniform, and wished to bring him a prisoner to Carlow.

<sup>2</sup> See John T. Gilbert's "Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652," vol. i., part i., "Aphorisms."

micall Discovery of Treasonable Faction." Book iii., chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., pp. 262 to 267.



But his kinsman, Richard Oge Butler, the son of Lord Mountgarrett, interfered, and carried him a prisoner to Ballyraggett Castle. There the captive continued until his wife, Jane Gray, then living in Thurles, heard of the transaction. She besought Lady Thurles, Ormond's mother, to intercede with her son for the prisoner's release. To Lady Thurles O'Neill had shown many acts of kindness, and she now requested her son to release him. This request was immediately complied with. He was set free on parole, and some of his goods were restored; but although he offered £50 for his horse, the animal would not be returned to him. Shortly after he was exchanged for Colonel Burke, who had been taken prisoner at Caradrumruiske the previous winter.

Roger Moore now made a fruitless effort to bring about some understanding between General O'Neill and Lord Ormond. The latter was then gathering his forces; and he appointed the Earl of Castlehaven to command the Leinster army, until he should be able to take the field in person. Meanwhile Castlehaven's brother-in-law Edmond Roe Butler, Mountgarrett's son and heir, came by night with two foot companies and a troop of horse to Cullentragh, four or five miles from his own house of Ballyragget. The old castle, already demolished by O'Neill's party from Maryborough, was held by seven or eight men. These acted bravely in its defence, and inflicted some loss on the assailants. Whereupon, supposing them to be more numerous than they were, an honourable quarter was offered and accepted. They were allowed arms and baggage, with safe conduct to Maryborough. Nothing of any value was left in the ruined castle to the conquerors.

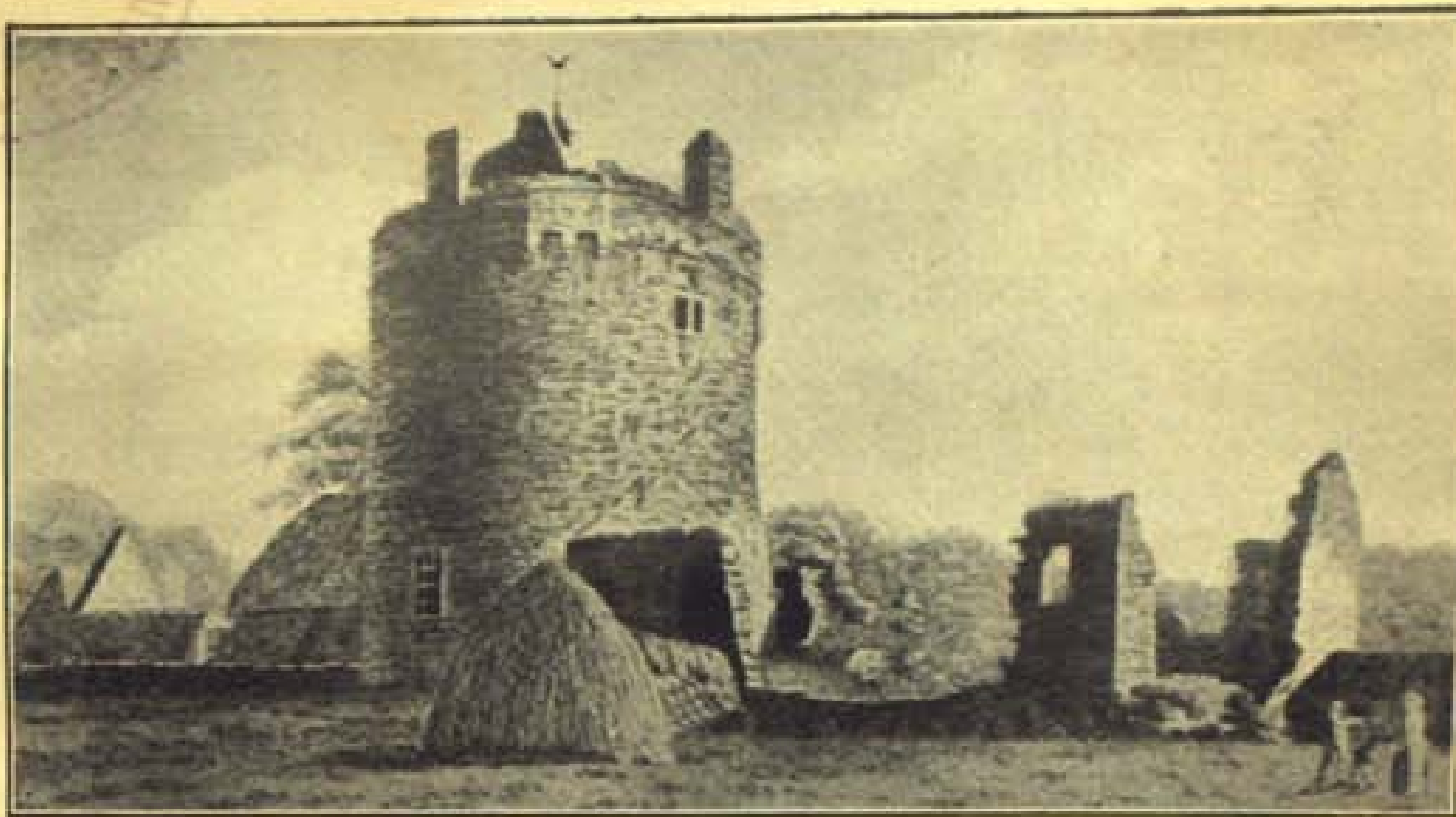
At this time, the Earl of Castlehaven marched with the Leinster forces and a train of artillery to besiege the fort of Maryborough, then held by Captain Phelim O'Neill, for Owen Roe. Being summoned to surrender, he refused; and accordingly Castlehaven began to plant his ordnance to compel submission. The fort was well supplied with men, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but, the spirit of discord had spread among the ranks, and one Lieutenant Daniel O'Neill, was active in promoting it. A Colonel Terlagh M'Henry O'Neill, then in Castlehaven's camp, had given the garrison assurance of quarter. Castlehaven's cannon fired seventeen shots at the fort without inflicting any injury, when Lieutenant Daniel O'Neill, having gained over one-fourth of the garrison to revolt, seized on the governor and threatened to kill him if he did not surrender. For a long time he resisted, and at length asked that he might go in person to treat with Castlehaven. There an effort was made to gain him over by offering him his company in the Leinster army if he should consent to join it. This offer he refused. But at last, as the fort could no longer be held, he surrendered and was allowed a safe conduct for himself, his wife, brother, two men and a friar, with horses, arms, and what goods of their own they were able to take with them. Thus the fort of Maryborough was surrendered on the 9th of May—the garrison marching out with their arms. Captain Phelim O'Neill and his companions proceeded northwards to join the Ulster General.

Hearing of the defection of the garrison in Maryborough, Captain John O'Hagan deemed it necessary that Captain Terlagh O'Neill and Lieutenant Neal O'Quinn should remove their company from Castle



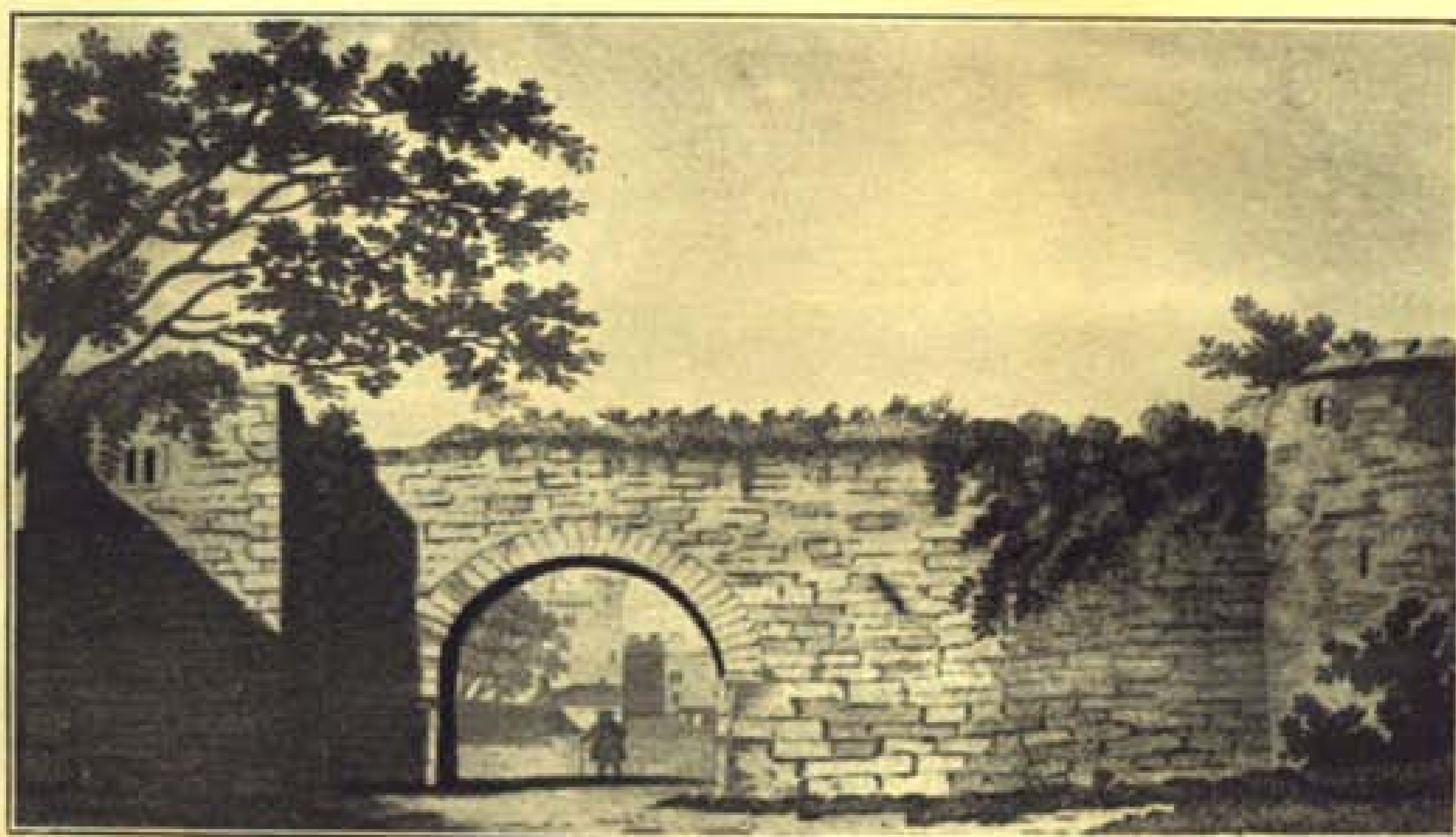






**GRANTSTOWN  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 191.



**THURLES  
CASTLE.**

Vol. II., p. 532.

*Views from Grose.*



**CULLAHILL  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 198.

*Photo by]*

*[W. Sheeran, Durrow.*



Reban to Athy, as both places could not be held against Castlehaven's forces. At Graney, in the County Kildare, Captain O'Hagan had already lost 30 men in an ambush, but he still had five companies to defend Athy. Among these was Bryan Roe's troop. As the Leinster army was now expected to approach, Captain O'Hagan prepared for defence. He sent a post to Ulster soliciting relief, but was informed that no aid could be expected from that quarter.

For nine or ten days Castlehaven remained at Maryborough to settle affairs there. He appointed one John M'James Bryan, a tenant to the Earl of Ormond, as Captain and governor of the fort. Afterwards he marched to Athy, which he summoned to surrender. Being in no condition to hold out long against such overwhelming odds, Captain O'Hagan obtained favourable conditions, which were ratified by the Lord Lieutenant, Ormond. After some little delay Captain O'Hagan and his men, with their luggage, were allowed to march for Ulster.

Ormond having gathered his army for the siege of Dublin, then in possession of the Parliamentary forces, sent a pressing message to Owen Roe in Ulster, to come and join him, but O'Neill resolved to preserve an armed neutrality.

On the 2nd of August, 1649, Ormond was defeated by Jones outside the walls of Dublin, and was obliged to retreat to Kilkenny. Some of his regiments escaped to Drogheda. A reinforcement of 5,000 men, under Oliver Cromwell, next arrived in Dublin. Without delay these were marched to Drogheda; and having planted his guns, Cromwell took the town by assault, and signalled his triumph by an indiscriminate slaughter of both its defenders and inhabitants.

Cromwell then marched his victorious army southwards, and soon overran the whole country, Ormond making no head against him, although still commanding very considerable forces. At this time Owen Roe O'Neill was in sore straits. He could not fight against both English parties; so with one or the other he must come to terms, though the thought was hateful to him. Writing to Rinuccini, who had returned to Rome, he said, "I am on the point of desperation. Ormond on the one side, and the Parliamentary faction on the other side, appeal to me to join them, but God knows I have an equal horror of both, yet, unless succour comes, I must close with either." Finally, to save his starving army, he joined the Parliamentarians, who were besieged in Derry by the Ormond faction.<sup>3</sup> He raised the siege, entered Derry in triumph, and was entertained at a splendid banquet. There he was seized with sudden illness; and on the 6th of November, 1649, he died in the Castle of Cloghouter, so romantically situated in the middle of the beautiful Lough near the town of Cavan.

His friend Rinuccini survived him only a few years, and died on December 4th, 1653, aged sixty-two years. When he came to Ireland, on the 23rd October, 1645, he brought as a gift from the Pope, 2,000 muskets, 2,000 cartouch boxes, 2,000 pike heads, 4,000 swords, 4,000 brace of pistols, 20,000 lbs. of powder, together with a sum of 25,000 livres, a gift from Cardinal Mazarin. He left Ireland in the year in

<sup>3</sup> J. F. Taylor's "Life of Owen Roe O'Neill," p. 233.



which Owen Roe died. Reaching Galway from Athlone, he sailed for Italy on the 22nd February, 1649.<sup>4</sup>

Leix was now in possession of Ormond, but Cromwell was preparing to send his forces against it the following year, 1650. Although MacThomas had demolished the castle and Dominican monastery of Athy, a party of the enemy's horse and foot seized upon the town, and held it as a suitable passage for advancing upon Leix. Castlehaven, however, attacked them, and in the onset many of them were killed, others were taken prisoners, while a few made their escape owing to the fleetness of their horses.

Meantime the troops of Colonel Lewis Moore had intercepted a letter to Cromwell from Sir Thomas Armstrong, Commissary of the horse in the Confederate army. This proved him to have been in traitorous correspondence with the enemy.<sup>5</sup> The letter was shown to Lord Castlehaven, who, having perused it in silence, thrust it into his pocket. Those present asked Castlehaven's opinion on it, and to their great surprise, he declared it was a matter of no importance. This filled them with suspicion, mistrust, and apprehension for their own safety. Accordingly they resolved to leave the Leinster army—General Ferrall marching with his command to the County of Longford, and Colonel Moore retiring to his native home at Ballyna.

When Cromwell departed from Ireland, he left the command of his army to Ireton, his son-in-law, who instructed Colonels Hewson and Reynolds to operate against the midland garrisons of the Confederates. Hewson soon took possession of Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places.<sup>6</sup> On the 5th of March, 1650, Ireton writes from Cashel, that a contribution should be levied on the inhabitants of the King's and Queen's Counties, as also on such parts of Kilkenny County as had not been hitherto under assessment for the maintenance of the Parliamentary troops and to assure the residents of protection.<sup>7</sup>

In 1651 the army which Cromwell had left after him in Ireland began to deteriorate, and generally got the worst of it from the Irish, so that the latter had still a fair prospect of success. There were still thousands of excellent Irish soldiers, well drilled and equipped, who, if united and loyal to their leaders, had every chance of ultimate victory. But division was rife amongst the Confederates; some were anxious to make peace with the Parliament, and some proved to be traitors. Foremost amongst the latter was John Fitzpatrick, of Castletown, son of Florence Fitzpatrick and Brigid Darcy, parents as noble as their son was base. From a captain he had been made colonel in the Leinster army, and commander of 4,000 foot and 400 horse.

<sup>4</sup> See Carrigan's "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," vol. iii., pp. 26-30.

<sup>5</sup> It set forth, that his Lordship Cromwell should not be offended or jealous with him for serving the Irish, for, said he, "your Lordship may be confident of my loyaltie towards your Lordship, and to shewe your Lordship the censeritie of my humble service unto you I stay here, as well knowinge to be thus more capable for compliance thereof then if extant in your proper armie, notwithstandinge

what your Lordship will have me doe, that I will acte and nothing else; Remaininge in the Interim, your Excellencies humble servant, Thomas Armstrong."

<sup>6</sup> See Leland's "History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II., vol. iii., book vi., chap. ii., p. 374.

<sup>7</sup> See "A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652," edited by John T. Gilbert, vol. ii., Part ii. Letters and Documents, CLXXIII., p. 372.



Taking advantage of this important position, he resolved to sell himself to the enemy on the best terms he could secure.<sup>8</sup>

The Assembly was still resolved on prosecuting the war, and was supported by the Byrnes, the Kavanaghs, Colonel Richard Grace, Colonel Tibbot Gawley, Colonel Walter Brenagh, Lieutenant-Colonel Duyne, and Captain Naasse. Those effected many surprises of the enemy, whom they kept in a constant state of alarm. Thus on the 29th of March, 1652, Colonels Grace and Gawley appeared with a party of horse and foot in the vicinity of Birr, then occupied by the Parliamentarians, and took a prey of fifty horses and as many cows. The soldiers in the garrison issued forth to the rescue; but were set upon by the Irish, who killed fifty of them, took fourteen prisoners, and captured forty horses with their arms and accoutrements. Only three of the Irish were wounded, and none mortally.

It happened at this time that a party of Irish were assembled at Ballaghmore, on the southern slope of the Slieve Bloom Mountains. Lieutenant-Colonel Carroll, Major Byrne, and Captain Bryan Fitzpatrick were there with 60 foot. The enemy having information of their movements, sent 100 horse and 50 footmen to surprise them, and this was in part effected; but Major Byrne, taking with him twenty musketeers, occupied a strait passage in the enemies rear, and as their horsemen were obliged to dismount in the wood to attack on foot, the Irish poured in a deadly discharge of musketry. Then a united and furious assault was made, sixty of the enemy were killed, and the remainder threw down their arms, and cried for quarter. This was granted, and the victors got possession of 100 horses, with their arms

<sup>8</sup>He "basely betrayed his nation, Kinge, and religion, (is) now in actual service with the enemy, without any condition worthy relation, neither did he speak one word in behalf of his religion; naye, nor in behalf of father or mother, who thitherunto held out as confidinge in the brave party that did adhere unto this their fatall son, whoe unto them proved no lesse than patricide, for his father died of greefe, hearinge what character was attributed unto his onely son, and his mother arraigned for a long time in Kilkenny, and after executed in Dublin, by name Brigid Darcy."—"Aphorismical Discovery," vol. iii., p. 70.

A protest was issued against Fitzpatrick by the Catholic nobility, clergy, gentry, and officers of the province of Leinster, on the 18th May, 1652, from which the following are extracts:—"Whereas Colonell John FitzPatrick hath been . . . advanced first to a Captaine of horse's place, and soon after to the place of Colonell of foote . . . and by countenance of those places of honor and trust . . . did exceedingly enrich himselfe . . . as raised his ambition to such an unnatural height of sin and ingratitude . . . as contrary to the sacred type of his public oath . . . made and taken by him in the Provinciall Assembly of

Leinster . . . being resolved to prove a reprobate, or rather, an apostate from his religion . . . hath most treacherously and perjuriously, preferring his own before the publike interest, entered into an agreement, and capitulated with . . . the Parliament of England. . . . In consideration whereof, and in discharge of our duty to God, our King, and Countrey, and for prevention of the bad effects to be produced by such malicious machinations, wee doe by this publike instrument protest against Colonell John FitzPatrick, for his said treacherous acts and agreements, as being most destructive and fatall to the Catholicke religion, his Majesty, and liege people, which wee declare to the world, whereby to remaine as an indelible brand of infamie upon the said FitzPatrick whether-soever he shall come, and upon all that doe or shall adhere to him. Whereof wee desire all Christian Princes, States, and Potentates, to whom the said FitzPatrick, shall come, to take notice, and his Majesties subjects, especially the natives of this Kingdom, wheresoever they shall meet him." "Waltar Bagnall; Waltar Dungan; Lysath O'More; Richard Barnwall." See Carrigan's "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," vol. i., p. 104, 105.



and accoutrements, while they lost not a man in the engagement. John Fitzpatrick, who had influence with the victors—some of whom were his quondam soldiers and kinsmen—persuaded them to enlarge the prisoners, and to restore all the specie found on their person, which had been taken as booty.

About this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Duynes carried away a prey from the garrison at Monasterevan. Eight days afterwards, he seized eight troopers going from Maryborough to Kilkenny, and found on them a packet addressed by Commissary John Reynolds to Lieutenant-General Ludloe, with £100 in money. He took their horses, arms, and furniture, and exacted a ransom for their release. The same day he captured a prey brought by the enemy from Ossory, and carried the same to his own camp. At this time also Lieutenant-Colonel Carroll, and Lieutenant-Colonel Egan, disgusted with the defection of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, induced 500 of his men to join the forces of Colonels Grace and Gawley, while eight score and ten Ulster soldiers left Fitzpatrick in a body and marched to their native homes. On the 6th of May Colonel Richard Grace, with a party of horse, advanced on the town of Roscrea. He desired to entice the garrison outside the town, where he had planned an ambush, and accordingly he sent Pembroke Herbert, son to Sir George Herbert, and a Lieutenant with 20 horsemen, to pass through the town. But the garrison had intelligence of the meditated surprise, and were prepared with 150 horsemen outside the town. Herbert, finding himself suddenly in their presence, had no option but to call on his few men to advance and attack them boldly. He led the charge, and was bravely seconded by his troop, who broke through the opposing force. Of the enemy 70 were killed or taken prisoners, together with 72 horses, with their arms and furniture, while the victors lost not a single man.

Soon afterwards the Parliamentary Commissioners and most of the Irish still in arms agreed to terms for a cessation of the war; and on the 12th of May, 1652, Maryborough was assigned as the place where Colonel Lewis Moore, with his foot regiment and some troops of horse, should appear and lay down their arms, while Kildare was appointed for the surrender of Colonel Lewis Viscount Clanmalire's regiment of foot. Colonel Richard Grace, however, still resolved to try the fortune of war; and on that very day he entered the town of Birr with his adherents, slew those who attempted resistance, and pillaged and burned some houses and destroyed the mill, which was very serviceable to the garrison. The Governor Abbot, having received information regarding the publication of peace, sent a trumpeter to Grace with a copy of it. Grace, however, was bent on a new enterprise. On the 15th of May he marched through Birr, and advanced against Nenagh, then occupied by a strong English garrison. The trumpeter having delivered his message to Colonel Grace, was told that he must march along that night, and that the answer would be given on return. Next morning, with five or six troops of horse and 150 foot soldiers, he arrived at Nenagh. The foot men were led by one Lachlin O'More, a brave captain. Two troops were ordered to advance upon the town, while the rest of their forces were posted in a valley, out of sight of the garrison. The advanced guard found about 200 dragoons of Lord Cromwell's Life Guards, all mounted and ready for service, in a camp before the town. A fierce encounter now commenced. Colonel Tibbot

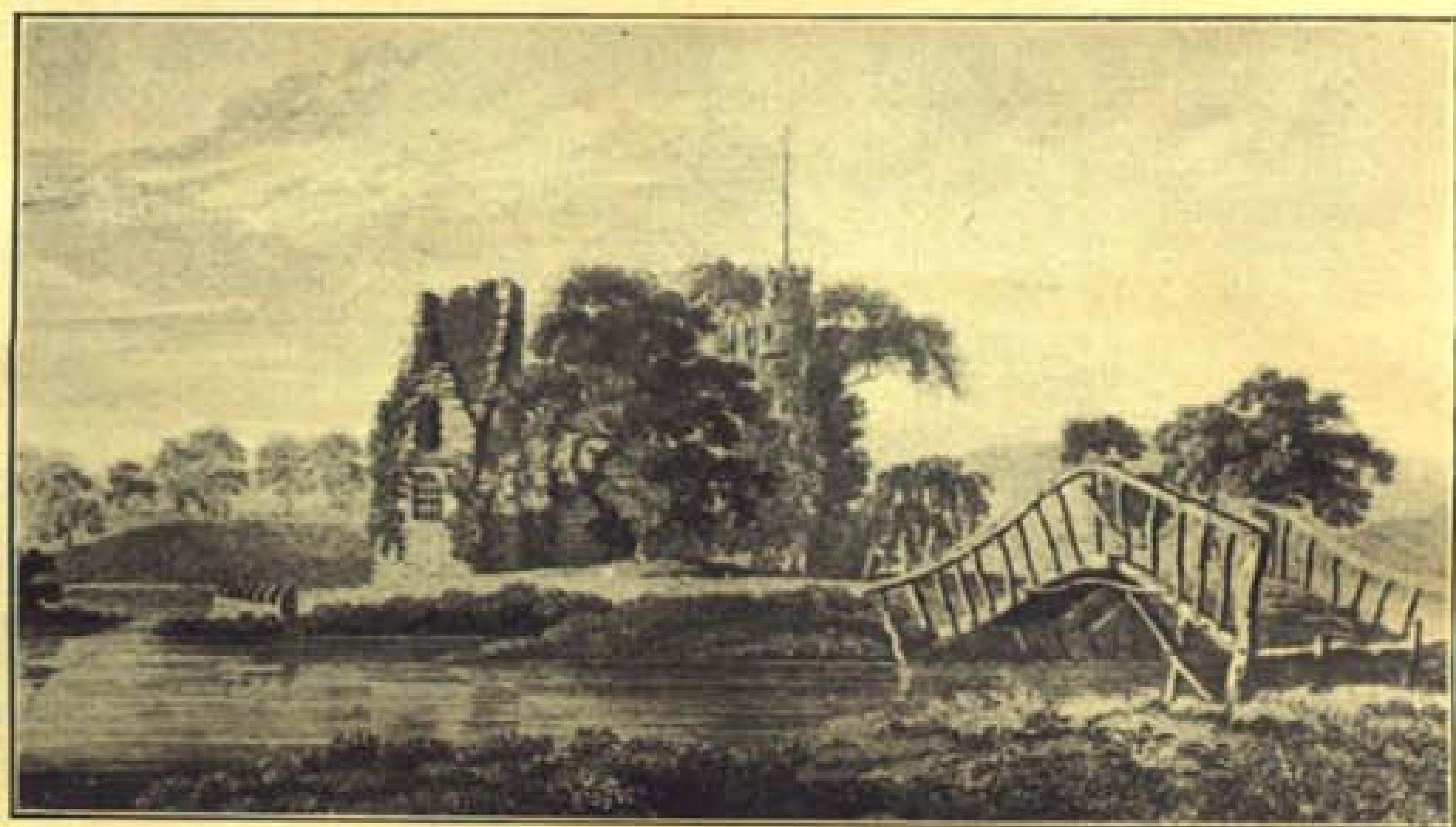






**LEA CASTLE.**

Vol. I., pp. 281-2.

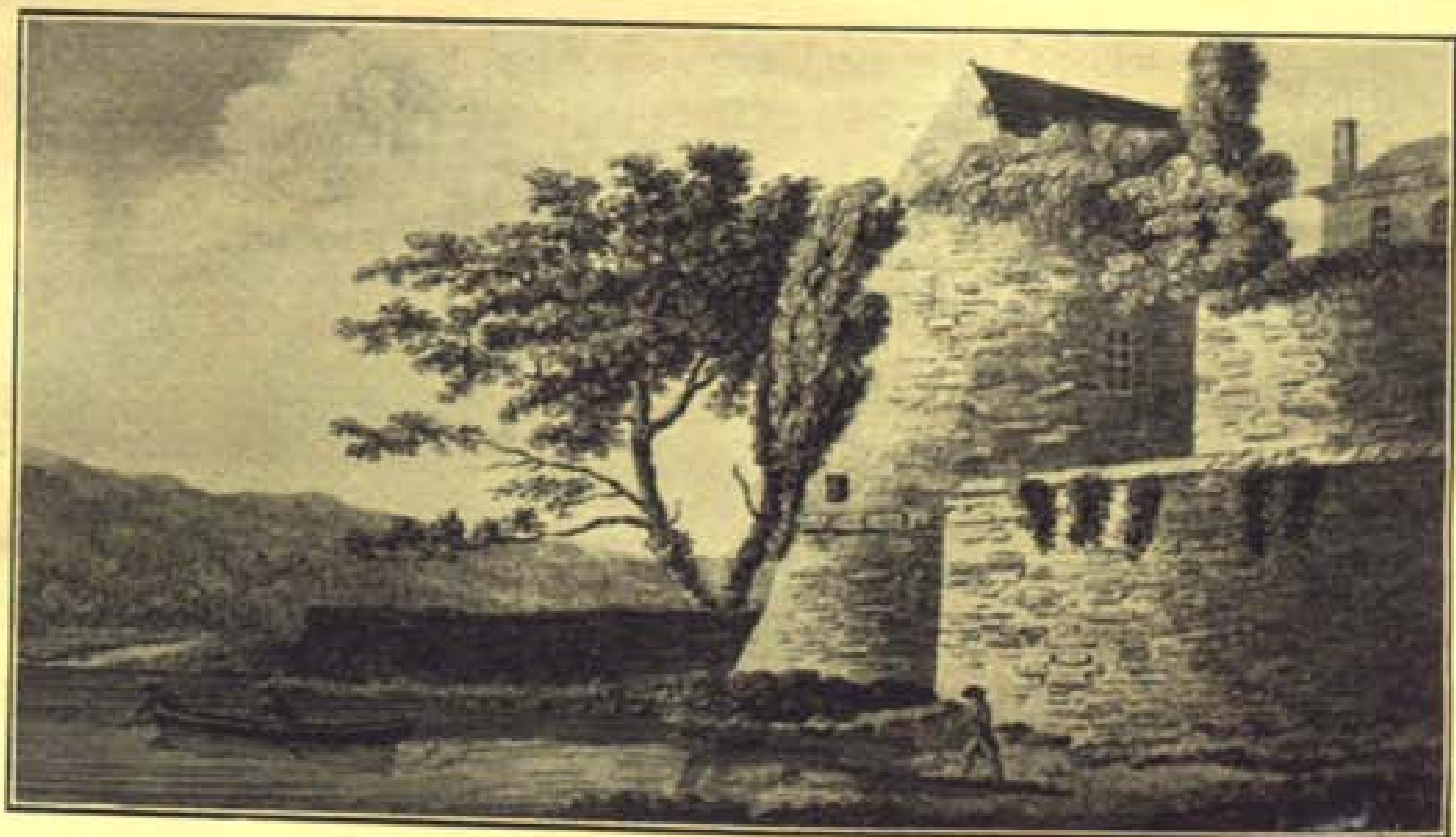


**CLOGRENNAN  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 217. Vol. II.,  
p. 803.

**ROSCREA  
CASTLE.**

Vol. II., p. 536.



Views from Grose.



Gawley, riding forward from the rear, and commanding a reinforcement of horsemen to follow, arrived in the nick of time; while Colonel Grace, ordering his captive trumpeter to sound a charge, swept up with the remainder of his horse, and completed the rout. The enemy gave ground, and fled in the direction of their fort, leaving their camp to be plundered by the Irish. Soon, however, a great number of musketeers issued from the town, and renewed the attack. At this time the Irish foot had not come up, but they soon appeared in sight. Loughlin O'More rushed his command forward, and without firing a shot, endeavoured to throw his men between the English and the town, so as to catch the enemy between two fires. But the English, observing that movement, began to retire towards the trenches under the fort, whither the Irish could not safely follow them. Loughlin O'More posted his infantry in such a position as to prevent the enemy from recapturing the camp or impeding the Irish from securing its plunder. From ten o'clock in the morning to six in the afternoon, on the 17th of May, this engagement continued. The Irish kept possession of the field, having killed twenty-four of their opponents and taken eight prisoners. They found in the camp much money and valuables, which they brought away.

From this place the party proceeded to Kilmore in Ossory, having been invited thither by Captain Bryan Fitzpatrick. Having heard of the peace, he seems to have changed his mind, and, accordingly, he warned his Keraghts to retire. This course of proceeding so disgusted Grace, that he made Fitzpatrick his prisoner, and sent him to Inishloughcurha, where he remained until tried by a council of war. The trumpeter was despatched to Birr, bearing Colonel Grace's message to the governor, that he would not accept the terms of a peace prejudicial to his religion and nation, and concluded by factious commissioners, who had no authority to negotiate.

Colonel Grace was able now to support his position in the Queen's County only by keeping to the woods and bogs; so, on receiving an invitation from the O'Kellys and other parties in Connaught, he decided to proceed westwards, and to join the few bands that remained there, with such forces as they could muster. Accordingly, with Colonel Thibott Gawley, Colonel Charles Molloy, Colonel Daniel O'Carroll, and Malaghlin O'More, he marched to Portumna on the River Shannon, which he pillaged and burned. Loughrea and other places were similarly treated during the month of June, 1652.

From their various garrisons the English gathered a force of nearly 3,000 horse, and these came suddenly on the Irish, although Colonel Grace had information on the 19th of June that they were approaching. Malaghlin O'More advised the selection of a better position for defence than was then occupied. Colonels Grace and Gawley approved this course, and having marched half a mile for the purpose, it was found that the enemy was pressing on them, with large bodies of horsemen approaching the bog, which they were attempting to clear. Whereupon, Malaghlin O'More, commander of the Irish foot, threw his men forward to dispute the passage, requesting Colonel Molloy to aid him with horse. The nature of the ground did not admit of a cavalry service on either side; and the English dragoons were obliged to dismount, the better to cross over the swamp. Although the troops in front were vastly more numerous than his footmen,



O'More maintained the passage with great resolution, and three times beat the enemy out of the bog. He soon found, however, that it would be impossible to do more than dispute the passage for a time, as strong forces of the English were now come up; and he advised Colonel Grace to save the horse under his command while time permitted, leaving him and his men to delay the enemy's advance.

But Colonel Grace would not adopt this course, resolving to stand by his brave captain of foot. The Irish fought desperately; but the enemy gained upon them by sheer force and fresh supplies of men. Having cleared the pass, they rushed like a whirlwind among the Irish horse, killing several, amongst others, Colonels Thibbott Burke and Gawley, and taking many prisoners. Among the foot fell Thomas Oge McThomas, McHuigh Geoghegan, his heir apparent, of Ballintober in Kinaliagh, with a few others. The rest took shelter in the bog where the enemies' horse could not pursue them. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, Colonel Grace fled from the field with a few horse; Colonels Molloy and Dunne, with a small number of Colonel O'Carroll's men, remaining with him. Colonel Dunne decided, through the mediation of his former Colonel, John Fitzpatrick, to make terms with the Commissioners, and lay down his arms, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of Colonel Grace.

At length, deserted by nearly all his followers, Colonel Grace was obliged to surrender, upon articles of agreement, to Colonel Jerome Sanckey, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament Forces, in Tipperary, on the 14th of August, 1652.<sup>9</sup>

In the west, the struggle was maintained up to the close of that year, on the cliffs of Innisboffin, an island fortress off the coast of Galway. There were gathered the relics of the Confederate army and government, amongst them being the Bishop of Clonfert, Donal O'Flaherty, Roger O'Moore, etc., and in command George Cusack, Lieutenant-Colonel of General Preston's army. On the 1st of December, 1652, the fortress was compelled to surrender to General Reynolds. A vessel was at readiness, provided by the Duke of Lorraine, for the escape of the Confederates. Roger O'Moore reached the mainland, and, travelling in disguise, got to the shores of Lough Foyle, in the parish of Magilligan, County Derry. One report has it that he died there in 1656, and was buried in the churchyard of Skereyne belonging to that parish<sup>10</sup>; another, that he escaped to Scotland; and a third, that he lived concealed in the Fews, a mountainous district overhanging Dundalk, from which he had regular communications with his home at Balyna.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Gilbert, vol. iii., part i., "Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction," book vi., chap. xvi. to xxx., pp. 115 to 145.

<sup>10</sup> Carte MSS., Bodlian Library, Ireland, x., p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Manuscript History of the More O'Ferrall Family, kept at Balyna. A letter of his, which has been preserved, is so indicative of the character of the man that we insert it here. It will help to dispose of the foul charges made against him and other Confederate

leaders of cruelty and barbarity in the conduct of the war. The lady to whom it is addressed (Preston), although of the same name, would not seem to have been a relative of the Leinster General:

MUCH HONORED LADY,—

I received your letter, which might easily move me to do your ladyship any lawful service or courtesy which I have always coveted to do unto all of your condition, virtue, and worth; and much the rather for that I find all the gentry



The insurgents and royalists of Ireland being subdued, the Parliament of England began to concert measures for what was called the settlement and administration of the country.

By Cromwell's Act of 12th of August, 1652, for the Settling of Ireland, the vanquished Protestant Royalists, as well as the Roman Catholics, were to forfeit their lands, and be transplanted to others for their support. By a subsequent ordinance of 1654, delinquent Protestants were allowed to compound at the discretion of the Council, unless those excepted by the Act of 12th August, 1652. Such persons were to be treated like Ormond, the Earl of Roscommon, and other Protestants, whose lands were afterwards divided among the soldiery. Ultimately no transplantation of Protestants took place. Lands out of Ormond's and other Protestants' estates to compensate those who had to give up Church lands soon exhausted the fund for the purpose.

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1656, the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of persons attainted, remaining in the Provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster having little or no visible estates or subsistence, were ordered to transplant, or to be transported to the English plantations in America. Accordingly, on the 3rd of May of that year, the governors of the various Irish prisons received orders to convey their prisoners to Carrickfergus "to be there put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity for the Barbadoes." Among others, an aged priest, named Paul Cashin, was arrested at his mission in Maryborough, and hurried off towards Carrickfergus. On the way he fell dangerously ill at Philipstown. A petition was sent in his name to the Commissioners, asking them to permit him to remain there; and these replied by an order, dated August 27th, 1656, which allowed him sixpence a day during his sickness, "to be continued to him thence to Carrickfergus, in order to his transportation to the Barbadoes."<sup>12</sup>

A Commission was issued out of his Highness the Lord Protector's Court of Chancery, under the Great Seal of Ireland, bearing date, at Dublin, the 30th day of July, 1657, for the uniting and dividing of parishes, ordering and placing of churches, erecting and endowing of free schools, and to hear and inquire of divers other matters in the said Commission contained, upon the oaths of honest and lawful men. Inquisition was, accordingly, taken at Maryborough, for the Queen's County, on the 13th of October, 1657, before Sir Charles Coote, Knight Baronet, President of the province of Connaught, Henry

and neighbours of these parts so much honor, esteem, and love you. But, good madam, it has pleased God that this separation of friends should happen, and though I think you have no malice to us, yet are you the supporter and maintainer of that place and of those that are malicious. And as they have used these horses you write of, so if they be restored I should arm and help my enemy against myself. But if you assure me no such use shall be made of them I shall get them restored which truly I hold a small and poor courtesy. I should say more, but I am unwilling to

imitate those who stuff their letters with bragging, flaunting, or foppery, only saying I wish with all my heart your ladyship were out of danger.

And so I take leave and remain your ladyship's friend and servant in what I may.

RO. MOORE.

5th September, 1642.

<sup>12</sup> See Myles O'Reilly's "Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries," p. 273: London, 1868, 8vo.





Gilbert, Robert Preston, Raphael Hunt, Henry Owen, Francis Barrington, Thomas Pigot, William Scot, John Rawlins, Gilbert Rawson, Henry Lestrangle, and William Weldon, Esqrs.

In 1654 Dr. Wm. Petty had been formally appointed to make a survey of the forfeited lands.<sup>13</sup> Petty may be described as one of the most successful of "adventurers." He came to Ireland, it is said, on a salary of £1 a day as Cromwell's State Apothecary. In a few years he was owner of 50,000 acres in Kerry, where he laid the foundations of the Lansdowne family and estate. His principles seem to have been sufficiently accommodating if one may judge of them by the terms of his will, in which he says that he dies "in the practice of such religious worship as I find established by the law of my country." He undertook to survey, and measure, and map all forfeited lands, profitable or unprofitable, barony by barony and parish by parish, down to ploughlands and townlands and all Crown and ecclesiastical lands, and to complete the task in thirteen months. The army, the adventurers, and the Government accepted his proposal, and in 1654 articles were signed. The redoubtable Doctor kept his contract, and the result of his labours was that cardinal document of history "The Down Survey." His survey of the Queen's County he set out as follows:—Under the Barony of Balliadams—Lands profitable, 7,392a. or. op.; Lands unprofitable, 23a. 1r. 20p.; Glebe and Church Lands, 145a. 1r. op.; total, 7,560a. 2r. 20p. Under that of Upper Ossory—Lands profitable, 54,672a. 1r. 4p.; Lands unprofitable, 3,262a. 3r. 20p.; Glebe and Church Lands, 1,698a. 3r. 8p.; total, 59,633a. 3r. 32p.<sup>14</sup> The forfeited profitable Lands disposable to the Army at £7 3s. 4d. per thousand acres in the Queen's County were found to be 62,064a. 1r. 4p.; while the unprofitable Lands lying in distinct parcels, each of them under 500a. at £3 per thousand acres, were 3,286a. 1r. op. The Bishops' Lands, Glebe Lands, and other Church Lands, Crown Lands, &c., at £3 per thousand acres in the Queen's County, are set down as 1,844a. or. 8p.<sup>15</sup>

Sir Wm. Petty's survey, in addition to giving the acreage and value of the forfeited lands, gives a most minute and (apart from the spelling) fairly accurate geographical and topographical description of the county. He divided it into eight districts corresponding with the eight baronies of which it at that time consisted. The chief objects of interest in each barony are thus enumerated on Petty's maps:—

I.—In *Mariburogh* barony:—Shayne Castle, Knockangrogh, Shraghboe, Rathnamana, Little and Great Burres—apparently the names of rivers flowing northward to the Barrow—Burres, Kilminie (a castle), Cloneehur, Gurtins, Cloanrush, Commons, all lying north of the town of Mariburogh, Killealy (Kilteale), and Dunam (Dunamase) Castle, eastwards, and south-eastwards Kilmanbane (Kilcolmanbane,

<sup>13</sup> See "The History of the Survey of Ireland, commonly called the Down Survey," by Doctor William Petty, A.D. 1655-6, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with another in the possession of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, and one in the Library of the King's Inns, Dublin, by Thomas Aiskew Larcom,

F.R.S., M.R.I.A., etc., Major, Royal Engineers, Dublin. Printed for the Irish Archaeological Society, MDCCCLI., 4to.

<sup>14</sup> See "A Particular of the Contents of the Baronys admeasured by Dr. Petty, which have been examined in the Surveyor-General's Office," *ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>15</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.



a church), Cappanly B: charnan and Ballyknockan. North-westwards Clonagh, Ballyfin (a castle with woods and mountains to the north), Camboan and Errie, written over a tract of bog. South, south-west, and west lie Red Castle, Mountraths with a town and church (Clonenagh), Dysertbeagh (a church), Iron Mills, Clonehene, Cloandogas, Roscoltean, Killeany, Buolie (the last four castles), Cromoge (church), Cappaghbegkinny, Tinekilly, Culty, Cappanalogie, Scotch-rath. Four detached tracts of bog, three streams flowing into the Nore, and a wood in the extreme southern angle, are additional features represented.

II.—In *Stradbally* barony:—Moret Castle, and near it Kilnenchy—apparently a castle—in the north-west angle. A nameless object—apparently a castle—still nearer the north. Another nameless object—apparently a castle—on the west. Towards the south are Tymoge, Cloghpook, Thomaclavan; and on the east Inchy, Munifarick, Garrans, Baune, Ballickilkavan, Blackford, Cardone, Drumin, Balliduffe. The remainder of this barony is blank and featureless.

III.—In *Cullinagh* barony the following castles appear on the west and south:—B; gegill, Balliroan, Sampson's Court, Ballinekill with its town; Cashill, Balliruan, Curbin, Clonecullan, Balliroan, Raginbrog, Ballinlogh, Rathmoyle, Tunduffe, Balltarsney, Boyley, Cloneheene, Abbeyleix, Cloboge, Ballemullan, Ralish, Clonekeen. Two streams and four detached bogs appear on the western side; all the eastern division is blank; in the extreme north, B: Gormill is named.

IV.—In *Slewmargie* barony we find Killebane and Killeshin represented as churches; Ballinagall, Crottintegall, Shroule, B: moyes and Curragh represented as castles. The other denominations are Rahaspuge, Dunnan, Ballinslatty, Farran, Coolenowle, Clonborkan, Gurtins, Tirernan, Clonagh, Rosnagh, Killyney, Ballirabin, Shiagh, Cuday, Towlerton, Garindenny, Shroule, Rosnelig, B: hormer, Capandinrosse, Leagh, Haristowne, Sleatie, Garough, Sleatie, Clonemore, Ballaghkilla, Dinny head, Old Dorock (old Derrig), Rosmore, and Ballihid. The Diny fl. (a river) is shown, and several clumps of trees scattered over the western portion.

V.—In *Tenehinch* barony we have Kilmanvan and Reyrimore churches; Castlebrack and Mountmelick towns; with the houses Shraduffe, Killen, and Tenehinch; Lough Lanch is also shown towards the northern boundary.

VI.—In *Portnehinch* barony are the churches of Lea, Portnehinch, Kilnecrassagh, and Coolebane; the castles of Mancland, Killmullin, Ballibritts, Ballitegduffe, Ballecallenbeg, and Coolebane, besides one between the present Coolbanagher old church and Moret Castle; the chief houses are Ferehogher and Imoe.

VII.—In *Upper Ossory* barony there are the churches of Erris, Churchtown, Aghavoe, Downaghmore, Killeny, Aghamart and Durrow; the towns or castellated houses of Castletowne, Mondrehid, Belaghmore, Kildill, Tenter, Downaghmore, Cooledery, Rathpip, Balligrahin, Rosdereagh, Banahery, and Archerstown; the private





houses of Clonecouse, Clonin, Mamen, Muncultipenan, Lismore, Carran, Killadowell, Bordwell, Castlecruffin, Ballibuggy, Gragadisly, Cullyhill, Carrorea, Ballenkeale, Fermoye, and Agharny.

VIII.—In *Balliadams* barony are the churches of Kilmacready, Donbrin, Tankardstown, Killebban; the forts of Milltown and Monksgrange, and the houses of Balliadams, Cronagh, Balliduffe, and Ballilehan.

Large spaces were left blank in each barony. These represented the unforfeited lands. No roads are marked. The course of the Barrow, Nore, and a few other principal streams can be traced. Trees are set down at intervals, chiefly among the Slieve Bloom and Slieve-margy hills, from which we may conclude that excepting in these hilly districts the great woods which formed the chief feature of the map of 1563 had practically all disappeared.

## CHAPTER XXVI.—THE 17TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1660-1700.

THE restoration of Charles II. brought a ray of hope to the dispossessed loyalists in Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant. Their proved devotion to the royal cause seemed to warrant their belief that now that the King had come "to enjoy his own again" those who had lost their all in the royal service would be speedily restored to their forfeited estates. Hence in all the chief towns of Ireland the proclamation of King Charles II. was received with every manifestation of popular joy. But soon the disillusionment came. The Act of Settlement, published on the 30th November, 1660, clearly indicated that the influence of the Undertakers was in the ascendant. The Act confirmed to the adventurers all the lands possessed by them on 7th May, 1659, under the terms of the Cromwellian Settlement. Protestants, however, whose estates had been handed over to adventurers or soldiers, were to be immediately restored unless they had been in rebellion before the cessation of 1643, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare; and the adventurers or soldiers thus dispossessed were to receive compensation. This consideration for Protestants compared very favourably with the treatment meted out to Catholics. These, unless "Innocent Papists" (which practically meant innocent of participation in the acts of the Confederates not approved by Ormond) were to receive no redress. The "Innocent Papists" were classified as follows:—First, those who had been transplanted merely because of their religion. These were to be restored. Next, Articlemen entitled to be restored by the Articles of the Peace of '48. Then Ensignmen, or those who had rallied to the King's Standards, or Ensigns, in Flanders, Spain, and France. Lastly, the King's Nominees, or those on whom he intended to confer favours. These three last classes were only to be restored after compensation had been made to the Cromwellians in possession.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See John P. Prendergast's "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660 to 1690," first part.



In the new Parliament, convened in Dublin in 1661<sup>2</sup> to legalise the Act of Settlement, there was only one Catholic member. Needless to say from such a House Catholics could hope for no redress of their grievances. So thoroughly and successfully was the "Protestant interest" worked that a new Act called the "Act of Explanation" was extorted from the King.<sup>3</sup> The Act of Explanation provided that the adventurers, and soldiers, should give up a third of their grants to be applied to the purpose of increasing the fund for reprisals; that in all cases of competition between the Protestants and Roman Catholics every ambiguity should be interpreted in favour of the former; that twenty more of the Irish should be restored by special favour, and that all the other Catholics should be treated as disqualified. More than three thousand old proprietors were thus excluded for ever from the inheritance of their fathers. The immense Cromwellian confiscations were confirmed; and it was estimated that the Protestants possessed four-fifths of the whole kingdom, whilst of the Protestant landowners in 1689 two-thirds are said to have held their estates under the Act of Settlement of 1660.<sup>4</sup>

An Inquisition taken at Maryborough, the 4th of November, 1661, states, that [ ] Weldon was seized in fee of the towns and lands of Moneyquid, Coolnapessie, Cappabega, and Cappanerin, in the Queen's County, when he died May 20th, 1647, which premisses were held of the king *in capite*, but by what title the jurors knew not. His son and heir, John, was 17 years and 6 months old, and unmarried, at the time of his father's death.

In an Inquisition held at Maryborough, the 23rd of October, 1662, Barnaby Dunn, of Ballynekill, in the Queen's County, was seized in fee of the villages and lands of Shragcullen, containing 48 acres; Derry, Rossinare, and Capparoe, and also the villages and lands of Brookagh and Calliwolan, containing 70 acres and 130 acres; of Mountmelicke, Garryfellan, Garryconnagh, Nerry, Graige, Cammory, Farranlankeine, Garrykunny, Ardaraghmoile, and Garteine, 198 acres "de quarter"; town and lands of Brittas, Garrough, Laskagh, Scarroone, Cappabrogan, and Lackamore—except 106 acres of the same assigned as glebe-land to the church of Kilmanman, in the territory of Iregan—the whole rectory of Oregan, called Rossanolis, Ririmore, Kilmanvan, and Castlebracke, and of all the glebe lands pertaining to the said rectory, as also of the villages and lands of Ballynebog, Culemonine, Parkleg,<sup>5</sup> and Parkemore, Farranclanfin, Fillenparson,

<sup>2</sup> See "An Act for the better Execution of his Majesties gracious Declaration for the Settlement of His Kingdome of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Souldiers, and other His Majesties Subjects there," Dublin, printed by John Crook, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1662, pp. 1 to 152, small fol. Also "His Majesties gracious Declaration for the Settlement of His Kingdom of Ireland and satisfaction of the several interests of Adventurers, Souldiers, and other His subjects there." This is followed by "A Compleat Index to the Act of Settlement and to the Explanatory Act

of Settlement. Whereby the Reader may at first sight know the several Concerns and the Differences between the said Acts. As likewise by the Marks *Ex.* and *N.* whatsoever of the first Act is already Executed, or made Null by the Explanatory Act." This index, usually bound with the former Act, has the date, Dublin 1666, with an addition "and are to be sold by *Sam Dancer*, in Castle Street."

<sup>3</sup> See John P. Prendergast's "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660 to 1690," third part.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibid.*, second part.

<sup>5</sup> Mistake for Parkbeg.





Derrygoran, and Lisbrin, in said County. He held all these at the time of his death, November 17th, 16[ ]1, and those premisses descended to Charles Dunn, of Brittas, who entered into possession of them.

By Inquisition held at Maryborough, 10th of April, 1673, it was found that on the 22nd of October, 1641, James MacDaniel had been seized in fee of 36 acres, in the village of Cullaghy, in the barony of Pertnahinch and Queen's County.<sup>6</sup> He held those until the breaking out of the rebellion, on the 23rd of October, 1641, on which account, these possessions were confiscated and sequestrated. On the same day, the aforesaid James MacDaniel was seized in fee of 26 acres and one rood of land in the village of Derryill, in the aforesaid barony and county; omitting 21 acres in the same village, granted by letters patent from the aforesaid King,<sup>7</sup> to a certain John Hales, Major and Burgess of the City of Gloucester, in England, besides 233 acres, as also 310 acres 3 roods and 16 perches granted to a certain Nathaniel Vincent. These possessions he forfeited in consequence of his taking part in the aforesaid rebellion. However, by virtue of a decree passed, the rights of one Margaret MacDonnell were preserved.

On the 22nd of October, 1641, James, Baron of Dunboyne, was seized in fee of 42 acres and 7 perches of land, in the village of Scotch-rath, in the barony of Maryborough; omitting 90 acres in the same village belonging to one Joseph Sheffield, and 156 acres 2 roods and 37 perches, belonging to a certain Edward Barkham, a soldier, and respectively holding by letters patent from the Crown. These lands the Baron held until the breaking out of that rebellion, when they are declared to have been forfeited. Again, the said Baron at the same date held in fee 13 acres 2 roods and 39 perches of land, in the village of Disert-Beagh; omitting 589 acres given by letters patent of the king to John Preston. The Baron's holding was declared to have been forfeited, in consequence of the part he took in the rebellion.

On the 22nd of October, 1641, Thomas Devells was seized in fee of 73 acres and 22 perches of land, in the village of Killishin, in the barony of Slewmary, and these were forfeited, on account of the part he took in the rebellion. Near Killishin, Charles Lloyd, a soldier, held 259 acres, John Merrick held 333 acres and 32 perches, Nathaniel Hewett held 111 acres and 16 perches, while Charles Chaney held 341 acres 2 roods and 16 perches by royal letters patent.

The same day, Thomas Hovendon was seized in fee of 301 acres and 1 rood of land, in the village of Towlerton, in the barony of Slewmary, which he forfeited in that rebellion. The rights of Thomas Hovendon, junior, were saved. Furthermore, it is noticed that one John Palmer held 72 acres in the same village, by letters patent, and that he forfeited 228 acres of land, in the villages of Mondrehitt and of Eglis, in the barony of Upper Ossory; besides 111 acres 1 rood and 13 perches of land, in the villages of Cappanaherny and Derryarrow, in the barony of Upper Ossory. Reservations seem to have been made in favour of Charles, Earl of Mountrath, holding 153 acres and 2 roods, as also of the Earl of Mount Alexander, holding

<sup>6</sup> Within brackets is added "ultra 14 acr., 2rod; et 16 ptic' in eadem vil; cui-dam Wil' Legatt, per Regem per literas

suas patent concess', et 373 acr' cuidam Joh' Vaughan concess'."

<sup>7</sup> ? Charles I.



238 acres and 2 roods, and of Samuel Clark, holding 184 acres 2 roods and 27 perches, all which were held by royal letters patent.

A tract of land in Castlebrack, barony of Tinehinch, containing 336 acres, is declared forfeited in an Inquisition held at Maryborough, on the 19th of August, in the 3rd year of King Charles' reign. Also in the Barony of Upper Ossory, 100 acres in the village of Ballinrally, 171 acres in the village of Rosdredagh, 34 acres in Knockbracke, Gortnapishy, and Shangowny, 60 acres in Killbrickan, Cule, and Camcloan, 37 acres in Castle-fleminge, Shinderry, Cooleatrine, Brockery, Knockna, Knothicarr, and Derryne, 230 acres in Cullikill, Ballyneveene, and Rahinlagher, and 26 acres in the village of Cloneeb were declared forfeited. The foregoing denominations are declared to have been forfeited to the king in consequence of the part taken by their former owners in the Insurrection of 1641.<sup>8</sup>

In 1686, Alderman John Preston, of the City of Dublin, was granted 1,737 acres of land upon trusts, one of which was to pay a salary of £35 to a Protestant master to teach at Navan, and another to pay £52 on the like terms to a master at Ballyroan, Queen's County.<sup>9</sup>

From the 15th Report of the Commissioners of Public Records (Ireland) we find that by patent dated 1 May 21 Charles II., this Alderman Preston was granted the following parcels of land in the Queen's County:—Barony of Maryborough.—Cromoge, 624a. 2r. 14p. profitable, 362: 1: 16 unprof. Cappalakeany, 796: 2: 14 prof., 197 unprof. Deseart-Beagh, 523 prof. and 123: 3: 24 unprof. Tenekilly, 71: 2: 3 prof. Roskiltan, 472: 1 prof., 48: 3 unprof. Barony of Portnehinch.—Imoe, 192 prof. and 128: 1: 18 unprof. Ballicullane, 143: 3: 24 and 160: 3: 24. Ballinrudderie, 112: 3: 8, and 32: 2: 4. Larragh, 62 prof. and 26: 3: 8 unprof. Dingins, 19: 1: 24. Barony of Slewmargin.—Ballyhide, 148: 0: 16. Barony of Tinehinch.—Castlebrack and Grange, 474 prof. and 147 unprof. Others who figure prominently amongst the beneficiaries of the Acts of Settlement, etc., of Charles' reign are the Earl of Arlington (Bennett), the Earl of Mountrath (Coote), Pole (Peryam of Dublin, Esq.), Smith (Erasmus, Esq.), Tooke (Edward, Esq.), Wheeler (Sir Charles, Bart.), and Wood (John, gent.). Henry, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State of England, by privy signet dated at Hampton Court, 6th August, 1662, was granted the reversion of the O'Dempsey estates in Kildare, King's, and Queen's Counties. These included the following:—Barony of Portnehinch: Ballibrittas, Killagarra, or Garry, Garrycaddle, Ballishanduffe, Rathmiller alias Rathmines, Ballynowlart *als.* Catharinestown, Graigverin *als.* Graigferin *als.* Northgrange, and Ballyaddins or Ing *als.* Ballyaden *als.* Eastfield, 1,128a. 1r. 38p. profitable, 242a. 2r. 24p. unprofitable: Ballintogher, Ballygowne, Killiglish

<sup>8</sup> See "Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ asservatarum Repertorium," vol. i., Lagenia, Com. Regine, 1826, fol.

See the "Irish Union Magazine," vol. i., No. i., p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> This endowment was misapplied, and the abuses connected with it were fully set forth before the Committee of Inquiry of the House of Lords of 1764, before the Education Commissioners of 1791, and

before the Royal Commissioners of 1807-12. In consequence of those abuses, a special clause was introduced into the act of 1813 vesting the estate in the Commissioners of Education established under that statute. A suit which lasted 99 years respecting this charity was commenced in 1734, and was concluded in 1833, the law costs for the first 74 years having amounted to £3,000.



*als.* Pavington, Clooneen or Clonine *als.* Closeland, 729a. 2r. 8p. profitable, 139a. unprofitable: Cooletowdery *als.* Cullendery or Cultudery, *alias* Port-Arlington, Enoghcorr or Eveghcorr, Glardine or Ellardine, Gallaghnocloghery or Gallanailogherry, Shyannocke or Sushannocke and Ballaghamannon, 540a. profitable, 53a. 1r. 16p. unprofitable: Toicogher *als.* Tircoger *alias* Forraigne, and Euraclowne or Guraclon *alias* Brackloon *alias* Graymarsh, 370a. 3r. 32p. profitable, 6a. 1r. 8p. unprofitable: Ballycodiffe *als.* Ballyteigeduffe *als.* Jamestown, 354a. or. 32p. profitable, 79a. unprofitable: Rathrousin *als.* Rathacres, 725a. or. 8p. profitable, 56a. unprofitable: Killeskeraghmore, Killeskeraghbeg, Grageneskerry and Bellingue or Bellnigue *alias* Fisherstown, 307a. 3r. 8p. profitable, 33a. 2r. 32p. unprofitable: Ballyfobole *als.* Ballyfoboyle *als.* Ballypoble *alias* Cordustown, and Barretoben, 345a. profitable, 186a. 1r. 8p. unprofitable: Kinester Magna, Kinester Parva, Killmallyluagh *als.* Killmullin, Clonana *als.* Millsbury, Ballycarroll, or Corral, Poulagh *als.* Carrollsby, Derrynefonsy or Fousy *alias* Derrynefonsin *alias* Hoopegrove or Hopegrove, 567a. 1r. 24p. profitable, 66a. 1r. 8p. unprofitable: Kilne Courts *alias* Upper and Lower Kilne Courts *als.* Cilne Courts *als.* Cloyneihter, Clownoughter *alias* Courtwood, Kellocke, and the two Killbreckans or Killbrettans *als.* Cchequerton, 1,156a. 2r.: Ballymorish *als.* Maurishtown, 407a. or. 32p. profitable, 9p. unprofitable: Rathleisse *als.* Rathleissagh *als.* Lowerland, Rathwillis, Rathnegarragh, Colebride, Mackowdowra or Muckowdowragh, 138a. profitable, 26a. unprofitable: Fyragnasper, Garrycormacke, Derryoughter or Derryraghter or Derrysher, Owraghery or Owroghere, Collefin, Farraghanine or Farragharnon or Glorcodiny, Cloneskally or Clonloushasly and Graginstown or Graghein-Clewne.<sup>10</sup>

The first Earl of Mountrath (Sir Charles Coote) was the second of the name to figure in the history of Ireland. His father, and namesake, who had come from England in Elizabeth's reign, had been slain at Trim in 1642, after an adventurous career. The son proved himself, unmistakably, a chip of the old block. He succeeded his father as Provost-Marshal of Connaught; and having sided with the Parliamentarians, he abandoned that side when the proper time came, and used his influence successfully to overturn the Protectorate. In February, 1660, when President of Connaught, he sent Sir Arthur Forbes to Brussels with a message to the Marquess of Ormond that he might assure his Majesty of his affection and duty, and that if his Majesty would vouchsafe to come into Ireland he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him.<sup>11</sup> The King returned a gracious

<sup>10</sup> All the above lands (together with others in King's Co.) were created into the Manor of Port-Arlington. Patent dated 17 July, 18 Charles II., inrolled 17 August, 1666.

Lord Arlington, by another Patent, was privileged to keep 2 fairs at his Manor of Port Arlington, ye one on Easter Monday, and ye other on ye 1st and 2nd of October: And Portarlington was made a free Borough and Corporation by the name of The Borough and town of Portarlington, consisting of one

Sovereign, 2 Portrisses or Bailiffs, and 12 Burgesses, a Recorder and Town Clerk; and extending every way 100 Acres from ye pass over the river Barrow, commonly called Belladrite, near Portarlington. The Borough to send 2 Burgesses to Parliament; to keep a Wednesday market, etc. Patent dated 3 August, 19 Charles II., inrolled 23 August, 1667.

<sup>11</sup> See Clarendon's "Hist. of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England," vol. iii., b. 16, p. 435. Dublin, 1719.



reply, containing a promise to do what became him towards the gratifying and obliging of such a faithful servant.<sup>12</sup> He offered to make Sir Charles an earl, to give him such a command as should please him, and to take his whole family into his particular care. Sir Charles then proceeded with great zeal and address to prepare his officers for the Restoration of the Stuart Monarchy.<sup>13</sup> On the 29th of May, 1660, Charles II. entered London in triumph, and was proclaimed King. The following year Sir Charles Coote was ennobled, and appointed Governor of the Queen's County.<sup>14</sup> By Patents, dated respectively 26th October 18 Charles II., and 6th April 21 Charles II., the new Earl of Mountrath was granted the following lands<sup>15</sup>:—

Barony of Upper Ossory:—In Ballynahaly, 33a.: Cappanary, Cluonkurkin, Killasery and Laghamore, 130a.; In pasturable mountain, 94a. 3r. 5p.; In Moneley, 5a.; Comor, 57a. 2r.; Bealnahcy, 77a. 2r.; Killonbeg and Collenure, 80a.: Fewran and Shaduff, 82a.; Derry-carrow and Derrylisky, 281a.; In Bally McVrully, Killnaroe, and Moneriny, 180a.; In the woods of Ballinrally, 1,100a.; Ballymore and Ballynelea, 850a.; In both Ballintagoils and Killverturk, 51a.; In Mendrohit, 153a. 2r.: In Cluonenose, Kells, and Kellballyduff, 1,540a.; In Killbuckane, Clone, arnd Clarnclone, 343a.; Ballymoymore, Ballymoybeg, Garronkeile, Clarane, and Shangary, 310a.: In Knock-bracke, Gortnepiske and Shangary, 468a. 1r.: Ballytasny, Castlegar-ron, Forragh, and Donnoghory, 527a.; Manyufeaghfyn, Cloghquill, and Rathloran, 331a.: Loran and Derehavan, 264a. 2r. 26p.: Shranboy, Lackytarsey or Lacktrasney, Coppa, Callicute or Coylecutt, 332a.: In Comer, 49a.

The lands obtained by "Peryam Pole, Esq., of Dublin" (Patent 27 June 18 Charles II.), were the following:—

Barony of Maryborough:—The lands of Eyrye, Ballyfynne *alias* Ballytinne, Carnoland, 1,198a. 1r. 28p. profitable; 2,056a. 2r. 32p. unprofitable.

Barony of Portnehinch:—Acragarre, 259a. 3r. 24p. profitable, 43a. 1r. 24p. unprofitable.

Barony of Stradbally:—Inchy and Rathvadocke, 196a. profitable, 45a. 3r. 16p. unprofitable.

The "Erasmus Smith" lands are set down thus:—Barony of Tinnehinch: Coolenow 46a. 3r. Part of Killmeanane next Killoge 128a. In Ballynemoney and Aghavane 79a. 1s. 18p.

In the barony of Slewmary "Edward Tooke, Esq.," obtained a Patent (20 Dec. 18 Charles II.) for the following lands:—

Barony of Slewmary:—In the north part of Shrowle and Burnesure, 573a. 3r. 20p.; Rosindigan, 32a. 2r. 32p.; Rathilligg, 143a. 2r. profitable, 21a. unprofitable; Oldleagh, 86a. 3r. prof., 15a. 2r. unprof.; Ballinrahin, 108a.; Ballynegall, 378a. prof, 106a. unprof.; Rossenagh, 162a. 2r. prof., 47a. 2r. 16p. unprof.; In Clonagh, 112a. 2r. 22p. prof.,

<sup>12</sup> See Carte's "Life of James, Duke of Ormond."

<sup>13</sup> See Leland's "History of Ireland," etc., vol. iii., book 6, c. 2, pp. 403-407.

<sup>14</sup> See Sir Harris Nicholas' "Chronology of History," p. 341.

<sup>15</sup> See the 15th Report of the Commissioners of the Public Records (1825). The Barony of Upper Ossory (so frequently mentioned) was divided—about 1836—into the 3 baronies of Clarmalagh, Clandonagh, and Upperwoods.



37a 3r. 24p. unprof. These last two denominations to be holden only during the life of John Hovenden.

Ballymacmoyler, 386a. prof., 118a. 1r. 16p. unprof; Shrah and Cuddagh, 110a. 2r.

"Sir Charles Wheeler, Bart.," would seem to have done well under the Settlement and Explanation regime. By Patent dated 31 March, 21 Charles II., he secured the following:—

Barony of Upper Ossory:—Graigevoisse, 222a.; In Killennybeg, Killennymore, and Knocknagrasse *als.* Knocknegrally near to Graigevoisse, 396a. 2r. 13p.: In Graces Castle, Shallbally *als.* Shanbally, Tumacrosse *als.* Tomcroe, 339a.; Rathquill or Quill, 144a.: In Aghmacarte and Canons Wood, 8a. 3r. 22p.: In Graganossy N. part, 149a. 1r. 5p.: In Graganan or Graige-Arran and Ballingrasse, 30a. 1r.: In Lavally *als.* Loughvally, 16a.: Bawnballyemon, *als.* Bawnebally-Edmond, 79a. profitable, 29a. 2r. 20p. unprofitable: In the S. part of Ballybuggy and Cryhallagh, 13a. profitable, 80a. unprofitable: In Clooneske *als.* Clooneeke, 92a. 3r. 14p.: The moiety of Coololy, 145a.: In Ballygehin, Crovell, Garranvooly, Cloquillmore, Cloquilbeg, Culfin, Ballygenan, Fyraffin, and Knockanvane contiguous to Aghaboe, 540a. 2r. 15p.: In S.E. of Harristown *als.* Bally-Henry, 84a.: More in same, 83a.: In Dreman and the lands contiguous being part of Castle Fleming, Shian-derry, Cooletrim, Brokery, Knocklea, Knockicarr and Derri-morishagh, 76a. profitable, 40a. unprofitable; on the W. by S. of said Castle Fleming, 115a. 1r. 39p.: In S.E. part of Rathaleugh and Killchenagh, 28a. or. 18p.: In S.E. part of Ballyanly and Garryduffe, 180a. 1r. 5p. profitable, 140a. unprofitable: In both Ballintaggart and Kilvartin contiguous to Castletown and Rahin, 103a. 3r. 8p.; Castletown, 96a.: In the S. part of Kilbredemore 20a. 3r. 20p.: In Banoge, called the moiety of Lacgaragh and Banoge, 51a.: In Kilneseire (2 parts), 82a. 3r. 13p. profitable, 26a. 3r. unprofitable.

"Wood, John, Gent.," obtained the following grants in the barony of Tenehinch:—Druminer *als.* Druma *als.* Drum, 148a. 3r. 8p. prof., 290a. 3r. 30p. unprof.: Tenehinch, Derynabehy, and Aghvolly, 744a. prof., 560a. unprof.: In Upper Coolemonine adjoining Tenehinch, 72a. 2r. 29p. prof., 282a. 2r. unprof.; Derrynagh and Garrane, 14a. 3r. 24p. prof., 4a. 1r. 24p. unprof.

Patent dated 10 Feb., 22 Charles II., enrolled 25 Feb., 1670.

For the sake of our readers who may be interested in the "Vicissitudes of County Families" we subjoin a list of other persons to whom Patents, etc., were granted, during this reign, for lands in the Queen's County. We select the more important grants.

Almery, George, Esq.—Barony of Slewmargin: Curragh, Harristown, Cloonemore, Garrough, Old Dorockes (Old Derrig), etc. (Parts of). Anglesey, Earl of.—Ballyadams (barony of):—Tankardstown (parts of), Ballylehan (do.), Skaechanagh (do.), Cloonipiers (do.), Coole-garragh (do.). Barony of Upper Ossory:—Coolebally, Ballyholy, or Garriduffe.

Berrill, Thos., Esq.—889a. 1r. 26p. in Upper Ossory. (In Ballygehin, Garranbolly, Cooléfin, etc.)

Blundell, Overington, Gent.—In U. Ossory:—104a. in Kilbredebeg, to be called "Overingtoun."



- Byrne, Daniel.—In U. Ossory—Ballintaggarts, Kilvartin, Aghkipp, and Ballycolledbeg (about 400 acres).
- Dongan, Lord.—Barony of Maryborough:—Rathmanagh, Knockanegrough, etc., Cooletorin, Ballyteigin, Knockanederry.
- Evares, Capt. Thomas.—Ossory: Derrin, etc., Gortneclogh, Borard, etc.
- Fenwick, Ralph; French, John; and Fogg, Margt. and John (Upper Ossory), Ballinkealy, Ballymony, etc.
- Gale, Anthony (Slewmary), Crockenteagle, 415a.
- Hamilton, Sir Hans (do.), Burrishlatty, Dunane, 81a.
- Helsham, Capt. (U. Ossory), Ballymullen, Clanmore, Gorryduff, etc.
- Ivory, Wm. (do.), Coolefine, Kilbredemore.
- Kingston, Lord—Coolkerry, Rathpiper, etc., U. Ossory.
- Lapsley, Thos. (do.), Greganoss, Minog, Shranarrow, etc.
- Manly, James and John, minors.—Castle Fleming, etc., in U. Ossory.
- Markes, Nat., Esq.—Slewmary (Clonagh, etc.), Tinnehinchy (Garryhider and Lisveroode).
- May, Abraham, Gent. (lands in U. Ossory), Rathneleagh, Skirke, etc.
- Merrick, John, Gent.—Slewmary. In N.E. part of Killeslin.
- Nearne, John.—Ballyroan parish, "the impropriate tithes of, forever."
- Newnam, Thos. Capt.—Shralea, Graig and Garran, etc., in U. Ossory.
- Pennefather, John, Capt.—Walter Castle, Killgrace, etc., in U. Ossory.
- Redman, Daniel, Esq.—Coolohill, Ballynevin, etc., in U. Ossory.
- Reed, James, and Butterfield, Patrick (U.O.). In S.W. part of Longford, etc.
- Richards, Capt. Thos.—Boherard, Ardamallagh, Ballymylodbeg, Ballymylodmore, etc. (U.O.). Tentor, Eglis, Nicolov, etc.
- Segar, Richard.—Clonena, and Clonchin, parish of—"The impropriate tithes of, forever."
- Shapcote, Robert.—The Commons profitable belonging to Ballyfinne, Camoloan, and Eiry, 2,098a. 2r. 32p.
- Sheffield, Joseph, Gent.—Cappagnaghcloghy, Capowly *als* Capaully, Scotch Rath, parts of.
- Short, John, Ensign.—Kilbredimore, Garryduffe, Castle Fleming, etc., parts of (U. Ossory). Also Dillihagabane, Killidillige, etc.
- Symnell, Thos., Esq.—Cudaghmore, Cuddabeg, Kilbrickan, Camplone, etc., parts of (Upper Ossory). Rathfealan, 43a.
- Taylor, Thos., Gent.—Barony of U.O.:—Killnesseragh, Carricke and ye islands adjoining being part of Ballymoney, 70a.
- Temple, Sir John (Master of the Rolls).—Gurtinemallagh, Leagh and Lackagh, parts of, in U. Ossory. In Killanure, 387a.
- Wallin, Samuel.—Slewmary: Clonebeckan, Gurteene, Tirernan (parts of).
- Walsh, Walter, gent.—Maryborough: The Castle, manor and lands of Killeany, 797a. 2r. 32p. profitable; 32a. 1r. 24p. unprofitable.
- Westerne, Robert, haberdasher, London.—Rahinbroge, Ballyroane, etc. (parts of). Ballygegill, 210a. 1r. 16p.
- Wheeler, Oliver, Esq.—Archesstown, Grenan, Croghtenemonta, Aghaturne, etc. (U. Ossory).

It may be doubted if half a dozen of these planters and undertakers have any direct representatives in the county at the present day. Many of them—soldiers of fortune, and speculators—parted with their plots, to the highest bidder, almost immediately after acquiring them.



Very few of their names occur amongst those of the county who were attainted by the Irish Parliament of King James II. in 1689.

After the rebellion of 1688, which deprived King James II. of his crown, Ireland was fated to become the battleground of the contending parties until the Treaty of Limerick ended the conflict.

Having landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689, about a month after the election of William and Mary by the English convention, King James entered Dublin in state on the 24th of the same month, and issued a proclamation, which summoned a Parliament there for the 7th of May, 1689.<sup>16</sup> Among those who sat in that Parliament in the House of Lords, as connected with the Queen's County, in title and estate, were Maximilian O'Dempsey, Lord Viscount Glenmalier, who was Lord Lieutenant of the Queen's County, and Brian Fitzpatrick, Lord Baron of Upper Ossory. The Members of the House of Commons for the county were Sir Patrick Trant, Knight, one of the Irish Commissioners of Revenue, and Edmond Morris, Deputy Lieutenant. For the Borough of Maryborough, the capital, sat Pierce Bryan, Esq., and Thady Fitzpatrick, Esq.—the latter being Deputy Lieutenant of Maryborough. For the Borough of Ballynakill, Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart., and Oliver Grace were returned as Members.<sup>17</sup> For the Borough of Portarlinton, the Members were Sir Henry Bond, Bart. (who was also one of the Receivers-General of the Irish Revenue,<sup>18</sup>) and Sir Thomas Hacket, Knt.

The Parliament proceeded to repeal the Settlement of 1660, actuated as it was by the desire to re-establish the descendants of the old proprietors upon their ancestral lands. This was followed by an Act of Attainder, which practically aimed at another complete subversion of the existing Irish land system. A list of more than two thousand landowners was drawn up who were to be attainted of high treason, and whose estates were to be forfeited, unless they could prove their innocence by personal attendance before the appointed date. Amongst these we find:—

Colonel John FitzPatrick, of Castletown.  
 Samuel Matthews, Esq., of Ballykeally.  
 Thomas Piggott, Gent., of Bannaghery.  
 Thomas Owens, Esq., of Rathmoyle.  
 William Beard, Gent., of Colt.  
 Captain Tobias Caulfield.  
 Thomas Piggott, Esq., of Grangbegg.  
 Hopton Harris, Gent., of Mountmellick.  
 Colonel Thomas Coote, Gent.  
 John Deacon, Gent., of Dromeene.  
 Henry West, Gent., of Corballis.  
 Thomas Kitchin, junr., Gent., of Slaty.  
 Isaac Haslam, Gent., of Maryborow.

<sup>16</sup> See Thomas Davis, "The Patriot Parliament of 1689, with its Statutes, Votes, and Proceedings," edited with an Introduction by the Hon. Sir Charles Duffy, K.C.M.G., chap. ii., p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> See *ibid.*, Appendix, A, pp. 156, 157, 166.

<sup>18</sup> As Collector of the Revenue on June 24th, 1690, Garret Trant was employed at Maryborough, while William Bourne was surveyor there. See Charles French Blake-Forster's "Irish Chieftains; or a Struggle for the Crown." Appendix, pp. 690 to 705.



St. Leger Gilbert, Gent., of Maryborow.  
 Adam Kidder, Gent., of Aghbo.  
 John Baly, Gent., of Corbally.  
 Thomas Starkey, of Mountrath.  
 Edw. Stubbers, Esq., of Clarane (? Currawn).  
 Maurice Cuffe, Gent., of Ballygehy.  
 Sam Preston, Esq., of Junnoe (? Emo).  
 F. Baily, Gent., of Corballis.  
 Nath. Keirin, Gent., of Esker.  
 Capt. T. Howard, of Clankelly.  
 John Starkey, Gent., of Lysseene.  
 Daniel Green, Gent., of Abbeyleix.  
 Jonathan Allard, Esq., of Tobberboe.  
 Capt. Thomas Denisy, of Clonruske.  
 Samuel Gale, of Crattentegle, Gent.  
 Nathaniel Nicholas, Marybarrogh, Gent.  
 Francis Wheeler, Garroneonly, Gent.  
 John Ashurt, Booly, Gent.  
 Robert Maxwell, Stradbally, Gent.  
 Robert Pigott, son of Thos. Pigott of Disert, Esq.  
 Robert Sanders, of Ballynegar, Esq.  
 Lancelot Sands, Killevan, Esq.  
 George Bridges, Borris (in Ossory), Esq.  
 Richard Pryor, Rathdowney, Esq.  
 Francis Barrington, Cullenagh, Esq.  
 —, Daniel, Ironworks, Esq.  
 Brook Bridges, Kilmency, Esq.  
 Charles Vaughan, Derrinvarnoge, Esq.  
 Richard Warburton, Garryhinch, Esq.

(From TEMPLE'S, *Irish Rebellion*.)

Amongst the claimants for restoration to their forfeited estates who had their claim allowed we find:—Thomas Hovenden; Captain Richard Tyrrell; Thomas Jacob, Stradbally; Sir Gregory Byrne, who had married Dame Alice daughter of Lord Randal of Slane. All of these belonged to the Queen's County. The forfeited estate of the Marquis of Ely was bestowed by Parliament on the Duke of Tyrconnel. Regarding the Queen's County portion of this estate two contemporary letters written by the Duke's factotum, Dan Doran, are found amongst other ancient documents preserved at Davidstown House, County Kildare. The Mr. Wm. Fitzgerald to whom the letters are addressed had probably been appointed agent over the Duke's estates. The first letter is addressed "to Wm. FitzGerald, Esq., att his house in Narraghmore, near Kilcullen bridge," and dated "Dublin Castle y<sup>e</sup> 25th febr, 89":—"Dr. Sr.—I had y<sup>r</sup> lett<sup>r</sup> just now & am persuaded y<sup>r</sup> sickness only can hinder y<sup>n</sup> to give all regulascons necessary to my L<sup>d</sup>. Duke's concerns in y<sup>r</sup> charge, and I will acquaint his Grace w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> care in preserving his right ag<sup>st</sup> false pretenders—y<sup>n</sup> may count upon y<sup>e</sup> Iron y<sup>n</sup> have already deliver'd & I believe I shall find y<sup>n</sup> chapmen for y<sup>e</sup> rest y<sup>t</sup> will pay y<sup>n</sup> at Mountmellick 20<sup>lb</sup> p. tun, but remember we are to pay Iron for y<sup>e</sup> sow-iron y<sup>n</sup> made use off & I will send y<sup>n</sup> an acct. to what it has been appraised. Neither Greenhill nor any other land in y<sup>r</sup> charge shall be sett w<sup>th</sup>out y<sup>r</sup> privity & approbation. But



as to charge me w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> receipt of y<sup>e</sup> rents of Mountmellick, sure y<sup>u</sup> would not be so unreasonable, knowing I have otherwise more to do than I goe through. Therefore pray doe not expect, for certainly I will not medle in it. It's even for y<sup>r</sup> sake I have rec<sup>d</sup> already one summe here upon y<sup>e</sup> acc<sup>t</sup> of Easter rent w<sup>ch</sup> I will putt into y<sup>r</sup> hands as soon y<sup>u</sup> com up to town. I write now to Patrick Dowling to this purpos y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ten<sup>ts</sup> may be compelled out of hand to acc<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup> & pay their arrears, wherein y<sup>u</sup> will be pleased to observe y<sup>t</sup> I have got y<sup>u</sup> all that y<sup>e</sup> army owed them, and to allow nothing but y<sup>e</sup> summe aforesaid mentioned in y<sup>e</sup> acquittances dated here in 9<sup>ber</sup> and X<sup>ber</sup> last. I'll let y<sup>u</sup> know further by y<sup>e</sup> next my L<sup>d</sup>'s opinion upon y<sup>e</sup> particulars of y<sup>r</sup> letter, & remaine y<sup>r</sup> most affection<sup>t</sup> humble serv<sup>t</sup>. Dan. Doran."

Another letter from the same to the same, is dated "Dublin, y<sup>e</sup> 25th April, '90," and runs thus:—"Sir—I spoke to my L<sup>d</sup>. Duke that y<sup>u</sup> should sell by y<sup>e</sup> tunn some of our Iron in Mountmellick, to the merch<sup>ts</sup> of Mountmellick at y<sup>e</sup> King's rate that they may sell by retails there in their shops for y<sup>e</sup> conveniency of y<sup>e</sup> country & y<sup>e</sup> army who complaine much y<sup>t</sup> at this time of need we keep our Iron loct up & will not sell it but at our own leisure & rates, and his Grace commanded me to direct y<sup>u</sup> to doe as I proposed, and as it will be of very ill example we should exact more than y<sup>e</sup> King's rate, soe it will be necessary y<sup>u</sup> will keep a check over those merch<sup>ts</sup> at Mountmellick y<sup>t</sup> they sell y<sup>e</sup> Iron they will buy from y<sup>u</sup> at a moderate rate by retail proportionately y<sup>u</sup> are also desired to deliver to ye ord<sup>r</sup> of the Lord Dongan any quantity of Iron not exceeding half a tunn, those his Lordship sent to receive y<sup>e</sup> same payeing for it to y<sup>r</sup> ord<sup>r</sup>. I am, Dr. Sr. y<sup>r</sup> most affectionat humble servant, Dan. Doran. I hope to be w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup> Monday or Tuesday night. My Lord desires to know what rent may be fit to reserve upon y<sup>e</sup> farms of Greenhill, Corbally and Ballymag."

Thirty-five Acts were passed in this Parliament, including an Act to secure liberty of conscience, and an Act for removing all incapacities from the natives of Ireland. Sufficient men had enlisted to form 50 infantry, and a proportionate number of cavalry, regiments. Owing to the lack of arms and ammunition, and the money to purchase them, these levies were badly equipped for warfare; and although their officers were brave they were deficient in training, and in the science of war. It was under these unfavourable circumstances that the first campaign—that of 1689—began. One of the infantry regiments was raised and commanded by Colonel John Grace, the Lieutenant-Colonel being Robert Grace, and the Major, Charles Moore. It consisted of thirteen companies, comprising 150 men<sup>19</sup>; mostly recruited, we can have litte doubt, in the County of Kilkenny, and south-western part of the Queen's County.

Colonel Charles O'Moore, of Ballyna, also raised an infantry regiment<sup>20</sup> of thirteen companies, comprising 400 men,<sup>21</sup> mostly recruited in

<sup>19</sup> See Charles Ffrench Blake-Forster's "Irish Chieftains; or a Struggle for the Crown," Appendix, p. 650.

<sup>20</sup> See John D'Alton's "Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List (1689)," pp. 823 to 825. We are told by Mr. D'Alton, that

the page on which the Roll of this Regiment was drawn out, had been torn from the Army List published by him.

<sup>21</sup> See Charles Ffrench Blake-Forster's "Irish Chieftains; or a Struggle for the Crown," Appendix, p. 653. D'Alton says of James's officers:—"A more noble host has seldom been submitted to re-





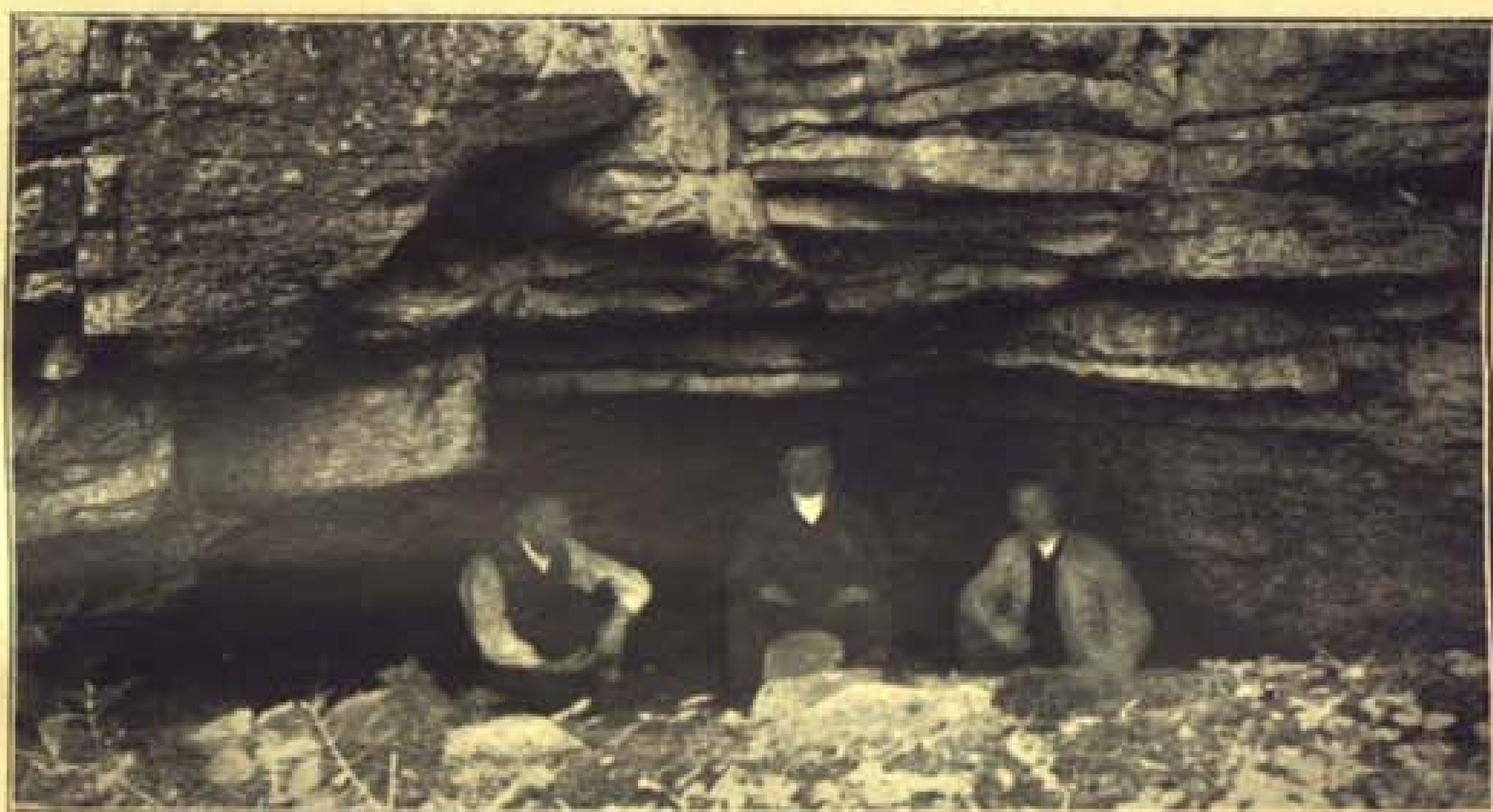
# **KILMINCHY,**

## **The Gate alone remains.**

Vol. I., p. 195. Vol. II.,  
pp. 521-3-6.

# **THE CAVE OF CLOPOOK.**

Vol. I., p. 342.



# **BALLYLEHANE CASTLE.**

Vol. I. pp. 251, 303.  
Vol. II... pp. 529, 766.







the County of Kildare, but many it seems probable were from the Queen's County, where the family must have had a number of warm sympathisers in their cause and fortunes. In the commencement of the war, this regiment was left to garrison Coleraine. Afterwards, it was one of those which King James despatched to Sligo against the enemy operating in that quarter.<sup>22</sup> On the 4th of May, with four other regiments under the command of Major John Fitz-Patrick, Colonel Moore's regiment encountered the Williamite forces of Major Woods, near Castle-cuffe, when three of its officers, Lieutenants William Dunne, Alexander Roch, and Ensign Loughlin Moore, were made prisoners. Two months later its Colonel was killed at the battle of Aughrim, it is stated in cold blood. His Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, also fell there.<sup>23</sup> Among the Attainders subsequently, Colonel Charles Moore and eighteen others bearing the name are to be found. Lewis Moore, however, claimed and was allowed a remainder for life in Ballina and other Kildare lands forfeited. Roger Moore was allowed a remainder in tail therein, and Bridget Moore and Elizabeth Bellew, otherwise Moore, their children's portion thereof.<sup>24</sup>

Amongst other distinguished officers in King James' army we find the names of the following, who, by birth or marriage, were connected with the Queen's County:—Seven members of the Fitzpatrick family, including Bryan, Baron of Upper Ossory; six of the Dunes, including Lieut.-Col. Charles of Brittas, who was killed at the battle of Aughrim; Richard and Edward Butler of Kylederrick; Colonel Tobias Purcell of Maynard; Lieut.-Col. Trant, and Garrett Trant, of Portarlinton; Captain Edward Mooney; Captain Wm. Molloy; Walter Tuite, who had married a daughter of David O'More of Port Allen,<sup>25</sup> and whose brother William, a Brigadier-General was taken prisoner at Aughrim.<sup>26</sup> Walter had thirteen sons, of whom eleven fell in the campaign of 1691. He himself was attainted in 1694 along with six others of the same name.<sup>27</sup>

On the 10th of April, 1690, King James issued a commission for applotting £20,000 per month on personal estates and for the benefit of trade and traffic, "according to the ancient custom of this kingdom used in time of danger." Assessors of this tax are named for the Queen's County: The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*, Sir Patrick Trant, Baronet; Sir Gregory Byrne, Edward Morris, Oliver Grace, Thady Fitzpatrick, Daniel Doran, John Weaver, and John Warren, Esqs. Their applotment for the three months was £956 10s. 9d. We also find Sir Patrick Trant, Baronet, High Sheriff *pro temp.*, a Commissioner for the County of Kildare, as also Colonel Charles Moore. Again, for the

view. Six of the colonels were peers, as were five of the captains. The other officers were sons of peers, baronets, or heirs of the oldest families as long as they had anything to inherit."—Preface to D'Alton's "Illustrations of King James's Army List."

<sup>22</sup> See Clarke's "Memoirs of James II." vol. ii., p. 382.

<sup>23</sup> See Story's "Impartial History of Ireland," part ii., p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> See John D'Alton's "Illustrations,

Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List (1689)," pp. 824, 825.

<sup>25</sup> See John Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. iii., pp. 25 to 28, note. Achdall's edition.

<sup>26</sup> See Story's "Impartial History of Ireland," part ii., p. 137.

<sup>27</sup> See John D'Alton's "Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List (1689)," pp. 961, 962.



County of Kerry, we find as Commissioners Sir Thomas Crosby, Knight, and Ambrose Moore, Esq., who belonged to Leix families.

The Queen's County would seem to have been the theatre of very few engagements between the contending parties. In Harris' Life of King William we read of an encounter near Mountmellick in May, 1691, between the Williamite garrison of that place and a detachment of 800 regular troops of James' army sent from Athlone to capture and hold possession of the town. The Williamite troops consisted of 300 regular infantry belonging to the regiments of Lord George Hamilton and Colonel Loyd, 50 of Colonel Byerly's horse, and portion of a militia regiment which had been raised and was commanded by Mr. John Weaver of Ballymaddock House, who was then Deputy Lieutenant of the County. The militia to the number of six or seven score were under Lieutenant Hopton Harris, a native of Mountmellick, and father of the historian, Walter Harris, to whom we owe the account of the battle.

The forces of King James were joined at Brittas by 500 Rapparees. Their intention was to march rapidly on Mountmellick, hoping to take the garrison by surprise. On the 4th of May intelligence reached the Williamites of the approach of the enemy. After a hasty consultation, it was concerted between Major Wood and Captain Lieut. Harris, that they should march out at the head of their respective parties that night, at nine o'clock, and attempt to surprise the enemy by the dawn of day.<sup>28</sup> It was arranged that Major Wood with the horse and foot detachments should take a circuit round a great bog, so as to attack the Irish forces in the rear. The militia were to advance on the common road to Rosenallis, where a company of 50 infantry was quartered. These were to join the militia, and the united companies were to march upon Brittas. At the end of Mountmellick the detachments of Wood and Harris separated. Some delay occurred at Rosenallis before the parties of militia and infantry had united, and it was daylight before they reached Tinnehinch, a small village about six miles from Mountmellick. Thence they could perceive the Irish forces on the rising grounds above Brittas, advantageously posted, and prepared to give them battle. On seeing how numerous they were, the militia gave themselves up for lost, for to retreat would prove certain ruin, and to advance was no less hazardous. At this place the River Barrow is a mountain brook, whose steep banks formed a good natural breast-work; and it was resolved to take post there, until Major Wood and the regulars should come to their assistance. For about an hour, the militia defended their position with great bravery, keeping up a brisk fire on the Irish, and doing considerable execution.<sup>29</sup> Meantime, besides having a large circuit to make, Major Wood had encountered a body of Rapparees on his march (of whom he slew seventy), and was thus delayed from coming up at the appointed time. However, he

<sup>28</sup> This detailed account is taken from Walter Harris' "History of the Life and Reign of William-Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, Statholder of the United Provinces, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c., Book ix., pp. 316, 317. Dublin, 1749, folio.

<sup>29</sup> According to Walter Harris. The

*London Gazette*, No. 2661, and also the *Dublin Intelligence*, No. 33, took no notice of any concern the militia had in this engagement. Harris' narrative was taken from the mouth of his father, and confirmed by many others, who were engaged in the battle.



hastened forward with all possible expedition, and attacked the enemy in the rear. The militia were now enabled to leave their breast-works, and to take an open share in the action. The contest was soon decided. Over one hundred and fifty of the Jacobites fell on the spot, and as many more were made prisoners. The remainder retreated up the mountains, and the troops of the regular army returned to Athlone, while the Rapparees, to avoid destruction had they remained at home, fled for refuge to the County of Wicklow. A great many of the militia, who bore so long the brunt of this action, were slain; and amongst the wounded was their leader, Captain Lieutenant Harris. Of the Williamite regulars, but one corporal was slain, while only a few were wounded.

Harris states that in this engagement "Captain Michael Cheevers, Lieutenant James Caddel, Lieutenant Michl. Daly, and Adjutant Farrel of Colonel Robert Grace's regiment of foot were taken prisoners by King William's army." At the battle of Aughrim, in the July following, Colonel Robert Grace was made prisoner. "The noble enthusiasm of 'Grace's regiment' in that action evinced a patriotic devotion that might dignify a Spartan band. Of that fine body, selected from the flower of the youth of 'Grace's county,' not 50 returned to their homes, where they were received with scorn and reproaches, till their chieftain's testimony confirmed their claim to the same heroic intrepidity which had distinguished their fallen comrades. . . . Robert Grace himself did not long outlive this disaster. The wounds he received on the field of Aughrim terminated, in the same year, his existence, while yet in the vigour of youth."<sup>30</sup>

Colonel Robert Grace was not the only member of this illustrious family (so long and honourably associated with the Queen's County) whose skill and valour shed a lustre on the army of King James. The most famous soldier on the Irish side, next to the immortal Sarsfield, was that veteran hero of the Confederation Colonel Richard Grace. Of his exploits during the last hopeless campaigns after Cromwell's arrival in Ireland we have written at length already.<sup>31</sup> It was only when he found himself practically alone, and destitute, that he surrendered, on terms, to Colonel Jerome Sankey on the 14th of August, 1652. He was provided with money to enable him to transfer his regiment of 1,200 men to Spain; and under the Spanish flag we next find him doing battle with characteristic valour and skill. Finding that his royal master was in France, he transferred his services to the King of that country. In the battle of Dunkirk on the 13th June, 1658, he particularly distinguished himself. After the Restoration Colonel Grace is specially mentioned in the Royal Declaration for the settlement of Ireland. On account "of his faithful services at home and abroad" he is "to be presently restored to all his estates." Among the few sensible actions of King James during his time in Ireland was the appointment of Colonel Grace as Governor of Athlone, one of the most important posts in the kingdom. And right manfully did the Governor fulfil his trust. Immediately after the battle of the Boyne, King William, dividing his army into two corps, proceeded himself with one to invest Limerick, and despatched the other under General Douglas

<sup>30</sup> See "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> See Chap. 30, *supra*.



to capture Athlone. When summoned by Douglas to surrender Colonel Grace, we are told, "returned a passionate defiance." "These are my terms," said he, discharging a pistol in the air; "these only I will give or receive; and when my provisions are consumed, I will defend till I eat my old boots." He completely outgeneralled the Williamite commander, and obliged him to abandon the siege in despair. And even when Ginkle invested the town in the following year, with a splendid army of 18,000 chosen troops, the Irish defence was found invulnerable. Fortunately for the English, Colonel Grace was slain in an attack on the 20th of June, 1691. The town was then taken by storm; and Ginkle was rewarded by being made Earl of Athlone, and receiving a grant of the forfeited estates of William Dungan, Earl of Limerick. In Streat's account of Athlone we find the following reference to Colonel Richard Grace:—"During the exile of the royal family Col. Grace was treated by the Duke of York with the familiarity of an equal rather than with the reserve of a sovereign. The reputation he acquired for military experience during his residence abroad was not higher than what the effects of his zeal merited for him at home; and the example which he displayed at an advanced age, of activity, enthusiasm, and contempt of death, commanded universal admiration."<sup>32</sup>

During the war the Acts of James's Parliament which repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation had been to some extent acted upon, and many of the original proprietors who had been dispossessed recovered their former estates. The ownership of land in Ireland at the end of the war in 1691 was thus in a chaotic state. To remedy this condition of things, a Court of Claims<sup>33</sup> was established, and writs issued out of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer. Upon these writs inquisitions were returned certifying the attainder of divers persons, and consequently the right and title of the Crown to a large extent of territory. It was calculated that about four thousand resident and fifty-seven absentee owners of property had rendered themselves liable to forfeiture of their lands, amounting to over 1,100,000 plantation acres. The domains of the Duke of York (James II.), the grants to Tyrconnel, and the lands of others not to be pardoned, were granted by letters patent as rewards for military or civil service, or to favourites and courtiers. Among the recipients of William's bounty were: Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, who received 130,000 acres; Henry de Ruvigny, created Earl of Galway, 40,000; Van Keppel, created Lord Albemarle, 100,000 acres; Lord Sidney, 50,000 acres; Lady Orkney, 120,000 acres formerly belonging to the Duke of York.

Amongst the outlawries and attainders under the Williamite *regime*, we find (in 1690) the Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, Barnabas Fitzpatrick; and (on the 21st April, 1691) Darby Fitzpatrick, Cloneene, gent.; Walter Bermingham and John Bermingham, of Garreene; also (at various other dates) 50 members of the Dunne family; Captain Wm. Molloy, and four others of the name; Richard and Edward Butler of Kylederrick; Sir Gregory Byrne; Captain John Warren; Captain Simon Wyer; Captain Edmond Morris; Matthew O'Dwigin

<sup>32</sup> See "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," pp. 27 to 34.

<sup>33</sup> The proceedings of the Court of Claims were published in 1701 under the

following title: "A List of the Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester-House on College Green, Dublin, on or before the 10th of August, 1700."



of Donaghmore; Lieu.-Colonel Lawrence Dempsey and two of his relatives, both, like himself, colonels in King James' service; and many others, whose families had long been associated with or resident in the county.

Of the various Inquisitions of the reign of William and Mary the following are some of the results:—

An Inquisition held at Maryborough, on the 11th of May, in the fourth year of the joint reign of William and Mary, reported William, Earl of Limerick, as having been attainted of high treason on the 17th of April, the previous year, and the following possessions in fee, situated in the Queen's County, were declared to be forfeited:—viz., the village and lands of Rathnemanagh, estimated to contain 240 acres of arable land plantation measure; Knockanegraugh, 450 acres; Coole-town, 94 acres 2 roods and 8 perches; Ballyteigin and Knockanderry, 88 acres 3 roods 16 perches; one messuage with a garden and a small messuage in the town of Maryborough, then in possession of or held by — Scurlog, a part of this messuage being known as the Mass House in the aforesaid Maryborough, with a small piece of land adjoining, and then held by James Dunn. By reason of the attainder, all these premises are declared to be forfeited to the King and Queen.

In the seventh year of the reign of King William, through an Inquisition held at Maryborough, Richard Graham was found to be seized of the village and lands of Mullaghmore and of Killkanvanbise, in the barony of Ballyadams. He is said to have been a rebel, and to have been killed in Derry, in the Queen's County; consequently his possessions were declared forfeited to the Crown.

On the same day, Walter Bryan, of Akipp, was found to be seized in fee of the village and lands of Akipp, in the barony of Upper Ossory, containing 188 acres; also holding Ballyntagart and Killvertine, 62 acres; and Rahine, 131 acres. He had joined in the rebellion, and been killed; and, as a rebel, his possessions are declared forfeited.

On the same day, Barnaby, Lord of Upper Ossory, was returned as having been outlawed and attainted on the 11th of May, the 3rd year of William and Mary. He was found to have been in possession of Killballyntallin, Kilboy, Rathard, Coolebid, and Lisdegan, in the barony of Upper Ossory, and containing 336 acres; Knockamore, Coolony, and Killtegan, 325 acres; Cloonbohy, 128 acres; Rahinelisky and Turgarath, 30 acres; Walter-Castle and Killgrace, 23 acres; all of which were now declared forfeited.

On the same day, Sir Patrick Trant, lately of Brannockstown, in the County of Kildare, was found to have been declared an outlaw and traitor on the 20th of April, in the third year of William and Mary. At that time, he was possessed in fee of the town and lands of Ballybrittas, Killagarra, Garryadle, Raggaverin *alias* Grayforrin, Ballyading *alias* Ballyadin, Ballyshanduffe, Rathmiles *alias* Rathmine and Ballynowlart, in the barony of Portnahinch, containing 1,128 acres; Ballinteagher, Ballygowen, Killehy, and Cloneene, in the aforesaid barony, 729 acres; Coolestown *alias* Coolecuddery, Enoghcoore, Enardine, Gallanacloghery, Stryanmuck, and Ballaghmanon, 540 acres; Treehogher *alias* Treecoger, and Enlacklone *alias* Bracklone, in the aforesaid barony, 371 acres; Ballygodiffe *alias* Ballyteigeduffe, 354 acres; Rathconsin, 725 acres; Killeskeraghmore, Killeskeraghbeg *alias*



Graigneskeory and Ballingare, 308 acres; Ballyfebele *alias* Balliphoble and Ballyntobber, 345 acres; Killnester "great and small," Killmaltagh *alias* Killmalin, Clonana, Ballycarroll, Derrynelensye and Powlags, 567 acres; Kilnecourt "upper and lower," *alias* Silnecourt *alias* Clowneigher, Killought and Killackbrecons, 1,156 acres; Ballymorris, 707 acres; Rathless, Rathmills, Rathmeageragh, Coolebride, and Mackowdaragh, 138 acres; Feraghnefer, Garrytermack, Derryoughter, Derrysher, Ouragory, Haragane, Ellertony, Cloneshalty, and Granginstowne, and manor of Lee and Inchincooly, 482 acres; Graigconny, 101 acres; Lagh, 127 acres; Dowlaght, 89 acres; Killbride, 143 acres; Garrivacom, 136 acres; Cragtaran, 175 acres; Gregin, 307 acres.<sup>34</sup>

## CHAPTER XXVII.—THE 18TH CENTURY—1700-1760.

THE history of the Queen's County in the 18th century (in so far as it can be said to have any history) is the history of the Penal Laws. The storm of persecution, which had raged intermittently from the days of "the good Queen Bess," came to a head in the days of "the gentle Anne," and in the days of the Georges spent itself in impotent fury.

When Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702 it was deemed advisable to conciliate the "Protestant interest" (which viewed with distrust the accesison of a daughter of James II.) by bestowing special attention on "the common enemy," and by taking special measures to stay "the further growth of Popery." A beginning was made by piously devoting confiscated estates to the propagation of the true faith, and the enrooting of the Protestant religion in Ireland. Thus we find that by an Act of the 1st of Anne intituled an Act for the relief of Francis Spring and others, and for confirming a Protestant Settlement at Portarlinton for the benefit (*inter alios*) "of the children of such native Irish who would suffer them to be instructed and brought up in the Protestant religion," his Lordship, William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare was endowed by the Trustees for the sale of Forfeited Estates with the following lands, and on conditions specified as follows:—

"That whereas certain lands in the territory of Glenmalire in the King's and QUEEN'S County were granted (by King Wiliam) in 1696 to Henry (De Ruvigny) Earl of Galway and his heirs: which lands were laid waste in the late rebellion and most of the houses thereon burnt by the Irish:

"And whereas the said Earl Galway caused divers houses to be built in the town of Portarlinton and elsewhere upon the said premises, and made leases for lives or years, without fine to divers English and French Protestants; and also had

<sup>34</sup> To the foregoing is added in the Inquisition: "et de sepal' ten' in Portarlinton, ac de Cragtoran [ ] HEN' DOMINUS ARLINGTON, per indentur' dimision' gercu' dat' [ ] 1676, dimisit Rob' Leigh executor' et assign' suis vil' et ter' de Ballybrittas, Graige-foran, Ballyadin, Ballyshaneduffe, Rathmiles, Ballynowlart, Teerhoger, Brackloan, et ter' vocat' "the two Kill-

breckans," Grageenskeory, Riverclose [ ] et pcell' ter' et gardin' in Portarlinton, per term' 41 annor.—pd' Rob' Leigh per indentur' suam ussignavit tol' jus suan in vil' et ter' pd' Rie' Warburton, executor' et assign' suis—omnia premiss, "virtute utlagat' et attinctur' pd' Patric' Trant, eschaet' sunt Regi, jure coron' sue."



caused to be built two Churches for the use of said Protestants, and two schools for the education of their children and for the children of such native Irish who would suffer them to be instructed and brought up in the Protestant religion; the said territory being for the most part inhabited by such natives:

"And whereas by the Act of Resumption the said grant (to Earl Galway) was made void and the lands were vested in the Trustees for Sale to the user of said Act:

"And whereas by an Act of the English Parliament 1st Anne entitled 'An Act for the relief of *Francis Spring* and other Protestant tenants of the forfeited estates in Ireland, in respect of their real improvements, and for Confirming a PROTESTANT SETTLEMENT at Portarlinton and of a Charity at Middleton, Co. Cork':—It was enacted, that all the Earl of Galway's said leases should be good and effectual in law: And that the Trustees for Sale be empowered and required to convey and assign to the Bishop of Kildare and his successors the said Churches and School-houses with the proceeds thereof; and like to assign and convey to said Bishop a yearly rent charge of £80 payable out of the Manor of Clonegowne *alias* Charleston in King's Co., one moiety thereof to be paid to such English and one moiety to such French Protestant Minister as should celebrate divine service in said churches; And also to convey £32 *per ann.* to said Bishop out of said Manor to be paid over by him, viz., £20 to the English and £12 to the French Protestant schoolmaster in said schools: All which was accordingly done by this Indenture of 24 Sept., 1702."<sup>1</sup>

Deed dated 24 Sept., 1702. Inrolled 11 March, 1702-3.

Whilst on the subject of the disposal of the confiscated estates by the "Trustees for the sale of the estates forfeited in 1688" we may insert here the account of some other transfers effected at this time. "Richard Fitzpatrick, of Castletown, Queen's Co., Esq.," secured the following properties:—

**BARONY OF STRADBALLY:** The lands of Ballygorbinagh; the Manor, town and lands of Loghteige, Logharden, Munny, Rahinisky, 750a: In Shanoler, 15a.; Knock-anakeen, 40a.; Mackshanagan, 30a.

The estate of JOHN BRERETON attainted.

Conveyance dated 19 June, 1703: Consideration, £2,360.

**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY:** The town and lands of Downaghmore 197a.; Rathindornagh, 204a.; Barnebullycragh and Lowerderry, 156a.; Belady, 135a.; Mungamore and the N.E. of Derrylaghen, 262a. 2r. 27p.; Camross and Magherybeg, 234a.; Bollinrawley wood called Clancouragh *als* Glancouragh, 266a. 2r. 26p.: These were mortgaged by deeds dated 25, 26 June, 1688, by Gilbert Rawson of Donoghmore to Edmond Morris late of Grantstown, Queen's Co., for £700.

To hold subject to redemption by said Rawson. Conveyance dated 19 June, 1703: inrolled 10 July, 1703: Consideration, £885.

"The Hollow Sword Blades Company" acquired the following:—

**BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH:** Clanagh and Killmullin, 378a. 1r. 16p. profitable, 28a. or. 32p. unprofitable bog: Part of Ballymorris without the Deer Park and in the Deer Park two parcels for a house plot and garden: A piece of ground in Portarlinton called Tincargy and Morristown: A house, plot and garden in Portarlinton: The white malthouse: Seskin, 26a.: Ballyteigueduff *als* Jamestown, 390a. 1r. 24p. profitable, 30a. 2r. 32p. unprofitable: Ballintogher *als* Paningtoun, Ballygrane, Killaughlish, 742a. 2r. 16p. profitable, 40a. unprofitable: Upper and Lower Killiny Court *alias* Courtwood, 1,000a. 3r. 8p.: Closeland *als* Cloneen, 225a. profitable, 14a. 2r. 32p. unprofitable: Ballycarrol and Poulagh, Derryneshin and Hope Grove, 348a. 2r. 8p. Two pieces of land in Portarlinton: Commons of

<sup>1</sup> These endowments were afterwards increased. Parliament added £50 per annum to the salary of the chaplain of the French Church; and the Board of First Fruits increased that of the Chaplain of the English Church to £100 per annum.

See Thomas Cromwell's "Excursions

through Ireland," comprising Topographical and Historical Delineations, together with Descriptions of the Residences of the Gentry, Remains of Antiquity, and every other Object of Interest or Curiosity." Vol. iii. Excursion, x., p. 244. London, 1820, 8vo.



Portarlinton: A house, garden and cabbin in ditto: In Lea, 710a.; Inchicooly, 824a.: Ullard, 104a.: Garrymaccomm, 145a. profitable, 35a. bog: Loghclonebroggy, 179a. profitable, 88a. bog: Doulaght, 119a.: Killbride, 187a.: Foxesplots, 1a.: Rugg-hill *als* Bicker's Park, 117a. 1r. 16p.: Donelly's house and garden, 1a.: Ware's Close, 17a.: Mill-close with a mill, 4a.: Ballyfaboll, 327a. profitable, 172a. bog: Rathroushen (part), 448a. profitable, 88a. bog: Rathroushen (part), 120a.: Catharinestown *alias* Ballyshanduff, Ballybrittas, Ballynowler, Garry-Cadle, Rathmire *als* Rathmiles, Grange *als* Grangenarin, 778a. 3r. 16p. profitable, 300a. unprofitable: Eastfields *alias* Ballyadding, 181a.: Foreique *als* Terregogarr *alias* Teercooger, 226a.: Graymarsh *als* Brackloon, 189a. 1r. Sp.: Graigenaskerry *als* Fisherstown, 288a.: Cheekerstown *als* the two Killbrakans, 353a.: Rivers' Close and Regan's Close, 40a.: Rathleygh *als* Lowland, 196a.: A house and garden in Portarlinton: A house and tenement in the Deer Park: In the same, 12a.: In Portarlinton, 53 tenements, cabins and plots and 18a.: The fairs and markets of Portarlinton.

BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Half of the following towns and lands: Kilbrackan, Coole, and Camelon, 62a. profitable, 27a. or. 16p. unprofitable: Derrycanton, 54a. 2r.: Killinure, 714a.: Loghanlacka, 184a. 2r.: Gurteennamallagh and Clondiglass, 243a. or. 14p.: In Rossendough, 30a.: Lawford *als* Longford, 26a. 2r. Sp.: The commons to the adjacent towns in Killarney parish called Monokeeba, 90a.: Monobeg and Rosnaclony, 92a. 1r. Sp.: Bog in common, 32a. 2r. 32p.: In the south part of Derrynalacka *alias* Monaghmore, 183a. 3r. 32p. profitable, 250a. pasture meadow, 262a. waste meadow: Shranshanboy, Lackatomy, and Cappagh *als* Cullimill, 474a. 2r. 24p.: Cargeen and Clonfadd, 13a. or. Sp.: Ballyhoragan, 103a.: Monydrohide and Eglish, 202a.: Comer and a piece common to Comer and Ballynaghy *als* Ballynahill, 299a.: Ballintogher *alias* Rahintogher and Gowreagh *alias* Gowragh, 20a.: Coolehill, Ballynima *als* Ballyrine, 10a. The Manors and Lordships of Portarlinton, Lea and Charlestown.

The Estate of SIR PATRICK TRANT, Baronet, attainted.

Conveyance dated 10 June, 1703, inrolled 2 August, 1703: Consideration for above (and other lands), £30,000.

BARONY OF BALLYADAMS: The town and lands of Mullaghmore and Killkanavantris, 136a. 3r. 16p.

BARONY OF CULLINAGH: Cromorgan *alias* Clunmorgan, 273a. 1r. 16p. Demised by COLONEL ROGER MOORE to BARTHOLOMEW MOORE (attainted) for his life at a rent of £70.

Conveyance dated 23 June, 1703; inrolled 9 Oct., 1703: Consideration for these (with other lands), £600.

"Despard, William, of Dublin, Esq.," also figures on the list of new proprietors for the following:—

BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Town and lands of Raheenferoge, 145a. 1r. 24p.: Part of Ballintaggart, 45a. profitable, 24a. bog: Askip *als* Akip, 186a.: Ballycoolaghbeg, 22a.

Estate of WALTER BRYAN, attainted.

Conveyance dated 23 June, 1703; inrolled 25 Nov., 1703.

Consideration, £490 and £487.

The first of "the ferocious acts" of persecution of the reign of Queen Anne was c. 7 of the Act of 1704 for "the registering of the Popish Clergy." Various ingenious devices had been resorted to, in previous reigns, for the extermination of the priests—including Cromwell's patent process of "knocking them promiscuously on the head" (*i.e.*, butchering them); but, as Deputy Chichester put it, "the very soil seemed to reek of Popery"; and priests, instead of becoming exterminated, had become multiplied. "No Englishman," we are told by Dr. Campbell at this period, "can conceive the virulence of Irish Popery." It was, therefore, expedient to adopt more effective methods; and so the famous Act of the 2nd Anne, c. 7, came into being. Its



object was, by tolerating a certain number of priests for their lifetime, and by allowing them to have no successors, to end the race in Ireland. A secondary object was to degrade them by reducing them to the *status* of tolerated convicts, or "ticket of leave men." The Act provided that by a certain date all secular priests should go before a magistrate, register their names, and take out a licence. The register was to include name, age, abode, parish, time and place of receiving pretended Orders, and name of ordaining prelate. Further, no Popish Parish Priest should keep or have any Popish Curate, Assistant, or Coadjutor, nor remove out of that county, which was his place of abode. The Registration should take place after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, 1704, and before the 20th day of July following, under pain of banishment out of the kingdom. Each registered priest was obliged to give two sureties for his good behaviour. The penalty for non-compliance, or violation of the Act, was the penalty to which all bishops, archbishops and regulars were subject in virtue of the 9th. William the III. (1697), viz., imprisonment pending transportation, and (in case of return from transportation) death.<sup>2</sup> Over 1,000 parish priests complied with the Act, and of these fifteen belonged to the Queen's County. This we learn from the following:—

"Queen's County. A LIST of the Popish Parish Priests as they were returned to the *Council Office* in *Dublin* as registered at a General Sessions of the Peace held at *Maryborough* in and for the Queen's County aforesaid on the thirteenth day of July, 1704, and since Returned up to the *Council Office* in *Dublin*, pursuant to a Clause in the late Act of Parliament Intituled "*An Act for registering the Popish Clergy.*" Then follow the names, addresses, and particulars, which we proceed to transcribe:—

1. CONNELL MOORE; place of abode, Iron-Mills, in the Barony of Cullenagh; age 59; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Tulore, Disert Gallen, and Clonkeen, now and for 28 years past; time of his receiving Popish Orders, 1666; place where they were received, in Dublin; from whom he received them, Patrick Plunket, Bp. of Meath; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Henry Toole, of Loga Currin, in the Queen's County, Gent., and John Russel, of Castlewood, in the same county, Gent.

2. KEDAGH DUN; place of abode, Russinflugh, part of Cappard, in the Barony of Tinehinch; age 53, 3rd of Febr. last; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Rossinalis, Rerymore, Castlebrack, and Kilmanman, ever since 1678; time of his receiving Popish Orders, 1669; place where they were received, at Navan; from whom he received them, Patrick Plunket, Bp. of Meath; sureties that entered in Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Bryan Dunn, of Corbally, in the Barony of Tinehinch, Gent., and Roger Conrahy, of Skerry, in the said barony, Farmer.

<sup>2</sup> At this time most of the Bishops and Archbishops were living in exile, *i.e.*, as many of them as had escaped. In 1698 the Primate was at St. Germain's *auprès du Roi*; and the Bishops of Limerick and Ossory were also living in or near Paris. The Bishops of Waterford and Cork were said to have gone to Spain. Louvain was the place of exile of the Bishop of Elphin. Strasbourg sheltered the Archbishop of Dublin; and the Archbishop of Tuam was at the Abbey of St. Amand in Flanders.—"Spicilegium

Ossoriense," vol. ii., p. 336.

Amongst the Acts of William and Mary were those "for placing restraint on foreign education"; "for the better securing of government by disarming papists"; "for banishing all regulars of the popish clergy"; "for preventing intermarriages with papists"; also, an Act "to prevent papists from being solicitors," and another, authorising any Protestant to take a papist's horse (no matter how valuable) on payment of five pounds sterling.



3. BRYAN MOORE; place of abode, Ballinagawle, in the Barony of Slemaregagh; age 49 and some months; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Killaban, Grange, Shruill, and Sletty, now and for eighteen years past; time of his receiving Popish Orders, 1678; place where they were received, at Cloghilla, County Kilkenny; from whom he received them, James Phelan, Lord Bp. of Ossory; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Theobald Denn, of Killeban, Gent., and Thomas Muleahill, of Doonane, Gent.

4. JOHN DANELLY; place of abode, Imoe, in the Barony of Portnahinch; age 53; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Cullbancher and Lea, 29 years; time of his receiving Orders, 1675; place where they were received, at Dundalk; from whom they were received, Dr. Plunkett; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Daniel Byrne, of Tymoge, Esq., and Martin Scurlog, of Raheenemanagh, Gent.

5. JOHN CASSIN; place of abode, Castletown, in the Barony of Upper Ossory; age 48; parishes of which he pretended to be Popish Priest, Offarrellan Aghaboe, Kildelligg, and Kyle; time of his receiving Orders, about five and twenty years past, or in the year 1678; place where they were received, at Kilkenny; from whom they were received, James Phelan, Lord Bp. of Ossory; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Daniel Fitz-Patrick, of Killenure, Farmer, and Denis Dullany, of Crannagh, Farmer.

6. KEDAGH MOORE, place of abode, Corbally, in the Barony of Ballyadams; age 59; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, the united Parishes of Ballyadams, Fonestown, Tully, Clopook, Tecalin (Tecolm), and Rathasbug (Rathaspeck), now and for 24 years; time of receiving Orders, 1674; place where they were received, in Kilkenny; from whom they were received, James Phelan; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Henry Toole, of Loga Currin, Gent., and Theobald Denn, of Killeban, Gent.

7. DERBY MALONE; place of abode, Carrignepark, in the Barony of Maryborough; age 53; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Borish (Borris in Maryborough barony), Straboe, Disert, Kilteale, and Kilcolmanbane, in or about the 1st of November, next after the conditions of Limerick and ever since; time of his receiving Orders, 1678; place where they were received, at Balina (Balyna), County of Kildare; from whom they were received, Lord Marcus Forstall, Bp. of Kildare; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Lewis Dunn, of Ine, Farmer, and Edward Gray, of Mariborough, Merchant.

8. DENNIS CASSIN; place of abode, Errell, in the Barony of Upper Ossory; age 56; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Radowny (Rathdowney), Donoghmore, Culekery, and Skeirk; time of his receiving Orders, 1683; place where they were received, at Kilkenny; from whom they were received, James Phelan, Lord Bp. of Ossory; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Conly Cashin, of Templequane, Farmer, and Patrick Phelan, of Ballinrawly, Farmer.

9. JAMES DWIGIN; place of abode, Downe, in the Western Division of Maryborough Barony; age 50; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, the United Parishes of Clonenogh and Cloneheen, in April, 1690, and ever since; place where Orders were received, in Garrickin; from whom they were received, James Phelan, then Lord Bishop of Ossory; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Patrick Kinin, of Roskelton, Gent., and Henry Brereton, of Cooppanarrow, Gent.

10. ROGER MOORE; place of abode, Garrans, in the Barony of Stradbally; age 62; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Moyany, Oghmall, Tymog, Corclone, and Fossy, for 32 years past; time of his receiving Orders, 1652; place where they were received, in Liege; person from whom they were received, Johannes Blavier, Suffragan of Liege, in Germany; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Thomas George, of Ballycoolin, Gent., and William Meale, of Ballykilcavan, Gent.

11. JOHN BRADY; place of abode, Shanganagh, in the Barony of Ballyadams; age 28; parish of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Tankerdstown; time of his receiving Orders, 1697; place where they were received, at Cork; person from whom they were received, John Baptista Slyne, Titr. Bp. of Cork; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Richard Keating, of Shanganaghmore, Farmer, and Edmond Keating, of the same, Farmer, £50.



12. PATRICK PHELAN; place of abode, Aghaboe, in the Barony of Upper Ossory; age 31; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Aghaboe, Killermogh, and Bordwell; time of his receiving Orders, 1701; place where they were received, at Ballyboge; person from whom they were received, Murtoagh Donnellan, Bp. of the Diocese of Clonfert; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Kinny Kinin, of Aghaboe, Farmer, and Dennis Bourk, of Scaleigh, Farmer.

13. JOHN MAC ALLIN; place of abode, Imoe, in the Barony of Portneehinch; age 50; parish of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Killeny, seven years past; time of his receiving Orders, 1674; place where they were received, at Ard-Patrick, in the County of Louth; person from whom they were received, Dr. Plunkett; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Mortogh Biennan, of Boly, Farmer, and Morgan Fogerty, of the same, Farmer.

14. EDMOND MAC GINIS; place of abode, Ballinrobin, in the Barony of Sle-maregagh; age 47, this present July; parish of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Killeshin, now and since November, 1691; time of his receiving Orders, 20th of July, 1681; place where they were received, at Portumny, County of Gall-way; person from whom they were received, Thady Koba, Bp. of Clonfert; sureties that entered into Recognizance for him, according to the Act, Mark Quigley, of Gallybide (Ballyhide), Gent., and Theobald Denn, of Kilabban, Gent.

15. HUGH TRENER; place of abode, Cullihill, in the Barony of Upper Ossory; age 50; parishes of which he pretends to be Popish Priest, Aghama, Cart, Killeny, and Dorrow; time of receiving Popish Orders, 1683; place where received, Portumny; from whom received, Thady Coghy, Lord Bishop of Clonfert; sureties' names that entered Recognizance for said priest, according to the said Act, Edmond Britt of Graigevoice, Farmer; George Lapsley of Straghenarrow, Gent.<sup>3</sup>

Another Queen's County priest, viz., Walter Skelton, is set down in the Register as P.P. of St. Peter's, Dublin; ordained in 1688 at Kilkenny; his sureties being Laurence Eustace of High Street, Brewer, and Patrick Dooling of Fishamble Street, Tailor.

Walter Skelton is described by Harris as "Dr. Walter Skelton, Dean of Leighlin, who died on the 31st of October, 1737, and was buried at Sletty, formerly the inheritance of his ancestors." Among the signatories of a petition to the Holy See from the chapter and other clergy of Dublin, dated 16th September, 1729, is found "Gualterus Skelton, Vicarius Generalis Leighlinensis, et assistens in Parochia Sancti Andreae, Dublinien." The Skeltons (who, under the *alias* name of Lynt, were Elizabethan settlers) forfeited in 1653 as "English Papists" in company with the Harptpoles, Hovcndens, and Davells, all of whom were tarred with the same brush and suffered the same fate.

With the view of stimulating magistrates to enforce this Act of 1704, the Irish House of Commons passed a resolution declaring "that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted to put it in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom."<sup>4</sup> A further resolution was passed declaring "that prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honourable service to the Government." The trade of informer, being now an "honourable" one, became also a lucrative one, and the business grew very active.

<sup>3</sup> "A List of the Names of the Popish Parish Priests throughout the several Counties in the Kingdom of Ireland; together with their Number in each County; Places of Abode; Age; Parishes of which they pretend to be Popish Priests; Time of their receiving Popish Orders; Places where they received

Orders; from whom they received the same; and also the Sureties' Names that entered into Recognizance for the said Priests." Dublin: Printed by Andrew Crook, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, on the Blind-key, 1705.

<sup>4</sup> See "Commons Journal, 17 March, 1704."



A pretence for further measures of persecution was furnished by the expedition of the "Old Pretender" from France to Scotland in March, 1708. The cry of "another massacre of Irish Protestants" was raised in Ireland. This recrudescence of the *odium fidei* about the year 1708 is well known to historians. It is noticeable not only in some Acts of the second Parliament of Queen Anne, but in unpublished documents of the time. We quote the following, which is preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. Besides the information which it gives about priests it shows an application of the Statute which forbade Papists to have firearms:—

Maryborough, *the 20th of March, 1707.*

May it please y<sup>r</sup> Ex<sup>es</sup>

In pursuance to your Ex<sup>ies</sup> commands signified to us by your Ex<sup>ies</sup> Letter dated the 16th inst. wee immediately sent dispatches to all the officers commanding companies within the Queen's County to form themselves in the best & most expeditious manner that was possible for them, so that y<sup>e</sup> said troops may be in a readyness to answer what y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>ies</sup> expect from them in case of danger, also to search all the houses of papists and suspected persons, and to seize their arms, horses and all the popish priests and other disaffected persons, according to y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>ies</sup> Proclamation, which service is already performed throughout this county, and six of the Priests and some other suspected persons are now in custody, and wee expect all the rest will be brought in within a day or two, there are also some horses and arms seized, which are now in the hands of the Militia, there being but few papists in the County of much note, wee dont expect to find many horses or arms, yet our danger is allmost equal to any other county, by the great number of the meaner sort of Papists residing among us, for we cant compute the proportion less than twenty to one Protestant. [*Details about troops, etc.*] We shall be proud to receive the honour of y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>a</sup> further commands, and do remain with the greatest duty and respect

Y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>a</sup> most humble & most

servants

S. LEGER GILBERT.

EPHRAIM DAWSON.

Another link in the penal chain was the enacting of a law in 1708 to prevent Catholics from acting as grand jurors, unless a sufficient number of Protestants were not forthcoming; and also to provide that in all trials of issues on any presentment, indictment, etc., for any offence committed by Papists, the plaintiff or prosecutor might challenge any Papist returned as juror, and assign as a cause that he was a Papist.

In 1709, the Parliament, finding that its previous enactments had no effect, passed another measure, the second of "the ferocious Acts of Anne," empowering the Court of Chancery to compel the Papist to discover his estate, and to make an order for the maintenance of an apostate child out of the proceeds. The Act of 1704 had made it illegal for a Papist to take lands on a lease of more than a certain term of years; the new Act disabled him from receiving a life annuity. The Act of 1704 had compelled the registry of priests; that of 1709 forbade their officiating in any parish except where they were registered. This Act also enjoined that the wife of a Papist, if she became



a Protestant, was to receive a jointure out of her husband's estate. A popish priest abandoning his religion was to receive an annuity of £30 a year. Two justices might compel any Papist to state on oath when and where he had heard Mass, who had officiated, and who had been present at it, and, in case of a refusal to comply, a fine of £20 was to be imposed, or, in default, twelve months' imprisonment. For the discovery of an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction the informer was to receive £50; for any monk or friar, or secular clergyman not duly registered, £20; for every Papist school-teacher or tutor, £10. For a first offence an ecclesiastic was transported; and if any bishop who had once been transported was found in Ireland again, he was to be hanged. In the same year the scheme originated of inducing Protestant foreigners to go to Ireland. Eight hundred and seventy-one Protestant Palatine families were brought from Germany, and £24,850 5s. 6d. appointed for their maintenance out of the revenue. But the scheme turned out a ridiculous fiasco. As Swift wittily observed—"It appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the public was a loser by every individual amongst them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer for such an importation than a man can be fatter by a wen."

In 1713 an order was made in the Irish House of Commons, "that the Sergeant-at-Arms should take into custody all Papists that were or should presume to come into the galleries." This, though a feather in the balance of the other disabilities, evinces the temper of the times.<sup>5</sup>

In 1719 a Bill was introduced in the Irish House of Commons for preventing anyone married to a Catholic wife from holding any Government office, or a convert from holding any office, or practising as a solicitor or attorney for seven years after his conversion, and not even then unless he produced a certificate that he had received the Sacrament three times in each year of the seven. This measure, one of the clauses of which sentenced all unregistered priests found in Ireland to be branded upon the cheek with a red-hot iron, was carried without opposition. The Irish Privy Council, however, gravely changed the penalty of branding into that of castration, and sent this unparalleled Bill to England for ratification. But the Ministry shrank from a precedent that might some day be turned against themselves, and overflowing with the milk of human kindness, restored the mild penalty of branding. The Bill was eventually thrown out by the Irish House of Lords, not on account of the brutality of its provisions, but on a minor issue.<sup>6</sup>

A special object with the framers of the penal code was to prevent inter-marriages between Catholics and Protestants. "The first statute on the subject in 1697 enacted that no Protestant woman, who either possessed or was heir to real property of the value of £500, should marry a Papist, under penalty of losing her whole property, which passed to the nearest Protestant relation. Any clergyman or priest, who married such a woman without a certificate proving the Protestantism of her husband was liable to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £20. No Protestant was to marry without a certificate from

<sup>5</sup> See "Commons Journal," vol. iii. (1713).

<sup>6</sup> See "A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the 19th Century," by G. L. Lampson, M.P., p. 3.



the bishop or magistrate proving the bride to be a Protestant, under pain of being regarded as a Popish recusant, and disabled from being heir, etc., from sitting in Parliament, and from holding any civil or military employment, unless within a year of his marriage he procured a certificate to the effect that his wife had accepted the Protestant faith. In 1725 another law was passed to prevent clandestine inter-marriages, the celebration of which was to be punishable with death. By the Bills of 1743 and 1745<sup>7</sup> all marriages between Protestants and Catholics or between two Protestants, celebrated either by a priest or a degraded clergyman, were to be held null and void, and a further law enacted that those who celebrated them were liable to the penalty of death."<sup>8</sup>

That any Catholics were able to live like gentlemen was owing to the kindness of their Protestant neighbours, who took leases for them, and held property in trust, with a fidelity which is beyond all praise. As it was penal for the Catholic gentry to have or carry arms it is obvious how entirely the defence of their lives and property depended on their Protestant friends, or employees. In his "Memoirs of Captain Rock" Moore wittily depicts the dilemma of the Irish Catholic gentlemen of that period, who if found with weapons might be transported, and if found without them might be murdered.<sup>9</sup>

A pleasing instance of this friendly relation between Catholic and Protestant is recorded in the "Memoirs of the Family of Grace." "Oliver Grace entrusted his property to two of his Protestant neighbours. One of these evinced an unsullied integrity on the occasion; and neither the Kilmoroney or Gracefield families can wish it to be concealed that the gentleman who so acted was Mr. Weldon."<sup>10</sup> In the same memoirs an interesting side-light is cast on the position of the Catholic gentry by the following incident:—"The residence of a Catholic gentleman was at this period subject to the insulting visits of spying officers, and they were themselves exposed to the daily indignity of being personally examined, at whatever time or place the caprice or tyranny of an ignorant or a mean-born magistrate might appoint. In conformity to the spirit of the times, the Viscount Mountgarret, who married the widow of Oliver Grace, was most wantonly committed to gaol; on which occasion in a letter addressed to three justices of the peace, by whom he was thus insulted, viz., 'to Robert Best, John Browne, and Gerald Fitzgerald, esquires, or any of them,' and dated at Shanganagh (or Gracefield) the 2nd November, 1715, his lordship thus expresses himself:—'Gentlemen, I hope the Government's order, which you have along with this, will teach you better manners, and instruct you in the respect that is due to the peerage of Ireland, which the in-

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Burke, in a letter of February 21, 1782, said of the Irish Protestant Parliament in connection with these later marriage laws:—

"They set to work, but they were at a loss what to do; for they had already almost gone through every contrivance which could waste the vigour of their country; but, after much struggle, they produced a child of their old age, the shocking and unnatural Act about marriages, which tended to finish the scheme for making the people not only two dis-

tinct parties for ever, but keeping them as two distinct species in the same land. Mr. Gardiner's humanity was shocked at it, as one of the worst parts of that truly barbarous system, if one could well settle the preference, where almost all the parts were outrages on the rights of humanity and the laws of nature."

<sup>8</sup> See Lampson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> See "Memoirs of Captain Rock," p. 32.

<sup>10</sup> See "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," p. 53.



solence of your behaviour to me on Saturday last, shews you to have been strangers to, though one of you had an opportunity of learning better things, by the honor he had to hold a plate, for many years, at the back of a noble relation of mine. I hope in a short time, when Parliament meets, it will be my turn to require you to answer, at the Bar of the House of Lords, how you durst offer such an indignity to a member of that illustrious body, and that with another sort of right than that on which you presume to commit me to gaol, over whom you have no manner of jurisdiction. Your strange inadvertency may be some sort of excuse for what is past; but for the time to come I expect you to know me to be, which you shall as soon as the House meets,

' MOUNTGARRETT.' "11

The position of Catholic noblemen, such as the gallant inditer of this epistle, was rendered specially precarious by reason of the fact that it was in mansions like Gracefield, or some retired part of the grounds adjoining, that Mass had frequently to be offered up, during the penal days. The noble owner, true to the principles of his faith, would gladly risk the penalty incurred for "screening a Massing-priest," even though the penalty was forfeiture of property, if not of life. As regards this matter of the conditions of Catholic worship, we find interesting information in some official reports of 1731. In November and December, 1731, an Official Return was ordered and duly supplied regarding "the present state of Popery in this Kingdom." The following are the terms of the Order:—

"REPORT ON THE STATE OF POPERY IN IRELAND, ANNO 1731.

"His Grace the Ld. Primate in the Chair. By the Lords Committees appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in this Kingdom, etc. Die Sabbi, 6 Die Novris. 1731.

"It is ordered by the said Lords Committees that the High Sheriff of each county and the mayor of every county of a city or town within this Kingdom doe returne to their Lordships on Monday fortnight an acct. of wt. reputed Fryerys and Nunnerys are in their respective Counties and Counties of Cities and Townes, and what number of Fryers and Nunns are reputed to be in each of the said Nunnerys and Fryerys respectively.

"HU. ARMAGH."

A similar order was addressed to the Protestant Archbishops and Bishops

"1731. 6 Dec. Report on the State of Popery. The Lords Committees appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in

" See "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," p. 44. The following are other examples of the indignities endured by Catholic gentlemen during this period:—

"In 1733, Lord Gormanstown and Richard Barnwell were apprehended and arraigned at the Meath assizes for wearing swords when they went to pay their respects to the judges and gentlemen of the county at the assizes."—Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth

Century," vol. ii., p. 285, *note*.

In 1737, Mr. Nugent and Captain Maguire were indicted for wearing swords contrary to law.—"Primate Boutler's Letters," vol. ii., p. 178.

Lord Kenmare's armorial bearings were effaced from his carriage in the very courtyard of Dublin Castle.—"History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii., p. 436.



this Kingdom having for their better information therein, ordered the High Sheriffs of the several Counties and the Chief Magistrates of every county of a city and county of a towne within the Kingdom to make returns of the reputed Fryerys and Nunnerys in their respective counties and counties of cities and counties of townes and the number of Fryers and Nunns which were reputed to be in each of said Fryerys and Nunnerys respectively, and the said Lords Committees having at the same time ordered the Lords the Archbishops and Bishops to communicate same to the several parish ministers in their respective dioceses, thereby to be informed of the number of Mass-houses, popish chapels and the number of priests in each of said mass-houses and chapels, and also the number of reputed Fryerys, Nunnerys, and popish schools that were in their respective parishes. Upon the Returns already made, their Lordships cannot omit observing, that the insolence of the papists throughout the nation is very great. In defiance of the laws, several pretended Popish Archbishops, Bishops, and their officials, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; great numbers of Popish priests, particularly monks, fryers, and jesuits, are everywhere dispersed, to the great danger of the peace of his majesty's Protestant subjects; and many public mass-houses, private chapels and convents of fryers and nuns have been created and supported."

The following are some of the Returns, made by the Protestant ministers throughout the Diocese of Kildare, in obedience to the foregoing, copied from the originals preserved in MS., in the Public Record Office, Dublin:—

"In the Parish of Lea, in the Queen's County and Diocese of Kildare, there is one Mass-house only, built above forty years ago, supply'd but by one Priest. In the said Parish there is neither any private Popish Chappel, reputed Nunnery, nor Fryary, and but one Popish school."

The report from Naas (although outside our county history), as specially illustrating the conditions of Catholic worship, deserves insertion.

"In Naas, Mass is said within the ruins of an old Abbey; in other places *in some cabbin or under a shed at the back of a ditch*.

"There is a reputed Priest who officiates in each place, but unregistered and unlawful.

"There has been no Publick Mass-house built in my Union since the first year of the reign of King George the first. Fryars are said frequently to assist the several Priests and Preach to the people.

"Several Fryaries are said to be erected in my neighbourhood, but none that I know of within my Union. Popish schools are in every Parish, but no Nunnery in the neighbourhood that I know of. Given under my hand this 14th day of Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1731.

"H. Radcliff, Vic<sup>r</sup>. of Naas, etc."

"In the Parish of Rosenallis there are four Mass-houses, two of which were built since the 1st year of King George 1st, all are supplied by one Lawlor and two Curates, viz.:—Dunne and Keenan. There are little Irish schoolmasters in many places, who they are I have not heard. If there be any fryars or nuns they cannot be discovered.



"In Coolbanagher there is only one Mass-house and one Priest. This account I have from a gentleman who is my agent at Mountmellick.

"Celbridge, Nov. 26th, 1731.

*Geo. Marlay."*

RETURN made on the same occasion, by the Protestant Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.

*(From the Original, preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin.)*

*Kiltennell.* Several archBishops, Bishops, and other Popish Clergy assembled daily last Summer for above a month together, at or near y<sup>e</sup> Church of Kiltennell, under pretence of drinking a spaw water, where they convened sev<sup>l</sup> Persons before y<sup>m</sup> and exercised ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

*Clonkeen.* One Mass-house, a boarded covering in y<sup>e</sup> fields. One schoolmaster. P. Priest, Will<sup>m</sup>. Keating.

*Killebban.* One Mass-house, Two private chappels, 4 schoolmasters. 2 priests. Sev<sup>l</sup> Itinerant Priests, suppos'd to be Regulars, frequently officiate in ye s<sup>d</sup> chappells.

*Tullamoy.* Mass in a private house. 1 schoolmaster, 1 priest.

*Corclone.* Mass in ye fields. 1 Priest.

*Clonenagh.* Two Mass-houses built since 1st. of Geo. 1st. 3 schoolmasters, 2 Priests.

*Ballynakill.* Two Mass-houses, one built lately. 2 Schoolmasters. 2 Priests attending of ye above Keating.

*Ballyroane.* One Schoolmaster.

*Burrows, Strabo, Kilkenny (Killeny), Kilcolmanbane.* Itinerant Priests and Fryers frequently officiate in these parishes. 2 Schoolmasters, viz. :—Tim Dooling and Connor. Priest Will<sup>m</sup>. Lawler.

*Disertenos, Killeal, Kilconbrock.* One Mass-house, one Schoolmaster one priest.

*Stradbally, Fossey, Timmoge.* One Mass-house built within 10 years. 1 Schoolmaster, James Walsh. Priests Pat. Kelly, and John Burn, ye s<sup>d</sup> John Burn came lately from France, frequently officiates in s<sup>d</sup> Mass-houses, and in severall private houses.

*Rathasbuck.* One Mass-house, one Schoolmaster. 1 Priest.

*Killeshin.* One Mass-house. Priests Bryan Moore, and Manus Egan.

In the diocese of Leighlin there are returned 28 Mass-houses, 3 moveable altars in ye fields, 3 Private Chappels, 45 Popish Priests, 3 Fryers, 24 Popish Schoolmasters, and severall Itinerant Priests.

(Signed) AR. FERNS & LEIGHLIN.

The return furnished by the Sheriff of the Queen's County is a model of official brevity. He begs to inform their Lordships that after "diligent enquiry" he does not find there are *any* Frierys or Nunnerys,



or any friers or nuns in the said county." The following is the Sheriff's report:—

"REPORT OF WILLIAM FINN, SHERIFF OF THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

"To his Grace, the Lord Primate, Chairman of the Lord's Committee, appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in this Kingdom, and the rest of the Lords and Committee.

"My Lords,—

"In obedience to your Lordships' Order of the 6th of this November I have made diligent enquiry in the several parts of the Queen's County, and do not find there are any reported Frierys or Nunnerys, or any reputed friers or nuns in the said County, which I am humbly to inform your Lordships this 20th day of November, 1731.

"WILLIAM FINN,  
"Vicecomes Reginae Comitatus."

Endorsed:—"Queen's County, Sheriff."

In the returns made by the Protestant Bishop of Ossory (Dr. Tennison) we find the following references to Mass-houses in the Queen's County:—

"Parish of Rathdowney one Mass-house. Parish of Rathsaran, Do. Parish of Glashare: 4 miles distant from Rathdowney Church. Mr. William Vicars, a person present with the High Sheriff of the Queen's County, while I was visiting one of the Churches in the Deanery of Aghavo, affirmed that 4 years ago part of the Church of Glashare was thatched and turned into a Mass-house. In. (*i.e.*, inquire) whether at present it be used as such." Parish of Aghabo—"In this parish is a very large Mass-house, said to be as long as the (Protestant) parish church, which Church is longer than most Parish Churches in the diocese."

Parish of Skirke.—"One Mass-house which is said to be longer, but something narrower than the (Protestant) Parish Church."

In Attanagh it would seem there was no Mass-house; "yet mass is said in the fields." It surely must have astonished his Lordship to find a Mass-house as long as a Parish Church. Yet he probably found the relative proportions of Protestants and Catholics (in general) something like what he reports from the Parish of Claragh:—"The Return made to me sets forth that there are 3 Protestants and 180 Papists." In this case, however, whilst the 3 Protestants, no doubt, had a Protestant Church large enough for such a congregation, the poor Papists had to be content with the sky for a covering; for, adds his Lordship, "John Hoyne the Popish Priest is said to officiate at the side of a hedge."

This celebration of Mass "at the side of a hedge," or "at the back of an old castle," or "at the back of a ditch," or "in ye open fields" was a characteristic feature of the times. It is described as such by the "Two English Gentlemen," whom it amazed not a little, as we find duly recorded in their "Tour in Ireland" (1746). It not infrequently ended in a tragedy, as at Tinnarath, in Aghaboe parish, where the officiating priest paid with his life the penalty for violating the law.



It was a subject that engaged the attention of the Bishops assembled in Provincial Council at Tyrcogir (near Portarlington) in 1640. After due consideration their Lordships found themselves unable to make any further provision than had been previously made at the Provincial Synod of Kilkenny in 1614. That provision was to the following effect:—"As the calamity of the times made it necessary for priests to celebrate Mass in unconsecrated places it was desired that those places be preferred where this could be done the more decently; and to provide against the risk of dirt falling on the altar, or corporal, priests were directed to have a cloth or curtain suspended over the altar. In case of celebrating Mass in the open (*sub dio*) they were further to provide that the table of the altar should be protected and secured against wind, rain, or other atmospheric disturbance."

In 1733 the parishes, and Pastors, of the County are set forth as follows by Dean Skelton:—

Ballyfin.—*Horoghan*.  
 Mountrath.—*Corkran*.  
 Ballynakill.—*Keating*.  
 Clpoke.—*Moor, junr.*  
 Stradbally.—*Kelly*.  
 Maryborough.—*Laughlor* (Lalor).  
 Arles.—*Br. Moor* (Brian Moore).  
 Killeshin.—*Egan*.

In 1745, during the viceroyalty of Lord Chesterfield, a number of persons were assembled by stealth in an upper room of a house in Dublin to hear Mass, when suddenly the floor gave way, and they were all precipitated into the room beneath. Ten were killed, including the priest, and many seriously injured. Taking advantage of the sympathy awakened by this sad event the Viceroy permitted the Catholic chapels to be re-opened, and the Catholic clergy to exercise their sacred functions without molestation. This was the first break in the clouds of persecution. Later in the reign of George II. the Catholics took heart of grace to agitate for a removal of their disabilities. The Duke of Bedford, who became Lord Lieutenant in 1757, seemed favourably disposed. He allowed the Catholics to meet publicly to ventilate their grievances. At a meeting presided over by Lord Trimblestown it was proposed by Dr. O'Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (and founder of Carlow College), that a declaration of the principles of the Church bearing on the civil duties of Catholics should be prepared and published. This was the first public act of the Catholic body towards the removal of the penal enactments. From this period onwards the fight for emancipation progressed, slowly, and with many a set back, but steadily, and surely, until the crowning triumph came in the ever memorable 1829.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.—MASS-PLACES OF PENAL TIMES.

THE "unconsecrated places" in which Mass had needs to be offered in the days of persecution seem deserving of more attention than they have hitherto received. We purpose, therefore, in this chapter making an effort to rescue these sanctuaries of the faith within our county from



the oblivion into which they have been allowed to fall. The subject is invested with somewhat of that enthralling and abiding interest which attaches to the story of the Catacombs of Rome. There is scarcely a district in the County where some tradition is not preserved of a "Mass Tree," or a "Mass Bush," or a "Mass-pit," around which cluster sacred memories of priests and worshippers assembled at Holy Mass, with penalties of death or banishment in store for them, and no roof to protect them but the broad canopy of heaven. Our Protestant National Poet, Thomas Davis, well describes the sorrows and sufferings of those days—

"Oh, weep those days, the penal days,  
When Ireland hopelessly complained;  
Oh, weep those days, the penal days,  
When Godless persecution reigned.  
They bribed the flock, they bribed the son,  
To sell the priest and rob the sire;  
Their dogs were taught alike to run  
Upon the scent of wolf and friar,  
Among the poor or on the moor,  
Where hid the pious and the true;  
Whilst traitor, knave, and recreant slave  
Had riches, rank, and retinue."

We shall first describe the "Massing-places" in the Ossory diocese portion of the County, and then those that lie within the confines of the united diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

## I.—DIOCESE OF OSSORY.<sup>1</sup>

### *Parish of Aghaboe.*

"The Mass Pit" in Dairyhill is in Mr. Martin Carroll's farm, in the part of Dairyhill formerly known as Garranaboley. Here Father Patrick Phelan, registered in 1704 as P.P. of Aghaboe, Killermogh and Bordwell, offered up the Holy Sacrifice, under shelter of a winnowing sheet. His Mass-server, then a little boy, was his cousin Michael Phelan, father of John Phelan (1760-1848), father of Tom Phelan, of Ballycuddihy, Aghaboe, now (1911) in his 91st year.

The Rath of Tinnarath. This Mass-station is a quarter of a mile from Aghaboe Catholic church, to the right of the road from Foxrock to Boherard. Connected with it is the following tradition. A priest named Father Phelan, after celebrating Mass one Sunday in the Rath, ventured to remain behind after the congregation had departed, to make a short thanksgiving. His prayers over, he emerged from the Rath, in the direction of the adjacent road; but scarcely had he done so when he found himself face to face with a band of priest-hunters, who had been sent upon his track. As might be expected, they showed him no mercy. Ere he could turn and fly the ruffians had emptied their

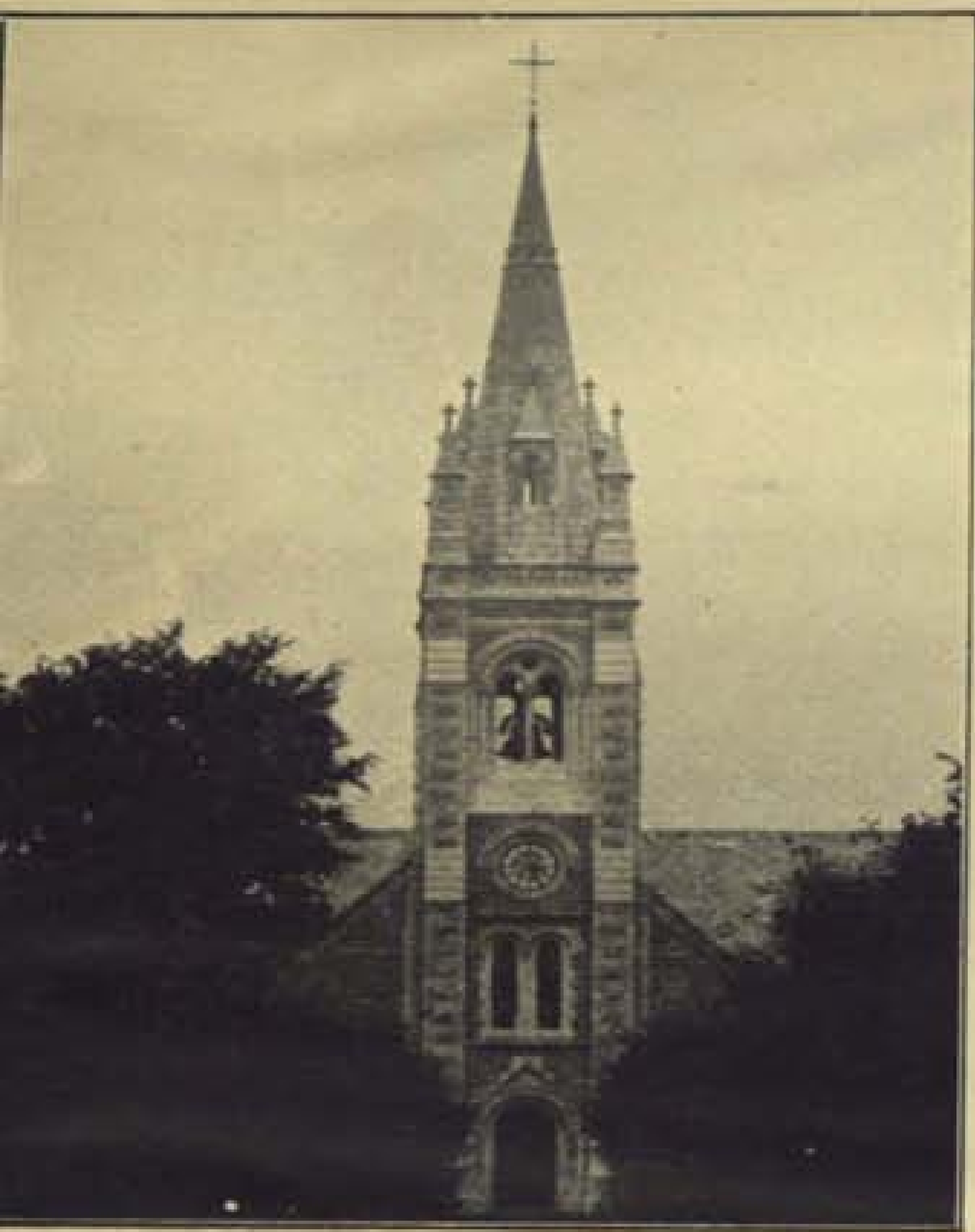
<sup>1</sup> For the account of the Mass-Stations of the Diocese of Ossory we are indebted to the Very Rev. Dr. Carrigan, P.P., the distinguished historian of that

diocese. See Vol. ii. of his splendid work, "The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," in 4 vols. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1905.









**ABBEYLEIX CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 154. Vol. II., p. 579.

[Photos by]



**EMO CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I. p. 179.

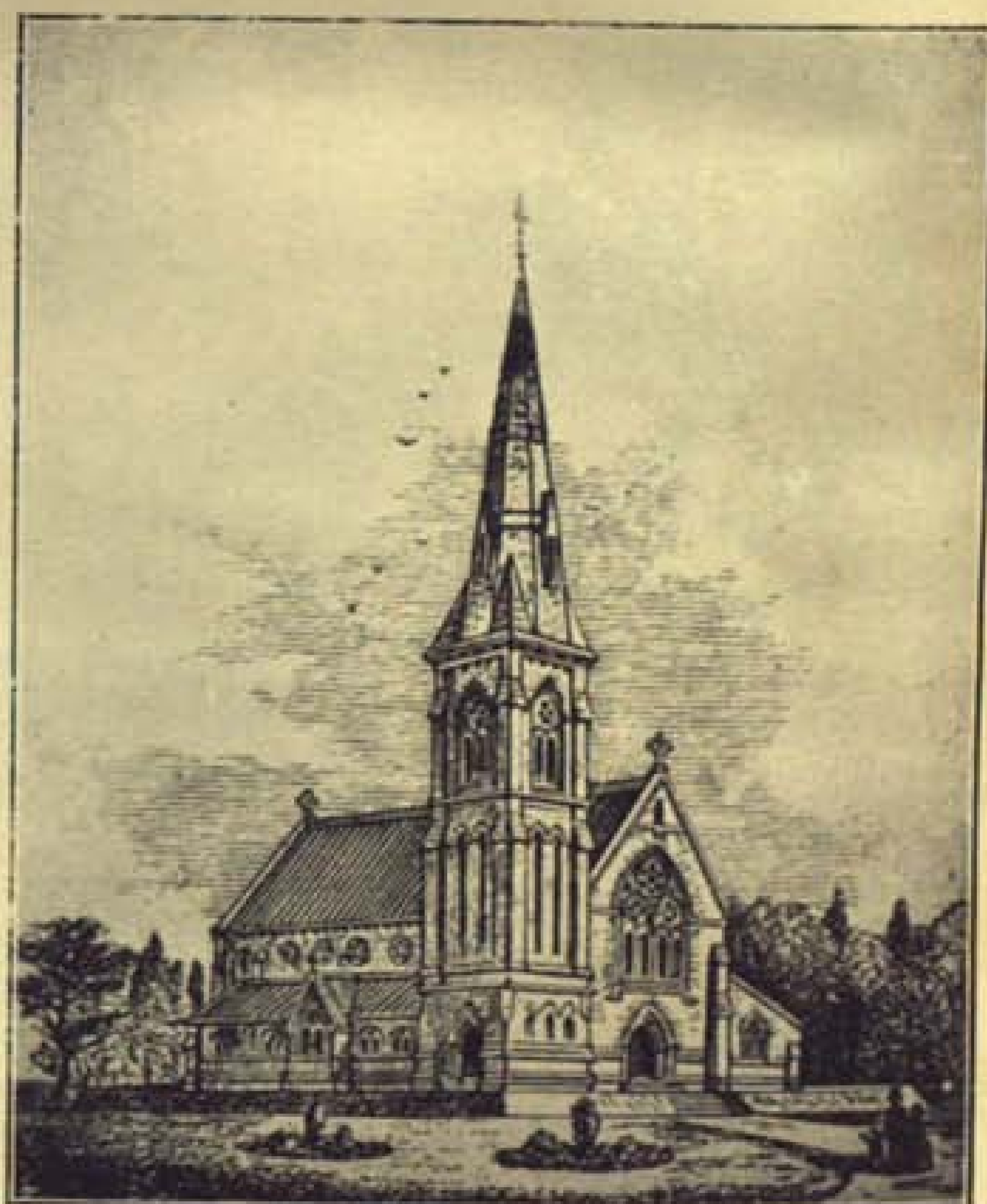
[Rev. E. O'L.]



**PORTARLINGTON CATHOLIC CHURCH,**

Erected 1842.

Vol. II., p. 591.



**AGHABO CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. II., p. 573.



guns in his body, and he fell riddled with bullets. An aged white-thorn, called by some "the Monument," by others "the Priest's Bush," marks the spot empurpled by the martyred soggarth's blood. The date of this murder lies somewhere between 1660 and 1700. A man named Delany, of Tinnarath, born in 1756, used to tell that he had often heard a centenarian named Mrs. Fitzpatrick, of Court, Aghaboe, say that she was present, when a child, at Father Phelan's Mass in the Rath of Tinnarath.

In Rahanrick quarry, to the rere of the C.C.'s house, many Masses were also celebrated; also, in James Palmer's "Rath Field," in Bordwell, three fields west of Bordwell churchyard.

There is "a Mass Pit" in Lughabarra, a sub-division of the townland of Ballacolla. Part of the altar in use here, built of stones without mortar, is still shown in the breast of the fence separating Lughabarra from Tintore.

There is another "Mass Pit" in Ballygihen, a couple of fields north of Mr. Pierson's house.

The first chapel in use in the parish since the Reformation was a thatched one that stood in Foxrock on the same site occupied by the late parish chapel. It was built about 1725, and is thus referred to by Dr. Edward Tennison, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, in his Diocesan Register of the year 1731 where he treats of the parish of Aghaboe:—"In this parish is a very large Mass-house, said to be as long as the" [Protestant] "parish church" [of Aghaboe], "which parish church is longer than most parish churches in the Diocese." This chapel was replaced, about 1770, by the late parish chapel, which, in its turn, gave place, in 1877, to the present fine parish church.

### *Parish of Borris-in-Ossory.*

During the first quarter of the 18th century, when the Very Rev. Dr. John Cassin had pastoral charge of Upperwoods and Aghaboe, the two great Mass-stations of the united parishes were the site of the ancient church of Cashel in the former parish, and the Black Quarry on Knockseerach hill in the same parish. The same vestments served for both stations; when Mass was over in Cashel they were carried thence to Knockseerach for the later Mass. After a time the Mass was changed from Knockseerach hill to a pit, now closed up, in Mr. Michael Duigin's land, beside the Green of Grange. Michael Cashin of Grangemore (1750-1838) heard Mass at the Green of Grange, but not on storm-swept Knockseerach hill, which had ceased to be a Mass-station before his time.

Later in the 18th century Mass still continued to be offered up in the open-air, for the convenience of the people of the Borris-in-Ossory and Knockaroo districts, in the lane beside Borris-in-Ossory Court House. It was not till 1796 that these districts were first provided with a chapel. This was the old chapel of Knockaroo, built by the Rev. Patrick Delany, P.P., on a site granted for the purpose by the Rev. Mr. Carden, of Lismore.

The present chapel of Borris-in-Ossory, the first and only one in the town in modern times, was built about 1812 by the Rev. Martin Bergin, P.P.



In the Killismestia district of the parish the oldest Mass-station of which there is any tradition is a hollow in Michael Delany's land in Erris, on the bounds of Curraghmore. The local Protestant Rector at the time it was in use must have been a very tolerant man, as the spot was quite near his house. Father James Phelan, who died P.P. of Rathdowney and Skirke, April 15th, 1747, aged 60, is said to have celebrated Mass here during the early period of his mission in the parish, that is, about 1725.

The next Mass Station, in the order of time, is "the Mass Pit" in Ballaquade, on the right of the road from Killismestia to the church of Skirke. This Pit is also called "the *Chapel* half acre," because although Mass was at first said here in the open air, the people, after a little, ventured to fix four stakes in the ground, threw poles over them, covered the whole with straw, and then gave the structure the title of chapel. This was about 1740.

With Father James Phelan still at their head the people soon ventured to advance a step further. They accordingly abandoned the shed in "the chapel half acre," and having secured a site on the opposite side of the road, but about 200 yards nearer the present chapel of Killismestia, they built a mud-wall chapel thereon and covered it with thatch. This chapel stood in "Pratt's old orchard," almost on the spot now occupied by a labourer's cottage. As the site was in Killismestia townland it came to be known as the chapel of Killismestia, a name ever since borne by all the succeeding chapels of the district.

About 1765 or 1770 the mud-wall chapel of the preceding 20 or 30 years was replaced by a new and more solid edifice. At first a site was chosen at Killismestia cross-roads, but the validity of the lease being considered questionable, another plot was secured in Killadooley townland, and here the chapel was erected. This is the chapel mentioned in the following receipt, the original of which, a small slip of paper, may be found in the old parish Register of Rathdowney:—"Rec<sup>d</sup>. from the Rev<sup>d</sup>. James Butler the sum of Ten Shillings ster., which is in full for rent and arrears due out of the Chapel and Chapel park of Killadooly the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1783. Cha<sup>s</sup>. White." The Rev. James Butler, here mentioned, was P.P. of Rathdowney and Skirke from 1763 to 1783, and it was by him, most probably, that the chapel was erected. This chapel was taken down in 1798, the late chapel of Killismestia having been built beside it in that year by the Rev. William Butler, P.P. The latter chapel gave way to its present successor, which was built alongside of it about 1858 by the Rev. Michael Dempsy, P.P.

### *Parish of Camross.*

Mass was offered up, in the penal times, in "the Mass Pit" in Annagh, now Mount Salem, to the rear of Mr. Roe's farmyard.

"The Mass Pit" in Killeen is one field north of Killeen "Burying Meadow," in which stood many centuries ago the ancient church of Killeen. Beside the Mass Pit is the holy water font of the church, a piece of rough freestone with round artificial hollow 9 in. wide and 3 in. deep.



Mass was also said in the open air near the present chapel of Killinure, a few perches from "Burke's Cross." The holy water font in use in the ancient church of Killinure, the site of which is now entirely forgotten, was brought thence to the Mass-station at Burke's Cross, to be used there by the worshippers for its original purpose; it is of freestone, rough and unhewn, with a large basin, 14 in. in diameter and 9 in. deep.

According to well-authenticated tradition there was a thatched chapel in Camross, in 1737, in the field under the present parish chapel. It probably dated from about 1730, and was certainly the first chapel built here since the Reformation. It continued in use down to 1811, when the present parish chapel was built by the Rev. Richard Burke, P.P.

#### *Parish of Castletown.*

The Holy Sacrifice was offered up very long ago in a pit in Mr. James Carroll's land in Mannin. The pit, which was known as "Carrol's Pit," has been levelled.

In the early part of the 18th century Mass was said in the open air, for several years, beside the churchyard of Cashel. There was a "chapel" here, too, erected probably about 1725 and abandoned not long after; it must have been a very temporary structure, little better than a shed. Its site is pointed out 80 or 100 yards north-west of the churchyard, on a small green plot, with broken, uneven surface, immediately over the slope of the hill.

There is a "Mass Pit" in Danganroe, on the roadside, to the left as one goes from Castletown to Danganroe Bridge. Mass was said here till about 1763.

There was no chapel in the Castletown district till about 1763, when Mr. Price came to live in Westfield House, as agent to the Earl of Upper Ossory. Mr. Price was a Protestant, but his wife, an English lady named Robinson, was a Catholic. She soon got a small chapel built in the townland of Old Borris, about the middle of the field north of, and bounding, the present Westfield garden. This chapel was used as such for about twenty years, after which it was put to secular purposes. It was taken down about 1830.

The present chapel of Castletown was built to replace that of Old Borris about the year 1784. It was at first thatched, and consisted merely of the part to the rere of the high altar, lately set apart for the use of the De la Salle Community. The north transept was added about 1810, the nave about 1836, and the south transept about 1880.

#### *Parish of Durrow (Queen's County portion of).*

I. *District of Durrow.*—There is "a Mass Pit" in Derreen, a few perches from Bishop's Wood and a mile from Durrow town. Mass was scarcely celebrated here later than 1700. It is the tradition of the neighbourhood that a Bishop, while offering up the Sacred Mysteries in this Pit, was seized on by the persecutors, who dragged him into the adjoining wood, tied him to "the Bishop's Tree," and left him there till death relieved his sufferings. Who the Bishop was is now forgotten. Possibly he was Dr. Edmund Tanner, S.J., Commissary of the Pope, and Bishop of Cork and Cloyne. Dr. Tanner was a prisoner



for the Faith in Clonmel jail, but, having effected his escape, he continued to discharge his duties as Commissary and Bishop in various parts of Ireland during the succeeding four years. At length, entirely worn out with privations and labour ("inedia et labore omnino confectus"), he died in Ossory Diocese, in the year 1579, in the 55th year of his age and fifth of his Episcopate.<sup>2</sup> As to "the Bilshop's Tree," it was cut down long ago, and no trace of it now remains but a mound of earth that had been piled up around it while it was still in bloom; this mound, which is a remarkable evidence of the veneration in which the Tree was formerly held, is circular in shape, three yards in diameter and one foot high and cased all round on the outside with loose stones.

Mass was also said in a quarry in Roughpark Grove, about one hundred yards from Capponellan Wood; the quarry is now levelled. This appears to have been used as a Mass-station as late as 1750.

In the townland of Tinvier, about eighty yards from the Derry Wood, in the east end of the third field from the public road to Ballinaslee, a hollow is pointed out in which there was a chapel of the early Penal days. It was attended by Friars, and hence was known as "the Friary Chapel." How long the Friars ministered here no one can tell; but constant tradition, however, handed down through probably ten generations, from sire to son, tells how they at length received the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the priest-hunters, in a little cave where they lay hid beside their humble temple. This chapel was taken down completely very long ago, but a portion of its floor remained beneath the surface of the ground till 1858, when it was uprooted. The site is now under cultivation.

There was no chapel in Durrow town till well into the second half of the 18th century. The site for a chapel was at length given, free of rent, by a Protestant gentleman named Roe, who himself held it by lease of March 18th, 1766, from the Ashbrook family. This chapel was in use about seventy years, when it was replaced by the present parish church in 1839.

II. *District of Cullahill.*—The oldest Mass-station here is in the townland of Scrub, close to Cullahill village; it is a secluded hollow in the north-east angle of an eight-acre field known to all as *Cool-an-eyé-shing*, i.e. *Cúil an Aiffrinn*, or the Angle of the Mass. And here it may be remarked that the Irish word *Aiffrinn*, gen. *Aiffrinn*, meaning the Mass, though elsewhere pronounced *Afferin*, is sounded *Afferhin* in South Kilkenny, but always *Eye-shin* (two syllables, accent on first), in the rest of Ossory Diocese.

Mass was also said two fields east of Coolaneyeshing in a pit in the townland of Castle Quarter, called *Closh-cloon*, i.e. *Clair Chúana*, or Cloone Pit.

There was another Mass-station in the townland of Ballynevin, 150 yards north of Maynebog Bridge, and a few perches east of the Gowl river. A "Mass Bush" grew on the hill directly over the hallowed spot till it decayed away through age about 1880. Father Traynor, P.P. used celebrate Mass here during the early part of the 18th century.

<sup>2</sup> See "Spicilegium Ossoriense," vol. i., pp. 83, 84.



The latest of the Mass-stations in this district was a hollow in a field of Mrs. Tom Kelly's, in Gurteen, known as "the Cosheer." The hollow, now nearly levelled, is in the north end of the field very close to the Gurteen public road. There was some kind of a building here which they called "a chapel," but which must have been of the poorest possible description. Mass continued to be said here till about 1765, when the old chapel of Cullahill was built and became the place of worship for the Catholics of the Cullahill district. This chapel was taken down in 1837 and the present chapel of Cullahill was built on its site in the same year.

*Parish of Lisdowney (Queen's County portion of).*

The only Mass-station here is *Closh-an-eye-shing*, i.e. *CLAIR AN AIFFINN*, or the Mass Pit, a hollow or pit in the north-east angle of "the Spunk Field," in Aharney, a field or two to the north-east of Aharney House.

*Parish of Rathdowney.*

There was a Mass-station in Pat Conroy's field on Knockeel hill. A priest was shot dead here, probably before 1700, in the act of saying Mass. His murderers cut off his head and carried it in triumph to "the Garrison" in Rathdowney, where they received the usual reward, £5. For this and other like services to the State they and their descendants were long afterwards known by the sobriquet, *na g-ceann*, i.e., of the Heads.

There was another Mass-station at the north side of Ker. Kelly's rath in Harristown. Mass used be offered up here early in the 18th century by a friar maintained by Lecum M'Æman, or William M'Edmund Fitzpatrick, of Harristown. There appears to have been a chapel or "Mass-house" here for a short time about 1731.

There was still another Mass-station in "the Wart-well Field" in Beckfield.

During some fierce outburst of persecution, probably during the Cromwellian Usurpation, the Holy Sacrifice had ceased altogether in the parish were it not for some zealous priest, who, braving all danger, took his stand in what may be called "his last ditch," and celebrated Mass for the people in the Little Derry, a small bog-island in the townland of Moonamonra, very close to the bounds of the County Tipperary. There was a small wooden structure set up here, but its use was merely to shelter the rude altar. When the persecution abated the woodwork and altar were removed from the Little Derry and set up in a more central place in a pit in the townland of Graigueavallagh. Tradition hands down that the work of removal was effected by staunch men named Maher, ancestors of the present Mahers of Coolkerry.

"The Chapel Pit" of Graigueavallagh, an old disused sand-pit, then became the great Mass-station for all Rathdowney parish, and continued as such for about 100 years. Its title of "the Chapel Pit" may be regarded as more or less a misnomer, inasmuch as the so-called "chapel" can have been nothing more at the best of times than a wretched hovel.



At length came the dawn of better days. Mr. John Burke O'Flaherty, a Catholic, or, at least, a liberal Protestant, gentleman, having acquired the fee-simple of the townlands of Barney and Mount Oliver, made a free grant of an acre of ground in the latter for the site of a chapel. This was about 1775. Father James Butler, the P.P., at once set about erecting a small temporary chapel on the new site. When the walls were built and roofing material could not be readily procured, the difficulty was got over by a number of strong men lifting off the roof of the old "chapel" in "the Chapel Pit" in Graigueavallagh, bearing it *bodily and intact* on their shoulders, and placing it again in the same condition on the bare walls of the new chapel. Such is the history of the foundation and completion of the first chapel of Grogan. This chapel was thrown down and another built on its foundations, in 1791, by the Rev. Philip Purcell, P.P.

The present chapel of Grogan, the third on the same site, was built by Father Tracey, P.P., *around and over* its predecessor, which was only taken down after the new edifice had been roofed in.

There was no chapel in the town of Rathdowney, from the time of the Reformation to the year 1820, when the present parish chapel, begun in 1818, was at length brought to completion.

## II.—DIOCESE OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN.

### *Parish of Abbeyleix.*

In the southern extremity of Abbeyleix parish, and close to the bounds of the parishes of Ballinakill, Ballyragget, and Durrow, there is, in the townland of Grawinafolia, at the head of a great gravel pit, a small field belonging to Mrs. Kenny, known as "the Chapel Field." Of the chapel that once stood here there is now no trace, and, it must be added, no tradition. All that the old people can tell of "the Chapel Field" is that it was an open-air Mass-station of the Penal Days. From the name of the field, however, it must be taken for granted that a chapel of some kind, no doubt of the poorest possible description, stood here. It is not likely that Mass was said here later than 1730. The next chapel of Abbeyleix parish was the chapel of the Red Hill, built probably about 1730, and burned down by the bigoted non-Catholic gentry of the neighbourhood about 1765.

The details of this outrage are narrated by Dr. Comerford as follows:—"In the direction of Rosconnell, and just outside the bounds of the parish of Ballinakill, there is a holy well, called Lady's well, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, to which the faithful resorted on the Patron day, the 15th of August. It happened on one of these occasions, about the year 1765, that a party of young aristocrats, conducted by Baron Knapton, son to Earl De Vesci, came here to amuse themselves with the spectacle. After a while, not content with looking on, they attempted some wanton interference with the females engaged in making their *thurrus*, or pilgrimage, round the holy well. This naturally aroused the indignation of the men, who interposed to protect their female friends. The haughty young nobleman thought that by mentioning who he was he would awe the poor peasantry into subjection, but such was not the case; and so, after some rough usage, he and



his companions were compelled to beat a retreat. They threatened in revenge to burn down the adjoining chapel of Ballyouskill; but having been foiled in their purpose there, they carried it into effect by burning the chapel at Red Hill, instead. Some time after, perhaps in reparation of the outrage, Lord De Vesci gave a site and help towards the erection of the chapel in Old Abbeyleix. This was afterwards abandoned in consequence of the change in the position of the town. In the new town a chapel was built at the commencement of the nineteenth century."<sup>3</sup>

Some distance beyond Ballyroan, between Ballyroan and Pass, in the townland of Cashel, on the side of the road opposite to Mr. William Ryan's farm, a thatched chapel once stood. All trace of the building has long since disappeared. On the site there are two ash trees which are locally regarded as marking what was formerly the entrance to the chapel. A large barn of the farmyard attached to the ruins of the once "great House" of the Barringtons of Cullenagh is said to have been used as a chapel in penal times. The architectural features of the chapel door still remain in the present doorway, and serve to confirm the local tradition. Mr. James Mulhall of Pass House, writing of it, says:—"My grandmother, Mary Lalor, was confirmed there in 1812, and my great-grandfather, John Lalor, paid dues to be allowed to hear Mass there at an earlier date." The place had passed into the possession of a gentleman named Samuel Anderson, who, if not a Catholic, was favourably disposed towards Catholics, and the Catholic claims. The new Catholic church of Abbeyleix (of which we have already given an account) is a great addition to the modern ecclesiastical edifices of the county. And a similar remark applies to the adjoining convent and schools of the Brigidine nuns, who were introduced into the parish by the Rev. Thomas Nolan, P.P., not long after his appointment to the parish in 1838.

### *Parish of Arles.*

The earliest place of worship in this parish of which any record remains was the thatched chapel built in 1686, of which Grose gives an illustration and description. It was erected, he says, by a lady of the family of Hartpole. In one of the transepts there was "a small chapel which was the place of interment of the Grace family." According to the published "Memoirs" of this family this ancient thatched chapel was replaced in 1795 by a structure of a better class. This, in its turn, yielded place to the present beautiful edifice, to the erection of which the munificence of Mrs. Grace, of Gracefield, largely contributed.

From the contour of the surrounding country one would infer that Arles was the "locus refugii" of many a hunted priest during the era of persecution. Its name (*Ἀρλιον*—the high fort) is peculiarly appropriate. Rising from encircling plains to a height of over 100 feet, its sides in former times were thickly clothed with scrub and under-wood. "The high trees of Arles" have but recently disappeared from

<sup>3</sup> See "Collections relating to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin," vol. iii., p. 59.



the scene. Traditional accounts of Mass in penal days are plentiful, but, for the most part, poorly authenticated. Fortunately, one local historian was found of whose competence there could be no question. This was Mr. John Wall, of Old Leagh, who was born in 1814, and died at the patriarchal age of 97. He had two brothers P.P.'s—Father Michael and Father Arnold. He was a storehouse of traditional local lore; and his memory continued fresh and green to the end. Mr. Wall stated that he had it from his father, as a matter of family history, that Mass used to be said during the penal era under a holly bush in one of the fields of Old Leagh. The place lies to the S.W. of Arles at a distance of about a mile. The situation is extremely picturesque. A small river wends its way through a deep ravine, and serves as an outlet for the overflow waters of the well of Saint Abban, the patron saint of Kilabban, the more ancient name of Arles. It was an ideal spot for a Mass-station. The formation of the country, whilst offering many obstacles to the priest-searchers, was singularly favourable to the concealment and escape of the priest.

The next "Massing-place" described by Mr. Wall is located about a mile away, further to the west. Formerly it was called cruac-an-ban, and is now known as Woodlands. In a valley on the west the Holy Sacrifice was offered up under an improvised shelter which served to supplement the natural protection which the situation afforded.

Another Mass-station mentioned by Mr. Wall was to the S.E. of Arles at a distance of about half a mile. It is situated on the lands of Rathtillig (Rat Tutac—the rath on the hill). The place was formerly called Poul-an-an. There is believed to be a fairy hole underneath the hill, and an underground passage to Arles. Whether Mass used to be said on the hill (where once a very fine whitethorn grew, regarded by some as a Mass-bush), or "in ye open field" below, tradition saith not. A striking confirmation of Mr. Wall's account of Rathtillig, as a Mass-station of ancient standing, is furnished by the following extract from the report made in 1612 by Dr. Ram, Protestant Bishop, concerning the condition of his diocese. Enumerating the priests who "resort the diocese, and their ordinary harbourers," he sets down:—"5. Sir Thomas Reugh, priest, keeping about a XII month since at the house of Garrat McTeg of Ratellick in the parish of Killaban: wher (his arm being broken) he lay at cure, but since I have not heard of him."

There is a "monument bush" in a field opposite the junction of the Arles and Ballinagar roads, and some old people aver that Mass was said there in the open "before there was any chapel at Arles." Similarly, a large oak tree in a corner of a field, belonging to Mr. Patrick Brennan, at the cross of Bohernassere, is by many supposed to mark the spot where Mass was formerly celebrated. The more generally accepted local tradition is, however, to the effect that a priest named Moore, a member of the O'More Sept, who officiated at the Mass-stations of the district was seized by the priest-hunters, and hanged from this tree. The priest's body is said to have been buried beneath the tree, on which he had suffered martyrdom.

In the return of 1731 it is stated there were two private chapels in this parish of Kilabban (or Arles). These probably belonged to the Grace and Denn families. In the Register of 1704 Theobald Denn,





**DYSART CROSS  
MASS STATION.**

Vol. II., p. 581.

**"THE SHELTERS"  
MASS STATION.**

Vol. II. p. 582.



**DERRYGUILE  
MASS STATION.**

Vol. II., p. 587.







gent., of Kilabban, is given as security for Rev. Brian Moore of Kilabban, Rev. Kedagh Moore of Ballyadams, and Rev. Edmond M'Ginis of Killeslin. This Theobald Denn was probably he who was appointed one of the burgesses of old Leighlin under the charter granted to that borough by King James II. on the 4th July, 1688.

At Cherryfields, a house at present owned by a Mr. Smith of Ballinaboley and occupied by a herd named Scully, formerly belonged to a Quaker named Thompson, who is said to have allowed it to be used in penal times as the Mass-house of the district. The people further relate that Mr. Thompson used to send the priest's breakfast out from Carlow, and was disconsolate when, on one occasion, it got stolen *en route*!

### *Parish of Ballinakill.*

The parish of Ballinakill is singularly rich in associations connected with the open-air Mass of penal days. At least nine places in the parish claim the honour of having been "Massing places"; and in every instance the local traditions supporting the claim seem deserving of all respect. The first in order of these Mass sites is the border of the "Mass lough" in Heywood demesne. The exact spot where the Holy Sacrifice used to be offered would probably be the ground occupied at a later date by the humble thatched chapel which preceded the present Catholic church. This spot is pointed out in the demesne; but all vestiges of the chapel have long since disappeared.

Laurence M'Donald, Ironmills, Ballinakill (who is eighty years of age), had some interesting information to communicate regarding the Mass-stations at Ralish and Booleybawn. He said that when he was a little boy, about eight years old, he and his grandfather were passing by Ralish, and the old man said to him that there was a holy place in there where Mass used formerly be said, and that he would go in and say his prayers, which he accordingly did, leaving the boy on the road to await his return. This field is now in the possession of Mr. Perry of Rathdowney.

His account of the Booleybawn Mass-pit is as follows:—There is a sand pit on Mrs. Kavanagh's land, and another on Pat Kennedy's, with only a ditch between them. In one or other of these two pits the Mass used to be said "according to the way the wind blew" (*i.e.*, in the one which afforded the best shelter). On Knockboot and Gosses hill sentries were posted. Before beginning Mass the priest ("who spoke Irish") questioned the people about absentees, and the reasons for their absence, etc.

At Dysart Cross there is a big hollow which is known as "the hollow of the Mass," from its use in penal times as the local Mass-station.

South of Mr. Sheridan's of Spink, and in one of his fields near the river, at a place called Aughagapall, the open-air Mass used to be celebrated. In the same neighbourhood, on the farm of James Moore of Knock, there is a hollow where a small chapel formerly stood. An old man named Andrew Phelan said he had it from a man named Patrick Duggan that he had assisted at Mass in this chapel. The hollow is now nearly filled in, and all trace of the chapel completely lost.



Another place where Mass used to be said is in a field, at present in the possession of John Purcell, Aughnacross. Its claim to the distinction of a Mass-place is proved by its name—Knockanistha (Cnoc-an-Aíppinn)—“the hill of the Mass.” It is one of the acclivities lying between Ballashawn and the summit of the range at Ballaghemon. Near the house of Edward Dowling of Dysart, Ballinakill, a well on the side of the road leading from Knock is pointed out as being close to the spot where Mass used to be offered up. It is situated at the foot of Knock hill, and near the river which passes by Dysart.

We conclude our “legendary lore” with the following:—John Dunne of Knockbawn related how he had heard it from the old people (he is himself over 70) that Dr. Keating had a hut in “the shelters” where he lived and celebrated Mass. The shelters extend through two farms, one belonging to Mrs. Geoghegan of Knock, and the other to Martin M'Evoy of Graiguenahown. John was unfortunately unable to say on which of these farms Dr. Keating's hut was located. The entire country at that time, from Blandsfort to Knock, was covered with a dense wood. It happened on one occasion that the De Vescis were shooting in this wood, and one of them, who had separated from his companions, got hopelessly lost. When he had almost abandoned himself to despair he happened on Dr. Keating's hut, where he was hospitably received and entertained. Encouraged by his visitor, who had remained over a day with him, the Doctor ventured to accompany him to “the Court,” where there was such delight at the safe return of the wanderer that the Doctor as a reward for his kind services received permission from Lord De Vesci to celebrate Mass for the future in a thatched house at Redhill, in the parish of Abbeyleix. Of this thatched chapel, and of another De Vesci story, we have given an account in what we have already written about the parish of Abbeyleix.

In the Return of 1731 it is stated that at Clonkeen (in this parish) Mass was said “in a wooden covering in ye fields.” In the earlier return of 1704 Connal Moore is described as Popish priest of Tullore, Disert Galen, and Clonkeen. This is beyond doubt the Connal Moore whose name is attached to the Decrees of the Synod of Dublin held in 1688. He is described as V.G. and Deputy of the Chapter of Leighlin. There is a tradition that he was a relative of Sarsfield, whose mother was Anna, daughter of the famous Rory O'More.

#### *Parish of Ballyadams.*

The church at Ballyadams is said to have been built by Robert Bowen towards the end of the 17th century. A very pretentious monument (still to be seen, though fallen rather “from its high estate”) was erected in the church by Robert's son John, nick-named “John of the Pike” from his zeal in piking the Irish. After this church had been diverted from Catholic to Protestant service, the Catholics were obliged to worship in the open fields, or in private houses. In the district of Ballintubber or Fontstown the present Protestant church would seem to occupy the site of a Catholic place of worship judging by the fact that Catholics are still interred in the graveyard adjoining. A Catholic chapel is said to have formerly stood near the present parochial house in the district of Tullamoy, where there is a disused



Catholic cemetery. That there was no Catholic church there in 1731 is plain from the Return of that year, in which it is stated that in Tullamoy there is one schoolmaster and one priest and that "Mass is said in a private house." Probably because of this facility of hearing Mass in a private house the open-air Mass places in the district seem to have been few. Authentic information on the subject is, indeed, limited to one spot, viz., the "Mass-field" at the Dun of Luggacurran. This field is on the farm of Mr. Andrew Byrne of Luggacurran, about a quarter of a mile from the Dun of Clopoke.<sup>4</sup> It lies to the left of the road from Clopoke to Luggacurran, south-west of the Athy-Timahoe road. No traditional accounts of its use as a Mass-station would seem to have been preserved by the people of the locality.

### *Parish of Clonaslee.*

In 1793 the two new parishes of Clonaslee and Rosenallis were formed. Mountmellick had previously been formed in 1770. Nearly all the districts embraced within these three parishes had from early times been included in one parochial territory known as Kilmanman. In later times the extensive parish of Rosenallis had taken in the whole of the barony of Tinnehinch. At present Clonaslee includes Kilmanman proper, and most of Rerymore.

In the Registry of Popish priests of 1704, Kedagh Dunne is set down as P.P. "of Rossanolis, Rerymore, Castlebrack, and Killmanman, then and ever since 1678." The ruins of the ancient parish church are still to be seen at Kilmanman, about a mile and a half from the village of Clonaslee.

"The district chapel in the penal times was that called the old Chapel of Brittas. It stood just inside the former demesne wall of Brittas, the seat of the O'Dunnes of Hy Regan,—the old mountain road from Clonaslee passing outside. This chapel, which was of considerable size, was thatched; as was, also, the old manor house of Brittas, adjoining. At a distance of some three hundred yards south of this chapel, on a rising ground, and also within the precincts of the old demesne, a place is pointed out on which, it is said, a monastery stood in the times of persecution.

"In 1771, a chapel was erected in the village of Clonaslee. It is probable that the apostacy of Squire Francis Dunne, the then head of the family, which took place in that year, rendered the change of the place of Catholic worship necessary. At the same time, there is reason to think that the squire intended to conform only for a while, with a view to keeping hold of his estate. All his children were baptised Catholics. The old chapel of Clonaslee, like its predecessor of Brittas, was an humble, unpretentious, thatched edifice. It stood close to the site occupied by the present Catholic church. It was replaced by this fine, commodious church, in the year 1813."<sup>5</sup>

In the return made by Barnabas Jackson, Hearth-money Collector, in 1765, we find the following:—"Kilmanman, 51 Protestants, 1,141 Papists, 1 Mass-house in good repair. Rerymore, 83 Protestants, 1,470 Papists, 2 Mass-houses."

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I., p. 20, and "O'Byrne's History of the Queen's County," c. V., p. 12, where a description is given of

the Duns of Luggacurran and Clopoke.

<sup>5</sup> See Comerford, vol. ii., p. 115.



As this parish would seem to have been well supplied with Mass-houses in 1765, so also with regard to Mass-stations of an earlier date. Traces and traditions of four have come down to us. The first of these is the Mass Pit of Reary, on the lands of Mr. Louis Culleton. It is called Lickvernane. There is a remarkable rock here containing seven wells, the water of which has been found to be a specific for various diseases. A second Mass-place was the strand of the river Gorrough on portion of Mr. Edward Furlong's farm. A holy well at this spot was formerly much frequented, and is still occasionally visited by pilgrims. Another Mass Pit is pointed out on the farm of Mr. Patrick M'Evoy at Garryhedder, Clonaslee. The pit is situated on the brow of a hill, where a priest and his congregation would be safe from surprise. The tradition is that Mass was celebrated here during the worst days of the penal fury. In a field belonging to Peter Carroll of Carriag, Kilcormac, there stands a large bush locally known as a "Mass-bush." From what could be gathered from the people of the locality there seems no reason to doubt that Mass used to be said, if not on the spot, at least in the field, where the bush grows.

#### *Parish of Killeshin.*

Killeshin (formerly Glenn Missen), like its neighbour Sletty, in early Christian times gave his title to a bishop, of whom, as "Bishop of Glen Missen," we read occasionally in Irish annals. There is a tradition preserved amongst the old people that Sletty once extended to Killeshin and formed one "town" with it; also that the present Catholic church of Killeshin occupies the place where the town jail and gallows stood, a place still known as "gallows hill" (Cnoc-na-Crocaire.)

In the return of 1731 it is stated that there is one Mass-house in Killeshin. This was probably the thatched chapel which stood at the Cross of Clonmore until the present structure was erected, shortly before 1820. An old man named Edward Malone of Cullane (now in his 87th year) says that his father helped in the building of this church. He also stated that he had it from his grandfather, and others, that in penal times the priest "used to say Mass wherever he could, but that the real principal place was in the chapel field on Denis Doran's land at Keelogue, where there is a big hollow in it at one corner." He added that in his grandfather's time Irish was generally spoken throughout the district, "especially on the Carlow side," and that his grandmother was noted for her proficiency in "the old tongue." Denis Doran, on whose farm the chapel field is situated, confirmed the account given by E. Malone. Denis's age would be about 75; and he had it from his father that the tradition of Mass having been celebrated in the pit in the chapel field had been handed down in the family "for generations." Furthermore, his father had told him that that corner of the field had "always gone by the name of *Clash-anayshing*" (Clair-an-Aiffrinn, the pit of the Mass. *Aishinn* is the later Leinster Irish for *Aifrinn*). This would seem to point to the fact that Irish in the penal times was the daily language of the people of this district, where, at present, it is, to all intents and purposes, "as dead as the Dodo." An interesting point about this Mass-pit was the



tunnel which extended from it to the "pike road," and afforded an outlet for priest and people in moments of emergency.

There would seem to have been a Mass-station also at Springhill. An old man who lives there named Timothy Comerford (aged 76) informed us (and his statement was confirmed by several other elders) that, according to tradition, Mass used to be said near a place called "the Copse," at a "Cummer," under a large oak tree, which he pointed out, at the back of a hedge, between a field of his and one of Mr. Fennell.

The district of Killeslin offered exceptional facilities for the celebration of the open-air Mass. The country is wild and hilly, and in many places exceedingly difficult of access. Priest-hunting here must needs have been a laborious and hazardous, and, on the whole, unprofitable occupation. The people, consequently, were in a better position than elsewhere to offer their houses for the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice. Three houses are still pointed out as having had this privilege. They are now occupied respectively by people named Connolly, Pender, and O'Rourke.

One of the customary Irish moats, or sepulchral mounds, is to be seen near the chapel in a field belonging to Mr. Doogue of Bennekerry. It is said to mark the grave of Diarmuid "bishop of Glenn Missen." The people have it that Mass used to be said here in the open; and, further, that two priests were shot here in May, 1798. They also have it that the bog at Monavogue, Ardateggle, served as a hiding and Massing-place; as did a tunnel going from the chapel field (belonging to Mr. Gaffney) to the rath in Cullane, and another extending from where the Waterworks now are, to Doran's near Keelogue.

#### *Parish of Maryborough.*

In the Register of 1704 Darby Malone is described as "Popish priest of Borris, Straboe, Disert, Kiltale and Kilcolmanbane." These townlands at present constitute, in chief part, the parish of Maryborough. We find a reference to a Mass-house at Maryborough as early as 1692. In an Inquisition taken in that year "a messuage called the Mass-house in Maryborough with a small portion of land belonging to it and held as tenant by James Dunne" is set down amongst the possessions of William Earl of Limerick, attainted of high treason in 1691. The site of this Mass-house is supposed to be a burial-ground enclosing the square tower of the former Protestant church. On the right-hand side of the road as one goes from Borris towards Mountmellick the ruins of a thatched chapel are pointed out in a field belonging to Mr. Jessop. About a mile further in the same direction, but on the left side of the road, at Derrygarron, on Mr. Walsh's farm, a bush is shown called the "friar's bush," which is said to mark the place where a friar was shot after celebrating Mass, and when attempting to escape from the priest-hunters. The Mass-place itself is in the adjoining field, where two large "Mass-bushes" indicate its site. In Straboe district the people have retained no tradition of Mass in the days of persecution, except that on some occasions the Holy Sacrifice was offered up within the ruins of the ancient church (of which an account has been given in c. 49 of vol. i.). A respectable lady named Mrs. Ging, aged about 72, informed us that a neighbour



of hers named Mrs. Burke, who died some years ago when over 80, used to say she had it from her father that when he was a boy he had assisted at "a friar's Mass" in the old church ruins. In the townland of Kyle, or Kylehobert, which lies about a mile from Maryborough, midway between the upper (or ridge) road, and the lower (or bog) road to Mountmellick, a Mass-station is to be seen in a field belonging to a farmer named Henry Mulhall. Although the field is under tillage, and has generally been so, one small area is religiously preserved from the plough-share. Two large bushes, and a profusion of scattered stones, hold undisturbed possession of the spot; and, according to local tradition this has been the condition of the place since the day when the last open-air Mass was offered there, well-nigh 200 years ago.

Another remarkable Mass-station in this parish is at Loughshinahawn, in a ravine between two of the hills which rise to nearly 600 feet to the south-west of the Great Heath. It is a most sequestered spot, or rather was such at the period when a thatched chapel was located there. At present it is the site of a rifle range where, during the period of annual training, the soldiers encamped on the Heath repair for shooting practice. The "lough," which forms part of the place-name, adjoins the farmyard of Thomas Dunne. It is of very small dimensions, but it would seem that "even in the hottest years it never runs dry." Whence it derives its perennial supply, "except it be from the well" (two fields away), the residents are unable to surmise. This well marks, according to some, the site of the chapel. Others have it that the chapel was higher up in the same field, at a place called "the chapel yard." The position of this chapel yard was formerly clearly defined by some fine trees which the then owner—Mr. Lyons—removed. A rafter of the old chapel is said to be preserved to form "a chimney-board" in one of the houses on the Heath. Another interesting relic is the holy-water stoup. The Dunne family have placed this on the wall of their yard, where, when the water collects in it, it can be used by those who seek a cure for warts and growths of a similar kind, and has been so used "time out of mind."

Looking down from this elevated spot one gets a splendid view of an extensive and diversified panorama, including in the foreground the ruins of the ancient church of Killenny, and its immediate neighbour the modern chapel of the Heath (built about 1835 by Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, P.P.). Father O'Connor has the credit of having erected not only this church but also the fine church in Maryborough town, and of having introduced in 1824 the nuns of the Presentation Order, whose work has proved such an incalculable boon to the parish, and has grown from small beginnings to its present very considerable dimensions.

#### *Parish of Mountmellick.*

The first P.P. of Mountmellick—the Rev. Thady Duane—was appointed on the 1st of March, 1770. He had a thatched chapel at Clonaghadoo; and it is recorded of him that on Sundays, after an early Mass there, he would walk four miles to Mountmellick to celebrate Mass in a private house for as many of the Catholics as would dare to hear it. The town was then a hot-bed of anti-Catholic bigotry. It was only in 1812, during the pastorate of Father Thady's nephew and successor, Father Anthony Duane, V.G., that a site could be



procured for a chapel near Mountmellick, at a place called Graigue. Here a substantial edifice was erected which did duty until the present splendid church was built in the town, and opened in 1878, by the Rev. Thomas Murphy, P.P., V.F. Stories of Father Anthony Duane, and his encounters with the Orangemen, have been preserved in sufficient abundance to fill a volume. Of his energy and zeal the two fine churches which he erected in the parish—the one at Graigue in 1812, and the other at Clonaghadoo in 1825—afford convincing proof. His successor, Rev. Andrew Healy, established the Presentation Convent in Mountmellick in 1854.

Amongst the oldest inhabitants there prevails a vague tradition that there was a thatched Mass-house "somewhere around the town" before the chapel at Graigue was built. Apart, however, from the improbability of the bigoted anti-Catholics, who then "ruled the roost" in Mountmellick, tolerating a Mass-house in their midst, the more generally accepted tradition is that the only Catholic place of worship was either a private house, or the Mass-pit of Derryguile. Derryguile is about a mile due south of Mountmellick, on a road which branches off from "the bog road" to Maryborough. It rejoices in the possession of a chalybeate spring which, although once vieing with Lucan and Leamington, has long ceased to have its departed glories commemorated, or recalled.

The Mass-pit is on the farm of James Barrett, at the head of a small field, which, in recent times, was acquired and enclosed by the Poor Law Guardians as a burial-ground for the workhouse inmates. It served in this capacity until the opening of the new public cemetery in 1905.

At the north-western extremity of this small field considerable excavations had, from time to time, been made, and large quantities of clay and sand removed. The deep precipitous banks thus formed served to shield the priest and his congregation from the rude northern blast, and to screen them from the view of their alert and watchful foe. In case of need the friendly bogs were near at hand. A gentle knoll which rises in the background was used as a watch-tower, whereon the Mass-sentries took their post. Tradition has it that on one occasion a priest had a narrow escape. The pious watchers had, perchance, endeavoured to combine watching with worshipping, and, in the result, were caught napping. We tell the tale as it was told to us. "Just as the priest was in the middle of the Mass the soldiers stole up without being seen. When they got to the edge of the crowd, the alarm was raised, and the people closed in between them and the priest. The soldiers could not get near enough to arrest him, and he slipped into the bog there in front, carrying the chalice with him, and finished the Mass five miles away at the Mass-station of Capard."

To the south-east of Derryguile, at Kilmainham, where the ruins of the old abbey lie crumbling in decay, Mass, it is said, used to be celebrated. But of this we could discover no satisfactory proof. Similarly with regard to the neighbouring townland of Ballintaggart. Perhaps in this case the signification of the district name may have given origin to the tradition of its being a "Massing-place"—*Baile-an-tSagairt*—the townland of the priests.

According to a special return of the number of Catholics in *the town and Liberties of Mt Mellick*, made by Peter Westerna (Protestant)





Curate of M<sup>t</sup> Mellick, on the 25th of April, 1766, it appears there were then 508 Catholics, including "William Kennedy, Parish Priest."

The parochial chapel of ease at Clonaghadoo is a well-built country church dating back to 1825. It replaced the thatched Mass-house of the previous epoch. The remains of this thatched hut were still standing when some of the present oldest inhabitants were born. They say its site was to the east of the road leading to Clonaghadoo from Mountmellick, in a field now belonging to William Cleary, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the present chapel. In the same field, within a few yards of the public road, and quite close to the site of the old Mass-house, there stands a large and venerable ash tree, marking the spot where, in still earlier and darker days, Holy Mass was offered up.

Further away, a couple of miles to the west, lie the ruins of the one-time extensive and important Castlebrack. The castle was a hold of the O'Doynes (or Dunnes), "time out of mind." The chapel of Mary the Virgin of Castlebrack is mentioned in a Patent Roll of October, 1550. Portions of the ivy-grown walls of this chapel are still standing. The residents in the neighbourhood are not of one mind about the location of the Mass-station, or the thatched chapel, of penal times.

In a return made in 1765, by Barnabas Jackson, Hearth-money Collector, we find the following entry:—"Castlebrack—132 Protestants, 790 Papists, no Quaker, 1 Mass-house in good repair."

Of a Mass-place less than a mile to the north of Castlebrack the evidence is clear, and convincing. Its situation is in a small field belonging to William Delany, Esq., M.P. The field is locally known as "the log" (*i.e.*, Irish, *lug*—a hollow). In a disused quarry pit in this field Mass used to be said under an improvised shelter. The place was singularly suitable for the purpose. The townland (Parkbeg) forms a high table-land, from which a commanding view is obtained of the surrounding country. It would have been next to impossible for even the most cunning priest-hunters to obtain access to the Mass-pit, from any quarter, during the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, without being espied by the keen-eyed sentries, who here, as elsewhere, kept watch, and ward.

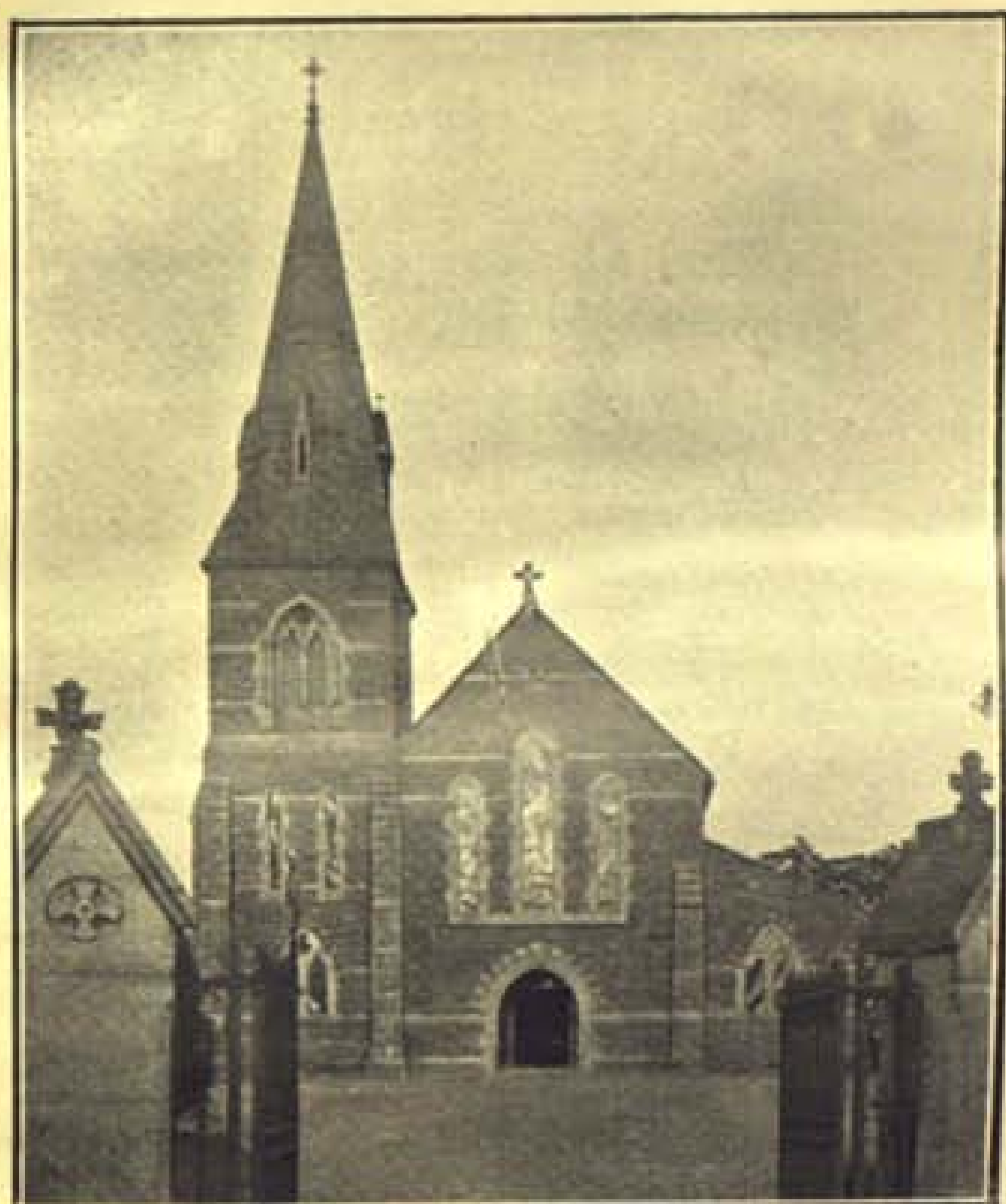
### *Parish of Mountrath.*

The parish of Clonenagh included the now separate parishes of Mountrath, Raheen, and Ballyfin. In describing the places of Catholic worship in this extensive parish of Clonenagh we begin with the parish of Mountrath, where the "fight for the faith" was fought with exceptional valour, and crowned with a glorious victory. We extract the following from Dr. Comerford's account of the parish<sup>6</sup>:—

"In the latter portion of the last, and the beginning of the present century, Orangeism was rampant in the town of Mountrath, and the Catholics were subjected to constant insults and acts of violence from the dominant faction. In every lease granted on the Castlecoote estate (on which the town was built) a clause was inserted prohibiting the letting, selling, or bestowal of ground for the purpose of erecting a

<sup>6</sup> See "Collections," etc., vol. iii., p. 300.



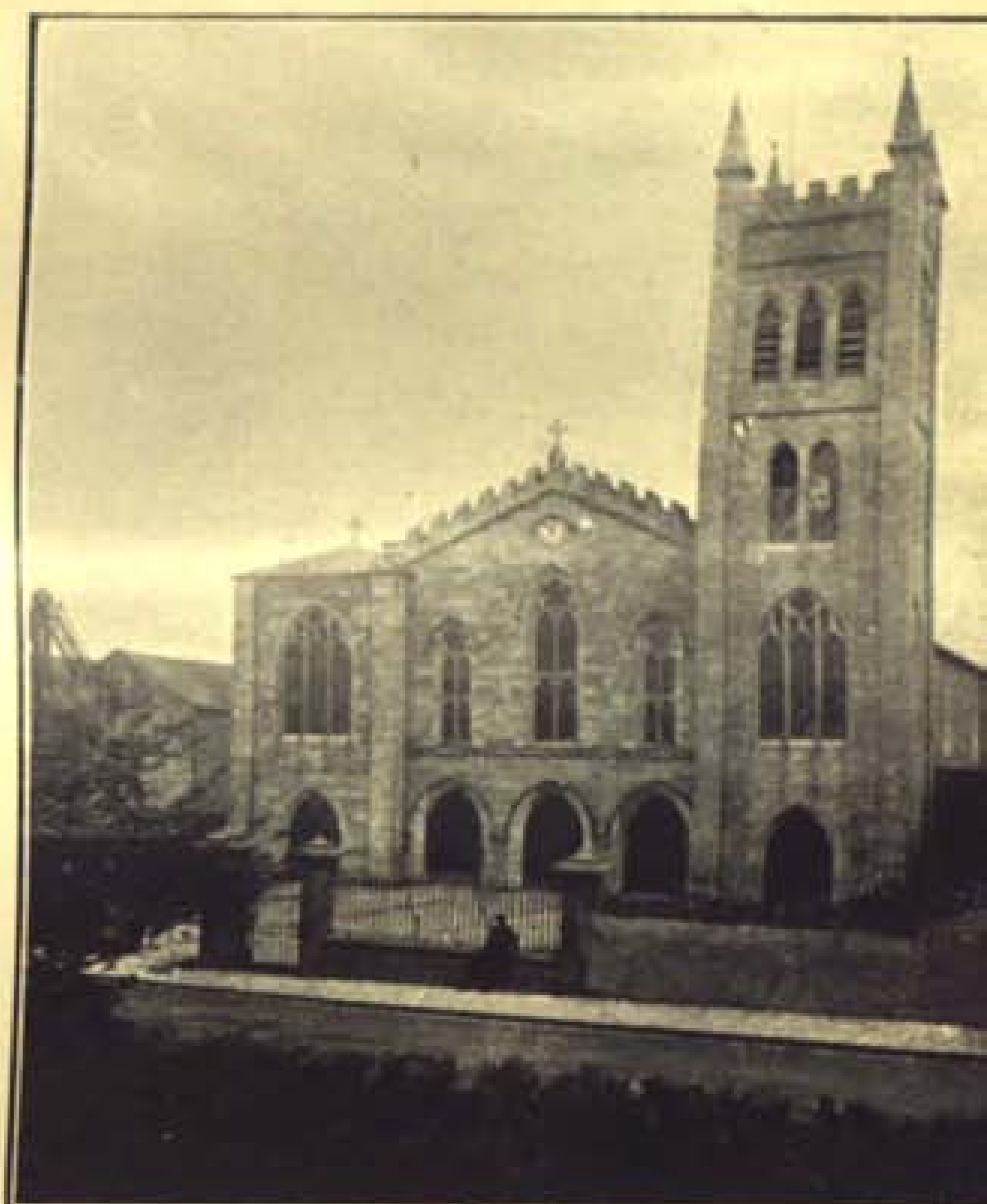


**ARLES CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 251.

*Photo by]*

*[S. Nolan, Carlow.*

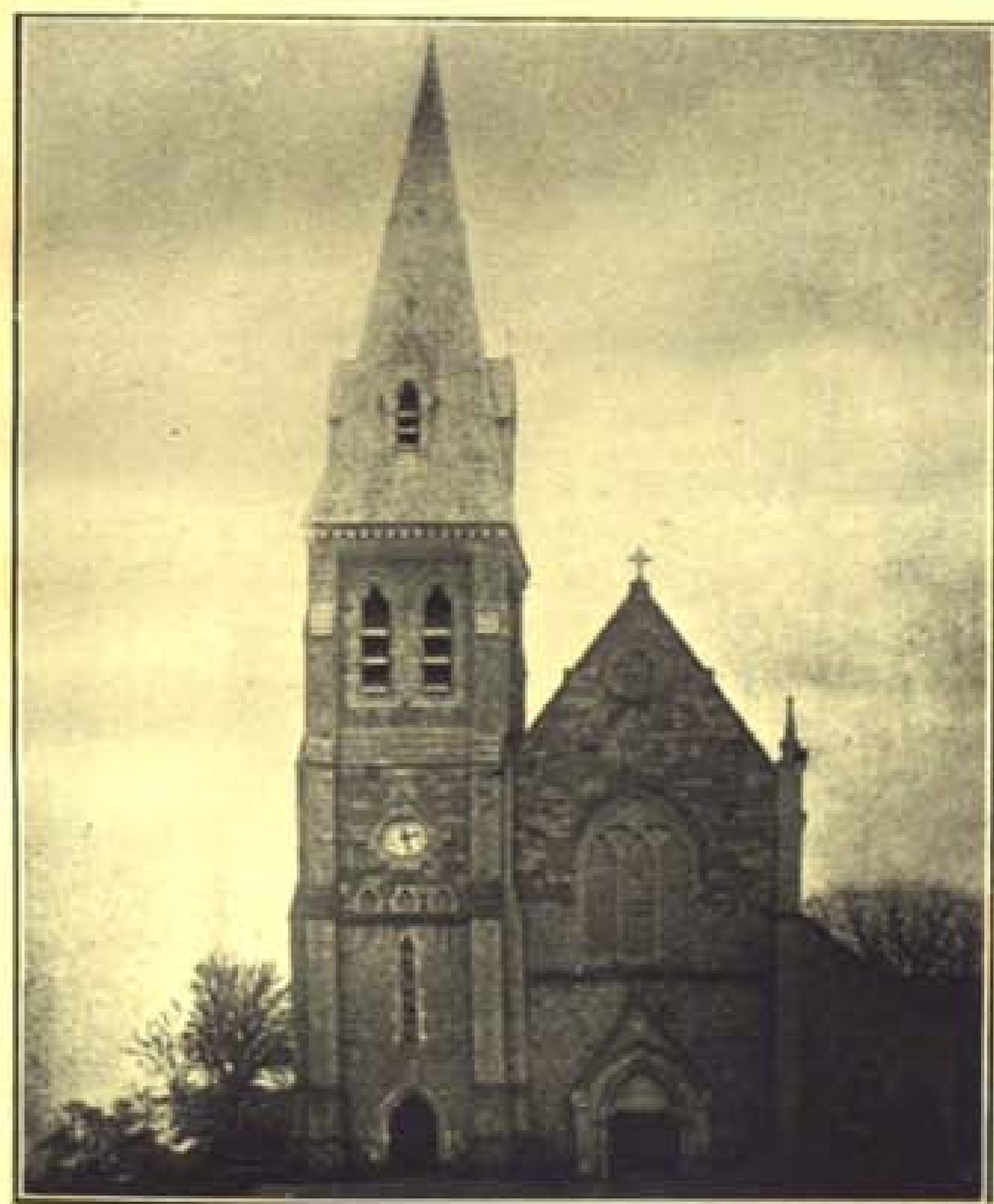


**MARYBORO' CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 198.

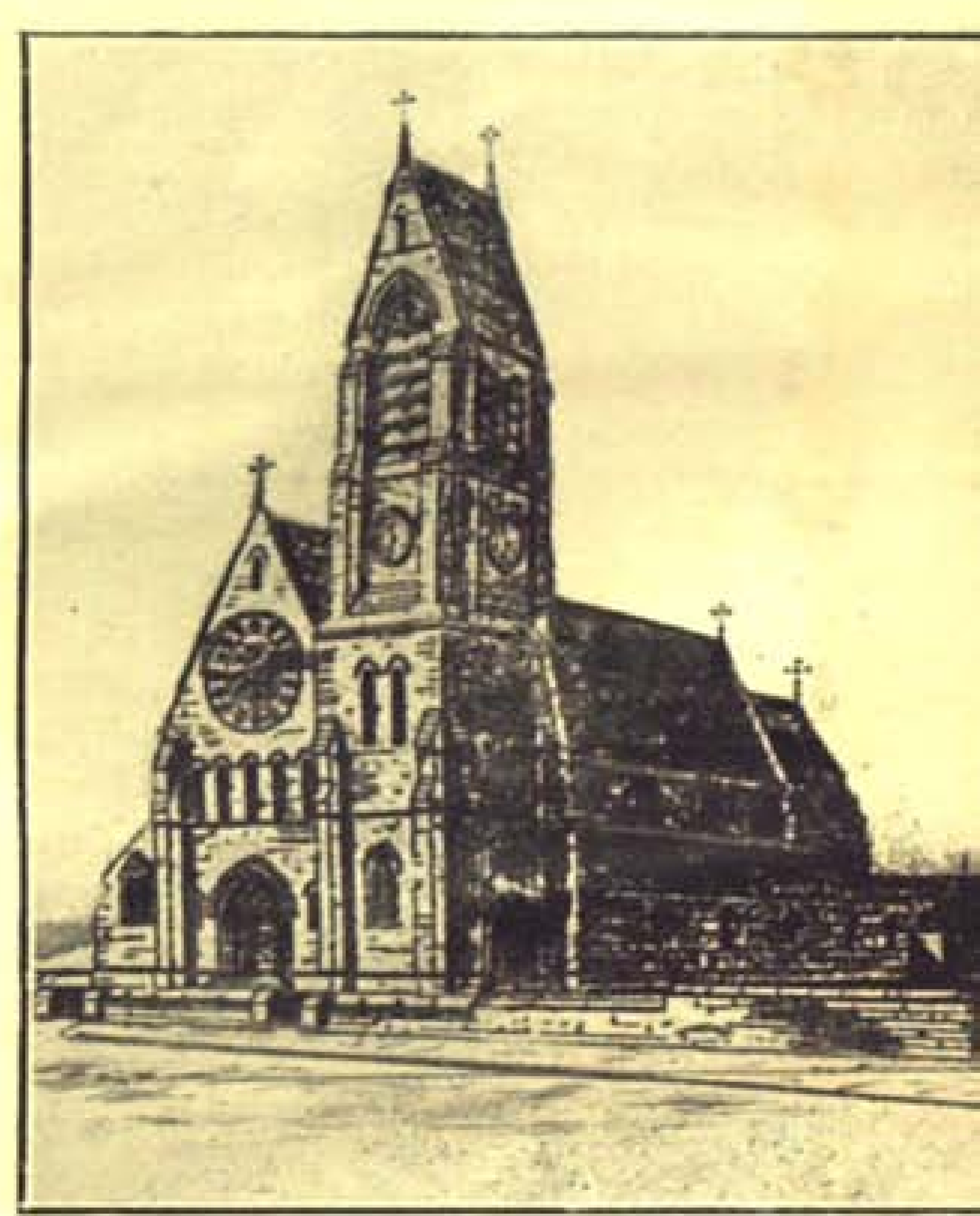
*Photo by]*

*[Hipwell, Maryboro.*



**MOUNTRATH CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 210. Vol. II., p. 589.



**MOUNTMELICK CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. II., p. 587.







Catholic church. In consequence of this prohibition, the humble place of worship, used by the Catholics, stood upon a sand-bank, beside a tributary of the river Nore, at a place called 'The Brook,' just outside the town. Some of the old inhabitants remember to have seen men occupied in teeming water out of the chapel on Saturday evenings, in order that the people might be enabled to assemble there for Mass next day. About the year 1794, Dr. Delany, Bishop of the Diocese, who held Mountrath as a mensal parish, determined, if possible, to build a church for the parishioners. The Lord Castlecoote of the day was as much opposed as his predecessors had been, to the erection of Catholic places of worship. After commending the cause to Heaven by public devotions, the bishop made application for a site to a Mr. Hawkesworth, agent to Lord Castlecoote. This gentleman gave Dr. Delany a plot of ground, then in his own possession, and shortly after, through his influence with the proprietor, procured a lease for ever of it, as a site for a Catholic church.<sup>7</sup> On this site the church was commenced about the year 1795. The people, accustomed to the small thatched chapels of Penal times, often built of mud, were amazed at the extensive dimensions of the new foundation, and distrusting the possibility of completing it, came to call it 'Delany's folly.' It is related that a stalwart priest named Dunne, then doing duty in the parish, used to accompany the men engaged in drawing building materials for the chapel, armed with a stout blackthorn, to repel the attacks of the aggressive Orangemen."

This church proving defective in its foundations, the Rev. James Dunne, P.P., soon after his appointment in 1857, determined to erect a new one. This he had the happiness of successfully accomplishing before his death in 1867. The tower and steeple have been recently completed by the Rev. Edward Brennan, P.P.; and the town where, one hundred years ago, a site could not be procured for a place of Catholic worship, now rejoices in the possession of the finest church, and convent, in the county.

The chapel of ease, called "the Hollow Chapel," was built in 1886. It replaced a thatched chapel which had done duty from the period of the later Penal days. This humble edifice came under the charge of the P.P. of Mountrath early in the last century on the death of a Father Quigley, a friar, to whom its administration would seem to have previously belonged. The people of the locality say that Father Quigley died quite suddenly one Easter Sunday morning, either when going to or returning from, the celebration of Mass.

In the Raheen district the Mass-station was about a quarter of a mile from the village of Raheen, on the right-hand side of the road as one goes from Raheen to Abbeylisleigh. It is separated from the road by the road fence alone. It is a deep pit on the farm of Andrew

<sup>7</sup> The *Annals of the Order of St. Brigid*, from which some of the foregoing details have been taken, add:—"It may not be out of place to say that Dr. Delany became intimate with this family. In her last illness, Mrs. Hawkesworth became a Catholic. In the presence of her daughters and her son, who was a Protestant clergyman, she requested of Mr.

Hawkesworth to have the Parish Priest sent for. They were thunderstruck at her request, which, however, was complied with, and the priest had free access to her while she lived." A point of interest to mention is that the house, then occupied as the Orange Lodge, is now included in the Convent.



Moffatt, and is thickly overgrown with trees and shrubs. The thatched chapel which succeeded it in 1729, and for which a site was given by a Mr. Baldwin, a Protestant, was located in the spot at present occupied by the district burying-ground. How the people came to be possessed of a chapel so early as 1729 was due to an accident. We have said that between the Mass-pit and the road there was only the usual boundary ditch. It happened on one occasion, when the people were hearing Mass in the pit, Mr. Baldwin was returning from church, and his horse taking fright at the multitudes collected, a serious accident was narrowly averted. Mr. Baldwin thereupon decided that for the future Mass should be said in a less public and inconvenient situation. The present fine Catholic church was erected about fifty years ago.

The Mass-place of the Ballyfin division of Clonenagh parish was in the present townland of Clondarrig, between Ballyfin and Maryborough. A man named Denis Dunne, of Palles, who acted as our *cicerone*, informed us that on the lands of John Flynn of Clondarrig there are two fields which "always go by the name of the Mass-parks." In one of these, at a spot which he pointed out, a tree called the Mass-tree might formerly be seen. In the other there are what seem like the remains of a small mound, and this mound was "known in the old times as the mound of the Mass." The tradition about the "Mass-parks" or "Mass-paddocks" having been a Massing-place in penal times is universal throughout the parish. The present chapel at Ballyfin is the third which has stood on the site. Its erection dates back to about 1820. It replaced a thatched cruciform edifice built in 1774, when its mud-wall predecessor had probably begun to exhibit symptoms inconsistent with the safety of the congregation, or with the due celebration of the Holy Sacrifice.

#### *Parish of Portarlington.*

The parish of Portarlington until quite recent times included the present parish of Emo; and for our purposes the two may be treated as one. The ancient parish was the parish of Lea, Coolbanagher, Cloneyhorke, and Ardea. The old parochial church of Ardea was most probably situated within the present Emo Park demesne, the seat of the Earl of Portarlington. A very ancient and curiously sculptured baptismal font, octagonal in shape, with interlacings and angels carved on the sides, is still preserved there. Whether in later times a chapel or Mass-house replaced the former "*Capella S<sup>ti</sup> Joannis Baptistae de Imo*" we are unable to say. Certain it is that the district would seem to have been regarded as a "*locus refugii*" in penal times. Thus in the Register of 1704 we find two priests officially certified as residing here. We know from the Return of 1731 that there was then in the parish of Coolbanagher "only one Mass-house and one priest." The only tradition regarding the open-air Mass of penal times would seem to be that "it was said in different places from time to time; and that word used to be given each Saturday night where the people were to meet next day." This freedom of selecting the place for Mass was largely due to the tolerant attitude of the non-Catholic residents. In addition to the fact that two priests had been allowed to reside in peace here during the reign of "the gentle Anne," the following legend has been preserved and transmitted. "Once when a priest was hard-



pressed by his pursuers he appealed to a Protestant farmer named Copeland, who was ploughing a field that is now enclosed within Emo Park. The farmer readily responded, and told him to exchange clothes and places with the plough-boy, who was leading the horses by the head. No sooner had he done so, and the plough-boy retired, than the priest-hunters broke into the field in full cry. The farmer, when questioned by them, said he had seen the priest; they were quite close to him, and if they followed him up, he could not escape. When they were out of sight the farmer took the priest to his house, gave him the best the house afforded, kept him there for weeks safe and secure, and only allowed him to leave when all danger had passed away."

In the Portarlinton district the "Massing-places" of the penal period were at Trescon, and Killinard. Every second Sunday Mass used to be said on the north side of the Barrow in a field at present owned by Mr. Patrick White of Trescon. The location is marked by a footbridge which crosses the river at this place. The other local Mass-station was at the hill of Killinard in a wood, or grove, on the corner of the demesne of Mr. Smith of Mount Henry. The site is now enclosed within the graveyard surrounding the Catholic church of Killinard, and marked by a venerable whitethorn tree. The explanation of how a Mass-station came to be located in a Protestant gentleman's demesne is given, locally, as follows:—"Mr. Smith happened to be seated at an early hour one Sunday morning in his library when he espied one of his female servants crossing the pleasure grounds in a stealthy, and suspicious, manner. Later in the day he demanded an explanation of her absence in the morning. She bravely confessed her crime, viz., that she had stolen from the house at that early hour in order to be in time for the open-air Mass at Trescon, at the opposite side of the Barrow. Instead of blaming her, Mr. Smith was so moved by her heroism in venturing on such a journey at such an hour, across a swollen river, and over a crazy foot-bridge, solely for the sake of hearing Mass, that he there and then offered to allow the priest to say Mass within the demesne, and to secure him from molestation whilst doing so." He afterwards gave a site for a small chapel in the same place, and this chapel continued to do duty until replaced by the present fine building about eighty years ago.

In the Return of 1766 we find the following:—"Coolbanagher and Ardea. April, 1766. John Whelan, Popish Priest, — Lawler, coadjutor."

"Geashill and Clonohurk. Return by Benjamin Digby, Vicar. Protestant families, 228; Papist do., 1,055. Total, 1,283. 2 Popish Priests."

The present fine Catholic church of Portarlinton, as well as the Presentation Convent, were erected by the Rev. Terence O'Connell, P.P., V.F., who was appointed to the parish in 1832, and died in 1875.

### *Parish of Rosenallis.*

This parish, before the formation of the parishes of Clonaslee and Mountmellick, was the largest in the county. In the year 1766 the Protestant Curate, Rev. Thomas Hackett, "pursuant to an Order of the House of Lords," returned "An account of the Inhabitants of the



Parish of Rosenallis, otherwise called the Union of Oregan, containing the town of Mountmellick, the parish of Rosenallis, Castlebrack, Rerymore, and Kilmanman"; in short, "the whole barony of Tinnehinch," which, he says, was included in the parish. He informs their Lordships that there were "five Popish priests," and "5,806 Popish Inhabitants"; and worse still, that "there is not one Justice of the Peace in the whole parish or barony." Under the circumstances one can sympathise with Mr. Hackett's quaint "*Quere* :—Whether a militia quarterly array'd wou'd not be a natural security to the Protestant Inhabitants and be a check upon their Popish neighbours from entertaining any levelling schemes subversive of the peace of his majesty's faithful subjects." Writing from "Nutgrove, near Mountmellick," shortly after, he particularizes as follows :—"My Lord. The number of Priests not being return'd to me at the time I sent my List of Inhabitants, I must pray your Lordship will excuse me in giving you the trouble of adding the number of five Popish Priests to the inhabitants of the Union of Rosenallis :—Kennedy of Mt Mellick, Murray as Chaplain in a private family, Dunn as Parish Priest, Brophy as Parish Curate, and another Dunn who hath returned to his friends from France since the banishing of the Jesuits from thence; whether Jesuit or not, I cannot tell. I am, etc.,  
*Thos. Hackett.*"

In the earlier return of 1731 we are told that there were then "four Mass-houses, all supplied by one Lawlor and two Curates, viz., Dunne and Keenan." Of these Mass-houses one was at Brittas, one at Castlebrack, one in Rosenallis village, and one at Clonaghadoo. They were all thatched chapels, as insignificant and unpretentious as they could well be made. Of the date of their erection no record has been preserved. Their after history is in all cases identical, viz., they were abandoned for edifices of a better class on the dawning of better days. That at Rosenallis is stated to have been beside the spot now occupied by the Protestant church. It is said that the stones of the Mass-house were used to build this church. A chapel of a still earlier period was at Ballinakill, Lower Capard, on a spot opposite the East Lodge of Mr. Pigott's demesne. Stones of this chapel have been upturned in tilling operations on the farm of Joseph Gorman. An intelligent old man named Flanagan, who acts as steward for Mr. Pigott, informed the writer that "the oldest chapel of all was the sod chapel at Rushin, put up some time after the battle of the Boyne, with the permission of Mr. Pigott. Before that the people had no place to hear Mass except the open air; and they had many places in the open air. One place is on the right-hand side of the new road as you go from Lower Capard to the present Catholic church of Rosenallis. In the ditch that bounds the field of Mrs. Patterson there are three bushes called monument bushes, and that is the spot where Mass was said." In the outside breast of this ditch bordering the road there are two large stones set upright about 22 yards apart and overshadowed each respectively by one of the two bushes which, with the central bush, serve to form the remarkable triplet for which the people entertain such traditional respect. These stones are said to have been used to mark the limits of the ground reserved for the congregation during Mass. Another Mass-station of which the people say they used to hear their grand-parents talk is located on the lands of Denis Dunne not half a mile to the south-



east of that on Mrs. Patterson's farm. The place is vaguely referred to as "Lynch's pasture"; and definite details regarding it are, it must be confessed, sadly to seek.

*Parish of Stradbally.*

In the return of 1704 Roger Moore is given as Popish priest of Moyanna, Oghmalt, Tymogue, Corclone, and Fossey. He was ordained at Liege in 1662, and became P.P. ten years later. He resided at Gar-rans, and the site of his Mass-house in this townland is still pointed out at a place called Chapel Hill, where in all probability Mass had been offered up in the open air before the Mass-house came into being.

The return of 1731 describing "Stradbally, Fossey and Tim-moge" says that there is "one Mass-house built within 10 years," that the priests are "Pat Kelly and John Burn," and that "ye s<sup>d</sup> John Burn, come lately from France, frequently officiates in s<sup>d</sup> Mass-house, and in several private houses." This Mass-house, which was a thatched building in the village of Stradbally, was burned by the militant Orange-men of the district on the 12th of July, 1794. It was replaced in 1796 by a substantial slated chapel for which Captain T. Cosby gave a site close to the spot occupied by its predecessor. The captain would seem to have been in advance of his times; for he gave permission, we are told, to have a cross erected on this Catholic place of worship, and that, too, in the year 1798.

Of the places where Mass used to be secretly said in days of persecution many traditions are extant. We know from the return of 1731 that in that year, and previously, Mass was wont to be celebrated at Corclone "in ye fields." In the district of Stradbally near Oakvale at Glenaneale, a Mass-place is pointed out, but definite particulars regarding it could not be obtained. In the Timahoe district, in the townland of Garryglass, on Mr. Mooney's farm there is a holy well called Cornelius' well, and a large bush overhanging it said to be a Mass-bush. That the place was used for the purpose of Mass seems proved by a find made here by one of the Mooney family some considerable number of years ago. It is said that in tilling the field Peter Mooney came upon a Mass chalice, and upon portions of a wooden structure such as would have been used as "a portable altar in ye fields." The friars of the Abbey of Timahoe are locally reported to have clung to the abbey, and continued the Holy Sacrifice, and other ministrations amongst the people, until the Cromwellian Colonels Hewson and Reynolds took possession of the abbey, and put the inmates to the sword.<sup>8</sup>

Adjoining the old road between Timahoe and Fossey, in a field belonging to Mrs. Delany, a Mass-bush, the memorial of a one-time Mass-station, is pointed out. Quite recently an exceedingly handsome church has been erected in Stradbally, adjoining the Presentation Convent. The Convent, which was founded in 1852, has very extensive school buildings; and these, in conjunction with the church and convent, combine to produce an exceptionally striking and imposing effect.

<sup>8</sup> See vol. i., p. 243.



## CHAPTER XXIX.—THE 18TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1760-1780.

THE first years of the reign of George III. witnessed the outbreak of "Whiteboyism." Its chief cause is said to have been the rapid conversion, then taking place, of arable into pasture land. "Common lands which alone enabled the overburdened cottier to subsist, and which had long been tacitly, if not expressly open to him, were everywhere invaded, and the country was full of a starving peasantry turned out of their wretched cottages to make room for a more lucrative industry. Their misery can scarcely be exaggerated, and it was mixed with a strong sense of injustice. . . . In a country where poverty was perhaps as extreme as in any part of Europe there was no poor law. The greater landlords were commonly absentees. . . . It is not surprising that such a condition should have at length produced an insurrection of despair."<sup>1</sup> The Whiteboys from the outset announced their purpose to be "to do justice to the poor, by restoring the ancient commons, and redressing other grievances."<sup>2</sup> They waged a special war against tithes, and dealt mercilessly with tithe-proctors, tithe-farmers, and tithe-canters. They issued proclamations forbidding any person, under terrible penalties to pay higher tithes to the parsons than those specified by them. They seized arms wherever they could, compelled all whom they suspected of connivance with the Government to abandon their farms, under pain of having their houses burned over their heads, and avenged by dread punishment every infringement of their code. "One of the mildest punishments was to drag a man at midnight from his bed, often in mid-winter, and leave him bound and naked in a ditch, by the roadside. . . . Not unfrequently they carried their victim to a newly dug grave and left him buried to the chin in earth, or in thorns and furze. Men were placed naked on horseback on saddles covered with thorns, or with a hedge-hog's skin."<sup>3</sup>

The following affidavit of William Abraham, a farmer of Bohereed, in Queen's County, sworn before a justice of that county on the 27th December, 1774, may probably be relied on as a statement of the means employed by the Whiteboys:—

"That a report had prevailed for some time that the Whiteboys intended to carry off examinant the night of the 15th instant; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muskets, and dressed in white shirts and frocks, entered his house, and put him behind one of them on horseback; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing so, received a stroke of a musket in the small of the back; that before examinant was mounted, they gave him a violent blow in the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound therein, and rendered him stupid and senseless; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches and a loose great coat on; that in their progress, they beat, battered, and abused him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode wounded him severely in the legs, with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel spurs. They carried him ten miles off, to a place near Ballyconra, where they flung him in a ditch and left him to his fate."

<sup>1</sup> See Lecky, "History of Ireland in the 18th Century," vol. ii., ch. 3, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Lewis' "Irish Disturbances," etc., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Lecky, *Ibid*, p. 25.



The wretchedness of the people, from which Whiteboyism sprang, has been the theme of all who have written the history of the time.

"The lot, indeed, of the Irish peasant at this time might have drawn pity from a stone. He was regarded as belonging to an inferior race of men. . . . His religion was insulted, the filth and destitution of his appearance were a matter for astonishment to every man who visited the country, and his spirit was well-nigh broken by years of unrelenting tyranny. . . . He could indulge in no amusements on Sunday, such as hurling or football, on pain of a shilling fine or two hours in the stocks, although upon his own saints' days he was compelled to work, or pay a fine of 2s., in default of which he was subjected to a whipping. If he was found with a switch in his hand or a common walking-stick, a fine of 10s. was the penalty, or, in default, a month's imprisonment or the ignominy of a whipping."<sup>4</sup>

"The mass of the people were socially and economically in a state the most deplorable, perhaps, which history records as having existed in any civilised nation. . . . The Irish gentry were probably the very worst upper class with which a country was ever afflicted. Their habits grew beyond measure brutal and reckless. Their drunkenness, their blasphemy, their ferocious duelling, left the squires of England far behind. . . . Over the Roman Catholic poor on their estates these 'vermin of the kingdom,' as Arthur Young calls them, exercised a tyranny compared with which the arbitrary rule of the old chiefs over their clans was probably a parental authority used with beneficence and justly repaid by gratitude and affection. . . . All moral restraints on the growth of population were removed by the compulsory ignorance into which Protestant ascendancy and the penal laws had plunged the Catholic peasantry. . . . A mortal struggle for existence between the cotters on the one side and the 'middlemen' and tithe-proctors on the other commenced, and a century of agrarian conspiracy and crime was the result. The atrocities perpetrated by the Whiteboys are such as to make the flesh creep. But it would be unjust to confound these agrarian conspiracies with ordinary crime, or to suppose that they imply a propensity to ordinary crime either on the part of those who commit them or on the part of the people who connive at and favour their commission. In the districts where agrarian conspiracy and outrage were most rife, the number of ordinary crimes was very small. In plain truth, the secret tribunals which administered the Whiteboy code were to the people the organs of a wild law of social morality by which, on the whole, the interest of the peasant was preserved."<sup>5</sup>

That the condition of the peasantry of the Queen's County formed no exception to the general rule is abundantly clear from the particulars supplied by Sir Charles Coote in his "General View of the Agriculture, etc., of the Queen's County." Although as regards housing and dietary, etc., the people in some districts of the county seemed less wretched, the general impression produced on Sir C. Coote from personal investigation, and inquiry, was that the state of the people was deplorable in the extreme. Of the causes conducing to this result the chief (in addition to the enclosing of the commons, already described)

<sup>4</sup> See "A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the 19th Century," by Godfrey Locker Lampson, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> See "Irish History and Irish Character," by Goldwin Smith, p. 189, sqq.



were the nature of the leases (when granted), the tithes, and absenteeism. The clauses inserted in the leases were usually of a restrictive, and often of a vexatiously tyrannical kind. One was to cut, burn, or destroy so many acres of timber annually, and clear the land for the plough.<sup>6</sup> The object of the landlords was to increase the value of their estates by the removal of the primeval forests, and before the end of the century their object had become attained.<sup>7</sup> Another clause having the same object in view forbade the tenant to use any fuel except wood; even when—as in Tinnehinch barony—the bog “came up to their very doors.”

Another clause compelled the tenant to make the ditches, and plant the hedges; and another commanded him to restore all the straw to the soil. The result of this latter enactment was that the tenant not seldom had to thatch his cabin with *weeds*! In the barony of Stradbally we are told that the tenant made all the repairs, that leases were for 21 and 31 years, sometimes with three lives, that these leases contained several rigidly binding clauses which forbade the tenant to alienate under forfeiture of lease, compelled him to restore the straw to the soil, and every species of manure made on the farm, refused permission to raise two successive crops of wheat, or to burn the surface of any portion of the land under any pretence.<sup>8</sup> In the barony of Tinnehinch the want of good leases is the great obstacle to improvement.<sup>9</sup> In many of the leases the tenant was compelled to give personal service, and the work of a certain number of horses at particular times, *i.e.*, during harvest, turf cutting, and turf drawing, etc.<sup>10</sup> He had also to do suit and service at the manor court, and to grind corn at the manor mill.<sup>11</sup>

Needless to say the granting of a lease, or the renewal of an old one, meant the exaction of an increased rack-rent. Of this fact we are supplied with some interesting illustrations in the Autobiography of Pole Cosby published in vol. v. of the Kildare Archæological Journal.

The following are some specimens:—

“In the year 1721 the lease of Kilrory, Ballynowland, and Kealspedogue was out which one Scott held, he had a lease for 31 years at £60 per annum. My father divided ye farm into 3 parts, Killiviry he set to Mr. Arthur Colly for £80, Ballynowland to Richard Bergin for £45 per annum, and Kealspedogue to Nicholas Walshe for £17 10s. per annum.”

<sup>6</sup> See Coote, “A General View,” etc., p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> “This county, once so eminently conspicuous for its noble forests, has now nothing deserving that name. In the barony of Upper Ossory are some slender woods, which indeed have not very valuable timber, and except the plantations which adorn the demesnes, there is but a small proportion of old timber; formerly, here, the tenant was obliged to cut, burn or destroy so many acres of wood, to clear the land for the plough, as a condition of his lease, some of which leases are yet extant; but a long lapse of time intervened from the felling of these forests, to the replanting, the latter being only of

late years.”—Coote, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Coote, p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> “Another vestige of the feudal system yet too much prevails of obliging the tenant, although his land is valued at the present high rate, to pay annually a number of duties, such as a fat cow, or hog, at Christmas, fowl, eggs & cet., & cet., so disgraceful to the landlord who exacts them, and more like the perquisite of a pitiful agent to an absentee, than the act of a man of rank and property, whose consequence and respectability should be built on a more dignified foundation . . .” (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.









**KING'S & QUEEN'S  
COUNTIES ASYLUM,  
MARYBORO'.**

Vol. I., p. 198.

*Photo by]*

*[Hipwell, Maryboro'.*

**MOUNTRATH  
MONASTERY AND  
SCHOOLS.**

Vol. I., p. 210.



**STRADBALLY  
CONVENT,  
Founded 1852.**

Vol. I., p. 335. Vol. II.,  
p. 593.





"My grandfather Alexander Cosby let ye lands of Ballymaddock, Park, Grange, O'Connell, Rathmore, and Carrigine to old John Weaver for a long term at £80 per annum (note they are now (1737) let for £630 per annum)."

"The 1st of May, 1740, I set Esker and Esker Mooney to Warner Westerna, Esq., for 74 years at a little more than my own rent, but he gave me £600 fine."

"The lease of Knocknecarroll and Knocknebrahan which was let to Denis Delaney father to the Revd. Doctor Patrick Delaney, for 31 years at £28 per an., did expire and my Father let it to Dr. Delaney, for his Frs and Mrs lives, at £65 per an., and he obliged himself to lay out £200 in building a dry wall round the land, which he did, and at least £100 more on the premises. Aughemaddock was out of lease this year, which was set for £30 per an., my Father let it anew for £81 per an., and Garrymaddock and Rahinahone were out of lease this year; Richard Cosby Cousen German to my grandfather held them for many years and paid for the first 31 years £40 and for the last 21 years £60, and my Father now let them to severall tenants for £220 per annum. There were some few more leases out, which in proportion rose considerably, so that all those leases dropping my Father's rent roll was £2,000 per annum."<sup>12</sup>

In the barony of Maryborough Coote says the leases have no restrictive clauses; and it is of this barony that he writes:—"No part of Ireland is so highly improved; if it can be equalled it cannot be surpassed in England, the peasantry are so comfortably housed and well-clothed," etc.<sup>13</sup>

Of all the tenant's burdens the tithes were the most galling. They were levied chiefly on corn, potatoes, flax, and meadow, and thus pressed unduly on the poor. The greatest grievance was connected with the manner in which they were collected. If a cottier or farmer, "or his half-naked wife and children should inadvertently dig two or three beds of their early potatoes, without leaving the tithe or tenth spade undug, the tithe farmers immediately threatened to sue him for subtraction of tithe, to avoid which they were frequently obliged to take their tithes at his valuation. The tithe farmer frequently left his tenth part of his potato garden undug until very late in the season, in order to prevent the farmer sowing his winter corn in time, and thereby force them to take his tithe; for there was no specific time allowed for removing the tithe of potatoes, and *a reasonable time* (an expression often made use of) is vague and uncertain. Again, if the poor farmer should fail to take up his bond on the day it became due, he was obliged to give the tithe-farmer his own price for that year's tithe. The tithe-farmer often kept the peasants bound from year to year in this manner for several years successively, and obliged them to give for their tithes whatever he thought proper to ask."<sup>14</sup>

In many cases the farming of tithes passed through several hands; and as each person made his own profit it frequently happened that more than a tenth part was exacted from the tenants.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Journal of Co. Kildare Archl. Society, vol. v., p. 171.

<sup>13</sup> p. 102, sqq.

<sup>14</sup> See "A Letter from a Munster Lay-

man of the Established Church to his friend in Dublin on the disturbances in the South." (Dublin, 1787.)

<sup>15</sup> See Coote, pp. 29, 58, 84, 97, 170, 184.



The following table from Coote gives the average rate at which tithes were collected in the different parishes of each barony. Upper Ossory contained at that time the three present baronies of Upper-woods, Clandonagh and Clarmallagh.

Baronies.	Average rate per acre.				Sheep.	Lambs	Meadow per acre.		Average value of arable and pasture together <sup>16</sup>
	Wheat	Oats.	Bere & Barley	Pota-toes.					
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	d.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d. per acre.
Ballyadams ..	7 4	4 0	6 6	7 0	4	4	3 0 to 4 6		1 8 0
Cullinagh ..	8 0	4 0	7 6	6 6	4	3	2 6 to 4 0		1 8 0
Maryborough	8 0	4 6	7 6	8 0	4	3	3 0 to 5 0		2 0 0
Portnahinch	6 6	4 4	5 6	7 0	4	4	2 0 to 4 0		1 2 9
Slievemargy	8 0	4 6	7 0	8 0	4	4	3 0 to 4 6		2 5 6
Stradbally ..	6 6	4 6	7 0	8 0	4	4	3 0 to 4 0		1 12 0
Tinnahinch ..	6 6	4 4	6 6	7 0	4	3	3 0 to 4 0		1 2 9
Upper Ossory	6 6	4 0	6 6	6 6	4	4	1 6 to 4 0		1 14 0

Describing the dwellings of the people, Sir Charles Coote says:—  
“As to the houses of the peasants, though they are generally superior to those in the neighbouring counties, yet few deserve a better name than that of hovels, and truly it may be said that the hogs of England have more comfortable dwellings than the majority of the peasantry of Ireland. In many places we find the whole stock of domestic animals and the peasant’s family herd together, under one miserable shed, with no better covering than *sods* or *weeds*; and from their extreme filth alone, sickness has made ravages through a whole district.”

“In Tinnahinch the habitations of the lower order or cottiers are very mean. The farm houses are wretched indeed, and there is little idea of bettering them by cottier or tenant. Their mean appearance is of small concern to the occupiers.<sup>17</sup> In Slievemargy the farm houses are not good; indeed they are wretched towards the Collieries, and have few offices deserving that appellation. The tenant makes all the repairs.<sup>18</sup> In Cullenagh the farm houses and offices are, generally speaking, indifferent, but considerably superior to those in the King’s County.<sup>19</sup> In Upper Ossory the offices are very indifferent throughout;

<sup>16</sup> The average value means the rent the land would bring if out of lease.  
<sup>17</sup> p. 144.

<sup>19</sup> p. 55.  
<sup>18</sup> p. 183.



and the farm houses have neither neatness nor convenience to recommend them.<sup>20</sup> In Ballyadams the farm houses and offices are rather indifferent, and though improving of late, yet they are considerably the worst in the county. The tenant makes all the repairs.<sup>21</sup> In Rosenalis the habitations of the lower orders, or cottiers, are very mean."<sup>22</sup>

In other districts the effects of the kindly treatment of the tenantry by the landlords are visible in the improved appearance of farms, farmsteads, and labourers' houses. On the estate of Abbeyleix the farm houses are conspicuously comfortable, cleanly, and neat, with glazed windows, and are well thatched with straw. The tenant throughout the barony of Cullenagh invariably makes the repairs and improvements, but the landlord voluntarily gives a reasonable quantity of timber for the purpose.<sup>23</sup> In Portnahinch the farm houses throughout are good and comfortable; all have neat little offices; and many orchards; they are a cleanly people, and their cottage windows are all glazed.<sup>24</sup> In Stradbally the farm houses are very comfortable, but not kept as clean as could be wished; the offices are considerably improved, and there is an appearance of easy quiet, and increasing wealth among the farmers. The tenants make all the repairs.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that the cost of road-making, and other county works, had to be borne chiefly by the occupiers of the soil added another to the many grievances of the peasantry. From the time of William of Orange the grand juries, the county authorities for all county expenditure, were invariably composed of the landowners or their nominees. "They consisted of the leading landed gentry, who were nominated by the sheriffs, or in other words by the officials who sat in Dublin; whilst, as Catholics were excluded from their deliberations until near the end of the century, they personified the Protestant Ascendancy in a galling and aggravated form. The management of the local affairs of the counties—roads, public buildings, and police—was practically vested in them exclusively; and the charges for these were defrayed by a local rate, still known as the county cess, and levied by them almost wholly on the occupiers of the soil, *i.e.*, the distressed Catholic peasantry, who were unrepresented in the bodies which dealt with the expenditure. The local magnates used to assemble twice a year at the assizes held in their respective counties. It was not until the Relief Act of 1793 that Catholics were admitted to sit upon the Grand Juries, and even then the Catholic members continued to be very few in number, the large majority of the Irish landlords being Protestant."<sup>26</sup>

Thus in addition to having to erect the houses and fences, sink drains and waterways, effect clearances and reclamations of woods and wastes, the unfortunate tenant had to pay the county cess, in the expenditure of which he was allowed to have no voice.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> p. 81.

<sup>21</sup> p. 125.

<sup>22</sup> p. 149.

<sup>23</sup> p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> p. 132.

<sup>25</sup> p. 166.

<sup>26</sup> See Locker Lampson, p. 664.

<sup>27</sup> See Coote's "A General View," etc., pp. 55, 125, 166, 183; also pages 36, 38, 102, 125.



At the time the county map of 1563 was made, the Queen's County had no towns, and hence no roads leading to them; nor do we find any roads marked on Petty's county maps of 1654; but since that date a marvellous transformation had been effected. Towns had sprung up and grown in extent and numbers year by year; passes had become roads; unfordable rivers had been bridged; the woods and forests had disappeared, and if the map-maker of the Elizabethan era had revisited the scene of his labours, 200 years later, he would have found it difficult to credit the testimony of his senses. From the Journals of the Irish Houses of Parliament we learn that from the time of William and Mary special attention was given to county improvements, and particularly to road-making, by the legislature. We may cite two Acts of the reign of George II. as cases in point.

On Saturday, the 6th of April, 1734, an Act passed the Irish House of Commons for the third time, to make more effectual an Act passed in the fifth year of King George II.'s reign, entitled: An Act for Repairing the Road leading from the Town of Naas in the County of Kildare to the Town of Maryborough in the Queen's County. To this the royal assent was given on Monday, the 29th of April following.<sup>28</sup> In the year 1739, the 13th of King George II., the Irish Parliament passed an Act for repairing the road leading from Timahoe to Ballynakill, in the Queen's County, and through Durrow to the City of Cashell, in the County of Tipperary.<sup>29</sup>

On the county maps made by Taylor and Skinner, in 1777, practically all of our present roads are marked. And even on the earlier map made by H. Moll in 1727 the main thoroughfares are shown. We shall set down as briefly as possible the result of our examination of these maps.

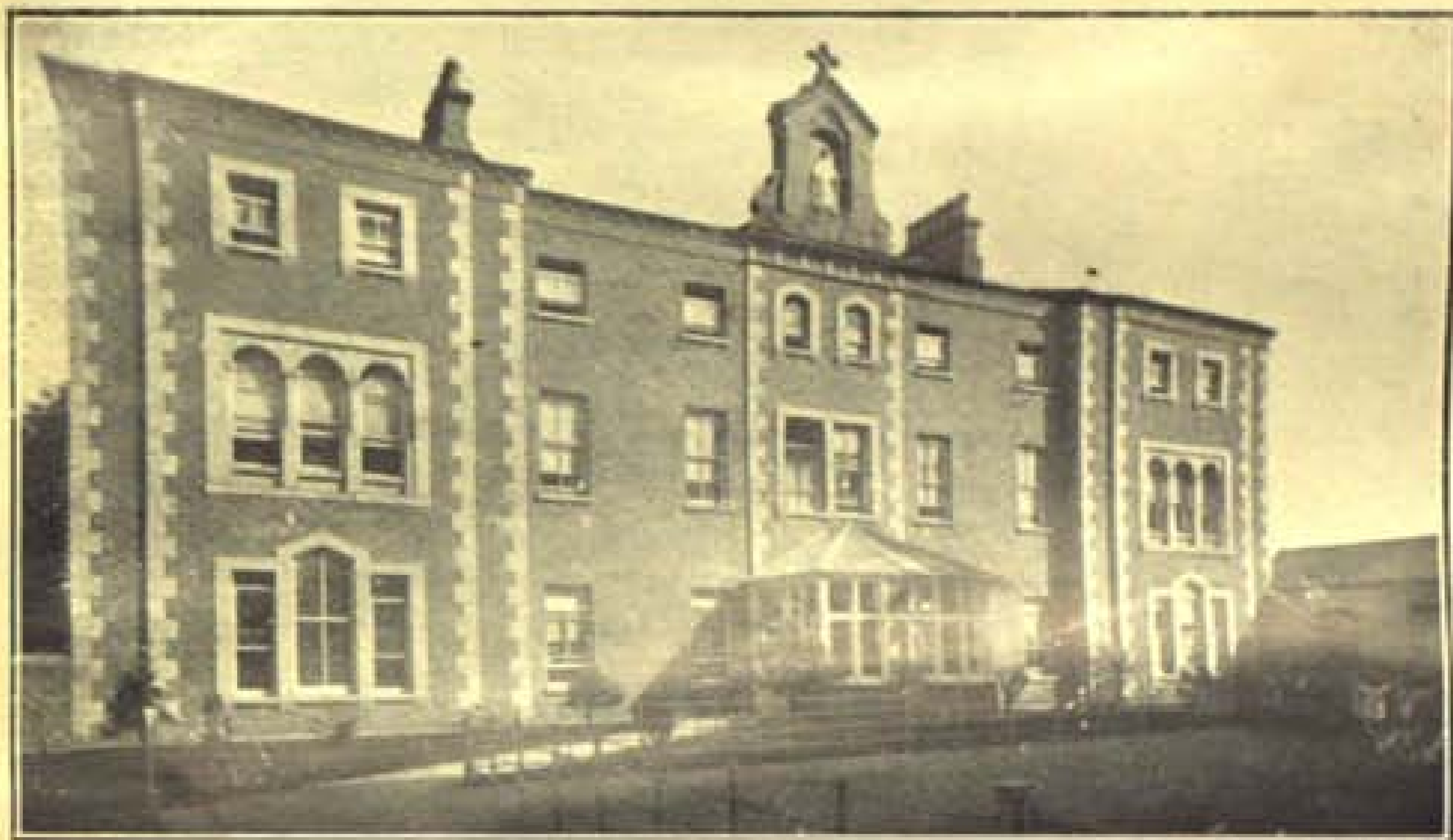
The Map of the Queen's County by H. Moll, Geographer, which was published in 1727, represents the following roads as radiating from Maryborough. One leading north—the old road on top of the Escir—passes by Burres to Mountmellick. After crossing the River Barrow it continues to Castlebrack; then divides into three—one to Newtown, due north; another to Clonagowen; and the other to Killeigh. At Mountmellick, a road runs nearly due west to Castlecuff, with a branch to Kinitty; and another to Bally Boy, in the King's County. Again, from Mountmellick a road proceeds to Portarlinton, from where another passes south of the Barrow, to Lea, and Monsterevan; at Portneinch, a branch road runs direct to Clonagowen. From Maryborough, a road runs by Killminchy, to Imoe, B. Brittas, and Monsterevan. Another runs to B. Maddock, and B. Killcavan to Woodstock

<sup>28</sup> See "Votes of the House of Commons of Ireland," summoned to meet at Dublin, on Tuesday, the 28th day of November, Anno Dom., in the First Year of the Reign of His Most Gracious Majesty, King George the Second and from thence continued by several Prorogations, till the

4th of October, Anno Dom., 1733, No. 95,112, pp. 247, 286, 287, Dublin, 1734, fol.

<sup>29</sup> See "Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ, ab. An. 1152, usque ad 1827, &c." The Report of Rowley Lascelles, part vi., p. 47.





**MOUNTMELICK  
CONVENT.**

Vol. II., p. 587.



**ABBEYLEIX  
CONVENT.**

Vol. I., p. 154. Vol. II.,  
p. 579.



**WATER  
CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 156. Vol.  
II., p. 626.







and Athy and another to Red C. and Mountrath, then on to Cranagh and Killballiduffe to Roscren (Roscrea) in the Co. Tipperary. From Mountrath another road takes a more southerly course over the River Noire to Rushall, and on to Burrus, Ballaghmore, and Roscrea. From Burrus a road leads by Skirk to Gortohie, in the Co. Tipperary. Another passes eastwards by Grange and Aghaboe to Gortnicle. From Mountrath a third road passes over the Rivers Noire and Gully to Gortniclea; then by Tantore to Durrow, and B. ragget. From Durrow a road proceeds to Rathdowny, and Gortohie; and at Cully another runs southwards into the Co. Kilkenny. From Maryborough a road extends south to B. Knockan and Ballyroan, from where another leads westwards to Boyley and over the River Noire to Gortniclea; while from Ballyroan there is a branch road extending by Timohoe, and Legacurun to B. tabber, thence to Woodstock and Athy. From Woodstock a road runs along the western banks of the River Barrow, and due south by Doonbrin, Tankards T., Killiban, and Shrool, to Catherlach (Carlow); but before it crosses the Barrow, a road branches from it due west, to Killeshill (Killeshin) and Garrindeney; it then ends at Colepit Hill, in the Co. Kilkenny. The road from Ballyroan is continued due south to Ballynekill, and Rosseconel in Kilkenny Co. A branch road extends from Ballynekill by Lisbinny and WaterC., at the River Noire, on to Durrow.

From Taylor's and Skinner's maps we obtain an idea of the roads, in a part of Leix, as surveyed about the year 1777. One of these represents the road from Carlow, along the right bank of the River Barrow to Bestfield, the seat of — Best, Esq., where the road seems to end. Afterwards, we find Knockbeg, the seat of Mr. Pleasant; New Garden, the seat of Mr. Carpenter; Schroul, the residence of — Harpole, Esq.; a ruined castle near the water line; at an interval of nearly three miles, and quite near the river, church ruins, not otherwise described. Northwards, are Sportland House, belonging to Mr. Weldon; Barrow House, belonging to Mrs. Fennell; and Farm Hill.

On these maps the distance from Athy to Maryborough is marked 12 miles and 4 furlongs. This means Irish measurement. The road from Athy enters the Queen's County at Blackford, leaving Derinroe, with the seat of — Kelly, Esq., on the right, and Blackford House, on the left; thence to Ballykillcavan House, the seat of General Walsh; while woods, and apparently the Castle of Ballyadams, with the old church of Noughval, flank its left side. The road towards Ballylinan, and another towards Noughval, appear on the same side, before the main road enters Stradbally. In front of Ballykillcavan House extends a branch road to Kildare. Another crosses the Stradbally River, and encloses on the right Brockley Park, the Earl of Roden's residence, while it strikes the Mountmellick-road, north of Dunamase. The lines of a new road are shown from near Raheenduff House towards Lamberton Park. This in later times formed part of the coach road from Dublin to Cork.

On a portion of this map, there is a plan of Mount-Mellick town, with the approaching roads: one from Tullamore, one from Mount-rath, and one from Clonegowan, in the King's County. From this latter branches a road to Portarlinton and one to Stradbally.



The road from Dublin to Limerick is represented, before entering Maryborough, as passing by Dysart House, inhabited by — Baldwin, Esq.; Kilminchy, inhabited by FitzGerald, Esq.; and Summerhill, the seat of — Baldwin, Esq. Roads branch from it towards Stradbally, Athy, Cashel, Ballynakill, Portarlinton, and Philipstown. From Maryborough it proceeds towards Mountrath, passing Clonrouse House, to the turnpike, at Boughlone (Bo-chulinn) where a road leads to Ballyfin House, belonging to — Pole, Esq. A branch road runs to Donoughmore; and another by Clonenagh Church and Red Castle to Mountrath. There a road is represented parting towards Abbeyleix, and another to Mountmellick. From Mountrath the Limerick road passes over the River Nore at Castletown and proceeds by Rushall to Borris-in-Ossory.

The line of the Castletown-Abbeyleix road shows the seat of Newtown-Palmer, Esq.; also a crossing road to Durrow; and one at Borris-in-Ossory leading to Donoughmore. A little to the north is seen the River Nore, and near its banks are Laurelhill, the seat of — Despard, Esq., Coolraine, Springhill, the seat of — Short, Esq., and a house belonging to — Stevens, Esq.

A road, leading to Castledurrow in one direction from Ballynakill, and in the other to Ballyragget, is shown on these maps. That to Castledurrow—then in the Co. Kilkenny—passes Lisbigney, the seat of — Warren, Esq., and the houses of Rev. Dr. Chaloner and — Walker, Esq.; afterwards, it crosses Ballyroan to Ballyragget road; then, leaving Castlewood on the south, it passes over the River Nore into Durrow, whence it continues to Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. One branch from the Nore to Rathdowney along the northern bank of the River Erkin, passes Tentower, the seat of the Earl of Upper Ossory; Ballyboaden, FitzPatrick, Esq.; Oldglass, Drought, Esq.; Knockfin, Palmer, Esq.; and Middlemount, Flood, Esq. Four roads diverge from it southwards, and as many in a northerly direction. From Rathdowney, still continuing westwards, it sends off a northern branch to Donoughmore Barracks, while a southern branch passes Mount Oliver, the seat of a Mr. O'Flagharty; and a little eastwards, Levally, the seat of — Vickers, Esq. A road leads due north from Durrow to Mountrath; and near this is Moyné, the seat of — Stubber, Esq. Adjoining, on the west banks of the Nore, are Dunmore, the seat of — Staples, Bart.; and Castlewater, the seat of — Lyons, Esq.

Roads from Athy to Ballynakill are represented as entering the Queen's County in two different places. One leads by Southfield, the seat of — Southwell, Esq., and Ballintabert, by Tully Church to Cloopoke, and the seat of — Hunter, Esq., to Timahoe. The other passes to Stradbally, by Brockley Park. Strange to say, the old road from Stradbally to Carlow is not marked. From Stradbally a road passes by Cosby's, of Stradbally Hall, and the Charter House, to Timogue church and cross roads. Here, Purcell's House, Lough Teague, and Coolnebacky Houses are to be seen, in the direction of Timahoe. From this village, the road towards Maryborough passes Cremorgan, the seat of — Moore, Esq. The road to Ballynakill, leaving Barrington's House and Cullinagh Mountains to the right, passes Derryfoyle, the seat of — Vickers, Esq., as also Trench's demesne, where the Maryborough road meets it; afterwards, it enters the borough town of Ballynakill.



The road from Maryborough to Ballynakill proceeds to the cross roads at Rathleague, the seat of — Parnell, Esq., then by Sheffield, the seat of — Cassan, Esq., where it joins the road to Abbeyleix, and so on to Ballyroan. Mount Eagle, the seat of the Lord Bishop of Waterford, lies on a road to the right. Another road has Rockbrook, the seat of — Grey, Esq.; Blandsford, the seat of — Bland, Esq.; Barnet's Grove, the seat of — Barnet, Esq., and Trench's beautiful demesne of Heywood, on one side; while on the other, the Mountrath road joins it, a turnpike intercepting the entrance to Ballynakill town. To the north of Maryborough, two roads start in the direction of Mount Melick; while another runs north-west towards Ballyfin and Mountrath. To the east of this road there runs one to Stradbally, and another to cross roads at Rathleague; while two other branch roads part from the Portarlinton road, and cross the latter, when both merge together, and form the Athy road from Maryborough.

From the Town of Castle Durrow a road leading due north branches at a crossing, towards Roscrea north-westwardly, and towards the Kilkenny road south-eastwardly. The Kilkenny road from Durrow crosses the Nore near Castlewood, the seat of Rev. Dr. Chaloner; then by a ruined castle, to a road crossing in the direction of Ballynakill (at the crossing a turnpike is noted); further on is another crossing road, near Lisbigney, the seat of — Warren, Esq. Another road leads from Durrow in a south-westerly direction, towards Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny, leaving on the south-east Capan Island, the seat of — Lawrence, Esq.; then a ruined castle and afterwards proceeding to a crossing road—evidently the present site of Cullahill village. One of the crossing roads starts for Rathdowney, beside a church, and a structure called Beggar's Inn; on either side of the other crossing road, leading to Kilkenny, are Ashbrook, and Ralogan, the latter the seat of — Vickers, Esq. On the north-western side of the main-road lie Castle Durrow House and Demesne, the seat of Viscount Ashbrooke; next two crossing roads, and between them the seats of Edmondbury, — Butler, Esq., and of Derrin, — Palmer, Esq.; next castle ruins, afterwards a church and the residence of Rev. Mr. McKay. Another road leads to Rapla, the seat of — Philips, Esq. From here the main road goes onwards towards Johnstown, in Co. Kilkenny.

From Carlow-Graigue, on the eastern side of the River Barrow, in 1777, there was a road to Springhill, the seat of — Cramer, Esq., and onwards to Killeslin; while another road went southwards to Clogrennan, the seat of — Rochfort, Esq.

In 1777, a road is shewn from Athy, through a portion of the Queen's County, in the direction of Castlecomer. After leaving Athy, one branch of it leads by Ballyadams (Butler, Esq.) towards Ballykillcavan, near Stradbally; while the other proceeds by Rahin House, the seat of — Weldon, Esq., and to the crossing road for Carlow at Ballylinan. From here the road continues, passing another that leads to Corbally House, the seat of — Stratford, Esq.; on the left, are two branch roads which soon join and run in the direction of Carlow. After crossing a small stream, which joins the Douglas River, it meets the crossing main road from Stradbally to Carlow; and near that crossing a turnpike is indicated, but on which of the roads is not



evident. The main road, leaving Maidenhead, the seat of — Bambrak, Esq., and Newcastle ruins (Ballalehan Old Castle) to the left, and Gracefield, the seat of — Grace, Esq., to the right, ascends the uplands in the direction of the Collieries, where coal pits are marked on the boundary lines between the Queen's Co. and Co. Kilkenny.

Of the county roads not marked on these maps the following were made before 1805:—the road from Stradbally to Carlow through the windy gap; "the bog road" between Maryborough and Mountmellick; and that from Portarlinton to Mountmellick over the Borness Bridge.

Some of the Queen's County turnpike roads and gates are shown on the 1777 maps. The Maryborough gate is not marked; but those at Ballinakill and Ballyroan are, the latter about a mile north of the village. The road from Athy to Castlecomer was a turnpike, as was also that from Timahoe to Ballinakill. There were two gates on the Queen's Co. section of the Athy-Castlecomer road, one near Gracefield, and the other near the boundary of the Co. Kilkenny. In the reports of the Queen's Co. Assizes, preserved in the Record Office, Dublin, we find the following items regarding the repairing of this road:—In 1807 John Neill repaired 370 perches of it at Dremsallagh; in 1810 Patt Whelan repaired 1,798 perches at Glossna Bridge for £139 17s. 6d.; in 1814 Martin M'Mahon repaired Glossna Bridge for £20 5s. 9d.; and in 1821 Jas. Walshe of Athy repaired 1,287 perches at Ballycorman and the Old Blue Ball for £150 3s. 0d. The road from Maryboro through Mountrath and Castletown was a turnpike; and a gate is shown one mile from Maryboro at Boughlone, and another between Mountrath and Castletown. We find that the care of these turnpike roads received considerable attention from the county authorities. Trustees were appointed by Act of Parliament to have control over them, to make and repair them, to erect turnpike gates and houses, &c. We have some reports of the Trustee Board controlling the Pike from Mountrath across the Slieve mountain through Frankford to Clonfin in King's Co. The Earl of Wandesford acted as Chairman.

The first meeting reported was held in August, 1753, in Frankford; subsequent meetings were held there, and at Moystown and Mountrath. The following are some of the acts recorded:—Inspectors of the works were appointed from the Trustees. Debentures were given to contractors, when the Inspectors had reported on the satisfactory completion of the works. The first contract mentioned was that portion of the road commencing at the south of Lumecloon river, thence through the bog of Lumecloon and Broughall, and the wood of Derrybratt. The new road was to be 40 feet wide from drain to drain, the roadway 18 feet wide, and 15 inches deep with clay and gravel. Contractor Connor proposed to make the same and keep it in good repair for five years at 18s. a perch. Contractor Lucas proposed to make the part commencing at the town of Cloniver and ending at Clonfin; the price and measurements being the same as above. Both contracts were accepted. At another meeting it was ordered that the toll house and gate at Derrybratt be removed to the intersection of the new road with the old. Debentures for £147 were ordered to be paid to Contractor Mullins for the part of the road through the lands of Lumcloone; debentures for £33 11s. 6d. to D. Kelly of Liscloney for the part of the road through the lands of Clohill; and debentures to A. Hamilton for the part of the road through the lands of Gulbrush



and Clononce. Andrew Jackson was appointed at £5 a year toll-keeper at Rusheen Gate. The 22 persons (names given) who contributed £1 16s. 5½d. were to be allowed free passage through the gate for milch cows, horses, mares, geldings, ass, mule, or any cheas (chaise), chair, chart (cart), waggon or any other carriage till the 1st of May next. The gate of Rusheen was not to be removed, but to remain, and a house be built there by Jonathan Pim. Ordered that the Chairman pay Daniel Rodgers, clerk and surveyor of said turnpike road, the sum of £1 2s. 9d. out of the tolls of Rusheen in part payment of his salary. Ordered that three Trustees inspect that part of the road leading through Kileboher, and also the new gate at Cloghan, and report; as well as what damage has been sustained by Samuel Doyse by reason of the road passing through his land. The Trustees to point out to Surveyor Rodgers where to strike the new road from the high road leading from Ballyboy to Birr, and to continue it through the lands of Ballycolgan, Dereenboy, through the bog of Dereenboy, to the lands of Pidgeontown. Advertisements for new contract to complete the part of the road not finished by a former contractor were to be issued. By another order of the Trustee Board the tenants of Lumcloone were to pay 3d. each for the right of way through the Rusheen gate to the 21st of June, 1755. Thomas Holmes got the contract to build a two arch bridge over the river Brosna near Mr. Staunton's land. Leister Fitzgerald and Thos. Hobbs got the contract to make the road, according to Act of Parliament, beginning at Barnabue and Broughall and ending at Lumcloone river at 3s. a perch, and to make three water courses across the road. Also to build a bridge of three arches over the river Lumcloone, 88 feet long, 20 feet broad, and 24 feet high, with breastwork of hewn stone and lime, for the sum of £400. Another bridge is to be erected at Frankfort, "where the wooden bridge now stands," 64 feet long, 21 feet broad, and 14 feet high, with breastwork of hewn stone and lime, for the sum of £120. Darby Conrahy proposes to make the Pike road from Mountrath to the top of the Wolftrap mountain, and continue it to the top of Ballykelly mountain, according to the terms of the Act of Parliament, at 15s. a perch, and to make as many mountain bridges as may be necessary at £10 a bridge. Also to build a bridge of five arches, of lime and stone, over the river Delour for £600. The Act of Parliament empowering the construction of this road cost £387 18s. 6d. This sum was advanced by the Right Hon. John Earl of Wandesford, and he is to be paid back from the first moneys received. He had as Co-Trustees about 70 of the county gentry.

The manuscript in the Record Office relating to the work of this Board of Trustees covers a period of about 20 years.

The second main county turnpike road, *i.e.*, from Naas to Ballyroan, was in charge of the following Trustees:—Sir John Parnell, Lord Drogheda, W. H. Dawson, Col. R. Fitzgerald, Alex Sanderson, Stephen Cassan, Samuel Spencer, Jas. Spencer, Lewis Moore, Edwd. Medlecott, Mark Halpin, Geo. Carr, Thos. Kelly, Arthur Burdett, Rev. Dr. Carr, Theobald Medlicott, Luke Dempsey, John Barrington, Alexander Carroll, Rd. Evans, Rd. Nelson, Henry White, etc. The manuscript in the Record Office covers a period of about five years. The meetings were mostly held at the House of Commons, Dublin; once at the Admiralty Court, and once at Monasterevan. The following Inspectors of the road were appointed:—Lord Drogheda, from the



County bounds to Naas; W. H. Dawson, from the County bounds to the Heath; Col. Fitzgerald, from the Heath to Maryboro; Sir John Parnell, from there to the bridge at Rathbrennan hill; and Stephen Cassan, from there to Ballyroan. At the first recorded meeting, 2nd May, 1767, it was ordered that the battlements of the bridge at Monasterevan, left side opposite the nursery, be repaired for £20. No payments to be made without a sworn affidavit by the contractor that the work was well and satisfactorily done. 21st November, 1767, the tolls of the road was leased for two years to Timothy Mahon for the sum of £850 per annum, to be paid monthly. When the term had expired the tolls were leased to Henry Moyle for two years for the same sum, and with the same conditions. Moyle was also contractor for the repairs of the road, and two years later it was ordered that no money be paid him till he had repaired the road completely, as it was reported to be in a very bad condition. At this time the road tolls were set in sections. That from Naas to Newbridge was set to H. Moyle for two years at £340 per an. From Kildare to Monasterevan was set to John Long for £250 per an. The Maryboro gate to Wm. Gray for two years at £250 per an., and the Ballyroan gate to Loughlin M'Daniel for £60 per an. On the same date the road from Maryboro to Ballyroan was ordered to be put in repair, and the two wooden bridges near Cashell. The last recorded meeting was on 18th of May, 1772, when the drains of the bog road from Monasterevan were ordered to be opened and scoured by the adjacent occupiers, and if they failed to do so after due notice, the work was to be done at their expense by competent persons employed by the Trustees.

We cannot better conclude our account of this period than by inserting Sir Jonah Barrington's amusing description of the Squires and Squireens, the then rulers, of the County:—

“In those days the common people separated the gentry of the county into three classes, and treated each class according to the respect to which they considered it entitled:—

“1. *Half-mounted gentlemen.*

“2. *Gentlemen every inch of them.*

“3. *Gentlemen to the backbone.*

“The first class formed the only species of independent yeomanry then existing in Ireland. They were the descendants of the small grantees of Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell, and King William; possessed about 200 acres of land each, in fee farm, from the Crown; and were occasionally admitted into the society of gentlemen, particularly hunters, living at other times amongst each other with an intermixture of their own servants, with whom they were always on terms of intimacy. They generally had good clever horses, which could leap over anything, but had never felt the trimming-scissors or currycomb. The riders commonly wore buckskin breeches, and boots well greased—blacking was never used in the country—and carried large thong whips heavily loaded with lead at the butt-end, so that they were always prepared either to horsewhip a man or knock his brains out, as circumstances might dictate. These half-mounted gentlemen exercised the hereditary authority of keeping the ground clear at horse-races, hurlings, and all public meetings, as the soldiers keep the lines at a review. Their business was to ride round the inside of the ground, which they



generally did with becoming spirit, trampling over some, knocking down others, and slashing everybody who encroached on the proper limits. Bones being but very *seldom* broken, and skulls still seldomer fractured, everybody approved of their exertions, because all the bystanders gained therefrom a full view of the sport which was going forward. A shout of merriment was always set up when a half-mounted gentleman knocked down an interloper; and some of the *poets* present, if they had an opportunity, roared out their verses by way of a song to encourage the gentlemen.

"The second class, or gentlemen every *inch of them*, were of excellent old families, whose finances were not in so good order as they might have been, but who were popular amongst all ranks. They were far above the first degree, somewhat inferior to the third, but had great influence, were much beloved, and carried more sway at popular elections and general county meetings than the other two classes put together.

"The third class, or gentlemen to the *backbone*, were of the oldest families and settlers, universally respected, and idolised by the peasantry, although they also were generally a little out at elbows. Their word was law, their nod would have immediately collected an army of cottagers, or colliers, or whatever the population was composed of. Men, women, and children, were always ready and willing to execute anything 'the squire' required, without the slightest consideration as to either its danger or propriety. . . .

"I recollect a Mr. Tom Flinter, of Timahoe, one of the first-class gentlemen, who had speculated in cows and sheep and everything he could buy up, till his establishment was reduced to one blunt faithful fellow, Dick Henesey, who stuck to him throughout all his vicissitudes. Flinter had once a trifle of money, which was burning in his greasy pocket, and he wanted to expend it at a neighbouring fair! where his whole history, as well as the history of every man of his half-mounted contemporaries, was told in a few verses<sup>30</sup> by a fellow called Ned the dog-stealer, but who was also a *great poet*, and resided in the neighbourhood."<sup>31</sup>

## CHAPTER XXX.—THE 18TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1780-1800.

IN 1775 the war broke out between England and her Colonies in North America, which ended in the defeat of the former. As the campaign advanced, Ireland was gradually denuded of Government troops, till at last it became necessary for the defence of the country to raise a

<sup>30</sup> They ran as follows :—

DIALOGUE BETWEEN TOM FLINTER AND HIS MAN.

*Tom Flinter.* Dick! said he.

*Dick Henesey.* What? said he.

*Tom.* Fetch me my hat, says he;

For I will go, says he;

To Timahoe, says he;

To buy the fair, says he;

And all that's there, says he.

*Dick.* Arrah! *pay what you owe!* said he;

And *then* you may go, says he;

To Timahoe, says he;

To buy the fair, says he;

And all that's there, says he.

*Tom.* Well! by this and by that, said he;

Dick! *hang up my hat!* says he.

<sup>31</sup> See "Personal Sketches, &c.," by Sir Jonah Barrington, p. 79.



Volunteer Force of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery. This movement started in Ulster in 1778, and rapidly spread over the country. The English Government not only gave no assistance in raising this force, but were hostile to it for political reasons, as it greatly strengthened those parties in Ireland who suffered for their religious beliefs (both Catholics and Dissenters) or were ruined by the measures adopted to suppress Irish trade and manufactures.

The Volunteers were raised, equipped, and trained at the sole expense of the gentry and people of Ireland. Recruiting at first was carried on among the Protestants only; but as time went on Catholics were allowed to enter the Corps. For some fifteen years the Volunteers were a powerful factor in the management of home affairs; they then became weakened by unfortunate political differences among their leaders, and were eventually superseded in 1794 by the introduction of the County Militias, a force entirely supported by the Government, which continued in existence until the military changes of 1908, when they were amalgamated by districts, and now form Special Reserve Battalions of Line Regiments.

An account of the Volunteer movement, in so far as it affected the Queen's County, has been left us by Sir Jonah Barrington. We extract the following from his "Personal Sketches and Recollections":—"The entire kingdom took up arms, regiments were formed in every quarter, the highest, the lowest, and the middle orders, all entered the ranks of freedom, and every corporation, whether civil or military, pledged life and fortune to attain and establish Irish independence.

"My father had raised and commanded two corps—a dragoon regiment called the Cullenagh Rangers, and the Ballyroan Light Infantry. My elder brother commanded the Kilkenny Horse and Durrow Light Dragoons. The general enthusiasm caught me, and before I well knew what I was about, I found myself a military martinet and a red-hot patriot. Having been a University man, I was also considered to be, of course, a *writer*, and was accordingly called on to draw up resolutions for Volunteer regiments all over the county. This was the first tirade I ever attempted on a political subject; and it being quite short enough and warm enough was unanimously adopted by all the parties, every man swearing, as he kissed the blade of his sword, that he would adhere to these resolutions to the last drop of his blood, which he would by no means spare, till we had finally achieved the independence of our country. We were very sincere, and really, I think, determined to perish if necessary in the cause—at least, I am sure, I was."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the regiments commanded by the Barringtons, a dozen other regiments were raised in the County. M'Nevin gives the following description of them in the appendix to his "History of the Volunteers of 1782":—

"Aghavoe Locals.—Associated July 1st, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Robert White.

"Arlington Light Cavalry.—September 18th, 1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Captain George Gore; Lieutenant J. Warburton; Cornet Jonathan Chetwood.

<sup>1</sup> See "Personal Sketches and Recollections of his own time," by Sir Jonah Barrington, p. 46.



"Burros in Ossory Rangers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver epauletts. Captain Commandant James Stephens; Lieutenant Erasmus Burrowes; Ensign Walter Stephens.

"Graigue (Q.C.) Volunteers.—May 1st, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, silver lace. Colonel B. Bagnal.

"Maryborough Volunteers.—May, 1776; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Sir J. Parnell, Bart.

"Mountmellick Volunteers.

"Offerlane Blues.—October 10th, 1773; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Luke Flood.

"Ossory True Blues.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, edged blue. Colonel Edward Flood; Major Robert Palmer.

"Portarlinton Infantry.—September 18th, 1779; scarlet, faced yellow, silver lace. Major Commandant W. H. Legrand; Captain James Stannus; Captain Henry Carey; Ensign Annesley Carey.

"Rathdowny Volunteers.—February, 1776; scarlet, faced white. Colonel J. Palmer.

"Rosanallis Volunteers.—July 1st, 1774; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Richard Croasdale; Major George Sandes; Captain L. Sandes; Captain J. Sabatier; Captain A. Johnson; Lieutenant William Tracey.

"Stradbally Volunteers.—October 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Thomas Cosby."

Amongst the Delegates from the various Counties and Cities who assisted at the Conventions of the Volunteers we find the following representing the Queen's County:—Colonel John Warburton, Colonel Joseph Palmer, Colonel Luke Flood, Colonel Charles White, Captain James Stephens.

An interesting bond of union between the history of the Queen's County and the history of the Volunteers deserves to be recorded. This was the purchase by Henry Grattan of an estate in the county, out of the £50,000 voted him by Parliament for his services to Ireland. Advised by his trustee and friend Sir John Tydd, of Lamberton Park, Grattan bought the estate of Moyanna from Lord Sydney Cosby. He entered with zest into the improvement and beautification of the place, which, it must be confessed, stood sadly in need of both. He formed the idea of a country house and pleasure grounds, within the confines of the old fort of Dunrally, and proceeded to put his plans into execution. He constructed a circular walk on the summit of the ancient rampart having lines of communication with the garden plots and shrubberies beneath. He laid out an artificially elevated avenue to the high road over the Barrow, and planted trees on either hand which have now attained a venerable growth. The present inhabitants record how their grandparents used to relate visits paid them by the illustrious Irish patriot when in residence at his Hermitage of Dunrally. In general, however, he preferred Tinnehinch, his place in the County Wicklow, as being nearer to Dublin, and possessed of scenic and other attractions to which Moyanna could lay no claim.<sup>2</sup> It is stated on good authority that he wished Moyanna to be his last resting place,

<sup>2</sup> See "Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan," by his

son Henry Grattan, Esq., M.P., vol. iii., c. xi., pp. 331, 332.



and gave expression to the wish on the very day before his death in London on June 3rd, 1820. Yielding, however, to the representations of his friends, and opponents, in Parliament his family consented to allow his remains to be interred next to those of Charles James Fox in Westminster Abbey.<sup>3</sup>

"We have now reached the events which led directly to the rebellion of 1798. The agrarian system, as we have seen, was radically unsound. The actual owner of the soil seldom made or directly paid for any improvement on his land, but left the work to large tenants, who, in return, received great tracts at very low rents on leases for lives, sometimes renewable for ever on the payment of a small fine at the fall of each life, but more frequently extending over fifty, sixty, seventy, or even eighty years. All this led to subletting (a tendency which was increased still more by the Catholic Relief Act of 1793), to fierce competition and to high rents, as well as to the system of "canting," or the putting up of farms to auction without regard to the claims of the old tenants. An increase of extravagance among the upper classes and larger tenants and a rise in the value of land had also lately become noticeable, and the raising of rents and greater subdivision of farms had followed as a natural consequence.

"On May 4, 1795, Grattan moved his Catholic Relief Bill in the Irish House of Commons, but it was rejected by 155 to 84. The policy of the Ascendancy was now disclosed, and they began to direct their whole energies to exasperating the Catholics and rousing them to rebellion. This system of exacerbation was only too successful, and at the end of 1795 Catholic Defender Riots broke out in Armagh.

"Defenderism" had become by this time strongly tinged with political animus, and was associating itself with the United Irish movement, into which it finally became absorbed in 1797. The original test of the United Irish Society, viz., to procure the fair representation of all the Irish people in Parliament, was changed in 1795 into an engagement to co-operate for the purpose of obtaining a fair representation of all the people—the words 'in Parliament' being omitted from the formula. Thenceforward at the conclusion of every United Irish meeting, the chairman had to ask every delegate present what were the views of his particular society, each individual being expected to reply—"A Republican Government and a Separation from England."<sup>4</sup>

Although the Queen's County was not as deeply involved in the rebellion of 1798 as some neighbouring counties, yet proofs are not wanting that in that year things were in as desperate a condition here as elsewhere. Of this we are assured on the testimony of Dr. Lanigan, Bishop of Ossory. In a letter, written in March, 1798, to Archbishop Troy, Dr. Lanigan, referring to some charges brought against the priests of the Queen's County, has the following:—"The priests told me, and I believe them, that the fear of assassination prevents them from speaking as much as they wished against United Irishmen."<sup>5</sup>

"In the Queen's County, which had lately been very peaceful and prosperous, . . . houses were now being continually broken open and

<sup>3</sup> See *Id.*, vol. v., Diary subjoined to c.

Locker Lampson, pp. 47-8.

<sup>15</sup> See "A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the 19th Century," by G.

<sup>5</sup> See "Castlereagh Correspondence." I., 160, 162.



plundered, and outrages and murders were multiplying. Add to this, most extravagant party prejudices. The eager Protestants, calling the present conspiracy a Popish plot, and indulging in language and in conduct revolting to the Catholics, are encouraging the Orangemen, avowing themselves of their society, and averring that until the penal laws against the Catholics are again enacted the country cannot be safe."<sup>6</sup>

In the spring of this year the Lord Lieutenant wrote an account of the country, generally, to the Prime Minister, Portland. Regarding the Queen's County he says it had been "harassed with constant nocturnal pillage, and many murders." Yet "the Assizes in this County were remarkably well attended, and if any fault is to be found in the administration of justice there, it is that the juries were almost too anxious to convict. Many very desperate villains were condemned and executed."<sup>7</sup>

In connection with the procedure at these Assizes at Maryborough a remarkable incident remains to be recorded. Leonard M'Nally (though secretly an informer in the pay of the Government) was usually retained for the prisoners. At these Spring Assizes of Maryborough, in 1798, M'Nally was so shocked by the scandalous maladministration of justice that he wrote, from the Courthouse, an earnest remonstrance, to the Under Secretary Cooke, about the manner in which the trials had been conducted.

He wrote, he said, in court, with the shrieks of men, women, and children ringing in his ears. "Thirteen men have received sentence of death—a sight most piteous, however just, and two of them are to die on Monday. . . . In my opinion many of the convictions were not so much owing to conclusive evidence, as promptitude of juries, determined on making examples; for the defences set up by the prisoners were too often treated with inattention, laughter and contempt; everything against them received as the truth. In some cases the judge's authority could scarcely preserve the decorum necessary to a court of justice, and this conduct was severely felt and bitterly complained of by the lower people to those in whom they could confide. I apprehend it has instilled more resentment than terror, and that they consider the sufferers under sentence objects of vengeance rather than of justice." In the Queen's County, he continues, "the plan of insurrection" was rather of the Defender than of the United Irishman type, though the latter—which was politically the more dangerous—would probably follow; and the fact that there was no subscription for lawyers to defend the prisoners proved to him that the northern organisation did not yet exist. He adds: "the landed men in this county are strongly connected. In my judgment, they have strength and influence to quiet the people. Yet I never knew a peasantry bear a more inveterate antipathy to their superiors, owing, as I understand, to great oppressions under which many of them suffer; but I do not say this is general. I observe that in this county the distinction between Protestant and Papist is more inveterately and more invidiously kept up than in any other place. Some gentlemen of fortune wore orange

<sup>6</sup> See Lecky, vol. iv., c. ix., p. 230 (He is quoting from a letter of Camden to Portland).

<sup>7</sup> Camden to Portland, April 23rd, 1798.



ribands, and some barristers sported orange rings with emblems. Such ensigns of enmity, I assure you, are not conducive to conciliation. Are they necessary to any good purpose? On several of the trials the witnesses were Catholics, and a family of that persuasion beat and apprehended the leader of a most dangerous gang."<sup>8</sup>

From the Grand Jury books, preserved in the Public Record Office, we learn that at Castlecuffe in 1797 several members were enrolled in "an unlawful society called the 'Defenders'"; and it is probably to a "gang" of these M'Nally refers in his letter to Cooke. The "Defenders," or "Defender Society" had been started by the Catholics of the North of Ireland about 1785 as a means of protecting themselves against the outrages of the Protestant Society called the "Peep-o-day (or "Break of day") Boys." "The Protestant party began by visiting the houses of Catholics, in order to search for arms; and, from the time when these visits were made, they derived their name of *Peep (or Break) of-day-Boys*. They did not confine themselves to searching for arms, but attacked the houses and chapels of the Catholics, sometimes burning the building, and sometimes destroying all the furniture and property contained in it. The Catholics, on the other hand, organized themselves under the name of *Defenders*, and during a series of years many violent conflicts took place between the two parties, who were sometimes engaged to the extent of several thousands."<sup>9</sup>

From the details recorded of the Maryborough Spring Assizes of 1798, in which M'Nally figured so prominently, we cull the following:—Richard Flynn forced Jas. Hogan to take the oath of the United Irishmen at Derrycarrow. John Kennedy and Terence Gaffney administered the oath of the United Irishmen to Edwd. Spencer at Donaghmore. Thos. Fitzpatrick was charged with the same offence at Cuddagh, and found not guilty; but found guilty of the offence of giving the oath to Patk. Bergin at the same place. Jas. Purcell was found guilty of giving the oath to Thos. Redmond at Badger Hill; and John Shanaghan and Robert M'Donnell of giving it to Edward Slattery at Borris-in-Ossory; Jas. M'Manus of giving it to Terence Monahan, at Ballybrittas; John Byrne to Tim M'Evoy at Timogue; Daniel Daly to Thos. Delaney, a private soldier, at Ballyroan, and Ml. Calaghan to Alexander Nolan, a private soldier, at Mountmellick. Robert Tuck was charged with taking a gun from Matt Delaney at Tinnekilly, but found not guilty, while Wm. Culleton was found guilty of taking the gun from Delaney. Thos. Cobbe of Portarlinton was charged with joining the United Irishmen; John Larrisy with swearing in John Murray at Boley; and John O'Meara with challenging Thos. Fitzgerald to fight a duel; but all three were found not guilty. Wm. Keating was sentenced to death for attacking Francis Emphy with a pike; and Patrick Hoey, John Dowling, and five Pigott at Capard, and robbing the same.

<sup>8</sup> J. W. (Maryborough), April 8, 1798. (Amongst Secret State Papers. I.S.P.O.)

<sup>9</sup> See "Irish Disturbances," by Sir G. C. Lewis, p. 36. Also Plowden's His-

torical Review, vol. ii., part i., p. 200, and Gordon's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 334.



At the previous Spring Assizes John Keenaghan was charged and found guilty of inducing James Kearney to take an oath to help the French to land in Ireland.

When martial law was proclaimed, and the dreadful system of free quarters adopted by the Government, amongst the protests recorded is one from Sir Charles Coote, dated Mountrath, 15th April, 1798, and addressed to Cooke. It was written, it will be seen, not on behalf of clemency or humanity, but on behalf of "the loyal and innocent farmers" of the district. "I have my fears," he says, "this plan will not answer the end. It will unavoidably involve in punishment the innocent with the guilty. The soldiers will find miserable means of living among those who are the robbers, and defenders. Of course they will not, cannot, be restrained from laying hold of the substance and prosperity of the farmers who are loyal, and innocent. Indiscriminate punishment and much mischief must ensue. Surely, my dear Cooke, this is a more violent and coercive system than burning the houses of those who were known to be delinquents."

The proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council directed the generals commanding his Majesty's forces to punish all persons acting, aiding, or abetting in the rebellion, according to martial law, "either by death or otherwise, as they shall deem most expedient." The Queen's County was amongst the first counties proclaimed. Its proclamation is dated January, 1798. Great numbers of suspects were immediately imprisoned, and large quantities of arms seized.<sup>10</sup> On the 25th of January rebellion broke out in the county, but in an utterly ineffective, disorganised way. A party variously estimated at 1,000 or 2,000 attacked Monasterevan, which was garrisoned by 84 yeomen. The fight was bravely maintained for a couple of hours, and the issue in doubt, until the yeomen made a charge and drove off the assailants, who set fire to some houses and retired under the shelter of the smoke, leaving sixty or seventy of their number dead on the field.<sup>11</sup> Some of the survivors proceeded towards Portarlinton, intending to capture the town; but they were met, and easily dispersed, by a small body of cavalry at Clonanna, at about four miles distance from Portarlinton, where about twenty of them were slain. It has been stated that the escape of the remainder was largely due to a yeomanry officer whom they had taken prisoner, and whose life they had spared. "They at first entreated him to command them, and, on his refusal, they piteously implored him to advise them. He recommended them to fling away their pikes, and betake themselves to the bogs, where the cavalry could not pursue them."<sup>12</sup>

In Mountmellick eleven United Irishmen, arrested on suspicion by the Yeomanry, were tried by martial law, condemned, and executed on the 11th and 13th of June.<sup>13</sup> With the exception of a few unim-

<sup>10</sup> See *Saunders' Newsletter*, Jan. 26, April 5, and May 4, 1798.

<sup>11</sup> See *Gordon*, p. 80, and *Maxwell*, p. 67.

<sup>12</sup> See Crookshank's "History of Methodism in Ireland," vol. ii., p. 124.

<sup>13</sup> A fine limestone cross of Celtic design has recently been erected in Wolfe Tone Street to their memory. It bears the following inscription:—"Eleven

brave United Irishmen, whose names are hereon inscribed, were hanged near this spot on the 11th and 13th of June, 1798—Patrick Dunne, William Holohan, Francis Dunne, Willie Brock, Daniel Dunne, James Deegan, Thomas Dunne, Patrick Murphy, John Guilfoyle, Daniel Conroy, and George Gilligan. This cross has been erected to their memory, a century later, by their successors still



portant incidents, of an isolated nature, the Queen's County's further connection with the Insurrection was confined to what we may call the back-wash of the movement after the defeat of Vinegar Hill.

Of that connection we shall allow Mitchel to supply the details.<sup>14</sup>

"Such Wexford men as still remained in arms, having no longer any homes, and afraid to go to their homes if they had, were endeavouring to join the insurgents in other counties. One of these bodies, commanded by the Rev. John Murphy (with whom was Miles Byrne), proceeded through the Co. Carlow; and having arrived before the little town of Goresbridge, in the Co. Kilkenny, a show of defence was made at a bridge on the Barrow, by a party of Wexford militia; but they were quickly repulsed, driven back into the village, and nearly all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The prisoners were conveyed with the insurgents until they arrived at a ridge of hills which divides the Counties of Carlow and Kilkenny from the Queen's Co. Here some of the unfortunate prisoners were put to death, and their bodies buried on the hill. Others escaped and joined their friends. In justice to the memory of the Rev. John Murphy it must be here stated that these murders were done contrary to his solemn injunctions.

"Having rested for the night of the 23rd of June on the Ridge, as those hills are called, they proceeded early next morning to Castle-comer, and commenced a furious attack on the town at 10 o'clock. The principal resistance offered was from a party stationed in a house at the foot of the bridge, which was ably defended, and opposite to which many brave men fell. . . . The attack on the well-defended house was fruitlessly kept up for four hours, from which they finally retreated with severe loss, and marched in a north-west direction about five miles, into the Queen's Co.<sup>15</sup> Soon after, finding themselves hard pressed by bodies of troops on three sides, they were obliged to retreat once more in the direction of the Carlow mountains. At Kilcomney they were forced to fight, but without any chance of success. They were entirely routed. Father Murphy was taken three days later, brought to General Duff's headquarters at Tullow, tried by martial law, and, after being first cruelly scourged, was executed. His head, as usual, was spiked in the market-place of the town."

Of the aftermath we can gather some idea from the proceedings at the Spring Assizes of Maryborough in 1799. The following were amongst the cases tried, and the sentences passed:—James Dunne, Thadey Dunne, John Bambrick, Edward Dowling, Joseph Hardy, John Murphy, Patrick M'Darby were sentenced to be hanged for breaking into and burning the house of Thomas Conway at Farness. Michael Dalton was sentenced to be hanged for breaking into the house of John Whitacre at Boleybeg. William Dennelly or M'Daniel, to be hanged for breaking into the house of Anne Crosbie at the

struggling to attain the objects for which they died.

"There's yet a world where souls are free,  
Where Tyrants taint not nature's bliss;

If death that world's bright opening be,

Oh! who would live a slave in this!"

<sup>14</sup> See his "History of Ireland from the siege of Limerick to the present time," vol. ii., c. i., p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> See Cloney's "Memoir," etc., p. 86.



Harrow; and George Savage, to be hanged for breaking into and robbing the house of William Coleman of Closeland.

A pleasing feature in connection with this dreadful time was the kindly action of some of the county gentry in dissuading their tenantry from implicating themselves in illegal acts; and in saving them when implicated from the consequences of their folly. General Dunne of Brittas, whom some held accountable for the massacre at the Curragh of the insurgents who had surrendered on promise of quarter, is stated by others to have shown exceptional leniency and kindness in dealing with rebels in his native territory of Oregan. And in the memoirs of the Grace family we find the following:—"In the metropolis he (Mr. Grace) was a member of the lawyers' corps; in the Queen's County he made one of the Ossory cavalry. But his military character did not deprive him of the love and veneration which the whole tenour of his conduct had previously established among the peasantry around him. Disaffected as they were he scrupled not to traverse the country unarmed, and without attendance; nor was his confidence misplaced in a people warm-hearted and grateful where gratitude has been deserved. He exhorted them to repentance, and in listening to his exhortation they showed the sincerity of their contrition by the delivery at once of 700 stand of arms, which, for the most part, very wrongfully obtained in the first instance, were destined for the worst of purposes. He also individually effected the peaceable dispersion of a formidable body of these misguided creatures, who occupied, with an encampment, the hills of Boley, on his estate, adjoining Gracefield Woods. But these poor people, though thus reclaimed from the delusions, which must have drawn down ruin upon them, would have suffered a still worse fate, if possible, unless they had been relieved by the same benevolence already exerted in their behalf. The rebellion was followed by a winter rendered but too remarkable by the dearth, and consequent severe distress, which it brought with it. The charities of Mr. Grace, although silently and unostentatiously performed, had always been very bountifully distributed, with reference to the extent of his fortune; but, upon an occasion so pressing he applied himself strenuously to the remedy of the evil, and nearly 500 people were indebted to him for their daily supply of food throughout this trying season."<sup>16</sup>

Of the memorable incidents connected with the passage of the Act of Union, in June, 1800, the best account has been written by a Queen's Co. man, Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation." His famous "Red" and "Black Lists" are possessed of an abiding historical interest from which the personal elements of petty prejudice, and private enmity, characterising them, can but slightly detract. Thus the following reference to a fellow-county man, and opponent—Sir Charles Coote—may be overdrawn, but its substantial accuracy cannot be questioned:—"Charles H. Coote, obtained a regiment (which was taken from Col. Warburton), patronage of the Queen's Co., a peerage (Lord Castlecoote), and £7,500 in cash for his interest at the borough of Maryborough, in which, in fact, it was *proved* before the Commissioners that Sir Jonah Barrington had more interest than his Lordship."

As illustrating this item we may subjoin the following from Sir Jonah's "Personal Sketches and Recollections":—"My family, by

<sup>16</sup> See "Memoirs of the family of Grace," p. 98.





ancient patents, by marriages, and by inheritances from their ancestors possessed very extended landed estates in the Queen's Co. and had almost unlimited influence over its population, returning two members to the Irish Parliament, for Ballynakilli, then a close borough." That a man with such "unlimited influence" at his back should be beaten in his contest for the representation of Maryborough, through the counter-influence of Lord Castlecoote, may serve to explain the personal note in Sir Jonah's comment on the price paid Sir Charles H. Coote for voting for the Union. The Barrington family influence in Ballynakill must have been small at this time, or else very peculiarly exercised. In the Parliament of 1798-1800 Captain J. Longfield was one of the two members for Ballynakill; and of Captain Longfield we read:—"Appointed to the office of Ship Entries of Dublin, taken from Sir Jonah Barrington."<sup>17</sup> Of his opponent in the Maryborough contest Sir Jonah writes:—"General Dunne. Returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and Government, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only *one*." The borough of Portarlinton proved especially subservient; and has the doubtful honour of supplying three members to the Black List. These are John Stewart, Thomas Stannus, and Frederick Trench. The first, we are told, was "appointed Attorney-General, and created a baronet." The second Sir Jonah dismisses with the contemptuous epithet, "Renegaded." The third "was appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works"; and (in 1801) elevated to the peerage.

On the "Red List" the noblest name is that of the senior member for the Queen's County—Sir John Parnell. His character, and conduct, are tersely, yet eloquently, described by Sir Jonah Barrington in the single word "incorruptible." He had held the high office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had been dismissed from it by Lord Cornwallis, solely because of his opposition to the Union. From his first entry into Parliament in 1761 he had represented the borough of Maryborough, or the county, without a break, down to the Union. In the fateful Parliament of 1798-1800 he had as colleague, in the representation of the county, Charles H. Coote; whilst his son, Henry Parnell, was member for Maryborough along with another Coote, viz., General Eyre Coote, who resigned on promotion in 1800, and was succeeded by General Dunne.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In point of fact Ballynakill was a pocket borough of the Marquis of Drogheda, who received £15,000 compensation for its extinction in 1800.

<sup>18</sup> The Parnells were easily first of the gentry, in the esteem and love of the people of the county. The family seat was at Rathleague; and the peasantry have preserved many stories regarding Sir John, and his visits to the county, and residence there, during the intervals of a busy official life. When at Rathleague he lived in a truly hospitable style, loved hunting, and cultivated much the society of the country gentlemen. He was rarely unattended by distinguished visitors, and the peasantry were accus-

tomed to relate many anecdotes especially referring to his convivial and vivacious habits. He was called "the brave Irishman," which character he always maintained; while his son Henry afterwards received the *soubriquet* of "the handsome Irishman," because of his regular features and clear complexion. At one time, it is related, Sir John left his groom and a splendid hunter, which he greatly prized, in Dublin, in order to have the earliest intelligence of important public news expected by the packet from England. The groom received a despatch at the Castle, and mounting the hunter, galloped over fifty miles to Rathleague, which he reached









**STRADBALLY  
CATHOLIC  
CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 335. Vol.  
II., p. 593.



**FRIEZE MILL  
AT KILVAHAN.**

Vol. I., pp. 189-90.



**RATH HOUSE  
(Dease).**

Vol. II., p. 772.



It is a remarkable fact that whereas the majority of the Queen's County members of Parliament favoured the Union, the Queen's County Orangemen opposed it. Amongst the resolutions passed by various Orange Lodges we find the following from "Mountmellick, 4th February, 1800, Lodge No. 500"<sup>20</sup>:—

*"An Address to all Brother Orangemen.*

"Conscious as we are of our loyalty to His Majesty George III., and our attachment to the happy Constitution of this Kingdom as established in 1782, we have beheld with surprise and concern an address from the Grand Lodge to all Orangemen, entreating them to be silent on a question whereby the Constitution is vitally attacked, and whereby the loyalty of the most valuable part of our countrymen is shaken or endangered. We cannot think it the duty of Orangemen to submit implicitly in all cases of the utmost moment to the directions of a lodge, which is principally composed of persons who are under a certain person, which is exerted against the rights of Ireland, and while a lodge under such influence shall give the law to all Orangemen, we fear that our dearest interests will be betrayed. We therefore protest against its injunctions to silence, and declare, as Orangemen, as freeholders, as Irishmen, that we consider the extinction of our separate Legislature as the extinction of the Irish nation. We invite our brother Orangemen without delay to elect a Grand Lodge which shall be composed of men of tried integrity, who shall be unplaced, unpensioned, and unbought, and who shall avow their best qualifications for such a station, that they will support the independence of Ireland and the Constitution of 1782.

"HENRY DEERY, *Master.*

"JOHN ROBINSON, *D.-M.*

"ABRAHAM RYLAND, *Secy.*"

But resolutions, even of Orange Lodges, were of little avail against the determination of Pitt and Castlereagh supported by their purchased majority in College Green. Indeed the only wonder is that the purchase had not been effected much earlier, and at less cost. For as early as 1784 we find from a Government Return that there were not more than 50 Independent members, and that on even the most important divisions not more than 30 votes could be whipped up in opposition to Government. According to this return 116 nomination seats were divided between some 25 proprietors. Lord Shannon returned no less than 16 members, and the great family of Ponsonby returned 14; Lord Hillsborough, 9, the Duke of Leinster, 7, and the Castle itself 12. Eighty-six seats were *let out* by the owners, in consideration of titles, offices, and pensions. No less than 44 seats were

within two hours. The horse was covered with foam, and when the rider alighted before the hall door of the mansion and delivered the despatch to Sir John, the animal dropped dead.

Sir Henry Brooke Parnell, his son, wrote an "Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics," a "History of the Penal Laws," and several other political tracts. He represented the Queen's County as Member in the Imperial Parliament, and took a prominent part there

for a succession of years. For a time he was Minister of War in Lord Grey's Government, while during the Melbourne Administration he was Paymaster-General of the Forces. He was created Lord Congleton, on the 11th of August, 1841, and his lamented death took place on the 8th of June the following year, at the age of 65.

<sup>20</sup> See "Thomas Drummond," by R. Barry O'Brien, p. 108.



occupied by placemen, 32 by gentlemen who had promises of pensions, 12 by gentlemen who stood out for higher prices from Government. The regular opposition appears to have been limited to 82 votes, of which 30 belonged to Whig nominees, and the rest to the popular party.

Sir Jonah Barrington graphically describes the final scene of the drama on that fateful 7th June, 1800, as follows:—"Before the third reading of the Bill, when it was about to be reported, Mr. Charles Ball, Member for Clogher, rose, and, without speaking one word, looked round impressively, every eye was directed to him, he only pointed his hand significantly to the bar, and immediately walked forth, casting a parting look behind him, and turning his eyes to heaven, as if to invoke vengeance on the enemies of his country. His example was contagious. Those Anti-Unionists who were in the House immediately followed his example, and never returned into that Senate, which had been the glory, the guardian, and the protection of their country. There was but one scene more, and the curtain was to drop for ever.

"The day of extinguishing the liberties of Ireland had now arrived, and the sun took his last view of independent Ireland; he rose no more over a proud and prosperous nation. She was now condemned, by the British Minister, to renounce her rank amongst the States of Europe; she was sentenced to cancel her Constitution, to disband her Commons and disfranchise her nobility, to proclaim her incapacity, and register her corruption in the records of the empire.

"The Commons House of Parliament, on the last evening, afforded the most melancholy example of a fine, independent people, betrayed, divided, sold, and, as a State, annihilated. British clerks and officers were smuggled into her Parliament to vote away the Constitution of a country to which they were strangers, and in which they had neither interest nor connection. They were employed to cancel the Royal Charter of the Irish nation, guaranteed by the British Government, sanctioned by the British Legislature, and unequivocally confirmed by the words, the signature, and the Great Seal of their monarch.

"The situation of the Speaker on that night was of the most distressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence.

"It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative (resignation) would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feeling; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches; scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members; nobody seemed at ease; no cheerfulness was apparent, and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

"At length, the expected moment arrived. The order of the day—for the third reading of the Bill for a 'Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland'—was moved by Lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.



"The Speaker, Mr. Foster, who was one of the most vehement opponents of the Union from first to last, would have risen and left the House with his friends, if he could. But this would have availed nothing. With grave dignity he presided over 'the last agony of the expiring Parliament.' He held up the Bill for a moment in silence, then asked the usual question, to which the response, '*aye*,' was languid but unmistakable. Another momentary pause ensued. Again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, '*The ayes have it.*' For an instant he stood statue-like; then, indignantly and in disgust flung the Bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit."

We may be pardoned if, by way of epilogue, we insert here a sentence or two of the splendid speech delivered on the occasion by Henry Grattan:—

"I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon; but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet is crimson on thy lips and in thy cheek, and death's pale flag is not advanced there."

## CHAPTER XXXI.—THE OPENING OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

WE purpose to set forth in this chapter the results of our investigations regarding the general condition of our county at the epoch of the Union. At that time, the county was divided into nine baronies, containing 624 townlands, comprising 164,526 Irish acres, with the assessment at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  per hundred acres, reaching to £1 14s. 2d. for the whole county. It contained eleven towns and fifteen villages. The baronial returns are as follows. The barony of Upper Ossory, which was subdivided into three districts, named cantreds, gave the following returns for each cantred, viz.:—Clandonagh containing 91 townlands, having 19,459 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 4s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; Clarmallagh containing 69 townlands, having 21,944 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 4s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}d.$ ; Upper Woods containing 75 townlands, having 18,847 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 3s. 11d. The barony of Cullenagh contained 75 townlands, having 18,891 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 3s. 11d. The barony of East Maryborough contained 55 townlands, having 10,319 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}d.$  The barony of West Maryborough contained 24 townlands, having 12,079 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 6d. The barony of Stradbally contained 38 townlands, having 11,019 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}d.$  The barony of Portnahinch contained 53 townlands, having 14,604 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 3s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}d.$  The barony of Tinehinch contained 64 townlands, having 13,701 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}d.$  The barony of Slewmary contained 44 townlands, having 12,879 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 8d. The barony of Ballyadams contained 36 townlands, having 10,104 acres, at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$ , amounting for cess to 2s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}d.$

In the 624 townlands there were fifty Protestant parishes, but only twenty-seven Protestant Episcopal churches. These parishes were situated in five different dioceses.



Another statistical item of an interesting kind may be added, viz., that, with the exception of Dublin County, the Queen's County contained, in 1792, a greater number of houses than any other county in the province, viz., 15,048, which, on an average, would give 41 houses to a square mile, Irish measurement, and 15.6 acres to a house. Estimating the number of inhabitants at 5 to each house, 80,000 ought to represent the entire population of the county approximately.

The two chief authorities for the period we are dealing with are Sir Charles Coote<sup>1</sup>, and W. Shaw Mason<sup>2</sup>, and the following general details are culled from their works:—

*The Population* had increased enormously during the century now closed. Coote, estimating it at 90,000,<sup>3</sup> states that some districts of the Queen's County, such as that of Abbeylaxey, had a proportionately larger population than England.<sup>4</sup> Stradbally<sup>5</sup> and Maryborough<sup>6</sup> were very populous; and Upperwoods, Clarmallagh, Clandonagh,<sup>7</sup> and Ballyadams<sup>8</sup> very populous, and very poor.

*The Language.*—This was the period when English became generally spoken among the people. At the close of the eighteenth century English was universally spoken at Mountmellick,<sup>9</sup> and had increased so much in twenty years that the common conversation of the labourers was in that tongue. In Slievemargy<sup>10</sup> they talked English and Irish, but amongst themselves the people mostly spoke Irish; in Ballyadams English was universal, and throughout the county generally except in Upperwoods, and towards the mountains.<sup>11</sup>

*Education* was in a backward state. The hedge schools<sup>12</sup> were numerous and full of children;<sup>13</sup> but except in Portarlinton (where there were sometimes as many as sixteen schools) there were only a few good schools<sup>14</sup> in the county, viz., a Quaker's school at Mountmellick,<sup>15</sup> an endowed school at Ballyroan,<sup>16</sup> one at Rathdowney,<sup>17</sup> kept by the Protestant clergyman, one at Ballyfin,<sup>18</sup> taught by the parish clerk, one at Ballintubber,<sup>19</sup> and a charter school at Stradbally.

In the matter of imports and exports, the county was practically self-supporting. It produced its own foodstuffs, wearing apparel, farm implements, and household goods.

<sup>1</sup> See his "General View of the Agriculture, &c., of the Queen's Co.," Dublin, 1801; also Beaufort's "Memoir of a Map of Ireland; illustrating the Topography of that Kingdom, and containing a short Account of its present State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, &c." p. 59, Dublin, 1792, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> See his "Statistical Account or parochial Survey of Ireland," Dublin, 1814.

<sup>3</sup> Coote, p. 2. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 57. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 104. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

During this period the sides of the mountains were reclaimed and fenced in.

"The population of the country is increasing so much that a vast quantity of hills and mountains is reclaimed every year and produces, by burning the surface, one or two crops of potatoes and the like of oats." W. Shaw Mason, Vol. I., p. 499.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 128. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>12</sup> The following is W. S. Mason's description of an Irish hedge school:—

"The school-houses are in general wretched huts, built of sods in the highway ditches, from which circumstances they are called hedge schools. They have neither door, window, nor chimney—a large hole in the roof serving to admit light, and let out the smoke which issues from a fire in the middle of the house. A low narrow hole cut in the mud wall on the south side of the hut affords ingress and egress. These schools are fully attended in summer, half empty in spring and harvest, and, from the cold and damp, utterly deserted in the winter, so that the children usually forget in one part of the year what they have learned in the other." Vol. I., p. 598.

<sup>13</sup> Coote, p. 185. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

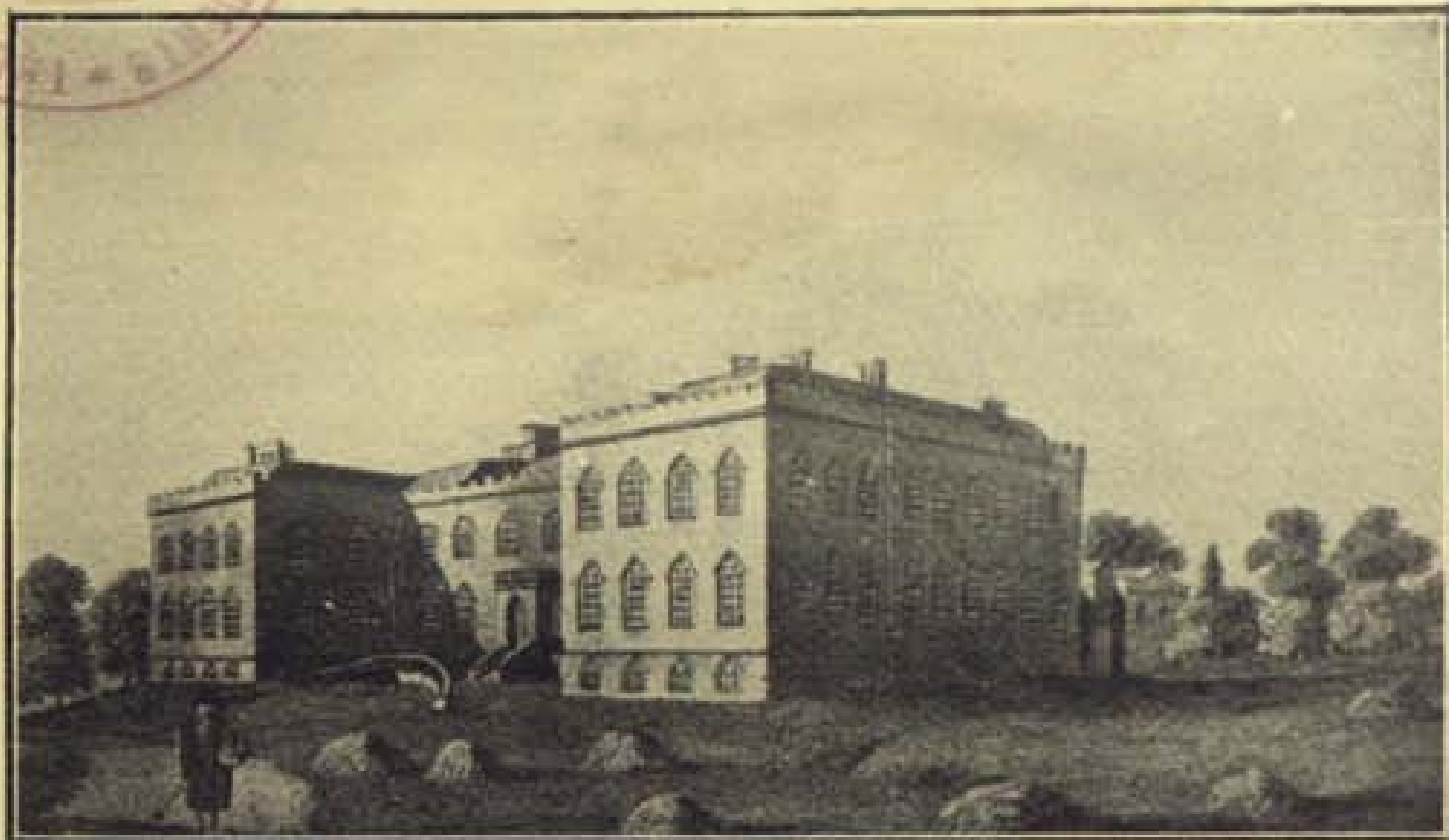
<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 150. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 61. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.









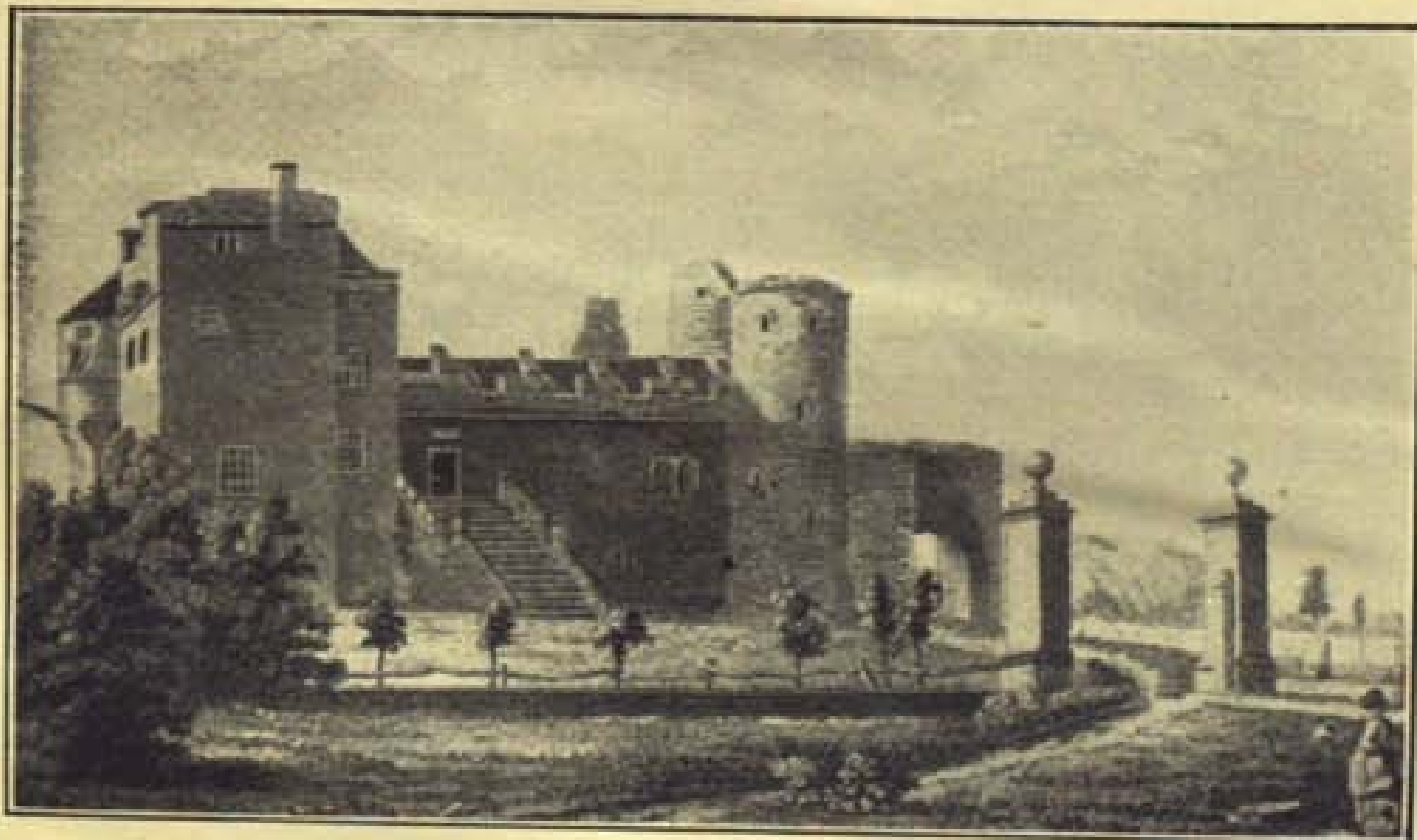
**MOORE ABBEY,  
MONASTEREVAN**

Vol. II., pp. 515-20-  
21-36, 804.



**MORETT CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 180. Vol. II.,  
p. 626.



**KILKEA CASTLE.**

Vol. II., pp. 523-5.

Views from Grose.



*Mills.*—There were bolting mills at Ballinakill, Abbeyleix, Portarlinton, Lacka in Upperwoods, Mountmellick, Coolrain, Raheen, Borris-in-Ossory, Donaghmore, three at Stradbally and three in Slievemargy.<sup>20</sup> There were two corn mills at Rathdowney, one at Donaghmore, and Borris-in-Ossory, and many in Cullenagh barony.<sup>21</sup> There was a grist mill at Roskelton, two in Slievemargy barony, three in Ballyadams, several in Cullenagh, and Tinnehinch,<sup>22</sup> and in Aghmacart, Rathdowney, and Raheen.<sup>23</sup> There were oil mills at Lacka, Cartown and Raheen for the manufacture of rape oil<sup>24</sup>; and a threshing mill, the only good one in the county, at Oldglass.<sup>25</sup> These mills were all driven by water; but the county had wind-mills also, the remains of which are to be seen at Ballyadams, Rosenallis,<sup>26</sup> and Mount Henry, near Ballybrittas, which latter was the last to cease working in the county.

*Butter and Cheese.*—Little cheese was made in Slievemargy. This was nevertheless an excellent district for butter, which was sold, generally, in Carlow.<sup>27</sup> Timahoe was also a good butter district. The manufacture of cheese was confined to the west of the county; a famous quality was made in Aghaboe, and immense quantities towards the mountains.<sup>28</sup>

*Breweries and Distilleries.*—There were two distilleries in Mountrath; but spirits were beyond the reach of the lower classes, and beer was their favourite drink. There were breweries in Ballinakill, Stradbally, Portarlinton, one in Upperwoods, two in Mountrath, and four in Mountmellick.<sup>29</sup> Rathdowney brewery dates only from 1831.

*Manufactures.*—The trade of the county in serges and broadstuffs centred in Maryboro' and Mountmellick, and was estimated to be worth £100,000 per annum.<sup>30</sup> These broadstuffs were called *durants*; and so extensive was the trade in Maryborough that nearly every house had a loom.<sup>31</sup> It was carried on with great spirit and success in Mountmellick also, and the looms were scattered for miles round the place.<sup>32</sup> There were good woollen factories at Carlow, small ones at Ballinakill, and Cullenagh was a great centre for them. In Clarmallagh the people made a coarse but warm frieze, and also in Rosenallis and Ballickmoyler, and there was a woollen factory at Cartown, near the gap of Glandine.<sup>33</sup> But cotton goods were coming into favour, and there was a cotton factory at Cullenagh, a factory for thicksets at Ballylinan, another at Abbeyleix, Kilmoroney near Athy, Portarlinton, and 400 cotton looms in Mountmellick, employing 800 artisans.<sup>34</sup> Mountmellick was then the first town in the county.<sup>35</sup> There were two tanyards there, two at Mountrath, three at Ballinakill, one at Rathdowney, and one at Maryboro.<sup>36</sup> There was a soap and candle manufactory at Portarlinton, Maryboro, Mountrath, and two at Mountmellick, where there was also a pottery, and a manufactory for bits and stirrups.<sup>37</sup> There was a lace manufactory at

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 135, 86, 152, 86, 171, 186.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 86. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 121, 186, 129, 68, 152.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 86. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 149, 150. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*,

74. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 129, 149. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-80.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 77, 76, 101, 180. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

68, 159, 170, 135, 84, 104, 148. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*,

101, 106, 198. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 106. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 68, 85, 86. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 67, 127,

68, 128, 134, 147-8. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 146. <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*,

148, 105, 54, 68, 85, 101. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

101, 145-9, 147. This manufactory still survives.



Abbeyleix, giving employment to 50 poor girls. There was little or no linen industry in the county; in Slievemargy the people made some linen for their own use.<sup>38</sup>

*Agriculture* was in a state of transition from the old traditional methods to the new system introduced by the landlords. Burning the surface of the lea before the potato or turnip crop was a common custom, which came originally from England. The heat and ashes were supposed to benefit the soil, and marshy and boggy ground was always burned, but many landlords condemned the practice, and inserted clauses in their leases against it.<sup>39</sup> In the rotation of crops the potato came first, wheat or barley next, then oats.<sup>40</sup> The old method of sowing potatoes was known as *dibbling*. The land was ploughed in ridges about five feet wide, then holes about five inches deep were made in the clay with a pointed stick, and into these the seed was dropped. Drilling, however, was coming into use and proving a vastly superior system.<sup>41</sup> The Irish wooden plough was generally used. It was badly constructed, having the beam and mould-board too long, and the sole without any regular uniform width.<sup>42</sup> It was heavy, unmanageable, and distressing to man and beast, doing little work, and that little badly.<sup>43</sup> Both horses and oxen were used in the plough. In Cullenagh four oxen were yoked with a beam across the neck, and sometimes with collar and hames. In Ballyadams they tilled with four and sometimes six oxen, in Maryborough with four. In Tinnehinch they ploughed with horses, sometimes using four. In Stradbally they ploughed with two oxen in front and two horses behind, to make the oxen step cut the faster. Hitherto a second man always accompanied the plough to drive the team; but about this time the ploughman learned to drive with reins, and the second man was dispensed with. The Irish cart in general use had a moveable body—either a box, or wicker *kish*—and ran on two low block-wheels fixed to a wooden axle, wheels and axle all revolving together. This cart, unmounted, cost £1 6s.; a cart with spoke wheels and iron axle cost £2 6s.; and a good, well-mounted cart, with tackling, cost about £4 4s. The ordinary spade, called a *fack*, cost, with handle and step, 4s. 6d.; the iron shovel with handle cost about 3s. 6d.; a fork and handle, 1s. 6d.; a small winnowing machine worked by hand cost five or six guineas.<sup>44</sup>

*Wages.*—Diet was always included in the daily wages, which fluctuated with the season, the weather, and the price of provisions. Reapers earned from 1s. to 2s. 8d., binders from 6d. to 8d., turf-cutters, 1s. 4d., carpenters, masons, coopers, smiths, thatchers, etc., about 2s. per day. The casual or day labourers were called *spalpeens*, and earned from 8d. in winter to 13d. in summer. The cottier paid from 30s. to 40s. rent for his house and an acre of garden; about 30s. for the grass of a cow, and he had the privilege of rearing on the land a calf, a pig, poultry, etc.<sup>45</sup> The following table, taken from Coote, p. 203, sets out many of these details with great minuteness:—

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 185. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 73, 75, 162, 166. <sup>42</sup> Coote, 73. <sup>43</sup> S. Mason, 67. <sup>44</sup> Coote, 49.  
<sup>40</sup> Shaw Mason, 230. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 66. 73, 122, 94, 40 167, 39 <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 57.



TABLE OF CONTENTS BY BARONIES, WITH RATES OF MEADOW AND POTATOE LAND, WAGES, &amp;c.

BARONIES.	Number of acres paying cess.	Remainder of land not arable, as bog, waste, towns, water, &c.	Town Lands.	Rate of potatoe land per acre.	Price of meadow per acre.	Cottiers wages.	Day Labourers wages.
Cullinagh ..	18,891	5,000	75	from 5 <i>l.</i> to 8 <i>l.</i>	from 5 <i>l.</i> to 6 <i>gs.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 10 <i>d.</i>	from 8 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>
Upper Ossory	60,250	22,000	235	4 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>l.</i>	3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>gs.</i>	from 5 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 8 <i>d.</i>	from 8 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Maryborough	22,398	8,000	79	6 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>l.</i>	4 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>l.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 10 <i>d.</i>	from 8 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>
Portneinch ..	14,604	12,000	53	4 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>l.</i>	3 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>gs.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 6 <i>d.</i>	from 8 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>
Ballyadams ..	10,704	3,700	36	4 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>gs.</i>	3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>l.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 6 <i>d.</i>	from 10 <i>d.</i> to 2 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Teneinch ..	13,701	14,000	64	6 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>gs.</i>	3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>l.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 3 <i>d.</i>	from 8 <i>d.</i> to 10 <i>d.</i>
Stradbally ..	11,099	4,000	38	5 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>l.</i>	4 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>l.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 7 <i>d.</i>	from 10 <i>d.</i> to 13 <i>d.</i>
Slewmary ..	12,879	2,074	44	5 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>l.</i>	6 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>gs.</i>	from 6 <i>d.</i> to and privileges value 6 <i>d.</i>	from 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Total, ..	164,526	70,774	624	—	—	—	—



As "privileges" (of which Coote writes) the farmers gave butterless milk, sometimes butter, and, at scarce times of the year, excellent potatoes, to support the wives and children of their married labourers. Besides, the members of their family, when able to work, were hired at times of harvesting, potato-digging and weeding, but for a small rate of wages. The potato crop was then an abundant one, and it never failed, with milk and butter, to supply plain but wholesome food to the farm labourer at dinner; his breakfast was oftentimes stirabout and sweet or mixed milk; while mowers and reapers were regaled in the summer time and autumn with substantial wholemeal, wheaten, and griddle-baked bread, which was greatly relished. In the well-to-do farmers' houses there were usually unmarried male and female servants, hired at a stated rate of wages for the year or quarter, and living as inmates. Indeed, it was no unusual thing to find, especially during the winter evenings, the farmer, his wife and children, with their servants, labourers, and others of their neighbours, grouped around the kitchen fire, hearing a book read by one of the company, or enjoying some agreeable gossip or anecdote, song or story, circulating around the happy circle. All seemed to feel themselves on a footing of friendly and social equality; so that while the master and mistress of the house were kindly disposed and considerate towards their dependents, these in turn were affectionate, and faithful in the discharge of their duties.

The peasant men wore a bright grey frieze short or long coat; the peasant women wore the elegantly-finished fabric of *tammy* or *durant*, having various beautiful hues; and men's shirts and women's under-clothing were of coarse linen, from flax grown on the farms, hackled and spun in their houses, and turned from the loom by country or town weavers. The hats and bonnets were plaited around the fires; while woollen socks and long stockings—then most generally worn—were knitted by the women. The flax and woollen wheel was seldom or ever absent from the farmer's or cottier's abode, and few lasses were known to be unacquainted with the art of carding and spinning. Every person seemed to be busily occupied about the farmer's house—himself and his sons ploughing, sowing, digging, mowing or reaping; his wife and daughters boiling potatoes or cooking, feeding cattle, pigs and poultry, milking, churning, housekeeping, marketing, or other important duties, varied occasionally by rustic festivals and merry-makings.

In those times there were no railroads to convey passengers or goods from one place to another. The mail-coaches, caravans, hackney-cars, and canal boats, served that purpose for travellers; while the carmen's drays, with high piles of goods and wares, well protected from rain by heavy waterproof covers, kept the home-manufactured articles safe and sound, from the moment they left Dublin, Cork, or Limerick, until they were delivered to the various shopkeepers in the smaller towns and villages. It was then no uncommon sight to witness a train of carmen and drays stretching for a quarter of a mile along the well-travelled roads, and resting each evening at a carmen's stage, where men and horses had entertainment, and housing, for the night. Few enterprising English or Scotch travellers ventured to invade the Irish towns, or to take orders for their employers, as their dry goods or hardware must be transported at considerable risk, and



expense, from beyond the Channel, to compete with the native manufacturer, whose products were mostly superior in material, and often in fineness of texture, to any that came from a distance. The roads were then literally alive with traffic: carriages, gigs, inside and outside cars, country drays, carts and cars, horsemen and pedestrians, were passing in all directions, in pursuit of business or pleasure. From the fleet-moving and blooded horses to the slowly-plodding donkeys, those roads were crowded, that nowadays present only pictures of desertion and loneliness. However, soon after 1830, the local manufactories, and sources of industry, so actively promoted and prosecuted in the early part of this century, began speedily to decline; no energetic attempts were made to preserve, or extend, their connections, or to improve their machinery; and with the introduction of the Great Southern and Western Railway, and branches, through the centre of the Queen's County, English and Scotch agents, and goods, were able to find their way to the towns and villages, and to supplant prosperous county industries. At present the once flourishing factories are at a stand-still, in ruins, or only the sites remembered.

*Landlords.*—We have compiled the following account of the land-owners, resident and absentee, of the County in 1800, from Coote's book, supplemented by the "Anthologia Hibernica" (vol. i., pp. 216-20):—

Adair, George, Esq.  
Anneslev, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>46</sup>  
Ashbrook, Right Hon. Lord Viscount.  
Bambrick, H., Esq.  
Barrington, Col.  
Bland, —, Esq.  
Beaulieu, Right Hon. Earl.  
Bowen, Charles, Esq.  
Brereton, —, Esq.

Burrows, Sir Erasmus, Bart.  
Car, Thomas, Esq.<sup>47</sup>  
Carew, R. Shapland, Esq.  
Cassan, Andrew, Esq.<sup>48</sup>  
Cavan, Right Hon. Earl of.  
Chandos Family.<sup>49</sup>  
Colclough, Patrick, Esq.<sup>50</sup>  
Cooper, William, Esq.<sup>51</sup>  
Coote, Right Hon. Charles Henry.  
Cosby, Vice-Admiral.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> There are two Annesleys given in the absentee list, Arthur (rental £4,000), and Francis (rental £2,500).

<sup>47</sup> Car is an Absentee (rental £1,000).

<sup>48</sup> "The seat of Sir John Cassan is adjacent to that of Sir John Parnell, and presents a pretty effect." Coote, p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> "There is nothing worthy of remark in Borris-in-Ossory, 'tis a post and fair town of very mean appearance, distant five miles from Roscrea; though contemptible externally it is not without wealth, and is the estate of Lord Temple (which he enjoys by his marriage in the Chandos family), and part of the manor of Villiers." Coote p. 85. The Duke of Chandos is an absentee (rental £2,000).

<sup>50</sup> "In the barony of Slievemargy, Mr. Colclough's bolting mill at Annville is equal to manufacture four thousand barrels of wheat annually, it is the best mill in the barony, and the water-wheel is under-shot." Coote, p. 186.

<sup>51</sup> "Mr. Cooper's seat at Cooper-hill is very well wooded; he is yet extending his plantations with great taste and judgment.

The demesne contains one hundred and thirty acres of the richest land so luxuriant that it cannot be appropriated to tillage. Considerable ornamental improvements have been made by the present proprietor; the prospect of the adjoining county of Carlow, and all the fine demesnes there, with Carlow town and the surrounding mountains, are seen from the front windows, and comprise a view of as rich a country as can be presented to the eye." Coote, p. 187.

<sup>52</sup> "The demesne of Stradbally hall, which is the Residence of Admiral Cosby, is not extensive, but very beautiful; the improvements are kept up in the most elegant and modern style. . . The approach is very handsome in view of the house, which has lately been considerably enlarged by the Admiral, and the suite of rooms below are planned with taste, and have a most splendid effect. They are justly esteemed the grandest apartments in the county." Cosby is amongst the absentees (rental £3,000).



Cuffe, ———, Esq.<sup>53</sup>  
 Despard, ———, Esq.  
 Desvoeux, Sir Charles, Bart.  
 De Vesci, Right Hon. Lord Viscount.<sup>54</sup>  
 Doyne, Charles, Esq.<sup>55</sup>  
 Drogheda, Most Noble Marquis.<sup>56</sup>  
 Drought, Rev. Thomas.<sup>57</sup>  
 Dunn, General.  
 Eustace, General.  
 Fitzgerald, Gilbert, Esq.  
 Fitzgerald, Thomas, Esq.  
 Fitzmaurice, Harman, Esq.<sup>58</sup>  
 Fitzpatrick, ———, Esq.  
 Flood, ———, Esq.<sup>59</sup>  
 Freke, Sir John, Bart.<sup>6</sup>  
 Gale, Colonel.  
 Gale, ———, Esq.

Gore, ———, Esq.<sup>61</sup>  
 Grace, ———, Esq.<sup>62</sup>  
 Grace, Richard, Esq., M.P.  
 Grattan, Henry, Esq.<sup>63</sup>  
 Hartpole Family.<sup>64</sup>  
 Hovingdon, ———, Esq.  
 Johnson, Sir John Allen, Bart.  
 Kavanagh, ———, Esq.<sup>65</sup>  
 Kelly, Judge.<sup>66</sup>  
 Kemmis, ———, Esq.  
 Kenmare, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>67</sup>  
 King, Colonel.<sup>68</sup>  
 Lansdowne, Most Noble Marquis.<sup>69</sup>  
 Latouche, Peter.<sup>70</sup>  
 Lecky, John, Esq.  
 Lyons, ———, Esq.<sup>71</sup>  
 Moore, ———, Esq.

<sup>53</sup> A Rev. Mr. Cuffe is an absentee (rental £400).

<sup>54</sup> "The estate of Abbeyleix contains one thousand acres, about seven hundred of which are in the demesne. The mansion house is modern, and very elegantly finished, a large square building, fronted with cut stone, and four stories high. . . . The ornamental timber here is some of the noblest I have seen." p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> "The fine demesne of Captain Doyne is in the barony of Cullenagh, and in the neighbourhood of Abbeyleix." p. 62.

<sup>56</sup> "The Earl of Drogheda was patron of Ballinakill, which returned two members to the Irish Parliament." p. 68. "The town of Mountmellick and the environs is the estate of the Marquis of Drogheda, who makes leases of town plots for ever, and adjoining parks for three lives." p. 152. Lord Drogheda is an absentee (rental, £5,000).

<sup>57</sup> "In the barony of Upper Ossory all the gentlemen farmers have highly adorned their demesnes by valuable plantations. The Rev. Mr. Drought of Oldglass only has received the Dublin Society's premium for planting. The trees here are in good heart, the larch particularly vigorous." p. 87.

<sup>58</sup> "In the barony of Slievemargy, Harman Fitzmaurice, Esq., has a rich demesne, which lies very high, and commands a most extensive view over several counties." p. 187.

The Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice is an absentee (rental £9,000).

<sup>59</sup> "In the barony of Upper Ossory, Mr. Flood who resided at Roundwood, on his own estate planted considerably." p. 86.

<sup>60</sup> Freke (Widow and daughters) are absentees (rental, £4,000).

<sup>61</sup> Mr. Gore, brother to Lord Ross, is an absentee.

<sup>62</sup> "The only good dwelling house in Ballylinan is inhabited by Mr. Grace, who had a cotton factory where thicksets were manufactured about four years ago, but it is now discontinued." p. 127.

<sup>63</sup> "The estate of Henry Grattan is in the barony of Upper Ossory, on which stands Ballygeehan castle." p. 91. The estate of Moyanna was purchased from Lord Sidney Cosby.

<sup>64</sup> "The Corgie collieries, in the barony of Slievemargy, are on the estate of the Hartpole family." p. 189.

<sup>65</sup> "Mr. Kavanagh's plantations in the barony of Ballyadams, and Colonel Weldon's cover about 40 acres. There was an iron mine on Mr. Kavanagh's estate which has not been worked for a long time." p. 129.

<sup>66</sup> "There has been very little planting in the barony of Ballyadams within these twenty years, except by Judge Kelly and Colonel Weldon, who have made considerable ornamental plantations on their demesnes, and built elegant mansions, which they continue to improve." p. 128.

<sup>67</sup> Lord Kenmare is an absentee (rental £10,000).

<sup>68</sup> "Coolkerry castle in Upper Ossory is on the estate of Colonel King." p. 91.

<sup>69</sup> "Morett castle in Portnahinch is on the estate of the Marquis of Lansdown." p. 137.

<sup>70</sup> "Grant's town castle, in Upper Ossory, is on the estate of Peter Latouche, Esq." p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> "Water Castle, in the barony of Cullenagh, was a seat of romantic beauty, the property of the Lyons family; the winding of the Nore through this demesne



Mount-Morres, Right Hon. Lord Viscount.<sup>72</sup>

Mountrath, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>73</sup>

Ovingdon, —, Esq.<sup>74</sup>

Oxmanton, Earl.

Parnell, Sir John, Bart., M.P.<sup>75</sup>

Parnell, Henry, Esq.

Parnell, Thomas, Esq.

Pigot, Colonel.<sup>76</sup>

Pigot, John, Esq.<sup>77</sup>

Pigot, William, Esq.<sup>78</sup>

Pim, —, Esq.<sup>79</sup>

Pole, Hon. William Wellesley.<sup>80</sup>

Ponsonby, —, Esq.<sup>81</sup>

Portarlington, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>82</sup>

forms most picturesque scenes. The castle is now falling to ruins." p. 67. Mr. Lyon is an absentee (rental £800).

<sup>72</sup> Lord Mount-Morres is an absentee (rental £3,400).

<sup>73</sup> "Lord Mountrath takes his title from the town which is on his estate. The old castle of Rushall is also on his estate, and was once the family mansion. His woods are extensive though slender, and bound the barony." pp. 87, 91, 105. An absentee (rental, £10,000).

<sup>74</sup> "Mr. Ovingdon of Ballilehane has coal pits on his estate, which he works himself." p. 189.

<sup>75</sup> "The town of Maryboro' is the shire town of the Queen's Co. Its district, situated in the east of the barony, was divided into several estates, gifts and grants to English soldiers. Of these, Sir John Parnell possesses the most considerable. The appearance of the town is insignificant and mean, though the inhabitants are very wealthy, and carry on an extensive trade of broad stuffs called durants. The rock of Dunamase stands on the property of Sir John Parnell, who has above two hundred acres here enclosed. Some fine timber is on this demesne, and the plantation, for which Sir John received the Dublin Society's premium, is admirably enclosed with high stone ditches, breasted with a double row of quicks, and the trees are thriving in proper heart. The garden that was on the summit of the rock is now a green. Sir John Parnell, who wishes to preserve the venerable appearance of this celebrated place is rebuilding the castle on its ancient site in the former style of Gothic architecture." Coote, 101, 116, 117.

<sup>76</sup> "Knapton demesne is on the estate of Abbeyleix, highly ornamented with full-grown timber, and has an excellent house built by the late Col. Pigot." p. 66.

<sup>77</sup> "The Demesne of Capard is the elegant seat of John Pigot, Esq., who has lately rebuilt the present mansion, offices and farm yard in a style of true magnificence. The young plantations are thriving extremely well, for which Mr. Pigot received the Dublin Society's premium." p. 154.

<sup>78</sup> "Mr. William Pigot of Farmly, barony of Maryboro', has been lately engaged in building a house and laying out his

demesne, which he has improved with great taste and judgment." p. 96.

<sup>79</sup> "Mr. Pim is the proprietor of Carton and Lacka, near the gap of Glandine." p. 96.

<sup>80</sup> "Ballyfin, the seat of the Hon. W. W. Pole, is in the Barony of Maryboro', and situated on the mountain side between Cappard and the gap of Glandine, from which latter place it is about five miles distant. This magnificent demesne contains about 1,200 acres, all walled in. The full-grown timber, and the view of an extensive lake have a fine effect. The deer-park is perhaps the most extensive in the kingdom. . . . The gardens are in the antique style, and extensive, but, from the elegant taste Mr. and Mrs. Poole have already displayed in the late improvements, we may expect in a little time to see Ballyfin unrivalled in improvements, as it is in natural position. . . . The house is composed of three sides of a square, and another extensive range goes off to the southward, which is hid by a plantation, and which contain the kitchens, servants' apartments, &c." p. 117-18.

<sup>81</sup> "Belmont is a very handsome small demesne, farmed by C. B. Ponsonby, Esq. The lodge is extremely neat and well planted; the lawn pretty, and commands a pleasing view of the mountains, with the ruins of Aghmacart, and the round tower of Beggars' end in the county of Kilkenny. 'Tis situate contiguous to Cullihill, which is a mean village and only remarkable for an old castle, now in ruins, the estate of Sir John Freke, Bart." p. 91. The Hon. Richard Ponsonby, brother to Lord Besborough, is an absentee (rental £2,000).

<sup>82</sup> "Dawson Court (now Emo Park) the elegant seat of the Earl of Portarlington, is situated about four miles from Portarlington. The plantations in this demesne are the most extensive in the county, and were considerably added to by the late Earl, who obtained the Dublin Society's premium, and the trees are well fenced in, and in a good thriving state, but the soil is unfavourable, being so extremely shallow. The lake covers an immense tract of poor spongy ground. The late Earl built a very fine and most extensive mansion, the ornaments of which are not yet finished, but the situation is commanding, and has a fine prospect." pp. 137-81.



Rochford, Colonel.<sup>83</sup>  
 Roden, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>84</sup>  
 St. George, —, Esq.<sup>85</sup>  
 Southwell, —, Esq.<sup>86</sup>  
 Stanhope, Right Hon. Earl.<sup>87</sup>  
 Staples, Sir Robert, Bart.<sup>88</sup>  
 Stapleton, —, Esq.<sup>89</sup>  
 Stubber, Robert, Esq.<sup>90</sup>

Smyth, Henry, Esq.<sup>91</sup>  
 Temple, Right Hon. Earl.  
 Trench, Frederick, Esq.<sup>92</sup>  
 Tydd, Sir John, Bart.<sup>93</sup>  
 Upper Ossory, Right Hon. Earl  
 of.  
 Vesey, Honourable —,  
 Vicars, —, Esq.

<sup>83</sup> "Cloghrenan demesne, the seat of Colonel Rochford, contains 280 acres of wood, a few years back a considerable portion of the old woods was copped up, and all are now extremely vigorous and flourishing. The demesne is situated in both this and the county Carlow. The entrance through the old castle divides the counties, and is most happily picturesque and antique. The back lawn is exceedingly beautiful, highly adorned with full grown forest trees, with some of the finest and grossest ash I have seen, topped by the best cultivated mountains in the kingdom; and the rising wood gives this naturally beautiful spot the most charming effect." p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> "Stradbally is, by far, the neatest inland town in this county, or anywhere else I know. It lies low, and is surrounded with lofty hills, and the demesne of Vice-Admiral Cosby, on whose estate the town is built, considerably heightens the beauty of the scene. On the opposite side it is skirted by the elegant seat of the Earl of Roden, which bounds the improvements at Ballykilcavan. Several neat lodges and fine parks are scattered in the vicinity, and altogether it possesses much of the appearance of a beautiful English village." p. 169.

<sup>85</sup> The following St. George's are given as absentees:—Lady St. George (rental £2,000); Colonel St. George, Mansergh (rental £3,000); and St. George (widow), (rental £1,500).

<sup>86</sup> The late Bowen Southwell, Esq., bequeathed £20 annually for the support of the school at Ballintubber, barony of Ballyadams.

<sup>87</sup> Lord Stanhope is an absentee (rental £1,000).

<sup>88</sup> "Donmore, the fine seat of Sir Robert Staples, Bart., is situate in the cantred of Clarmallagh; this is only farmed by Sir Robert in perpetuity, his estates lying in the North of Ireland. Here above seventy Irish acres have been planted, the lands are very beautifully laid down, and highly ornamented with judicious improvements. The demesne is capitally enclosed with an excellent stone wall, but the mansion house is very old." p. 90.

<sup>89</sup> "There is a colliery at Tolerton on the estate of J. Stapleton, which he works himself." p. 188.

<sup>90</sup> "At Moyne in Clarmallagh, the seat of Robert Stubber, Esq., the mansion house is very old, but he has lately erected a range of very fine offices. The plantations here are also very good heart and very extensive. Coolfin demesne is remarkable also for very choice and very old timber, and is also the property and in the occupation of Mr. Stubber." p. 90-91.

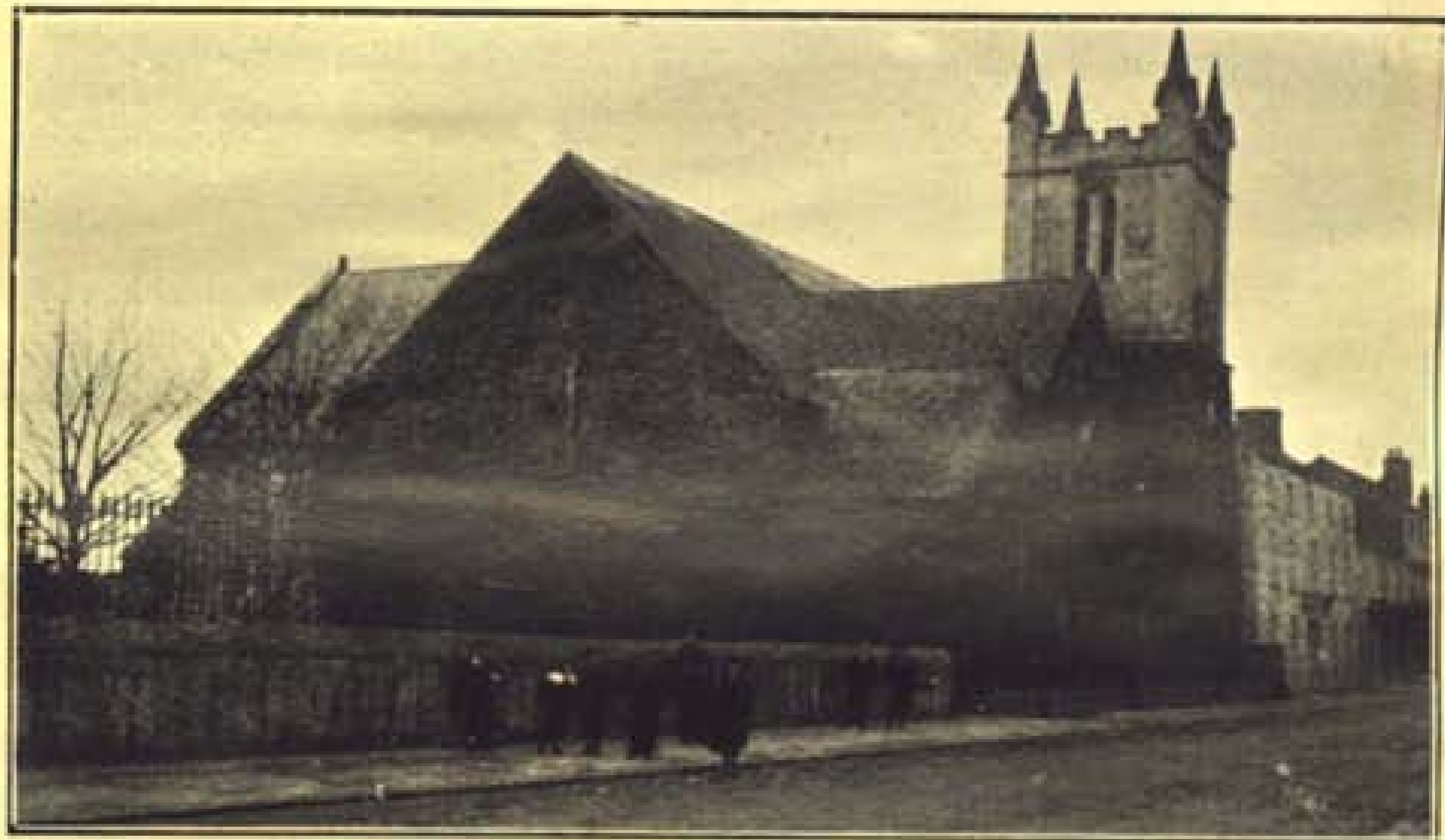
<sup>91</sup> "About three miles from Portarlinton and on the road to Jamestown, in a situation somewhat elevated on the eastern declivity of Windmill hill is Mount Henry, the seat of Henry Smyth, Esq. The house is built in a tasteful and elegant style, and commands a rich and picturesque view. The lawn is laid out to great advantage, and when the plantations come to maturity it must look delightful. The ground, not naturally rich, has yielded to cultivation, and is become productive." Parochial Survey by W. Shaw Mason. Vol. I., p. 525.

<sup>92</sup> "The demesne of Heywood deserves particular attention. Except in the irregularity of ground, this charming spot had very few natural advantages to recommend it to even the most experienced and judicious taste, which Mr. Trench, the proprietor, must be acknowledged most eminently to possess. Nature has been so truly copied by him, that in none of the numerous elegant improvements is seen anything of artificial appearance." Coote, p. 96.

<sup>93</sup> "Lamberton, in the barony of Maryboro', is the seat of Sir John Tydd, Bart. The house has a commanding aspect, and takes in all the prospect of the Dysart hills, and the rock of Dunamase. The entrance to the demesne is elegant, the offices are planned with greater convenience than I have seen before, and the gardens and shrubbery are certainly in as good style as any in the country, the hot houses and fruiteries are in uncommon taste and elegance. I think Lamberton is altogether the neatest and best laid down demesne in the county." p. 97-98.



**EMO PARK**  
**[Lord Portarlington].**  
 Vol. II, p. 627.



**FRENCH CHURCH,**  
**PORTARLINGTON.**  
 Vol. I., p. 284.

**PORTARLINGTON SCHOOL.**  
 Vol. I., p. 285.









Waller, —, Esq.  
 Walshe, Reverend Dean.<sup>94</sup>  
 Warburton, Colonel.<sup>95</sup>  
 Ward, Charles, Esq.<sup>96</sup>

Weldon, Colonel.<sup>97</sup>  
 Westerna, —, Esq.  
 White, Charles, Esq.  
 Wise, —, Esq.

## CHAPTER XXXII.—THE 19TH CENTURY, 1800-1830.

THE period covered by this chapter was a period of unrest and disturbance. Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. for Queen's County, referring to it in 1823 in the House of Commons, on a motion introduced by him to appoint a committee to inquire into recent disturbances (as an alternative to the Government proposal to renew the Insurrection Act), recounted how the period since the Union had been filled with Coercion Bills and Insurrection Acts. The Insurrection Act of 1796 had been prolonged to 1802. From 1803 to 1805 there had been martial law. The Insurrection Act had been renewed for three years in 1807, again for four years in 1814, and again in 1822. Moreover in many of those years the Habeas Corpus Act had also been suspended. The Arms Act of 1807, and the Peace Preservation Act of 1814 had remained in force since their enactment; and only four years (1802-3, 1805-6, 1810-11, 1818-19) could be described as tranquil. His motion, however, was supported by only 39 votes, and the Government motion was triumphantly carried. The people, until O'Connell taught them otherwise, could not believe in the possibility of obtaining constitutional redress of their grievances. They placed their hopes in the action of secret societies, such as the Whiteboys, Whitefeet, and others; and murders, abductions, and robberies were the order of the day. The influence and insolence of the Orange Society tended greatly to the promotion of strife and disorder. "Although the Acts against administering secret oaths especially apply to the oaths of Orangemen, no Orangeman was ever prosecuted by the Crown under these laws. . . . It would be easy to accumulate examples of Orange outrages at this time in

<sup>94</sup> "The Rev. Dean Walsh is very exact and nice in his tillage, and his demesne is as capitally farmed as any I have seen. The extensive avenues, the lake, and the ornamental part of Ballykilcavan are not modern, but the gardens are very fine and contain above ten acres, inclosed with the best wall in Ireland, as indeed is the whole demesne, consisting of three hundred acres; one-third of the demesne is planted with fine full timber, and the plantation on the hills over the Gothic tower forms a very picturesque scene, and gives a considerable woody appearance to the whole country. To these extensive groves the Dean has lately added an oak plantation of ten acres." p. 158.

<sup>95</sup> "Garryhinch, the fine seat of Colonel Warburton is situate on the borders of this and the King's County; 'tis disputed

in which county the house stands, as the course of the river Barrow (which is the boundary) has been changed, and consequently the house is not now on the same side it formerly was." p. 138. Richard Warburton of Garryhinch is an absentee (rental £1,000).

<sup>96</sup> "Charles Ward, of Hollymount in Slievemargy, has some young screens getting up rapidly, and he will doubtless increase them to adorn a demesne capable of great improvement." p. 187.

<sup>97</sup> "In the barony of Ballyadams, Judge Kelly of Kellyville, and Steward Weldon, Esq., of Kilmerony, are the only resident proprietors. There was a considerable cotton mill on the Barrow at Kilmeroney, but it has declined within these five years, and is not now worked." See note 22. p. 128.



many parts of the country. . . . At Mountrath the annual return of the Orange festival in July, 1808, had been disgraced by the murder of the Rev. Fr. Duane, the Catholic Administrator of that parish; and it was followed up in the succeeding year by the no less barbarous murder of a Catholic named Kavanagh, into whose house the armed yeomen rushed, and fractured his skull, in the presence of his wife and four infant children. . . . None of the persons guilty of these outrages were ever punished, or even questioned."<sup>1</sup>

Mountrath would seem to have been a special stronghold of Orangeism at this period. Each recurring 12th of July witnessed scenes similar to those depicted in the following account of 1811<sup>2</sup>:—"We feel we cannot well determine whether to feel more shame or indignation, more astonishment or concern, at accounts which have reached us, of undoubted authority, and on the truth and accuracy of which our readers may implicitly rely, of the disgraceful and outrageous proceedings of certain of the lower classes of the Protestant inhabitants of Mountrath on the celebration of Friday last, the twelfth of July. From a very early hour that morning up to three or four o'clock of the following one the town presented a continued and uninterrupted scene of riot and confusion, of outrages the most unprovoked, and of insults the most galling on the persons and feelings of the unfortunate and unoffending Catholics of the town. Not satisfied with the parade of processions, which they mean and which Catholics feel as the annual triumph over their degradation, with playing the tunes of the day, which are musick in their ears only because they are discord in others, the lawless rabble, finding the patience of the Catholics proof against all this, fired shots not only into the windows of the peaceable Catholics, but under and across the faces of all those who dared to appear in the streets, of the Parish Priest in particular, and every possible use of guns, blunderbusses, and pistols, short of firing ball cartridge, to the insult and annoyance of the objects of their violence. Nay, such complete hold had this diabolical spirit of the Protestant mind on this unfortunate occasion that it is a fact most true, tho' most incredible, and which recalls to our mind some of the worst acts of the worst times of the French Revolution, that a young unmarried woman, of decent connexions and situation in life, so far threw off the character of her age and sex as to fire a pistol designedly and directly in the face of the Catholic Clergyman of the parish, who had never offended a single inhabitant of it, unless a conscientious discharge of his duties and strict and exemplary moral conduct in every relation of life be an offence! Such was the impression made, and such the feelings excited by the occurrences of the day, and such the dangers threatening the Catholics on the approach of night, that they felt themselves not in security to retire to rest until four o'clock the following morning!"

The following from the *Freeman* of 17th July, 1812, enables us to understand the general character of these Orange celebrations:—

#### THE TWELFTH OF JULY.

"Friday last, being the anniversary, old style, of the far-famed Battle of the Boyne—that is, it was the anniversary of the day on

<sup>1</sup> See Mitchel's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> See *Freeman's Journal*, July 16th, 1811.



which the Prince of Orange, after infracting the simplest obligations of kindred, outraging the commonest duties of good faith, and committing a kind of political parricide in usurping the throne of his father-in-law and sending him begging about the world—gained a glorious victory over a band of Irishmen, with more than double their number of veteran troops, and consigned Catholics to slavery! On the evening of Thursday there was a greater number of street vagrants, shoe-boys, sweep-chimneys, etc., etc., perceived in College Green than was usual on similar occasions. As the last shadows of retiring day were departing they appeared to encrease in number, bustle, and intoxication, and just as the faithful clock announced the *entré* of the sacred morn a shout wafted the tidings from street to street, the bells pealed out their reverential greetings, pans, gridirons, and broken pots joined in chorus, and the lazy inhabitants, who were undutifully paying their devotion to Morpheus after the fatigues of the day, were roused from their slumbers and severely rebuked for their rebel drowsiness. As Aurora walked in, the statue in College Green appeared to vie with her in magnificence. Her mantle was outstripped in brilliancy by that which decorated the graceful shoulders of the brazen King William, and the imagination of Ovid had given no idea of the steeds of Phaeton that bore any comparison to the dazzling splendour of the august Prince's *Bucephalus*. The rabble that got a week's pay to carouse during the night had not, however, entirely fulfilled their duty; they were not, as was intended, seen frantic about the statue, in imitation of the Indian savages about their golden calf, and not a creature was seen to stop near the mummary but little children, who were diverted with the toy. The day passed on with very culpable sobriety. It was also much to be lamented that the day rained (which at this season is a novelty), and that the finery of the King was so much injured that so early as seven in the evening some persons were dispatched to take it in triumph up Dame Street and by the Castle to some Orange Tabernacle—which they religiously executed, to the terror of all beholders, with the necessary gesticulations and disorder of a banditti! So commenced, and so ended, the commemoration of the 12th of July in the city of Dublin, under the eye of the Executive. Yes, Irishmen! "Good men can hardly believe the fact—wise men are unable to account for it—religious men find exercise for their faith, and make it the last effort of their piety not to repine against Providence."

The flourishing town of Mountmellick was a fiery hotbed of Protestant bigotry. Here the Orangemen, not content with their annual provocative parade of ascendancy, had erected a monument to commemorate a victory gained in 1798 over the misguided peasantry by a band of yeomen under Mr. Wellesley Pole (afterwards elevated to the peerage as Lord Maryborough). The monument took the form, we are told, "of a tin plate on top of an Orange pole in the main street, and was bedecked on one side with an equestrian figure of William III., and on the other with the letters G.R." Catholics who failed in due homage to this symbol of Ascendancy, especially on the greater Orange festivals, were subjected to treatment similar to that meted out at the present day to their co-religionists in Belfast. At length the Very Rev. A. Duane, P.P., V.G., with the assistance of an influential Protestant local brewer named Kenny, succeeded, by an appeal to the County Magistrates assembled at Quarter Sessions in



Maryborough in 1824, in having the obnoxious pole removed. The whirligig of time has brought revenge. The former Orange lodge of Mountrath is now part of the Convent; and Mountmellick boasts of a splendid limestone Celtic cross erected in memory of the men of '98.

The absence of a regularly constituted police force contributed also to the prevalence of disorder. The Act of Parliament for the government of the Constabulary dates from May, 1824. Whether the county militia made for the preservation of peace in the county we cannot say. The only item of information we have obtained regarding them is the following:—

On July 13th, 1809, the officers of the Queen's Co. Militia made affidavit as to the amount of property possessed by them:—

"I certify that I have an estate of the yearly value of £2,000 in the barony of Maryboro West, Queen's Co.—Lord H. S. Moore Castlecoote, Col.

"I certify that I have freehold property value of £300 in the lands of Sheffield, Queen's Co.—M. Cassan, Major.

"I certify that I have property of the yearly value of £300 in the Queen's Co.—J. French, Major.

"I certify that I have property of the yearly value of £200 in the barony of Ballyadams, Queen's Co.—W. Grace, Capt.

"Do. in the Queen's Co. and Co. Kildare.—E. Kelly, Capt.

"Do. in the barony of Slievemargy, Queen's Co.—W. Fitzmaurice, Capt.

"Do. in the barony of Slievemargy, Queen's Co.—Harman Fitzmaurice, Capt.

"Do.—John Hovendon, Capt.

"Do. in the barony of Ossory, heir to a freehold property of the yearly value of £400.—W. White, Capt."

That offenders when convicted were severely, not to say, barbarously, punished is certain. Thus amongst the Assize Records we come annually on cases such as the following:—1789. Patt Walshe to be burned in the hand for stealing 5s. 6d. worth of goods at Maryborough. Mary Byrne, same punishment for stealing 5s. 10d. worth at Ballinakill. Timothy Byrne to be hanged for stealing 10s. worth at Mountrath. 1790. James Dalton to be whipped through Billinakill for stealing 3s. 3d. worth. 1791. Patt Murphy to be hanged for taking from the person of William Finelay one pair of breeches value 2s., one pair of shoes with buckles, value 5s., and 8½d. in cash. 1800. Sentenced to death for burglary:—Tim Dunne, also Michl. Kavanagh for stealing a watch from Rev. Charles Eustace at Crannagh. 1803. John Lewes to be burned in the hand for stealing 5s. worth of hay. Ann Moran, for stealing £2 17s. od., to be burned in the hand, and imprisoned for six months.

How lamentably these punishments failed of their intended effect is evidenced by the increase rather than diminution of crime in the county. Thus in 1813 nine persons were sentenced to death, and one to transportation. In 1814 seven are to be hanged, and two transported. In 1817 six are to be hanged, and five transported. In 1822, twenty-two are transported. In 1827, six are to be hanged—one to be dissected in the County Infirmary (which had been established in 1806), and twenty-one criminals, and two vagrants, are to be transported.



It is to this period of violence that the interest felt in, and the sympathy extended to, highway robbers in the Queen's County may be referred. The robberies, and exploits, of "Captain Grant" were especially famous. Jeremiah Grant, a native of Tipperary, had for years, along with a man named Carrol Whelan and other confederates, perpetrated numerous and daring robberies in various parts of the Queen's County. Ultimately Grant and Whelan were apprehended and lodged in Maryborough Jail. There, in conjunction with other delinquents, they contrived to elude the vigilance of the governor, Mr. John Clerke, and, overpowering the guard, they all escaped under cover of darkness through the town, Grant bringing up the rear, and vociferating, "Stop the pickpocket, stop the thief!" when the alarm was given, and the townspeople hurrying in pursuit. The principal haunt of Grant and Whelan was in the neighbourhood of Ballynakill. Occasionally they moved into the Counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, for concealment. Among others, they robbed the house of Captain Stubber, of Moyne, and that of Mr. Horan, near Maryborough. At length, on the 24th of June, 1816, they were apprehended by a party of soldiers in the wood of Killoughran, County Wexford. They were conducted to Maryborough Jail, after a short confinement in Wexford. They were heavily manacled and strictly guarded until the Assizes of Maryborough the following August. On the 6th they, with Michael Fanning,<sup>3</sup> were tried before Judge Norbury for the robbery of Captain William Stubber's house. They were all found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. On the 16th of August, 1816, the execution took place in front of the old jail of Maryborough, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, who had assembled from all parts of the surrounding country. The unfortunate Michael Fanning was not engaged in the robbery of Mr. Stubber's house, but because some of the stolen property was found in his possession, he suffered the same punishment as Grant<sup>4</sup> and Whelan.

Another execution long remembered in the county was that of Denis Moylan, who was the first to be hanged at the new jail. Moylan, by trade a carpenter, lived at Cappanrush, about three miles from Maryborough. He had had some trifling differences about trespass on cabbage plants, with a neighbour named Gibson—a Scotchman. Sometime afterwards, Gibson's house was broken into by night, and a gun carried away. No further outrage had been perpetrated by the robbers; however, according to the barbarous laws of that period, this

<sup>3</sup> He was a small farmer, who lived near Ballynakill. He took no part in the actual robbery, as was testified by his fellow-sufferer, Captain Grant, standing beside him on the scaffold. However, some of the stolen plate of Captain Stubber was found in his house; but one of his relatives, whom the writer personally knew, stated that Fanning had no knowledge of how it came there, nor had he any participation in the robbery.

<sup>4</sup> After his condemnation and a few days before his execution, Grant gave a circumstantial detail of his life and extraordinary adventures to a young gentleman who waited on him in prison.

This was afterwards published as "A Biographical Sketch of the Adventures of Jeremiah Grant, commonly called Captain Grant; who was tried, found guilty, and executed at the Summer Assizes, 1816, held at Maryborough, in the Queen's County, with a faithful Report of his Trial, and Conduct at the place of Execution." Dublin: printed by A. O'Neil, at the Minerva Printing-office, 17 Chancery-lane; and Sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom. 8vo., pp. 1 to 137. This Life was a favourite book, especially with the Queen's County people, long afterwards, and it passed through numerous editions.



housebreaking was regarded as a felony, and capital punishment was the penalty decreed against the offenders.

The Scotchman swore informations against Moylan, and he was committed to stand his trial at the following Assizes. He was indicted for the capital offence under the Whiteboy Acts, as one of the armed midnight party. A short time before the Assizes, the man who headed the party and actually took the gun, went to the Rev. Christopher Doyle, then administrator of Ballyfin. He said to Father Doyle that, rather than an innocent man should suffer, he was ready to surrender himself and plead guilty. Fully persuaded of Moylan's innocence, Father Doyle believed that no jury would convict upon the evidence that would be brought against him. The priest advised his parishioner to await the result of the trial. He said that the guilty man need not expose himself to the penalty of certain death, unless it were otherwise impossible to save the life of an innocent man. Father Doyle's amazement may be imagined when Moylan was found guilty, and sentenced to death.

The priests did all in their power to procure reprieve or pardon—representing to the Lord Lieutenant that the evidence against Moylan amounted to nothing more than a case of mistaken identity. They also urged, that the man who actually committed the offence, and who closely resembled Moylan, was ready to surrender, and plead guilty. All representations and proofs offered were of no avail. To the horror of the community, Moylan was executed.

Turning aside from the welter of social and religious warfare, we proceed to set down some items of a more agreeable kind that lie scattered through the pages of the contemporary Public Records of the County. Of these the most important are the Presentments for roads, bridges, and public works generally. In this direction, notwithstanding the calamities of the times, steady progress continued to be made, as the following extracts go to prove:—

1801. Presentments for £24 off Clandonagh to make 30 perches of new road from Birr to Kilkenny at Kilmarten, between the Nore and the turnpike road; also £98 16s. 0d. off Stradbally to make 152 perches of new road from Portarlinton to Castlecomer near Dysart.

1802. Presentments for £35 11s. 0d. to make 79 perches of new road from Maryborough to Carlow between Coolheney and Stainey. Also £97 3s. 6d. off Portnahinch to make 169 perches of road from Monasterevan to Stradbally. Also £20 7s. 0d. to open the bed of the river Delour at the great bridge at Annatrim; and £47 2s. 0d. to make 112 perches of new road between the river Nore and the turnpike road on the lands of Ballintyret.

1803. Ordered that 108 perches of old road from Aghaboe to Ballyroan be closed, between Clashakenne and Sam White's house, as the new road lately opened serves all purposes.

1804. Prest. of £30 18s. to make 206 p. of new road between the big bridge of Annatrim and the gate at Larch Hill.

1805. Prest. of £50 13s. 6d. off Maryboro' E. to fence the road from Stradbally to Maryboro', between the cross roads of Ballymackin and the bounds of Dysart.

1806. £163 10s. 6d. off Maryboro' E. to make part of the new road from Maryboro' to Stradbally, between John Grey's house and the old road on the land of Ballymacken. £84 off Cullenagh to make



168 p. of new road between Colt and Ballyroan. £115 off Cullenagh to make 140 p. of new road between Maryboro' and Timahoe. £184 1s. 8d. off Cullenagh to make 248 p. of new road from Ballyroan to the Collieries, between Blandsford and Clonbaricum.

1807. £10 19s. off Maryboro' E. to make 148 p. of fence on the new road from Maryboro' to Stradbally. £45 off Stradbally to make fences on the road from Stradbally to Durrow.

1808. £45 6s. 8d. off Cullenagh to make 605½ p. of fence on the road from Durrow to Maryboro'. £19 4s. to ditch 256 p. of the road from Stradbally to Maryboro'. £45 off Stradbally to ditch the new road from the town of Stradbally to the old mill on the Durrow road. A fine of £50 off Disart Galen for a private still is also recorded.

1809. £42 off Maryboro' E. to ditch 260 p. of the new road from Portarlinton to Mountrath. £19 4s. to ditch 256 p. of the new road from Maryboro' to Stradbally. Three fines for unlicensed stills to be levied off the parishes of Ballyroan, Rathdowney, and Clonenagh.

1810. £56 off Stradbally to ditch 450 p. of the new road from Stradbally to Maryboro'.

1811. £91 off Slievemargy to make the new cut for the river at Killeshin. £48 18s. off Maryboro' E. to ditch 652 p. of the road from Stradbally to Mountmellick, between Eyne and Coolbanagher. £9 11s. 6d. to make 10½ p. of new road from Carlow to Newtown collieries. £20 off Cullenagh to ditch 300 p. of the road from Abbey-leix to Rathdowney. £56 off Portnahinch to make 70 p. of road between Kileen and Eyne. £86 10s. 0d. off Maryboro' E. to make 108 p. of new road between Eyne and Portnahinch.

1812. £48 1s. 6d. off Clarmallagh to make 641 p. of drains for the new road from Abbeyleix to Rathdowney; also £53 17s. to make 2,342 p. of fence for the new road between the collieries at Doonane and Abbeyleix. £12 6s. off Portnahinch to ditch 168 p. between Shean and Coolbanagher. £193 4s. off Slievemargy to make 322 p. of new road between Doonane and Slatt. £5 13s. 0d. off Upperwoods to make 17½ p. of new road between Clonboe and Mondrehid. £23 15s. off Maryboro' E. to make 38 p. of new road from Stradbally to Mountmellick, between Aughnahilly and Ballycarroll, on the road from Stradbally to Mountmellick.

1813. £643 3s. off County at large to make new Mail-coach road from Stradbally to Athy. £411 5s. off County at large to make new Mail-coach road from Roscrea to Borris-in-Ossory. £200 off County to widen Graigue Bridge, Carlow (£300 had been already presented). £40 off Maryboro' E. to make 40 p. of new road from Maryboro' to Durrow. £159 12s. off Cullenagh to make 266 p. of new road from Carlow to Ballinakill, between Knockbawn and Boleybeg. £75 4s. off Clarmallagh to make 108 p. of new road between Rathdowney and Abbeyleix. £78 14s. off Upperwoods to make 188 p. of new road from Roscrea to Mountrath.

1814. £1,127 8s. 1d. to make the new Mail-coach road from Birr to Mountmellick, from the county bounds to Castlecuffe. £83 4s. off Cullenagh to make 208 p. of new road from Doonane to Abbeyleix, between Boleybeg and Ballypickas. £44 16s. off same barony to make 56 p. of same road between Knockbawn and Slatt. £64 13s. 6d. off Cullenagh to make 199 p. of new road from Rathdowney to Abbey-



leix, between the wood of Knapton and the Mountrath road. £14 10s. off Cullenagh for the new road from Carlow to Abbeyleix, between Derryfore and Thornberry. £67 13s. off Clarmallagh to make 181 p. of new road between Rathdowney and Oldglass. Another item is "£100 off the County at large to John Maher for convicting Nicholas Clohessy under the Whiteboy Act."

1815. £124 off County at large to make 458 p. of new road from Roscrea to Berry. £61 4s. off Clarmallagh to ditch 816 p. of the new road from Abbeyleix to Johnstown, near Ballycolla. £500 off County at large to build a bridge over the Barrow at Tankardstown to contain 1,900 p. of masonry. £55 3s. 4d. off County at large to improve the approach to Graigue Bridge. £28 off Cullenagh to make 140 p. of new road between Abbeyleix chapel and Knapton. £101 off County at large to improve the road to Graigue Bridge. £7 3s. 6d. to widen 41 p. of the road between Timahoe and Ballyragget.

1816. £46 13s. off Cullenagh to repair 131 p. of the road from Doonane to Abbeyleix, at Rosebrook.

1817. £59 10s. off Clarmallagh to make 170 p. of new road between Urlingford and Abbeyleix, near Erkina river. £99 15s. 6d. off Cullenagh to ditch 1,267 p. of road from Athy to Ballinakill, near Timahoe.

1818. Presentments.—£25 off Maryboro' W. to make 50 p. of new road from Mountrath to Mountmellick, near Blackwater Bridge. £8 15s. to widen 7 p. in Mountmellick, between the main street and the church gate. £17 15s. off Clarmallagh to make 70 p. of new road near the river Erkina.

1819. £19 10s. to build protecting wall to Graigue Bridge, Carlow.

1820. Prests., 331 p. of new road from Roscrea to Kilkenny, between the cross roads of Derrin and Keelough Bridge (off Upperwoods). £14 14s. off Portnahinch to widen 24½ p. of road from main street, Portarlinton, and Mr. Stannus' field gate. 290 p. of new road from Abbeyleix to Cashel, between Aughmacart and county bounds.

1821. Prests., 119 p. of new road from Borris-in-Ossory to Ballinakill between Ballycleary and Kilbrickan Bridge. 216 p. of road from Borris-in-Ossory to Mountmellick, between Kyle church and Ballaghmore. 97 p. of new road between Carlow and Kilkenny, at Clogrennan. 1,153 p. of new road between Leighlin Bridge and Abbeyleix, near Newtown colliery. £50 off County for Ballinakill dispensary. £80 off County for Mountmellick dispensary, a like sum to be raised by subscribers. £100 off County for Clonaslee dispensary, a like sum to be raised by subscribers.

1822. £97 10s. off Clarmallagh for 26 p. of new road between Derrin and Keelough Bridge.

1823. £13 15s. 11d. off Portnahinch for 30½ p. of new road between Portarlinton and Athy, near Courtwood.

1824. Pres.—County jail to be removed from south side of Main Street to Annefield, opposite County Infirmary, Maryboro'. £10 3s. 9d. to widen 21 p. of road from Abbeyleix to Birr, between Old Borris and Cranagh.

1827. £34 11s. 11d. off Maryboro' W. for 118 p. of new road from Mountrath to Abbeyleix, near Roskelton Church and Doone Bridge. 201 p. of new road from Graigue Bridge to the turnpike at Tolerton, off Slievemargy. 105½ p. of new road at Knockseara. 704½ p. of new







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road off Upperwoods, from Rathdowney to Mountrath, between Clarmallagh and Moorfield.

1828. Prests., 83 p. of new road, off Clondonagh, from Templemore to Mountrath, between Grange and the ponds. 215 p. of new road from Roscrea to Donaghmore, between Skirke and Ballyquade. 43½ p. of new road, off Portnahinch, from Portarlinton to Maryboro', at Derrydavy Hill. 461 p. of new road, off Stradbally and Ballyadams, from Carlow to Stradbally, between Barony bounds and Cranagh. 79 p. of new road, off Slievemargy, from Carlow to Castlecomer, between Ashfield and Oldleigh. 158 p. of new road, off Clandonagh, from Urlingford to Frankford, between Kilmartin and Ballaghmore.

1829. Prests., 231 p. of new road, off Clandonagh, from Rathdowney to Mountrath, between Coolfin and Coneyboro. 215 p. of new road, off Maryboro' W., from Mountrath to Ballyroan, between Roskelton and Tarbert ford.

1830. Prests., 718 p. of new road, off Ballyadams, from Carlow to Stradbally, at Corbally. 388 p. of new road, off Clarmallagh, from Durrow to Abbeyleix, between Watercastle and Castlewood. £55 5s. 5d. to make 149 p. of new road at Maryboro' on the Monaster-evan road.

The Parliamentary elections of this period call for little notice. The borough of Portarlinton was represented by nominees of Lord Portarlinton. The county had for members Mr. Wellesley Pole (who became Chief Secretary in 1810, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1811, and Baron Maryborough in 1821, when he was succeeded in the representation of the County by Sir Charles Coote); and Sir Henry Parnell, whose Parliamentary connection with the County continued unbroken from 1802 to 1832, when he was succeeded by Mr. Patrick Lalor of Tenakill.

In the "Memoirs of the family of Grace" (p. 89) the Parliamentary election of 1818 is alluded to as follows:—"The following paragraph appeared in the *Dublin Journal* newspaper of the 17th of June, 1818, among others of a similar nature, on the general election that took place in that year:—'*Queen's County*.—The representation of few counties has been more warmly contested than this has formerly been; and if zeal and exertion could ensure success, the three candidates on the present occasion ought in fairness to divide the prize. The majority of the great landed proprietors are undoubtedly in favour of Sir Henry Parnell and Mr. Wellesley Pole; but Sir Charles Coote possesses, perhaps, the most considerable personal interest, as well as the most considerable estate of any individual gentleman in the county. It is conjectured that Lords Lansdown, Upper Ossory, and De Vesci will support Sir H. Parnell singly; and that Lords Buckingham, Stanhope, and Portarlinton, Sirs R. Staples, W. Grace, A. Walsh, and G. Piggott, Messrs. Warburton, Cosby, Piggott, Grattan, Cooper, and Trench will support Sir H. Parnell and Mr. Pole jointly. Lords Drogheda, Rossmore, and Castle-Coote, General Dunne, Sir W. Hart, and Messrs. Weldon, Smith, and Moore, are reckoned among Sir C. Coote's friends, who likewise possess a larger portion of the secondary interests of the county than perhaps either of the other two candidates. The memorable contest for this county in the year 1795 in which the late Sir John Parnell, Colonel Warburton, Mr. Grace, and



the present Lord Castlecoote were candidates could scarcely have been more distinguished for zeal and exertion than the present is likely to be. Since that period no third candidate has offered himself. The strong contest that was expected in 1801 between Sir J. Parnell, Mr. W. Pole, and Mr. Grace, was prevented by the premature and lamented death of the latter gentleman, a short time previous to the election." In the result the two sitting members were again returned in 1818; and Sir Charles Coote's ambition of Parliamentary honours did not become gratified until 1821.

The unsatisfactory state of the barony of Upper Ossory about this time, led the magistrates to petition the Lord Lieutenant to have that barony placed under the operation of the Peace Preservation Bill.

"The memorial of the Magistrates of the Queen's County to the Lord Lieutenant, 14th May, 1821.

"To His Excell. Chas. Chetwind Earl Talbot.

"The Memorial sheweth that the barony of Upper Ossory in said County, and adjoining the Co. Kilkenny, is in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, contributions being levied on respectable farmers, several threatening notices having been served, persons appearing in arms in the open day, and other outrages of a daring nature having been committed therein. We, therefore the undersigned magistrates of the said county, humbly request that Your Excellency may be pleased to place under the operation of the peace preservation Bill the barony of Upper Ossory, in said County

"DE VESCI, *Chairman.*"

In a Parliamentary Blue Book published on the 21st May, 1824, and containing the "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the Nature and Extent of the Disturbances which have prevailed in those Districts of Ireland now subject to the Provisions of the Insurrection Act," we find some interesting particulars regarding the then condition of the Queen's County.

John Dunn, Esq., Ballinakill, gave the following evidence:—

Has any Part of Queen's County been disturbed?—The Barony of Ossory, adjoining that of Gallmoy in the County of Kilkenny; some Atrocities have been committed there.

Have you ever had Reason to apprehend any Disturbance taking place in your Neighbourhood?—Yes; from those Atrocities being committed, Apprehensions were entertained of Disturbance.

Can you state what the Nature of those Atrocities was, and the Causes of them?—Yes; a House in which some Cattle were lodged was burnt, and they were consumed; a Man was murdered, and I believe the Murder can be traced to some local Causes, unconnected altogether with political Matters.

Had no Application ever been made for proclaiming in Part of Queen's County, within your Knowledge?—There was an Application made, and some Discussion of the Magistrates respecting the Barony of Ossory; but they thought it prudent not to apply for the Proclamation of it.



Are you particularly acquainted with the State of any Part of the Country which has been disturbed, or under the Insurrection Act?—I am particularly acquainted with that Part of Kilkenny now under Proclamation, adjoining the Queen's County; and I am not aware that any Disturbance has taken place in it, though it is under the Operation of the Insurrection Act.

Can you state on what Ground it was, that the Insurrection Act was applied for, as far as respects that Barony, and the Circumstances attending it?—I understood that some few Trees, some Two or Three, had been felled in the Domain of Lady Ormond; and I am not aware of any other Transaction at all that could justify any Application for such a Measure.

Can you state whether there exists generally, in the Parts of the Country with which you are acquainted, any Disaffection; and if there does, what are the Grounds of it?—There is very considerable Disaffection on the Score of the excessive Exaction of Tithes; that is a great cause of Disaffection in the County; and the heavy local Burthens that fall exclusively on the Occupiers of the Land.

When you speak of excessive Exaction of the Tithes, do you mean that the Clergyman exacts more than the Value of One-tenth of the Produce?—I do; in such Cases where the Clergyman lets his Tithes away to a Tithe Farmer, I believe a greater Proportion than One-tenth of the Produce is exacted by the Farmer or Tithe Proctor.

Will you have the Goodness to state, how it is you conceive that more than One-tenth of the Produce can be exacted under the Law, as it now stands?—When the Tithes are severed, if a Man calls upon the Proctor to remove his Part of them, he endeavours to evade it as much as possible; and if the Owner of the Land carries them away, he is then at the Proctor's Mercy; whatever he will swear was the Value, he is obliged to pay; he has no Criterion to go by. I can illustrate my Statement by what passed on my Hay Farm:—I applied to know what the Charge was for my Meadow Crop; the Proctor requested I should remove it, and that I should not be charged more than the Value; and on my declining doing so, and insisting that he should apprise me of the Amount of his intended Charge, he requested I should not make such a Demand, nor raise any stir in the country, but remove it. From my particular Feeling on the Occasion, I did do so, and I am sensible that I was made to pay much more than the Tenth of the Produce.

Your impression is, that a Tenth of the Produce is obtained; do you think the Clergyman receives the Whole of that Tenth, or that, from the Manner of sub-letting the Tithe, the Proctor and his Assistants make a Profit, and that the Clergyman does not get more than his Tenth?—I believe in general the Clergyman does not get more than his Tenth; but that the Proctors and Farmers are the Persons who oppress the People and receive the greater Sums.

Do the Persons through whose Hands the Tithe passes, previous to getting to the Clergyman, make that Profit upon the Bargain with the Clergyman?—They do; and it all comes from off the unfortunate Occupier of the Land.

Is that almost universal?—In every Part of the Country with which I am acquainted it is.

Do you conceive, in the Case you have referred to, the Proctor was justifiable by Law in refusing to inform you of the Value he set upon



your Tithe?—No, I conceive he was not; but the Proctor put the thing to me in this Kind of way: “Sir, I pray you not to raise any Question of this Description in the Country; it may cause much Annoyance and Agitation;” and my Feeling of Desire to prevent anything of the Sort, induced me to submit to have my Hay removed; and then, when I had it off my Land, he made me pay more than a Tenth of the Produce.

Is there any Difference as to the Time at which the Tithe and the Rent are paid?—Yes; the Tithe is called for at a Period when Rents are not payable: the Rector of Abbeyleix, the Honourable and Reverend Arthur Vesie, calls in July or August, 1824, for the Tithes of 1823.

Is not the Rent exacted from the lowest Description of Tenant—the Cottier—sometimes much greater than he is able to pay?—I think it is, and much more than the Value of the Land, generally speaking.

Do you conceive that any Part of the Discontent of the Peasantry arises from the Operation of the Law, as it stands at present, between Landlord and Tenant?—I do not conceive that it does. If the Question is, whether the Power given to the Landlord to enforce Rent from the Tenant is the Cause of Discontent, I think the oppressive Conduct,—the Severity of the Middlemen to their immediate Tenants—is much Cause of Discontent to the People of the Country. The Severity with which the Middle-men in general enforce very heavy Rents, more than I conceive the Value of the Lands. I think it but just to observe, that I know some few Middle-men that are exceedingly careful of their People, and very humane and kind towards them, but they are but few.

Was it usual in your Part of the Country to have more than One Middle-man between the Head Landlord and the immediate Occupier?—There are many instances in my Part of the Country where the Subletting will go down to Five.

Does it happen to come to your Knowledge what is the Difference between the Rent which the Head Landlord receives, and the Rent which the actual Occupier pays?—Referring to Two or Three Years back, it would make a vast Difference from what is the Case at the present Moment; I dare say the immediate Occupier may in some Instances have paid Four-fold over at the Period first alluded to, in some instances, what the direct Tenant from the First Landlord paid; but at the present Period we have scarcely such a Thing as Middlemen, they are all wiped away. From the great Reduction in Value of agricultural Produce, the immediate Occupier being unable to pay the Middle-man, that Individual having little other Property but what he derived from his Tenantry, became unable to make good his Engagements; hence that Class of Tenantry have, generally speaking, been all turned out.

Was it the Practice of the last Middle-man, who let immediately to the Occupier, to take Part of the Payment of his Rent in Labour?—Generally speaking the greater Part of the Rent was paid in Labour.

Is not a Benefit derived by the immediate Occupier from his nominal Rent being, in some Degree, diminished, by that Rent being partly exacted in Labour and partly in Money, instead of the Whole being exacted in Money?—I am prepared to say, that the present Occupier will find it much easier to pay £7 10s. of Rent, the greater proportion in Labour, to the great Proprietor, than to pay him £5 in



Money; I would not go the full length of saying £10 in Labour and Cash equally divided.

You say Non-residence is very much to be deplored; if an Estate is managed well, by a good Agent on the Spot, do you consider that it loses very much by the Proprietor not being there, supposing the Agent fulfils his Duties to the Tenantry?—I think no Agent can do any thing like the Presence of the Proprietor; but where there is a good Agent, much of the Loss of the Proprietor is removed; but we never can have sufficient Compensation for the Loss of the great Proprietor.

But where there is a good Agent, is not the Labour taken very often in Payment of Rent where there is no Residence?—I should take it, that the Portion of Labour where there is no Residence is very trifling to what there would be if there was a Residence; but where there is a Non-resident who occasionally visits his Estates, as is the Case of my Lord Lansdowne in our County, his Tenantry reap the greatest possible Advantage from his Visit; and he leaves them all, in a great Degree, contented and happy; he gets acquainted with them, and knows their Wants, and converses with them, and sees how they are; and they would reap immense Advantage from his occasionally visiting them.

It is your Opinion then, if every Irish Nobleman and Proprietor in Ireland followed the same System as my Lord Lansdowne does, the Tenantry would not derive great Disadvantage from Non-residence?—It is my Opinion, that if they were to follow the same Example, having such an Agent, and occasionally going among their Tenantry, a great Portion of the Evil we sustain from Non-residence would be removed.

Some of the Labouring Peasantry, Cottiers, set off their Labour against their Rent?—They do.

Which set of Labourers are most comfortable in those Cases?—Those who have Land. In my own Case, I am obliged to employ a considerable Number of Labourers more than have Gardens from me, and they are desirous of having Gardens on any Terms, to raise Provisions for the coming Year; and those who have Gardens are considerably better off than the others.

Where the Rent consists of the Whole of their yearly Labour, what Means have they of providing Clothing, or any Comfort for their Houses?—If they farm such a Tract as may enable them to rear a Pig or Two, and to sell a Part of the Produce, then something is coming in; but that rarely occurs; the Gardens seldom exceed a Couple of Acres, and that is barely sufficient for their Maintenance. They never can keep a Cow on Two Acres; that is little enough for the Maintenance of their Families.

What is the average Rent of Two Acres?—It is the Practice to put the Cottiers on the extreme Ends of the Farm, which is generally the worst Part of the Land; and, in truth, the worst Land is selected for them. The Rent may be something about Two Pounds the Acre.

What are the average Wages?—The highest Wages paid in the Queen's County to Labourers is Eightpence a day, when at work. Hence the Labourers may be considered as having from Four-pence to Five-pence a Day through the Year; there are so many bad Days, and so many Days they are not employed.



Do the Women work?—Whenever they can get Employment; they are the most anxious People in the World to get Labour.

In Cases where a Labourer has only a Garden, which does not produce Potatoes enough for the Subsistence of his Family, how does he procure the Means of supplying the Deficiency?—He generally rears a Pig; that is the Stay of the Irish Labourer; the Sale of his Pig supplies him with almost everything he looks for.

Then if it is by the Sale of the Pig that he is enabled to pay his Rent, how does he acquire the Money necessary to purchase the Quantity of Potatoes required for the Subsistence of his Family, beyond what his Garden will produce?—I take for granted there are other members of his family able to labour, if they can get Employment; but the want of Employment is felt every Day; and the greatest Wretchedness is felt in the Queen's County for want of Food. They traffic very much in Pigs; a poor Man will think very little of changing his Pig Half a Dozen Times in Twelve Months; and I have known them to make from Ten to Fifteen Shillings each Time; it is the only Article of Traffic they have, and they endeavour to get together a few Pounds by that Means. That is the only Source, in addition to their Labour, and the Labour of their Family, that I know them to be possessed of.

What is the Diet of such Persons?—Potatoes, generally speaking; very rarely, the Luxury of Butter-milk with them.

What has been the Effect of the System of Education introduced by Lord De Vesci in his Neighbourhood, among the Country People?—His Schools are very well attended by children of all religious Opinions; but whether that will continue or not, I am not prepared to say. Just as I left Ireland, I found that the Schoolmaster, who is considered a Methodist Preacher, was in the Practice of reading Portions of the Scriptures, and explaining them; and I know when such Practice was discovered it was objected to, and will not be acceded to on the Part of the Catholic Children.

Was it to the mere reading the Scriptures, or the explaining them, that the Objection lay?—Generally speaking, to the Scriptures being made a School Book of; but it would not at all be agreed upon, to allow a Methodist Schoolmaster, or Preacher, to read or explain the Scriptures, or any Portion of them to the Catholic Children.

Who is to make those Extracts of which Catholics would approve?—I believe the priests would cheerfully co-operate with the Gentlemen of the Establishment in making the Selection. Where I live we have Two Schools, One for Boys and One for Girls; and the religious Instruction of the Children is committed to the Parents and Pastors of both Flocks. Protestant and Catholic Children mix all together in the happiest way, and we never hear a Word on the Subject of Disunion; they are very happy and contented.

What is taught in those Schools, exclusive of religious Instruction?—From the earliest Age upwards, the Spelling Book; Scott's Elocution, Goldsmith's Greece and Rome, are Two Books I have recommended, and see constantly in use; I have endeavoured to exclude everything which would cause the least Disapprobation to any Party, and it has met Support by all Classes; Writing and Arithmetic are also taught.



Is there any moral instruction?—On Sundays, both in Church and in Chapel, the Catechism is taught the respective Children.

What Description of Boys go to this School?—They are of the humblest Walks in Life, some of the very poorest; some of the better Class come there, and are taught, paying a trifling Pittance; but the very lowest are taught there, and have Books found them, and without any Charge.

How long has this been established?—About Three Years.

How many Years does it require to go through an ordinary Course of Education in these Schools, before they are fit to turn out?—We get them in very early, and are very anxious to get them the moment they run about, to prevent their being idle, and to give them Employment from the earliest Period, to keep them from the Streets.

Is any Work taught in the Girls School?—Yes; they are taught useful Needle-work and Knitting.

What Number may there be in these Schools?—I think 80 in each, 160 in the Two.

Belonging to a Parish of what Population?—The Population is very dense. I should suppose the Population of Ballynakill cannot be less than Six or Seven thousand; but there are many other Schools in the Parish.

Have you, from your Dealings in Queen's County, any Knowledge of the Effect of the Insolvent Act on the Peasantry?—I am under the Impression, in common with a great many others, that it is a Source of great Perjury and Fraud, and not at all calculated to attain the Ends which the Legislature intended; the bad Man takes Advantage of it; and the good Man, for whom it was intended, is very often defeated.

Are the Vagrant Laws ever put in force in your County?—Sometimes; I have myself had a Vagrant presented at Maryborough, but I do not know of a Second Instance within the last Ten Years.

Have you any House of Correction or Industry in the Queen's County?—None at all; and we are in a wretched State for want of some such an Institution.

Do you think that if a Law were enacted by which Mendicancy could be restrained, and Vagrants kept in their own Parishes, it would be productive of good in your Part of the Country?—I am decidedly of Opinion, that if we had a very modified System (and it should be extremely modified in Ireland) of Poor Laws, that would go only to the Extent of preserving the worn-out and aged, it would be highly beneficial; it is greatly called for, and greatly wanted; under no Circumstances to a Man capable of Labour would I allow the least Benefit from such Institution.

Would you not consider it a great Advantage to keep Strangers out of the Parish?—It is one of the greatest Evils of Ireland, that Vagrants are permitted to go at large from one Part of the Country to another; I am satisfied that much Agitation is caused by those Vagrants going about, and carrying extraordinary Stories among the People.

Do you not think the Imposition of a legal Provision for the Poor would have the Effect of checking the Increase of Population?—I am sensible it would have a very beneficial Effect in that respect. It is extraordinary to see the Number of young Females going about the



Country; they get into Scenes of Prostitution, and throw upon the Country a great many Children.

Is it not now the Interest of every well-advised Proprietor of Land to check the Growth of Population, as far as it lies in his Power to do so?—I really do not know how I can answer that Question; if the Wealth of Nations consists in its Population, it would not, but in the wretched State of Ireland, with an overgrown Population, an Insufficiency of Labour, and no Means of Sustenance for them, it would be very desirable to check it.

The Question refers to the Increase of Population without the Means of Employment, and over and above the Quantity necessary for the Cultivation of the Land?—I am of Opinion, that if Ireland were cultivated, it is capable of maintaining a Population much greater than it has at present; but if the Population are to go on without Employment, I cannot see how Insurrections and every Kind of Disturbance and Annoyance can be checked, for Hunger will find its way one way or another.

May not an ill-advised Landlord conceive that by increasing the Population he increases the Competitors for his Land, and therefore may let it for a higher Rent?—I apprehend they have got quite rid of that Idea; I know it was a prevalent one some few Years back.

Do you think, in point of fact, that for want of a compulsory Provision for the Maintenance of the aged and infirm and the sick, any Individuals in Ireland actually perish from Want?—I am sure many do.

You know that Peasants, as well as the better sort of Farmers, are in the Habit of giving Contributions to those Persons?—I do not think they give them Contributions in Money, but they receive them into their Houses, and give them Food; I believe they scarcely ever refuse them Relief.

Do you think that if the Articles they give them were valued, they would come to a greater Amount than they would be called upon to pay towards the Relief of the Destitute in their Parish?—I do not think it would. I take it the Donation from a Family may not, in One Year, be more than One or Two or Three Shillings; it is generally in Kind, and generally Potatoes are cheap; they may give Half a Dozen or so, and the Value may not be a Farthing.

Are there a great many go through the Country claiming this Kind of Relief?—Yes; if they come when the Family Meal is dressed, they give a Part; if not, they give them some raw.

Does not a Beggar, on entering a Cabin, say, "God save all here;" and is he not replied to, by the Person in the Cabin, "God save you kindly; What do you want?"—Yes; or something of the Sort.

Do not you think the Farmers and Cottiers would be very happy to have those Vagrants stopped?—I believe they would; I know that the Farmers and better Kind of People constantly endeavour to stop them, but have not been able to do so.

The compulsory Relief proposed would extend only to the Inhabitants of the Place, whereas the Relief voluntarily given extends to those who come from whatever Place?—Yes; whenever they are applied to by anyone in Distress, they do not stop to enquire where the Object comes from; it is quite sufficient if the Object appears in want.





**BALLYFIN  
(Coote).**

Vol. II., p. 627.

*Photo by]*

*[McCarthy, Maryboro'.]*



**ABBEYLEIX  
(De Vesci).**

Vol. II., p. 626.



**BALLYKILCAVAN  
(Hunt Walsh).**

Vol. I., p. 335. Vol II.,  
pp. 629 777.







In the year 1828, political excitement ran high in Ireland. On the 8th of September, the Lord Lieutenant (Anglesey) wrote to Mr. Peel, that the threatening language of both opposing parties was violent in the extreme.<sup>5</sup> Added to this state of feeling, the peasantry felt aggrieved by social evils that affected their class, owing to high rents, increasing evictions, estate exactions, the levying of tithes, etc. Another element in popular discontent was the poverty and distress which prevailed among the masses, and for which no poor laws had been devised. As no general system of education had been established by law, few of the peasantry could read or write, while their ignorance of general causes and results affecting their condition left them a prey to designing emissaries, and unprincipled or factious fanatics. The secret societies of Whitefeet and Blackfeet were rampant, terrorism being employed to extend the organisation. The more respectable farming class held aloof from those combinations; but they feared to exercise any opposition, in word or act, to control or neutralise the disorders, which began to ensue, and to quell which they felt themselves utterly powerless. Besides this, vengeance was vowed against all informers, or others, who might venture to infringe the unwritten laws laid down by irresponsible and unknown persons.

Outrages and murders soon began to prevail generally, although police were stationed in various localities, to suppress and arrest the perpetrators. In some cases, midnight patrols were attacked; and even in the day-time, the police were driven for protection from fairs and markets to the shelter of their barracks. Many of the Whitefeet and Blackfeet were apprehended and brought before the magistrates. The old jail at Maryborough was filled with criminals, and it became necessary to lay the foundations of a new one outside the county town. In one instance, in a town, a vast mob collected on a fair day, and having chased the police into their station, collectors went round to the shopkeepers and other inhabitants and levied black-mail, for the purpose, as alleged, of feeing attorneys and counsellors to defend their incarcerated friends when brought up for trial at the approaching assizes.

This state of affairs gave great anxiety to those who sought by legal and constitutional means to redress the people's grievances; and especially, as the great measure of Catholic Emancipation was trembling in the balance, before both Houses of Parliament. So threatening and dark appeared the outlook, that the Most Revd. James Doyle, the celebrated Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, doubted the propriety of establishing a Liberal Club (as had been proposed) in the town of Maryborough; and he wrote to that effect from Carlow,<sup>6</sup> giving it as his opinion, that under the prevalence of so much hatred and violence, the projected club would not be advisable, lest it might create distrust and fear, sentiments which, as far as possible, were to be dispelled for the love of God, and for the welfare of our fellow-subjects and common country.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel."

<sup>6</sup> His letter is dated October 29th, 1828, and was addressed to the Very Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, P.F.

<sup>7</sup> The illustrious prelate ends his letter thus:—"I need not add that the political and social interests of the Catholics of

the Queen's County are in perfect conformity with the great first and last commandment of their Redeemer."—William J. Fitzpatrick's "Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin." vol. ii., chap. iv., pp. 91, 92.



Meanwhile, the secret societies of Whitefeet and Blackfeet were organised through some mysterious agency, and the county thrown into a state of great disorder. An unwritten law was dictated by the peasantry; houses were visited at night—but oftentimes by day—the owners being required to deliver up whatever firearms they possessed. Nor was it deemed safe to prosecute the transgressors, even when they could be identified.<sup>8</sup> It seems strange that so few of those local outrages have been chronicled in the Dublin newspapers of that period,<sup>9</sup> but had we access to the police records in the Castle, doubtless, the enumeration of the crimes committed would be a lengthy one. The following incidents, however, must suffice.

On the 2nd of October, 1829, the house of Langley Clayton, Esq., was attacked, and one John Baker was arrested. He was charged with the offence, at the ensuing Maryborough Assizes, held March 13th, convicted, and hanged.<sup>10</sup>

On the 4th of November, 1829, the house of a farmer, named Patrick Brennan, was attacked by two brothers, John and William Power, who assumed the *alias* name of Fingleton. They were accompanied by a gang, who demanded arms. However, they met with a resolute resistance, and were beaten off.<sup>11</sup>

On the 4th of February, 1830, no less than thirty-eight men assembled by previous appointment during a night selected, at the old castle of Ballyknockan, to attack a house on the road leading to Maryborough. Of their intention the police had timely notice through the instrumentality of one Hugh Beale, who afterwards turned approver. Accordingly, the chief of the Maryborough police and a number of his men lay in ambush behind the fences on either side of the bawn near the house. The moon showed particularly bright as the men approached; and no sooner had they entered the bawn, than a fusilade was opened on them from either side, when one young man fell dead, while others were seriously wounded. Finding their plans discovered, and themselves caught in a trap, the miscreants fled, hotly pursued by the police. Three of the number were captured: John Connor, William Delany, and Laurence Shortall. These were brought to trial at the ensuing Assizes in Maryborough. They were tried and found guilty. At the same Assizes, four men were tried and found guilty of having overpowered and disarmed the police in Ballyroan.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> While such proceedings were in progress, it was amusing to read a standing advertisement in the Dublin papers regarding the sale of the house and demesne of Aghavoe, situated in "a perfectly peaceable county."

<sup>9</sup> The stamp duties at that time seriously affected the circulation of newspapers; and it was customary in country districts for two, three, or more persons as subscribers to club together, and read a journal in rotation.

<sup>10</sup> The sentence was carried out on the 29th of the same month, in front of the old jail of Maryborough, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators. As was usual, the country ballad-singers at fairs,

markets, and public gatherings, sang lamentations for those who were executed. Such songs were the composition of rustic poets, and set to a doleful popular air, they were afterwards sung by the peasantry in the fields and around their cabin fires.

<sup>11</sup> They were subsequently arrested by the police (on information secretly conveyed by one of the party) and lodged in Maryborough Jail. On the 13th of March, 1830, when Lord Plunket opened the Queen's County Assizes, they were tried and found guilty.

<sup>12</sup> See the *Dublin Evening Post* of January 7th and 20th, 1830.



The Most Rev. Doctor Doyle was earnest in his denunciation of those foul outrages, and his efforts were zealously seconded by the Catholic clergy of the Queen's County, both from pulpit and platform. Their people were warned of the emissaries that enticed them to league with the secret societies, many of whom were suspected to be in close communication with the magistrates and police. The parish priest of Maryborough, Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, the Rev. James Delaney, P.P. of Ballynakill,<sup>13</sup> and the Rev. Cornelius Dowling, P.P. of Stradbally, were especially vigilant in trying to prevent seditious persons from disturbing fairs and markets in their respective parishes.

In their examination before the House of Commons Committee in 1828 Fathers O'Connor and Delaney gave the following evidence<sup>14</sup>:—

Rev. Nicholas O'Connor:—"The [Queen's] county was usually quiet up to a late period?—It was perhaps the most peaceable county in Ireland.

"At what time did the change take place?—About the year 1822. Having heard there were illegal societies in other parts of the kingdom, and from Maryborough being such a thoroughfare between Dublin and Limerick, and having eight fairs in the year, two assizes, and four quarter sessions, I considered that it was very difficult for Maryborough to escape being infected, from the constant intercourse it had with other parts of the kingdom; and as I thought that prevention was better than remedy, I determined to speak to my parishioners against illegal societies. I spoke against the illegal oaths, and the crime of perjury that was committed in taking them. In the year 1822, during the incumbency of Mr. Waller, the Protestant clergyman of the parish, I heard, from a private communication, that there were some persons made Ribbonmen in the parish. I consider Whitefeet, and Blackfeet, and Terry Alts, under whatever denomination they may be, pretty much the same, and having the same illegal objects in view, except the Blackfeet, who did not take an oath, but took a declaration equal to an oath, in the latter part of their proceedings. They made a vow on their knees, and promised that they would follow a captain or leader. I was informed who they were, and I went individually to them; there were about the number of twelve in Maryborough, and perhaps in the whole parish they amounted to about twenty. All, except two, who were strangers, promised me they would abandon their bad practices; they admitted that an oath could not be a bond of iniquity, and I was very glad to hear them say so. The two persons who infected the parish denied their misconduct; all the others acknowledged everything. As I could have no hopes whatever of the conversion of the two strangers I allude to, I denounced them on the Sunday following in the chapel. I exhorted the people as strongly as I could against all such societies and such oaths; I said they were detestable in the sight of God, and injurious to themselves in every point of view. I did this in the three chapels belonging to the parish. The Protestants of the town, with Mr. Waller, the clergyman, sent a deputation to me to know if I would receive an address from them; that they considered I was

<sup>13</sup> In the month of June, 1830, a riot occurred in the town of Ballynakill, which by vigorous efforts he succeeded in quelling. At Dysart fair a furious faction fight took place about this time,

in which several were severely injured, and some lives were lost.

<sup>14</sup> See "On Local Disturbances," etc., by Sir George Cornwall Lewis, p. 206. London, 1836.



watching over the peace of the county so much, that I deserved some mark of their gratitude. I said I would decline it; that I felt very grateful for the disposition shown to me, but I wished rather to live a retiring life, except where my duty called for my exertions.

"Did your exertions produce a check to the progress of the conspiracy?—Yes, the parish remained very quiet; I was determined, by denouncing these persons, to intimidate others from coming to introduce any such system into the parish.

"Do you mean such persons as the two strangers?—Yes; one was from the County of Tipperary.

"Did they show any resentment towards you?—Yes; the man from Tipperary threatened my life, and I kept out of the way some time; but I hope I would not shrink from my duty if by its discharge I should endanger my life."

Rev. J. Delaney, P.P., Ballinakill:—"At what period did those disturbances commence?—In the year 1827 a public building was undertaken in the parish [of Ballynakill, Queen's County], and to this building two rambling masons resorted; they came in from Mr. Cosby's estate; although not living there they were occasionally employed in that district; they came to this building, and after they were there ten or twelve days it reached me they were swearing in the people.

"What was the building?—Out-offices belonging to Mr. Cooper, who has an estate in the parish. On the succeeding Sunday I explained to the people the nature and evils of illegal combinations; I appealed to their own experience of the horrors that resulted from like associations in 1798, and finally denounced the men by name, and thus succeeded in removing them from the parish; this was in the spring of 1827. It appeared that they infected a good many persons engaged in this building, for in a short time after that, a body of men from the colliery, as I am informed, assembled at this building, and paid a visit to one of the neighbouring farmers, forbidding him to dispossess some people under him; to be a good neighbour, meaning thereby that he should not refuse a free passage through his land to a neighbour who claimed it as a matter of right. When I heard this, I waited on the local magistrate, who apprised Mr. Foote, the chief of police, and I met them the following morning by appointment at the house so visited; the servants and work-people were examined, and I found it my duty to put some questions to them, which they declined answering until compelled by the magistrate. I think it was in the harvest of mowing, two men, one of them calling himself Captain Rock, paid a visit to Mr. Cooper's workmen, forbidding them to work under a certain rate of wages, and also requiring a better quality of food for the mowers; I apprised the magistrate of this also. We had the steward and workmen summoned; many of the respectable inhabitants of Ballynakill were present at their examinations. I put some very embarrassing questions to the steward, and upon both those occasions the people complained of my conduct, and said I outstepped my duty, and was rather officious. Those were the first two instances of insubordination that occurred in the parish over which I have presided for the last eight years; the persons concerned were not then known as Whitefeet or Blackfeet, but as members of the Ribbon Society. We remained pretty quiet for a year and a half afterwards, but I had occasion frequently



to appeal to the people not to be employing strangers; one of my chapels is in the neighbourhood of Timahoe, which at that period was very much disturbed, and I found that many of the people of that district resorted to my chapel to swear in the people; and I had (almost every second Sunday that I go there in turn) to caution the farmers not to employ strangers, and was at length under the necessity of forbidding such characters to resort to my chapel. The spirit of combination spread through the surrounding collieries, Wolfe-hill, Newtown, Clough, and that belonging to Lady Ormonde; and after a short time it got into my parish, and a great many outrages were committed in consequence."—H.C., 1825, Nos. 4345-7.

The efforts of the Most Rev. Dr. Doyle in opposition to the secret societies, up to his untimely death in 1834, were strenuous and unceasing. During his visitations through the Queen's County we read frequently of scenes such as the following:—

"He visited the most disturbed districts and addressed the Ribbonmen, Terry Alts, and Whiteboys, in solemn words of warning, from the altar steps. Most impressive and strange these scenes must have been. The humble chapels thronged with the rude and fierce peasantry, many of them with hands red with blood, most of them members of the secret society, all of them, no doubt, sympathisers with the society's objects. The bishop, on the platform before the altar, arrayed in his vestments—a soutane of purple colour with train sweeping the ground; over this a white linen surplice with a deep embroidery of lace; then a cape of the same hue as the soutane; a gold chain and cross pendant from his neck, on his head the glittering mitre, and the crozier grasped in his left hand, leaving the right free for impressive gestures. And then the austere severity of his features; the large blazing eyes; the measured sepulchral intonation of the voice, the eloquence of the address—its touching pathos, its scorching denunciation. It is easy to imagine the awe-inspiring effect of the scene on the peasantry, most of whom had probably never seen a bishop before—certainly never in such solemn and impressive circumstances—and all with a profound belief in the terrors of the anathema of the Church. Here is a specimen of the address delivered by Dr. Doyle on these occasions:—

"'Beloved brethren, before I administer to those dear children that sacrament which, I trust, will confirm them in the graces that under Divine favour, they received at baptism from our Lord and Saviour, Jesus, I will first make some remarks in reference to those crimes which, I learned with deep grief from your estimable pastor, have, in this hitherto peaceable parish, disgraced the character of your country and religion, and which, if not atoned for in the bitterest tears of repentance, must inevitably set the seal of eternal damnation on some souls. I know the miseries of the poor, and accordingly—often deterred by the anticipation of some objection which they urge—even *I* have sometimes foreborne to remonstrate with you as I might justly have done. "Show to us," it might be said by, and among, some of you, "that if we be patient and submissive we will not be banished from our homes, that we will not be reduced till even roots and water fail our children, that in disease and hunger we shall not be left as heretofore, to perish—in fine, show to us that all our sufferings will



not be aggravated—show to us that all those things will not happen, and we will freely and cheerfully acquiesce in your advice. You speak to us of the punishment which awaits us. What punishment can be greater than to die of hunger? You remind us of the afflictions we bring upon our families—what affliction can surpass that of the mother and children driven, in a state of utter destitution, from the fireside and threshold of their homes to wander friendless and hopeless through a world that rejects them, till hunger and disease strike them to the earth, and death comes to absolve them from their sufferings?” But first of all, dearly beloved, let me ask you, who generally are they who have illegally combined? Are they the persons who have been inhumanely expelled from their homes? Are they those sons or fathers whose parents or children are perishing of want? Are they those men who can find no employment, or whose wages do not suffice to provide for their families the necessaries of life? No. A few only of those classes are united with them. Who, then, are they who have illegally combined? The most active and prominent among them are old offenders—thieves, liars, drunkards, fornicators, quarrellers, blasphemers—men who have abandoned all the duties of religion, and whom God I fear, has given over to a reprobate sense and to the passions of shame. There also belong to their combinations a crowd of giddy, thoughtless, dissolute young men, the sons, and servants, of honest, struggling parents. And this being the case, what right have some among you to avail yourselves of the grievances and sufferings of other men, and employ them as a cloak to cover your own impiety and crimes? The widow and the orphan may have perished, and the honest cottier, torn from the land to which nature attached him, may have withered and died; but you, reprobates, are seldom the children of that widow or the sons of that peasant. But even if you be, let me at once remind you that revenge is forbidden. The Lord saith, “Revenge is mine, and I will repay!” God alone, or those who hold power from Him, can ever execute justice. Revenge is totally forbidden to man; it is reserved exclusively to God. Let this truth sink deep into your souls; let it never depart from you; tell it morn and night to your children in your poor huts and cabins, and if turned forth on the world to starve and die, repeat it amid the darkness of night, and when the storm and rain pelt you and your little ones, as you shiver in your hunger and your raggedness, still, ever, ever repeat it—“Revenge is God’s alone.”

“The outrages were checked for a time. Indeed, about 1827, the returns of Irish crime, presented to Parliament, show that the counties in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin had been transformed from the most turbulent into the most peaceable in the country. But fresh acts of oppression on the part of the tithe-proctors and landlords drove the peasantry again for redress and protection to the savage code of the secret society. Dr. Doyle now tried the terrors of judgment in the world to come against the offenders. At Mountmellick, during a Visitation, he commanded some Blackfeet, to whom he had vainly tried to show the errors of their ways, to leave the Church. ‘Depart, depart, depart,’ he cried, ‘and if I might venture to anticipate the judgment of the Almighty, I would add into eternal fire!’ The men were horrified,



and falling on their knees, weeping, they implored forgiveness. Some of the leaders of the conspiracy who acknowledged their guilt, were compelled, before the absolution of the Church was extended to them, to make public renunciations in the crowded chapels on Sundays on their knees, clothed in white sheets, and with lighted tapers in their hands.

"It is certain that the labour, anxiety, and vexation attending the bishop's fruitless crusade against the secret societies in his diocese sapped his constitution. The thought that not even his own flock—the people of his own diocese—were amenable to his exhortations was, indeed, heartbreaking to a man of Dr. Doyle's temperament. 'Men of Queen's County,' he began one of his addresses to the peasantry, 'my blood is upon you!' 'Ah, my people!' he exclaimed on another occasion with mingled pathos and anguish, 'you have broken your bishop's heart!' But peace and order were indeed utterly impossible under the hideously unjust social conditions which then prevailed. Dr. Doyle himself frequently proclaimed that fact. 'Should this party, or this people, whichever it may be called,' he writes in one of his eminently sane and logical public letters, 'remain neglected by the legislature; should their grievances be left unredressed; should their poor be left to perish; should their children be left a prey to Evangelicals and Methodists; should their religion continue to be insulted; should the agent and the tithe-proctor and the churchwardens, like the toads and locusts, come still in succession to devour the entire fruit of their industry; should their blood when wantonly spilled go unrevenged, we need no Pastorini to foretell the result. We have only to refer to our own history, or open the volume of human nature, in order to ascertain it.'"<sup>15</sup>

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE 19TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1830-1840.

CATHOLIC Emancipation was expected by many to have for immediate result the cure of all the ills, social, political, and religious, of Ireland. That it was a great healing measure, beneficial not only to Ireland but to the Empire, is unquestionable. Events, however, quickly proved that the hopes and expectations of its supporters were as exaggerated as the fears and alarms of its opponents. As regards the peasantry, in particular, the Act spelt for them disappointment of the bitterest kind. "The great force behind the movement for Catholic Emancipation was social discontent. The peasantry were convinced that if Catholic members were elected to Parliament rents would be reduced, long leases be the universal rule, and tithe abolished. But the removal of the Catholic disabilities did not produce any of these effects. In fact, the first results of Emancipation, as far as the peasantry were concerned, were disfranchisement and eviction. A craze for large farms had set in; and as the abolition of the forty-shilling freeholders

<sup>15</sup> See "Bishop Doyle: A Biographical and Historical Study," by Michael M'Donagh, pp. 80 and 194. We give in

an Appendix Dr. Doyle's Pastoral Letter on the Secret Societies of the Queen's County. See Appendix.



had deprived small holdings of their political value, their unfortunate occupants were turned out in thousands without compunction. The parson, too, persisted in collecting his tithe as if the Emancipation Act had never been passed. Tithe had been denounced at times by O'Connell and Dr. Doyle, during the progress of the movement for the removal of the Catholic disabilities; but after the Act of Emancipation neither of them took part at first in the new anti-tithe agitation. O'Connell in his *Letter to the People of Ireland*, dated January 7th, 1830, gives the abolition of tithes the ninth place only, in a list of eighteen pressing public grievances."<sup>1</sup>

In May, 1830, a meeting was convened in Maryborough, over which the High Sheriff, Thomas B. Kelly, presided, at which resolutions were passed against the stamp and tax duties proposed to be levied on Ireland, and against a proposed duty on tobacco (which is described as "an infant industry in the Queen's County"). A resolution to favour a Poor Law for Ireland was also carried after considerable opposition, led by Rev. Thomas Tyrrell and John Dunne, Esq., of Ballynakill. As the Government resolved to persevere in carrying their system of taxation, O'Connell addressed the people of Ireland, and, to embarrass still more the ruling powers, he recommended a general run on the banks for gold. The King's death soon afterwards brought the session of Parliament to a close. Nothing further was heard of the attempt to crush the Irish newspapers by the imposition of stamp duties.

In the General Election of 1830 Sir Henry Parnell, Bart., and Sir Charles Henry Coote, Bart., were candidates for the representation of the Queen's County. As Sir Henry Parnell had proved himself to be a steady friend of the Catholics, and was in consequence universally popular, no attempt was made in opposition to his return; and as Tory landlord influence was then all-powerful, and despotically exercised, it was not deemed possible to select as Sir Henry's colleague a Repeal candidate who would have a reasonable chance of success. The county was therefore spared the exasperation and deeds of violence that must have ensued were an election held, and that ensued elsewhere during these elections.

Although the subject of Repeal had been broached, it was not yet made a test question; the abolition of Tithes and of Church-cess swayed the elections. In the result, the majority against ministers was preponderating. In Ireland this majority acted mainly under the leadership of O'Connell. The counties in England also went against the ministry by three to one, while the great towns returned Reformers by nine to one. Returning with weakened forces to Parliament, the Wellington Administration fell, and Earl Grey was called upon to form a ministry.

Efforts were next directed by the Whigs to divert O'Connell from agitating for a Repeal of the Union; proposals of a highly tempting kind were made to him, but these proposals were, after consideration, rejected. The Marquis of Anglesey was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and started for Dublin, with the avowed object of suppressing all Repeal meetings, yet professing to have practical remedies for admitted grievances in store. These representations were accepted

<sup>1</sup> See M'Donagh's "Bishop Doyle, &c.," p. 163, ff.





**PORTARLINGTON  
CHRISTIAN  
SCHOOLS.**

**Inset, Science and  
Manual Instruction  
Halls.**

**Founded 1863.**



**PORTARLINGTON  
CONVENT.**

**Founded 1854.**

**Vol. II., p. 591.**



**GARRYHINCH.**

**Vol. II., pp. 629, 804.**







by a large number among the upper classes; but the vast majority of the people distrusted the conciliation project of the ministry, and pinned their faith in O'Connell and Repeal.

Towards the close of the year, O'Connell unfurled the flag of Repeal in Dublin, and the cry was enthusiastically taken up by the townspeople, farmers, and peasantry, throughout Ireland. Nowhere was it more earnestly received than in the Queen's County, and meetings were held everywhere to promote its success.

When a Declaration of the nobility, gentry, and influential persons was paraded in the *Dublin Evening Post*—then the Government organ—as a protest against O'Connell's agitation for Repeal of the Union, several names were set down as representing the Queen's County; but at a meeting held in Dublin Mr. Dillon, of Maryborough, stated that a great number of those persons, whose names he mentioned, were of little local influence or importance. A meeting was held at Stradbally, on the 6th of December, 1830, Mr. Thomas Greenham, a Protestant, being chairman. At this it was resolved that a petition should be forwarded to Mr. O'Connell in favour of Repeal. This was followed by several similar demonstrations.

The tithe agitation came to a head in the Queen's County in February, 1831. A public meeting had been convened in the Courthouse, Maryborough, by the High Sheriff, Mr. Thomas B. Kelly, for the discussion of the question of Parliamentary reform; and in speaking to one of the resolutions Mr. Patrick Lalor of Tenakill denounced the payment of tithes, and declared that he, for one, would never again contribute to the accursed impost. A graphic description of the scene and its sequel was, fifty years afterwards, contributed by his son, Mr. William Lalor, to an American periodical called *Redpath's Weekly*, and copied into the *Leinster Leader* of March 31st, 1883. It runs as follows:—

“Having, within the last two years, read various accounts of the anti-tithe war of fifty years ago, all more or less erroneous, and knowing that very few living to-day could give a correct version of it, I conceived the idea of putting a few of the leading facts on record; and as in giving a correct account of the campaign, it will be necessary to mention my father's name, and perhaps allude to my own actions, I trust that I will not be accused of egotism or an attempt at personal aggrandisement. Nothing could be farther from my thoughts, knowing, as I do, that thousands of others were just as true and faithful to the cause. I would also ask that if any person, on reading my account, shall discover any mistakes or errors, he will have the kindness to correct them.

“On the tenth of February, 1831, Maryborough was crowded with people. The day was bright with sunshine; the air was calm, cool, and bracing; a slight fall of snow partially covered the ground, and was made crisp by a very light frost. A meeting had been called by the High Sheriff, Thomas B. Kelly, of Kellyville, in compliance with a requisition from several freeholders, for Parliamentary reform. The meeting was held in the Courthouse, and presided over by the High Sheriff.

“In speaking to a resolution my father, Patrick (or as he was more generally called, Patt) Lalor, of Tenakill, took occasion to refer to the tithe system; and, in doing so, made the astounding declaration that



he would never again pay tithes; that he would violate no law; that the tithe men might take his property, and offer it for sale; but his countrymen, he was proud to say, respected him, and he thought that none of them would buy or bid for it if exposed for sale. The declaration was received by the meeting in various ways: by many with surprise and astonishment; by others with consternation and dismay, but by a vast majority with tremendous cheering. After passing resolutions to get up a petition for reform the meeting dissolved.

"Early next morning Arthur Moore Mosse, commonly known as Trotty Mosse (from a mincing gait in his walk), drove out from Maryborough to Tenakill, and held a long conference with my father, the object of which was to try and persuade him to give up his opposition to tithes; promising, among other things, to procure him a receipt in full for all tithes during his life if he would give up his opposition, or even leave the people to act for themselves, and say no more about it. But Trotty failed to make a treaty, the motto of the Lalors being then as now, and I trust ever will be—'No surrender.'

"The 'No Tithe' banner had been flung to the breeze the night before in the courthouse at Maryborough, never to be surrendered or hauled down until it gloriously floated in triumph over every acre of Erin's lovely land.

"In the course of a few days after Trotty's failure, a bailiff came from Mountrath to Tenakill, and drove away twenty-five sheep to satisfy the Rev. Mr. Latouche's claim for tithes. The reverend gentleman was the son of a rich Dublin banker, and received £1,500 per annum from our parish, *which he never saw but twice, and then but for a few hours each time.* He hired two curates to attend to the spiritual wants of his flocks. To one of them he paid £75 per annum, and to the other £100. The rest he spent on the continent of Europe.

"The day after the sheep were driven away, father took possession of them by a writ of replevin; had them driven back to Tenakill; got iron brands made in large capitals spelling the word TITHE, and with those dipped in melted pitch branded the sheep on both sides, covering nearly the whole carcass. When the day of sale arrived, the sheep were driven to Mountrath by my father's shepherd, Jack Ryan (a native of glorious Tipperary), and given up by him to the Rev. Mr. Latouche's agent, with the pious ejaculation, 'Here, take 'em, and the devil's luck to ye!'

"The month was March. There was a steady downpour of rain all day, and the roads were ankle deep in mud, yet there was a vast concourse of people in Mountrath. The Peelers, as they were then called, were there in full force; also a company of the 17th Lancers and another of the 21st Fusiliers. The Rev. Latouche's agent was a man named Brough or Bruff, a perfect stranger, who I think was never again seen in Mountrath. Millar, the auctioneer, was a resident of Mountrath.

"Father and I were both on horseback, and got close to Millar, Brough, and the sheep; the crowd forming a circle round us, with the military and peelers on the outside. Millar offered the sheep for sale, but not a voice was heard, when, after some time, Brough, who stood close to Millar, said something in an undertone, when Millar declared the sheep sold. On father asking who was the purchaser, he was



answered, Mr. Brough, when he loudly called out the name Brough, and Brough was echoed by ten thousand voices. There was a loud murmur, a surge, and half-suppressed threat from that dense crowd, as if they would make short shrift of Brough and Millar; but a wave from father's hand and all were still. Although Mountrath was well supplied with all kinds of intoxicating drinks, there was no drunken man to be seen; but all wore a stern, determined look, which plainly foreboded the downfall of tithes.

"Brough had now possession of the sheep, but what was he to do with them? The brand of Moloch was on them, and no one would touch them; and there were no railroads to carry them away. So he employed the same bailiff that drove them from Tenakill to take them to Smithfield market, in Dublin, a distance of fifty Irish miles. But he was rather outflanked, a scout being sent to watch his movements and cut off supplies. Tom Claxton, an awkward looking, angular six-footer, but faithful as a sleuth-hound, kept just far enough in advance of the sheep and bailiff, to herald their approach, so that when food and shelter were demanded they were almost invariably told to pass on—'*No Admittance!*'—the consequence being that all were nearly starved before reaching Dublin, where they fared but little better. Byrne and Whelan, being then father's salesmen, were notified of the sheep's advent, and they, in turn, notified the other salesmen, and the poor innocent sheep got—'*no admittance.*'

"From Dublin they were shipped across the Channel to Liverpool. Again the parson was destined to be disappointed. Verdon and Cullen were then eminent salesmen in Liverpool. Cullen was, I think, a brother of the late Cardinal, and nephew of Patrick Maher, Kilrush, County Kildare, who married my mother's sister, and who was a true patriot, and sanguine anti-tithe man. He, of course, informed Cullen and Verdon, and they, in turn, the other salesmen; and again the would-be sheep sellers were told to pass on! At Liverpool we partly lost track of the sheep, as Tom Claxton went no farther than Dublin; but we gleaned enough to know that they were driven to Manchester, with no better success, and that somewhere between there and Leeds the last of the poor creatures died from want and exposure.

"Thus ended the first drama in the anti-tithe campaign, father losing twenty-five sheep, and the Rev. Latouche his tithe; but we (the young Lalors) had some fun out of it. During the stay of the sheep at Tenakill, awaiting the day of sale, two young lambs made their first appearance, and not having the Rev. Latouche's brand on, we appropriated them—which is, I suppose, the Yankee phrase for stealing—and naming them Millar and Brough, kept them until they grew to be fine mutton sheep; and, with some of our neighbours, had many a joke when discussing chops, and legs of mutton, from Millar and Brough.

"The next sale, or, rather, attempted one, was at Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, about fifteen Irish miles from Tenakill. Some cows had been distrained from different farmers in the neighbourhood. The Lalors, of Cascade, father's cousins, sent a messenger for the brands, and the cows were all marked. The day was delightful. Such a day as only an Irish May or June day can be, with the cuckoo and corn-crake in full voice. Freshford is situated near the corners of three



counties—Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Queen's, and all three were well represented—the Kilkenny blue coats, Tipperary browns, and Queen's County greys. There was also a large body of men from County Limerick, all on horseback, and carrying green boughs; and behind one of them, on a pillion, sat a piper, playing the bagpipes, as he went along. The Church militant was represented by a large body of peelers, supported by the Enniskillen Dragoons, the finest-looking set of men and horses I ever saw. It certainly did not appear that day as if the Church militant was ever destined to be the Church triumphant; for not a penny could they get for the branded cows, and they were driven home by their owners, covered with green boughs, amidst the wildest yelling.

"The next attempted sale was in the town of Carlow. Some cattle belonging to Richard Walsh, of Newtown, County Kildare, were offered for sale; but here the people became infuriated, and, regardless of military and police, rushed in and drove the cattle home to their owner.

"I think this about ended the tithe sales in Queen's and adjoining counties. Attempts were made to imprison, but here again the enemy were baffled. Tin horns were procured and distributed through the country; a strict watch was kept on all bailiffs, and, whenever they were discovered moving about, the horns were sounded, which put everyone on the alert to close their doors and avoid them. I brought one of those horns with me to America in 1837, and used it as a dinner horn for many years, here in Wisconsin, but the old relic has disappeared a little in advance of its owner.

"The tithe war still continued, with some loss of life. The only death, I think, that occurred in Queen's County, was that of a man named Bailey, who was not an anti-tithe man. He complained to the police that threatening notices had been placed on his gates; and one night, as the police lay in ambush, they saw a man place a notice on one of the gates. They called on him to surrender, and on his refusing, fired and shot him dead. On examination it proved to be Bailey himself.

"The peelers shot down thirteen men at Newtownbarry, County Wexford, and seven at Castlepollard, in Westmeath, and the anti-tithe men retaliated a little by executing a process-server and fifteen or sixteen peelers at Carrickshock, County Kilkenny.

"A butcher named Morgan, from the village of Moncoin, or Ballyhale, was employed by some tithe-men to serve some law papers, and was guarded by a band of peelers, under command of a chief constable, Gibbons, I think, and when the men at work in the fields saw Morgan and the peelers, they kept following them until a crowd of about thirty collected, who called on Morgan to give up the papers, which he refused doing. After going some distance, the peelers were marching through a narrow lane, or bohreen, with Morgan in the centre, and the Carrickshock boys on both flanks, when a young man named Kane jumped into the bohreen and seized Morgan by the breast. Kane was instantly shot and bayoneted, and supposed to be killed, but the flanking parties sprang to the rescue, and in less than fifteen minutes Morgan, Gibbons, and the balance lay in the bohreen dead."



In March, 1831, the anti-tithe movement secured a powerful auxiliary in the person of Dr. Doyle. It got its watch-word and war-cry in an inspiring phrase of his: "Let your hatred of tithes be as lasting as your love of justice." His pamphlet on "The origin, nature and destination of Church Property," his pastorals, and addresses led him to be regarded, even more than O'Connell, as the personification of the people's determination to contribute no more out of their hard-won earnings to the support of a Church which to them was alien, and heretical.

Besides the meeting held in February in the courthouse, Maryborough, in favour of Parliamentary Reform we find another was held in the same place, and for the same object in December. As this meeting was typical of those held at this period we transcribe the following account of it, taken from the *Leinster Express* of December 10th, 1831:—

"A Meeting of the Landed Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Queen's County, convened by Public Requisition, was held in the County Court House, in Maryborough, on Wednesday, the 7th of December, 1831. On the motion of Robert H. Stubber, Esq., the High Sheriff, Wm. Cope Cooper, Esq., was called to the chair. Michael Dunne, Esq., acted as Secretary. The Court was crowded almost to suffocation. The gallery presented a very fashionable congregation of the respectable inhabitants of the County. Among the gentry we noticed Sir Charles H. Coote, Bart., M.P.; James Grattan, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Wise, Esq., M.P.; T. B. Kelly, Henry Smyth, Robert H. Stubber, Wm. Hamilton, W. E. F. Sharpe, Robert Cassidy, Burrowes Kelly, Henry Archdale, John Dunne, Patrick Lalor, Joseph S. Phelan, William Delany, H. P. Delany, Michael Dunne, Joseph Lyons, Pat Dillon, Daniel Dillon, Samuel Shean, James Comerford, Edward Dowling, Edward Cahill, Esqrs. Rev. Mark Perrin, Rev. N. O'Connor, Rev. M. P. Malone, Rev. P. Morrin, Rev. A. Duane, etc. From Portarlington, we noticed Messrs. John M. Moore, M. Carroll, John Howard, and H. O'Brien.

"Moved by Edward Flood Sharpe, Esq., and seconded by Rev. Mark Perrin:—'That it is the opinion of this meeting that a Reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, on a broad and extended principle, is necessary to meet the just expectations of the people, and that such reform is required to promote the permanent prosperity, and to maintain the tranquility of the Empire.'

"Moved by Henry Smyth, Esq.; seconded by J. R. Price, Esq.:—'That the honest, able, and persevering efforts made by the Ministers of the Crown to Reform and purify the House of Commons, entitle them to the admiration and confidence of every sincere admirer of the British Constitution, and that so long as they shall support a full, efficient, and adequate measure of Reform, we will support them against the harassing and disingenuous art of their opponents.'

"Moved by Thos. B. Kelly, Esq.; seconded by Patrick Lalor, Esq.:—'That the disregard for the expressed wishes of the people evinced by a majority of the House of Lords, in their contemptuous rejection of the Reform Bill, has filled our hearts with sorrow and indignation; and that we have heard with peculiar concern, that 21 Rev. Prelates appeared on that occasion to lend themselves most un-



worthily to the designs of a party against the rights and liberties of their Countrymen.'

"Moved by William Delany, Esq.; seconded by Peter B. Kelly, Esq.:—'That much as we regret the rejection of the Reform Bill, on a late occasion, it has in no degree dismayed us, nor shaken our determination to stand by his Majesty's Ministers, in their efforts to carry the wishes of the People into effect; and that we are now more than ever persuaded of the necessity of Reform, and resolved to use all constitutional means for its attainment.'

"Moved by Henry Smyth, Esq., and seconded by Daniel Egan, Esq.:—'That the following Address be adopted by this Meeting:—

"'TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"'The loyal and dutiful address of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Queen's County, adopted at a public meeting, convened by the High Sheriff of the County, and held at the Court House, Maryborough, December 7th, 1831.

"'SIRE.—May it please your Majesty, we your Majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Queen's County, by the authority of our High Sheriff duly assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty's most sacred person with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration, for your kind and paternal regard generally evinced towards all classes of your subjects, since your accession to the throne of your ancestors, and more especially in promoting (as far as your Majesty's royal influence, constitutionally created, could accomplish), the great object of an efficient reform, in the Commons House of Parliament, a measure of which delay has only more fully proved the importance and necessity. We feel assured, that your Majesty has hitherto wisely consulted the stability of the throne, the safety of our public institutions, the security of social order and property, and the best interests of all classes of the community. And we humbly trust that, if necessary, your Majesty will be graciously pleased still further to assert your royal prerogative, to avert from us, calamities that have afflicted other nations, in which the timely reform of abuses has been rejected. We know that great exertions are wanting, and we pledge ourselves to stand by your Majesty's ministers, in their endeavour to procure a full and broad representation for the people.'

"Moved by Richard S. Leadbeater, Esq., and seconded by James Comerford, Esq.:—'That our cordial thanks are due, and are hereby given, to Daniel O'Connell, and the other independent Irish Members, who, by their unwearied perseverance, zeal, and ability, chiefly contributed to carry the Reform Bill, through a struggle of unexampled toil and duration, to a triumphant conclusion in the House of Commons; and whose votes on Lord Ebrington's Motion, have placed the Ministry in a position to introduce the measure once more with the most cheering prospect of success.'

"Moved by John Dunne, Esq., and seconded by Daniel Egan, Esq.:—'That we avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our approbation of the judicious patriotism, which induced James Grattan and Thomas Wise, Esq<sup>rs</sup>. and the Irish Members, to wait on Earl Grey, as head of his Majesty's Government, to represent the necessity



of Reform of local abuses in Ireland; and we feel so satisfied of the necessity of Irish Members acting in concert for the benefit of the Country, that we do not consider any member entitled to our confidence who has refused to co-operate in such measures as will tend to draw early attention to the grievances of Ireland.'

"Moved by Joseph Lyons, Esq.; seconded by Patrick Lalor, Esq.:—'That we consider the National Political Union, established in Dublin, essentially useful at this time, in order to support his Majesty's Ministers, in carrying an English Bill of Reform, as efficient as that recently rejected by the House of Lords, and not less essential in procuring for Ireland a Reform commensurate to that about to be extended to England, and for the purpose of restoring and preserving the peace of this country.'

"Moved by John Dillon, Esq.; seconded by John Harding, Esq.:—'That we trust Earl Grey and his colleagues have, ere this, seen the impolicy of nominating to places of honour, trust, or emolument, persons known to be the active opponents of Parliamentary Reform. That such selections tend to lessen the confidence of the People in the intentions of Ministers; and we confidently hope, that the enemies of Reform will be forthwith removed from the service of our patriot King.'"

Of the speeches delivered at the meeting that of Sir Charles Coote, declaring himself an advocate of Reform, was commendably brief and explicit.

"Sir Charles Henry Coote, Bart., M.P., said, Mr. Sheriff, and Freeholders of the Queen's County, as member of Parliament for this County, I rise to offer a few observations. I felt pleasure at seeing your requisition, convening the present meeting. I have, in my place in the House of Commons, given my vote in favour as far as regarded the principle and leading features of the Reform Bill. I have not given a single vote, which was unfavourable to the measure. I shall, however, as I think an independent member of an independent County should do, use my discretion in the performance of my duties as one of your representatives. And I will say, not in a manner that can throw any obstacle in the way of, or endanger the Bill. As to confidence in the King's Ministers, I must candidly confess I cannot place in them that entire confidence which I could wish to do; for, Freeholders and Gentlemen of the Queen's County, I shall ever look to measures and not to men. If good measures, measures calculated to serve the country, are brought forward, you may depend, gentlemen, they shall have my most strenuous and uncompromising support. I cannot to-day say I will support one man, and the very next day turn my back on him, and say I will support another. I shall give no opposition to the Bill. I have come here this day to inform my constituents that I shall support the principle of the Reform measure."

An important County work of this year was the extension of the Grand Canal to Mountmellick from Bracklin, Portarlinton, which for thirty years had been the terminal harbour. The deed was signed in September, 1831, by the following Directors:—John Warburton, Henry Smith, and John Tibeaud. The stones excavated during the process of canalization were drawn by the people to Portarlinton, and employed in the building of the new church which Father Terence O'Connell, P.P., erected there.



Parliament met in December, 1831, and Committees of both Houses were appointed to inquire (1) into the collection and payment of tithes; and (2) the distress of the Protestant clergy consequent on the difficulty of collecting the impost.

On 6th March, 1832, Mr. Patrick Lalor was examined before one of these Committees; and we think it well to set down the chief portions of his evidence at some length.<sup>2</sup>

"Will you state any facts that have come within your knowledge, bearing upon the present opposition to the payment of tithe?—The determination not to pay the tithe in the Queen's County commenced about the 10th February, 1831.

"Can you state the causes which led to the disturbance?—The causes were very various; as to disturbance we had none; the thing was rather negatively avoiding the payment without any kind of opposition or resistance. It was commenced about the 10th of February, 1831, and there were various causes which I think operated to bring that mode of resistance about. The tithe from time immemorial, so far as I can learn, has been always paid with reluctance; the people always considered it an odious impost, and it had been the cause of much bloodshed in that county, particularly so far as related to the White-boys. A great number of people have been from time to time executed for the illegal conduct they pursued, in striving to rid themselves of that impost. It was always felt that the clergy, instead of having paternal feelings for the public, were rather inclined to treat them with contumely and oppression. Very frequently they acted in the capacity of magistrates, which often brought them into collision with the population of the parish to which they belonged; and although they might act legally, the tithe payers, the ignorant portion of them particularly, were often led to believe that they acted tyrannically. Many of the clergy are absentees. In the parish I live in, the late rector was Dean Scott, Dean of Lismore, in the County Waterford.

"Is that in the parish of Mountrath?—The parish church is in Mountrath, but the union is called Clonana and Clonaheen; he possessed that living 45 years, and in my memory he has never been known to be in the parish, even passing, except upon one occasion. I think this circumstance of non-residence was another of the causes of the resistance to tithes. This gentleman leased the tithes, and the people felt it was a great grievance; they always complained that whatever Dean Scott was getting, he ought to get for himself; but they felt very much grieved at his having let it to another; he let the parish to his curate, Mr. Griffith; Mr. Griffith paid him £500 a year, as I understood, for the proceeds of the parish; and I should think Mr. Griffith got £1,100. The only way I have of forming an opinion upon that is, that some years before the death of Mr. Scott, Mr. Griffith wanted to enter into a composition with the parish, for which he demanded £1,100 a year, from which I suppose he levied as much as that from the parish annually. Another reason that operated very powerfully in that parish was the conduct of the clergy just immediately before the present refusal to pay was made. The present rector has not resided in that parish at all; and the principal curate he has appointed introduced some polemical disputants there, who held a public disputation for I

<sup>2</sup> See "Minutes of Evidence," &c., March, 1832.







**DUNMORE  
CASTLE.**  
Staples.  
Vol. II., p. 628.



**CASTLE DURROW**  
(Lord Ashbrooke).  
Vol. I., p. 225.

**LAMBERTON.**  
Vol. I., p. 198, Vol. II.,  
p. 628.





dare say three or four days in the parish, and exasperated and irritated the minds of the public extremely. Another thing that exasperated the people in that parish was, that they conceived by the Act of Parliament the composition could not be entered into, inasmuch as the law requires that when the Composition Act is to be entered into, if it is an union of parishes, that each parish shall hold a separate vestry for carrying the composition into effect. In that parish there was but one vestry held, and under that, those who were opposed to the composition conceived that was a fraud played upon them, and they had recourse first to the Barristers' Court, and then to the Assizes Court, and notwithstanding that they had legal opinions, and that the Act of Parliament seemed plain upon the occasion, they were invariably worsted in their attempt to get what they conceived legal redress.

"How much was the composition altogether?—£1,500 a year British. Another cause of the irritation was, that they conceived that the Composition Act was carried altogether unfairly, inasmuch as Mr. Griffith, the lessee of Dean Scott, offered to take £1,100 a year Irish only two years before, and prices had rather fallen, and titheable articles rather reduced in value; it was immediately put up to £1,500 a year British, in place of £1,100, which it was offered to be given for two years before.

"In what mode was it brought up to £1,500 a year British?—Principally by persons going there who were not tithe-payers in that parish. Under the Act of Parliament, magistrates having a certain property in the parish, and £50 freeholders, are allowed to vote; and it was conceived by the people paying the cess that those people carried it contrary to the interests of the parish.

"Have they since remonstrated with the rector upon the price?—He has not been in the parish, nor I believe in the kingdom since; and as the curate could not interfere, they communicated with his agent, who lived in the parish, before the payment was refused, and they told him it was certain that if his employer would take £1,000 a year he would get it without any litigation or trouble.

"Was that an understanding among the parishioners?—I am sure there was no understanding, such as one man speaking to another. There was a meeting of our county, called by the sheriff, on the 9th or 10th of February, at which I was in attendance. It was called for the purpose of discussing the propriety of petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the Union. At that meeting I mentioned that I did not intend in future to pay any more tithes unless by compulsion, and in a few days after the rector's agent drove my stock and the stock of some other people in the parish, and out of that the matter spread without any preconcert that I know of; my stock was impounded; I found bail, and at the end of the time prescribed by law they were sold.

"Were they bid for?—They were bid for by the officer of the police and the agent of the clergyman, and the auctioneer. I believe they constituted the three bidders. They were then driven to Dublin, and taken from that to Liverpool, and from that to Leeds, and in any of those places I understood they could not find a purchaser.

"How much was the tithe you owed?—I cannot exactly say, something about £40; it was for something better than one year; my tithe was about £37 a year.



"Have any others in the parish adopted the same course?—Yes, there were other people whose cows were sold, and driven to Dublin; but I believe they became perfectly useless to the buyers as well as to the owners; they were never re-bought, and they died, I believe, from hunger.

"Do you think this system is likely to spread?—I think it has spread astonishingly, more than I at all anticipated in the commencement; I think it will spread.

"Is there any means that could be resorted to which, in your opinion, could compel them to pay tithe?—I cannot see that any power can compel them to pay tithe; it would be easy to compel a few individuals, but I think the mass of the people never can be compelled to do it.

"How do you think those few individuals also might be compelled?—Their stock may be taken and sold, but I do not think that is a mode that could be followed, so as to make the payment general. As long as the public feel the same unwillingness to pay it, I think it is impossible to get it; I do not see that it is possible to make any law more binding than the Tithe Composition Act, because the clergy come in before the landlords, and they come in even before the King.

"Could not it be collected as the county cess is collected, or along with the county cess?—I am positive that if it is mixed up with any other species of debt it will altogether prevent the payment both of that and the other, whatever it may be.

"Would you recommend it to be connected with the landlord's rent?—I would not; I think it would lead in all probability to very distressing circumstances, unless the landlords themselves chose to pay it, which could scarcely be expected.

"Can you state for what reasons you conceive that this general resistance is made to the payment of tithes in Ireland?—Generally speaking, I think the largeness of the sums, which have become better known since the tithe composition has been carried into effect, and its being paid to a clergy with whom the people are not in communion, and from whom they conceive that they receive no advantage, either spiritual or temporal: they conceive that it is just paying so much for nothing, and frequently for something worse than nothing, from the conduct of many clergymen acting towards them with contumely and oppression. Those are the general causes, I think, and in the different parishes they are aided by other local causes; but I think this is a general outline of the causes that the public feel. The vast quantity of property that is in the hands of the Church, for which the people conceive the clergy do nothing; they conceive in the first place that they are overpaid, and that payment is extorted from the poorest people of the community, frequently in a very severe manner.

"You are a Roman Catholic, speaking what you conceive to be the sentiments generally prevailing amongst that portion of the community?—I am; and speaking as far as I can learn what are the sentiments of the Protestants too.

"Are the Committee then to collect from you, that the resistance which is offered to tithes in Ireland is not merely resistance made to the collection of tithes, but to the application of them?—To the principle in the first instance upon which they are raised, and also to the application of them.



“Do you conceive that if the tithes were applied to more general and public purposes in Ireland, and made generally acceptable to the body of the people, tithe could then be levied?—I think it is possible that it could: I think, if that had been done four or five years ago, it would have been much more likely to be collected than it is now, even if it was applied to the most popular purposes, such as the support of the poor, or any other matter that might be conceived advantageous; but I conceive that the agricultural portion of the people conceive that they should not be oppressed for this matter in a greater ratio than the other portions of society.

“You stated, that for yourself you had made up your mind not to pay any more tithes except by compulsion; are you at all prepared to state to the Committee any mode of levying tithes in Ireland, and afterwards applying those tithes, which would induce you to change your mind upon this subject?—Certainly not, till I should first see that the landed property of the church was put to the best advantage that the State could by possibility put it; and I believe if I saw that, and that the future incomes of the clergy were brought down to that equitable amount to which we conceive they ought; if that was done after the lives of the present incumbents, I have no doubt the tithes would be paid; that is, whatever would be found necessary; but it appears to me quite plain, that if the church lands were fairly and equitably disposed of by the State, it would make a much greater sum than would be necessary even to pay the same salaries that the clergy now receive; and if that was done, and any deficiency appeared, I do think the people would have no hesitation in paying the balance.

“What do you conceive would be a fair and equitable application of the church lands?—I conceive the equitable mode of managing them would be, that the Government should take them in hands, and set them to the best advantage to solvent and respectable tenants, and farm them in that way, and then the produce of them being taken by the State, should be in the first instance applied to the payment of the clergy; if there was any surplus, to put it to some other State purposes, and if there was any deficiency, to raise that in some other way, either as a land tax, or rather as a property tax.

“Do not you apprehend, that if the lands in Ireland were exonerated from tithe, the landlord in leasing his land immediately would expect more rent?—I do not think he would, because in all cases I know, except where there are very long tenures, any lands that had been let within the last 30 or 40 years are overlet, and the landlords would not expect more rent. I conceive, that if a farm was now setting in my neighbourhood, and the landlord said, you shall have this tithe free, as it would be in the tenant's power to compare that farm with all the other lands in the neighbourhood subject to tithes, I think he would give more for that farm; but if all lands were exempt from tithes, and the power of making a comparison removed, I do not think more would be paid for the land after tithes were abolished, than now.

“What do you think would be the consequence in Ireland of resorting to force for the collection of tithes?—Force has been used already; but there is not that species of resistance to the payment of tithes that would authorize force.

“If the power was given of seizing the person for a debt of tithe, would that in your opinion facilitate the collection?—That has been



done in our parish, although, I believe, illegally. I know hundreds of barristers' decrees against the bodies of persons for tithes; however, at the last sessions in our county, the chairman decided it illegal to process for tithes under the Composition Act, but that as it was generally practised by his brother barristers throughout Ireland, he would not make an exception; he did not, however, conceive himself justified in giving decrees against the persons.

"If such a law were passed and were generally acted upon in Ireland, of attaching the person for the recovery of debts of tithe, what do you think would be the consequence?—I think that all persons that could be arrested, or that would be arrested, would pay the tithes after being arrested, but not sooner; but I then again see, that it would be perfectly impossible to arrest the whole community. I think the same difficulty exists against that that exists against distraining the entire property of the community.

"What proportion of the gross produce do you conceive the landlord should charge for the value of the rent?—I should conceive that he should not charge more than a fourth or a fifth of the gross produce; but that is not the case in any part of Ireland that I know.

"Practically speaking, what proportion do you think it amounts to?—I think, about double; that is to say, that land that would be set at 25s. would produce 50s. worth of produce; but in setting land the landlord gets the most he can from his tenant, and the rent is offered, on the part of the tenant, without looking to what the thing is worth, but what it is likely that other tenants will offer for it; he knows what has been given all round for other land of the same value, and that other people will offer such a sum, and that he will not get it for less than that; there is no tenant who goes into a calculation of what it is worth, and any of them that do must know that they are giving more for the land than prudence would dictate; but it is a matter of necessity, not of choice.

"Upon which class do you conceive the payment of tithe presses most heavily?—Everything of course presses most heavily, in proportion to their means, upon the very lowest class; and besides that, where the higher classes pay they generally try to mulct so much out of the classes under them.

"You have stated that the tithes were often severely extorted; have you known many instances of severity in the enforcement of the payment on the part of the clergy?—I have known several, as far as driving and seizing, and charging drivers' fees, and matters of that sort.

"Do you conceive that the clergy have been more rigorous in enforcing their right by distress, than the landlords have in enforcing their arrears of rent?—I do not think they have in the neighbourhood I live in; but tithe is paid with so much more reluctance than rent, and considered to be so much more grievous, that a very small degree of enforcement is considered a greater hardship than a greater one would coming from the landlord.

"Is it your object to provide some other mode of payment for the Protestant clergy, or to abolish the payment to the Protestant clergy altogether?—If I was to say what I think myself would be just, I would say that the payment of clergy of any description ought to be entirely abolished, except the contributions of their flocks; but as the



**KNAPTON.**

Vol. I., p. 154. Vol. II.,  
p. 627.



**MOUNT HENRY  
(Smith).**

Vol. II., p. 628.

*Photos by]*

*[Rev. E. O'L.*

**MARYBORO'  
CHRISTIAN  
SCHOOLS.**

Vol. I., p. 108.









law at present is, I would say that it is very easy to procure a mode of paying the clergy, which would not be obnoxious to the public, out of the church lands. According to the information I could find upon the subject, I learn there are 714,735 acres of land in the hands of the Church, and I also find that there are about 850 church dignitaries, that is, bishops and persons entitled to tithes; and if those 850 persons were to receive the yearly value of that land, even if that land was let at the lowest rate, it must amount to a great deal more than their present livings amount to, if it was managed economically.

"You state that you conceive it desirable that the tithe system should be abolished; into whose pockets do you think it desirable that the amount so saved should go?—I should think it most desirable that it should fall into the hands of the present tithe payers, who are the farming portion of the community; I am sure in Ireland they want it very much.

"You stated that you considered the system of tithes to be an unjust system; do the persons who pay tithes pay any more for the tithes than they covenant to do under the terms of their lease?—No; but they entered into no express covenant with regard to tithes whatever, and they take the land subject to the various impositions that may be put upon it, quit-rent and crown-rent excepted.

"And among those there is the permanent imposition of tithe?—Yes. If the tithe had not increased from the time when the man took his farm, till the expiration of his lease, it might be said that he was aware of the tithe at the time he took it; but when it has been always varying and never getting less, I conceive that it is impossible to say but that the tenant is the person that pays it.

"Do you conceive that the tithes have increased in a greater proportion than the produce of the soil has increased?—That would be a difficult question to determine; the produce may have increased as much as the tithe, but the man paying tithe feels that he is paying an additional burthen more than he was subject to: the produce may be larger, but it may not be worth so much as a smaller quantity was worth some years ago, and that is the fact generally with regard to the produce of land: a few years ago it was worth a great deal more than it is now.

"You were understood to state, that in your opinion a tenant might fairly expect that the sum which he paid as rent to his landlord should not be more than one-fourth of the produce of the soil?—I think it would be a high calculation, if the tenants were to live with the comfort they do in England.

"But practically, the landlord requires the tenant in most cases to pay one half the produce of the soil?—I do not think the landlord requires it, the price is determined, not by the seller, but by the purchaser; and in this case, the landlord is not so much determined by his own opinion of the value of it, as by the offers made.

"If that be a correct description of the demand of the landlord, what security has the tenant, that supposing the tithe were remitted, the landlord would allow the tenant to benefit by it?—As I mentioned before, it is in the hands of the tenantry, as being the purchasers, that the power lies, not in the hands of the landlords, because they can only take what they are offered; if they are not offered more after tithes are abolished than they are now, of course they cannot get more.



"If the tenant knows that he is no longer to pay tithes, will not he make an increase in his offer to his landlord?—I do not think he will, because he will conceive that the tithe is remitted for his benefit; and although a person might explain to him, that if there had not been the tithe he would have given less to the landlord, I do not think any reasoning could persuade him that it is out of the landlord's pocket that the tithe is paid; he would naturally say, 'It is into my own pocket that the benefit of this is to go; I paid 30s. for this land heretofore, and I will only pay 30s. for it in future.'

"Would you advise any law to be passed upon the abolition of tithe, enacting that the occupying tenant should have the benefit of the extinction of the tithe?—I would not, because I do not think it would be right to enact any law that would interfere in the bargain between the landlord and the tenant.

"If the landlord takes twice as much as he ought to take, what security has the occupying tenant, if he were left at the discretion of the landlord, that he will benefit by the extinction of the tithe?—I do not think it is at the discretion of the landlord; I think it is at the discretion of the bidders for the land; I think the rent depends upon the number of the bidders and the competition in the market.

"If the bidders now bid more than the value, why should they not still bid more than the value?—I think they would feel that tithe was a burthen beyond what they ought to be paying, and that in future they would not take it into consideration.

"You have proposed the total abolition of tithes?—Yes; I think it would be a great advantage to the public: it would, in the first place, bring peace and concord, and it would be a great boon to the farming classes.

"Do you think that is the general opinion in Queen's County?—I think it is.

"Do not you think they would be satisfied with something short of that?—I think it is very likely they would; but nothing would satisfy them so well as what I have mentioned.

"If a new valuation was made of tithe, and an appropriation of that fund different from the present, do not you think they would pay it cheerfully?—It would depend upon what the mode of application was.

"Would they like part of it to go to the Catholic priesthood?—No; they would be further from paying it to them than they would to the Protestant clergy; I do not suppose there is one Catholic out of a thousand that would consent to that.

"How would they wish to have it appropriated?—If tithe was to be collected, I think their first object would be to get some mode of supporting the poor.

"Do not you think it would be very pleasant to the occupiers in Queen's County if they could get rid of the rent, or do you think they would rather pay the rent than not?—If the landlord was to say, 'I will make you a present of it,' they would have no objection; but I am certain the present opposition will not extend to rents, because opposition could not be successful unless it embraced the whole community, which resistance to rent never would.

"Is not it inconvenient for a landlord to live in the country parts of Ireland at present, and to have the name and character of being a



severe landlord?—I think if he was a severe landlord he would feel himself unsafe.

“Has any mode suggested itself to you in which a fairer relation could be established between landlord and tenant in Ireland?—No; I think it would be very unsafe and very improper for the Legislature ever to interfere in the private concerns of a gentleman in the disposal of his property.

“Would the giving the tenant a right to compensation for such improvements as he made upon the land, upon his being evicted or leaving the land, tend to establish a better relation between landlord and tenant?—I think, if landlords took that into consideration themselves, it would be very useful; but legislating upon such a question would, I think, rather be injurious.

“With all the charges at present upon land in Ireland, has it ever struck you that it is unreasonable that the expense of the police, the building of gaols and so on, and making of roads, and all other works of that sort of common and general utility to the whole community, should be thrown exclusively upon the land?—I have always said, and I am quite certain of it, that it is a great grievance.

“Have you ever heard Catholics complain of the high, and in some instances, increased fees they have had to pay to the Catholic clergy?—Never.

“You stated that the amount for which the land was let, depended not upon what the landlord demanded, but what the tenant offered; supposing the burthen of the tithe composition was thrown upon the landlord, as well as the burthen of the quit-rent, do you say that the landlord would demand more than he now does; and how do you reconcile that with your former answer, that the amount of rent depended, not upon what is demanded, but what is offered?—After the bargain was made, the landlord would say, ‘But we have another matter to add, there is the composition rent for the tithe.’

“How can he legally add that to the bargain which is already concluded?—He cannot conclude it till the writings are entered into, and the tenant is in this way compelled to pay this tithe composition money; but if it were altogether obliterated it would not enter into the head of either the landlord or the tenant.

“How do you mean that he is compelled to pay that, when he makes his bargain voluntarily with the landlord?—He makes his bargain for a certain rent, and after that the landlord or his agent says, ‘Besides this rent there is the tithe, which you always paid before.’

“If it is said before the writings are entered into, is it not before the bargain is concluded?—So far as regards the legal conclusion, but it is morally concluded before the tithe is mentioned.

“You stated that you have come to a determination to pay no more tithes unless you are compelled to do it by law; is it on a conscientious scruple that you have founded that determination, or upon any view of personal interest or expediency?—I have taken a view of it as my personal interest and expediency, and not on any conscientious scruple; and besides that, I can see no moral obligation upon me to bind me to the payment of it.

“Do not you know that the law directs you to pay the tithe?—Yes, I do; as all penal laws do; but I conceive that penal laws carry no moral obligation with them.



"Will you state what difference there is between the tithe you pay to the lay impropriator and the chief-rent you are bound to pay to the head landlord; are they not both charges upon the land, which charges you were bound to pay when you came into possession?—Yes; but I conceive they are very different in their foundations, and inasmuch as the tithe is a charge upon labour and capital.

"Suppose you were under a distinct conviction, that the county cess you were called upon to pay would be improperly and unjustly applied by the grand jury, would you feel yourself under an obligation to pay the cess?—I would not, if I conceived the whole would be so applied.

"You would think you had a right to judge of what would be the result of your obedience to the law?—Not at all; but I have a right to inquire before I avoid the payment of any legal demand, what moral right there was to the first enactment of that law; and I conceive there is a very great moral obligation upon each person in the community to pay his share to the different institutions of it, such as the roads and gaols and bridges: although some of this money may be abused, that cannot alter the original institution of the county cess.

"If there were a poor law passed affecting your neighbourhood, would you feel yourself under an obligation to pay the poor's-rate?—I would.

"If you thought it was based in injustice, you would not consider yourself bound to obey it?—Of course not, if I thought it was based in injustice.

"Then your notion is, that it is for each individual person, and not the Legislature, to consider whether the law is binding or not?—So far as his own opinion is concerned, I think so; I think every law is open to be canvassed by the individuals affected by it."

"Suppose it should happen that an individual, or a number of individuals, should be of opinion that the public taxes are misapplied, do you think they would be released from all moral obligation to pay taxes?—I do not; I conceive that may stand in the same position as the grand jury cess, that the State cannot go on without taxes, and although a certain portion of them may be abused, there is no reason for avoiding the application of the whole.

"When the law says positively, in emphatic terms, you shall pay your tithe to the tithe-owner, does not the person who refuses to pay tithe refuse to obey the plain injunction of the law?—No; because I conceive the law goes further, and says, in case you should refuse or neglect to pay tithes, such and such proceedings shall be had against your person or property; then it gives him the option of either paying the money or allowing the law to take its course.

"Do you conceive that you are not breaking the law when you evade the payment, although you do not resist the payment?—I do not think I am.

"The law says you shall pay the tithe; then when the demand is made upon you, you refuse to pay; do you then obey the law, or disobey the law?—I think I obey the law in giving no resistance to the law to take its course, which says, that in case you shall refuse or decline to pay this money, so and so shall be the consequence; I think I have the option to take whichever portion of that law I please.



"Have you seen the writings of Dr. Doyle upon this subject?—I saw several writings of his; I do not know whether I have seen them all.

"Have you read a work upon this subject of evading the payment of tithe?—No; I never saw it, nor do I believe that he ever wrote any work recommending the evasion of tithe.

"Do not you recollect a work containing a doctrine to the same effect as you have stated to-day?—I think it went to show that tithe was a most unjust impost generally.

"Have you read a pastoral letter of his subsequently?—I have read that.

"Did you find in that any doctrine to the same effect as what you have stated to-day?—Yes; I think there were a few words, towards the latter part of it, which bore the same import as to the injustice of tithe."

As a result of the advice tendered to Parliament by the members of this Committee, it was proposed in March, 1832, that a sum not exceeding £60,000 should be paid to the clergy; that the Government should be empowered to recover the amount so advanced from the tithe-payers, and that a measure amending the tithe laws should be introduced. These proposals were favourably received, and a Bill was brought in by Stanley, and passed on August 16, 1832, embodying part of the suggestions.

The following interesting presentation of the anti-Tithe case belongs to this month of March, 1832.

#### "TITHES—QUEEN'S COUNTY.

##### *"Parish of Coolbanagher and Ardea.*

"The Landholders of the union of Coolbanagher and Ardea have expressed their opposition to the present system of Tithes in Ireland, by forwarding a petition to Sir Henry Parnell, the senior member of this county, for presentation to the House of Commons.

"Sir Henry Parnell presented the petition, and in sending a printed copy of it from the journals to his constituents, very properly states that the conduct of the clergy, as much as the injustice of the system, has produced the present extended opposition to the tithe system, which opposition is every day extending, and which will be more formidable the succeeding year than the past. Mr. Stanley may pass bills of coercion in an English House of Commons, in despite of Irish members, and in perfect ignorance of the state of Ireland. But the tithe system is extinguished in Ireland. A few men selected for political profligacy—for incapacity to earn a livelihood, by industrious and honest pursuits—and the junior branches of an idle unwieldy aristocracy, can never again enjoy the tithes and church lands—the property of the public, and set apart for the poor, and for the promotion of the Christian religion, not for the ascendancy of a sect.

"Persevere, Mr. Stanley, urge measures of coercion for the anti-tithe landholders in Ireland, you may fill the gaols with the honest and industrious portion of the agricultural labourers of Ireland, but, tithes you never can collect for the private and personal use of the clergy of the established church; but still, even you, Mr. Stanley, will do 'some good' for Ireland! already you have made more converts for a repeal of the Union than O'Connell and his co-operators. Six months more



of your sway in Ireland, and there will be an unanimous, energetic and unconquerable determination amongst the people of Ireland to be raised from the degradation of a province to be again in the rank of nations, with a resident and intelligent legislation, selected by the people, not as our last Parliament was truly described—mean enough to accept any 'bribe—base enough to commit any atrocity, and profligate to the extent of selling themselves and their country—the nominees of a heartless aristocracy—the scourge of Ireland—the crouching slaves of an English ministry.'

"The petitioners of Coolbanagher and Ardea allude to their late excellent rector, the Rev. Robert Vicars. Yet, this worthy man during his life was assailed for his Christian and tolerant conduct by members of his own profession. On one occasion at a visitation in the Cathedral of Kildare (now nearly a ruin) he was assailed by the late Archbishop of Dublin, as the solitary black sheep among his clergy; and this for having attended a meeting to petition for Catholic freedom!! How lamentable is justice! The Protestant parishioners of the Rev. Robert Vicars, in a few years after his decease, became convinced of his excellence, and in testimony of their regard erected a monument to his memory.

"The Catholic parishioners in complaining of tithes, by which they are oppressed, revert to the virtues and charities of Mr. Vicars, as having softened the pressure of a bad system.

"The following Petition was presented to the House of Commons by Sir Henry Parnell:—

"A Petition of Landholders of the parishes of Coolbanagher and Ardea in the Queen's County, was presented, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners have seen, with sincere gratification the recommendation of our most gracious King, 'That the House would institute an inquiry into the Laws regarding Tithes in Ireland, with a view to remedy the existing causes of complaint;' these causes of complaint the Petitioners assure the House are universal, they exist in every parish in Ireland, under circumstances of more or less aggravation; they feel it their duty respectfully to state to the House the particular cause of complaint which presses on them; Coolbanagher parish contains an extent of 4,434 acres, and has been united with the parish of Ardea, containing 5,337 acres; the union is under a Tithe Composition Tax of £550 per annum; both Livings are held by the Reverend George Stopford, who is also possessed of an excellent glebe-house and lands; the present Incumbent, a stranger to the parishioners, succeeded the excellent and deeply-regretted Reverend Robert Vicars; the number of Protestants professing the doctrines of the Church of England form a very trifling minority of the population, which is composed of poor and industrious Roman Catholics, subject to high rents, and heavy County and Vestry assessments; the House will hardly credit that these poor and laborious Roman Catholics, in addition to their rents, are subject to all the costs of maintaining and supporting the Pastor of a few Protestants, and of supplying every expense incurred to gratify the fancy, or supply the necessary expenses of performing Divine service in a Church which they never enter; they further take leave to state to the House, that these assessments were borne with patience whilst the late esteemed Rector, the Reverend Robert Vicars,



possessed the parish, his extended charities, his kind and considerate attention to the temporal wants of those who needed not his spiritual care, reconciled them to the system which gave the Tithes of that parish to a liberal and excellent man; the successor of that excellent Pastor follows not his liberal or charitable example—the Catholic population are deprived of the fruits of their exertions to minister to his wants, yet the present Incumbent (frequently an absentee from his parishes) neither employs his Catholic parishioners in his house or lands, or relieves them in their temporal necessities; this marked distinction has produced dissatisfaction, and has induced the people, in many instances, to withhold the voluntary payment of Tithes and Church Taxes; the House being now engaged in consideration of the best mode to remedy the evils of the Tithe system in Ireland, the Petitioners take leave most respectfully to state, that whilst the extensive public property of Tithes and Church Lands are appropriated to the private and personal use of a few clergymen, the people of Ireland will not be contented; the Petitioners, in common with their countrymen, feel that Tithes and Church Lands are the property of the public, and that they should be appropriated to the maintenance and support of the poor and infirm, to the erection and support of Churches, Hospitals, and Schools, and to the support of the Clergy who minister to the wants of the flocks committed to their charge; such an appropriation, they take leave to state, will more permanently secure the prosperity, and consequent peace and content of the people of Ireland, than the enactment of any Law which the House may propose or concur in enacting. Your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

"The following letter has been received from Sir Henry Parnell, March 28, 1832:—

"SIR—I send you the printed copy of the petition of the inhabitants of Coolbanagher and Ardea, for the abolition of Tithes, which I presented to the House of Commons last week. The opinion expressed in it concerning Mr. Vicars shews that when the Clergy of the Protestant Church act with kindness and liberality, there is no hostility to it on the part of the Catholics.—Your obedient Servant,

"HENRY PARNELL.

"To Robert Cassidy, Esq., James Town,  
"Monasterevan."

The disturbed state of the county, and the organisation, methods, and criminal acts of the Blackfeet and Whitefeet occupied much of the attention of the House of Commons Committee presided over by Sir Henry Parnell. From the Minutes of Evidence we gather that, notwithstanding the exertions of Dr. Doyle, and the constitutional leaders of the people, the county was honeycombed with secret societies. The causes and consequences of this deplorable condition of things will be found fully set out in the following extracts<sup>3</sup>:—

Evidence of John Dillon, Esq., resident at Maryborough.

"As soon as the Orangemen in Mountmellick were put down, about that period different poor people were ejected and put out of their

<sup>3</sup> These extracts, with the accompanying comments, are taken—substantially—from Sir George Cornwall Lewis' work, "Local Disturbances, etc." Lon-

don, 1836. See also the Parliamentary Blue Book containing the "Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832."



holdings, and then a new feature was added to the Ribbon system. They then became Rockites: they are the same as the Shanabests, and different other bodies under different denominations in the county, who endeavoured to procure a rise of wages, to prevent people being turned out of their holdings and to lower the rents; they are now called Whitefeet.

"Do you think that the convictions at the last commission will check them?—It may do it partially; but if they continue suffering under hardships, and they are certainly very great, Whitefootism will revive again.

"What are the hardships under which they are suffering?—High rent, want of employment, low wages, and tithe, they consider the greatest hardships; but it is not one of the objects of the Whitefeet to put down tithes."

Rev. Michael Keogh, P.P., Abbeyleix.

"Is it the habit in the Queen's County to refuse letting small portions of land to poor people?—Yes.

"How long has that habit been exercised?—I think since the Subletting Act was introduced.

"Is it your opinion that any of the disturbance is attributable to that cause, from the want of power in the poor man to obtain small portions of land?—Yes, I am of that opinion."

The following statements show how eviction drives the individuals thus cast upon the world to courses of violence and outrage.

Rev. Michael Keogh, P.P., Abbeyleix.

"To what do you attribute the commencement of these outrages?—The poverty of the people, and a great many having been ejected from their lands.

"State the particulars of the ejectments?—On Mr. Cosby's estate there were a great many ejected; I have made inquiries of late into the matter, and from all the information I could collect, I found there were 174 families ejected.

"How many, upon an average, were there in each family?—I do not know the number; on Mr. Cassan's estate there were a great many ejected, and Mr. Johnson ejected thirty-four families.

"Were there any other cases?—Dr. Doxay, middle landlord in Ballyrone, ejected a few families, and they became very disorderly people. Mr. Roe also ejected others, and they turned out very bad; and many others whom I do not immediately recollect.

"Was Mr. Roe, like Dr. Doxay, a middleman?—Yes.

"Were those persons ejected during the term of their leases, or at the expiration of the term of their leases?—They were ejected principally at the expiration of their leases.

"Do you know whether those persons so ejected remain still in the country?—A great many of them do.

"Where did they put themselves?—A great many crowded into Ballyrone, which is a village on the decline, and they got lodgings cheaper there; they flocked there and into the neighbouring villages."

"Where did the disturbances begin?—They first began at Ballin-clay, near Timahoe, on Mr. Cosby's estate.

"Subsequent to the ejectment of those people?—Yes.



"Those people were scattered through different parts of the county, carrying with them discontent wherever they went?—Yes; and they but too well succeeded in their objects.

"Do you conceive that is the cause, in a great degree, of the disturbance that has since taken place?—Yes, I am convinced of it."

Rev. J. Delaney, P.P., Ballynakill.

"You have stated that there is nothing political in these combinations, that they arise chiefly from local causes; can you state any circumstances that have occurred in your neighbourhood of late years that might have contributed to those combinations?—There have a great many causes occurred in neighbouring parishes, and perhaps some in my own. I will state one that occurred in my own parish: there were three families, comprising twenty-three individuals; the heads of those families were accused of having cut scollops or switches for the purpose of thatching their cabins, or perhaps for sale; there were some ash and oak. The parties so offending were summoned, and a fine of £5 recorded against them; the landlord gave them the option of going out instantler (it was in the depth of winter, in November), forgiving them the arrears due and the fine, or pay the fine, and be served with notice to quit in six months; they chose the first alternative, and went out; their families were scattered over the parish. The next summer, 1830, was one of famine with us; we were obliged to introduce a sort of poor-rate, to keep the people from starving and dying in the ditches, two of those families were thrown upon the parish, and I had to support them myself; there was not so ample a provision for the poor in the district where they lived; they came into the neighbourhood of the town; the people in the town very naturally objected to their being thrown upon their fund, and I had to give them 2s. or 3s. a week to support them; one of the poor men lost his cow. Some time after being turned out, a series of calamities befel him; he took ill, and after lingering a long time in a state of the utmost destitution and misery, died of a broken heart. The sons of this man, together with a son of the second family above mentioned, became leaders in this system of Ribbonism, and I have reason to believe were some of the most daring and ferocious amongst them; one of them to this day has held out against all my admonitions, and has not yet surrendered himself.

"Did any other cases of considerable hardship occur in your neighbourhood?—There was a vast number of persons in the course of the last seven years ejected from the estate of the late Mr. Cosby; some of them came into my parish, and I found them exceedingly troublesome, and disposed to engage in those illegal associations; at length I was under the necessity of speaking to the farmers, and implored them not to encourage such characters, and if possible to prevent their settling on their land; and in truth it was no easy matter, for if they found an out-house unoccupied they would literally force themselves into it, and keep possession until they could procure shelter elsewhere, or until their participation in some act of outrage, or their attempts to propagate their favourite system, fell under the notice of myself or my assistant, and obliged us in self-defence to expel them from the parish. Our conduct in this respect was by them considered very severe and even cruel, and, I have reason to know, brought down on us their bitterest resentment. It was to those persons I alluded in the early



part of my evidence, where I stated that I cautioned the farmers not to receive strangers, and forbade them to resort to my chapel."

Robert Cassidy, Esq.

"You live in the Queen's County?—I do.

"It has been in a very disturbed state, has it not?—The county has been more or less in a state of disturbance, or rather dissatisfaction, for some years; but I consider that since May, 1831, those disturbances have become more extensive, and more atrocious in their character. The cause, I think, has been much longer than the effect: the prevalent distress of the country, to which nine-tenths of the population are subject, makes them very easily attend to any prospect held out to them for bettering their condition. The eviction of tenants, the low rate of wages, and the generally oppressive conduct of the people to whom the labouring classes have been subjected, have been the prime causes of the combinations amongst the people.

"Then you trace it, in a great measure, to the persons that have been dispossessed of their lands?—I conceive that the turning off of tenants has been the principal means of uniting the people for a common cause."

Mr. John Cahill, C.E., resident in the Queen's County.

"Has the system of dividing land been general in your part of the country?—Not of late.

"The landlords find, when their leases fall out, tenants on their land, which they themselves had not put on the land, namely, undertenants of their tenants; is that so?—Gentlemen have agreed to make the farms as large as possible, and those people referred to are generally evicted.

"Do you conceive that it has been these who have been so turned out who have become wanderers and vagrants, and the source of the Whitefeet association that prevailed in that part of the country?—I do; there were 1,126 of these poor people left idle in a part of two parishes, and all that within about six miles of each other.

"How does it happen you are able to speak with so much accuracy and confidence on the numbers?—Knowing the barony so well, and I have gone through the collieries making inquiry, and know the families that were evicted.

"Do you know them by name?—Yes, I have their names.

"State generally what has become of them. Do they continue wandering about?—I have known on one estate, which is near me, there has been a great many of the old people turned off that became beggars, and a good many of them died of want.

"Do you mean died from want?—A kind of distress; being turned out of their houses, many of them became beggars and died; more of them are labouring in different parts of the country, but the old people in general died: I can state to the Committee the number that died to my own knowledge.

"When those people are ejected, is it customary for them to remain lurking about the place where they formerly resided?—When they are ejected they are generally put in by the agents at 6*d.* per week, and left a little while until it is convenient for them to remove, generally



perhaps a quarter of a year, or two months, and then they become paupers; because, according to the Subletting Act, they can get no land; at least it so happens in my neighbourhood.

"Are all those who were evicted, except those who have died, in the neighbourhood of the place where they lived?—But very few.

"What has become of the rest?—I suppose some of them are in Dublin; many have gone into the County Kildare, or are at service."

Henry Smyth, Esq., Magistrate of the Queen's County.

"You live in the neighbourhood of Portarlinton?—Yes.

"What has been the state of that part of the country during the last six months?—It has been, and I fear, notwithstanding partial appearances, is, at present, very awful and very critical.

"What circumstances have occurred to induce you to form that opinion?—There appears to be a combination, under the authority of a vague and mysterious person, styled Captain Rock, which interferes in all the transactions of life.

"How does it show itself?—If a man takes a bit of ground, if he dismisses a servant or labourer, or employs a tradesman who is obnoxious to Captain Rock, or refuses to obey the mandates of Captain Rock, he receives an anonymous threatening notice; if that notice is not complied with, he receives a visit from Captain Rock, attended by from ten to thirty or fifty people, who either destroy his property or injure his person.

"Does the system upon which they act practically amount to a successful resistance of the laws?—Undoubtedly."

Hovenden Stapleton, Esq., Magistrate of the Queen's County.

"To what objects have their operations been directed?—In the first instance, the taking of arms; during 1829 it was almost entirely confined to the taking of arms; after that there was some cessation, but in the last year their object seems to have been the settlement and disposition of land and property of almost every kind.

"Do you consider that is their ultimate object?—Their ultimate object I conceive to be the disposition and settlement of land; to prevent any landlord taking land from a tenant, or preventing him doing what he pleases with his land.

"The first object appeared to be the obtaining of arms?—Yes.

"Did this manifest itself before distinct grievances were complained of?—Tenants were dispossessed previously, but I did not hear much complaint of grievances; I have heard more of them here than anywhere else.

"They began by interfering with the landlords in the letting of their property and the regulation of the wages?—Yes, in 1831.

"Was that the first in order of the grievances?—Yes; their operations were directed to attacking houses for arms, first by night, and then by day; there was scarcely a person in the barony that was known to have arms that was not attacked, and the gentlemen who were leaving home were obliged to bring their arms with them or secrete them in their houses; but when all the arms were taken, then they turned their operation to the disposition and settlement of land.

"And the regulation of the wages?—Yes; any person who had taken a farm for the last ten or fifteen years was visited and severely beaten."



Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, P.P., Maryborough.

"What are the principal objects they have in view?—To keep themselves upon their lands. I have often heard them say, 'What good did the emancipation do us? are we or our children better clothed or fed? are we not as naked as we were, and still eating dry potatoes when we can get them? Let us notice the farmers to give us better food and wages; to give less to the landlord and more to the workmen; and not be turning the poor people off the ground.' Then some that went to England, and saw the way the English labourers are fed and clothed, came back and said, 'If you saw the way the English labourers lived, you would never live as you do'; and some from another part of the country told them that they managed things better there; that the way 'was to swear to be true to each other, and join to keep the people upon their ground, and not let the landlords be turning them off.' It would then be proposed that they should meet at some shebeen-house, of which there are too many unfortunately in the country, or some licensed house of low description, where they get drunk and become demoralized, and thus they are seduced into the Whitefoot system."

The Rev. J. Delaney, P.P., Ballynakill, after having stated that the spirit of combination became first extensively prevalent in his parish about 1830, is asked—"In what way did it show itself so extensively?—In serving notices; in enforcing what they conceived to be rights, family settlements, etc.; requiring the surrender of lands that had passed out of the hands of the former occupants some sixteen or seventeen years before; taking up arms, and beating those obnoxious to them.

"Were their measures directed against the Government?—No, they were matters rather of a personal or domestic nature; but at first this system showed itself in an effort to raise the rate of wages and better the condition of the labourer.

"From 1830 did it continue extending?—Yes, it spread very much; many persons were served with notices to give up lands, arms were taken from some, and others beaten to compel them to enter into their associations.

"What are their own feelings about their own condition?—They complain that the conacre rents are very high, the wages they receive exceedingly low, and totally inadequate to enable them to support their families, and that they cannot obtain employment."

The Whitefeet, although their objects were for the most part defined and their laws known, sometimes interfered in an irregular and capricious, and what (as compared with their regular system) might be called an arbitrary and tyrannical manner.<sup>4</sup>

Rev. Michael Keogh, Abbeyleix, Queen's County.

"You have stated you found out this combination; what did you believe to be its object?—To obtain better wages, to lower the rent of land generally, and prevent others taking the land from which they were ejected.

"Were those the whole objects?—Yes, the principal objects; they also intruded themselves into the settlement of private differences."

<sup>4</sup> See Lewis: "Local Disturbances, etc," p. 119.



Instances of this species of regulation are mentioned by Mr. John Edge, tenant of Newtown colliery:—

“Do the Whitefeet interfere with the private affairs of families?—They did in a way I conceived to be very unreasonable; a man took another man’s daughter away, and some years after they came and beat the man in a most horrible manner to compel him to give a marriage portion. Another man swapped a horse, and they came and beat the fellow, and made him give back the money he had received in exchange, and in all the minute concerns of life, if they do not obey their mandate, they get a right good thrashing.

“Their objects appear to be local objects, and to arise from local causes, and they are little better than banditti?—I do not know how that is; but a great deal of mischief is done, and lives lost.”

The following statements show that although on some occasions the Whiteboy associations were directed against tithe, they were in general confined to land and the hiring of labourers; and that the great and organised resistance to tithe in 1831 and 1832 was altogether independent of those combinations.

Mr. John Dunn, Ballynakill, is asked—

“What is the present state of that part of Ireland?—I regret to say it is very much disturbed indeed.

“To what do you attribute the disturbance?—I attribute it in a great measure to a body of men who congregate together for the purpose of regulating the price of labour, and preventing the interference of any person but the old tenants with the occupance of the lands, where leases may determine.

“Are you aware of the combinations under the name of Blackfeet and Whitefeet?—Yes; it has occupied the attention of every man in Ireland for the last eighteen months. I have attended most minutely both at the assizes and at the court of quarter-sessions; I have seen crowds of those people brought to trial and convicted, and I never could collect anything beyond this—their associating and binding themselves under the obligation of an oath; that it appears by their acts they are quite ready to obey this obligation when called upon; that they commit dreadful outrages, yet their objects are principally directed to levy increased hire for their labour; to see that no person shall get the occupancy of another man’s land, if the period of their term shall expire, or if they may be turned out under ejectment. I believe the best authorities have not been able to make out any further object that they have. They congregate in great numbers; they go to the public fairs and markets; they disturb the public tranquillity, and throw the whole country into a state of confusion.

“Do you consider those disturbances connected with tithes?—I have watched their progress, and I have been present at the trial of great numbers, and in no case could I discover the slightest connection with tithes, nor indeed amongst them scarce any person of the class who usually pay tithes.”

As the Catholics were the chief takers of small holdings, so the Protestants were the chief possessors of arms; for this latter reason their houses were often visited by the Whiteboys; whence it sometimes appeared as if the proceeding had a religious complexion, whereas it was



not the creed of the Protestants but their guns and pistols which were the objects of attack. This is explained in the following evidence of Mr. H. Smyth, a resident magistrate of the Queen's County.<sup>5</sup>

"Are you able to say whether or not, in the common opinion and feeling of the country, the crimes to be tried at that special commission had any reference to religion or religious party feeling?—The fact is, that in my neighbourhood the Rockite outrages had almost all of them been necessarily committed upon Protestants, because they are the persons who have had arms, and have generally experienced on that and other accounts a good deal of persecution. I believe it was a desire to get arms, and not particularly on account of their religion, that they attacked them. If a Roman Catholic had arms, an adherent of Captain Rock would be very anxious to get those arms into his hands.

"Do you consider that the Protestants of the middle class, and the labourers, and the farmers, feel themselves particularly in a state of insecurity in consequence of that oath?—I do not know that they do in consequence of that oath, but there has been a great panic among the Protestants on my estate; I believe I have been the means of preventing several of them emigrating to America; what the cause of that panic is I do not know, except that, being yeomen, and having arms, they have been in several instances attacked and stripped of their arms.

"Have they ever stated to you their own apprehensions?—They are eternally complaining of the insecurity of person and property, arising from Captain Rock; and I have no doubt there are many Catholics in the same plight."

Rev. J. Delaney, speaking of the Whitefeet in the parish of Ballynakill:

"Did they make any distinction in the religion of the persons attacked?—No; in my parish the population is almost entirely Catholic. They attacked any man suspected of having arms: they visited them indiscriminately, whether Protestant or Catholic."

Rev. Nicholas O'Connor:—"You have stated that the oath of the Whitefeet bound them to each other, and you mentioned certain objects, such as their being deprived of their lands?—I did not say that they were sworn to those objects of the association.

"Are the Committee to understand that they are bound by an oath?—Yes; the Whitefeet are, but the Blackfeet are not.

"Are you aware there was any provision in that oath by which they were to direct their hostility against all Protestants?—I am sure it could not be; for their hostility was directed more against the Catholics.

"Was it on some occasions directed against the Catholic clergy themselves?—Yes; I know a priest who received notice from them; also in the diocese of Ossory the Catholic clergy were frequently noticed not to be speaking hard of the Whitefeet, and they also complained of me.

"Was it latterly, or in the commencement of the operation of the Whitefeet, that they have shown hostility to the Catholic clergy?—As they progress in evil their habits are more hardened; latterly the hostility has considerably increased.

<sup>5</sup> See Lewis, *ibidem*.



"Do you know the period that notice was served upon the Catholic clergyman you spoke of?—In the course of the present year.

"What was the object of the notice?—It was the same as the rest, not to treat them so harshly; and I believe a stone was thrown at the same clergyman."

There appear to have been a few instances of Protestants being implicated in Whiteboy proceedings; in one case, of which the details are given, it will be observed, that the party was in a higher class of life, and that he employed the persons who committed the outrage.<sup>6</sup>

James Robinson Price, Esq., speaking of Ossory:

"Mara was a surveyor, employed by me to survey burnt ground. The year before, a man named Wall, a Protestant and an under-tenant, burnt a considerable quantity of ground upon the Ladies Fitzpatrick's estate; he took the land under the court, on the death of Mr. White. I surveyed the land, and summoned him before the magistrates, who fined him. The next year he persevered in burning double the quantity, and he gave it to be understood to the Whitefeet thereabouts, that if they kept off the fine and prevented the surveyor from effecting a survey, they should have the quarter ground at £6 an acre, otherwise they should pay £10; in consequence a detachment of Whitefeet, who lived ten miles off, were summoned, and Wall supplied them with money; on their way they attacked the surveyor's house, and fired into it; the surveyor's son fired on them, and wounded a man in the arm, named Robinson; the country people turned out next morning, and, assisted by the police, pursued Robinson by the tracks of his blood, and took him concealed in a corn field. Robinson turned approver, and prosecuted three men to conviction, who have been since transported. . . . Wall was tried and acquitted; the Rev. Mr. Caulfield, a Protestant clergyman, came to give him a character, considering him a religious man; but when he heard the evidence he went away, without being produced on the table. Mr. Baron Smith, in discharging him, said, 'that he was morally guilty of the blood of those men.' Sentence of death was passed upon them, but with an intimation to the magistrates of the county, that if the county was tranquillised in the meantime they would be recommended for transportation; and the magistrates assembled in August, and recommended the sentence to be commuted, in consequence of the improved state of the county. . . . Wall was indicted, not for a conspiracy, but for the attack on the house; it was not proved, however, by Robinson, the informer, that Wall was at the attack; but it was proved he sent for the men, and met them at his own house, and offered them a 30s. note, which was refused. Robinson has since been put into the police, because he could not live in the country. I know other instances where the Whitefeet have been sent for by one Protestant to intimidate another Protestant; that is the reason that I say those Whitefeet are made use of by designing men, who may not be bound by their oath, but who, by the agency of a servant-boy or understrapper in their employment, make use of them to carry their purposes into effect.

"Will you be so good as to name any other Protestant that has been convicted or accused of participation in these offences?—I have

<sup>6</sup> See *Id. ibid.*



no knowledge of any other convicted or accused. I know an instance where a Protestant tenant ploughed up a considerable number of acres of pasture land; the landlord remonstrated with the tenant for it, and cautioned him not to burn it; and notwithstanding that caution, I heard and believe that a considerable number of Whitefeet came there in the open day and cocked the peating, or prepared it for burning, and it was supposed those people would not come there without the tacit consent of the tenant; that was the inference drawn from it. I am sure I am far from wishing to make an impression that any considerable number of Protestants are connected with it, but I am asked as to the fact, and I am bound to state it."

The working of the system is thus explained:—

John Dillon, Esq.:—"Do you think that this organization which exists in Queen's County is carried on under any general system, under any organised leaders, or is merely an ebullition of different portions of the county resisting their grievances?—I think it is the ebullition of different portions of the county on account of local grievances; there is no general organization in the county; the oath taken in one part of the county frequently differs from that taken in the other parts of it."

Rev. Nicholas O'Connor:—"Are these Whitefeet managed by any committees?—No, there are no committees among them; if they find a grievance, they communicate it to others, and strangers come, sometimes by night, to execute their vengeance, but of late most of the outrages, and the worst of them, have been committed by day."

"Have they any concert or plan of acting?—None, but what they devise amongst themselves on the spur of the moment."

When the Whitefeet possessed themselves of the means of enforcing their law, they proceeded to administer it in form. This was effected by serving a written notice on the party who had infringed it, commanding him to do, or forbear from some specified act. Mr. Despard, being asked in what way the Whitefeet enforce their schemes, says—"They generally first serve the person who has land that they do not wish him to have, with a notice pasted on his door, or put in through his window, and if the person does not comply with what is in that notice, they then come, in a short time, and beat him, and sometimes there are murders committed."

Rev. Nicholas O'Connor:—"Do they endeavour by force and by intimidation to obtain what they wish to have done?—They generally first serve a notice, and if that is not obeyed, violence follows; this notice is accompanied generally with a picture of a coffin, or some emblem of death, and they write, that if the parties warned do not do what they require within a certain time, they may prepare their coffin."

"Are not the punishments they inflict in case of disobedience to their orders of the greatest atrocity, assassination, etc.?—Yes; generally beating, which sometimes ends in death."

<sup>7</sup> A man named Walter Whelan, on conviction at Maryborough Assizes of publishing (or posting) the following notice, was sentenced to be *transported*! The law cannot be said to have erred on the side of leniency:—

#### "TO THE PUBLICK.

"Now friends you have had the opinion of your countrymen in every part of this county, any man who wishes to be a friend to his country let them not deal at their peril with any of the









**STRADBALLY HALL**  
(Cosby).

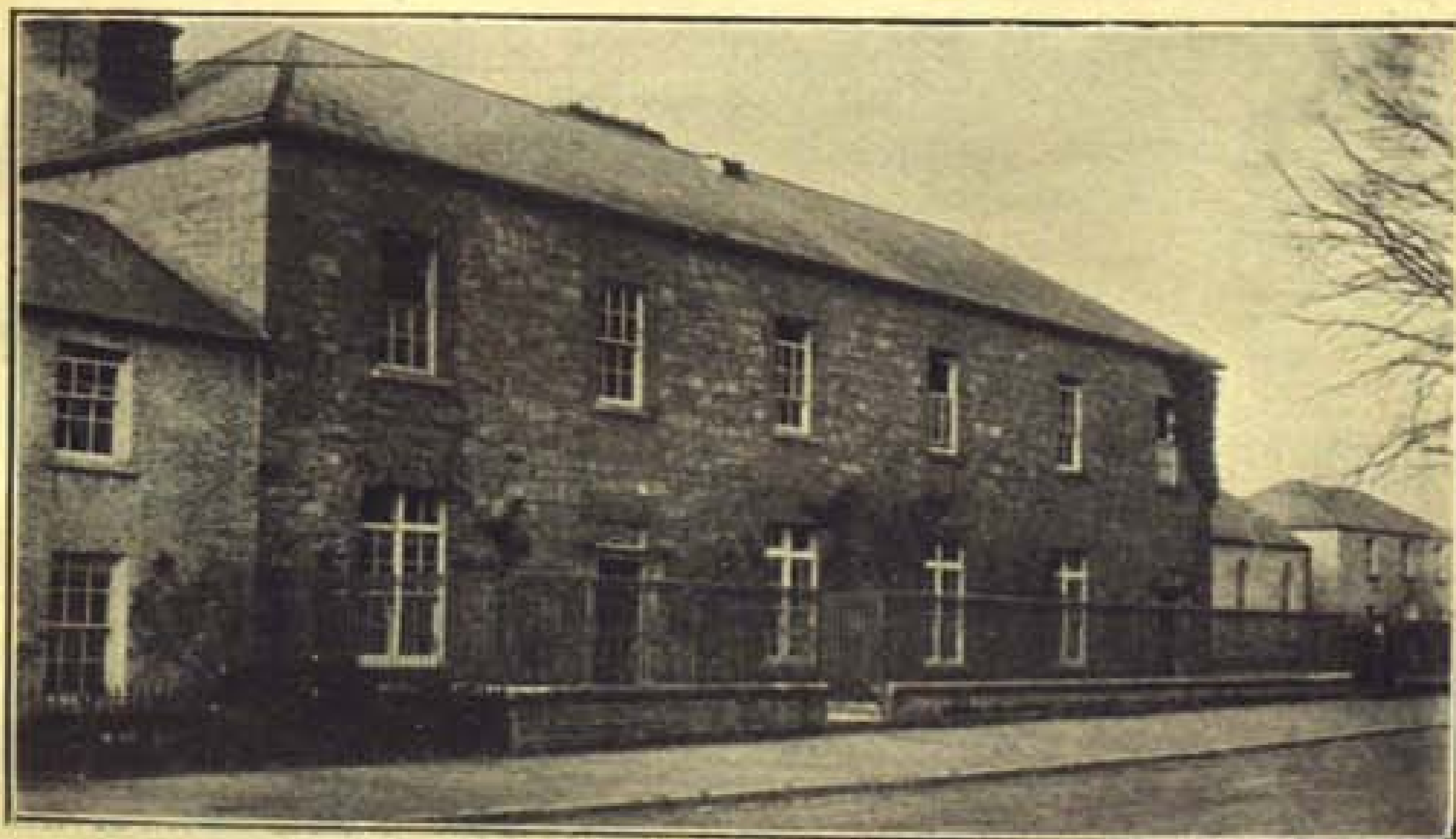
Vol. I., p. 333. Vol. II.,  
p. 628.



**OLD DERRIG**  
(Most Rev. Dr.  
Doyle, J.K.L.)  
Vol. I., p. 265.

*Photo by]*

*[S. Nolan, Carlow.*



**ABBEYLEIX**  
**ENDOWED SCHOOL**

Vol. I., pp. 154, 187.



An indication of the methods employed by the Whiteboy system is given by Chief Justice Bushe on the Maryborough Commission:—“Illegal oaths are administered, often by compulsion, to unhappy wretches who attribute to them an obligation which they deny to more legitimate engagements. Vengeance is denounced against all who refuse to join those associations, or resist their mandates, or give information of their crimes; by these means they become numerous, and the plunder of arms from all loyal and peaceable subjects soon renders them formidable. The destruction of property follows, houses and barns and granaries are levelled, crops are laid waste, pasture lands are ploughed, plantations are torn up, meadows are thrown open to cattle, cattle are maimed, tortured, killed. Those persons who incur their displeasure are visited by parties of banditti who inflict cruel torture on their persons, mutilate their limbs, or beat them almost to death. Men are deliberately assassinated in the open day, who have in any way become obnoxious to the insurgents, or opposed their system, or refused to participate in their outrages, and sometimes the unoffending members of a family are indiscriminately murdered by burning the habitation of one devoted victim.”

That the farmers, and other respectable people, were afraid to give evidence against the Whitefeet, and that they had good reason to be afraid, is testified to by several witnesses. Thomas Bermingham, Esq., Queen's County:—

“Are they (the farmers) not in that situation that they are obliged to connive at the nightly disturbances, and afraid to act or give information?—I think they are afraid to give public information, but they are anxious to come and explain what is going on, and to assist as far as they can; no men are more inclined; it is their own property which is at stake.

The following remarkable case in point is mentioned by Mr. Myles O'Reilly, as having fallen under his observation, when sitting on the grand jury at the Maryborough Assizes.

“An aged man and his wife were produced as witnesses to sustain an indictment for a grievous outrage and assault. An armed party had come to their house at night, and inquired why he had not subscribed to some demand that had previously been given to him relative to some small piece of land; he made the best excuse he could; but one of them, after having put him on his knees, deliberately cut off his ear, and the party beat him and his wife severely. They proceeded before the magistrates the following day, and described

undernamed persons, first say—Godd Fellow Iron Monger &c. and his acting Agent Charley Jackson, Skiff Haslem, Doctor Stapleton, old Cowen, poor Paul Murray, hopping Peter Brennan and don't forget Dolmage, and buy his bread if you dare. As to my uncle the pawnbroker, John Morgan, who headed the Orange lodge in this town. But my friends if I had been at home at that time I would soon take down his three balls for him, depend on it such conduct will not be allowed in this town, as for Mares although he has made his affi-

davit I don't mind that and also let no person buy one bit of meat from Dick Medley on thursday or any other day. The *Leinster Express* I hope you wont forget the debt of gratitude which is owing to him, and leave him his papers to light his pipe with, and above all hold no communication with Jackson Goodfellows and buy neither slates or anything else from him. Down with every person whome we have above mentioned—

“Now or Never.”



and subsequently identified five or six persons, who were then indicted. When the old couple came before the grand jury they both deliberately denied the informations altogether as to the identity; they sustained them in every other particular, but affected to be quite ignorant of the persons who had committed the offence. The grand jury were disposed immediately to order an indictment to be preferred for perjury, but suspended doing so at my request, until I should speak with the poor couple outside. I did not ask them to commit themselves to an avowal of the perjury that they had committed, but the poor man, showing me his ear, said, 'Sir, I have still got one ear, and my skull is not broke; I have lived too long in my place to wish to give it up; I have grandchildren—orphans—to protect, and my old wife and myself are too old and too poor to set about transporting ourselves;' and the indictment for perjury under those circumstances was not preferred by the grand jury.

"Did the prosecution go on?—It could not go on; it utterly failed, and the offenders were let loose to re-commence their outrages."

If the evidence of the various witnesses examined before this Parliamentary Committee is to be relied on it goes to prove that the Queen's County was in a state bordering on anarchy. Yet in the summer of this year the Grand Jury and Magistrates presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant in which they assured him of "the improved condition of the county, of the "energetic, not less than merciful application of the law," and of their own "most undaunted, and patient, and yet merciful performance of duties, so important to the county, and to the State."

The following is a copy of the Address:—

*"To his Excellency, William Henry, Marquess of Anglesey, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.*

"WE, the undersigned

Foreman and Members of the Grand Jury, and Magistrates of the Queen's County, assembled at Summer Assizes, 1832, beg leave to approach your Excellency with expression of unfeigned loyalty and attachment to our Gracious Sovereign, whose Representative you are.

"We have witnessed, with much satisfaction, the efforts made by the issue of the late Special Commission, towards a vigorous and effective administration of the laws. We have every reason to feel highly satisfied with the selection of Judges, so qualified by virtue and experience; and of a Crown prosecutor of such ability and moderation, to conduct that important proceeding, for so impartial, patient, and exemplary an administration of Public Justice. We have witnessed with indignation, the base and infamous attempts made by wicked and bad persons, to detract from, and if possible counteract the moral effect of that most dignified, temperate, and merciful vindication of the laws of the land; but we have at the same time to express our consolation in finding, that those efforts, not less wickedly than ingeniously contrived, have proved essentially abortive. We are happy to be able to represent to your Excellency, the improved condition of the Queen's County; exhibiting a manifest decrease of active disturbance, and personal outrage: and have to add our hope, that the numerous examples to be made under the convictions which have also



at this Assizes taken place; before those exalted persons who judicially presided; upon trials had, under the prosecution of those learned Counsel, deputed by the Attorney-General to conduct the business of the Crown; will have a powerful effect on the minds and conduct of the misdirected peasantry of this once most peaceful County.

"It is a further source of satisfaction to us, that the Crown Prosecutions have been throughout conducted, not less in a spirit of energetic,<sup>8</sup> than of merciful application of the law. It will, we trust, prove a source of gratification to your Excellency to observe, that now, on three successive occasions; within the short space of four months, the integrity and constitutional spirit of the Jurors of the Queen's County, have been, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty and intimidation, fully proved and vindicated by the most undaunted, and patient, and yet merciful, performance of duties, so important to the County, and to the state. We are persuaded that such conduct on the part of the well disposed Inhabitants of the Queen's County, will give to them a still stronger claim not only to the tutelary regard of the executive Government; but also, to the attention of Parliament; to devise such measures as their wisdom shall dictate, to enable the Government in all cases, to meet, and more effectually to repress, those early indications of confederacy and conspiracy; which so speedily advance to the consummation of crimes, the most revolting towards society; and most dangerous to the state. At the same time that we convey to your Excellency the expression of our personal respect; we beg to assure you, that the Executive Government will at all times, and under all circumstances, find in us, and in the quiet and well disposed inhabitants of this County, the same energy and devotedness to maintain the peace of the Country and to co-operate with His Majesty's Government (in the zealous manner that we are conscious of ever having done) to vindicate the laws of the Realm and to repress and put down crime and disorder, under whatever aspect, or under whatever name, it shall at any time exhibit itself in the Queen's County.

"GRAND JURORS.—E. H. Walsh, Foreman, D.L., J.P.; J. Warburton, D.L., King's Co., J.P.; J. Staunton Rochfort, D.L., J.P.; Edward Wilmot, J.P.; Charles White, D.L., J.P.; A. Weldon, D.L., J.P.; T. B. Kelly, J.P.; Frederick Thompson, J.P.; Robert White; Hovendon Stapleton, J.P.; W. W. Despard, J.P.; Charles L. Sandes, J.P.; John Tibeaud, J.P.; John Thomas Bland; William Fishbourne, J.P.; Joseph Kemmis.

"MAGISTRATES.—Matthew Cassan, D.L.; Myles John O'Reilly, D.L.; William Cope Cooper, D.L.; R. H. Johnson; Robert Chapman; E. H. Pope; Jonathan Chetwood; William Armstrong; James Dunne; Richard Warburton; B. Thacker; Henry Brereton; J. Sabatier; Sidney Cosby; Stephen Cassan."

<sup>8</sup> Examples of the *energetic* administration of the law are found in the three persons who were sentenced to be hanged, and the 23 who were sentenced to transportation at these Summer Assizes. One case may be cited. Thomas Delany was transported for *seven* years for *attempting* to compel James Finn to quit his lawful employment. We note among the presentments passed: "£400 to convert

the old jail into a police barrack."

At the Spring Assizes of 1831, Richard Sandys, a degraded Protestant clergyman, *was sentenced to death* for feloniously celebrating a marriage between two Protestants, and another between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic at Mountrath. He was reprieved; but received a similar sentence in 1835, and again in 1841 for like offences.



In April, 1832, the third Reform Bill was, like its two predecessors, rejected by the House of Lords. On the refusal of the King to support the Government by creating a sufficient number of Peers to ensure the passages of the measure the ministry resigned; and the King sent for Wellington. The Duke, after consulting Peel and Lyndhurst, abandoned the task of forming an Administration. The King then yielded; and Lord Grey was recalled. His Government passed an Irish Reform Bill, by which (as John Bright declared in 1850) the "Representation of Ireland was virtually extinguished." The last unreformed Parliament was dissolved in December, 1832, and the most memorable elections ever, perhaps, held in Ireland took place in that month. The popular party in the Queen's County had formed an Election Club, of which Mr. Patrick Lalor was chairman; and this Club had been for months past vigorously preparing for the coming conflict. In September it had issued the following appeal to the people:—

*"To the inhabitants of the Queen's County."*

"Fellow Countrymen.—The time set apart for the service of Notices upon the Clerk of the Peace stating the intention of the claimants to register Freeholds has expired; and the period is almost at hand when, in pursuance of such notices, it will be necessary for all persons who have served them to attend to prove their right to register before the Barrister, at the special session appointed for the purpose. At this very IMPORTANT moment we think it our duty to address you again (we did it before, and then urged upon you the indispensable duty of care and activity in complying with the formality rendered obligatory by the Reform Bill, of serving new notices)—and Fellow-Countrymen, we are rejoiced and proud to find that the advice we then offered has been attended to, and that the list of Notices served by you is large and popular; it exceeds 3,000. If this is, in any degree, attributable to our suggestions, we have reason to feel gratified that they have produced such good results. But all that has been done will, in the issue, prove useless and ineffectual, if it be not zealously followed up at the time of REGISTRATION. You have been made acquainted already with the places appointed for holding the approaching Session, and the days upon which it will be held in the several Towns; and we are now anxious to raise our voice in entreaty and encouragement to you to attend punctually at any of them that is most convenient to you, thus to follow up the first step you have taken, and thereby secure both now and forever, for yourselves and your posterity, those invaluable rights without which existence is useless, and Man's life but a sordid bondage. THE dearest interests of the Land are now in the balance, and it depends in great part upon you, whether LIBERTY, and the PEOPLE'S good shall ascend, or the Oppressor and the Bigot again triumph.

"Fellow-Countrymen.—You have it now in your power to abolish abuses of all kinds, particularly that most hellish abuse, that abuse above all abuses, the horrid TITHE SYSTEM. Is any one of you for paying TITHE in future? If so, avoid Registering; but any person wishing to get rid of this horrid incubus, REGISTER! REGISTER!! REGISTER!!!









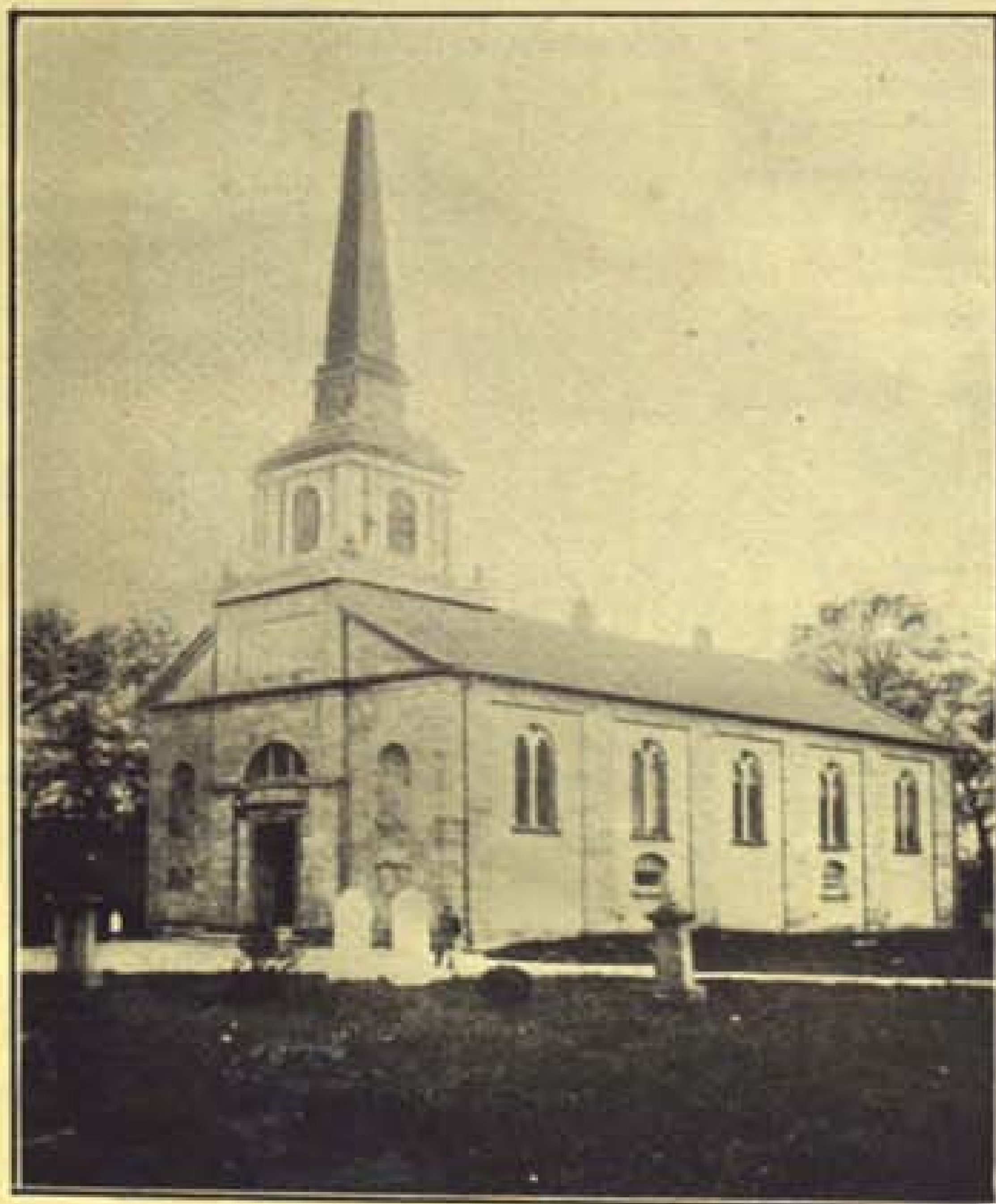
**ABBEYLEIX PROTESTANT CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 154.



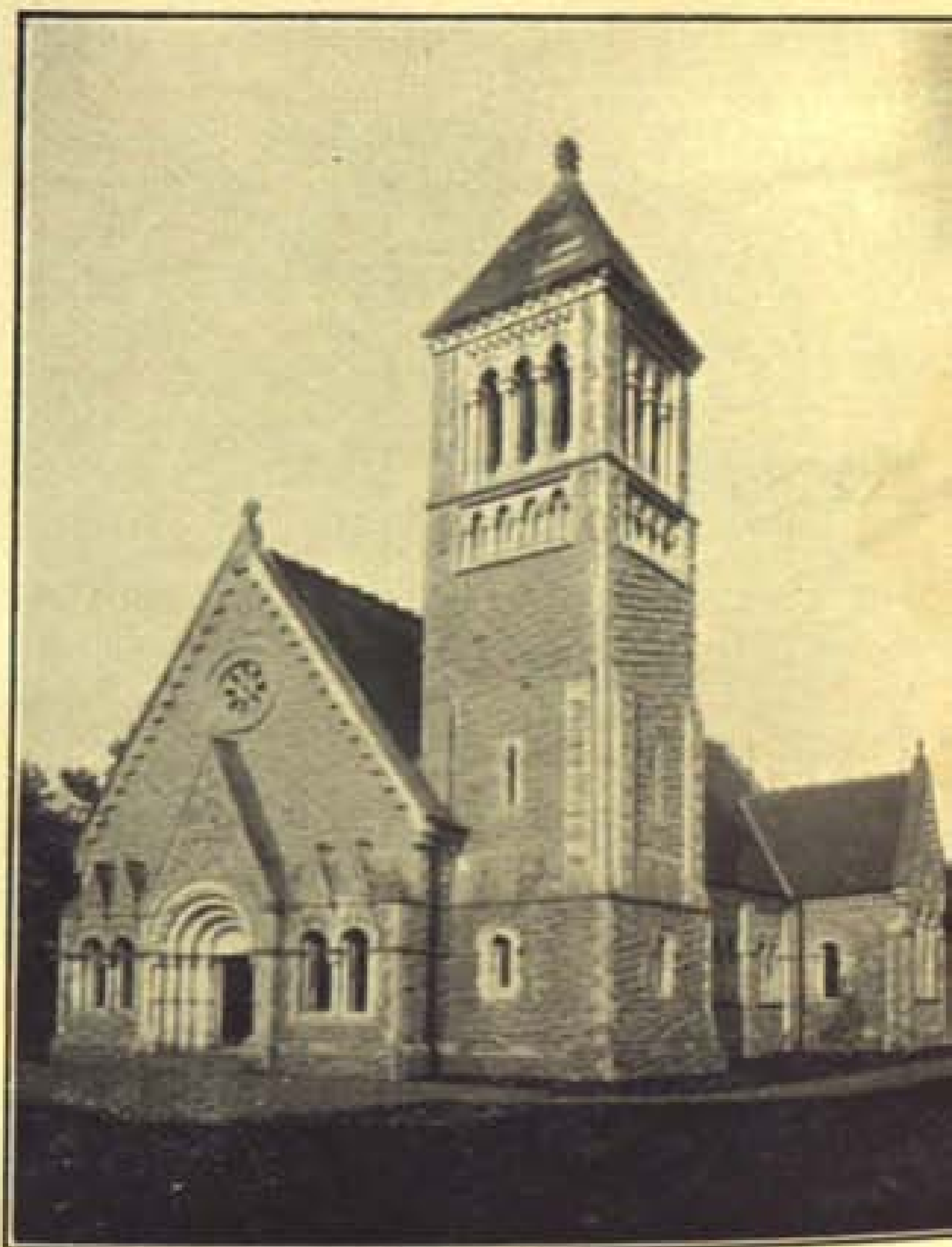
**COOLBANAGHER PROTESTANT CHURCH.**

Vol. I., pp. 179-221.



**MARYBORO' PROTESTANT CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 198.



*Photo by]*

*[Rev. E. O.]*

**ADAIR MEMORIAL PROTESTANT CHURCH.**

Irish Romanesque. Erected 1887.



"Fellow-Countrymen.—As you love your children, and desire to see them emerge from want and penury into comfort and prosperity, as you love the Land of your Birth, and sigh to behold it freed from the THRALDOM and MISGOVERNMENT which for centuries has blighted it, we advise and implore you to come forward, and REGISTER. LET not the smiles or frowns of *those above you* prevent you! We repeat: YOUR RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES are at stake; and if you neglect your duty, or BETRAY your COUNTRY upon this occasion, new years of OPPRESSION and MISRULE will be the necessary consequence.

"PATRICK LALOR, *Chairman*.

"EDWARD MAHER, *Secretary*.

"In pursuance of a Requisition presented to me, I hereby call a GENERAL MEETING of the Queen's County Election Club:—at Stradbally on Wednesday, 3rd of October; at Mountmellick, on Saturday, the 6th; at Donoughmore, on Monday, the 8th, at 12 o'clock each day, for the purpose of admitting members, and transacting other business of the Club.

"EDWARD MAHER, *Secretary*."

The two sitting members were Sir Henry Parnell, Liberal, and Sir Charles Coote, Tory. Sir Henry Parnell, as a member of the ministry shared in its unpopularity; and to avoid certain rejection at the polls he decided not to present himself for re-election. This decision, though inevitable, was a source of deep regret to his friend Dr. Doyle, as the subjoined letter proves:—

"CARLOW, 20th December, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am grieved exceedingly at the necessity imposed on you of declining to stand for the Queen's County. I apprehended for several weeks past that which has occurred, and which I laboured unremittingly, but in vain, to avert. Mr. Lalor, in a conversation I had with him, gave me to understand he concurred in my wish, that no second Repeal candidate should be started; in which state of things I hoped his party would have been friendly to you, especially as the Catholic Clergy, with very few, if any exceptions, in this diocese would assist your return: but the more violent party, as I apprehended, prevailed; and though the present delusion may cease, the presumption and obstinacy of that party will increase. The chagrin of the Minister at seeing all his own views as to this country proved fallacious is but a poor compensation to men whose fortunes are bound up with Ireland, for the loss and annoyance to which the errors of Government have subjected them, and for the indefinite postponement of the right settlement of Irish affairs—if such settlement be now attainable.

"I will endeavour, as you suggest, to undeceive the willing dupes of those who so perseveringly misrepresent your acts and opinions; but, from the many efforts I have already made in that way with but little success, I fear some new disease must expel that which now affects the public mind ere my opinions shall be attended to, when expressed



in favour of one who should never need an apologist with the people of Ireland—but especially with the Catholics.

"In Kildare the clubs were on the point of succeeding in their search for a second Repeal candidate. Had such a person appeared he would, I am confident, be returned with Ruthven.—Ever most truly yours,  
 "✠ J. DOYLE."<sup>9</sup>

On Tuesday, the 18th of December, the proceedings in connection with the Queen's County Parliamentary representation were opened in Maryborough. After the preliminaries usual on such occasions the candidates were proposed. The popular party were in hopes of being able to capture the two County seats; and had accordingly decided to run two candidates—Mr. Patrick Lalor, of Tenakill, and Mr. Peter Gale, of Ashfield. Sir C. Coote was the landlord representative. Mr. Lalor was proposed by Francis Trench, Esq., of Brockla Park; and seconded, in a powerful speech, by Burrowes Kelly, Esq., of Kellyville. Mr. Gale was proposed by the Hon. Mr. Butler, and seconded by John Dunne, Esq., of Ballynakill. Sir C. Coote had for proposer a son of General Dunne, and for seconder Charles White, Esq., of Charleville. The entire day being occupied with speechmaking, the polling did not commence until the 19th. The Tories, deeming it advisable for strategic reasons to have a second candidate, at the last moment nominated Mr. Dunne, of Brittas.

On the evening of Wednesday the numbers who had polled, and the results were declared as follows:—Lalor, 184; Gale, 175; Coote, 165; Dunne, 15. On Thursday evening Lalor was still leading with 748, as against 659 for Gale, and 654 for Coote. In the *Dublin Evening Post* of Monday, the 24th of December, it was announced that Lalor and Gale were returned; but this report proved premature, as regarded Mr. Gale. Sir Charles Coote was able to bring up fifty additional votes, and these turned the scale in his favour.

The popular victory was marred by the failure to return "honest Peter Gale"; and the popular disappointment intensely acute. So strongly were the people's feelings aroused that it was feared an attempt would be made on the life of Sir Charles Coote; and a cavalry escort was provided for him, to ensure his safety, on his journey home to Ballyfin. Notwithstanding this precaution he had barely got clear of the town when his carriage was surrounded, and attacked by an infuriated mob. Shots were fired, and missiles of all kinds hurled at the carriage and its occupants. The cavalry were ordered to charge, and this proving ineffective the order to fire was given. Two persons were killed, and several wounded, before the crowd were dispersed; nor did this exhaust the list of casualties. A supporter of Sir C. Coote, named Roe, a very pronounced Tory and Orangeman, was attacked at Borris-in-Ossory, when returning from the election. Mr. Roe in self-defence fired on his assailants, and killed one of them. Another person was shot and killed in Maryborough the same evening under precisely similar circumstances. And thus, on Christmas Eve, ended the famous Queen's County election of 1832.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Fitzpatrick's "Life, etc., of Dr. Doyle," vol. ii., p. 445.

<sup>10</sup> An attempt to unseat Mr. Lalor on

Petition proved unsuccessful. The Election and Petition cost him £5,000.



The *Leinster Express* reviles the "mobs" that supported Lalor, and inveighs against the treatment to which Coote's voters were subjected. Their names, it says, were placarded throughout the county "as enemies of God and their country." That feeling on both sides reached high-water mark all the indications go to establish. Nor was the case otherwise in the election for the county borough of Portarlington. A successful effort was made to wrest the borough from the Dawson family influence. This success was partly due to the energy and ability of Mr. Edward Wilmot, of Woodbrook, and partly to the personality of the Liberal candidate, Mr. Thomas Gladstone (eldest brother of the future Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone). The following is a specimen of the election literature employed on the occasion:—

"To the Independent Electors of the Antient Borough of Portarlington:

"Free Electors: The first REGISTRY under the Reform Bill, which has rescued your Elective Rights from the Usurpation of a SEAT SELLING PEER has ended, and the interests of Your Town are now in the hands of such of you as have qualified; for it depends upon your Votes whether the antient Ascendancy—now overthrown by the Reform Bill—of that family which has extinguished your Municipal Rights, and embezzled your Corporate Property, shall be established by the return of Colonel Damer, of Derbyshire; or whether you will seize the opportunity offered to you to liberate yourselves from the tyranny of those who, not content with peculating your undoubted property, have been in the habit of bartering with JEWS, and Enemies to your Liberties, for the corrupt sale of Your REPRESENTATION!

"There can be no doubt about the issue; for on the one hand are RIGHT and RESTITUTION, on the other USURPATION and WRONG!!

"Thrice is he armed  
That hath his quarrel just, and he but naked  
Tho' lock'd up in steel, whose conscience  
With injustice is oppressed!"

"Hurrah for GLADSTONE!"

On Friday, 14th December, 1832, the nomination took place.

The Hon. George Lionel Dawson Damer was proposed as a candidate by Colonel Armstrong, and seconded by Mr. Stannus.

Thomas Gladstone, Esq., was proposed by Mr. Leckey, and seconded by Mr. Fitzpatrick.

In the course of his speech Mr. Fitzpatrick was interrupted by objections to having an Englishman as a representative, and retorted that Colonel Damer was an absentee, who spent the money he drained from Ireland in the country of his adoption. He contrasted the state of dilapidation and ruin of the town of Portarlington with the flourishing condition of the neighbouring towns of Mountmellick, Tullamore, and Carlow, and lamented that the tyranny under which they lived in Portarlington obliged them to seek a stranger to represent them.

Wm. Mara, Esq., was proposed as a third candidate by Mr. Michael Carroll, and seconded by Mr. Kenna, auctioneer.

Mr. Joseph Phelan was proposed as a fourth candidate by Mr. J. Mara, senior, but was not seconded.



Colonel Damer, in his speech to the electors, said he yielded to no man in love and attachment to the Church, but it was impossible that the present system of tithes should continue.

The election resulted in the return of Mr. Gladstone by 66 votes to 65 for Colonel Damer. The polling lasted three days. On the first day 20 votes were recorded; on the second the total reached 130, Gladstone leading by 2; and on the third day one additional voter for Colonel Damer turned up. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech before the polling, declared that "the time is gone by, never to return, when England can be the bane of Ireland!"<sup>11</sup>

The popular triumph proved but short-lived. In the next election, three years later, Colonel Dawson Damer was returned for Portarlington, and Sir Charles Coote and the Hon. Thomas Vesey were elected to represent the County. Besides Coote and Vesey, Mr. Lalor, the sitting member, and Mr. Robert Cassidy were nominated. The result of the voting, as given in the *Leinster Express* of the 24th January, 1835, was:—Coote, 787; Vesey, 695; Lalor, 673; Cassidy, 637.

In its leading article the *Express*, under the heading "Glorious Rescue and Restoration of the Independence of the Queen's Co.," thus comments on the election: "This contest—one of the most remarkable which Ireland has produced—terminated on Tuesday evening in the re-election of Sir Charles Coote by a majority of 114, and the substitution of the Hon. Thomas Vesey in the place of Mr. Patrick Lalor, of Tenakill." Prior to the election the *Express* had declared that an organised effort was being made by the "resident landed proprietors" to "rescue" the County.

"The entire body of the resident landed proprietors of the county are engaged in one well-arranged and most determined resolution to rescue the Queen's County from the disgraceful system of intimidation and violence by which every principle of freedom of election was violated, and denied, upon the last occasion; and the full power of the law, with ample civil and military force to compel the submission of all parties to its legitimate authority, will be put forth to insure protection and safety to those who are disposed to respect it, as well as to repress and punish all who dare to resist it. . . . Mr. Lalor's liability to tithes seems to be the sole ground on which he can found his claim to popular choice. . . . No one ever heard of it previous to the Tithe Composition Act; no patriotic feeling prompted him to come forward when the burden pressed heavier on the cottier than on the extensive occupier of land."

After the election we find the following:—"The Roman Catholic Freeholders who chose to exercise their franchise as they pleased are everywhere the objects of the most active persecution; the instances are too numerous and revolting to enumerate. Mr. Redmond Clare, a respectable shopkeeper of Maryborough, and his family, were assailed in the public chapel of the town and compelled to escape from the hands of violence; nor could they return until the indignant reproof of the worthy and exemplary pastor who presides there had been accompanied by a solemn threat to call in the aid of the civil force and military if necessary. At the chapels throughout the county the pews and seats of several respectable persons were torn up and publicly burned; and at Clonaslee even the females of the families of respect-

<sup>11</sup> See *Leinster Express* of December 22nd, 1832.



able tenantry of Sir Charles Coote were driven back from the house of worship, and their clothes torn off their backs. Some voters dare not try to get even necessities from the towns, and the shops are everywhere subject to the operation of the patriotic mandate of EXCLUSIVE DEALING."

The disturbed state of the county at this time is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that in 1834 ten persons were sentenced to be hanged ("their bodies to be hung in chains"), and eighteen transported. The crimes of the latter consisted of various thefts, ranging from the stealing of a horse and a pig to a hat and a cloak. 1835 is still worse. Fifteen persons were sentenced to be hanged ("their bodies to be buried within the jail"), and twenty-three transported.

That the taxpayers of the county were less heavily mulcted in 1835 than at present the following official figures, taken from the Grand Jury Presentment Book, go to prove.

## APLOTMENT OF TAXES.—LENT ASSIZES, 1835.

Baronies.	Barony Charge.	County Charge on Barony.	Total Charge on each Barony.	Per 100 Acres.	Per Acre.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.
Ballyadams ..	281 4 2½	527 13 7	808 17 9½	7 11 1½	18½
Clarmallagh ..	110 18 6	1081 15 7h	1192 14 1h	5 8 8h	13½
Clondonagh ..	203 12 11h	959 5 6h	1162 18 6	5 19 6h	14h
Cullenagh ..	163 6 0h	931 5 6	1094 11 6h	5 15 11	14
Maryborough East ..	241 9 8h	508 13 11h	750 3 8	7 5 5	17h
Maryborough West ..	329 15 8	595 9 3	925 4 11	7 13 2h	18h
Portnehinch ..	283 9 10	719 18 9	1003 8 7	6 17 5½	16h
Tinnehinch ..	157 16 0	675 8 5h	833 4 5h	6 1 7½	14½
Upperwoods ..	147 12 0	929 2 1h	1076 14 1h	5 14 3½	13½
Stradbally ..	204 17 7h	547 3 0h	752 0 8	6 15 6½	16½fr.
Slievemarigue ..	489 3 2h	634 18 0	1124 1 2h	8 14 6½	21
	2613 5 8½	8110 13 10	10723 19 6½		
Off Parish of Athy, ..	Ballyadams ..		14 10 11h		
Parish of Killermogh, ..	Clarmallagh ..		4 12 4		
Parish of Abbeyleix, ..	Cullenagh ..		17 6 3		
Parish of Ballyroan, ..	same ..		1 19 8		
Several Denominations for Police, ..	same ..		11 12 4		
Parish Dysart Enos and Kiltail, ..	Maryborough East ..		13 16 9		
Parish of Offerlane, ..	Upperwoods ..		4 12 4		
Union of Stradbally and Moyanna, ..	Stradbally ..		36 18 0		
Several denominations for Police, ..	same ..		7 6 6		
			10836 14 8½		

WILLIAM KEMMIS, *Treasurer*, Queen's County.



The "County at large" expenditure is thus set out:—

LIST OF SUMS, THE PRESENTING WHEREOF IS MADE IMPERATIVE ON THE GRAND JURY OF SAID COUNTY—3 & 4 WILLIAM IV. CAP. 78.

£	s.	d.	
3030	19	4	A moiety of half-a-year's expense of the Police.
369	4	7 <sup>h</sup>	In aid of County Infirmary.
9	0	0	Rent of Court-house.
115	7	8	Clerk of the Crown, half-a-year's salary.
115	7	8	Treasurer. ditto
69	4	7 <sup>h</sup>	Secretary, Grand Jury, ditto
150	0	0	Clerk of the Peace, ditto
27	13	10 <sup>h</sup>	Sub-Sheriff, in lieu of prisoners' fees, ditto
4	12	3 <sup>h</sup>	Judge's Crier,
5	10	9	Barrister's ditto,
95	11	4	Sums paid to Prosecutors and Witnesses,
35	14	0	Ditto to Medical men under Coroner's orders,
4	12	3 <sup>h</sup>	Salary of Court-keeper,
150	0	0	Instalment of Session-Houses,
425	16	8	Ditto Gaol
462	5	6 <sup>h</sup>	Ditto Lunatic Asylum,
208	16	10	Ditto advance for Cholera,
61	13	4	Advance for like,
13	16	11	Ditto for Leighlin-bridge road, on County at Large.
27	13	10	Ditto for ditto, Barony of Slievemarigue.
382	8	7	Ditto for support of Lunatic Asylum.

5765 10 2

Secretary's Office, Maryboro', May, 1835.

Among the Records of the Lent and Summer Assizes of this year we find the following:—

Ordered.—"That in consequence of the death of the Dean of Kildare and Sir W. D. Borrows, Bart., and the absence of Henry Smyth, Esq., from this country, all of whom, with John Tibeaud, Esq., constituted a Committee appointed to communicate with the Grand Canal Company, on the subject of the approaches to the Grand Canal bridges on the Mountmellick line, which still continue entirely unprotected, to the great danger of travellers and disgrace of the county; that a Committee be now appointed with the same powers as were entrusted to the former Committee, and that the sum of £10 be placed at their disposal for feeing Counsel or other law expenses if required."

"That the Secretary of the Grand Jury be directed to procure a lease of Abbeyleix Courthouse and Bridewell from Lord De Vesci."

"That a Committee be appointed with powers to examine into present plans and estimates for the alteration of the Courthouse of Maryborough, and Order such amendments as they think proper: such alterations to be made by the County Surveyor."

Presentment—To James Morrin for rent of a house at Mountmellick for holding Petty and Special Sessions for half year, £4.

Presentment—To the Collector of Excise 16th instalment for building Sessions Houses at Borris-in-Ossory and Stradbally—£150.

Presentment—To the Collector of Excise 23rd instalment of the principal sum of £16,650 7s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. for building a new Gaol—£461 10s. 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.

Approval of opening a new line of road from Rathdowney to Ballinakill, between Mr. Taylor's house at Dimmore and Kit Mathew's house at the Swan.



Presentment—To the Collector of Excise, the 3rd instalment of the principal sum of £6,471 17s. 3½d., advanced by the Government to build the Maryboro' District Lunatic Asylum—£462 5s. 6½d.

Same—being the 6th and last instalment of the sum of £1,253 1s. 1d., advanced by the Government during the prevalence of the Cholera—£270 10s. 2d.

The year 1835 has been made memorable by the coming of Thomas Drummond as Under Secretary. His influence soon made itself felt in every department of Government. Popular magistrates began to be appointed to the bench; and to be summoned as Grand Jurors.<sup>12</sup> Thus amongst the Grand Jurors of 1836 we find the names of Patrick Lalor, of Tenakill, and his cousin Michael Dunne, of Ballymanus. The Grand Jury Book of this year contains the following amusing item regarding the County jail:—"Report of Jail Committee.—We have inspected the jail and found it in perfect order. The prisoners made no complaints with the exception of the Debtors, who are dissatisfied that the rails in front of their yard have been covered with sheet iron, but which we are disposed to consider a decided improvement." We extract from it also, as likely to prove of interest, the statistics with regard to medical relief in the county.

Dispensaries.	Doctor's Salary.	Number of Patients treated at Dispensary.	Number visited at home.
	£ s. d.		
Ballybrittas .. .. .	52 10 0	1,387	78
Rathdowney .. .. .	63 0 0	1,643	305
Mountrath .. .. .	105 0 0	2,700	276
Stradbally .. .. .	87 13 10	1,438	437
Mountmellick .. .. .	63 0 0 (a)	No return.	No return.
Portarlinton .. .. .	61 10 0	1,058	190
Abbeyleix .. .. .	92 6 2 (b)	3,846	768
Offerlane .. .. .	70 0 0	3,038	271
Clandonagh .. .. .	63 0 0	1,292	312
Newtown .. .. .	90 0 0 (c)	2,363	416
Ballickmoyler .. .. .	80 0 0	903	103
Ballynakill .. .. .	50 0 0 (d)	2,756	830

(a) Apothecary's salary, £21. (b) Apothecary's salary, £25. (c) Apothecary's salary, £6. (d) Apothecary's salary, £20. (13).

<sup>12</sup> "In 1833 there was not in Ireland a single Catholic judge, or stipendiary magistrate. All the High Sheriffs, with one exception, the overwhelming majority of the unpaid magistrates, and *all the grand jurors*, the 5 Inspectors-General and the 30 Sub-Inspectors of Police were Protestant." Lecky, "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," p. 260.

<sup>13</sup> "In 1805 an Act was passed for setting up dispensaries in connection with the county infirmaries, and the grand juries obtained during the next year in-

creased powers of presentment for maintaining fever hospitals and infirmaries. In 1814-18 the grand juries obtained further powers. In 1817 lunatic asylums were established, and in 1819 sanitary officers were appointed. In 1822 a terrible famine occurred, which mowed down the inhabitants like hay. There had already been a famine in 1817, and an accompanying period of typhus fever. The Committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the people reported on June 7, 1819, that the state of the coun-



The question of a poor law for Ireland was much in evidence during this year. In August Lord John Russell commissioned Mr. George Nicholls to proceed to Ireland, to investigate fully, and to report his conclusions to Government. Mr. Nicholls sent in his report in November. He recommended a poor law system somewhat on the lines embodied in the Act of 1838, and subjoined to his report the following memorandum:—

"An estimate of the annual charge of such a system may be desired. The population of Ireland being about eight millions, I assume that workhouse accommodation may occasionally be required for one per cent., or 80,000 persons; this accommodation to be provided in, say 100 workhouses, each capable of holding 800 inmates. The cost of maintenance per diem, in the several mendicity institutions which I visited in Ireland, varied from  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per head. Taking credit for good economical management, I assume that the average cost of maintaining the pauper inmates of the workhouses will be  $1s.$  per week for each person. I assume also, that the average weekly cost of the establishment, including salaries, clothing, bedding, wear and tear, furniture, fuel, and other incidental expenses, will be about half that amount, or  $6d.$  per head, making together a charge of  $1s. 6d.$  per head weekly.

"From these assumptions the following results may be deduced:—If the hundred workhouses, each capable of holding 800 Paupers should be fully occupied throughout the year, the total annual charge of maintenance, salaries, clothing, wear and tear, etc., would be £312,000.

"If the workhouses were, on an average, to be occupied by only three-fourths of the full number throughout the year, the charge would be, per an., £260,000.

"If the workhouses were to be only one-half filled, on an average of the whole year, the charge would then be, per an., £208,000.

"Our experience of workhouse administration in England would warrant the adoption of the last of the above assumptions for Ireland; but it may be safer to take the second, which will probably be found to approximate pretty nearly to the truth.—G.N."

How this worked out in practice in the Queen's County we shall see when describing the establishment of the County Poor Law Unions in 1839.

The next year—1837—brought another hotly contested Parliamentary election. The nomination of candidates took place on the 9th of August. The two sitting members were duly proposed and seconded: Sir Charles H. Coote by Wm. C. Cooper of Cooper Hill, and Lord Sydney G. Osborne; and the Hon. Thomas Vesey by Captain Thomas Cosby of Stradbally Hall, and H. Hamilton Stubber of Moyne, respectively. Two new candidates were nominated John Wilson Fitzpatrick was proposed by Joseph Beale, Esq., of Mountmellick, and seconded by Patrick Lalor, Esq., of Tenakill. Baron de Robeck was proposed by Mr. Finn (late M.P. for Kilkenny), and

try was appalling: 'seeing that landlords in Ireland threw expenses of buildings and repairs on the tenant, and bearing in mind the lamentable circumstance, almost peculiar to that country, of the non-residence of a great propor-

tion of proprietors, they think that Ireland has a claim to the generous consideration of Parliament.'" See "A Consideration of Ireland in the 19th Century," by G. Locker Lampson, M.P., p. 181.





**MARYBORO'  
CONVENT.**

**Founded 1827**

Vol. I., p. 198.

*Photo by]*

*[M'Carthy, Maryboro'.*



**BORRIS-  
IN-OSSORY  
CONVENT.**

**Founded in 1873.**



**MOUNTRATH  
CONVENT.**

**Founded 1809.**

Vol. I., p. 210.







seconded by Mr. Burrowes Kelly. On the third day of the poll C. Coote, jun., Esq., was also nominated. The result was declared on August 14th as follows:—Sir Charles Coote, 1,224; J. W. Fitzpatrick, 943; Hon. Thomas Vesey, 894; Coote, jun., 40; De Robeck, 3.

For Portarlington Colonel Damer was again returned.

The Government measure for the establishment of a poor law system in Ireland was introduced into the House of Commons early in 1838 and passed into law in July of that year. It provided for the establishment of 100 workhouses, where relief and employment were to be afforded exclusively to the destitute poor (infirm and able-bodied), no out-door relief being permissible. The country was to be divided into about 120 unions, each union to be sub-divided into electoral districts, and each district made chargeable with the support of its own poor. The system was to be administered in each union by a local board consisting of elected and *ex-officio* guardians, who were to be under the control of a central body in Dublin, which was to be composed of Commissioners, chosen from the Board of English Poor Law Commissioners.

As a result of this Act two workhouses were apportioned to the Queen's County: one at Mountmellick, and one at Abbeyliscan. Mountmellick was selected on the 7th December, 1839. The poor law union, with an area of 220,968 acres, was to include portions of the King's and Queen's Counties. Its electoral divisions in the King's County were: Portarlington, Cloneyhurke, East and West Ballykean. In the Queen's County: Mountmellick, Maryborough, Coolbanagher, Ballybrittas, Castlebrack, Rosenallis, Rearymore, Clonaslee, Ballyfin, Mountrath, East and West Upperwoods. The workhouse was to accommodate 800 inmates. It was contracted for in August, 1840, to cost £6,915 for buildings, and £1,381 for fittings, and was to be completed in February, 1842. In the result it was not opened until 1844. The site and grounds covered six acres, and were obtained for an annual rent of £37 1s. 0d. The number of guardians was fixed at 30 elected, and 10 *ex-officio*. The names of those who formed the first Board are given in the Official Minute Book, under date 6th January, 1840, as follow:—*Ex-officio*.—General Dunne, Chairman of Board; Captain Tibeado, Deputy Chairman; Lord Portarlington, John Pigott, Colonel Moore, Chidley Coote, George Newcombe, George Adair, Captain Sandes, William Hamilton.

*Elected Guardians*.—Mountmellick—Edward Conroy, D.V.C.; Joseph Beale, Timothy Dunne, Michael Reynolds. Portarlington—Maunsel L. Damer, Bernard Fitzpatrick, George Youell. Ballybrittas—Dawson French. Coolbanagher—George Clarke. Maryborough—John Jacob, M.D.; Wm. Clarke, Patrick Dillon, William Lalor. Mountrath—Patrick Lalor, Daniel Egan, Richard Hawkesworth. Upperwoods—Edward Cahill, John Tracey, Robert Walpole, Thomas Sawyer. Ballyfin—John Dunne, Patrick Lynch. Rosenallis—Anthony Conroy. Rearymore—Denis Deery, James Gorman. Clonaslee—Major R. Dunne. West Ballykean—Daniel Dunne. East Ballykean—Patrick Carty. Castlebrack—Andrew Delany. Cloneyhurk—Henry Warburton.

Until the workhouse was completed in 1844 the guardians' meetings were held first in the Petty Sessions Courtroom, and afterwards in a room rented from Henry Day. After the election of Chairman,



D.C., D.V.C., and Clerk (George Smyth) there was a trial of strength on the question of Treasurer. The National Bank was proposed by Patrick Lalor, Esq., and seconded by Edward Cahill, Esq. The Provincial Bank was proposed by Wm. Hamilton, Esq., and seconded by Joseph Beale, Esq. The National Bank was elected treasurer by 25 votes to 19 in favour of the Provincial.

Another trial of strength occurred the following year when the election of chairman and other officers came up for decision. Mr. Patrick Lalor was proposed for the chair in opposition to General Dunne, and was beaten by only two votes—14 voting for him and 16 for General Dunne.

The Guardians of the present day will be interested to learn that the following was the daily fare fixed by the first Board for the adult inmates:—"Breakfast, 7 ozs. oatmeal,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -pint of new milk. Dinner,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of cup potatoes, or 5 lbs. of lumpers, and 1 pint of buttermilk. Supper, 4 ozs. of bread, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ -pint of mixed milk." This dietary, however poor and meagre it may appear, would compare not unfavourably with that to which the peasantry were in general condemned at that period. And the great principle underlying the poor law system (as enunciated by Sir George Nicholls and other experts) was "to make the workhouses as little attractive as possible lest the entire peasant population might rush into them."

Abbeyleix was declared the head of a poor law union on the 3rd December, 1839. The contract for the building of the workhouse was taken out on the 16th June, 1840. The estimated cost was £5,850, with £1,050 for fittings, etc. The guardians were to number 8 *ex-officio*, and 24 elected.

In the first recorded list of officers Viscount De Vesci is given as Chairman; Edward Comerford, of Ballinakill, as Vice-Chairman; and Matthew Delany, of Ballinakill, as D.V.C.

Although the *Leinster Express* gives the names of those who contested the various divisions, it contains no account of the constitution of the first Board, or of its proceedings. It gives the names of the electoral divisions, and of those nominated for them on the 19th of December, 1839, as follows:—

Abbeyleix.—Edward White, Abbeyleix; John Lyster, Notefields; Allan Leech, E. L. Swan, Brien M'Mahon, Pat Fitzpatrick, Ballinakill; Arthur M'Mahon, Ballyeagle; Bartholomew Seale, Clonadadoran. Five to be elected.

Ballinakill.—Edward Comerford, John Downey. Both elected.

Timahoe.—John Edge, Ballinacclough; Michael Dunne, Ballintclea.

Ballyroan.—J. T. Bland, J.P., Blandsfort; Michael Russell, Pass; James H. Ryan, Larchfield; Andrew Ryan, Ballyroan; Andrew Galbraith, Tunduff; Michael Doran, Cashel. (For two places.)

Raheen.—Patrick Lalor, J.P., Tenakill; John Mulhall, Coolnacart.

Castletown.—John R. Price, Westfield; Joseph S. Phelan, Castletown, solicitor.

Aghaboe.—Michael Phelan, Court; Joseph Palmer, Cuffsboro.

Killermoe.—Daniel Phelan, Coole; Robert Wolfe, Tentore.

Coolkerry.—Mat. Delany, of Ballinakill; James Dunphy, Canonswood; John Roe, jun., Lodgefield; Robert Rhodes, Newtown.

Aughmacart.—Laurence Moore, Aughmacart; Thomas Bowe, Newtown.



Durrow.—William Delany, J.P., Durrow; Wm. Lalor, J.P., Grennan.

The appointment of *ex-officios* must have been on strict party lines judging by the following letter from the Bishop of the diocese, Most Rev. Francis Haly, addressed to Patrick Lalor, Esq., Tenakill:—

“CARLOW, 19th December, 1839.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I see by the list of *ex-officios* at Abbeylaxey that the Conservative party there have given new and additional proof of their hostility to popular government in the working of the Poor-law Act in your neighbourhood. Such a demonstration on their part was certainly not necessary to enlighten the public as to their views and intentions. Is it not surprising, however, that they did not manifest some semblance of respect for public opinion by allowing two or even *one* of the Liberal magistrates of their neighbourhood to be put in nomination? Their spirit of exclusion, put forward in so very marked and insulting a manner, will have, I trust, the effect of creating a reaction among the Liberal party; as it fully demonstrates the determination of the Conservatives to effect their total and unqualified exclusion from all participation in the management of the affairs connected with the Poor Law Bill. There can be now no mistake, and you must rely on your own untiring and UNITED exertions if you are anxious to have any share in the administration of that large portion of the fruits of your industry which must necessarily be absorbed by the working of the Poor Law Act.

“I have written to Mr. Nolan of Abbeylaxey strongly on this subject, and I have great reliance on his firmness and decision. He is very much to be pitied, having no person in his immediate neighbourhood to assist him by advice or example. Seeing the intentions of the Tories to have the entire of the management in their own hands, there can be no compromise entered into with them.

“Wishing you and those who group about your fireside during this inclement season many happy returns of the present holy times, and all sorts of happiness.—Believe me to remain, my dear Sir, always faithfully yours,

“✠ F. HALY.”

At the Summer Assizes of 1839 the following County works were passed:—

Presentment.—To Richard Hamilton, Esq., contractor, to form and level 1,466 perches of a new line of road from Mountrath to Tullamore, between the bounds of the Barony of Glandine and the Coach road at Wm. Haydon's of Bellier, at 9s. per perch—£659 16s. 0d. Also, 983 perches of new line of road, Mountrath to Tullamore, between Michl. Dooley's of Killenure and the bounds at Glandine, at 8s. 6d. per perch. Also, to build two arches and seven gulleys on same line of road—£48. Also, to open a new line of road, Mountrath to Roscrea, between Michl. Delaney's house at Sconce and Briscula Bridge—(Notice of traverse lodged). Also, to open a new line of road from Mountrath to Durrow, between Gurtnaclea Bridge and Keegan's house at Scotchrath.

Presentment.—To David Roberts for erection of cast-iron suspension bridge at Clarahill, £360. Butments for same—£107 10s. 0d.



Same.—To rebuild Gulfield Bridge, adjoining police barrack, Mountrath. Same.—To build a bridge over a river at Garrendenny. Same.—To build a bridge over river Barrow at Carlow, between Barrow Co.'s yard and Braganza. Same.—To open new line of road, Abbeyleix to Durrow, between John Dooley's house and James Justin's house at Spafields. Same.—Opening a new line of road, Ballinakill to Leighlinbridge, between George Sixsmith's and John Ryan's of Crettyard. Same.—Opening a new line of road from Carlow to Ballinakill, between John Lalor's at Garrendenny and Mrs. Campion's of Doonane. Same.—Opening a new line of road from Mountmellick to Rathdowney, between Rushin House and Danganroe Bridge.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1840-1870.

THE Grand Jury would seem to have been especially active in the years 1840-2. From a long list of Orders, Presentments, and Resolutions we have selected the following:—

Lent Assizes, 1840, Resolved:—

1. "That the Grand Jury of County Carlow not having yet certified for the necessity of the erection of a new bridge over the river Barrow into the town of Carlow, the Queen's County Grand Jury fear some legal difficulties might arise from passing the present presentment for its erection, and recommend that the Surveyors of both counties shall bring forward the presentments in concert so as to be certified at next Summer Assizes; 2. That the Grand Jury of Queen's County have examined the plan of the new line of road from Mountrath to Tullamore in the Slievebloom mountains, prepared by the Engineer of the Board of Works, and fully approve of the same, and concur in the opinion expressed by the Commissioners that it will be a most useful line of road."

The Committee appointed by the Grand Jury to examine into the police accounts, report as follows:—

"That they have carefully investigated the accounts submitted to them by Mr. Blake, the District Paymaster, and likewise the additional account from the Inspector-General's office, upon which latter the Grand Jury are called upon to present the sum of £3,048 17s. 3d. In this last account there appears a sum of £367 16s. 9d. for clothing, a moiety of which is sought to be levied off the county. Your Committee find that a decision has been pronounced by the twelve Judges on an appeal against the County Cork Grand Jury, that the law does not authorise such a charge; your Committee, therefore, cannot approve of this sum being levied off the county. Your Committee, referring to the presentment at the previous Assizes, find the charge for clothing £920 12s. 1½d., which, added to the present sum demanded, makes the amount for the year £1,288 8s. 10½d. Your Committee have further examined the Police accounts since the passing of the Act, 6 and 7 Wm. IV., chap. 13, and find that a sum of £2,260 18s. 2½d. had been illegally charged against the county, and your Committee recommend that this sum be deducted from the present presentment. This may appear an extreme course, but when it is recollected that after a period of eighteen years the amount advanced by the Government to sons at that time thought was a Grant, it will at once appear, that if the Government forego their rights."

"We present that 700 perches of new line of road be opened from Maryborough to Castlecomer, between Monawee and Ardough schoolhouse. Also, 506 perches of new line of road from Castledermot to Abbeyleix, between Donnelly's of Galashill and Gregory's Cross."









**DE LA SALLE  
RETREAT,  
CASTLETOWN.**

**Founded in 1881.**

Vol. I., p. 297.



*Photo by]*

*[Kehoe Bros., Dublin.*



**ST. FINTAN'S  
WELL.**

Vol. I., p. 209.

**ST. MARY'S  
COLLEGE,  
KNOCKBEG.**

Vol. I. p. 321.





## "SUMMER ASSIZES, 1840.

"We present for the opening of a new line of road from Moantrath to Frankford, between Taylor's of Roundwood and M'Bride's of Killenure. Same.—To open a new line of road from Rathdowney to Ballinakill, between the old road from Durrow to Abbeyleix and the new bridge. Same.—To open a new line of road from Mountrath to Abbeyleix, between the bounds of Maryborough West barony at Ballinree and Tonduff cross roads. Same.—To open new line of road from Rathdowney to Maryborough, between the three roads near Edward Perkinson's of Roskelton and the road at Claxton's house at Cloneenbeg. Same.—To open 840 perches new line of road from Mountrath to Abbeyleix, between Tarbert Road at Roskelton and the barony bounds of Cullonagh at Ballinree. Same.—To open 351 perches of new line of road from Castledermot to Abbeyleix, between Donnelly's of Lower Farnans and the new line of road at Upper Farnans. Same.—To open 160 perches of new line of road from Stradbally to Portarlinton, between Allen's of Ross Bog and the bounds of Portnahinch barony. Same.—To open new line of road from Stradbally to Carlow, between Curraclone church and Ballykilcavan hill. Same.—To open a new line of road from Mountmellick to Tullamore, between Patrick Mooney's land at Monagurd and the bounds of King's County. Same.—To open new line of road (900 perches), Mountmellick to Rathdowney, between three roads at Mr. Murphy's of Rushin and the river Nore at Cránagh.

"Resolved.—That John Pigott, Francis Dunne, Chidley Coote, George Adair, C. L. Sandes, John Tibeaud, Wm. Hamilton, and John Sabatier be a Committee to consider plans for a new Courthouse at Mountmellick, and to investigate and report on the site proposed in the following letter, viz.:—'I hereby propose to give to the Grand Jury of Queen's County a plot of ground of any size necessary for the erection of a Sessions House, Bridewell and yard, on either side of the new road, close to the bridge lately erected, and distant from the Main Street of Mountmellick about 200 yards, for the sum of three pounds per annum, with a lease of lives renewable for ever.—(Signed), SAMUEL PIM, 12th September, 1839.' "

## "LENT ASSIZES, 1841.

"Resolved.—That we the Grand Jury of Queen's County assembled at Spring Assizes, 1841, do present the site for Mountmellick Courthouse, in the Town of Mountmellick, given by the Marquis of Drogheda, at the annual rent of one peppercorn. That with reference to the claim of the Grand Canal Company for exemption we are of opinion that the Grand Jury has no power whatever to exempt any portion of any townland from County Cess as apportioned—and that the appeal to the Equity of the case offered for such exemption is answered by a much stronger appeal to Equity from a class of persons less able to maintain their own rights, and whom the Grand Jury feel called upon to support, viz.:—the poor Cesspayers whose small farms have been cut in two by the Canal to their great injury, and on whom the additional burden of the tax would be thrown were such injustice as the proposed exemption carried into effect.

"A Committee of the Grand Jury reported that the Police force and distribution in the county are as follows:—8 Districts, 41 Police Stations; 1 County Inspector, 8 Sub-Inspectors, 10 Head-Constables, 52 Constables, and 262 Sub-Constables; that in the present tranquil state of this county, rendered still more secure and permanent by the recent temperance movement, a reduction in the strength of the Police might with safety be effected, and more especially in the department of Officers.

"That the Government are prepared to advance the sum of £400 for the purpose of fitting up the old Gaol as a Police Barrack upon a legal conveyance being executed and in consideration of such outlay, the Government to have the said barrack free of rent for the first ten years, and at the expiration of that term to pay an annual rent of £50 to the county. That it is to be regretted that this arrangement cannot be carried into effect at this Assizes owing to the title deeds and necessary documents relating to the old Gaol not being in the Secretary's Office. We present that 207 perches of new line of road be opened from Durrow to Abbeyleix, between the bounds of Knapton and the coach road at Cuddy's. Same.—To open 670 perches of new line of road from Mountrath to Kilkenny, between the Castle of Cullahill and the School House at the bounds of Co. Kilkenny. Same.—To open a new line of road from Durrow to Abbeyleix (507 perches), between Dunmore and Knapton Wood. Same.—To open a new line of road, 236 perches, from Frankford to Rathdowney, between the bounds of King's County and Widow Maher's lime kiln at Cloncourse. Same.—To open 280 perches of new line of road between the bounds of the townlands of Clonin and Rushen and bounds of Badgerhill. Same.—To open 215 perches of new line of road between Badgerhill and the river Nore at Dangan-row."



## SUMMER ASSIZES, 1841.

"Resolved.—That in all records connected with this county the Barony of Slievemarigue has been spelled S.L.I.E.V.E.M.A.R.I.G.U.E.—we therefore request that the same mode of spelling may be adopted in the Ordnance Maps.

"Resolved.—That as the conveyance for giving up the Old Gaol for the purposes of a Police Barrack has not been perfected owing to the loss or mislaying of the lease by which the County hold it, our Solicitor, Mr. Thomas Turpin, be directed to have forthwith registered all necessary deeds and leases connected with the different Institutions of the County. That 767 perches of new road be opened from Castlecomer to Castledermot, between the bounds of Slievemarigue, near Castletown church, and Tankardstown."

The following belong to the Summer Assizes, 1842:—

"That we the Grand Jury of the Queen's County being disappointed by finding that the bridge and approaches in contemplation, to be built and made between the County of Carlow and Queen's County at Carlow-Graigue, will cost from £7,000 to £8,000, instead of £4,000 as estimated, do feel themselves called on to apply to the Lord Lieutenant that the building of said bridge be not proceeded with, the County being so heavily taxed by the new poor laws, etc.; and the Grand Jury would not consider the bridge of that utility to justify such a cost. That the experience as yet afforded of the operation of the Poor Law, and the mode in which that measure has been administered does not encourage the Grand Jury to approve of any extension of the powers of the Commissioners; nor is it the opinion of the Jury that the Medical Charities would be more beneficially conducted under the control of the Commissioners, or Board of Guardians, or Committees appointed by them, than under existing arrangements."

We now come to the two great events of the first decade of this period—the Repeal agitation and the Famine. Both left an enduring mark upon the country. In the one case we see practically a whole people rising in response to O'Connell's call. In the other we see that same people prostrate before the sudden stroke of the Angel of Death. That the condition of the country justified O'Connell's movement—that it called for *some* movement working for constitutional reform if ruin and revolution were to be averted—will not, we think, be questioned.

"There was no lack of material for the reformer to work upon, when we consider the state of Ireland in the years 1841-5. The house accommodation of that country was divided by the Census Commissioners of 1841 into four classes, the lowest comprising all mud cabins with only one room. This fourth class consisted of buildings absolutely unfit for the habitation of civilized man. . . . According to the calculation of the Commissioners, an average of the whole population being taken, above 43 per cent. of the families in the rural districts, and in the urban districts above 36 per cent., inhabited houses of the fourth class. The Poor Law Commissioners of 1836 stated that the produce per acre in Ireland, as compared with England, scarcely amounted to one-half in value, and that more than double the number of labourers were employed per acre in the former country than in the latter. The total number of cultivated acres in England was 34,254,000, and in Ireland 14,603,000; whilst the net produce per acre in England was £4 7s. 6d., as against £2 9s. 3d. in Ireland, although there were 100,000 more men employed in raising the latter than the former. The census of 1841 showed similar results. In 1845 the

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted here, as elsewhere, that Grand Jury grammar leaves somewhat to seek.



destitute poor of Ireland amounted to one-third of the whole population."<sup>2</sup> "The peasantry are ground down to powder by enormous rents," wrote the *Quarterly Review*, of December, 1840, "which are only paid by the exportation of the great bulk of the food raised in the country, leaving those who grow it a bare subsistence upon potatoes eked out with weeds."

Whether any movement—constitutional or other—however successful, could have warded off the famine disaster may be doubted. Certain it is that under the accumulation of horrors piled up in the famine years O'Connell's movement died an inglorious death. The failure of O'Connell, and the advocacy by Meagher, Mitchel, and others of advanced revolutionary views served as a trumpet call to a Queen's County recluse, who, entering the public arena, proved himself, in the brief period that elapsed before his untimely death, at once the most far-seeing thinker and the "fiercest felon" of them all. The Queen's County recluse was James Fintan Lalor. He has been accorded the merit of having influenced the revolutionary views of John Mitchel, and inspired the agrarian views of Davitt and Henry George. His biographer says of his first contributions to the pages of the *Nation*:—"The leading Young Irelanders felt that a new force had come into active existence. Mitchel was specially impressed, and shows the influence of Lalor in all his subsequent writings."<sup>3</sup>

And Standish O'Grady writes of him:—"James Fintan Lalor was a man who united a most logical understanding with a force and depth of imaginative revolutionary passion without parallel in his time, a man who, first in modern Europe, preached the startling doctrine that land titles, not originating in the people's will, are invalid; that the nations own the land, a doctrine of which Europe will hear much in the coming century, for, whether it be true or false, the world must assuredly face it, as the old wayfarer had to face the sphinx. From the brooding brain of the Queen's County recluse, from some fiery seed dropped there by the genius of the age, sprang forth suddenly an idea, full-formed, clear, mature, clad as if in shining armour, and equipped for war. Something very new and strange, something terrible as well as beautiful there emerged. . . . Lalor's idea passed into the mind of Mitchel and others. With them it passed into America, propagating itself there in the Irish-American press, and from America it has come back upon Europe, advertising itself as 'Progress and Poverty.' Lalor's idea, now well-clad, that is to say, well printed, well bound, less Irish and more nice, possibly, but, beyond question, robust and vehement, walks abroad everywhere to-day."<sup>4</sup>

Gavan Duffy's appreciation of Lalor's powers is pitched in a still more adulatory key:—"Of all the men who had preached revolutionary politics in Ireland, this isolated thinker, who had hitherto had no experience, either as a writer, or an actor in public affairs, was the most original and intense." His letters he describes as "marvels of passionate, persuasive rhetoric."<sup>5</sup> Referring to the death of Davis, and to the writers who came to replace him on the *Nation*, Duffy says:—"James Fintan Lalor was living the life of a hermit, and knew

<sup>2</sup> See "Ireland in the 19th Century," by G. Locker Lampson, M.P., p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Writings of James Fintan Lalor," etc., by D. J. O'Donoghue, Dublin, 1895, page xx.



literally no one outside his own family, but he came in the end to modify the action of the party more than anyone then living."<sup>6</sup>

J. F. Lalor, son of Patrick Lalor of Tenakill, was the first-born of a family of fourteen children. His birth-entry is recorded, in his father's handwriting, as follows:—"James Lalor, eldest child of Patrick Lalor and Anne Dillon, born 10th of March, 1807." "Educated at home under private tutors, and at Carlow Lay College, he was proficient in Latin and Greek; but chemistry, we learn, was his favourite subject."<sup>7</sup> He had quitted Carlow before two who were afterwards to be his fellow-conspirators arrived there, viz., Richard Dalton Williams and Maurice Leyne. On leaving college, Dr. William Jacob, of Maryborough, undertook to prepare him for the medical profession, and received him as a pupil in his house; but the study proved uncongenial; the pupil took French leave, and, it is said, betook himself to France. Here he imbibed or strengthened his revolutionary notions, and nurtured them, on his return, in his seclusion in Tenakill, by reading and reflection. His first published literary effort was his letter to the *Nation*, dated 11th January, 1847. Its spirit may be gathered from the following extract:—

"I will never contribute one shilling, or give my name, heart, or hand for such an object as the simple Repeal by the British Parliament of the Act of Union. . . . A mightier question is in the land—one beside which Repeal dwarfs down into a petty parish question; one on which Ireland may not alone try her own right, but try the right of the world; on which she would be not merely an assertor of old principles, often asserted, and better asserted before her, an humble and feeble imitator and follower of other countries—but an original inventor, propounder, and propagandist, in the van of the earth, and heading the nations; on which her success or her failure alike, would never be forgotten by man, but would make her, for ever, the lodestar of history; on which Ulster would be not 'on her flank,' but at her side, and on which, better and best of all, she need not plead in humble petitions her beggarly wrongs and how beggarly she bore them, nor plead any right save the right of her *might*. And if the magnitude and magnificence of that other question be not apparent and recognised—any more than the fact that on its settlement now depends the existence of an old and not utterly worthless people—it is partly, indeed, because the mass of mankind see all such questions, at first, through a diminishing glass, and every question is little until some one man makes it great; but partly, also, because the agitation of the Repeal question has been made to act as a proscription of every other."<sup>8</sup>

In Martin's paper, the *Irish Felon*, he enlarges eloquently on the same topic<sup>9</sup>:—

"Repeal is not an armed man but a naked beggar. The only martial population that Ireland possesses—the small farmers and labourers—will never wield a weapon in favour of Repeal. This might be enough to say; but the full and entire fact ought to be told, that you can never count again on the support of the peasantry in any shape or degree, on the question of Repeal. Their interest in it was never ardent; nor was it native or spontaneous, but forced and factitious. Such as it was, it is now extinct, and can never be re-created. The *small farmers*, more especially, are weary and heart-sick of Repeal, as well as of agitation—that agitation which has been called a bloodless one, but which, *to them*, was not bloodless. But even had you those means, or if you could create them—if you had at command the whole military power of the people, and the full means of a popular armament, I say you cannot use them with effect on the question of Repeal. To make it successful, your fight must be a *defensive* one. The force of England is *entrenched* and *fortified*. You must draw it out of position; break up its mass; break its trained line of march and

<sup>6</sup> See "Young Ireland," Book III., c. 10, and "Four Years of Irish History," pp. 464-532.

by O'Donoghue, p. xxi.

<sup>8</sup> See "Writings of J. F. Lalor," etc., by O'Donoghue, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See the *Irish Felon* of 1st July, 1848.



manœuvre—its equal step and serried array. You cannot organise, or train, or discipline your own force to any point of efficiency. You must, therefore, disorganise, and untrain, and undiscipline that of the enemy; and not alone must you *unsoldier*—you must *unofficer* it also; nullify its tactique and strategy, as well as its discipline; decompose the science and system of war, and resolve them into their first elements. You must make the hostile army a mob, as your own will be; force it to act on the *offensive*, and oblige it to undertake operations for which it was never constructed. Nothing of all this could you do *on Repeal*.

"A Repeal-war should of necessity be an aggressive one on your part. You must be the attacking party. On all the questions involved in Repeal, England is *in occupation of the disputed points*; and you must assail them. You must send your force against armed positions, marshal your men for a stricken field, and full in its front meet England's might in unbroken mass on its ordered march. But further and finally, you must get time and licence, for preparing, enlisting, organising, drilling. A Repeal-war would have to be *prepared* in presence of the enemy. Need I point to 'Ulster on your flank?' I doubt if a single man ever held the belief *full and firm*, that Ireland could any time be brought to buckle a belt and march out for Repeal. The tone and topics adopted by the *Nation* in '43 and '44 I never attributed to anything but this—that a 'glorious agitation' *affords no poetry*, while insurrection *does*. It was the mere craving of genius for a *magnificent* subject, instead of a *mean* one. . . . The people do not care to subvert the British Government; you cannot move them by talk against the Union: what they want is the land of Ireland for themselves; if, therefore, you wish to shake British rule in Ireland, you must link a revolutionary with a socialistic movement, and hound on the peasantry against their landlords, the real English garrison.

"To achieve independence—the only form in which Repeal can ever be carried—there is, I am convinced, but one way alone; and that is to link Repeal to some other question, like a railway carriage to the engine; some question possessing the intrinsic strength which Repeal wants; and strong enough to carry both itself and Repeal together—if any such question can be found.

"And such a question there is in the land. One ready prepared—ages have been preparing it. An engine ready-made—one, too, that will generate its own steam without cost or care—a self-acting engine, if once the fire be kindled, and the fuel to kindle—the sparks for the kindling—are everywhere. Repeal had always to be *dragged*. This I speak of will *carry itself*, as the cannon ball carries itself down the hill."<sup>10</sup>

In his "Proposal to the Landowners of Ireland," in April, 1847, "to create a complete and efficient industrial economy; to form and give force to a new state and mode of existence; to organize and animate and put into healthy and vigorous action that complex living machine—a social system; to frame and adjust the fabric of society, with all its vast and various interests, arrangements, orders and conditions,"

He appeals to them to :

"lay deep and strong, the only foundation that is firm under the foot of a nation—a secure and independent agricultural peasantry. A secure and independent peasantry is the only base on which a people ever rises or can be raised, or on which a nation can safely rest. A productive and prosperous husbandry is the sole groundwork of a solid social economy. On it, and out of it spring the mechanic and artisan and trading dealer; fed and fostered by it these swell into the manufacturer and merchant, who multiply into merchants and manufacturers; sustained by it still these enlarge, and gather, and solidify into companies, corporations, classes—into great manufacturing and mercantile systems and interests, which often, like unnatural children, disown and desert the mother that bore and the nurse that fed them; without it there is neither manufacturer, nor trade, nor means to make them, for it is agriculture alone that furnishes these means. Food is our first want—to procure it our first work. The agricultural class, therefore, must precede and provide for every other. It is first in order of nature, necessity, and time. It is an abundant agriculture alone that creates and sustains manufactures, and arts, and traffic. It is an increasing agriculture alone that extends them. For it is the surplus of food it accumulates, after providing ordinary subsistence, that forms new wants and demands, and the modes and means to meet and satisfy them. Such is the actual process, a process that never yet was reversed, or carried out in any other course or order; so it was at first, and so it will be for ever—in every time, in every clime, in every country."

<sup>10</sup> See "Writings, etc.," by D. J. O'Donoghue, pp. 80-92.



In the light of the after-history of landlordism the following sounds prophetic:—

“That Ireland is your own mother-country, and her people your people,—that her interest and honour, her gain and her glory, are counted as your own,—that her rights and liberties you will defend, as part of your inheritance,—that in peace you will lead her progress, and carry her banner in battle,—that your labour shall be in her service, and your lives laid down at her need,—that henceforth you will be, not a foreign garrison but a national guard,—this you must declare and adopt, as the principle of your proceeding, and the spirit of your action, and the rule of your order; for these are the duties of nobility. Adopt this principle, and you are armed; on it is your safety and your strength; the future is fettered at your feet; and your name and race shall flourish and not fail. Ireland is yours for ages yet, on the condition that you will be Irishmen in name, in faith, in fact. Refuse it, and you commit yourselves, in the position of paupers, to the mercy of English ministers and English members; you throw your very existence on English support, which England soon may find too costly to afford; you lie at the feet of events, you lie in the way of a people, and the movement of events and the march of a people shall be over you.”<sup>11</sup>

Needless to say his appeal to the landlords fell on deaf ears, or was regarded as the ravings of a lunatic. After the suppression of Mitchel's *United Irishman* he went to Dublin to edit the *Irish Felon*, its successor, and there and elsewhere preached the doctrine of a general strike against rent, afterwards journeying down to Holycross, Co. Tipperary, where, at a public meeting, he endeavoured to form a ‘Land League’ according to his principles, the watchword of which was to be, ‘Pay no rent’. But the farmers, much to his disappointment, failed to respond to his entreaties. He distributed shillings amongst the labourers along the roads in Tipperary, urging them to take the field with him. He was arrested in Ballyhane, a few miles from Nenagh, and lodged in the gaol of the town. Having been subpoenaed as a witness in the trial of John Martin, one of the principal counts in whose indictment was founded on one of Lalor's articles, he was removed to Newgate Prison in Dublin. After a short incarceration, his health, always wretched, grew worse, and he received the last sacraments, but recovered, and was shortly afterwards released.<sup>12</sup> A letter written to his father by the Chaplain of Nenagh Jail, during his imprisonment there, is a contemporary document of much interest, and seems deserving of insertion here:—

“Your son, Mr. James Lalor, was removed from the prison here at two o'clock yesterday morning, and taken to Dublin in order to give evidence on the trial of Mr. Martin. I have not been able to learn whether he will be brought back here—the Governor of the prison could not inform me. If only Mr. Martin be allowed to escape Mr. Lalor will compromise himself, and incur whatever penalty Martin may be liable to. He is resolved to assume the authorship of all the articles in the *Felon*. He was in very delicate health for some days before his removal. I was constantly beseeching him to walk about the prison grounds, but to no purpose; he spent most of the time in bed. As far as I can I have endeavoured to cheer the poor fellow, by telling him all the news, and supplying him with books. He complains bitterly of the privation he suffers by being deprived of newspapers—that I cannot remedy. Meagher, Leyne, and another were arrested yesterday at Holycross in this county. I had a letter this morning from a Parish Priest on the borders of the Atlantic, in the County Clare, stating that his house was searched for O’Gorman by a large military and police force. He is not arrested, although he was in the locality. We are perfectly tranquil in this part of the country; but the harvest prospects are most gloomy. The potatoes are gone in all quarters; the wheat crop

<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 30.

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.*, p. xxii.



is very bad, and nearly destroyed by the constant rain. What will become of our unhappy people during the approaching winter? It is shocking to contemplate the future.

“NICHOLAS POWER, C.C.

“Nenagh, 14th August, 1848.”

The first number of the *Irish Felon* is dated June 24th, 1848. The last published 22nd July, 1848, contained the following (portion of an article entitled “Clearing the Decks”):—

“In the case of Ireland now there is but *one fact* to deal with, and *one question* to be considered. The *fact* is this—that there are at present in occupation of our country some 40,000 armed men, in the livery and service of England; and the *question* is—how best and soonest to kill and capture those 40,000 men. If required to state my own individual opinion, and allowed to choose my own time, I certainly would take the time when the full harvest of Ireland shall be stacked in the haggards. But not infrequently *God* selects and sends His own seasons and occasions; oftentimes, too, an enemy is able to force the necessity of either fighting or failing. In the one case, we ought not, in the other we surely cannot, attempt waiting for our harvest-home. If opportunity offers, we must dash at that opportunity—if driven to the wall, we must wheel for resistance. Wherefore, let us fight in September, if we may—but sooner, if we must. Meanwhile, however, remember this—that somewhere, and somehow, and by somebody, a beginning must be made. Who strikes the first blow for Ireland? Who draws first blood for Ireland? Who wins a wreath that will be green for ever?”<sup>13</sup>

Writing to his brother Richard in Tenakill he describes the consequences resulting from the publication of this article. “Our *Felon* was seized—the entire impression—on yesterday morning. We printed a second edition, and sold it off half-clandestinely. Gentlemen, and even ladies, were collared by the police, pinioned, and the *Felon* torn out of their hands, and out of their pockets. Our office and editor’s room were broken into, and all manuscripts seized and carried off. Things are coming to a close.” In a previous letter to the same correspondent he had insisted on the necessity of expedition in forming clubs, and forging pikes: “Have you been able to engage a smith and to set him to work? The pulse of Dublin goes according to the news from the country. Every club formed, and every pike forged has its effect here. Could you arrange to have a parish meeting got up by written placards, letters, and messengers, etc., in some fine good stout parish—the adjoining parishes being invited to attend? Reilly, Brennan, and I would go down, with a *flash* and *dazzle* of pikes of every model. If three, or four, or five parishes could be got to attend—even to the number of 20 or 30 persons from each—that number of clubs could be formed at once.”<sup>14</sup>

In 1849, in company with Luby, O’Leary, Brennan, and others, Lalor travelled much through Tipperary, Limerick, and Waterford, endeavouring to organise revolutionary clubs and to induce the peasantry to break into open revolt. His efforts, however, were doomed to dismal failure. On his return to Dublin he projected a newspaper, but did not live to bring the project to fruition. He succumbed rapidly to a severe attack of bronchial asthma, and died on 29th December, 1849.

It adds much to the tragedy of Lalor’s life that his revolutionary principles were abhorrent to his father, who was an ardent and convinced Repealer. It was from the great Liberator himself he had

<sup>13</sup> See “Writings,” etc., p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> From unpublished letters preserved in Tenakill.



received the title by which he was always afterwards designated, of "Honest Patt. Lalor." The esteem in which he was held in Conciliation Hall is evidenced by the fact that after O'Connell's death a letter of his, early in 1848, criticising the *modus operandi* adopted by John O'Connell, elicited not only an official reply from T. M. Ray, the Secretary of the Association, but a personal and private reply from John O'Connell, as well. Both letters are most interesting. The Secretary says:—

"I have shown your favour to Mr. John O'Connell, whose letter I enclose, and as I could not possibly treat any subject with his ability, I trust the explanation, as he gives it, may be satisfactory to you. In point of fact many persons have remonstrated with him for bearing so patiently the abuse and misrepresentations heaped upon him, and his honoured father; but he was always anxious to avoid anything of the kind that absolute necessity did not require. There is a notion amongst the people that it is not necessary under the present circumstances of the times to be over cautious in regarding the law. We here believe this to be a sad delusion; we know that the Government would be only overwilling to seize any pretext to crush this Association, and that Parliament would rush to their support most decidedly and gladly. There is great responsibility on Mr. J. O'C. and his Brothers to keep the Association safe; and if there was not some expression of dissent from the extreme doctrines of enthusiasts we would be included in the same category. Our hope is that a little time will prove the policy of the Association to be justified. We, of course, do not sympathise in wanton attacks either way."

The following is Mr. John O'Connell's letter:—

"DUBLIN, 19th April, 1848.

"MY DEAR LALOR.—There are few men whose *hostility or neutrality* I would so heartily deplore as yours. If we have commented in the Association on individuals, or Bodies adverse to us, it has not been in the proportion of one time *for fifty*, that we collectively and individually have been assailed. Calumny has known no limits against some of us. Believing that my beloved Father's principles are the *only* safe and practicable foundation for a popular Body and popular effort, we were *inevitably compelled*, from time to time, to warn the People from being led away to join any other Body, where their safety would be endangered. The *non-reading* of certain letters was compelled by the fact that it is not allowable *even to discuss* sentiments and suggestions tending to a violation of law; and of course if we did not discuss them, after reading them aloud, the very fact of our so reading them without comment would be taken *as an adaption*.

"At all times the conduct of a *safe* agitation is like leading a skittish *colt through a fair*! But *now*, at *this* moment of *madness*, it is like having to deal with a *wild bull*! If we yield *an inch* we are *gone*!

"I don't expect that my words can carry any weight with them; but I owed it to my deep regard and constant high esteem for you, and I owed it also to myself, to write these hurried lines, in addition to Mr. Ray's regular answer to your favour—I am, my dear Lalor, most sincerely and truly yours,

"JOHN O'CONNELL."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the famine had been working havoc throughout the land. At first the policy of the Government was to minimise the evil. "The cry of famine was a mere pretence for a party object." "Famine in Ireland," said Lord Stanley, "was a vision, a baseless vision." Later (when too late) Labour Rate Acts, and Relief Acts, succeeded each other with bewildering rapidity.

Of the measures taken to alleviate distress Locker Lampson says:

"The rates which the Irish Poor Law guardians levied yielded only £298,000 in 1845, and £426,000 in 1846, the latter sum being equivalent to a rate of 7½d. in the pound on all Ireland. The Poor Law of 1838, moreover, had made no provision

<sup>15</sup> From letters at Tenakill.



for relief outside the workhouse, and it was found that the demands made upon the existing poor law system owing to the famine were far beyond its capabilities. Three Acts, therefore, extending the Irish Poor Law of 1838, were passed in 1847 during Russell's administration for the purpose of meeting the emergency; one of which dealt with vagrancy, whilst the others provided for the distribution of relief. Of the two relief Acts one was a new loan of ten millions to be employed from time to time, half to be repaid by rates (£3,000,000 were repaid by 1854), and the other half to be granted from the Treasury. Relief could now be afforded outside the workhouse, when the latter was full; but only on the recommendation of the Poor Law Commissioners, and as a temporary relaxation accompanied by a rigid labour test. The number of workhouses was increased; the area of the electoral district reduced, and the Boards were compelled to appoint medical and relieving officers. The Temporary Relief Acts came into effective operation in July, 1847, during which month over three million persons received daily rations. The machinery consisted of Relief Committees in each electoral division, with a Finance Committee and Government Inspectors in each union, the entire under the control or direction of a Board of Commissioners in Dublin. The estimated cost of this relief in food was three millions, but the amount actually expended was £1,557,512, being nearly £500,000 less than what Parliament had allowed. This extension of relief necessarily imposed a considerable addition to the liability for rates on the impoverished owners of the soil."<sup>16</sup>

The results of the working of some of this new machinery in one district are set out in the subjoined report:—

"MEDICAL REPORT OF BALLYFIN DISPENSARY, 1847

"In laying before you my first annual report, there is so little to relate differing from the frequently repeated fearful catalogue of disease with which the past year abounded, that I think it needless to take up your time by dwelling too minutely on so distressing a subject, more particularly as I would fall far short in describing the lamentably wretched state of the poor in this large and long-neglected district.

"On entering on my duties I found the poor in a most pitiable state; very many suffering under disease for months, without the smallest medical aid, and unable, from weakness and want, to look for it at a distance, where it could be obtained. Dysentery, diarrhoea, and fever were to be found in every corner, and yet, with very few exceptions, all under the control of medicine; fever in particular being more teasing to the friend and medical attendant than fatal to the afflicted. To these succeeded influenza, equally manageable, but leaving after it a degree of debility more distressing than the disease itself; and which, I fear, may yet prove very trying to the young—badly fed and clothed as they are at present. These, with rheumatism, were the most numerous and trying diseases of the season, all others were of the ordinary character, and such as must always be expected amongst the poor. Over 681 tickets have been issued, and allowing each to have been attended only three times (which is under the average), 2,043 prescriptions must have been compounded; 374 domiciliary visits have been paid, which numbers, together with 81 cases under the Temporary Fever Act, made a total which must of necessity prove to you and the public how much an institution such as this was required.

"In conclusion, I have only to state that the poor are showing how much they value your exertions by their regular and timely applications at the Dispensary, and should I be spared to again report on the health of the district, I hope to have a much smaller list of diseases to lay before you.—William Hull Lewis, Medical Attendant.

"To act as a Committee for the ensuing year:—Sir Chas. H. Coote, Bart.; Rev. Daniel Nolan, Rev. Arthur Moore, Mr. Mathew Lalor, Mr. John Unthank, Mr. Patrick Dillon, Mr. Patrick Lynch, Mr. Rice Meredith, Mr. William Roe, Irey; Mr. William Roe, Mountrath."

The Grand Jury were also apparently doing their part in the way of relieving distress. In the records of the Summer Assizes, 1847, the following long list of public works is given:—

"New roads are to be made at Aughadreen, Ballinakill, Bawnmore, Ballymaddock, Abbeyleix, Ballypickan, Boleybeg, Clonking, Lisbigney, Cloncullane,

<sup>16</sup> See his "Ireland in the 19th Century," p. 274.



Crubbin, Graignahoun, Graiguenasmutton, Ironmills, Knocklead, Kilcolman, Kilan-streen, Moneyclear, Moate and Graigue, Newmills, Archerstown, Ballykealy, Ban-naghra, Castlewood, Clorane, Clonohill, Closhawn, Clonmore, Fermoy, Grawn, Glebe, Johnstown Glebe, Kilpurcel, Kilcoak, Killadooley, Lyrogue, Oldglass, Rosconnell, Tenvier, Cloncaugh, Kilminchey, Derryclonagh, Rosmore, Ireby, Brockery, Ballyfin Upper, Monequid, Cappalough and Lought, Forrest Lower, Graigue, Garryduff, Derries, Barna, Avolia, Forgellane, Rosenallis, Capard, Cahir, Coolkerry, Ballaghmore, Cullenagh, Ballinclough, Killeen, Luggacurran, Badgerhill, Cranagh, Derrycanton, Molestown, Brisha, Derrycon, Barkaheny, Boley, Ballyle-hane Lower, Barkahong, Ballintubber, Newcross, Ballinagall, Monawee, Gurteen, Tiernan, Clonenagh, Cappagh, Trumerra, Knockbawn, Tinahinch, Maidenhead, Clonenoe, Donaclega, Pallas, Little Borris.

"Existing roads are to be widened and repaired at Knapton, Rathmoyle, Tunduffe, Tullaroe, Castleview, Craghavalla, Harristown, Kyleamullawn, Lyrogue, Colt, Cloosecullen, Barnasallagh, Shanboe, Ballymatook, Rathevan, Shanganmore, Rosina.

"Footpaths are to be made at Borehan, Eglish, Crogan, Johnstown Glebe, Knockheel, Oldtown, Rathdowney, Rathsaran, Derrin, Doone, Bleakfield, The Liberty, Grange, Rathdowney, Coolkerry.

"Gripes and fences are to be made at Clonard, Cappagh, Bleakfield, The Liberty, Erris Glebe, Ballatarsna, Mountfat, Borris-in-Ossory, Derrycloney, Strahard, Forgelland.

"The following had suffered damage by the above works, and were declared entitled to compensation:—Lord Stanhope, Lord De Vesci, Wellington Ball, Wellesley Fitzgerald, Stephen Sheffield Cassan, Lady Warrensford, Sergeant Pratt, John Armstrong Bagnell, William Brooke Bridges, Francis Keating & Co., at Brockery; Daniel Keerevan & Co., The Earl of Mornington at Derrycloney, Sir Edwd. Walshe at Moneyquid, Lord Sidney Osborne at Cappalough, Rev. Andrew Healy, P.P., at Graigue, Mountmellick; Rev. Wm. Lodge, Clk., at Borris-in-Ossory; Rev. Ralph Tagart, Clk., at Mountmellick."

In 1848 the operation of the Poor Law System came under review. Queries were submitted to the Boards of Guardians covering the entire field of their administration, and inviting suggestions especially in regard to the extent of the unions and their electoral divisions. The Mountmellick Report in reply may serve as typical of others received.

#### "MOUNTMELICK UNION.

"Report respecting the extent, boundaries, etc., of the above Union and its Electoral Divisions, by the Committee appointed by the Mountmellick Board of Guardians to answer these queries, this 20th day of June, 1848.

"Resolved by the Board of Guardians of the Mountmellick Union.—That Mr. Adair, Mr. Wilmot Chetwode, Mr. Browne, Mr. Lalor, Mr. Samuel Pim, Mr. W. Pigott, and Mr. Des Voeux, be appointed as a committee to draw up answers to the queries received from the Boundary Commissioners. Three to form a quorum.

"The above Committee being summoned to meet on the 20th June, the following members attended, viz.:—Thomas Des Voeux, Esq.; Robert Browne, Esq.; Edward Wilmot Chetwode, Esq.; Samuel Pim, Esq.; Patrick Lalor, Esq., when Mr. Wilmot Chetwode being moved to the chair, the Committee drew up the following answers to the queries proposed:—Query 1.—Whether the Workhouse is situated at a Market Town or other convenient central place, to which the Guardians are in the habit of resorting? Ans.—The Workhouse is situated in a Market Town (Mountmellick), to which some of the Guardians are in the habit of resorting on market-days; which, however, are not the days of meeting of the Board of Guardians, to whom of course it is no convenience.

"2.—Whether the size and other geographical circumstances of the Union are such as to prevent the Guardians and Relieving Officers from attending the Board, without serious interruption to their other duties? Ans.—They are—one part of the Union being about 25 miles, and the opposite part 14 miles distant from the Workhouse, diameter 39 miles.

"3.—Whether the circumstances referred to in No. 2, prevent the applicants for relief, who desire or may be required to attend the Board, from doing so without serious inconvenience? Ans.—They do, particularly as regards the old and infirm, who are frequently debarred from making personal application for relief, in consequence of the distance of their abodes from the Workhouse.



" 4.—Whether the amount of Population and Pauperism in each Union, is greater than would render it possible for the Guardians, in ordinary times, to transact the business of the Union on one day in the week? Ans.—In our opinion it is impossible that the Guardians could *properly* transact the business of the Union in one day in the week, as must be evident, where the average of *indoor* paupers exceeds 1,500,<sup>17</sup> and of outdoor paupers treble that number; inspection of the premises, and many other as important duties, are of necessity neglected under the present system.

" 5.—Whether the extent and other circumstances of the Electoral divisions are such as to enable the inhabitants to feel a community of interest, and to co-operate without difficulty for their general welfare? Ans.—The extent, and probably many other circumstances connected with the Electoral Divisions, are such as to render community of interest or co-operation among the inhabitants quite impossible—nor can the Poor Law be expected to work in this country, until the same means are adopted, which make every occupier of a Parish in England, as it were, a sentinel against the influx of more pauperism into his parish, as well as self-interested in reducing by employment the existing pauperism of his parish. The average area of English parishes probably does not much exceed that of Irish Townlands, say, from 1,000 to 2,000 acres; whereas Irish Electoral Divisions range up to 150,000 acres—an area of taxation which effectually destroys the possibility of community of interest or co-operation. Again, in England it is made the interest of every occupier to *employ*, whereas, in Ireland, not only is this not the case, but it is often made the direct interest of the small holder (who is exempt from tax), to add to the taxation of his industrious neighbours, by sub-letting and taking in lodgers, etc.

" *The working principle of the Poor Law in England differs in toto from that of the Poor Law in Ireland.*

" Some law of settlement is also absolutely necessary—the Irish pauper is driven from England, contrary even to the law in England, which demands that the pauper (*if not Irish*) be conveyed to *his own parish*—whereas, an English pauper in Ireland is given a legal claim on any Irish union in which he may happen to break down. This is palpably unjust; and in fact the Poor Laws for the two sections of the United Kingdom, differ in almost every particular, except the juggle of a common name.

" 6.—Whether the proportion between the value, capabilities, and population bears as fair a ratio to those of the adjoining Electoral Divisions as permanent local circumstances admit? Ans.—As a fact, the tax bears no ratio whatever to the value or to the capabilities of the area of taxation, but solely to the amount of pauperism therein, which is generally greatest in the poorest districts. In addition to which, it frequently occurs that the resident inhabitants, however well disposed to afford relief, by giving employment, are deterred from doing so, in consequence of proprietors who, from being absentees, or from other causes, are unable or unwilling to contribute to this desirable object, more than what the law compels them to do. Uniform taxation would destroy every inducement to improve or employ, but the taxation should be *extended to property in general*—a maximum local land-tax being fixed, after which the deficiency, if any, should be supplied by the tax on property in general.

" 7.—What alteration would it be desirable to make in the Boundary of this Union—what alteration in the Boundaries of particular Electoral Divisions—what Electoral Divisions ought to be reduced in extent—and what new Electoral Divisions it may be desirable to form? Ans.—We strongly recommend that four additional houses, for the reception of paupers, be established in this Union, viz., at Maryborough, Portarlinton, Mountrath, and Clonaslee, which would average an area of about five miles radius to each, the five sections thus created, either to be separate Unions, or divisions of the existing Union: the Workhouse of Mountmellick serving for general union purposes—Fever Hospital, infirmary cases, etc.; and where there should be a general monthly meeting of the Guardians of the five sections. Subject to the recommendation (in answer to query 6) of a maximum local rate, we strongly recommend the adoption of a Townland area taxation, as highly calculated to stimulate employment and encourage co-operation amongst the inhabitants.

" 1. Proposed by Patrick Lalor, Esq., and seconded by Robert Browne, Esq., and Resolved,—That a good system of Emigration, under the care and on the re-

<sup>17</sup> The workhouse was built for only 800 inmates. If it contained "1,500 indoor paupers" in 1848 an idea of the overcrowding can readily be formed. Abbeylax, which had been constructed

to hold 500 inmates, was at this period equally congested. According to the Census Returns of 1911 there were only 221 inmates in Mountmellick and 110 in Abbeylax.



sponsibility of Government, we think well calculated to better the condition of those poor persons who may be fortunate enough to be selected; and that being our opinion, we have no hesitation in strongly recommending the adoption of such.

"2. Proposed by Patrick Lalor, Esq., and seconded by Samuel Pim, Esq., and Resolved,—That the answers to these queries be published in the *Leinster Express*, and that our Chairman send copies to Lieutenant-Colonel Dunne, M.P., (Chairman of our Board of Guardians); the Right Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick; the Earl of Lucan; the Earl Fitzwilliam; the Lord Monteagle, and the Marquis of Sligo.

"3. Resolved,—That we cannot separate without expressing our decided opinion, that a *full* inquiry into the whole working of the Poor Laws of Ireland, ought not to be longer deferred.

"EDWARD WILMOT CHETWODE,  
"Chairman of the Mountmellick Union Committee."

One result of these recommendations was a re-casting of the County poor-law unions, and the erection of an additional workhouse at Donaghmore. The Donaghmore Poor-law Union was declared by Order of the Poor-law Commissioners on the 7th June, 1850. A contract for the erection of the workhouse buildings for a sum of £5,185 was entered into with Mr. John Joseph Nolan on 1st March, 1852, the works to be completed within sixteen months from that date. The contractor failed to fulfil the conditions of his contract, and the works had to be taken out of his hands, and proceedings instituted against his surety. The workhouse was ultimately declared by Order of 10th September, 1853, to be fit for the reception of 400 destitute poor.

The Union was made up of electoral divisions taken from the existing Unions of Roscrea, Abbeyleix, and Mountmellick.

The following *ex-officio* members of the Board of Guardians were elected on June 15th, 1850:—Rt. Hon. John W. Fitzpatrick, M.P., Lisduff House, Chairman; Richard W. Fitzpatrick, Grantstown Manor, Vice-Chairman; Robert H. Stubber, Esq., Castlefleming Lodge; Charles White, Esq., Ballymeelish; Henry White, Esq., Charleville, Deputy Vice-Chairman; Henry Smith, Esq., Kilmartin; Michael H. Drought, Harristown; William A. Steele, Esq., Skeille Cottage.

Elected members and electoral divisions:—Ballybrophy, Charles Thompson; Borris-in-Ossory, Joseph O'Meagher and Patrick Fletcher; Clonmore, Anthony White; Donaghmore, John Dugdale; Errill, Joseph Mole; Kyle, John Steele; Kilcoke, Thomas Mara; Moneemalassa, George Steele; Moneymore, John Percy; Rathdowney, John Mackey and Richard Atkinson, Rathsaran, George Southern; Grants-town, Matthew Comerford; Kildellig, John Bennet.

By the time the workhouse was opened emigration and famine had so effectively disposed of those for whose benefit it was intended that the necessity for it was less obvious than in 1848. In the course of years the necessity grew gradually less, and in 1886 the Board of Guardians decided to close the house, to dissolve the Union, and to amalgamate its electoral divisions with those of Abbeyleix, Urlingford, and Roscrea. The fine buildings have since remained derelict.

The proceedings of the County Grand Jury for some years after the famine were largely devoted to questions arising out of the exceptional expenditure incurred during the famine years. We transcribe some items belonging to the years 1849-51.

"LENT ASSIZES, 1849.

"We present that 904 perches of new line of road be opened from Kilkenny to Roscrea, between Clonmeen cross roads and Leagh Bridge. Also 578 perches, Rathdowney and Roscrea, between the railroad bridge at Castlefleming and the bounds at Co. Tipperary."



## "SUMMER ASSIZES, 1849.

"A Committee of the Grand Jury reported that the sum of £7,460 was applied for by memorial of Seven Baronies in the County for the purpose of relief works, and that the sums expended do not (as far as we can learn) amount to £5,500. No account of expenditure was furnished; and the application for such account having met with a refusal on the very insufficient grounds of press of business in the offices of Public Works, we recommend the Grand Jury to disapprove the application. Under another Relief Act (9th and 10th Victoria) presentments were passed at Sessions for an amount exceeding £100,000 on the County, on which it appears from the certificate of the Commissioners of Public Works, £51,784 14s. 10d. was expended. Under this Act the instalments have been sought for and paid without objection, but the sums so paid were not instalments of the amount presented but of those actually expended.

"We present that 358 perches of new road be opened from Donaghmore to Roscrea, between the police barrack at Garrons and the three roads at Killadooley."

## "LENT ASSIZES, 1850.

"A Committee of the Grand Jury reported with regard to instalments for relief works, that the Paymaster of Civil Services has issued a peremptory order to the Treasurer to place the amount on levy, on the ground that the money was actually advanced from the Office of Public Works. We now therefore recommend the Grand Jury to pass the presentment under protest, and we further recommend that legal proceedings be taken to relieve the county from the unjust impost, compelling the payment of money, which although advanced by the Treasury, has not been applied to the use of the County. We present that 227 perches of new line of road be opened from Portarlinton to Athy, between the bounds of Barony of Portnahinch and Dunally Bridge."

## "LENT ASSIZES, 1851.

"A Committee of the Grand Jury reported that as no presentment is required at this Assizes respecting Griffith's Tenant Valuation, yet as a running account amounting to £2,590 13s. 4d. is furnished, we must direct attention to this very heavy expense, with a view to arrest the progress of this valuation pending the new Bill now before Parliament, for a valuation, which will cost about 1d. per acre, whereas the Valuation now in course is likely to cost 4d. per acre, the former calculation amounting on our county to about £1,500, the latter to about £7,000.

"Presentment to open 188 perches of new line of road, Maryborough to Mountmellick, between the railway bridge at the Ridge Road and Joseph Tracey's, Ridge Road."

One of the chief public works of this period was the construction of the Great Southern and Western Railway. It was originally called the Great Leinster and Munster Railway, and the first survey is dated 30th November, 1836. It was projected to run from Naas by Suncroft to Athy, to cross the Barrow below Athy into the townland of Bleachyard, and entering the Queen's County at Garroonagh to pass through Shanganaghbeg, Shanganaghmore, Moonebrook, Cullenagh, Ballinagar, Gurteen, Coolanagh, Rossena, Cooperhill, Ballyharmon, Stanney, Killeslin, Springhill, Rosmore, Ballahide, and to enter the County Carlow from Clogrennan. Another railway was projected in 1845 to connect Kilkenny and Galway, and to run through the following townlands of Queen's County, viz., Attannagh, Durrow, Rosconnell, Abbeyleix, Clonkeen, Clonogeen, Clonenagh, Rushall, Boley, Killeany, Castletrench, Ballytrasna, Ballaghmore. Both these schemes fell through. In 1844 the present Great Southern and Western Railway took concrete form when the first meeting of the company was held. Mr. M'Cormack was the first contractor, and constructed the line to Portarlinton. As his contracts in England prevented his giving full attention to this line, the contract was given to Mr. Dargan. He had the line open and working to Ballybrophy in September, 1847, and completed to Cork at the close of 1851. The directors, at their meeting



in September, 1847, made reference to the famine, and "deeply lamented the dire calamity which oppressed Ireland, but had the consolation of having contributed greatly to the relief of distress in the southern counties by the employment given on the railway works" It was originally intended that the railway should go from Portarlinton by Mountmellick; but the principal traders of the latter town objected, and the line was made from Portarlinton straight to Maryborough. The branch railway from Ballybrophy to Roscrea, etc., was undertaken in 1856, and another branch from Maryborough to Mountmellick about twenty years later.<sup>18</sup>

In 1850 "The Irish Parliamentary Voters Bill" became law. Its effect was to extend the franchise and to raise the Irish electorate from 61,036 to 163,546. Efforts were everywhere made by the popular leaders to get the people to avail of this measure by claiming votes and having them duly registered, so that when the next Parliamentary election would take place a large accession to the ranks of the Irish Party at Westminster might be secured. The election came in 1852. A meeting had previously been summoned by requisition at Maryborough to decide on the steps to be taken. The following are the terms of the requisition and the names of the signatories:—

"We the undersigned Electors and Inhabitants of the Queen's County request a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County at Maryborough on Tuesday, the 20th of April next at the hour of 12 o'clock precisely, for the purpose of taking measures to secure the return at the next election of two Liberal members who will faithfully represent in Parliament the interests and opinions of the Electors of this County.

"Dated 10th March, 1852.

"LOFTUS H. BLAND, ROBERT CASSIDY, PATRICK LALOR, EDWARD CORCORAN, JOHN SADLEIR, DAN TREACY."

The subjoined extract from the *Leinster Express* of April 24th, 1852, refers to this meeting:—

"On Tuesday last a meeting consisting of a numerous body of Roman Catholic clergy was held at Maryborough, at which the representation of Queen's County was deliberately considered. It was decided that one candidate be put in nomination in opposition to the Right Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick, and it is threatened that if

<sup>18</sup>The "Irish Tourist's Handbook" of 1852 describes the line from Dublin to Cork, and gives a brief sketch of its constructor, William Dargan (who, if not a Queen's County man, was connected by marriage with the County)

"William Dargan, from small beginnings, has risen to be the foremost man in the material progress of his country. He is about fifty, and has been deservedly a successful man—one of remarkable liberality in all his transactions. Their extent may be judged by the fact that at one time he had as many as 50,000 men employed under him. He was the contractor for the first railway made in Ireland (the Dublin and Kingstown). He has since constructed the principal portions of the Great Southern and Western, the Midland Great Western, the Belfast Junction, the Waterford and Limerick, etc. In fact, about four-

fifths of all the railways constructed in Ireland have been made by him."

The "Handbook" says of Mountmellick:—"Six miles from Portarlinton station is the town of Mountmellick, close to which are situated the works of the Irish Beet-root Sugar Company, whose progress hitherto is pregnant with promise of results most important in the industrial resources of Ireland. The *Illustrated London News*, in its number of the 17th of April last, gave a sketch of the works, and some valuable statistics of the operations, which, we hope, will attract general and abiding attention among capitalists to an enterprise that seems peculiarly well adapted to Ireland, and likely to be largely remunerative to all who embark in it with adequate means, and a determination to give the undertaking a full and complete trial."



Sir Charles Coote will not pledge himself to a deputation appointed to wait on him that he will vote for the Repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill and promise not to influence his tenantry in favour of Mr. Fitzpatrick, a second candidate will be started. The 3rd May is named for another meeting, at which it is to be decided what course is most advisable. We doubt that Sir Charles Coote will give any pledge whatever to those gentlemen. The deputation which induced him to come forward sought not to control him by any test, having placed the utmost confidence in his sound discretion and political character. It is not likely, therefore, that he will so far satisfy the 'Brigade,' about which he can afford to feel indifferent; and as the future independence of the County depends on Mr. Fitzpatrick's election as well as on that of Sir Charles Coote, the latter is not likely to sacrifice the interests of the former to the dictation, much less the wily manoeuvres of those who fancy they can best obtain their ends against Mr. Fitzpatrick by making a virtue of necessity as regards Sir Charles Coote."

In the result, John Sadleir having declined to stand, and Fitzpatrick having retired, Michael Dunne, Esq., Ballymanus, was duly returned as M.P. at the elections in July following. Mr. Dunne was continued in the position down to 1865. In conjunction with Gavan Duffy, Lucas, and the other leaders of the "Tenants' League," or "League of North and South" (which had been started in 1852), he strove to promote agrarian legislation on the lines of the "Three F's." The necessity of "fixity of tenure," in particular, had been forcibly brought home to the people's minds by the widespread "clearances" that had followed the famine and completed its fell work. Small holdings had been combined into large grazing tracts; sheep and cattle had displaced the labourers and smaller tillage farmers; emigration was artificially stimulated; and the Queen's County, like every other Irish county began slowly to bleed to death. In addition to the "Land for the people," another question that began prominently at this period to engage attention was the question of the ballot. These and other subjects were discussed at a public meeting at Maryborough in 1854, a report of which we insert.

#### QUEEN'S COUNTY MEETING.

##### VOTE BY BALLOT: CONVENTS INVASION BILLS: LANDLORDS' AND TENANTS' QUESTION.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the clergy, gentry and inhabitants of the Queen's County convened by public requisition, held in the County Courthouse at Maryboro' on Tuesday, the 25th April, 1854, Michael Dunne, of Ballymanus, Esq., M.P., in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. Moved by Robert Cassidy, of Monasterevan, Esq., J.P., seconded by the Rev. James Staunton, Administrator of Comeraghs:—"That any measure for the reform of the representation of the people be extended to Ireland simultaneously with England, and that provision be made that in all future elections for members of Parliament electors shall have the protection of the ballot as a better security against intimidation and bribery." Moved by John George Adair, of Bellgrove, Esq., J.P., seconded by Paul Phelan, of Cashel, Esq.:—"That we express our decided and unqualified dissent from the measures brought forward by Messrs. Chambers and Whiteside for the regulation of nunneries as being opposed to religious equality and to constitutional liberty uncalled for and insulting to a large portion of the subjects of this realm." Moved by Patrick Lalor, Tenekill, Esq., J.P., seconded by Joseph Lyons, of Moyanna, Esq., J.P.:—"That the present relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland are eminently unsatisfactory; that all legal impediments preventing landowners from entering into equitable arrangements with their tenants are injurious, and should be removed; that the right to distrain for rent putting the landlord on a footing different from other creditors should be abolished; that the interests of society requiring the proper cultivation of the soil, it is desirable, in the event of the landlord refusing to make such permanent improvements as may be necessary, that the tenant should be empowered to do so, and should secure adequate compensation for same on the expiration of his tenure." Moved by Robert Cassidy,



Esq., J.P., seconded by Patrick Lalor, Esq., J.P. :—"That we tender our best thanks to John Allen Johnson Walsh, Esq., High Sheriff of this county, for his courtesy in giving the Courthouse for our present meeting." Moved by William Fitzpatrick, of Maryboro', Esq., seconded by Richard Moore Connell, of Noreville, Esq. Resolved :—"That the gentlemen proposing and seconding the foregoing resolutions be appointed a Committee to prepare petitions to both Houses of Parliament in accordance with the foregoing resolutions."

This meeting may be said to have been the last appearance in public life of Mr. Patrick Lalor, of Tenakill. He died on the 23rd of April, 1856, aged 75. For more than a quarter of a century he had been looked up to as the most trusted popular leader in his native county. Extant letters go to prove that as early as 1825 the great Liberator had relied on him as one of his trusted lieutenants in the ever-memorable battle for Catholic Emancipation. His fight against the infamous tithe impost, though it brought him prosecution and imprisonment, brought ultimately his vindication and a national victory. His after career has been sufficiently detailed in these pages to enable our readers to realize how consistently, and honestly, he championed the people's rights during a dark period when the champions of the popular cause not unfrequently sold that cause to the enemy, or abandoned it in despair.\*

The County Parliamentary election of 1857 calls for no comment. The two sitting members, Sir Charles H. Coote and Mr. Michael Dunne, were returned unopposed. In 1859 Sir Charles Coote's long connection with the representation of the county came to an end. At the elections of that year he proposed as his successor Colonel Francis Plunkett Dunne, of Brittas (who had represented Portarlington from 1852 to 1857). The nomination was seconded by Horace Rochfort, Esq., and Colonel Dunne was duly elected. Two other candidates were in the field. Michael Dunne, Esq., was proposed by Loftus H. Bland, Esq., and seconded by Rev. George Hume, P.P., Stradbally. Burrowes Kelly, Esq., was proposed by Mr. James Moyles, Ballycoolen, and seconded by Samuel Rowe, Esq., Barkmills. As Mr. Kelly withdrew from the contest Michael Dunne again became M.P.

The years immediately succeeding this election were filled with fruitless efforts in Parliament to improve the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland. Even the measures that were passed (of the multitude of those proposed) did more harm than good. As examples we may cite the "Landed Property Improvement Bill," of 1860, and the "Landlord and Tenant Law Amended Act" (or "Deasy Act," as it was called) of the same year. The rock on which these and other similar measures split was the assumption that the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland were, and should continue to be the relations of free contract. This fallacy remained the predominant note of Irish agrarian legislation down to Gladstone's epoch-making measure of 1870.

Meanwhile Ireland was a seething caldron of misery and crime. Evictions of a brutal kind led to murders and acts of retaliation equally brutal. A Queen's County landlord of this period has earned

\* Besides James Fintan, two other sons of his made their mark in public life—Richard (afterwards M.P.), and Peter, who, having begun life in Aus-

tralia as a "rebel," ended as the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria. See Appendix VI.





**REMAINS OF  
GLENMALIRE  
CASTLE,  
Where Ormond was  
imprisoned.**

Vol. II., p. 488.

**GLENMALIRE  
HOUSE  
(Trench)  
On site of castle.**

Vol. II., p. 777.



**CREMORGAN HOUSE  
(Moore).**

Vol. I., pp. 246-7. Vol.  
II., p. 751.







the unenviable reputation of having been the most heartless evictor in Ireland. The evictions were at Glenveigh, Co. Donegal, and the evictor was John George Adair. According to the official report, as quoted in Parliament in 1861, "twenty-eight houses were unroofed, or levelled; forty-six houses evicted, including 47 families, comprising 37 husbands, 35 wives, 159 children, and 13 other inmates, making a total of 244 persons."<sup>19</sup> This was the theory of "free contract" in practice. The cause of this inhuman act was that Mr. Adair's manager had been assassinated; and as the murderer could not be discovered the tenants in their corporate capacity were made to pay the penalty.<sup>20</sup> Crimes of this kind go far to explain, if they do not justify, secret societies such as those of the Ribbonmen and the Fenians. And, as is well known, every county in Ireland supplied its quota of supporters to both these societies during the period under review. The Fenians occupied the more prominent position towards the end of the period; but even then the hold of the Ribbonmen on the agricultural labourers, and smaller farmers, of whose interests they constituted themselves the champions, continued in unabated strength. Of the influence of Fenianism on the course of after public events and Parliamentary enactments it suffices to quote the testimony of Lord Derby—an unimpeachable authority:—"Mr. Gladstone's statement as to the effect of this [the Fenian movement] on the public mind of England, though too significant to be ignored, is too familiar to be repeated. . . . Few persons will now regret the disendowment of the Irish Church, or the passing of the Land Act of 1870; but it is regrettable that, for the third time in less than a century, agitation, accompanied with violence, should have been shown to be the most effective instrument for redressing whatever Irishmen may be pleased to consider their wrongs."<sup>21</sup>

The Parliamentary election of 1865 was in striking contrast to its two predecessors. Three candidates were nominated, and a vigorous contest was the result. The candidates were General Dunne, who was proposed by R. G. Cosby, Esq., D.L., Stradbally Hall, and seconded by Major Carden, J.P. The Right Hon. John Wilson Fitzpatrick was proposed by Robert Staples, Esq., D.L., and seconded by Joseph Lyons, Esq., J.P. Captain Patrick M'Donald, Monkstown, Co. Dublin, was proposed by Rev. John Birch, P.P., Borris-in-Ossory, and seconded by William Nolan, Esq., Kilmartin. Canvassing of an energetic kind followed the nominations. The result of the poll, as announced on the 22nd July, was:—Dunne, 1,803 votes; Fitzpatrick, 1,513; and M'Donald, 917—the two former being elected.

<sup>19</sup> See A. M. Sullivan's "New Ireland," c. xx. In his 18th chapter A. M. Sullivan gives an account of the Irish Volunteers of the Papal army of 1860. Of these the following amongst others were from the Queen's County:—Daniel Carey, Curragh; P. Purcell, Ardtegggle; and P. Collins, Coolnariska. They took part in the battles of Spoleto, Perugia, Castelfidardo, and Ancona.

<sup>20</sup> In 1865 Mr. Adair purchased the Queen's County property of the Duke of Leeds. He treated his tenants with great harshness. In 1870 he was arraigned in

the *Freeman's Journal* by Rev. T. Murphy, P.P., Mountmellick, in whose parish a large portion of the estate was situated, and who was himself one of the tenants. Mr. Adair's character may be judged from the fact that in letters to the press in 1879, in reply to Father Murphy, he maintained that the harvest of that year had been a good one, and the prices of agricultural produce highly remunerative.

<sup>21</sup> See *Nineteenth Century* of October, 1881.



For the borough of Portarlington the Attorney-General, James Anthony Lawson, was returned as a Liberal, beating Lionel Dawson Damer, Esq., by 10 votes.

In the election of 1868 the Liberals succeeded for the first time in returning two Liberals for the county. This result was in great part due to the splendid organisation of the popular forces by the "Queen's County Independent Club." The club, which had been founded by Mr. Patrick Lalor of Tenakill, had made its influence felt at every election in the county from the time of its origin. Under the guidance of Mr. Richard Lalor (who had succeeded his father as president) it grew in strength and power until in 1868 it administered its *quietus* to the Conservative hope of ever again representing the county in Parliament. Much of the Club's success at this and subsequent elections, down to 1880, was due to the exceptional ability of its hon. sec., Patrick Cahill, Esq., LL.B. (afterwards first Editor of the *Leinster Leader*). Amongst its prominent members may be mentioned, its treasurer, Patrick Doran, T.C., Maryborough; Very Rev. Dr. Taylor, P.P., Maryborough; Rev. Dr. Magee, P.P., Stradbally; Rev. Canon O'Keeffe, Aghaboe; Rev. T. O'Shea, P.P., Camross<sup>22</sup>; Rev. A. M'Donald, P.P., Mountrath; Rev. T. Nolan, P.P., Abbeyleix; Messrs. Michael and Wm. Dunne, P. A. Meehan, William Fitzpatrick, E. P. Mulhallen Marum, Hulton Harrison, John M'Mahon, James Carey, Edward and Charles Corcoran, solicitors.<sup>23</sup>

The dominant question in the election of 1868 was the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. The Catholic clergy of the County issued the following address to their people:—

"We deem it our duty to submit to our respective Flocks, and the other Liberal Electors of the County, our views and the course we propose to adopt at the approaching General Election. For the sake of brevity and perspicuity we embody them in the following Resolutions:—1. 'That taking into consideration the conduct and votes of our Representative, the Right Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick, during the discussion of the Church Question, we feel that we could not withhold from him at the coming Election our support and influence without stultifying ourselves, and incurring the condemnation and scorn of the Great Liberal Party in the Sister Kingdom, whose strenuous and continuous exertions are indispensably necessary to bring this question to a successful issue; and we, therefore, pledge ourselves to give Mr. Fitzpatrick our vote and interest at the Election.' 2. 'That in the event of a candidate of position, intelligence, and personal worth—pledged to carry out the "Gladstone Policy" on Irish Questions—offering himself for the representation of our county, we pledge ourselves to make use of every constitutional means to return him to Parliament instead of the gallant General, who, throughout the session just closed, has uniformly disregarded the petitions and misrepresented the wishes of the vast majority of his Constituents.' 3. 'That we cannot too strongly condemn the candidature of persons obtruding themselves upon the Electors without introduction or guarantee, from any party or individual, possessing the confidence of the

<sup>22</sup> Fathers O'Keeffe and O'Shea were the "Callan curates" of an earlier period.

<sup>23</sup> The *Leinster Express* of 3rd March, 1866, contains an "Address to the People of the Queen's Co." from the "Independent Club" stating that "the Club is rather the revival of an old than the starting of a new Society." The *Express* of 12th January, 1878, reports a meeting of the Club at which Rev. T. Nolan, P.P., Abbeyleix, speaking of Mr.

Richard Lalor, said:—"I know Mr. Lalor as long as any gentleman present, having been a member of this Club for upwards of fifty years. It was established by his father, who was an honest and patriotic man; and I am glad to say his son occupies the same honourable position. He has given great spirit and impulse to the patriotism of the county, and with his friend, our worthy Hon. Secretary, Mr. Cahill, has been the means of keeping this Club together."



people: in thus seeking to divide the Liberal Party, they prove themselves the real enemies of the Popular Cause, and facilitate the return of some supporter of Ascendancy, and "No Surrender." 4. 'That in selecting a candidate, we give a decided preference to a gentleman residing, or having property within the County. The reasons for such preference are too obvious to require further notice.'

"A candidate of position, intelligence, and personal worth" was found in the person of Kenelm Thomas Digby, Esq., who was duly adopted by the Independent Club as Liberal standard bearer in conjunction with Mr. Fitzpatrick. "The gallant General" was also in the field, as well as Captain M'Donald, who perhaps cherished the hope that on this occasion he might retrieve the disaster of 1865.

The *Leinster Express* of October 31st, 1868, thus pleasantly sums up the situation:—

"A hope may be entertained that before her Majesty's writs are issued, the 'operation of natural causes,' as men of science say, will reduce the number of our suitors for Parliamentary honours. We cannot suppose that Captain M'Donald will lead his forlorn hope to the deadly breach. He is a noble orator, and deserves success in another arena: we should seriously suggest to him to transfer himself to Dublin, and seek an entrance into its Corporation, which is said to rival St. Stephen's, and has made many town celebrities illustrious. Within the last few years three or four of its members have been 'Knighted'—we suppose for their eloquence—and Sir Patrick M'Donald is a name that would look, and sound, as well as the best of them. If he should thus bestow himself there will still remain materials for a severe contest in the Queen's County. Looking at the addresses of the candidates, we cannot see much difference between Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Digby. 'You have not to choose between persons, but principles,' says the latter. The appeal of the former takes the shape of a personal claim. Mr. Fitzpatrick has had a political connexion with the County of more than thirty years: Mr. Digby offers young blood. There is the tone that education and position ensure in the addresses of both gentlemen, and we are quite sure that Mr. Digby would not, if returned to Parliament, any more than Mr. Fitzpatrick, give his antagonism to persons of a different religious, or political confession, any offensive character, or colour of bigotry. General Dunne's address is one of the most peculiar yet published. Fierce party politics are not set by him in the foreground. In alluding to his past Parliamentary conduct, he reminds the electors that 'he has never been absent from any discussion relating to the welfare of Ireland, and has always endeavoured to forward the material interests of his native country, and to diminish the weight of taxation that presses upon our people.' He also, with justifiable pride, reminds the electors that he is essentially an Irishman, and that his sympathies with the people are not pretended, for electioneering purposes, but are natural and permanent. No tenant has been forced to emigrate from his property by oppression; and in 1847 he shared the difficulties endured by his tenants, and mitigated the calamity. Those are strong claims. We, at all events shall say this expressly—that the candidates who will go into Parliament to use every opportunity to 'lighten taxation,' and to 'advance the material interests of the country,' are the candidates from whom Irishmen have most, in the way of advantage, to expect."

A letter sent by Sir Charles Coote in reply to one from Father T. O'Shea, P.P., played an important part in this election. We insert the two letters.

"Upperwoods, Mountrath, October 21, 1868.

"MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—The circumstance of my being Parish Priest of a considerable number of your Catholic tenantry, coupled with the approaching Parliamentary election of representatives for the Queen's County, shall, I hope, excuse this trespass on your kind attention. The main issue placed before the electors is religious equality of all her Majesty's Irish subjects. Your Catholic tenants are naturally anxious to record their votes in favour of the candidates who will uphold this policy in Parliament. To vote otherwise they feel degrading—it would be to act against their conscientious convictions, their self-respect, and the honour of their religion. It would be very gratifying, therefore, to them if, through me or some other medium, you signified that they are perfectly free in the coming contest to exercise their franchises agreeably to the dictates of their own judgments.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir Charles, yours, ever truly,

"THOMAS O'SHEA, P.P."



" 57, Brunswick Square, Brighton, Oct. 23, 1868.

" DEAR SIR,—In answer to your letter, forwarded to me here from Connaught Place, I beg to say that I have no objection to repeat to you that which I imagined was well known in the Queen's County. I have from the first stated and requested that it might be made known to every tenant that my wish was that they, every one—both Roman Catholic and Protestant—should give their votes exactly as they wished. I will add that the vote you state my Roman Catholic tenantry are desirous of giving—and which it is very natural they should give—is in perfect accordance with the political principles I have always professed.—I beg to remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

" C. H. COOTE."<sup>24</sup>

When the day of nomination came neither of the two gallant military gentlemen entered "the deadly breach." The Right Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick was proposed by Edmund Dease, Esq., and seconded by Dr. Taylor, P.P., V.G., Maryborough. Kenelm Thomas Digby, Esq., was proposed by Rev. J. Delany, P.P., Ballinakill, and seconded

<sup>24</sup> Another pair of letters arising out of this Election will be read with interest, viz., Colonel Carden's letter to Dr. Taylor, P.P., Maryborough, and the Doctor's reply.

" Dear Sir,—It was with surprise I heard you had sent round to my Roman Catholic tenants, begging of them to attend at the Chapel, in Maryborough, and there obliged them to sign a paper, pledging themselves to support the two Liberal Candidates. You must have been aware that these men had promised me they would give one vote to General Dunne, and it, therefore, is with surprise I hear that you, their pastor, should coerce them to break that promise which they had *willingly* made to me. It must be apparent that there is little freedom of election in such conduct, and that the friendly feelings between landlords and tenants which should exist, and which would exist but for the inflammatory addresses and interference on the part of the Priesthood, must cease, and these poor *deluded* people have to seek in other quarters the assistance and kindness which they naturally would expect from their landlords.—I am, your obedient servant,

" H. D. CARDEN."

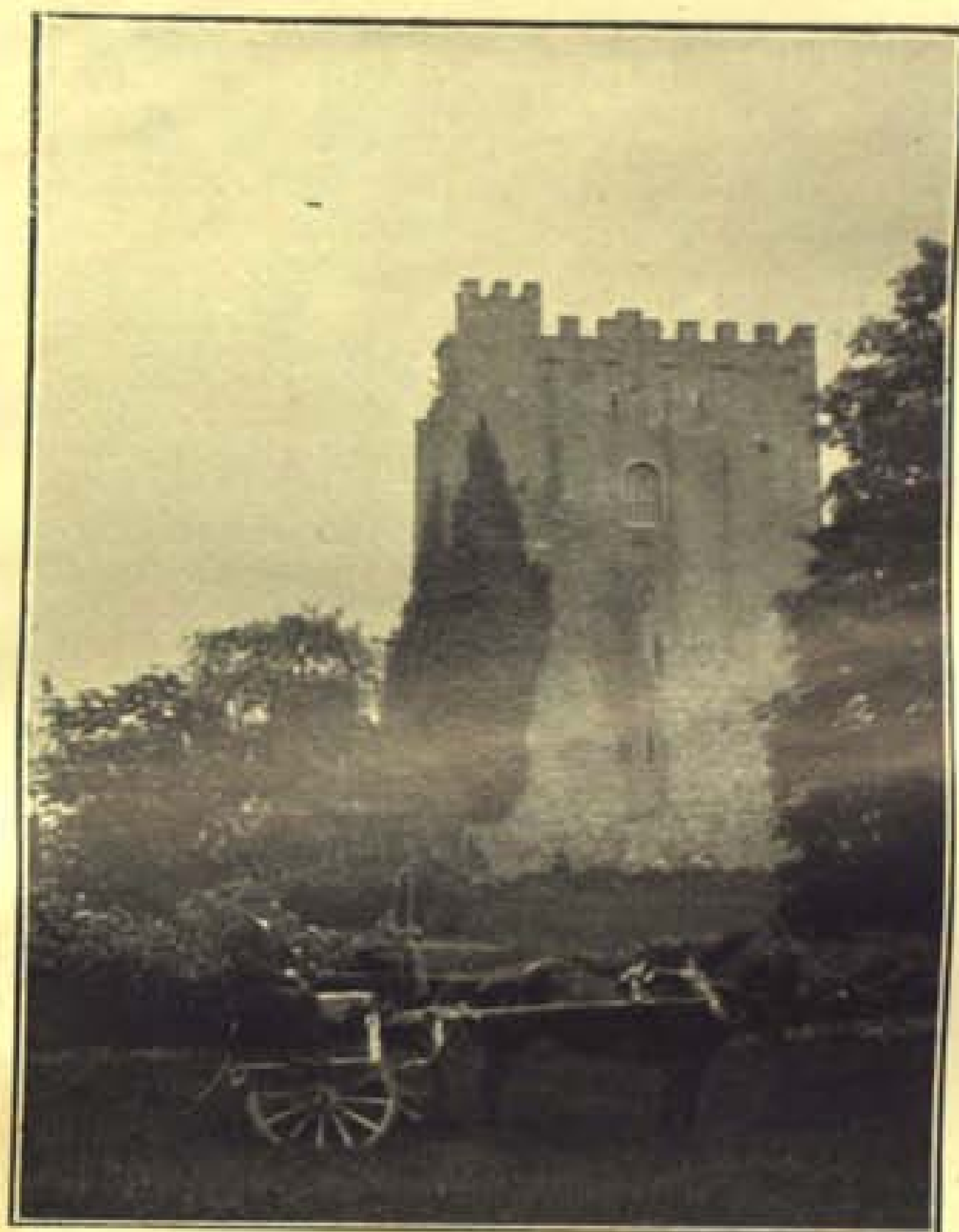
" Maryborough, Nov. 12th, 1868.

" Sir,—You express your surprise at my having, as you say, coerced your tenantry to sign a paper pledging themselves to vote for the two Liberal Candidates. If earnest advice be coercion, I admit the charge. I have exhorted all Catholic voters that, as they would consider themselves bound in conscience not to vote for the Established Church, so they would feel it to be their duty not to vote for the M.P. who would support it.

Is this coercion? And in cases where a terror-stricken tenant had promised his vote to his landlord, I have explained to him that a promise extorted under fear was not binding; and, again, that, if he made his promise in ignorance of the important religious question now at issue, and consequently of his *duty* as a Catholic elector, he was not bound by such promise. Be not surprised at this, nor say that it is mere Popish doctrine. Look at Paley. See his chapter on Promises, and you will find that if a promise interfere with *duty*, the duty must be discharged, though at the expense of the promise and the peril of good name—*non meus est sermo*. You talk of inflammatory addresses from the Catholic Clergy. Let me in turn express my surprise that you know so little of all the Clergy are doing for peace and order: they are now labouring, in the cause of religious equality, to abolish an institution which has done more to keep alive bad passions in Ireland than was ever effected by the harangues of all our agitators. You have the courage to speak of the kindness of landlords and of good feeling between them and their tenants. If kindness consists in letting bad land at a high rent, and exacting that rent rigorously from an impoverished tenantry living on potatoes and glad to have enough even of them—this parish could supply a specimen of astonishing benevolence; and as for friendly feeling between landlord and tenant, if that is to be fostered by the amiable intervention of bailiffs, and notices, and drivers, I know tenants here who might be the envy of their neighbours. So do you, Mr. Carden.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

" J. I. TAYLOR."





**BALLAGHMORE CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 279. Vol. II., p. 535.



**CULLENAGH CASTLE.**

Vol. I., pp. 187, 195. Vol. II., p. 514.



**PIGOTT'S CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 231. Vol. II., p. 524.



**TINNAKILL CASTLE.**

Vol. I., p. 179.







by Michael Dunne, Esq., J.P., Ballymanus. There being no other nomination the two Liberals were declared duly returned.<sup>25</sup>

The *Express* of 28th November had the following "leader" on the election:—

"There is cause for rejoicing in the fact that the election for the Queen's County passed over, in a time of high excitement, without disturbance of any kind. If there had been a contest it would have been conducted with the utmost earnestness by the supporters of those who now occupy the representation. Strong feelings would inevitably have been awakened. Bitter words might have been spoken, and certain feuds created among the electors themselves. The relations of landlords and tenants might have become, in some instances, less cordial. But there was a guarantee for the general peacefulness of the appeal to the voters, in the character of the candidates. Mr. Fitzpatrick rested upon his reputation, as a member of the former Parliament, and upon the knowledge the electors have of him in the performance of his proprietorial and county functions. The new candidate, Mr. Digby, upon whom devolved the duty of addressing the electors to make himself and his opinions known, did so not only with intelligence, but with a gentlemanlike moderation which tended to repress acrimony, and secured for him personal friends among those not agreed with him in opinion. Mr. Digby appeared everywhere. He spoke a great deal—often three or four times in one day. On all those occasions he stated his views frankly, but never in the form of rude attack—never with any approach to personality. If those views do not satisfy the electors whom the retirement of General Dunne leaves, in a party sense, unrepresented, they can feel some satisfaction in the circumstance that the non-Conservative successor of the former active Member is not unworthy personally to fill such a post, and cannot be devoid of sympathy with the class to which he belongs."

The Irish Church problem disposed of, Mr. Gladstone turned his attention to the second main branch of the upas tree, the destruction of which he had decreed, viz., the Irish land question. In the Queen's County the Independent Club had been moulding public opinion for years on this burning topic. The *Nation* of December 12th, 1868, paid Mr. Richard Lalor the compliment of declaring that a letter of his to Mr. John Bright (which it published *in extenso*) would have a great influence on the framers of the coming Land Act. We subjoin a few extracts from the letter.

"In this country we consider Mr. Gladstone as the present representative of English public opinion. But we regard you and Mr. John S. Mill as the great pioneers of political progress and justice. If I rightly understand you, and Mr. Gladstone, you would give every tenant some limited lease of his farm—say 30 years—in order to induce him to make improvements thereon, and thereby add to the resources of the Empire. And why would you give such a lease? Why give even one year's lease? You will say, to secure to the tenant the property he has created in the soil. Then if the tenant has created property in the soil has he not in justice as good a right to that property at the end of 30 years, or a thousand

<sup>25</sup> The *Nation* of 12th December, 1868, quoted the following from the London *Times* biographical notes on new M.P.'s.

a daughter of Henry, sixth Lord Rokeby.

DAMER (Portarlinton).—Captain Lionel Seymour William Dawson-Damer, who returns to Parliament after a three years' exile as the Conservative M.P. for the family borough of Portarlinton, is a grandson of the late Earl of Portarlinton, being eldest son of the late Right Hon. G. Dawson-Damer, who was for many years M.P. for Portarlinton and for Dorchester. He was born in 1832. He is married to

DIGBY (Queen's County).—Mr. Kenelm Thomas Digby, the new Liberal M.P. for Queen's County, is the eldest son of Mr. Kenelm Henry Digby, of Kensington (the learned author of "*Mores Catholici*," &c.), who became a convert to the Roman Catholic Church more than thirty years ago, by Jane Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas Dillon, of Mount Dillon, Ireland. He was born in 1843.



years as he would at the end of one? And by what right would you allow the landlord, at the end of 30 years, to seize on property created by another? Or would you allow to only one class in the community the privilege of investing, and *securing property in land for ever*? Neither custom nor party expediency ought to sanction the perpetuation of an unjust monopoly by any portion of the community, more particularly a monopoly and an usurpation which the experience of at least two centuries in this country has proved to be a failure, and a scourge to all parties. . . . Well, then, give to the occupying tenant the right to hold his land so long as he pays his rent; and regulate that rent—say every seven years—according to the price of corn. Expend the present revenues of the Established Church in Ireland—according to your own plan—in gradually transferring the fee-simple of the land to the present occupiers. Give us vote by ballot—with a fair extension of the suffrage—and a generous system of education. If you give us these things it is still possible that England may have a renewed lease of this country—with the consent and for the benefit of both parties. But if not she must still be prepared to hold this plundered and outraged nation, as heretofore—at the point of the bayonet. Will you kindly excuse me for troubling you so far with this crude outline of my opinions—which would be worthless to you if they were not also the opinions of the great bulk of my fellow-countrymen.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ RICHARD LALOR.”

Public meetings in favour of the “ Three F’s ” were held in various districts of the County. Of that held at Maryborough, and presided over by Dr. Taylor, the *Leinster Express* of October 2nd, 1869, wrote as follows:—

“ On the 26th of September a very imposing open-air demonstration, under the auspices of the Queen’s County Independent Club, was held in the town of Maryborough. Placards and circulars had been extensively circulated throughout the Queen’s County, calling upon all who felt an interest in the adjustment of the land question to come forward and aid in the agitation thus commenced by the Independent Club on that most momentous question. The success which the promoters of this meeting anticipated was more than realised, for so large a gathering of clergy, gentry, merchants, tenant-farmers, cottiers, labourers, and artisans, we have never witnessed. A large platform had been erected at the market-house, and the spectacle which presented itself in front of it was truly amazing. The immense square was densely packed with people, and far down into the main-street thousands thronged who had not the slightest chance of coming within hearing distance of the speakers. On a careful computation of the space occupied we have come to the conclusion that nearly 12,000 people were assembled from the Queen’s and adjoining counties; and it must be gratifying to those who brought that immense mass of people together that the utmost propriety of conduct characterised the entire proceedings. It is impossible for any one to read the report of the meeting without admiring the earnestness and practical spirit in which the subject was discussed. In this respect the demonstration most remarkably contrasts with other meetings—such, for instance, as that which has since occurred at Tipperary—at which there has been more rhetoric than argument, and the claims of the tenantry have been stated in such a manner, and in such phraseology, as to repel the statesman, and fill the mouths of adversaries with arguments. We are bound to fix attention particularly on the masculine epistle of the Rev. Mr. Maher, of Graigue; the suggestive and temperate letter of Mr. Dease; the practical retrospect and survey of foreign tenures of Mr. Burrowes Kelly; the very able argument of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, which no man can possibly affect to despise; the manly speech of Mr. M. Dunne, who claimed his rights for the labourer; the classic address of the Very Rev. Dr. Magee; the calmer but not less forcible logic of Mr. Cahill, to whose exertions the meeting owed much of its success; the elaborate and argumentative oration of Mr. Marum, and the energetic and hearty appeal of the Rev. Mr. O’Keefe.”

In the November of this year it became the duty of the Independent Club to select a successor to the Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick, who was about to be elevated by Mr. Gladstone to the House of Lords with the title of Baron of Upper Ossory. The Club decided to adopt Mr.



Dease, not, however, without some "heckling," if we are to credit the *Leinster Express*. In its issue of 27th November it wrote as follows:

"At the meeting this week of the Queen's County Independent Club several of the Roman Catholic clergy appeared anxious to make matters as smooth as possible for Mr. Dease; and he and they manifestly intended that he should *not* be pledged to fixity of tenure. It was only when he was interrogated very closely by Mr. Lalor that he consented to the formula of the previous County meeting, and to follow the lead of Mr. Digby. He swallowed the dose with a gulp and a wry face. Even when he had adopted the professions demanded from him, his mental reserves were so palpable that some wished to adjourn his adoption as a candidate to another meeting, whilst others desired from him an amended address. Mr. Dease, by his station, popularity, and personal qualifications, is eminently entitled to represent the County. We have no doubt when in Parliament he will do as little that is violent and mischievous as he can help. He is infinitely to be preferred to a stranger—to a sham 'Nationalist'—or a lawyer out of place. But we cannot help regretting that he did not take up a manlier position before the Club, and say that he would assist in passing a Bill that will be honest and workable, and refuse his aid to any Bill meant to delude the tenantry by proffering to them apparently great concessions which they never can obtain from Parliament. If Mr. Gladstone introduces such a Bill—a mockery, a delusion, and a snare—were he ten times as powerful a Minister as he is—had he ten times the majority which he boasted last Session—his career must soon be cut short."

After his unopposed return, in January, 1870, Mr. Dease was again taken to task by the *Express*. Under date of 8th January, 1870, it thus commented on the new M.P.:—

"It was with regret we found Mr. Dease, on several platforms, lending his sanction openly to the doctrine of fixity of tenure. He could have afforded, we think, to speak in more careful language; and had he done so, he would have entered Parliament with much higher credit. We cannot believe that if the Government should introduce a measure just to the tenant, without violating the plain and palpable rights of the landlord, Mr. Dease will rise in his place and move a vote of want of confidence, or substitute for the Bill of Mr. Gladstone a Bill of his own. Such heroic virtue is beyond the reach of the ordinary party politician. If, therefore, any elector of the Queen's County thinks he has obtained in Mr. Dease one who will compel Mr. Gladstone to do justice to Ireland to the extent of endowing the tenant with a saleable perpetual occupancy right, we believe he is mistaken. We do not regret that we are forced to take this view of Mr. Dease's political position, for, being anxious to see the land question settled, we shall applaud him if he contributes by his vote to legislation of a rational description."

## CHAPTER XXXV.—THE 19TH CENTURY—CONTINUED—1870-1900.

THE year 1870 is the birth-year of the Irish Home Rule movement. "The new departure" was formulated as follows on the 19th of May by Isaac Butt: "That the true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish Parliament with full control over our domestic affairs."<sup>1</sup> Immediately there followed the formation of the "Home Government Association of Ireland." Its programme, when published, was discussed at a special meeting of the Queen's County Independent Club, and adopted, with a few dissentients. Dr. McGee was doubtful of the feasibility of the Federal system as between Ireland and the Empire. Others of the clergy in the County, like the clergy and hierarchy generally, were disposed to look askance at the new movement as singularly inopportune. They feared it might be the means

<sup>1</sup> See "New Ireland," by A. M. Sullivan, c. 28.



of diverting Mr. Gladstone from his self-appointed task of settling the Irish University question. When they discovered the unsatisfactory character of Mr. Gladstone's proposed University settlement the Catholic clergy, as a body, identified themselves with the Home Rule cause; and it is simple justice to them to say that its after success was chiefly due to their patriotism and perseverance.

In November, 1873, the Council of the Home Government Association summoned a meeting of delegates, in the Rotunda, Dublin, to formulate a National Policy. The Queen's County delegates were Patrick Cahill, E. P. Mulhallen Marum, and Rev. T. O'Shea, P.P.

Amongst the resolutions, the following was moved by Mr. C. G. Doran, T.C., Queenstown, and seconded by John O'Connor Power:—

"That this Conference cannot separate without calling on the Irish constituencies, at the next general election, to return men earnestly and truly devoted to the great cause which this Conference has been called to promote, and who, in any emergency that may arise, will be ready to take counsel with a great National Conference, to be called in such a manner as to represent the opinions and feelings of the Irish nation. And that with a view to rendering members of Parliament and their constituents more in accord on all questions affecting the welfare of the country, it is recommended by this conference that, at the close of each session of Parliament, the representatives should render to their constituents an account of their stewardship."

Mr. Cahill proposed as an amendment:—

"To render the Irish vote effective, we recommend that the Irish members shall form themselves into a permanent committee for the public discussion of every Ministerial or other proposal which may affect the interests of Ireland; that no individual shall introduce any Bill, or give notice of any motion of importance, unless the proceeding shall be sanctioned and supported by such committee; and, finally, that the Irish members shall always vote in a body, or abstain from voting in all party divisions, as the majority may direct." "He proposed," he said, "by his amendment merely to bring the representatives and their constituents more in accord with each other. The amendment was not intended in any way to throw a stigma upon the members. They ought to have confidence in their representatives, they were the free choice of the people in a great sense, and if they had not done all in Parliament that was expected, it was really the people's fault for not coming forward to sustain them. There was no public opinion in many parts of Ireland except at the general election time. His friend, Richard Lalor, was unhappily unable to be present to advocate the proposal (which was really his own) with all the weight of his personal character, and with all the force of an eloquence to which he could make no pretension. Mr. Lalor had some time ago brought forward this scheme for the constitution of an Irish assembly. In the Queen's County they felt a certain delicacy in asking their own members—gentlemen who went heartily with the popular sentiment—to take such a pledge, and it was so elsewhere. Let it be once understood that all Ireland approves of the proposal, and there will be no difficulty in applying it in each locality. Mr. Doran's resolution proposes that members shall act in union with a national conference, and that they shall account to their own constituents at the close of every session. The amendment contained nearly the same principle, but in a different form. It proposed that the Irish members themselves should be the guardians of their own honour, that as we trust them they should trust each other; that they should always act in concert, not insisting on petty crotchets, or divided by petty jealousies, but responsible to the public opinion of Ireland. The resolution proposes that they should account for their stewardship only at the close of the session. The amendment would render them accountable day by day, and week by week, so that the very first indication of cooling fervour, the first suspicious movement of intended treachery should be detected instantly, and instantly denounced. Mr. M'Carthy Downing had proposed to require a written pledge from every future candidate binding him to resign should he find himself at any time unwilling or conscientiously unable to act with the majority of the permanent committee. It would be well to insist on such a written pledge. The amendment further requires that Irish members shall give no notice of motion without previous consultation with the permanent committee."



Mr. Cahill's proposal was several years before the times. Such extreme party discipline postulated a party very different from that which then represented Ireland at Westminster.

Mr. Butt, in opposing the amendment, spoke as follows:—

"Various courses were suggested as to what Irish members should do. He heard it said that if they could not carry Home Rule the Irish members should retire from Parliament. He would not pledge himself to do any such thing, nor would he pledge himself not to do it when the time came. They had heard a great deal about independent opposition. He would not pledge himself to vote against every Ministry who would not make Home Rule a Cabinet question, and if the constituency of Limerick were determined to ask him for his pledge as contained in that amendment, he would refuse to take it. He supported the resolution, because there was a pledge in it that any honourable man might give. He pledged himself individually that whenever a crisis did arise upon which he thought the national voice ought to be consulted, he would not only come to the Conference when he was called upon, but he would do his best to ensure that the Conference should be called. In coming to the amendment he said he believed it would be most mischievous. It was only after a general election that this committee was to be formed, and then the Home Rule members should meet together in public to consider every question of interest to the country, and that the majority bind the minority. He thought there might be many questions of interest to Ireland that it would not be necessary to call upon their representatives to come there to discuss. Secondly, he was asked to surrender his conscience and his judgment into the hands of a number of men who were not yet elected—of whom they knew nothing. No consideration on earth would induce him to do so. He believed he would be only betraying his own personal dignity, and his personal honesty, if he gave a pledge to submit his conduct to anybody except his conscience and his own constituency."

After Sir John Gray, M.P., had spoken, and the debate had continued for three hours and a half, Mr. Cahill rose and said that the debate on his amendment had been extremely useful, and had elicited the opinion of the conference on a most important question—the necessity of united action in Parliament. He disliked pledges as much as anyone; but he disliked still more the want of union amongst Irish representatives. If the conference was of opinion that the resolution would secure that unanimity in future he would allow it to pass, reserving the right to bring forward his amendment at another time. Hereafter if additional pledges were found necessary the Irish people would insist upon them. He would, therefore, ask the permission of the conference to withdraw his amendment.<sup>2</sup>

The Convention delegates counted upon having sufficient time to make ample preparations for the next general election. But in this they counted without their host. "On the 24th January, 1874, the announcement was flashed throughout the kingdom that Mr. Gladstone had *dissolved*! . . . The *coup* was so sudden that it staggered everyone, friend and foe. To us of the Home Rule League it brought something like dismay. Here we were caught at utter disadvantage; no registries completed, no constituencies organised, no candidates selected."<sup>3</sup>

The two sitting members for the Queen's County, Messrs. Digby and Dease, were formally adopted by the Independent Club at a special meeting held on the 2nd February in the Town Hall, Maryborough, and presided over by Rev. T. Nolan, P.P., Abbeylaxey. The opponents of Home Rule in the County in 1874, as at most elections since, considered it good tactics to "give the Home Rulers a run for

<sup>2</sup> See the *Nation*, and the *Leinster Express* of 29th November, 1873.

<sup>3</sup> See "New Ireland," c. 32.



their money." Accordingly on this occasion General Dunne was nominated in opposition to Digby and Dease. It was the first election in which the people were protected by the ballot, and the result was what might have been anticipated. Dunne, although supported by Tories and Liberals combined, was left at the foot of the poll. The figures, as declared on the 13th February, were:—Digby, 1,726; Dease, 1,639; Dunne, 993.

Captain Damer was again returned for Portarlington. The *Leinster Express* of February 14th, 1874, wrote of the elections:—

"No greater contrast could be conceived than that afforded by the perfect order and good feeling which prevailed, with the violence and rioting which were the characteristics of the old system of open voting. In a constituency of 3,549 the majority obtained by the successful candidate must be admitted to be decisive. This result might have been anticipated. General Dunne has served the party which is at present the weaker, and shares the fate of those who serve the unfortunate. Nevertheless, his chances of success were sufficient to justify him in contesting the County. He had for many years retained the confidence of the majority of the electors, and it was only when the 'burning questions,' which had long smouldered beneath the surface, burst into a flame, that he was thrown aside for Messrs. Digby and Dease. The measures which the two successful candidates pledged themselves to support, when first returned, have now been partly settled—partly compromised. The Church has been disestablished; a step has been taken towards the settlement of the Land Question; the Education Question alone, of all the measures contained in the popular programme, remains where it was. A new 'upas tree' has arisen in the place of that which was hacked and lopped by Mr. Gladstone, but General Dunne was as ready as his opponents to lend a hand to pluck it up by the roots. Home Rule now takes precedence of every other subject in the popular programme, and upon this subject the Conservative candidate is at one with his Liberal opponents. But we strongly suspect that the majority of the electors considered that a Conservative Home Ruler would be less out of place in Barnum's museum than in the House of Commons, and acted accordingly."

"At length the struggle was over . . . ; and men drawing breath looked around to see how the day had gone. A great shout went up from Ireland. 'Victory! Victory!' was the cry from end to end of the land. . . . For the first time since the overthrow of the Irish Parliament in 1800 a clear and strong majority of the national representation were arrayed in solemn league and covenant to restore it. None were more astonished than the Home Rule leaders at their success. Under the disadvantages of 'the Gladstone surprise' they had hoped to return between thirty and forty men. They had carried about 60 seats."<sup>4</sup>

In the first session of the new Parliament a Home Rule debate ended, as it continued afterwards annually to end, in the Irish members being left in a minority of 10 to 1. During the recess meetings were held in every part of the country. On the 3rd of October a meeting in Maryborough, under the auspices of the Independent Club, and presided over by Mr. Richard Lalor, was addressed by several M.P.'s, including A. M. Sullivan. The *Leinster Express* described the meeting thus:—

"On the 2nd of October a demonstration took place at Maryboro', under the auspices of the Queen's County Independent Club, in furtherance of Home Rule, perpetuity of tenure, with valuation of rents and freedom of sale, and denominational education. The Market Square was densely thronged, and the numbers present were computed at about 5,000. The conduct of the people was worthy of all praise, and the advice given them by the priests was carefully followed."

<sup>4</sup> See "New Ireland," c. 32. In the previous Parliament there had been but 10 Home Rulers.



It is interesting to note with what precision the Home Rule problem was formulated at this meeting. Thus the Rev. Thomas O'Shea, P.P., Camross, said:—

"While Great Britain and Ireland shall each in their respective Parliaments attend to their domestic affairs, the business of the Empire will be conducted in the British Parliament, to which Ireland shall send representatives in proportion to her wealth, population, and importance. This arrangement consults for the harmony of the Parliaments and the stability of the Empire."

Father Matt. O'Keeffe, P.P., Aghaboe, wrote:—

"The Government of Ireland shall not be, as at the time of the Union, responsible to a foreign senate, but shall be responsible to the Parliament of Ireland. Has the time come when the people of this country find themselves in a position to assert their inalienable right to a native Parliament? I believe it has. In 1810 the grand jury of the City of Dublin, seeing the ruin and desolation caused by the Union, entrusted to Grattan a petition for repeal. Grattan said, 'A petition of that sort must wait until it be called for and backed by the nation.' Let the men who returned last February sixty Home Rule members say whether the people of Ireland do not yearn for the restoration of their native Parliament."

Mr. A. M. Sullivan, having assured the meeting that there was no more "united, compact, harmonious, devoted, and determined body of men in the House of Commons than the Home Rule Party," continued,

"Six months ago when the Irish people rose, from the cliffs of Antrim to Cape Clear, to dare and do again, to join in the struggle at the polls for Ireland, they wrote upon their flags—'Home Rule, fixity of tenure for the Irish race, religious education for the people, and amnesty for our brothers who pine in prison.' These are only so many chapters in the claim we make from England. Home Rule! Some men may try to split hairs or chop words, but the claim we make to-day is in all its substantiality the claim that Ireland has made for 270 years; the platform on which we stand to-day is the platform of the Confederation of Kilkenny, for which Owen Roe O'Neill drew the sword; for which Grattan thundered in College Green, and in behalf of which the mighty heart of O'Connell broke. Some great statesmen tell us and taunt us that the Irish peasantry do not understand the details of the Home Rule programme. Why, there is not an Irish peasant on the hillsides of Kerry or Donegal who does not know that Home Rule means Ireland for the Irish."

The Chairman dealt effectively with the objections generally urged against the movement.

"It is a favourite argument with those who are opposed to Home Rule and in favour of Whiggery to say that 'if the Irish Liberal members were only united they would be able to carry every liberal measure necessary for Ireland.' The last session has proved the opposite. But then it is said that Mr. Gladstone and other English statesmen have pledged themselves to do justice to Ireland. Granted that they have promised to give what they call justice, how many English statesmen from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Gladstone have been obliged to eat their words with regard to this country?"

The next Home Rule meeting in Maryborough was on the 24th October, 1875. It was addressed by Edmund Dease, M.P. (who presided); Isaac Butt, M.P.; P. L. Martin, M.P.; C. H. Meldon, M.P.; K. T. Digby, M.P.; Rev. T. O'Shea, P.P.; Richard Lalor, Mulhallen Marum, and Patrick Cahill. The meeting advocated (in addition to Home Rule) Tenant Right, Grand Jury Reform, and amnesty of Irish political prisoners immured in English dungeons.

The return, early in 1875, of Charles Stuart Parnell<sup>5</sup> as M.P. for Meath was destined to exercise a far-reaching influence on the Home

<sup>5</sup> He was the grand-nephew of Sir Henry Parnell, who had so faithfully represented Queen's County from 1806 to 1832.





Rule struggle. Though a landlord, he joined the Irish Party at a moment when the abolition of landlordism held as prominent a place as Home Rule on the Party programme. Indeed, Mr. Butt, whilst contenting himself with an annual "field day" for his "Home Rule hobby" (as Liberals and Tories delighted to represent it), allowed no session to pass without introducing one, two, or more Irish Land Bills. In 1874 he and his followers were responsible for four measures of agrarian reform, the fate of all being pithily summarised by the historian in the single word "Dropped."<sup>6</sup> The Irish members, if they did nothing else, educated English public opinion by constantly bringing the iniquities of the Irish land system under the notice of Parliament. In 1876 they moved for, and obtained, a Parliamentary Return which the *Freeman's Journal* described as the "Irish Domesday Book." It enumerated the landed proprietors of Ireland, and the quantity and value of land held by each. Commenting on the Return the *Freeman's Journal* said it showed "the soil of Ireland to be in the hands of 32,600 persons, of whom about 275 owned over 6,000,000 acres, or nearly one-third of the whole country. Of these 275 we believe we are justified in saying one-half are absentees. From a Return of 1872 it appears there are 3,000 proprietors who 'rarely or never' visit the country. Now, if there are absent about 150 owning a sixth of the soil, and if there are 3,000 others (in addition to the London Companies, and the Church Temporalities Commissioners) non-resident, the condition of things could hardly be worse."<sup>7</sup>

The following are the particulars given in this "Domesday Book" regarding the Queen's County:—

The number of holders of land less than one acre was 426, living on 68 statute acres; or, on an average, 6 holders to one acre; the annual valuation being £4,307. The number of holders of land over one acre was 623, having on the aggregate 423,761 statute acres, with an annual valuation of £254,749. The total number of occupiers of land in the county was 1,049; the total area in statute acres 423,829; and the total annual valuation £259,056, being an average annual valuation of 12s. 2d. per statute acre. The landed proprietors possessing more than 10,000 statute acres were Lord Lansdowne, 12,995 acres, valuation £10,790; Mrs. Grattan-Bellew, 10,593 acres, valuation £5,923; Lord Castletown, 22,241 acres, valuation £14,501; Sir Charles Coote, Bart., 47,451 acres, valuation £18,007; Robert Cosby, 10,110 acres, valuation £6,738; Lord De Vesci, 15,069 acres, valuation £9,410; Lord Portarlington, 11,149 acres, valuation £6,050.

Those who possessed over 5,000 but under 10,000 acres were:—

Thomas Kemmis, 5,800 acres, valuation £3,325; R. H. Stubber, 7,388 acres, valuation £4,061; Richard Warburton, 5,336 acres, valuation £1,564.

The three years which had elapsed since the Home Rule Convention had but tended to convince Mr. Lalor, and the Independent Club, of the soundness of their views, as voiced at the Convention by their spokesman, Mr. Cahill. Further, Mr. Parnell's known adoption of their policy of stringent party discipline encouraged them to take another step in advance. They, therefore, decided to hold a special Club meeting to discuss the question, and to invite Mr. Butt to attend.

<sup>6</sup> See "The Parnell Movement," by T. P. O'Connor, c. viii. 21st, 1876. The total area of Ireland, in statute acres, was 20,159,678; and the

<sup>7</sup> See *The Freeman's Journal* of June total valuation £13,419,258.









**BRITTAS**  
(Dunne).

Vol. II., pp. 774-5

**SHEFFIELD  
HOUSE**  
(Cassan).

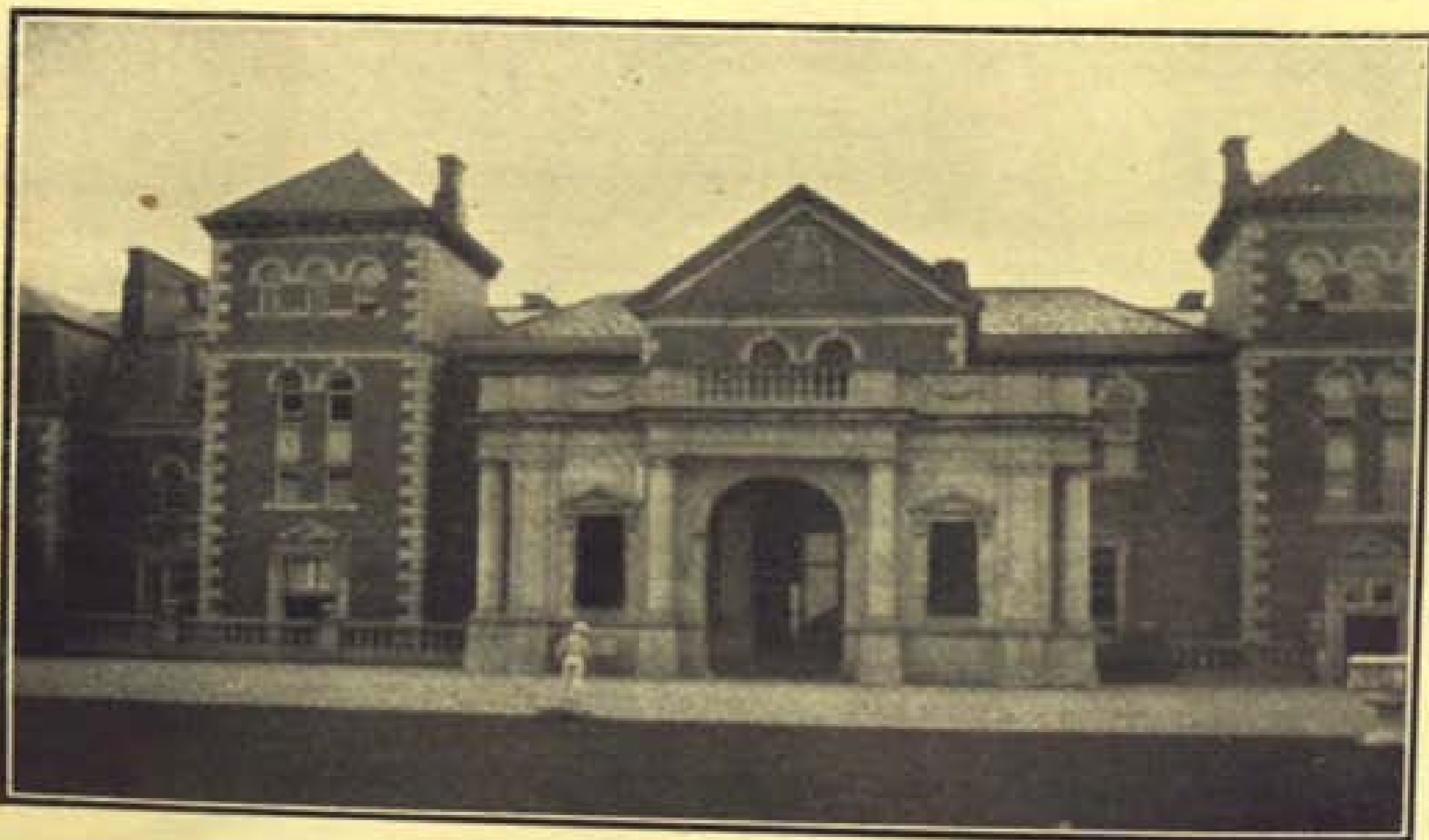
Vol. I. pp. 198, 244.

Vol. II., p. 625.



**HEYWOOD**  
(Trench Poe).

Vol. I., p. 233. Vol. II.,  
p. 628.





In reply to the invitation Mr. Butt wrote a letter to which, in the light of after events, exceptional interest attaches.

"September 11th, 1876.

"MY DEAR CAHILL.—I am unfortunately obliged to write hurriedly on a subject on which I intended to write yesterday, but was prevented. However, you will be able to appreciate the few suggestions I can make.

"I think caution is necessary in passing any resolution on the subject of more vigorous action on the part of the Irish Party in the House of Commons. The proceedings of the delegates from England were private—that is, not reported. But the discussion on their resolution fully explained its meaning. I said very emphatically that nothing would ever induce me to adopt a policy of obstruction for obstruction's sake. Such a course would only destroy our influence and bring discredit on the National cause; but I said our duty, as Irish representatives, is to press all Irish grievances on the House as fully as they require, even although this might impede the business of the House. These remarks were universally cheered. I then pointed out that at Limerick last year I had clearly laid down this very policy, and that I did not understand the resolution as going beyond my own recommendations. The point on which the policy indicated in that speech was not carried out was as to raising discussions on votes of supply. There is scarcely an Irish grievance which could not be so discussed. When the vote is taken for the Irish police everything connected with that body is open to discussion; so on the votes for Education—the Queen's Colleges, and every other department of Irish administration. There is a great advantage in such discussions, that as the vote for money must be taken, they cannot get rid of the discussion—it must go on.

"But to do this effectually requires several things. 1. Careful planning of the debates, and the times they ought to be raised. 2. A constant and *sleepless* watchfulness. Very often votes in supply are run through when there is no one in the House to oppose, and the opportunity is lost. 3. There should be a more *constant* attendance of our members. We cannot give notice of these guerilla skirmishes, which might be important battles, but to carry on this species of warfare our members ought to be almost all the Session in London, and while in London, almost always in the House.

"It is very hard for persons not practically acquainted with the working of the House of Commons to understand the difficulties in the way of this. Latterly ministers have got into the habit of putting off the votes in supply to the end of the session. The most important votes were taken this year at the close of the session, when most Irish members had gone home. I was assured no power on earth could induce them to stay. They manage this by getting what are called votes on account in the early part of the session, as a matter of form, and then passing the rest of the estimates at the close of the session without discussion. The practice is destructive of the privileges of the House. I have done my best to resist it, and a number of English members will support me in using all the forms of the House to defeat it. I have given notice of a resolution for the first or second day of the session condemning it. I am quite sure I will force them to give up the practice, and bring on the estimates early, when every item can be discussed. This is a question in which independent English members are as much interested as Irish.

"I hope then to be able to organise an effective series of debates when votes are taken for the Irish departments. I need scarcely say that the more quietly this is done the better. I think any discussion upon it would be mischievous.

"Now as to the caution to be observed as to resolutions for more vigorous action. They are liable to be understood as implying a want of confidence in the present management of the Parliamentary Party. In the crisis through which we are now passing this in itself is mischievous. If they were understood as calling for an obstructive policy they would do a great deal of harm. Our whole power in following out the policy I recommend depends upon its not bearing the semblance of obstructiveness, but simply the legitimate discussion of Irish affairs, although I think Englishmen would soon learn that this could not take place without very considerable obstruction to the progress of public business. But to teach the lesson that obstruction must result from the fair discussion to which we have a right, and not from vexatious impediments designedly interposed. The difference is exactly between a complete success and a miserable and disastrous failure.

"I would regret greatly your passing any resolution to-morrow which would have the appearance of calling on us to adopt an obstructive policy, or give our enemies ground for saying that we have been driven to adopt a course approaching to this by pressure from without. I have sketched a resolution, which I think would meet the real emergency of the case.



"I have not time to write a second letter, and I will feel greatly obliged to you if you will show this letter to my friend, Father Tom O'Shea. I need not say that in mentioning the plan I have of action on the estimates, I do so only for your and his information. Any public discussion of it would do harm. All things considered, our Home Rule members have done wonderfully well. We have an influence in the House that Ireland never had before, and although their attendance is not as good as the peculiar exigencies of our position require, it is quite as good as that of any other sixty men taken by chance from the list of members—as good certainly as that of the Irish Conservatives, although they have all the influence of Government organisation to press them. The Green Book of Mr. M'Alister will tell you this.—Yours very truly,

"ISAAC BUTT."

"The legitimate discussion of Irish affairs"—i.e., the shelving of them—did not commend itself to Mr. Parnell's practical turn of mind.

Acting on the principle that "all's fair in war," Parnell, aided by Biggar, set himself grimly to the task of compelling the English Parliament, *per fas aut nefas*—either by "legitimate discussion" or its opposite—to right the wrongs of Ireland.<sup>8</sup> And these wrongs were exceptionally clamant during Parnell's period of activity. The condition of the country might be described as "going from bad to worse." The outlook, which became desperate in 1879, was gloomy in '77 and '78. To take the potato crop by way of illustration.

In the Returns supplied by the Registrar-General of Ireland the potato crop of 1876 was set down at 4,154,784 tons, valued at £12,464,382. In 1877 the figures were 1,757,274 tons, valued at £5,271,822; in 1878 there were 2,526,504 tons, worth £7,579,512; and in 1879 only 1,113,676 tons, valued at £3,341,028. Thus the difference between 1876 and 1879 was £9,123,534, or more than three-quarters of the entire rental of Ireland. The depreciation was even greater in regard to general crops. In 1876 their value was 36 millions sterling; in 1877, 28 millions; in 1878, 32 millions; and in 1879, only 22 millions sterling—a loss in three years of 26 millions sterling. If there had been a corresponding reduction in the rents, the last and greatest Irish land war might have been averted; but, with rare exceptions, the Irish landlords remained true to the vilest traditions of Irish landlordism. They set themselves as a body, after their wont, in the people's path; and in the result (as Lalor had warned them in 1848) "the march of the people was over them."

That Parnell's Parliamentary methods approved themselves to his countrymen more generally than those pursued by Butt soon became apparent. Many of the Irish counties gave their Parliamentary representatives a broad hint that they must either throw in their lot with Messrs. Parnell and Biggar or—abide the consequence. The Queen's County Independent Club summoned the two County members to attend a special meeting in Maryborough, on the 29th September, 1878, to explain the remissness of their attendance in Parliament, and their failure to support the "active policy." Mr. Digby preferred to remain in London; and consequently the brunt of the attack had to be borne by Mr. Dease, who attended the meeting. The "heckling" adminis-

<sup>8</sup> The following specimen of the Parnell spirit is characteristic:—"It will take an earthquake to settle the land question, Mr. Parnell," someone said to him.

"Then we must have an earthquake," was the reply. See "The Life of C. S. Parnell," by R. Barry O'Brien, c. 8.



tered to him, and his general line of defence can be gathered from the leading article written on the subject by the *Leinster Express*.

"A cynic," it wrote, "has said that a man's friend is one who delights to hear of his misfortune; and political opponents are not so magnanimous as to witness without satisfaction whatever is unpleasant for their adversaries. For these reasons, although Mr. Dease is justly popular among men of all shades of opinion in the county, very little sympathy will be extended to him in the awkward situation in which he found himself on Tuesday. Mr. Dease, it seems, has not been so regular in his attendance in the House of Commons as some of his supporters would wish him to be. The record of the divisions was read by Mr. Richard Lalor from an inconvenient publication known as the Parliamentary Green Book, at the meeting of the Club, and Mr. Dease was invited to explain his frequent absence. This operation was rendered the more difficult by the moderation of the gentleman who took him to task. Mr. Lalor abstained from any ill-judged attack. He confined himself to the mere recital of the occasions on which either one or the other of the Queen's County representatives was absent from divisions in the House of Commons. Mr. Dease was therefore deprived of any opportunity of averting attention from his own shortcomings by exposing the unreasonable assaults of an adversary. Whether under these circumstances he succeeded in proving that he has discharged his duty to his constituents, we leave it to his supporters to judge. As for those who differ from him in politics, their verdict will be that he has received the reward he deserved. Mr. Digby, too, will have the laugh at his colleague. The senior member for the constituency escaped an unpleasant lecture by remaining in London, while Mr. Dease, who attended the meeting of the Club at some inconvenience, received a reprimand for his pains. However, if Mr. Digby be inclined to smile at Mr. Dease's misfortune, his mirth will probably be checked when he remembers that there is a rod in pickle for him, and that it will certainly be administered when next he visits his constituents. Mr. Dease's peculiar theory regarding the duties of a Parliamentary representative deserves to be noted. If we comprehend him, he holds that the certainty of defeat may be pleaded by a representative in extenuation for his absence from a division. But to admit such an apology as this would be fatal to one of the most effective methods there exists for forming public opinion. Session after session measures are introduced into Parliament without the smallest prospect of success. Their authors know that their defeat is certain; their supporters are well aware that no immediate reward will attend their efforts. Their sole object is to direct public attention to their proposals, and they know that their success in commanding notice out of Parliament will to some extent be regulated by the number they can muster on their side in the House. There are many remarkable instances of the success of this plan of forming opinion; but what prospect would there be of any proposal making headway among those who have no settled convictions regarding it, if those who approve it confess by their acts that it is not worth support at the cost of personal inconvenience? At all events, if the Irish constituencies for one moment admitted that the certainty of defeat might be pleaded as an excuse for the absence of their representatives from a division, the divisions on Irish questions would soon provoke nothing but ridicule. The suggestion that such an excuse was admissible did not find favour with the Club, but several members spoke strongly for a policy which we are convinced would be more damaging to the views they support. In other words, the policy of which Messrs. Biggar and Parnell are the authors has its admirers among them. It does not require much perception to discover that the Obstructives have accomplished nothing to their advantage up to the present. They have excited a strong feeling against their party in England and Scotland just when that party was beginning to boast that its views were making progress in those divisions of the United Kingdom. If they persevere in obstruction the result will inevitably be that the House of Commons will resort to repressive measures to check their tactics, and it will not be likely to fall into the blunder of exercising its authority in such a manner as to convert the Obstructives into martyrs."

Mr. Lalor followed up his action on this occasion by further steps at Club and other meetings, and on 27th January, 1879, wrote the following letter to Mr. Cahill:—

"MY DEAR CAHILL,—Enclosed I send you the amount of my yearly subscription, and I am sorry that I am unable to attend the meeting of our club to-day. I am not sure that at present the club is in harmony with the opinions of the great majority



of the electors of the Queen's County on the question of the future Parliamentary policy of the Irish Home Rule members. I need scarcely say that if the club is to possess any political influence in the future it must not only coincide with the opinions of the people whom it claims to represent and counsel, but it must also be prepared to express and act up to those opinions. It is known to the members of the club that I am in favour of an *active and continuous Parliamentary hostility* to every Ministry that will not comply with the legislative demands of the Irish people. I believe the electors of the Queen's County are in favour of the same policy. And I also believe that the time has come when, in justice to itself, and in justice to the people, the Queen's County Independent Club is bound to express its opinion on this question in no hesitating or ambiguous language. Whatever opinion the club may entertain on this subject, the public ought to be made aware of it, in order that the electors should not be led blindfold up to the eve of the next general election, when only a choice of two evils might be presented to them. This course I take the liberty of pressing, with the greatest respect, on the attention of our club, and remain, my dear Cahill, yours very truly,

“ RICHARD LALOR.”

This year witnessed the founding of the “Irish National Land League,” and the holding of those meetings which have helped so materially to shape the history of our times.

The first important Land League meeting in the Queen's County was held in the Market Square of Maryborough on the 5th October, 1879. The *Freeman's Journal* estimated the numbers present at 20,000. On the proposal of Mr. P. A. Meehan, seconded by Mr. Hulton Harrison, Mr. Richard Lalor was voted to the chair “amidst enthusiastic plaudits.” The Chairman said he had not come there to cast odium on the landlords; nor to advise tenants, who were able to pay, not to pay their rents. He confined his observations to those who, owing to one of the worst harvests he remembered since the famine, were not in a position to pay their rents. His advice to them was to keep what food would support them until next September, to keep sufficient seed for the spring crops; and on no account to part with their stock for the purpose of making up the rent, if doing so would render it impossible for them to provide food for their families, and crops for their lands. As regarded the political situation, he said, their duty was to put out their two worthless M.P.'s, and put in two supporters of Mr. Parnell, whose policy was the only policy from which any benefit for Ireland could be expected. He would suggest as suitable candidates two of those they had with them on the platform—John Dillon and Arthur O'Connor, or failing either of them, the Rev. Isaac Nelson of Belfast.

The first resolution was proposed by Canon O'Keeffe, of Aghaboe, and seconded by Dr. McGee, of Stradbally:—“That the rental of Ireland is now, and always has been, in excess of the real value of the land, so much so that the tenant farmers of Ireland have always been the worst fed, the worst clad, and the worst housed of any people in Europe. That there has been a great falling off in farm produce of every sort during the last few seasons. In the present season the failure is nearly complete, and in addition the prices are exceptionally low. Under these circumstances we most respectfully call on the landlords of the county not to ruin their tenants by forcing them to pay rent in the present season, and thus save both themselves and their tenants from misery, and destruction in the future.”

The second resolution declared that the present system of landlordism was the chief obstacle to Irish prosperity. “We are therefore resolved never to cease agitating this question until the tenant farmers



of Ireland are settled on the land for ever, either as peasant proprietors, or tenants at fair rents, with the right of free sale, should they so desire."

The third resolution expressed dissatisfaction with Messrs. Digby and Dease, and declared that at the next election no candidate would be supported except he pledged himself "to co-operate with Mr. Parnell and the active section of the Home Rule members in Parliament."

Mr. Biggar, M.P., speaking to this resolution, said the great object of sending members to Parliament was that reforms should be obtained by their energy and determination. He quite concurred in the views of their chairman that rackrented tenants should refuse to pay; and it was Mr. Parnell's advice that tenants should pay only what was reasonable, and should demand reasonable reductions. His friend Mr. Parnell had carried some useful measures aided by a few honest, true, and earnest men. What great concessions could he not secure if all the Nationalist constituencies sent to Parliament members pledged to his support? Mr. Digby appeared to have no idea of the aspirations or wishes of an Irish constituency. Mr. Dease had no political energy, no political determination; and 500 such members would never carry fixture of tenure, or reform of the Grand Jury Laws, or anything. As regarded the three gentlemen whose names had been mentioned by the chairman, they would make excellent members, and nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see two of them representing the Queen's County.

Mr. T. D. Sullivan moved the next resolution: "That we tender to Mr. Parnell our gratitude for his devotion and services to the cause of Ireland; that we regard him as *the true leader* of the Irish people; and that we approve of his active Parliamentary hostility to every Ministry that will not give full justice to our country, as the only *constitutional* means by which we may ever hope to regain our National Rights." He felt assured that sentiment would find an echo in every Irish heart. What was wanted was that the party of earnest men should be largely increased. He urged them to send the right men to Parliament; and he would tell them how to do it. It was by cheapening the election for them. They should not make the election a crushing fine on honest men who go to do the people's work; but when they found good men and true should return them free of expense.

Mr. Arthur O'Connor supported the resolution. He said the British Parliament was the only field open for those willing to strike a blow for Ireland. Perseverance was the only policy which would secure useful measures. Parnell, Biggar, O'Connor Power and others have opened a line of tactics which has discovered the weak point in the British Parliament, and it was for the people to send them colleagues who would aid them in their work.

Mr. John Dillon, who was received with cries of "the future Member for Queen's County," proposed "that while we are compelled by force to obey laws made by strangers, we will never cease to deny the right, and protest against the injustice, of any assembly of men, save an Irish Parliament, having the power to make laws to bind the Irish people." He said the great thing was to draw a line between the landlords who did not take an unfair advantage of them, and those who did. He knew that in the County Mayo, a county of which



he had some knowledge, there was land of which the rent was doubled in six years. Now, what was to be done with a landlord of that class? (A Voice.—“Shoot him.”) Mr. Dillon.—No. The first thing was to make him go back to half his rental. His suggestion was not to shoot the landlords. His advice was to abstain from outrages, because outrages were not necessary. Let each parish form a league, and meet every Sunday after Mass; and, when a hardship arose, call a meeting to denounce the landlord, publish the case in the *Dublin Freeman*, and if that did not succeed call a monster meeting and invite Mr. Parnell to attend it. Let those who have the money pay the rents in November; let those that have too high rents ask the landlord to reduce them by 50 or 60 per cent., and, if he refuse, pay him no rent. If a man is evicted, and another take his land let no one speak to him, or have any transactions with him. In such a crisis every man should stand by his neighbours.

The *Freeman's Journal* of the morning following the meeting contained a letter from Mr. Dillon regretting his inability to stand for the Queen's County.

“At the Maryborough meeting yesterday,” he wrote, “Mr. Lalor did me the great honour of recommending me to the electors of Queen's County as a candidate who would meet with his warm approval. I feel proud, as any young Irishman should, of this mark of esteem, coming from such a man as Richard Lalor of Tenakill. But it is only fair, both to the electors of the Queen's County, and to myself, to take the earliest opportunity of letting them know that it is quite out of my power to seek the representation of their county. Till recently I had intended to stand for another county with which I had some ties, but recent circumstances in connection with my private affairs have made this impossible, and rendered it necessary for me to leave this country for some years.”

The *Leinster Express*, of October 11th, voiced the contemporary landlord view. It emphasised the point that

“the agricultural labourer . . . was the prevailing element in the crowd. . . . It is, we think, pretty evident that the majority of the farmers are not convinced that demonstrations of this sort are the surest means of relieving their present necessities. In one particular the meeting compares favourably with others held in different parts of Ireland. The language used was more moderate in tone than that in which the landed proprietors elsewhere have been requested to forego a considerable portion of their incomes. . . . There is only one thing necessary to the success of the demand on the landowners, viz., *their acquiescence*. The tenants must not be deceived on this point. The landlords have certain legal rights, and if they insist on them the law will make itself respected in the face of the strongest demonstrations that can be organised.”

The sequel of this demonstration was a meeting of the Independent Club on the 19th November to decide the question of the Parliamentary representation of the County.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> On the 8th of February the *Nation* had written as follows of one of the County Members, Mr. Digby.—Satan reproving sin is a striking incongruity, but what is to be said of the spectacle afforded by Mr. Kenelm Thomas Digby, M.P., writing in favour of activity, energy, and determination on the part of the Irish party in Parliament? In a letter read at a meeting of the Queen's County Independent Club last week the

Home Rule party are advised in a tone recalling both Nestor and Achilles, and never once suggesting that the writer is not himself a perfect paragon of political activity! “It may be taken for granted,” he says, “that the country is desirous that a cordial union should be established between the Irish representatives so that they may labour together *earnestly* and *effectively* to secure those objects which the country has at heart, and to obtain



"Mr. Lalor said he was about to take the unusual course for a chairman of proposing a resolution. The resolution was:—'That we approve of Mr. Parnell's active policy in Parliament during the last two sessions, and his active hostility to every Ministry that will not give full justice to our country, as the only constitutional means by which we may ever hope to regain our national rights.' He said it had been objected that by connecting Mr. Parnell's name with the resolution they were lowering the prestige of the members of their county. The resolution did not go further than the adoption of the policy which Mr. Parnell had pursued for the last two sessions. Some people say Mr. Parnell had committed a blunder, but he could not agree. He looked on Mr. Parnell's methods as the only effective way of dealing with a Ministry hostile to Ireland. What had they ever got from England except by pressure? And what was Mr. Parnell's policy except the application of pressure where alone it was possible to apply it? He did not want to constitute Mr. Parnell leader (though he believed he was, and deserved to be, their leader); but how could he define Mr. Parnell's policy in a resolution, without using Mr. Parnell's name?"

"Rev. Father M'Donald, P.P., suggested that Mr. Parnell's name be left out, for they could not reasonably expect their members to follow Mr. Parnell's policy should he think well of changing his tactics after a time, and becoming a Tory."

"Mr. Lalor agreed that there was a great deal in what the rev. gentleman said, and accordingly he would amend his resolution, as follows:—'That we will support no candidate who will not pledge himself to adopt in future the policy hitherto pursued by Mr. Parnell, and the active section of the Home Rule members in Parliament.'"

"Mr. Mulhallen Marum supported the resolution, and said that the policy of Parnell was the policy he had advocated at the Home Rule Conference in 1873, viz., a policy of independent opposition on *all* questions in Parliament, until either of the two English parties would be compelled, in its own interest, to act with the Irish Party in redressing the grievances of Ireland."

"The Chairman said he would take the sense of the meeting on the resolution, and would afterwards call on Messrs. Digby and Dease. The meeting expressed its approval of the resolution, though not with absolute unanimity; and was then addressed by its two members, whose reception was the reverse of flattering. They both professed their adhesion to Home Rule, but would not pledge their adhesion to Mr. Parnell, or 'the active policy.' It was thereupon proposed by Mr. Lalor, seconded by Mr. Harrison, and passed by a majority, 'that as neither of our Members represents our views on the policy to be pursued in Parliament in the future, we will not support either Mr. Digby or Mr. Dease at the next general election.'"

The *Leinster Express's* comment was as follows:—

"The object of the meeting was to declare the adhesion of the Club to Mr. Parnell's 'active' policy, and to announce its determination to withhold its support from any candidate for the suffrages of the constituency who would not pledge himself to that policy. The two county representatives attended the meeting by request, and an effort was made to gild the pill they were asked to swallow. They were assured that they were not required to play the role of wantonly obstructive members of the House of Commons. All that was required of them was such vigorous criticism of all Government business that might come before the House, as would render any Ministry heartily glad to get rid of them at any price. Messrs. Digby and Dease sturdily refused to swallow the dose prepared for them. Mr. Lalor moved a resolution declaring the Club would no longer support Messrs Digby and Dease, in consequence of their refusal to follow Mr. Parnell. This proposal met with a strong opposition, and though it was declared carried, the victory—if victory it be—can yield no triumph. The minority will not be bound by the resolution; there is

which they have been sent to Parliament." The italics are Mr. Digby's. He goes on to urge a greater discipline within the party, and more frequent meetings for consultation, and he adds, that if the country is to obtain the reforms it desires, "it will only be by the united, determined, and hearty co-operation of every Irish representative."

Nothing, it will be observed, will come up to Mr. Digby's idea of what the situation demands but "earnest," "effective," "determined" action! And no member of the Queen's County Club appears to have been either amused or indignant at this posturing of 'the champion sluggard'!



a serious difference among the members of the Club, and that difference will undoubtedly extend itself throughout the constituency. If there is any of the old tact and energy for which the Conservatives of the Queen's County were once distinguished remaining in the party, the ultimate result of Wednesday's meeting may not be a happy one either for the followers of Mr. Parnell or for the moderate Home Rulers."<sup>10</sup>

Land League meetings now became an every Sunday occurrence. Amongst the chief were: Knocaroo, addressed by Michael Davitt; Maryborough, addressed by Sexton; Ballyroan, addressed by Thomas Brennan; Crettyard, Arles, Ballylinan, Rathdowney, Cullahill, Durrow, Raheen, Stradbally, and Mountmellick.

"The old tact and energy for which the Conservatives of the Queen's County were once distinguished" was soon put to the test. The general election came in March, 1880. The Independent Club met on the 15th to select candidates. The meeting, after some stormy scenes, decided, on the proposal of the Chairman, Mr. Lalor, to adopt as candidates Mr. Arthur O'Connor and Mr. Patrick Egan.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Digby defended himself vigorously, and declared he would stand, with or without the Club's sanction. On the 17th Mr. Egan arrived, but announced that for reasons connected with his business he could not become a candidate. Mr. Lalor then decided to go forward himself, and issued the following Election Address, dated "St. Patrick's Day, 1880":—

"Fellow Electors,—The Queen's County Independent Club accepted Mr. Arthur O'Connor and Mr. Patrick Egan as candidates at the coming election. Mr. Egan is unable to stand. I, therefore, offer myself for your suffrages, and hope to secure your support. My name and political opinions have been so long and so well known to the County that I am sure it is unnecessary for me to give a detailed exposition of my sentiments."

The *Nation* of March 20th contained the following appreciation of the two Nationalist candidates:—

Amongst the new candidates who have come forward are several whose appearance in the lists will be hailed with satisfaction by all patriotic Irishmen. Mr. Richard Lalor, of Tenakill, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, are candidates for the Queen's County, the representation of which had been brought to a complete nullity by Messrs. Digby and Dease. The new candidates are men of the very best class. Mr. Lalor's name is a household word in Queen's County and far beyond its limits. He comes of a race of patriots; his father, whose memory is revered, was a prominent actor in the anti-tithe movement and the agitation for Catholic Emancipation. In the general aspect of his character, in his firmness, calmness, and spirit of self-abnegation, Mr. Lalor reminds us strongly of the lamented John Martin. At any election for the last twenty years he would have been returned to Parliament had he chosen to offer himself as a candidate. His appearance in the field at this time is solely due to his desire to save the county from such misrepresentation, as it has recently been compelled to endure, and the success of his candidature may be regarded as beyond question. With him in the running is Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a young Irishman of splendid capacity for such work as is required by the active party in Parliament. Opposition to the return of these two men would be futile; if it be attempted it will be signally defeated."

The other side of the case was put before its readers as follows by the *Leinster Express* of the same date:—

"Judging from the preparations, it seems probable that there will be a contest fought with much of the zealous energy which characterised electoral battles here in

<sup>10</sup> See *Leinster Express* of 22nd November, 1879.

<sup>11</sup> Afterwards United States Minister in

Chili. He emigrated to America during the Forster Coercion regime.



former days. The contest will resemble a triangular duel. The 'irreconcilables,' as they have been mildly, though not inappropriately termed, selected as their candidates Mr. Arthur O'Connor and Mr. Patrick Egan, of the Land League. Mr. Egan, however, found it inconvenient to be put in nomination, and his place has been taken by Mr. Richard Lalor, Tenakill. Mr. Digby is the candidate of the moderate Home Rule Party, and the Conservatives have chosen an excellent champion in Captain Cosby, of Stradbally Hall. All the candidates have a reasonable hope of success; and, if their courage endure, there is no reason why any of them should shirk the battle. Messrs. Lalor and O'Connor can boast of a considerable following, though we are warned by *Æsop* that an uproar may easily mislead us as to the strength of the author of the clamour. Mr. Digby's following, if not so noisy, may be found as strong as his opponents. As for the Queen's County Conservatives, if the rank and file of the party work with energy and courage they will make no despicable figure in the day of battle. The logical consequence of the arguments advanced by Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Lalor is revolution; and though these two gentlemen, no doubt, fail to perceive this fact, it is recognised by many of their followers. Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Lalor will themselves admit that the hopes they have raised of radical reforms, which are to remodel society, and metamorphose the face of the country, cannot be speedily realised. How long do they hope that an uneducated and struggling people, whose expectations of an immediate change have been aroused, will be content to wait on the slow progress of constitutional efforts? The election is a contest between men who avoid dangerous principles and a party which is leading the people into a path beset with peril to those who traverse it. Under such circumstances we believe the candidature of Captain Cosby will be regarded with favour by many who do not profess Conservative opinions. If there be as much common sense in the constituency as is generally believed, the candidature of a Conservative under such circumstances will be treated with 'benevolent neutrality' in quarters in which at ordinary times it would be met with antagonism."

The nominations took place on the 5th of April. Richard Lalor, Esq., proposed by Patrick Doran, T.C., Maryborough, was seconded by Rev. Andrew M'Donald, P.P., Mountrath. Arthur O'Connor, Esq., proposed by Rev. A. M'Donald, was seconded by Mark J. Codd, Esq., Mountrath. Captain R. G. Cosby, D.L., proposed by Robert Staples, Esq., J.P., was seconded by Thomas Kemmis, Esq., J.P. Kenelm T. Digby, Esq., proposed by Rev. T. Nolan, P.P., Abbeylaxey, was seconded by John Wrafter, Esq., J.P., Maryborough.

The feature of the election was the poor show made by Digby. He received only 109 votes. Richard Lalor headed the poll with 1,686 votes, O'Connor came next with 1,545, and Cosby third with 899 votes.

The result was described by the *Express* as "a signal victory for the two followers of Mr. Parnell." The defeat of the Conservatives it attributed to the fact that

"they entered on the struggle without any long-sustained effort to prepare for the battle, while they had for their opponents men who had shown marvellous forethought, Messrs. Lalor and O'Connor were early in the field, and before it was known when Parliament would be dissolved, they were working ingeniously to win the constituency over to Mr. Parnell's policy. Mr. Lalor's efforts to induce the Queen's County Independent Club to withdraw its support from Mr. Dease and Mr. Digby were not at first very successful. It is now plain that the meetings held some two months ago at Knockaroo and Maryboro', for the ostensible purpose of defending the tenants on local estates from alleged oppressive dealings on the part of the landlords, were but preliminaries to the election, designed to place Mr. Lalor and Mr. O'Connor in a position in which they could defy the Club, if that association declined to desert the former representatives of the county. We do not say that Mr. Lalor from the outset aimed at winning a seat for himself. His object was, however, clearly to bring popular opinion into harmony with his own views, and to direct the current of public feeling into the channel in which it would be found of most advantage to the gentleman who is now his colleague in the representation of the constituency. It is clear that if Mr. Lalor had not set himself to work early to educate the electors, the candidature of two Parnellites in opposition to Messrs. Digby and Dease would have caused a split among the Queen's County Home Rulers



much more serious for that party than the difference which did actually take place in its ranks. But what has now been averted may occur at another time. Many of the Nationalists are advancing with strides too rapid for the men of their party who have some stake in the country. If a division should take place between the men who would throw aside every pretension of loyalty to the Crown and those who would pursue a more cautious course, it is to be hoped that a constitutional party will be found ready to take advantage of the opportunity."

This year witnessed an important venture on the part of the Nationalists of the Queen's and adjoining counties. In the summer the *Leinster Leader* was established, with Patrick Cahill as its Editor. The first number was published on the 14th August. The Prospectus contained the following:—

"The result of the recent General Election is a splendid vindication of living national principle. The enemies of Ireland had hoped to find us disheartened, divided, and unprepared. Our reply to their challenge has been stern and decisive. Nowhere have the electors spoken out more determinedly than in the Central Counties of Leinster, and nowhere will the energetic action of the Representatives of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament be encouraged, sustained, and directed by a more vigorous and intelligent public opinion at home.

"The sufferings of our people have once again compelled inquiry into the whole system of Land Tenure in Ireland. Thoughtful public writers have long ago called for a radical change in the Land Laws of the Three Kingdoms. In Ireland we cannot afford to wait for the slow process of the gradual reform. There must be an immediate settlement of the Land Question here. We demand full security for agricultural industry on the well-known principles of 'Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rents, and Free Sale,' wherever and so long as the relation of landlord and tenant shall continue, until, with the abolition of the Laws of Entail and Primogeniture and the development of 'Free Trade in Land' a Peasant Proprietary shall be finally established in Ireland."

As specimens of the grievances to call attention to which public meetings were now held in every district of the county we may quote some figures supplied by Canon O'Keeffe in a speech made by him at a meeting in Maryborough on the 17th October, 1880. Referring to a landlord who had purchased an estate in his parish in 1871, and arbitrarily raised the rents, Father O'Keeffe gave the following particulars:—

"Case number one—Government valuation, £3; present rent, £9 17s. 3d. Number two—Government valuation, £8 15s.; present rent, £30. Number three—Government valuation, £3 10s.; present rent, £11 5s. Number four—Government valuation, £1 15s.; present rent, £3. Number five—Government valuation, £1 5s.; present rent, three guineas. Number six—Government valuation, £6 15s.; present rent, £18 2s. Number seven—Government valuation, £16; present rent, £42 12s. Number eight—Government valuation, £4 15s.; present rent, £13 17s. 6d. Number nine—Government valuation, £6 5s.; present rent, £18 13s."

After the passing of Forster's Coercion Act in March, 1881, an added zest was lent to the "monster meetings" by the probability of their being proclaimed, or forcibly suppressed. Thus we get in the local paper the following account of the Maryborough meeting of March 13th, 1881:—

"The meeting was convened by the committee of the Central Branch of the Land League, who invited the members of the several branches, which are now established in every parish throughout the county, to join in the national protest against the measures of coercion which have been forced through Parliament, and to pledge themselves to defend the rights of Ireland, more vigorously and more determinedly than before. Delegates from every district attended, and at least 10,000 people took part in the demonstration. But for the torrents of rain which fell in the morning, the attendance would have been fully as large as at the monster meeting which was held in Maryborough on October 17th. The contingents marched



in from every side with banners displayed, and the bands played through the town, before taking up their places in front of the Town Hall. The fife and drum band of Maryborough, at the head of an immense procession, went out to meet the county members, who were escorted to the committee-rooms with deafening cheers. Up to Sunday morning it was believed that the meeting would have been prohibited by Government. The preparations that were made seemed to indicate that a proclamation would be issued at the last moment. The entire available police force of the county was massed in town under the direction of Mr. Thomas Hamilton, R.M.; 100 men of the 84th Regiment were ordered down from the Curragh, and these, together with the companies of the 20th Regiment, already stationed in Maryborough, formed almost a military brigade. As the soldiers of the 84th left the railway station it was whispered about that a *coup de main* was intended. The surgeon-major of the regiment, conspicuous in plumed hat and showy uniform, was popularly supposed to be one of the field marshals, or perhaps the Commander-in-Chief; and afterwards when the detachment was marched up right through the crowd, whilst Mr. O'Connor was speaking, it was thought by many that they were about to arrest the leaders and to disperse the meeting by force. Mr. O'Connor, however, did not pause in his address. The ridicule of the idle parade flashed upon both soldiers and civilians, and cheers and laughter rang out, as the laughing soldiers wheeled suddenly to the right, and marched back to the railway station. A central space was railed off for the accommodation of the speakers and reporters, and a little table was placed outside the enclosure, at which the Government notetaker was seated.<sup>12</sup>

As it was known to be Mr. Forster's intention to suppress the Land League, Davitt, before his arrest in February, took measures to establish a Ladies' League, and induced Miss Anna Parnell to become its president. This ladies' league in the Queen's County was instrumental in succouring many evicted tenants, and assuaging the hardships of the "Suspects" immured in Maryborough Jail during this and the following year. The first of the Queen's County "suspects" was arrested in May, 1881. The entire number supplied by the County, including Rev. Thomas Feehan, C.C., Rathdowney, amounted to 22. Father Feehan was tried by Mr. Henry Blake, R.M., in March, 1882, under a Statute of Edward III. (directed against prostitutes and tramps), and on declining to give an undertaking to reform his conduct, and to be of "future good behaviour," he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Maryborough Jail. The names of the Queen's County suspects, alphabetically arranged, are as follow:—Patrick Cahill, Arles, Editor *Leinster Leader*<sup>13</sup>; James Carey, Curragh, Ballickmoyler<sup>14</sup>; John Campion, Rathdowney; W. H. Cobbe, Ballyculane, Portarlinton; Mark J. Codd, Ballycleary, Mountrath; Martin Delaney, Borris-in-Ossory; Pat. Delaney, Newtown, Crettyard; John Delaney, Abbeyleix; William Delaney, Abbeyleix; Patrick Doran, Maryborough; Thomas Dunphy, Aghaboe; John Flanagan, Ballybrittas; Andrew Gallagher, Ballybrittas; Pat. Gallagher, Ballybrittas; James Lalor, Raheen, Mountrath; P. A. Meehan, Maryborough<sup>15</sup>; Pat.

<sup>12</sup> See *Leinster Express* of 19th March, 1881.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Cahill died in 1885. From early manhood he had given his time and talents to the service of his country without fee or reward. Over his grave in Arles churchyard a monument was erected by public subscriptions, and inscribed as follows:—"Sacred to the memory of Patrick Cahill, LL.B. This monument has been erected by a people truly grateful for the earnestness with which he devoted his splendid abilities

to the cause of his religion and his country."

<sup>14</sup> The present Secretary of the Queen's County County Council.

<sup>15</sup> P. A. Meehan may be described as an organiser of victory in the National Cause in Queen's County. He organised all the great public meetings held at Maryborough since 1879, and many elsewhere in the county during the stirring days of the Land League and its successor, the National League. He helped to defeat the ascendancy faction in the



Murphy, Rathdowney; Patrick Murphy, Mountmellick; Edmond Nolan, Belan, Ballybrittas; John Reddington, Pallas, Maryborough; Michael Whittaker, Aghaboe.

The National Convention held in Dublin in September, 1881, was followed in the same month by a County Convention in Maryborough at which Mr. Parnell attended. The local papers contain glowing accounts of the reception accorded "the Chief," both by the townspeople and the delegates. Mr. Lalor, M.P., presided over the Convention. We take the following from R. Barry O'Brien<sup>16</sup>:—

"On September 14th a great Land League Convention, which lasted for three days, met in Dublin to consider the situation. There were divided counsels. Some thought that the Land Act should be freely used, others that it should be wholly repudiated. But, under the direction of Parnell, the convention unanimously resolved on a middle course. The Act was to be 'tested'; certain cases were to be carefully selected for trial. But there was to be no indiscriminate applications to the courts. This resolution simply meant that the Act was to be administered under the control of Parnell. 'Nothing,' said Parnell, 'could be more disastrous to our movement and our organisation, and to your hopes of getting your rents reduced, than any indiscriminate rush of the tenantry into court, and it is with a view to prevent this that we desire to take the tenantry in hand and to guide them in this matter, because, depend upon it, if we don't guide them there will be others that will. If we don't take hold of the Irish tenantry and guide them for their advantage, there will be others who will guide them for their destruction.'

"Parnell's policy, however, did not satisfy his American allies, and he was forced to send the following explanatory telegram to the President of the Land League of America: 'The convention has just closed after three days' session. Resolutions were adopted for national self-government, the unconditional liberation of the land for the people, tenants not to use the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act, and follow old Land League lines, and rely on the old methods to reach justice. The Executive of the League is empowered to select test cases, in order that tenants in surrounding districts may realise, by the result of cases decided, the hollowness of the Act.'

"On September 26th Parnell attended a Land League Convention at Maryborough, when a number of resolutions were passed endorsing the action of the Dublin Convention, and practically advising the tenants to use the Act under the direction of the League.

"A private meeting of organisers was held some hours before the convention assembled to consider the resolutions which were to be submitted to it. 'I well remember,' says one who was present, 'sitting beside Parnell at this private meeting. Proofs of the resolutions were handed around. There were fifteen resolutions altogether. Parnell fixed his attention at once on No. 11, which ran as follows:—'That the test cases selected for the Land Commission shall not be the most rack-rented tenants, but rather tenants whose rents hitherto have not been considered cruel or exorbitant.'

"Parnell took out of his pocket a blue-ink pencil, and, having glanced down the proof, turned it over and wrote on the back:

"*'After the eleventh resolution.*

"*'That, pending the result of the test cases selected by the Executive, no member of the League should apply to the court to fix his rent without previous consultation with, and obtaining the consent of, the branch of the League to which he belongs.'*

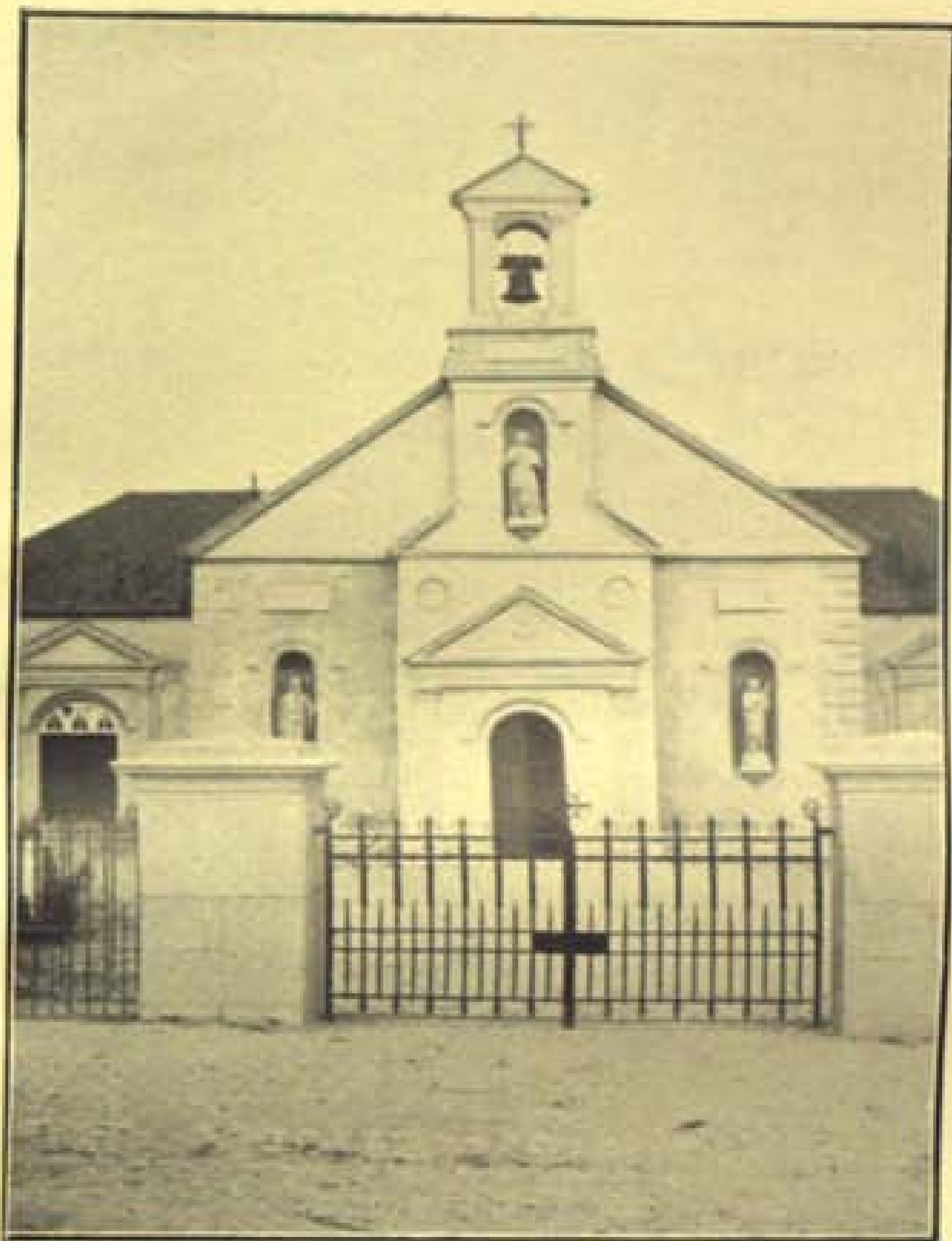
"*'Having written this, he handed me the proof to pass it on to the secretary so that the alteration might be duly made. I looked at it, and said: "This is an interesting document, Mr. Parnell, and I think I will give the secretary a clean*

Mountmellick Boardroom, and was the first Nationalist Chairman of the Mountmellick Board of Guardians. He was selected as first Chairman of the County Council of the Queen's County, for which he was specially fitted by experi-

ence in the discharge of public business, and knowledge of the details of local administration.

<sup>16</sup> See his "Life of Charles Stuart Parnell," c. 12.





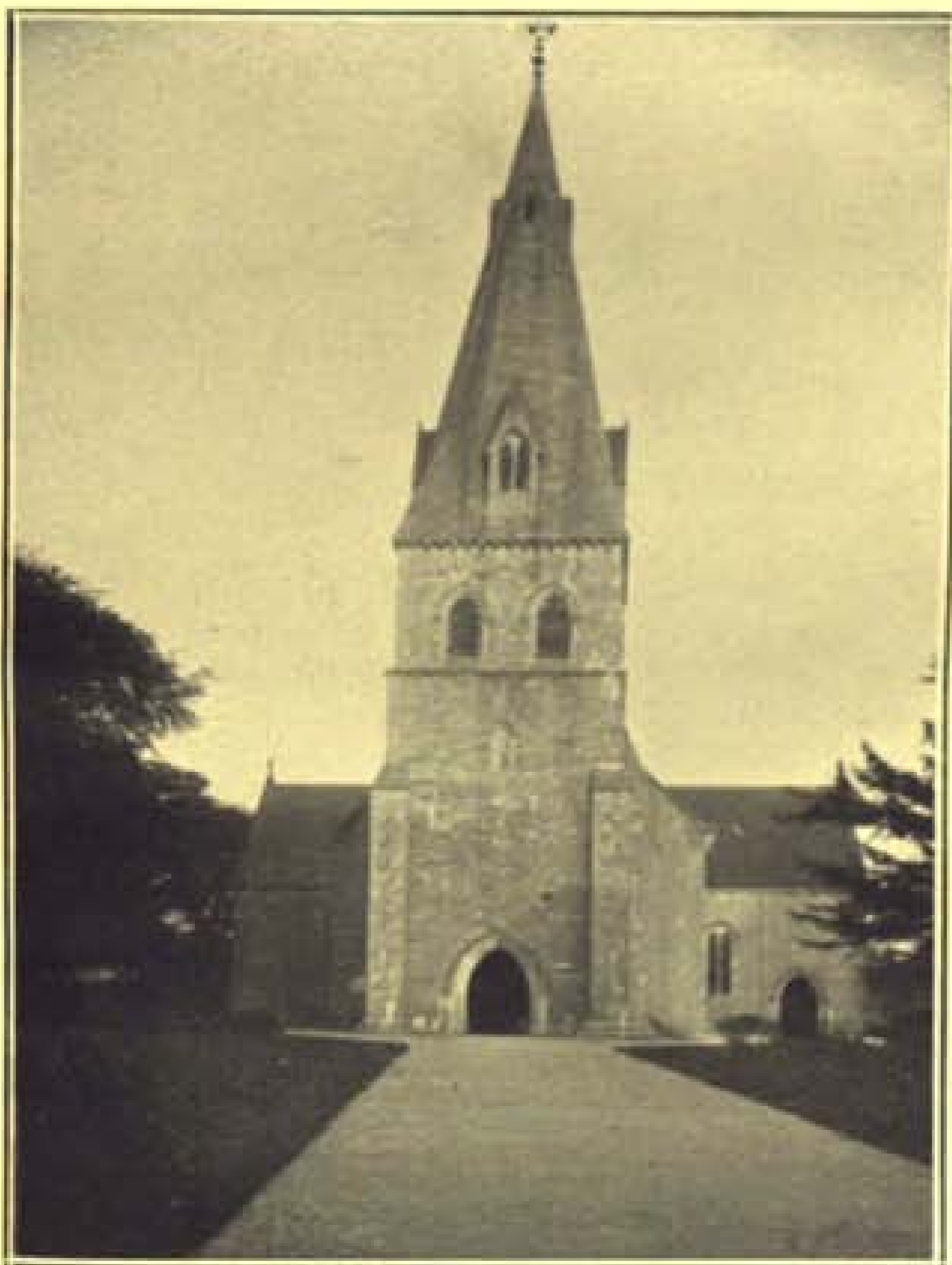
**KILLENARD CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 287. Vol. II., p. 591.



**COURTWOOD CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Parish of Emo. Erected 1881.



**BALLINAKILL CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 233.

*Photos by]*



**DURROW CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

Vol. I., p. 227.

*[Rev. E. O'L.]*







copy, and, as the lawyers say, "file the original." He smiled, and simply said, "It is business." The resolution as amended by Parnell was carried at the Convention.<sup>17</sup>

"I cannot say how far this Maryborough meeting affected the action of the Irish Executive, but curiously enough it was on this very day, September 26th, that Mr. Forster wrote to Mr. Gladstone suggesting that Parnell should be arrested, adding: 'I think you will do great good by denouncing Parnell's action and policy at Leeds.'<sup>17</sup>

"Mr. Gladstone did denounce Parnell's 'action and policy' at the Leeds meeting on October 7th, telling his audience that the 'resources of civilisation were not exhausted,' and plainly hinting that they would be used against the Irish leader who (in his efforts to obstruct the operation of the Land Act) stood between the living and the dead, not, like Aaron, to stay the plague, but to spread the plague."

"Parnell's reply to you," Forster wrote to Gladstone on October 9th, 'may be a treasonable outburst. If the lawyers clearly advise me to that effect, I do not think I can postpone immediate arrest on suspicion of treasonable practices.'

"Parnell's reply, made at Wexford on October 9th, may or may not have been a 'treasonable outburst,' but there can be no doubt that it was the reply which the occasion demanded—spirited and defiant. He began: 'You have gained something by your exertions during the last twelve months; but I am here to-day to tell you that you have gained but a fraction of that to which you are entitled. And the Irishman who thinks that he can now throw away his arms, just as Grattan disbanded the Volunteers in 1783, will find to his sorrow and destruction when too late that he has placed himself in the power of the perfidious and cruel and relentless English enemy.' Then, turning to Mr. Gladstone's speech, he continued: 'It is a good sign that the masquerading knight-errant, this pretending champion of the rights of every other nation except those of the Irish nation, should be obliged to throw off the mask to-day, and stand revealed as the man who, by his own utterances, is prepared to carry fire and sword into your homesteads, unless you humbly abase yourselves before him and before the landlords of the country. But I have forgotten. I said that he maligned everybody. Oh, no. He has a good word for one or two people. He says the late Isaac Butt was a most estimable man and a true patriot. When we in Ireland were following Isaac Butt into the lobbies, endeavouring to obtain the very Act which William Ewart Gladstone, having stolen the idea from Isaac Butt, passed last session, William Ewart Gladstone and his ex-Government officials were following Sir Stafford Northcote and Benjamin Disraeli into the other lobby. No man is great in Ireland until he is dead and unable to do anything more for his country.'"

Whether "treasonable" or not Parnell's Wexford speech led to his arrest on the 13th October, and to his incarceration in Kilmainham Jail as a "suspect" until the 2nd May, 1882.

It must not be supposed that the holding of meetings, and the other recognised methods of voicing "public opinion" were the sole monopoly of the Nationalist Party. In the *Leinster Express* of October 15th, 1881, we find the following report of a "loyalist" meeting held at Abbeylax:<sup>—</sup>

"On Tuesday last a meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms in Abbeylax, for 'the purpose of adopting means to support law and order, and protect individual liberty now so seriously interfered with by the cruel system of boycotting.' The announcement that the meeting was to be held created some consternation among the Land League wire-pullers. Shortly before two o'clock, the hour fixed for the meeting, the bell-man paraded the town of Abbeylax, and announced that a counter demonstration was to be held in the Market Square. He succeeded in recruiting a couple of hundred persons, principally 'corner boys,' who gathered round a brake placed in the square, from which the speakers were to address them. After some delay, in the vain hope that the gathering might be strengthened by deserters from the meeting to be held in the Assembly Rooms, the proceedings were commenced. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Richard Lalor, M.P.; one of the Catholic Curates; Mr. P. F. Fletcher, and Mr. Charles Comerford. Both Mr. Comerford

<sup>17</sup> See Sir W. Reid's "Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster," vol. ii., p. 367.



and Mr. Fletcher are the proprietors of licensed premises. The occupiers of land were a very small minority of the audience.

"The meeting of loyalists, as we may with propriety call them, which was held in the Assembly Rooms, on the other hand, was composed chiefly of tenant farmers. The hall is capable of accommodating between two and three hundred persons, and there were but few vacant seats. Throughout the proceedings the utmost enthusiasm prevailed.

"On the motion of Mr. Robert Staples, D.L., seconded by Captain Despard, the chair was taken by Lord De Vesci. Mr. FitzHerbert acted as hon. secretary.

"The Chairman, who was received with loud and prolonged applause, said—My friends, I think it will be well before the proceedings commence if I state to you the reasons why I have decided to call together this meeting; and first I think I should explain why I, and others in my position, have not hitherto taken this step, considering the state of things which has been prevalent in Ireland during the past year. I have been fully aware of the danger of delay; though I hoped almost against hope that as far as Abbeyleix and its vicinity were concerned the comparative immunity from social disturbance, and the good feeling and prosperity which have hitherto been such a source of pride to us, would continue. But it must be remembered that if during the passage of the Land Bill through the Houses of Parliament I had called a meeting together, even in the terms of the circular which you have received from me, it would have been said, with some plausible appearance of truth, that I had summoned a meeting as a protest against a measure and an agitation affecting solely my own interests as a landowner. But I think you will agree with me that this can no longer be said. The Land Bill passed on the deliberate responsibility of the Government is now law. I for my part am resolved to adhere to it, and to do nothing as far as in me lies to infringe its provisions. I have then summoned you all without distinction of opinion, whether religious or otherwise, to protest against, and, if possible, defeat the wanton malice that attempts deliberately to ruin and drive from the country men, whether engaged in trade or agriculture, who by their own honest industry and perseverance have contributed so much to the prosperity of Abbeyleix and the surrounding districts. I have summoned you here to-day to assist by cordial co-operation these men who deliberately, and from conscientious motives have declined to join or take part in a movement of which they disapprove. I have summoned you also as loyal men, without distinction of party or religion, to come forward, and give your support to the authorities in their efforts to carry out the law. Indignant as I am, and I am sure all right-minded men are, at the cruel and infamous attempts now being made to curtail individual liberty, I have no wish to speak harshly of many of those who, in one degree or another, have taken part in the movement; I believe, and, in fact, am convinced, that some have been forced against their better judgment and inclination to join, and that they now regret it. I appeal to you, then, to do all in your power to rally such as these to the law. In conclusion, I appeal to your better feelings, if ever the chance offers, that you will let bygones be bygones; and I trust, with confidence, that whenever the dark cloud which now overshadows and blights the prosperity of Ireland shall have passed away, here at all events, all feelings of resentment may be dispelled, and all classes may live together with the same mutual respect and friendship as hitherto. This is, perhaps, too much to expect of human nature, but it is my sincere hope that it may be the case.

"Captain Despard proposed the first resolution as follows:—'That a society be hereby formed, to be called "The Abbeyleix Defence League," and that it be affiliated with the Property Defence Association.' In proposing the resolution, Captain Despard said—You have stated just now, my lord, that you did not wish to take any steps, such as calling this meeting, heretofore, and we can all appreciate your reason. But I think somebody ought to have taken these steps, for the country has now got into such a state that we must put our shoulders to the wheel, and carry out all the resolutions we pass here to-day. Mr. Gladstone himself has given us a hint to this effect, and indeed he says we ought to have done this before. Mr. James Maurice seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

"Mr. R. Staples, D.L., on coming forward to propose the next resolution, was received with great applause. He said—My lord, my neighbours, and friends—I am sure I may call you all my friends—the cause upon which we are met here to-day is a very strange and a very curious one. Here in the nineteenth century, with a Social Science Congress sitting in Dublin, discussing the making of laws, we are compelled to meet to defend our property, and I may almost say our lives. We have called upon you to stand shoulder to shoulder like men, and defend each other. Mutual protection and self-reliance is what we must trust to. It is said that 'Heaven helps those who help themselves,' and I hope this is the beginning of that



self-help in this country. We have another object: to defend our poorer and weaker brethren from the fearful tyranny under which they are groaning. None of us can afford to be indifferent to their interests. Lord de Vesci and I might, perhaps, hold out longer than you, but if one of you is struck we feel the blow. If it should become necessary to encounter more serious dangers, we will lead you to meet them, and we will share with you to the last. Mr. Parnell at Wexford, on Sunday, talked in a swaggering manner about separation from England, and about '98. He talked that way, I suspect, to frighten Mr. Gladstone, but we here are not so easily frightened. Mr. Parnell gave Mr. Gladstone 'tit for tat' in his speech at Wexford, and I think he had rather the best of it. At all events he has thrown down the gage of battle to the Government; he has defied them in the most insolent manner, and they cannot but take up the challenge. Among other things Mr. Parnell said was that Mr. Gladstone is like a schoolboy whistling when he walks through a churchyard to keep himself from being frightened. This is very clever, very amusing, and I believe it to be very true. I hope some of the comic papers will take up the idea, and that *Punch* will give us a picture of this whistling schoolboy in the churchyard. But now I will tell you what I think of Mr. Parnell and his crew of ring-tailed squeelers who are paid to speech about the country. They are like those scooped-out turnips that mischievous schoolboys put candles inside to frighten old women. I think they have frightened two old women. They have frightened Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster. One of them they have frightened out of his wits, and the other into hysterics. That is my answer to Mr. Gladstone's slanderous speech at Leeds, where he accused us of want of moral courage, and said we were refugees. Lord de Vesci and I are not refugees, nor will we be so long as we have a man to stand behind us. I tell Mr. Gladstone his words are false and slanderous, and that is my answer to him as an Irish gentleman—my answer to his foul aspersion on the loyal party in Ireland. In conclusion, I beg to propose this resolution:—'That this League be composed of members duly enrolled and pledged to carry out the following objects—(a) To protect individual liberty; (b) to actively relieve and assist any of its members who are boycotted, or otherwise persecuted by the action of the Land League; (c) to (as far as practicable, support and deal only with those who are members.' Mr. Thomas Leech seconded the resolution, which was carried.

"Mr. Townsend proposed the following resolution:—'That all persons, without distinction of religion, be invited to join this League, and shall be entitled to the privileges and protection of members, upon pledging themselves to support its objects.' If any man wished to join this society, no matter whether he went to church or to chapel, they would receive him with open arms. They would support him equally well whether he were Protestant or Catholic. He trusted the committee would take practical means to carry out the objects of the society. It was designed for the mutual assistance of its members, and he believed they all felt the necessity for something to strengthen them. They should show their opponents they were not scattered atoms, but that they were bound together, and that their bond of union was of the highest kind. He urged every man who did not approve of what was going on in the country to unite in this way. He read in the papers the other day, that in Baltinglass, a gentleman named Rawson could not obtain even a farthing candle in the town, in consequence of boycotting. He thought they were near a similar state of things in Abbeylaxey. He heard—he did not know whether it was the case or not—that a gentleman was refused even a mutton chop because he lodged in a boycotted house. It was said by some, 'What is the use of joining the society when the League has not hit me?' but, for his part, he would be sorry to let a man near enough to hit him. The time had come when they had no choice but to unite. On the one side they had the Land League, and on the other they had the Government doing nothing, and taunting them with doing nothing. Now they had been taunted into it, and they would act. Mr. Parnell himself had made a speech in which he recommended unity. 'Stand by each other,' he said. 'Don't regard your little private quarrels; work for the common good.' They should take a leaf out of the enemy's book, and work together. It was well said that if one member suffered all the others felt it. Let them take that for their motto, and remember that unity was strength. Mr. James Wilkinson seconded the resolution, which was passed.

"Mr. Allen Leech proposed the following resolution:—'That the members pledge themselves to actively support one another, and all persons molested by the Land League, whether in the case of boycotting or other oppression.' Mr. Maxwell seconded the resolution, which was carried.

"Mr. R. C. Hamilton said he begged to propose the next resolution:—'That with a view to render the members independent of boycotting, steps be taken to set up, employ, and support a butcher and a smith, in connection with this League.' The Rev. Mr. Disney seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.



"The Chairman said the following undertaking had been written out by the honorary secretary:—'We, the undersigned, agree to the rules of the Abbeyleix Defence League, and pledge ourselves to carry out its objects.' Any gentleman who desired to join the League could attach his signature to that document. His lordship then signed the document, and all in the room followed his example.

"Mr. FitzHerbert brought under the notice of the meeting three cases of boycotting in the locality, and steps were taken to have any farm work required by the boycotted parties done without delay. Mr. FitzHerbert added that if anyone who was unable to attend desired to join the Society, they could enrol themselves by signing the book which would be left at Mr. Joseph Dobbs' in Abbeyleix."

The same number of the *Express* contained the report of Mr. Parnell's arrest, and a comment on his speech at Wexford in reply to Mr. Gladstone's at Leeds.

"If the doctrines of the Land League are doctrines of public plunder, there is no denying they are merely the development of principles admitted by the Government. If those principles are pushed by the League to the length of a *reductio ad absurdum*, it is nevertheless within the bounds of possibility the Premier may yet see his way to accept them. The Land Act passed last Session embodies provisions which a few years ago the Premier denounced as infringements on the rights of property; nor can we forget the example recently afforded us in South Africa of the pliability of the Government before a determined opposition. This is the substance of Mr. Parnell's answer to Mr. Gladstone's speech at Leeds. Lord Salisbury cannot be accused of patting the Land League on the back in admitting, as he did at Newcastle-on-Tyne on Tuesday night, the cogency of a retort so obvious. Some of the biographers of Frederick the Great tell us that the founder of the Kingdom of Prussia when worsted in an argument kicked his opponent from his presence. The arrest of Mr. Parnell resembles this vigorous retort, but it has been too long delayed to be effective. Twelve months ago it might possibly have been a crushing blow to the Land League movement; but it is in the highest degree improbable that the incarceration of the member for Cork will now check the prevailing agitation and terrorism. Without Mr. Parnell the organisation of the League is as perfect as if he still enjoyed his liberty. If he can no longer stump the country, his teaching has already sunk deeply into the minds of a section of the inhabitants, and almost every village can boast of some local demagogue possessing influence sufficient to keep in motion the machine the Government permitted Mr. Parnell to construct at leisure."

In March, 1882, the two M.P.'s for the Queen's County were "reasonably suspected" by their colleagues of being amongst the number of those on whom Mr. Forster had fastened his baleful gaze. Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P. for Wexford (who had reason to regard himself as belonging to the same category), brought the matter before the House of Commons on the 3rd of March, and "sounded the Government," with the following result:—

"Mr. Healy asked the Chief Secretary if he had any objection to laying upon the table copies of the warrants issued against the senior and junior members for Queen's County and the member for Wexford under the Coercion Act?

"The Attorney-General for Ireland.—I am informed, sir, there is no warrant against the senior member for the Queen's County, and the other copies cannot be given.

"Mr. A. O'Connor thought he had a right to ask as a matter of privilege whether the Government had thought fit to issue a warrant for his apprehension. He had received intimation only a few nights ago that the warrant had been issued.

"The Attorney-General for Ireland rose to explain. He had not declined to say whether there was a warrant out against the junior member for Queen's County. Mr. Healy asked him for a copy of a particular warrant, and he merely told the hon. gentleman that he could not have a copy. Of course the warrant must have been issued or it could not be a copy.

"Mr. O'Connor said he wished to know what this warrant was, and what was the charge brought against him by her Majesty's Government? He cared not what the charge might be, he was prepared to meet it anywhere. When in Paris he had heard that a warrant had been issued for his arrest in England. He accordingly



returned to give the Government an opportunity of arresting him. He knew if they brought such a charge as he was told they intended against him in England, they would have to do what they would not have to do in Ireland, substantiate their charge before a jury of twelve men. He was willing and anxious, even without exercising the right of challenge, to abide by the verdict of any twelve men the Government might pack into the box. He knew that no jury would be obliged to acquit him of any charge, but he knew that if he was acquitted by an English jury it would discredit the Government and prove that they have no justification whatever for detaining three members of Parliament in Kilmainham and five hundred Irishmen in the different prisons in that country. He challenged the Government in the face of the House to proceed against him by any means in their power. He was perfectly willing to go over to Ireland that night if the Government would guarantee to proceed against him before a jury. If they refused this challenge, he would impeach them of double-dealing, and would declare them utterly unfit for the position they occupied. He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

"Mr. Healy rose to second the motion. He did not see what harm there could be in allowing these warrants to be placed upon the table of the House, and he was surprised at the action of the Government, inasmuch as it was an exceedingly interesting matter for himself and his hon. friend. He wanted information on the point, as he wanted to know if he could address his constituents during the Easter recess. As far as his personal feelings were concerned he did not care one row of pins whether he was in Kilmainham or in the House of Commons."

The Government refused to satisfy Mr. Healy's curiosity, and so the matter ended.

The condition of things in Ireland, at this period, was thus pithily summarised in the *Nation* of March 11th:—

"Every man living in Ireland is liable to imprisonment without any form of trial, or even specific accusation of crime, but merely on the secret information of a policeman, or, it may be, a paid spy, or informer, or private personal enemy; and that this liability is a living reality is proved by the fact that there are at present in Irish jails no less than six hundred men untried—nay, not even formally charged with any offence. No man in Ireland is at liberty either to have or to carry arms without a licence, which can only be had from an anti-Irish magistrate; and almost every other week licences are refused to persons of undoubted respectability, simply because they are known to be on the popular side in politics. The Irish people have long been asking for a public system of religious education for their children, but they have been for the last fifty years forced to put up with a system more or less secular, to the expenses of which they are at the same time compelled to contribute their quota. They cannot even spend their own money on local public works without getting, at a ruinous cost, the leave of the London Parliament. Their Parliamentary and municipal franchises are, compared with the English franchises, scarcely better than frauds; two men out of every five having votes for Parliament in England, and only one in five having a vote here, while British towns have from four to nine times as many municipal voters, in proportion to population, as Irish towns. The local government and the finances of Irish counties are managed by persons who are practically the appointees of Dublin Castle, although the money is contributed by the people, from whom, generally speaking, those appointees differ both in politics and religion. The judges, inferior and superior, almost all belong to one class, and that class hostile in religion, and politics, in thought and sentiment to the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland."

In 1885 a thoroughgoing Reform and Redistribution Bill was introduced and carried through both Houses of Parliament. In November and December of that year an election took place. The Queen's County was now distributed into two Parliamentary divisions, known as Leix and Ossory, while Portarlinton Borough was disfranchised, and thrown in with the former division. Leix division was returned as having 36,266 inhabitants, with a Parliamentary constituency amounting to 5,472 voters. Ossory Divisions had 36,858 inhabitants, with an electoral roll of 5,619 voters. Richard Lalor, Esq., who was the Home Rule candidate for Leix, secured 3,740, while his



opponent, Captain Robert G. Cosby, of Stradbally Hall, Conservative, obtained only 507 votes. In Ossory Arthur O'Connor, Esq., Home Ruler, had 3,959 votes, while his opponent, R. Caldbeck, Esq., Conservative, secured only 293 votes. Arthur O'Connor was also returned for East Donegal, by a large majority, at this election.

The House of Commons then elected had but a short existence. It met for the first time on the 12th of January, 1886; and owing to a disruption of the Liberal Party, the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, introduced by the Prime Minister, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, was rejected, and Parliament was first prorogued on the 25th of June, and afterwards dissolved. Meanwhile, Arthur O'Connor having chosen to sit for East Donegal, had resigned his seat for the Ossory Division of the Queen's County. Mark A. Macdonnell, Home Ruler, was selected in his place, and returned without opposition.

When the next election took place in July, the Leix Division, having 5,472 voters on the register, was contested by Richard Lalor Esq., and Captain Robert G. Cosby, Esq. The former obtained 3,528 votes, the latter only 406. In the Ossory Division, which had 5,617 voters on the roll, M. A. Macdonnell was returned unopposed.

The Luggacurran trouble had its origin in October, 1886. The tenants asked a reduction of 20 per cent. on non-judicial, and 10 per cent. on judicial rents. Lord Lansdowne granted these terms to his Kerry tenants; but the circumstances which justified him in the Kerry case were, he considered, absent in Luggacurran, and accordingly his only concession to his Queen's County tenants was an offer of 10 per cent. reduction on non-judicial rents. The tenants not only rejected this proffered reduction, but began seriously to contemplate the adoption of the "Plan of Campaign."

The first meeting in connection with the *Plan* was held early in November after demand notes had been received from the rent office requiring immediate payment of the November gale. The meeting was composed solely of Lansdowne tenants, and was presided over by the P.P., the Rev. Thomas Kehoe. The speakers included the Chairman and John W. Dunne. A resolution was proposed recommending the adoption of the "Plan of Campaign." Those who were in favour of it were asked to go to the schoolhouse side of the road, those against to the opposite side. Only one person voted against the resolution. A week later the half-year's rent (less reduction claimed by the tenants from their landlord) was collected in Kavanagh's Hotel, Athy, by Fathers Kehoe and Maher, J. W. Dunne, Denis Kilbride, and Patrick Kelly. The agent, John Townsend Trench, served the smaller tenants with processes for the January sessions. A public meeting was then decided on, and William O'Brien was invited to attend. Finding it impossible to accept the invitation he sent Sir Thomas Esmonde in his place. This meeting was held early in January, 1887. On returning to Dublin Sir Thomas took with him the collected rent, which had previously been lying in John W. Dunne's safe. In a few weeks after, Arthur O'Connor came over from London, went through the different parishes, and organised a great county demonstration in Maryborough. The meeting was addressed by the following M.P.'s—Richard Lalor, M. A. M'Donald, Arthur O'Connor, William O'Brien, Timothy Healy, and Dr. Fox. The evictions began in March, 1887, and continued for one week each month in March, April, and May. William O'Brien



was present at these evictions. Suddenly he announced his intention of proceeding to Canada, accompanied by Mr. Denis Kilbride, and of laying the facts of the case before the Canadian people, whose Viceroy was Lord Lansdowne. On his return he took measures for the erection of huts for the evicted; and on the occasion of the laying of the foundations he held a monster meeting at which he was assisted by John Clancy, Wilfrid Blunt, Professor Stuart, and other M.P.'s. He also attended a meeting in Athy in company with Mr. Dillon; and so successful was their appeal on behalf of the "Campaigners" that £400 was collected in the district for the Luggacurran war chest.

When "the Split" came in Committee Room 15, on the 6th of December, 1891, the senior member of Parliament for the Queen's County declared himself on the side of Mr. Parnell. From the early days of Parnell's activity in the House of Commons, Mr. Lalor had been amongst his warmest admirers. He had come in the course of years to look upon Parnell as the only possible leader of the Irish party and people. It would, he believed, be impossible to replace him; and it would be little short of infamy to cast him aside at the dictation of Gladstone or any other Englishman. Holding these strong views Mr. Lalor gave strong expression to them. This line of action would perhaps have cost him his seat at the Parliamentary election of 1892, had he decided to seek re-election. But reasons of health had for some years obliged him to absent himself frequently from Parliament; and these reasons now determined him to resign to his constituents the trust confided to him in the memorable election of 1880.<sup>18</sup>

The general election came in July, 1892. Dr. M. A. M'Donnell was proposed as candidate for Leix by Rev. A. Phelan, P.P., Maryborough, and seconded by Patrick Doran, Esq. His opponent, Colonel Cosby, was proposed by T. Kemmis, Esq., B.L., and seconded by E. Skeffington Smith, Esq., V.L. The polling took place on July 13th, and resulted thus: M'Donnell, 3,260; Cosby, 513. The *Express* says "there was very little excitement or enthusiasm."

In Ossory Eugene Crean, Esq., proposed as Nationalist candidate by Rev. E. Brennan, P.P., Mountrath, and seconded by Mr. B. J. Tracy, solicitor, received 3,666 votes. The Conservative candidate, Robert Staples, Esq., D.L., was proposed by M. H. Franks, Esq., J.P.,

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Lalor died on the 13th November, 1893, aged 70. The following picture of him is a tribute to his character from his colleague and friend T. P. O'Connor:—"Richard Lalor represented a family ancient in Irish struggle. His father was one of the fierce spirits that led the movement against the tithes, and for many years was the foremost man in every political effort in the Queen's County. James Fintan Lalor was perhaps the most truly revolutionary temperament of 1848. He it was who suggested to Mitchel the No Rent movement, which Mitchel is alleged to have spoiled, and which for the first time was carried into effect more than a quarter of a century after James Lalor's fiery and restless spirit had passed to

rest. Another brother, who sought a home in Australia, was the leader in a small insurrection in Ballarat, and there lost an arm. When the reforms he fought for were granted he became one of the rulers of the country, and was made Speaker of the Victorian Parliament. Richard Lalor is of the same stern spirit as all his stock. To-day he is a feeble and bent man with wearied eyes and a thin voice, and a constant prey to ill health; but his spirit is exactly the same as in his hot youth. In 1848 he had his pike and his thousands of pikemen ready for action; to-day, as then, he is the unconquerable and irreclaimable rebel—the Blanqui of Irish politics." See "The Parnell Movement," c. x., London, 1886.



and seconded by R. H. Stubber, Esq., D.L. He fared somewhat better than Colonel Cosby, as he received 523 votes. The majority, however, by which he was defeated was even more overwhelming than the Nationalist majority in Leix.

Between 1892 and 1898 the County history presents few features of special interest. In the latter year a sweeping measure of Irish reform was passed into law. This was the "Local Government (Ireland) Act." Under this Act the boundaries and electoral divisions of the Queen's County were to be the existing judicial county, with the exception of Carlow Graigue, which was annexed to the existing judicial County of Carlow.<sup>19</sup> The first County Council was to consist of 22 elected members, the Chairmen of the District Councils, 3 Grand Jurors, and 2 co-opted members. The following is the list of the electoral divisions, and of the first County Councillors:—

#### COUNTY DIVISIONS.

Abbeyleix.—Electoral Divisions of Abbeyleix.—Co. C., W. Phelan.

Arless.—E. Divs. of Arless, Ballickmoyler, Ballylynan, Barrowhouse, Killabban, Shrule, Tankardstown.—Co. C., John Byrne.

Ballinakill.—E. Divs. of Ballinakill, Blandsfort, Dysartgallen, Timahoe.—Co. C., Patrick Brennan.

Ballybrittas.—E. Divs. of Ballybrittas, Curraclone, Kilmurry, Moyanna, Sallyford, Vicarstown.—Co. C., Denis Boland.

Borris-in-Ossory.—Ballybrophy, Borris-in-Ossory, Clonmore, Kilcoke, Kyle, Moneenalassa, Moneymore.—Co. C., L. T. Kelly.

Castletown.—E. Divs. of Caher, Castletown, Clash, Donore, Raheen.—Co. C., Arthur M'Mahon.

Clonaslee.—E. Divs. of Arderin, Cardtown, Castlecuffe, Clonaslee, Marymount, Nealstown.—Co. C., John Treacy.

Coolrain.—E. Divs. of Ballyfin, Brisha, Capard, Clonin, Coolrain, Lacka.—Co. C., Michael Fitzpatrick.

Cullenagh.—E. Divs. of Ballyroan, Clonkeen, Colt, Cullenagh, Kilcolmanbane.—Co. C., James M'Mahon.

Donaghmore.—E. Divs. of Cuffsborough, Donaghmore, Dunmore, Grantstown, Kildellig, Killermogh.—Co. C., Lord Castletown.

Durrow.—E. Divs. of Aughmacart, Cullahill, Durrow, Kilnaseer.—Co. C., Patrick O'Flanagan.

Emo.—E. Divs. of Dangers, Emo, Mountmellick Rural, Shaen.—Co. C., John Williams.

Luggacurren.—E. Divs. of Ballylethane, Doonane, Farnans, Fossy, Luggacurren, Rathaspick.—Co. C., Thomas Breen.

Maryborough.—E. Divs. of Maryborough Urban.—Co. C., Patrick A. Meehan.

Mountmellick.—E. Divs. of Mountmellick Urban.—Co. C., William M'Evoy.

Mountrath.—E. Divs. of Mountrath, Trumera.—Co. C., John Dowling.

<sup>19</sup> See the *Dublin Gazette* of 4th November, 1898.



Newtown.—E. Divs. of Ardlough, Graigue Rural, Newtown, Rossmore, Turra.—Co. C., Patrick Brennan.

O'Moresforest.—E. Divs. of Borris, Clondarrig, Maryborough Rural, O'Moresforest.—Co. C., Patrick Doran.

Rathdowney.—E. Divs. of Errill, Kyle, South Rathdowney, Rathsaran.—Co. C., Daniel Quigley.

Stradbally.—E. Divs. of Ballyadams, Ballycarroll, Stradbally, Timogue.—Co. C., Denis Shaughnessy.

Tinnahinch.—E. Divs. of Cappalough, Garrymore, Graigue, Meelick, Rearymore, Rosenallis, Tinnahinch.—Co. C., William Dunne.

The Chairmen of the R. D. Councils were:—Abbeyleigh, Arthur M'Mahon; Athy No. 2, Thomas Timmins; Carlow No. 2, Matthias M'Wey; Mountmellick, James Dunne; Roscrea No. 3, Thomas Lowry.

The three representatives of the Grand Jury were:—Colonel Cosby, H. C. White, and Edmund Dease.

The first meeting of the Council was held in the Courthouse, Maryborough, on the 22nd April, 1899. Mr. Daniel Quigley was unanimously elected chairman of the meeting. Mr. J. J. Aird, Mr. James Conroy, and Mr. Patrick Kelly were proposed for the position of co-opted members. On a vote the two former were elected. For the chairmanship two names were proposed and seconded, viz., Mr. James M'Mahon and Mr. P. A. Meehan. On a division being taken Mr. P. A. Meehan had a majority of one over Mr. M'Mahon, and thus became the first chairman of the Queen's County Council. Mr. L. T. Kelly was unanimously elected vice-chairman. Amongst the resolutions adopted at this first meeting the following seem of sufficient public interest to merit insertion here. Proposed by Mr. W. M'Evoy, and seconded by Mr. John Dowling, "that at this the first meeting of the Queen's County Council we desire to impress on the British Parliament and people that whilst we accept the present measure of County Government as a small instalment of justice long overdue to us, we demand a full and liberal measure of Home Rule as the only solution of the Irish Question, for which we shall ever struggle until acceded as our indisputable right." Proposed by Lord Castletown, seconded by Colonel Cosby, "that we endorse the findings of the Financial Commission, and knowing from our own practical experience that Ireland is heavily overtaxed we urge the Government to hasten forward their Bill for instituting the Irish Board of Agriculture and Industries, and to place at its disposal a substantial annual grant to assist the County Councils to develop our resources, promote technical education, the better housing of the labourers, and similar necessary works." Proposed by Mr. Edmund Dease, and seconded by Lord Castletown, "that we call on the Government to extend the same facilities for University Education to the Catholics of Ireland as their Protestant fellow-countrymen enjoy."

At its meeting on the 26th July, 1900, the County Council passed the following resolution, "that a committee be appointed to prepare and submit to the Council a scheme for utilising and applying the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, 1899, in the Queen's County. The suggested scheme to embody a plan for converting Donaghmore Workhouse into a training college in connection with the Act." On the 13th of August the Committee reported "that after



consulting with the representatives of the Department we are of opinion that the County Council should appoint a Technical Instruction Committee, and direct it to prepare a scheme for the County under the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act." At the Council meeting of the 12th November it was resolved "that we request our Parliamentary representatives to take immediate steps to impress upon Parliament the urgent necessity of dealing in a thorough manner with the annual destruction of property, the serious injury to roads, bridges, etc., and the standing menace to the public health arising from the flooding of the river Barrow, and that we call upon them to introduce a Bill, and use every pressure within their power to induce the Government to pass it, and to advance the money required to carry out the necessary drainage works, a portion to be repaid by those benefited by these works, in accordance with resolution adopted at Conference on 3rd September last by representatives of counties and districts affected." At a special meeting of the County Council on the 14th December, 1900, on the motion of L. T. Kelly, Esq., seconded by Colonel Cosby, the following were appointed the first County Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction "with plenary power to form a scheme under the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, 1899, five to form a quorum":—

P. A. Meehan, Esq., Chairman of the County Council; Very Rev. Monsignor Phelan, P.P., V.F., Maryborough; Rev. James Dillon, Adm., Borris-in-Ossory; Canon Kellett, Rathdowney; Rev. M. Brennan, P.P., Stradbally; Rev. T. Kelly, P.P., Emo; Rev. J. E. Delaney, P.P. Rosenthal; Colonel Cosby, V.L., Stradbally Hall; Edmund Dease, D.L., Brittas; Wm. Young, D.L., Brockley Park; W. Dunne, J.P., Ballymanus; Arthur Owen, J.P., Middlemount; W. W. Despard, J.P., Mountrath; J. J. Aird, J.P., Maryborough; Richard T. Ringwood, J.P., Badger Hill; James M'Mahon, J.P., Ballyroan; R. F. H. White, J.P., Aghaboe; Arthur M'Mahon, Cuddagh; John Byrne, Co. C., Slievemargy; James Dunne, Co. C., Kilbride; Daniel Quigley, Co. C., Rathdowney; James M'Loughlin, R.D.C., Cloneybacon; William Davidson, Timahoe; John Dunphy, Co. C., Deerpark; A. Muil, Esq., Durrow.

The five Rural District Councils were to be represented on the Committee by their respective Chairmen, who then were:—William Delany, Esq., Mountmellick; Arthur M'Mahon, Esq., Abbeyleix; L. T. Kelly, Esq., Roscrea No. 3; Thomas Timmins, Esq., Athy No. 2; Matthias M'Wey, Esq., Slievemargy.



APPENDIX I.<sup>1</sup>

## 10. CHIEFS OF LEIX, FROM 1016 TO 1600 A.D.

- 1016 Gahan O'More, (?) lord of Leix, slain.  
 1017 Cearnach O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1026 Aimerigin mac Kenny mac Cearnach O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1041 Faelan mac Aimerigin O'More, lord of Leix, blinded; died in 1069  
 1042 Cucogry O'More, lord of Leix, living.  
 1063 Lisagh mac Faelan O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1069 Macraith O'More, (?) lord of Leix, slain.  
 1091 Kenny O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1097 Aimerigin O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1098 The son of Gahan O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1149 Lisagh mac Aimerigin mac Faelan O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1153 Neill O'More, lord of Leix, blinded.  
 1158 Macraith O'More, lord of Leix, living.  
 1183 Cucogry mac Lisagh O'More, lord of Leix, living.  
 1196 Donnell O'More, lord of Leix, slain.

[It is a remarkable fact that "The Irish Annals" make no mention of an O'More, Chief of his Name, during the thirteenth century.]

- 1319 Shane mac Donough O'More, (?) lord of Leix, slain.  
 1342 Lisagh O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1348 Connell O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1354 Rory mac Connell O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1368 Lisagh mac David O'More, (?) lord of Leix, died.  
 1370 Murtough O'More, (?) lord of Leix, slain.  
 1394 Donnell O'More, (?) lord of Leix, living.  
 1398 Melaghlin O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1404 Gillapatrik O'More, lord of Leix, living.  
 1464 Kedagh O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1467 Donnell O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1477 The son of Owny O'More, (?) lord of Leix, slain.  
 1493 Connell mac David O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1493 Neill mac Donnell O'More inaugurated lord of Leix.  
 1502 Melaghlin mac Owny mac Gillapatrik O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1523 Kedagh mac Lisagh O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1537 Connell mac Melaghlin mac Owny O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1538 Peirce mac Melaghlin mac Owny O'More, lord of Leix, (?) died.  
 1542 Kedagh roe mac Connell mac Melaghlin O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1545 Rory caoch mac Connell mac Melaghlin O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1548 Gillapatrik mac Connell mac Melaghlin O'More, lord of Leix, died.  
 1557 Connell og mac Connell mac Melaghlin O'More, lord of Leix, hanged.  
 1578 Rory og mac Rory caoch mac Connell O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1584 (circa). James mac Kedagh O'More, alias Meaghe, lord of Leix, died.  
 1600 Owny mac Rory og mac Rory caoch O'More, lord of Leix, slain.  
 1600 Owny mac Shane O'More, appointed lord of Leix.

## 20. IDENTIFICATION OF THE MORE DIFFICULT PLACE-NAMES ON THE OLD MAP OF LEIX AND OFFALY, PREFIXED TO THIS VOL.

OLD MAP NAME.	CORRECT NAME.	OLD MAP NAME.	CORRECT NAME.
Acargar	.. Acragar.	Balachassan	(in Castletown (Offer
Aghintebaid	.. Aughatubbrid (Co. Kilkenny).	Ossory).	lane).
Arlene	.. Ardlea.	Balachassan (Parish	
Bablicanah	.. Ballykilcavan.	of Dysart-Gallen)	Moat Castle.
Balachassan	.. Ballyglishen.	Balainga	.. Ballynagall.
		Balamadayne	.. Ballymaddock.
		Balaochille	.. Ballinakill (Parish
			of Dysart-Gallen).

<sup>1</sup> Sections 10 to 80 of this Appendix are taken, with slight alterations, from Vol. VI. of the "Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society," by the kind permission of their compiler, Lord Walter Fitzgerald.



OLD MAP NAME.	CORRECT NAME.	OLD MAP NAME.	CORRECT NAME.
Baliadā ..	Ballyadams.	Greg f. ..	The Owveg river.
Balicnogan ..	Ballyknockan.	Keleune ..	Killeany ( <sup>2</sup> ).
Baliffcasshe ..	Ballypickas.	Kilcolma ..	Kilcolmanbane.
Balimabehe ..	? Ballyhi'e.	Kilgourou ..	Kilgorey.
Balitybrid ..	Ballintr bbert.	Kiliban ..	Killabban.
Baro f. ..	River Barrow.	Kilicioenbric ..	Kilcolmanbrack.
Basuone ..	Ballyroan.	Kilmaynan ..	Kilmainham.
Baun Regan ..	Baunreaghcong Mt.	Kilmorey ..	Kilmurry.
Beherd ..	Bert (Co. Kildare).	Kiltebrem ..	Kyletabreeheen.
Bochloe ..	Boghlone.	Kilūngay ..	Kilmongan, or the Ivy Chapel.
Brūseligne ..	Drumashellig.	Kirusshe ..	Kilrush
Casshemayguigne ..	Maganey.	Lisbegin ..	Lisbigney.
Chenaro ..	Riverlyons.	Louetston ..	Levitstown.
Chloekine ..	Clonkeen.	Munabtentoreb ..	Monasteroris.
Chloenadodordroa- nor.	Clonaddadoran.	Moenra ..	Mountrath.
Chloenkine ..	Clonagheen, now Cromogue.	Muiāna ..	Moyanna.
Chloenmgaun ..	Clonygowan.	Muiadd ..	Moyadd.
Clociane ..	Clonkeen.	Muret ..	Morett.
Cloghgrynan ..	Clogrenan.	Nanulaghum ..	Corresponds with Cloncough.
Clonadagie ..	Clonadacasey.	Neire ..	Wira.
Cludio ..	Clontycoe.	Neure f. ..	River Nore.
Cnockni-ono ..	Knockahonagh.	Ochoual ..	Oughaval.
Cnockādegre ..	Knocknagroagh.	Oldarig ..	Old Derrig.
Cnockardogar ..	Knockardagur.	Palite ..	Pallas.
Cnrichloen ..	Knocknakearn.	Peahuchetowne ..	Churchtown (of Reban, Co. Kil- dare).
Conlan M. ..	Conlawn Hill.	Pracnocher ..	Knocknambraher.
Corgne ..	Corgee.	Protectour ..	Maryborough.
Corroh ..	Luggacurren.	Raghalfeg ..	Rathaspick.
Cosac ..	Crissard.	Rahungan ..	Rathangan.
Coulinbgh ..	Cullenagh.	Roorenogh ..	Raheenadeeragh (Co. Kildare).
Coulinogh M. ..	Cullenagh Hill.	Roscuftain ..	Roskelton.
Crochedongā ..	Cremorgan.	Roskonil ..	Rosconnell.
Culvanche ..	Coolbanagher	Shongan ..	Shanganagh.
Cunoloen ..	Curraclone.	Sleabloume M. ..	Slievebloom moun- tains.
Derrywille ..	Derryvilla.	Sleutomarre M. ..	Tomard (Co. Car- low).
Dingin ..	Philipstown.	Tankerston ..	Tankardstown.
Disergalin ..	Dysart-Gallen.	Tecalme ..	Tecolm.
Disart peach ..	Dysartbeagh.	Tenachelle ..	Tinnakill.
Donar ..	Doary.	Timochou ..	Timahoe.
Dounan M. ..	Doonane.	Tolouir ..	Tullore.
Dumbrenin ..	Dunbrin.	Tusshog f. ..	Fushoge river.
Edend ..	Edenderry.	Vabbey (ye Abbey) ..	Abbeyleix.
Edough ..	IDough, a district corresponding with the Kilkenny Barony of Fassa- dineen.	Water Eoote ..	Water Castle.
Ene ..	Eyne	Woodhik ..	Woodstock (Co. Kil- dare).
Foke ..	Fossy.	Ye park ..	Park.
Frughmore ..	The Great Heath.		
Garō ..	Garrough.		
Garymedeg ..	Garrymaddock.		
Glee (c. lee) ..	Lea Castle.		
Gortonocle ..	Gortnaclea.		
Gouly f. ..	River Gully.		
Graūgiomanagh ..	Monk's Grange.		
The Great Wood ..	In the Townland of Vicarstown.		

<sup>2</sup> *Keleune* (now Killeany, or Annegrove) is spelled in Irish Cill Fíodnaig, or Church [in the place known by the name] of Fíodnac, or Fenagh (pronounced Fænach).



3<sup>o</sup>. THE SUBMISSION OF RORY CAOCH O'MORE IN 1542.

INDENTURE, DATED 13TH MAY, 34<sup>o</sup> HENRY VIII. ["CAREW MANUSCRIPTS," 1515-74].

Rory O'More of Lex, brother as he asserts to Kedagh (Roo) O'More, lately deceased, now admitted to the Captainship of the same country by the consent and election of all the noblemen and inhabitants of the country, appeared before us the Deputy and Council, and submitted himself to the King. He promises that:—

(1.) He will be a faithful and liege subject; and he and the other gentlemen of his country will receive their lands from his Highness. (2.) He will reject the Roman Pontiff's usurped primacy. (3.) He will deliver Kedagh mac Piers mac Melaghlin O'More as his hostage to the Deputy into the hands of Thomas Eustace, Viscount of Baltinglass, for the observance of his agreements and promises, and for the restitution of all damages done to the subjects of the King, during the time of Kedagh O'More's government. (4.) He will have 72 kerne, horseboys being computed in that number, for the rule of the said country of Leix; and will maintain no other kerne there. (5.) He will rise up with the Lord Deputy in every great journey, called "Hostings." For any sudden journey of two days and nights he will find 24 horsemen and all his aforesaid kerne; and in every great hosting 8 horsemen and 20 kerne. (6.) Donnemase with the demesne lands, Tymoooge and other lands of the late Earl of Kildare<sup>3</sup> in Leix, shall be restored to the King. The demesnes of Donnemase shall be surveyed and their extent declared by indifferent men (as jurors on the Inquisition), and the lands and rents of the said Earl of Kildare by Thomas Wolf senior; and both those lands, and the possessions of (the Nunnery of) Grayne (Graney, Co. Kildare), of the Monasteries of Saint Mary of Dublin, of Connall (Co. Kildare), and of other religious Houses, with the lands of Kyllberry (Co. Kildare), are at the disposition of the tenants and farmers of the King. (7.) When the Lord Deputy requires any Scots (Galloglasses), to be imposed upon the Counties of Kildare, Kilkenny, or Tipperary, then Lex shall support 60 Scots, and shall be exempt from all subsidies for that year. (8.) The King shall have 20 marks yearly as a subsidy. (9.) The Lord Deputy and Council shall have 100 Cows for his (Rory's) nomination and admission to the Captaincy of the aforesaid Country. (10.) He shall have the goods of his brother Kedagh, by paying Kedagh's debts, and the profit and produce of all his possessions, saving Kedagh's wife's portion, until he be recompensed for the debts which he shall pay beyond the said goods. The Council approve the premises, if the King shall ratify the same; otherwise not.

4<sup>o</sup>. THE BOUNDS OF LEIX (EXCLUDING FASSAGHREBAN) AND SLIEVE MARGY IN 1549.

The following "extent" or valuation of the territories of Leix and Slieve Margy in Edward VI.'s reign, with the bounds of these territories, is preserved amongst the parchments in the Dublin Record Office, labelled—"Miscellanea Records, Rolls Office, No. 12, Extenta Edward VI."

The original document, which is in Latin, thus defines the boundaries of Leix in 1549:—

An Extent of the Country or lordship of Leyse, now in the King's hands, taken at Newfoerte,<sup>4</sup> Donamase, Stradbally, Bellaroyne, Castletown-in-Galyn, and other places within the said lordship, before Walter Cowley, the General Supervisor of the King's possessions in Ireland, on the 10th day of December in the fourth year of the reign of King Edward VI. (*i.e.*, 1550).

The Country or lordship of Leyse extends in length from Biernegarre near Cloegrenan to Conlan, a distance of 24 miles; and in breadth from Clecowricke near Rosconnyll to Heyne, a distance of 12 miles.

The bounds are as follows:—

From Biernagarre, near and bordering with the lordship of Dolowghe, to Cnockancorle, thence to Klenyn, so on to the stream of Clonebroke, then to

<sup>3</sup> Forfeited by Silken Thomas' rebellion.

<sup>4</sup> ? Maryborough.



the lands of Leawhill (appertaining to Sentleger in the County of Kilkenny), thence to the lands of Rosconnyll, then to Aghcorenycronegan, thence to Clomocodde, then to the outer gate of Caishlan-ynoiske<sup>5</sup> in Ossory, so along a certain road to the water called "le Streme," so along that stream to the river of Noyr, thence to Clonoghill, then along a bog to Iskirekarry, from thence to the river of Goly, so along that river to Gortneclle, then along a bog to the river of Noer aforesaid, and along that river to the lands of Ballycaishlan Offarillen, thence to the lands of Russhin, thence to Conlan, so to Askenemakanaghe, so to Agheruaghe, on to le Tlatt, then to Bellaoige, thence to Rosnehaily, so on to Cashawffore, on to Mone-escawan, thence to Curkanecaryn, then to Dirrenefforres, and so to the lands of Leawhill, then to Monenenasse, then to le Accregear otherwise called "the short acre" in Irre, then to Bielladreit, so on to Eyen, then to Aghkilleffynen, then along the stream of Glaishemarro to the river of Barro, and so along that river to Benry (or Beury), thence to Rowstokke, on to Aghdowe,<sup>6</sup> and so along the Morerowe to the lands of Rosbranan, thence to the river Barro aforesaid, and along that river to Biernegarre above-mentioned.

The extent then deals with Slieve Margy:—

The circuit and limits of the lordship of Slewmargin, as ascertained at Catherlagh (Carlow) on Thursday following the Feast of St. Valentine the Martyr (14th February), in the third year of the reign of King Edward VI. (*i.e.* in 1549), before Walter Cowly, Supervisor General of the King's possessions in Ireland, and the following jury:—William Keting, Shane mc Sherre, Rory roo mc Melaghlín, Maurice mc Rory, Patrick mc Wowne, Gylledowe mc Shane, Patrick mc Davie, Donnell mc Gillepatrick, Gerald mc Shane boye of Ballyffynan, and Tiede mc Sherre O'Brenan—who on their oaths say that the bounds of the lordship of Slewmargin lie as follows:—In length from the river called Dowglasse, in a certain place there called Aghgortnygrenan, to the land of Cloegrenan near a dyke (fossum) in Irish called "Cloanotoryn," in English called "the ditch that meareth," a distance of 4 miles. In breadth from Glaishynmoyny in O Dowghe, to a place called Srowill (Shrule), a distance of 4 miles.

## 50. BOUNDS OF THE QUEEN'S COUNTY IN 1561.

[EXCLUSIVE OF UPPER OSSORY, THE O'DUNNE TERRITORY OF IREGAN AND FASSAGH REBAN.]

FROM THE FIAINT OF ELIZABETH No. 6786.

(See Carrigan's "History of the Diocese of Ossory," Vol. II., p. 384).

The bounds and meres of the Queen's County on the west beginneth at the river of the Golly, by Gortnycle, and so a miry water called Glassycony northward is the mere to a hill called Knockannegon; thence the river of the Ore (Nore) is the mere to a brook called Glasshakenoge, and so by it to a bog called Doreroan, and through it to a river or brooke called Shroyleruske, and by it still northward to Belavele; thence the river Ownenasse is the mere north to the river of the Barrowe. From this eastward the Barrowe is the mere to a brook called Ravege, and by it to the brook of Glasshorte; thence southward as the Glasshorte goeth to the Blake-ford, thence to the end of a wood called Kilcro, and so by Ballybennet and Ballyboughe to Cassheardre (Ardree), which is a ford in the Barrowe, and so the Barrowe is mere to Cloughegrenan lying south. Thence westward to Eduffe (I Dough) according to the ancient bounds of Slemarge. Thence as the meres of Galleyne go, to a brook called Ownebege, and thence by a ditch to a gap called Barneclohoryg; thence by the brook of Glasshicrohan, to another brook which is the mere to a great stone at the end of a bog called Monekillekynon; thence a ditch is the mere to the highway of Rosconnell; thence by a ditch to Tougherdirvall; thence by a ditch to a great stone called Clough m'Edough; thence a highway is

<sup>5</sup> Now Water Castle.

<sup>6</sup> Now Blackford, between Athy and Ballykilcavan.



the mere to the outermost gate of Castell Usker, *alias* Wauter Castell; thence by a high way to a brook called Sronesallagh, and by that brook to the river of the Ore (Nore). The Ore is the mere to a miry water called Askekilgrace, which lieth beyond the wood of Clonoyvam towards Ossaire, and so to a place called Dyrrylane, and from thence as the Golly goeth to Gortnicle aforesaid.

#### 60. MEARES OF SLIEVE MARGY IN 1549 AND 1561.

A.D. 1549. [FROM FIAINT OF EDWARD VI. No. 249.]

The following are the limits of the Lordship, in length from the water of Dowglass at a place called Aghgort-ny-grenan unto Dowyllegowrike, four miles; and in breadth, from Glaysshynmoyny in Idowhe unto Shrowill, four miles:—

The lands of Sliewmarge, with the lands of Maydeslietye (? Sleaty) which pertain to the lands of Catherlaghe (Carlow) and Sliewmarge, are bounded by a line in Monynclyngarilt to a lake called the Monvoer, and so to Aghcrosny near the river of the Barrowe, thence near the Barrowe to Cloenegrenan (Clogrenan, County Carlow), and by Dwylllegowrike to Leackin, the meadow in the mountain, and so by the mountain to Cowrenenyaghe, and to Dirrenemoyck, thence to Biellalacke, Biellacroyterin and Biellarusheghan, and so to Aghcowreloskan and Pole-william-m'Shirry, and to Tobbernegarlaghe, Garranliakin, Claysshennemoynine, Aghbiellacoyll, and Yynchefoble, and so to Glaisshcoyll, thence to Biellacoigery, and so between Emelaghe and Moyadde to Gurtinneneyne, and the lake of Knockan-macTyry, and to Monvore in Sliewnegry, thence to Keppanrusshin in Kildownan and Glaysbowly-Noyr, and the river Dowglass, thence to Aghgortin-ny-grenan, and so near the river Dowglasse to the river Barrowe, and along the Barrowe to the marsh of Kilrenin and Mayddsliety aforesaid.

A.D. 1561. [FROM FIAINT OF ELIZABETH No. 6786.]

The meres and bounds of the Barony of Slewmargin beginneth at the Barrowe, and so by the north side of Cloughgrenan, to Clonatoran, which is the south point of the barony, from it a ditch leadeth westward into the mountain to a place called Garrekayre, and so to Lacklinn wherein standeth a great ash, and along the aforesaid mountain by Porteduf, Askeynaghe, and Knockan-m'tyrie, to Bealaboderge, and thence to a brook called Glisshederrenemoke which leadeth to another brook called Glisshekilleningell; along that brook to Beallalake, Beilaerotere, and so along the same glasse (or stream) to Aghmonemerte and Garrycorman: thence to a place called Moneludane which ye must leave on the left hand till ye come to Glasshenegamoge, and along the same glasse to Monesaggarde, which ye must leave on your left hand till ye come to Glayshekilgore (? the Kilgory stream), and along the same glasse to a town in Idowghe called Clownine (Cloneen in the County Kilkenny, Barony of Fassaghbineen, formerly called IDough), and following the same to the river of Clonebrocke, and along the river to Askynetoran on the right hand of Clonybrocke, and to Mackynaghe, thence to Bealacoquiger, and so between Emelaghe and Moyade to the bounds of the lands of Gwortynenewe, so to the lake of Knockan-m'tyrry; thence by Culdeduf, Mowneowre in Slenagre, Crannagheonoran, and Glasheboylenwbler, to the river of the Dowglas unto Aghgortenegrenan, and so along the river Dowglas, which is the north point of the barony, to the river of the Barrowe, and along that river to the Castle of Cloughgrenan aforesaid.

#### 70. PREROGATIVE WILL, DATED 1584, OF JAMES MEAGHE, ALIAS MEATH, ALIAS O'MORE, CHIEF OF LEIX, IN THE DUBLIN RECORD OFFICE. (INDEXED UNDER "MEATH.")

In the name of god amen. I James Meath als. O'More being of good and perfect memory, making my Will as followeth, that is to say, first I make as my executors my brother Thomas Meath, and my wife Ann Eustace and Eustace fitz James. Also I make as my overseers of this my Will Mr. John Barins and Hewgh Payne. I doe bequeath xxli ster. to my wife besides her owne parte. I doe leave xli that I promysed to Walter Eustace, and such proveable goods. I doe leave my horse wth. my brother Thomas Meath, my hackny wth. Mr. Payne. I doe bequeath to Teig McDonagh and to his sonne Davy ffifty shillengs star I doe leave, wth. my Gossopp<sup>7</sup> Mr. Barins in remembrance of me too studd mares and their colts. I doe leave wth. Donell og O'lalur too of the best garrons<sup>8</sup> I have plowing wth. Rory mcTeige for debts that I doe owe him; also fower pounds ster. wch. I owe

<sup>7</sup> God-father.

<sup>8</sup> Horses.



to one Willm. fitz Symon to be paid. Such other proveable debts as is dew to be paid, and the rest to the use of my wife and her children. I doe bequeath to Ann Morouho xxs ster. wch. I doe owe her.

Dated the vth day of June in the xxvith yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne lady Elizabeth that now ys, 1584. [No signature]. These being witnes whose names are under written uppon this my Will as followeth:—

I Walter Eustace of .Athey was present  
per me dauid lee alias mc tegg.  
By me Martyne Smithe.  
per me Dnus patrycyus mc gyie  
I Rechard motell  
Test. me John Roo . . . . .

80. PATRON SAINTS OF CHURCHES IN LEIX.  
The following list has been compiled mainly from "The Martyrology of Donegal," Comerford's "History of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin," and the Fiants of Queen Elizabeth:—

CHURCH NAME.	NAME OF ITS PATRON SAINT.	FESTIVAL DAY.
Ballintubbert .. ..	St. Brigid .. ..	1st February.
Ballyadams, <i>alias</i> Kilmokidy		
Ballycoolan (Parish of Timogue)	St. Mary .. ..	
Boghlone .. ..	St. Escon .. ..	20th November.
Borris .. ..	St. Mary .. ..	
Clonenagh .. ..	St. Fintan (macGaibhreine)	17th February.
Clopook .. ..	St. Mary .. ..	
Cromoge .. ..	St. Fintan (macGaibhreine)	17th February.
Dysart-Enos .. ..	St. Aenghus the Culdee ..	11th March.
Dysart-Gallen .. ..	St. Mainchin, or Maenin ..	2nd January.
Killabban .. ..	St. Abban .. ..	16th March.
Kilcolmanbane .. ..	St. Colman Bane .. ..	19th October.
Kilcolmanbrack .. ..	St. Colman Brack .. ..	
Kilcronan .. ..	St. Cronan .. ..	
Kilgorey .. ..	St. Lon Garadh .. ..	24th June, or 3rd September.
Killeany (Parish of Clonagheen)	? St. Enna .. ..	21st March.
Killenny (near the Heath) ..	? St. Eithna (female) ..	
Killiny (Parish of Killabban)	? St. Finneach .. ..	? 2nd February.
Killeshin .. ..	St. Comgan .. ..	27th February.
" KilmacCathail " (in Ui Bairrche).	St. Enda and Lochan ..	31st December.
Kilmurry .. ..	St. Mary .. ..	
Kilteale .. ..	? St. Tidhill .. ..	
Kilvahan .. ..	? St. Meathon .. ..	
Kilwhelan (north of Ballyroan)	St. Faelan the Stammerer ..	20th June.
Monksgrange, <i>alias</i> Kilmagob- bock.	? St. Mogoroc .. ..	? 23rd December.
Morett .. ..	St. Brigid .. ..	1st February.
Oughaval .. ..	St. Colman (mac Ua Laoighse).	15th May.
Reban (Churchtown) .. ..	St. Fintan .. ..	? 17th February.
Shrule .. ..	St. Guaire .. ..	
Sleaty .. ..	St. Fiach .. ..	12th October.
Straboe .. ..	St. Sillan (Ed. VI, Fiant No. 582).	
Stradbally .. ..	St. Patrick .. ..	17th March.
Tankardstown .. ..	St. Thomas .. ..	21st December.
Tecolm .. ..	St. Colum .. ..	
" Tigh Damain " (in Ui Criom- thannian).	St. Daman .. ..	12th February.
Timahoe .. ..	St. Mo-chua (macLonan) ..	24th December.
Timogue .. ..	? St. Mogue (Mo-Aedh-oge)	? 31st January.



## 9°. THE O'MORES OF BALLINA, COUNTY KILDARE.

(COMPILED BY LORD WALTER FITZGERALD).

The O'Mores of Ballina are descended from Callough, the youngest son of Rory caoch O'More, Chief of Leix, who was slain in 1545.

Callough O'More was granted Ballina in 1574. He died on the 27th March, 1618. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Walter Scurrough, of Frayne, in the County Meath, he had two sons and two daughters, viz. :—

I. Col. Rory (or Roger) O'More, of Ballina, the famous Confederate leader of 1641. He died on the 16th February, 1655, leaving issue by his wife Jane, daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, Kt. of Turvey, two sons and four daughters, viz. :—

1. Col. Charles O'More, of Ballina killed at the Battle of Aughrim, Co. Galway, 12th July, 1691. He had no issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas FitzMaurice, 18th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. He was succeeded at Ballina by his first cousin Anthony, son of his uncle, Col. Lewis O'More.

2. Connell O'More, died without issue, 20th November, 1653.

1. Anne, married Patrick Sarsfield, of Tully, Co. Kildare, and was the mother of the famous Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.

2. Elenor, married first Brian O'Kelly, of Cadamstown, County Kildare; and secondly Donnell mac Murrough Kavanagh.

3. Mary, married Col. Tirlough mac Henry O'Neill.

4. Elizabeth, married Christopher Beeling, of Killashee, County Kildare.

II. Col. Lewis (or Lisagh) O'More, of whom presently.

I. Margaret, married Thomas Plunkett, of Clonbreny, Co. Meath.

II. A daughter who married a FitzGerald of Ballagh, Co. Westmeath.

Col. Lewis O'More, of the Confederate Catholic Army, second son of Callough O'More, married Mary, daughter of Philip mac Hugh O'Reilly, by whom he had a son :—

Anthony O'More, of Ballina, first cousin and heir to Col. Rory O'More. By his wife Anne, daughter of Alexander Hope, of Mullingar, he had two sons and two daughters, viz. :—

I. Lewis O'More, of Ballina, of whom presently.

II. Roger O'More, who died in 1747; he married Elinor, daughter of William Wright, and had issue :—

1. General Anthony O'More, of the Spanish Army.

1. Anne, married to Robert Daly, of Caulfield.

2. Mary, married Packington Edgeworth, of Longwood.

I. Mary, married Captain Conor O'Reilly.

II. Catherine, the mother of General Manus O'Donnell, in the Austrian Service in 1772.

Lewis O'More, of Ballina, eldest son of Anthony O'More, died on the 13th February, 1737, aged 63. By his wife Alicia, daughter of Con O'Neill, he had issue, a son and a daughter, viz. :—

I. James O'More, of Ballina, of whom presently.

II. Mary, Maid of Honour to the Queen of Spain. Her husband was one Ward of Madrid.

James O'More, of Ballina, son and heir of Lewis O'More, died on the 19th November, 1779, aged 77. By his wife Mary, daughter of Ambrose O'Madden, of Derryhoran, County Galway, he had an only daughter :—

Letitia, of Ballina, who married Richard O'Ferrall. Her death took place in 1778, and her husband's in 1790. From this couple are descended the More-O'Ferralls, now of Ballina, who thus claim a direct descent from the ancient Chiefs of Leix.



## 100. THE O'MORES OF CREMORGAN AND RAHEENDUFF, QUEEN'S COUNTY.

(COMPILED BY LORD WALTER FITZGERALD).

Connell mac Melaghlin O'More, was Chief of Leix from 1523 till his death in 1537. One of his sons was:—

Lisagh mac Connell O'More, Lord of Slieve Margy. He was slain in 1537. Of his issue, four sons are known of, viz.:—

- I. Donnell, Lord of Slieve Margy, hanged by the English in 1557.
- II. Murrough, Lord of Slieve Margy, treacherously slain by the English in the Great Rath of Mullaghmast, County Kildare, in the year 1577.
- III. Neill, hanged at Maryborough in April, 1584. Three of his sons were:—
  1. Teige, hanged at Maryborough in April, 1584.
  2. Connell, alive in 1566.
  3. Lisagh, who slew Owny mac Hugh O'Dempsey, of Clonygowan, King's County, in 1576.
- IV. Murtagh, who had a Crown grant of the lands of Ballyfinnan, in the Parish of Killabban, Queen's County, in 1563. He was probably the father of the two undernamed:—

1. Neill mac Murtagh, who was slain by Walter fitz Edmond Butler in 1581.
2. Murtagh og O'More, with whom we are about to deal.

Murtagh og O'More is assumed to be the son of Murtagh mac Lisagh O'More. The "og," meaning the younger, would tend to show that his father had the same Christian name. Though there is a doubt about his parentage, there is no doubt that he received two land-grants from the Crown, one of Raheenduff in 1562, and the other of Cremorgan in 1570. Murtagh og died on the 2nd May, 1589. By his wife, Honorah O'Lalor, he had at least three sons, viz.:—

- I. Lisagh, of Raheenduff and Cremorgan. He died on the 8th September, 1600, in rebellion, leaving a son:—

Patrick, of Raheenduff and Cremorgan, who was outlawed for High Treason during the same Rebellion.

[From this time there is no further record of this branch of the clan. The present Mr. Henry Moore, D.L., of Cremorgan, though undoubtedly of the same stock, cannot trace his lineage further back than Lewis Moore, of Cremorgan, High Sheriff of the Queen's County in 1732. (See Burke's "Landed Gentry").]

## II. Murtagh.

## III. Shane, with whom we now deal.

Shane, the son of Murtagh og O'More, was of Killennevar, a sub-division of the townland of Ballydavis in the Queen's County. He died about the 1st November, 1636, and was buried in Stradbally. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Connor O'Hickey, of Bolton, near Kilkea, in the County Kildare, he had two sons and several daughters; the sons were:—

- I. Shane og O'More, of Ballydavis, who married Susan, daughter of James Hovenden; their issue was:—(1) Bartholomew, (2) John, (3) Lewis, (1) Margaret, married Con. Magennis; (2) Elizabeth, married Pierce Purcell; (3) Grissell, (4) Elinor.

## II. Pierce O'More, with whom we deal.

Pierce, of Raheenduff, son of Shane O'More, married Mary, daughter of Francis Edgeworth, of Dublin, Clerk of the Hanaper, and had issue (besides daughters) two sons:—

- I. The Revd. John Moore, of Raheenduff, Archdeacon of Cloyne; he was twice married, and had issue by both of his wives.
- II. Roger Moore, of Dublin, merchant; and of Johnstown, in the County Dublin. He died in January, 1705, and was buried at Finglas. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Stoughton, of Rattoo, County Kerry, he had three sons and five daughters.



## 110. THE ROCK OF DUNAMASE.

Dunamase, so called from Masg, son of Augen Urgnaidh, the fourth son of Sedna Siobhhaic, King of Leinster, means Masg's dun or fortress. O'Donovan describes Dunamase, or Dun Masg, as a lofty, isolated rock, on which formerly stood an earthen fort, or stone cashel, and now stands the ruins of a strong castle, situated in the territory of Ui-Crimhthannain, in the Barony of East Maryborough. Dunamase is marked on the second century map of Ptolemy, and is called the "Dunum." Dr. Joyce considers that Ptolemy's work is only a corrected copy of an earlier map by Marinus of Tyre, who is believed to have drawn his materials from an ancient Tyrian atlas.

Dunamase from pre-historic times was the stronghold and chief residence of the rulers of Leix. About the time of the Christian era there flourished in Ulster a leader of the Red Branch Knights, called Conall Cearnach. The Knights under him waged war against the men of Leinster to enforce the payment of the Burumean tribute. They defeated the Leinstermen at the battle of Ros-na-Righ (Rosnaree), and settled in Leix, which they divided into seven tribe lands. This Celtic heptarchy was subject to the jurisdiction of an arch-king, claiming descent from Conall Cearnach, and called the O'More, with his chief residence at Dunamase.

In the time of St. Molua (the close of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century) Berach was ruler of Leix. He offered his cashel of Dunamase, and the lands adjoining, to St. Molua for the establishment of a monastery. The saint declined this generous offer, but accepted a site on the southern slope of Slieve Bloom, where the graveyard of Kyle now marks the spot.

Dunamase suffered from the ravages of the Danes. A.D. 843 the Four Masters relate that Dun Masg was plundered by the foreigners, and that Hugh, son of Duffechrich, abbot of Terryglass and Clonenagh, was seized by them and carried into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom.

At the coming of the Normans, Dunamase was held by Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster. It went to Strongbow on his marriage with the Princess Eva; and when their only daughter, Isabel, married William, Earl Marshall, it became his property.

The State Papers thus refer to Dunamase at this period:—

August, 1215. The King commands the Justiciary of Ireland to order Geoffrey Lutterele to deliver to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, the Castle of Dumath (or Dumas), which the King had restored to him as his right.

May, 1216. The King to Geoffrey de Mariscis, Justiciary of Ireland. Marvels much that he has not executed the King's order to deliver the Castle of Dumas to William, Earl of Pembroke. Mandate, that he deliver that Castle to the Earl's Emissary bearing these letters and the letters patent of the Earl. The King commanded the Justiciary to execute his order by the countersign that the King take him, or he take the King, by the thumb, the King knows not which. Sealed with the King's privy seal, as the King has not with him his great seal.

April, 1231. The King to the Constable of Dumas. Owing to the death of William, Earl of Pembroke, the Constable is ordered to deliver the Castle to Walerand Teutonicus, to whom the King had committed, during pleasure, the custody of the Earl's lands and Castles.

May, 1234. The King receives Gilbert Marshall into grace, and restores all his hereditary rights in England, Ireland, and Wales. As a surety of good service, Gilbert delivers to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, his Castle of Dumas in Ireland, to be held during the King's pleasure. In August Dunamase was restored to Gilbert Marshall's possession.

After the death of the Earl of Pembroke, Dunamase passed to William de Braos, or Bruce, Lord of Brecknock, who married the Earl's daughter. Baron de Braos, about the year 1250, rebuilt and enlarged the Castle, and erected it into a manor.

In 1264 it was in the hands of the FitzGerald. We read that Maurice Fitz-Gerald seized the persons of the Lord Justice, Richard de Rupella, John Cogan, and Theobald Butler in the church of Castledermot, and confined them in the castles of Dunamase and Lea. Clyn's Annals thus record the event:—1264. Mauritius filius Mauricei cepit apud Tristeldermot Ricardum de la Rokele justiciarium Hybernice, et Theobaldum le Botiller, et Johannem de Cogan, et carceribus de Leye et Donmaske mancipavit.



On the 10th March, 1283, an Inquisition held "at the new town of Leys" (*i.e.*, Lea, Queen's Co.), to ascertain what lands Sir Roger de Mortimer was seised of in fee at his death in 1282, finds "that he was seised of (among other lands) 'the manor and honor of Dumasek in the tenement of Leys, in the County of Kildare,' of 2 carucates, and 73 acres in demesne, with a stang of arable land, valued at £10 8s. 10d.—namely, at 8d. an acre a year. Near the grange of Dumasek there are 6 acres of meadow, valued at 4d. an acre. There are at Dumasek 40 cotteers and 36 farmers. The jurors value the prisage of beer of Dumasek at 2s. a year; the garden there at 2s. a year; the warren at 2s. a year; the sergeancy at 10s. a year; the perquisites of court at 40s. a year. The jurors say that Sir Roger held all the lands by reason of the hereditary right accruing to Matilda, his wife, as her share of Leinster, and that he held nothing of his own inheritance in Ireland."

April, 1302. Licence to Edmund, son and heir of Sir Roger de Mortimer, to give to Theobald de Verdeen, junior, in free marriage with Matilda, the said Edmund's daughter, the Castle and Manor of Donmask, which he held of the King in capite.

August, 1304. The King, for the good service of Arnold le Poer and John, his brother, in Flanders and Scotland, grants to them 300 marks out of the custody of lands of Edmund de Mortimer in Donmask, in the hands of the King by reason of the minority of his son and heir Roger de Mortimer. June, 1335. The King to the Justiciary of Ireland, or to him who supplies his place. Order to deliver the Manor of Donmask, in the County of Kildare, in Ireland, to Fulk-dela-Freine, to hold until the end of a term of ten years, saving the right of the Earl of Kildare (Maurice, the 4th Earl) when he comes of age, if he has any right in that Manor, as the King granted to Fulk that Manor which belonged to Roger de Mortuus Mari, late Earl of March, the King's enemy and rebel, which escheated to the King by Roger's forfeiture, to hold with the Knight's fees and advowsons, from the 16th of July last, for ten years next following, without rendering anything therefrom to the King. And the King several times ordered the Justiciary to deliver the Manor to Fulk, to hold as aforesaid, and to inform the King if there was any reasonable cause why he should not do so; and the Justiciary returned that he has not delivered that Manor to Fulk, because the nearest friends of Maurice, Earl of Kildare, a minor in the King's wardship, came before the Justiciary, and said that the Manor is the Earl's escheat, by reason of Roger's forfeiture, because the late King gave the Castle of Kildare, with the homage and all forfeitures, to John, son of Thomas, late Earl of Kildare, ancestor of Maurice, of which Castle the Manor is held in chief.

And the King wishes his order to have effect, notwithstanding the said return, because the lands which are of the Earl's inheritance ought at present to pertain to the King as a custody by reason of the Earl's minority. (Calendar of Close Rolls (England) of Edward III., from 1333 to 1337, p. 401)

In 1342 Lysaght O'More, of Dunamase, was killed by his servant. This Lysaght had become owner of his patrimonial inheritance, thus:—Lord Roger de Mortimer, having occasion to go to England, entrusted Lysaght with the care of his Irish property. O'More took advantage of Mortimer's absence to regain possession of his own ancient patrimony. In one night he seized eight castles in Leix, and thus became, as the historian describes it, from a servant, a lord, from a subject, a prince. (Clyn's Annals.)

Two years after his death the O'Mores were dispossessed of Dunamase by De Mortimer. He added greatly to its strength, and established a soldier-tenantry for its protection. He built the castles of Shaen, Morett, Ballymanus, and five others, adjacent to and subject to Dunamase. He made Dunamase his chief residence, and, administering justice in person there, it became the seat of civil and military jurisdiction, and a complete manor. Such it remained for many years—the centre and the citadel of the English interest. Dr. Ledwich says that for more than 200 years afterwards it was a bone of contention between the Irish and English.

O'Heerin in his topographical poem thus refers to Dunamase:—

"Under Dun Masc of smooth land,  
O'Duibh (O'Deevy) is over Cinel-Criomthainn,  
Lord of the territory which is under fruit,  
Land of smoothest mast fruit."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dr. O'Donovan's translation. O'Heerin died in 1420.



On the 24th August, 1538, Pierce mac Melaghlin O'More, Chief of Leix, made his submission to Lord Deputy Grey. One of the clauses in the Indenture runs thus:—"Et ulterius idem Petrus O'More, pro se et successoribus suis Capitaneis de Lexia, renunciat omni juri, proprietati, et titule, in castro et dominio Domini Regis de Donamase in Lexia predicta; ac in omnibus aliis dominiis, castris, terris, et possessionibus in Lexia predicta, que Geraldus nuper Comes Kildarie,<sup>10</sup> vel pater ejus, habuit et possidebat in Lexia predicta. Et quod promittit, quod non solum permittet Domino Regi, officiariis, fermariis, et servientibus suis, eadem Castrum et dominium de Donamase, et cetera premissa que fuerunt dicti Geraldus Comitum, vel patris ejus, pacifice possidere et occupare, ac de his disponere ad voluntatem suam, sub pena predicta; sed etiam idem Petrus O'More dictos firmarios et servientes Domini Regis in possessione et occupatione premissorum manutenebit et auxiliabitur pro posse suo."<sup>11</sup> A similar agreement was made in 1542 by Pierce's second successor—Rory caoch O'More.<sup>12</sup>

In 1642 the Confederate Catholics were in possession of Dunamase; then the Earl of Ormond occupied it for a year or two, and after his retreat it was held by General Preston. In 1646 it surrendered to Owen Roe O'Neill. In 1650 it was taken by Cromwell's Generals, Hewson and Reynolds, who dismantled and blew it up. In 1795 Sir John Parnell, with the idea of restoring it to its ancient splendour, erected banqueting-halls and other buildings, and had the precincts covered with handsome plantations. But its position was unsuited to the requirements of a modern residence; and his son, Sir Henry Coote Parnell, allowed it to fall into permanent decay.

Steward, in his "*Topographica Hibernica*," thus describes the Rock of Dunamase:—"The rock on which the castle stands is an elliptical conoid, inaccessible on all sides except the east, which was defended by the barbican. On each side of the barbican were ditches, and where they could not be continued, on account of the rock, walls were erected. To the S. and S.E. were two towers protecting the barbican. From the barbican you advance to the gate of the lower ballium: it is 7 feet wide, with walls 6 feet thick, and had a parapet, crenelles, and embrasures. The lower ballium is 312 feet from N. to S., and 160 feet from E. to W.; above it you arrive at the gate of the upper ballium, placed in a tower, from which begin the walls which divide the upper and lower ballium. On the highest part were the keep and the apartments for the officers; there was a sally-port and a prison. The only remains of this ancient castle are some of the walls and gates, yet venerable in their ruins.

[Summarized from Paper by Very Rev. E. O'Leary, in the "*Journal of the Kildare Archæological Society*," Vol. VI., No. 2. See also *antea*, Vol. I., p. 75].

<sup>10</sup> Viz.:—Timogue, Morett, and Shanganagh, etc.

<sup>11</sup> State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. iii., p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> Cal. of Carew MSS., 1515-1574, p. 185.



## APPENDIX II

An alphabetical list of those to whom grants of land were made in the Queen's County, by *Fiant* or Patent, to the close of the reign of James I.

Extracted from the *Fiants* published by the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Ireland, and from the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery, Ireland, *temp.* James I. (published in 1828).

By Martin Blake, Esq., B.L., 13 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.

A.D.

1550-1. *Fiant* No. 703. BAGENALL, Sir Ralph, Knight:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Eyen, Scrobo, Syan; the burgages of Raetyoyn; a castle in decay, and land in Cowlblanghell, parcels of the Lordship of Irre in Leix.

1551. *Fiant* No. 896. Lease for 21 years of the lands of Eyen, Srobo, Sian, Kilbanen, Kylnewarre, Davidstown, *alias* Ballydae, Rabreny, the Buries, Raetevin, parcels of the Lordship of Twomelegan, and Cowlbanger.

1560-1. *Fiant* 701. BARRETT, Henry:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Clonaddyonoran, Kylbry, and Tlyawer, in the Lordship of Farryn O'Nowlyn.

Dated 16th February, 1550.

(NOTE.—Farryn O'Nowlyn is not marked on the map of 1563)

1564. *Fiant* 647. BARRINGTON. Captain John Barrington:—A castle in Cullynaghe, the lands of Cullynaghe, Ballehellen, Corcappe, and Raynduff. Dated 12th May, 1564.

1595. *Fiant* 5949. Livery to ALEXANDER BARRINGTON, son and heir of John Barrington, of Cullenaghe, of the lands mentioned in above grant, and also of Kylvane and Drumloo.

1610. Pat. Rolls, p. 161. JAMES I. Grant to Alexander Barrington, of the premises in Queen's County, granted, by patent dated 12th May, 1564, to Captain John Barrington deceased.

1551. *Fiant* 830. BELLINGHAM, John:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Colonaghe, Caissel, Balleyllan, and Ballyvan, in the Lordship of Twoaghelowe; and Kryworgan, in the Lordship of Farrine Prior.

BOWEN. John THOMAS *alias* BOWEN:—The first of this family who settled in Queen's County was a Welsh soldier, John ap-Thomas, ap-Owen, (Bowen). He was Constable of the Castle of Ballyadams in November, 1549 (*Fiants*, Edw. VI., No. 403). On 16th February, 1550-1 he obtained a lease for 21 years of "Ballytobrid, Ballytarse *alias* Cronagh, Ballyntlegerrot, Ikalle and Dirrenrwo," all of which seem to be part of the Manor of Ballyadams (*Fiants*, Edw. VI., No. 698). He was (I think) the man whom the Irish styled *Shawn-a-Ficha*. He died in 1569. His son, Robert Bowen on 27th February, 1769-70, was granted livery of his father's lands, the grant being to "Robert Bowen, *alias* Robert Thomas, son and heir of John Thomas, *alias* Bowen, of Ballyadams, Queen's Co." (*Fiants*, Elizabeth, No. 1490). On 8th July, 1578, Robert Bowen surrendered "Ballyadame, Rathgilbert, Aghetobride, Ballentobride, Monascerbane, Dyrrearowe, Crenaghe, Balletarsne, Kyllganer, Donbrenne, Ballyentle, Kylmohide, and Farraghmore," in order to obtain a new grant thereof (*Fiants*, Eliz. No. 3359); which was made by patent dated 31st August, 1578. He was Sheriff of Queen's Co. in 1579; and Provost Marshal of Leinster in 1595 and 1598. He died on 31st July, 1621, leaving John Bowen his son and heir, then aged 48 and married (Chancery Inquis. taken at Maryboro', 14th January, 1622). The above Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams, married Alice, daughter of Walter Harpole (who survived her husband). The following Funeral Entry relating to her, made by Thomas Preston, Ulster King of Arms, is recorded in Ulster's Office:—

"Alice, daughter of Walter Harpole, died the 4th June, 1634. She was married to Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams, in the Queen's Co., Esq., by whom she had issue:—

"(1) Sir John Bowen, Knight; he hath to wife Ellis, daughter of the Rt. Revd. Father-in-God Milerius Magrath, Arch-



bishop sometime of Cashel; (2) Oliver, unmarried; (3) Thomas, hath to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Warter, of Cullin, in the Co. of Limerick, Esq.; (4) Margaret, married to Alexander Barrington, of Cullinagh, Queen's Co., Esq.; (5) Margery, widow of Henry Brereton, of Loghteog, Queen's Co.; (6) Elizabeth, married to James Freeman, of Gishiden, in Co. Mayo, gent.; (7) Elis, widow of Pierce Butler, of Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny, Esq.; (8) Susan, married to Roger Hovendon, of Ballyfehin, Queen's Co., Esq.; (9) Mabel, married to Hobart Hetherington, of Bawherard (*sic*), Queen's Co.

"She was buried in the Church of [                      ], Mokidi, August the 22, 1634." [Funeral Entries, Ireland: Add MS. No. 4820 in British Museum].

Oliver Bowen, the 2nd son above-mentioned, on the 15 Nov., 1608, purchased from John Kinge the site and lands of the Augustinian Abbey of Burriscarra, Co. Mayo (Blake Family Records, vol. 2, p. 6); which in 1632 he mortgaged with other lands in Co. Mayo, to Sir Thomas Blake, 2nd Baronet of Menlough. He died without issue in 1654. Thomas Bowen, the 3rd son, purchased in 1625 the castle, town and lands of Liskellin, in the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo (Strafford Survey of Mayo, 1636). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Warter, of Cullen, Co. Limerick, and had issue a son Edmund, who had issue Oliver, who had issue William, of Hollymount, Co. Mayo, who had issue William (died 1786), who had issue Christopher, of Hollymount (died 1828), who had issue the Revd. Christopher Bowen, Rector of Heatherfield, Isle of Wight (died 1900), who had issue Charles Bowen (an eminent English Judge, who was created Baron Bowen for life in 1893, and died 10 April, 1894), who had issue the Honble. and Revd. William Bowen, of Glenheadon, Totland, Isle of Wight, now (1907) living.

The eldest son of Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams and Alice Harpole, was **SIR JOHN BOWEN**, Knight, of Ballyadams. He was knighted on 18th October, 1629. It was he who erected the Bowen monument in Ballyadams graveyard. If 1631 be the correct date of its erection (as it probably is) his mother, Alice, must have been then alive. He married Ellis (or Alice), youngest daughter of the notorious Meiler Magrath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, by whom he had issue six sons:—

Sir John Bowen, died the 19 February 1644 (Inquisition taken at Maryboro', 9 April, 1646), and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, **WILLIAM BOWEN**, of Ballyadams. He married in 1637, as his 1st wife, Bridget, daughter of Sir Robert Tynte, of Ballycrenan, Knight, by whom he had issue only two daughters:—

1. Helena Bowen, who married Edward Brereton, of Loghteoge, Queen's Co.
2. Katharine Bowen, who married Pierce Butler, of Kinelough. William Bowen married as his 2nd wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Domville, Knight, of Templeoge, Att.-General for Ireland, and by her had issue:—(1) John Bowen (his successor); (2) Bridget Bowen, who married Thomas Carr; (4) Lucy Bowen, married Colonel William Southwell (brother of Sir Thomas Southwell, 2nd Bart. created Lord Southwell), and she died 25 August, 1733, leaving issue.

William Bowen, of Ballyadams, died 11 April, 1686; and was succeeded by his only son (by the 2nd wife) **JOHN BOWEN**. He died without issue and intestate; and administration of his personal estate was granted to his mother, Margaret Bowen, on 19 January, 1691. His real estate of Ballyadams was divided among the representatives of his half-sisters—Helena (Mrs. Brereton), Katharine (Mrs. Butler), and his sister Lucy (Mrs. Southwell).

Unless there exist some descendants in the male line of some of the younger sons of Sir John Bowen, Knight (as to which I have no information), the present representative in the male line of the family of Bowen, of Ballyadams, would be the Honble. and Reverend William Bowen, now (1907) living, the eldest son of Charles Lord Bowen, who is descended from Thomas Bowen, of Liskellin, Co. Mayo, 3rd son of Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams, by his wife, Alice Harpole.



(NOTE.—Lord Walter Fitzgerald, in an article in Vol. VII. of the Journal of the County Kildare Archæological Society, has pointed out a blunder in the account of the Bowen monument given in the *Anthologia Hibernica* of 1794, and copied by later writers, including Canon O'Hanlon (see Vol. I., p. 182-3). The words THE LA ELLIS (*i.e.*, the lady Ellis) were interpreted by the writer in the *Anthologia*, and his copyists, to stand for the maiden name of Lady Bowen, which was stated to be Thela Ellis !)

A.D.

1562-3. *Fiant* 501. BRERETON, Edward:—Grant of an old castle in Loghtyoge and the lands of Loghtyoge, Loghtrodden, Rahyniske, Monine, Ballenegarbanaghe, and Shanemollen, on the west of Raynduff. Dated 28th Feb., 1562-3.

Edward's son, Henry, married Margery, daughter of Robert Bowen; and his daughter, Jane, married Alexander Barrington, of Tymogue. Henry Brereton's eldest son, Edward, succeeded his father, in 1627, and was High Sheriff of the Queen's County in 1677. A re-grant of the town and lands of Loghtyoge was made to him in 1638, by patent of Charles I., at a crown rent of £7 14s. 1½d. By his marriage with his cousin, Helena Bowen, of Ballyadams, he had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, John, was attainted in 1688 for siding with James II., and his estates were sold in 1702. His brother, Arthur, of Raheenduff, by his marriage with Miss Lawless, had a son, named John, and three daughters. John was High Sheriff of the Queen's County in 1780, and died in 1816, aged 94. His eldest son, Arthur, was born in 1766, was Captain in the 71st Regiment, and died in 1836. Arthur's heir, John, born in 1794, died unmarried, in October, 1818, aged 23. The second son, Ralph Westropp Brereton, of Ballyadams, was born in 1798, and died in 1858. He was a midshipman in the Royal Navy, but left the service on the death of his elder brother, John, in 1818. On Ralph's death, in 1858, the Queen's County estates of the Breretons were sold, and the family connection with the County brought to a close.

The Queen's County Breretons had the same arms as the Breretons of Brereton in Cheshire, viz., Argent, two bars sable; Crest, a bear's head proper, muzzled, or, issuing from a ducal coronet. Motto: "Opitulante Deo."

1550-1. *Fiant* 697. COLCLOGHE, Anthony, Gent.:—Lease for 21 years of land in the moieties of Ballylenan, Tankerdeston, and Ballylyan, and the towns of Aghenor and Kinelrowne, parcels of the possessions of Patrick O'More, attainted, in Farryn Klynekedd, *i.e.*, Feranklandikedoe. 16th February, 1550.

1550-1. *Fiant* 724. COSBIE, Francis, of Kildare, Gent.:—Lease of lands in Kilmore, Derrewreke, Downderrewollyn, Moyanne, Rakree, Garrywadoke, Kledowe, and Balleneircare, in Leix; parcels of the Lordship of Caishmone-Rwoen and Eightertyry. To hold for 21 years: Provided that the lessee and his assignee dwell upon the premises, and that no assignment be made without the approval of the Lord Deputy and Council: that the lessee shall not cause any of the lands to be inhabited by any of the name of O'More, or of such surname as were possessors in the county of Leix: that the lessee shall bear his proportion of all cesses for the safeguard and furniture of the King's Fort called the "Protector." 15th March, 1550.

1562-3. *Fiant* 493. Grant to FRANCIS COSBIE:—The site of the Friars' House of Stradbally: The lands of Stradbally and a water-mill there: Ballenowlan, Kylrowry, Balleredder, Loughill-parke, Ballecolman, Ballemadoke, Kilmerten, The Grange, Garrymadoke, Clonerecke, Ballenevicar, Kilmocho, Moyanaghe, Congell, Racrehym, Cloduff, Croghemall, Ballaghmore, Shanemollan, Ballemcmanus, and the Castle of Derrybroke. To hold in tail male by the 20th part of a Knight's fee. To maintain 9 English horse-men: To attend when called on with his servants and tenants armed, with victuals for 3 days for defence of the county: To give one plough-day for each plow on his lands as the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough may appoint: Not to use the Brehon Law against any subject amenable to the law of the Kingdom: his sons and principal servants to use the English language, dress and rule as far as possible: Not to maintain any man of Irish blood, accustomed to bear arms, born outside the county: All women having dower or jointure out of these lands to be bound by same conditions: No alienation to be made except one-third for life to



younger sons: Grantee to live on the premises: Not to marry with any Irish living outside the Counties of the Kingdom, and not amenable to the laws: Not to suffer coyne or other exactions: If any woman having a jointure shall marry an Irishman, her jointure shall cease.

1563. *Fiant* 576. Grant to FRANCIS COSBIE and Elizabeth Palmes, his wife: The Advowsons of the Rectory and Vicarage of S. Maenin, of Disertgallyn, in Queen's County, Diocese of Leighlin: To hold in tail male on same conditions as preceding grant.
- 1565-6. *Fiant* 819. Grant to FRANCIS COSBYE, Esq., of the office of Constable of the Castle of Mariburghe: Also of the office of Scheneschal of the Queen's Co., with power to punish by martial law all rebels of the nation of the Mores and others.
1569. *Fiant* 1375. Grant to FRANCIS COSBIE and Elizabeth Palmes, his wife: The lands of Moyenrath, Cloynneyaghe, Roskelton *alias* Rosquilan, and Tromro. To hold in tail male: Maintains one English horseman: with same conditions as in previous grant.
1570. *Fiant* 1544. The lands of Tymogho, Ballenecloghe, Ballenth, Rahenebaron, Garrygloo, Fosse, Balleclere *als* Ballefarra, Ballescure and Owillorte, Esker, Clonkyny, Eskerbeg, Cloghpowke and Ballecullane, Ballyknockan, Ballykerote *als* Ballykerone, Kilcolmanbane, Kepole *als* Kapowly, Clonebricke and Cowlklore; the Rectory of Kilcolmanbane, extending to Kilcolmanbane, Balleknockane, Ballykerote *als* Ballykerane, Kepowle, Rathlege and Balleguille: the Rectory of Balleguillane, extending to Balleguillane, Cloghpowke, Torintlevan, Nenaghe, Balleikhullane, and Curraghe. To hold in tail male: Maintaining 12 English horsemen, etc.
- Grant to FRANCIS COSBYE and ELIZABETH PALMES, his wife: Three messuages in Mariborough in the tenure of John Tomkyns, William Goode and John Paynter: Land in Clonmyne and Clonruske, in the tenure of said Tomkyns and Goode and Paynter: On same conditions as previous grants.
1570. *Fiant* 1624. To FRANCIS COSBYE and Elizabeth Palmes, his wife: A messuage and garden in Maryborough, occupied by Edward Fitzhenry: The lands of Caysshel, Capycloghe, Kilbelan *als* Ballehelan, Cloghpowke, Ballecullan, Balleknockan, Ballykeroke *als* Ballykerone, Kilcolmanbane, Kepowle *als* Kapowley, Clonebrycke and Cowlkhre: the Rectory of Kilcolmanebane with the tythes extending to (places mentioned in grant of 9th June, 1569), and all advowsons belonging to the lands: To hold in tail male: Maintaining 3 English horsemen: Same conditions as in previous grants.
1578. *Fiant* 3393. Grant to FRANCIS COSBIE, Esq.:—The site of the late house of Friars of Stradballie with its appurtenances: A mill in Stradbally: the lands of Stradbally, Ballenowlan, Kilrowry, Balleredder, and Loughill parke, Ballecolman, Ballemaddock, Kilmarten, The Grange, Garrymadock, Cloneveock, Ballenevicar and Kilmoho, Moyannaghe, Corriell, Racrehin, Cloduff, Noghemall, Ballaghmore, Shanemollen, Ballymacmanus, and the Castle of Derybroke—the lands in Shanmollen granted to Edward Brereton alone excepted: To hold in fee: Maintaining 9 English horsemen: on same conditions as preceding grants.
1578. *Fiant* 3397. Grant to FRANCIS COSBYE, of Leshenhall, Co. Dublin, Esq., of the wardship and marriage of Terence or Tirlaugh, son and heir of Dermot O'Dempsey, brother of Owne McHugh O'Dempsey, late of Clownegawnie, King's Co., gent: And of the custody of his lands: To hold during minority.
1570. *Fiant* 1622. Grant to ALEXANDER COSBY and Dorcas, his wife: The lands of Tymogho, Balleneclogh, Ballentle, Rathnebaron, Garryglas, Fosse, Balleclare *als* Ballefarra, Balleseare, Owillorte, Esker, Clonkyny and Eskerbegg: And the advowson of the Church of Tymoho *alias* Ferry Priorie: To hold in tail male. Remainder to Francis Cosby, Esq., father of Alexander, in tail male: Maintaining 4 English horsemen.
1570. *Fiant* 1623. Grant to ALEXANDER COSBY and Dorcas Sydney, his wife: The lands of Lisbigne, Moneclare, Doghell, Kilneseare, Ballanekyll, Kylcronane, Kilmyshe *als* Kilmyske, Ballenebane, Dysert-gallyne, Knockardk-



horro, Graigue Howen, Bolebegge, Lyscoman, Graignesmotane, Roskeshell, Aghelubber, Cloghoge, Moyadde, Ballekeshelane, Graige, Ballevicas, and Tulmoreals Clontykho: To hold in tail male: Maintaining 4 English horsemen.

1593. *Fiant* 5824. Grant to ALEXANDER COSBY:—A messuage in Mariboroughe lately in the tenure of Edw. Fitzhenry: The lands of Caysshell, Capiclogh, and Kilhelan *als* Ballehelan, Cloughporoke and Ballecullán, Balleknockan, Ballokeroke *als* Ballykeron, Kilcolmanbane, Kepowle *als* Kepowly, Clonebricke and Cowlkhre: also the Rectory of Kilcolmanbane, with the tithes extending to Kilcolmanbane. Balleknockan, Ballykeroke *als* Ballykerane, Kepowle, Rathbeg and Ballequill, the Rectory of Ballequillan, with the tithes extending to Ballequillan, Cloghpowle, Towinlevan, Nenaghe, Ballickhullen and Curragh: Three gardens in Mariborough in the tenure of John Tompkyns, William Goode and John Painter: lands of Clonmyne and Clonruske in tenure of same: Moynrath, Cloneneynagh, Rosskelton *als* Rossquillan and Tromro, Cloneadoran, Kilbridge and Kildonane: another messuage and garden in the tenure of Thomas Lamben in Mariborough, and a messuage and garden outside the east gate in the tenure of William Vicars: lands in Clonebearne, Raylad, in the tenure of William Vicars, Clonkyne in tenure of same: lands of Ratevine, Bealard and Clonkyne: a messuage in the tenure of Anthony Rogers in Mariborough: lands of Baylard and Clankene. To hold in tail male: Maintaining 6 English horsemen and 2 footmen.
1596. *Fiant* 6017. Grant to DORCAS COSBYE *alias* Sydney, widow of Alexander Cosbye, father of Francis Cosbye, and Helen Cosbye *alias* Hartpolle, widow of Francis Cosbye, late of Stradbally, gent: The wardship of William Cosbye, son and heir of said Francis: And custody of his lands during minority: No fine, as both Alexander and Francis Cosby were slain in the Queen's service.
1607. Pat. Rolls, p. 106. JAMES I.: License for alienation, granted to Sir Thomas Coache, or Cooche, Knight, and Dorcas, his wife, the widow of Alexander Cosby, and to Richard Cosby, son of said Alexander and Dorcas, of the premises granted by Patent dated 6th August, 1593 (35 Elizabeth), to said Alexander Cosby and Dorcas Sidney, his wife.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 511. DAVELLS, Henry:—Grant of Knockancoo, Curraghmore, Curraghbeg, Garriduffe, Ballyshen, and Camoy, in Slewmerge.
1563. *Fiant* 559. DELVES, George:—Grant of a castle in Syan *alias* Sean: the lands of Syan, Eyen, Strobo, Kyllon, Kylbane, Kyllenevary, Balledavie, Kyllenoghe, Kylmore *als* Kylmorre, Rawelenneshian *als* Rathneshian, Ballehomas, Dirrenegarran, Kylbeg, Kylmaynan, and Kyllene.  
[NOTE:—These premises were afterwards surrendered by Delves, and granted to John Whitney on 26 April, 1569].
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 499. DUNKERLEY, John, of Naas, Gent:—The castle of Clonghreher, the lands of Clonghreher, two Rosselekyns, Coulteren *alias* Knockinnorgow and Rainenemarok.
- 1550-1. *Fiant* 736. FAY, Edmund, gent:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Clonegowne, Clowlenemone, Clonenaghe, Ballyfien, Coughclone, and Clonanne; parcels of the Lordship of Farren O'Nolan and the Camaghe in Leix: Clonaddeokais, Kappelaghyn, Roskiltane, Tromre, Ballynemoddagh, and Moyewae, parcels of the Lordship of Twoaweway; Dirrinrwo, Kyleclere and Kiltegan, parcels of the Lordship of Cashemone, Rowen, and Eightertiry.
1569. *Fiant* 1437. FITZPATRICK. Nomination of Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Knt., son and heir of Barnaby Fitzpatrick (1st) Baron of Upper Ossory, to be Captain and Chief of Upper Ossory, the Baron being incapacitated by age and infirmity.
1570. *Fiant* 1642. Grant to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Knight: A messuage in his occupation in Maryboroughe: The lands of Disertbeh, Ballenedane, Kytybrownnyne, Cromok, Cloncarrie, Clonevehan, Kylmagonder *alias* Kylmagonde, Dyrrekeryne, Ballewrye, and Ballehobege.



- 1573-4. *Fiant* 2370. Lease to Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Knight:—The site of the monastery of Agmacarte in Upper Ossory: the lands of Agmacarte, the tithe corn of the Rectory of Agmacartye with the tithes of Cowlekils: The site of the Friary of Athbowe in Ossory in the country called McKilpatrick, and the lands of Athebowe, and the customs of the tenants (3 days reaping harvest, 2 hook days for weeding corn, and one sheep and a gallon of butter in summer from everyone owning 7 sheep):
1577. *Fiant* 3050. Grant to Barnard Fitzpatrick, Knt., Lord of Upper Ossory: A messuage in Mariborough: the lands of Disertbehee and Ballenedane, Kiltybrownyne, Cromocke, Clonecurry, Cloneveheve, Kilmagonder *als* Kilmagonde, Derrekeryne, Ballenry, Ballihoebeg, Ardleine *als* Ardlasse, Clonedoaghessie, Capalagehenine, Ballymodaghe, Roscoltains *als* Roscolaine, and Tenekille: To hold for ever.
1578. *Fiant* 3415. Grant to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Knt., Baron of Upper Ossory: the lands of Killeny *als* Kyllyen.
1582. *Fiant* 3979. Livery to FLORENCE M'GILPATRICKE, Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, brother and heir of Barnard Fitzpatrick, Knt., late Lord.
1600. Letters Patent, dated at Westminster, August 16th, 1600, granted to him and to his son John, the honours, castles, lordships, manors, and towns of Cowlehill, Formoyle, Grace Castle, Water Castle, Tentoure, Castletown, Burrishe, Donnaghmore, Flemingstown, etc., in the Country of Upper Ossory; together with all the advowsons of churches and other hereditaments whatsoever, which before that time did appertain to him within the said country, to hold to him and to his said son John, and the heirs male of their respective bodies; remainder to his sons, Geoffry, Barnaby, and Edmund, and their heirs male; remainder to the heirs male of his own body; remainder to those of his father Barnabas, Lord of Upper Ossory; remainder to those of Barnabas his grandfather; to hold by the service of an entire knight's fee, a hawk, and £7 Irish, annual rent.
1601. *Fiant* 6493. The site and circuit of the monastery of Aghmacarte, with all its appurtenances; a water mill, the tithes of grain and hay of Aghmacarte rectory, with the tithes of the town of Cowlehill; the site and circuit of the Friary of Athlone, otherwise Aghavoe, and the rectories of Coolkerry and Aghmagh Eirke, Glashaler, Killynny, and St. Kenny of Aghavoe, in the Queen's County.
1602. *Fiant* 6610. Letters uniting the Country of Upper Ossory to the Queen's County, by the name of the Barony of Upper Ossory: it having been doubtful whether the country was part of any County or not: Granted at the suit of Florence Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory.
- For the complete history of the Fitzpatricks, see Vol. I., p. 47-109, of Dr. Carrigan's "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory."
- 1589-90. *Fiant* 5400. GRANTE, Patrick, gent:—A messuage or tenement in the town of Mariboroughe, and 12 acres arable and 4 acres pasture in Clonruske within the liberties of the town, in the tenure and occupation of Richard Chapman: Another, with like land in Clonruske, in the tenure of Richard Fox: Another in Doncore, lately in the tenure of John Denevet, now of John Stareling: Another in Donmoucoghe, late in the tenure of Thomas Morgan, now of John Stareling: Another, late in tenure of Thomas Parsons: Another, in the tenure of Michael Marshall: Another, in the tenure of Thomas Reynolds: Another, in the tenure of Katharine Woodward: Another, in the tenure of John Starling: A meadow, in the tenure of Arnold Cosby: Other messuages in the tenure, respectively, of Walter Lawrence, Robert Aire, John Burtall, William Aire, Donat Whyte, William Drom, Isaac White, Nicholas Harmar, Robert Joyner, and a garden in occupation of John Payntor: Other messuages in tenure, respectively, of John Whitney, Dermicius Dowley, Henry Good, John Barrington, John Starling, Elizabeth Cosbie, Edward Parsons, Walter Lawrence, and Robert Harpoole: Two others lately in tenure of Joshua George: Others in tenure, respectively, of George Pleasenton, Robert Bowen, Randolph Holland, Rice Appowell, and John Casey: And all commons of pasture to the said town of Mariborough belonging. To hold for ever in common soccage: Rent 45s. 5d.



1601. *Fiant* 6578. GREAME, Captain Richard, afterwards Sir Richard, Knt.:—The castle of Rahin and Dere: the lands of Rahin, Dere, Shanganaghbeg, Kilmarone *als* Kilmolrone, Ballelelan, Agharrowe *als* Aghenoure, Ballecormane, and half Balleghan; late the possessions of Edmund McMulumory (McDonnell) attainted. The lands of Rahinduffe, Crymorgan *alias* Clamorgan, and the advowson of the Rectory or Chapel of Kilbride, late the possessions of Patrick McLisagh McMortagh O'Moore attainted: The lands of Dowary and Moneduff, late the possessions of Shane McKedough O'More, attainted. The lands of Rahaspick *als* Rahaspoke, Balaclee, and Monenebolie, late the possessions of Cahill O'Kelly, attainted.
1612. P. Rolls, p. 234. JAMES I. Grant by Patent to SIR RICHARD GRAEME, Knight:—The castle and lands of Rahinderrie, Shanganaghbeg, Kilmarone, Ballyellan, Agharrowe *alias* Aghenowre, Ballycormane, half of Balleghan, Rahinduff, Crymorgan *alias* Clamorgan: the advowson of Kilbride Rectory: the lands of Moneduff and Dowary, Rahispick *alias* Rahaspocke, Killecle, Ballick, Moneneboly.
1563. *Fiant* 533. HARTPOLE, Robert. Grant of the lands of Ballyrahene, Rossenalgan, Garryoughe, Dormoyle and Cappoyle, in the Lordship of Slewmargin.
1564. *Fiant* 612. Grant to above of an old castle in Colvanaere *als* Colbanahore, the lands of Colvanaere, Ballarighan, Kilgemne, Ballenbeg, Sheanbege, Ballemolrone, and Ballenestraghe.
1570. *Fiant* 1590. Grant to above of the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of S. Fenton, of Clownenaghe, surrendered by Robert Butler.
1576. *Fiant* 2838. Grant to above. The manor of Blackeford, a castle in Monyferricke, Rathmadocke *als* Blackeford, the lands of Moneferick, Rathmadock, Killeighan, Garrans, Kilgessin, Ballekilkavan, Dromlin *als* Killeclery, Inch *als* Ballicowley and Baron: an old castle in Calvanacre *als* Colbanahore, the lands of Colbanahore, Ballarighan, Kilgenne, Ballenebeg, Shanebeg, Ballemolrowe, and Balleniestraghe: the lands of Shrowle, Ballyhormer, Ballecollin, Rathduff, Garrebricken, Aghatereare, and Cappescribedor in the Lordship of Slewmargin: A ruinous castle and land in Clonrere *alias* Merrickstown; lands in Cultwerin, Kilclonhoberd, Ballekileragh, Knockandiere, Rathnemanaghe and Knockanbroghe, Rosseleaghanbeg and Rosseleaghanmore, the lands of Killehide, Ballehide, Garrenoe, Doomoile and Capoile or Cappalioile, in the Lordship of Slewmargin: The advowson of the rectory and vicarage of S. Fenton, of Clownenaghe, Diocese of Leighlin, all in Queen's County.
1577. *Fiant* 3146. The grange of Kilmagobock *alias* the Monnckes Grange, with its tithes, Queen's Co.
1594. *Fiant* 5895. Licence to ROBERT HARPOOLE to alien to Walter Harpoole, dean of Leighlin; Robert Bowen, of Ballyadam, gent.; and John Hovenden, of Ballefile, the Grange of Kilmagobocke *alias* Monckesgrange: To be held to the use of Grane, wife of Robert Harpoole, with remainder to his heirs.
1594. *Fiant* 5897. Grant to WILLIAM HARPOOLE, gent, of the office of Constable of the Castle of Carlow: To hold during good behaviour, with all profits which his father, Robert Harpoole, had in the same office.

NOTE 1<sup>o</sup>. The following description of the Harpole slab in the south-east corner of Ballyadams old churchyard is given by Lord Walter Fitzgerald. The slab, which was discovered in 1899, measures 7½ feet long, 3 feet broad, and 9 inches in thickness.

"The middle of the stone is taken up with the effigy of a forked-bearded and moustached cleric, cut in low relief. Round the edge of the slab runs the following inscription in verse:—

HEARE LYETH VNDER THIS STONE  
TOO BRETHEREN ALL IN ONE  
BRITTIANES BORN, HARTPOOLES BY NACION,  
HEARE LIVING GOTT GREAT COMENDACION.  
VALLIANT THOMAS WITH HIS SWORD,  
VIRTVOVS WALTER BY THE WRITTEN WOORD.



Of the cleric, Walter Harpole, nothing is known, except that in 1587 he received from the Crown a grant of the Deanery of Leighlin, vacant by the resignation of Richard Poell, and that his death took place in 1597, as in November of that year a Walter Chatfield became Dean on the death of Walter Harpole.

"There is a striking resemblance in the wording of this inscription with that on the Bowen tomb; and it is possible both monuments were erected by Sir John Bowen. As his mother was Allis Harpole, it is not unlikely that the soldier Thomas, and the cleric Walter, were her brothers; this would account for their being buried in Ballyadams."

20. The last male representative of the Hartpoles, of Shrute, was the George Hartpole of whom Sir Jonah Barrington gives such a graphic account. This George Hartpole had two sisters, Maria and Martha. The eldest, Maria, married John Lecky, of Carlow, and their son, John Hartpole Lecky, was the father of the Right Hon. W. E. Hartpole Lecky, P.C., M.P., O.M., the renowned historian, who, dying without issue, was the last male representative of his branch of the family. The second sister of George Hartpole, Martha, married Charles Bowen, of Courtwood, and had four children. The eldest, Charles Hartpole Bowen, of Kilnacourt, Portarlinton, had a son Charles, and three daughters. Of these, the sole present survivor is Alice Hartpole Bowen, who became a convert to the Catholic Church, and who is the present representative of the Hartpole family.

1562-3. *Fiant* 500. HETHERINGTON, PATRICK :—Grant of the lands of Towlough (Tully).

1568-9. *Fiant* 1326. JENKIN ETHERINGTON :—Grant of a ruined castle, the lands of Ballerone, Ballegegle, Bellervine, Clanquillane, Kilcrubynne, the Rectory of Ballerone with the tithes extending to Ballerone, Ballervin, Clonquillan, Quelbenagh, Kilvean, Cayshell, Ballyfyce, Dyvienecro, Shanlongurte, Tulloyer, and Dowory.

1576. *Fiant* 2825. Livery to DAVID HETHERINGTON, son and heir of Gynken Hetherington, of Ballyrone, of his father's lands: No fine taken, as his father died in defence of his castle.

1595. *Fiant* 5927. Livery to GEORGE HETHERINGTON, of Tullye (son and heir of Patrick Hetherington) of his father's lands.

1616. P. Rolls, p. 323. License to DAVID HETHERINGTON, of Ballyrone, to alienate to George Harpoole, of Shruel; Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, Co. Dublin; John Brereton, of Rathenusque; George Hetherington, of Tully; Robert George, of Corballies, and Walter Baskerville, of Castle-town Emory, Queen's Co.: The following lands, viz.:—

The ruinous Castle of Ballyrone: The lands of Ballyrone, 120 acres arable, 30 acres pasture: In Ballyegle, 46 acres arable, 18 pasture: In Ballyrone, 80 acres arable, 30 acres pasture: In Clanquillane, 112 acres arable, 18 acres pasture: In Kilcrubine, 17 acres arable, 12 pasture: In Ballinlough, 4 acres. The Rectory of Ballyrone, with the tithes and altarages, which extend to the lands of Ballyrone, Ballyronye, Clanquillane, Quellanagh, Kilbeane, Gaishell, Ballyfitate, Dirrenecro, Shanlongurte, Tulloir and Dowery: To hold to the use of said David Hetherington for life, with remainder to use of such persons of English birth and descent as are now tenants of any part of the premises from said David: With remainder to the use of John Hetherington, son and heir of said David, and his heirs male: With remainder to the use of William and George Hetherington, other sons of said David and their heirs male: With remainder to use of George Hetherington, of Tully, and his heirs male: Then to Robert Hetherington, of Donacarne, Co. Dublin, and his heirs male: Then to Edward Hetherington, of Ballyrone, and his heirs male: Then to the use of the right heirs of said David, in fee simple.

1550-1. *Fiant* 673. HIDNEY, William, of Kilmaynan, gent:—Lease of the Manor of Ballerone: To hold for 21 years.

1550-1. *Fiant* 685. Lease for 21 years of the Lordship of Twoughclowe, lands of Balleroyne, Ballewoiler, Balleroninemone, Caissell, Killelan, Colonaghe, Dowary, Cloncollan, Mondhowe, Ballyendown, Tlower, Clonetekwo, Balleffechas, Balligegill, Lysvegune, and Ballyvane.



1549. *Fiant* 407. OWENTON (Hovenden) Gyles:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Killobban, Cowlenaghe, Tankardeston, Skanaghe, Ballylyan, Cowlgarran, Biellaneffarran, the Breanagh *als* Brackanagh, Ballyntaggart and Garrynarhout. The mears of the Lordship of Killobban are the water of the Barrow to Boeredrigen, thence to the water of Dowglasse and so to Clonehallan, then by Cloneycoyren, Togherclonepiers, Trarulogh *alias* Rame-lagheneggower and Skeaghkalle to the Barrow; Skeaghagh and the halfendell of Ballyan lying without the circuit. The said Lordship was parcel of the possessions of the traitor O'More.
- 1570-1. *Fiant* 1698. ELIZABETH: Grant to JOHN HOVYNDEN of the lands of Kylleban *alias* Ballewhylle, Ballintegarte, Brackanagh, Kyllene, Garrymurllan and Quyllenaghe: To hold in tail male, maintaining two English horsemen.
- 1570-1. *Fiant* 1699. Grant to PETER HOVYNDEN of the lands of Curgaraghe, Bealanagare, Clonpyers, Tankardyston *alias* Ballentankarde, Skeanaghe and Ballylean: To hold in tail male, maintaining two English horsemen.
1591. *Fiant* 5695. Lease for 50 years to Captain PIERS HOVENDEN, of Tankardstown, of the tithes of corn of Coulbanchar *als* Cowlebenger; the advowson of the Vicarage of Errye, the corn tithes of the Rectory of Ballinekill *alias* Ballintample, with the advowson; a messuage in Mariborough, lands in Rathbrennan, Kilrinfin, Bealadd and Clonekeyne: Maintaining 2 mounted archers or shot of the English nation.
1613. P. Rolls, p. 239. License granted to PETER HOVENDEN to alienate to Thomas Hovenden, his reputed son: The lands of Tankardstown, Skeagnagh, Ballelean, Bealanagare, Cloneperis, Curgaragh.

NOTE.—Lieut.-Colonel Ffolliott, of Tierernane Lodge, Ballickmoyler, has kindly supplied us with the following:—

“The second son of Captain Giles Hovenden was Captain Piers Hovenden, of Tankardstown Castle, whose Coat of Arms, with inscription dated 1583, is over the hall door at Tierernane, the residence of Mrs. Ffolliott, who is now the representative of the Hovenden family in the Queen's County, being the daughter of Charles Warner Hovenden, by Anne, his wife, who was daughter of Arthur Alymer Hovenden, J.P., D.L., of Ashfield Hall and Gurteen, Queen's County; Charles Warner Hovenden being a descendant of Captain Giles Hovenden through his second son (Capt. Piers Hovenden), while his wife Anne was a descendant of the same Captain Giles Hovenden through his eldest son (John Hovenden). The elder branch is extinct in the male line.

“The chief seats of the family were Tankardstown Castle and Ballylethane Castle. On the piers of the gate at the entrance to Ballylethane Castle are the Arms of the Fitzpatricks, Thomas Hovenden having married Margaret, eldest daughter of Thady, 4th Baron of Upper Ossory.

“Here were also, in the private chapel, some curious old cut stones of the Twelve Apostles, which are now at Tierernane. They are of extreme antiquity. The carving is deep. Many of the Apostles can be recognised by their symbols. St. Peter is conspicuous holding the Key of Heaven. St. Matthew is shown with the scales, and Judas carrying the bag.

“While Tankardstown Castle and Ballylethane Castle were the two chief residences of the Hovendens in the Queen's County, other seats were Ballyfoyle, Towlerton, Tierernane, Ashfield Hall, and Gurteen.

“The Hovendens, having been implicated in the troublesome times consequent upon the Rebellion of 1641, forfeited a very large portion of their estates.”

- 1550-1. *Fiant* 699. JACOB, Thomas, of Stradbally:—Lease for 21 years of the Manor of Stradbally, the lands of Nowaghwane, Stradbally, on the other side of the bridge of Stradbally, a ruined house, part of the Church, with certain thatched houses therein called the late Friary of Stradbally with the lands belonging to the said house; the lands of the Parke the Grange, Rayndowe, Ballegorbanagh, Ballynolan, Kyllowry, Ballynerean, and Glasfynnoke, parcels of the possessions of Patrick O'More attainted.



- 1562-3. *Fiant* 505. KETYNGE (Keating), Thomas :—Grant of the lands of Crough-tenagle and Farraghbane, in the Lordship of Slewmargin.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 515. EDMUND KETYNGE :—The lands of Colneryn, Tomocloge *als* Tilmocled, Teaugh and Ballyvallaghe.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 519. JOHN KETYNGE :—The lands of Ballymoyleran, Stranghneugh and Towloregh.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 521. WALTER KETYNGE :—The lands of Coltehenry, and Keil-veick, in the Lordship of Slewmargin.
1563. *Fiant* 534. RICHARD KETYNGE :—The lands of Ballymoyler, Atheduf, Grangenerossan, Kilmoghcomock, Ballyno, Capponargan, Rahentescanlan, Garroballynekill, Falloglasse, Darroloskan, Corroghoodore, Gurtynegrane, Ballynecarge, Terernan, Clonaghe, Colenaghbrick, Skanaghe, and Ros-senaghe, in Slewmargin.
1564. *Fiant* 626. KILDARE, Gerald, 11th Earl of :—The advowson of Tymoke *als* Ferrynettelle; in fee.
1568. *Fiant* 1240. The Manor of Tymoke, the lands of Tymooke, Balliprior, Balle-colin, Newenagh, Ballehew, Curragh, Clelelanagh, Graggodden and the White Castle there, Gragrowahan, Balleclo, Shaneganagh, in the Lordship of Slewmargin.

[NOTE.—The Queen's County possessions of the Earls of Kildare, including the Manors of Timogue, Morett, and Lea, had all been forfeited in 1534, owing to the rebellion of Silken Thomas, the 10th Earl].

1570. *Fiant* 1633. The lands of Kilmakyllock, Ballekenles, and Capekule.
1611. P. Rolls, p. 316. Grant by patent :—The parcels of Crosse, Corankeigh, Culfer, Farrensay, Ferrenfunshiog, Cluculmore, Cluculbeg, Knockinellin, Knockrowe, Ballenowe : All late in possession of Hugh McCassin, of Crosse, attainted : The one-ninth of Ballenrally, late in possession of Rorie McGilpatrick O'Dellany, attainted : One-tenth of Lisduff, late in tenure of Laughlin O'Brien, attainted : One-twelfth of Moyndriett, Killoge, and Ballyvickarmotdoone, late in tenure of Donogh, Shane, and William McDermott, slain in rebellion : One-eighth of Eglisiony, late in tenure of Donell McShane Crossagh, attainted : One-tenth of Graignegihy, late in tenure of Neale O'Doran, attainted : Ballykervan, and Roddo, late in tenure of Edmund McFinyne, of Ballykeavan, slain : One-sixth of Lissmore and Ballerlingbeg, late in tenure of Teig McShane, slain in rebellion : One-third of Ballerelinmore, Rathinduff, Munny, Gortiverenan, late in tenure of Teig oge McTeig McFinyne, slain : One-tenth of Rathmore, late in tenure of Fynine McWilliam Fitzpatrick, of Rathmoreslan, slain in rebellion : One-sixth of Capurlan and Clonfad, late in tenure of Melaghlin McCarroll O'Dullany, slain in rebellion : One-fifth of Fleming's Castle, late in tenure of Fynine McDonall, duly attainted : One-fourth of Tinech *alias* Stonehouse, late in tenure of Donogh McDonell O'Phelan, slain in rebellion : All Ballineduff, late in tenure of William McDonagh O'Phelan : Ballytarsny, late in tenure of Melaughlin McCremy, and Teig McDonogh McCremy, and Jeffrey McDonogh McCremy, slain : One-sixth of Kilfursed, late in tenure of Brian McTurlogh McOwen, slain : One-half of Grangebeg, late in tenure of Brian McShane McDonogh oge, attainted.

NOTE.—The Queen's Co. Geraldines are descended from Gerald og Fitzgerald, son of Gerald, 11th Earl of Kildare, and Elenor O'Kelly, of Timogue. Participation in the Catholic Confederation cost this family their estates. Through the intervention of Robert Fitzgerald, uncle of the then Earl of Kildare, the forfeited estates were secured by grant from Charles II., and leased by Robert at a peppercorn rent to Thomas Fitzgerald, grandson of Gerald og. This Thomas married a Miss Pigott, of Disert. He had a brother named George, who married a daughter of Robert Hartpole, of Shrute, and founded the Coolenoule branch of the family. Thomas's claim to the ancestral estates was disputed by Sir Gregory Byrne, who had obtained possession of Timogue, and who began a law suit with Robert Fitzgerald, who, he said, having got the estates for the son of an attainted



person, had got them illegally. This suit, which is one of the most remarkable in Irish legal annals, was ended by Sir Gregory Byrne inducing Thomas Fitzgerald (grandson of Thomas above-mentioned) to marry Catherine Byrne, his youngest daughter. There were eight children of this marriage; but at present the family is extinct in the male line. (See Vol. I., p. 338).

Alexander, the second son of Thomas and Miss Pigott, of Disert (the eldest son was Stephen, father of Thomas, who married Miss Byrne), married Miss Pigott, of Ballydavis, and had a son named Dudley. This Dudley married a Miss Delany, of Ballyfin, and had three sons and three daughters. Alexander, the eldest, married a Miss Ridgeway, and had a large family—this branch is known as the Ballydavis Fitzgeralds. Robert, another son of Dudley, married Elizabeth, widow of James Baldwin, of Summerhill, and had issue two children, John Alexander Fitzgerald, Esq., of Mountmellick, Solicitor, and Sarah Jane, wife of John Turpin, Esq., of Youngrove, Co. Cork. The present representative in the male line of the Queen's County Fitzgeralds is Gerald, the son of Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., of Maryborough, Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the Queen's County.

1551-2. *Fiant* 944. KING, Matthew, of Moyclare, Gent.:—Lease for 21 years of the site of the Abbey called the Abbai of Leise, the two parks and other land in the town of the Abbay of Leise, the lands of Drumaclonee in Clonkyne, Ralyshe, Ravele *als* Rathvoyle, Lysnebegnet *alias* Lisviggn, the half of Clownecore, Clonegohne, Dirrelaen, Clonagill in Cloghoke, Knockbracke *als* Kiltibreny in the parish of Tuadowy, and Rahynconogher-duff, called Oullurdluighe.

The lease contained (*inter alia*) a condition that all great hawks breeding on the premises be reserved to the King.

1611. P. Rolls, p. 199 and 200. Grant by patent to ALEXANDER KINGE and RICHARD SUTTON, two of the auditors of the English Exchequer: The lands of Lisboyne *alias* Lisbigney, Moneclare and Doghell, Kilnescane and Ballynekill, Kilcromane, Desertgallen *alias* Aghnecrosse, Kilruish, Ballenebane, Knockardhorrs *alias* Knockardegur, Graigneowen, Bolebeg, Lyskomanne, Graignesmottane, Roskishell, Aghetubber, Clohoge, Moyadde, Ballekesheland, Craig, Ballyvitas, Tullynoyre *alias* Clontykoe *alias* Direnecro: All the advowsons of all the Rectories and Vicarages within the aforesaid premises: The premises created into the "Manor of Gallen-Ridgway," with 500 acres in demesne and with Courts leet and baron:

1613. P.R., p. 261. LOFTUS, Sir Adam, Kt.:—Grant by patent of the Manor, Monastery and lands of St. Evin *alias* Rossglasse, Kilcosshegraungeore, Glangoe, Clonkerrelin, Srahvolachan, Grana McGilpatrick, Oghill, Clonfidderagh *alias* Dissertaine, Killewyroke, Clonekine, Iseaughtawne:

Liberty to hold a Saturday market at the Monastery of St. Evin and a yearly fair there on the feast of St. Margaret: with Courts of Pie Powder and Tolls:

1562-3. *Fiant* 495. LYPPYATTE, Hugh:—Grant of the Castle and lands of Ballaknockan, the lands of Ballekernan, Kylecolmanbane, Keapowle, Clonebrika, Ballygormyll, and Cremorgan:

1550-1. *Fiant* 725. MCTYRRELACH (McDonnell) Cawlaghe, of Killeyne, gent.:—Lease of Killeyne, in Lordship of Twoawewoy, for 21 years.

1562-3. *Fiant* 498. Grant to CALLAGH MCTIRLAGHE of the Castle and land of Tenekyll, the lands of Carryn, Portnynche, Ballycalle, Colbane, Ballacullan, Farraye, Donoghfyne, Gonterry, Larraughe, Ballarodery, Correngarret, Kilynnessaghe, Dinghainbegge, Dinghainmore, Kilnyferoge, Ballebogan, and Ballynboddaghe. To hold in tail male, maintaining 12 English galloglasses.

1562-3. *Fiant* 492. Grant to HUGH McCALLOWE (McDonnell) of the lands of Acregar, Derykill, Kilmolgan, Ballecowlen, Clanecosney, and Shaneballymurtagh. In tail male: maintaining 4 galloglasses

1562-3. *Fiant* 507. Grant to MOLMORICUS MCEDMUND (McDonnell):—The castle and lands of Rahyne and Dere: the lands of Shanganaghbeg, Kymarone, Ballylynan, Agharrowe, Ballycormane, and half Balleghan.

[NOTE.—The lands were in 1601 granted to Richard Graeme, Knt., on attainder of Edmund McMulory McDonnell].



- 1562-3. *Fiant* 510. Grant to DONALD MCGYLPATRIKE (McDonnell?) :—The lands of Arleyne *als* Arlas, Clondoagheliere, Capalaghynyn, Ballemodaghe, Roscoltayne, and Tenekyll.
1563. *Fiant* 536. Grant to TERENCE McDONELL, Galloglass :—An old bawn of stone in Castlenoe in Slewmargin : the lands of Castlenoe, Ballenegall, Kylleclogh, Cassan, Garrynedeny, Kilgore, Clonybroke, Killnemere, Rossamemont, Rosschouse, Emelaghe, Ballnekill, Narles, Tenestrach, Aghne-crosse, Cargyne, Rathelege, Farrynebin, Killcolotyn, Kellogh, Garrimore, Farnarne, Cowlenenowle, and Clonevecannegarrane.
1563. *Fiant* 537. O'DEMPSTIE, Hugh McDermot :—Grant of the lands of Loghyn, Megoge, and Gurtyn, and the moiety of Great Kynester, Little Kynester, and Klynecourt.
- 1568-9. *Fiant* 1322. Grant to OWEN McHUGH O'DEMPSTIE of the lands of Kilmalaghin in Clanmalier, Queen's County : Ballyteigeduff, Graiggehow-rane, Ballonowlert, and Pullaghballenowe, Garryridder *als* Kilpatrick on the east side of the Barrow : Killyne and Kilbegge this side the Barrow :  
To hold in tail male : remainder to Dermot McHugh O'Dempstie in tail male : remainder to Terence McHugh O'Dempstie in tail male :
- 1581-2. *Fiant* 3830. Livery to SIR TERENCE DEMPSTIE, of Clonegawnagh, King's County, son and heir of Dermot Dempstie, and brother of Owen Dempstie, late of Clonegawnagh.
1582. *Fiant* 3945. Licence to TERENCE DEMPSTIE, gent., for the purpose of settling a jointure on his wife, Mary Fitzgerald, to alienate a portion of his lands of Kilmalaghin, Ballyteigeduff, Graiggehornrane, Ballynowlert, Pullaghballenowe, Garryriderallys, in King's and Queen's Counties.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 490. O'KELLY, Fergonany :—The lands of Corbally, Kylkesild, and Tecalme.
1563. *Fiant* 536. Grant to FRYNNE O'KELLY, of Rahaspick and Kyllecle.
1588. *Fiant* 5188. Livery to CHARLES or CAHIL O'KELLY, son and heir of Ever rufus O'Kelly, late of Rathasepecke. Was attainted in 1601, when his lands were granted, with others, to Sir Richard Graeme, Knt. : *Fiant* 6578.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 514. KEDOUGH McPERES (O'MORE) :—Grant of Dowarry, Mone-duff.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 518. Grant to MORTAGH or MAURICE OGE (O'MORE) of Rahynduff.
1570. *Fiant* 1553. Grant to MURTOGH OGE O'MORE, of Crymurgan *alias* Clamorgan, and the advowson of the Rectory of Kylbryde.
- 1589-90. *Fiant* 5395. Livery to LISAGH McMORTAGH OGE O'MOORE, son and heir of Mortagh Oge Moore, late of Raynduff, gent.
- [NOTE :— All above premises were, on 26th Sept., 1601, granted to Richard Greame, Knt., by reason of the attainders of Patrick McLisagh McMortagh O'More and Shane McKedough O'More].
- 1550-1. *Fiant* 783. PEPPER, Richard, of Clonegawnagh, gent. :—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Clonegawnagh, Kilkeran, Clonecoyn, Kilkappagh, Killeagh *alias* Ballyneclonaghe, Ballynekille, Ballynetample, in the parish of Disert, Rahinkeran, Kilclonebrenan, Enaghan, Mylike, Norney, Kilrapiston, Cloneorke, and Kilmiclege *alias* Shanelongirt, parcels of the Lordship of Glynmalyre in Leix.
- 1562-3. *Fiant* 496. PIGGOTT, John, of Dissert, gent. :—Granted the lands of Dyssert *als* Diserte, Derryals, Ramaspok, Balleclloyd, Colkeyals, Colenechre, Molleneknawor, Rahinuske, Garrickneparke, Kilteloghe, Ballykerrold, and Cowlarne.
1569. *Fiant* 1386. Grant to JOHN PIGOTT :—A parcel of land called Agholallor (Lalor's land), extending eastward to the high road near a hill called Shyanmoglass.
1570. *Fiant* 1585. Grant to JOHANNA WALSHE, widow of John Pygott, of Dysert, of the wardship and custody of the lands of Thomas Pygott, son and heir of said John.



1578. *Fiant* 3235. Grant to JOHN BARNEIS, of Disart, gent., and Johanna, his wife; of the wardship and marriage of Robert Piggott, brother and heir of Thomas Piggott, son and heir of John Piggott, late of Disart.
1587. *Fiant* 5047. Grant to ROBERT PYGOTTE, gent., son and heir of John Pygotte, late of Dysert, deceased, of his father's lands (denominations same as in grant of 28th February, 1562-3, to John Pygott).
1608. P. Rolls, p. 113. JAMES I.:—Grant to ROBERT PIGOTT, of the Dizart, Esq., of all the premises granted to him by patent dated 16th October, 1587.
1576. *Fiant* 2811. PORTAS, William:—Commission to Daniel, Bishop of Lughlen; Roger Mannering, Queen's Remembrancer; Robert Bice, of Dublin, and Richard Gos, of Carlow: To accept surrenders from William Portas, of Blackford, Queen's County (and others) of their lands in Queen's County. [NOTE:—There is no *fiant* recording any grant of land to William Portas].
1552. *Fiant* 1113. ROBSON, John:—Lease for 21 years of a broken castle and land in Clonegawnaghe, the lands of Clonecoyn, Killeagh *alias* Ballyeclonagh, with common in Kilkappagh, Ballynetemple in Disert parish, Rahinkeran, Kilclonebrenan, Kilrapiston, Cloncorke, Enaghan, Norney, Kilkeran, Ballemcgillecrossan, Rany Tirrelaghwalle, and Kilmalege *alias* Shian Longyrte, parcels of the Lordship of Glymalyre in Leix.
- 1550-1. *Fiant* 684. SENTLEGER:—To Robert Sentleger, of Carlow, Esq., lease for 21 years of the Lordship of Galyn; lands of Castleton, the Graige, Kylesesian, Kilcronan, Kilrushe, Bowleyneynybane, Bowlebegg, Disart, Graigenehown and Roscaishill, Graigenesmottan, Lisocomon, Knockardocurre, Moadde, Clooke, Doghill, and Monenegleraghe, in the Lordship of Galyn; parcels of the possessions of Patrick O'More, attainted.
1563. *Fiant* 540. Grant to THOMAS SEYNTLEGER, gent., of the lands of Laawghe, Coldeawse, Tesshanfecken in Kylleshin, and Monefadd, in the Lordship of Slewmargin: To hold in tail male: maintaining 1 English horseman.
- Fiant* No. 1139 (no date). WAGHAN (Vaughan), William, and Greffyth ap David, yeomen.

EDWARD VI.:—Lease for 21 years of the Rectories and Tithes of O'Regan and Rossenallis in O'Doyn's country, parcel of the possessions of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland.

1569. *Fiant* 1353. WHITNEY, John, gent.:—Grant of the Castle of Syan *alias* Sean, the lands of Syan *als* Sean, Eyen, Strobo, Killone, Kylbane, Kyllenevarye, Ballydavy, Killenoghe, Kylmore *als* Kyllmorre, Raghlynnesheare *alias* Rathnesheare, Ballythomas, Doonyacgarran, Kylbegg, Kylmaynan, and Kyllerie: To hold in tail male. Recites a previous grant of same premises to George Delves, gent., on 17th August, 1563, and surrender by Delves.
1595. *Fiant* 5926. Livery to ROBERT WHITNEY (son and heir of John Whitney, of the Sheane), of his father's lands.
1615. Pat. Rolls, p. 283. Grant by Patent to ROBERT WHITNEY:—A castle in the town of Shian, otherwise Shaen: 1500 acres arable and pasture in the townlands of Shaen, Gin or Ein, Straboe, Killone, Kilbane, Killenvarre, Ballidavie, Killenogh, Kilmore, Raghlynieshian otherwise Rathneshian, Ballihamos, Derrigarrane, Kilbeg, Kilmainahen, and Killene; and their hamlets of Derrigarrane, Lisbrin, Aghnefalagh, Cappanecleragh, The Wood, Killtenally, Brittas, Ballintegard, Killenlinagh, Garryduff, Loghshenehaun, Killone, Balliduff, and Killeni: The premises created into the "Manor of Shaen" with 500 acres in demesne: Power to create tenures and to hold a Court Baron: to enjoy all waifs and strays: To hold in fee subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.
- 1550-1. *Fiant* No. 716. WISE, Henry, Esq.:—Lease for 21 years of the lands of Ballycnockan, Ballihilan, Ballycarnan, Kilcolmanbane, Cowlkery, Kappeowly, Ballygoelle, Kilbean and Ralieve, parcels of the Lordship of Farry y Lallor (in parish of Kilcolmanbane) in Leix.



Some of the present-day county families are not mentioned in the foregoing list. The following particulars regarding them have been kindly supplied to us by them, or gathered by us from the works of Lodge, Burke, etc.

**CASSANS.**—The name Cassan is a corruption of De Cassagne, a family formerly resident at Caen, in France. At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, De Cassagne fled to Flanders. He accompanied King William to England, and was present at the battle of the Boyne as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Schomberg. The De Cassagnes intermarried with the Sheffields, one of whom—General Sir Samson Sheffield, of Seton, Rutland, was Commander of the British forces at the battle of Falkirk. His grandson, Captain Sheffield, acted as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Buckingham, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Captain Sheffield, having obtained an estate in the townland of Capoley, Queen's County, built on it Sheffield House, which has since continued to be the family residence. He had married a Miss Cassan, or de Cassagne, and thus we get the present-day patronymic of "Cassans of Sheffield." The family were large owners of property in other townlands, and have given Magistrates, Deputy Lieutenants, and High Sheriffs to the county. The present owner of the property is Miss Flora A. Cassan, who succeeded on the death of her father in 1905.

**COOTE.**—Sir Charles Coote, descended from an ancient English family,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been the first of his name who settled at Castle Cuffe in the Queen's County, during the reign of Elizabeth. At the Siege of Kinsale, he was captain over 100 Foot. By James I. he was appointed Provost-Marshal, and in 1620, Vice-President of Connaught. He was created a baronet of Ireland, April 2nd, 1621.

His surprising passage through the woods of Mountrath to relieve the Castle of Birr in 1642 was deemed so praiseworthy that it secured for his son the title of Earl of Mountrath. He married Dorothea, youngest daughter of Hugh Cuffe, Esq., of Cuffe Wood, Co. Cork. He was slain in a sally at Trim, May 7th, 1642, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Charles,<sup>2</sup> who became Lord President of Connaught, and was elevated to the Peerage of Ireland in 1661, by the title of Earl of Mountrath, when the baronetcy merged in the superior title, until the demise of Sir Charles-Henry, the seventh Earl and eighth Baronet. The second Sir Charles Coote took an active part in overturning the Protectorate. Being President of Connaught, and having a good command and interest in the Army,<sup>3</sup> he sent over Sir Arthur Forbes to Brussels, in February, 1660, with a message to the Marquess of Ormond, that he might assure his Majesty of his affection and duty, and that if his Majesty would vouchsafe to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole Kingdom would declare for him.<sup>4</sup>

On the 14th May, 1660, King Charles was proclaimed in Dublin. On the 25th a convention of officers in Dublin appointed Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and others to attend his Majesty as their commissioners, and to present him with the desires of the Irish Nation. The following year Sir Charles Coote was ennobled with his title Earl of Mountrath, and was appointed Governor of the Queen's Co. He died on the 18th December, 1661.<sup>5</sup> He was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of Francis Ruish, Esq., Ruish Hall, and by her he had an only son Charles, who, on the death of his father, became second Earl of Mountrath. The second wife was Jane, daughter to Sir Robert Hannay, of Scotland, by whom he had two sons, Richard and Chidley, and three daughters.

<sup>1</sup> See Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 62 to 81.

<sup>2</sup> He was M.P. for Leitrim in 1639; and in Jan., 1641, he successfully defended Castle Coote against Conn O'Rourke, who besieged him there at the head of 1,200 Irish.

<sup>3</sup> See Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England," vol. iii., book xvi., p. 435.

<sup>4</sup> See Carte's "Life of James, Duke of Ormond."

<sup>5</sup> A contemporary English rhymist (quoted by Prendergast) sounded his praises thus:—

"Brave Sir Charles Coote  
I honour; who in's father's steps so trod,  
As to the rebels was the scourge or rod  
Of the Almighty. He by good advice  
Did kill the nitts, that they might not grow lice."



During the life-time of their father, Charles and his step-brother, Richard, were appointed for their lives, on the 30th of July, 1660, Collector and Receiver-General of the composition money, rents and arrearages of rents, due, or thereafter to be imposed, compounded, cessed, or taxed in Connaught and Thomond. In 1661 Charles was appointed Provost-Marshal of Connaught. In 1664, he was made Custos Rotulorum of the Queen's Co. He died 30th of August, 1672, at Dublin, where he was buried in the choir of Christ Church.

Charles, the third Earl of Mountrath, married Lady Arabella Dormer, daughter to Charles, Earl of Caernarvon. On the 10th of February, 1680, he was appointed Custos Rotulorum of the Queen's Co. He was attainted in King James's Parliament in 1689, and his estate of £2,250 was sequestered. This attainder was subsequently reversed, and he was made Privy Councillor by William III. On the 10th of October, 1692, he took his seat in the House of Peers. On the 29th of July, 1696, he was sworn one of the Lords Justices for the Kingdom of Ireland, and in 1702 he was of Queen Anne's Privy Council. He died in May, 1709.

Charles, the fourth Earl of Mountrath, had sat as member for Knaresborough, Yorkshire, in the English Parliament, and on the 10th of August, 1711, he took his seat in the House of Peers. On the 9th of Oct., 1714, he was appointed Privy Councillor to King George I. He died on the 14th Sept., 1715, at Bordeaux, in France, in the 30th year of his age, and was buried on the 29th of Oct. in St. James's Church, Westminster.

His brother Henry, the fifth Earl, who succeeded, sat in the English Parliament for Knaresborough from 1714 till his death, at Bath, March 27th, 1720.

His younger brother, Algernon, the sixth Earl, married the Lady Diana Newport, youngest daughter to Richard, Earl of Bradford. He sat in the Irish House of Peers, August 29th, 1723. He was chosen M.P. in 1723 for the Borough of Castlerising, in Norfolk; and in 1741 elected for Heydon, in Yorkshire. He was of the Privy Council in Ireland, and Governor of the Queen's Co. He died in August, 1744.

The seventh Earl and eighth Baronet, Sir Charles-Henry, died without male issue, March 1st, 1802. He had obtained a new barony July 20th, 1800, with special remainder, but this likewise ceased in 1827. The ancient baronetcy reverted, however, to the great-grandson of the Rev. Chidley Coote, D.D., Sir Charles Henry Coote, born 1794, and married in 1814 to Caroline, daughter of John Whaley, Esq., of Whaley Abbey, County of Wicklow. By her he had issue his successor, Charles-Henry, John-Chidley, the Rev. Algernon, M.A., Robert, Chidley-Downs, Caroline and Melosina.

Sir Charles-Henry, son of preceding, was succeeded by his brother, Rev. Algernon, M.A., late Rector of Nonaughton, Kent, born in 1817; married, 1st, in 1847, Cecilia-Matilda, daughter of John P. Plumptre, Esq., M.P., of Fredville, and by her (who died in 1878) had issue the present baronet.

Sir Algernon Charles Plumptre, Bart., Premier Baronet of Ireland; M.A. Cantab, H.M.L., Queen's Co.; born 14th December, 1847; succeeded his father 20th November, 1899; married, 1st, 1874, Jean (died 1880), daughter of Captain John Trotter; 2nd, 1882, Ellen Melisina, daughter of Philip C. Chenevix Trench, Esq., brother of Archbishop Trench.

Arms:—Arg. a chevron, sa., between three coots, close, ppr. Crest—A coot, close, ppr. Mottoes—Vincit veritas, Coute que Coute.

DEASES.—The connection of the Deases with the Queen's County dates from the year 1838, when Rath House was purchased by William Dease. He came from West Meath, and was a member of one of the oldest resident families of that county. An old manuscript in the present possession of the head of the family states that in 1272, in Edward the First of England's reign "Edmund Dease purchased Turbotston." William Dease was the second son of James Dease, of Turbotston, and of Lady Teresa Plunkett, his wife, only daughter of Arthur James, seventh Earl of Fingall. He married Frances, only daughter and heiress of H. de Friese. In 1856 William Dease died, and he left Rath House to his nephew, Edmund Dease, the son of James Arthur Dease, of Turbotstown, and of Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and co-heiress of The O'Callaghan, of Kilgory, Co. Clare. Edmund Dease married Mary, younger daughter of Henry Grattan, of Celbridge Abbey, Co. Kildare, a granddaughter of the patriot. For many years Edmund Dease was closely connected with the Queen's County, and was its Home Rule Member of Parliament from 1870 to 1880. He was also a member of the Senate of the Royal University, and of the



National Board of Education. In every way possible to him he showed a practical sympathy in what concerned the welfare of this country. He died in 1904. Rath House continues to be the residence of the family.

The DELANYS (or O'Dulanys) rank amongst the oldest of Queen's County families. Dr. Carrigan describes them as the chiefs of the tribe of *Ui-Foircheallain* (Offerlane, or Offerclane). "At present," he says, "there are about eighty families of the Delanys in their old tribe-land. Among the most remarkable members of the sept are:—Felix O'Dulany, Cistercian Bishop of Ossory, who died in 1202; Malachy Dulany, also Bishop of Ossory, who died in 1731; and Daniel Delany, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who died in 1814."<sup>6</sup> An important branch of the family is at present represented by William Delany, Esq., M.P. for the county; and another by his namesake, William Delany, Esq., J.P., L.C.S., and P.I., Skehena. This latter branch is closely connected with the equally ancient Butler and Byrne families, as the following particulars, duly established, go to show:—"William Delany, Esq., Skehena, is the son of James Delany, late of Skehena, by his wife, Joanna daughter and co-heir of William Brenan, of Skehena aforesaid; by his wife, Bridget, daughter of William Keating, of Ballyharmon, in the Queen's Co.; by his wife, Mary, daughter of James Butler, of Tullow, in the County of Carlow (descended from Piers Butler, of Kayer, Co. Wexford, second son of the Right Honourable Sir Richard Butler, First Lord Viscount Mount-garret); by his wife, Alice, daughter and co-heir of Christopher Byrne, of Kilmagar, in the Co. Kilkenny, son of Sir Gregory Byrne, of Timogue, Queen's Co., Baronet; by his second wife, Alice, daughter and eventually heir of the Right Honourable Randal Fleming, sixteenth Lord Baron of Slane": as appears by the Pedigrees of the several families duly proved and registered in the Office of the Ulster King of Arms.

DE VESCI.—The noble family of De Vesci, located for many years past in the vicinity of Abbeylaxey, claims an ancient and historic lineage.<sup>7</sup> Among their ancestors are Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon, and John, Earl of Camoys and Baron of Tonsburgh in Normandy. The latter was General over the French's King's forces, and Governor of his chief towns. He was hence called de Burge or de Burgo—as the word *burgus* in Latin denotes a town or fort. He was the ancestor of the two noble families of Clanrickard and De Vescy, in Ireland. He left two sons, Harlowen and Eustace. The latter became Baron of Tonsburgh, and was ancestor to de Vescy.

He had two sons: one named Serlo, or Charles, and the other John. Both accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and when England had been reduced by force of arms, Serlo built the Castle of Knaresborough, in Yorkshire. He was succeeded by his brother John, who married Magdalen, aunt to King Stephen.

The eldest son to John Eustace Fitz-John was slain in 1157, during the expedition of King Henry II. into Wales. He was at first married to Beatrix, the daughter and heir to Ivo, Lord de Vesci, who assisted the Norman Duke in his conquest of England, and whose father, John Baron Vescy, fell in the Battle of Hastings. By her, Eustace Fitz-John had two sons, William, the eldest, and Geffry.

The eldest, William, assumed the name and arms of his mother's family, de Vescy. He married Burga, daughter to Robert Stutevill, Lord of Knaresborough. They had two sons, Eustace and Guarin.

The elder, Eustace, attended King John into Normandy. Thence he was sent to negotiate a treaty with William II., of Scotland. The fidelity of Eustace was suspected, his lands seized by the King, and his castle at Alnwick ordered to be demolished. Owing to the intercession of Pandulphus, the Pope's Legate, he was again restored to his estate. While in Scotland, he married Margaret, daughter of King William, and by her he had a son named William. As he was passing by Barnard Castle, which he proposed to take, he was shot through the head by an arrow. His son William, being then a minor, King Henry III. granted his wardship and marriage to William Longue-Espee, Earl of Salisbury. After he came of age, he had a livery of some part of his father's estate. He married first, Isabel, daughter to his guardian, the Earl of Salisbury, and, secondly, Agnes, daughter to William, Earl of Derby, and in her right had assigned to him a share of those lands in Ireland, which belonged to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. He died in 1253.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I. of "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See John Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. vi., pp. 29 to 37. Archdall's edition.



The third son of William, Lord Vesey, settled at Newland, in Cumberland, and there the family continued, until his descendant, William Vesey, having had the misfortune to kill a man in a duel, fled to Scotland. There he married, after which he settled in the North of Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had an only son, Thomas Vesey, who, in 1629, was collated to the rectories of Ballineskully and Maghera, in the Co. Derry, and in 1634, became rector of Camus super Morne, in that County.

He had a son, John, born at Coleraine, March 10th, 1637, who, having attained the degree of D.D., received various preferments until he was advanced to the united sees of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, January 11th, 1672. He was afterwards translated to the Archbishopric of Tuam, March 18th, 1678. In the reign of James II. he fled from Ireland, and lived in London until the Revolution restored him to his former See in 1716.

His eldest son, Thomas, was educated at Oxford, and married Mary, heiress to Denny Muschamp, Esq., Muster Master-General of Ireland. Through her, he inherited a very considerable estate. He was created a Baronet, and soon after being ordained was promoted to be Bishop of Killaloe, and on April 8th, 1714, was translated to the See of Ossory.

He left an only son, Sir John-Denny Vesey, who, on May 15th, 1732, married Elizabeth, daughter to William Brownlow, Esq., M.P. for Armagh Co. During the Rebellion in Scotland in 1746, he was appointed Governor and Custos Rotulorum of the Queen's Co. He was advanced to the Peerage of Ireland in March, 1749, by the title Baron of Knapton.

The first Baron Knapton died in 1761, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Thomas Vesey. On the 22nd of October, 1761, he entered Parliament. On the 24th of April, 1769, he married Selina, daughter of Sir Arthur Brook, Bart., of Colebrook, in the Co. Fermanagh. In 1776, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount de Vesci, of Abbeyleix, in the Queen's Co.

He died on the 13th of October, 1804, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was born on the 15th of February, 1771, and married on the 25th of August, 1800, Francis-Letitia, daughter to the Rt. Hon. William Brownlow, of Lurgan. His Lordship died October 19th, 1855, and was succeeded by his elder son Thomas, the third Viscount, who was born on the 21st of September, 1803, and on the 13th of September, 1839, married Lady Emma Herbert, daughter to the Earl of Pembroke. His Lordship was Representative Peer for Ireland in the British House of Lords. He died December 23rd, 1875, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John-Robert-William, who became Baron in the United Kingdom, November 8th, 1884.

*Arms*—Topaz, on a cross, diamond, a patriarchal cross, of the field. *Crest*—On a wreath, a hand in armour, holding a laurel branch, both proper. *Supporters*—Two fingers of Hercules, with clubs over their shoulders, proper, crined, and habited about the middle, topaz. *Motto*—"Sub hoc Signo vinces."

#### O'DOYNES, or DUNNES, of BRITTAS.

"Over Ui Riagain of heavy routs  
A vigorous tribe who conquer in battle  
Is O'Duinn, chief of demolition,  
Hero of the golden battle spears." —(*O'Huidhrin*).

The family of Dunne of Brittas is of extreme antiquity. From time immemorial the sept has been settled in Hy Regan (now the Barony of Tinnahinch), and the tribal lands still remain in the possession of the family, curtailed, indeed, by forfeitures and confiscations, commencing with James I.'s scheme for the "plantation of the King's and Queen's Counties."

One of the septs of Offaly descended from Ros Failghe, son of Cathoir Mor, King of Ireland, their early history is hid in the mists of the past; but State and other Papers show them to have been a powerful tribe whose raids and forays caused anxiety to the Marchers of the English Pale, which they frequently harried with fire and sword, returning to their fastnesses laden with spoil. Clyn's "Annals" relate that, in 1329, on the Vigil of St. Mary Magdalene, the O'Dempseys and O'Duinns made an incursion into the territory of Melaghlin O'Connor, when 200 of the former and 60 of the latter were killed.

Their territory, though isolated, covered with thick forest, and bounded on the South, like a wall, by the Slieve Bloom mountains, was early an object of desire to the Norman invaders. In an Inquisition held at Tully, the 27th July, 1282, the jurors found that one John Fitzthomas held of Maurice FitzGerald "one Theodum of land called Oregan in Ophaly." It is doubtful if Fitzthomas' possession were more than merely nominal.



The O'Doynes intermarried with the O'Neills, O'Molloys, O'Carrolls, Geraldines, and Le Poers; and the connections thus gained frequently proved of use in troubled times.

In 1379, David O'Doyne, Chief of his name, was treacherously killed by his kinsmen. He was succeeded by Rory, who, dying in 1427, was followed by Lenagh O'Doyne. About this time the Castle of Castlebrack, or Toghesuier, was built as the abode of the Tanist; Tinnahinch Castle continuing to be the residence of the Chief.

From this onwards the pedigree is complete:—Teige Mac Lenagh, Teige Og, Teige Reogh, and Teige Og Fuscus, succeeded each other as "Chief and Captain of his Nation," down to Teige Logha, son of Teige Og Fuscus, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, when the system of Tanistry was swept away, and the plan of Surrender and Regrant introduced. Teige Logha, on Jan. 10th, 1609, surrendered his territory to the King, and in March following obtained a regrant of a portion considerably less than all lands held by his ancestors.

This grant is interesting as showing the rents and customs to which the Chief was entitled out of the lands in the occupation of the heads of minor O'Doyne families, who were called "Canfynny." The total rents and customs were:—Money, 47s., Beeves, 36; Cronachs of Oats, 432; Cakes of Bread, 268; Dishes of Butter, 89; Basins of Malt, 76; Basins of Wheat, 12; Quarters of Beef, 4; Horse-boys' Diet, 68s. The Chief was further entitled, on the death of each Canfynny, to a Heriot; and certain townlands had to render Hook-days and Plough-days. There was also a grant of Court Leet and Court Baron, with rights of Markets and Fairs. The lands granted seem to have been over 15,000 statute acres.

The passing of Letters Patent for this grant to Teige Logha occasioned litigation between him and his brother, Charles Dunn, which resulted in the exclusion of Teige's children from the property. In 1640, 3 years after Teige's death, his nephew, Barnaby Og, obtained from Charles I. an estate in common soccage, "subject to the conditions of the plantation": one being "that he should not assume or take the style or title of O'Doyne." This estate comprised a number of the townlands granted to Teige Logha, many of which are still possessed by the family.

Thus the direct line, as regards ownership of the estate, came to an end. The inheritance was continued through Barnaby Og, the son of Brian of Meelick, and Brittas, third brother of Teige Logha. In 1641 Barnaby Og was obliged to leave Brittas and take refuge with his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Pigott in Dysart Enos Castle, which was soon after besieged and taken, Barnaby barely escaping with his life.

The *Aphorismical Discovery* says:—"The Duynes raised in arms," took by stratagem and burned Castle Cuffe (otherwise Ballenasagarte), the fine house which Sir Charles Coote had built on land of the O'Dunnes, granted to him. The O'Dunnes, indeed, took a prominent part in the Catholic Confederation, particularly Daniel Dunne, of Tinnahinch, on whose head £400 was set.

Under the Commonwealth there were fresh forfeitures, as the Book of Surveys and Distribution proves. Barnaby Og was permitted to retain part of his estate, but the property of the other branches was confiscated.

When Barnaby ended his troubled life in 1661, his son Charles found that, owing to the part he had taken in the rebellion of 1641, the estates had been granted on a 30 years' lease to Sir W. Flower and Thomas Pigott. Dying in 1680, he was succeeded by his son Terence, a Captain in Moore's Infantry, who, after escaping capture at Ballymore, where ten of his fellow officers were taken prisoners by Ginkell, met his fate on the fatal field of Aughrim.

Many of the name suffered for the Jacobite cause. They were deprived of their property, and hunted from the land of their birth; helping to swell the numbers of the "Wild Geese," seeking fame and fortune in far-off lands. With the success of William III., the Dunn estate was again forfeited; but Margaret, the widow of Terence, putting in a claim before the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates on behalf of herself and her four sons, had the good fortune to secure its restoration. On the death of Daniel, the eldest of the four, his youngest brother Edward succeeded. He married a daughter of Francis Wyse, of Waterford, and died in 1765, leaving, with other issue, a son Francis his successor. He married his cousin Margaret, third daughter and co-heiress of Nicholas Plunkett, of Dunsoghly Castle, Co. Dublin (by his wife, Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Daniel Dunne). To this Plunkett estate Edward ultimately succeeded, and died in 1771.



His eldest son and heir, Edward, who married Frances, daughter of Simon White, of Bantry, was a General in the Army, Deputy Governor and High Sheriff of the Queen's Co., M.P. for Maryborough, saw service abroad, and had a narrow escape of being killed in Dublin when Lord Kilwarden's coach was attacked. He died in 1844, when his eldest son, Francis Plunkett, succeeded. He was a Major General, P.C., High Sheriff, M.P. for Portarlington and Queen's Co., and took a prominent part in Irish political and social life.<sup>8</sup> Dying unmarried, his estates passed to his brother, Edward Meadows, who married a daughter of Langford Rowley Heyland, of Glendaragh, Co. Antrim. He died in 1875, when his son, Francis Plunkett, next inherited, who married his cousin, a daughter of the Rev. Robert Hedges Dunne, and, dying in 1878, left two daughters, now of Brittas. The present male representative of the family is Charles H. P. Dunne, Esq., of Killart, first cousin of the late Francis Dunne.

(Summarised from particulars kindly sent us by Mr. Upton).

**PORTARLINGTON, Lord.**—The first of Lord Portarlington's family who settled in Ireland was William Dawson, who became Collector of the Revenue for Down and Antrim, and the port of Carrickfergus, in the reign of Charles II. His son, Ephraim, purchased Portarlington and other estates in the Queen's Co. He fixed his family residence near Portarlington, in a beautiful house and demesne called Dawson's Court, now known as Emo Park. Upon the accession of George I., he was elected M.P. for the Queen's Co. He married Anne, daughter and heiress to Samuel Preston, Esq., of Ardsallagh, in the County of Meath. They had two sons—Samuel, who died unmarried, and William Henry, who succeeded his father, and was M.P. for Portarlington at his father's death in 1746. On the 8th Sept., 1737, he married Mary, daughter to Joseph Damer, Esq., of Came, in Dorsetshire. They had five sons and three daughters.

By privy seal dated at St. James's, and by patent at Dublin, William Henry was advanced to the Peerage of Ireland in 1770, by the title of Lord Dawson, of Dawson Court, in the Queen's Co. In 1776 he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Carlow. He died on the 22nd of August, 1779; aged 67.

He was succeeded by John, his son, who was M.P. for Portarlington, and afterwards for the Queen's Co. He married, on the 1st of Jan., 1778, Lady Caroline Stuart, fifth daughter of John, Earl of Bute. He took his seat in Parliament, as Viscount Carlow, August 12th, 1779. On the death of his father, he was appointed Governor of the Queen's Co. By privy seal, dated at St. James's, May 4th, 1785, he was created the first Earl of Portarlington.

John, the second Earl of Portarlington, born February, 1781, became a Colonel in the Army, and died unmarried, December 28th, 1845. Owing to his gambling propensities and extravagances, the family estates became heavily encumbered; and some years after his death, the Tipperary estates were sold in the Irish Land Court to satisfy the mortgages.

He was succeeded by his nephew, Henry-John-Reuben, born September 5th, 1822. He assumed, by sign manual, the additional surname of Damer, March 14th, 1829. He married Eliza, daughter of Edmund-Joshua Moriarty, Esq., Captain in the Royal Navy. Their son, Henry-John-Reuben, K.P., married Lady Vane, daughter to Charles-William, third Marquess of Londonderry, K.G. She died on the 15th of January, 1874, and was buried in the new Roman Catholic Church of Emo. His lordship became a Representative Peer for Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, and died on the 1st of March, 1889, leaving no issue.

His first cousin succeeded him in the title as Lionel-Seymour-William, fourth Earl of Portarlington, and D.L. He was born April 7th, 1832. He was M.P. for the Borough of Portarlington from 1857 to 1865; and again from 1868 to 1880. He was Captain in the Scots Fusilier Guards. On the 19th of April, 1855, he married the Hon. Harriet-Lydia Montague, second daughter of General Lord

<sup>8</sup> On May 25th, 1853, Colonel Dunne challenged the proposals of Mr. Gladstone's Budget in respect to Ireland. Ten years later, on June 12th, 1863, he again raised an instructive debate on the taxation of Ireland since Mr. Gladstone's legislation. Returning to the attack on February 26th, 1864, he moved for a "Select Committee to consider the Taxation of Ireland, and how far it is in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Union, or just in reference to the resources of the country." Mr. Gladstone met the motion with an uncompromising speech, but did not oppose the appointment of the Committee.



Rokeby, G.C.B. He died December 17th, 1892, leaving issue:—(1) Lionel-George-Henry-Seymour-Dawson-Damer, born 19th August, 1858, the fifth in succession to the title. Also (2) Mary-Frances-Seymour, born July 26th, 1860; and (3) Montagu-Francis-Beauchamp-Seymour, born October 1st, 1864. The fifth Earl married Emma-Andulasia-Frere, only daughter of Lord Nigel Kennedy, October 25th, 1881. They had issue:—(1) Lionel-Arthur-Henry-Seymour, Viscount Carlow, born August 28th, 1883, the present Peer; (2) Aline-Mary-Seymour, born October 18th, 1884; (3) Christian-Norah, born August 7th, 1890; (4) George-Seymour, born July 30th, 1892. The arms of the Earl of Portarlington are:—Quarterly, 1st and 4th Damer: barry nebuly of six ar and gu. over all a bend engr. az.; 2nd and 3rd, Dawson: az. a chevron erm. between three arrows paleways points downwards arg.; on a chief of the last three martlets sa.; a canton gu., charged with a mullet gold. *Crests*—1st Damer: out of a mural crown or a talbot's head az. eared gold; 2nd Dawson: a cat's head, full faced, erased near the shoulders, of a tabby colour, holding in the mouth a rat sa. *Supporters*—Two heraldic tigers, ppr. *Motto*—*Vitæ via virtus.* See "A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage," etc., by Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King-of-Arms. 1894. Pp. 1135, 1136.

TRENCH.—The family tradition points to France as the mother country of the Irish Trenches, and to La Rochelle as the cradle of their race.

Frederick De la Tranchée, a French Huguenot, settled in Northumberland, England, in 1575, during the Huguenot troubles in France. Frederick died in 1580. His second son, Rev. James Trench, came to Ireland in 1616, and was Parish Rector of Clonegall, Co. Meath, where he died in 1631. He was the founder of the Trench family in Ireland. His two grandsons, Frederick and the Rev. John, were the ancestors of the Clancarty and Ashtown Trenches. Frederick was the ancestor of the Earl of Clancarty, and his brother, Rev. John Trench, Dean of Raphoe (who wife was Anne, daughter of Rd. Warburton, of Garryhinch), was the ancestor of Lord Ashtown. The Rev. Dean was at the battle of Aughrim, and was credited with the death of St. Ruth. He was guiding Ginkell's forces through the pass by the Castle of Aughrim when he saw some gunners firing their cannon over the heads of the enemy. He expostulated with them, but was told that they had driven all the wedges they had under the breach of the gun, and could not lower it any more. He immediately whipped out his knife, cut off the high heel of his boot, and crammed it under the breech of the gun. The next shot killed St. Ruth, and "the heel of the Dean of Raphoe's boot" became a favourite toast among the Orangemen.

The Trenches of Heywood, Ballinakill, are descended from the above Frederick. His second son, William (1682-1729), and grand-uncle of the first Earl of Clancarty, settled at Redcastle, near Maryborough, and William's grandson, Michael (1746-1836), settled in Heywood, Ballinakill. Michael's son, Sir Frederick William Trench, K.C., was a Major-General in the Army, and aide-de-camp to George IV. He died unmarried in 1859.

Right Rev. Dr. Chenevix Trench, late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, belonged to the Ashtown branch.

A grandson of the Dean of Raphoe was Rev. Thomas Trench, Rector of Coolbanagher, and Dean of Kildare (1761-1834). His wife was Mary, daughter of Walter Weldon, M.P., Rahinderry, Queen's Co. His eldest son, Henry (1806-1888), settled in Glenmalire, and married Elizabeth, daughter of C. L. Sandes, Esq., Indiaville, Portarlington. He was Deputy Lieutenant for Queen's Co., and High Sheriff in 1866. His eldest son, Capt. Thomas Sandes Trench, D.L., is the present owner of Glenmalire. Other children were Frederick Percival (1849-1895), Captain in the Royal Navy; and Lieut.-Col. Henry Walter, who married Ada B., daughter of R. Warburton, D.L., Garryhinch.

WALSH, of Ballykilcavan.—Ballykilcavan and the adjoining townlands were formerly part of the O'Lalor territory. They were granted in 1576, by *Fiant*, to Robert Hartpole, of Shrute.

In 1636 and 1640 the then owner, Robert Hartpole, conveyed them to Oliver Walsh, a member of the family of Walsh, of the Walsh Mountains in Co. Kilkenny, for the sum of £2,300, and they have been possessed by his descendants ever since.

The present house was built by Oliver Walsh, son of the before-mentioned Oliver, who inherited from his father in 1658, and lived until 1697.

The house was added to immediately previous to the rebellion of 1798 by Very Reverend Raphael Walsh, Dean of Dromore.



He died without issue in 1808, and was succeeded by his sister's son, Sir John Allen Johnson, of Springmount, Mountrath, who took the additional name of Walsh.

He was sometime M.P. for Baltinglass, and was created a Baronet of Ireland in 1775.

Another member of the family, General Hunt Walsh, who had served with distinction at the Siege of Quebec, was M.P. for Maryborough in 1770.

(Supplied by Sir Hunt Walsh, of Ballykilcavan).

WELDON (from the Weldon Manuscript).—Towards the close of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century, four sons of one Thomas Weldon (said to be in Staffordshire members of an armigerous family of that name) made their appearance in Ireland, and became possessed, by purchase, of considerable properties in the King's, Queen's, Kildare, and Carlow Counties. Three of these brothers, viz., Walter, Robert, and Thomas, settled in the Co. Kildare, the two former in the neighbourhood of Athy, and the third at Rosebery, in the parish of Morristown-biller, in the barony of Connell. Walter, the eldest, resided at St. John's Bower, Athy, and was the ancestor of the present family of Weldon, of Ballinderry and Killmorony. Robert lived at Pullagorey, now Geraldine, and became the purchaser of the manor of Ballinderry, Ballylinan, etc., from the heirs of Sir Richard Graham, Bart., a soldier of fortune, who had obtained a grant of these lands from Queen Elizabeth.

The interests and connection between Athy and the family of Weldon, begun three centuries ago, have been maintained almost continuously to the present day. That ancient borough has been represented in the Irish Parliament at various times by three different members of the family, whilst on the Burgess Rolls of the Corporation the name of Weldon appears with frequency as far down as the year 1801, when the Rev. Antony Weldon, then Rector of the Parish of Athy, died during his year of office as sovereign of the Borough Corporation.

The family burying place is at St. John's, and in the churchyard there are interred nearly all the members of the family who have died since 1634.

Walter Weldon, of St. John's Bower, Athy, married Jane, younger daughter of the Right Rev. John Ryder, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe, and had a large family of sons and daughters. In 1613 he was returned M.P. for the Borough of Athy, with Sir Robert Digby for his colleague. We gather from the family records that the wages of M.P.'s in the Irish Parliament of that time were as follow:—

Knights of the shire, . . .	13s. 6d. Irish	} Every day during the sitting of Parliament, and for 10 days before and after sittings.
Member for a city, . . .	10s. 0d. „	
Member for a borough, . . .	6s. 8d. „	

Walter Weldon was High Sheriff for the Co. Kildare 1624-25. He appears to have been settled at Athy for some time previous to 1614. In 1622 he became possessed of the Manors of Woodstock, and Athy, under a lease from Sir Robert Digby (Patent Rolls of Ireland, 19 James I., page 519). A clause in this lease bound him to build a "strong and defensible wall about the town of Athy, which shall be the same compass as the trench, with gates, suitable turrets, which wall shall be a good work for the civilization and strengthening of those parts, and a great augmentation of the Earl of Kildare's revenue. In 1627 he obtained, by lease from Walter and Richard Graham, 724 acres of land in the townlands of Moneyquid and Mountmellick, the park of Coolnepishey, Cappaghbeg and Cappanerin, in the territory of Iregan, barony of Tinnahinch, Queen's Co. He had also lands in Gurtin, Behagh, Roscomroe, and Clashroe, in King's Co.

In 1637 Robert Weldon acquired, by lease for 1,000 years from Thomas Graham (son and heir of Richard Graham), the lands of Kilbrooney, Ballycorman, Graham's moat, Doleboy, Shangannaghbeg, Graig, Kilfeacle, Rathaspic, and Monoboley. About these lands the Grahams and Weldons were engaged in a lawsuit for half a century. It terminated ultimately in favour of the Weldons.

In 1779 Stewart Weldon was a Captain of Volunteers. In the years 1780-80 he built Killmoroney. In the latter year he acquired Grangemellon, and in an autograph letter states that he expended more than £10,000 on the two places. In the same letter he states that, on the breaking out of the French Revolution in 1793, there were great disturbances in the Queen's Co., chiefly caused by the colliers.



## APPENDIX III.

An alphabetical list of those to whom grants of land in the Queen's County were made by Patent in the reign of Charles II.

Extracted from the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery (published in 1828) by Martin J. Blake, Esq., B.L.

1669. **ALMERY**, George.—**BARONY OF SLEWMARGY**: Curragh, 156a. 3r. profitable, 28a. 3r. 8p. unprofitable; Harristown, 103a. 3r. 24p. profitable, 17a. 2r. unprofitable; Cloonemore, 48a. 1r. profitable, 34a. 1r. unprofitable; Garrough, 75a. profitable, 24a. 2r. unprofitable: In old Dorockes, the south-easterly part, 101a. 1r. 11p. profitable, 25a. 2r. 24p. unprofitable: In Ballykillagh *als* Ballykillenagh, 8a. 2r.; Lagh *als* Leagh, 177a. 2r. profitable, 48a. unprofitable; Sleay, 415a. 1r. 32p.
1666. **ANGLESEY**, Arthur (Annesley), Earl of.—**BARONY OF BALLYADAMS**: Tankardstown, 565a. profitable, 23a. unprofitable; Ballylehan, 436a.; Skaehanagh or Shehanagh, 284a.; Clonipiers, 545a.; Coolegarragh, 80a. profitable, 6a. unprofitable. **BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: Coolebally, 260a.; Ballyholy or Garriduffe, 9a.
1669. **BARKEHARN**, Sir Edward, Baronet.—**BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH**: Scotch Rath (part of), 156a. 2r. 37p.; Buoly, 509a. 3r. 30p. profitable, 41a. 1r. 20p. unprofitable.
1669. **BARNARDESTON**, Thomas.—**BARONY OF CULLENAGH**: In Ballyroane, 138a. 3r. 22p.
1668. **CARR**, Thomas.—**BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH**: Killcolmanbane, 222a. 2r. 32p.
1667. **CHEEKE**, Samuel, and his wife, Catharine; **BUSH**, John, and his wife Mary; **PUNCHARD**, Richard, and his wife, Margery: In right of said Catharine, Mary, and Margery, as sisters and co-heirs of Lieut. Col. **JOHN GRAY**.—**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: In Cappanahorney and Derryarroe out of ye north-west part, 184a. 2r. 27p.; Cooleroan, 152a.
1668. **CHEYNEY**, Charles.—**BARONY OF SLEWMARGE**: In ye N.E. of Killishin, 411a. 2r. 20p.
1667. **CONNOR**, Bartholomew.—**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: Rossneclony and Monaghbeg, 184a. 2r. 27p.
1666. **CUFFE**, James.—**BARONY OF OSSORY**: Ballygawdanmore and part of Bogherard, 308a.; Ballighin, Cronill, Gawranboly, Cloghquilemore, Cloghquilebeg, Ballyoginan, Knockanbane, to hold these for the remainder of a lease of 99 years, commencing 1st May, 1661.
1667. **DARCY**, Nicholas.—**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: In Rossaderdagh *als* Rosse-dreagh, 324a. 2r. 27p.
1669. **DONGAN**, William, Lord Viscount.—**BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH**: Rathne-managh, Knockanegrough, Cooletorin, Ballyteigin, Knockanederry, and a tenement with a garden plot and small croft in Maryborough.
1682. **DUGGAN**, Denis, of Archerstown, Queen's Co.—**BARONIES OF MARYBOROUGH AND CULLENAGH**: Ballygormille *als* Ballygormoyle, 130a.
1667. **DUKE**, Charles.—**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: Lavally, 195a. 3r. 30p.; Part of Killbrickan, Cull *alias* Coole, and Camploane, 135a. 1r. 17p.
1665. **EVARES**, Thomas, Captain.—**BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY**: Derrin (part) and Carrowreagh, 236a. profitable, 60a. unprofitable; Newtowne and Rahin-brannagh, 242a.; Gortnecloghy *als* Gortneclogh, Shanballyowen, Loughn-gower and Gortnegrow, 487a.; Caher, 254a.; Borard (part), 70a.



1666. FENWICK, Ralph; ORMESBY, Arthur; ORMESBY, George.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Ballinkealy and Ballyduffe, 641a.; Agharny, 230a.: In ye north part of Killennybeg, Killennymore, and Knockangrally, 74a. 1r. 27p.

1681. FOGG, Margaret, relict of Henry Fogg; FOGG, John, their son.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In Ballymony and part of Dunoge, 102a.

1669. FRENCH, John.—BARONY OF CULLENAGH: In Ballyroane, 23a. or. 18p. In Ballinlogh, 77a. 1r.

1666. GALE, Anthony.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGY: In Crockenteagle, 415a.

1667. GARRETT, Captain John.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Canonswood and AghamcArt, 190a.; Gortnestrange and Acronbadock, 41a.; Raplagh, 121a.; Carrick and Confin *alias* Knockfin, 179a. 3r. 2p. profitable, 25a. unprofitable; Ballidavin, 162a. 3r. 20p.; out of Grace's Castle, 6a. 3r. 30p.; out of Gragarane and Ballinfrass, 316a. 2r. 35p.; part of AghamcArt, 8a. 1r.

NOTE.—In 1668 he sold all these lands to GILBERT RAWSON for £500.

1668. HAMILTON, Sir Hans, Knt., and Baronet.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGIE: Farnane, 457a.: In Burnishlatty and Dunane, 81a.

1667. HELSHAM, Arthur, Captain.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Ballymullen, 312a.; Clanmore, 154a.; Garryduffe, 232a.; GarraimcConly, with the Castle and other buildings, 262a. 3r.

1669. HEWETT, Nathaniel.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGY: In the N.E. part of Killeshin, next succeeding the lot of Charles Cheney, Esq., 11a. or. 16p.

1667. IVORY, William.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Coolefine, 121a.; Kilbredemore and Shahenegan (part of), 83a.

1669. JONES, Richard.—Killeshin parish: the impropriate tithes for ever.

1669. JONES, Roger.—BARONY OF TINNEHINCH: Kilkevan, and Killnacregare and Ballynemonin, parcels of Kilkevan, 300a.

1669. KINGSTON, John (Kinge), Lord.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Kilcoran, 224a. 3r.; Coolekerry, 240a.; Rathpiper, 113a.; in Gregnossey, 101a.

1667. LAPSLEY, Thomas.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In the south part of Greganossee, 36a. 2r. 11p.; Minog, 162a.; Shraghnarrow, 100a.

1668. LEGGAT, William; BROWNE, Richard; MILLER, William.—BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: In Tinnekill, 161a. or. 8p. profitable, 8a. unprofitable. In Cullaghy, 14a. 2r. 16p. profitable, 5a. unprofitable.

1667. LEVELIS, Francis.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Mungamore and the N.E. part of Derrelaughan, 262a. 2r. 27p.; Cambros and Magherbegg, 234a.; Ballinrallywood (part) called Cloncanraught, or Clonconrath, 266a. 2r. 26p.; Knockanegett, 114a.

NOTE.—He sold the lands of Ballinrallywood to Gilbert Rawson, of Dublin, the same year.

1668. LONG, Thomas, Esq.—BARONY OF CULLENAGH: Lisboyne *als* Lisbegney, 238a. profitable, 20a. unprofitable.

1669. LOYD, Sir Charles, Baronet.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGY: In the N.E. part of Killeshin next succeeding the lots of Charles Cheney and Nathaniel Hewett, 259a. profitable, 50a. unprofitable.

1669. MANLY, James and John, minors.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Part of Castle Fleming, Knockaca, and Derrymorris: and another part of Castle Fleming, Brokery and Cooleatrin *als* Boolykenedy, 138a.



1667. MARKES, Nathaniel.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGIE: In Clonagh and Cullmagagh, 104a.
- BARONY OF TINEHINCHY: Coolagher, 220a.; In ye south-west part of Garryhider and Lisneroode, 208a. 2r. 27p.; Ballynahorne and Curraghtubber, 120a.: In ye north-east part of Garryhider and Lisneroode, 133a. 1r. 13p.
1668. BARONY OF TINEHINCH: In Derrinagh and Garrone, 189a. profitable, 35a. 1r. 24p. unprofitable; Clonheene, 372a.; Gurteen, 100a.: In Upper Coolemonine, 19a. 1r. 31p.; Clarehill, Ballintean, Culusane, and Bayle or Boyle, 517a.; Upper Ballykneene, 121a. 2r. 16p. profitable, 511a. 2r. 32p. unprofitable; Lower Ballykneene, 125a. or. 16p. profitable, 11a. 1r. 24p. unprofitable.
1666. MAY, Abraham.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Rathneleagh and Killclinagh out of the west part thereof, 118a. 3r. 32p.; Garran McConly (part of), 42a. 1r. 14p.; Lissballyteigue, Garrureagh, and Skirkehill, 159a.; Skirke (part), and Rathintubrid, 232a.
1670. MERRICK, John.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGY: In N.E. part of Killeshin next to lot of Charles Cheney, Esq., 333a. or. 33p., profitable, 100a. unprofitable.
1669. NEARNE, John.—Ballyroan Parish, the impropriate tithes of, for ever.
1667. NEWNAM, Thomas, Captain, and Elizabeth, his wife, relict of Major Thomas Rawlins, and RAWLINS, Thomas, son and heir of said Major Rawlins.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Shrlea, 238a.; Graige and Garrane, 5a.; Graige-Gard, 153a. or. 20p.; Monanelly, 64a.
1667. NOELLE, Sir Martin, Knight; and SHEFFIELD, Joseph.—BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: In Cappaghcnaghcloghy, 444a. or. 34p. profitable, 150a. or. 32p. unprofitable; Coultly (part), 19a.; Middle Clonruske *alias* Cosby Clonruske, 22a. 3r. 24p. These to Noelle. Part of Cappaghcnaghcloghy, 330a. 3r. 6p. profitable, 116a. unprofitable; Capowly *als* Capaully, 175a. 2r. 30p.: In Scotch Rath, 90a. 2r. 38p.
1667. PAULE, Thomas.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In Rosnadough, the S.E. part with the dwellinghouse, 60a. profitable, 57 unprofitable.
1667. PENNYFATHER, Captain John.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Walter-Castle and Kill-Grace, with their members, 448a.; in Knockinure and Colony, with the mill seate, 38a. 3r. 32p.; Rahinlosky and Turcurragh, 133a.; Graces Wood (part), 30a.; Moyne and Owherquill, 85a.; part of Rathkillkeady and Cooleballydonoghoe, 75a.; Graces Wood (part), 23a.; Cooleballydonoghoe (part), 47a. 3r. 29p.
1668. PIGOTT, Alexander.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Magherenescagh, 124a. 1r. 20p.
1667. PINSENT, William.—BARONY OF BALLYADAMS: Miltotowne *als* Milltowne, 286a.
1668. PRATT, Richard, Ensign.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Killballytallon (part), Killbegg (part), and Coolenebeagh (part), 85a. 1r. 14p.
1666. PRESTON, John, Alderman of Dublin.—BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: Cromoge, 624a. 2r. 14p. profitable, 362a. 1r. 16p. unprofitable; Cappalakeany, 796a. 2r. 14p. profitable, 197a. unprofitable; Deseart-Beagh, 523a. profitable, 123a. 3r. 24p. unprofitable; Tenekilly or Tinnekilly, 71a. 2r. 3p. profitable; Roskiltan, 472a. 1r. profitable, 48a. 3r. unprofitable.
- BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: In Imoe, 192a. profitable, 128a. 1r. 18p. unprofitable; Ballicullane, 143a. 3r. 24p. profitable, 160a. 3r. 24p. unprofitable; Ballinrudderie, 112a. 3r. 8p. profitable, 32a. 2r. 4p. unprofitable; Larragh, 62a. profitable, 26a. 3r. 8p. unprofitable; in Dingins, 19a. 1r. 24p.
1669. BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: In Cromoge, 34a. 2r. 2p.; in Disertbeagh, 66a. 1r. 31p.; in Roscesteane or Roscellteane, 10a.; in Tinekill and Clondaglass parcel thereof, 25a.





BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: In Imoe, 470a. 1r. 9p.; in Imoe, 162a. 1r. 4p.  
 BARONY OF SLEWMARGY.—Ballyhyde, 148a. or. 16p.

BARONY OF TENEHINCH: In Castlebrack and Grange, 474a. profitable, 147a. unprofitable.

1667. PRIOR, Thomas, Captain.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In Ballybugge and Creallagh, 222a. 3r. 35p. profitable, 80a. unprofitable; in Killcoran, 24a. or. 18p.; in the N.W. part of Harristown with ye Mill, 3a.

1669. RAM, Andrew.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In Clooneve *als* Cloneeke *als* Clooneefe, 120a.

1668. REDMAN, Daniel.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In Coolohill, Ballyneven and Rahinleagh, 1651a. 1r. 3p.; Lismore, 69a.; Ballinsaggard (part), 231a.

1667. REED, James, and BUTTERFIELD, Patrick.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: In S.W. part of Longford with the dwellinghouse, 53a. 1r. 14p. profitable, 81a. unprofitable.

1668. RICHARDS, Captain Thomas.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Ardamallogh and Ballygauge, 191a.: In the commons belonging to the same, 66a. 1r. 13p.; Ballymylodbeg and Ballymylodge, part of Ballygarvine, 122a.; Tentor, Eglish, Nicola, Rinamore, Strangary and Eumla, 396a.: In Boherard, 151a.

1669. ROE, John.—BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: Part of Dingius, 47a. 3r. 4p.; Tene-killy 496a. 1r. profitable, 13a. or. 14p. unprofitable; Portnehinch, 45a.

1669. SEGAR, Richard.—Clonena and Clonehin parishes, the impropriate tithes of, for ever.

1668. SHAPCOTE, Robert.—BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: The commons profitable belonging to Ballyfinne, Camoloan, and Eiry, 2098a. 2r. 32p.

1667. SHORT, John, Ensign.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: North part of Kilbredmore, 41a. 3r.; North-west part in Ballyowly and Garriduffe, 47a. 2r. 35p.; Dillihagabane, 66a.: In Killidillige, in Killdromady, and Ballyneduffe, next to Dillihagabane, 425a. 3r. 15p.; Lissrine, 27a.; Castle Fleming (part) with old walls, Shewdry N.E. part, Knockaka (part), Knockahoy, Derrymerrick, Brockery, and Colutrine, 230a. 3r. 38p.

1669. SMITH, Erasmus.—BARONY OF TINEHINCH: Coolenow, 46a. 3r.; Part of Kill-keanane next Killoge, 128a.; In Ballynemony and Aghavane, 79a. 1r. 18p.

1666. SYMNELL, Thomas.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Cudaghmore, 132a.; Cudabeg, 146a.; Ballycleery and Innishkelly, 172a. 2r.; Carrigkeene and Clonfadagh, 175a.: In Kilbrickan, Cole *alias* Coole and Camplone, 48a.; Rathfealan, 43a.

1667. STEPNEY, John; BUTLER, Thomas, Captain; and TAYLOR, Robert (in trust for the Officers of the Royal Army in 1649)—BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: Gurtin, 45a. 1r. 24p.; Keilecloanhobane, 70a. 2r. 32p. profitable, 16a. 1r. 16p. unprofitable; Cloanerhir, 149a. 3r. 24p.; Clonosoghy, belonging to Clone-rehir, one-third profitable timber wood and firing wood, 129a. 2r. 5p. profitable, 64a. 3r. 3p. unprofitable. A red bog called Moneclere lying in common, 707a. or. 16p. unprofitable. Five tenements within the Corporation of Maryborough.

1666. ST. GEORGE, Sir Oliver, Knight and Baronet.—BARONY OF BALLYADAMS: Ballyfoyle, 420a.; Killeene, 257a.; Killebane, 340a.; Monkesgrange, 500a.

1667. TAYLOR, Thomas.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Killneseeragh *als* Killnasire, 165a. 2r. 27p.; Clancanakanbeg *als* Clonkinaghanbeg, 103a.; Carricke and ye islands adjoining being part of Ballymoney, 70a.

1666. TEMPLE, Sir John, Knight, Master of the Rolls.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Gurtinemallagh, 101a.: In the south-east of Leagh and Lackagh, 1070a. 2r. 27p.: In the south-east of Killanure, 387a.

1670. VAUGHAN, John.—BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: Coolnevernoge, 247a.; Coolaghy *als* Coolagh 373a.



1669. VINCENT, Henry, son and heir of Nathaniel Vincent.—BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH: In Derrygill, 310a. 3r. 16p.; Curham, 64a. 2r. 32p.: More in the same, 120a. 3r. 8p.
1666. WALLIN, Samuel.—BARONY OF SLEWMARGIE: In Clonebeckan, 15a. 1r. 9p. profitable, 7a. 2r. unprofitable: In Gurteene, 78a. 3r. 23p. profitable, 41a. or. 16p. unprofitable: The remainder of Gurteene, 12a. 1r. 39p.; Tirernan, 152a. 2r. profitable, 28a. 2r. 16p. unprofitable.
1668. WALSHE, Walter.—BARONY OF MARYBOROUGH: The Castle manor and lands of Killeany, 797a. 2r. 32p. profitable, 32a. 1r. 24p. unprofitable.
1667. WESTERNE, Robert, haberdasher, of London.—BARONY OF CULLENAGH: Rahinbroge, 137a. 2r.; Ballygegill, 210a. 1r. 24p.: In Ballyroane, 140a. 3r. 38p.
1666. WHEELER, Oliver.—BARONY OF UPPER OSSORY: Archerstown and Tinweare *alias* Archerstown, 729a.; Grenan, 60a.; Croghtenemonta, 97a. 1r. 34p.; Aghaturne, 67a.

## APPENDIX IV.

1<sup>o</sup> MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 2<sup>o</sup> SHERIFFS, 3<sup>o</sup> MAGISTRATES, AND 4<sup>o</sup> GRAND JURORS.

1<sup>o</sup>. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

The following Parliaments were held in Ireland from Elizabeth's reign to the Act of Union in 1800:—From 1st Jan. to 1st Feb., 1559; from 17th Jan. 1568, to 25th April, 1571; from 26th April, 1585, to 14th May, 1586; from 18th May, 1613, to 24th Oct., 1615; from 14th July, 1634, to 18th April, 1635; from 16th March, 1639, to 30th Jan., 1648; from 8th May, 1661, to 8th Aug., 1666; from 5th Oct., 1692, to 26th June, 1693; from 27th Aug., 1695, to 14th June, 1699; from 21st Sept., 1703, to 6th May, 1713; from 25th Nov., 1713, to 1st Aug., 1714; from 12th Nov., 1715, to 11th June, 1727; from 28th Nov., 1727, to 25th Oct., 1760; from 27th Oct., 1761, to 28th May, 1768; from 17th Oct., 1769, to 5th April, 1776; from 18th June, 1776, to 25th July, 1783; from 14th Oct., 1783, to 8th April, 1790; from 20th May, 1790, to 11th July, 1797; from 9th Jan., 1798, to 31st Dec., 1800.<sup>1</sup> From this latter date the Parliaments were held at Westminster. Before the Union, Queen's Co. had 8 Parliamentary representatives, viz., 2 for the County, 2 for Maryborough, 2 for Portarlinton, and 2 for Ballinakill. At the Union, Maryborough and Ballinakill were disfranchised, and Portarlinton reduced to one representative. The disfranchisement of Portarlinton came in 1885.

## A.—MEMBERS FOR THE COUNTY, TO A.D. 1800.

The following are the names of the Members of Parliament for the Queen's County found in the Public Record Office of Ireland:—

1585. Warham Sentleger, Esq., knight, Carriglyn, Cork, and Robert Harpoll, Esq., knight, Shrute, Monk's Grange.
1615. Sir Henry Power, knight, Chapel Izod, Dublin, and Sir Robert Piggott, knight, Dysart.
1634. Sir Pierce Crosbie, knight and baronet, Maryborough, and John Piggott, Esq., Grangebegg, Dysart.

<sup>1</sup> See "Parliamentary Papers," Sessions 17th January—16th August, printed in 1878, vol. lxii., part ii., No. 17, p. 604.



1639. Sir Charles Coote, knight and baronet, Castle Cuffe, and John Piggott, Esq., Dysart.
1642. George Graham, Esq., *vice* Coote, deceased.
1643. Terence McGrath, Esq., Alibolane, Tipperary, *vice* Graham, deceased.
1646. Francis Barrington, Esq., Cullenagh, *vice* Piggott, deceased, and Gilbert Rawson, Esq., *vice* McGrath, deceased.
1661. Thomas Piggott, Esq., Dysart and Long Aston, Somerset, and Chidley Coote, Esq., Killester, Dublin; Daniel Hutchinson, alderman, Dublin, *vice* Coote, for Co. Galway.
1692. John Weaver, sen., Esq., Ballymadock, and John Weaver, jun., Esq., ditto.
- 1695-99. John Weaver, jun., Esq., and Robert Warnford, Esq.
- 1703-13. Dudley Cosby, Esq.; John Weaver, jun., Esq.
- 1713-14. Dudley Cosby, Esq.; Richard Fitzpatrick, Esq.
- 1715-27. Dudley Cosby, Esq.; Ephraim Dawson, Esq.
- 1727-60. Dudley Cosby, Esq.; Ephraim Dawson, Esq.
- (Richard Warburton succeeded Dudley Cosby, deceased, and George Evans succeeded Ephraim Dawson, deceased).
- 1761-68. William Henry Dawson, Esq.; William Pole, Esq.,
- 1769-76. Right Hon. William Pole; John Dawson, Esq.
- 1776-83. The Hon John Dawson; Charles Henry Cook, Esq. On the former becoming Viscount Carlow he was succeeded by John Warburton, Esq.
- 1783-90. Sir John Parnell, Bart., and John Warburton, Esq.
- 1790-97. Sir John Parnell, Bart.; Hon. E. Moore. (The latter was succeeded by Jno. Warburton, Esq.).
- 1798-1800. Sir John Parnell; Charles Henry Coote, Esq.

## AT WESTMINSTER, SINCE 1800.

- 1801-2. Sir John Parnell; Charles Henry Coote, Esq. (The latter, on becoming Lord Castlecoote on the 5th April, 1802, was succeeded by Henry Parnell, Esq., whose father, Sir John Parnell, had died on 28th December, 1801, and been succeeded by William Wellesley Pole, Esq., of Ballyfin).
- 1802-6. William Wellesley Pole, Esq.; Major-General Sir Eyre Coote. The latter, on being appointed Governor of Jamaica in February, 1806, was succeeded by Henry Parnell, Esq., who resigned in April when accepting office as Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, but was re-elected for the County.
- 1806-7. W. W. Pole, Esq.; H. Parnell, Esq.
- 1807-12. W. W. Pole, Esq.; H. Parnell, Esq. The former became Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1810, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1811, on both of which occasions he was re-elected for Queen's Co.
- 1812-18. William W. Pole; Sir H. Parnell, Bart.
- 1818-20. W. W. Pole; Sir H. Parnell, Bart.
- 1820-26. W. W. Pole; Sir H. Parnell, Bart. On the 27th August, 1821, Mr. Pole became Baron Maryborough, and was succeeded as M.P. by Charles Henry Coote, Esq., of Ballyfin.
- 1826-30. Sir C. H. Coote; Sir H. Parnell.
- 1830-31. Sir C. H. Coote; Sir H. Parnell. The latter was re-elected in 1831 on becoming Secretary of War.
- 1831-2. Sir C. H. Coote; Sir H. Parnell
- 1833-4. Patrick Lalor, Esq.; Sir C. H. Coote.
- 1835-7. Sir C. H. Coote; Thomas Vesey, Esq.
- 1837-41. Sir C. H. Coote; John Wilson Fitzpatrick.
- 1841-47. Sir C. H. Coote; Hon. Thos. Vesey.
- 1847-52. Hon. Thos. Vesey; John W. Fitzpatrick, Esq.
- 1852-57. Sir C. H. Coote; Michael Dunne, Esq.
- 1857-59. Sir C. H. Coote; Michael Dunne, Esq.
- 1859-65. Michael Dunne, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. F. P. Dunne.
- 1865-68. Col. Dunne; J. W. Fitzpatrick, Esq.
- 1868-74. J. W. Fitzpatrick; Kenelm Thomas Digby, Esq. In 1869 Mr. Fitzpatrick became Baron of Upper Ossory, and was succeeded by Edmund Dease, Esq., as M.P.
- 1874-80. K. T. Digby, Esq.; Edmund Dease, Esq.



- 1880-85. Richard Lalor, Esq.; Arthur O'Connor, Esq.  
 1885-6. R. Lalor, Esq. (Leix); A. O'Connor, Esq. (Ossory).  
 1886-92. R. Lalor, Esq. (Leix); Dr. McDonnell (Ossory).  
 1892-95. Dr. McDonnell (Leix); Eugene Crean, Esq. (Ossory).  
 1895-1900. Dr. McDonnell; Eugene Crean, Esq.  
 1900-06. Dr. McDonnell; W. Delany, Esq.  
 1906-10. P. A. Meehan, Esq.; W. Delany, Esq.  
 1910-13. P. A. Meehan, Esq.; W. Delany, Esq.  
 1913- . P. J. Meehan, Esq.; W. Delany, Esq.

## B.—MEMBERS FOR MARYBOROUGH.

1585. George Harvy, Robert Gale, and Thomas Lambyno, all of Maryborough.  
 1613. Sir Adam Loftus, jun., knight, Monaster Evan, Kildare, and Alexander Barrington, Esq., Timoge, Cullenagh.  
 1634. Sir Walter Crosbie, Maryborough, and Sir William Gilbert.  
 1639. Sir William Gilbert, and Nicholas White, Esq.  
 1644. Henry Gilbert, Esq., *vice* White, deceased.  
 1661. George St. George, Esq., knight, Carrick, Leitrim, and John Gilbert, Esq., Kilminshy; Alexander Piggott, Esq., *vice* St. George, for Co. Leitrim.  
 1692. John Weaver, sen., Ballymadock, and St. Leger Gilbert, Esq.; Periam Pole, Esq., *vice* Weaver, for Queen's Co.  
 1695 to 1699. John Weaver, Esq., and St. Leger Gilbert.  
 1699-1703. St. Leger Gilbert, Esq.; Robert Pigott, Esq.  
 1703-14. Robert Pigott, Esq.; William Wall, Esq.  
 1715-27. Robert Pigott, Esq.; William Wall, Esq.  
 1727-60. Robert Pigott, Esq.; William Wall, Esq.

Warner Westenra succeeded the former (deceased), and John Pigott replaced the latter (deceased), but was himself (as unduly elected) replaced by Barth. W. Gilbert, Esq.

- 1761-8. W. Gilbert, Esq.; Hon. Col. Eyre Coote. The latter not being duly elected was replaced by John Parnell, Esq., and W. Gilbert (deceased) was succeeded by Hunt Walsh, Esq.  
 1769-76. Sir John Parnell; Hunt Walsh, Esq.  
 1776-83. Sir John Parnell; Hon Robert Jocelyn. The latter being unduly elected was replaced by John Tydd, Esq., and the former (deceased in 1782) was succeeded by Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick.  
 1783-90. Sir John Parnell; Charles H. Coote. The former, on electing to represent the County, was succeeded in Maryborough by Sir Arthur Brooke.  
 1790-97. Charles H. Coote, Esq.; Samuel Hayes, Esq. On the death of the latter he was succeeded by Hon. John Vesey.  
 1798-1800. Gen. Eyre Coote; Henry Parnell, Esq. On Gen. Coote accepting office he was succeeded by Col. Dunne.

## C.—MEMBERS FOR BALLINAKILL.

1613. Sir Thomas Ridgway, knight, Tor Mohun, Devan, and Arthur Brereton, Esq.  
 1639. William Wandesford, Esq., and William Alfrie, Esq.  
 1640. Richard Fanshaw, Esq., *vice* Wandesford, for Lifford, Dublin  
 1641. Barnaby Dempsey, Esq., Dublin, *vice* Affrey.  
 1642. William Flower, Esq., Knight, Dublin, *vice* Fanshaw, and Thomas Leigh, gent., *vice* Dempsey.  
 1661. Sir Amos Meredith, knight, and Maurice Keatings, Esq., Narraghmore, Kildare.  
 1692. John Barrington, Esq., Cullenagh, and Daniel Weaver, Esq., Ballymadock.  
 1695-9. Sir Edward Massy, knight, and Walter Weldon, Esq., Rahinderry.  
 1703-13. John Barrington, Esq.; Arthur Gore, Esq.  
 1713-14. John Barrington, Esq.; Thos. Medlicott, Esq.  
 1715-27. Saml. Freeman, Esq.; John Weaver, Esq. By another Indenture, the following were the 2 M.P.'s:—J. Barrington, Genl. Owen Wynne.  
 1727-60. John Barrington, Esq.; Rich. Warburton, Esq. On the latter's death, Jonah Barrington succeeded; and on the death of Jno. Barrington, Marcus Patterson succeeded.



- 1761-68. M. Patterson, Esq.; Charles O'Hara, Esq.  
 1769-76. William Montgomery, Esq.; John Moore, Esq.  
 1776-83. Sir William Montgomery; William Burton, Esq. The latter, becoming M.P. for Carlow, was succeeded in Ballinakill by Jno. Moore, Esq.  
 1783-90. Sir W. Montgomery; Sir Annesley Stewart; John Egan, Esq.; John Moore, jun., Esq.  
 1790-97. John Tydd, Esq.; Col. Eyre Coote.  
 1798-1800. Hon. Montague Mathew; Capt. Jno. Longfield; David Walsh, Esq., Francis Trench, Esq.

## D.—MEMBERS FOR PORTARLINGTON.

1692. Daniel Gahan, Esq., knight, and Richard Warburton, jun., Esq., Garryhinch.  
 1695. Sir Joseph Williamson, knight; Richard Warburton, jun., Esq.; George Wharton, Esq., *vice* Williamson, for Limerick.  
 1695-99. Sir Joseph Williamson; Richard Warburton, Esq.  
 1703-13. Richard Warburton, Esq.; Thomas Carter, Esq.  
 1713-14. Richard Warburton, Esq., jun.; Ephraim Dawson, Esq.  
 1715-27. Richard Warburton, Esq.; Richard Warburton, Esq., of Rathdrumshane. J. Short, Esq., succeeded R. Warburton, deceased, and Lancelot Sandys, Esq., succeeded J. Short, deceased.  
 1727-60. William Flower, Esq.; George Johnston, Esq. William Stannus succeeded G. Johnston, and was himself succeeded by William H. Dawson and Lord Castle Durrow, while Lord Sackville succeeded William Flower.  
 1761-8. George Hartpole, Esq.; W. H. Dawson, Esq. The former was succeeded by John Dawson, Esq., and the latter by John Damer, Esq.  
 1769-76. John Dawson, Esq.; Roger Palmer, Esq. The former was succeeded by W. H. Dawson, Esq., who, on becoming Lord Dawson, was succeeded by Joseph Dawson, Esq.  
 1776-83. Hon. John Dawson; Roger Palmer, Esq. The former becoming M.P. for the County, was succeeded in Portarlington by Hon. Jos. Dawson, Esq.  
 1783-90. Right Hon. John Scott; Thomas Kelly, Esq. The former, on becoming Lord Earlsfort, was succeeded by Robert Hobart, Esq.; and the latter, on becoming Justice of the Common Pleas, was succeeded by Sir Boyle Roche, bart.  
 1790-97. Richard Cavendish, Esq.; William Browne, Esq.  
 1798-1800. Sir John Parnell; John Stewart Esq. Sir J. Parnell, electing to sit for the County, was succeeded by Frederick Trench, Esq., and J. Stewart was succeeded by Thos. Stannus, Esq., who, on accepting office, was succeeded by William Gregory, Esq.  
 1801-2. Frederick Trench, Esq., on becoming Lord Ashtown, was succeeded by William Elliot, Esq.  
 1802-6. Henry Parnell, Esq. On his accepting office he was succeeded by Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq., who, in 1806, was succeeded by John Langston, Esq.  
 1806-7. Sir Oswald Mozley.  
 1807-12. William Lambe, Esq.  
 1812-18. Arthur Shakespeare, Esq., who, on accepting office, was succeeded by Richard Sharp, Esq.  
 1818-20. Richard Sharp, Esq. On accepting office, he was succeeded by David Ricardo, Esq.  
 1820-26. D. Ricardo, Esq., on whose death, in 1820, his successor was James Farquhar, Esq.  
 1826-30. James Farquhar, Esq.  
 1831-31. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Ogle, bart.  
 1831-2. Sir William Rae, bart.  
 1833-4. Thomas Gladstone, Esq. (He was eldest brother of Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone).  
 1835-7. George Lionel Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1837-41. George Lionel Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1841-47. George Lionel Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1847-52. Col. Francis Plunket Dunne.  
 1852-57. Col. Francis Plunket Dunne.  
 1857-9. Lionel Seymour W. Dawson Damer, Esq.



- 1859-65. Lionel Seymour W. Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1865-68. James Anthony Lawson, Esq.  
 1868-74. Lionel S. W. Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1874-80. Lionel S. W. Dawson Damer, Esq.  
 1880-85. Hon. Bernard E. Fitzpatrick.

(By the Reform Bill of 1885 the borough of Portarlington was disfranchised).

## 20. COUNTY SHERIFFS.

- |                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1663. Thos. Pigott, Henry Gilbert.  | 1787. Edward Butler.           |
| 1664. Henry Gilbert.                | 1788. Thomas Lyon.             |
| 1673. William Walker.               | 1789. Andrew Despard.          |
| 1674. William Scott.                | 1790. Edward Dunne.            |
| 1675. John Sandes.                  | 1791. Charles H. Coote.        |
| 1676. Sam Preston, Edward Brereton. | 1792. Sir John Allen Johnston. |
| 1677. William Gilbert.              | 1793. Peter Gale.              |
| 1678. William Gilbert.              | 1795. Josua Kemmis.            |
| 1679. Danl. Kevin.                  | 1796. John Adair.              |
| 1680. Robert Hedges.                | 1797. C. P. Doyne.             |
| ? Edward Baggott.                   | 1798. R. W. Vicars             |
| 1681. Alex. Cosby.                  | 1799. Thomas Prior.            |
| 1682. John Warren.                  | 1800. Sir Jas. Burrowes.       |
| 1761. Lancelot Sandes.              | 1801. Richard Warburton.       |
| 1762. William Gilbert.              | 1802. Isaac Humphreys.         |
| 1763. Stephen Cassan.               | 1803. William Piggott.         |
| 1764. Richard Vicars.               | 1804. Cochran Palmer.          |
| 1765. Lewis Moore.                  | 1805. John Bland.              |
| 1766. John Rochford.                | 1806. Robert Laurenson.        |
| 1767. Luke Flood.                   | 1807. Gilbert Fitzgerald.      |
| 1768. Robert Hartpole.              | 1808. George Pigott.           |
| 1769. Richard Fitzgerald.           | 1809. Thomas Cosby.            |
| 1771. Richard Sherlock.             | 1810. Fred. Thompson.          |
| 1773. John Dawson.                  | 1811. Lancelot Croasdaile.     |
| 1774. Robert Stubber.               | 1812. J. H. Johnson.           |
| 1775. Edward Flood.                 | 1813. Lord Sydney Osborne.     |
| 1776. Sir Robert Staples.           | 1814. Lord Henry Moore.        |
| 1783. Thomas Fitzgerald.            | 1815. Charles White.           |
| 1786. William Despard.              | 1816. James White.             |

## 30. COUNTY MAGISTRATES (from Hanaper and Record Office, Dublin).

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|--|---|
| 1662. William Harpole, James Grace,<br>and Robert Tynte.   | 1703. William Despard, jun.   |
| 1663. Henry Gilbert.   | 1704. Earl of Cavan.  |
| 1664. Earl of Mountrath, Thomas Evans,<br>Bishop of Ferns, Richard Segar,<br>George Clapham, Adam Wilkin-<br>son.                | 1705. Robert Stubber, John Hodder.  |
| 1666. John Weaver.   | 1707. John Pigott, Robert Best, William<br>Wall, Lancelott Sands, William<br>Flower.  |
| 1670. Edward Morris.   | 1708. Knightley Chetwood.   |
| 1680. Walter Waldron.  | 1712. Josias Champagno.   |
| 1681. Robert Wallis.   | 1714. William Vicars, Earl of Mount-<br>rath, Richard Warburton,<br>Thomas Carr, St. Leger Gilbert,<br>Stephen Fitzgerald, John Bar-<br>rington, Richard Prior, Law-<br>rence Grace, William Poole,<br>Ephraim Dawson, William P.<br>Vaughan, Gerald Fitzgerald, of<br>Newtown; John Bland. |
| 1685. Oliver Walsh, Rev. John Vesie.   | 1715. Thomas May, Dudley Cosby.   |
| 1686. Barnaby, Lord Baron of Upper<br>Ossory; William Cosby, Garrett<br>Tant, Edward Gernan, Bally-<br>mackwilliam, Piers Bryan. | 1716. Walter Weldon, Hunt Walsh.  |
| 1687. Francis Dunne.   | 1717. George Stringer, William Finn.  |
| 1688. Nicholas Halfpenny, Thomas<br>Owens.   | 1719. William Trench, Mountrath; John<br>Despard.   |
| 1693. Richard Power.   |   |
| 1694. Lawrence Grant.  |   |
| 1698. Arthur Gore, Richard Vicars.   |   |
| 1699. William Despard.   |   |



1720. Ralph Wallis, Jonah Barrington.  
 1721. Lewis Jones, John Waller, Arthur Weldon.  
 1722. Richard Despard, Pigott Sands.  
 1723. Sir Walter Burrows, Barnaby Carroll.  
 1724. Edward Maurice Clerk, Robert Finn, Philip Beard.  
 1725. Josuah Cuffe, Periam Pool, William Herbert, Mountmellick.  
 1726. William Vicars.  
 1727. Thos. Tennison, William Browne, Warner Westerna, Richard, Earl of Cavan.  
 1728. Thomas Vigors, Richard Sands.  
 1729. Henry Coddington.  
 1730. Emanuel Pigott, William Carden, Walter Stephens.  
 1732. Nathaniel Mitchell, John Pigott, Thomas Hankshod.  
 1733. John Murray, John Lyon, Watercastle; Hugh Graham, Lea; William Gilbert, Kilminchy.  
 1734. Rev. William Curtis, Edward Southwell, Kilcoleen, George Hartpole.  
 1735. Sir John Vesey.  
 1736. Southwell Pigott.  
 1737. George, Lord Viscount Castlecomer.  
 1738. Thomas Prior, John Weldon.  
 1739. Sewell Stubber, Aghaboe; Anthony Sharpe, Killinure.  
 1740. Matthew Cassan.  
 1742. Francis Duggan, jun.; Edward Brereton.  
 1743. William Despard.  
 1744. William Weldon, Portarlington.  
 1745. John Parnell.  
 1746. Edward Buller, Robert Flood, Middlemount.  
 1747. William Henry Dawson.  
 1748. George Despard, William Pole, George Warburton; Robert Gregory, Tentower.  
 1749. Lewis Jones.  
 1750. Richard Vicars, Levally.  
 1751. Benjamin Fisher, Old Derrig; Anthony Gale, Ashfield; John Bambrick, Maidenhead.  
 1752. John Rochford, Morley Sanders, Pendred; Walter Weldon, Rahin.  
 1753. John Murray Prior, Rathdowney; Valentine Knightley Chetwood, Lord Charles Moore.  
 1754. George Evans, William Vicars, Derryfore.  
 1755. John Barrington, jun.; Henry French.  
 1756. Thomas Cooper, Dublin.  
 1757. Lord Robert Viscount Jocelyn, Robert Fitzgerald, Newtown Hartpole.  
 1758. Stephen Fitzgerald, Motett; Rev. Charles Coote.  
 1759. Thomas Drought, Mountoliver; Lewis Moore, Gramorgan; Sir Kildare Dixon Borrows.  
 1760. William Gilbert, jun.  
 1761. Stephen Cassan, John Rochfort, jun., Cloghrennan; William Carden, Ballybrittas.  
 1762. Thomas White, Ballybrophy.  
 1763. John St. Ledger, Robert Browne, Browne's Hill; Thomas Cooper, Graigue; Peter Gale, Ashbrook.  
 1764. John Massy, Duntreleague; Humphry Palmer.  
 1765. Richard Phillips, Rappelagh; Richard Fitzgerald, Kilminchy.  
 1766. Luke Flood, Roundwood; Trevor Stannus, Portarlington; Lewis Moore, Prospect.  
 1768. Richard Sherlock, Lamberton; William Fitzgerald, Ballyroan.  
 1769. John Brereton, Stradbally; Robert Lawrenson, Cappanalas.  
 1770. James Herring, Herringdale.  
 1771. Thomas Drought, Mountoliver.  
 1772. Thomas Pigott, Knapton; Rev. Edward Ledwich, Aghaboe; Thomas Lord Baron Knapton, Thomas Sabattier, Richard Warburton Carden, Lismore Qc.; Robert Staples, Dunmore.  
 1773. Francis Bidulph, Vicarstown; John Parnell, Rathleague; Richard Croasdaile, Rinn.  
 1774. Jonathan Clarke, Portarlington.  
 1775. Hugh Conrahy, Frederick Trench, Ballinakill.  
 1776. Patrick Colclough, Anneville; Robert Badwin, Summerhill; Thomas Palmer, Rushall; Chas. Henry Coote, Shean; William Bacon, Mountmellick; John Kilpatrick, Corville; Euseby Stratford, Corbally; Joseph Calcott, Mountrath; George King, Athy.  
 1777. Rev. Edward Whitty.  
 1778. Joseph Palmer, Rathdowney; Lewis Higgins, Mountmellick; Henry Moore, Cremorgan; Chas. Fitzgerald, Ballyroan.  
 1781. Thomas Kemmis, Killeen; Christopher Tydd, Ballyrein; Thos. Fitzgerald, Dalyville; Christopher Southern, Clandarick.  
 1784. William Despard, jun., Colerain.  
 1786. Robert Cary, Portarlington.  
 1787. John Staunton Rochford, Cloghrennan; Charles, Earl of Drogheda; Robert, Earl of Roden; Thos. Viscount De Vesci; Sir John Allen Johnson, Charles Doyne, Charles De Veaux.



1789. William Cooper, jun., Cooper Hill.  
 1790. Thomas Alley, Cottage; Jonathen Chetwood, Woodbrook.  
 1793. William Evans, Derrylea; Henry Bruen, Oak Park; Colonel Chas. Eustace, Hon. John Vesey, Josua Kemmis, Knightstown.  
 1794. Frederick Thompson; Arthur Jacob, Ballinakill; Patrick Den, Chatsworth.  
 1795. James Scott, Annegrove; Richard Griffith, Millicent; Sir John Caldwell.  
 1796. John Lecky, Shrewl; John Staunton, Rochford; Thomas White, Nutgrove; James Broadfield, Mountrath; William Billing, Doonane; Josia Humphreys, Cartown; Cochran Palmer, Rushall; William Vicars, Vicars-town; Ephraim Fitzgerald, Mountprospect.  
 1797. Steward Weldon, Kilmoroney; Thos. Bernard, jun., Castle-town; John Johnson, Darragh; Chas. Ward, jun., Hollymount.  
 1798. George Pigott, Knapton; Gerald Fitzgerald, Kilmoroney; George Rothe, Durrow; James Bradish, Lawrel hill; George Gare, Lawnstown; Harman Fitzmaurice, Robert Rochford.  
 1799. John M. Reade.  
 1800. Rev. Arthur Weldon.  
 1801. John Hawksworth, jun., Mountrath; Thos. Sabatier, Summer-house; Arthur Hovenden, Gurteen; William Armstrong, Portarlington; John Halpin, Woodville.  
 1802. Charles White, jun., Charleville; Robert Jackson, Graigue.  
 1803. Henry Parnell, Rathleague; Thomas Parnell, Rathleague; Henry Graham, Tenehinch; George Lidwell, Dromard; Arthur Roberts, Stradbally.  
 1804. Oliver Tabeaudo, John Bland, Blandsford; Richard Hovenden, Gurteen.  
 1805. Hovenden Stapleton, Ashfield; Jonathan D. Clarke, Portarlington; Edward Andrew Robinson, Maryboro'; Robert Lawrenson, Thornbery.  
 1806. Robt. M. Fishbourne, Carlow.  
 1809. Henry Cornelius, Mountrath.  
 1810. Jocelyn Thomas, Farmley.  
 1811. Edward Cullen, John Roe, Beckfield; Samuel White, Roundwood; Geo. Steele, Harristown.  
 1812. Patk. Delaney, Jamestown.  
 1813. James Doxey, Rockbrook; George Adair, Belgrove; Michael Delaney, Castledr.; Stephen Sheffield, Cassan; Henry Browne, Springmount.  
 1814. Richard Steele, Knockfin; Edward Scott, Annegrove; Hans White, Aghaboe; James White, Aghaboe.  
 1817. Geo. Harrison, Kilmullen.  
 1818. Robert Kenny, Mountmellick.  
 1819. Thomas R. Whitty; Miles J. O'Reilly, Heath; John Price, Castletown; James Dunne, Bellone; William Wall-Gray, Rockbrook.  
 1820. James Smyth, Mountrath; Robert Fitzgerald, Levally; Jas. Horan, Lisbigney.  
 1821. Earl of Portarlington.  
 1822. Hon. Lionel Dawson, Capt. William Percival.  
 1823. Rev. John Baldwin, Castlecuffe; Launcelot Croaisdale, Rynn; William Wellesley Despard, Donore.  
 1824. Chas. Launcelot Sandes, Portarlington; William E. Flood Sharpe, John Sabatier, Summergrove; Edward Staples, Dunmore; Walter Dixon Borrows, Larragh; Henry Smyth, Mount-henry.  
 1825. Capt. Edward Pope, Popefield.  
 1826. Robert Chapman, Castlemitchell; Major Daniel O'Donohoe.  
 1827. Peter Gale, Ashfield; John Warburton, Garryhinch; Lewis Moore, Cremorgan.  
 1828. John Armit, Roundwood; Col. Anthony Weldon, Raheen; William Hamilton, Moyne; Chidley Coote, Huntington, Portarlington.  
 1829. Captain Richard Croker, Thornbury; Thomas Trench, Rath; Thomas White, Ballybrophy; Hon. Henry Walker, Castledurrow.  
 1830. William Fishbourne, Hollymount; Robert Belton, Peafield, Mount-rath; Thomas Phillips Cosby, Stradbally; William Cope Cooper, Cooper Hill; Horace Rochford, Clogrennan.  
 1831. L. Col. Ralph Johnson, Ballykilcavan; Robert Hamilton Stubber, Moyne; Thomas Browne Kelly, Kellyville; Edward H. J. Walshe, Ballykilcavan; Edward Wilmot, Woodbrook.



1832. Sidney Cosby, Stradbally; L. Col. Daniel Toler Osborne, Major Gen. Sir Edward Blackney; Capt. John Spencer Manning; Major Thomas Ryan, Capt. Francis Ansell, Lieut Richard Binning, Hugh Boyd Wray, Maryboro'; James William Butler Scott, Annegrove; Barker Thacker, Ballymelish; Capt. George Jervais, Donore; Sir Chas H. Coote, Ballyfin; John Pigott, Capard; Robert Vicars, Grantstown, Rathdowney; Capt. John Lewis Hampton.
1833. Edward Cochrane Palmer, Castle-town; Richard Senior, Mount-rath; Harman H. Cooper, Shrule; William Butler, Rathil-lig, Carlow; John Head Drought, Kinnitty; Thomas Doxey, M.D., Mountmellick; Thos. Mosse, Knockfin, Rath-downey; Michael Head Drought, Harristown.
1834. Joshua Kemmis, Knightstown, Emo; Robert White, Old Park, Rathdowney.
1835. Robert Moore, Lawnstown, Portarlington; Robert Moslet Alloway, Ballybrittas; Jas. Hutchinson, Cardtown, Mountrath.
1836. Robert Cassidy, Jamestown; Michl. Dunne, Ballymanus; William Delaney, Durrow.
1837. Jas. Grattan, M.P., Co. Wicklow; John Pymm, Lacky, Mountrath.
1838. John Butler, Rathmoyle, Abbey-leix; Matthew S. Cassan, Sheffield; Hon. Thomas Vesey, Abbey-leix; John Crossley Seymour, Mount-rath; William Lalor, Grennon, Durrow.
1839. Thos. Des Voeuz, Portarlington; Joseph Ferguson, Abbey-leix; Sir Frederick William Trench, Moyvannon Castle, Co. Ros-common.
1840. Henry White, Charleville; R. Warburton, Garryhinch; T. B. Wellington, Abbey-leix; William Briggs, Borris-in-Ossory; Saml. Sheane, Mountmellick.
1841. W. D. Farren, Brockley Park, Stradbally; W. Pole Cosby, Stradbally; Henry Peine Pigott, Capard; Joseph Lyons, Moyanna, Stradbally; John Tracy, Tene-killy, Mountrath; Frederick Carden, Woodville, Maryboro'; Michael J. Byrne, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny; Henry Trench, Glenmalire, Ballybrittas; John H. Lecky, Graigavern, Bally-brittas; William H. Dease, Rath, Ballybrittas.
1842. Chas. Bailey, Mountmellick; Wil-liam Brownlow, Knapton, Abbey-leix.
1843. R. S. Hawksworth, Mountrath.
1844. William Pigott, Ryn, Mountmel-lick; F. P. Dunne, Brittas, Clonaslee.
1845. William Fitzmaurice, Everton, Carlow.
1846. Patk. Hare, Cloneguerah, Durrow; R. W. Fitzpatrick, Mountrath.
1847. Chas. P. White, Coolacuragh; Gerald Fitzgerald, Moyne; Robt. Staples, Dunmore; Henry Smith, Kilmartin; James S. Scott, Por-tarlington; Patrick Lalor, Tena-kill.

#### 40. LIST OF THE GRAND JURORS FOR THE QUEEN'S COUNTY, FROM THE YEAR 1793 TO 1855.

In the spring of the year 1782, the Courthouse at Maryboro' was accidentally burned down, and all the county records which were kept there were destroyed. There are assize records for 1783; there is then a break to 1786, but after this the records are continuous. To avoid repetitions of the same names in the lists of grand jurors, we give a full list at intervals only, and supply the new names as they occur during the intervening intervals. The complete list for 1783 is given, then the new names occurring in the interval up to 1798, when the second complete list is given, and similarly for the interval up to 1810, when the next complete list is given. From this date a full list is given at the end of each 10 years, followed by the new names occurring each year during the decade.

List for 1783:—Sir John Parnell, Sir Robert Staples, Hon. William Westley Pole, John Warburton, Chas. Henry Coote, Lieut.-Gen. Hunt Walshe, Philip Cosby, Robert Stubber, Jonathan Chetwood, Richard Sherlock, Richard Vicars, Henry Moore, Joseph Palmer, Edward Flood, Thomas Fitzgerald, Luke Flood, James Stephens, Geo. Despard, Richard Phillips, Francis Bidulph, Tobias Purcell, William Pigot, and Matthew Cassan, sheriff.



1786. New names: Sir John Allen Johnson, Frederick Trench, Richard Croasdale, John Barrington, Henry Bambrick, Andrew Despard, John Brereton, William Bacon, Robert Palmer, Pierce Moore, and William Despard, sheriff.
1787. New names: Robert Hartpole, Sir Erasmus Burrows, Luke Flood, jun., James L. Higgins, Edward Butler, sheriff.
1788. New names: Stewart Weldon, George Burdett, Chas. P. Doyne, Edward Dunne, E. Flood, Peter Gale, Thomas Palmer, Thos. Stannus, Thomas Lyon, sheriff.
1789. New names: William Despard, Geo. Despard, jun., Charles Ward, John Murray, John Staunton Rochford, Robert Cary, Andrew Despard, sheriff.
1790. New names: John Tydd, George Sandys, Edward Dunne, sheriff.
1791. New names: Thomas Kemmis, John Bland, C. H. Coote, sheriff.
1792. New name, James Kemmis. No sheriff given.
1793. New names: Hon. John Vesey, Thos. Pigot, John Pigot, William Cooper, Jas. Fitzmaurice, William Vicars, Peter Gale, sheriff.
1794. Sir R. Staples, Robert Stubber, Richard Grace, Harman Fitzmaurice, George Hartpole, sheriff.
1795. New names: Sir Chas. Deveux, Gerald Fitzgerald, William Gore. Josua Kemmis, sheriff.
1796. New name: Charles Bowen. John Adair, sheriff.
1797. No new name. Chas. Poulet Doyne, sheriff.
1798. Complete list:—C. Poulet Doyne, Sir Erasmus Burrows, Henry Bambrick, Chas. H. Coote, Philip Cosby, Gerald Fitzgerald, Edward Flood, Peter Gale, William Gore, Richard Grace, Sir John Allen Johnson, Henry Moore, Sir J. Parnell, H. Parnell, J. Pigot, W. Pigot, John Rochford, John Staunton Rochford, Sir Robert Staples, Frederick Trench, Hon. William Wesley Pole, Hon. John Vesey, Stewart Weldon. Richard William Vicars, sheriff.
1799. New names: David Baldwin, J. Bland, H. Cary, Jas. Bradfield. Thomas Prior, sheriff.
1800. New name: Isaac Humphreys. Sir Erasmus Burrows, sheriff.
1801. No new names. Richard Warburton, sheriff.
1802. New names: Eyre Coote, Gilbert Fitzgerald, Thos. Cosby, Cochran Palmer, Robert Rochford. Isaac Humphreys, sheriff.
1803. New name: Hon. Robert Moore. William Pigot, sheriff.
1804. New names: Robert Lawrenson, David Baldwin, Arthur Hovenden, Thos. Sabitier, Dowell O'Reilly. Cochran Palmer, sheriff.
1805. New name: Lancelot Sandes. John Bland, sheriff.
1806. New names: George Evans, John Halpin. Robert Lawrenson, sheriff.
1807. No grand jury list. No sheriff's name.
1808. New names. Frederick Thompson, S. H. Gerard. Geo. Pigot, sheriff.
1809. New names: William Grace, Rober White. Thos. Cosby, sheriff.
1810. Complete list: John Bland, William Brown, Chas. Bowen, Sir Erasmus D. Burrows, Thos. Cosby, Jonathan Chetwood, William Cooper, Matthew Cassan, Lancelot Croasdale, Chas. Paulet Doyle, William Grace, Isaac Humphreys, Josua Kemmis, Thos. Kemmis, Henry Moore, Cochran Palmer, John S. Rochford, Thos. Prior, Robert Stubber, Lancelot Sandys, Richard Warburton, Chas. White, Robert White. Frederick Thompson, sheriff.
1811. New names: Arthur Hovenden, John Johnson, Miles O'Reilly, David Baldwin. Lancelot Croasdale, sheriff.
1812. New names: Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, Hon. Henry Dawson, Henry Smith, Samuel Mathews. J. Allen Johnson, sheriff.
1813. New names: George Adair, Robert White, jun., Francis White, Lord Henry Seymour Moore. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne sheriff.
1814. New names: The Hon. Eyre Coote, George Steele, James White. Lord H. S. Moore, sheriff.
1815. New names: Sir Walter Dixon Burrows, John Rotton, Pierce Moore. Charles White, sheriff.
1816. New names: Right Hon. William Wellesley, Hovenden Stapleton. James White, sheriff.
1817. New names: George Evans, Cornelius Henry Bolton, Sheffield Grace, Frederick Thompson. Sir Walter Dixon Burrows, sheriff.
1818. New names: Francis Despard, Stephen S. Cassan, Jonathan Cope. Robert White, sheriff.
1819. New names: John Roe, George Harrison, Joslyn Thomas, Hans White, William Johnson Alloway, John Hawksworth, Godfrey Wills. Robert Staples, sheriff.



1820. Complete list : Sir Robert Staples, Right Hon. William Welsley Poole, Thomas Cosby, Sir Henry Parnell, Sir W. D. Burrows, Sir W. Hort, Chas. Bowen, Thos. Kemmis, Chas. Poulet Doyle, William Cooper, Chas. White, Frederick Thompson, Coshrane Palmer, Mathew Cassan, Pierce Moore, James White, Robert White, George Adair, Launcelot Crosdale, Hoffendon Stapleton, John Pierce, William Despard, Richard Warburton James Grattan, Jonathan Cope Chetwood, Henry Smith, Francis Despard, William Johnson Alloway, Hans White, David Baldwin. Hugh A. Bowen, sheriff.
1821. New names : Sir Chas. Henry Coote, J. S. Rochford, Cornelius H. Bolton, William Johnston, Godfrey Wills, Harman Fitzmaurice, John Thomas Bland, Pierce Moore, sheriff.
1822. New names : Hon. Lionel Dawson, Robert Sanders, Edward Dunne, William Armstrong. George Adair, sheriff.
1823. New names : George Evans, John Robinson Price. Lionel Dawson, sheriff.
1824. New names : Chas. H. Coote, William Edward Flood Sharpe, Lewis Moore, John Warburton, Miles John O'Reilly, William Cooper, jun., John Tibeaud. Henry Smith, sheriff.
1825. New names : Robert H. Stubber, Hon. Thos. Vesey, John Roe. E. H. Walshe, sheriff.
1826. New names : William Wellesley Despard, Hans. White, Thos. Cosby, Francis Dunne, Chas. L. Sandes. Edward Flood Sharpe, sheriff.
1827. New names : Anthony Weldon, Thos. Browne Kelly, jun., Jas. Edward Scott, Hon. Thomas Vesey, sheriff.
1828. No new name. Lewis Moore, sheriff.
1829. New names : John Fitzpatrick, Thomas Trench, William Hamilton, James Hutchinson. John Warburton, sheriff.
1830. Complete list : George Adair, Sir W. D. Burrows, Thomas Cosby, W. Cope Cooper, Matthew Cassan, Francis Dunne, William W. Despard, Peter Gale, Thos. Kemmis, Robert Moore, Lewis Moore, Miles John O'Reilly, William Hamilton Stubber, Henry Smith, Thomas Trench, Frederick Thompson, Chas. L. Sandys, Hon. Thomas Vesey, John Warburton, Chas. White, Robert White, Thomas Wyse, Edward Henry Walshe, John Thomas Bland, Richard Lawrenson, David Baldwin. Thos. B. Kelly, sheriff.
1831. New names : Edward Wilmot, Con. H. Bolton, G. Evans, Chidley Coote, Edward C. Palmer. W. C. Cooper, sheriff.
1832. New name : William Fishbourne. Thos. Kemmis, sheriff.
1833. New names : Sir Edward Walshe, John Tibeaud. Robert H. Stubber, sheriff.
1834. New name : Edward Staples. Thomas P. Cosby, sheriff.
1835. New name : Barker Thacker. John Pigot, sheriff.
1836. New names : James E. Scott. Patrick Lalor, John R. Price, Robert Fitzgerald, John W. Fitzpatrick, sheriff.
1837. New names : Robert Cassidy, William Hamilton, Hon. Dawson Damer.
1838. New names : Michael Head Drought, William Butler. Peter Gale, sheriff.
1839. New names : Edward Staples, Robert L. Alloway. Anthony Weldon, sheriff.
1840. Complete list : Anthony Weldon, Hon. Thomas Vesey, John Pigot, Thomas Kemmis, William Cope Cooper, Henry White, William Wellesley Despard, Robert White, George Adair, James Edward Scott, Michael Dunne, Right Hon. Lord Sidney Osborne, Lewis Moore, Chidley Coote, Matthew S. Cassan, John Hartpole Leckey, Robert Moore, Frederick Thompson, Peter Gale, William Fishbourne, John Robinson Price, Robert Fitzgerald, Barker Thacker, William D. Nesbitt, Edward W. Chetwood. John Tibeaud, sheriff.
1841. New names : William Dent Farrer, John Pim, Chas. Bowen, Edward Wilmott, Wellesley P. Cosby. William Wellesley Despard, sheriff.
1842. New names : Henry P. Pigot, Robert Fitzgerald, Thomas Budds. Edward Staples, sheriff.
1843. New names : Edward Henry Cole, Francis Dunne. Matthew Sheffield Cassan, sheriff.
1844. New names : Francis Roberts, James Edward Scott, William Wellesley. Henry P. Pigot, sheriff.
1845. New names : Richard L. Hawksworth, Henry Trench, Henry White, Horace Rochford, sheriff.
1846. New names : Francis Plunket Dunne, William S. Trench, Samuel James Morton. Chidley Coote, sheriff.



1847. New names: John W. Fitzpatrick, Richard W. Fitzpatrick, Robert Fitzgerald, William Hamilton. C. H. Bowen, sheriff.
1848. New names: William Kemmis, Gerald Fitzgerald. John H. Leckey, sheriff.
1849. New names: H. D. Carden, H. Trench. Richard Warburton, sheriff.
1850. Complete list: Right Hon. John Wilson Fitzpatrick, Sir Chas. Henry Coote, William Cope Cooper, Richard Wilson Fitzpatrick, Lewis Moore, George Adair, Matthew Sheffield Cassan, William Wellesley Despard, William Dent Farrer, Richard Warburton, Robert Hamilton Stubber, Charles Hartpole Bowen, John Hartpole Leckey, Edward Wilmot Chetwood, Gerald Fitzgerald, Chidley Coote, Henry White, Peter Gale, Charles L. Sands, Henry Trench, William Stewart Trench, Michael Dunne, Richard Steele Hawksworth, Henry Pigot, Eyre Evans, William Butler Scott. Henry D. Carden, sheriff.
1851. New names: Robert Hamilton Stubber, Thomas A. Bailey, John Croasdale. William D. Farrer, sheriff.
1852. New names: Hon. Thomas Vesey, John Allen Johnson Walshe, Henry Thomas, Thomas Harman Pope. William Kemmis, sheriff.
1853. New names: Edward Skeffington Randal Smith, Robert M. Alloway, Loftus H. Bland. Robert Staples, sheriff.
1854. New name: Oliver D. S. Grace. Allen J. Walshe, sheriff.
1855. New names: Henry Grattan, Christopher Bailey, Percy Grace. John Croasdale, sheriff.

## APPENDIX V.

## DOCTOR DOYLE'S PASTORAL LETTER (1831).

To the deluded persons illegally combined under the unmeaning appellation of "Black feet," and "White feet," in that part of the Queen's County, which lies within the Diocese of Leighlin.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN.—For though the world may justly reject and condemn you, you still are my children, and the sheep of that fold, though you have strayed from it, of which I am the shepherd. I have but just returned from that portion of the collieries, which are within my Diocese, and from all but touching the lifeless corpses, covered with blood, of your companions—slain in the criminal and unprovoked attempt to rescue from the power of the law men accused and apprehended for offences which the law condemns.

I had abstained hitherto from addressing you in the hope—alas! I must add, in the vain hope—that your own reason, instructed by experience, would prevail over your passions, or that, wearied in the way of iniquity, you would seek repose—confessing, as every tongue on earth and in hell must confess, "that there is no rest or peace for the wicked." I hoped to hear of your real grievances being candidly considered by the Legislature—I hoped that no man or woman could reproach me when exhorting you to peace. "Do you wish us to sit down and die of hunger? Do you tell us from the Gospel, which the Lord has commissioned you to preach, that a man is obliged to starve in the midst of plenty, or that any law can be justified which banishes as a malefactor, or hangs as a felon, a man able and willing to work, but who, unable by any lawful means to preserve himself and his children from starvation, employs such means as occur to him to supply himself with food?"

"Show to us that if we be patient and submissive we will not be banished from our homes—that our wages will not be diminished, till even roots and water fail our children—that in disease and hunger we will not be left as heretofore to perish; show to us that all those things will not happen, and we will freely and cheerfully acquiesce in your advice.

"You speak to us of the punishment which awaits us. What punishment can be greater than to die of hunger? You remind us of the affliction we bring upon our families. What affliction can surpass that of the mother and children driven, in a state of utter destitution, from the fireside and threshold of their homes, to wander, friendless, and hopeless, through a world that rejects them, 'till hunger and disease strike them to the earth, and death comes to absolve them from their sufferings?"

Deterred by the anticipation of these arguments, or of arguments such as these, being employed against me, I have not heretofore remonstrated with you as I might



have done, though, without entering into a discussion with you, I made known to you, by myself and by others, that your ways were evil, and that all your proceedings I utterly condemned. Even now, when I am forced by an accumulation of evil, to put away all doubt and hesitation, and to reason, as it were, with you, on the merits of your conduct, I do not pretend to disprove whatever of your opinions or arguments are founded on truth or justice. What I undertake is, to show you, nay, to convince you, that many of those arguments now adduced are unjustly employed by you; and that the combinations into which you have entered, and the crimes you commit, will prolong and aggravate the evils of which you complain.

And, first of all, who are you who are thus illegally combined? Are you the persons who have been inhumanly and cruelly expelled from their homes? Are you those sons or fathers whose parents or children are perishing of want? Are you those men who can find no employment, or whose wages do not suffice to provide for your families the necessaries of life? No! you are not. A few of the classes above-mentioned are united with you, and they, like the great bulk of your confederates, are with you through fear and terror—they detest your combinations, but they entered into them that they might not be excluded from employment, or find their lives exposed to the brutal assaults of those amongst you, who, like Lucifer, are the leaders of revolt, and who are anxious, if it were possible, to involve all mankind in their own misery and guilt. Who then are you who are illegally combined? The most active and prominent amongst you are old offenders, thieves, liars, drunkards, fornicators, quarrellors, blasphemers—men who have abandoned all the duties of religion, and whom God, I fear, has given over to a reprobate sense, and to the passions of shame. There also belong to your combinations a crowd of giddy, thoughtless, dissolute young men, the sons and servants of honest, industrious parents. These classes and descriptions of persons compose your combinations. These are facts which you cannot deny—which you must admit. And this being the case, what right have you to avail yourselves of the grievances and sufferings of other men, and employ them as a cloak to cover your own impiety and crimes? The widow and orphan may have perished, and the honest cottier torn from the land to which nature attached him, may have withered and died, but you are not the child of that widow, nor the son of that peasant. You, indeed, acknowledge this—but, then, you plead “there was no one to relieve the oppressed; no one to avenge the blood of the poor!” But let me first remind you, that revenge is totally forbidden to man, it is reserved exclusively to God. . . . Such proceedings as you adopt are an outrage upon common sense, and a manifest violation of the laws of God and of Society. There may be, and there always will be, oppression and injustice in the world; but of all the oppression and injustice which ever afflicted mankind, there are none so flagrant as the oppression and injustice committed by bodies of men illegally combined. Look to your own deeds! You have commenced by an unlawful and impious oath, in which you called the God of Holiness to witness your crime; you enlarged your combination by force and violence; you confirmed it by drunkenness and the violation of the Lord's Day. You plundered the house where you could meet no resistance; you fled from him whom you most feared and hated; you wreaked your vengeance on the industrious man who supplied you with bread and fed the poor out of his substance; and if you found a man straying in the fields or travelling on the highway unarmed and defenceless, him did you murder or assassinate. And what can you say in your defence? You will say, forsooth! that you were employed in redressing wrongs, in affording protection to the oppressed. But you will be taught how that office did not belong to you; that evil should not be done though good should come from it; that your whole combination was a tissue of iniquity, and that all your deeds were crimes! But let us proceed to consider whether those evils which afflict the country, and which you resort to as a pretext and a cloak for your crimes, may not be alleviated or removed by means which may be adopted without offence or the violation of any law.

The pressure which weighs down all the energies of this country, and produces that disorder which defames and degrades, throughout the universe, the character of Ireland, originates in the oppression of the poor and the weak, by the powerful and the strong. It has been produced by causes which are now remote, and by a system of legislation and government which is now waxing old, and going to decay. Only reflect on the state of Ireland, when your fathers were as young as you now are. In those days there was no law, there was no shame, there was no justice.



All was plunder and oppression, and the indulgence extended to the poor was the degrading indulgence of a master to his slave. The few of us who were wise and virtuous, comprehended the condition of Ireland, and saw that she could pass from a state of bondage and oppression to a state of freedom and abundance, only through the narrow way of obedience to the law, and unqualified allegiance to the ruling power. We preferred that allegiance, and swore to God that we would observe it. We kept our oaths, and in return the penal laws were gradually repealed, and the rights which had been so long withheld from us were at length restored. But whilst we, the Clergy, the gentry, the educated and intelligent of the Irish people, sought for redress by pleading and urging incessantly the justice of our cause, you, who combined illegally against the partial or general oppression, afforded to the common enemy a justification of those harsh laws by which ourselves and our country were kept enslaved; and if the Providence of God had not raised up in the person of Mr. O'Connell, a man who could and did persuade you to seek redress by constitutional and legal means, we would this day be suffering under all the rigours of the penal code.

And now let me appeal to your good sense. If you have effected what was difficult and almost impossible, may you not effect what is not difficult, but easy to be done? If you have torn up the tree by the roots, are you not able to cut off the branches? You are. Until now, combinations, illegal societies, insurrections, nightly excesses, and criminal outrages against persons, property, and law, have retarded and almost defeated every effort of your friends. But no sooner had you become united in mind, orderly in your habits, patient under sufferings, submissive to the law, sober and industrious in your several occupations, than the cause of Ireland began to prosper. Your complaints were heard, your petitions were attended to, and the fountain of all your grievances was dried up. If, therefore, you be sincere in your wishes to remove injustice, to lighten oppression, and to see every man in Ireland enjoying equal rights, be sober, be united, not by oaths but in affection, obey the laws, desist from all combinations, and seek redress for the evils which still press upon you, by legal and constitutional means.

You have everywhere among you priests who are the fathers of the people, especially the poor. When you are aggrieved or injured, they will, if you have recourse to them, represent your sufferings and become your advocates. The evils which you suffer are but light and almost trivial when compared with those borne by your fathers. They, like Abraham, "hoped against hope"; they suffered cheerfully the loss of goods and often even to the spilling of their blood; but you not only can hope, but the prospect of improvement is within your view. God has ordered us to honour the King, and obey those who are sent by him. Let us be Christians, not in name, but in fact, and give honour and obedience to those whom Providence has sent to rule over us. "If any of you suffer," said St. Peter, "let it not be as a thief or a railer, or a coveter of other men's goods."

I now come to that consideration which, though the last in order, is not the least in value or importance, namely, "that the combinations into which you have entered, and the crimes you commit, will prolong and aggravate the evils of which you complain."

It is a maxim of Divine Wisdom, that whosoever undertakes to raise a building should first of all sit down and calculate the expense to be incurred, lest having commenced it and not being able to complete it, his neighbours laugh at him, saying, "this man began to build and could not finish." And let me ask you, have you sat down and reflected on what you have undertaken? Have you, or have you not, exposed yourselves to the contempt and derision of all who know or hear of you? And is there any man who, if so disposed, may not laugh with scorn at the folly of the Whitefeet? Have you not undertaken to make laws for the country, and, instead of being able to enforce them, are you not yourselves in fear of the very daylight, betrayed by your own companions, apprehended as felons, shot, and justly shot, like midnight robbers, or are you not dying of disease in crowded prisons to which your crimes have consigned you, and where the gallows and the transport await the issue of your trial? Oh! senseless men, who has bewitched you not to obey the truth? What spell has bound you under the influence of the vile, and base, and wicked men whose counsels you have preferred to mine, whose yoke you have put on when you cast off the yoke of Jesus Christ! But I have said that "your combinations would aggravate and prolong the evils of which you complain." For, what is the source of your evils? A disregard of yourselves, springing out of your



own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry in improving your own condition. These are your vices—the fruits of long and grinding oppression—which render many of you so base and so vile that the rights of men are denied to you, and less regard paid to your wants and wishes than to the wants or wishes of any other people on the earth. Your situation never will or can improve until sobriety takes the place of drunkenness, until unceasing industry succeed idleness, until good morals, regular conduct, obedience to the laws, and self-respect become the character of the Irish people.

You complain of rack-rents, and tithes, and want of employment, and of the ejection of poor tenants from their holdings; you complain of all these, and you complain of them most justly; but I tell you once more, and I beseech of you to believe me, that all and each of those evils will be prolonged and aggravated by your combinations. No power on earth can at once remedy those evils. All the laws that ever were enacted could not render an idle or a vicious people rich or happy.

Rack-rents, ejection from lands or houses, as well as employment, are things which laws cannot easily control. There is but one local remedy for these evils—let no man deceive you—there is but one remedy for them, and that remedy is, *a legal provision for the poor*. Let every man, therefore, who wishes that a competition for land should cease; let every man who wishes to see the poor exempted from famine and disease, who desire to see the widow clothed, the orphan fed, and the stranger taken in; let every man who is sincerely anxious that the law of nature be not violated, and the law of Christ fulfilled, petition Parliament to enact a legal provision for our poor.

Then, as to tithes, employ against this devouring impost all the resources of your wit and talent, with all the means which the law allows. But in your opposition to this pest of agriculture, and bane of religion, keep always before your eyes a salutary dread of those statutes which guard the tithe. Let no violence, or combination to inspire dread, be ever found in your proceedings. Justice has no need of such allies. In these countries, if you only obey the law, and reverence the constitution, they both will furnish you with ample means whereby to overthrow all oppression, and will secure to you the full enjoyment of every social right.

Praying God to send down his light and his truth upon you, to inform your minds of the error of your ways, and to turn your hearts to the fulfilment of his will, I commend you, deluded, yet beloved Brethren, to his holy care.

✠ J. DOYLE.

Published in the *Leinster Express* of December 12th, 1831.

## APPENDIX VI.

The HON. PETER LALOR, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria, Australia.

The Australian career of the Hon. Peter Lalor, like that of his contemporary, and fellow-countryman, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, reads like a page out of a romance. In Lalor's case the dramatic interest of the story begins with the opening chapter. Having headed the miners' insurrection in Ballarat (where a statue has since been erected to his memory), he found himself an outlaw, for whose apprehension the Government of the day offered a reward of £200. The incident and its sequel were set forth as follows in the *London Star* of February 13th, 1889, when chronicling Lalor's death:—

“By the death of the Hon. Peter Lalor, which has just been telegraphed from Melbourne, a remarkable character in colonial history has disappeared. Born in 1827, he was the youngest son of Patrick Lalor, M.P. for the Queen's County from 1832 to 1835, whom the *Liberator* honoured with the title of ‘Honest Pat Lalor.’ Having finished his course at Trinity College, Dublin, young Peter was seized with the gold fever, and emigrated to Australia, where he was soon one of the hundred thousand diggers at work in the famous field of Ballarat. The colony at that time (1853) was ruled in quarter-deck fashion by a retired navy captain, Sir Charles Hotham, who turned a deaf ear to all the complaints of the diggers. Their principal grievance was the collection by Government officials of extortionate



licence-fees that every digger was compelled to pay every month whether he was getting gold or not. This unjust system culminated at last in a fatal collision between the diggers and the Imperial troops that were then stationed in the colony, but have since been removed. Mr. Lalor, who had been a prominent and powerful speaker at the mass meetings of the aggrieved diggers, was unanimously chosen as their commander-in-chief when hostilities were seen to be inevitable. Under his guidance they entrenched themselves within the Eureka stockade, and were there attacked on the morning of 3rd December, 1854, by the 40th Regiment, under the command of Colonel Thomas. After a brisk engagement the stockade was carried by assault, but Lalor, who had received a bullet in the left arm, escaped capture. For weeks afterwards he was in hiding with £200 on his head. At last a general amnesty was proclaimed, the diggers' grievances were redressed, they were given Parliamentary representation, and the diggers of Ballarat showed their gratitude by electing Lalor as their first member. His left arm had been amputated whilst he was in concealment. There is a curious history of this rebellion, written by Carboni Raffaello, Lalor's aide-de-camp, in which that Italian conspirator refers to his chief as an 'earnest, well-meaning, no two ways, non-John-Bullised Irishman'—a specimen of cantankerous English, strongly reminiscent of Carlyle at his best. For the past thirty-five years Lalor has been a member of every Victorian Parliament save one. He has been Chairman of Committees, Minister of Trade and Customs, Postmaster-General, and finally Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, which position he resigned last year owing to the attacks of an insidious disease. On his resignation the Assembly voted him £4,000 'for distinguished services rendered to the State.' He was a bold and persistent mining speculator, and was at one time worth £100,000, but of late years luck has been against him. He was one of the tallest and handsomest men in Melbourne, and practice had made him a singularly polished and effective speaker. He was only sixty-two years of age. Notwithstanding that he had once been an insurgent chief in arms against the Crown, the Queen twice offered him a knighthood—once through Lord Normanby, and afterwards through the present Premier of Victoria, Sir H. B. Lock. He respectfully declined on each occasion."

He died on the 9th February, 1889.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX VII.

An Account of Heath House, near Maryborough, Queen's County, and its Owners.

By Martin J. Blake, Lincoln's Inn.

During a period of 120 years—from 1760 to 1880—there have been at least as many as twelve successive owners of this place; and of these, seven have been new purchasers. The family names are:—

WESTENRA (1727-1765); SAUNDERSON (1765-1771); BURDETT (1771- ); GORE (1804); O'REILLY (1804-1864); WALL (1864-1880); BLAKE (1880).

In 1765, the date of the first deed relating to the title, Henry Westenra dealing with the property as owner in fee-simple, carved out a leasehold interest for three lives renewable for ever which he demised to Alexander Saunderson of Castle Saunderson, Co. Cavan. This Henry Westenra was the son of Warner Westenra, who represented the Borough of Maryborough in the Irish Parliament for thirty-three years—from 1727 to 1761—and was Seneschal of the King's Manors in Ireland. His family were Dutch, and first settled in Ireland in 1662. Warner Westenra, in all probability, built Heath House. His grandson succeeded to the title and estates of Baron Rossmore, upon the death without issue of the first Baron Rossmore, in 1801. The present (1887) Lord Rossmore—Derrick Warner William Westenra—is the great grandson of Henry Westenra, the first lessor of Heath House. The first lessee, Alexander Saunderson, was an ancestor of the present (1887) Colonel Saunderson, M.P. for North Armagh.

In the first Deed relating to Heath House, dated 25th June, 1765, the property is thus described:—"The house, out-houses, and offices wherein Warner Westenra, Esq., lately dwelt upon the Great Heath; together with 110 acres of land adjoining the same, bounded on the East by the lands of Killenny; on the West, by a part of the demesne lands agreed to be set to William Miles; on the North by the Great

<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkable fact that the Lalor monument at Ballarat—a statue of the *quondam* rebel in his Speaker's robes—was erected at the cost of a wealthy English Colonist, Mr. Oddie, J.P., F.R.S., a native of Preston, in Lancashire.



Heath; and on the South by the lands of Ballycarrol held by Joshua Ridgway." From the next Deed—only five years later—dated 25th May, 1769, it appears that the lessee, Alexander Saunderson, had died, and that Sir John Parnell, Baronet, of Rathleague, Queen's Co., had become entitled to the rent and reversion incident to and expectant on the lease. This Sir John Parnell (who had been created a Baronet of Ireland in 1766) was the ancestor of Lord Congleton, and also of Charles Stewart Parnell.

On the 2nd May, 1771, Rose Saunderson (who had been left the leasehold interest in the Heath House property by the will of her husband, Alexander Saunderson) sold the premises to George Burdett of Ballymann, Co. Kildare. How and when the property passed out of the possession of the Burdett family does not appear from the title deeds. In the year 1804 William Gore, of the City of Dublin, Esq., was possessed of the leasehold interest in the Heath House property. On the 1st May, 1804, he granted a sub-lease for three lives, renewable for ever, of the premises to Dowell O'Reilly, of Dublin, Esq., at a considerable profit rent for himself. Dowell O'Reilly died in 1838. Some years before his death he assigned all his interest as sub-lessee to his eldest son Myles John O'Reilly. Meanwhile the interest of William Gore became vested in another O'Reilly, namely, William O'Reilly, of Dublin, Barrister-at-Law. He was a cousin of Myles John O'Reilly, of Heath House, and married a sister of the latter. This William O'Reilly, on the death of his elder brother in 1841, succeeded to the Knock Abbey estate, Co. Louth, and was father of the late Myles W. F. O'Reilly, of Knock Abbey, M.P. for Co. Longford, who died in 1880.

On the 11th July, 1836, William O'Reilly got a renewal of the lives of the original lease of 25th June, 1765, from the then owner, namely, one John Parnell, of Cannore in the East Indies; and on 25th July, 1836, William O'Reilly renewed the lives under the sub-lease of 1804, for the benefit of the then sub-lessee Myles John O'Reilly. On the 26th July, 1836, William O'Reilly assigned the original lease to Samuel Wilmot, of Stephen's Green, Dublin, M.D. In August, 1836, therefore, the persons interested in the Heath House property were—(a) John Parnell, of Cannore, then the owner of the head rent payable under the original of 25th June, 1765; (b) Samuel Wilmot, who represented the original lessee and was also the lessor of the sub-lease of 1804; (c) Myles John O'Reilly, who represented the sub-lessee under the sub-lease of 1804, and who then (1836) resided in Heath House. In 1848 Samuel Wilmot died. He left his interest in the Heath House property to his widow, Mary Wilmot (formerly Mary Lyons), for her use and that of his five daughters, and appointed his widow executrix. Meanwhile Myles John O'Reilly, the sub-lessee, and occupier of Heath House, seems to have got into financial difficulties, and left Ireland for France, where he resided for many years. A few years before his death he went to live in London. He died in 1857 and by his will bequeathed all his interest in the Heath House property to his eldest daughter Susan Rachel O'Reilly, cutting out his two sons. His eldest son, Myles George Beresford O'Reilly, born in 1829, is still (1887) living. He married in 1858 and has issue two sons and several daughters; he resides (1887) at 6 Denmark Terrace, Brighton.

Susan Rachel O'Reilly married one William Porter, and in 1864 resided at Tripoli in Africa. On the 4th October, 1864, they sold all their interest in the Heath House property to the Reverend John A. Wall. On the 5th May, 1865, Mary Wilmot, the widow and executrix of Samuel Wilmot, also sold to him all interest in the original lease of the 25th June, 1765; so that Wall, in fact, became the purchaser of the interests of the parties representing both the sub-lessee and the original lessee and the sub-lease accordingly merged. On the 5th October, 1865, the Rev. John A. Wall converted the lease for lives renewable for ever of 25th June, 1765, into a Fee Farm Grant under the provisions of the Renewable Leaseholds Conversion Act. The owner of the head rent payable under the original lease was then one John Morton Duckett, of Southsea, Portsmouth.

The Reverend John A. Wall died on 1st May, 1877. By his will (dated 30th January, 1875), which was proved in Dublin on 29th March, 1878, he gave all his real and personal estate to his executors, the Rev. Wm. Berry and Captain Robert S. Shinkwin, on trust to sell. The Rev. Wm. Berry renounced, and a new trustee, Ambrose Wall, was on 3rd July, 1880, appointed. On the 6th August 1880, the trustees, Captain Shinkwin and Ambrose Wall, sold the Heath House property to Charles J. Blake, then residing at Carnacon House, Co. Mayo, who is the second son of the late Valentine O'Connor Blake, of Towerhill, Co. Mayo (who died at Bray, Co. Wicklow, on 9th August 1879).

"Vox emissa fugit, litera scripta manet."



EXTRACTS from the Queen's County Census Returns of 1911.

TABLE I.—HOUSES and POPULATION of the QUEEN'S COUNTY at each of the TEN CENSUSES, from 1821 to 1911.

Census Periods.	Houses.		Population.			Increase or Decrease of Population between the Census Periods.		
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited	Building.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Number of Persons.	
							Increase.	Decrease.
1821	23,105	538	86	134,275	66,738	67,537	-	-
1831	23,873	468	409	145,851	72,469	73,382	11,576	-
1841	25,438	853	117	153,930	76,403	77,527	8,079	-
1851	19,205	1,222	25	111,664	55,556	56,108	-	42,266
1861	16,768	533	40	90,650	45,112	45,538	-	21,014
1871	15,519	275	46	79,771	39,843	39,928	-	10,879
1881	14,211	638	4	73,124	36,861	36,263	-	6,647
1891	13,135	924	29	64,883	33,171	31,712	-	8,241
1901	12,114	918	20	57,417	29,694	27,723	-	7,466
1911	11,660	955	74	54,629	28,711	25,918	-	2,788

TABLE II.—AREA in 1911, and HOUSES and POPULATION in 1901 and 1911, of the PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS and BOROUGHs, and number of ELECTORS in 1911.

Parliamentary Divisions, &c.	Area in Statute Acres in 1911.	Houses.					Out- offices and Farm- steadings in 1911.	Population.			Number of Parlia- mentary Electors.	
		1901.	1911.					1901.	1911.			
			Total.	In- habited.	Unin- habited.	Build- ing.			Persons.	Males.		Females.
OSSORY (Parliamentary Division) ..	240,071	6,691	6,470	5,943	490	37	28,351	29,091	27,339	14,368	12,971	4,589
LEIX (Parliamentary Division), part of (a).	184,767	6,361	6,219	5,717	465	37	20,001	28,326	27,290	14,343	12,947	4,790

(a) The remainder of Leix Parliamentary Division is in the County of Carlow.



TABLE III.—POPULATION of the QUEEN'S COUNTY in 1911, according to RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS, SEXES, and DEGREES of ELEMENTARY EDUCATION; also the POPULATION 9 YEARS of AGE and UPWARDS, and the NUMBER and PORTION PER CENT. of ILLITERATES.

Parliamentary Divisions, and Degrees of Elementary Education. (a)	Religious Professions.																	
	Total.			Roman Catholics.			Protestant Episcopalians.			Presbyterians.			Methodists.			All other Denominations.		
	Persons	Males.	Fem.	Total	Males.	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total	Males.	Fem.	Total		
LEIX (part of),																		
Population at all Ages	27,290	14,343	12,947	24,201	12,793	11,408	2,689	1,331	1,358	139	91	48	186	86	100	75	42	33
Read and Write	21,707	11,460	10,247	18,996	10,100	8,896	2,345	1,160	1,185	131	87	44	171	78	93	64	35	29
Read only	870	435	435	843	422	421	23	11	12	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	1	1
Balance of Population	4,713	2,448	2,265	4,362	2,271	2,091	321	160	161	8	4	4	13	7	6	9	6	3
Population, 9 years and over	22,828	12,142	10,686	20,176	10,808	9,368	2,294	1,138	1,156	126	83	43	168	76	92	64	37	27
Number of do. Illiterate	1,552	889	663	1,515	874	641	35	14	21	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-
Proportion per cent.	6.8	7.3	6.2	7.5	8.1	6.8	1.5	1.2	1.8	-	-	-	0.6	-	1.1	1.5	2.7	-
OSSORY.																		
Population at all Ages	27,339	14,368	12,971	24,279	12,866	11,413	2,618	1,289	1,329	143	75	68	183	85	98	116	53	63
Read and Write	21,831	11,531	10,300	19,187	10,252	8,935	2,245	1,090	1,155	129	68	61	171	78	93	99	43	56
Read only	868	397	471	819	373	446	46	23	23	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
Balance of Population	4,640	2,440	2,200	4,273	2,241	2,032	327	176	151	13	7	6	11	7	4	16	9	7
Population, 9 years and over	22,905	12,112	10,793	20,314	10,857	9,457	2,202	1,074	1,128	124	65	59	165	75	90	100	41	59
Number of do. Illiterate	1,487	844	643	1,436	814	622	42	27	15	-	-	-	1	1	-	8	2	6
Proportion per cent.	6.5	7.0	6.0	7.1	7.5	6.6	1.9	2.5	1.3	-	-	-	0.6	1.3	-	8.0	4.9	10.2

(a) In 1911 the number of persons who spoke Irish and English was 1,427. In 1901 the number was 404.



TABLE IV.—Showing, by SEXES, the Number and Proportion per cent. to the Population, under each RELIGIOUS PROFESSION, of Persons receiving INSTRUCTION in EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS in the QUEEN'S COUNTY at each of the Censuses from 1881 to 1911.

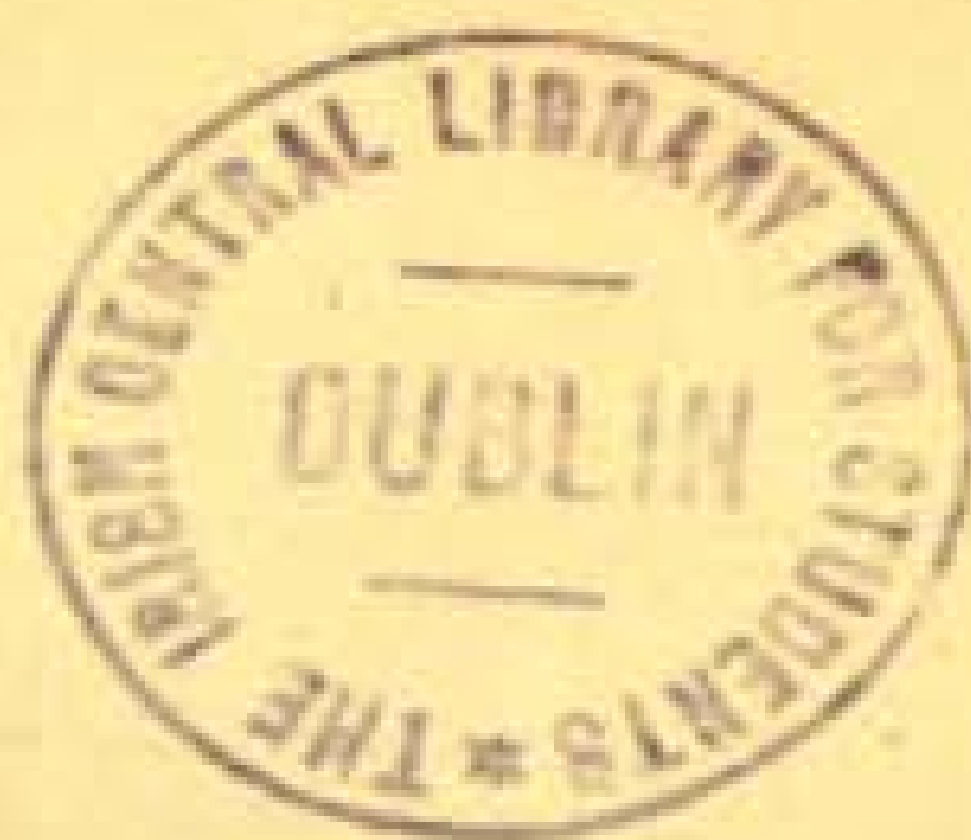
RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS.	CENSUS PERIODS, &c.											
	1881.			1891.			1901.			1911.		
	Persons receiving Instruction.	Per-centage to Popula-tion.	Persons receiving Instruction.	Per-centage to Popula-tion.	Persons receiving Instruction.			Persons receiving Instruction.			Per-centage to Population.	
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.
PRIMARY SCHOOLS :												
Roman Catholics ..	7,965	12·38	7,648	13·43	3,123	3,251	6,374	11·85	13·42	12·60	3,434	3,638
Protestant Episcopalians ..	1,109	14·04	1,070	15·37	409	351	760	14·01	11·58	12·77	363	351
Presbyterians ..	35	12·07	32	10·95	16	8	24	10·59	5·56	8·13	27	20
Methodists ..	25	6·27	53	10·11	15	15	30	7·94	6·52	7·16	10	15
All other Denominations ..	8	4·17	8	4·10	1	1	2	1·45	1·15	1·28	5	7
SUPERIOR ESTABLISHMENTS :												
Roman Catholics ..	219	0·34	259	0·46	412	102	514	1·56	0·42	1·02	489	161
Protestant Episcopalians ..	208	2·63	59	0·85	71	51	122	2·43	1·68	2·05	33	35
Presbyterians ..	6	2·07	6	2·06	-	8	8	-	5·56	2·71	1	1
Methodists ..	1	0·25	7	1·34	5	11	16	2·65	4·78	3·82	6	10
All other Denominations ..	30	15·63	29	14·87	1	16	17	1·45	18·39	10·90	-	12
TOTAL NO. RECEIVING INSTRUCTION :												
Roman Catholics ..	8,184	12·72	7,907	13·89	3,535	3,353	6,888	13·41	13·84	13·61	3,923	3,799
Protestant Episcopalians ..	1,317	16·67	1,129	16·22	480	402	882	16·44	13·20	14·82	396	386
Presbyterians ..	41	14·14	38	13·01	16	16	32	10·59	11·11	10·85	28	21
Methodists ..	26	6·52	60	11·45	20	26	46	10·58	11·30	10·98	16	25
All other Denominations ..	38	19·79	37	18·97	2	17	19	2·90	19·54	12·18	5	19
GENERAL TOTAL ..	9,606	13·14	9,171	14·13	4,503	3,814	7,867	13·65	13·76	13·70	4,368	4,250
											15·21	16·39
												15·77



TABLE V.—EMIGRATION from the QUEEN'S COUNTY during each year, from the 1st of May, 1851, to the 31st of March, 1911.

Years.		Males.		Females.		Persons.		Years.		Males.		Females.		Persons.	
1851 (from 1st May) ..		1,745	1,856	3,601	1871 (from 1st April) ..		565	466	1,031	1891 (from 1st April) ..		375	374	749	
1852 ..		2,335	2,229	4,564	1872 ..		687	562	1,249	1892 ..		369	332	701	
1853 ..		1,738	1,754	3,492	1873 ..		937	848	1,785	1893 ..		320	348	668	
1854 ..		1,427	1,234	2,661	1874 ..		438	427	865	1894 ..		186	257	443	
1855 ..		465	551	1,016	1875 ..		265	309	574	1895 ..		180	235	415	
1856 ..		498	505	1,003	1876 ..		145	168	313	1896 ..		161	158	319	
1857 ..		482	354	836	1877 ..		169	230	399	1897 ..		115	164	279	
1858 ..		249	260	509	1878 ..		224	251	475	1898 ..		150	133	283	
1859 ..		446	501	947	1879 ..		216	238	454	1899 ..		128	152	280	
1860 ..		541	560	1,101	1880 ..		870	932	1,802	1900 ..		140	134	274	
1861 (to 31st March) ..		68	88	156	1881 (to 31st March) ..		89	54	143	1901 (to 31st March)		18	5	23	
Total ..		9,994	9,892	19,886	Total ..		4,605	4,485	9,090	Total ..		2,142	2,292	4,434	
1861 (from 1st April) ..		239	260	499	1881 (from 1st April) ..		620	710	1,330	1901 (from 1st April) ..		87	119	206	
1862 ..		300	302	602	1882 ..		912	800	1,712	1902 ..		125	146	271	
1863 ..		601	531	1,132	1883 ..		865	894	1,759	1903 ..		174	201	375	
1864 ..		730	593	1,323	1884 ..		598	809	1,407	1904 ..		118	120	238	
1865 ..		875	793	1,668	1885 ..		420	518	938	1905 ..		142	93	235	
1866 ..		598	449	1,047	1886 ..		513	674	1,187	1906 ..		160	101	261	
1867 ..		599	503	1,102	1887 ..		834	924	1,758	1907 ..		196	155	351	
1868 ..		225	247	472	1888 ..		618	626	1,244	1908 ..		93	112	205	
1869 ..		337	276	613	1889 ..		589	649	1,238	1909 ..		95	93	188	
1870 ..		588	441	1,029	1890 ..		484	507	991	1910 ..		100	86	186	
1871 (to 31st March) ..		70	63	133	1891 (to 31st March) ..		42	28	70	1911 (to 31st March) ..		16	10	26	
Total ..		5,162	4,458	9,620	Total ..		6,495	7,139	13,634	Total ..		1,306	1,236	2,542	
										GENERAL TOTAL ..		29,704	29,502	59,206	





## APPENDIX IX.

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The following places, of which we have given illustrations, are on, or near, the boundary of the Queen's County :—

**CLOGRENNAN.**—The Castle of Cloughrenan, or Cloghrennan, is on the W. bank of the Barrow, at the junction of the Queen's County and County Carlow, and was built in the fifteenth century by the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, to defend a pass between the river and an extensive wood called Grennan, a portion of which still remains. In 1562 it became the principal residence of Sir Edmund Butler, second son of James, the ninth Earl of Ormond. In 1642, during the rebellion, his descendant, Richard Butler, kept a garrison for the King, which garrison was strengthened and relieved by James, the twelfth Earl and Duke of Ormond. In 1662 his second son, Richard Butler, was created Baron of Cloghrennan, and afterwards Earl of Arran. Subsequently the Castle came into the possession of the Rochford family, who, when times became more peaceful, abandoned the Castle, and built a modern house on the slope of the hill above it, in a position which commands an extensive and charming view of the County Carlow.

**CARLOW AND ITS CASTLE.**—Carlow, anciently called Catherlough, the city or fort on the river (or on the four lakes, as some derive the word), owes its origin to the Castle erected there in the reign of King John, which secured a pass over the Barrow. The Castle is boldly seated on an eminence overlooking this noble river. It was built an oblong square, flanked with round towers, after the manner of the Norman Castles of the time. In the illustration it is shown as it stood in 1790. One side fell in 1808. Some writers state that it was built by Lord Justice De Lacy in 1180. It was always a strong protection for the English settlers of the Pale, particularly against the MacMurroughs, Kings of Leinster. From a record in the Birmingham Tower (37 Edward III.), we learn that the English had to retreat from Carlow, but they retook the town soon after. In 1397 it was again seized by the MacMurroughs. In 1494 James, brother to Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was attainted at a parliament held at Drogheda for seizing Carlow in the interests of the impostor, Perkin Warbeck. In 1577 Rory Oge O'More burned Carlow, and in the same year Robert Hartpole, constable of the town, with fifty men, issued from the Castle to release Harrington and Cosby, who were prisoners of Rory Oge. In 1642 a detachment from Ormonde's army under Sir Patrick Wemys, relieved the siege of Carlow, besieged by the confederates. The besiegers, 700 in number, fled after burning the town, and 500 half-starved Englishmen were liberated. In 1650 the Castle was again in the hands of the confederate Catholics, but after a close siege it was taken by the parliamentary forces. James I. had made it a corporate town, with the privilege of returning members to parliament, and in 1790 the patronage was in the hands of William Burton, Esq. At this time it was a flourishing town with a population of 5,000, and had a considerable coal trade with the Doonane and Castlecomer collieries. Carlow College had just then been built, also the Protestant Church, the Military Barracks, the Courthouse, and the Catholic Church which did duty till Dr. Doyle erected his stately Cathedral in 1832.

**ATHY.**—In 119 a battle between the Leinster and Munster men was fought at Athy, in which the Munster chief was slain. His name was Ae, and from him the place has been called Ath-I, the ford of Ae. Here also occurred that memorable incident commemorated by Moore, when the Ossorians confronted the army of Brian Boru returning from Clontarf, and found every second man in Brian's vanguard a wounded soldier tied to a stake ready to fight and die. To their honour be it told that the Ossorians refused to give battle to their brave foes in such a pitiable condition. In the thirteenth century two monasteries were founded at Athy by the English, and at the time the inhabitants of the place were mostly English. In 1315 Athy was plundered by Bruce. In 1413 the castle and bridge



of Athy were built by Sir John Talbot, afterwards Lord Furnivall. In 1546 O'More and O'Connor attacked Athy, burned both town and monasteries, and committed great slaughter on the Irish and English inhabitants. In the reign of Henry VII. it was enacted by parliament that the assizes of the County Kildare should be held at Naas and Athy alternately, and this continued in force till 1859. Athy was made a corporation in 1615, but it was represented in parliament from 1560. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was M.P. in 1783. In 1648 Preston besieged Athy, but was beaten off by O'Neill's forces. On the approach of Hewson in 1650 the Catholics blew up the bridge and castle of Athy.

REBAN.—Reban, or Rheban, is on the W. bank of the Barrow, two miles above Athy. Under the name of Rheba it is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century in connection with Duma, and these places are stated to be inland cities of Ireland. The best authorities identify them with Reban and Dunamase. The only remains of the ancient city is a deep quadrangular ditch with a high conical mound on the W. side. It belonged to ancient Leix, and was one of its outposts. At the coming of the English, with Dunamase, it came into possession of Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who gave it in fee to Richard de St. Michael, making him Baron of Rheban. In the reign of King John a castle was built on the N.E. side of the old fort, the ruins of which still remain. In 1315 the castle was taken by Bruce. In 1325 it was taken, along with Dunamase and its dependent castles, by Laiseagh O'More. In 1428 it became the property of the seventh Earl of Kildare, through marriage with the daughter of Anthony O'More. In 1648 it was held by Owen Roe O'Neill. An ancient fair was held at Reban, which was afterwards removed to Athy. See Ware, and *Anthologia Hibernica*.

MONASTEREVAN.—It was a Cistercian abbey founded by Darmit O'Dempsey, and its abbot sat as a baron in parliament. At the general suppression it was granted to Lord Audley, who assigned it to Adam Loftus. In the war of 1641 Loftus was Lord Chancellor, and held his Court of Chancery in the great hall of the abbey. During the war help was frequently sent from here into the Queen's County against O'Neill, as mentioned in the text. Alice, daughter of Loftus, married the second Earl of Drogheda, and the Monasterevan property came into the possession of that family. In 1767 the sixth Earl of Drogheda made extensive improvements on the abbey building, but still preserved the venerable appearance of the original Gothic structure, and the above-mentioned central hall still exists, lined with fine old Irish oak. *Anthologia Hibernica*.

GARRYHINCH.—The old mansion of Garryhinch was partially destroyed by fire in the spring of 1914, a few days before the photo was taken. The property was sold to the tenantry in 1911. The purchase of their holdings by the Queen's County tenants has been going on steadily for some years; and up to 1914 the number of sales effected under the Land Purchase Acts has been 5,632.

ORMOND A PRISONER.—The two illustrations of the capture of Ormond by Owny Mac Rory O'More are from contemporary pen and ink sketches of the event, preserved in Trinity College. The sketch to the left is published in "*Pacata Hibernia*," and represents the commencement of the parley, with the opposing parties drawn up in opposite ranks. The sketch to the right is published in *Ledwich*, and represents the moment of capture, after the parley had proceeded for some time, and the opposing ranks had got mixed up together.



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