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*Sir, George Carew.*

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# PACATA HIBERNIA

OR

## A HISTORY OF THE WARS IN IRELAND

DURING THE REIGN OF

Queen Elizabeth


ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF MUNSTER UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF

SIR GEORGE CAREW

AND COMPILED BY HIS DIRECTION AND APPOINTMENT

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

STANDISH O'GRADY 

*WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS AND PLANS*

VOL. I.

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ORIGINAL TITLE PAGE.

*PACATA HIBERNIA,*  
**IRELAND**  
APPEASED AND REDVCED:

OR,

*AN HISTORIE*  
OF THE LATE WARRES OF IRELAND,  
*Epecially within the Province of Mounster,*

UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE CAREW, KNIGHT,

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

WHEREIN

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

And many other remarkeable Passages of that time are related.

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

---

IUVENAL. SAT. 10.

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

---

LONDON,  
PRINTED BY A. M.

1633.

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

1999

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## PREFACE.

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THE events of the sixteenth century in Ireland have, more than those of any other, determined the relations of this island with Great Britain. Subsequent Anglo-Irish history appears to have unfolded itself logically enough from the so-called "Tudor Conquest" of Ireland. Yet the history of the century in this, its Anglo-Irish aspect, in spite of all that has been written about it by Froude and others, is still very obscure. If the views advanced in this Preface and in the notes do not receive a ready acquiescence, though they are, I believe, amply sustained by the text of the book under consideration, it must be remembered that not until very recent years, with the publication of the State Papers for the period, have students been placed in possession of materials upon which to form a correct judgment. For myself I can say that I have approached those materials with the sole object of learning the facts as they actually were, and of discovering the conclusions to which they lead, conscious of no prepossession or bias in any direction. In those vast masses of letters and public documents, chiefly letters, the whole life of the times, external and internal, is laid bare before us ; for the majority of those letters and communications were private, and never intended to meet the public eye.

PACATA HIBERNIA is one of the most interesting and important monuments of Anglo-Irish history ; being the work of a man who himself participated in the events which he describes ; and from his own point of view describes those events with great frankness. Yet its full historical value can only be appreciated by one who has also studied the State Papers, and reads it in the light which that study yields. The PACATA embraces altogether only a period of less than three years, and is concerned only with events occurring in a single province—that of Munster. And yet, when rightly read, it will be found to throw much light upon all those convulsions, tumults, and rebellions with which Irish history in this century so teems. It commences with the joint entrance of Lord Mountjoy upon the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and Sir George Carew upon the Presidency of Munster in 1600, and ends with the suppression in 1603 of the Munster insurrection, which was excited by the landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale. But its atmosphere, unlike that of any modern book treating of the times, is the atmosphere of the age ; in every sentence we breathe the air of the sixteenth century ; we are in the presence of actualities, face to face with real and actual men, can almost hear them speak, and feel around us the play of the passions and the working of ideas and purposes so characteristic of that age, so foreign to our own. Such an experience must bring enlightenment. PACATA HIBERNIA, once well read, is certain to produce a lasting effect upon the mind of the reader. The book deals with the stormy conclusion of a stormy century, the lurid sunset of one of the wildest epochs in our history.

Whence arose those cruel throes and unexampled convulsions, that agony of bloodshed, of wars and

massacres, and ruthless devastation, extending with hardly a break over a lapse of time which embraced three generations of men? In 1172 the high king of all Ireland, the petty kings and the Church accepted Henry II. as their lord. Thenceforward for some two centuries the kings of England governed Ireland, so far as the feudal system, modified here by Irish manners and customs, permitted a country to be governed by its acknowledged ruler. This state of things, owing to a variety of causes, chiefly the terrible confusions wrought in Ireland by the two Bruces, Robert and Edward, was interrupted in the fourteenth century, and the authority of the kings of England as lords of Ireland reduced to the narrow dimensions of what is known as the Pale. Outside that small straggling and ever-shifting area the whole country was governed by independent Norman-Irish nobles and by Irish chieftains, who in their own language called themselves kings, and who in fact were kings.

So when the Tudor dynasty succeeded the Plantagenet, the kings of England, though titular lords of Ireland, were so only in name. In fact, at the commencement of the sixteenth century the Crown had hardly any power in Ireland. The country was governed by eight or ten great lords, under whom were from sixty to eighty minor lords; dependent to some extent on the great ones, but practically independent within their own domains. Ireland was a nation of nations—the seat of nearly a hundred distinct governments. Even in the Pale the Crown only maintained itself by committing the Government to the head of one of the great families; usually the representative of the House of Kildare. This was a state of things



which could not last. So the Crown almost inevitably came into collision with the dynasts. The history of the century is the history of the wars between the Crown and the great lords—always *Rex* or *Regina* versus *regulum* or *regulos*—though the great issue was complicated by many minor issues, and religion too, and patriotism possibly helped to embroil the situation. The House of Kildare precipitated the controversy by seeking to wrest from Henry VIII. the government of the Pale, the only portion of Ireland which he even pretended to govern. In the collision that great house fell as ruinously as the House of Douglas fell before the King of Scotland, fell with a crash never to rise, and the noise of its great and quite unexpected downfalling shook Ireland. The chieftains perceived that a new power had arisen in Ireland, a power too to which they were aware, traditionally, that their allegiance was due. Rejoicing, they hastened to welcome it. In solemn parliament assembled they proclaimed their Lord Henry no longer Dominus Hiberniæ, but Rex, converting his shadowy lordship into an actual sovereignty. They swore themselves the King's men, accepted State titles at his hands, undertook to pay royal rents to keep his peace and follow his war, "rising-out" with foot and horse to all his occasions.

From the consequences of that solemn act neither they nor their successors, however they may have repented it, were ever able to shake themselves free. Thenceforward Ireland looked to the Crown as the lawful centre of order and authority and the fountain of honour. As for the chieftains, they still remained virtually kings, each man governing his own people, and with a gallows on his lawn to enforce observance of his will.

Now, obviously, this state of things, so highly obnoxious to the genius of the century, could only be temporary and transitional. In one way or another it was necessary that this host of petty kings should be converted into ruled subjects, and, no other centre of authority showing itself, all those converging forces which were compelling the race towards unity, internal peace, and all those institutions, good and bad, which we collectively sum up under the term "civilization," rallied round the power which the chieftains themselves had so solemnly acknowledged. A masterful king like Henry, endowed with a certain degree of common sense and a certain manly sympathy with men, might have guided the country bloodlessly through the great social and political revolution which was now inevitable, and the outcome of which could have been no other, in any event, than a chieftainry converted into a *noblesse*.

From Henry's death we seem to see the State not steered or sailed, but drifting, labouring through seas of blood, not guided to its destination by a human understanding, but blindly reeling thither, driven by purblind elemental influences which, for want of a better name, we may call the genius of the age. From wars and rumours of wars thenceforward the island was never free, fratricidal wars, and such wars! murderous, devastative, sparing neither the poor unarmed peasant, nor the bald head of the ancient, nor the bald head of the infant, nor the woman heavy with child. The Shane O'Neill wars and the Desmond wars are somewhat familiar to all readers, but to what extent the State embroiled itself with the chieftains and the chieftains resisted the State will be realized when I mention the fact that, in the time of which our



text treats, there was no chieftain or considerable lord in the island who had not been at some time in his career out in action of rebellion. For the chieftains often gave as much as they got, and many of them had beaten the State and wrung their own terms from the Government by sword and fire, and oftentimes the Government shrank from the challenge and permitted the stripped and indignant chieftain to have his own way. Whence, as may be imagined, consequences ensued. Consider too the significance of such an entry as the following in our annals:—

“Ulick, Earl of Clanricarde, Captain of the High Burkes, terribly at war this year with his brother Shane of the Clover, but both at peace with the Government.”

Of the many insurrections and wars which the conduct of this great controversy made inevitable, the most formidable and successful by far was that which was raised in 1593 by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and the great lords of the North. Tyrone worsted many times the Queen's armies in the North; notably in the Battle of the Blackwater. His ally, the celebrated Red Hugh O'Donnell, repeated those victories in the West. In short the State was found quite unable to suppress Tyrone and the confederated lords who supported him. FitzWilliam, Lord Russell, Lord Burrowes, and the Earl of Essex, successive Viceroy, all failed. Then the Queen appointed Mountjoy as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the President of Munster having been recently slain in battle by the southern insurgents, nominated Sir George Carew to the Presidency of Munster, the province being at the time in full rebellion. It is at this point that the writer of *PACATA HIBERNIA* begins his very singular tale.

Who wrote the book? Thomas Stafford, who is responsible for the publication, only gave himself forth as Editor. The MS., he tells us, was found amongst Carew's papers after his death, with an intimation that it had been drawn up under Carew's direction, and with the aid of documents supplied by him. Internal evidence proves that it was not the work of mere scribes and secretaries working under Carew's supervision. *PACATA HIBERNIA* was plainly written by one man, a man who was through the Munster wars with Carew, who was very close to his person, and entertained for him a great and sincere personal admiration. It is the outcome of a single mind; the uniformity of the style, the simplicity and unity of the point of view prove that. It is also the work of a soldier, not of a civilian; of one to whom war was a trade, and who always treats of it with a soldier's downrightness and grim hard emphasis. Veracious, too, it is to an unusual degree, though we must always make allowances for the man's point of view. Also, it was written shortly after the events, and long before its first publication in 1636. The battle-smoke clings still to the pages—the wrath of the soldier fresh from scenes of blood burns there still. He still hates his foes; applauds anything and everything done for their destruction; cannot see or even suspect that there was any good thing in any of them. A Lieutenant Thomas Stafford served under Carew, and is mentioned once only, at the storming of Dunboy. He was almost certainly the writer of *PACATA HIBERNIA*. If so, what an amazing suppression of self! Consequently, the book has that interest and value which always belongs to the writings of a man who was himself an actor in the events which he describes. Those events, too,

led up to and include the Battle of Kinsale; one of the grand turning-points in Anglo-Irish history. Indeed, it might well be reckoned amongst "the Decisive Battles" of the world's history. Had its event fallen out differently all Ireland would have joined the Spaniards; for there was not in the island another Queen's army, nor the means of raising one; and it was certainly the purpose of Spain to "entertain" the Irish nation, at the time extremely warlike and full of veteran soldiers, for the invasion of England, where a great Catholic party was ready to co-operate, and that, too, with the Queen on her death-bed. Spain could not have governed Ireland; but Spain could very easily have formed into a great army for foreign service the multitude of first-rate soldiers with whom the island teemed.

And yet PACATA HIBERNIA is by no means so valuable from the conventionally historic point of view, as for the light, often a most unwelcome light, which in a hundred ways it sheds upon the manners of the Irish nobility, chieftainry, gentry, and people of Ireland at this time, and upon the methods, policy, and personnel of Queen Elizabeth's Irish officials and military commanders, of whom Carew may be regarded as quite the *ne plus ultra* in certain directions. When one passes from the pure and ardent out-pourings of the "Four Masters," in whose pages every Irish magnate, and even every conspicuous Englishman serving in the country, figures with something of the port of an ancient hero, to that Irish world or section of it which has been illuminated for us by Stafford's prosy but veracious pen, we are conscious of a sore sense of disappointment—nay, of dismay and even shame. The same tale of almost subterhuman baseness and wicked-

ness is revealed by the contemporary State Papers ; of a brutal soldiery, more like chartered stout-thieves and robbers than soldiers, murderers more than warriors ; of wily Machiavellian statesmen, most false and perfidious, all, or almost all, familiar with the dagger and the bowl as short cuts to their ends ; of a native aristocracy, almost every man of whom had his price, frankly posting up that price in the secret market kept by the State for that vile traffick ; men whom no oaths could bind, or any public or religious principle control ; Earls, Barons, great territorial chieftains, belted knights, and high gentlemen offering for money or land to betray their cause and their comrades. Slowly but surely the monstrous criminality of the men of this age, evidenced by testimonies gradually accumulating as one pores over the contemporary monuments—usually letters written by their own noble-ignoble hands—rises before the mind of the amazed reader. For money or land there appear to have been few things to which even the greatest of them would not stoop ; stoop lower even than the basest men of our own time. From reputation after reputation the perusal of these documents, now brought to light out of the dark archives of the State, strips away all the glamour and glitter, revealing not men greater than ourselves, but—at least as judged by modern standards of private honour and public principle—a great deal worse. Examples sufficient will be forthcoming in this work of Stafford's ; yet Stafford does not tell the worst. He does not tell, for example—apparently he did not know it—how Carew and the Lord Deputy of Ireland despatched James Blake into Spain, with instructions to poison his friend and associate, the brave and chivalrous Hugh Roe.



Take now on the other hand a quite typical example of the ignoble depths to which our "great gentlemen" would stoop for the achievement of their purposes. The reader will recognize his type in a great many of the southern territorial magnates with whom the text is concerned. Brian Ogue O'Rourke, of the Battle-axes, the O'Rourke, high lord of all Leitrim, is a character in the *PACATA HIBERNIA*. It was he who gained the brilliant victory of the "Battle of the Curlew Mountains" over Sir Conyers Clifford and the Queen's forces. In the "Four Masters" his appearances are always characterized by a certain greatness; and from the pages of *PACATA HIBERNIA* he passes forth unscathed. Once I regarded him as one of the few stainless, simple, and heroic characters of the age. But, alas! very few indeed are the reputations which can stand the fierce light shed by the letters recently unearthed from the archives. Brian Ogue was the eldest son of Brian na Murtha O'Rourke, Brian of the Ramparts,<sup>1</sup> of whom it was recorded that "a prouder man walked not the earth in his time." In 1589 Brian na Murtha went into rebellion, recalling his son, Brian of the Battle-axes, from Oxford to join him. Brian Ogue (junior) fought in that war, and did some brilliant feats as lieutenant to his father. Eventually the old proud chieftain was taken prisoner, brought to London, and there beheaded at Tyburn. Hardly had his father's head fallen when Brian Ogue wrote a letter to the Privy Council, informing them that in his opinion<sup>2</sup> his father had met with a fit punishment for all his "fractiousness," and inviting

<sup>1</sup> There is a sketch of his character and career in the "Bog of Stars," by the editor.

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, April 3, 1592.

the Government to appoint to his father's seignory such an excellent and dutiful young man as himself; flattering his father's murderers (for as such, of course, he regarded them), in the hope that they would give him his father's land and rule. When the Queen and Council, recalling the recent record of this young Oxonian, did not see their way to this, Brian Ogue became a chief pillar of the Tyrone rebellion. One is not surprised to find him afterwards proposing to betray the Catholic and dynastic cause to Sir Conyers Clifford, President of Connaught; for the confederated chieftains were generally playing that game, being, as I have said, nearly all in the market. But the baseness of this letter reveals the yet lower depths of ignominy to which our "great gentlemen" could descend in their dealings with the State. And the affair, too, exhibits a ludicrous aspect as well as a dismal; for the young man had been quite as "fractious" as his father; had preyed and burned far and wide; and killed or half killed a sheriff among other feats. Indeed, I believe that since the publication of our sixteenth century State Papers, all well-informed Irishmen have ceased to look for patriotism or any sort of public spirit in any of these sixteenth century insurgent lords—save only in the chief ones, Tyrone and Hugh Roe.

But then, in their own way, which was a different way, the statesmen and officials were just as bad, or worse. We shall find Carew in the following pages writing decoy letters, crammed with such phrases as "God," and "Christ," and "holy keeping," hiring a man to assassinate the brave Sir John of Desmond, and generally holding a market for assassins. In his private correspondence with Mountjoy we find him

relating with glee how his creature, James Blake, tracked the brave Hugh Roe O'Donnell into Spain, and there poisoned him under the guise of friendship.<sup>1</sup> The phial of the cowardly was in as much request as the dagger of the bold. Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, and Viceroy, sought to poison Shane O'Neill when Shane beat him in the field. Perrott, Viceroy, tried to poison Feagh MacHugh, the Wicklow chieftain. Bingham suborned a cut-throat to kill the proud O'Rourke, lord of Leitrim. Mountjoy employed Thomas Fleming to assassinate O'Neill. Why multiply instances? All the Viceroys and Presidents and chief military men sought to assassinate, or were willing, should the occasion arise, to assassinate insurgent lords whom they were unable to conquer. Froude, who is not easily shocked, expresses a manly horror at that attempt to poison Shane O'Neill; but comforts himself with the thought, to which he gives vehement expression, that *only once* was that short cut *viâ* Hell adopted by British statesmen. But Froude had a way of his own of reading State Papers; and an extraordinary faculty for not seeing what he did not want to see. I do not impute unveracity—

<sup>1</sup> Carew to Mountjoy: "O'Donnell is dead, and I do think it will fall out that he is *poisoned* by *James Blake*, of whom your lordship hath been formerly acquainted. At his coming into Spain he was suspected by *O'Donnell*, because he *embarked at Cork* (under my authority); but afterwards he insinuated his access, and *O'Donnell is dead*. He never told the *President* in what *manner* he would *kill* him, but did assure him it *should be effected*." The italicized words are in cypher.—Carew MSS., October, 1602.

Carew to Mountjoy: "*James Blake of Galway*. . . took a solemn oath to do service that should merit good opinion and reward. I applauded his enterprise; whereupon he departed from me and is gone into *Spain* with a determination, bound with many oaths, to *kill O'Donnell*. God give him strength and perseverance." May 28th, 1602.



only reckless headlong reading and violent preconceptions.

When so many instances stand out we may conclude, indeed must conclude, that the assassination of insurgent lords was a settled and fixed State method. Nor can we be at all sure that sixteenth century statesmen did stop with insurgent lords. Walter, Earl of Essex, father of Robert, whose ears the Queen caused to tingle, was, as he said himself on his death-bed, poisoned by English hands, presumably set to work by the husband of Amy Robsart. I believe the history of Europe in general in those times reveals the fact that assassination, as a safe and economical method of getting rid of inconvenient persons, was universally practised; and that there was no occasion at all for Froude's elevated hands of pious horror relative to the poisoned wine which Master Smith of Dublin, by the direction of the Viceroy and consent of the Queen, administered to Shane O'Neill and his household.

Nor can we defend these people by reference to contemporary moral standards. These men *were* worse than the rest. Outside the little group of State initiates and their hired ruffians, there were few English or Irish gentlemen of that day who dreamed that such things were being done, or who, hearing of them, that they were done, would not have been struck with horror. The statesmen of the sixteenth century *were* worse than their contemporaries who were not statesmen; and, like all bad men, shrouded their proceedings in a cloak of darkness. The paper in which Carew relates the assassination of Hugh Roe was written in cypher. Had Cromwell and Ireton been educated in Tudor methods they would have poisoned Charles the First

in prison; written letters steeped in tears to all the courts of Europe; and celebrated his obsequies with a splendid funeral. That was what Burleigh would have done. Henceforth we shall have to dismiss a great many of our conventional notions with regard to the men of Elizabethan times. Mr. Froude's picture of the upright, God-fearing, and civilized Englishman contending against a flood of Celtic barbarism is doubly untrue, for the Englishmen were the reverse of saints; and as for the flood of Irish barbarism, nothing is more evident on the very surface of our history than that, in the great controversy between the Crown and the dynasts, it was this very flood of Celtic barbarism which sustained and bore forward the ship of State. In less metaphorical language the Crown, in all its struggles with the great dynastic houses, always had the majority of the Irish nation on its side. For the controversy was not at all England *versus* Ireland, but the Crown, plus the majority of the nation, *versus* the great lords.

To read PACATA HIBERNIA aright it will be necessary to understand the nature of the controversy; appreciate the motives and divine the instincts of those Irish forces, social, political, and military, which adhered to the Crown; and by whose adherence, for of itself it was nought, the Crown emerged victorious from that long struggle, with all the dynastic Houses of the realm laid in ruins.

For it is not a mere opinion but a fact, easily verifiable, that the nation, as distinguished from the insurrectionary lords, was always strong for the Crown. In the great Desmond rebellion, the Crown directed upon the Southern Geraldines not only the rest of Ireland, so far as it was liable to military service, but

in Munster alone the two great and warlike nations of the Butlers on the East, and the ClanCartie on the West, besides the Barries and a host of other minor septs. In fact, at the bidding of the Crown, all the rest of the South of Ireland flew upon the doomed Geraldine like hounds upon their quarry. In the Shane O'Neill wars the Crown was able to direct upon the great northern insurgent not only the rest of Ireland, so far as it was liable to military service, but in Ulster, the Maguires of Fermanagh, the O'Donnell of the North-West, the MacDonalds of Antrim, and many other great Irish clans. In the greatest rebellion of all, that led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the Crown always held under its control, and was able to direct upon Tyrone some two-thirds, or even a great deal more, of the whole of Ireland. Never at any time, even at the highest height of the rebellion, was Tyrone able to count upon more than one-third of Ireland; and to give Tyrone anything like this proportion of the superficies of the island, one must reckon in Munster as his, and the nature of the Munster rebellion will be sufficiently revealed in the following pages. With hardly a blow struck in the field, Carew, by mere policy, by letters, by private plausible chat, bribes, and generally the *suaviter in modo*, recalled to the side of the Crown the revolted lords and gentlemen of Munster. The Munster rebellion was, in fact, a mere emeute, a wild explosion; which we flatter by describing as a rebellion. Munster was never a portion of Ireland over which Tyrone exercised any real sway. The revolted lords of Munster had their own causes of complaint; but if it ever became a question whether the State or Tyrone should rule them, they were pretty well determined in their minds that it should not be

Tyrone. This will be clearly perceived in the progress of our tale. So if we deduct Munster, the area of Tyrone's rebellion will not at all represent a third of the superficies of Ireland—hardly a fourth.

This commotion amongst the lords and gentlemen of Munster, in the midst of which Carew arrived, had no root in national principle or religious principle, and so yielded before Carew's soft words, his insidious messages, his assassinations, and his occasional vigorous action. After a decent interval the lords and gentlemen of Munster, though they had sworn on the Mass to O'Neill, came trooping back and renewed their oaths to the Queen on the Bible. The whole of this vile business—for vile it was, look at it how we may—is very fully and very vividly portrayed in *PACATA HIBERNIA*.

Nor can it for a moment be suggested that the Royalist Irish were such only in seeming, and that their action was due to overweening military pressure on the part of the State; for the State, apart from its Irish troops and supports, was nothing. At the outbreak of the Nine Years' War the Queen's army of Ireland was less than a thousand men all told; in fact, only 750. For the accomplishment of all its minor purposes the State relied on the "risings-out" of the country. Every noble, chieftain and considerable gentleman was assessed at so many soldiers, horse and foot, and by law or by treaty with the State was under the obligation of "rising-out"—as the phrase ran—with that force on receiving the Queen's summons. The Queen's muster-masters went through the land inspecting and reporting upon the condition of this feudal militia. The Queen not only permitted, but compelled her Irish subjects to carry arms, and be



expert in their use. If anyone will reflect but for a moment upon this central fact of the situation, he will perceive that it is quite incompatible with the idea that Ireland was hostile to the Queen's Government, and only held down by stern military pressure from above. When a government not only permits but compels a nation to carry arms and arrange itself on a warlike footing, it appears to me to be proof positive that the government does not fear the nation; and that the nation, though here and there breaking into sporadic insurrection, must be regarded as, in fact, friendly to its government. I am referring here only to the territorial lords and gentry, but the loyalty of the middle class, the mercantile interest of the island—a highly important and influential element in Elizabethan-Irish society—was even still more remarkable. For individuals of the territorial aristocracy, or combinations of such, were perpetually in action of rebellion; the mercantile interest never, but very decidedly the reverse.

Without exception the walled towns and cities, inland and seaboard, held by the Crown in all those wars, including the Nine Years' War—Tyrone's war. It is useless to endeavour to upset this cardinal fact by reference to State Papers in which the disloyalty, etc., of townsmen is animadverted upon. The fact remains that not one of the walled towns, inland or seaboard, declared at any time in favour of any of the insurgent lords; no more than did the walled towns and cities of the Continent when the same controversy of Crown *versus* the great feudal dynasts was being fought out there. And for the same reason. The walled towns represented commerce; and commerce cares little for right and wrong, but cares a great deal for peace, law,

and order. The cause of peace, law, and order—of despotism, too, had men been able to see a little beyond their own noses—seemed to the mercantile interest to be bound up with the cause of the Crown. Europe felt that and so did Ireland. The walled towns went hotly with the Crown throughout the whole course of the controversy between the Crown and the territorial autocracies. Nor can it be pretended that they were coerced, for the walled towns were self-governing and self-defended. The townsmen manned their own walls and towers and held their own gates. Each had its own armed force, and every substantial burgher was a soldier, and owed his first duty to the town of which he was a citizen ; and in war-time all such towns sent forth their legal quota to fight for the Crown—never to fight for any great lord. Wherever the Crown walled in a village or permitted a village to be walled in, there a royalist *point d'appui* was at once established. Here is an instance—one out of many. In the time of Philip and Mary, Maryborough, in the Queen's County, was so walled in. At the same time the O'Moores, who were the clan-regnant of that territory, were destroyed or exiled. A little before the time at which our tale begins, Owny O'Moore, chief of that clan, broke out, conquered the county in all its borders, held it for some seven years, but never once could find an entrance into Maryborough. The Maryborough men, having walls and gates, were Queen's men. They closed their gates against the O'Moore and manned the ramparts. Were these Maryborough men fools ? The probability is that, like most shopkeepers and commercial men, they understood their own interests pretty well ; rather better than we at the distance of three centuries, and quite out of all that hurly-burly,



can possibly understand them. The Maryborough men, like all the Borough men of Ireland, went with the Crown, repelled the advances of their own territorial great lord; and, when the legal time arrived in each year, sent forth their quota of armed men to fight for the Crown, and war down the territorial great ones.

Nor was the young O'Moore an unworthy candidate for their support. Here is his obituary notice from the "Four Masters":—

"Owny, son of Rory Ogue O'Moore, for a long time an illustrious renowned and conspicuous gentleman,<sup>1</sup> was slain by the Queen's people, and his death gave a check to the valour, bravery, and courage of the Irish of Leinster and of all Ireland. He was the sole rightful heir of his territory; and he gained the government of it, by the power of his hand and determined strength of heart, from the grasp of foreigners and tyrants, who were reducing its former greatness for a long time before that, until he brought it under his own rule and control, and under the management of his officers and soldiers, according to the custom of the Irish, so that none of the towns of his patrimony were out of his possession except Maryborough only."

This young chieftain figures in the remarkable scene with which *PACATA HIBERNIA* opens. He is the principal figure in the plate which accompanies it, straddling somewhat vaingloriously (so the unfriendly artist shows him), wearing a Spanish hat and feather and an ample Irish cloak.

Indeed, the walled towns of Ireland were so hot for the Queen, that they frequently went beyond their duty, and voluntarily advanced large sums of money to the

<sup>1</sup> Of his father, Rory Ogue O'Moore, I have given a sketch in the "Bog of Stars," under the title of "The Outlawed Chieftain."

Government to aid its efforts for the suppression of insurgent great lords. So the Mayor and Burgesses of Waterford advanced £300 (some £4,000 of our money) to the Lord Deputy for the Queen's service, and at their own cost maintained the garrison of Dungarvan.<sup>1</sup> Yet in all Waterford at the time there were probably not a score of Protestants. The men of Waterford at this time used to speak of their city as the "Queen's Bed-chamber." The town was Royalist, and proud of the fact.

The walled towns of Ireland went with the Government, because they instinctively hated broils and hurly-burlies, and feared the tyranny of the contiguous earls and chieftains more than they feared the tyranny of the Crown. Frequently in the State Papers of the period we find these towns referred to as "the sheet anchor of the State." Sir Warham St. Leger, Vice-President of Munster, in one of his letters employs that common metaphor with a certain original emphasis. He describes the walled towns of Munster as "the sheet anchor of the Province which have holden true in all storms." In our own text we shall find all the towns of Munster sending their legal force of fighting men to swell the Queen's host encamped before Kinsale.

We are not surprised, therefore, to discover amongst Carew's instructions a very particular one, that he should be most scrupulous and careful how he invaded any of the privileges of these strongly Royalist communities. For the State knew very well what a power in the land were these walled towns, and how much it owed to their loyalty. Indeed, without the support of the towns, without the free entrance into the realm

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1591-3, p. 445.

which they supplied to the Imperial Government, and the prestige with which their loyalty invested the Imperial cause, the State could not have maintained itself for six months against Tyrone. The State did indeed meditate the overthrow of that independence which was enjoyed by the towns; but prudently, we might say cunningly, postponed the execution of its purpose till stormy weather should abate, and till the ruin of the great dynastic families of the open country should have been accomplished. So our crafty Carew was profoundly respectful to the Sovereigns and Mayors and Portreeves of the walled towns of Munster while the territorial classes were in rebellion, and bullied them unconscionably when there was no great lord in Munster willing or able to "fire a shot against the Crown." The loyalty of the cities and walled towns is a great cardinal historic fact in the history of the sixteenth century in Ireland.

True it is, nevertheless, that the towns often did supply arms and munition to insurgents; for commerce is always commerce—and commercial men then as now not always very nice in the methods by which they make money—and "the grey merchant," as he was termed, creature of twilight and the dusk, knew the road very well between his town and the camp of the nearest lords who were "on their keeping" or "out in action."

Nor again, when we read of the lord of a great territory being in rebellion, need we conclude that the hearts of his people were with him as he went into "the action." It was often very much the reverse. For his rebellion the lord had usually many excellent reasons, and went into action mainly in obedience to the great law of self-preservation; for it was certainly

the fixed and settled, if unavowed, policy of the State to drag down and destroy one by one all such potentates. Sometimes this purpose was accomplished in an open, above-board, uncensurable, and really statesmanlike manner—as when under the famous instrument called “The Composition of Connaught,” Sir John Perrott, the Viceroy, and Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught, persuaded all the western chieftains to surrender their regalities, to become subjects, to pay a quit rent to the Queen; and, instead of the old cuttings and spendings which they exacted upon the minor lords and freehold tenants, accept from them fixed composition rents in lieu of all such irregular services. The custom of tanistry was by this instrument quite cut off, and every man, whether lord or vassal, held his land as a Crown tenant in *tail male*. The minor lords and gentry were very well satisfied with all that, but the great ones soon repented. Hence wars—many wars. Sometimes the State purpose was accomplished by downright attack and invasion; as when the State in 1593 “went for” Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh. Sometimes it was accomplished with a diabolical craft and perfidy, as when Viceroy FitzWilliam journeyed down to Monaghan to instal a new MacMahon in the chieftainship of that territory, bringing with him the “prince designate,” riding down into the North side by side with his murdered man, and on arrival trumped up against him some ancient “borderage,” tried, condemned, and hanged the expectant lord, and confiscated the whole territory. By fair means or foul the State was resolved to make away with all the chieftains, and as the foul were more economical, not involving war, often adopted the



foul. But though the chieftain had usually most excellent reasons for his rebellion, many of his subject gentlemen and freehold tenants had also on their side very excellent reasons for rebelling against him, and for joining with the Crown to effect his overthrow. It could have been agreeable to no man to see a troop of hungry, lusty young swordmen crowding into his house, eating and drinking him bare, pulling about his maid-servants, doing, saying, and looking many things of an unwelcome character, and swaggering away without a "thank you." A vast amount of this sort of tyranny and violence prevailed in all territories where a great lord and his retinue of hired warriors and warlike cousinry had the upper hand. Of any great lord's subjects a considerable proportion regarded him with infinitely more hatred than in our days the most oppressed tenants have regarded a rack-renting landlord. If the devil himself had come into Ireland in the sixteenth century offering to such victims of "tanistry" revenge for their wrongs, lands their very own to descend to their sons, light-fixed rents such as those paid by the gentlemen of Connaught under the composition, viz., 10s. per plowland, or a penny an acre, they would have joyfully followed him in the full assurance that he was no devil at all, but an angel of light and liberty. And then, the power which eventually did summon the minor lords and gentlemen of Ireland to throw off the yoke of the great ones—though many diabolical practices emanated from it—was, nevertheless, a power which, in Parliament after Parliament, all Ireland had recognized as the lawful source of sovereignty, the power to which the allegiance of all men was due. For them Elizabeth was not Queen of England

but Queen of Ireland, declared to be such in divers Parliaments of the whole island. Of these, the last prior to the "Nine Years' War" was held in 1585, as full and fair a representation of the nation as could be desired. The "Four Masters" plainly regard it as such, pointing out how every great family in the island sent up a member to that Parliament. So when, at the Queen's summons, the feudatories of a chieftain revolted against him, and joined the Queen's invading forces, apart from all other private considerations such as I have touched upon, they believed that they were fighting for their lawful Sovereign. I am not contending that they were right in doing so, but only endeavouring to explain their attitude, and how they justified it to themselves in their own minds. Most of them had terrible private wrongs to avenge; all looked to escape from a position of uncertainty and insecurity, and to fling off a yoke which they regarded as intolerable. I have read of men who *wept* for joy when they learned that their lord was to rule them no more.

When Boswell praised the felicity of feudal life in Scotland, Dr. Johnson replied,—

"Nay, sir. That could not have been a happy state from which all men endeavoured to escape as soon as they had opportunity."

This is a remark full of sagacity. It is amply justified by our own history. As the State advanced allies and auxiliaries in crowds rose up to welcome it; men, too, who asked no nice questions as to the methods by which it was accomplishing its ends. Bingham, President of Connaught, is a byword in our history for cruelty and ferocity; yet for twelve years he warred down there every insurgent lord; during which period



he did not receive a pound and hardly a soldier from England. Connaught herself bore Bingham on to victory. By Irish hands and Irish moneys he beat down and kept down in the West, "the tyranny of the great ones."<sup>1</sup>

Again, many of the chieftains held their Seignories by no Irish law or custom, but often by English law, and oftener still, sheerly by the strong hand. In support of this, take the following excerpt from a particularly able and well informed State Paper, drawn up indeed by the notorious Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, an ecclesiastical scapegrace, it is true; but, as the whole Paper proves, a man thoroughly acquainted with the country.

"Maguire," he writes, "is a man of great strength. . . . This Maguire thinks himself to be one of the best to keep his country of Fermanagh against any power in Ireland. But if Her Majesty have any cause against him there are many gentlemen of his name that think themselves to have as much right to the country as he. First, Conorough Maguire, who is the principal of the eldest house of that name. This Conorough has a great part of the country in his possession, and if he had the Prince's help would easily expel the other."

Miler's opinion was amply justified by the event; for when the State invaded Fermanagh in 1593, besides divers other Maguires, this Conorough

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Bingham to Burleigh: "He never troubled them at Dublin for one penny of money in his time." This is the burthen of at least a dozen of Bingham's letters, viz., "Connaught was self-supporting in my time." More particularly—"Connaught stood not your Majesty in anything during my time, but as well in war as in peace defrayed itself."—Sir R. Bingham to the Queen, October 22, 1595, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland.

Maguire (*recté* Conor Roe), “rose-out” with all his forces for the Queen, and did, “with the Prince’s help,” expel the reigning Maguire.

In all the dynastic territories the same state of things prevailed; either the reigning dynast had no right to the chieftainship, or there was in the country at least one strong lord who sincerely believed he had a better.

Take the case of the famous Hugh Roe O’Donnell, one of our national heroes—a very great name indeed in Irish history. In the same State Paper Miler examines Hugh Roe’s position as chief of Tyrconnell, and points out that his chieftainship over O’Donnell-land was due to no just right claim or title, English or Irish, but sheerly to the strong hand. He adds that a certain “Hugh Duff O’Donnell has the ancientest right by the custom of the Irishry.” This was quite true. I find it asserted in every State Paper having reference to the O’Donnellship; and, in fact, Hugh Roe had to kill many of Hugh Duff’s people before the latter would give hostages and yield submission.

Again, Miler points out that if the question were one to be decided according to English law, Tyrconnell and its chieftainship belonged to the heir of a certain Calvach O’Donnell, an ally of the Queen in the Shane O’Neill wars, to whom the territory had been granted by patent in *tail male*; and that with the Queen’s countenance and support, this young man and his allies would expel Hugh Roe. Again Miler was right, for when in 1600 the State invaded Hugh Roe, Nial Garf, grandson of Calvach, “rose-out” for the Queen, and broke Hugh Roe’s splendid career. I am not aware of any dynast of this period who held his

chieftainship in accordance with Irish law, but of many who, like Hugh Roe, held it sheerly by the strong hand. All such had domestic foes; subject lords whose title was better than theirs either by Irish law or English law. It will be seen at once what a task these men proposed to themselves when they confederated to resist the advance of the State. With the public opinion of Ireland against them, and surrounded as they each were by such multitudes of domestic foes, the resistance which they did make to the State is marvellous indeed, and argues the possession by them of the highest qualities—even if we should decline to attribute to them the virtue of patriotism or the crusading spirit.

Regard them as what they in fact were, kings, and they will be perceived to be not worse than the breed, but better. Frederick the Great is the typical hero-king of modern Europe; and Frederick the Great, while in war alliance with France, signed a secret treaty of peace with Austria. Frederick, I suppose, salved his conscience by the thought that he was Prussia. Our own traitor-lords, too, no doubt in their treacheries were thinking of their faithful followers as much as of themselves.

Let us return now to Carew's dealings with the lords and gentlemen of Munster, and the marvellous ease with which he bribed, cajoled, or bullied them back to their allegiance. A little before Carew's arrival Tyrone had descended into the province with great power. The magnates generally confederated with him, and swore themselves as members of the Catholic league. Fear of the northern host was probably the impelling motive. It was no idle fear. Tyrone gave Munster one tremendous object-lesson in the conse-

quences of standing by the Queen. Of the lords who would not join him, the captain of the Anglo-Irish nation of the Barrys, Viscount Buttevant, was the chief in name, power, and territory. Tyrone threatened him by letter. Barry replied with another which will be found in the second chapter of this work; refusing to join Tyrone, and stating his reasons. It should be carefully perused for the motives influencing the Royalist Irish lords of that day. It will be found to be intrinsically the letter of a high-minded Irish gentleman. At all events, Barry refused and defied Tyrone to do his best.

Then Tyrone let loose his forces upon the Queen's man. Let the "Four Masters" tell the rest:—

"O'Neill afterwards proceeded to Barry's country, as he was always acting in support of the Queen; and the person who was at that time the Barry was David, son of James, son of Ricard, son of Thomas, son of Edmund. O'Neill remained in the country till he preyed and burned and ransacked it from one corner to the other, both plains and high ground, and smooth ground and rough ground, in such a manner that no one expected or imagined that it would be occupied or inhabited for a long time."

It may be asked, by the way, how this sweeping of the Barry's country, as with a besom of steel and fire, differs at all, essentially, from that devastation of Desmond at the hands of the State, which has been treated as one of the great wrongs inflicted by England upon Ireland.

We may indeed say—nay, must say—that for the State, the central authority, the self-appointed source of light and leading, to imitate the prevailing barbarous methods of warfare as practised here, showed a degree



of criminality infinitely worse than that of the chieftains, who knew no better. In a Sovereign and a Sovereign's Ministers we look for something widely different. But with such an example before us we cannot regard the agents of the Crown as devils, and the insurgents as mere victims of a savage tyranny. A great deal of cant prevails on this subject. If the viceroys and presidents slew non-combatants, women and children, if in their journeyings they diffused around them a zone of pestilence and famine, who sustained them in all that work of hell, who furnished forth their armies, nay, whose were the hands which were actually imbrued in all that innocent blood?

Though the Lord Barry and some others stood out against Tyrone, nevertheless the majority of the lords and gentlemen of Munster did swear to the Catholic confederacy of which Tyrone was head. But ere long they became less enamoured of the new order of things, when Tyrone revived in Munster the two most potent of all the southern autocracies, viz., the Earldom of Desmond and the great MacCartyship. The new Earl of Desmond and the new MacCarty More, if by the help of O'Neill and their own force they could fully re-establish those extinguished Seignories, and revive the old half-forgotten regalities incident to them, would become absolute uncontrollable lords of all Munster. This was not at all the consummation for which the minor lords and gentlemen of the Province were looking. They did not like it at all, and, their oaths to Tyrone notwithstanding, began to cast about for decent pretexts for returning to their allegiance to the Queen. Why those high Seignories were hateful to them I shall presently explain more at large. That general hatred

of the two great autocracies of Munster gave Carew a power over the minds of the gentlemen of Munster, which he proceeded to use with rare craft and cunning. The secret wish of all these small lords and gentlemen was to be quite free; but if they could not be quite free, as it soon became plain that they could not, then they had rather be under the Queen's government than under that of Tyrone's new Earl of Desmond or his new chief of Clan-Cartie, Florence, of whom we shall read so much in the ensuing pages.

The second book of the *PACATA HIBERNIA* is taken up mainly with the doings of O'Sullivan Bere, the last of the chieftains who held out against Carew. A portrait of this chieftain, a man of superior personal qualities, derived from an original now in our historical portrait gallery in Dublin, will be found in the text. His chief seat was Dunboy, twice represented in our plates, a place of considerable historic and latterly of romantic interest (*vide* Froude's "Two Chiefs of Dunboy"). O'Sullivan's country, which includes the picturesque region of Glengariffe, was a portion of the great Seignory of MacCarty More, high chief of the Clan-Cartie. His ancestors time out of mind had been feudatory to this lord. They paid him homage, they kept his peace and followed his war. They rendered him tribute, and the tribute was so great that the chieftain who paid it could be regarded as little better than a sort of land-steward to that mighty Mac, whose full Seignory embraced the western half of Cork and the southern half of Kerry.

When I chanced upon the incidents of this enormous rent, set out in detail in the State Papers, it gave me, I think, the first clue to one of the chief causes which



led to the overthrow of the great lords. The minor lords, ground down and tortured by such cruel rents and exactions as MacCarty More wrung from the O'Sullivans, hated the great ones and co-operated with the State for their overthrow.

Apart from the natural desire of all men to escape from a master, we can guess how ardently O'Sullivan must have desired to see that high Seignory of Clan-Cartie levelled with the dust. Now for many years before the entrance of Tyrone into the Province, the great MacCartyship had been in abeyance. As the State had overthrown the Earldom of Desmond in war, so by policy it had abolished the MacCartyship, all the MacCarty's subject lords aiding and abetting. Then the O'Sullivan Bere, released from that terrible weight of rent, sprang up like a bent sapling. He began to flourish, and even to become a great man, and Dunboy, always a strong fortress, however poorly provided in those lean days, grew famous. O'Sullivan Bere had his own gallows on his lawn, and rode about his mountainous principality like a king. His only fear was that the State might one day work down into his fastnesses—deprive him of his kingship and all his various profitable regalities by land and sea. Of O'Sullivan, too, by the way, I have to tell the same tale as of Hugh Roe and many other chiefs. He too, according to Irish law, was an usurper. He had invoked the aid of English law and of the Queen's Council in London to deprive his uncle of the chieftainship. So, like the rest, he had in his territory a domestic foe ready to strike for the Queen the moment that he should lapse into rebellion. The displaced chief was now only Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Carriganass. Of him and his sons we shall read a good deal in the second volume.

In the light of this little bit of O'Sullivan history, consider what a wild team Tyrone undertook to drive when he came into Munster—O'Sullivan glaring askance at Tyrone's new MacCarty More, the tyrant, and Sir Owen of Carriganass glaring at O'Sullivan the usurper. And such as was O'Sullivan Bere, such too was O'Sullivan More, and M'Gillacuddy of the Reeks, and O'Donoghue of the Valley, and O'Crowly, and a crowd of petty princes in whose eyes the M'Cartie-ship revived by Tyrone was an abomination. Then, remember that over all Munster a similar state of things prevailed, the small lords glaring at the great, and glared at themselves by indignant feudatories. No one but a man who had the power and, above all, the prestige of the State behind him could govern this host of petty kings, each animated by his own dynastic or egoistic notions, all as likely subjects for drill and discipline as a tubful of the very liveliest eels.

On the insurgent side—the Catholic side—Tyrone was the State; but the State in a most weak, inchoate, and rudimentary form. Tyrone knew very well that he could never govern Ireland till he should have pulled down again the autocracies which the necessities of his situation compelled him to set up wherever his victorious arms prevailed. That great man knew very well what he was about in every step which he undertook. Had he succeeded in overthrowing the Queen's Government, he would have taken in hand—he would have been compelled to take in hand—the overthrow and suppression of his own dynasts. So here in Munster he set up a sort of President of his own to represent the unborn State which was to succeed the State as hitherto known to Ireland. But Tyrone's President,

of whom we shall presently read a great deal, was to the lords and gentlemen of Munster a President *pour rire*. They wronged him and laughed at him, and so he took to intriguing with Carew, whence ensued some very curious results, of which anon.

I have had to enlarge, perhaps, to a tedious degree upon the motives affecting the Irish gentry, small and great, at this period, but otherwise it would be impossible to understand Carew's "pacification" of Munster.

"But," some one will say, "the war against Elizabeth was in style and title a religious war. Tyrone was captain-general of the Catholic league, and his letter to the Lord Barry has certainly a very religious flavour. How came it that the gentlemen of Munster were not stouter in the cause of the religion which every one of them professed?" The answer is to some extent indicated in Lord Barry's reply to Tyrone. The laws against "Papists" were suffered to lapse to a large extent into a dead-letter condition, or revived only to meet political exigencies. That sort of toleration, at which the authorities connived, and to which the Lord Barry refers, was fairly satisfying to the Royalist Catholic gentry, and permitted free play to those powerful instincts which led them to embrace the cause of the Queen rather than that of the great insurgent lords. I shall not here discuss or attempt to prejudge the question whether the great Northern lords were in rebellion for secular or religious reasons, or both, but I think it will be admitted by all readers of *PACATA HIBERNIA* that the gentlemen of Munster cared really almost nothing for the religious or patriotic issues involved, and that the only two great lords with whom we are concerned, Florence, captain of Clan-Cartie, and Tyrone's Earl of Desmond, though



men of very different characters, were alike in this, that their policy and action was guided solely by dynastic considerations. Of the two the Earl will be found infinitely superior to the chieftain in honour and every good quality, and is really a rather pathetic figure. Both these dynasts owed their position to Tyrone; but it will be observed that while the chief of Clan-Cartie was playing fast and loose with his suzerain in the most disgraceful fashion, the new Earl's career was upright and honourable, down at least to the time of his fall.

Possibly in this contrast originated a proverb which was, and perhaps still is, used in Munster—"with a Geraldine to the world's end; with a MacCartie not to the turning of the lane." This bit of Southern wisdom or wit, or perhaps sheer defamation, I heard from the lips of a peasant when I was a boy. I may mention another scrap of tradition derived from the same source. I asked the same man what sort of governors were those old chieftains. "The worst!" he replied with emphasis; "Hang to-day and judge to-morrow!" I recollect this speech as if I heard it yesterday, for it was of the nature of a shock. So when I came to read in the State Papers about the tyranny of the "Macs" and "O's," I was aware that it was an old acquaintance in a new guise.

Some such tradition must have survived in Munster, for this Southern peasant certainly never learned his opinion from books and newspapers.

And the Earl of Desmond, too, showed something more than the white feather in the end. He undertook for pardon and the restoration of his estates, to live afterwards as a true Queen's man, and at the head of his forces aid her in extirpating rebellion from Munster, and wage war on Tyrone and the

leagued lords of the North, to whom "on the Mass" he had sworn to be loyal.

In Munster at least, however the religious aspect of the struggle may have affected the minds of the common people—and they did not count—no one can read this book without perceiving that the action of the lords and chieftains, great and small, and of all the considerable gentlemen, was at all points guided by secular motives of a highly personal character.

So when Carew entered on his Presidentiad, and commenced his negotiations, all these men, though sworn to Tyrone, came trooping back, and swore again to the Queen. After Don Juan de Aquila had landed at Kinsale, and when the long-victorious Northern insurgent lords marched to meet him, they gave up the Queen's cause for lost, and revolted again. When Tyrone and O'Donnell were defeated at Kinsale they returned to their allegiance. The war with O'Sullivan Bere, which fills the second book, arose not from any loyalty on that chieftain's part to the Confederate cause, but owing to the fact that the Queen refused to pardon him. This lord, unluckily for himself, in one of his intercepted letters had passed some personal reflections on the Queen, and her Majesty, who expected every male subject to be in love with her, was relentless. Had the Queen pardoned him and promised him security in his lordship, O'Sullivan's sword would have been at her service, and he would have joyfully "risen-out" against any insurgent found in Munster or elsewhere. The mere fact that O'Sullivan fought stoutly in defence of his lands and lordship really gives him no claim at all to be regarded in the light



of a patriotic chieftain. While in exile and in receipt of a pension from the King of Spain, he wrote to James I., whose anti-Catholic policy was in Ireland far more marked than that of Queen Elizabeth, promising loyal obedience if the King would restore him to his estates. For myself I can say truly that I have been only too anxious to discover a chieftain animated by patriotism or religion. If there are any such I fear they will be rare ones, swimming desperately in the vast welter of conflicting personal and dynastic interests.

“The policy of kings,” wrote a famous professor of the art of king-craft, “is governed not by weak motions of the heart but by their interests.” And the sole excuse for these men’s treacheries and double-dealings is to be found here or nowhere. They regarded themselves as kings, and put the interests of their faithful and loving followers above temporal and even non-temporal considerations.

To understand these men aright we must think ourselves out of the nineteenth century, and back into the sixteenth, nay, into the sixteenth largely qualified by the fifteenth, and that is no easy task. Men who have studied the condition of England during the “Wars of the Roses” have, I believe, been similarly struck aghast at the treacheries, the tergiversations, the double-dealings of most of the English baronage during that struggle. All this, however, has been suppressed or glossed over in the popular histories, as too shameful to record nakedly, while the causes are too abstruse, not easily perceived, and not easily explicable. Then, remember that the thoughts of our chieftainry in the sixteenth century much resembled those of the English baronage in the fifteenth. Both, owing to their semi-kingly position and power, regarded

public crises as they occurred from a highly personal point of view, and their action corresponded with that condition of mind.

IN PACATA HIBERNIA we shall read a great deal about "bownoghs" or "bonoghs." A "bownogh" was a professional soldier, member of a class or caste too important and powerful to be passed over without comment.

It is a fact not generally known that the Queen's fighting men in every war were for the most part Irish. A good contemporary authority on the subject is the Hispano-Irish historian, Philip O'Sullivan, whose father and whose cousin, the chieftain, played a considerable part in those wars. He, referring to the Queen's host on the eve of the battle of Kinsale, has these words, "*Iberni milites legionarii et auxiliares quorum virtute fretus Anglus locum tenebat.*" "The Irish waged soldiers and auxiliaries" (the "risings-out" or feudal levies) "by whose valour the English general maintained his position." No one can read the records of this period without perceiving that the military force, by which the so-called Elizabethan conquest was effected, was in fact supplied by Ireland herself. There was then in the country, below the lords and below the landed gentry, a large class of men born for war, a military caste. These men as scions, however remote, of the princely or noble houses, held themselves, by the law of their birth, precluded from industrial avocations. They called themselves gentlemen; the state officials called them swordmen, but far oftener knaves and idle men. They were swordmen by profession, and, like other professional men, always on the lookout for employment; and never very nice in their

choice of causes. Good pay and good prospects of plunder were sufficient to gather them to any standard. When a chieftain rebelled he hired as many of these *condottieri* as he could maintain. From the same class the Government drew the only reliable and effective element in its armies. The Government might have hired them all and established a standing army, against which no chief or combination of chiefs could have stood up for six weeks. But the Government was terribly economical, only hired its men in troubled times, and then only for the job, usually a three months' hiring. When the job was finished the *condottieri* were disbanded and let loose over the country—to search around for fresh employment. So the same warrior fought one year for the Government and the next year against the Government; just as modern barristers will take a brief for or against the Crown with equal readiness, and with as little thought that there is anything improper or dishonourable in so doing. Rebellion, in fact, had in those days nothing of the heinousness which we now attach to it. How could it, at a time when every great man in the island had been at some time or other in rebellion? Rebellion was, in fact, little more than the mediæval mode of filing a Petition of Right against the Sovereign; and even so late as the period at which we are now arrived, was hardly regarded in any other light by the Sovereign herself. One form of rebellion alone Queen Elizabeth never would really forgive, that which took the form of intriguing with the Court of Spain. That was “a horrible treason.” In such a country, where rebellion was one of the dearest and oldest and most universally recognized rights of the aggrieved subject, professional swordsmen hired them-

selves to the chief or to the Crown as readily as one of his brethren abroad would sell his services to the Emperor or to a rebellious Elector. The Ireland of the sixteenth century was a very different country from the Ireland of the nineteenth; and if we do not understand and realize the difference, we shall fall into errors not a few.

In quiet times the Queen had hardly any waged soldiers at all in Ireland. For economy's sake the army was disbanded. When wars arose she hired the Irish *condottieri* in such numbers as were requisite for the service. They and the "risings-out" of the territories, *i.e.* the lords and the fighting men whom by law they were bound to furnish, did the fighting. The English portion of her armies was small in number and poor in material. It is true that a great many pressed Englishmen, seized by the sheriffs of counties, were from time to time despatched into Ireland in the hope of converting them into soldiers. But in vain. They fell sick and died, being unable to endure the hardship of active service, or they ran away, or their captains, with their eyes fixed on likely young Irishmen of the military caste, got rid of them in one way or another; so that English companies rapidly, often in the course of a very few months, became quite Irish, much to the satisfaction of their captains, who not unreasonably preferred trained, seasoned fighting men and sons of steel and powder to pressed yokels, vagrants, and village idiots, such as the sheriffs of the English counties were in the habit of sending to them, fellows who never before they arrived in Ireland had held in their hands any weapon more formidable than a stick.

The Mayor of Chester, who had the honour of for-



warding these precious drafts, was perpetually complaining about them. Of one such draft, he writes : "many of them are diseased *and many mad.*" Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught, referring not to his own provincial army, of which more anon, but to the army of Ireland, has these words : "All the English companies are converted from English into Irish."<sup>1</sup> The majority of those pressed men seem to have been fitter for the hospital than the field. So the Mayor of Liverpool writes : "The return of sick and poor soldiers from Ireland has so infected the town, that a number of honest householders are dead and their houses dissolved."

Some, not this present writer, may find a grim sort of satisfaction in thinking that men sent into Ireland to kill Irishmen, returned to kill Englishmen and lay waste their houses. Again we find that much-experienced warrior, Sir Richard Bingham, referring with anger and chagrin to the "unserviceableness of the English companies."<sup>2</sup>

It might be imagined that Bingham had a special grudge against "English companies," though he was an Englishman himself, a Devonshire man ; but here is the muster-master of Ireland complaining of "the growing great weakness of the army owing to the runaways, of whom are many."<sup>3</sup> And the runaways were always English, for the Queen's Irish soldiers, being drawn from a warrior caste, were, while in her service, engaged in the work which they loved, indeed, the only work for which they were fitted.

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, March 20, 1595-6.

<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Bingham to Burleigh, October 10, 1595.

<sup>3</sup> Sir G. Fenton to the Lord Deputy, 1595, p. 379, Calendar of State Papers.

"We perceive that there are six *whole* companies of meere Irish in Connaught. Please reform this."—P. 219, A.D. 1602.

Privy Council to Mountjoy, Carew Papers : "But it was not re-

Again, the Captain-General of the Queen's forces in Ireland appears with a worse complaint. "In two of the companies last sent over, there are not twenty men likely to prove good soldiers. The rest are poor old ploughmen and rogues." He refers also to the Lord Deputy's "desire to discharge the old companies and erect new, for good consideration."<sup>1</sup> This meant that the Lord Deputy wished to make a clean sweep of the English companies and put sound soldiers of "this country birth" in their place; and that, in the opinion of the writer, it was a "good" idea and should be considered. The bad soldiers ran away; the good were killed or fell sick.

One is not surprised, then, to read such passages as the following in the letters of the Queen's Irish commanders in actual contention with the insurgent lords: "Our new soldiers for the most part could not tell how to handle their pieces, so that the captains were driven to take away their bullets and powder and give them to the Irish."<sup>2</sup>

The writer of this letter was the President of Connaught. The Government had kindly endeavoured to stiffen his army of Connaught warriors with a few hundred of their pressed yokels, vagrants, and village

formed and could not be reformed. Save by Irish hands, it was beyond the sphere of possibility to make head against Tyrone and his allies."

"Bingham in his going to victual Ballymote had but three Briton companies amongst ten or twelve others. . . . It is also very necessary that good choice be made of the men and horse sent over, lest they prove altogether unfit for service as the last."

Sir J. Norreys, Commander of the Queen's forces, to Sir R. Cecil.—Calendar of State Papers, March 20, 1595-6.

Mountjoy to Carew: "The Irish whereof we have many in every company."—September 15, 1601.

"Of the new supplies, I think there be not ten of them that can shoot in a gun."—Mountjoy to Carew, Carew MSS., November 22, 1600.

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Norris to Sir R. Cecil, September 10, 1596.

<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Bingham to the Lord Deputy, October 13, 1595.

idiots, with the foregoing result. Bingham was nearly always at war with revolted chieftains, and, till Hugh Roe began to operate upon him, was always victorious ; but Connaught herself supplied him with all the fighting men that he required. In one of his letters written towards the close of his career he has these words : “ I scarce ever had any help save from the Irishry of my province.”

Now, when we put all these facts together ; the fact that the walled towns, inland and seaboard, stood by the Crown ; the fact that in the highest height of their greatest rebellion the confederated dynasts could never control more than a third of the island measured by its bare superficies ; the fact that the remaining two-thirds, more frequently three-fourths or four-fifths, always “ rose-out ” for the Queen ; the fact that the swords of the military caste to any extent to which the Government might choose to go in the matter of hiring were at the service of the State ; and the fact, patent in this book which I am editing, that a provincial governor could, without an army, reduce a province from rebellion to submission by mere policy and craft, it appears, to me at least, that the public opinion of the country, so far as it had any public opinion, must be regarded as being on the side of the Crown. If that be so, then we can better understand the mental condition of these nobles, chieftains, and gentlemen whom Carew bought and sold. In them public conscience was quite rudimentary, but such as that public conscience was, it urged them rather to support the Crown than support the insurgent confederacy.

The insurgent lords made some show indeed of religion, and in their private letters written into Spain a very fair show of a desire to establish Philip in the

Sovereignty of Ireland; but their real aim, that upon which their whole hearts and souls were set, was that of maintaining or of re-establishing their Seignories. One has to study their letters in order to perceive the curious old-world ideas by which most of them were animated.

I have already referred to one of the great Northern insurgents as flattering his father's murderers in hope that they would confer upon him his father's Seignory. When eventually by the strong hand and external aid this aspiring youth did seize his father's high command, I find him indeed, like others, professing a great regard for the Catholic cause and wonderful anxiety to make Ireland a Province of Spain—all clap-trap, as I do believe; but here is an example of the class of things which I find that he *did*, or honestly promised to do:—

“O'Rourke to the Lord of Killeen,” *i.e.* the head of the house of Plunket.

“Hearty commendations, to my remembrance it never happened but there was friendship and courtesy between your nation and mine,” etc. etc. (Very complimentary to the Lord of Killeen.) “In brief I am to make suit to you this time of disturbance for the good horse you have, the which is accounted the best in this land of Ireland. For the same I will bind myself yours to command in everything I may, during life, and will warrant to save you and yours from all the nobility of Ireland, not doing you any hurt if this rebellion do endure this twenty years. Assuring you if you do not send the same horse I will try whether I be able to go with the help of my best friends to your house, where I will not in courtesy crave anything at your hands.”

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, 1595-6, p. 478.



This young great lord, in spite of his Oxford education, was plainly of opinion that the Tyrone rebellion on the crest of which he had been borne into the chieftainship of all Leitrim, gave him leave to revert to antediluvian methods, and blackmail every peaceable and weaker neighbour within his reach. This letter will support what I have already written about the sixteenth century as largely qualified by the fifteenth. And yet now regard Brian Ogue only from the fifteenth century point of view, and he rises again in our esteem. We perceive in him a stirring young chieftain, a lad of mettle—for indeed he was no more than a lad—who would not ignobly confine his ambition within the narrow confines of his patrimony, but would, by the strong hand and deeds of chivalry and derring-do, bring circumjacent nations under tribute, and fight “all the nobility of Ireland,” if necessary, in defence of those who acknowledged his overlordship. For this affair of the “horse” had such a significance. The letter to the Lord of Killeen was the letter not of a vulgar robber but of a “great gentleman.”

And such as was Brian Ogue such were nearly all these confederated lords. Try them by modern standards, their behaviour is revolting and contemptible. Try them by mediæval, and something heroic and pathetic will be seen to emerge. The “Four Masters” found nothing to blame in their conduct, but everything to love and praise. Their point of view, however, was mediæval—not modern. And I am here reminded too of the verdict of a Spaniard despatched by Philip to report on the condition of Ireland. “The Irish nobility,” wrote this unflattering scribe, “be for the most part a very simple sort of men.”

If the reader thinks I have written too much by way of preface, I can only reply that I might have written a great deal more without passing beyond the fringes of the deep questions which the perusal of *PACATA HIBERNIA* inevitably suggests.

As regards the agents of the Crown and the Royalists in general, I have to remark that, in spite of the disgraceful peculation of the former and the egoistic motives which too often animated the latter, there was amongst all a very real loyalty to the State. Carew, for example, could do a great many vile and disgusting, and a great many criminal things. Nor shall I quarrel with anyone who calls him an abominable scoundrel. But he was certainly loyal to his Queen, and endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to advance and safeguard what he conceived to be the interests of the State; while Tyrone's President of Munster, Dermot O'Connor, seems to have cared nothing at all about the interests which *he* had been appointed to watch over and safeguard. The Queen's lieutenants were all loyal to her—Tyrone's proved all disloyal to him.

On the insurgent side, however, we must render a most sincerely cordial tribute of admiration and respect to the perfect zeal and self-devotion of the Jesuits and Priests who co-operated with the faithless lords of the Catholic league. These men, animated only by religious principle, faced all dangers, endured all hardships. Whoever else were time-servers, waiters on events, diligent worshippers of the main chance, these Priests and Jesuits were in deadly earnest. Hunger and cold, the dungeon and the scaffold, had no terrors for them. We shall meet some of them in the progress of this tale, notably James Archer, the Jesuit,

and the Papal legate, MacEgan ; but of such noble and devoted servants of religion there were hundreds whose mere names we shall never hear. But enough, we can recognize their type, and rejoice to think that in the days of Florence MacCarty and of that high Captain of all the MacMahons who betrayed his cause and comrades at the Battle of Kinsale, apparently for "a bottle of whiskey," and of many another noble-ignoble high chief and "great gentleman," Ireland, too, could even then produce men capable of devoting themselves body and soul to the cause which seemed to them to be the highest.

" Vivas for those who have failed !  
And for those whose war-ships sank in the sea,  
And for those who themselves sank in the sea,  
And for all overcome heroes ! "

In conclusion, I would direct the reader's attention to the rare literary excellence of *PACATA HIBERNIA*. The writer in his simple, though too pragmatistical style, does really tell his story admirably. He has written a great book without being at all aware of the fact. Of literary art in a high sense he has no conception : for example, he cannot make us *see* anything. This serious defect is, to a considerable degree, atoned for by the *plates*, which are most entertaining and instructive, and probably the work of one who had been himself through the Munster wars, and seen the things which he depicted.

I have to apologize for occasional references to a work of my own, "The Bog of Stars," which deals with the same period and treats of divers contemporary worthies who figure in our text, information concerning them not being elsewhere easily procurable. A re-perusal of the Preface after a study of the text

might be recommended, for the opinions advanced here can only be rightly appreciated and some of the allusions fully understood by one who has read the book.

More resolute students should read the Irish portions of Froude's "History of England," and Bagwell's "Tudor Ireland," especially the latter. But the best plan of all would be to study closely even one volume of the "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," relative to this decade. I can promise such a student that he will get up from that task the possessor of many new ideas concerning Elizabethan Ireland, and also concerning Elizabethan England.

In preparing this edition I have thought good to modernize the spelling, following in this respect the example of the editors of the State Papers, and also, still following that precedent, to retain the original spelling of the proper names save where a blunder on the part of scribe or compositor is plainly apparent: such blunders for example as Murrough of Lagherty for Murrough O'Flagherty, Teigue Keagh for Teigue Reagh (Teigue the Brown, or rather Tawny), etc.

Also I have transferred to an Appendix certain verbose public documents which are almost quite unreadable save to the very keenest of historical students.

The very interesting plates of the two former editions are reproduced here. But we print also some new ones, portraits of a few of the lords and chieftains who figure as characters in the book, photographed from paintings fortunately still surviving in public galleries, or as heirlooms in the families of their descendants.

STANDISH O'GRADY.





TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

SIR,

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

*ages foregoing ours, being the Middle times betweene learned Antiquitie and this latter age, wherein Language, Arts and Elegancie haue revived and flourished; In those times though there haue been many, Qui fecerunt scribenda, yet there were few, qui describerent facta.~ I dare not say that this our Age and Nation are guiltie of the like errour or negligence, in deciphering to the life the occurrences of our owne times and affayres by such as best knew, and faithfully would relate them; A want of which many haue complained, but few haue laboured to supply. That which I now in all humilitie present, is your Majesties by many Titles; First, from the subject matter, being the finall Dispersion of that cloud of Rebellion, which hath so long hung over that Kingdome of Ireland, which by undoubted title, and lawfull succession is descended to your Majestie, and that performed by the prudent fortitude of the English Nation, which your Majestie now so happily governes. Next, from your Majesties late faithfull Servant, the Earle of Totnes, whose Actions are not the least part of the Argument of this Historie, hee being at that time chiefe Governour of the Province of Mounster, which was the Stage whereon the last and greatest Scene of that Tragedie was acted, and since advanced by your Majesties Royall Father and your selfe to many Honourable Titles and Inployments of State. And lastly, from the Publisher, through whose hands nothing can passe, which to your Majestie is not justly due, both by common Allegiance, and particular Service. Pardon (gracious Soveraigne)*

*this presumption, in aspiring to so high a Patronage,  
and graciously accept this poore Tribute of Dutie and  
thankfulnesse from him who hath eternally bound  
himself.*

Your Sacred Majesties most  
faithfully devoted Subject,  
and Servant,

THO : STAFFORD.





TO THE

## *READER.*

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

Writer to undertake a compleat Description of those Affayres ; And lastly, out of his retyred Modestie, the rather by him held backe from the Stage of Publication, lest himselfe being a principall Actor in many of the particulars, might be perhaps thought, under the Narration of publike proceedings, to giue vent and utterance to his private merit and Services, howsoever justly memorable. He leaving the world, left it among his papers, where it was found by the now Publisher thereof, to whom they were bequeathed, and by whom it hath beene offered to the view and censure of divers learned and judicious persons: By them it hath been esteemed worthy the view of the world, that those of present and future times, who desire not to be strangers to what hath passed, and been acted at home, may receiue true Information heereby. In confidence, whereof, I presume that whether you bee English or Irish that shall reade this Historie, you shall finde much matter of contentment to advance the Honour of both Nations: If English, behold the most dangerous and overgrowne Rebellion that ever was since the Kings of this Land were Lords of that Isle, suppressed by the puissant valour of by victorious Countrey-men, and a powerfull Invasion of a braue and warlike Nation repulsed, and sent home to their Natiue Land: Or if you bee of that other Nation, you may obserue the loyall fidelitie of the greater part to their lawfull Prince, though animated to disloyaltie by the strongest perswasions of their Spirituall Pastor, with promises of heavenly reward.

Heere also you may behold a fatall period given to the Rebellious Insurrections, under whose burthen that Countrey hath groaned some hundreds of yeeres, and a firme and assured Peace established to the comfort of them and their posteritie. And whether English or Irish, forget not (next after the right hand of the most High bringing mightie things to passe) to acknowledge the Prudence, Courage, and Felicitie of that late Sovereigne, who in her deepe and declining age, did seale up the rest of all her worthy Actes with this accomplishment, as if shee had thought that her taskewould bee unfinished, and Tombe unfurnished, if there could not be deservedly engraven thereon, *PACATA HIBERNIA*; The lot whereof was cast, and fell happily on our side, by the prosperous successe of those Preparations and Encounters which befell this short time of about three yeeres, recounted by way of Annalls and Journalls in this present Narration; whereto thou must adde the like acknowledgement of the Wisedome, care, and provision taken by our late Sovereigne of blessed memory King *James*, in the establishment not onely of peace, but also of good Lawes and Justice there flourishing, and continued by the Providence and Piety of our present Sovereigne King *Charles*, the true Inheritor of his renowned Fathers Vertues as well as Kingdomes. For the storie it self, it was collected, not out of flying rumours, and popular tales, but (as the Title promiseth) out of the carefull and diligent Observations of the principall Actors in the services there related; And



for the truth of their reports, I hope it shall receive the approbation of many Honourable and Worthy Persons yet living, who may justly challenge a large portion of the honour achieved in those Warres. But I will detain you no longer, (Judicious Reader) but leave to the use of what is here presented, commending it and my self to your favourable censure.

T. S.





# PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE

## *FIRST BOOK OF THE WARS IN IRELAND.*

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### CHAPTER I.

The Lord Deputy, and the Lord President's landing in Ireland—  
The Warrant for passing the Lord President's Patent—The  
Patent—The Lord Deputy and Council's Instructions to the  
Lord President.

THE wars of Ireland <sup>1</sup> having received their origin and foundation in the north, proceeded like unto a strong poison, which having infected one member, without speedy prevention, doth spread the contagion over the whole body; for the Irish perceiving the prosperous success of those first rebels, even beyond all expectation and hope (of those that were ill affected), and that Her Majesty's forces had sustained many disasters, which were never feared until they happened, the neighbour provinces of Connaught and Leinster, following the current of the present time, begin to dismask themselves of that cloak of subjection, which before they pretended, and to show themselves partakers in that wicked action, and furtherers of the rebellion. And these being united in a strict com-

<sup>1</sup> 1599. Tyrone's rebellion.



bination,<sup>1</sup> did verily persuade themselves that it would be a matter very feasible to enable them to shake off the English Government, and to make themselves absolute commanders of all Ireland, if the chief Lords of Munster, with their friends and followers, would join with them, to banish the English out of that province. They did account that province to be the key of the kingdom, both by reason of the cities and walled towns (which are more than in all the island besides), the fruitfulness of the country, being reputed the garden of Ireland, and the commodious harbours, lying open both to France and Spain. They devised many plots, cast many projects, and used many persuasions, to animate the provincials to begin to enterprise. But *currenti quid opus est calcaribus?* they were not so ready to yield reasons, as those were to hear; and their ears no more open to hear, than their hearts to consent; and their hands nothing backward in the execution thereof.

The Earl of Essex at his being in Ireland with his army, made a journey into Munster, in hope to compose the troubles thereof; all that he performed at that time was the taking of Cahir Castle, and receiving the Lord of Cahir, and the Lord Roche, with some others into protection. Who after his departure did either openly partake, or secretly combined with the rebels again.

Her Majesty being resolved to send a new Lord Deputy into Ireland, made choice of a worthy and noble gentleman endued with excellent parts, as well

<sup>1</sup> Ulster, Leinster and Connaught did *not* enter into a "strict combination." The major portion of Connaught held by the Crown, and in Leinster only Feagh MacHugh, O'Moore, Lord of Leix, and a few others joined the Catholic League.

of body as mind, Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy. And at that time the Presidency of Munster being void, by the unfortunate death of Sir Thomas Norris, lately slain by the rebels, she made election of Sir George Carew, Knight, who was by his former services experienced in the Irish wars, to be the Lord President of that Province. The 23rd of February, these Lords embarked at Beaumaris, and upon the day following they landed at the head of Hothe,<sup>1</sup> lodging that night at the Lord of Hothe's house, and the next day they rode to Dublin, where, by the relation of the council, they found a miserable torn state, utterly ruined by the war, and the rebels swollen with pride, by reason of their manifest victories, which almost in all encounters<sup>2</sup> they had lately obtained. The President, although he much desired to employ himself in his government, yet he was enforced to make a long stay in Dublin, as well to assemble the forces allotted unto him, by order out of England (to be in list 3000 foot and 250 horse, which were dispersed in sundry remote garrisons), as to procure the dispatch of his instructions from the State, which is usual, and of sundry commissions under the great Seal of Ireland, which of custom is granted to every President, but especially the passing of his office (by virtue of Her Majesty's Warrant)

<sup>1</sup> Howth. Howth and Dalkey were the usual places of disembarkation for Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> The career of the insurgent lords resembled that of Edward Bruce in Ireland in the fourteenth century. They conquered in the open almost everywhere, but they could not conquer the country. They could not storm the walled towns or take the strong castles, so their victories were hollow or led only to the devastation of undefended territories and the rapine of cattle. Students of Roman history will remember that the career of Hannibal in Italy was somewhat similar. He beat the Romans everywhere, yet he could not conquer the Peninsula.

under the great Seal of that realm ; the copies of which warrant, letters patents, and instructions, I do here insert as ensueth.

#### HER MAJESTY'S WARRANT.

*Right trusted and well-beloved, we greet you well. Our province of Munster, in that our realm of Ireland, being without a principal officer to govern it, ever since the death of Thomas Norris, Knight, late President there; and the tumultuous state of that province requiring the government of a person of judgment and experience, we have made choice of our servant, Sir George Carew, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance here. To commit to him the charge of that part of our realm, as one whom we know, besides his faithful and diligent endeavours in former services, to be well acquainted with the state of that of our realm (where he is a councillor), and with the condition and nature of that province. Wherefore we require you, immediately upon the taking of our sword, and chief charge of that our realm of Ireland, as our Deputy, according to our commission granted to you, to cause a commission to be made out under our great Seal of that our realm of Ireland, to the said Sir George Carew, of the office and charge of President of our province of Munster, in such manner and form as John and James Norris, Knight, or any other Presidents of that province have used to have, or with any such other clauses as you shall think that the present state of our affairs there doth require. Giving him thereby power to rule and govern our people in that province, with the advice of our Council there, according to such instructions and directions as have been given by us or our Council here, or our deputies of that our realm, or shall hereafter be directed to him, for the government of that province. The same his power to continue during our pleasure. And our further will and pleasure is, that he receive towards his charges all such allowances, fees, profits, and*

*entertainments of horse and foot, as Sir Thomas Norris, Knight, our late President, at the time of his death had ; the same to begin from the day of the date hereof, and to continue during our pleasure : and these shall be to you and to our treasurer for the payment thereof sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our signet at our Manor of Richmond, the seven and twentieth day of January, in the two and fortieth year of our reign, etc.*

## THE LETTERS PATENTS.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all men to whom these presents shall come, greeting ; whereas our province of Munster, in that our realm of Ireland, being without a principal officer to govern it, ever since the death of Sir Thomas Norris, Knight, late President there ; and the tumultuous state of that province, requiring the government of a person of judgment and experience. We have made choice of our trusty and beloved servant, Sir George Carew, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance in our realm of England, and one of our Privy Council of our said realm of Ireland, and to commit to him the charge and government of that part of our realm, as one whom we know, besides his faithful and diligent endeavours in former services, to be well acquainted with the state of that our realm, and with the condition and nature of that province. Know ye, that we, reposing our trust in the wisdom, valour, dexterity, fidelity, and circumspection of the said Sir George Carew, Knight, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, and according to the tenor and effect of our letters on that behalf, directed to our



right trusty, and right well-beloved councillor, Charles Lord Mountjoy, Knight of the most noble Order of our Garter, and our Deputy-general of our realm of Ireland, dated at Richmond the seven and twentieth day of January, in the two and fortieth year of our reign, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant to our said servant George Carew, Knight, the office of our Lord President of our said province of Munster. And the said George Carew, Knight, our Lord President, and Governor of the said province by these presents, do make, ordain, and constitute, and to the said George, the government of the said province, and of our people there resident, do commit. And further, we do give and grant by these presents to the said George Carew, Knight, in and for the exercise and execution of the said office, all such authorities, jurisdictions, pre-eminences, dignities, wages, fees, allowances, and profits whatsoever, which John Norris,<sup>1</sup> Knight, or the said Thomas Norris, Knight, or any other president of that province have used to have, and with such other clauses (or articles of authority) as our said deputy shall think that the present state of our affairs there doth require, to be further granted unto him, the said George Carew, Knight. Giving him hereby full power and authority to rule and govern our people under that province, with the advice of our Council there, according to such instructions and directions as hath been given by us, or our Council here, or our deputies of that our realm, or shall hereafter be directed to him, for the government of that province; to have, exercise, and enjoy the said office, to and by the said George Carew,

<sup>1</sup> This name is usually spelled Norreys in the State Papers.

Knight, with other the premises, and all authorities, pre-eminences, wages, fees, entertainments, and profits to the said office belonging; and all such allowances, profits, entertainments of horse and foot, as the said Thomas Norris, Knight, our late President of the said province, at the time of his death had or ought to have; the said allowances and entertainments to begin from the date of our said letters; and the said authority and entertainment to continue during our pleasure. And where the said George Carew, Knight, in respect of our service in other places, may have occasion to be absent out of the said province of Munster, and that in such his absence, our pleasure is, that some meet person may be substituted to govern that province as vice-president; we do therefore by these presents, by the assent of our deputy aforesaid, and according to the intent of our said letters, give full power and authority to the said George Carew, Knight, to appoint, choose, and substitute in his absence, such a meet and sufficient person, for whom the said George Carew, Knight, will answer, to be vice-president of the said province, and the said person, so appointed, chosen, or substituted, we do by these presents authorize to govern and rule the said province, in the absence of the said George Carew, Knight, to all respects and purposes as if the said George were personally present, and might rule and govern, by the authority aforesaid. And if the said person so chosen, appointed, and substituted, shall chance to die, or shall not govern himself to the liking of the said George Carew, Knight, that then the said George Carew, Knight, shall from time to time, by virtue of these presents, during his authority and government aforesaid, choose, appoint, and sub-

stitute a vice-president as aforesaid, to govern and rule the said province as aforesaid. And our further pleasure is, that the said George Carew, Knight, shall from time to time certify our said deputy, or other governor-general of this our realm, for the time being, the name and names of such vice-president, or vice-presidents, as shall be by him appointed, named, or substituted as aforesaid. Willing and straightly commanding all our officers, as well civil as martial, as all and all manner our loving subjects to be respectively aiding, assistant, and obedient in and to the said George Carew, Knight, or any authorized by, and under him as aforesaid, in the exercise and execution of the said office, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril. Although no express mention of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gifts, or grants, made by us, or any our noble progenitors, to the said George Carew, Knight, before the date hereof, be not expressed in these presents. Any statute, act, provision, restraint, proclamation, law, use, or custom, to the contrary hereof, heretofore made, ordained, enacted, provided, used, or proclaimed, or any other cause, thing, or matter to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our Deputy-general at Dublin, the sixth day of March, in the two and fortieth year of our reign.

[The instructions of the Deputy and Council which here follow will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.]

## CHAPTER II.

The Earl of Tyrone in Munster, and his actions there—The White Knight Tyrone's prisoner—Florence MacCarty made MacCarty More, and Donell MacCarty displaced—The Lord Barry spoiled—Tyrone's letter to the Lord Barry, with the Lord Barry's answer—Sir Warham Saint Leger and MacGuyre slain—Tyrone's return into Ulster.

A LITTLE before the landing of the Lord Deputy in Ireland (as is said) the arch-traitor Tyrone, to unite the rebels of Munster, and especially to confer with James FitzThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, and Florence MacCarty, at whose entreaty he made a journey into Munster; those whom he found obstinate in rebellion he encouraged, from such as he held doubtful he took pledges, or detained prisoners; of which last sort was the White Knight, and his son-in-law, Donogh MacCormocke Carty, whom in handlocks he carried away with him; and whereas Donell<sup>1</sup> MacCarty, the Earl of Clancare's base son, had been by the MacCarties of Desmond advanced to the style, title, and authority of MacCarty More; him he displaced, and in his room Florence<sup>2</sup> MacCarty was

<sup>1</sup> Clan-Carty. This gentleman is the hero of the tale entitled *Kiegangair*, in "The Bog of Stars."

<sup>2</sup> Florence MacCarty was one of the first gentlemen of the Clan Carty *gens*. We shall read a good deal about him in the ensuing chapters. He married his cousin the Lady Eileen M'Carty, only legitimate child and heiress of the late Earl of Clan-Carty, who was M'Carty More and high chief as well as Earl. She was at the time a ward of the State and retained in a sort of captivity in the city of Cork. Florence found means of spiriting her off into the country



surrogated, being a man, as he conceived, of far more use than Donell. Such as were, or reported good subjects, these he prosecuted with sword and fire; amongst others who felt his heavy hand, the Lord Barry was one, upon whom, when he could not work his desire to draw him into actual rebellion, by the persuasion of the provincial rebels, him he preyed, burned, and spoiled, to make it manifest that he was solicited to enter into rebellion; both the letters of Tyrone, and the Lord Barry's answer, are here truly set down, the tenors whereof do ensue.

#### TYRONE'S LETTER TO THE LORD BARRY.

My Lord Barry, your impiety to God, cruelty to your soul and body, tyranny and ingratitude both to your followers and country are inexcusable and intolerable. You separated yourself from the unity of Christ's mystical body, the Catholic Church. You know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours, if things fall out other ways than well; you are the cause, why all the nobility of the south, (from the east part to the west), you being linked unto each one of them, either in affinity or consanguinity, are not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of

and then married her. He was arrested for this offence and committed to the Tower. When Munster went into rebellion the Queen sent him back to Ireland with great honour, hoping that he would be a means of breaking the confederate league in that province. Florence, finding himself between two such powers as the State and Tyrone, trimmed and played false to every one. The Queen gave him the vast estates of his father-in-law, the late Earl, and Tyrone made him high chief with regal jurisdiction. Hoping to please both, he failed to please either, and fell, unregretted. Though he is a by-word in Irish history, he does not seem much worse than the rest. Florence regarded the situation only from his own dynastic point of view.

heresy and tyranny, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed. All those aforesaid depending of your resolution, and relying to your judgment in this common cause of our religion and country, you might forsooth with their help (and the rest that are combined in this holy action) not only defend yourself from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also (by God's assistance), who miraculously and above all expectation gave good success to the cause principally undertaken for His glory, exaltation of religion, next for the restoration of the ruins, and preservation of the country, expel them, and deliver them and us from the most miserable and cruel exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safety of wife and children, life, lands and goods, which are all in hazard through your folly and want of due consideration ; enter I beseech you into the closet of your conscience, and like a wise man weigh seriously the end of your actions, and take advice of those that can instruct you, and inform you better than your own private judgment can lead you unto. Consider, and read with attention and settled mind, this discourse I send you, that it may please God to set open your eyes, and grant you a better mind. From the camp this instant Tuesday, the sixth of March, according to the new computation. I pray you to send me the papers I sent you, as soon as your honour shall read the same.

O'NEALE.

THE LORD BARRY'S ANSWER TO TYRONE.

Your letters I received, and if I had answered the same as rightfully they might be answered, you should have as little like thereof as I should mislike or fear

anything by you threatened against me (which manner of answer, leaving to the construction and consideration of all those that are fully possessed with the knowledge of the law of duty to God and man). You may understand hereby briefly my mind to your objections, in this manner; how I am undoubtedly persuaded in my conscience, that by the law of God and His true religion I am bound to hold with Her Majesty; Her Highness hath never restrained me for matters of religion, and as I felt Her Majesty's indifference and clemency therein, I have not spared to relieve poor Catholics with dutiful succour, which well considered, may assure any well-disposed mind, that if duty had not (as it doth), yet kindness and courtesy should bind me to remember, and requite to my power, the benefits by me received at Her Majesty's hands: you shall further understand that I hold my lordships and lands, immediately under God, of Her Majesty and her most noble progenitors, by corporal service, and of none other, by very ancient tenure, which service and tenure none may dispense withal, but the true possessor of the Crown of England, being now our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. And though ye, by some overweening imaginations, have declined from your dutiful allegiance unto Her Highness, yet I have settled myself never to forsake her, let fortune never so much rage against me, she being my anointed prince, and would to God you had not so far run to such desperate and erroneous ways, offending God and Her Majesty, who hath so well deserved of you, and I would pray you to enter into consideration thereof, and with penitent hearts, to reclaim yourselves, hoping that Her Highness, of her accustomed clemency, would be gracious to you, wherein I leave you to your own com-

punction and consideration. And this much I must challenge you, for breach of your word in your letter, by implication inserted that your forces have spoiled part of my country, and preyed them to the number of four thousand kine, and three thousand mares and gerrans, and taken some of my followers prisoners, within the time by you assigned unto me to come unto you, by your said word (if ye regard it), I require restitution of my spoil, and prisoners, and after (unless you be better advised, for your loyalty) use your discretions against me and mine, and spare not if you please, for I doubt not with the help of God, and my prince, to be quit with some of you hereafter, though now not able to use resistance ; and so wishing you to become true and faithful subjects to God and your prince, I end, at Barry Court,<sup>1</sup> this twenty-sixth of February, 1599.

While Tyrone was in Munster, a disastrous action happened, upon the —— day of February, Tyrone with his hellhounds being not far from Cork, Sir Warham St. Ledger and Sir Henry Power (who after the death of Sir Thomas Norris, Lord President of Munster, in the vacancy of a president, had been established commissioners for the government of the province), riding out of the city for recreation to take the air, accompanied with sundry captains and gentlemen with a few horse for their guard, not dreaming of an enemy near at hand, carelessly riding every one as he thought good, within a mile of the town, or little more, Sir

<sup>1</sup> The Irish Barries are descended from Philip de Barri, one of the more famous of the companions of Strongbow. They split into two clans, Barry Roe and Barry More. Of the latter, David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, was chief. They went with the State in the Desmond wars.



Warham St. Leger, and one of his servants, a little straggling from his company, was, in a narrow way, suddenly charged by MacGuire, who with some horse (likewise dispersed) had spread a circuit of ground, in hope either to get some booty, or to have the killing of some subjects, they charged each other. Sir Warham discharged his pistol, and shot the traitor; and he was stricken with the other horseman's staff in the head, of which wounds either of them died; but none else on either side was slain.<sup>1</sup> Tyrone,<sup>2</sup> having dispatched his business in Munster, turned his face towards Ulster. The Earl of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant-general of Her Majesty's forces, with a competent army, was before him with a purpose to fight with him in his retreat. But by what accident he missed of his intention I know not, being a hard matter to fight with an enemy that is not disposed to put anything in hazard. He went through Ormond

<sup>1</sup> Philip O'Sullivan in his *Historia Hiberniæ* relates the incident in much the same way. He tells us that Sir Warham and MacGuire were the two best horsemen, *equites* or knights, on their respective sides, and that both longed ardently for a meeting. He adds that Mac Guire rode into camp before he fell, and that Mac Guire's war-horse after the death of his master refused to eat and died of grief.

This MacGuire was Hugh, a celebrated chief in his time. It was he who advised the government to fix the *eric* of the sheriff whom they were sending into Fermanagh. Curiously enough he owed his own chieftainship to a sheriff. While Hugh Roe O'Donnell was prisoner in Dublin Castle, Lord Deputy FitzWilliam visited Tyrconnell and appointed as sheriff Hugh Roe's illegitimate elder brother, Donal O'Donnell. This youth having large notions concerning the Shrievalty, stepped across the borders of his own county and appointed Hugh MacGuire Captain of Fermanagh, said Hugh having no claim to the position. It was of this Mac Guire that Mangan sang, translating the eulogy of the chieftain's Irish bard, "The memory of the lime-white mansions which thy right hand has laid in ruins keeps warm the heart of the hero."

<sup>2</sup> 1660.

and stayed not until he had passed through a part of Westmeath, between Mullingar and Athlone. The Lord Deputy on the 5th of March had intelligence that he meant to pass through Westmeath. Whereupon with all the force he could possibly assemble he marched from Dublin, but his endeavour was fruitless, for Tyrone was passed before his coming.

### CHAPTER III.

The Lord President left Dublin—The Earl of Ormond taken prisoner by Owny MacRory O'more—A joint letter from the Lord President and the Earl of Thomond to the Lords of the Council in England—The manner of the Earl of Ormond's taken prisoner—The narrow escape of the Lord President, and wounding of the Earl of Thomond—The order taken for the settling of the country after the Earl of Ormond's disaster—The submission of Tho. FitzJames and Tho. Power.

THE Lord President having attended long at Dublin about his dispatches aforementioned (wherein he lost no time), upon the 7th of April, being accompanied by the Earl of Thomond, the Lo: Audley, Captain Roger Harvy, Captain Thomas Browne, Captain Garret Dillon, and some other captains and gentlemen with 700 foot and 100 horse. He took his leave of the Lord Deputy, who with all the councillors and captains then in the city (to do him honour) rode with him about two miles out of the town, and that night he lodged at the Naas, the next night at Catherlogh,<sup>1</sup> and the day following he came to Kilkenny to visit the Earl<sup>2</sup> of Ormonde, being a nobleman whom he much

<sup>1</sup> Carlow.

<sup>2</sup> Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, Captain of the Butlers and a very famous gentleman of the period. He was leader of the Queen's forces in the Desmond wars. Nor perhaps was he disinclined to rebellion on his own account if due cause were forthcoming. Once during the Viceroyalty of Sir Henry Sidney he got into trouble with the State and was detained in London. His brothers leading all the Butler nation went into rebellion and stated that they did so by direction of the Earl. This was a game which was frequently played







THE EARL OF ORMOND.  
("Black Thomas.")

*From a portrait in possession of the present Marquis of Ormond.*

respected, as well for the honourable parts that were in him, as for the long and familiar acquaintance which had been between them. After salutations and compliments were past, the Earl told the President that the next day he was to parley with the rebel Owny MacRory O'More<sup>1</sup> at a place about eight miles from Kilkenny, and he was desirous that the President would go with him, whereunto he easily assented; the next morning being the 10th of April, according to

at the time: the State arrested a chief; then his clan rebelled, and the chief had to be enlarged and sent home to pacify them. Ormonde and Tyrone were good friends. Observe how Ormonde could not succeed in finding Tyrone while the latter was returning from Munster. I do not hereby desire to indicate that Black Thomas was disloyal to the State. But these potentates were certainly good friends, and friendship counted for a good deal in contemporary warfare. He was educated at the Court of Henry VIII., and was playfellow and fellow pupil of Edward VI. Though a great Royalist nobleman, he never forgot that he was also a great Irish gentleman.

<sup>1</sup> This young chief has been referred to in the Preface. He was the son of Rory Ogue O'Moore, of whom I have given a sketch under the title of "The Outlawed Chieftain," in "The Bog of Stars." Rory Ogue is the villain, as Sir Henry Sidney is the hero, of that quaint old Elizabethan book, Derrick's "Image of Ireland." When Rory Ogue was slain, his eldest son, Anthony, by abbreviation Owney, was under the care of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne in the Wicklow highlands. Of Owney while still a boy and under old Feagh's care Lord Deputy FitzWilliam wrote as follows: "Owney O'Moore, son of Rory Ogue, hath lately taken weapon" (been knighted). "He is a youth of a stirring spirit. The O'Moores look to him to be their captain." I rather think he was son of Joan O'Byrne, Feagh's sister, though in an annotated work in my possession I find him set down as a son of Margaret Butler, cousin-german of the Earl of Ormonde. When the Nine-Years-War broke out Feagh lent the boy a few soldiers and sent him forth to seek his fortune. The boy flew straight as a hawk on its quarry for Leix, or the Queen's County, the ancient patrimony of his House, in a few weeks cleared it from end to end, saving only the walled town of Maryborough, and for many years held it with the strong hand against all comers. Having conquered Leix, the boy, stiffened with some auxiliaries from Ulster, descended into Munster and drove out all the undertakers, poor Spenser included, and effected "the overthrow" of the province. He was indeed "a lad of stirring spirit." Owny MacRory means, of course, Owny son of Rory.

the appointment, the Earl parleyed with the traitor, and was there taken prisoner. To the end the reader may truly understand the manner of that day's misfortune, behold the letter which the President and the Earl of Thomond sent to the Lords of the Council in England, wherein the same is fully related.

A JOINT LETTER FROM THE LORD PRESIDENT AND THE  
EARL OF THOMOND TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

It may please your Lordships: Although I, the President, have by my letters advertised the Lord Deputy, the manner in what sort the Earl of Ormond was taken, which I think is by his Lordship sent unto you, yet, we think it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make known unto your Honours how accidentally we were witnesses of his misfortune. On Monday, the 7th of April, we departed from Dublin, and upon Wednesday at night we came to Kilkenny, where we found the Earl of Ormond. In our company we had 100 horse, dispersed in the country ten or twelve miles distant from us by the Earl's officers. As soon as we came unto him, he acquainted us, that he had appointed the next day to parley with Owny MacRory; 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 tenth of this present, after dinner, his Lordship not having in his company above the number of seventeen horsemen (as his followers) armed, and







RORY OGNE O'MOORE.  
(Father of Owney MacRory.)

not 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 Corronneduffe, upon the borders of Ydough ; leaving his Lordship's own company of two hundred footmen short (of the place of parley assigned) above two English miles. The place where we met with the rebels was upon a heath ground, descending towards a narrow straight, having on either side of us a low shrubby boggy wood, within three pikes' length (at the farthest) from the place where we parleyed, and the like distance from the straight aforesaid, the choice whereof we much disliked. Owny MacRory, when he came unto us, brought with him a troop of choice pikes, leaving in a little plain beyond the straight, within half Culvering shot of us, in our sight, all his gross, being in all to the number (as Redmond Keting, one of the rebels, did swear unto me, the President) five hundred foot strong, and twenty horse, whereof three hundred were bonoughes, the best furnished men for the war, and the best appointed that we have seen in this kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Let this be a proof to the reader that the insurgent forces against which the Queen had to contend were anything but a disorderly rabble armed with skians and darts. They were armies in the strict sense of the word, horse, shot, heavy foot or pike men, and light foot or Kerne armed with swords and javelins. Most writers treating of this period represent valiant Englishmen chasing shaggy Irish Kerne through woods and bogs. According to such writers an insurgent army at this time was all Kerne. Kerne indeed played their part, but only their part. When a Queen's army went out, it had, too, its due proportion of Kerne. When Carew praises so warmly the troops of a minor lord, one can imagine what competent armies Tyrone and O'Donnell were able to bring into the field. Bonoughes or Bonnachts were hired soldiers, the Conottieri of the period. Of bonoughes we shall read a great deal as the tale runs on.

The O'Moores were few at this time, Fate and the State and their

At our first meeting, and so during the parley (which was appointed for some good causes best known to his Lordship), they stood (as they might) every one trailing his pike, and holding the cheek thereof in his hand, ready to push. The Earl himself was upon a little weak hackney, unarmed (as all we were that were about him), standing so near with the side of his hackney to the rebels, as they touched him. After an hour and 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,<sup>1</sup> did cause him to be sent for; as soon as he came, the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer traitor, and reprov'd him, for sending, under pretext of religion, Her Majesty's subjects into

own inter-tribal divisions had beaten sorely upon them. Gallant O'owney's predecessor in the chieftainship, Bryan O'Moore, according to his own account of himself had spent a long life and wasted his patrimony in fighting against the Queen's enemies, including his own people, the O'Moores. His father too, he adds, had spent himself upon the redoubtable Rory Ogue. See Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1593 A.D., p. 195, where Brian, afterwards the O'Moore, gives a full account of all his valiant doings in the service of the State and the singular reward which he had received for so much loyalty, for once when he visited London to "better himself in English manners," he was seized, clapped into prison and kept there without trial for two years. He had committed no offence. It suited the private policy of a great man to cover him up for a while. Rank injustices of this kind were common then. When Brian at last became free he went into "action," at which one does not feel surprised.

<sup>1</sup> James Archer, a native of Kilkenny, of an old Anglo-Irish family there. He moved ceaselessly around the South of Ireland, seeking to impart to the insurgent cause the fervour of a religious crusade. There were many men like Archer, and their co-operation was very serviceable to the league. These men, unlike the chieftains, were in dead earnest. In the reign of James I. we catch a glimpse of Archer at Court, disguised like a gallant, cloaked, frilled, and feathered. Archer was a very accomplished person, a gentleman and a soldier. He will turn up from time to time in the course of the tale.



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 I, the Earl of Thomond, willed Owyne 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<sup>1</sup> 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 through them, in tumbling down (on all sides) those that were before and behind us, and (thanks be to

<sup>1</sup> I do not believe that such a high gentleman as Owyne baited and laid this trap for the capture of the Earl. Philip O'Sullivan relates that the Earl while rating the Jesuit raised his staff as if to strike him, and that one of Owyne's men to prevent the blow laid hands on the Earl, and that then the general tumult and fighting began. This account seems to tally with a portion of Carew's description of the affair, for he represents the Earl as storming violently at Archer. But in fact such parleys, occurring as they did between enemies, often issued in violence and slaughter, all the way down from that fatal parley between Hugo de Lacy and Tiernan O'Rourke in which Tiernan was slain. The party which got the worst of it in the ensuing tumult usually attributed treachery to the other, as Carew does here. Observe that the writers of this letter are seeking to excuse their flight, perhaps their cowardice, and make all the due deductions on that account. Supposing that the young O'Moore was innocent of any treacherous purpose, as I believe he was, he might nevertheless with a sufficiently clear conscience retain his captives. The fight, seeing that it did arise, was a fair one. Had it gone against him, and had he, not the Earl, been taken, he certainly would have been retained by his captors. Some months later, having been ordered to do so by Tyrone, he set the Earl at liberty for a ransom. Archer used to declare that while Ormonde was a prisoner with the O'Moores he had converted him to Catholicism, but that he afterwards relapsed. The Earl was almost the only Protestant amongst the Butler nation.



God) we escaped the push of their pikes (which they freely bestowed) and the flinging of their skians, without any hurt, saving that I, the Earl of Thomond, received with 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 the bordering business, so as we do protest unto 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 followers came away, without looking behind him. 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, Master Comerford, a lawyer, and three of our servants, which was all the company that we had then, and all of us, without armour or other weapon than our swords, so as for want of more company, we were enforced by the enemy's shot to leave them the ground; 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 having no foot with him) it was impossible to do the enemy any harm with horse: this treachery (for we must term it in respect of his Lordship's confidence in the valour of his own men, and also in his opinion that the enemy durst not show him this foul measure) was contrived by that villain Archer, and none was made acquainted with it, but Owny MacRory, two Leinster men, and four bonnaghesh, for if more had been trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should have had knowledge of it; Owny MacRory laid his hands on me, the President, as they report,

and (next unto God) I must thank the Earl of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him, and at my back a rebel newly protected (at my suite), Brien MacDonoghe Kevenaghe being a foot, did me good service, and wounded one of the traitors, that laid hands on the Earl of Ormond ; for the rest I must thank my horse, whose strength bore down all about him. On our side there was but one man slain, not above five hurt, whereof Pierce Butler (a kinsman of the Earl's) was one, who behaved himself valiantly ; and about fourteen taken prisoners ; and of the enemy was one slain, and a few hurt ; the prisoners were taken by their own negligence, who were grazing their horses. The taking of this great lord breeds unsettled humours in these parts, for all the gentlemen of the country (whereof some of them were his true followers) for want of a defender are wavering ; others, which in their own dispositions were naught, and contained themselves as subjects but for fear of his power, are now at liberty, and we fear will shortly declare themselves. To keep them from present uproars, I, the President, did immediately send for six hundred foot of the Munster companies, which were at Waterford, and the hundred horse, which were in the country, to the town of Kilkenny, which hath wrought good effect, and stayed the unsettled humours ; besides, thereby it did assure the Lady of Ormond, and her daughter, which otherwise had been subject to many dangers, so sorrowful a lady in all our lives we have not seen ; and do believe, that if it had not pleased God that we at that time had been there, she would hardly have undergone those griefs that did oppress her ; for besides the loss of her husband (in being prisoner with those

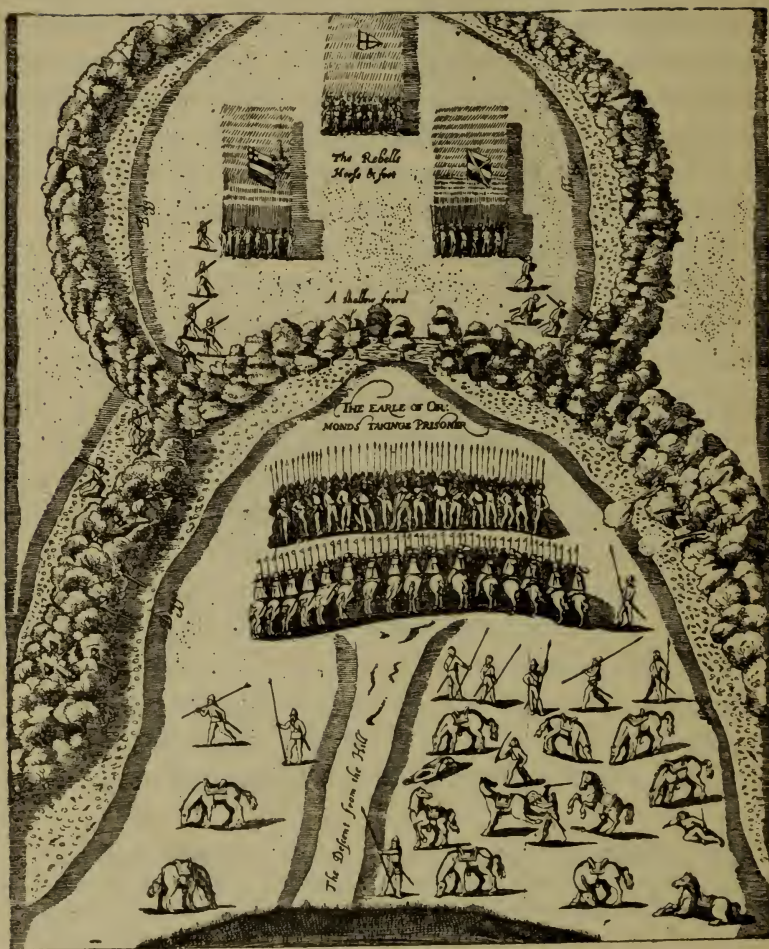
rogues) she beheld the apparent ruin of herself and her daughter, and no less danger of both their lives; the guard whereof she committed unto us, not being assured of those that serve her, for there is divers that pretend to be the Earl's heirs; first, Sir Edmund Butler, his second brother, which Sir Walter Butler, the Earl's nephew (whose blood is not attainted),<sup>1</sup> will not yield unto, because his uncle Sir Edmond is not restored in blood; and the Viscount Mountgarret thinks that he ought to be Earl of Ormond, for many reasons which he pretends. This controversy could but breed great danger to the Countess and her daughter, for that either of those would be glad to possess themselves in the Earl's houses, and the doubt who is to succeed him breeds unsettled humours in the gentlemen of the country that be followers to the Earl, everyone addicting himself to the party they affect, whereby there is a general distraction, which would have broken out into a dangerous rebellion if the forces and we had not been here to keep them in awe; besides, we did not neglect to send for all the lords and gentlemen in the country (that are of the best quality), and have temporized with them; so as we hope, the dangers were like to ensue, will be for a time well appeased. Also understanding that Balliragget, a house of the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edmund had been leader of the Butlers in that Butler rebellion already referred to. According to Sidney, when he killed English soldiers he used to stuff their uniforms with straw and set them up as butts to be fired at by his young warriors.

The Butlers have a quite undeserved reputation for loyalty in Anglo-Irish history. On the only occasion in which they were wronged they showed themselves just as ready to rebel as any other clan. That they were usually on the side of the Crown arose only from the accident of their position. Weaker than the Geraldines, they were forced to lean on the State. They showed themselves as rebellious as any when their loyalty was put to the same test.







MAP OF THE EARL OF ORMOND BEING TAKEN PRISONER.

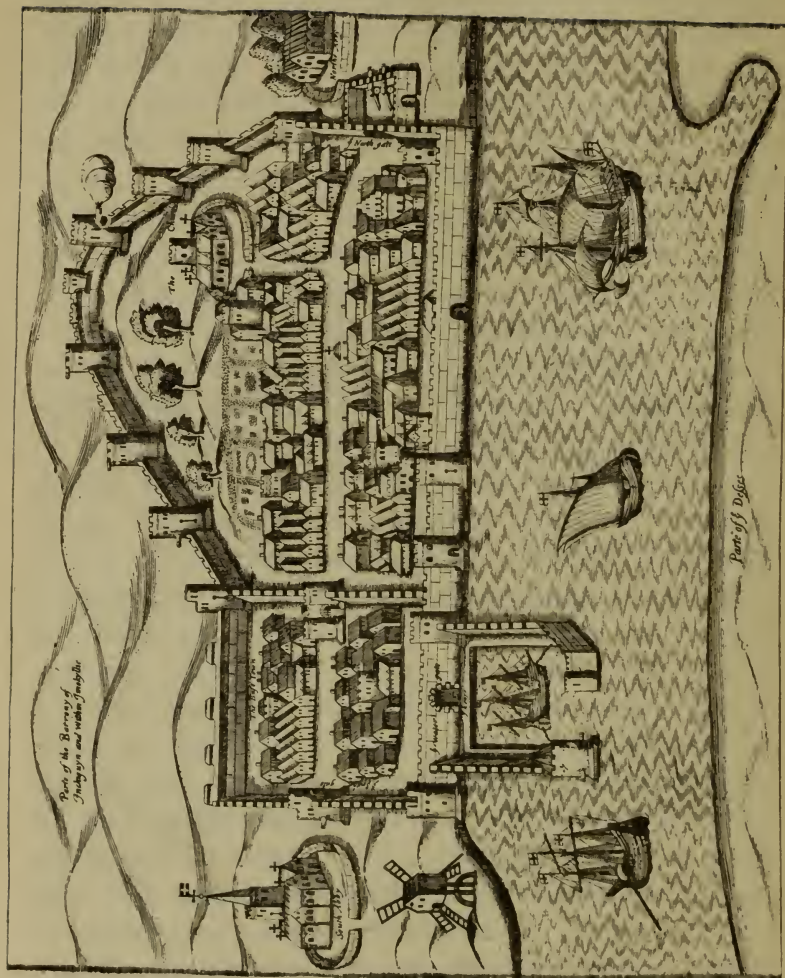
Lord Mountgarret's, in which there is a ward for the Queen, keep as a pledge for his loyalty, that the same was attempted to be won by the Viscount's sons, who are in rebellion; and immediately upon the Earl's taking, lay before it, in hope to starve the soldiers (for their last day's victuals was spent), I, the President, did take up in Kilkenny, upon my credit, victuals, and with a strong convoy of horse and foot, have re-victualled it, for six weeks, whereof the Lord Deputy is advertised, praying him to be careful before that victual be spent; and because that all things be continued in good order; we thought good to remain in Kilkenny, until the Lord Deputy should determine of some course, so to hold it for Her Majesty's benefit, the country's good, and the Countess and her daughter's safety; wherein we were enforced to make large disbursements of our small stores, for dieting in that time of the horse and the foot troops, whereof I, the Earl, defrayed the charges of my own company of two hundred foot, and I, the President, of all the rest, during our abode there, which was eight days. In this meantime we, understanding that Mountgarret's sons (which are in rebellion) did come to spoil the country near to Kilkenny; we sent out some part of our troops, who lighted upon some of their men; and amongst them which they slew, there was one of the Butlers, a near kinsman to Mountgarret and a leader slain, and the traitors driven to their woods, being enforced to leave their enterprise.

The sixteenth of this present, Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, sent from the Lord Deputy, came to Kilkenny, Sir George for chief commander of Her Majesty's forces there, and to take charge of the Countess, her daughter, and the Earl's

houses, and Sir Christopher to be directed by him. The forces there left is two hundred foot of the Earl's, other two hundred foot of Sir Christopher's, thirty foot left in a ward in Mountgarret's house, called Balliraggett, eighty-five horse (whereof fifty of the Earl's, five-and-twenty of St. Lawrence), and ten of Sir George Bouchier's. Since the Earl's taking we kept the rebels from doing any hurt in the country, neither as yet is there in any rebellion in the same, but Mountgarret's sons, whose force is not such, but in our opinions (without they call strangers to assist them) Her Majesty's forces there are much too strong for them. The seventeenth we left Kilkenny, and came to this city, leaving Sir George Bouchier as aforesaid. This accident hath withheld me, the President, from my peculiar charge, more than I purposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will hold me excused, being other ways so necessarily employed in these causes of so great importance; whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships, in your wisdoms, to have due consideration. To-morrow we proceed in our journey towards Cork, from whence (with the rest of the Council there) we will advertise your Lordships, in what we find the province, not being able here to certify your Honours so particularly as then we may. So we humbly take our leaves. From Waterford, the eighteenth of April, 1600. Strange it was to consider how much this misfortune distracted the minds of sundry that before were inclined to subjection, and greatly animated the traitors to persevere in their wicked enterprises, which might evidently be seen in Pierce Lacy, a wise man and malicious traitor, who being but few days before upon the Earl's protection, promising great loyalty and much service, did presently relapse,







MAP OF THE TOWN OF YOUGHAL.

and became a more dangerous rebel than at any time before. But now leaving farther discourse of former occurrents, we will betake ourselves wholly to prosecute the relation of such things as happened in Munster after the Lord President came to Waterford, which was the sixteenth of April, for the prosecution of the service in which province, by order out of England, the list, as aforesaid for Munster, was established to be three thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse. After his repair thither, intelligence came unto him that the titular<sup>1</sup> Earl of Desmond with the greatest part of his forces was remaining not far from Youghal, about Drumfinin, with intent to give impediment unto him, and such companies as he had with him. Thomas FitzJames, bastard son of Sir James FitzGerrald, late Lord of the Decies, and Thomas Power, the Lord Power's cousin-german, the chief rebels in the county of Waterford, receiving advertisement that the President was in Waterford, fearing peradventure lest some draft might be drawn upon them, and that themselves or

<sup>1</sup> By the Royalist party nicknamed the *Sugan* Earl, i.e. the Earl of Straw. The real Earl of Desmond at this time was a boy prisoner in the Tower, son of Garret, the last rightful Earl. This titular Earl, a near relative of the late Earl, had fought for the Crown in the great Desmond rebellion. He was illegitimate. The task which Tyrone attempted, viz. to revive the collapsed and broken Earldom of Desmond, and with such materials, was really a hopeless one. The Geraldines and their subject lords obeyed the new Earl for a few months and then fell away to the State. Of that falling away, which soon became a rush and quite a *sauve qui peut*, we see the commencement in this chapter, in which Carew describes how the Geraldines of Waterford, without any pressure proceeding from him or from the State, came in to him and renewed their oaths of allegiance. The Earldom of Desmond was a creation of the Crown. Unlike a chieftainship, it had nothing to do with tanistry or election. So the gentlemen of the South failed to see the validity of the *Sugan* Earl's title. An Earl could not be elected, and Tyrone was no king that he could make Earls.

followers might receive some great prejudice by means of the President's forces, made great instance by the Lord Power and Sir Nicholas Welsh, to be received into Her Majesty's protection, promising and protesting not only that they would reclaim themselves, and their followers, from committing any outrage against Her Majesty's subjects, but further, that they would endeavour to recompense and requite their former defaults by some acceptable service. The Lord President, considering that the receiving of them and their dependents into protection would be a means both to weaken the traitor Desmond of some part of his strength, and to secure open the passage betwixt Waterford and Youghal, which before was so kept, especially by them, that there was no way to send but by sea, upon the best assurance that could be got for their future loyalties, accepted their submissions, and granted protection both to themselves and their followers, since which time they have been good and loyal subjects.

## CHAPTER IV.

The encounter of Her Majesty's forces with Florence MacCarty—  
The prey of the Brough taken—The state of the province of  
Munster when the Lord President came into it—The Lord  
Barry preyed—Redmond Burke defeated by Odwyre—  
Odwyre's country harassed by Redmond Burke.

THE twentieth of April the Lord President, accompanied with the Earl of Thomond, the Lord Audley, the Lord Power, Lord of the Decies, Sir Nicholas Welsh, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Richard Masterson, Captain Roger Harvey, Captain William Taffe, Captain Richard Greame, Captain Fleming, Captain Gifford, Captain Dillon, Captain O'Reilly, and divers other private gentlemen, with eight hundred foot and one hundred horse, came that night to Dungarvan, where he found Sir George Cary, the treasurer his company, which the next morning he took along with him to Youghal. The two and twentieth he received advertisement of an encounter between Captain Flower, Serjeant-major of that province, and Florence MacCarty, the performance whereof was as followeth.

Florence MacCarty,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding the infinite favours and bounties which he had received from Her Majesty, being wholly Spaniolized, had possessed the minds of those in Carby and Desmond with a strange

<sup>1</sup> Created MacCartie More, that is to say, captain of his nation, by Tyrone during his recent visit to Munster, in a great assembly held at Innis-Carra on the banks of the Lee. Clan-Cartie included all Cork from the city westward, as well as the south of Kerry.



opinion of his worthiness, and having combined with Tyrone and other rebels at his late being in Munster, did show himself in open action against Her Majesty. Whereupon the commissioners, Sir Warham Saint Leger and Sir Henry Power, sent Captain Flower and Captain Bostock into Carbery with twelve hundred foot and one hundred horse (which Flower commanded in chief) to make prosecution against the rebels of those parts. In their way towards Ross, they burned and spoiled the country as they passed, and got the heads of thirty-seven notorious rebels, besides others of less note. Florence gathered together of the Provincials and Bownoghs (for so they called their waged men) to the number of two thousand or thereabouts, Dermond<sup>1</sup> O'Connor, as General (for so they termed him) of the Bownoghs. These being gathered to a head, attended their opportunity to give some blow to our forces, yet never did encounter them, until they were in their return within five miles of Cork. In the midway betwixt that city and Kinsale there is a ford and a bridge, over the river called Awneby. Here the rebels lay close in an ambush on

<sup>1</sup> Dermot O'Connor, a scion of the house of O'Connor Don. Tyrone left him in Munster to watch over his interests there, with an acknowledged control over all the bownoghs cessed upon the country and an unacknowledged position as overseer of the province. Without the title, he was in fact Tyrone's President of Munster. But the lords of Munster did not wish to have any President or overseer of any kind, and Tyrone's lieutenant was unable to establish over them any authority. To justify themselves they complained to Tyrone that Dermot had oppressed them. Probably he had. In the sixteenth century every government oppressed. The lords and gentlemen of Munster could not understand how a stranger, a Connaught man, of low and mere military antecedents, could have any right to control them. So they resisted and flouted the Connaught man, who took his revenge, and at the same time consulted for his own interests, as we shall see.

the north side of the river, in a glen between two hills, and also on the south side, in a scrubby wood near the river. The companies coming on, not thinking there to expect an enemy, marched scarce orderly, and but a few matches burning; Captain John Bostock, riding a good pretty distance before them, and past the bridge, espied the morians<sup>1</sup> of some of the sunk ambush in the glen, presently retiring back gave notice of the enemy, and willed them to prepare themselves. The rebels, finding that they were discovered, presently arose and charged our men before they were well ordered; Captain Flower, the commander, finding himself oppressed with numbers, drew to the walls of an old ruinous castle to the eastward, near half a mile distant, for safety, in which retreat they being upon the point of routing, were charged home with both horse and foot. Flower, to prevent the danger, directed Lieutenant Lane, officer to Sir John Barkley, to lie in ambush under an old ditch, with a squadron of musketeers; Carbry O'Connor, brother to Dermond aforesaid, came on with his company, following the execution of some of our men, until he fell into the ambush, where, hearing a volley of shot delivered upon them, Carbry, with other gentlemen, was slain. At which accident the rebels being amazed, the horse took the opportunity, and charged them with such resolution, as instantly they routed, and our men fell upon the execution of them. In which charge I cannot but particularly commend Robert Tent, Sir Anthony Cooks, cornet, who did behave himself with extraordinary valour. Besides Carbry O'Connor, ninety-eight were slain in the place, and near that number hurt, whereof divers afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Helmets.

died. On our part, none of note hurt, but Greame, brother to Captain Richard Greame, and eight soldiers. Captain Flower (who did that day admirably well) had two horses slain under him, and received sundry wounds, both with sword and pike, and it was his fortune to encounter with Dermond O'Connor, at whom he discharged his pistol, which lighted upon his target, whereby he received no hurt. That night they marched into Kinelmekagh, and encamped beyond the bridge of Balline Coursy, where they stayed with their hurt men two nights; the third day, in the evening, they dispersed their companies to those countries where they had Bonaught.

The same day Captain Francis Slingsby, Commander of the Lord President's foot company, and garrison at Kilmallock, where there was the Lord President's two hundred foot, Captain Clare's one hundred and fifty, twenty-five of Sir Anthony Cooke's troop, and twelve of Sir George Thornton's horse, drew forth in the night, part of that garrison, to take the prey of the Brough, a castle of Pierce Lacy's, but three miles from Kilmallock, to expect the coming forth of the prey to graze, which accordingly, about an hour after daylight, came forth, and they took it. Then presently, the cry being raised, three hundred foot, and fifty horse led by Pierce Lacy, skirmished with them for the space of six hours; but seeing they could not prevail, they gave over the pursuit. There was slain of our men, but one horseman of Sir George Thornton's troop, and four or five of the Lord President's foot hurt; their losses were more, whereof Con O'Neale,<sup>1</sup> Tyrone's base son, was hurt.

<sup>1</sup> Con O'Neill, Tyrone's base son. A conspicuous figure in the war from the commencement. He and Owny O'Moore had pre-

The three and twentieth, at night, the Lord President lodged at Barriscourt, the Lord Barry's house, and the four and twentieth he came to Cork, upon the way being met by Sir Henry Power, the Commissioner of the province, and the captains that there were garrisoned. The first thing that the President intended (after he was come to Cork) was thoroughly to understand the state of the province, as then it stood; the greatest part whereof, although it was known to him before, yet he, calling the Council of that province together, desired to be certified by them in the particulars thereof, to the intent that he might address his actions accordingly. Sir Henry Power being sole Commissioner (since the death of Sir Warham St. Leger), reported the same much after this manner.

I know not how more fitly to describe unto your Honour the estate of this province, than by comparing the same to a man that is diseased of a languishing and almost incurable sickness, the head so sore, and the heart so sick, that every member refuseth his natural office, insomuch that I dare boldly affirm, that, since the conquest of Ireland, this province of Munster was never more distempered than now it is, for all the inhabitants of the country are in open and actual rebellion, except some few of the better srot, who though themselves in their own persons attend the State, yet all their tenants, friends, and followers, yea, and for the most part either their sons or brothers, publicly professed in the devilish action; as, for example, the Lord of Cahir, Cormocke Mac-Dermond, Lord of Muskry, Gerald FitzJames, Lord cipitated that Munster revolution in which the Undertakers were swept away.



of the Decies, MacCarty Keugh; the computation and number of the rebels, how many they are, especially of the province, by reason that they are dispersed in so many several countries, and commanded by so many heads, we can give no certain judgment, but for strangers (meaning Connaught men that receive bonnaght amongst them), we are certainly advertised from divers that are well acquainted with their affairs, that they are enlist five thousand men, which strength added to the rebels of that province, doth make them absolutely masters of the field, and Her Majesty's forces here garrisoned in the cities and walled towns for their safety (by reason of their weakness before your coming) were in condition little better than besieged. Furthermore, all this might seem more tolerable if the cities and walled towns were (in these times of extremity) a safe and well-assured retreat for them; but all of them are so besotted and bewitched with the Popish priests, Jesuits, and seminaries, that for fear of their curings and excommunications they are ready, upon every small occasion, to rise in arms against them, and minister all underhand aid and succour unto the rebels; so that considering the generality of the inhabitants that are in open rebellion, the infidelity of those that pretend subjection, the multitude of Connaught men that defend the action, and the little confidence that may be reposed in cities (by reason of their contrary religion), we may very well conclude that the estate of this province is like a man sick of a most dangerous and desperate disease.

The Lord President having heard by former advertisements concerning the same matter, thus confirmed, he told the Council that he much doubted of any good

success that could suddenly be expected, and the rather because his forces were far inferior to the rebels, being in list but three thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse; yet remembering the old proverb, that *Ardua virtutis est via*, and relying upon the justness of the war, more than upon the number of his forces, resolved to try the uttermost of his wit and cunning, without committing the matter to the hazard of fortune, to quench the fire that now raged with such extreme fury.

The same day John FitzThomas,<sup>1</sup> accompanied with one hundred kern, or thereabouts, came into the Lord Barry's country, near Castle Lyons, and there took from him and his tenants a prey of three hundred cows and ten horses.

The morrow following being the twenty-sixth, intelligence was brought from Cormocke<sup>2</sup> Oge Carty, called by the English Charles Carty, son to Sir Cormocke MacTeg, that the arch-traitor Tyrone had sent letters to Florence MacCarty, to encourage both him and his adherents to persist in the action, assuring them that within one month, namely in May next, he would be with them again in Munster, and for that journey, his munition, victuals, etc., were already prepared.

The twenty-seventh (as Dermond Odwire<sup>3</sup> informed the President by his letters) Redmond Burke with six hundred men entered into his country to burn and prey the same, which to effect, he divided his forces into three sundry parts. Odwire having assembled as

<sup>1</sup> Brother of the Sagan Earl.

<sup>2</sup> Cormac Junior, son of Cormac Senior, son of Teigue M'Carty; Lord of Muskerry, i.e. of the Valley of the Lee.

<sup>3</sup> Dermot O'Dwyer, one of Ormonde's feudatory Irish barons in Tipperary.

many men as that short warning would permit, fell upon one of the divisions aforementioned, which consisted of two hundred foot; of them he slew one hundred and twenty, and many hurt. In revenge whereof Redmond Burke,<sup>1</sup> upon the sixth of May following, having got as many men as he could assemble, entered the second time into the aforesaid country, where he slew man, woman, and child, burnt all the houses (castles excepted), and drove away all the cattle of the country.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Shane of the Clover, Baron of Leitrim, Co. Galway, son of Ricard, Earl of Clan Ricarde, a famous professional soldier.

## CHAPTER V.

Loghguire preyed—The submission of Barrett and Condon—The submission of Florence MacCarty—Florence MacCarty's demands—The submission of Nugent—The Brough burnt by Pierce Lacy—Redmond Burke departed out of Cownologhe—Ten of the bonoughs slain by Sir Richard Percy—A letter from James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty—The army sent out from Cork toward Limerick—The submission of the White Knight.

THE twenty-ninth, Captain Francis Slingsby drew forth one hundred and fifty foot and twenty horse of the garrison of Kilmallock (in the night), to take the prey of Loghguire,<sup>1</sup> five miles distant from his garrison, a place which much annoyed the passage between Kilmallock and Limerick. In the morning, when the cattle were put forth to graze, he took it. The ward, to recover it, sallied, but, after a short skirmish, being hopeless to do any good, with some loss returned.

About this time also the Lord President began to give forth speeches of a journey that he speedily intended towards Limerick, with a purpose to burn and

<sup>1</sup> Chief seat of the Earls of Desmond. A singular bit of folklore concerning this lake has been published in the *Revue Celtique*. A man drowning in its depths suddenly found himself in a palace. He traversed it, but discovered no one there. At last he came to the kitchen. A bright fire blazed on the hearth, and beside the fire, warming himself, sat a salmon. The salmon and the drowned man held a long and interesting conversation. Of course this curious fish was the Salmon of Knowledge which figures in so many Celtic legends.



spoil all the rebels' houses and corn, and to take the prey of the country near adjoining, through which his army should pass. Whether it were the bruit of this journey, or the hard measure that he had lately received at the hands of the arch-traitors, Tyrone and Desmond, the White Knight (whose country lay near to the way as the army should march) sought by the means of Sir George Thornton, to be received into protection, promising to repair and recover the credit he had lost by his lewd and disloyal courses, which afterwards he performed accordingly, as shall be showed in its due place.

About this time also William Barrett, of Ballencolly, and MacHawghe Condon, both chief<sup>1</sup> of small countries, submitted themselves to Her Majesty's mercy. But the principal mark which the Lord President aimed at, before his entrance into the field with his army, was to reclaim (if possible it might be) Florence MacCarty (before spoken of) from further pursuing those hateful and ingrateful courses which unadvisedly he had entered into. This he desired for divers reasons. First and especially for the service, which he foresaw might receive some good countenance by his subjection. Secondly, because (if he continued in action) of necessity he must be con-

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, lord of the castle, a district of Ballincollig. Condon, i.e. Patrick Condon, Lord of Condon's country, now a barony of the county. Condon had been in Desmond's rebellion. When he broke into Youghal his men shouted, "Condon above." He had been a fellow-prisoner along with Hugh Roe O'Donnell in Dublin Castle. The defection of these two lords was more important than our author represents. It showed how the wind was beginning to blow, and set other lords thinking. In fact we see here the commencement of the process which eventuated in the dissolution of the confederacy in Munster. In a short time we shall see the whole of this powerful combination come down with a rush, and become painfully aware of an atmosphere fetid with broken oaths.

strained to employ a great part of his forces (which he thought both inconvenient and dangerous to be divided) to follow the prosecution of him and his accomplices. And lastly, a good opinion which some of his honourable friends in England, and himself also, had conceived of him. For these causes was the President moved earnestly to desire that this Florence might be stayed from further persisting in those exorbitant courses, and the rather because the said Florence had written letters unto him, which upon his way into Munster he received, that as soon as he should come to Cork, he would present himself personally to him, and do all his endeavours to advance the service. All which being made known by the Lord President to the Earl of Thomond, he entreated the said Earl and Sir Nicholas Welsh to join with John FitzEdmonds, Florence's godfather (a man very famous in those parts for his learning and liberal hospitality in entertaining of strangers), to send a messenger to signify to Florence MacCartie that they were very desirous to confer with him about certain particularities concerning his own good. By his letter, remitted in answer of this message, he appointed both a time and place for their meeting, which was accordingly performed. After more than two hours spent, and many oaths passed, as well by the Earl as Sir Nicholas Welsh, that the President had promised his safe return, with fearful guiltiness he came to Cork, and from thence to Shandon Castle upon the third of May, 1600, where the Lord President remained at that time, before whom, when he had presented himself, he made his submission upon his knees with many protestations of the sincerity of his heart, and the true loyalty which he always bare to-

wards Her Majesty, desiring that he might be received into Her Majesty's favour, and he would serve her as faithfully and unfeignedly as any man in Munster. The Lord President reproved him very sharply for his traitorous behaviour, laying before him the odiousness and foulness of his faults, and the monstrous ingratitude towards Her Majesty, from whom he had received many great benefits and gracious favours. These speeches finished, the President bade him to stand <sup>1</sup> up, when as both he and the Earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Welsh, and John Fitz-Edmund, did every of them very feelingly preach obedience unto him. His answer being very general, carried great show of loyalty and obedience at that time. Upon the next morrow he was called before the President and Council, who was again urged (by them all in general) not only to desist from proceeding in evil, but with alacrity of mind to do some such service as might merit reward; for assurance

<sup>1</sup> We shall be the less surprised hereafter at finding a much smaller lord than Florence *walking* on his knees up to the belly of Carew's horse. But at the same time we must remember that kneeling before superiors was common at the time and very common in the middle ages, and that Ireland was still exceedingly mediæval. The kings of England kneeled to the kings of France when they did homage for their French territories. Florence's own vassal lords, chieftains who at home were petty kings, kneeled to Florence. When I saw, as I did, poor people in the West of Ireland kneeling in a row before the hall-door of their landlord, the sight was simply disgusting. And yet it was from their own lords and high gentlemen that the poor peasantry had learned the practice. Consequently what looked like abject servility and the abdication of all manhood was really a social survival. The lords and gentlemen with whom Carew had to do were bad enough in all conscience, but all the kneeling to which they were so prone must not have too much significance attached to it. Carew himself would kneel by the hour before the Queen, and lie prostrate too if he thought she would like it. In his letters he writes of kissing not the Queen's feet but "the *shadows* of her royal feet."

and performance whereof the President demanded his eldest son in pledge, for the avoidance whereof he used many colourable reasons, viz.: that it would cause the bonnogs to forsake him, yea, and to drive him out of his country, erecting his wife's base brother<sup>1</sup> in his place; that he had of long time tasted of miseries and wants; that he had lately recovered his country of Desmond with great travel and charges, and therefore, like the burnt child, he feared to run into any such inconvenience as might cause his friends to relapse from him. Adding, moreover, that it was needless in them to exact any such thing at his hands, who was in his soul wholly addicted and devoted to Her Majesty's service. The weakness of these reasons were both wisely discovered and effectually answered; but all that could be said was no more pleasing to him than is delightful music to deaf ears; which being discerned, the President betook himself to a new device; for now he vehemently threatened (that leaving for a time all other services) a sharp prosecution of hostility, with fire and sword against himself, his tenants, and followers, should speedily overtake him upon his return into Desmond. Much was he amazed with this denunciation, and therefore, having made a short pause, answered thus: Since my needless pledge is so earnestly desired, I

<sup>1</sup> Donnell MacCarty, of whom we shall read a good deal. In him Carew had a Queen's MacCarty More ready-made to his hand should his relations with Florence become desperate. Remember that Donnell had been elected MacCarty More by the clan, but had been displaced by Tyrone, who preferred Florence. This Donnell was a veteran warrior and a man of spirit. He and Carew were always good friends, had probably been companions in arms in old troubles. One of Donnell's rebellions had a curious origin. A gentleman named O'Falvey killed Donnell's favourite hound, Kiegangair. Donnell paid O'Falvey a visit, hanged him, and then went into action.



am content to leave my eldest son in Cork upon these conditions: That Her Majesty would pass unto me the country of Desmond, in as large and ample manner as before it was conveyed unto my father-in-law, the Earl of Clancare. Secondly, that she would give unto me the name and title of MacCarty More, or Earl of Clancare. Thirdly, that she would give unto me three hundred men in pay, for assuring my country from all that would offend it. These hyperbolical demands were no sooner propounded, but absolutely rejected; therefore he desired that licence might be granted unto him, to write to his honourable friends in England, to work for him the afore-recited conditions, which, without any great difficulty, was permitted. Lastly, the President questioned with him what he intended to do if these his desires were not satisfied; thereupon he swore upon a book that he would never bear arms against Her Majesty's forces (except he were assaulted in Desmond), and that his followers should likewise abstain from actual rebellion; and, further, that he would send him intelligence from time to time of the rebels' proceedings, and do him the best underhand service that possibly he could. Now had the President effected a great part of his desires, namely that by Florence's remaining in neutrality his forces might be wholly employed against James FitzThomas, who, being once slain or banished, it would be an easy matter to teach him to speak in a more submissive language, and forget to capitulate either for lands, title, or charge. Florence is now departed towards his country of Desmond, where, leaving him in suspense betwixt doubt and fear, we will proceed in the accidents of Cork.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Florence's patent for his wife's land had been made out and sent

Now the President, discerning this war in Munster to be like a monster with many heads, or a servant that must obey divers masters, did think thus : that if the heads themselves might be set at variance, they would prove the most fit instruments to ruin one another. The two chief heads were the Sugan Earl (for so they called Desmond), commander of the provincials, and Dermond O'Connor, General of the bownoghs before mentioned. This Dermond O'Connor<sup>1</sup> was a poor man in the beginning of his fortune, and not owner of two plough lands in Connaught, his native country ; his reputation grew partly by his wife, who was daughter to the old Earl of Desmond, and partly by his valour, being reputed one of the most valiant leaders and best commanders amongst the Irish rebels. By means whereof he had now the command of fourteen hundred men in his own

to Ireland, but was not yet issued, pending his behaviour. There was also a promise that if he behaved well the Earldom of Clan Cartie would be his. But when Tyrone came into Munster with such exceeding great power, Florence thought it safer to owe all to the puissant insurgent.

This was the second stage in the dissolution of the confederacy. Florence's neutrality in the ensuing operations led every one to suspect that something was wrong, and the minds of the lords, already affected by the defection of Barrett, Condon, and the Geraldines of Waterford, began to turn again to the State as the more likely to emerge victorious out of the struggle. It must be remembered, too, that though they had rebelled in a lively manner when young O'Moore descended into Munster, they had not at all anticipated that the rebellion would lead to the re-establishment of the great seignories, or to such a dismal ending as many thousands of domineering and fastidious Connaught warriors quartered upon them.

<sup>1</sup> Captain of Tyrone's considerable standing army in Munster. Really the only means of making the insurrection a success in the South would have been a loyal obedience by all the confederates to this man, who as Tyrone's lieutenant was the State in these quarters. But Florence and the Earl were far too high and mighty to submit to such a low man, a stranger, and a Connaught man, and even small lords like the White Knight and the Baron of Lixnaw regarded him with contempt while they trembled at his military power.

bonaght, and, besides that, might strike a great stroke with the other, being by Tyrone, at his departure out of Munster, ordained chief commander of them all. This man did the President make choice to deal withal, for these reasons: First, because he knew that the said Dermond, being a mere mercenary, and serving in Munster only for pay, might be induced by large sums of money to serve the Queen as well as the rebels. Secondly, he had a very fit instrument whereby the more easily to work him to his will, namely his wife, who, being brought up some part of her time amongst the English, had not only learned the language, but stood reasonably well affected to the English government, and likely it was that she would use all her industry to advance the service, in hope that if it succeeded well it would prove a good step or ladder to procure the liberty of her brother James<sup>1</sup> Fitzgerald, son and heir to Gerald Earl of Desmond, slain (now prisoner in the Tower), and to raise his fortunes. Lastly, it was publicly known that the Sugan Earl would never do service upon the bownoghs, except he might have both the title and possessions of the Earl of Desmond confirmed unto him,<sup>2</sup> which Her Majesty would never condescend unto. Upon these grounds, in very secret manner, he provided and sent a fit agent to sound the inclination

<sup>1</sup> This boy, the true Earl of Desmond, was afterwards sent into Ireland by the State, with the same purpose as had led to the dispatch of Florence, and with similar promises.

<sup>2</sup> The Sugan Earl acted very straight through the whole war, down at least to the time of his arrest. And yet if he was ready to turn against Tyrone, break his oath and stand by the Queen on condition that she secured him in possession of the vast Desmond estates, he would not have been worse than the rest. As a fact he too in the end showed his real self. When arrested he wrote to the Queen offering to serve against Tyrone with his whole force if she would pardon him and secure him in his lands.

of the Lady Margaret, for so was Dermond's wife named ; and finding her fit to be wrought upon, the conditions should be propounded, viz., that if her husband would take Desmond prisoner, and deliver him into the hands of the President, he should incontinently receive one thousand pounds sterling ; and that he should have a company of men in pay from the Queen, and other conditions of satisfaction to herself and her brother. The messenger was no sooner sent about these important affairs, but that another occasion offered itself unto the President, of no less moment than the former, to advance the service ; for immediately hereupon, one John Nugent, sometime servant to Sir Thomas Norris, late President of Munster, pretending some wrongs and injuries to be offered unto him by the State, joined with the rebels, and became (to his power) the most malicious and bloody traitor in all these parts. At last, having as it should seem spit his poison, and spent his venom, sought to Sir Warham Saint Leger, and Sir Henry Power, the commissioners, to be received into protection ; who more for fear of the hurt that he might do, than hope of the good that he would do, granted the same, until the Lord President's pleasure (who was now ready to depart from Dublin towards Munster) were further known. At this time therefore Nugent came to make his submission to the President, and to desire pardon for his faults committed. Answer was made, that for so much as his crimes and offences had been extraordinary, he could not hope to be reconciled unto the State except he would deserve it by extraordinary service, which, saith the President, if you shall perform, you may deserve not only pardon for your faults committed heretofore, but also some store



of crowns to relieve your wants hereafter. He presently promised not to be wanting in anything that lay in the power of one man to accomplish, and in private made offer to the President, that, if he might be well recompensed, he would ruin within a short space either the Sutan Earl, or John FitzThomas, his brother. And indeed very likely he was both to attempt and perform as much as he spoke. To attempt, because he was so valiant and daring, as that he did not fear anything; and to execute, because by reason of his many outrages before committed, the chief rebels did repose great confidence in him. The President having contrived a plot for James FitzThomas (as is before showed), gave him in charge<sup>1</sup> to undertake John his brother. But because the matter might be carried without any suspicion, upon the next morrow, the Council being set, and a great concourse of people assembled, Nugent reneweth his suit for the continuance of his protection. But the President, rehearsing in public audience a catalogue of his mischievous outrages lately committed, told the Council that, having farther inquired, and better considered of man and matter, for his part he thought it an action of very ill example to receive unto mercy such a notorious malefactor. The Council were all of the same opinion, who reviling him with many biting and bitter speeches, and assuring him that if it were not for a religious regard, that was holden of the Queen's word, he should pay a dear price for his former misdemeanour, and so, with public disgrace, was he dismissed their presence. The promised submission of the White Knight, the jealousy which the rebels con-

<sup>1</sup> Observe the gay frankness with which this devilish business is described.

ceived of Florence MacCarty by his coming to the President, and the President's journey being now blazed through the province, it caused Pierce Lacy, who all the time of the wars (until now) had kept a ward in the castle of the Brough, three miles from Kilmallocke, despairing to hold the same against Her Majesty's forces; and knowing it was a convenient place for a garrison, plucked down some part of the castle, burnt the rest, and by the light thereof ran into the woods; Redmond Burke also, with five hundred bonoghs, about this time, which was in the beginning of May, withdrew out of Connillogh, and kept himself for a little time about the borders of Ownhy, where being pressed with want of victuals, he intended to leave the province. The Sugan Earl, Pierce Lacy, and some other hearing of this sudden departure, dispatched messengers unto him, with earnest entreaties, and large promises, for increasing his bonnoght, if he would return, but to no purpose. The cause of this his unexpected departure was a traffic between him and the President, who did uphold him in certain faint hopes, about the obtaining of the Barony of Leitrim,<sup>1</sup> which he claimed as his inheritance; for this is most true, that not long before this time, one Richard Burke, uncle to the said Redmond, wrote unto the President, that his nephew would be very glad of his Lordship's favour, and that

<sup>1</sup> Redmund Burke, son of Shane of the Clover or Shane na Sheamar, Baron of Leitrim, son of Richard Sassenagh, Earl of Clanricarde. I relate elsewhere the causes which put Redmund into rebellion. The White Knight and Redmund could not well agree in joint action, for Redmund once took the Knight prisoner, and led him out of the Province in hand-locks, and trotting like a horseboy beside Redmund while he rode. Many of the chief men of the confederacy hated each other.

he would withdraw both himself and his bownoghs out of Munster, so that he would not send any forces to molest him in Connaught. Whereunto was answered, that it became not a governor, no, not a private subject, to make any such agreement with a man in his condition; and farther that he might assure himself, that by strong hand he could never invest himself in the Barony of Leitrim, nor be in secure possession of his father's lands; but if he would reclaim himself and do service to Her Majesty, the President would use the best friends that he had, either in England or Ireland, that his cause might be respected with all favour according to the equity thereof.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after the receipt of this letter, he left the county of Limerick, severed himself from the Munster rebels, and settled in Ormond, and Tirrell<sup>2</sup> stayed not long behind, inwardly doubting some practice upon himself, but publicly pretending the

<sup>1</sup> Looking backwards now, we perceive what Carew had already accomplished without firing a shot, but solely by his Machiavellian methods, viz.:

The Geraldines of Waterford, Condon, Barrett, and the White Knight recalled from the confederacy; Florence quite neutral; Redmund Burke and 500 disciplined soldiers seen out of the province; the captain of all Tyrone's standing army in Munster corrupted and working for the State; the whole formidable array of the bownoghs in consequence neutralized, and the Sугan Earl and John of Desmond afraid of their nearest and dearest. If success be everything, Carew surely has done well.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Tyrrell, a famous captain of mercenaries and the next in rank to O'Connor in Tyrone's Munster army. Tyrrell's action and Redmund Burke's action show that even in Tyrone's standing army there was little of unity, cohesion, and military subordination. In fact a captain of mercenaries regarded himself somewhat in the light of a chieftain who had men but not land. He too, though a rover and professional man, was a small sovereign in his way. Like other sovereigns he consulted first for the interests of the State, and the State in his case was his company or group of companies.

cause of his departure, for a mislike between him and Dermond O'Connor. The President hath given forth, ever since his first coming to Cork, that his army should be on foot in the way to Limerick, by the sixth of May, his intention being not to rise until the twentieth; the bruit thereof caused the rebels' greatest strength to assemble together, who by the day assigned had united their forces in the great wood called Kilmore, between Moyallo and Kilmallock, near the place of Ballihawre, through which the army was to march. There they continued the space of ten days, attending continually, and hearkening daily for the President's coming. But finding that he stirred not in all this time (imagining that he durst not take the field at all), they dispersed their companies and departed every one into his own country. Hereupon some thought that the President had altered his determination for going to Limerick, and intended to begin the prosecution in some other place; others supposed that he would not venture out of Cork until he had received new supplies, which were daily expected out of England. But both one and the other were besides the mark; for by this stay (which from the beginning he determined) he saw divers commodious opportunities might accrue unto him, as that hereby he should receive certain advertisement of the strength of the enemy that was to confront him, and also that it was impossible for them (any long time) to hold together, for divers wants which must accompany such an undisciplined and disordered multitude, by means whereof they would be constrained to break with their own weight; wherein he nothing failed of his expectation; for within a few days following they were all divided into so many places, and those



so far distant, that they could not speedily be reassembled.

Upon the sixteenth of May, the President was advertised by Sir Richard Percy, who was Governor at Kinsale, that by his horsemen in Kinalmekagh, whom he had sent to forage that country, ten of the bownoghs were slain, and a far greater slaughter had been made of them, if Florence MacCarty had not had some intelligence out of Kinsale of his intention, who gave the bownoghs warning of their coming, whereupon they fled, and dispersed themselves.

Upon the seventeenth of May, James FitzThomas, the usurping Earl of Desmond, wrote a letter to Florence MacCarty, praying the aid of his forces, the copy whereof is here inserted.

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO FLORENCE  
MACCARTY.

After my very hearty commendations, having received intelligence of your happy escape out of Cork, it was very joyful to me and many other your cousins and adherents here; the fruit of your conference with the President, and the rest, I hope shall purchase ripe experience, and harvest of further knowledge, to cut off the cruel yoke of bloody enemies, who daily study to work our perpetual destruction and exile. I am given to understand that they pretend a journey towards the county of Limerick; I am gathering the best force and rising out of these parts, to resist their wicked desires. Redmond Burke is bordering on the confines of Ormond, expecting to hear from me, if occasion of important service should require; I have the other day received his letters signifying his constant service to be ready whensoever I shall send

to him ; what news you have, with your best advice in all causes tending to our general service, I expect to hear, and if the President do rise out (as it is thought), I pray you, good cousin, slack not time, with your best force and provision of victuals, to prosecute him freshly in the rearward, as you respect me, the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and the ease of our country ; I look no excuse at your hands, which I pray to lay apart, wherein you shall further the service, and bind me with all my forces to second you at your need. I have retained Dermond O'Connor in Kerry two hundred soldiers this quarter besides the Clanshihies<sup>1</sup> and other bonoghs with the rising out of my country, so as I think I shall make up sixteen or seventeen hundred strong, well appointed, together with the force of Redmond Burke ; thus, for lack of farther novelties, I commit you to the blessed guiding of God. From Crome, the seventeenth of May, 1600.

I am credibly informed that five Spanish ships are landed in the north with treasure, munition, and great ordnance, with a competent number of three thousand soldiers' pioneers and religious persons ; I expect every day advertisement in writing, and the coming up of Captain Terrell with the munition sent me by O'Neyle. I appointed your cousin Maurice Oge Fitz-Maurice Gerald to have the charge of Kierrycorrie ; I pray you afford him your lawful favour.

Your most assured Cousin,

JAMES DESMOND.

<sup>1</sup> The Clan Sheehy. They were a fighting tribe who came professionally into Munster in the middle ages, got lands there in return for services, and were still a race of professional warriors. I find companies of them under their captains fighting in various parts of Ireland. The MacSweeneys of Munster, a swarm from the parent hive in Tyrconnall, were another sept of a similar character.

The same day Captain Gawen Harvy, who then had in Her Majesty's pay a man of war wherein for the payment of the army there was three thousand pounds in money, munition, victuals, and soldiers' apparel, set sail with direction for the river of Shenan, to meet the Lord President at Limerick.

The President the twenty-first of May left Cork, and with his army encamped that night within three miles of Moyallo.

The twenty-second they lodged within five miles of Kilmallock; the twenty-third the army came within a mile of Kilmallock, where the White Knight, according to his former promises, made his humble submission unto the President, whereby the faggot<sup>1</sup> began to unloose which combined the rebellion in Munster; but let us a little look backward.

A faggot of which the twigs were not dead, but, each and all, as lively and self-willed as eels or adders.







MAP OF CAHIR CASTLE.

## CHAPTER VI.

Cahir Castle surprised by James Galdie Butler—A letter from James Galdie Butler to the Lord President—The rendering of the Castle of Loghguiree—Nugent's attempt upon John Fitz-Thomas—Clanwilliam spoiled and burnt by the army.

THE President being at Youghal, in his journey to Cork, sent Sir John Dowdall (an old captain in Ireland) to Cahir Castle, as well to see the same provided with a sufficient ward out of Captain George Blunt's company, as to take order for the furnishing of them with victuals, munition, and other warlike provision. There he left the eighth or ninth of May a sergeant with nine and twenty soldiers and all necessary provision for two months, who notwithstanding, upon the three and twentieth of the same, were surprised by James Galdie, *alias* Butler, brother to the Lord of Cahir, and, as it was suspected by many pregnant presumptions, not without the consent and working of the Lord himself, which in after times proved to be true. The careless security of the warders, together with the treachery of an Irishman, who was placed sentinel upon the top of the castle, were the causes of this surprise.

James Galdie had no more in his company than sixty men, and coming to the wall of the bawn of the castle undiscovered, by the help of ladders, and some masons that broke holes in some part of the wall where it was weak, got in and entered the hall before they were perceived. The sergeant, named Thomas Quayle, who had the charge of the castle, made some

little resistance, and was wounded. Three of the ward were slain ; the rest upon promise of their lives rendered their arms, and were sent to Clonmel. Of this surprise, the Lord President had notice when he was at Kilmallock, whereupon he sent direction for their imprisonment in Clonmel, until he might have leisure to try the delinquents by a marshal's court. Upon the fourth day following, James Butler, who took the castle, wrote a long letter to the President, to excuse himself of his traitorous act, wherein there were not so many lines as lies, and written by the underhand working of the Lord of Cahir, his brother, they conceiving it to be the next way to have the castle restored to the Baron. The copy of which letter here ensueth.

A LETTER FROM JAMES GALDIE BUTLER TO THE LORD  
PRESIDENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Hither came unto me yesterday my Lord my brother, accompanied with Mr. Patrick White, and Nicholas White of Clonmel, gent., and Mr. George Lea of Waterford, who treated with me (as they said), by your Honour's commission, what might be the causes why I should attempt the surprising of the castle of Cahir, being kept as a garrison for Her Majesty. And albeit, my good Lord, I may not, nor will not justify what hath been done therein ; yet will I signify the truth (the which graciously being tempered with mercy), I doubt not to excuse whatsoever hath been committed. And therefore, my Lord, first your Lordship shall understand, that where heretofore, by youthful instigation, and, as I must confess, altogether without the privity of my Lord my brother



aforsaid, I kept the said castle until the same was besieged by Her Majesty's forces, and battery laid thereunto, the which I made choice rather to forsake than stand to the defence thereof; which action, my good Lord, was so much raised to my contempt, with the mouths of Her Highness's enemies (whom I then of force obeyed), as they imagined nothing else would raise credit, but the gaining thereof again. The next that moved me to enterprise the same was, that public report was made in the name of the Archbishop of Cassell<sup>1</sup> (who is well known to be a professed enemy of my house) to have the keeping of the said castle. Thirdly, that it was also reported that the soldiers of late left in garrison therein purposed for want to sell the same, for a piece of money, unto John of Desmond, whom the country knoweth not to be my friend, for the late killing of many of his men, for which service my Lord of Dunboyne had only the thanks, being no more assistant thereunto than your Lordship; and last, my good Lord, when I considered the apparent wrongs (as I thought) proffered unto both my brethren, that your Honour and the State would countenance their known and vowed enemies against them, and to make their grief the more corrosive to bestow upon them the chief and dwelling castle, of the one of them being Cnocknamma to my Lord of Dunboyne, which makes my poor brother to go in a manner a-begging, and my eldest brother's castle of Dorenlare upon Richard

<sup>1</sup> The notorious Miler Magrath, an ecclesiastic of whom one never reads any good save what is written with his own hand. I fancy he had dealings with Tyrone, for when Tyrone's son Con plundered Miler the Earl wrote a scolding letter to Con. It was intercepted and is now a State Paper. Miler absorbed a great deal of church property, which in the next generation Strafford compelled his sons, nephews and other beneficiaries to disgorge.



Power. These being the principal causes that moveth this my desperate attempt, I pray may be construed as if your Lordship or any other gentleman were in my case, and do also request that your Honour, and all others, do suspend to condemn me of my disloyalty in mind, howsoever my youthful actions do deserve; and that by example the same may the better appear, consider that having won the castle aforesaid, that unless it be such as by mischance were slain, I suffered not the blood of any other, nor any part of their apparel to be spilt or taken, but send them conducted to the next incorporate town; and for Her Majesty's ordnance, that here hath been left, I could wish your Lordship had them, only that I know they must be removed by the force of many men, the which I dare not adventure to trust (as now I stand); but let your Honour be well assured, they shall be as safely kept as formerly they were, for Her Majesty; unless your Honour or the State do drive me to do that I shall be unwilling. Forasmuch, therefore, my good Lord, as not only these, but many else the causes of the rebellion of this province, have hitherto and are well known to be for want of considerate justice and clemency of your predecessors, governors, sheweth liberally the benefit of Her Majesty's proclamations, and gracious authority given you. And let the first example thereof be, to withdraw the castles of Darenlare and Cnocknamma, aforesaid, from the possession of such, as the world do know, of pretended malice, to have sought them, and to be bestowed wheresoever your Lordship do think fit in justice they shall be given. And this much, my very good Lord, in excuse, and as the simple truth of the premises, I am bold to signify; and now it resteth, I must complain against

my Lord and brother, who as I suppose ought to maintain both me and the rest, whose wrongs hitherto proffered I will not forgive nor forget, having so sufficient a distress as now I have in possession, the which I purpose to keep until our controversy be decided by friends, or your Lordship or the State do determine between us; holding the same with most assured safety to Her Majesty's use, and no hurt unto my country, and to your Honour's good liking, and not otherwise; all the premises concluded and considered, it resteth now only how I shall be maintained, which my good Lord is to be supplied, by that gracious entertainment, that Her Majesty hath, and doth bestow, upon less faithful, more unable to do her service, and not so willing as myself. The which, in company with the rest, I leave to your favourable consideration. Yet all these shall not satisfy me, but that it may please your Lordship to forgive and forget, if in ignorance I have either spoken or written anything that might give you cause to be offended. And so, with my humble duty, I take leave, Caher, the 27th of May, 1600.

Your Lordship's very assured to command,

JAMES BUTLER.

The four and twentieth, the army encamped at the Brough,<sup>1</sup> where the President left a ward, partly to offend the rebels of Loughguire, three miles distant from thence, and partly to open the way betwixt Kilmallock and Limerick, which for two years' space had been impassable for any subject.

The five and twentieth, the army passing near

<sup>1</sup> Bruff, co. Limerick.

Loghguire, which was as yet held by the rebels, the President attended with a troop of horse, rode to take a particular view of the strength and situation thereof, as also by what way he might most conveniently bring the cannon to annoy the same. He found it to be a place of exceeding strength, by reason that it was an island, encompassed with a deep lough, the breadth thereof being, in the narrowest place, a caliver's shot over; upon one side thereof standeth a very strong castle, which at this time was manned with a good garrison, for there was within the island John FitzThomas, with two hundred men at the least, which showed themselves prepared to defend the place. The President being approached within shot, to discover the ground, they discharged some twenty muskets at him and his company, but without any hurt done; and, having effected as much as he intended at that time, they casting forth some reviling speeches, he left the place. That night the President came to Limerick; the army encamped within little more than a mile thereof. The three days next following, we bestowed in providing things necessary for the mounting and drawing of the cannon, the city being altogether destitute of necessaries thereunto, which at last with many difficulties was effected. Wherein the President showed himself to be a master in that faculty; for cannoneer or other artificer (skilful in the mounting of ordnance) he had none, the smiths and carpenters were only directed by him; according to the proportions he gave, they wrought, and in the end a demi-cannon was mounted, and drawn towards the gate of the city that leadeth to the island of Loghguire before named. The rebels within the castle receiving intelligence thereof, one Owen Grome, a stranger of the

north (to whose charge John FitzThomas had committed the custody of the castle), sent word, that, for his pardon and a competent sum of money, he would deliver it up unto Her Majesty's use.<sup>1</sup> The President, considering that many impediments would arise if he should attempt the taking of it by force, and that it must needs be chargeable to the Queen, cost the lives of many of his men, and a great delay for the prosecution of other services which he intended, accorded to his demands, and received the castle, the money (which was threescore pounds) being paid, by the President's order, by one Rowley, who lost the same to the rebels. Whilst these things were in handling, Nugent (whose promises to the President before we recited), intending no longer to defer the enterprise, attempted the execution in this sort. The President being past Loughguire, John FitzThomas, riding forth of the island towards the fastness of Arlogh, where most of his men remained, with one other called John Coppinger, whom he had acquainted with the enterprise, and as he thought made sure unto him, attended this great captain, and being now passed a certain distance from all company, permitted John FitzThomas to ride a little before him, minding (his back being turned) to shoot him through with his pistol; which for the purpose was well charged with two bullets; the opportunity offered, the pistol bent, both heart and hand ready to do the deed, when Coppinger at the instant snatched the pistol from him, crying, "Treason," wherewith John FitzThomas, turning himself about, perceived his intent. Nugent, thinking to escape by the goodness of his horse, spurred hard;

<sup>1</sup> Owen Grome, a mere professional soldier, perceiving that every one here was only in earnest about his own business, thought that he too might make a little hay like others while the sun shone.



the horse stumbled, and he taken, and the next day, after examination, and confession of his intent, hanged. This plot, although it attained not fully the desired success, yet it proved to be of great consequence; for now was John FitzThomas possessed with such a jealous suspicion of every one that he durst not remain long at Loghguire, for fear of some other like attempt that might be wrought against him; and therefore leaving the castle in the custody of the said Owen Grome (who, as before, kept it a very short time after), departed suddenly unto his brother's camp. Nugent in his examination freely confessed his whole intent, which was (as he then said) to have dispatched John FitzThomas, and immediately to have posted unto the Sugean Earl, to carry the first news thereof, intending to call him aside, in secret manner, to relate the particulars of his brother's murder, and then to execute as much upon him also; adding, moreover, that although they take away his life (which he would not entreat them to spare), yet was their own safety never the more assured, for there were many others, which himself perfectly knew, to have solemnly sworn unto the President to effect as much as he intended. This confession, being sealed with his death, did strike such a fearful terror into the two brethren, that James FitzThomas himself afterwards unto the President acknowledged they never durst lodge together in one place, or ever serve in the heads of their troops, for fear of being shot by some of their own men.

Loghguire being now possessed for the Queen, and the army well refreshed, the President marched into Clan-William, a country of the Burkes;<sup>1</sup> whereupon

<sup>1</sup> The Burkes of Clan-William in Limerick were an offshoot from Clanricarde.

one of the principal freeholders then in rebellion called John Burke, half brother to Pierce Lacy, desired to come unto the President, but no ear would be given to his request, until he had first testified his humble submission, whereof he made scruple, alleging that his conscience would not suffer him so to do, having before been taught by his instructors that it was sinful and damnable personally to submit himself unto Her Majesty ; his answer was much disdained, and he plainly told that he should never hope to be accepted for a subject, and receive the benefit thereof, except he would absolutely disclaim that rebellious opinion ; which he absolutely refusing, was sent away with this proviso : that although himself did fly into the woods, yet his castles, towns, and corn, which he could not carry with him, should be the next morrow destroyed, which was not vainly meant, but truly performed, for by the noon of the next day, being the twenty-ninth of May, the army came upon his lands, many of his houses, some of his corn, and one of his castles fired. When a second messenger came to entreat that he might be admitted to make his submission ; whether it were that some Popish priest had granted him a dispensation, or that he would undertake himself to dispense with his conscience, rather than see himself ruined, is to me uncertain ; but sure I am, that this alteration was now wrought in him. Very unwilling was the President to accept him to mercy, which the day before he so unadvisedly refused ; yet being much importuned by his mother and others, who with weeping eyes entreated for him, and the rather that he had married one of Sir George Thornton's daughters, was inclined to admit him to his presence.

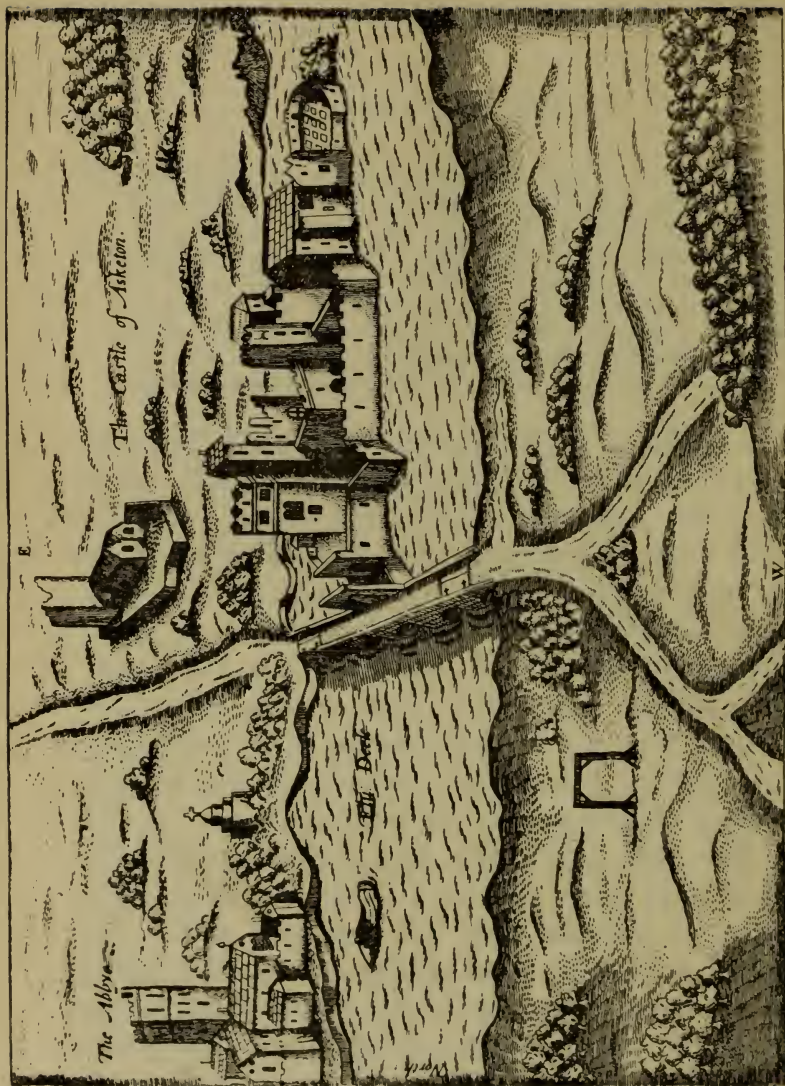
## CHAPTER VII.

The submission of John Burke—The Castle of Ballitarsny—O'Mulryan's country burnt and spoiled by the army—A letter from James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty—O'Sulevan More detained prisoner by the practice of Florence MacCarty—The plot contrived by the Lord President for the apprehension of James FitzThomas—The Lord President's letter to James FitzThomas—Five hundred men sent to lie in garrison at Asketon—Supplies of money, munition, victuals, etc.—The apprehension of James FitzThomas by Dermond O'Connor.

THE President, now on horseback, in the midst of his army, took occasion of speech with some of his commanders ; when John Burke, bringing his brother Theobald Burke with him, alighted from their horses, and kneeling upon the ground, desired that their submission might be accepted. The President seeing, would not see them, and hearkening to the other, would not attend them, until (they creeping upon their knees by the horse's side) it was told unto him that two of the Burkes were there ; he, staying his horse, spent some time in reproving them for their rebellious obstinacy, and then (upon four sufficient sureties for their future loyalty) granted them protection. The next day the army marched to a castle called Ballitarsny, belonging to Moroughe Kewghe, one of the Brians, which stood near a great fastness, being very commodious, both to open the passage from Limerick to Cashel, and to hinder the rebels from coming out of Kilquige into Conniloghe. The rebels of the ward, as soon as they saw the army







MAP OF THE CASTLE OF ASKEATON.

draw towards them, quitted the castle, which was not to be won but by the cannon; and therein was found great plenty of grain, whereof some was largely bestowed amongst the troops of horse, some sent to Limerick by the soldiers, and yet enough left to suffice the ward for one whole year.

The day following, five hundred foot were sent into Ownhy,<sup>1</sup> inhabited by the O'Mulryans, a strong and fast country, all the inhabitants thereof being notorious traitors. This being burnt and spoiled by them, and divers traitors put to the sword, whereby the disorders in those parts were well corrected, the army, without any loss at all, returned again to Limerick, and within short time after, viz., at Likadowne, bordering upon Connilogh, Kilmallock, Limerick, and Askeiton, were bestowed in several garrisons, which are not so far distant but that upon every occasion they might be united again. At this time Florence MacCarty received a letter written unto him from James FitzThomas, the copy whereof here ensueth.

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO FLORENCE  
MACCARTY.

Cousin,—Your letters of the fifth of this present I received the eighth of the same, wherein you write of your sickness and the impediments that caused your soldiers to be slow in prosecuting our general action. In your former letters you write and vow that there

<sup>1</sup> Redmund Burke, it may be remembered, found a lodging in this country during his passage northward. In fact Redmund claimed it as a portion of his patrimony, and the inhabitants at all events seem to have regarded his claim as just.

hath been neither peace, truce, nor cessation confirmed between you and the President. I am informed by my particular friends, and also by a letter (intercepted) from the President to you, that some mitigation of time is limited betwixt you and them, whereupon they depend, your assistance to be restrained from us. If this be thus, it is far contrary to that I hoped and much beyond the confidence reposed by O'Neal and myself in your vowed fidelity and service to God and our action. I perceive Donell MacCarty is raising head <sup>1</sup> in disquieting your country, the redress whereof consisted in your constant assistance to be bestowed; the President, being not able to perform any service by land, hath appointed to come by sea to Askeiton, and some force out of Thomond towards the Glin; all which by the divine providence of God shall be prevented. The causes of urgent affairs are very many, which required your presence and helping assistance, that, without your sound advice, can hardly be accomplished. And therefore, in regard of your fidelity, let me entreat you (if your sickness be not apparently known to be so extreme) to lay all excuses apart, and to draw towards this country with so few or so many as you may possibly afford; else you give us cause to think of some inward meaning in you, contrary to our general action. At your entreaty, and letters, I have discharged Dermond MacTirlogh, his son I will keep till that you and I do confer further of that cause. For Manus MacShihy's dealings, I will see redress if my offer be abused. I

<sup>1</sup> The chieftain who had been displaced by Tyrone. The Sугan Earl suggests to Florence that if he will not honestly aid him he will give Florence trouble by helping Donnell.



understand you have apprehended Owen MacShihy ; I desire you to see him released, and restitution made of what he had taken from him ; and if you can charge him for any offence to you, I will upon these my letters see him to be forthcoming, to answer his contempt ; I pray you delay not his release, for I have present occasion to employ him in service. And, thus expecting your present repair or speedy answer, I commit you to God. *June ut supra.*

Your very loving Cousin,

JAMES DESMOND.

Whilst the President was at Limerick he had certain notice brought him that Florence MacCarty had a meeting in Connilogh with James FitzThomas and Dermond O'Connor, and there in a parley, because O'Sulevan More did refuse to contribute towards the bearing of his Bownoghs in Desmond, he contrived with Dermond O'Connor that he should lay hands upon him, but it must be done as it were by force, that it might appear to the world that it was against his will ; for O'Sulevan was his brother-in-law, having married his sister. Thus was O'Sulevan betrayed by his dear brother, and detained prisoner<sup>1</sup> by Dermond. And also there were at that time, by Florence's directions, the two brothers of O'Sulevan More, the two O'Donoghs, MacFinir's son, and others to the number of eighteen, delivered as pledges into the hands of Dermond, for bonnought due unto him, which

<sup>1</sup> The two O'Sullivan's, viz. O'Sullivan Bere and O'Sullivan More, resisted Tyrone's settlement of Munster. That settlement meant for them slavery and rack-rents, for they were hereditary vassals to M'Carty More, and in fact, liable to the payment of enormous tributes.



Florence should have paid; all which prisoners were sent by him unto Castlelishin.

Before the President departed from Limerick, the Earl of Thomond invited him to the Castle of Bonratty. The same night that he was there, in the evening, Captain Gawen Harvie (who from Cork was embarked the very day that the President marched from thence with his army as aforesaid) came into the River Shannon to an anchor, at the mouth of the creek where the castle is seated. He brought with him, to the comfort of the whole army, money, munition, victuals, and apparel for the soldiers, which if it had not come in due time, it might have proved a hazard for the overthrow of that summer service. The next morning Captain Harvie was directed to go to the quay at Limerick, where after his charge was landed the President willed him to fall down with his ship, and to ride before the castle of the Glin, there to remain at an anchor until he with the army should present himself before it, and sent with him a demi-cannon, for the guard whereof certain soldiers were appointed under his charge.

Much did it amuse the minds both of the Council of the Province and of all the commanders in the army to see the forces suddenly dispersed, at such a time, as for divers reasons they thought very unseasonable. The army for the numbers was strong, having received no disaster since their coming into the field, the time of the year (being now about the beginning of June) was most convenient to lie in camp; whereas, if the service should be deferred until winter, the companies would be weakened both by death and sickness, and more difficulties should they find in the foulness of the weather, and deepness of the way, than in the sword

of the enemy, whom now they did ardently desire to encounter withal; yea, many there were that ceased not confidently to utter that they did now plainly perceive that though Her Majesty's charges were greatly enhanced by increasing the list in Munster, yet her service was likely to be no better followed than in the year last past.

But that the true ground of this action may be discovered, we must have recourse to the prosecution of the stratagem that all this while had been in working with Dermond O'Connor; for after his wife, the Lady Margaret, had acquainted him both with the enterprise and conditions (which was not until the army was at Kilmallock aforesaid), he showed a good inclination to effect it, were it not for three difficulties that seemed to interpose themselves: First, the President being altogether unknown to him, he demanded sufficient pledges to put into his hands, there to remain until the conditions promised should be performed; secondly, he wanted some show of reason, or colourable cause, to satisfy his co-partners in excuse of his action; and lastly, he alleged that no opportunity could be found for the execution of the design so long as James FitzThomas remained with all the force he could possibly make six miles from the camp, to confront the President's army in his passage to Askeiton. For assurance of the conditions, the President was content to deliver into his hands four pledges, which notwithstanding must be in such sort delivered by the one, and received by the other, as no suspicion might arise. The hostages agreed upon were Redmond and Brian, sons of Milerius<sup>1</sup> MacCraghe, Archbishop of Cashel, who himself had before been

<sup>1</sup> The name is usually written Miler M'Grath.

a principal actor in the business, and Captain William Power, and John Power,<sup>1</sup> his elder brother, who likewise had been employed in the action. These were made choice of because they might be free from the violence of Dermond O'Connor's men; the Powers being foster-brethren to the Lady Margaret, and the Archbishop himself born in Ulster, a natural follower unto the arch-traitor Tyrone. Therefore that these four should make a journey from Kilmallock towards Kinsale, where Captain Poore's company were then in garrison; and the time of their going being made known to Dermond O'Connor, he should lie with some of his forces in the pace of Ballihowre to intercept passengers, where these four should (as it were) by chance fall into his ambush; and so they did, where Dermond O'Connor, although, for the reasons before mentioned, saved their lives, yet he could not restrain the fury of his men, that knew nothing of his purpose, but that they were stripped of their clothes and left almost naked.

These being in this manner taken the eleventh day of June, they were presently carried to Castle Lyshin, seated in the great wood called Kilmore, seven miles from Kilmallock (where the Lady Margaret, his wife, then remained); and there straightly kept in irons until the ransom were discharged, which was given forth to be no less than two thousand pounds sterling.

As soon as they were taken, James FitzThomas repaired to Castle Lyshin, and instantly requested Dermond that he might have the two Powers executed, for unto them he was an ancient enemy; which Der-

<sup>1</sup> The Powers, *recte de la Poer*, were descendants of a famous Norman conquistador. The name, which occurs frequently, is generally written Poore, and that is the correct pronunciation.



mond would not assent unto, as well in respect of the great ransoms which he pretended to expect from them, as for giving of offence unto his wife, unto whose brother (then in the Tower of London) they were foster-brothers ; than which, in Ireland, there are no greater obligations of love.

The first impediment being thus removed, care was taken to devise some show of reason to excuse this action to the Bownoghs (if they should be discontented) after the execution thereof ; which was disguised by a letter as written by the Sungan Earl from the President ; which, forasmuch as the contents thereof do manifest the invention, I have thought not unfit to be inserted in this present relation.

#### THE LORD PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO JAMES FITZTHOMAS.

SIR,—Your last letters I have received, and am exceeding glad to see your constant resolution of return to subjection, and to leave the rebellious courses wherein you have long persevered. You may rest assured that promises shall be kept ; and you shall no sooner bring Dermond O'Connor to me, alive or dead, and banish his Bownoghs out of the country, but that you shall have your demand satisfied, which, I thank God, I am both able and willing to perform. Believe me, you have no better way to recover your desperate estate than by this good service, which you have proffered ; and therefore I cannot but commend your judgment in choosing the same to redeem your former faults. And I do the rather believe the performance of it by your late action touching Loghguire, wherein your brother and yourself have well merited ; and, as I promised, you



shall find me so just as no creature living shall ever know that either of you did assent to the surrender of it. All your letters I have received, as also the joint letter from your brother and yourself; I pray lose no time, for delays in great actions are subject to many dangers. Now that the Queen's army is in the field, you may work your determination with most security, being ready to relieve you upon a day's warning. So, praying God<sup>1</sup> to assist you in this meritorious enterprise, I do leave you to His protection this twenty-ninth of May, 1600.

This letter was sent to Dermond O'Connor, which, when time should serve, he might show as intercepted by him; and therefore what he did was imposed upon him by necessity, except he would suffer himself wittingly and willingly to be betrayed.

These things thus contrived, there remained nothing but to separate the reputed Earl from his strength, that no resistance might be made by the provincials, when he should be apprehended. This was not likely to be effected unless the President would divide his forces, and bestow them in several garrisons, as though they should leave the field for that summer, whereupon was judged that the rebels would likewise disperse themselves. And even so it came to pass, for they, understanding that the English army was now garrisoned (nothing suspecting that he would venture to send a garrison to Askeiton, without the countenance of an army), separated themselves into divers companies. The President had no sooner advertisement hereof, but he sent forthwith, under the conduct of Sir Francis Barkley, five

<sup>1</sup> Could Machiavellianism go beyond this?

hundred foot from Limerick by water, to go to Askeiton, which they might easily effect in a few hours, too short a time for them to assemble their forces to impeach their landing. By these means were they settled in garrison without any other difficulty than a light skirmish, the number of the rebels to give them resistance not exceeding two or three hundred at the most, which otherwise could not have been effected without much bloodshed.

The seventh of this month of June, the President received intelligence from John Butler, a gentleman of the county of Tipperary, that the Earl of Ormond, for the ransom of three thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon certain days agreed upon, was to be enlarged, and set at liberty by Ownhie Mac-Rory O'More, with whom he had been prisoner ever since the tenth day of April; for the true payment of the same, twelve hostages, who were the eldest sons of the principal gentlemen in the country, were delivered into the hands of the said Ownhie.<sup>1</sup> It appeared that he was detained somewhat longer than was expected, for the assurance of his delivery came not unto the President's knowledge until the seventeenth ensuing, at which time the Earl himself by his letters advertised him thereof.

I must here crave a little leave to look back to time past, as well to relate by what means the army in Munster was from time to time enabled to subsist in this prosecution, as to show the acts and the progress in the same. No man is ignorant that armies

<sup>1</sup> A short time after this the gallant Owny was slain, and his clan, left without a competent head, suppressed. Nay more, it was by law made penal for an O'Moore to set foot in Leix. The O'Moores are the MacGregors of Irish history.

of men's bodies cannot subsist unless they be continually supplied with money, munition, and victuals, and especially in such a kingdom as Ireland is, which was exhausted of all means of those natures by the continuance of the rebellion, and particularly in Munster, before the President came thither ; so that unless he had been carefully supplied with them out of England, no service could have been performed ; and herein I cannot but commend his care in demanding, as the Lords of the Council's readiness to effect the same. At his departure from the Court of England, he humbly prayed that against his coming into the province (for as you have heard he went by the way of Dublin) some proportions of money, munition, and victuals might be sent thither, whereof their Lordships were not unmindful, as by their letters dated the eight and twentieth of March last past may appear, wherein they certified the President that they had sent for the province of Munster nine thousand pounds in money, three months' victuals for three thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse (which was the list of his army), and, as he desired, the one half of it was sent to Cork, and the other moiety to Limerick. Also five lasts of powder, with lead and match proportionably, with two hundred and sixty-nine quarters of oats ; all which arrived in May following, the oats excepted, which came to Cork in April. Moreover, in the same month the soldiers' summer suits arrived at Cork. Further, as by their Lordships' letters to the President, dated the seventeenth of June, they had sent, for the supply of the province, five lasts more of powder, with match and lead ; and that shortly afterwards there should be sent unto him ten thousand pounds in money and

two months' victuals for the army, the one moiety to land at Cork, the other at Limerick, as he had demanded; and for that they had here certified that the soldiers (having had by Her Majesty's favour their powder given unto them without any defalcation upon their entertainments) made unnecessary use of the same, and sometimes sold it to the Irish merchants and others, they required the President to let them know, and to take order accordingly, that they should not be allowed any expense of powder but in days of training or service only.

But to return to Dermond O'Connor, who now perceiving that it was a fit time for his design, sent a messenger to the Earl of Desmond, for so he called James FitzThomas, desiring him to meet him at a place of parley upon the eighteenth of June, to confer about certain matters concerning the wars. James FitzThomas (as he since confessed to the President) had received some secret intelligence of Dermond's intent; which although he did not absolutely credit, yet did it work some jealousy in him; and therefore brought with him to the parley some two hundred of his foot: Dermond O'Connor brought one hundred and fifty Bownoghs. After some speech passed, among the chief, at last a controversy did arise between Moroghe MacShihy, marshal to James FitzThomas, and the marshal of Dermond, about such hides as were or should be killed in the army; the one deriving his authority from Tyrone, the other from the Earl of Desmond; in contention they grew warm, and Dermond so blew the coal that the kerns of the one, and the Bownoghs of the other, were ready to pass from words to blows; much did the Sagan Earl labour to quiet this mutiny, which could



not be thoroughly appeased until the companies on either part were severed and dispersed ; James FitzThomas, willing to give all satisfaction to Dermond and the Bownoghs, made offer to dismiss his own men, which was willingly accepted by the other, and so sent them into the country near adjoining. They being departed, and the principals settled again to parley about the deciding of this controversy, the Bownoghs by Dermond's appointment drew near unto them. Then Dermond O'Connor laid hold upon James FitzThomas, and said, "My Lord, you are in hand." "In hand," answered he, "for whom, or for what cause?" "I have taken you for O'Neale," said he, "and I purpose to detain you until I be certified of his pleasure, for yourself have combined with the English, and promised to the President to deliver me, alive or dead, into his hands; and for proof thereof, behold," said he, "letters which were intercepted and brought to me (under the President's hand) to confirm the same," and therewithal produced them.

This colourable pretence gave a good satisfaction to the companies for the present; and yet for the better content he gave Thomas Oge of Kerry, and two of the Clanshyhy's brethren, whom he took also at the same time, unto the chiefest of his captains to be reserved for their ransoms.

Now James FitzThomas and the other prisoners, being mounted upon poor garrans, are conveyed through the fastness in Connilogh to Castle Lishin, where they were no sooner bestowed but Dermond O'Connor went presently unto another castle, called Balliallinan, belonging to Rory MacShihy, father to the two brethren of the MacShihies before mentioned, which he also took, and therein settled himself, and

sent with all speed to Castle Lishin for his wife and the English pledges, which were there in hand-locks, leaving some sixteen warders to guard the prisoners ; these he removed from thence, either because they might more conveniently send some one of them with the relation of his doings to the Lord President, or for fear lest the friends and followers of the arch-traitor, Desmond, re-uniting themselves to his own Bownoghs, of whom he was very uncertain, taking part with them, they might join their forces, and at one push both rescue the prisoners that he had taken and also take himself prisoner and the four English pledges. To the intent, therefore, that he might not adventure all his substance in one ship, he divided them as before you have heard.

These businesses thus contrived, Dermond O'Connor, upon the nineteenth of June, sent John Power (one of the pledges before spoken of) in all haste to the President at Limerick, with a message tending to this purpose : That if the Lord President would instantly gather all the forces he could make, and draw to Kilmallock, where the Lady Margaret should meet him, for the receiving of one thousand pounds, which were promised him upon the delivery of the prisoner, praying withal that the President would not move out of Kilmallock until she were come unto him, in the meantime he would keep him in safety and accommodate all things for the more assurance in the effecting of the business.

To Kilmallock he came the next morrow, the twentieth of June, with one thousand foot and two troops of horse ; for a good part of his army was at that time gone into Thomond, to secure the same from O'Donnell, who was come far up into the country, and had taken many preys there.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The country of Thomond harassed and spoiled by O'Donnell—Forces sent into Thomond—James FitzThomas set at liberty—Dermond O'Connor's letter to the Lord President—A letter from the Munster rebels to O'Donnell—Dermond O'Connor and the rebels agreed and reconciled—The Castle of Crome taken by the army—A joint letter from William Burke and Morroghe ny Moe O'Flagharly to the Lord President—A letter from Morroghe ny Moe O'Flagharly to the Lord President—A letter from James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty.

THIS sudden coming of O'Donnell for Thomond was so secretly carried that the Earl of Thomond had no notice of it until he was come to the borders thereof; he then, being at Limerick with the President, prayed him to lend him part of his army, to make head against the rebels; whereupon his Lordship commanded the Sergeant-major, Captain Flower, and with eight hundred foot and sixty horse, to attend the Earl. O'Donnell entered the country, and harassed all Thomond, even as far as Loopthead, and took all the preys of the country. Nevertheless he went not away scot free, for the noble Earl fought often with his forces, slew many of them, and never left them until he had recovered a great part of the cattle which O'Donnell had taken;<sup>1</sup> and, upon Midsummer day, chased him out of Thomond. This sudden and unexpected coming of O'Donnell, with such great forces as

<sup>1</sup> This was the second great foray made in O'Brien-land by the quick-journeying Hugh Roe.

attended him, could never have been undiscovered if the next neighbours to Thomond, the inhabitants of Clanricard, had done their duties, through which country O'Donnell passed, and returned, without doing any hurt that ever I heard of. And so, leaving with this digression, it is time to speak of the success of the usurping Earl's apprehension. By this time it was suspected, and publicly noised abroad, that the Sугan Earl should be delivered to the President; which rumour began first to be bruited in Limerick and Kilmallock; and, as it always happens in that kingdom, from the towns the rumour is speedily conveyed into the country; which being no sooner heard than believed by the rebels, as well provincials, as others, they all combined themselves—John Fitz-Thomas, Pierce Lacy, and William Burke<sup>1</sup> being the triumviri of this league—to set the prisoner at liberty. With this determination they had gathered together, of Dermond's Bonoghs and provincials, some four thousand<sup>2</sup> men, near Castlelishin, in the great fastness of Conniloe, for there was this castle seated, with intent both to block up the way that the President should take in coming thither, and to constrain the ward to deliver the Earl.

<sup>1</sup> A brother of Redmund. William, too, was a famous captain of bonoghs. He was the very last of these captains who stood by the Munster rebellion. In the second volume we will find him in the pay of O'Sullivan Bere. It is hard not to feel a strong personal sympathy for these brothers. They had a perfectly legal right to great estates, and were driven to adopt fighting as a profession because the cowardly Government feared to alienate the Earl of Clanricarde by doing them justice.

<sup>2</sup> Consider how powerful a combination that must have been in its prime which now, after such a breaking and scattering, could bring four thousand soldiers into the field. An army of four thousand was in those days a mighty host.



The President being at Kilmallock as aforesaid, hourly expecting the coming of the Lady Margaret, stayed there from the twentieth to the twenty-sixth day, and in all that time he never heard from her or her husband; upon the twenty-sixth the Lady Margaret came to him. She related that Castlelishin was besieged by the rebels: her cause of stay was the danger of the way. Immediately the President (notwithstanding the rest of his forces were not returned out of Thomond) purposed to raise the siege; and the army being drawn forth, before they had marched an English mile upon the way, they met a messenger, who delivered unto them for certain, that James FitzThomas was rescued that morning, and himself did see him out of the castle.

In Castlelishin, where James FitzThomas was prisoner, Dermond O'Connor (with the ward) had left a priest, whose persuasions prevailed so much with O'Connor's men that they delivered the reputed Earl as aforesaid, but upon caution, as may appear by Dermond O'Connor's letters to the President, as followeth.

#### DERMOND O'CONNOR'S LETTER TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

MY GOOD LORD,—It is so, that contrary to my directions, and without my privity, my ward at Castlelishin was hardly set unto by the enemy, after the breach of the castle were constrained to yield to the surrender of the Earl of Desmond upon composition, viz. to receive as pledges from the said Earl, his son, and his receiver, one Gerald FitzNicholas, and the chief of the Walls or Faltaghs of Downmoylin, and John FitzThomas, brother of the said Earl, to be delivered into the hands

of MacCarty More, or some other indifferent man's hands, as the said Earl and I shall agree. Hereof I thought good to certify your Honour (assuring the same upon my credit that this composition was made without my privity, as your Honour shall understand manifestly hereafter), to the end your Honour might be advised not to send the army, for fear of any mischance in respect of the greatness of the enemy's forces and fastness of their strengths, the Earl being enlarged; all which I hope to bring to a worse case than they were in, and that in a short time, if I be well furthered by your Lordship; the manner whereof I am ready to declare to your Honour as occasion shall serve; for speedy effecting whereof, I pray your Lordship to send me your best advice by Captain Power, which expecting forthwith, I humbly take my leave. Balliallinan, this 26th of June, 1600.

Your Honour's to command,  
DERMOND O'CONNOR.

The reason which I conceive moved Dermond that he did not presently render him to the President was partly his fear that his money would be detained from him when the prisoner was once delivered, and therefore he would be first sure of the same; partly his overgreat confidence in his men, who he thought that they would not for a world have betrayed him as they did; but, especially, I conceive that the danger of the way was the occasion of the protraction; for undoubtedly the man did mean to perform his promise sincerely; and if the lady could have come sooner to Kilmallock, the titular Earl had been brought from Castlelishin without any difficulty.

Upon the seven and twentieth, Dermond O'Connor

wrote to the President, praying to be excused that he did not come unto him, for the ways were too dangerous for him to pass until his brother, who was in Desmond with 400 men, came unto him, or that the enemy did scatter, or the President with his army should draw into those parts; and in the meanwhile he would remain in the castle where he was; and besought the President to send him a safeguard for himself, his followers, and goods, protesting his loyalty to Her Majesty, and promising to be directed by the President in whatsoever it should please him to command. Within a few days after the delivery of the Sungan Earl (as aforesaid), the Earl of Thomond, having intercepted a letter sent by the rebels of Munster to O'Donnell and his associates, did send the same unto the President; whereby it may appear how much the taking of James FitzThomas did grieve them at the heart, which is the reason I do in this place insert the same.

#### A LETTER FROM THE MUNSTER REBELS TO O'DONNELL.

All hearty commendations from MacMaurice, and the rest undernamed, to O'Donnell, and the rest of the lords and gentlemen that are with him, letting you to understand that Dermond O'Connor hath played a lewd part amongst us here. He hath taken the Earl of Desmond, Thomas Oge, and the two sons of Rory MacShihy, together with their towns and castles, claiming in right of his wife the Earldom of Desmond. The Earl is as yet upon his hands, and the country is all preyed and destroyed, and Rory MacShihy, who is old and blind, is banished out of his town, leaving him bare, without anything, and his sons bound very safe and sure; which act being considered by Con O'Neal,

and others, the gentlemen of Connaught, who were in the said Dermond's company, to proceed of treachery and falsehood by the said Dermond; whereupon the said Con O'Neal and the rest of those Connaught men came unto us, bringing with them the said Rory's sons, for which we rest very thankful to them, and therefore we desire you to show them thanks likewise; and that you should write unto the said Dermond, touching the enlargement of the Earl, and that he should take good pledges of the Earl, to be put upon the hands of the clergy, or some indifferent temporal persons, and he to set in the like, and your order, and the order of the clergy to pass between them, and we desire your present help. To that purpose Dermond is drawing the English armies to fetch the Earl with them; we and the gentlemen of Connaught here are besieging the castle where the Earl lieth; and seeing that the river of Shannon is passable, if it had been your pleasure to come to help us we would be very glad thereof, and yet if we can rescue the Earl, and it to be your pleasure, we will draw towards you; hereupon send us present word, Castlelishine, the 24th of June, 1600.

Your trusty friends,

JOHN GERALD,	WILLIAM FITZGERALD,
THOMAS FITZMAURICE,	DIERBY MACCARTY,
EDMOND VALLEY,	PIERCE LACY,
M. FITZTHOMAS,	MACSHIHY.
PATRICK LIXNAWE,	

The President being out of hope to get this haggard into his hands by these limetwigs, intending the prosecution, which was to take place in the castles of the Glynn and Carrigfoile; the one belonging to the



Knight of the Valley, the other to John O'Connor (commonly called O'Connor Kerry), both being seated upon the river of Limerick, and so to pass the mountains into Kerry.

The President, having taken orders for all such necessaries as should be requisite in his journey, on the twenty-eighth marched to Limerick, the twenty-ninth (upon a letter which he received from Dermond O'Connor) into the heart of Conniloe, and encamped at a town called Killinery, fourteen miles from Limerick, being by him requested (who was now besieged by the enemy in the castle of Balliallinan) to relieve him with Her Majesty's forces.

The President being advanced within three miles of the castle where Dermond O'Connor was besieged, the rebels understanding thereof, and fearing to be assailed by him, and loth that Dermond O'Connor should fall into his hands, to be employed in service against them, whose credit with the bownoghs was such that he could persuade them to what he listed, they resolved to treat with Dermond, and, upon his oath of future faith, to take him again into their society, and to restore him to his former command. Dermond (as it should seem, fearing that relief would not come unto him in convenient time) accepted the offer, and rendered the castle and himself into their hands. But yet I could never hear that Dermond afterwards was had in any great estimation amongst them. This business being thus composed, they presently dislodged, with intent to give impediment to the army in their passage towards the Glynn. His Lordship being advertised of the reconcilment, directed his march to the Glynn; and understanding that the castle of Crome, the Earl of Kildare's inheritance, which was

not much out of his way, and held by a ward left therein by Pierce Lacy, which gave great annoyance to the subjects thereabouts, and comfort to the rebels, being seated at the entrance into Conniloe, took it in his way; upon the sight of the army the warders quitted the castle, and the President possessed himself thereof, together with some store of corn and other provision that was found therein. The last of June, the army marched through Kerry, a safe country, unto Askeiton, where it remained four days, in expectation of victuals that should come thither from Limerick by water. The 4th of July, the army rose thence, and marched to Ballintare, upon the mountain of Sleughlogher, twelve miles from Askeiton; the enemy, to the number of 3000, marching all that day in our view.

Now did the President assure himself that this army of the rebels did only attend the opportunity for some place of advantage, where they might conveniently attempt our forces; and no doubt so they would have done if the fore-conceived jealousy and distrust between the provincials and bonoghs, confirmed in them by the bones of dissension (that the President had cast forth amongst them), had not wrought in either of them a desire of nothing more than to be freed from the danger (reciprocally apprehended) each of the other, as might well appear by two letters (which this night were brought to the President) from the principal of the Connaught men; the true copies whereof I have thought not unfit to be inserted in this present relation.

A JOINT LETTER FROM WILLIAM BURKE AND MOROGHE  
NY MOE O'FLAHERTY TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

Commendations to your Honour. Forasmuch as we think your Honour willing to further augment your credit, in doing your princess service, we thought to make you acquainted that we are here in camp two thousand and five hundred Connaught<sup>1</sup> men. Yet we let your Honour to understand that we will not set upon you in any way, nor molest you on your journey, so that your Honour consider us with a piece of money, and give us your pass and safe conduct to depart this country; not that we fear you or any other, but that we mean to do you no harm, so your Honour show us the like favour. You may well accept of this our proffer; for it is a thing that others of your calling sought for, and could not obtain, although very desirous for the obtaining of it. Thus troubling your Honour no further, only expecting your speedy resolution, we commit you

<sup>1</sup> Dermot O'Connor, Tyrone's lieutenant, another Connaught man, not here, had 1400 men under his own immediate command, as a military following. Redmund Burke, another Connaught man, went out of the province leading 500. The tale of the bonoghs, therefore, adds up to 4400 professional soldiers, almost all hailing from Connaught; we may fairly add another thousand for the killed and disabled in the internal bickerings which had never quite ceased, or in duelling, or who had died or run away. Shrinkage is an evil from which no army can be free. Connaught then, besides those who were still fighting in her northern counties, sent out some 5000 men for the service in Munster. And all these were excellent soldiers, picked out man by man by their captains, captains whose fortunes depended on the excellence of their soldiers. Indeed there is a sound soldierly ring in this letter, also a very evident suggestion of the professional soldier. "A piece of money" is of course a figure of speech. So men at this time would say "a steak" when they meant a creacht of cattle.

to God. From the Abbey of Feile, the third of July, 1600.

Your friends to use during your friendship,

WILLIAM BURKE,

MOROGHE NY MOE O'FLAHERTY.<sup>1</sup>

A LETTER FROM MOROGHE NY MOE O'FLAHERTY TO THE  
LORD PRESIDENT.

My duty remembered, I commend me unto your Lordship. Whereas, about May last, I came hither in my galley out of Connaught, to draw home my people, soldiers, and followers into my native soil, there to live quiet, and under Her Majesty's subjection, whereupon I have had Her Highness's protection and passport for myself and them, and all other out of Connaught that shall accompany me; whereby ever since myself and soldiers have been so crossed and troubled by this country people, as they did not suffer me to depart from the Earl of Desmond; I have thought good, therefore, in respect it is a thing belonging to the advancement of Her Majesty's service, to bring the number of one thousand persons, soldiers, and tenants to peace, to pray and desire your Lordship to grant me, and all such as I shall bring with me, your passport and safe-conduct through all your garrisons, and Her Majesty's subjects, as well in this country as in Thomond. And in so doing we shall pray, etc. And so I humbly take leave. Clanmorishkerry, this third of July, 1600.

Her Majesty's true subject,

If your lordship please,

MOROGHE NY MOE O'FLAHERTY.

<sup>1</sup> The name means Murrough of the Cows, *na-m-bo*. I believe that this Murrough was, one of Grannaile's sons by her first husband



Unto these letters the President deferred to return any present answer, as well because they should know that they who had attempted and performed so many outrages and rebellious practices against Her Majesty and her subjects should not so presently and so easily receive favour from the State; as also they might have imagined (if he had instantly condescended unto their demands) that he stood in fear of them, which might have made them more bold in attempting some enterprise upon his army. And, lastly, he conceived a hope that, to effect their longing desire of returning into Connaught, they would at last be glad to do service one upon another; remitting therefore only this answer, that he despised their forces, and he knew they durst not interrupt his passage; nevertheless at further leisure he would consider their demands. At this time James FitzThomas wrote a letter to Florence MacCarty, which in this place I think good to insert.

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO FLORENCE  
MACCARTY.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I was driven, through the treacherous dealings of Dermond O'Connor, to let the President and the English army pass into Glenn without any resistance; and yet they are but thirteen hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse. Dermond O'Connor did undertake that the Connaught men should not meddle with them, nor take our parts, being the only encouragement of the English to venture this enterprise. But now God be praised, I am joining my forces with them, and do pray you to assist me with your forces, for now is the time to

show ourselves upon the enemy, for they are but very few in number, and destitute of all relief, either by sea or land. If your Lordship be not well at ease yourself, let your brother Dermond,<sup>1</sup> and the chief gentlemen of your forces, come without any delay; assuring your Lordship that I will, and am ready to, show you the like against your need. Beseeching your Lordship once again not to fail, as you tender the overthrow of our action; even so committing your Lordship to the tuition of God Almighty, I end. Portrinad, the fifth of July, 1600.

Your Honour's most assured friend and Cousin,  
JAMES DESMOND.

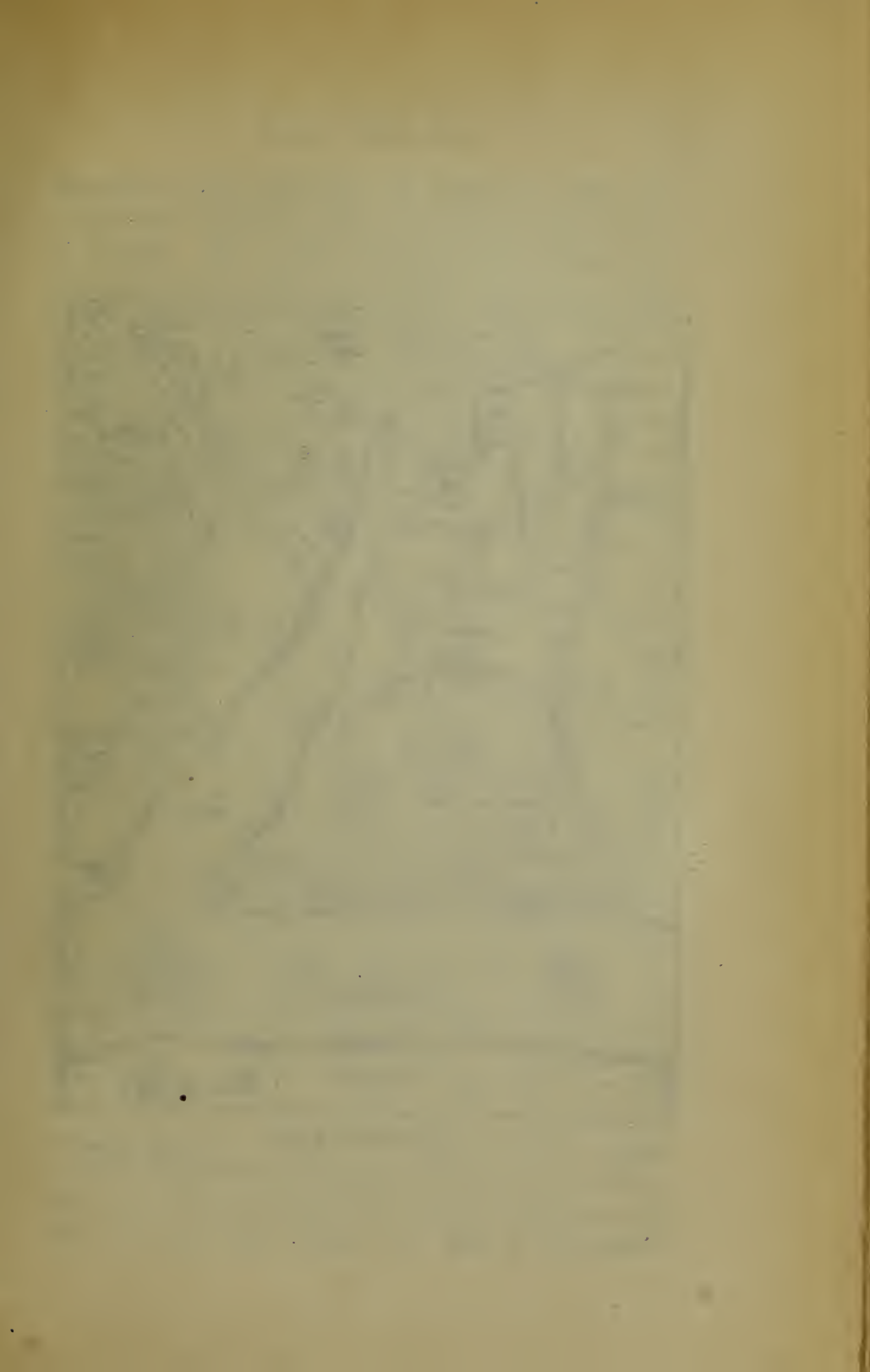
<sup>1</sup> Dermot Maol (the bald), chief support of the confederacy in Munster after the battle of Kinsale. Shot in battle by his cousin MacCarty Reagh, Lord of Carberry.

## CHAPTER IX.

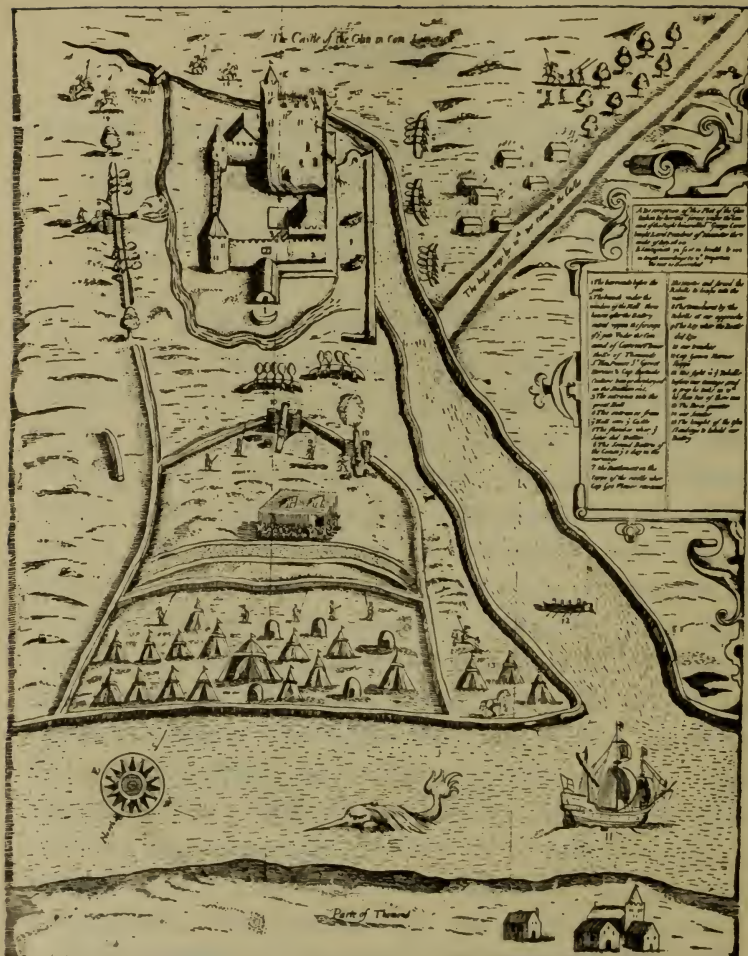
The army encamped before Glyn Castle—The Knight of the Valley, upon safe conduct, spoke with the Earl of Thomond—The constable of Glyn Castle—His advice to the Earl of Thomond for his safety—A breach made and assaulted—A sally made by the rebels—The constable, etc., slain—The castle of the Glyn won and the rebels put to the sword.

THE next morning, being the fifth of July, the army came unto the castle of the Glyn, distant from Ballintare but five miles, the rebels still marching within less than two English miles of us, but never offering any skirmish; where we found Captain Gawen Harvy (according to his direction) at anchor before the castle, where he attended our coming about fourteen days. The army was no sooner encamped, but order was presently taken for unshipping the cannon, brought by water in a boat of the Earl of Thomond's from Limerick; and that night entrenched ourselves before the castle, between it and the river. The day following, the ordnance (which was one demicannon and one sacker) was planted before the castle, without any resistance or the loss of any one man, by reason of a parley, that was purposely to that end entertained, during which the work was performed.

The seventh, the Knight of the Valley, by a messenger from him to the Earl of Thomond, prayed a safe-conduct to the camp, which was granted; he told the Earl that he desired to confer with the President, which he refused, without absolute submission to Her







Majesty's mercy, whereunto he would not yield, but stood upon conditions, whereupon he was commanded to depart. He saw the cannon already planted, and his son, then a child, in the President's hands, ready at his will to be executed, being by himself formerly put in pledge for his loyalty; then he desired to speak with the Earl of Thomond again, which was granted. But the Earl found his obstinacy to be such, that he disdained to have any long conference with him; and so, being safely conveyed out of the camp, he returned to his fellow traitors, who were on the top of a hill, not far off, where they might see the success of the castle.

When he was gone, the same day towards the evening, the constable of the castle (who was a Thomond man born) sent a messenger to the Earl of Thomond, praying his Lordship to get a safe-conduct from the President, that he might come to speak with him, which being granted, he said in his discourse to the Earl: "My Lord, in the love I bear you, being your natural follower, I desired to speak with you, to the end that you may avoid the peril that you are in; for the Earl of Desmond, and the Connaught men, lodge not two miles from this place; they are three thousand strong at least, and the Lord President may be assured that they will give upon his camp, for so they are resolved; and in all likelihood, you will be there put to the sword, or driven into the river Shannon." The Earl deriding these threats, advised him to render up the castle to the President, whereby his life and his fellows might be secured, which he with vainglorious obstinacy refused, and returned to the castle; for a farewell, the President sent him word that since he had refused the Earl of Thomond's

favourable offer, he was in hope, before two days were spent, to have his head set upon a stake, which proved true (as you shall hear) before the castle was taken.

The next day, when we looked that the cannon should begin to play, the cannoneer found the piece to be cloyed, and all the art and skill which either the smith or himself could or did use prevailed nothing. The President (who is a man that knows well to manage great artillery) commanded that the piece upon her carriage (as she was) should be abased at the tail and elevated at the muzzle as high as it might be; then he willed the gunner to give her a full charge of powder, roll a shot after it, and to give fire at the mouth, whereby the touch-hole was presently cleared, to the great rejoicing of the army, which of necessity in attempting the castle without the favour of the cannon must have endured great loss. This particular I thought good not to omit, because it may be an instruction to others, whensoever the like accident should happen. The piece being thus cleared, the President, having the Knight of the Valley's eldest son (a child of six years old) in his hands, to terrify the warders, he caused the child to be set upon the top of one of the gabions, sending them word that they should have a fair mark to bestow their small shot upon; the constable returned answer, that the fear of his life should not make them forbear to direct their volleys of shot to the battery; for said he (in indecent terms not fit for me to write) the place is open where he was born, and the knight may have more sons.<sup>1</sup> The President not intending as he seemed

<sup>1</sup> Note the barbaric energy of this. But if the constable was nakedly savage in speech he was at least true to his trust.

The Knight of the Valley, the White Knight and the Knight of



caused the infant to be taken down from the gabion, knowing that the discharging of the cannon would have shaken the poor child's bones asunder, and then presently he commanded the battery to begin, and the small shot did so incessantly burn powder that the warders durst not stand to their fight, until a breach was made assaultable into the cellar under the great hall of the castle; all this was done with the loss of only one man, a cannoneer.

Then was Captain Flower commanded by the President, with certain companies assigned unto him, to enter the breach, which he valiantly performed, and gained the hall, and enforced the ward to return into a castle close adjoining it, where, from out of a spite, they slew four of our men; then he ascended a pair of stairs, to gain two turrets over the hall, in which attempt Captain Bostock's ensign was slain; by the winning whereof they were in better security than before, and there were our colours placed; and because it was by this time within night, Captain Slingsby (who was there with the President's company) was commanded to make it good till the morning; during which time, sometimes on either side, small shot played, but little or no harm done. About midnight, the constable, seeing no possibility to resist long, and no hope of mercy left, thought by the favour of the night to escape in a sally; but the guards were so vigilant that they slew him and some others. Nevertheless two escaped; the rest, who were not slain, returned to the castle, and the constable's head was (as the President

Kerry were all of the Geraldine sept. There was also a Black Knight, a title which had become extinct. Another curious title emanating from the Earls of Desmond was "Seneschal of Imokilly." The Lord of Imokilly was always called "the Seneschal."



formerly had told him) put on a stake. Early in the morning the ward had got into the tower of the castle, where there was no coming to them, but up a narrow stair which was so straight that no more than one at once might ascend; and at the stair foot, a strong wooden door, which being burnt, the smoke in the stairs was such that for two hours there was no ascending without hazard of stifling; when the extremity of the smoke was past, one of the rebels presented himself and said, on behalf of himself and his fellows, that if their lives might be saved, they would surrender; but before any answer was made he voluntarily put himself into our hands. The smoke being vanished, a musketeer, and to his second a halberdier, then Captain Flower and Captain Slingsby; Lieutenant Power, Lieutenant to Sir Henry Power; Ensign Power, Sir Henry Power's Ensign; Lieutenant Nevill, Lieutenant to Sir Garrat Harvy, who was after killed in Connaught, seconded by others, ascended the stairs in file, where they found no resistance, nor yet in the upper rooms, for the rebels were all gone to the battlements of the castle, with resolution to sell their lives as dear as they could. Our men pursued the way to the battlements, whereunto there was but one door; Captain Flower entered upon one hand, and Captain Slingsby upon the other; the gutters were very narrow between the roof of the castle and the battlements. In conclusion, some were slain in the place, and others leapt from the top of the castle into the water underneath it, where our guards killed them. In this service eleven soldiers were slain, whereof one was an ensign, and one and twenty hurt, of which number the Sergeant-major (who served admirably well) was one; he received three or

four wounds, but none of them mortal ; there were also the Lieutenants of the Earl of Thomond and of Sir Henry Power hurt ; of the enemy (of all sorts) were slain eighty, or thereabouts, whereof twenty-three were natural-born followers to the Knight of the Valley, in whom he reposed greatest confidence.

The reasons which moved the Knight thus obstinately to persist were partly the strength of the castle, which he (ignorantly) thought defensible against the cannon, and also the manifold oaths and protestations made unto him by his fellow rebels that with their whole forces they would give relief, and raise the siege, but how much he failed in expectation of the one, and they in the protestation of the other, you have already heard ; whereof if the protesters had had any feeling (of their promised faith) the provocation they had was great ; for they were eye-witnesses when the castle was assaulted and won. This castle is a place of great importance, and ever since the beginning of the rebellion one Anthony Arthur (a merchant of Limerick) lay in it, as a general factor for the city, to vend commodities to the rebels.

## CHAPTER X.

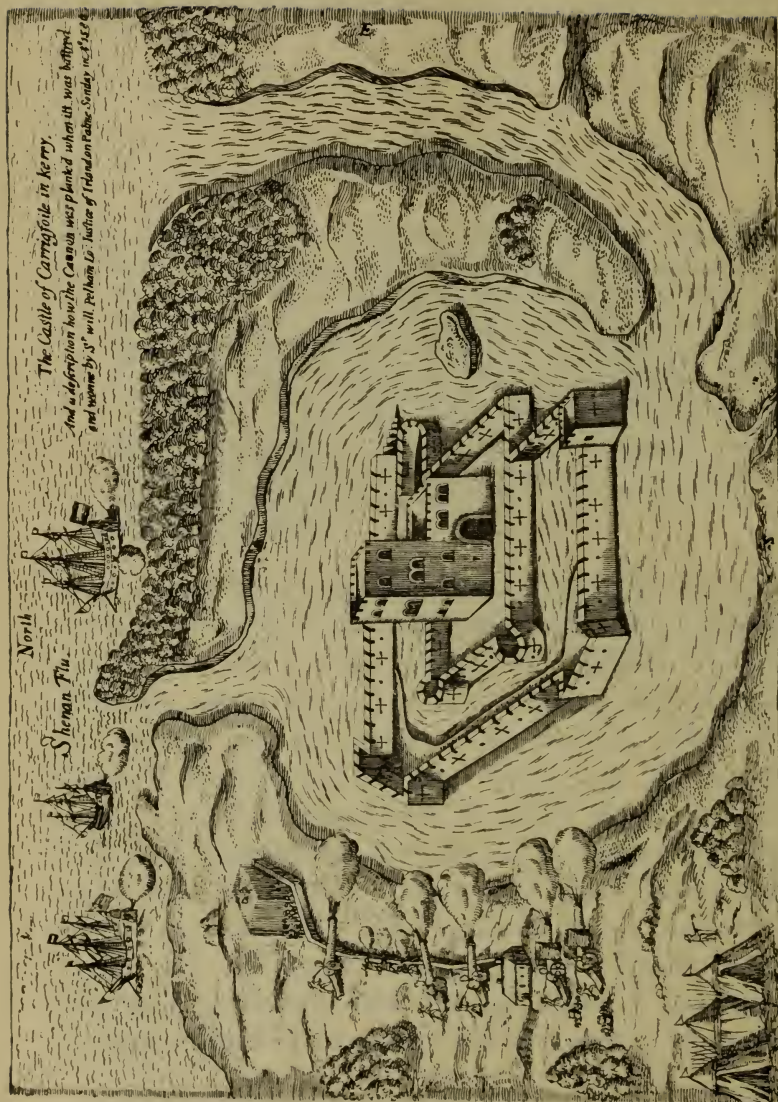
Ward put into the castle of Glyn by the Lord President—Carrickfoyle rendered by O'Connor Kerry—Victuals and munition sent out of England into Munster—Maurice Stacke sent into Kerry—The bonoghs obtained the Lord President's passport to depart the province—Sixty of the bonoghs slain by the Lord Burke—The Lord President's return to Limerick—The castle of Corgrage rendered—A garrison left in Askeiton—The castle of Rathmore rendered—A garrison placed at Kilmallock—The rebels forced to raise the siege of Lyskaghan—Florence MacCarty's persuasions to the ward to quit Lyskaghan—Florence attempts again to corrupt the constable of Lyskaghan—A letter from James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty.

THE President was constrained to stay here five days after the taking of the castle, to place a guard therein, which was left to the charge of Captain Nicholas Mordant, with one and twenty soldiers, and to repair the breach and ruins made by the cannon, which being finished, he intended to draw the cannon to Carrickfoyle, five miles distant from the Glyn, which castle was held then against Her Majesty, as it was in *anno* 1580, and won by Sir William Pelham, the Lord Justice, under whom (at that time) the President was a captain of foot. But O'Connor Kerry, being advised hereof, desired a protection, and, for assurance of his future loyalty, offered to surrender his said castle,<sup>1</sup> to be kept

<sup>1</sup> Though we seem to be far enough away now from the heroic age of Ireland, I may mention that the O'Conors Kerry, so called to distinguish them from other O'Conor septs, claimed descent from Fergus MacRoy and Queen Meave, two great figures of the heroic age. Ciar, son of Fergus, settled here and became ancestor of the Ciarree,







MAP OF CARRICKFOYLE CASTLE.

unto Her Majesty's use ; his proffer the Lord President accepted, and a ward of Charles Wilmot's company was placed therein.

The Earl of Thomond, in his good affection to the service, gave unto John O'Connor, during the wars, a castle and thirteen plough lands, for his tenants and himself to live upon, in Thomond, which was a better pledge upon him than any he could give ; nevertheless, after the Spaniards' landing in Ireland, this perfidious traitor relapsed, as hereafter you shall hear.

About the middle of this month, there arrived, first at Cork, a small bark of five and twenty tons, laden with victuals ; and the day following, a greater quantity ; also three lasts of powder, with lead and match proportionable, which was a great comfort to the President and the whole army.

Whilst these things were in doing, the President, to the end the rebels might be set on work in many places at once, employed one Maurice Stacke, a servant of his own, in Kerry (a native of that county)—a man of small stature, but of invincible courage—with fifty men ; who, confidently undertaking no more than he valiantly performed, surprised by scale a castle in the heart of the county called Liscaghan, appertaining to Master Edward Gray, an undertaker, put the ward to the sword, burnt Ardare and other towns, took some preys for the maintenance of himself and his company, and made good the place, until he was seconded by the coming of Sir Charles Wilmot, as after you shall hear.

From the beginning of the war until this under-

i.e. children of Ciar. Hence Kerry. At the date of the Norman invasion an O'Connor was King of Kerry. Under Geraldine predominance the O'Conors had shrunk to the dimensions here indicated.

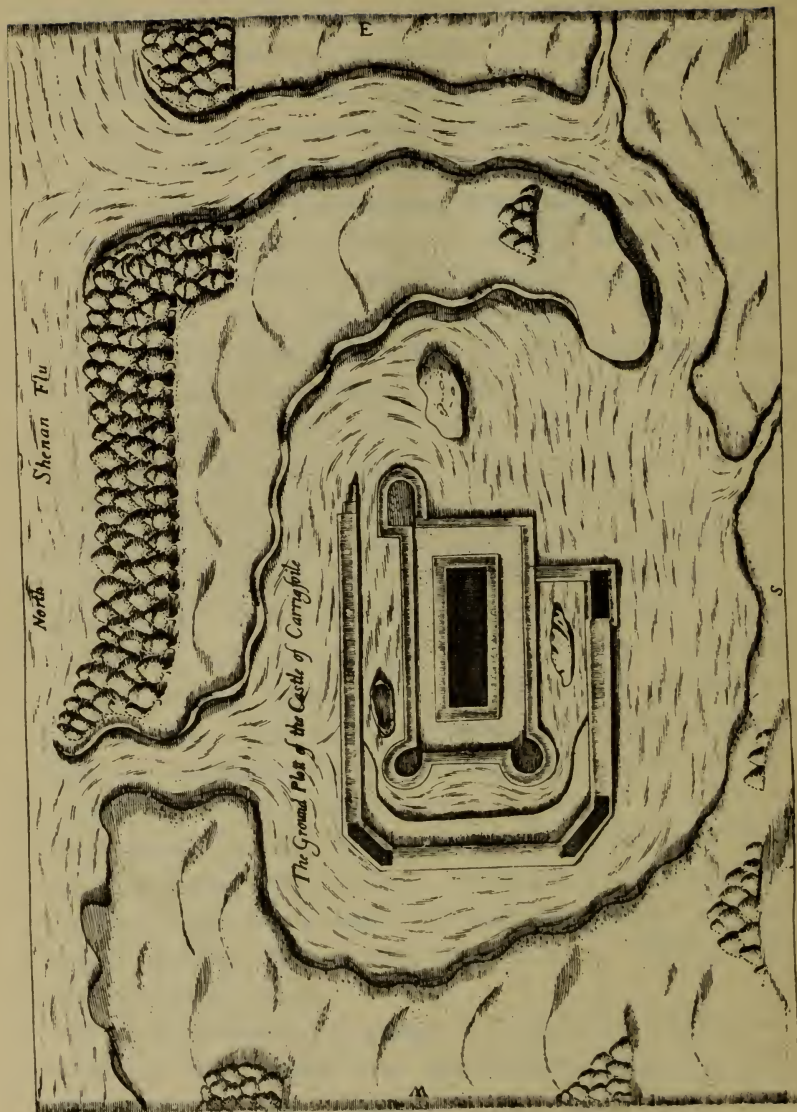
taking of Maurice Stacke none of Her Majesty's forces had been seen in Kerry; the country was strong in men, and full of victuals, yet this undaunted spirit of Stacke would, with a handful of men, attempt the enterprise; still did the bownoghs (seeing their hopes in Munster to be frustrated) importune the President, by letters and messages, for his passport, to safe-conduct them into Connaught, promising there to live under Her Majesty's laws, as should become loyal and dutiful subjects; which at last, upon mature deliberation, was granted unto them.<sup>1</sup> The Lord Burke, being either ignorant of what was done, or would not take knowledge of it, in revenge of his two elder brothers' deaths, who were slain by them, with the help of Limerick men, set upon their rear in Clanwilliam, as they were passing the Shannon, and slew sixty of them, besides divers that were drowned, and took some part of their prey. In this skirmish an alderman of Limerick called Dominick Roche, and a Protestant, was dangerously wounded with a musket bullet; among these bownoghs, Dermond O'Connor passed into Connaught. Whilst these things were thus in handling the President still remained at Carrickfoyle, expecting daily and hourly a ship of victuals, which had been coming from Cork thither since the beginning of June; upon arrival whereof he purposed with the greatest part of his forces to have passed further into Kerry, and to have settled that part of the province.

But the victuals, by reason of contrary winds, not being as yet come into the River Shannon, the thirteenth of this month he was constrained, for want thereof, to return to Limerick again. In which

<sup>1</sup> We are not told whether they got their "piece of money."







GROUND PLAN OF CARRIGFOYLE CASTLE.

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return we, having marched through exceeding strong fastness, encamped the first night before the castle of Corgroge, seated upon the Shannon, belonging to Master Trenchard, the undertaker, and of strength sufficient to hold out against any force except the cannon. But the example of the Glyn was so fearful to the rebels, that upon the first summons they yielded the same with safety of their lives. And the President gave the custody of it unto Oliver Stevenson.

The next day, the army marched twelve miles unto Adare, a manor house, belonging to the Earls of Kildare, wholly ruined by Pierce Lacy; thence the President sent seven hundred foot and seventy-five horse to Askeiton, there to remain in garrison.

The fifteenth, advertisement being given that the Castle of Rathmore (three miles out of the way to Limerick) was still held by the rebels, we came before it, which the Ward instantly delivered unto the President, whence he sent four hundred and fifty foot and fifty horse unto Kilmallock; for it was well found that the greatest hope of the arch-traitor Desmond consisted in Conniloe, which by reason of the fertility of the soil, the strength of the country, and the inhabitants being all his natural-born followers, did yield him more command and relief than any part of the province besides; these two garrisons therefore were placed at Askeiton and Kilmallock, that did so infest the rebels that resided in those parts that before the next winter was ended they were utterly wasted.

The sixteenth, the President, with the rest of the army, came to Limerick, which was no sooner dispersed and disposed in the manner aforesaid than the enemy drew their forces to Liscaghan, surprised (as

you have heard) by Maurice Stack and by him still possessed, despite the rebels ; the castle therefore they besiege, and placed an engine (well known in this country) called a sow<sup>1</sup> (to the walls thereof) to sap the same ; but the defenders did so well acquit themselves in a sally that they tore the sow in pieces, made her cast her pigs, and slew twenty-seven of them dead in the place ; finding therefore that force would not prevail to effect their attempt they betake themselves to fraud. For the more cunning conveyance whereof, Florence MacCarty was employed as a principal instrument by FitzMaurice, who then, with two hundred foot and twenty horse, lay at Ardare, not half a mile distant from the castle. Within a few days after the former sally, the said Florence came to speak with the ward (commanded by Walter Talbot, in the absence of Maurice Stack) about some particulars concerning their own good ; who amongst other conference assured them that the President was gone to Cork, that most of his troops were defeated, and that it was impossible for them to expect aid before the next spring ; all which notwithstanding, for the love he bare to the President, he would be glad to save their lives ; and if they would deliver up the place to him he would undertake to convey them in safety to Carrickfoyle. Much did this smooth report distract some of the wards ; for they well understood that he had not showed himself in any overt action against Her Majesty since the President came into his government ; and although he did converse with the rebels, yet it might be that it was either to do some service upon them or else to draw them into subjection. But others, misdoubting, *anguis in herba*, resolutely

<sup>1</sup> A mantelet.



answered that they would make good that place against all Ireland until a second might come unto them ; then he began to terrify them with the strength of the enemy and weakness of Her Majesty's forces, reporting the one to be at the least seven thousand, and the other at the most two thousand five hundred ; but finding that this last attempt prevailed no more than the first assault, with some threatening speeches he departed to the Lord of Lixnaw. The next morning Florence attempted the ward again, but they made answer as the day before ; then he proffered Walter Talbot, if he would render the place to him, he would give him sixty men in wages and a good horse ; but all his offers being rejected he went his way.

Notice hereof being brought to the President, then residing at Limerick, he addressed himself in all speed towards Kerry, and set forward the three and twentieth of July ; but whereas (by reason of continual rain that had lately fallen in great abundance) it was thought that the mountain of Sleulogher<sup>1</sup> was impassable for carriages, was constrained to take the way of Thomond. The forces which he carried with him were in list 1050 foot and seventy-five horse. These therefore marched to Kilrush, a place in Thomond, opposite Carrickfoyle, and, by the eight and twentieth of the same, all the foot, the troops, and baggage were transported, which in respect of the breadth of the river in that place, being at least one league and a half, was expedited beyond all expectation. In the speedy dispatch whereof much was attributed, and that worthily, to the Earl of Thomond, who provided boats and such other neces-

<sup>1</sup> A range of mountains dividing Kerry from Cork, *Recte* Slieve Luachra, the Rushy Mountain.



saries as his country could afford. The beginning of August James FitzThomas wrote to Florence MacCarty a letter, the true copy whereof followeth:—

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO FLORENCE  
MACCARTY.

COUSIN,—Yesterday I came over the mountain and brought with me the bonnogs of Conelloe, the residue and force of the country I have left to keep their crets. I understand since my coming that Sir Charles Wilmot, with six hundred foot and fifty horse, is come to Clanmorris, and this night intends to be at Tralee. I have sent to the Knight and all the country presently to meet me to-morrow to resist their determination. And for your better furtherance and accomplishment of our action I am to entreat your Lordship, as you regard your own quiet and exaltation of the service, to make what haste you may, and speedily to yield us your helping assistance, for which we will rest thankful and most ready to answer your Lordship at your need. And thus referring the consideration hereof to your Lordship, I commit you to God. *Primo Augusti*, 1600.

Your Lordship's very loving cousin,  
JAMES DESMOND.

## CHAPTER XI.

The Lord President at Carrickfoyle—The castles of Lixnaw, Rathowin, and Tralée surprised by Sir Charles Wilmot—The bonoughs defeated by Sir Charles Wilmot—The death of Patrick FitzMaurice, Lord of Lixnaw—Florence MacCarty sent for by the Lord President, but refuses to come—A marriage practised by Florence for James FitzThomas—Letters and messages between Florence and Tyrone—An encounter between Captain Harvey and the White Knight's son—The White Knight's son defeated—The Knight of Kerry and the Lord of Lixnaw sue for protection—The Earl of Thomond left to command the garrison of Askeiton—Florence MacCarty continues his practice with Tyrone—Lands given by James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty—Donnell MacCarty taken in upon protection.

THE President, being come to Carrickfoyle, advertisement was brought that the rebels hastened to ruin their castles in Kerry. Wherefore the nine and twentieth he sent Sir Charles Wilmot (a very valiant and understanding gentleman) with the forces aforesaid into Clanmorris, who without much difficulty, by reason of his sudden and unexpected coming, recovered the chief house of the Lord FitzMaurice, called Lixnaw, being formerly by him sapped and under-set with props of timber, to the end that, whensoever any English forces should come into the country, at an instance (fire being set unto them) the castle should be ruined, which he rather wished than a garrison of soldiers should be lodged in it. But the sudden coming of Sir Charles prevented his intention. He surprised also, in the same manner, the castle of

Rathowin, belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, into both which (being very convenient for service) he put sufficient guards, then rode with fifty horse to view Tralee, which was Sir Edward Denny's<sup>1</sup> house; James FitzThomas had appointed one hundred and fifty bownoghs for the ruining hereof; who, having almost fully finished their task, as they were busily employed about the undermining of certain vaults remaining after the rest unruined, Sir Charles Wilmot, with his fifty horse, as they came suddenly, so they ran violently, like a whirlwind (in fair weather), upon these rebels, killed two and thirty of them dead in the place, and recovered the arms of one hundred, who, by the means and favour of a bog and mountain near adjoining, escaped with their lives, being frightened almost out of their wits. The second of August Sir Charles Wilmot returned to Carrickfoyle with his troops.

In the meantime the President was advertised that the victuals which he expected from Cork were arrived at Carrighowlogh in Thomond, almost opposite the river Cassan in Kerry, whence they were transported in boats up the Cassan to Lixnaw, four miles into the country, which service was performed by the aid of the Earl of Thomond's boats.

The Lord FitzMaurice, whose name was Patrick, and father to Thomas Lord FitzMaurice, now living,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Denny and Sir William Herbert were the two chief undertakers of the county. Their bickerings and mutual revilings fill many pages of the State Papers and are very amusing. The undertakers of Munster were as little united and fraternal as the chiefs. They could not combine, and when young O'Moore invaded the province they all cut and ran without striking a blow. They went to England and lived comfortably there while other men were recovering their estates for them.

an obstinate rebel, hearing of our being at Carrickfoyle, fearing our neighbourhood, brake his castle of the Beaulieu, seated upon the Shannon, two miles distant from Carrickfoyle, when he saw his chief house possessed by our forces, took such an inward grief, that the twelfth of this instant he gave up the ghost. The county of Kerry at this time was the best inhabited county in all Munster; but whosoever took the most pains in sowing, certain it is, that the garrisons, as they were shortly after placed, reaped all the profit of that harvest.

The island of Kerry, an ancient and chief house of the Earls of Desmond, and of late belonging to Sir William Herbert, as an undertaker, together with many other castles in those parts, are (by the rebels) absolutely ruined, nearly upon the first bruit of the army's approach, which was an evident argument of their obstinacies.

The President, upon his first coming into Kerry, hearing that Florence MacCarty was not then above ten miles distant from him, about a parley with James FitzThomas, wrote for him, to come and speak with him at Carrickfoyle, but he, remitting nothing but oaths and dilatory excuses, came not; whereupon second letters together with a safeguard were dispatched unto him, but to those he returned no answer at all. This delaying, compared with the report of some protectees, who averred Florence to have entered into a new combination with James FitzThomas (and that he had sent in this month of August Owen MacEggan, a traitorly priest, into Spain), made the President not only doubtful of his former promises to him, but almost out of doubt that he would show himself



again in open action; which would bring to pass that his labours (like those of Hercules) should daily be renewed, new heads still growing upon this rebellious Hydra; for the septs of the Carties themselves (with their followers and dependents) were known to be no less than three thousand able men; and to the intent that all these might more firmly unite themselves with the rest, which were no less than four thousand and five hundred strong, against Her Majesty. This Florence was now busy working a marriage between the Sugan Earl and the sister of Cormack MacDermond, Lord of Muskerry, a populous, a rich and a fast country. The President, having received advertisement thereof, left Sir Charles Wilmot to prosecute the service in Kerry, and himself hastened his return towards Cork, there to work some means for the overthrowing the proceedings of this dangerous plot.

The President, being returned as far as Limerick, certain notice was brought him that Florence had lately employed a messenger to Tyrone (as he pretended) for the release of O'Sulevan More, his brother-in-law; but as the truth was, to procure aid from the north, to support the rebellion in Munster. Tyrone, by the said messenger, sent letters of comfort and encouragement, as well to Florence as to the rest of the lords in that province, assuring them not only of succours from himself, but further, that the Spanish forces would land in Munster before Michaelmas next. These exorbitant courses of Florence gave a great impediment to the service; for the President (as he would often say) did see him like a dark cloud over his head, threatening a storm, to hinder and

disturb his proceedings. But we will leave Florence for a while busily employed in devising means how to procure aid, either from Spain or from the north, or from both, and betake ourselves to such other occurrences as happened about this time. Upon the sixteenth of August the Lord President came to Limerick.

The eighteenth, Pierce Lacy<sup>1</sup> wrote to the President humbly beseeching him that he might be received into Her Majesty's gracious protection, promising ever afterwards to remain a loyal subject; but withal he made certain demands, which were so much disliked by the President, that his suit was rejected; for the President insisted upon a rule (which he never broke) that he would not give ear to any traitor that did capitulate. The twentieth he came to Kilmallock, remaining there but one day, to take assurance of certain gentlemen and freeholders that had lately submitted themselves.

The day following, at Kilmallock, the White Knight being there to attend the President, news was brought to him that divers of his people and followers were slain by the garrison of Moyallo, commanded by Captain Roger Harvey. The President, careful to give him contentment (being under Her Majesty's protection), in his own presence examined the matter; and there it was found that Captain Harvey having intelligence by a spy, who was his guide, of a notable traitor called John MacRedmond, and certain other traitors,

<sup>1</sup> The Lacies of Munster, a name Hibernicized as "Les," in which form it appears in the Four Masters, were descended from an illegitimate son of the famous conquistador Hugo de Lacy, Lord of all Meath, i.e. the province of Meath.

and their goods, which were reported to be near to Sir Walter Raleigh's lands, adjoining the White Knight's country, with seventy foot and four and twenty horse marched that night one and twenty miles from Moyallo; and at the break of day, our men, thinking that they had been brought upon an enemy's town, set fire to a house, having some few people therein; but an old soldier, knowing the place, told the captain that it was the White Knight's town; whereupon he commanded his company to forbear committing any outrage, either upon the people or any of their goods. But the White Knight's younger son, John FitzGibbon, having suddenly gathered to himself one hundred and sixty foot and eighteen horse, overtook Captain Harvey, who began to excuse the matter, telling him (as the truth was) that the guide whom he had there with him, to answer the fact, had brought him unwillingly upon that place; and therefore for the hurt unwittingly done he would make a large satisfaction.

But the young man, following the advice of one Garret MacShane (who had lately been a notable traitor), thinking it not possible for so small a company to resist his great force (without returning any answer), began presently to charge our men, whom they supposed without any great resistance to have at their mercy, and came up close to our foot, who, nothing dismayed, stood firm, expecting their charge; but they not coming on, Captain Harvey advanced towards them and broke them instantly. In this conflict were slain and hurt above sixty of their party, and among them Garret MacShane, the leader and procurer of the fight; of our men, some four were



hurt, but none killed. Captain Harvey received a shot on his murrion, a blow with a pike upon his back, but escaped danger by the goodness of his buff coat, and had his horse slain under him. The White Knight, upon due knowledge hereof, condemned both his son and people for their folly in enforcing a fight, having no harm intended them; and confessed they were well lost. But yet, for his better satisfaction, the treacherous guide, who did upon a set purposed malice draw this draught, was, by the President's appointment, delivered over to the marshal, and presently hanged. The three and twentieth the Lord President returned to Cork.

Sir Charles Wilmot, having made his entrance into Kerry (as already you have heard), and there proceeded so far as Lixnaw, made known to the President that the rebels were exceeding strong in that country; the arch-rebel James FitzThomas being attended with five hundred bownoghs, besides the forces that the Knight of Kerry, Thomas Oge, and the gentlemen of the country could make. Hereupon the President, knowing that those parts were always affectionately addicted to the Earl of Desmond, caused a footman of the young Earl's (who was shortly afterwards to come into Ireland), as the manner is, having his master's arms upon his coat before and behind, to show himself in most places of the country, that thereby they might be the better persuaded of his coming, and be a means to alienate their hearts from the counterfeit Desmond. The vigilant care that Sir Charles Wilmot used within his charge, having taken divers preys, and killed some of the rebels, together with this invention,



caused most of the freeholders of that country to submit themselves, and seek from the governor Her Majesty's protection. The principal amongst these was William FitzGerald, commonly called the Knight of Kerry, who by messengers signified the great desire that he conceived to live a subject, and had present occasion to show some proof thereof; for the Sagan Earl, coming about this time to the Dingle, the said knight would by no means receive him into his castle; whereupon he ruined all the houses that were standing in the town, and so took his journey unto Castle Mange. Thomas FitzMaurice, the pretended Baron of Lixnaw, also now newly come to his barony by the death of his father, sought by means of his wife, who was sister to the Earl of Thomond, for the President's favour and Her Majesty's protection. Both were promised upon condition that he would perform such service<sup>1</sup> as might in some good sort deserve the same; but this he absolutely refused, because, forsooth, it stood not with his conscience nor with his honour, for these were his own words in a letter that he wrote to my Lord of Thomond; and upon this answer the President rejected both the man and his suit.

The affairs of Kerry succeeding so well with the governor, it was supposed that the reputed Earl of Desmond would not long remain in these parts, lest the protectees might offer him some false measure; which, if it should happen, most likely it was that he would pass the mountain and shelter himself in

<sup>1</sup> The reader has doubtless remarked that Carew, ere he "took in" an insurgent, required him first to do a murder and cut the throat of some comrade and associate. Something of this nature was no doubt proposed to the young Baron.

the fastness of Conniloe, and therefore the Lord President entreated the Earl of Thomond to stay with the garrison at Askeiton, both to do service upon such rebels as should lurk in those woods, as also to secure the goods of those that were newly become subjects; for (as the manner of the Irish) had they lost but twenty cows, or ten garrans, they would have held it sufficient cause to have relapsed again. My Lord of Thomond therefore, lying there in garrison, received advertisement by certain spies whom he used that Florence MacCarty had assuredly made a new combination with the arch-rebel Desmond, and had sent second letters to Tyrone about O'Sulevan More's enlargement; but in truth the effect thereof was to implore aid of that Egyptian reed, to underprop their ruinous and almost rotten building.

Of this new and late combination the Lord President was also advertised by the Lord Barry, that James MacThomas, to assure Florence to him, did give him these lands and rents following, viz., the Queriny, Killaha, the rents of Beare and Bantry, the Beóves<sup>1</sup> of Carbry, Carrigroaghan and Ballinry, near unto Cork; all which Florence accepted, and their place of meeting, where this agreement was made, was at Rahinemroeg, bordering upon Slewlogher. Upon this intelligence the governor of Kerry, by direction from the President, received into protection Donnell MacCarty, natural son to the late Earl of Clancare, and brother to Florence's wife, whom the country in the beginning of this rebellion saluted MacCarty More, or chief Lord

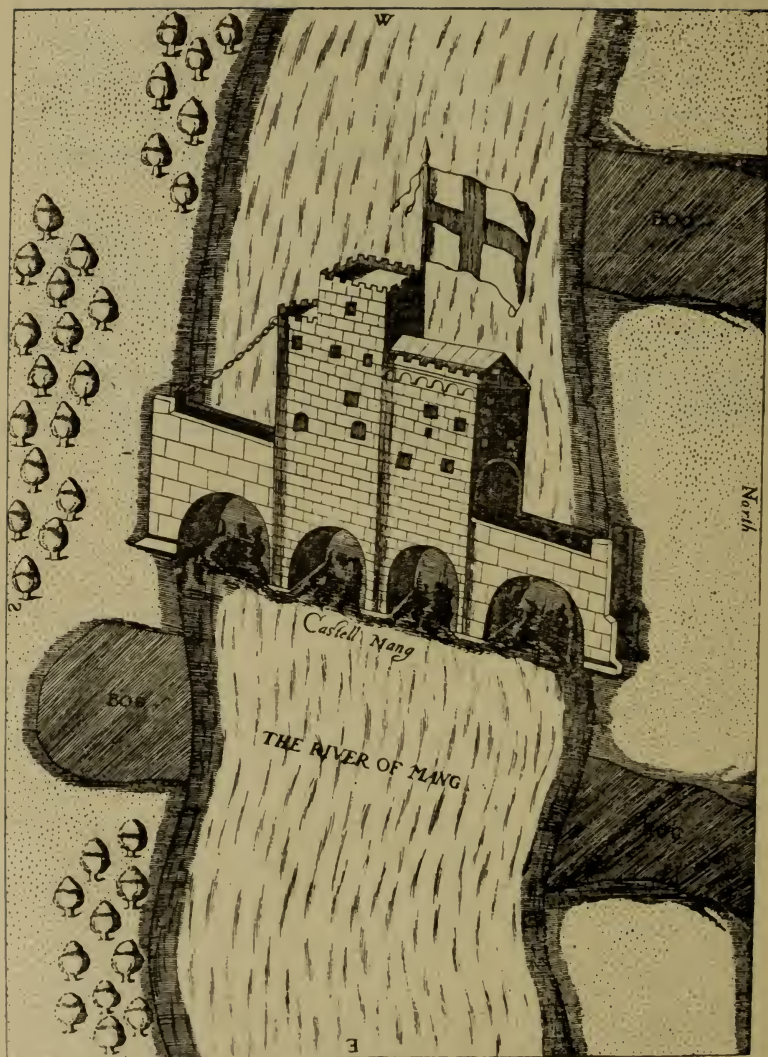
<sup>1</sup> Beeves (?)

of Desmond. But at Tyrone's late being in the province he was deprived of that promotion, and both the title and lands by him conferred upon the said Florence, wherefore they thought this man<sup>1</sup> to be a specially fit instrument, of whom there might be very good use when the President should begin his prosecutions against Florence.

<sup>1</sup> Now to be the Queen's MacCarty More. And it is worth remembering that this Donnell had spent most of his life in rebellion of one kind or another. None of these Queen's candidate-chieftains came to anything like what they expected. When the war was over they got rewards of land but not chieftainships. It was really as impossible to re-establish the chieftainships as to cause the Shannon to flow backwards. From centre to sea, Ireland was found to hate chieftains. The sons and grandsons of these Queen's candidates were the leaders of the next insurrection.







## CHAPTER XII.

The Castle of Mayne in Connolough taken—O'Maghon and the O'Crowlys protected—Cahir Castle rendered—Supplies of horses and money sent for Munster—Dermond MacOwen, O'Keefe, and MacAwley make suit to be received as subjects—The submission of the Knight of Kerry—James FitzThomas and Pierce Lacy defeated by the Knight of Kerry.

THE rebel that next bordered upon this garrison of Askeiton was Garret FitzNicholas, and some few kerns that followed him, whom Sir Francis Barkley so haunted and hunted that he got from them all their prey, their own riding-horses, and at last the Castle of Mayne, held by them, wherein there was provision of corn for all that year.

The President having disposed of his garrisons in such sort that they were lodged either in the rebels' countries or very near thereunto, sent unto them several letters willing the commanders to employ their companies at this time especially about the standing corn now ready for the harvest, to gather in for their own use what lay most conveniently for them, and the rest to destroy with man and horse, which was performed accordingly; and this no doubt was one principal cause that they were unable to hold up their heads the next year; for presently hereupon

O'Maghon<sup>1</sup> and the O'Crowlys in Carbery sought to Sir Richard Percy, lying at Kinsale, that he would be a means to the Lord President for Her Majesty's protection; which being granted, they remain loyal subjects with their tenants and followers until the landing of the Spaniards. In this interim the Lord President laboured with Cormack MacDermond, partly by promises and partly by menaces, to frustrate the intended marriage between James FitzThomas and his sister; which at last with some difficulty was frustrated by causing the said Cormack to undertake for his sister's appearance whensoever he or the Council should call for her.

Towards the latter end of this month of August the Lord Deputy writing to the President about some other occasions, it pleased him to remember Cahir Castle (which was lost as before you have heard), signifying that he much desired to have that castle recovered from the rebels; the rather because the great ordnance, a cannon, and a culverin being left there by the Earl of Essex were now possessed by the rebels. This item from the Lord Deputy spurred on the President, without further delay, to take order therein; and therefore presently, by his letters, sent for the Lord of Cahir to repair to him, who (as before you have heard) was vehemently suspected to have some hand both in the taking and keeping thereof. The Baron of Cahir being come, the Council persuaded him to deal with James Butler (nicknamed James Galde), his brother, about the re-delivering thereof to Her Majesty's use; but his answer was, that so little interest had he in his brother (that the meanest fol-

<sup>1</sup> The O'Mahonies' country ran westward from Skibbereen, and is unexpectedly rich in castles. O'Crowley's country lay near Dunmanway.



lower in all his country might prevail more with him than himself (for he was unwilling to have the castle regained by the State, except it might again be left wholly to him, as it was before the first winning thereof); which the President surmising, told him that, if it might speedily be yielded up to him, he would become a humble suitor to the Lord Deputy (in his behalf) for the repossessing thereof; otherwise he would presently march with his whole army into those parts, and, taking the same by force, would ruin and raze it to the very foundation; and this he bound with no small protestations. Hereupon, Justice Comerford<sup>1</sup> being despatched away with the Lord of Cahir, they prevailed so far with young Butler that the castle upon the twenty-ninth following was delivered to the State; as also all the munitions, and the great ordnance conveyed to Clonmel, and thence to Waterford.

The nine and twentieth the Lord President, among other things in his despatch made for England, advertised the Lords of the Council, that there was lately arrived at Limerick ten thousand pounds in money for the army in Munster; and that also thirty-six horse, for the supply of his horse troops, were landed at Cork; for which he gave their Lordships humble thanks. The horse sent were forty, but the conductor delivered no more than aforesaid.

While these things were in handling it happened that a French bark arrived at Dingle laden with wine and some munition, which they sold to the rebels, and thereby ministered unto them no small relief, being before in great want thereof. Whereupon the Presi-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gerald Comerford, late Attorney-General of Connaught under Sir R. Bingham. The western chieftainry used to accuse him of being a great stirrer up of wars in those parts.



dent wrote his letters to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, entreating that it would please them to procure Her Majesty's letters to be directed to her Ambassador Leger in France, to deal with the King for preventing such further mischiefs as might arise by his subjects merchandising with the rebels.

The six and twentieth of this month, Dermond MacOwen, Lord of the country called Dowalla,<sup>1</sup> a man for wit and courage nothing inferior to any of the Munster rebels, by his letters directed to Captain Roger Harvy, bearing date the twenty-sixth aforesaid, made humble suit unto the President that himself, MacAwly, and O'Keefe, with all their followers, might be received into Her Majesty's gracious protection, promising, both for himself and them, thenceforward to continue and remain loyal and obedient subjects; and for the performance of the same they would put in sufficient security, which humble suit the President not long after granted.

Near the day before mentioned, William FitzGerald, the Knight of Kerry, in a very penitent manner submitted himself to Sir Charles Wilmot, and received Her Majesty's gracious protection, protesting with many vows his future loyalty, whereof Sir Charles advertised the President, praying the confirmation of the same, which was upon sight of his letters granted. Four or five days afterwards, as Sir Charles lay with his forces before Ardart in Kerry, James FitzThomas and Pierce Lacy, with all the force they could make,

<sup>1</sup> Duhallow was the country of a sept of the MacCarties called MacDonough. The walls of a magnificent mansion near Kanturk still testify to the wealth and power of the MacDonough. Duhallow means the Black Allo, which was the ancient name of the Black-water.

entered (by night) into the Knight of Kerry's country with full intention either to surprise his person or to spoil and burn his towns and corn, to his utter ruin. The knight, having some little foreknowledge of the storm at hand, as soon as they were entered into his country, fought with them, slew two of their chief leaders of the bownoghs, the one called Teg O'Kelly, the other Walter MacCasielogh,<sup>1</sup> and with them sixteen others. The invaders, finding so ill a welcome, returned, not having gained so much as one cow.

<sup>1</sup> Probably MacCostello, a Norman-Connaught name. Costello de Angulo was founder of the sept.

## CHAPTER XIII.

The castle of Ardart taken by Sir Charles Wilmot—Maurice Stack treacherously murdered—The prey of Kilcoe taken by Sir Richard Percy—A Letter from James FitzThomas to Florence MacCarty—James FitzThomas defeated by the garrison of Kilmallock.

ARDART for some nine days made good defence, and had burned with fireworks such boards and timber as Sir Charles had placed against the wall of the castle for his men's safety as they undermined. But at last Sir Charles sent for a saker out of an Englishman's ship (which one Hill, the master, lent him), with purpose only to break open the door of the castle; for the walls were too strong for so small a piece to offend. The rebels at the sight of the saker yielded. Sir Charles hanged the constable; the rest of the ward, which was but eight, with the women and children, were spared.

Towards the latter end of August, Maurice Stack, the brave undertaker before spoken of, was by Honore ny Brien,<sup>1</sup> wife to the Lord of Lixnaw, invited to dine with her in her husband's castle of Beaulieu in Kerry; at which time Donnell O'Brien, brother both to her and the Earl of Thomond, was then with his sister. Dinner being ended, the young lady desired to speak with the said Stack privately in her chamber, where,

<sup>1</sup> A woman's patronymic was *Ní*, a man's *O* or *Mac*. So Honor *Ní* Brien but Donnell *O'Brien*.

after a little time spent, and disagreeing about the matter then in speech, the lady cried out unto Dermond Rewghe MacCormac, William O'Donichan, and Edmond O'Heher (being at the chamber door): "Do you not hear him misuse me in words?" Whereupon with their skeans they instantly murdered him in the place. As soon as he was slain she sent to her husband and willed the murderers to repair to him. Of this barbarous and inhuman act some say that this lady was the principal agent, though some of her friends have since sought to excuse her. The Earl of Thomond upon the knowledge of it was so infinitely grieved, and for the same held his sister in such detestation, that from that day forward to the day of her death, which was not many months after (as I think), he never did see her, nor could abide the memory of her name. But howsoever this worthy subject (more worthy than whom there was no one of Ireland birth of his quality) was thus shamefully butchered as you have heard. The Lord of Lixnaw, not satiated with his blood (traitorously and shamefully shed), the next day after hanged Thomas Encally Stack, the brother of the said Maurice Stack, whom he had held prisoner a long time before.

About the beginning of this month of September the garrison of Kinsale was driven into the field, and marched so far as Rosse Carbery, being commanded by Sir Richard Percy, and guided by Walter Copinger, of Cork, upon hope of doing service thereabout; but being disappointed thereof, they marched beyond the Leap, and, coming suddenly to Kilcoe, they took there a prey of three hundred cows, which they brought in safety without any loss to Littertinlis, and thence they returned again to their garrison.



The garrison of Kerry had by this time so galled the forces of the usurping Desmond that he found himself unable long to subsist, except Florence MacCarty, who had long played the Machiavellian ambodexter betwixt him and the Lord President, would now at last join with him in defence and support of the action; this did he importune by divers letters, but especially by one, which, because it containeth his estate at this time, together with other particularities fit to be understood, I have thought good to insert the very words of his own letter as followeth:—

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO FLORENCE  
MACCARTY.

MY LORD,—Your letters I have received, and the present time of service is now at hand, which by letters, nor any excuse so effectual, ought to be delayed. And whereas you write that you intend to confer with the President and the Earl of Thomond, I marvel that one of your Lordship's acquaintance with their proceedings doth not yet know their enticing baits and humours to entrap us all within the nets of their policies. Your vow to God and this action, for the maintenance of the Church, and defence of our own right, should not for any respect be disregarded. You know that of long time your Lordship hath been suitor to the Queen and Council, and could not at any time prevail, nor get any likelihood of your settlement; and now being duly placed by the assent of the Church, and us the nobility of this action, your Lordship should work all means possible to maintain the same. You know the ancient

and general malice that heretofore they bare to all Irish birth, and much more they rave at this present, so it is very bootless for any of us to seek their favours or countenance, which were but a means to work our total subversion. Write to me effectually your Lordship's mind, and what resolution you purpose to follow, whereby I may proceed accordingly. This army is but very slender, for they are but six hundred foot and eighty horse. I am myself and FitzMaurice six hundred foot and some horse. We expect your Lordship's assistance, which we heartily desire, and not any further to defer us with letters, as you respect us and the service ; and whereas you write you have no force, your own presence, and the bruit of your coming, will much further the service, and dismay the enemy, etc. 2 September, 1600.

Your loving cousin,

JAMES DESMOND.

Notwithstanding the importunity of these letters, together with his own inclination, yet Florence, finding that their divided kingdom could not long stand, would not in person join with them, but sent word to the White Knight by his daughter (Donogh MacCormock's wife) that rather than the action should fall to the ground he would himself make a journey into Spain, to entreat aid and assistance from the Pope and Spanish king ; but in the meantime, the supposed Earl, being still pursued by Sir Charles, is constrained to abandon Kerry, to go to Conniloe, and so to Arlogh,<sup>1</sup> in which passage he

<sup>1</sup> The valley of the Arlo celebrated by Spenser, a deep picturesque glen under the Galtees in Tipperary.

sustained such a loss (as shall be said) which proved to him irrevocable. There was not left any man of esteem likely to defend the action, but Florence Mac-Carty (lately spoken of), who, having temporized all this while (to see this summer's prosecution), was grown by other men's examples to be more wise than honest, became now an intercessor to the President, with frequent letters and damnable oaths, that he was in his heart and intentions sincerely devoted to Her Majesty's service.

The concurrence of this fortunate success promised a present reduction of the province, and an establishment thereof, in a settled quiet, and so no doubt it would have proved if the protectees had meant in their hearts as they professed with their tongues; but it was far otherwise, for the President did at this time receive certain advertisement that the titular Earl, being driven to great extremity, and eagerly prosecuted in all corners, by the consent (in common council) of his associates, whereof some of them had never been in actual rebellion, and others lately protected, and seeming to forsake him (notwithstanding their pledges in Her Majesty's hands), have advised him partly for his safety, but especially to make trial what aid he could procure (out of Connaught and Ulster) to depart from thence, with confident promises that whensoever he should return with new forces, that then they would as constantly stand for him as heretofore. Whence by the way may be discerned the cankered disposition of their malicious hearts towards the English Government, who nothing regard the disease of their persons the loss of their goods, the hazard of their lives, and danger of their perjured souls, so that they may be able to continue in their action against Her Majesty;

hoping thereby that at length she would grow weary of her extreme charges, and by that means be driven to condescend to their own conditions and liberty of conscience ; wherein, although they were not disturbed<sup>1</sup> at this time, yet can they not be satisfied without public allowance, and exercise thereof under the Romanish authority, which they strive to have supreme ; and what kind of subjection can be expected at the hands of any such Papists may appear, for that some of great quality in Munster did about the middle of this month purposely send certain priests to Rome to purchase absolution from the Pope for the sin that they committed in not entering into public hostility with the rest ; and because they saw that the queen could not be violently dispossessed of Ireland, did likewise entreat a dispensation from overt action, but yet to live unchangeably in the Catholic religion, and to be permitted in outward temporal obedience Her Majesty's subjects. Consider therefore, I say, the dutiful allegiance of these men, whose obedience depends upon the Pope's allowance.

Sir George Thornton had in garrison at Kilmallock Captain Francis Slingsby, with the President's company, Paul Arundle, with the Lord Audley's, Captain Dillon, and Captain O'Reilly, with their foot companies, and Captain Greame with his troop of horse, to whom intelligence was brought upon Tuesday, being the

<sup>1</sup> Recall Lord Barry's letter to Tyrone. It must be remembered, however, that this official toleration of the exercise of religion in a private or at least unostentatious manner was due to the dispensing power of the Queen. It was absolutely impossible to enforce the laws respecting religion at this time. Had the attempt been made, the Royalist Irish would have gone over to the insurgents and the State tumbled down with a crash. The Royalist Irish, while devoted Catholics, held that Rome had no power or right to dissolve their allegiance to the sovereign.



sixteenth of September, that the rebels, James Fitz-Thomas and his accomplices, were that day to pass from Conniloe to the huge fastness of Arlogh. Whereupon Captain Greame instantly drew forth with his troop towards the said fastness; order being likewise taken that the foot should hasten after with all possible speed, Captain Greame, making extraordinary haste, suddenly espied their forces somewhat near the wood; but before they could recover the same, he gave them a charge, and at the very first possessed himself of their carriage, and killed all those that guarded the same. Hereupon the rebels (having four colours) in defence of their carriage drew towards him and gave him a charge, which he answered with his horse; and by this time a serjeant of Captain Dillon's with some light shot, were come up, and delivered a volley in their teeth, which killed divers of them and slew Pierce Lacy's horse under him. Hereupon Captain Greame charged their battalion home to the colours, which they resisted; but at his second charge he brake clean through them, and they betook themselves to running, and our men to killing; and surely had not our horse been over-wearied with their long foray before they came to fight, and our foot tired and out of breath to come up, there had not one man escaped alive. But, as it was, there were slain at this skirmish of the rebels at least one hundred and twenty, whereof one half were of their best men, amongst whom were Desmond's base son, Teg O'Kelly, and Hugh O'Kelly, captains of the bownoghs, whose heads were the next day presented to the President at Moyallo. There were (besides these) above fourscore dangerously wounded. We took from them one hundred and fifty pikes and pieces, besides many swords, targets, and skeans; we

got forty horses and hackneys, and at least three hundred garrans laden with baggage, to the value (as was reported) of five hundred pounds, together with all their prey of sheep and cows, except some that ran into the woods, being frightened by the cry of the people and noise of the shot and drums.

The greatest loss that we sustained was in horse, for Captain Greame lost sixteen horse, the Lord Audley had a sergeant slain, and there were six more wounded but not mortally ; one of Captain Greame's troop took the arch-traitor Desmond's ensign, which the captain perceiving, he stooped down to reach the colours, but at an instant receiving a blow with a piece upon the reins of his back, was not able to recover them, being rescued by six pikemen.

This disaster proved so fatal to the usurping Earl that although of the six hundred foot he brought with him four hundred still remained able to fight, yet could he never afterwards gather one hundred of these to a head ; for some got into Connaught, some into Ulster, and, in fine, every man to his own home, leaving the Earl to a desperate fortune, who now perceived that the provincials submitted themselves daily to the President, and the strangers returned into their several countries ; and that no aid approached either from the south or north, by sea nor land, was compelled, together with John his brother, Maurice MacThomas, Pierce Lacy, and the Knight of the Glyn, to leave the country of Cork, and to fly into Tipperary and Ormond, and thence John FitzThomas hasteth to Ulster.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These exiled Lords of Munster returned next year with Tyrone and O'Donnell.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Supplies of foot sent from England—O'Sulevan More sent by the Lord Deputy to the Lord President—The Castle of Glancoyne surprised by Sir Francis Barkley—Florence MacCarty's wife and followers persuaded him to go to the Lord President—The young Earl of Desmond arrived at Youghal—A letter from Her Majesty to the Lord President—Her Majesty's letters patents for James FitzGerald to be Earl of Desmond.

THE Lords of the Council of England, by their letters bearing date the twenty-seventh, advertised the President that there were six hundred foot in readiness to be sent to Cork, to supply the army ; and for that many soldiers daily arrived in England by passports from their captains only, they gave the President a straight charge to take order with all the maritime towns that no soldier should be transported out of any of them without a pass under his own hand and seal ; and the last of the same he had directions from their Lordships that good bonds with sureties should be taken upon all merchants of Ireland who traded with Spain or France, not only for their own good behaviours and loyalties, when they were beyond the seas, but to all such passengers as they should carry with them, which was presently put into execution.

Dermond O'Connor at his late being in Munster had caused O'Sulevan More, a man above sixty years of age, and yet never known to be in action against Her Majesty, neither in James FitzMaurice's wars, nor in

the old Earl of Desmond's, nor in this last rebellion—this man, I say, Dermond O'Connor had taken prisoner, not without consent and counsel of Florence MacCarty, because he refused to pay bonnaght to the Connaught men. Captain Tirrell by force or fraud (I know not which) took the prisoner from him and carried him into the north, who escaped out of the Ulster men's hands, was taken by Sir Theobald Dillon of Connaught, and presented to the Lord Deputy, by whom he is committed to the castle of Dublin until his estate should be further known; and not long after he sent him to the Earl of Ormond, to be sent by him to the President, to be disposed of according to his discretion. He, being about this time come to Cork, railleth bitterly against Florence, ascribing both the beginning and continuance of his troubles to him, and relating to the Council such intelligence as he had learned in those parts where he had been detained, returneth into his own country.

The arch-rebels, James FitzThomas FitzMaurice and the Knight of the Glyn, not finding (as it should seem) the entertainment they expected in my Lord of Ormond's country, or, rather, not intending at first to make any long stay there, but only that thereby the President might think them quite gone, and so make no further inquiry after them, did, in the beginning of this month of October, steal back into the county of Limerick, yet not so privily but the President had intelligence thereof; for it was signified to him the fourth of this instant, that Desmond was about Arlogh, having not above five in his company, and two of them came lately from the Pope, with promise of succour, which came too late for his turn, as hereafter shall be shown.



In the meantime our garrisons prospered so well that Sir Francis Barkley got the castle of Glancoyne in Connilogh, burning and spoiling great store of corn in those parts; and Sir Charles Wilmot in Kerry prevailed so far that Castlemange, held by Thomas Oge, and Listoell, defended by FitzMaurice, were the only two castles held against Her Majesty, which were both regained within a short time; and Captain Flower, at Lysmore, wrought miracles against the rebels in those parts, as Sir Richard Aylward wrote to the President. But Florence MacCarty, notwithstanding his manifold letters, stuffed with abominable oaths, came not (as yet) to the President, nor indeed minded he to come (as it was reported), had not his wife<sup>1</sup> and some of his country in a manner compelled him thereunto; for she refused to come to his bed until he had reconciled himself to Her Majesty; saying that she knew in what manner her father had that Earldom from Her Highness; and though she be not pleased to bestow the same wholly upon her, yet she doubted not to obtain some part thereof; but if neither of these could be got, yet was not she minded to go a-begging either into Ulster or into Spain; and to confirm this report it was certainly known that she with the help of her friends kept the castle of the Lough in Desmond by force from him.

Her Majesty having evermore had a determination to send James FitzGerald, son to the late Earl of Desmond, attained in Ireland, and having found by experience that the attempt which Dermond O'Connor made in the apprehension of James FitzThomas was at his wife's suit, in hope thereby to obtain the restitution of her brother to his old title of Earl of

<sup>1</sup> The Lady Eileen.

Desmond, and also unto some state of the inheritance for his maintenance, did now resolve to put her determination into effect, hoping that his presence in Ireland would draw the ancient followers of the Earl of Desmond (his father) from James FitzThomas, the supposed Earl, and therefore releasing him out of the tower, where from his infancy he had been prisoner, she not only admitted him to her presence, but styled him Earl<sup>1</sup> of Desmond, and sent him conducted into Ireland by Captain Price, a sober, discreet gentleman and an old commander in the wars, who landed with his charge at Youghal the fourteenth day of October ; from thence he brought him to Moyallo to the President, upon the eighteenth, where from Her Majesty he presented to his Lordship the young Earl, Her Majesty's letters, and letters patents under the great seal of England for his restitution in blood and honour ; both which letter and letters patents I think it not unnecessary to set down the true copies, which were as followeth :—

A LETTER FROM HER MAJESTY TO THE LORD  
PRESIDENT.

ELIZAB. R.

Trusty and well-belovèd, we greet you well. We have now at last resolved to send over James Fitz-Gerald into Munster, after long debate with ourself what accidents might follow thereupon ; wherein,

<sup>1</sup> All policy, one might think, of the shady nature common at this time. And yet the revived Earldom of Desmond could never be really formidable—Ichabod, its glory was departed. So when the great Earldom of Kildare was revived it never again became a power in the land.

although there might be many doubts to what he may be inveigled in times to come, yet that opinion which we conceive of his own good nature and disposition to gratefulness, for this high benefit which he receiveth, together with the orderly course which we intend shall be observed in the raising and disposing his fortune, doth make us less doubtful of that mischief than we are for the present of some other scorn which we shall receive if, by our sending him over, and your resolution to restore him, no such effect should follow as might be answerable to that which is expected. In which consideration, although we know there are many of opinion that the way to draw greatest things by him were to raise him high at first (because it will make those cleave to him the faster), yet we will follow therein our own resolution, which is rather to proceed in such a case by degrees than in any sudden, without reasonable caution and reservation. For the first step, therefore, we have now sent him over by Captain Price, a trusty and discreet person, to deliver him safely into your hands ; whereas we know the keeping of him in any state of a prisoner would wholly overthrow the work and multiply the jealousies of those who judge all others by themselves, so in respect that you are in place where all circumstances are clearest known, and that the change of causes altereth councils, know this from us, that we shall never disallow it if you in your discretion find it necessary at any time that you do abridge him of any liberty or any favour now afforded him. For as we have much the rather assented to send him over and place him there, because you have had your part in the counsel, so do we refer the managing of him to your discretion. For his maintenance during his abode there, there are but two



ways, the one to bestow lands upon him with a habitation; the other to maintain him out of our own purse with a pension. In the first there must be time to consider where to seat him; for the second, because it is a thing that must be done, and that he must be maintained with a convenient attendance, that they may not scorn him, and that he hath one or two sisters, whom we had rather should depend upon himself than be matched with any other that were ill-affected (whereof many there be that would be glad to fortify themselves by them). We do hereby give you order to pursue the numbers you have, and where you find any unprofitable captain that hath a weak band, that you do presently cashier the same, and to employ part of that charge, which was formerly bestowed in that band, towards the maintenance of him and his, as you shall see requisite, without further charging us, and the same to continue until we may see how to resolve of some convenient habitation for him, that they may see he is to be seated amongst them with a competent portion of living, where he may be a stay to our service. And now because we know the country will think him unlikely to stead them that shall follow him, if they be not assured that he shall have the title, which is a matter they do so much affect to follow, we have herewith sent you a patent of his Earldom, to the intent that you may assure all that are diffident of our performance; and yet we can be content they plainly do understand also that if they shall not actually and substantially perform those services which may deserve this extraordinary clemency, and give us cause to consummate the rest, we both can and will quickly recall all that is hitherto performed, for which purpose we do hereby command



you to advertise us what is effected for him by this demonstrative act of ours, and then to receive our pleasure, before the patent be delivered out of your hands ; although for the present you may let it be shown to any such persons as you shall see cause to assure by view of the same, and thereby make them perceive how unjustly we have been slandered by those that should possess the world, that we have no desire or end but to extirpate as well the innocent as the contrary of that nation, seeing that we are contented to raise the son of that father that had committed such notorious crimes. Forasmuch as we do hold it convenient that the Archbishop of Cassell should not be in any sort kept in extremity, we would have you convert ten dead pays of foot to his use, parcel of that hundred which is appointed to be cashiered for the maintenance of James FitzGerald ; wherein likewise we would have consideration held of poor, and some maintenance for the wife of Dermond O'Connor ; all these allowances to be borne by the cashiering of that company and to be ordered according to your discretion, because we would not have apparent penury to surprise any of these that have entered so deeply, although the fruits are yet ungathered, which is the time when they must be further rewarded. We have likewise given order to the deputy to make an allowance of forty shillings a week to the Archbishop, in nature of dead<sup>1</sup> pays to preachers, in lieu whereof he may stay the pension of some other who is not so necessary to be provided for. Having now assented to do that you have advised, we leave it to be ordered

<sup>1</sup> A dead pay was the pay due to a person not forthcoming, or presumed to be dead. Miler M'Grath, who seems to fare so well in this business, was, in fact, the richest ecclesiastic in Ireland.

according to your discretion, assuring you that we are still of opinion if you use not this patent well that they will be less greedy to dispatch any business for us than they would have been if we had not gone on so hastily with theirs. But we repose such trust in you that we think our honour and safety of that province in safe hands, for so much as faith and discretion can secure, to whom we render condign thanks for the good proof you have hitherto made of them both. The Bishop is not unfit to frequent the young gentleman; and, therefore, that credit which is fit let him have, and let your proof of his zeal excuse other of his indiscretions. Given at our Manor of Otlands the 1st of October, 1600.

Ro. CECILL.

It was thought by all men that the coming of this young lord into Ireland would have bred a great alteration in the province and an absolute revolt of all the old followers of the house of Desmond from James FitzThomas; but it proved of no such consequence. For the President, to make trial of the disposition and affection of the young Earl's kindred and followers, at his desire consented that he should make a journey from Moyallo into the county of Limerick, accompanied by the Archbishop of Cashell and Master Boyle,<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the Council, a person in whom the Lord President reposed much trust and confidence, and with whom he then communicated and advised about his most secret and serious affairs of that government. And to Master Boyle his Lordship gave secret charge as well to observe the Earl's ways and carriage as what men of quality or others made their address unto him, and with what respects

<sup>1</sup> Will be one day the famous Lord Cork.

and behaviour they carried themselves towards the Earl, who came to Kilmallock upon a Saturday in the evening; and by the way, and at their entry into the town, there was a mighty concourse of people, inso-much as all the streets, doors, and windows, yea the very gutters and tops of the houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him whom God had sent to be that comfort and delight their souls and hearts most desired; and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of joy, every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, an ancient ceremony used in that province upon the election of their new mayors and officers as a prediction of future peace and plenty. That night the Earl was invited to supper to Sir George Thornton's, who then kept his house in the town of Kilmallock; and although the Earl had a guard of soldiers, which made a lane from his lodgings to Sir George Thornton's house, yet the confluence of people that flocked thither to see him was so great that in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his return to his lodging. The next day being Sunday, the Earl went to church to hear divine service; and all the way his country people used loud and rude exhortations to keep him from church, to which he lent a deaf ear; but after service, and the sermon was ended, the Earl, coming forth from the church, was railed at, also spat upon by those that before his going to church were so desirous to see and salute him. Insomuch that after that public expression of his religion the town was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the Earl thenceforward might walk as quietly and freely in the town as little in effect followed or regarded as any other private



gentleman. The true relation I the rather make that all men may observe how hateful our religion and the professors thereof are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that kingdom. For thenceforward none of his father's followers (except some few of the meaner sort of freeholders) resorted unto him; and the other great lords in Munster, who had ever been overshadowed by the greatness of Desmond, did rather fear than wish the advancement of the young lord. But the truth is, his religion, being a Protestant, was the only cause that had bred this coyness in them all; for if he had been a Roman Catholic the hearts and knees of all degrees in the province would have bowed unto him. Besides, his coming was not well liked by the undertakers, who were in some jealousy that in after times he might be restored to his father's inheritances, and thereby become their lord, and their rents (now paid to the Crown) would in time be conferred upon him. These considerations assured the President that his personal being in Munster would produce small effects, but only to make trial what power he had.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer does not correctly diagnose the situation, though doubtless he relates the facts exactly as they occurred. The Earl of Ormonde, Black Thomas, was a Protestant, yet Tipperary, all Catholic, once rose in rebellion like one man at the thought that he had been treated with injustice. The great Earldom of Desmond had got a great fall, and neither Tyrone nor the Queen herself could really set it up again. As compared with former Earls even the Queen's would be a Sugaun Earl.

Stafford's opinion, that "had the young Earl been a Catholic, the hearts and knees of the whole province would have bowed unto him," is quite absurd. His father, Garret, the last of the great Earls of Desmond, was a Catholic, and the name of the Desmond still something to conjure with, yet the larger proportion of the province ran at the Queen's direction to drag him down.



## CHAPTER XV.

The juggling of Florence MacCarty—Supplies of men and apparel sent into Munster—The submission of Florence MacCarty—A skirmish between the MacCarty and O'Lery.—O'Lery slain—A letter from Redmond Burke to the Lord President.

THE President attempted by his means the getting of Castle Mange, a castle of Her Majesty's, in which before, and at the beginning of the war, she had a ward surprised by the supposed Desmond, and left by him in the custody of Thomas Oge, as afore-said, which by his negotiation with the said constable was at last rendered unto him, together with Pierce Lacy's two sons, who were kept as pledges therein; and this was all the service that he did or could do during his abode in Ireland. And that work of his Florence MacCarty used all his wit and policy to prevent and overthrow; for at the very instant when Thomas Oge, who had the keeping of Castle Mange and Pierce Lacy's sons as pledges therein, had faithfully assured the yielding up thereof, and of the aforesaid pledges to the Lord President, Florence, being then entertained by the President in his house at Moyallo, and as fast bound unto him by many benefits and favours, as Florence was by the strongest oaths and vows that any Christian could be obliged by, got some secret hint that Castle Mange was by Thomas Oge to be yielded up to Her Majesty;

who well foreseeing what reputation it would bring to Desmond, and how much it would make up towards the hastening of his own ruin, if that fort were once regained and an English garrison placed here, he presumed, and that in the President's own house, where he was so graciously used and entertained, to write his effectual and earnest letters to the said Thomas Oge, assuring him that Redmond Burke and Captain Tirrell were on their way with great forces to get Munster on fire again, dissuading him from keeping his promise with the President and the young Earl of Desmond, promising, and binding his promises with damnable oaths, that he would presently revictual the ward of Castle Mange for three months, pay them the arrears of all their wages, and that he would give Thomas Oge and his heirs for ever six plough-lands of his own inheritance, so he would not deliver up Castle Mange. And these letters were by the watchfulness of Master Boyle intercepted and delivered to the President. And thenceforward Florence knew his letters were intercepted and his treacheries more and more discovered. But all this while it was a world to see how Florence played fast and loose between the President and the Governor of Kerry; for whenever the President sent to have him come to him, then he answered that he was within a few days to meet with the Governor of Kerry by a former appointment; if Sir Charles sent for him, then he was shortly to repair to the President, and so deluding both he would come to neither. His stay was (as we have shown) because he proposed to stand out, and for that cause had the last month before planted, as it was reported, some number of bownoghs in his

country ; but the Governor's people, upon one side, and his bownoghs on the other side, had by this time so harried and consumed his country that he found the same unable longer to maintain his mercenaries ; and therefore delayed with good words to gain longer time, for it was commonly spoken of among the protectees, and Captain Taff wrote so much to the President from Kilkenny that Redmond Burke and Captain Tirrell, with all the forces they could gather in Connaught and Leinster, would make another incursion into Munster, so soon as the Lord Deputy should return from the North, which was expected very shortly, because the time of the year would breed many difficulties and inconveniences in his longer stay. Whether it were this bruit, or the hearkening after a ship to arrive in those parts, which might transport him beyond seas, that occasioned his dilatory excuses, I know not ; but sure I am that they proceeded not from any loyal or dutiful mind.

The beggarly Earl, in the meantime, lurked in the woods with some two or three in his company, sometimes in Arlogh, sometimes in Drumfinnin, but mostly in the county of Tipperary, where he had much kindred by his mother's side. The President had intelligence every day where he lodged the night before, but never until he was departed and had left the place ; not but that the country could have reported as well where he is as where he had been, but they were possessed with such a superstitious folly, and so terrified with the priests' thunderbolts of excommunication, that they judged him unavoidably damned that should ruinate such a principal pillar of the Catholic action. And FitzMaurice was in little better case ; for, although since his return into

Munster himself, with the Knight of the Glyn, had assembled some four score in the fastness of Clan-morris, who guarded their corn that should maintain them for the year following, yet Sir Charles Wilmot, marching twelve miles through their woods, being directed by a trusty guide, came suddenly upon them and slew sixty of them; the two principals escaping very narrowly. After the killing ended they scoured the woods, and finding great store of corn therein, they burnt the same, and returned with the arms of all the dispersed kerns. Pierce Lacy had so well bestirred himself in his negotiation with those of Ormond and Ossory, that of Ormond and Ossory men, with the Purcels and O'Maghers, he had reinforced himself with five hundred men, and, being now joined with Redmond Burke, who had one thousand foot and sixty horse (as was credibly informed), drew their forces into O'Carrel's <sup>1</sup> country, threatening daily to invade the small country of Limerick, which bordered upon them; but their stay (as was reported) depended upon the return of John of Desmond, who was expected with forces out of the North. But Tyrone was so well set a work, by the honourable, painful and prosperous proceedings of the Lord Deputy, that he had enough to do in defending his own country, much less could he spare any forces for other parts.

<sup>1</sup> O'Carroll's country was on the confines of Butler territory. Between O'Carroll and the Earl of Ormonde there were continuous bickerings, small wars, and borderages. The Earl regarded O'Carroll as his vassal. This O'Carroll denied maintaining that he was a free man, subject only to the Queen. The Earl had for barons, time out of mind, many Celtic lords, O'Dwyer, the O'Kennedies—White and Black—MacEgan, O'Ryan, etc., generally as loyal to him as were his own Butlers. The position of these Celtic lords under the Earl was one of honour. The reigning O'Dwyer at this time was the Earl's son-in-law.



In September last, mention is made that the Lords of the Council had promised to send to the President six hundred foot for the supplying of his army, which accordingly arrived at Cork, as appeareth by the President's letters written to their Lordships dated this five-and-twentieth of this month of October, and with them three hundred and fifty winter suits of apparel.

But to return again to Florence MacCarty, after all the tergiversations before mentioned, and many others too tedious to be inserted, finding all his neighbours to have submitted themselves, and his own followers, so impoverished by the wars, desirous to do the like, was contented (*tandem aliquando*) to repair to the President, lying at Moyallo, bringing some forty horse in his company, and himself in the midst of his troop, like the great Turk amongst his Janizaries, drew towards the house the nine-and-twentieth of October like Saul, higher by the head and shoulders than any of his followers.<sup>1</sup> Upon his submission the President, as having forgotten all former matters, gave him kind entertainment, being indeed heartily glad of his presence, hoping thereby that these wars of Munster were brought to a final end. To secure him therefore to the State, the President demanded his eldest son in pledge, who being unable to take so long a journey by the indisposition of his body (as Florence protested),

<sup>1</sup> This is the first bit of personal description with which the writer has favoured us. One would think that he was a blind man, so little does he tell us of the things we really desire to know. So one may travel for hours through the State Papers without getting one glimpse of the men of whom they treat. From this point of view the Irish letter-writers are by far the best. Tyrone's superiority to every man of his time in Ireland is exhibited too in his letters, always good reading and sometimes charmingly graphic.

he left two others, the one his base brother, who had spent many years in France, Spain, and Hungary; and the other his foster brother, both of whom he had in very precious esteem. Florence requested that those pledges might suffice for the O'Sulevans, the O'Donoghes, the O'Crowlys, and O'Maghon Carbry; but hereto the President would by no persuasion be drawn to condescend, and that especially for two causes; the one was, that hereby he might draw from Florence this great rabble of dependents; and the second was, because all of these being compelled to put in pledges for themselves, the Queen might have the stronger assurance of these wavering and slippery subjects.

The province, being reduced to this pass (as you have heard), the Irish, having now no other enemy to oppugn, begin to go together by the ears amongst themselves, for certain of Donoghe Moyle MacCarty's (son to Sir Owen MacCarty Reughe) people, following the track of some cows that had been stolen from them into Muskerry, the O'Lerys<sup>1</sup> assembled themselves to the number of one hundred or thereabouts, and following the Cartys, who were by this time returned into Carbery, at last overtook them, and without many words gave the onset; the others stoutly resisted, between whom there passed a short but a sharp skirmish, wherein were slain O'Lery, the head of that sept, and ten others the chief of his family, with some more of less note, and of the Cartys, Finin MacOwen, his brother, dangerously wounded, with

<sup>1</sup> The O'Learys, a sept occupying the hill country about the sources of the Lee, where some of their castles are still seen. One of these bore the agreeable name of "Sweet Prospect," *Castellum Jucundi Prospectus*, as Philip O'Sullivan calls it. The hills and lakes of Inchigeela formed that agreeable prospect.

some few slain of his part. Cormack MacDermond, Lord of Muskerry, much grieved with the slaughter of the O'Lerys, his followers, was an earnest suitor to the Council that he might be permitted to revenge<sup>1</sup> this loss upon the Cartys in Carbery. Some there were that thought it not unfit to accord his demands; because whichsoever party should prevail yet could not the Queen lose a good subject; but the President would by no means yield thereto, lest the hot persecution of these particular grievances might kindle the coals of some further mischief in giving occasion of distaste to the now reconciled subjects.

Redmond Burke, being weary of his vagabond life, living like a wolf upon everyone from whom he could take anything, or rather wittingly foreseeing the ruin and destruction of his confederates, who were in rebellion, of whose fortunes he was in all likelihood to be a partaker, wrote a letter to the President dated the thirtieth of October, which because it is but short I do here insert.

A LETTER FROM REDMOND BURKE TO THE LORD  
PRESIDENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I doubt not the detestable and apparent wrong that the Earl of Clanricard hath done me is manifestly known to your Lordship already, as I need not larger to express it; but this I am sure, that the toleration thereof, and that I would not otherwise been caused to run this course, and, if there were any hope of redress, that I would long ere this be a

<sup>1</sup> Shows how inveterate was the idea of private war. That right too was claimed and exercised in England later than is generally imagined.

subject, and will now show myself worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, and my father's lands, seized into your Honour's hands, till my title be tried. This country of Ely, being in your Honour's province, is a parcel to whom I make claim, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first. And thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leave. From Ely, the thirtieth of October, 1600.<sup>1</sup>

Your Honour's as you please,

REDMOND LEITEIM.

The President, much disliking the tenor of his letter, as well for other reasons as for capitulating for the country of Ely O'Carrell, before he had by his service merited any favour, and, lastly, for the slight subscription, "Your Honour's as you please," returned him no answer in writing, utterly refusing any further traffic with him, it being his custom not to deal with traitors upon conditions.

<sup>1</sup> Observe how frankly this chief pillar of the confederacy points out that it was the land question, not the national or religious, that sent him into action. To the Barony of Leitrim in Clanricarde he had a most just claim. What claim he had to Ely other than that given by the swords and calyvers of his brave bonoghs, I don't know. Note how he signs his name as Lord of Leitrim.



## CHAPTER XVI.

The Lord President sueth for a general pardon for the Provincials—  
The submission of Thomas Oge FitzGerald, and the rendering  
of Castle Mange—The Castle of Listwell besieged and taken—  
The Castle of the Dingle rendered.

THE province of Munster now growing to a peaceable state, the President, by his letters of the second of November to the Lords of the Council, humbly prayed that they would be pleased to move Her Majesty that a general pardon might be granted unto all the provincials that desired the same, the lurking Earl, his brother John FitzThomas, Pierce Lacy, and two others of good quality (who are yet living) only excepted,<sup>1</sup> for those he knew to be the most malicious traitors, and also Her Majesty's inclination was no way bent to extend her mercy unto them. The reasons which moved him to sue for this general pardon were principally the multitudes of the protected persons, who, living from time to time upon protection, were not so assured to the State as they would be if they were pardoned, whereby the Government received much

<sup>1</sup> Of all the high lords and gentlemen of Munster who had sworn to O'Neill, these four only had not as yet betrayed the action, and of these four can we be sure that any would not have done so had they seen some way open of securing their interests by approaching the State. The two whose names are not given must have afterwards done Carew service and escaped out of the wars still men of property and position. So the writer does not care to stigmatize them by name. It may be surmised that the last day of "*Ambodexter Florence*" is now near at hand.

impediment, and, besides, there were many poor women and children that had no ability to be at the charge of suing forth of their pardons; and, lastly, it was much desired by the provincials themselves. Nevertheless he added this caution, that if any of the protectors did in this interim do any treasonable act, that the President, with some four or five of the Council of the province joined with him, might have power to deny them the benefit thereof, and also that priests, and Romish religious persons, who were the first inciters of the rebellion, and the continual fomenters of the same, should likewise be excepted. The opinion of the President had good allowance in England; yet for some private respects of commodity to officers, as it may be imagined, the motion of a general pardon took not the effect desired; but afterwards, as you shall hear, there was order given that all such as the President would recommend should have the favour to sue out their pardons.

In the beginning of November, a strong castle in Connilogh, which was held by James FitzThomas, was surprised by our forces, so that he had no other castle at his devotion left but Castle Mange.

The fourth of November, Thomas Oge FitzGerald, Constable of Castle Mange (for James FitzThomas), having ever had a better affection unto the young Earl of Desmond, James (lately sent by Her Majesty into Ireland, as hath been declared), upon the Earl's entreaty and persuasions came to Kilmallock and there made tender of the said castle unto the Earl, for Her Majesty's use. The Earl the next day brought him to Moyallo<sup>1</sup> to the President, where he

<sup>1</sup> Moy Allo, i.e. the Plain of the Allo, otherwise the Blackwater. Hence Mallow.

made his submission, and direction was sent to Sir Charles Wilmot for the receipt of the said castle.

Sir Charles Wilmot, knowing that FitzMaurice the Lord of Lixnaw had only one castle, called Listoell, wherein to shelter himself, finding no other means to compass the same, determined to besiege it, and intimated so much to the President by his letters, requesting his advice and allowance therein, who returned answer, that he desired nothing more than to have that castle got for the Queen, and, for the manner, left the managing thereof wholly to his discretion. He settled before it upon the fifth of November, attempting to get it by a mine; in which, after he had wrought five or six days, and brought it underneath the castle wall, being ready to make a bed for the placing of the powder, suddenly the spring broke forth in such abundance that work became fruitless; thereupon new ground was sought, which proved good; the foundation of the castle was undermined as far as the middle of the cellar, which the ward perceiving, made humble suit to be permitted to depart with their lives, which Sir Charles absolutely refused; but if they would simply surrender themselves, the castle, and all things in it, to his discretion, he would then stay further proceeding in his work, otherwise they might look within very few hours to be blown up. The ward, which were eighteen in number, came forth, and upon their knees submitted themselves unto him, whom he caused to be apprehended. The women and small children he suffered to depart; of the weaponed men he hanged nine, so many of ours being lost at the siege, which continued more than three weeks; the residue he detained, until he had acquainted the

President with all these accidents, who gave present order for the execution of the rest ; for they had been all of them formerly protected, except one Sir Dermond MacBrodie, a priest, whose life was saved upon this occasion. It chanced that within this castle, at the rendering thereof, there was, unknown to Sir Charles, the Lord of Lixnaw's eldest son, a child of five years of age. The warders, upon their coming forth, disarrayed this child of all his clothes, and, having besmeared his face with dust and dirt, committed him to an old woman, who, bringing the infant naked and disfigured at her back, conveyed<sup>1</sup> him away without suspicion. Sir Charles, receiving advertisement of this escape, sent out some soldiers and some provincials, whom he most trusted, for the recovery of him, but in vain ; they all returned with lost labour. At last he bethought himself that peradventure some of the prisoners could direct him in the pursuit, and, questioning the priest concerning the child, he answered that he could best resolve him, for that himself had given direction to the woman where she should bestow the child till she might deliver him to his father. "Why, then," said Sir Charles, "will you not conduct me to him? Know you not that it is in my power to hang you or to save you? Yes, and I assure you, if you will not guide me to the place where he lies hidden, I will cause you to be instantly hanged." The priest answered that it was all one to him, whether he died this day or to-morrow ; but yet if he might have his word, for the sparing of his own life and the child's, he would reveal his knowledge; otherwise the Governor might do his

<sup>1</sup> This child was ancestor of our Marquises of Lansdowne, who are also Barons of Lixnaw.



pleasure. Sir Charles, though very unwilling to grant the priest's life, yet the earnest desire he had to get the child into his hands caused him to agree thereto. The priest, being put into a handlock, is sent with a captain and a good guard of soldiers about this business, who guided them to a wood, six miles from the castle, by reason of thick briars and thorns almost impassable, in the midst whereof there is a hollow cave within the ground, not much unlike, by description, Cacus's<sup>1</sup> den, or the mouth of Avernus, in which desolate place they found that old woman and this young child, whom they brought to the governor, and the priest and child were shortly after sent to the President. In this castle were got all the Lord of Lixnaw's goods, besides store of provision for the war, who were plentifully provided for six months with such kind of victual as the country yields; and it was said that the Baron himself would have set up his rest in this castle, which he held impregnable against any force, the cannon excepted, but it would seem his heart failed him no less than his expectations. While these things were in doing, Sir Richard Percy drew his company forth from Kinsale into Kinalmekagh, and there took a prey of two hundred cows, and got the killing of some rebels.

In the beginning of this month William Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, came to the President with a letter in his favour from Sir Charles Wilmot, dated the thirtieth of October, wherein he witnessed for him that ever since he was received under pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Tempora mutantur.* A modern writer telling this story would treat that cave as a holy place, a shrine of love and loyalty. No age is romantic to itself. Stafford tells his tale as if this sixteenth century were the prosiest of all, and yet it was a century teeming with all the elements of high romance.

tection he had demeaned himself not only like a good subject, in doing no harm, but that he had endeavoured to his uttermost to annoy the enemy, and had lately in token of his obedience delivered unto Sir Charles his castle at the Dingle. This testimony wrought so much with the President that he used him very kindly, and returned him home with great contentment.

Not long after the landing of the young Earl of Desmond in Ireland the minds of the provincials were much distracted, every one fearing what might be the success thereof. But after a little while it appeared that he was able to do but little. To the end that the reader might see that at first it did breed some distraction, I here insert a letter to Tyrone from Cormock MacDermond, the lord of the large country of Muskery, who was never personally in actual rebellion, neither before nor after the Spaniards' arrival; the copy of which letter came not to the President's hands until the latter end of the year 1602, and he then pardoned, wherein it doth evidently appear what cankered hearts the better sort of subjects bore to the Crown of England and the English Government.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunning, not "canker," is what very evidently appears in this epistle. See next chapter.

## CHAPTER XVII.

A letter from Cormock MacDermond to Tyrone—The abbey of Ratho burned and forty of the bonoghs slain—One thousand bonoghs levied by Florence MacCarty—Connaught and Ulster men change their resolution for the invading of Munster: the cause—Dermond O'Connor murdered by Theobald ny Long Burke—A letter from the Earl of Clanricard to Theobald ny Long.

### A LETTER FROM CORMOCK MACDERMOND TO TYRONE.

I HAVE received your letter of the twentieth of September, and do thank you for the great trust you repose in me, which by the help of God shall be by me discharged to the uttermost of my power; but the English have in these parts so much prevailed, by the sinister false dealing of the Connaught men, that the President hath taken pledges of most of the gentlemen and men of power in these parts. And, besides, we are so weak in men that we are out of necessity constrained to yield to the yoke of the English heretics, from which we pray God to deliver us, according to our heart's desire; and therefore do hope you will bear with our present necessities, being ready at all times to obey your directions when you shall be able to send us help; but because that we shall neither deceive you nor ourselves, we do pray you to send us word what numbers you will send us and by what time, that accordingly we may make ourselves ready to give you our best assistance. But of one thing I think good to give you particular notice, which is, not to put any confidence in any

of Munster of the English Nation; for whatsoever they profess or protest unto you they mean not to deal faithfully with us, but will forsake us in our greatest need. The news of these parts is that the son of Gerald the late Earl is arrived, to whom his father's old followers do much resort; he is a heretic, yet, nevertheless, by the help of the English he will do us great harm. The right Earl of Desmond is forsaken by all men, and not able to make head, and the less hope of his rising again by the coming of young James, who is the Queen's Earl, and hath a patent for his Earldom. I pray your speedy answer; in the meantime I will dissemble with the President, who deals sharply with us. The letter which you sent with these to MacCarty More I have sent to him by a messenger of my own, who is lately agreed with the President; and so we are deceived in him, and therefore he is not to be firmly trusted with the commandment of all the Clan Cartys.

CORMOCK CARTY.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Wilmot in the meantime, marching to an abbey in Kerry called Ratho, near Lixnaw, as soon as his colours were descried, was fired at by the enemy that lodged there; thence with his horse only he marched to Tralee, where he found one hundred bonoghs of the O'Kellys, among whom were Moriortagh MacShighy and three or four more of the lurking

<sup>1</sup> Even at this distance of time the reading of such a letter fills us with a feeling of almost personal shame, as a reflection on our common manhood. Cormac, never once in action for the cause about which he writes so finely, was now, like so many others, *hedging*. Tyrone might win hereafter. He would like, for the sake of ultimate possibilities, just to have a foot, or even a toe, in Tyrone's camp. His Lordship of Muskerry was now an old man, and an old man who had spent nearly his whole life fighting for the Crown, labouring to establish in Munster what he here terms "the yoke of the English heretics," and he had just sent his eldest son to be educated at *Oxford*.



Earl's chief followers on horseback. Our horse charged them, the horsemen (by flight) saved themselves, but of the foot there were slain about forty; the rest, by the favour of a neighbouring bog and the mountain at hand, escaped, but all their arms were left to our shares.<sup>1</sup>

The perpetual juggling which Florence MacCarty continued towards the Lord President I have so often touched upon that it needs no other proof; but for the better testimony of his ill affection to the State, even now when the Sugean Earl was in the state of a fugitive, hiding himself from the sight of men, Florence (as the Lord President was advertised from Sir Charles Wilmot) had raised one thousand bownoghs to be placed upon Desmond, four hundred upon Kerry, and six hundred upon Carbury, and concludes with these words, viz., Assuredly he purposeth to be a villain, though he could be contented to live in neutrality, as he doth, if he could carry it cleanly. Also at that time the Baron of Lixnaw, who was banished Kerry, was by him relieved in Desmond; but observe well I beseech you this wavering and unsettled companion, who, not knowing which way either to be a subject or rebel, not many days afterwards (as shall be said) came to the President, with a smooth countenance full of loyalty, but inwardly the same man he had ever been.

Nothing was more common now in Munster than a bruit of the strangers from Connaught and Ulster, coming to invade the province with two thousand men, and hereof the President received daily advertise-

It will be remarked that the only fighting or stout work of any kind done on behalf of "the action" in Munster was the work of the *bonoghs* of Connaught and the north. The "provincials," with all their clamour, and in spite of all their high-sounding names and titles, did nothing but treachery, while the poor bonoughs and their landless captains played on the whole a manly part.

ment from the Earl of Thomond, the Lord Barry, Justice Comerford, and others; and, to verify the same, Pierce Lacy was come into the borders of Kilquig, and had preyed Glanogre, a town belonging to Sir George Bouchier, Master of the Ordnance, being a parcel of his Seigniory, and then in farm to Alexander Fitton; this caused the President to assemble the greatest part of his forces at Killmallock, attending there to behold what should become of this cloud which threatened such a dangerous tempest, which at length vanished without any great disturbance; for about the middle of this month they withdrew themselves into Ormond, within the liberty of Tipperary. The cause why they departed, before they had made any bonfires in Munster, which was their errand, as I have since learned, was twofold. First, because Redmond Burke could by no means be drawn into the province, being in expectation of great favour from the President, as appears by his letter sent about this time, which, because it is but short, and yet apparently declareth this truth, I thought not unfit here to be recited in his own words:—

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I would long ere this be a subject, and will now show myself worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, and my father's lands seized into your Honour's hands till my title be tried. This country of Ely O'Carrell, being in your Honour's province, is a parcel whereto I make claim, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first; and thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leave this ninth of November, 1600.

Your Honour's as you please,  
REDMOND LEITRIM.

The President, to hold Redmond, as I conceive, in some hope that he might not join with the northern forces then expected to come into Munster, returned him answer to this effect, that his demands seemed to be somewhat reasonable, and that he was very sorry that it was not fully in his power to accomplish his request. Notwithstanding there was no doubt, but upon his letters already despatched to the Council of England and to the Lord Deputy in his behalf, such order should be taken as he should hold himself well satisfied; and surely whether the President dealt plainly, and *bonâ fide* with the said Redmond, or whether he fed him with good words only (like a courtier) to serve his own turn, I know not; but if I might deliver my poor opinion, I think him to have received some hard measure (I mean in respect of his father's lands), upon whomsoever the fault lieth;—but to return.

This Redmond, commanding the greatest part of the forces now assembled, depending this much upon the President's favour (as by his letter appeareth), could by no allurements of those Munster rebels be enticed to commit any outrage within that province. Another cause why these rebels thus assembled came no further up into Munster was because the wandering Earl, James FitzThomas, who should have given them bon-night in the province, knowing that Lixnaw, Redmond Burke, Pierce Lacy, and all of them were grown weary of the rebellion, and that the President had commerce with all<sup>1</sup> those, durst not commit himself into

<sup>1</sup> From all the foregoing one would have thought that Pierce Lacy at the least was a stout and true-hearted champion of the action. Yet Pierce too, with his own land claims and agrarian grievances, we find now was in *commerce* with Carew. Pierce claimed to be Baron of Loughmoe, Co. Tipperary.



their power, they being so strong and he so poor and weak, fearing lest they should have delivered him, being the mark the President chiefly aimed at, to work their own peace.

Dermond O'Connor, having now heard that the young Earl of Desmond, his brother-in-law, was arrived in Munster, according to the President's promise to him made that he should come, was desirous that he should repair thither with intent to do some acceptable service for Her Majesty ; which being made known by the Lady Margaret, his wife, the Lord President sent him a safe conduct for himself and his followers, and procured the like from Sir Arthur Savage, the chief commissioner in Connaught, and also from the Earl of Clanricard, to secure his passage through his country ; and for his better safety he sent a hundred foot to guard him as soon as he should enter into Thomond. He, being now past Clanricard, and coming to O'Shaughnessy's<sup>1</sup> country, within seventeen or eighteen miles of Limerick, Theobald ne Long Burke,<sup>2</sup> who had a company of a hundred foot in Her Majesty's pay, notwithstanding all his safeguards, assaulted him, who, for his safety, retired into an old church, burnt it over his head, and, in coming forth from the same, he killed about forty of his men and took him prisoner, and the morning following cut off his head ; which being done, Theobald sent to the Earl of Clanricard for a protection, pretending that

<sup>1</sup> O'Shaughnessy's.

<sup>2</sup> Theobald Burke of the Ship. Son of Granuaile and Rickard-in-Iron, the MacWilliam, Chief of the Low Burkes, the Burkes of Mayo. Said to have been born on shipboard while his mother was returning from her historic visit to the Queen. He was now the Queen's MacWilliam, Queen's candidate for the captainship of all Mayo, as his cousin Theobald of the Skulls was Red Hugh's.



what he did was done in revenge of his cousin the Lord Burke's death. But the Earl, disliking the action, instead of a protection returned him this letter ensuing:—

A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF CLANRICARD TO THEOBALD  
NE LONG BURKE.

I do understand that you have yesternight assaulted Dermond O'Connor and his company, which is both a very mighty impeachment of Her Majesty's word, in respect the gentleman had her gracious protection and safe conduct from the Lord President of Munster and the Governor of this province for his safe passing, and a perpetual slander and abuse unto me and my posterity, considering the gentleman was seized in my country<sup>1</sup> and had my word at my very good Lord the Lord President of Munster's request, and the Governor of this province's direction, which I little expected to be by you resisted, but rather imagined your coming into the country to do better service upon Her Majesty's enemies, which are daily threatening to come for us on all sides. But if in lieu thereof your services be to murder a gentleman that is drawn for good considerations tending the advancement of Her Majesty's service, condemn her gracious protection which he hath, and offer the Lord President of Munster, the Governor of this province, and myself, the mightiest wrong and abuse that may be, I take it, such a course as I do not doubt, yourself and your house to be thereby ever overthrown, and everlastingly live hopeless of any favour or kindness of me, except

<sup>1</sup> Observe the outleaping here of the fierce dynastic spirit. This lord had indeed formally surrendered his chieftainship and taken down his gallows, but retained still much of his old territorial pride, power and consequence.

you take such apt and present course as to send the gentleman unto me released, and all the rest of his people, as many as you have in hand of them, with a full restitution of their goods; otherwise think of me as the greatest enemy you have in this world, which, with the permission of God, I will make you and yours feel if you urge me thereto; and so expecting to see the gentleman from you with expedition without hurt, I leave Doiehoway<sup>1</sup> the four and twentieth of October, 1600.

Your very loving kinsman if you will,  
ULICK CLANRICARD.

Whilst Dermond was in rebellion he received no prejudice by Theobald ne Long; but now being, as he knew, a man fast linked to the State, and able to perform extraordinary service, he is treacherously murdered to the great dishonour of Her Majesty, in violating her word, solemnly and advisedly given. The Lord President was exceedingly incensed against the actors, abettors, and procurers of this murder; writing his letter both to the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council in England, and also to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, signifying how much Her Majesty's honour was blemished and the service hindered by this malicious and hateful murder; who considering of the fact, besides sharp rebukes and reprehensions, the Lord Deputy was commanded presently to cashier and discharge him both of his command and entertainment.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a misprint for Loughray (Loughrea), the chief seat of the Earl. It is somewhat amusing to remember that this lord was once a mighty rebel himself, threatening to "make prey to the gates of Dublin." Ulick, son of Ricard Sassenagh, son of Ulick of the Heads, first Earl of Clanricarde.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Sessions held at Limerick, Cashel, and Clonmel—The Lord President and the Earl of Ormond meet at Clonmel—Muskery, Quirk, and Arlogh burnt and spoiled by the army—The submission of the Burkes and the O'Briens—The narrow escape of James Fitz-Thomas and Dermond MacCraghe, the Pope's Bishop of Cork—In what good estate the province of Munster stood—MacAwley preyed by Sir Francis Barkley—A marriage practised between the Lady Joan FitzGerald and O'Donnell, but prevented by the Lord President.

NOTWITHSTANDING the retiring of these rebels, as you have heard, the President thought it meet to spend some time in those parts before his army should be reduced. In consideration whereof, finding it expedient, for furtherance of Her Majesty's service, that sessions of gaol delivery should be held, as often as conveniently they might, that the course of civil justice might again be renewed, whereunto of late years they had not been accustomed, the eighteenth of November his Lordship left Kilmallock and marched to Limerick, where he kept sessions, from thence to Cashel and so to Clonmel, in both which places he did the like, doing exemplary justice upon such rebels that had before been apprehended thereabouts. During the sessions held at Limerick (as aforesaid) the President sent a message to the Earl of Ormond, signifying to him his purposed coming to Clonmel, wherein also he besought his Lordship that if it might stand with his leisure and good liking it would please him to make a journey that way, to the intent that, upon their meeting, some conference might be had about divers particularities concerning the service. The Earl







accorded both to time, and place, which was at Clonmel. The six and twentieth of November, amongst other matters there consulted betwixt them the President moved the Earl about some present order to be taken for the prosecution of those rebels that had (now for a good space) remained without impeachment in the borders of Ormond in Tipperary; and for so much as his Lordship peradventure had not sufficient forces to displant them, he offered his own service, with such companies as he had there assembled, being the greatest part of the army of Munster. The Earl, either unwilling to have the President set foot within his<sup>1</sup> liberty, or else desirous himself to have the sole honour of that service, did entreat the President to satisfy himself concerning that business, for he would undertake it, and within few days, to make them repent that ever they set foot within his liberty; which I think had immediately been performed had not the premature death of his most virtuous and honourable Lady (the lamentable tidings whereof were now brought him to Clonmel, oppressing his aged heart with immeasurable sorrow) caused the same for a time to be deferred.

This service therefore thus undertaken by the Earl, the President, having received certain information that the Munster fugitives were harboured in those parts, having before burned all the houses and corn, and taken great preys in Owny O'Mulryan and Kilquig, a strong and fast country, not far from Limerick, diverted his forces into East Clanwilliam, and Muskerry-Quirk, where Pierce Lacy had lately been succoured, and harassing the country, killed all man-

<sup>1</sup> Very likely. Most of Tipperary was a Palatinate under the jurisdiction of the Earl.

kind that were found therein, for a terror to those that should give relief to renegade traitors; thence we came into Arlogh Woods, where we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corn or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles. The prosecution of this service was committed to the care of Captain Francis Slingsby, who had under his command five hundred foot; whereupon the Burkes and Briens, that inhabited those places, came all upon their knees, beseeching to be received into Her Majesty's gracious protection, and promising to do service upon any rebels that should hide themselves in those woods; who putting in their pledges were received to mercy.

In this journey it chanced there was a youth taken prisoner who had lately before been servant to the imagined Earl, who, being brought to the President and examined, took upon him to bring our forces to the place where his master was. The Earl of Thomond, Sir George Thornton, and Captain Roger Harvy with their companies, following the direction of this guide, were conducted to Lisbarry, a part of Drumfinnin Woods. No sooner were they entered into the fastness than presently the sentinels, which were placed in the skirt of the wood, raised the cry, which, as it should seem, roused the counterfeit Earl of Desmond and Dermond MacCraghe, the Pope's Bishop of Cork, who were lodged there in a poor ragged cabin. Desmond fled away barefoot, having no leisure to pull on his shoes, and was not discovered; but MacCraghe was met by some of the soldiers clothed in a simple mantle, and torn trousers, like an aged churl; and they, neglecting so poor a creature, not able to carry weapon, suffered him to pass unre-



garded. Upon this end of the journey by the wise and painful proceedings of the President (God's blessing always accompanying the same) it came to pass that there was not one castle in Munster held out against the Queen. Nay, which was more, it was not known that there were five rebels in a company throughout the province, nor any one of note except those five lost sheep, the children of perdition, James FitzThomas and his brother, Lixnaw, Pierce Lacy, and the Knight of the Glyn, who lay lurking in desert, uncouth, and unknown places; yet notwithstanding there were divers vagabonds and loose people dispersed in sundry corners, for whom no man would undertake, that lived by stealth, and bad rogues, disquieting the good subjects, being the relics of the rebellion.

The President by his letters dated the fifteenth signified to the Lords of the Council that now the province was so much overawed by Her Majesty's forces, that unless northern rebels came to infest it, or that the Spaniards did invade it, he was well able to contain the provincials in obedience; and, although five hundred of his list were already cashiered, he would at any time lend the Lord Deputy one thousand foot to serve in Leinster, but with this caution (for countenance sake) that they might be ever, in estimation, of the List of Munster; which if the reader do well observe, he shall find that the prosecution of the service in that province had successes beyond expectation; for in May last, when the President first took the field, the rebels were no less than seven thousand strong, and now the subjects' cattle day and night lay abroad in the fields, no body of rebels united, and not one castle in all the province



that did withstand Her Majesty. This was the work of God, and unto Him only it must be attributed.

Her Majesty (as hath been said) did by her letters to the President command that one company of one hundred foot should be cashiered for the sustentation of the young Earl of Desmond and of others who were mentioned in that letter. The Lords of the Council likewise, by their letters bearing date the tenth of November, required the President to see the same performed, which being done accordingly (as was directed), the President, by his letters of the twentieth of this December, made an account how the partition was made. Now you must understand that although one hundred foot were discharged for the maintenance of the Earl and the rest, yet Her Majesty's meaning was not that more should be turned to that use than the ready money which was paid to the company yearly for their lendings, for their apparel was saved to Her Majesty; the yearly lendings of one hundred men amount to no more than seven hundred and eighty-two pounds, two shillings, and ten pence. The Archbishop<sup>1</sup> of Cashel, who was a principal agent in stirring up Dermond O'Connor to make the attempt he did upon the titular Earl, had, for his share, one hundred and twenty-one pounds, thirteen shillings, and three pence. John Power, who was one of the hostages (as hath been related), had thirty-six pounds, ten shillings; the Lady Ellis, sister to the Earl, had thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, which was as much as her other sisters formerly had in pension from Her Majesty; the Lady Margaret, the Earl's sister also, and wife to Dermond O'Connor, in regard of her forwardness to have done the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Miler again. Sure to get his share of anything going, yea, down to the last penny. Observe the "three pence."

service, had a hundred pounds, and the remainder, which was five hundred and forty pounds, twelve shillings, and ten pence, was to the Earl's own use.

About the eighteenth of the same, Sir Francis Barkley finding good cause and fit opportunity to plague MacAwley and his tenants, who, under protection, relieved the heart-broken rebels with the garrison which he commanded at Askeiton, he harassed all the country of Clanowly, and took from thence one thousand cows, two hundred garrans, besides sheep and other spoil, and had the killing of many traitors, who harboured themselves in the bogs and woods thereof.

Whilst the President was holding sessions at Limerick (as before) he received notice that Mary ny Shye,<sup>1</sup> one that had been an old servant to the Countess of Desmond, was in the town; but he, suspecting her errand to have been no other but to see James the young Earl, seemed to take no knowledge thereof, to make trial whether the said Earl would acquaint him with such letters or messages as should be brought from his mother. At the end of three days the Earl related to the President that such a woman was in town, whom he had seen that morning, and not before. The President answered that her repair to the town was known to him certain days before, but desired to be certified from him concerning the occasion of her coming; who replied that her errand was to his sisters, the Lady Joan and the Lady Ellen, and especially to the Lady Joan, but himself had received neither letter, message, nor token by her. Whereupon the President,

<sup>1</sup> Sheehy. "Ny," as explained elsewhere, is the feminine patronymic. We would now write, Mary MacSheehy.

suspecting some other cause of her coming, being so necessary a servant to the old Countess, caused her to be brought before him and the Council ; and upon her examination it was found that the special cause of her coming was to convey away the said Lady Joan to her mother, and from thence to O'Donnell, who had promised to consummate a marriage with her, and for the same purpose had himself written letters to O'Connor Sligo, her father-in-law (in being her mother's husband), to hasten her away. The Lady Joan, upon her examination, likewise confessed the same, but denied to yield any consent thereto without the advice of her brother, whom (as she said) she purposed shortly to have acquainted with this business. The old crafty Countess, understanding that this plot was discovered, pretended that her endeavours in seeking to effect this marriage tended to no other end but to reduce O'Donnell<sup>1</sup> to be a subject, although indeed there was nothing less meant. The President and Council upon the discovery, for preventing such further mischief as they foresaw might arise by this marriage, committed the Lady Joan to an alderman's house, and Mary ny Shye, the said Countess's servant, close prisoner in the gaol, till time and occasion should minister further opportunity to deal in that affair of so great importance.

<sup>1</sup> Red Hugh's first wife was a daughter of Tyrone. Her he divorced ostensibly for barrenness. But I suspect the divorce coincided with a division of interests between those high lords. As Hugh got stronger he took his own dynastic course separate from Tyrone. Stafford's "crafty old countess" probably meant what she said. She had seen herself tragically the consequences of going against the Crown. Moreover, her husband, though at this time in enforced alliance with Red Hugh, was in heart a strong Royalist. He was knighted as Sir Donough O'Connor by Essex for gallant behaviour in the field. For further particulars see "Battle of the Curlew Mountains" in the "Bog of Stars."

## CHAPTER XIX.

The Mayor of Limerick fined and imprisoned, and a new Mayor elected—A letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to James FitzThomas—The Sheriff's men slain by Florence Mac-Carty—The Lord President persuades Florence to go into England—Florence seems to like the motion, and the use he made of it.

THE country being now reduced to that outward obedience and conformity (as you have heard), the President and Council returned to Moyallo the thirteenth of December, where they had some leisure to look in the corporate towns, whom they found to be principal aiders, abettors, and upholders of this unnatural rebellion, which proceeded partly out of malice to the State for matters of religion, but principally for their own benefit; for in these turbulent times the greater part of the Queen's treasure sent over into this kingdom is expended by the captains and soldiers amongst them. Again, they issue their merchandise to the rebels (underhand) at very excessive rates and buy the country commodities at their own prices; by reason whereof it was probably conjectured, upon good grounds, that the towns of Munster were more enriched within these three years of war than they were before almost in twenty years of peace. Another thing also at this time was noted in the towns, namely, that all the chief cities made choice of professed lawyers to be mayors, magistrates, and chief officers, and such as before were ringleaders of their



corporations. These prepensed elections, whether they were made for fear, lest they should be called to account for their former faults, both in assisting the rebels and resisting the soldiers, or to maintain the towns in obstinate superstition, which before was much augmented by these instruments, or for some other hidden cause, known only to themselves, I cannot certainly determine, but sure I am, it proceedeth not from any loyal or dutiful disposition. Amongst these lawless lawyers thus elected there was one Geoffrey Gallway, Mayor of Limerick, a man that had spent many years in England studying the common laws, and, returning into Ireland about three years since, did so pervert that city by his malicious counsel and perjurious example that he withdrew the mayor, aldermen, and generally the whole city from coming to the church, which before they sometimes frequented. Moreover, about a year since there happened an affray in Limerick between the soldiers and some of the town, at which time this Gallway came to the then mayor, advising him to disarm all the soldiers, and told him that all their lives were in the mayor's hands and at his mercy, whereby a gap was most apparently opened by him to have induced a wicked and barbarous massacre upon Her Majesty's forces. With this man therefore did the President take occasion to enter into the lists, upon a manifest contempt offered unto his office and government, as followeth. It came to pass that a soldier of the Earl of Thomond's company was imprisoned by the said mayor for a supposed petty larceny of a hatchet. The President, being upon his journey against the rebels, who were now reported to have invaded the province, required to have the said soldier delivered

to him, that he might receive a present trial and punishment for his default, if he were found guilty, or else to repair to his colours and to go the journey. The mayor, before he would deliver the prisoner, desired that he might confer with his brethren. This being granted, he returned answer that it was not thought fit by the corporation to release the prisoner except his Lordship would make a warrant enjoining and commanding them so to do. The President and Council being assembled, a warrant was framed, signed, and directed to the mayor; but this warrant was deemed insufficient, and therefore desired to have the same amended in certain particulars, which without difficulty was yielded unto, and a second and a third framed according to the mayor's own directions; and thus did he dally until he saw the President ready to leave the town, some part of the army being already upon the march, at which time the mayor came to the President and utterly rejected all those warrants, affirming that the authority given them by the charter sufficiently exempted them from the jurisdiction and command of the President and Council. The President, much scorning to be thus deluded and dallied withal, told the mayor that he would shortly find a time to call him to an account for his contempt offered, not against his person but against Her Majesty and her government established in the province; who being now returned from the service (as you have heard), and abiding at Moyallo, directed his warrant to the said Gallway, commanding him upon his allegiance that he should immediately appear before him and a Council, at a day assigned, at Moyallo, to answer unto such things as should be objected against him on Her Majesty's behalf; where,

making his appearance, he was censured to live as a prisoner in a castle in the country, and not to come into the city of Limerick until he had paid a fine to Her Majesty of four hundred pounds sterling, which was designed for the reparation of Her Majesty's castle there, which sum was employed afterwards to that use; and, lastly, that a new mayor should be placed in his room. The townsmen presently sent an agent (as their manner is) to make suit unto the Council of England seeking to abuse their Lordships with counterfeit humility and false suggestions to get abatement either in whole or in part of this fine aforesaid; but therein they failed of their expectation, and having received a check for their proud contumacy against the President, they were commanded from the court.

The one and twentieth of this month of December Sir Richard Percy sent sixty of his garrison at Kinsale into Kinalmekaghe, O'Maghon's country, to get the prey of the same, whereunto he was encouraged by one who promised to guide them, so they should not miss all the cows in the same. Dermond Moyle MacCarty, Florence's brother, and Moylmo O'Maghon, the chief of his sept, having some intelligence of their coming, with three hundred foot and some horse assailed them, not doubting but to have cut all their throats; for the space of two hours a good skirmish was maintained; but the rebels, not finding the defendants to be chickens, to be afraid at the sight of every cloud or kite, with some loss (of slain and hurt men) soberly retreated. Of the garrison of Kinsale only two private men were hurt, yet they returned ill pleased for that they missed the booty expected. About this time the Spanish Arch-

bishop of Dublin wrote to the lurking titular Earl of Desmond, the copy whereof I do here verbatim relate, translated out of Latin.

A LETTER FROM THE SPANISH ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN  
TO JAMES FITZTHOMAS.

MY MOST HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,—Having long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the same is now offered by Mr. John, whereof I am very glad that by such a most sure and faithful messenger I might open my mind to your Lordship; as also to show that most certain and undoubted hope of aid is shortly to come. I would most willingly have come unto your Lordship's presence, which lately I have essayed, and doubtless would have done, unless I had been hindered by these lords, who told me that present and imminent dangers were to be feared in my journey, unless I had an army of soldiers to conduct me; and now (but that there is a necessity of my returning into Spain) I would have come to you in the company of Master John; but I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall return unto you again. In the meantime I have pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to our Catholic master, as any other whomsoever, which now also in Spain I will perform. I would therefore entreat your Excellency that you would be of a good courage together with all other of your faction; and that you would fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and the liberty of your country, knowing and firmly hoping that the help of my Lord, the Catholic King, is now coming, which when it cometh, all things shall be prosperous, and will place you in your former liberty and security,



that ye may possess your desired peace and tranquillity. The Almighty conserve your Lordship in safety long to continue. From Donegal, the thirteenth of January, 1601.

The province of Munster standing now in these good terms of obedience and conformity (as you have heard), the President thought good for the diminution of Her Majesty's charge to spare some part of those forces which at first were allotted to him for this service; and therefore, besides those five hundred which were of late cashiered by direction from the Lord Deputy, he was contented to spare one thousand more to be disposed for the wars of Leinster, or other places near adjoining, conditionally that they might remain upon the list of Munster, as well to countenance his proceedings as also that he might call them back upon any occasion if new broils should be raised; and so in effect reduce the army of that province to fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse.

You heard before that the Earl of Ormond, upon conference with the President, undertook to drive Redmond Burke and the other rebels, his associates, out of his liberty of Ormond, within the liberty of Tipperary, which, although he oftentimes essayed to effect, yet it sorted not to his desired end until the beginning of this month of January, at which time he employed the Lord of Dunboyne, Sir Walter Butler his nephew, and Captain Marberry, with such forces as he had (of Her Majesty's and the country) to so good purpose that besides forty fighting men that were presently slain, and amongst them Thomas Burke, brother to the said Redmond, and the arms of thirty more got, they forced Redmond and all his company

into the river Nore, being at that time very high, and there drowned seventy of his men with their arms, besides divers churls and all their baggage. Certain persons were also taken in this service, amongst whom were John Burke, brother to the said Redmond, who was shortly after executed in Kilkenny, and William <sup>1</sup> Burke, another of his brethren, grievously wounded. But to return to the President's actions, who, desirous that the country might grow acquainted with the civil government whereunto of late it had been a stranger, thought it convenient that the sheriffs, being necessary officers for the State, should look into the country as well to find out such ill-disposed malefactors and idle vagabonds as were pernicious to the government as also to levy at reasonable rates such provisions as the country yielded and the garrisons wanted. For this cause John Barry, the Sheriff of the county of Cork, made a journey to some of Florence Mac-Carty's lands, who no sooner entered into his country (as he termed it) but presently he was resisted; and before he could make his retreat, some of his men were murdered; <sup>2</sup> the like measure was also offered to some of the garrison of Kerry, who had no sooner set foot beyond the Mang, a river that parts Kerry and Desmond, but they were instantly assaulted by Florence's followers, and two of his soldiers slain.

The President, receiving advertisement of these malicious and traitorous practices of Florence (still

<sup>1</sup> William recovered, and reappears as a strong captain of bonoghs in the President's wars with O'Sullivan Bere.

<sup>2</sup> Where the State acknowledged a chieftain, the chieftain appointed his own officers and governed his country. In that country officers of the State had no legal right of entry. Florence's people regarded him as M'Carty More, supreme captain of Desmond, and the unauthorized forcible entrance of any one an act of war.

continued), was exceedingly desirous, according to directions sent him out of England, to get him into his hands, if it might be effected without putting the Queen to a further charge, which without some temporizing could not as yet conveniently be performed; for Florence, finding himself to have notoriously incurred several breaches of his former protection, wrote divers letters to the President in excuse of these facts, the same being stuffed (as his phrase was) with damnable oaths and execrable blasphemies that himself was never acquainted with the former slaughters, and that his people were strangely overseen therein, who, mistaking the soldiers for the sheriff's men, and the sheriff's men for traitors, committed those offences unawares. Answer was remitted by the President that the State was well persuaded of his loyalty and innocence touching these disorders, and therefore requested him very earnestly to make his repair to him, that he might by his presence and advice the better find out and punish those malefactors; but by no means or ways could he be drawn forth from his strong country of Desmond before he had got his protection to be renewed; a plain demonstration of his guilty conscience.

Not long after, upon his repair to the President, he moved him to go for England, laying before his judgment divers commodities that might thereby accrue unto him. First, he should prove these suggestions to be untrue which some of his enemies had buzzed into the ears of the Council of England, that he was an avowed enemy to the English government and a devoted friend in his heart to the Spanish King. Secondly, that by his own presence (with the Council) he might get that country of Desmond confirmed unto

him, which he now held rather by courtesy than by right. And, lastly, that the Queen's Majesty might understand, out of his mouth, the present state of that province, to whose relation (as he verily thought) she would give attentive ear and credit. All this was urged to the end that the province might be rid of so dangerous a member, who was most likely to breed new commotions. This gentleman, smelling the President's drift, pretended himself to be most willing, and for that purpose would return into Desmond, and when his necessaries were provided he would speedily proceed in his journey for England. Within certain days after he sent messengers unto the President signifying to him that the country of Desmond was so poor and beggarly that it could not possibly afford him means for such necessaries as he needed for his journey, who therefore requested his Lordship's letters to the chief gentlemen of Carberry that they would be contributors to him in a business that did so nearly concern him. All this being granted<sup>1</sup> and effected, he neither went forward nor did he purpose at all to go, as the sequel of his doings manifestly declared.

<sup>1</sup> This is an example of what is known in English history as a "benevolence," and was common in Ireland. A chieftain wanting money for an emergency, wrote to his principal gentlemen to subscribe. Bishops and presidents and great people in general were adepts in this art of sponging. In the present affair, wily Florence, desiring to extend his MacCarty Moreship over Carberry, uses the President as a means of colouring future progress. In Connaught, the Attorney-General's house, a thatched house, by the way, was destroyed accidentally by fire. He forthwith instituted a general "benevolence" to make good the loss.



## CHAPTER XX.

The Lord President adviseth into England of the intended invasion of the Spaniards—Demands made by the Lord President for money, munition, victuals—A letter from Her Majesty to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to pardon all such as the Lord President should nominate, certain persons excepted as incapable of pardon—A certain branch of the Lords of the Council's letters to the Lord President.

THE President having (as is said) reduced Munster to good terms of obedience, and had promised to lend the Lord Deputy at any time one thousand foot for the service of Leinster; yet he still insisted that they might remain as part of the list of Munster; and to that end upon the thirteenth of January he wrote to the Lords of the Council in England. Also he advertised their Lordships that undoubtedly the Spaniards would invade Ireland, for testimony whereof he sent to them many advertisements which came to him out of Spain; and that many Romish priests and friars, which are the forerunners of mischief in this country, were lately come into Ireland, to no other end than to withdraw the hearts of Her Majesty's natural subjects from her to the Spaniard. Also for prevention of future mischief, that he might not be unprovided (if the kingdom were invaded), although he should have no more than fifteen hundred foot left in the province, when he had sent the one thousand promised to the Lord Deputy, yet he humbly desired the lords that they would be pleased

(until Michaelmas next following) to continue the victuals to be sent for Munster, as formerly was accustomed, that is for three thousand two hundred and fifty, and for the same reason of innovation, he besought them to send unto him five lasts of powder with match and lead, two thousand shovels and spades, five hundred pickaxes, and fifty crows of iron; and lastly that they would be pleased to send a competent sum of money for the soldiers to live upon; for until the expectation of the coming of the Spaniards were past he would preserve his victuals untouched.

I formerly recounted to you that the President, by his letters of the second of November, humbly besought their Lordships that a general pardon might be granted for the reasons then alleged, which, as it seemeth, had good acceptance in England, as by Her Majesty's letter to the Lord Deputy, dated the one and twentieth of December, may appear, which came to the President's hands the nineteenth of January; the true copy of which letter is here inserted. And also, for the Lord Deputy's farther discharge, a draught of a warrant, to be passed under the Great Seal of Ireland, was sent unto him by Her Majesty.

A LETTER FROM HER MAJESTY TO THE LORD DEPUTY  
OF IRELAND.

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We understand, by such advertisements as we have received from our President of our province of Munster, that it will be very expedient for the reduc-

ing of our subjects, dwelling in that our province, to a settled obedience, to grant unto them our general and gracious pardon, thereby to remove from them all suspicion of impeachment for their former offences, whereunto the greatest part of them have been violently carried rather by the power of the arch-traitors than by any wilful defection in their loyalty; we being therefore, in our princely clemency, graciously pleased to accept the humble submission of such our subjects within that province as have not out of their desperate and disloyal hearts entered into this horrible action of rebellion against us, do think meet, and hereby do will and authorize you, that from time to time you cause such general and particular pardons to be passed in due form of law, under our Great Seal of that our realm, to all and every the inhabitants of that province, of what condition or estate soever they be, either by ample words of our general pardon (as we understand hath been granted to some counties in Connaught upon like occasions) or by particular names of peculiar persons, as by our said President and Council, or two of them with the President, shall be desired of you, excepting out of every pardon such persons, and inserting such conditions and limitations for our service, as by our said President and two of our Council shall be thought requisite. And to the end our people, wasted with the misery of these wars, may not be pardoned with expenses in the obtaining their pardons, or putting in security for our peace, in causes where it may be needful, our gracious pleasure is, that the fees of our seal, and all other officers' fees in these cases of our affairs, shall be either wholly remitted, or so moderated by you and our Council there, that our subjects may have cause the more

dutifully and gladly to embrace our princely clemency and bounty in this our gracious and free pardon. Nevertheless such is our detestation of the treasons and horrible murders committed in this rebellion, that for a perpetual memory in every such pardon, either general or special, there shall be an express exception that the same extend not to pardon James Fitz-Thomas, usurping the title of Earl of Desmond, John his brother, Pierce Lacy, the Knight of the Valley, nor Thomas FitzMaurice, son to the late Baron of Lixnaw, who are known to have been the ringleaders to many monstrous and unnatural outrages ; neither shall our pardon be available to any of the servants and followers of the persons so excepted, unless those servants and followers shall fully and absolutely submit themselves to our President and Council of that province, or to some of them, to be bound with sureties for their future loyalty within twenty days after public proclamation made of this our gracious pardon. And for the doing hereof, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster this one and twentieth of December, one thousand six hundred, in the three and fortieth year of our reign.

And at that time he received a letter from the Lords of the Council, agreeing in substance with that of Her Majesty to the Lord Deputy. Wherefore I hold it needless to set it down at large, only I will recite the first part of it, whereby it is manifested how agreeable the President's proceeding was, as well to Her Majesty's liking as to their Lordships'.



A BRANCH OF THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL'S LETTERS TO  
THE LORD PRESIDENT.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. We have received your letters, bearing date the second of November, whereby you have made us an orderly relation of the state of that province, whereof we have informed Her Majesty, who hath commanded us to give you notice of her most gracious acceptation of your endeavours, in the whole course of your proceedings, as that which hath proved greatly to her honour and the advancement of her service; wherein, as we have been always ready to perform the best offices, in respect of your discreet proceedings towards us in all things, so it doth not a little content us, for the love we bear you, to be messengers of Her Majesty's favour towards you, than which we know you can receive no greater comfort, etc. From the court at Whitehall, the fourteenth of December, 1600.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Victuals and money arrived at Cork—One thousand foot and fifty horse to be sent out of Munster to the Lord Deputy—A letter from the Lord President to the Lord Deputy—The companies sent for by the Lord Deputy, and stayed by his directions—The effect of the Lords of the Council's letters to the Lord President, with an abstract of his letter to the Lords of the Council.

THE five and twentieth the President advertised the Lords that there was arrived out of England, at Cork, a proportion of victuals and money, and in the same dispatch he humbly besought their Lordships, for that the province was in a manner by the long war thoroughly wasted, and that the horse, having nothing but grass to sustain them, grew weak and unserviceable, that they would be pleased to send, with the best expedition, four hundred quarters of oats, which should be defalcated upon the horsemen's entertainments.

Upon the thirteenth, the President received letters from the Lord Deputy, praying him to send for the service of Leinster one thousand foot, whereof the companies of Sir John Barkley and Sir Garret Harvy's to be part, and with them Sir Richard Greame's troop of horse. According to this direction, he assembled them at Clonmel and gave the command of them unto the Lord Awdley; and, as they were ready to march, he received advertisement from the Earl of Thomond that a body of more than three thousand men of Ulster and Connaught were presently to enter into the

province; whereupon he wrote to the Lord Deputy this ensuing letter, making stay of the Lord Audley until he should receive answer thereof.

A LETTER FROM THE LORD PRESIDENT TO THE LORD  
DEPUTY.

It may please your Lordship, I am so infinitely distracted between the earnest desire I have to satisfy your Lordship's commandments, and the present dangers which I see hang over this province; if I should observe, as that I stand amazed, what counsel to take, being in myself wholly addicted to obedience, and by necessity (in a manner) enforced to pause upon the same, until I may receive your Lordship's answer to these, and then without farther protraction I will be ready accordingly to observe your commandments; wherein I humbly pray your Lordship deliberately to advise, being (as I take it) especially material for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service. The next day after I received your Lordship's letter of the seven and twentieth of January (being the thirtieth of the same), for the better expediting of your directions I addressed several warrants to the captains residing nearest to me, commanding all of them to meet at the towns of Clonmel and Fetherd by the sixth of this month, there to receive such further directions as the Lord Audley, who I have appointed to command them, should direct. The list consists of one thousand and fifty foot and Sir Richard Greame's horse. Sir Garret Harvy lies so far remote in Kerry that I could not conveniently in so short a time draw him to the rest. Wherefore, for that particular I humbly pray to be excused; and for Sir John Barkley's company (who are part of the list above-said) I have directed them

by warrant, according of your Lordship's former pleasure signified unto me, before the receipt of your Lordship's last letters, to repair into Connaught, but have now countermanded them, and do hope they are not yet passed. Thus your Lordship may see my willingness to obey your directions, which I did as gladly and affectionately as your Lordship can desire. But, since having this day received these enclosed letters from the Earl of Thomond and Master Comerford, I do make humbly bold to present the consideration of them unto your Lordship's wisdom, before I do thoroughly accomplish your commandments, wherein my hope is, that your Lordship will both give me thanks and hold me excused; because the public service doth violently urge me unto it. In my judgment I am persuaded that this intelligence is true, drawn thereunto by many and sundry the like advertisements from all parts and persons, lately reconciled, whereof I could send your Lordship bundles of papers of divers men's relations, and now confirmed in the same by these enclosed letters, which, as your Lordship sees, threaten the present disturbance of this province, not yet well settled. Yet nevertheless, that it may appear unto your Lordship that I am not backward to accomplish anything which your Lordship shall require, I do yet continue (though not without some hazard to this province if these Northern forces should presently invade us) to send the companies aforesaid to the rendezvous before mentioned, with directions to remain there until your Lordship shall return me your pleasure in answer of these, and then what you shall prescribe unto me I will dutifully and carefully effect, assuring myself that your Lordship will have such a special regard to the state of this



province that you will not withdraw them but upon certain knowledge of the untruth of this intelligence. But as a councillor (to speak my opinion) if your Lordship can otherwise follow the prosecution in Leinster without calling forces hence it were very expedient to forbear the same, until this cloud be past, which cannot long hold in suspense; for all the danger is between this and the end of next month, after which time, until the cattle be strong, and give milk, there is little doubt. All which humbly referring to your Lordship's better consideration, I rest. Moyallo, the second of February, 1600. G. C.

Not many days after, the Lord Deputy by his letters so well approved of the reasons why the President stayed the Lord Audley that he thanked him for it, and willed him to make head against the rebels' descent, and hereafter when they might be better spared, then he prayed him to send them unto him.

THE EFFECT OF THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL'S LETTERS TO  
THE LORD PRESIDENT.

January 28th, the Lord President received letters of great comfort from the Lords in England, saying that they were exceedingly glad to see that in so short a time he had reduced the province to such terms that he could endure the cashiering of five hundred foot and spare the Lord Deputy one thousand more of his list, which was an evident demonstration of his labours well spent in the service; and that his holding of assizes and sessions, so long disused, was a manifest sign of a new life in the province; that they had written to the Lord Deputy to call Theobald ne

long Burke in question of the murder of Dermond O'Connor, and had required him to see it punished; that notwithstanding Her Majesty's pleasure was signified unto him that James FitzThomas, his brother John, the Baron of Lixnaw, the Knight of the Valley, and Pierce Lacy, should not be received to mercy upon any condition, but to be left, as children of perdition, unto destruction, yet, considering how long rebels may continue by underhand friendships in Ireland, she was pleased that the Lord President should have power, if he saw cause to induce him thereunto, to accept of the last three, but with this caution, that they should be pardoned for life only, and not until they had performed some signal services which might merit such gracious favour. Lastly, they admonished the President to carry a strict hand upon the commissaries of the musters; for by certificate from Dublin they understood that they were very slack in their duties.

The President, knowing that it was a matter of no less moment to retain and keep the provincials in subjection and good order than it was at first to reduce them hereunto, employed now a great part of his time in devising such courses as might secure them from a future revolt, and therefore first resumed into his own hands all power of protecting, and then protested never to renew any protections, already granted, whereby they were constrained to use all celerity and haste in obtaining their pardons. Inso-much that within less than two months, namely, before the end of February, the President had recommended above four thousand by name to the Lord Deputy for pardons, who had all put in such pledges or other caution as by the state of the province was

thought convenient, which indeed was such and so warily taken, as no governor in former times had ever done the like; all which notwithstanding, the President could not satisfy himself in the safety of the one, and so consequently in the security of the other, so long as their pledges were remaining in the cities of Cork and Limerick, the places of their custody not being of sufficient strength, the keepers many times negligent or corrupt in their charge, and the citizens so partial that they had rather help to convey them into the country than to retain them within the city; for prevention whereof the President became a humble suitor to the Lords of the Council in England that they would be pleased to give commandment that the pledges of greatest moment might, by an order from them, be commanded to the Castle of Dublin, which should not be anything chargeable to Her Majesty, and yet very profitable for the State; as also that they would be pleased to give commandment to all such undertakers<sup>1</sup> that hold land within the province that they should make their immediate repair unto their seigniories, that thereby the country might be the better furnished with English upon any occasion; as also that Her Majesty might from them receive their rents in some part of that immeasurable treasure which was expended in these wars.

And, lastly, being fully assured of a Spanish invasion, in all his dispatches for England, he put the lords in mind of it, sending unto them the intelligence

<sup>1</sup> The undertakers who were to reap the greatest fruits from the successful prosecution by the State of these wars were apparently all living comfortably in England. At the first storm-symptom they all ran. In their letters I find them perpetually complaining of their rent. It was a penny an acre.

he had, and, for that he would not be taken unprovided, he continually in all his letters besought supplies of victuals and munition. And, for that in his last dispatch he had entreated a large proportion of victuals, now in this of the sixth of March he forbore the same, requesting only five lasts of powder and four hundred quarters of oats.

The young Earl of Desmond, having been tenderly brought up in England, and not well agreeing with the manner and customs of Ireland, and also seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes, supposing that all his father's followers would have relied upon him, and obeyed his directions ; whereof, finding little or no appearance, desired the Lord President to give him leave to go into England, whereunto, for thereasons aforementioned, the President easily assented ; for in all the time of his being in Ireland no one rebel did for his sake submit himself to Her Majesty, Thomas Oge of Kerry only excepted, who at his request submitted himself and rendered Castle Mange (whereof he was constable) by James FitzThomas's assignment into Her Majesty's hands, as formerly hath been declared. But it may be truly supposed that wit and necessity did persuade him to submit and render the castle as he did ; for Sir Charles Wilmot had so blocked him up with garrisons that he was in fear of starving ; and if he had not taken the opportunity offered upon the Earl's motion he was in danger to have lost both his life and it. This I write not to upbraid the Earl, or to lessen him in anything ; for I must confess he was too good to live amongst such traitorly followers, and no man living had a more willing desire to serve Her Majesty than himself ; but the truth is that this was all the service which he did



or could do during his abode in Munster, whence he embarked the two and twentieth of March, and landed at Miniade in Somersetshire, and so to the Court of England, where after a few months he died. The letters-patents which Her Majesty had granted for his restoration the President never delivered to him, where in my opinion he did discreetly, and according to his directions, for they were sent unto him by Her Majesty with caution not to deliver them except he saw sufficient cause so to do, and that his services, or services done for his sake, should merit the same, of both which there was but weak and slender performance.

In this first book the reader may behold in what a confused state the province of Munster was when the Lord President entered into his government; in the first year whereof these memorable incidents happened: the unfortunate death of Sir Warham St. Ledger; the departure of Tyrone out of Munster; the taking of the Earl of Ormond by the rebels; the defeat of Florence MacCarty; the loss and recovery of Cahir Castle; the submission of the White Knight; the recovery of the island and castle of Loghgier; the bold attempt of Nugent, and the effects which followed thereof; the burning and spoiling of West Clanwilliam and O'Mulryan's country; the taking and escape of James FitzThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond; the siege and winning of the Glyn; the freeing of the province of 2500 bownoghs; O'Donnell's harassing of Thomond; the encounter betwixt Captain Roger Harvy and the White Knight's son; the planting of garrisons in Kerry; the perpetual jugglings of Florence MacCarty; the taking of the Castle of Listoell in Kerry; the defeat (by the garrison of

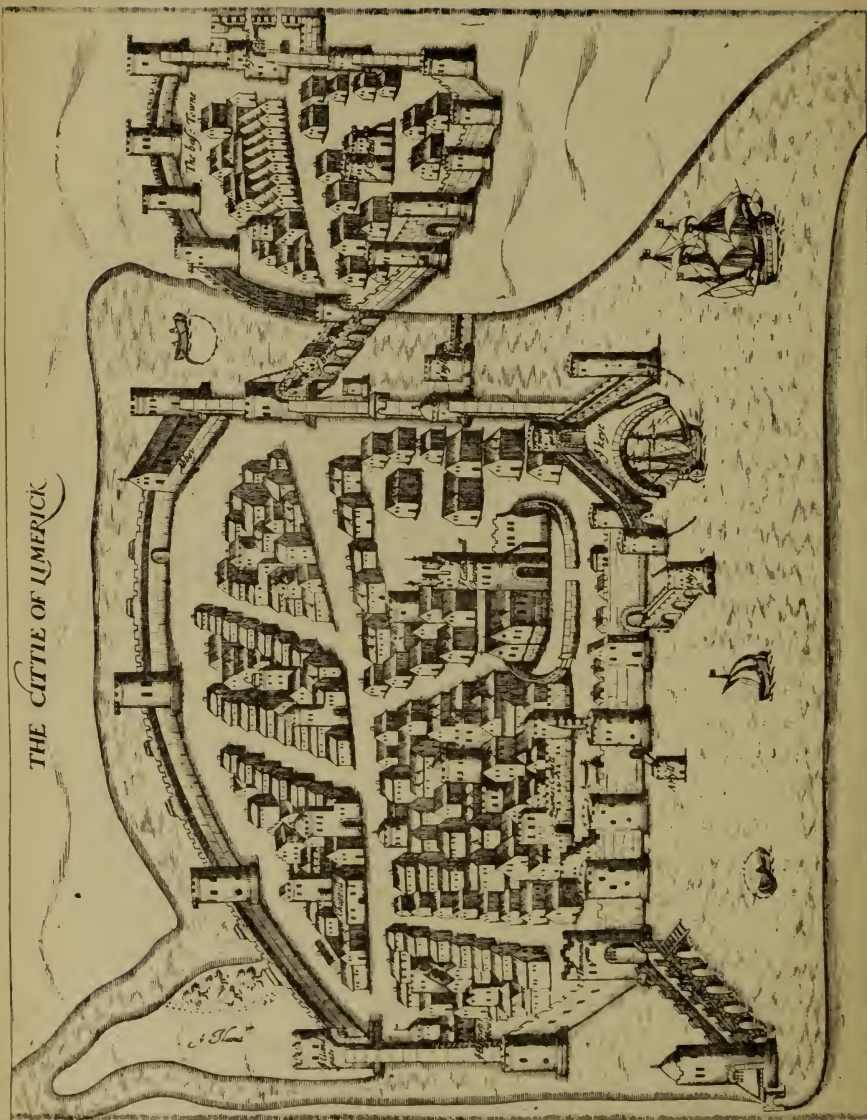
Kilmallock) given to the Sagan Earl; the poor and distressed estate he was driven unto; the submission of Dermond MacOwen, Lord of Dowalla, and sundry others; the coming into Munster of the young Earl of Desmond; the submission of Florence MacCarty; the rendering of Castle Mange; the murder of Dermond O'Connor; the burning and spoiling of East Clanwilliam and Arlogh; the quiet settling of the province, and the restoring the civil government. Whosoever with indifference will consider how much was done in such short time must acknowledge it to be beyond expectation, and say that God fought for us, and directed our counsels, otherwise it was not to be hoped for; and had not the coming of the Spaniards given new interruptions the work of Munster had been thoroughly finished, the province fully reduced to a settled peace, and in all likelihood so to have continued.







THE CITY OF LIMERICK



MAP OF LIMERICK.

# PACATA HIBERNIA.

## THE SECOND BOOK OF THE WARS IN IRELAND,

*Whereby that Country was reduced to Subjection and  
Obedience.*

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### CHAPTER I.

Connaught and Ulster men drawn to a head to invade Munster—

A regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaught to assist Sir John Barkley—Walter Burke and Teg O'Brien slain—The Lord President with the remainder of the army comes to Limerick—The rising-out of the country commanded by the Lord Barry drawn near to Limerick—The rebels distressed for want of victuals, and defeated—Donogh MacCormock Carty slain—Redmond Burke's letter to the Lord President, with the Lord President's answer.

THE prosperous successes of last year promised fair hopes that the malice of the war was spent and that the province would within a short time be reduced to a settled conformity; but the malicious practices of the Irish Papists had so far enraged the Pope and the King of Spain against our Sovereign Mistress and her good subjects, the professors of the true religion (whom the Romanists falsely term

heretics), that in this year 1601 the province of Munster was not only set in a raging flame, but the whole kingdom was endangered to be torn from the Crown of England. But God in His great mercy fought for His servants, and made this intended mischief to be the break-neck of the rebellion throughout the kingdom, and, consequently, the peace and tranquillity which by the goodness of God we enjoy.

About the latter end of March, 1601, intelligences were brought to the Lord President, and letters intercepted, whereby it probably appeared that forces from Ulster and Connaught were in preparing, by the way of Thomond, to pass into Munster, under the conduct of Redmond Burke, Captain Hugh Mostian, and Con O'Neale (Tyrone's base son), with about two thousand men (besides Munster's fugitives), to relieve the lurking Earl; but although the circumstances of that relation proved to be untrue both in the leaders and number of men, yet that smoke did arise from some fire; for presently hereupon Redmond Burke and Hugh Mostian, with eight hundred Connaught men, and Teg O'Rwrke, John FitzThomas, Donogh MacCormock, and Pierce Lacy, with seven hundred of the North, came through Connaught; Sir John Barkley, governor in the absence of Sir Arthur Savage, being constrained to give way to their greater force. Likewise the Baron of Lixnaw and Teg Rewgh MacMaghon were busy providing galleys to come by sea, and the O'Maylys and O'Flaghertys had a purpose, with six hundred men, whom they had already furnished, to invade Kerry. The President, having received certain intelligence of all these preparations, principally set on foot to dis-

turb his government, first dispatched away one thousand foot, under the command of Captain George Flower, serjeant-major of that province, with direction to march forward in all haste into Connaught, to join with Sir John Barkley, that they might do some good service upon the rebels at their passage over the Shannon, which of necessity they must hazard before they could come into Munster.

The nine and twentieth of March Captain Flower rose out of Limerick, and that night lodged at Quyn in Thomond, had notice that the enemy had advanced into Thomond to spoil the same, having the assistance of Teg, son and heir to Sir Tirloghe O'Brien, who went into action not above three days before. The serjeant-major, discovering their forces, came up close to them, and when he began to fight they began to run, whom, notwithstanding, he so well pursued, with my Lord of Thomond's company, that they slew and hurt divers of them, and, amongst the rest, Walter Burke, son to the Blind Abbot,<sup>1</sup> was slain, and Teg O'Brien (now mentioned) received a mortal wound, whereof within three days after he died. Besides these forces by land the President also made certain provisions by sea for preventing Fitz-Maurice with his O'Maylys and O'Flaghertys from coming into Kerry; upon which occasion there was a tall merchant lately come with apparel for the army into the river of Limerick together with certain small boats, well victualled and manned,

<sup>1</sup> After the voluntary suppression of the MacWilliamship of Mayo the Burkes repined, and elected "the Blind Abbot," who, by the way, was neither an abbot nor blind, to be their new captain. Bingham waged war upon him forthwith, suppressed him, and in the war cut off his right foot. Bingham had a poor opinion of the Blind Abbot; called him "a doting old fool."



commanded to attend about the mouth of the Shannon to do service upon such rebels as should appear upon that coast; all of which being notified in the country, the enemy, finding his purpose frustrated of transporting his army into Kerry that way, retired into a strong fastness in Toughkinalehin, betwixt Clanricard and Thomond; Her Majesty's forces lodging as near them as possible. The President also himself, with all the rest of his forces except the garrisons of Kerry, followed as far as Limerick, as well to give countenance to the other companies that attended the rebels as also to be ready upon the first alarm to intercept or interrupt them if by any device or chance they might escape the forces in Connaught; and because the enemy should be desperate of any help and assured of strong resistance in the province the President took order that all the chiefs of every country should assemble themselves at Galbally, in the county of Limerick, and bring with them the best forces they could of horse and foot, together with victuals for ten days, to attend such directions as they should be commanded by the Lord Barry, who was appointed General of the Provincials. What service they would have done if occasion had offered I know not; but, sure I am, although they did somewhat exceed the time limited before they were assembled, yet at last there were gathered thirteen<sup>1</sup> hundred foot

<sup>1</sup> This was the rising-out of Munster, the legal military service which the lords and gentlemen were bound to yield to the State for war within the province. Observe that all over Ireland the Queen's governors and captains had this militia force at their disposal wherever rebellion did not prevail. Queen Elizabeth not only per-

and one hundred and twenty horse of the county of Cork only, with great alacrity as seemed of doing some acceptable service. In the meantime Sir John Barkley layeth so hardly to the rebels, still keeping within their fastness, that they could not possibly get any prey of the country, but were constrained from the thirtieth of March to the thirteenth of April to feed upon garrans' flesh and such unsavoury meat. Afterwards, being half-starved, and altogether past hope of O'Donnell's coming to their relief with more forces, they stole away in the night and drew into O'Maddin's country. Our men, perceiving their rising, pursued them and held them fighting all night, and in the morning found that we had slain many of them; yet by break of day they had recovered another strong fastness, wherein Sir John Barkley, though often essaying, could not annoy them. After two days, being distressed with like want as before, they were forced to dislodge again in the night. Our forces pursued them at the heels and, coming close up to them, put them to rout and forced them over the Sucke, a deep river, wherein they lost two hundred men with the most part of their munition and baggage. In this service there were lost and hurt of our men one and twenty, but not any of note, except Neville, Sir Gerard Harry's lieutenant, only. The rebels were so terrified in this prosecution that such as escaped the

mitted the Irish to be armed, but compelled them to be armed, and her muster-masters or their deputies went through the country to see that the risings-out of the lords and gentlemen were properly armed, having good swords, not "butchers' knives," and calyvers fit for soldiers to shoot out of, not "birding-pieces." There is a great significance in these facts. When one power enslaves another it disarms the vanquished nation, but the Queen compelled the Irish lords and gentlemen to maintain armed forces.

river sought not to unite themselves again. Teg O'Rwrke<sup>1</sup> retired into his country, Redmond Burke went to O'Donnell, John FitzThomas to Tyrone, and the meaner sort dispersed into sundry places, and Hugh Mostian with his company rested himself in O'Connor Roe's country. In one of the aforesaid skirmishes in O'Shaffnessy's<sup>2</sup> country, upon the seven and twentieth of March, Donogh MacCormock (aforementioned) was slain, being lately enlarged by Tyrone to set a fire in Munster. These affairs thus accomplished with good success, although not fully so good as was both promised and expected, Captain Flower, with his regiment, returned the one and twentieth of April to Limerick.

Ever since the President's first coming into Munster there had been (as formerly you may observe) secret traffic held between the Lord President and Redmond Burke, the pretended Baron of Leitrim. Burke's ends were to have the President to assist him for the recovering of his father's lands against his uncle, the Earl of Clanricard, and the President held him on with good words and messages for two respects: the one for keeping him from joining with the rest of the bownoghs in Munster, the other to procure him (if he might possibly work him to it) to do some signal service upon the rebels. Redmond, still pursuing his desires, when Captain Flower was in Connaught with the Munster forces as aforesaid, writes this letter here inserted to the President, and the answer to it was as followeth:—

<sup>1</sup> Teigue O'Rourke, a famous captain of mercenaries, younger brother of Brian of the Ramparts. There is extant a contract of service between him and O'Donnell and Tyrone, very interesting.

<sup>2</sup> O'Shaughnessy.

## REDMOND BURKE'S LETTER TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

HONOURABLE LORD,—Having heretofore complained to your Lordship of the inestimable wrongs that are offered me, which, seeing your Honour cannot redress here, I would request your Honour (in respect that I specially mean not to disturb any place under your Lordship's or the Earl of Thomond's jurisdiction) not to be a means to stop me from demanding my right, or pursuing it in this sort, seeing by right or law the State pleaseth not to satisfy me; and assure your Honour, if yourself had any power to minister equity betwixt Her Majesty's subjects, the fame of the honourable worth and equity your Lordship doth carry would not only alien me to loathe this kind of life, but also very many unspecified others. And thus requesting your Lordship to draw your forces for the defence of your Lordship's charge, which otherwise might suddenly revolt, if they had any aid by sea or land, as very many they expect; which, if your Lordship wrong me not, I will stop to my best endeavour, I betake your Honour to God. From the camp, the twelfth of April, 1601.

Your Honour's loving friend,

REDMOND LEITRIM.

## THE LORD PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

I have received your letter on the twelfth of this instant, and am glad to find by the same that the life you now lead is odious to you. I do wish that the feeling of your duty may increase in that manner in you that you would make yourself capable of the Queen's mercy, which is far more infinite than your



transgression hitherto hath been ; of which royal disposition of hers, the examples of the offenders in this kingdom are plentiful and apparent. The pretence you make in your continuance in action is the wrongs done unto you by your uncle, and to enable him farther to suppress you utterly you add here to that arch-traitor Tyrone, and forsake your duty to your sovereign, refusing her laws (by which you may be righted) with opinion to be repossessed by the strength of his sword. Your youth may somewhat excuse your error, but, believe me, you shall neither be Baron of Leitrim, nor possess your father's inheritance, by the aid of that perfidious traitor, who I know hath not the power for long to support this rebellion ; and, if he had, yet yourself and all the English race of Irish birth are as odious to him as now we are, that are natural English. If his power were able to make him monarch of Ireland, the Burkes, with all of English descent, must look for no other than assured extirpation. I am sure you are of discretion sufficient to conceive as much as I write, wherefore I need insist no longer upon the same. To be short, if you will follow the way which I do by this messenger prescribe you, you may make yourself capable of the Queen's mercy and find both means and friends to obtain justice. The request you make to me to forbear sending forces to annoy you, and in so doing that you will spare Munster and keep others from harming the province. If I were but an ordinary subject, and not an officer to the Queen, I neither might nor would make any such contrast with you, and therefore much less may I hearken to any such motion, being an officer of that quality as I am ; and do marvel that you would require me to juggle with my prince, whom I wish that you did serve with the

like faith and duty as I do. I do wish that your estate were such that I might show you friendship. If you persevere in rebellion I hold you lost and in a condition with them who have made themselves irreconcilable. What I leave unwritten I refer to this bearer, Limerick, this fourteenth of April, 1601.

Your loving friend when you are  
an obedient subject,

G. C.

This answer of the President's could not be very pleasing to Redmond, for it plainly manifested that his purpose was not to do him any courtesies until he had done something that might deserve his friendship and Her Majesty's grace. Nevertheless it seems that there were some hopes for him to feed upon in the messages sent which he did not write, or else Burke could not have been contained from harming Munster as hitherto he was. To conclude, he fed him with fair language and threats; and sure I am that the President made his advantage by it.

## CHAPTER II.

Intelligence of Spanish invasion—The escape of Teg O'Brien, brother to the Earl of Thomond—Florence's preparations for munition and men—A letter from Tyrone to Florence—A letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord President—The report of Dermond MacAwley touching the coming of Ulster men into Munster.

I MUST desire the reader to excuse me if I do a little break the rule of the progress of this story in looking back some few days, for that which precedeth of the incidents of Captain Flower's service in Connaught did so necessarily depend one after the other that I was forced to continue that relation until this return to Limerick, which made me forbear to speak of Sir Henry Dockwray,<sup>1</sup> who upon the seventh of this instant, April, wrote to the Lord Deputy (as his Lordship advertised the President) that Hugh Boy, who was a man of good estimation and very intimate with O'Donnell, assured him that the Spaniards would this year invade Ireland with six thousand men, and would land in some part of Munster, and that three of the chief towns (which must be Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, for they were the chiefest) had promised to receive them, and that Florence MacCarty, by the

<sup>1</sup> A Queen's commander who had landed in Tirconnall and entrenched himself in Derry. Supported by many powerful lords there hostile to the O'Donnell, he was waging successful war on Hugh Roe. Amongst others was Nial Garf, who brought a third of Tyr-Connall to his assistance.

necessity of the time only, had submitted himself to the President, but upon the Spaniards landing he would assuredly come to them with all the force he could make.

The six-and-twentieth of April, the President leaving at Limerick, and near to it, twelve hundred foot and fifty horse for the guard of those borders, returned towards Cork; and the seven-and-twentieth, the next day following, he heard that Teg O'Brien, brother to the Earl of Thomond, having been a long time prisoner in Limerick, by the corruption of his keeper, made an escape. Immediately he wrote to the President protesting his loyalty to Her Majesty, professing to do service, such as should merit favour; humbly besought him, not desiring any protection, that he might remain with his Lordship. The President granted his request, and withal sent him a protection, which, in another letter to Richard Boyle, the Clerk of the Council, he besought. The reason which moved the President to grant his request was the absence of the Earl of Thomond, then in England, that, during the same, the county of Clare might be freed from bonfires; but now for a time we must leave the President in Cork, and return to Florence MacCarty.

You heard before that Florence had a cutting (as they call it) upon Carberry, towards his charges in the pretended journey for England, but employed all the same, and whatsoever more he could procure, to another end; for about this time he provided a bark, which he freighted with hides, tallow, and such commodities, committing the care and trust thereof to some of Kinsale, by whom the said merchandise should be transported beyond the seas, and, in lieu thereof,



munition and habiliments of war should be returned, and delivered to him in the Harbour of Valentia. Moreover, about the same time, he earnestly solicited aid from the neighbouring provinces, to resist Her Majesty's forces; and for the same purpose wrote a letter in Irish (which was read by James Welsh, by whose relation I received this light) to one in Ormond called Cahir MacShane Glasse O'Mulryan, desiring that he would levy for him six hundred foot in Leinster, which if he could not, then to procure Redmond Burke to come with so many to his aid, and, if he failed likewise therein, to deal with Captain Terrell to the same effect, and he would pay them upon the country of Desmond. Lastly, Donogh MacCormock, called MacDonogh, his agent with Tyrone, laboured so much at his hands, and that so earnestly, that he procured a letter from Tyrone, the contents whereof were as followeth, as translated from the Irish :—

A LETTER FROM TYRONE TO FLORENCE MACCARTY.

Our commendations to you, MacCarty More, I send shortly unto you according to our trust of you, that you will do a stout and hopeful thing against the pagan beast, and thereupon our army is to go into Munster, and, with the will of God, we consent unto you, and will that you believe not any word from us for ever, before we write again unto you; for you shall see trouble enough in England, by Englishmen themselves, so that there shall be easiness of suffering their wars at May next in respect of that it is now. And since this cause of Munster was left to you (next under God), let no weakness or imbecility be found in you, and the time of help is near you, and all the

rest. From Dungannon, the sixth of February, 1601,  
*stilo novo.*

O'NEALE.

The army mentioned in this letter was the same which now you heard of, taking their journey by the way of Connaught, which, as may appear both by the examination of James Welsh and the contents of these letters, were solicited and sent principally by the means, promises and procurement of Florence, he being then and before under protection, the breach whereof he nothing esteemed. But ceasing farther to rake in the filthy channels of his malicious practices, like maladies incurable, lest it should be loathsome to the reader, I will lead him abroad into the open air, to behold the hunting, rousing, and fall of a great stag, which was afterwards sent into England to Her Majesty, and by her received as a most acceptable present, although it was not God's will that she should live to reward the chief ranger.

About the middle of May, the Lord President received a letter from the Lords of the Council in England, which bore date the eight-and-twentieth of April, which, for the reader's better understanding how the affairs of Munster did suit with the directions and Councils in England, I think it meet to be inserted :—

A LETTER FROM THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO THE  
LORD PRESIDENT.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. Although we have before this time acquainted you with Her Majesty's gracious acceptance of your service, because we know you had no

greater object than to deserve Her Majesty's grace and favour ; yet now we will forbear to touch upon it at this time, because Her Majesty gives you notice of it with her own hand, and for the present only let you know what care we have taken to satisfy all your demands for Her Majesty's service, because it may appear unto you, seeing you do orderly and carefully give us an account of your proceedings, that we will in no sort neglect such things as you in your discretion hold fit or necessary. We have therefore first, by Her Majesty's command, sent you a supply of munition, according to your request ; we have likewise given order for victuals in good proportion, although it seemeth to us, by the certificate of the victualler, that you were better stored at your writing than you knew for. We have also given order for oats to be presently sent you ; and because you have so good use of a ship for transporting victuals to and fro, besides the service she may do in mastering those barks and boats which offend the coast, we have sent Captain Harvy with a good ship for that purpose. And now that you may know what letters we have intercepted out of Spain, concerning those brutes which we perceive are spread of Spanish succours, you shall receive the copies of three letters, whereof we have the originals, which were committed to the charge of Peter Strong, of Waterford, whose ship and goods were taken in Falmouth, where they were put in by storm. One of them comes from the Governor of the Groyne, another from a friar that resideth with him, the third from one Sennock, who, as it seemeth, being unwilling to have Tyrone deceived, sheweth him truly how little reason they have to trust to any of the Spanish succours as they expect ;

of these you may make such use as you think good. As concerning your desire to know what shall become of the Lady Ione of Desmond, we think you should do well to set her at liberty again as she was before, referring the care of her well-being to some of her sisters, that may have an eye over her. We do also require you still to see that Her Majesty's forces, being now so much diminished, may not be spent in maintaining private men's castles and houses, but where those places are of use for Her Majesty's service. Lastly, concerning the fine imposed on the Mayor of Limerick, for which we find you had so just occasion, we wish you in no wise to remit it, but rather to bestow it upon the repair of Her Majesty's castle there, which as it seemeth will serve to so good purpose for Her Majesty's service. And so we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 28th of April, 1601.

Your Lordship's very loving friends,

THOMAS EGERTON, C.,	RO. CECILL,
THO. BUCKHURST,	JOH. FORTESCUE,
W. KNOWLES,	I. HERBERT.

The eight-and-twentieth day Dermond MacAwly, who was lately come out of Ulster, and daily conversant with the traitors of Munster, and acquainted with all their proceedings and counsels, by mediation of friends, made his repair to the President, and, being examined whether they intended to come again with new forces into the province, he affirmed that at his departure from them they were ready to come away, and particularized what munition and money every one of them was furnished with by Tyrone, viz.—



The Lord of Lixnaw	{	Calivers . . .	40
		Powder barrels . .	2
		Lead, one sow . .	1
		Match, fathoms . .	120
		Money . . .	£14
John FitzThomas	{	Calivers . . .	25
		Powder barrels . .	1
		Lead, sows . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Match, fathoms . .	
		Money . . .	10 li.
Pierce Lacy	{	Calivers . . .	20
		Powder barrels . .	1
		Lead, sows . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Match, fathoms . .	
		Money . . .	8 li.
Mac Donogh	{	Calivers . . .	25
		Powder barrels . .	1
		Lead, sows . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Match . . .	
		Money . . .	12 li.
Redmond Burke	{	Calivers . . .	150
		Powder barrels . .	10
		Lead, sows . .	5
		Match . . .	
		Money . . .	500 li.
Teg <sup>1</sup> O'Rwrke	{	Calivers . . .	150
		Powder barrels . .	10
		Lead, sows . .	5
		Match . . .	
		Money . . .	500 li.

<sup>1</sup> This name, of frequent recurrence, is spelt *Tadhg* in Irish, latterly Anglicized as Teigue.

From O'Donnell to

Teg Rewgh	{	Calivers . .	12
		Powder barrels .	2
		Lead, sows . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Match, fathoms .	
		Money . .	40 li.

### CHAPTER III.

James FitzThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, taken prisoner—  
James FitzThomas kept prisoner in the Lord President's house  
—His arraignment and condemnation—His relation presented  
to the Lord President—The Lord President's letter to Her  
Majesty—Two letters from James FitzThomas to the King of  
Spain—The causes of the rebellion in Munster as James Fitz-  
Thomas alleged—Hussy's report of the causes of the rebellion in  
Munster.

THERE was no man of account in all Munster whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earl, still lurking secretly within this province, promising very bountiful and liberal rewards to all, or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be got alive or dead ; every man entertained these proffers, a being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought ; but at last it happened after this manner. The Lord Barry, having one hundred men in pay from the Queen, employed them many times about such service as either the President should command or himself thought requisite ; and namely, about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one Dermond O'Dogan,<sup>1</sup> a harper dwelling at Garryduff, used to harbour this arch-rebel, or else upon occasion

<sup>1</sup> O'Duggan.

of some stealth that had been made in his country, the thieves making towards this fastness, his soldiers pursued them into this wood, where, by good fortune, this supposed Earl and two of the Baldons and this Dermond were gathered together, being almost ready to go to supper ; but, having discovered these soldiers, they left their meat and made haste to shift for themselves. They were no sooner gone out of the cabin but the soldiers were come in, and, finding this provision and a mantle which they knew belonged to James FitzThomas, they followed the chase of the stag now roused ; by this time the harper had conveyed the Sугan Earl into the thickest part of the fastness, and himself and his two companions of purpose discovered themselves to the soldiers, and left the wood with the lapwing's policy, that they being busied in pursuit of them, the other might remain secure within that fastness, and so indeed it fell out ; for the soldiers, supposing that James FitzThomas had been of that company, made after them till evening, by which time they had recovered the White Knight's country, whence, being past hope of any further service, they returned to Barry Court and informed the Lord Barry of all these incidents. On the next morning, the Lord Barry, glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom he hated, hasteth to the President, and, relating to him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the arch-traitor had made, and that if the White Knight's people had assisted his soldiers he could not possibly have escaped their hands. Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who, being called before the President, was rebuked with sharp words and bitter reprehensions for the negligence of



his country in so important a business, and was menaced that for so much as he had undertaken for his whole country, therefore he was answerable both with life and lands for any default by them made. The White Knight, receiving these threatenings to heart, humbly entreated the President to suspend his judgment for a few days, vowing upon his soul that if the said Desmond were now in this country as was averred, or should hereafter repair thither, he would give the President a good account of him, alive or dead, otherwise he was content that both his lands and goods should remain at the Queen's mercy ; and with these protestations he departed, and, presently, repairing to Sir George Thornton, he recounted to him the sharp reproofs which he had received from the President. Sir George, finding him thus well nettled, took hold of the occasion and never left urging him to perform the service until he had taken his corporal oath upon a book that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same. As soon as he was returned to his house he made the like moan to some of his faithfullest followers, as he had done to Sir George Thornton ; and to stir up their minds to help him in the peril he stood, he promised him that he could bring him word where James FitzThomas was, he would give him fifty pounds in money, the inheritance of a plough-land to him and his heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedoms. One of his followers, who loved him dearly, compassionating the perplexity he was in, said, " But would you indeed lay hands upon James FitzThomas if you knew where to find him ? " The Knight confirmed it with protestations. " Then follow me," said he, " and I will bring you where he is." The White Knight and he, with six or seven

more (whereof Redmond Burke<sup>1</sup> of Muskery-Quirk was one), presently, upon the nine-and-twentieth of May, took horse and were guided to a cave in the mountain of Slewgart,<sup>2</sup> which had but a narrow mouth, yet deep in the ground, where the caitiff Earl, accompanied only by one of his foster-brothers called Thomas Ophegie, was then lurking. The White Knight called James FitzThomas, requiring him to come out and render himself his prisoner. But contrarywise he, presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coming to the cave's mouth, required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight (for both he and they were his natural followers),<sup>3</sup> but, the wheel of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the cave, and, without resistance disarming him and his foster-brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who carried him to his castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to Sir George Thornton to pray him to send some of the garrison of Kilmallock to take charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captain Francis Slingsby, who, marching with his company to Kilvenny, had the prisoner delivered to him, and thence, with as much expedition as might be, the White Knight,

<sup>1</sup> This was the follower who loved the White Knight dearly. Observe he was not a Geraldine, but a Burke. The immediate entourage and life-guard of a chieftain consisted usually of foreigners. It was held that members of the Clan, inasmuch as they might be affected by the internal feuds and jealousies, would be less reliable. It is laid down in the Brehon laws that the king's guard should consist of strangers or purchased slaves.

<sup>2</sup> Slewgart. I wish some one would search for and discover this historic cave.

<sup>3</sup> There is something noble in this final appearance of the Desmond. The scene would make a fine subject for a historical picture. James FitzThomas, the Sугan Earl, was said to have been the handsomest man of his time.

Sir George Thornton, and Captain Slingsby brought them to the President, then residing at Shandon Castle, adjoining Cork. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his servant it may be doubted, though he had one thousand pounds given him from Her Majesty for the service.

The President, having thus got his long desired prey, not venturing to have him kept in the town, appointed him lodging and a keeper within Shandon Castle, where himself then remained, and there held him in irons until he was sent into England, which was yet deferred, for the President, being informed by the Queen's learned Council that if he should die before his arraignment the Queen could not be interested in his lands, but by Act of Parliament, and also his brother John was not debarred by the law from the title, which this pretender holdeth to be good in the Earldom of Desmond.

When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, James FitzThomas, into Captain Slingsby's custody, he said to him "Now the horse is yours, take care and charge of him." And in conference with Captain Slingsby told him how much it grieved him that the Lord President should suspect him to be a reliever of James FitzThomas, contrary to his protestation of service to Her Majesty and to him; and to make it the better appear what infinite prejudice he had received by his means. For first, at the coming of Tyrone into Munster, James FitzThomas, having some jealousy, and not without cause, that the White Knight would quit the confederacy and humbly seek Her Majesty's gracious favour, acquainted Tyrone with it, who thereupon apprehended him and willed him either to put in his son John as pledge of his perseverance, or else he



must detain him prisoner ; which the White Knight being neither able nor willing to perform, committed him to the custody of Redmond Burke, who carried him out of the country, making him lackey it by his horse's side on foot like a common horse-boy ; and that, in his absence, his country being thus distracted for want of a head, the Earl of Ormond came with some forces preying, burning, and spoiling most part of his country ; and that he was forced to pay unto Redmond Burke two hundred pounds ransom after three months' imprisonment with his ill-usage, concluding that it might well be believed he had small cause to do those favours to James FitzThomas which were suspected, considering he had received those harms and losses from him, who was never able to repair him of the least part thereof. But it may well be conceived that the White Knight had not, until he was so pressed by the President, made any diligent inquiry after him ; and that if he had more timely sought it he might sooner have effected it.

Captain Slingsby, having now the prisoner and the whole house and keys committed to his charge and keeping, setting his guards and sentinels both within the house and without, as was fitting for the guard of so welcome a prisoner, went to where the said James was to be his watch that night, and, judging a man in his case not capable of any favour from Her Majesty, as being the principal cause of all the rebellion of Munster, though otherwise none of the bloodiest enemies, could take no comfort in discourse, was silent by him, not willing to grieve him with discoursing on that which he thought could not be pleasing to him, until James FitzThomas himself first ministered occasion, who, having had some notice what Captain



Slingsby was, after some compliments began in some sort to extenuate, though not to excuse, his former faults to Her Majesty, how he was forced to take that title upon him, otherwise his brother John would not have been so nice in the accepting; and that he never shed any English blood in the first insurrection, nor suffered any to do that he could withhold (though many of his followers did not so piously observe it), but with the best respect of humanity caused them to be sent out of the country to the next coast towns with the least offence that might be; and therefore hoped Her Majesty, who had extended her clemency to far greater crimes (though it was his hard fortune to be so eminent a man in that action), would now retract nothing of her wonted goodness and mercy; intimating withal his father to be elder brother to Gerrot, Earl of Desmond, who by the power of his mother a second wife was disinherited, and her son, though a younger, received and acknowledged for Earl of Desmond. With these and other discourses they spent the whole night until it was day, when they made ready to go to Cork to the Lord President to deliver the prisoner.

Upon these reasons the prisoner, at a sessions holden in Cork for that purpose, was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and adjudged to be executed as a notorious traitor; which being done, the President advertised all the proceedings to England, and desired that he might be sent to the Tower of London, there to remain in prison; humbly praying that his life might be spared, in policy of State; for whilst he lived his brother John could not make any pretext to the Earldom; whereas, on the contrary, he being dead, it was very probable that the rebels would set him up for a new idol in his place; whereof what incon-

veniences might ensue was apparent. These reasons are subject to every man's understanding that hath common sense; and, therefore, no marvel that the Lord President should light upon them. Behold here what the captive Earl himself doth say concerning that point, who, being prisoner in the President's house, having the favour to have paper and ink, upon the third of June, one thousand six hundred and one, wrote this which ensueth; humbly entreating the President to send it to Her Majesty, or to the Lords of her Council in England, which he performed in his next dispatch.

The relation of James of Desmond to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, most humbly beseeching your Honour to certify Her Majesty and the Lords of her most Honourable Council of the same. Hoping, in the Almighty, that Her Highness of her accustomed clemency and mercy, by your intercession, will take most gracious and merciful consideration thereof, to the end that Her Majesty's Realm of Ireland shall be better planted and maintained in good government by his release. The third of June, 1601.

First it may please your Honour to consider that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawn by me, nor my consent; but by my brother John and Pierce Lacy, having the oaths and promises of divers noblemen and gentlemen of this province to maintain the same, and not ever consented unto by me until Sir Thomas Norris left Kilmallock and the Irish forces camped at Rekeloe in Connolough, where they stayed five or six days; the most part of the country combining and adjoining with them, and undertook to hold with my brother John, if I had not come to them. The next sessions (before these proceedings) at Cork, Sir Thomas Norris arrested me in person there for my brother, he being then suspected

by him, and intended to keep me in perpetual prison for him until I made my escape by this, the intent of Sir Thomas Norris being known, the fear and terrification thereof drew me into this action; and had I been assured of my liberty, and not clapped into prison for my brother's offence, I had never entered into this action. Further, I was bordered with most English neighbours, of the gentlemen of this province; I defy any English that can charge me with hindering them, either in body or goods; but as many as ever came in my presence I conveyed them away from time to time.

Also it is to be expected that the Spanish forces are to come into Ireland this summer, and O'Neal will send up the strongest army of northern men into Munster with my brother John, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Pierce Lacy; and when they are footed in Munster the most part of the country will join with them. Preventing this and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life is more beneficial for Her Majesty than my death. For it may please Her Majesty to be gracious to me, I will reclaim my brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Pierce Lacy, if it please Her Majesty to be gracious to them, or else so diligently work against them with Her Majesty's forces and your directions that they shall not be able to make head or stir in Munster at all; for, by the saving of my life, Her Highness will win the hearts in general of all her subjects and people in Ireland, my own service, and continuance of my alliance in dutiful sort, all the days of their lives.

Further, I must humbly beseech your Honour to foresee that there are three others of my sept and race alive; the one is in England, my uncle Garret's



son James, set at liberty by Her Majesty, and in hope to obtain Her Majesty's favour, my brother in Ulster, and my cousin Maurice FitzJohn in Spain, wherewith it may be expected that either of these (if I were gone) by Her Majesty's favour might be brought in credit and restored to the house. It may therefore please Her Majesty to be gracious to me, assuring to God and the world that I will be true and faithful to Her Majesty during life ; by which means Her Majesty's Government may be the better settled ; myself and all others my alliance for ever bound to pray for Her Majesty's life long to continue.<sup>1</sup>

But afterwards, being examined by the President and the Provincial Council, he added some other reasons for taking arms against Her Majesty, which in due place shall be mentioned. In the dispatch which the President made into England upon his apprehension he wrote a letter to Her Majesty, as followeth :—

#### THE LORD PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO HER MAJESTY.

SACRED AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,—To my unspeakable joy, I have received your Majesty's letters signed with your royal hand, and blessed with an extraordinary addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeal in your Majesty's service, which from my cradle (I thank God for it) was engraved in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same ; and wherein my endeavours and poor merits shall appear to be short of

<sup>1</sup> It may have been imagined from his action hitherto that this Sugaun Earl was animated by high national or religious purposes. But nothing can be plainer than that secular, territorial, and personal objects were what he aimed at. We may assume, then, that in all Munster there was not one considerable lord who honestly joined in "the Action."



such inestimable favours, my never-dying prayers for your Majesty's eternal prosperity shall never fail to the last day of life ; but when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy, with my unfortunate destiny—to be deprived of the sight of your Royal person, which my heart with all loyal affection (inferior to none) evermore attends, I live like one lost to himself, and wither out my days in torment of mind, until it shall please your sacred Majesty to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sins, upon the knees of my heart I do humbly beseech your Majesty to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may be, since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdom (for better than a banishment I cannot esteem my fortune, that deprives me from beholding your Majesty's person), although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet to make it appear that I have not been idle (I thank God for it), I have now at length, by means of the White Knight, got into my hands the body of James Fitz-Thomas, that arch-traitor and usurping Earl, whom for a present, with the best conveniency and safety which I may find, I will by some trusty gentleman send to your Majesty, whereby I hope this province is made safe from any present defection. And now that my task is ended, I do in all humility beseech that in your princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me than I can well endure ; for as my faith is undivided, and only professed (as by divine and human laws the same is bound) in vassalage to your Majesty, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore attendant on your sacred person, accounting it a happiness to me to die at your feet, not doubting but

that your Majesty, out of your princely and royal bounty, will enable me by some means or other to sustain the rest of my days in your service ; and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver ; or yet in not using other arguments to move your Majesty thereunto than this, *Assai dimanda qui ben serve e face*. So most humbly beseeching your Majesty's pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthy your divine eyes, do kiss the shadows<sup>1</sup> of your Royal feet. From your Majesty's City of Cork this third of June, 1601.

I may well term him a notorious traitor, because he was, within one year before his apprehension, the most mighty and potent Geraldine that had been of any of the Earls of Desmond, his predecessors. For it is certainly reported that he had eight thousand men well armed under his command at one time, all which he employed against his lawful sovereign ; and secondly, a notorious traitor, because he sought to bring a most infamous slander upon a most virtuous and renowned prince, his Queen and mistress, with his false suggestions to foreign princes ; and notwithstanding that her name was eternized with the shrill-sounding trumpet of triumphant fame for the meekest and mildest prince that ever reigned, yet was he not ashamed, so far as the rancour of malice corrupted his venomous heart to inculcate into the ears of the Pope and Spanish King, that she was more tyrannical than Pharaoh and more blood-thirsty than Nero. But because I may be thought to feign these allegations to aggravate his treasons, I will, therefore, for satisfaction of the readers, set

<sup>1</sup> The sublime of courtiership surely.

down the very words of two of his letters, bearing one date, which he sent to the King of Spain.

A LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

MOST MIGHTY MONARCH,—I humbly salute your Imperial Majesty, giving your Highness to understand of our great misery and violent order wherewith we are of long time oppressed by the English nation. Their government is such as Pharaoh himself never used the like; for they content not themselves with all temporal superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood and perpetual destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity; as also our old Catholic religion, and to swear that the Queen of England is supreme of the Church. I refer the consideration hereof to your Majesty's high judgment; for that Nero in his time was far inferior to that Queen in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, high, mighty potentate, myself, with my followers and retainers, and being also requested by the bishops, prelates, and religious men of my country, have drawn my sword and proclaimed war against them for the recovery, first, of Christ's Catholic religion, and next for the maintenance of my own right, which of long time hath been wrongfully detained from me and my father, who by right succession was lawful heir to the earldom of Desmond; for he was eldest son to James, my grandfather, who was Earl of Desmond; and for that uncle Gerald, being the younger brother,

took part with the wicked proceedings of the Queen of England, to further the unlawful claim of supremacy, usurped the name of Earl of Desmond in my father's true title; yet notwithstanding he had not long enjoyed his name of Earl when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that he, with the most part of those that held of his side, was slain, and his country thereby planted with Englishmen. And now, by the just judgment and providence of God, I have utterly rooted those malapert bows out of the orchard of my country and have profited so much in my proceedings that my dastardly enemies dare not show their faces in any part of my country, but having taken my towns and cities, for their refuge and strength, where they do remain (as yet were prisoners) for want of means to assail them, as cannon and powder which my country doth not yield: having these wants, most noble potentate, I have presumed with all humility to address these my letters to your High Majesty, craving the same of your gracious clemency and goodness to assist me in this godly enterprise with some help of such necessities for the wars as your Majesty shall think requisite; and, after the quiet of my country, satisfaction shall be truly made for the same, and myself in person with all my forces shall be ready to serve your Highness in any country your Majesty shall command me.

And if your Majesty will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of soldiers I will place them in some of my towns and cities, to remain at your gracious disposition till such time as my ability shall make good what your Majesty shall lend me in money and munition; and also your Majesty's high



commission under the broad seal for leading and conducting of these soldiers according to the prescript order and articles of martial discipline, as your Majesty shall appoint me, and as the service of the land shall require. I praise the Almighty God I have done by His goodness more than all my predecessors ; for I have reclaimed all the nobility of this part under the dutiful obedience of Christ's Church and mine own authority, and accordingly have taken pledges and corporal oaths never to swerve from the same ; and would have sent them to your Majesty by this bearer but that the ship was not of sufficiency and strength to carry so noble personages, and will send them whensoever your Highness please. So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the world but your Majesty's assistance, which I daily expect. Thus, most mighty monarch, I humbly take my leave, and do kiss your royal hands, beseeching the Almighty of your Majesty's health and happiness. From my camp the fourteenth day of March, 1599.

Your Majesty's most humble  
at all command,

JAMES DESMOND.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM JAMES FITZTHOMAS TO THE  
KING OF SPAIN.

Your Majesty shall understand that the bearer hereof, Captain Andrew Roche, hath been always in the service of the Queen of England, and hath performed her manifold services at sea, whereby he had great preferment and credit, and being

of late time conversant with Catholics and teachers of divine instructions that were sorry for his lewd life, made known to him the danger wherein his soul was ; so that by their godly persuasions he was at that time reclaimed and subverted to be a good Catholic, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the Church ; since which time of reconciliation he was to repair to your Majesty with his ship and goods, as is well known to your Highness's Council, who confiscated that ship to your Majesty's use ; himself being at that time stricken with extreme sickness that he was not able to proceed in the voyage ; and when his company returned into Ireland they reported that the Lantado wished rather his person than the ship, which made him fearful ever since to repair thither, till he should deserve his freedom by some worthy service to your Majesty.

The heir apparent to the Crown of England had been carried by him to your Highness but that he was betrayed by some of his own men, and thereby was intercepted and himself taken prisoner, where he remained of long, till by the providence of God and the help of good friends he was conveyed into Ireland to me in a small boat ; and leaving these occasions to your Imperial Majesty, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards me, have committed this charge into his hands ; the rather for that I understand your royal fleet is directed for England this year, to the end he may be a leader and conductor to them in the coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole art of navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your Highness to the

Almighty. From my camp the fourteenth of March, 1599.

Your Majesty's most humble  
at all command,

JAMES DESMOND.

Consider, I beseech thee, gentle reader, into what proud arrogancy and audacious insolency this arch-traitor was elevated, like a vapour on a sunshiny day when blind fortune laughed upon him; the Queen a tyrant, the English all cowards, the cities and walled towns all his, and the Munster nobility subdued under his authority; was there ever a rebel so far transported with ambitious presumption beyond the limits of reason? Was it not sufficient for him, like cursed Shimei or black-mouthed railing Rabshakeh, to revile the Lord's anointed, but he must challenge her territories, her cities, her people, and her nobility (whom she and her ancestors had created) to be his own, who had no portion nor inheritance in any part thereof, being the imp of a born bastard. But surely I must persuade myself all this was permitted by the unsearchable sapience of the all-seeing Deity, who, even as He caused proud Lucifer to be thrown from the chair of highest majesty (whereunto he presumed) into the lowest dungeon of dark obscurity, for ever to be tormented, so did he suffer this aspiring Absolom to magnify himself in the height of vain-glory, *ut lapsu graviore ruat*, that being thrown headlong down from the pinnacle of ambition, he might for ever be pointed at as an exemplary mirror for all insolent traitors.

Whilst he remained prisoner in Shandon the

President thought good to send for him oftentimes, before himself and the Council, and there to examine him upon such particulars that they thought most material for the advancement of the present service. And, amongst the rest, they questioned him concerning the original causes and principal motives that induced this late rebellion in Munster; he answered that the foundation principally was religion, then the undertakers encroaching upon gentlemen's lands, the fear of English juries passing upon Irishmen's lines, the taking notice of slight evidence upon such arrangements, the general fear conceived of the safety of their lives by the example of the execution of Redmond FitzGerald and Donogh MacCragh, and the great charge which was yearly exacted for Her Majesty out of every plough-land within the province, called the composition-rent; and because these his pretences do not much vary from the allegations (surmised) by Oliver Hussy, a schoolmaster, a most pernicious member in this traitorous combination, I have thought fit to interpose the same in this place. This Hussy, therefore, examined upon the same interrogatories, answered as followeth:

First, the country was, much against its will, driven to pay composition to the Queen for three years upon certain covenants. These covenants were not observed on Her Majesty's part, nor yet the composition ceased at the determination of the said term. Wherefore they thought the composition would not only be continued, but also augmented from time to time at the pleasure of their superiors till they should be weary of their lands. Many new and extraordinary ways were sought out



in concealments, and such like, to the great discomfort and fear of landlords and freeholders.

The extortions and unlawful dealings of sheriffs and other like officers to rob the countrymen of their goods; for they used to keep many courts for gain and not for justice; they used to bring many writs from Dublin for very small causes; they used to buy old caveling titles, to receive bribes for not going to poor gentlemen's houses, and other like inconveniences.

The continual vexation by processes from the spiritual Court, where by fines and bribes, to save men's consciences, they were greatly grieved, and especially by the High Commission.

The manner of execution of Donogh MacCragh and Redmond FitzGerald and seeking of Thomas Fitz-Maurice's blood greatly discomforted them, fearing that all of their lives were in like danger.

The several examinations of these two, being both deeply engaged in the action, I have therefore inserted in this present relation. First that the world may be satisfied upon what weak pretexts and imaginary conjectures the rebellion was grounded. And therefore the former scandalous suggestions which Hell had devised and the Pope's damned legate had forced against Her Majesty were the more abominable. And, secondly, that those officers that should succeed in governing this kingdom might carefully shun and warily avoid all bribery, corruption, and partiality, that the exclaiming mouths of these discontented people may be altogether shut, or else, opening the same, they may spew out nothing but their own shame. But to proceed.

About the beginning of this month of June the

President received gracious letters from her sacred Majesty, wherein she acknowledged her thankfulness for his services and signified her pleasure to him concerning base moneys, and withal she sent the proclamation and the articles between her and Sir George Cary, knight, treasurer of Ireland, touching the exchange for the alteration of the said moneys, all which do here ensue.

## CHAPTER IV.

A letter from Her Majesty to the Lord President concerning base moneys—A proclamation concerning base moneys—Articles between Her Majesty and the Treasurer of War for Ireland concerning base moneys.

### A LETTER FROM HER MAJESTY TO THE LORD PRESIDENT CONCERNING BASE MONEYS.

Your loving Sovereign,

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; although we have foreborne, when we intended to have made known unto you by some express testimony from ourself, our acceptation of your services, yet we have given particular charge to our Council that they should in our name make you perceive our liking of your proceedings, in such sort as you might not conceive that either the report of them came not to our ears, or that you served a prince not willing to acknowledge the good merits of her servant. But now that cause is ministered unto us to give charge unto you of other matters specially concerning our service, we thought it convenient to encourage you to that which followeth by thanksgiving for that which is past, and by assuring you by our own letters that as you have not deceived our expectation of your

sufficiency, or our trust reposed in your faith, so will not we be wanting on our part to manifest how acceptable these things are unto us whensoever we find them in any one whom we have conferred trust in employment. The matter that now we think meet to acquaint you with is that having found by long experience that the using of sterling moneys in the payment of our army there and for our other services doth bring marvellous inconveniences both to that realm and to this; and that the wisdom of all our progenitors (for the most part) did maintain a difference between the coins of both realms (that in Ireland being ever inferior in goodness to that of this realm); howsoever, by error of late crept in it, hath been otherwise tolerated to the infinite loss of this kingdom, our moneys being out of that realm transported into foreign countries for lack of merchandise, we have thought it reason to revive the ancient course of our progenitors in that matter of moneys, and have caused a coin proper for that our realm of Ireland to be stamped here of such a standard as we find to have been in use for the same, and do now send a great quantity thereof thither by our treasurer at wars to be employed for the payment of our army, and for other uses, and the same do authorize by our proclamation, and decry all other moneys. In the establishing of which course, as we doubt not but our deputy and Council there will, as they are by us commanded, proceed according to such directions as we have given them; so because the province whereof you have charge is a place of most traffic of any other of that kingdom, and therefore in it, it is most likely that merchants at the first show of such an innovation will for private respects be most opposite; we have thought



it fit to give you particular notice of this our purpose, and to require you to use all your authority and your judgment likewise towards our people there, as well of the towns as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them, upon such reasons as are contained in our proclamation, publishing the same, and as you may gather touching the same out of such other matters as have passed from us to our deputy and Council there, or between us and our treasurer for Ireland concerning this matter, whereof we have given order that herewith copies shall be sent unto you by which you will be sufficiently instructed of apparent reasons to lead us to do it, although it be a matter which we need not make gracious with any reason at all, being merely dependent of our prerogative to alter the standard of our moneys at our pleasure. Wherefore, though we nothing doubt of your forwardness to further whatsoever we find reason to command, yet we require you in this thing, as a matter which we would have well founded in the first establishing, to give all attention of it as well by your own actions as by assisting our treasurer and his deputies in uttering these new moneys and bringing in all others according to the course of our exchange, which, by our proclamation, you may perceive that we have instituted to make the matter better accepted of our people. Given under our signet at our Manor of Greenwich this sixteenth day of May, one thousand six hundred and one, in the three-and-fortieth year of our reign.

## CHAPTER V.

A regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaught—Intelligence of the Spaniards coming to Ireland brought to the Lord President sundry ways—James FitzThomas's report of Florence MacCarty—Dermond MacAwly's report of the Council held in Ulster for the Spaniards' landing.

THE affairs of Munster thus digested, the President, according to the Lord Deputy's directions, expedited (with munition and victuals) one thousand foot into Connaught, under the command of Sir Francis Barkley.

The list of the captains and companies was as followeth, viz. :—

	Foot.
Sir Francis Barkley . . .	100
Sir Richard Percy . . .	150
Sir Gerrard Harvy . . .	150
Sir Edward FitzGerald . . .	100
Sir John Dowdall . . .	100
Captain John Bostock . . .	100
Captain George Kingsmill . . .	100
Captain George Blunt . . .	100
Captain William Power . . .	100

Besides fifty horse under the command of Captain Richard Greame; which regiment was sent to give countenance to the service of Ballyshannon, intended

by Sir Henry Docwray, although the President was very loth to spare them at this time, for the rumour of Spanish preparations for Ireland, which had been secretly whispered all this spring, was now strongly conceited and confidently believed by all the Irish; and, moreover, certain advertisement hereof was daily brought to the President from the Irish merchants' factors in Spain, from the priests in Italy to the Irish lords, from the English in France to their private friends, all of them agreeing in one; add hereunto the constant asseverations of James FitzThomas, the titular Earl, then a condemned prisoner, who, after his apprehension and condemnation, being often examined, was still confident of the Spaniards' coming; and, being demanded his cause of knowledge, answered that the Spanish Friar, Don Matheo de Oviedo, whom they call Archbishop of Dublin, did assure him of the King's pleasure therein, and to hasten the same he took his journey from Spain in February last, leaving great store of plate and other riches for a pledge behind him.

And being farther examined concerning Florence MacCarty, he answered that the said Florence did ever by sight (or otherwise) acquaint him with what the President wrote unto him, and did continually swear, protest, and give all outward assurance never to desist in this action, but to persevere therein to the end; and that the Spaniards and rebels of Ulster did build their principal hopes of Munster upon himself and Florence MacCarty; all this was also verified by certain intelligence which the Lord Barry received from Dermond MacAwly lately come from the North, the effect thereof was thus. When the Spanish Archbishop was to return into Spain in February last there

was a Council held in Ulster by Tyrone O'Donnell, the said Bishop, and all the chief traitors of those parts, John of Desmond, Lixnaw, Pierce Lacy, Donogh MacCormock and this Dermond MacAwly, being called thereupon. The chief matter debated in this consultation was, what place of Ireland was the most convenient where the Spanish forces should make their arrival? It was without much difficulty or gainsaying resolved that for all respects Munster was the fittest province to be invaded. Then there remained to consider what place in that province they should first attempt; and concerning this point the Munster men were required to deliver their opinions. Pierce Lacy began and urged certain reasons why he thought it most requisite for them first to gain Limerick and plant there, because the provinces of Connaught and Leinster were near at hand to minister aid to the Spanish army, and Ulster was not far distant, being also the place most remote from England, especially for shipping. All the rest being induced by these reasons to subscribe unto his opinion. Donogh MacCormock stood up and withstood this counsel, saying that MacCarty More (from whose mouth he said he spoke it) upon mature deliberation advised their coming to Cork; for the taking of that place would be of most importance, as well for the countenancing of the action (where the President most resided) as the magazines of victuals and munitions were placed there, and also it being a far better outlet than the river of Limerick, the city weaker and sooner forced; and, lastly, in landing there they should border upon Barry, Roche, Cormock, MacDermond, and MacCarty Reugh; all of whom, for fear of their estates, were partially affected to the English,



and, by that means, either constrain them to join with them in the action, or else to make their country and people a prey to the army. After long disputation the counsel of Florence delivered by Donogh Mac-Cormock was most applauded, and so they concluded to land the Spanish army in the river of Cork.

## CHAPTER VI.

Florence MacCarty is by the Lord President committed to prison—

A brief collection of Florence MacCarty's treasons and practices with the rebels, not touching anything formerly related.

UPON these and many other reasons that shall hereafter be alleged, the President thought that he could not possibly accomplish a service more acceptable to Her Majesty, or profitable for the State, and more available to divert the Spanish preparations, than to commit to prison and safe custody the body of this Florence, which was accordingly effected about the beginning of June, one thousand six hundred and one, a man so pernicious and dangerous to the State, who had sundry ways broken his several protections. Upon his apprehension<sup>1</sup> (which was in Cork) the President took present order that search should be made in the palace (his chief's house in Desmond) and other places of his abode for all such letters and writings as could therein be found, whereby was discovered such a sea of rebellious and traitorous practices that Her Majesty and her Honourable Council, being acquainted therewith, thought good that he should be sent into England with the arch-traitor titular Earl of Desmond, James FitzThomas. The conduct of these

<sup>1</sup> Carew broke his own protection on this occasion, technically at least, though not without apparent justification. This is the last of "ambodexter" Florence. Had this chief played a bold straight game he should have been able to beat Carew without any assistance from any one.

two firebrands of Munster upon the fourteenth of August, 1601, was committed to the charge of Sir Anthony Cooke, who brought them to the Tower of London, where they yet remain. But forasmuch as this Florence hath, since his commitment, insisted upon his justification, complaining of hard measure offered him by Her Majesty and her officers, I am therefore constrained, though much against my will, for the satisfaction of all indifferent men, well-wishers, and confutation of all malicious cavillers, to lay open briefly (as I may) his whole carriage and conversation since his late landing within this kingdom, forbearing to insist upon such points as have already been touched in this relation. Thou mayst be pleased therefore to understand, gentle reader, that the rebels of Munster being grown to such an exceeding strength as you have heard, and amongst these Donnell MacCarty, Florence's base brother-in-law (one of the chief), Her Majesty thought good to diminish their forces with sparing as much blood and expending as little treasure as conveniently might be, and, therefore, knowing that Florence MacCarty was better beloved in the country than Donnell, having made many solemn vows, and taken many voluntary oaths, for his continued loyalty, was dispatched into Ireland in the month of May, 1599; and to the end he might be the more encouraged, and better able to do Her Highness service, it pleased Her Majesty to direct her favourable letters to Robert, Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, authorizing him to give order for letters patents to be made, containing an effectual grant to the said Florence MacCarty, and Ellen his wife, and to the heirs-males of their bodies lawfully begotten, of all the country of Desmond and such other lands

whereof he had any estate of inheritance ; but withal authorizing the said Lord Lieutenant and Council to stay these letters patents in the hamper or deliver them, according as they should see cause, in the proof they should make of the behaviour of the said Florence. Now that you may see in what dutiful manner he requited this trust, in what grateful manner this kindness, and in what religious manner these oaths, I will recite a part of the examination of John Anias, taken before Sir Nicholas Welsh and Justice Comerford, which may explain the same, the thirteenth of October, 1600.

He saith that, in May last, Florence MacCarty sent one Maurice More to him, wishing him to repair to his lodgings at Cork, and that Florence was desirous to be acquainted with him ; whereupon he came to Florence, and, in Florence's chamber, he, the said Florence (none other but they two being present), said that he understood that this examinee was an engineer and one that had skill in devising and erecting fortifications, and that he would willingly employ him in the like. Anias, demanding of Florence what or where he would have his works raised, he answered at Dunkerran, wherein he might upon any occasion of extremity defend himself and James FitzThomas against the English, and also wherein he might give succour to such Spaniards as should come to their aid, etc.

Whereby the indifferent reader may perceive with what prepared hatred and prepensed malice this gallant was effected, even in this first scene of his devilish tragedy ; that there might be no indecorum his subsequent proceedings were in all points correspondent to these timely beginnings ; for, having now left Cork, and got footing in his (supposed) country



of Desmond, he wrote several letters to the gentlemen near adjoining, namely the O'Sulevan, MacFinnin, the two O'Donoghs, and others, to assemble at a time and place appointed to create him MacCarty More; and whosoever he was that refused to come he persecuted as his mortal enemy; and hereof Owen O'Sulevan (eldest son to Sir Owen O'Sulevan, deceased) had woeful experience; for upon his absence from his meeting he caused the bonoghs (which he had now entertained) to prey and rob the said Owen and some of his tenants, taking one John Oge prisoner; and when the said Owen made suit to him for release of the prisoner, he answered that he would keep him as his pledge, to be true to him as MacCarty More, to follow his war and keep his peace. But when he found that this course would not establish and secure to him that dignity and high title after which he so greedily gaped, he solicited Tyrone by frequent letters and importunate messengers to come to Munster, pretending many furtherances that thereby should arise to the Catholic cause, but desiring the same chiefly to his own end, that he might be by him and the Romish clergy saluted MacCarty More; and therefore Tyrone coming into the province about the first day of March, Florence posted with all speed to his camp, and the fourth of the same he combined with him, and was sworn upon a Mass book to be true to Tyrone and prosecute all hostility and cruel war against the English: *ex examinatione* Owen O'Sulevan. And to the intent it may appear that this was no feigned or counterfeit narration of Owen O'Sulevan you shall in part perceive by his own letters written to Donogh Moyle MacCarty upon this occasion. This Donogh, whether grown weary of the wars or for some other

cause I know not, determined to continue himself and his followers in subjection ; and for the same cause had submitted himself to Sir Warham St. Ledger and Sir Henry Power, Commissioners appointed for the government of that province until the coming of Sir George Carew to be President. Florence MacCarty, either to advance the Catholic cause, or else desirous that all his neighbours should run with him to the like excess of riot, joining with Owen MacEggan, a Popish priest and most infamous rebel, and O'Donevan, sent letters to the said Donogh MacCarty as followeth :—

## THE LETTER.

Cousin DONOGH,—We have us commended to yourself and to your brother Florence. I have, I assure you, taken the pains to come hither to Tyrone not so much for any danger of my own as to save the country of Carberry from danger and destruction, which, if it be once destroyed, your living, in my opinion, will grow very scarce. These two gentlemen, your brother O'Donevan and Owen MacEggan, are very careful with me of your good. Therefore if ever you will be ruled by us, or tender the wealth of yourself and your country, we are hereby earnestly to request you to come and meet us to-morrow at Cloudghe ; and so, requesting you not to fail hereof in any wise, to God's keeping I commit you. O'Neal's camp at Iniscare, *Martii* 2, 1599, subscribed.

Your very loving friends,  
FLORENCE MACCARTY,  
OWEN MACEGGAN,  
DONNELL O'DONEVAN.

Tyrone, finding that Florence was not only forward

in his own person but also a fartherer of others, making new proselytes the children of perdition, as well as himself, by the consent of all the Popish Bishops, Friars, and Jesuits, and all the Irish nobility there assembled, created him MacCarty More, using in this creation all the rites and ceremonies accustomed amongst the ancient Irish.

Tyrone, having left the province in the latter end of March, this new MacCarty More did so well remember his vows made to Tyrone (although he quite forgot those that he formerly made to Her Majesty) that in the very next month, namely in April, 1600, he used all his policy, power, and industry to defeat the Queen's forces, under the command of Captain Flower; but because I have formerly touched upon his proceedings therein I will not trouble the reader again with vain tautologies and needless repetitions.

In the month of May immediately following, by the importunate mediation of the Earl of Thomond and John FitzEdmonds, he came to the President at Cork, but he had no sooner left the town than he sent present word to the arch-rebel James FitzThomas as well of his particular proceedings with the President as of all such intelligence (as he could possibly understand) to give impediment to the service, all which may appear by a letter remitted from the said James to him, the true copy whereof here ensueth:—

#### JAMES FITZTHOMAS'S LETTER TO HIM.

MY GOOD LORD AND COUSIN,—Your letters of the eighteenth of May I received the five-and-twentieth of the same, wherein you relate the manner of your proceedings with the President at Cork, and also of his determination towards the west of my country.

I thank God I prevented that which he expected here, for all the good pledges of the country are committed to Castle Mange, for their constant behaviour in this our action. The President with his force is come to Limerick, and intended presently to draw towards Askeiton, where I purpose with my army to resist him. I pray you the better to further the service, and the more to cool the bloody desire of our enemy ; let me entreat you to put into effect the meaning of my last letters, by drawing your forces to join with me here, which, being done, I doubt under God to perform service that shall redound to the general quiet of our country ; and so, referring the due consideration hereof to your Lordship's careful usage, I commit you to the most Mighty. From the camp at Adare this first of June, 1600.

Your very loving Cousin,

JAMES DESMOND.

In the aforesaid month the said Florence sent Teg O'Holloghan<sup>1</sup> and Donogh Offally to Owen O'Sulevan, using many strong motives and forcible persuasions to him that he should join with them in action against Her Majesty, assuring him that all the O'Sulevans would presently show themselves publicly for the Catholic cause if they might perceive that he would partake with them, and afterwards, James FitzThomas after being taken prisoner by Dermond O'Connor towards the latter end of this said month, Florence came in person to his rescue to Castle Lyshin.

Also Owen O'Sulevan, being with Florence MacCarty at the palace, heard him say that he had almost as willingly die as come under the English Govern-

<sup>1</sup> O'Hoolahan.



ment, and persuaded all those he spoke with to be obstinate in action, telling him how long Ireland had been tyrannically governed by Englishmen. All which O'Sulevan aforesaid related to the President, and thereto took his corporal oath the one-and-twentieth of March, 1600.

In July, he, taking upon him regal authority within Desmond as MacCarty More, sent first to Donnell Ferrers to be sheriff of that country, persuading him that it would be very beneficial to him, which the said Donnell refused, answering that he would not take that authority upon him except he could show him a warrant from the President authorizing him to make such election, as he knew the like heretofore granted to the Earl of Clancare in the time of trouble; whereupon he appointed another, named Muriertagh MacTeg, to the same office. *Ex examinatione* Donnell Ferrers.

In August Sir Charles Wilmot first planted his garrisons in Kerry, and how glad this dissembling hypocrite was of his neighbourhood, besides his own manifold letters sent to Sir Charles full of "God damn him" if he were not heartily glad of his good success here, you shall perceive partly by the examination of the said Ferrers, *hæc verba*. When the President in August, 1600, settled garrisons in Kerry, Florence caused the castle of Killorglan, appertaining to Master Jenkin Conway, undertaker, to be burned, fearing lest Sir Charles Wilmot should plant himself there, and when, as the Governor afterwards placed this examinee therein, he sent some of his kerns and took all his prey, threatening to pull them all out by the heels, having no other quarrel against him but only because he repaired the same castle. He also

relieved the Knight of the Valley at his house of the palace ; and after the said Florence was protected by the President he relieved likewise Thomas FitzMaurice the Baron of Lixnaw, and ceased his bonoghs in Desmond ; but more plainly by examination of James Welsh taken the tenth of May, 1601, as followeth :—

When James FitzThomas was in Kerry, in September last, Florence MacCarty persuaded him to remain there, promising him all the aid that he could give him, and being in his departure towards Arlogh he sent Thomas Oge after him, praying him to return and he would bring him to the killing of Sir Charles Wilmot and the garrison of Tralee that was with him, etc.

And when he saw that James FitzThomas would not follow his counsel but would needs go to take Arlogh Mountains for his refuge he wrote a letter in Irish (which the said James Welsh read) directed to Cahir MacShane Glasse O'Mulryan in Ormond, desiring him to levy for him in those parts six hundred foot, which if he could not do, then to procure Redmond Burke to get so many for him ; and, if he failed, then to deal with Captain Tirrell, and that he would pay them upon Desmond. About this time also he sent a traitorous message to the White Knight by his daughter, MacDonogh's wife, together with a cunning letter written in Irish and translated as followeth :—

#### A LETTER FROM FLORENCE TO THE WHITE KNIGHT.

Damnation, I cannot but commend me heartily to you, as bad as thou art, and do also most heartily commend me to your wife and to your two sons. I would be very glad to speak with you for your good ;

and because I cannot speak with you myself, yet I would have you in anywise credit your daughter Mistress MacDonogh concerning me, and to believe from me whom she sends or what she sends you word of by a trusty messenger. I would have you to determine about Pierce Oge, and that I may speak with you, I mean about Gortnetoberd, of Tullylease, send word to Pierce and Dermond of the day with him, and send me word, and I will come without fail. In the meantime I leave you to God. Palace, this seven-and-twentieth of August, 1600.

Your assured loving friend,

FLORENCE MACCARTY.

This letter was delivered and expounded to the President by the White Knight. Pierce Oge, before mentioned, was Pierce Lacy; the message which he sent by MacDonogh's wife was to reprove him for his submission to the Queen and to incite him to enter again into rebellion, and if he would not be advised by him, and himself not able to maintain the action, that he proposed to agree with Donnell MacCarty, his brother-in-law, and to leave the country of Desmond and the followers in his hands, and to embark for Spain to procure and hasten the long-expected aid. In October, after many and infinite dilatory excuses and protracted delays, he submitted himself to the President, putting in such pledges as before you have heard, and received a protection for ten days, before the expiration whereof, he earnestly laboured Cormock MacDermond about the marriage betwixt the arch-rebel James FitzThomas and his sister, promising to the said Cormock all the lands that he had in Carberry, and undertaking that the said Earl should

farther give to him such portions of lands as should be to his own content, so that he would consent to this marriage and join in this wicked combination.

The next month divers means were made to Thomas Oge, Constable of Castle Mange, by the Governor of Kerry and the young Earl of Desmond (lately come out of England) about the delivery of that castle to Her Majesty's use. Florence, receiving notice hereof, made many journeys to the said Thomas Oge, urging him with forcible persuasions not to relinquish the said castle to the English, promising that he would undertake upon his own charge and peril to see him furnished with victuals and all other necessaries from time to time whereof he should stand in need; and when he perceived an inclination in the said Thomas Oge, notwithstanding his persuasions, to yield the castle, he essayed, by a crafty wile, to have conveyed away the two sons of Pierce Lacy, who were held as pledges for James FitzThomas within that castle; but the plot being frustrated (by mere accident) the children and castle were within a short time after delivered to the State.

When Sir Charles Wilmot came into Kerry with Her Majesty's forces, Florence MacCarty (as Thomas Oge upon his examination confessed) entreated James FitzThomas to make the war there, whereto he assented. But James could not persuade the bonoghs to it. Also after that Dermond O'Connor had enterprised the taking of James FitzThomas, he then promised him to enter into open action of rebellion, and to that end he solicited Dermond MacOwen, MacAwley, O'Keefe, MacFinnin, Owen MacTeg Carty, and others. And when Tyrone was in Munster, Florence decided him to make it known to the King



of Spain that he would serve him faithfully ; for the assurance whereof the said Florence wrote a letter to the King and gave it to Tyrone to be sent into Spain ; and also took his corporal oath to perform his promises ; whereupon Tyrone stiled and confirmed him MacCarty More. He also told the said Thomas Oge that if the Spaniards did not land by May next he would go into the North, and thence into Spain. And after James FitzThomas was broken he told this examinant that if James could get forces out of Ulster the said Florence would join with him. Further, Florence enticed Cormock MacDermond to enter into rebellion and marry his sister to James FitzThomas, who should give to him Kerry, whereby his eldest son should marry Cormock's daughter, and Cormock's eldest son to marry his daughter, who in marriage with her would give Carrignesse with twelve plough lands ; which marriage he proposed for their firmer union in their rebellious enterprise ; and that he had laden a bark with Irish commodities to be sent beyond the seas, which should return him munition, etc. Many other treasonable actions and traitorous speeches acted and spoken by the said Florence the same Thomas Oge related to the Lord President, which for brevity's sake I have omitted, which was taken at Moyallo by the President in January, 1600.

The President, not holding himself sufficiently assured of Florence with his two pledges, his base brother and kinsman, still importuned the bringing of his eldest son, according to his promise upon his first protection ; he, having no pretext for his longer stay, sent to Owen MacTeg Mergagh in Desmond to carry his said son to Cork, there to be left as a pledge for him. Within a few days after this message was sent,

Florence, receiving advertisement from Tyrone of certain Spaniards landed in the north, and hearing continual rumours of northern forces to infest the province, dispatched a messenger to the said Owen MacTeg Mergagh to make stay of his son for a longer time, viz., until he might perceive what would be the issue of those preparations ; but before the messenger could come, the said Owen was with the child upon his way, and come to Cork before the said messenger overtook him, but had not as yet delivered the child out of his own custody ; wherefore, receiving this countermand, he secretly conveyed the child out of the city, and returned with him again to Desmond, where he was kept as before, until Florence had seen that neither Irish nor Spaniards appeared to his aid, succour, and comfort.

In the month following, namely, in January, he sent divers letters to Tyrone and other of his fellow traitors in the north, and from them received several answers, whereof some part chanced to come to our hands, which we will here insert ; and first there doth offer itself one letter written by Donogh MacCormock to the King of Spain, in the name of Florence MacCarty, the tenor whereof was as followeth :—

A LETTER FROM DONOGH MACCORMOCK IN THE NAME  
OF FLORENCE TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Having received direction from the Earl of Clan-Care, I would not omit this opportunity, at the departure of the Archbishop of Dublin, and Don Martin de La Cerda, to make known to your Majesty, how the said Earl hath written to your Majesty by two or three ways ; but, understanding that these

letters came not to your royal hands, he hath now again written by me to your Majesty, making offer as well of his person and lands as of his vassals and subjects to your royal service; humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive favour and aid him with your power and liberal hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against these heretics in this holy enterprise. From Donegal the fifth of January, 1601.

Your Majesty's loyal vassal to kiss  
your royal hands,  
DONOGH CARTY.

This letter, as it should seem, was originally written, and the copy sent to Florence, by one Thomas Shelton, who wrote herewith other letters to him of his own as followeth :—

A LETTER FROM SHELTON TO FLORENCE MACCARTY.

MY HONOURABLE LORD,—By direction of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and at the request of Mac-Donogh (your agent here), I did write a letter addressed to the King of Spain, subscribed by him, in which was signified how, by your direction, he had made offer of your service to His Majesty; the copy of which letter goeth here enclosed. What the news and hopes of Spain are, the bearer will fully inform you. This only rests: that is, I have ever desired to serve your Lordship, so, finding now the opportunity of this bearer, I would not omit so fit an occasion to kiss your honourable hands and signify that respect I have ever borne towards you. God preserve and assist you in all your designs, that we may live to see accom-

plished by you these things whereof your noble beginnings give an assured hope. Donegal, January the sixth, sub.

Your most affectionate friend,  
THOMAS SHELTON.

He received also at the same time other letters in Spanish (thus Englished) from the said Archbishop, subscribed, To the most Excellent Earl, Florence Mac-Carty.

A LETTER FROM THE SPANISH ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN  
TO FLORENCE MACCARTY.

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD,—God is my witness that after my arrival in Ireland, having knowledge of your Lordship's valour and learning, I had an extreme desire to see, communicate, and confer with so principal a personage; but the danger of the way would not permit me. I am now departing into Spain, with grief that I have not visited those parts; but I hope shortly to return into this kingdom, and into those parts, to your satisfaction; and be assured that I will perform with His Majesty the office that a brother ought to do that he should send from Spain. Because by letter I cannot speak any more, I leave the rest until sight. The Lord have your Lordship in His keeping according to my desire. From Donegal the sixteenth of January, 1601.

YO MATEO ARCOBISPO DE DUBLIN.

After all this, namely in February next following, the said false-hearted Florence wrote certain letters to O'Donnell, the contents whereof may be gathered by the answer that the said O'Donnell remitted in



Irish thereto, and therefore I have thought good to remember the same (translated) in this place :—

O'DONNELL'S ANSWER.

Our commendations to you, MacCarty : We have received the letter you sent the fourteenth of October, and we swear, by our word, that you are no less grieved for that you see us not than we ourselves, and it was not more your mind to have aid, than ours to send unto you if we could, for the great trouble it would be to ourselves, to intend you ; and by your hand, there were not many in Ireland more of the mind than mine own person to have gone to visit you, had not the strangers neighboured upon my country, and (as you know) my country lying on the sea, and they having the secrecy thereof to do their endeavours, to conquer what they may upon the same, which they would not do upon a country not lying upon the sea. You shall receive what news of Spaniards came to these parts by John FitzThomas and Donogh MacCormock, and whatsoever they brought with them we impart with you, and do provide for the same, men to send unto you if they may be had. Our commendations to Patrick Condon, and to the rest of our friends in those parts.

Your very assured friend,

HUGH O'DONNELL.

The Earl of Thomond, at the request of the Lord President, sent a priest, called Teg MacGillipatrick, as a spy into Ulster, to learn what news he could get among the rebels there. He returned the one-and-twentieth of February, 1600, and came to the Lord President, at Moyallo, reporting that, at his being

at Donegal in the Christmas holidays, Tyrone, O'Donnell, and most of the Northern captains being there present, made a new combination to continue the rebellion; at which assembly the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin was present, then ready to depart for Spain, with sixteen Irish priests in his company. For the better assurance of their confederacy, the Sacrament was solemnly received by them all. At the same time, Teg MacGillpatrick (the priest aforesaid) saw a letter of Florence MacCarty's, lately sent to Tyrone by a messenger of his own, which he heard read openly, the contents whereof were, that he protested he was not fallen from them, but had made a peace with the Lord President of Munster until May next, and that then he was at liberty.

One Dermond MacCarty, a kinsman and dependent upon Florence, and by him (as is supposed) sent into Spain, where he continued his intelligencer many years, and by the Spaniards called Don Dermutio Carty, wrote a letter to his master Florence, dated at the Groyne, the ninth of March, 1600. A long letter in Spanish, the material points whereof are thus abstracted and Englished:—

That he was glad to hear that his Lordship, upon the fifteenth of December last, was landed at Cork, after his eleven years' restraint in England, whereof three of them in the Tower of London; that his imprisonment was not for marrying the Earl of Clan-Care's daughter without leave, as was pretended, but upon suspicion which the State had of his loyalty, which he understood by letters written from the Lord Deputy and Treasurer of Ireland to the Queen (which were intercepted and brought into Spain), wherein

it was suggested that he, having so many kinsmen, friends, and followers, and himself (who was known to bear affection to Spaniards) it were fit he were betrayed ; and that this only was the cause of his eleven years' restraint. Wherefore he advised him not to put any confidence in the English, for if they once again lay hold upon him they would never enlarge him.

He advised him to certify His Majesty how much he was his servant, what towns and places he could put into his hands, what number of men of war he could serve him withal ; and if he could surprise Cork he should be well supplied by the King of Spain.

That he might send his letters (written to the King) to Don Diego Brochero (who is a great favourer of the Irish nation, and in great credit with the King), by which means they would be safely delivered, as also his letters to him for the solicitation of his business. That within three days he might send him answer from the Groyne, which he could not do to O'Neal and O'Donnell, who were so far off in the north of the kingdom, and advised him to write to them that they in like manner should direct their letters to Don Diego Brochero ; but if he would not write to him he would advise with Don Diego, and repair himself unto him into Ireland.

Lastly, he hoped that the King of Spain would the next spring send an army into Ireland.

It would be too tedious to set down at large all the manifest proofs of Florence's juggling treasons ; wherefore I will, for brevity's sake, relate but a few more abstracts of letters and examinations which here ensue.

The thirteenth of May, 1600, Florence received letters from Tyrone, wherein he prayeth him that he would constantly persevere in the Catholic cause, as he had promised; that aid should come unto him from the north by Lammas next; that he had written in his favour to the King of Spain, commended his service, and prayed the King to give him assistance.

Tyrone wrote to both the O'Sulevans, requiring them to give obedience to Florence; for he had complained of them—Tyrone threatening the said O'Sulevans<sup>1</sup> that if they did not obey him, as they ought, he would with his forces come into Munster to destroy them: dated the thirtieth of October, 1599.

Tyrone to Florence, dated the seventeenth of April, 1600, that, according to the trust and confidence he had in him, and his confederates in Munster, they should fight valiantly against the English, whereto they were bound in conscience and for their country's good.

Another from Tyrone to Florence MacCarty, dated the second of May, 1600, wherein he signifieth to him the arrival of the Pope's Archbishop of Dublin, and of present aids from Spain; he thanked God that the Earl of Ormond is taken; he incited him to entertain as many bonoghs as he can against their enemies; that he hath acquainted the King of Spain of his service, unto whom he hath sent his son Henry O'Neal, and that he would shortly send him aid.

Garret Liston, of Skehanaghe, in the county of

<sup>1</sup> And the O'Sullivan had the fate of the Lord Barry before their eyes.



Limerick, gentleman, being examined upon oath said that Florence MacCarty met with James Fitz Thomas at Belaghafenan, two miles from Castle Mayne, where James challenged him for not coming to him with his forces to fight with the Lord President as he had promised, whom, after he had with smooth language pacified, he protested solemnly, and took his oath in the presence of James FitzThomas, MacAwlif, Thomas Oge, Muriertagh MacShihy, John Klicke and this examinee, that he would continue with James FitzThomas in this action. And although James should give over the rebellion, which he termed a just war, yet he himself would keep life in it so long as he could get any to follow him, etc. This examination was taken by the Lord President the twentieth of August, 1600.

Another from O'Neal to Florence dated the sixth of February, 1600, wherein he exhorteth him to serve valiantly against the Pagan beast; that before he wrote to him again he should see trouble enough in England itself; and that year, May ensuing, the wars of Ireland would be easy; and for that the cause of Munster was left to him, he wished that no imbecility should be found in him, and that the time of help was near.

Florence MacCarty's wife told Sir Charles Wilmot that her husband's heart was malicious to the State and that he would never come in but upon necessity, and that all he did intend or make show of to the President was but to gain time.

Shily, wife to O'Sulevan More, and sister to Florence MacCarty, in September, 1600, speaking with the Lord President, exclaimed upon her brother as the cause of her husband's imprisonment with the

rebels, and praying his advice and help for his enlargement. He told her there was no way to obtain his liberty but to give his oath and promise to enter into action of rebellion, and persuaded her to give him that advice.

Thomas Oge, being examined, said that Florence MacCarty told him, upon the delivery of his first pledge, that if all the children living were in Her Majesty's hands for his loyalty, or any other follower, he would lose no opportunity, if Tyrone were able to assist his enterprise with any sufficient forces, or if Spaniards did land.

James FitzThomas, upon the eighteenth of June, 1601, being examined by the Lord President, said that Florence MacCarty ever acquainted him with all that passed between him and the President, and continually swore and protested that he would persevere in the action to the end; and that the principal hopes of the Spaniards and Ulster rebels were built upon the help and succour of himself and Florence MacCarty. And to what purposes he employed himself in the times immediately following, until the time of his imprisonment, may be gathered as well by that which hath heretofore been delivered as by the examination of one Gillernow O'Kelly, a Connaught man, taken by Sir Francis Barkley, who, being deposed, said that Florence MacCarty sent his letter and promise to Tyrone to give bonogh to Redmond Burke and six hundred men upon Desmond and Carberry, and himself, with one thousand more of his own, would meet the said Redmond Burke in Arlogh; and at the same time he saw four-and-twenty letters written by Tyrone, directed to Florence and the traitors in Munster.

You have already perceived that this cunning hypocritical traitor hath written letters to the arch-traitors James FitzThomas, Tyrone, and O'Donnell; and besides hath sent, or at least procured letters to be sent, to the King of Spain, moving and entreating him to invade Her Majesty's kingdom? And now for a perclose of all you shall behold (*Ne quid desit ad summam impudentiam*), that he might equal, if not exceed, the most impudent and barbarous traitor, his letters sent to his holy Father the Pope, the contents whereof are as followeth:—

[For the text of the letter see Appendix.—ED.]

I will not trouble the intelligent reader with any long commentary upon this plain text; but will only demand one question, whether that man who shall suggest that Her Majesty's subjects are in worse case than the Christians under the Turks, that her Majesty's government is more tyrannical than that of the Egyptian Pharaoh, that shall prefer a supplication to the Court of Rome to have his anointed prince excommunicated as a heretic and disposed as a usurper—whether this man may be adjudged to carry a loyal heart to that prince, or deemed worthy to live in that commonwealth. For my own part I cannot suppose his leprosy like that of Naaman, which may be cleansed with washing seven times in Jordan, but like that of Gehazi, which will stick to him and his posterity for ever, and that he may ingeniously confess with ever-cursed Cain, *Peccata mea majora sunt quam condonari queant*—my sins are greater than can be forgiven. But fearing lest this digression will be as tedious to thee in reading as it hath been unpleasant to me in writing, I will now proceed in my purposed relation.

## CHAPTER VII.

Dermond MacOwen, Teg MacDermond, and Moyle Mo O'Maghon arrested—Dermond MacOwen's answer to the Lord President—The services which the Munster Regiment performed in Connaught under the conduct of Sir Francis Barkley.

THE Lord President, notwithstanding all these intelligences of Spanish succours, had conceived a good hope that so soon as the present state of the province should be known in Spain, namely, that the chieftains were apprehended and the rest generally appeased, it would be a good means to divert the intended preparations; and yet farther to secure the provincials, so far as the wit of man could devise, he called a general sessions of gaol delivery in Cork, to be holden about the eight-and-twentieth of July, whither all the freeholders in that country were to make their repair, where he intended to lay hold of all such persons as had been most pernicious in the former wars and were likely to prove most dangerous in aftertimes. These were principally four, Dermond MacOwen Carty, alias MacDonogh, who was a partaker in the petition to the Pope's sanctity; another, Teg MacDermond Carty, brother to Cormock, Lord of Muskerry; the third, Moyle Mo O'Maghon, chief of that sept of the O'Maghons in Kinalmekeghe; and the fourth and last was Dermond Moyle MacCarty, brother to Florence MacCarty, so



much spoken of. The three former, making their appearance at the sessions, were apprehended and committed prisoners to the gentleman porter; the fourth, knowing himself guilty of many treacherous practices plotted by his brother Florence, durst not venture within the city walls, but kept aloof in Carberry till he heard how the others sped, and then conveyed himself into the North amongst his fellow rebels.<sup>1</sup>

I may not here omit to relate to you a passage which passed between Dermond MacOwen aforesaid (the first of the aforementioned) and the Lord President. When Dermond was first taken in upon protection he swore and protested that he would remain a good subject. "But," said the President, "what if the Spaniards invade Ireland, what would you do then?" "Your Lordship puts me," said he, "to a hard question; for if that should happen, let not then your Lordship trust me or the Lords Barry and Roche or any other whatsoever that you have best conceit of, for if you do you will be deceived." This was plain dealing, and in divers it proved true, as hereafter you shall hear.

Upon the determination of these sessions aforesaid, namely, in the beginning of August, the President dispatched his letters to the Lord Deputy and the Council at Dublin signifying the restraint of these men and the reasons inducing him thereto; for they all, being men of turbulent spirits, discontented minds, and ill-affected to the English government, could not but prove very dangerous to the state in these doubtful times, foreign invasions being daily expected;

<sup>1</sup> Returned next year with the Northern Lords.

and, although they had lately submitted themselves, yet it was sufficiently made known to him, as well by the confession of the condemned titular Earl as from others of good credit, that it proceeded not from any loyal or dutiful disposition, but by the necessity of the time being constrained, and by the Popish priests, being licensed, they were content for a time to live in subjection, being no longer able to hold out in rebellion. But notwithstanding, he determined to proceed, either in the retaining or releasing of them, as he should be directed by their graver wisdom. The Lord Deputy and Council approved his proceedings, referring the further pursuit of these affairs, together with all other matters within his government, to his own discretion.

You have formerly heard how Sir Francis Barkley was sent with a regiment into Connaught; and although I confine myself to speak chiefly of the services of Munster, yet this regiment, being still upon the list of Munster, I do not think that I shall err in setting down any deed of note which it performed. The ninth of August, Sir Francis, with his troops, lodged at Alphine,<sup>1</sup> in the County of Roscommon. The morning following, it being dark and misty, O'Donnell, O'Rwrke, Tirrell, and the traitorous confederates, being fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, quartering not far from us, presented themselves close to our camp. Sir Francis Barkley, finding that his store of ammunition was but weak, resolved not to fight; but the enemy, growing bold upon our slackness, pressed so boldly upon us that we were forced to draw out. For two hours

<sup>1</sup> Elphin.

there was a hot skirmish, wherein our men served exceedingly well, forcing them to retire to their quarters. Of our side there was lost a gentleman of Captain Kingsmill's company, and four-and-twenty were hurt. Of the enemy as many as eighty were slain and hurt.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Six thousand men demanded by the Lord President to be sent into Munster to withstand the intended invasion of Spain—The Lord President's opinion sent to the Lords of the Council of the likeliest place where the Spaniards would attempt to land their forces in Ireland—The effect of the Lords of the Council's answer to the Lord President—A branch of the Lord President's letter to Master Secretary Cecil—A letter from Master Secretary Cecil to the Lord President—The intelligence had of the Spanish fleet coming to Ireland, and by him sent to the Lord President—A branch of Master Secretary Cecil's letter to the Lord President.

THE Lord President from time to time certified as well the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council in England as the Lord Deputy and Council at Dublin of all such intelligences that he received, and probabilities that he conceived, of the Spanish preparations; yet it was long before he could induce them to conceive any such thing. But now, at last, even as a vehement and violent tempest sometimes resoundeth in the air for a good space before it falleth, and the nearer it approacheth the more palpably and sensibly is perceived, such was this tempestuous storm of the Spaniards' intended invasion, which was now so universally sounded from all places that it was generally expected both in England and Ireland; and for this cause the President earnestly solicited the Council of England that six thousand men might be



levied for this service; whereof two thousand to be sent presently to Waterford, and the rest to be in readiness, at an hour's warning, to make speedy repair to the sea-coast upon the first notice of this invasion.

The President also thought fit to deliver his opinion to the Lords of the Council as to what places within the province were most likely for the Spaniards to attempt and most necessary for Her Majesty both in policy and in honour to defend; for to prevent their descent on any place where themselves thought meet was by him deemed impossible. But it was to be presumed that they would attempt such a place as should be honourable for them to gain and disadvantageous for Her Majesty to lose; and therefore he thought that their descent would most likely be at Limerick, Waterford or Cork. As for the other towns, they were neither worth their labour to win nor Her Majesty's charges to defend. Limerick was far seated within the land, neither could they disembark thence without an easterly wind, which, being rare, it was not likely that they would hazard their fleet upon such disadvantage. Waterford, though weak and commodious for them, was so near to England, and especially lying so conveniently for Her Majesty's forces within that kingdom, the Deputy on the one side, and the President on the other, being so near at hand, that it was not likely that they would land there. Cork, therefore, he supposed to be most convenient for them to assail, and most necessary for Her Majesty to defend, for these reasons. First, because those that had been the greatest dealers about this invasion in Spain,

namely one Dermond MacCarty, a near kinsman to Florence, called by the Spaniards Don Durmutio, advised (as aforesaid) Florence by letters, which were intercepted, to surprise Cork; secondly, the said Florence advised the Spanish Archbishop, by his agent Donogh MacCormock, as you have heard, that Cork was the fittest place for this design; whereunto Tyrone and all the northern rebels subscribed. Lastly, Her Majesty's magazines of victuals, munition and treasure, being there in great quantities, could not without infinite trouble and great danger be removed; besides if they should be removed, either to Limerick or Waterford, neither of those was altogether secure, yet it would give an apparent testimony of fear conceived of their coming which would not only amaze the best affected subjects through the province, but give occasion to the rest generally to revolt. For these reasons the President thought fit to assemble all the forces within the province (which were then but 1300 foot and 200 horse in list) at Cork or the places near adjoining, for the manning and making good of that city, which in itself, by its natural situation, was very weak and of small defence.

The Lords, by his letters understanding his resolution, by their letters dated the twentieth of July (which he received in August following) wrote to him to this effect, that they would presently send to him 2000 foot for his supply; that they would not direct him what he should do if the Spaniards landed, leaving it to his own judgment, as occasion should be offered; saying, further, that where by his own letters they

perceived (whereunto all men's judgment did agree with him) that Cork was a weak town, and not tenable against a powerful enemy, they thought fit to give him this general rule, that in case he should see such forces arrive, applying themselves to a place of weak defence, which in his judgment must in the end be carried, that nothing can be more pernicious to Her Majesty's cause, and therefore he should not do well to venture his small forces where they, with Her Majesty's provisions, were sure to be lost, howsoever he might peradventure think to dispute it for some few days. But the President, to make good his resolution, answered their Lordships, and maintaining the same (as by his letters of the sixth of August may appear), wherewith the Lords rested satisfied, and left him to his own judgment, wherein it seems he did not err, for their intention of landing at Cork proved true (as hereafter shall appear), whereof, for farther testimony of the same all the letters which were sent from Spain to Don Juan de Aquila, after his landing in Ireland, were directed to Cork, which is an evident argument that Cork was their design, and that in Spain it was conceived that Don Juan was possessed of it; and also at the same time he wrote to Mr. Secretary Cecil upon the same subject, his very words being as follows :—"The resolution I held, I still hold, which is to defend and keep Cork; the reasons, in my letters to the Lords, I have at large discoursed; if Her Majesty shall relinquish any of her walled cities, as I am advised to do, all will be lost and a general revolt will ensue, wherefore it were better to put something in hazard

than apparently to lose all. The town I know to be infinitely weak, but many hands are a strong defence, and when the 2000 aids shall come the enemy shall find it a tough piece of work to gain it. As to removing the Queen's magazines of victuals, munition, and treasure, as some advise, into the country, I know no place capable of it, nor yet is there any means of carriage, especially in this harvest time, to convey it away between this and Michaelmas, and to send it by sea must be either to Waterford or Limerick, which, as far as I know, may prove no less dangerous than at Cork, no man certainly knowing where the enemy will make his descent. But if the worst should happen, that the town must be lost, the treasure, at least, shall be saved, and the rest the enemy shall never enjoy. The razing of Shandon is to no purpose, for every hill and ditch near the town commands the city no less than it; the defences of earth, which by my directions are in making, are only made to win time; and I have so provided that the charge of the workmen is borne by the town and country, the Queen's expenses being no more than the use of her shovels, spades, pickaxes, and wheelbarrows, etc."

Now we may see how true a prophet the President was, that the Spaniards would invade Ireland; but, like Cassandra, until this time could never be believed, which proceeded out of the defects which both the Lords in England and the Lord Deputy of Ireland had of good intelligence whereof the President was better stored than either of them. Of the undoubted likelihood of their coming



Sir Robert Cecil, Her Majesty's secretary, wrote to the President as follows:—

A LETTER FROM MASTER SECRETARY CECIL TO THE  
LORD PRESIDENT.

SIR GEORGE CAREW,—On Wednesday last certain pinnaces of Her Majesty's met with a fleet of Spaniards, to the number of fifty sail, whereof seventeen are men-of-war, the rest being transport-ships, as by this note enclosed doth appear, which my intelligencer sent me at their going out. These ships cannot be but for Ireland, from which coast the storm kept them, unless it should be said that the king will land them in the Low Countries, which I will never believe he durst venture, knowing how long we have expected them, and have fourteen good ships out, which, if you compare with the note enclosed of his, you shall find that we might be ashamed to suffer his fleet to land so quietly, and our fleet in the tail of them; but what is more certain to confirm my opinion ever for Ireland, this proportion is fit for Ireland; there it may work mischief; and, besides, those who met them saw them set their course from the mouth of the sleeve, where they were on Wednesday, straight for Ireland, and, as I verily think, they will fall for Limerick; for in Spain it was advertised me that their rendezvous was for the Blaskys,<sup>1</sup> which, you know, are on that coast about the Dingle or the Ventry. Lastly, if they had meant to have come hither they would have been here before this time, being on Wednesday at Scilly, and the wind having been south-west since, fair. If, therefore, they be not in Ireland, they are certainly put about

<sup>1</sup> The Blaskets.

to Spain again ; but that I dare not hope. Now, sir, what my Lord Deputy and you shall do there, is not our parts to tell you, only we desire you to propound us possible things and then shall you have them. Two thousand we have sent already into Munster—at least the want of wind hinders them in the embarking ports. If we know once where they are landed, then must you also tell us where you will have us second you ; for if you look for our supplies to come to you in the west side of Munster or south parts, then can we put them by sea more properly and land nearer the parts of Accon than to send them to Dublin or to Cork ; but all this to you must be referred, to whom I wish as great happiness as I wish to my own heart. And so I end from the Court of Windsor this twelfth of August, 1601.

Your loving and assured friend,

ROBERT CECIL.

FROM LISBON THE FIVE-AND-TWENTIETH OF JULY, 1601.

Here, at Lisbon, there are about two hundred sail of ships, out of which number five-and-forty only are selected for transportation of soldiers.

The number of soldiers is six thousand, whereof three thousand are here kept aboard the ships lest they should run away ; the other three thousand are coming from Andalusia and those parts in a fleet of ships and galleys, under the conduct of the Adelan-tado's son to Lisbon.

The ships which carry the soldiers are of the burthen of one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and not above two hundred tons. The Spaniards refuse greater ships of the east countries, which are stayed

at Lisbon, and make choice of the smallest vessels they have for their purpose.

Of their five-and-forty sail of ships, seventeen sail only are fitted for men-of-war, whereof eleven of them are but small ships, the other six being galleons, the *Saint Paul*, the *Saint Peter*, the *Saint Andrew*, and three smaller galleons of the King's, whose names I know not.

For the manning of their ships fifteen hundred sailors were sent hither out of Biscay.

The Marques of Sta. Croce goeth admiral in the *Saint Paul*; Sibiero, alias Seriago, vice-admiral in the *Saint Peter*. They make account to be ready by the end of July, and ride with their yards across.

The two ships of Dunkirk, which have remained long at Lisbon, make ready to come away with the fleet.

. . . . .

By this letter it appears that they in England now were awake and confident of the Spanish invasion; until which time, notwithstanding the President's daily calling upon them for men, munition, and victuals, they gave a deaf ear; also he received another of the same date, a fragment whereof I think it not unnecessary to relate, as well to show the assurance which was held in England of the invasion as the tender care Her Majesty's principal secretary had of the President, and of the dear affection he bore him.

. . . . .

MY DEAR GEORGE,—Now will I omit all the petty particulars of many things, because the great storm which I presume is fallen upon Munster drowns all

my petty cares and wounds my soul for care of you, of whom I know not what to expect, but as a lost child; for though I know you are not so mad as to run to the enemies' mouths, with a dozen persons in comparison; yet I am desperately afraid that the provincials should betray you; even those I mean that must or will seem to be principally about you, etc.



## CHAPTER IX.

The cross accidents which happened to make the Lord Deputy offended with the Lord President—The Lord Deputy's letter to the Lord President—A satisfactory letter from the Lord Deputy to the Lord President.

As is formerly related, Sir Francis Barkley, being in the province of Connaught with one thousand foot and fifty horse of the list of Munster; when the President sent him thither, among other instructions which he gave to Sir Francis was that he should not, upon any direction, go out of that province until he first heard from him. The reason which moved him to insert this clause in his instructions was the confident assurance he had of the Spanish invasion. But yet, to prevent the worst, lest the Lord Deputy might peradventure command him to march into Ulster or Leinster, he presently dispatched a letter to the Lord Deputy, signifying to him what direction he had given to Barkley, and the reasons that moved him to it, beseeching his Lordship to allow thereof. But see the mischief: before the President's letters came to the Lord Deputy's hands, he had sent Captain Henry Cosby with a peremptory command to Sir Francis Barkley to march to Ballyshannon in Ulster. Sir Francis, being perplexed what course to take, at last resolved to obey his instructions, hoping that the Lord President would be able to make his peace with

the Lord Deputy; but so slow and negligent was the President's messenger (which afterwards was excused by sickness) that the Lord Deputy had received Sir Francis Barkley's refusal before he had knowledge of the President's letters, whereupon he stormed at the President and dispatched presently his letters to the Lords of the Council, complaining of the President, not sparing to tell them that rather than he would undergo so great an indignity by any man that served under him he would quit his government. And at the same time it fell out so crossly that another incident did no less move the Deputy to be enraged than the former; for of the two thousand supplies which were to come into Munster, the President, to give contentment to many worthy men who without charge had followed him in the former services, had obtained from the Lords in England that six hundred of them should be bestowed upon such as he should make choice of to be their captains; this, added to that aforementioned, so much increased his Lordship's indignation against the President, whereunto many ill disposed, to increase the flame, gave fuel, that his Lordship wrote this ensuing letter to the President.

#### THE LORD DEPUTY'S LETTER TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

MY LORD,—As I have hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truly as ever I did profess it to you, and, I protest, rejoiced in all your good successes as mine own, so must you give me leave, since I presume I have so just cause, to challenge you of unkindness and wrong in writing to England that in preferring your followers Sir Henry Dockwray hath had more power from me than yourself;

and, consequently, to solicit the Queen to have the nomination of some captains in this kingdom. For the first, I could have wished you would have been better advised, because upon mine honour he never, without my special warrant, did appoint but one, whom I afterwards displaced, and I do not remember that, ever since our coming over, I have denied anything which you have recommended to me with the mark of your own desire to obtain it; and in your province I have not given any place, as I think, but at your instance. For the other, I think it is the first example that ever any, under another General, desired or obtained the like suit. And although I will not speak injuriously of your deserts, nor immodestly of my own, yet this disgrace cannot make me believe that I have deserved worse than any that have been Generals before me. But since it is the Queen's pleasure, I must endure it, and you choose a fit time to obtain that or anything else against me. Yet I will concur with you in the service as long as it shall please Her Majesty to employ us here; but, afterwards, I doubt not but to give you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong. The Council and myself, upon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of Munster out of Connaught when we heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but we received from them a flat denial to come and the copy of your letter to warrant them therein. If you have any authority from the Queen to countermand mine, you may very well justify it, but it is more than you have vowed to me to have when I, before my coming over, protested to you, that if you had I would rather serve the Queen in prison than here. My Lord, these are great dis-

graces to me, and so conceived, and I think justly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all Ireland. My allegiance and own honour are now engaged with all my burdens to go on in this work, otherwise no fear should make me suffer thus much; and what I do it is only love doth move me to it. For I know you are dear to one whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection. And so, my Lord, I wish you well, and will omit nothing, while I am in this kingdom, to give you the best contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured friend,

MOUNTJOY.

In the meantime, before these storms came to the President's knowledge (for he had not yet received the Lord Deputy's sharp letter), hoping that the time of the Spaniards' coming would admit Sir Francis's regiment some longer absence, sent him word to march to Ballyshannon or elsewhere (as it pleased the Deputy), and withal by his letters he acquainted his Lordship of his directions, and beseeched his Lordship to have a care of Munster, which he was nowise able, his places of garrison guarded by his small forces remaining, to confront Tirrell and the Ulster aids, then ready to enter into it, much less to defend the cities of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford against the Spaniards, whose arrival he daily expected. After this second dispatch to the Lord Deputy the President received his Lordship's thundering letters; but when the Lord Deputy by his answer saw how much he was mistaken, and had well considered upon what good ground the President's instructions were given to Sir Francis Barkley, and also that he had retrenched the same



before he knew that his Lordship had sent for them ; and that although he had got the favour to bestow six of the companies that came out of England he knew that they could stand no longer than he pleased, and so left them to be disposed of at his will, he not only blamed himself, but wrote a satisfactory, kindly letter to him, which, to show the good nature of that nobleman, I think I should do him wrong if I did not relate it :—

A SATISFACTORY LETTER FROM THE LORD DEPUTY TO THE  
LORD PRESIDENT.

MY LORD,—If my letter did express some more than ordinary passion, I will now desire you, if you have any opinion of my judgment or honesty, to believe me that at that time I had so much reason to be so moved as I presume, when I next speak with you, I shall induce you to confess, that my expostulation did neither proceed from undervaluing you nor overvaluing myself, private respect to my own end, vanity in desire of pre-eminences, nor lightness, nor evil nature in quitting slightly so worthy a friend ; and if I can further persuade you by the effect it took with me, I protest the miserable tragedy of those I held here my dearest friends, the unkindness I took by their showing themselves my most mortal enemies, the danger that I knew they brought my fortune into, nor anything which hath been much that hath happened to me since my coming into this kingdom, did ever so much move me as this, and the circumstances that accompanied it ; the which being unfit to be trusted

either to paper, or at least to this passage, I will reserve for my own defence till I speak with you or may send a more safe and assured messenger to you, and so leave my case *sub judice*, but in the meantime absolve you from any wrong or unkindness you have done me, with this assurance, that the desire you show to give me satisfaction hath and shall increase that affection I have borne you ; and in the world you shall not find for ever hereafter a more just and sure friend, and this much for your own sake, but for his unto whom I know you are so dear I am so much in my heart a servant to the worthiness that he hath showed in his kindness to me, that if he should desire me to trail a pike under a far meaner friend to him than you I would do it willingly, because my fortune doth otherwise so little enable me to show my thankfulness to him ; and this I do not write out of my base observation of his fortune, but upon my Christianity I do acknowledge him to have deserved more of me than all the world besides, and I do truly think him to be the most honourable man that ever, in this unworthy world, my fortune was to have anything to do withal. And, therefore, noble Lord, of all these things I will write as I have read in my dunses of logic, *sustine pro nunc*. Only I beseech you dispose of the companies and all things else to your liking, which shall be, I assure you, to mine ; but to the great trouble I have in hand I must confess was never more puzzled in my councils, for many just respects ; but especially by an intelligence I have received this day. And if I would, like Diogenes, take a candle in my hand to seek a wise man in this kingdom unto whose judgment I would trust to assist mine in the case in question, I know not where I should

find any except it be you ; and therefore, if it be possible, send me word where I may speak with you presently, though I come as far or farther than Kilkenny, for I would fain resolve with you of all, and jointly with you make a present despatch into England. I pray dispatch a speedy messenger, though it be a horseman, and I will leave all things so that I will be prepared to go on a sudden, and so I commit you to God, whom I beseech to send us a happy meeting. The fifth of September, 1601.

Your most assured friend,

MOUNTJOY.

What an opinion of wisdom and worthiness the President had now gained by his painful and politic proceedings I cannot but remember, the same being acknowledged by so many and worthy persons of Her Majesty's Privy Council ; for if that be *vera laus* which proceeded *à viro laudato* ; or if that rule of Aristotle be true, viz., that thing is justly to be preferred *quod à pluribus and sapientissimis approbatur*, then may I without flattery conclude that his deserts were honourable, and his wisdom was in such great esteem that his counsels were so well allowed of the Lords of the Council that never doubt was made of them, and all things concerning that province were left to his discretion, as occasions with their circumstances happened.

Lastly, the Lord Deputy, whose judgment was second to none for the prosecution of the war in Ireland, being now mightily distracted betwixt the Northern prosecutions and the Spanish preparations, did write to the President that there was no man that could so well assist him in this doleful case, and upon

whose judgment he would so much rely in all that kingdom as upon his, and therefore requested him earnestly to repair speedily to Kilkenny, near to his province, for so far would he come to meet him.

<sup>1</sup> The friendship now formed between the Viceroy and Carew gave an enormous advantage to the Royalist cause in the next struggle, that which was precipitated by the Spanish invasion. It supplied unity of action to the Royalists. All through the Nine-Years' War the State enjoyed an advantage over the insurgents in this respect, enhanced by the fact that the State was then a tyranny. The insurgent lords of Ulster worked together harmoniously enough at the commencement, and yet there was on their side even then no centre of supreme authority. Tyrone himself could take no important step without as he said himself consulting his "confederates," which meant stormy parleys of chieftains, publicity, and in the end action, trimmed, clipped and emasculated to please all the jealous confederated lords. Treason, too, had all along been at work amongst them, and what treason could do and what traitors there were then are shamefully revealed in Pacata Hibernia. Munster is now subject everywhere to Carew. Yet when he entered the province he had no more than three thousand men under his command, while the insurgents held most of the country and castles, and could bring some sixteen thousand men into the field. Carew's Machiavellianism, diabolical and disgusting as it was, would have ended in nothing had it not been for the corrupt material on which he brought it to play. And observe, too, that while *every man opposed to him was false to his cause, Carew was true to his.*



## CHAPTER X.

Intelligence of the Spanish invasion—Two thousand foot sent to the Lord President—The Spanish fleet discovered at sea by Captain Love, whereof the Lord President advertised the Lord Deputy—The Lord President makes a journey to the Lord Deputy—The Lord Deputy and the Lord President meet at Leighlin—Sir Charles Wilmot adviseth the Lord President of the discovery of the Spanish fleet at the mouth of the Haven of Cork—The Spaniards land at Kinsale—A proclamation made in Kinsale by Don Juan de Aquila to give contentment to the inhabitants—A list of the captains in the Spanish army—Don Juan's certificate into Spain after his landing at Kinsale.

THE President addressed himself forthwith to attend his Lordship, but was suddenly stopped by a double occasion. First, Sir Francis Barkley, being at Galway with one thousand foot and fifty horse of the Munster forces, sent him word that a Spanish ship was landed at Sligo, which brought assured news that six thousand men were assembled in Spain ready to be embarked, and with the first wind to come for Ireland, which caused him to recall the said Sir Francis Barkley again into Munster and Sir Charles Wilmot from Kerry, and to take order for the two thousand supplies that were now landed out of England; and, before he could fully determine these affairs, there arrived one Captain Thomas Love at Crook<sup>1</sup> Haven, in the west of Ireland,

<sup>1</sup> In the original the word is "Corke Haven," but it is plain from the context that Crookhaven is meant. A great number of the peasantry in this neighbourhood bear the name of Love, possibly descendants of this same captain.

who sent him word by letter dated the thirteenth of September, that he had been upon the coast of Spain in a small man-of-war, and had descried five and forty sail of the Spanish fleet at sea, to the north of Cape Finisterre, standing to the northward, by which he conjectured that they shaped their course for Ireland; whereupon the President sent a speedy dispatch to the Lord Deputy, being then at Kilkenny, certifying his Lordship by what sudden occurrences he was diverted from his intended journey, who, receiving notice thereof (having for a short time reposed himself there), returned towards Dublin. These rumours being now noised throughout Ireland, every man was in daily expectation of the Spanish fleet, and no sooner could a ship appear upon the coast but presently it was supposed to be a Spaniard; but none appeared before the seventeenth of the same month, which, the Lord President perceiving, and that the winds were still contrary, and the weather very stormy and tempestuous, remembering how earnestly the Deputy solicited his company, for causes very important, appointing Sir Charles Wilmot Governor of Cork, and having set all things in good order as the time would permit, notwithstanding the indisposition of his body, being very much distempered at that time with long and weary journeys, made towards the Deputy, and, through weakness, not able to pass beyond Leighlin,<sup>1</sup> there he stayed, advertising the Lord Deputy, who was then at Rheban, of his being there, which was the nineteenth of September. His Lordship, being very glad of his coming when he least expected his company, repaired to him. After congratulations his Lord-

<sup>1</sup> Leighlin Bridge. There was a strong fortress here, defending the passage of the Barrow.

ship consulted with the President about such services as he thought most necessary at that time, in which consultation they spent some hours ; and that night they went to Kilkenny, both of them being lodged by the Earl of Ormond in his house. The morrow, being the twentieth of that month of September, towards night, the sovereign of Kinsale sent a messenger to Sir Charles Wilmot, then in Cork, with letters importing that there was a fleet of five and forty ships discovered from the Old Head of Kinsale, and that they were past the river of Kinsale, bearing towards the harbour of Cork ; the inhabitants likewise at Cork Harbour brought him word that the said fleet was discovered before that Haven's mouth, and ready, as they thought, to put into it. Sir Charles incontinently dispatched a horseman with letters to the President, who came to him the three-and-twentieth, and also sendeth for all the forces of the province and gentlemen of the country to repair to him. The Spaniards, being close at the Haven's mouth, the wind suddenly scanted, whereupon they tacked about and made for Kinsale. Within the town, Captain William Saxey's company lay then in garrison ; but because the town was of small strength, unable to withstand so powerful an enemy, order was given by Sir Charles Wilmot that they should quit the same and retreat to Cork. Upon the three-and-twentieth of this instant the enemy landed their forces in the Haven of Kinsale, and marched with five and twenty colours towards the town. Upon their approach the townsmen, not being able to make resistance (if they had been willing thereto), set open their gates and permitted them, without impeachment or contradiction, to enter the town, the sovereign, with his white rod in

his hand, going to billet and cress them in several houses, more ready than if they had been the Queen's forces.<sup>1</sup>

To encourage them to persevere, to banish fear, and to win their love by gentle and mild usage, Don Juan de Aquila, the Spanish General, promised this which ensueth, published the same, and confirmed it with his hand and seal, which is thus Englished.

A PROCLAMATION MADE IN KINSALE BY DON JUAN DE AQUILA, TO GIVE CONTENTMENT TO THE INHABITANTS OF KINSALE.

We, Don Juan de Aquila,<sup>2</sup> general of the army to Philip, King of Spain, by these presents do promise that all the inhabitants of the town of Kinsale shall receive no injury by any of our retinue, but rather shall be used as our brethren and friends, and that it shall be lawful for any of the inhabitants that list to

<sup>1</sup> The reader has no doubt already remarked Carew's animus against the towns, in spite of their singular and never-failing loyalty to the Crown. It was, in fact, the purpose of the State to assail the great privileges of the towns and reduce their pride. The execution of that purpose was only postponed. A tyranny is by its nature jealous of all forms of freedom, and it must not be forgotten that the State at this time was a tyranny, a tyranny which grew worse and worse till the English people could endure it no longer.

<sup>2</sup> Don Juan de Aquila, by Stafford as a rule called Don John, was a very brave, upright, chivalrous, and loyal gentleman, and surely a most excellent soldier. The command of this expedition had been offered by Philip III. to other Spanish generals, who, however, demurred to its proposed strength of 4000 men. They asked for 8000. Don Juan accepted the responsibility with the smaller number. Subsequently Philip did appoint a much larger fleet and army for the Irish venture, but before Don Juan sailed was obliged to dispatch half to the Azores to convey home a plate fleet coming from the Indies.

In Don Juan's proclamation we have an agreeable intimation that something resembling civilized warfare did prevail in the world at this time.



transport, without any molestation in body or goods, and as much as shall remain, likewise without any hurt.

DON JUAN DE AQUILA.

For testimony that the forces with the said Spanish General were no less but rather more than is reported, I thought it not impertinent, for the reader's better satisfaction, to set down the names of all the commanders, officers, and captains that landed with him at Kinsale, and afterwards:—

THE NAMES OF THE SPANISH COMMANDERS AND  
CAPTAINS.

Don Juan de Aquila, Maestro del Campo General.

Don Francisco de Padilla, Maestro del Campo.

Don Antonio Centeno, Maestro del Campo.

Captain Don Pedro Morijon.

Captain Francisco de Pinuoll.

Captain Pedro Munnez de Xaer.

Captain Miguel Caxa de Cuellar.

Captain Andres Leal.

Captain Don Luis de Vela.

Captain Don Gomez de Vargas.

Captain Don Pedro Zuazo.

Captain Saint Vincente.

Captain Don Gasper de Guevarra.

Captain Diego Gonzales Sigler.

Captain Marcos de Porras.

Captain Cascarro.

Captain Don Filippo de Camonde.

Captain Pedro de Chauves.

Captain Don Diego de Viezina.

Captain Luis de Carrera.

Captain Francisco de Muniosa.  
Captain Pedro Enriques de Tejada.  
Captain Don Christovall de Ayala.  
Captain Juan Ymonez de Carata.  
Captain Alonso de Zaramelle.  
Captain Don Pedro de O Campo.  
Captain Luis Diaz de Navarra.  
Captain Alonso de Motina.  
Captain Diego Palomeque.  
Captain Maldonado.  
Captain Josepho Escobar.  
Captain Antonio de Tufo Italiano.  
Captain Orlando Italiano.  
Captain Christovall de Cardenosa.  
Captain and Quartermaster Miguel Briena.  
Captain Diego de la Villa.  
Captain Hernando Borragan.  
Captain De O Campo.  
Captain Francisco Ruiz de Vellasco.  
Captain Pedro de Saavedra.  
Captain Graneros.  
Captain Andreas de Arve.  
Captain Albornoz.  
Captain Martin Ruyz, Sarjento Mayor.  
Captain Luis de Aquila, Sarjento Mayor.  
Pedro Lopes de Soto, Veador y Contador de la  
Infanteria.  
Juan Ocho a Devasterra, Contador de la Artilleria.  
Diego Ruyz de Salazar, Pagador.

After Don Juan was landed and settled in the town of Kinsale, by shipping which returned he sent into Spain a relation of his present estate, which is as followeth, translated out of the original under his own hand.

A discourse of the estate wherein Don Juan de Aquila doth remain, with the appointment of such things as he adviseth to be needful for his succour and good effect of his voyage ; translated out of a Spanish discourse.

On the first of October he arrived at the Haven of Kinsale, and, the day following, Don Juan landed all his soldiers ; whereof forming two squadrons he marched towards the said town, out of which there issued fifty foot and forty horse, who, leaving the place free, went towards the town of Cork, the persons of better sort<sup>1</sup> going with them, with all their goods ; whereupon there were presently sent in two companies, and the day following entered all the rest of the army and lodged there, to the end to shelter the troops and munitions under cover, although with great straightness, the place containing not above two hundred houses.

The seat and foundation of Kinsale is in a side of a river, environed in hills, and without any kind of defence,<sup>2</sup> insomuch that Don Juan is of the mind, if the enemy should come to quarter himself near his front, to try his fortune, because otherwise he should not be able to make good the place.

There were disembarked two field-pieces and two demi-cannon, leaving the rest of the artillery unlanded, not having ammunition sufficient for so much artillery, for the powder and match which remains is little, and the greater quantity came wet, as well as

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that to all political and martial intents the Ireland of this day, both in town and country, consisted only of "the better sort," the common people did not count at all. When the better sort fled to Carew, it meant that Kinsale stood in line with her walled sisters of the south.

<sup>2</sup> Save walls built before the invention of artillery. See the well-walled and becastled little town in the plate of the Battle of Kinsale.

not to be encumbered with so much artillery without horses to draw it, since with the next succours may be sent ammunition enough.

There is, in the middle of the Haven of Kinsale, a certain almost an island,<sup>1</sup> on which it seemeth good to Don Juan to have a fort made, to secure and defend the Haven; yet is there no convenient place to do it, for, on the part that looks towards the place, an arm of the sea divides it from the land, continued somewhat upwards into the land, without having pinnaces, boats, or other means to cross it; and for that the town Kinsale is of so great a seat, and open in so many parts, and so weak that it is needful to have half the troops in guard at least, whensoever they should be forced to draw out to some good effect, which notwithstanding would not be in good security, the place (almost an island) not having sufficient water, nor is there any place of those adjacent that yieldeth means to fortify it, so that it is necessary to go elsewhere for it, having here nothing to make cisterns or pinnaces for a passage, or to bring bavins and faggots, the river being somewhat farther upwards into the land.

He sent to tell Don Diego Borchero that because the way remained so ill he should assist him before he went in causing to be disembarked the biscuit, and, afterwards, that all the boats should make three or four voyages for bavins or gabions, whereof he had great need. The river, as aforesaid, being somewhat far above, he answered that he could not attend to this or disembark the biscuits<sup>2</sup> which came in the hulk

<sup>1</sup> The literal translation of peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> P. O. Sullivan always translates biscuit as *biscoctus panis*, i.e. twice-baked or double-baked bread.



which were there, but to return presently, and so with great haste caused the munitions to be landed, which they left upon the shore, without account or reason ; the accounter, the steward of the artillery, remaining, who would not undertake to account for it ; and such was the haste that on the dirt and ooze of the shore they were ill handled and wet as if the enemy had been already playing with their artillery on their ships. So soon as Don Juan had lodged himself in the place he dispatched to the Earls several times advising them of his arrival ; yet in nine days that passed until I was dispatched into Spain they received no answer. The distance from Kinsale to the place where the Earls abide is seventy-five leagues. The naturals of the country report the forces of the Earls to be much less than was given out to us, and that the enemy doth hold them in with forts. The enemy have drawn together all their cattle and corn, and with their cavalry break the mills, and because we have no horse they presume to come every day up to our walls, not being able to avoid or hinder it, notwithstanding our sallies against them ; insomuch that from without we receive neither flesh nor any other thing except some few cows from the poor people of the place, which they sell the rather to us because we pay them what they demand, yet within a few days there would be no flesh had by reason of the English, who have engrossed and gathered the crets together,<sup>1</sup> and burned the houses of the naturals.

<sup>1</sup> Another indication of civilized warfare. The State in Ireland would, under similar circumstances, have requisitioned everything, and paid, if at all, less than the market price. The State Papers contain many complaints under this head.

Don Juan doth procure to draw from the country people by love and rewards all that he can ; yet, with all this, findeth no assistance from them, neither dare they declare themselves, and the greater part have no will, seeing the small forces which have been landed ; but, seeing that there are more, they will be still coming, and some of them receive pay, it is very requisite to pay them and arm them—because till now many of them are passed to the enemy.

Since the writing of this by Don Juan de Aquila there came a spy from Cork, where the enemy doth join together, who saith that the Viceroy had already together more than four thousand foot and four or five hundred horse, and that the Queen of England had received advertisement of the coming of the Spaniards into Ireland, whereupon great preparations were made for expelling them. The soldiers who were disembarked marched to the number of three thousand and four hundred, besides those who came in a hulk, now arrived three leagues from hence, but, making a squadron of them, there was a less number found, so that it is thought fit to take the first muster with much rigour, taking note of the boys and such besides of the rest as are *besognies*,<sup>1</sup> who, not knowing the use of their pieces, nor how to discharge them, are drawn out to exercise their arms daily ; many fall sick, and are already more than one hundred. It is fit that the succour which His Majesty meaneth to send should be dispatched with speed, because the enemy may have power to engage the places which Don Juan

<sup>1</sup> It will be presently perceived into what first-rate soldiers Don Juan, by his Spanish methods, converted these “ boys and *besognies* ” (i.e. raw recruits).

hath designed to fortify. It should be a matter of great importance, and the whole of horse,<sup>1</sup> by reason of the difference of the cavalry which cometh out of England and that of the Earls, for all that can be levied in Ireland or that they have are small horses,<sup>2</sup> and the soldiers are unarmed, who only fight with half pikes and saddles without stirrups.

Of powder and matches, as is aforesaid, there is small store, so that it is necessary to send some good quantity, together with lead, because there passed but little.

Biscuit and some wine are necessary for the sustenance of our troops, because there came not such a quantity of biscuit as His Majesty commanded, and was not more than for two months or little more.

It is likewise convenient that there come a great sum of money, for it imports much to pay well, for want whereof, there rise no disorders, that of friends we gain not enemies.

That others may come in the place of the accounter and overseer that brought us to the Groyne.

It is convenient to send two doctors, because there is none in the regiment of Spaniards.

Likewise that an auditor-general be sent to serve here, because there is none.

It behoveth also to send carpenters and smiths, or farriers, being very necessary.

<sup>1</sup> The original has "the whole for horse," which is meaningless. Don Juan seems to ask for the whole of that body of horse which he had been promised, giving reasons.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish war-horse of this day was really a fine animal, and is warmly praised by Dymok in his treatise on Ireland, and by other contemporary writers. He was, however, rather lighter and swifter than the horses imported from England. For the Irish war-horse, saddle without stirrups, and general equipment of an Irish knight, circa 1580, see the plates in Derrick's "Image of Ireland."

And that His Majesty be served, that there might remain here three or four ships to give advice of whatsoever shall succeed, there being none left here at present.

. . . . .

The next day after Don Juan was landed Sir Charles Wilmot sent Captain Francis Slingsby with his foot company and Sir Anthony Cook's horse with directions to take the best view he could of their fleet and forces, who, at his coming thither, found them possessed both of the town of Kinsale and of the castle of Rincorran near it; and, to bid him welcome, they drew forth a company or two of foot, and a skirmish for a little space was entertained, wherein there were some hurt but none slain. Captain Slingsby, having performed his directions, returned to Cork.



## CHAPTER XI.

Second letter from Sir Charles Wilmot of the arrival of all the Spaniards in Kinsale—Debate in council what was meetest for the Lord Deputy to do—The Lord Deputy assented to the Lord President's advice—The Lord President's providence—A dispatch into England of the Spaniards' arrival—The Lord Deputy goeth with the Lord President into Munster—None of the provincials of Munster adhered to the Spaniards at their first landing—The report of a master of a Scottish bark concerning the strength of the Spaniards—Captain Flower sent to view Kinsale—Directions given for the burning of the corn near Kinsale—A letter from the Archbishop of Dublin and Don Juan de Aquila to Tyrone and O'Donnell—The Lord Deputy, Lord President, etc., went to view the town of Kinsale—The Lord Deputy with the army marched towards Kinsale.

At the instant when Sir Charles Wilmot's letters of the Spaniards' arrival came to Kilkenny, which was upon the three-and-twentieth of September as aforementioned, the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Ormond, the Lord President, Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the Army of Ireland, and Sir Robert Gardiner, the Chief Justice, were in council advising what course was to be taken if the Spaniards should land; but now Sir Charles Wilmot's letters gave them cause to advise what should be done, they being landed; and to confirm the same, while they were in council second letters came from Sir Charles Wilmot and the Mayor of Cork that the Spaniards had quitted the harbour of Cork and were all at an anchor in the Haven of Kinsale.

MAP OF THE SIEGE OF KINSALE.





The question was then what the Lord Deputy should do. The Earl of Ormond, the Marshal, and the Chief Justice were of opinion that he should do well to hasten to Dublin and there assemble his forces together; and, whilst they were drawing to a head, to give orders for supplies of victuals and munitions to be sent to Cork; and that the president should presently be dispatched into the province to defend the city of Cork until the Lord Deputy came to his relief, wherein all expedition was to be used, for the reasons were that if the Lord Deputy presented himself in the province with small forces it would encourage the enemy and put distrust and fear in the provincials who were either well affected or neutral.

The President's advice was opposite to theirs, beseeching the Lord Deputy to go presently into Munster, although he had no more than his page with him; "for," said he, "if the provincials shall see that you turn your back towards them they will conceive it proceeds of want of force, and then undoubtedly a general revolt will ensue, but when they shall see you personally amongst them that doubt will be removed; and, besides, the army, now dispersed, will make more haste after you than they would do if you attended their coming to Dublin."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The soundness of Carew's counsel was justified by the event. It was an undoubted assurance of the wavering mind of the Munster lords to see the Viceroy, without the loss of a day, riding south to meet the Spaniards. These lords, true to the egoistic motives which alone influenced them, were ready to rise for whichever party showed itself the stronger. Boldness and promptness on the part of the Viceroy were exceedingly necessary at such a crisis. We must remember the immense power and prestige of Spain at this time. Most men believed that if Philip were really in earnest about Ireland he would have little difficulty in brushing it clean of all hostile influences. Without being at all in love with Spain, an Irish lord,



The Lord Deputy inclined to the President's counsel ; " But," said he, " what 'should I do there, not being able to maintain the army with victuals for the space of a week or to furnish it with munitions, of both which there is no remain in the magazines in Dublin ? " The President willed him to take no care for those wants, for he would furnish him and the whole army for two or three months, which, indeed, he was able to do, for he had spared the expense of victuals, not consuming so much as a biscuit for more than six months, giving the soldiers money, and, having been ever confident of the Spaniards' arrival, had procured good supplies of munitions, which were frugally and sparingly issued. The Lord Deputy, like unto one that was overjoyed with such unexpected provisions, rose from his chair, embraced the President, and said that if he had not been more than provident that himself did not know what to have done, and that his honour had been endangered and ascribed to him what he well deserved.

In conclusion, the four-and-twentieth the marshal, Sir Henry Davers, and Sir John Barkley were dispatched into Leinster and to Armagh to assemble the army and to bring it with all possible expedition into Munster, and letters were dispatched to Sir Charles Wilmot to be well upon his guard, and dispatches sent into England by Captain John Roberts of the Spaniards' arrival. All things being thus ordered doubt was now made how the Lord Deputy could be conveyed safely to Cork, being attended by no other than his household servants in that dangerous time, which was satisfied by the President, who had then

eager only for the preservation of his estates in that storm, would naturally waver and be uncertain.

with him there one hundred horse, and for the furnishing of the Lord Deputy's house at Cork with stuff and utensils he undertook the care. The same day the Lord Deputy, the Lord President, and Sir Robert Gardiner departed from Kilkenny, and the same night they lodged at Kilkenan, Lord Dunboyne's house, the next night at Clonmel, the six-and-twentieth at Glanogher, Lord Roche's house, and the next day following they came to Cork.

Now are we come to the siege of Kinsale, a place ordained wherein the honour and safety of Queen Elizabeth, the reputation of the English nation, the cause of religion, and the Crown of Ireland must be by arms disputed; for upon the success of this siege these great and important consequences depended. And here the malice of Rome and Spain, if they had prevailed, would not have ceased, for their purpose extended itself, Ireland having been conquered, to make it their bridge to have invaded England, the conquest and ruin whereof were the main mark whereat they aimed.

It was generally expected that upon the first landing of the Spaniards the greatest part of Munster would have presently relapsed and have declared itself Spanish; but the President had so well established the province by apprehending all the principals whom he mistrusted, and by taking good pledges of the rest, that when the Lord Deputy came to Cork he presented to him all the men of living and quality in the province, who stood firm until the coming of supplies to Castlehaven, as hereafter you shall hear.

The eight-and-twentieth the Lord President brought to the Lord Deputy the master of a Scottish

bark which came from Lisbon, who confidently reported that the Spaniards, when they were embarked for Ireland, were six thousand strong ;<sup>1</sup> and the same day we heard that none of the Irish had repaired to Kinsale to tender their service to the Spaniards but only some dependents of Florence Mac-Carty's, and that Don John and his captains were much grieved that Florence<sup>2</sup> was sent prisoner into England, of whose restraint they understood nothing until they were arrived. And also we were advertised that at Kinsale five and thirty ships arrived with Don John, and that the rest of his fleet were driven into Baltimore, having in them seven hundred soldiers, and that they brought with them sixteen hundred saddles, hoping, as they were promised, to find horses in Ireland, and a great surplus of arms to furnish the Irish ; and the companies with Don John for the most part were old soldiers taken from the garrisons of Italy and the Terceras,<sup>3</sup> and there were but a few besognies amongst them.

The same day Captain George Flower (Sergeant-Major of the province of Munster) was sent with certain companies to view the town of Kinsale to see what countenance the enemy did hold. He no sooner approached the town than the Spaniards sallied ; our men beat them into the town and were so eager in the pursuit that they came to the port and would have set fire to it if Flower had not drawn them off. In this skirmish we had some men hurt, and the enemy both

<sup>1</sup> Less than five.

<sup>2</sup> Florence came once too often to Carew. Had Florence been true to Tyrone, Irish history might have been different. Had he been true to the Crown, he would have lived and flourished as Earl of Clancarty and the greatest nobleman in Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> The Azores.

slain and hurt. Also the same day certain companies were directed to march into Kinsale to burn and spoil all the corn in that country and within five miles of Kinsale, and to command all the inhabitants in those parts to bring their cattle on this side of the river of Owneboy<sup>1</sup> and Cork, whereby the enemy should want relief near to them.

To hasten the coming of Tyrone and O'Donnell the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin and Don Juan de Aquila wrote to them as followeth :—

A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN AND DON JUAN DE AQUILA TO TYRONE AND O'DONNELL.

Pervenimus in Kinsale, cum classe & exercitu, Regis nostri Philippi; expectamus vestras excellentias qualibet hora, veniant ergo quàm velociter potuerint, portantes equos, quibus maximè indigemus, & jam alia via scripsimus. Non plura. Valet.

FRATER MATHEUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS DUBLINENS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The river of Awneboy, frequently referred to, is the Bandon River, Bandon Fl. (i.e. Flumen) of the Plate. As to the skirmish in which Captain Flower distinguished himself, it will be remarked, as we proceed, that Stafford represents his own side as victorious in every tussle under the walls, yet the Spaniards all through seem to have held and made good their outworks, trenches, and artificial defences. P.O. Sullivan relates that of the two parties in these numerous extra-mural conflicts, the Queen's people suffered most, and the "Four Masters" that there was a great deal of slaughter on both sides. Mountjoy, however, could not have lost more than a few hundred altogether in battle, yet he lost the appalling total of 6000 in the siege.

<sup>2</sup> Translation :—"We have arrived in Kinsale with the fleet and army of our King Philip. We are awaiting the arrival of your Excellencies any hour you please to come; come then, as speedily as possible, bringing horses, of which we stand most in need. We have already written to you by another way. I say no more at present. Fare you well.

"BROTHER MATTHEW, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN."



Aquí estamos guardando á vuestras señorías illustrissimas, como largamente otra via hemos escritos. A dios 12 Octob. 1601.

DON JUAN DE AQUILA.

Excellentissimis Dominis  
Don O'Neal and O'Donnell.<sup>1</sup>

This day the Lord Deputy, the Lord President, and Council, with divers others, went to Kinsale to take a view thereof, and found at their coming thither that the shipping had newly left the harbour, and were under sail for Spain, so that they saw nothing further was to be done till the coming of the forces.

The third of October Sir William Fortescue with his company of foot, and Sir Benjamin Berry with the Lord Deputy's, came to Cork.

The marshal, who was sent from Kilkenny to draw companies out of the pale, came this day with Sir George Bouchier to Cork, where at that time remained the Lord Deputy, the Lord President, Sir Robert Gardiner, and Sir Nicholas Walsh, Councillors, expecting them and others ; Sir John Barkley came that day also.

"We are here awaiting your most illustrious Highnesses, as we have written at large another way.

"DON JUAN DE AQUILA.

"To the most excellent Lords O'Neill and O'Donnell."

P. O. Sullivan relates that from the moment of landing dissensions prevailed between the Archbishop and Don Juan.

Philip, like the Queen, and indeed like all absolute monarchs, hampered his men of war with councillors and advisers. All such regard their generals with a certain suspicion. Mountjoy as a commander was checked by his council, several of whom, mere lawyers, mounted guard over him even at Kinsale, and with ill consequences too to the service. No tyrants like to give their generals and proconsuls a free hand.

This was the main cause of the prolonged agony of the Tudor conquest of Ireland. The Tudor princes, especially Elizabeth, *feared* their Irish viceroys.

The companies came to Cork that Sir John Barkley had brought with him.

Sir Henry Davers, who was sent for the forces about Armagh, came to Cork with Sir Henry Folliet, Captain Blany, and divers other captains.

Master Marshal and Sir John Barkley with some horse and foot went to Kinsale to view a fit place to encamp in.

The companies that Sir Henry Davers went for came this day to Cork. Some horse and foot sent forth to keep the Spaniards from victuals.

Two Frenchmen were voluntarily taken that ran away from the Spaniards, who confessed their numbers to be three thousand five hundred, besides those that were not yet come in:

It was resolved to take the field, but no great ordnance came yet to enable us thereunto.

The weather fell out so rainy that it was unfit to rise.

The Lord Deputy left Cork and encamped with the army at a place called Owneboy,<sup>1</sup> five miles from Kinsale. The artillery, munition, and victuals which were to come from Dublin were not yet arrived; yet was it thought fit, being thereof supplied by the President's store, to take the field rather than the country should discover those wants and so fall away.

<sup>1</sup> Now Augh na bwee, in later times the site of a great annual horse fair.

## CHAPTER XII.

The Lord President requireth the towns of Munster to send companies of foot to the camp—Don Juan de Aquila's declaration in answer to a proclamation published by the Lord Deputy and Council—The army encamped at Knockrobin, near Kinsale—The enemy attempted to disturb our quarter, but were repulsed—A skirmish between us and the Spaniards—Captain Button arrived with munition and victuals—A skirmish in the night, wherein twenty of the Spaniards were slain—The army encamped close to Kinsale—A prey of cows taken from the Spaniards.

THE Lord President, in his providence, before the army was ready to march to Kinsale acquainted the Lord Deputy (which he well approved) that he had sent to the cities and great towns of Munster that all of them, according to their proportions, should send companies of foot from their several corporations to strengthen Her Majesty's army, which they accordingly, but with some grudging, did. This he did not for any opinion he had to receive fruit by their services, but their being in the camp was a good pledge upon the towns, in these doubtful times, for their better loyalties, the Lord Deputy not being able to spare any companies to secure them.

The Lord Deputy and Council, before the army marched from Cork, doubting, as they had good cause, that the priests would leave no practices unattempted that might animate or confirm the Irish in their rebellion, thought it necessary to give notice

to the world how unjust the pretended causes were that the Irish had taken arms against their true anointed sovereign ; and also how unjustly the same was maintained by the Pope and the King of Spain, which by proclamation was divulged in the city of Cork ; in answer whereof Don Juan de Aquila, as soon as it came to his ears, likewise proclaimed this declaration, or apology, in Kinsale, and dispersed copies thereof into sundry places, the tenor whereof ensueth :—

DON JUAN DE AQUILA'S DECLARATION IN ANSWER TO A  
PROCLAMATION PUBLISHED BY THE LORD DEPUTY  
AND COUNCIL, TRANSLATED OUT OF THE LATIN.<sup>1</sup>

“Don Juan de Aquila, general of the war, and the Catholic King of Spain's chief commander in God's war, which is made in Ireland for defence of the faith. To all the Irish Catholics living in Kinsale, the city of Cork, and in all other villages, cities, and castles, wisheth health in him who is the true happiness. There is come unto our ears a proclamation, or certain libel, made in the city of Cork, in the name of the Deputy ; which because it containeth many untruths and such things as offend the ears of honest men, lest they may lead and seduce the minds of simple men into errors and turn them from the truth, I am compelled to show their falsehood, to lay open the truth, and in few words to signify the pretence and intention of our most excellent King Philip in this war, which is, with the apostolic authority, to be administered by us ; and (to speak the truth) I could

<sup>1</sup> This document bears internal evidence of having been drawn up by the Archbishop.



very easily retort upon them those reproaches which they object to us, and make them lose the pleasure which they have taken in ill-speaking by hearing of the like ; notwithstanding, we will not, like weak and unarmed women, go to reproachings, but, setting these things aside, answer to those that are objected with sound truth and Christian modesty.

“First of all, ye feign that we would lead away the pretended subjects of the Queen of England from their obedience, to bring them under our yoke, which is a very untruth ; for we endeavour not to persuade anybody that he should deny due obedience (according to the word of God) to his prince. But ye know well that, for many years past, Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdom and all her subjects absolved from their fidelity by the Pope, unto whom He that reigneth in the heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power, that he should root up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort that he may punish temporal kings, if it shall be good for the spiritual building, even to their deposing, which thing hath been done in the kingdoms of England and Ireland by many popes, viz. by Pius Quintus, Gregory the Thirteenth, and now by Clement the Eighth, as it is well known ; whose bulls are extant amongst us. I speak to Catholics, not to froward heretics, who have fallen from the faith of the Roman Church ; seeing they are blind leaders of the blind and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do also disagree from us in this thing. But our brethren, the Catholics, walking in the pureness of the faith, and yielding to the Catholic Church, which is the very pillar of the truth, will easily understand all those things. Therefore it remaineth that the Irish, which adhere to us

do work with us nothing that is against God's laws or their due obedience, nay, that which they do is according to God's word and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

“Secondly, ye affirm that we Spaniards go about to win the Irish with allurements and feigned flatteries, which is a thing far from our nature, and that we do it but for a while; that after we have drawn the minds of simple men to us we might afterwards, exercising our cruelty towards them, show our bloody nature. O the immortal God! Who doth not wonder at your bitter and inexpressible cruelty and your boldness showed in these words? For who is it that doth not know the great cruelty which you English have exercised, and cease not to exercise, towards the miserable Irish? You, I say, go about to take from their souls the Catholic faith which their fathers held, in which consists eternal life; truly you are far more cruel than bears and lions, which take away the temporal life, for you would deprive them of the eternal and spiritual life. Who is it that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing kingdom but the English? Look upon this and be ashamed. Whereas, on the other hand, we, commiserating the condition of the Catholics here, have left our most sweet and happy country, Spain, that is replenished with all good things, and, being stirred with their cries, which pierce the heavens, having reached the ears of the Pope and our King Philip, they have, being moved with pity, at last resolved to send to you soldiers, silver, gold, and arms with a most liberal hand, not to the end they might, according as they feign, exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholics, but that you may be happily reduced (being

snatched out of the jaws of the devil and free from their tyranny) to your own pristine ingenuousness, and that you may freely profess the Catholic faith. Therefore, my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired and begged for with prayers and tears ; and that now, even now, the Pope, Christ's vicar on earth, doth command you to take arms for the defence of your faith, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all—all, I say, unto whom these letters shall come—that as soon as you possibly can you come to us with your friends and weapons. Whosoever shall do this shall find us prepared, and we will communicate to them those things which we possess. And whosoever shall (despising our wholesome counsel) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will persecute him as a heretic and a hateful enemy of the Church even unto death."

The army rose and marched within half a mile of Kinsale, where they encamped under a hill (having not means to entrench) called Knockrobin. Captain Morgan came out of England, and Jolly the master gunner from Waterford, whither some shipping was come from Dublin with part of the provisions, but forced to stay there, the wind being southerly, some few shot offered to disquiet the camp, but were soon beaten back with very little disturbance.

The army lay still there, many places viewed to sit down fitly before the town, but the artillery not yet come, no place was agreed upon.

Another offer made by the enemy to disturb the camp that night, much greater than the former ; but being readily answered, were soon repelled without hurt on our side.

We lay still there expecting the provisions ; some slight skirmishes in viewing of the town. Sir John Barkley was this night appointed to give an alarm to the town, who beat in all the guards without the town into their trenches.

This night one thousand of the Spaniards (or, as some that came from them say, fifteen hundred) were come to the top of the hill near the camp to cut off some of the scouts or guards, or to attempt something upon that quarter ; but being discovered by a party of ours, not much exceeding two hundred, that was of purpose sent out to lie between the town and our camp, commanded by Sir John Barkley, who had with him Captain Morris, they set upon them, killed four dead in the place, divers hurt, took some arms, and other good spoil, and beat them back to the town without loss of any of our men, and not above three hurt.

Cormock<sup>1</sup> MacDermond, chief lord of a country called Muskerry, coming with his country rising-out to show them to the Lord Deputy, was on his return directed to march hard by the Spaniards' trenches, which they had made upon the hill without the town, for their guards, which he was willed to do the rather that the Spaniards might see the Irish serve on our sides. For this purpose were good seconds appointed, yet out of sight of the enemy. The Irish at first went on well, and beat the Spaniards from their ground to the townward, but according to their custom soon fell off ; by which means a horseman, called Courcy, of the<sup>2</sup> Lord President's, who had charged two Spaniards

<sup>1</sup> This gentleman, was one of the minor captains of Clan-Cartie, and lord of all the Lee Valley. He was grandfather of that Lord Muskerry who figures so conspicuously in the Cromwellian-Irish wars.

<sup>2</sup> These, observe, were not regulars, but " the rising-out " or feudal



upon some advantage, was engaged and unhorsed before he espied himself in danger; which Sir William Godolphin seeing, who had the command of the Lord Deputy's troop, charged one way upon their whole numbers, and Captain Henry Barkley, cornet of the same troop, another way at the same instant, and, notwithstanding their many shots, drove them out of their trenches, rescuing the horseman and horse; and, to the marvel of all the beholders (considering the multitude of shot made at them, even upon the edge of the trench), came off without hurt, save only one horse killed, and one man slightly shot. Of the enemy were killed four, left dead in the place, and divers were seen carried off, besides many others hurt.

Captain Thomas Button, who had the wafting of the victuals with munition from Dublin with the Queen's pinnace, the *Moon*, arrived at Cork, and came to the Lord Deputy at the camp, signifying the rest of the shipping was coming from Dublin that had lain at Waterford. He was that night sent away to bring his ship about into the harbour of Kinsale, and with Captain Ward's ship, which was directed to accompany him, whom we were forced to make use of before to guard that victual and munition in Oyster Haven which we had brought with us from Cork, they were willed to try if they could annoy the castle of Rincorran, seated close upon the harbour, and possessed by the Spaniards. But after they had spent many shot upon the castle, and found they did them little hurt, their ordnance being but small, they lay still only to keep the harbour, that neither the

levy of the Valley of the Lee. Irish regulars under the direct command of the Queen's captains are not treated as Irish by our author.

castle nor the town might be relieved by water, which was the chief cause of their sending thither, and which Captain Thomas Button, notwithstanding many attempts made by the Spaniards and natives, very valiantly to his high commendations performed.

We had news of the shipping that came after Captain Button from Waterford that they were put into the harbour at Cork, who presently had direction to work about to another creek, called Oyster Haven, lying between Cork and Kinsale, whence they might more commodiously unload their artillery and provisions, for the speedy use of the army.

We resolved to rise and lie before the town; but the shipping being not yet come with the artillery and other necessaries, that day was spent in dispatching into England and making all things fit to remove. This night Captain Blaynie and Captain Flower were sent out with five hundred foot upon discovery that the Spaniards were drawn out of the town, and so lay ready for them if they had come towards our quarter, but they came not on.

The army was ready to rise, but, the weather falling out very foul, direction was given to dislodge. Four natural Spaniards came this day from the enemy, choosing rather to put themselves upon the mercy of the State than to live under the tyranny of their own commanders, who the next day were sent to Cork. This night Sir John Barkley went out with some three hundred foot, having with him Captain Flower, Captain Morris, and Captain Bostock; out of these were chosen sixty pikes and targets, to be the better undiscovered, who fell into their trenches, beat them to the town, and fell into the gate with them. They killed and hurt above twenty of the Spaniards between the

inner and the outer gate, and returned having but three hurt.

The army dislodged early and encamped on a hill on the North side before Kinsale called the Spittle,<sup>1</sup> somewhat more than musket shot from the town, and there entrenched strongly. When we sat down we discovered that the Spaniards had got a prey of two or three hundred cows and many sheep, which were (on an island as it seemed) upon the south side of the town beyond the water, which we could not come at but by sending eight or nine miles about, where there was a neck of land to go into it. Captain Taffe, being sent with horse and foot, used such expedition in that business that he attained the place before night, and by a hot skirmish recovered the prey, save only some two hundred cows that the Spaniards had killed, although they were under the guard of a castle, called Castle Ny Parke,<sup>2</sup> which the Spaniards had manned to defend the cattle.

<sup>1</sup> In the neighbourhood of many Irish towns will be found a place called "the Spittle," i.e. hospital, the site of some suppressed hospital of the Knights of St. John.

<sup>2</sup> "The Castle of the Field," situate on that "almost-an-island" referred to in Don Juan's despatch. There is a plate of the new fort which Carew afterwards built here, unluckily not of the mediæval castle.

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