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THE RISE, INCREASE, AND EXIT
OF THE
GERALDINES,
EARLS OF DESMOND,
AND
PERSECUTION AFTER THEIR FALL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF DOMINIC O'DALY, O.P.,
WITH MEMOIR AND NOTES

BY C. P. MEEHAN, C.C.

Second Edition.

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TO

JOSEPH CASIMIR O'MEAGHER, ESQ.,

Solicitor,

A HIGHLY DISTINGUISHED MEMBER OF HIS PROFESSION,

AND DILIGENT STUDENT

OF HIS COUNTRY'S ANTIQUITIES,

A GRATEFUL FRIEND DEDICATES THESE PAGES.

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN,

Nov. 26, 1878.

B. M. Powell

INTRODUCTION.



THE first edition of this work having been many years out of print, has become almost as scarce as its Latin original, for which collectors of rare books relating to Ireland used to give as much as fifteen and twenty pounds sterling.* The translation, doubtless,, helped to cure the harmless lunacy commonly called Bibliomania, and it is hoped that the present edition may check, if it does not entirely prevent, recurrences of the same malady, so far as Father O'Daly's work is concerned.

The first edition (of the translation) was made hastily—*currente calamo*—and, consequently, had many faults of expression, not quite in accordance with English idioms. This induced the Editor to revise the text, in order to render it more readable. He has also omitted many of the notes which appeared in that issue, and substituted others, which he thinks will prove more pleasing and instructive. The Appendix has been enlarged with the addition of some valuable documents, to which the general reader would find it difficult to get access. The

* Lownde's Catalogue.

present edition, therefore, has many features which the first had not; and this improvement, it is hoped, will help to secure for it a large circulation among those who take an interest in that episode of Irish History to which it relates. Having said so much of self, the Editor gladly turns to the author of "The Geraldines," Father Dominic O'Daly, of the Order of Preachers, or, as he styles himself, Fra Daniel, *alias* Dominique, du Rozarre.

The O'Dalys figure largely in Irish bardic history; and the subject of this memoir sprung from a branch of the same tribe which settled in Kerry about the year 1507. Daniel was born in 1595, the thirty-seventh of Elizabeth's reign; but we have no record of the place in which he first saw this world's light. We are equally ignorant of the school in which he mastered the first rudiments; but in all likelihood it was within the domestic walls, for Kerry was at all times famous for its schoolmasters, and Dominic's father belonged to that race of Rhymers who disturbed the repose of the author of "The Faerie Queen" what time he dwelt in his ill-got castle of Kilcolman. It is certain, however, that at an early period of his life O'Daly was received into the Dominican convent of Tralee, and devoted himself to that grand Order, so world-famed for its theologians, painters, and sculptors. The Angelic Doctor, canonised in immortal verse by Dante, was a poet. Divers men and women of the same Order cultivated the Muses; and this may have influenced young O'Daly in his election of the Institute which he was destined to adorn, not, indeed, as a bard, for we

have no remains of him as such, but in other and perhaps not less appreciable developments.

Having made his noviciate in Tralee, his superiors sent him to their convent in the province of Galicia, where he was professed, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the sonorous Spanish, as it was spoken in Old Castile. From that place he was sent to Burgos and Bordeaux, where he completed his theological and philosophical studies. Returning to Ireland, he passed some short time in the convent of Tralee; and afterwards proceeded to the quaint old Flemish town of Louvain, then so famous for its numerous religious houses and university. A convent for Irish Dominican Fathers had been recently founded there by Isabella, then Regent of the Low Countries; and there the youthful O'Daly, now a priest, won his first laurels in the chairs of theology and philosophy.

From Louvain he went to Madrid, where his learning, prudence, and piety secured for him the personal friendship of Philip IV of Spain, at that time sovereign of Belgium and Portugal. Availing himself of the intimacy with which the kindly monarch honoured him, and burning with true love for the prosperity of his Order, then so ruthlessly slaughtered and pillaged in the land of his nativity, he obtained the king's sanction and license to found a convent in Lisbon, where his Irish brethren might pursue their studies in peace, and then return to keep the faith alive in Ireland. Assisted by a few Irish Dominicans, then residing in the Portuguese capital, he got possession of an old *hospice*, which he turned into a convent, and of which he was duly instituted prefect in 1634.

He retained this distinguished position till 1640, when the General Chapter, held that year in Rome, advanced him to the honoured degree of *Magister*, i.e., Master, in the faculty of theology. This first foundation became a seminary of martyrs, for some of those who arrived from Ireland to prosecute their studies within its walls, on their return home died by the persecutor's sword. During his residence in Lisbon Father Dominic was universally esteemed for all those high attainments which distinguished him among his contemporaries ; above all, for the charming simplicity of his character, and piety which was free from every shadow of ostentation. Margaret of Mantua, then governing the fair city by the Tagus, made him her confessor ; and every first Sunday of the month went in state to the Irish Dominican church, where she piously counted her beads, and walked in procession with the townsfolk and Irish Fathers. Her kindly sympathies for the latter were unquestionable : and she would have done much for their benefit if she had not been recalled to Spain in 1641, when Portugal became an independent kingdom.

Fra Domenico in the meantime won the good graces of King John IV and his Queen, Donna Lucia, by both of whom he was greatly esteemed. She appointed him her confessor, and professed her willingness to second all his projects for bettering the condition of his confrères. The old hospice, he told her, afforded poor accommodation for his brethren ; the aspirants to the habit were numerous ; persecution had its gripe on the Dominicans in Ireland ; others were willing to fill up the gaps. In short, he wanted for them a residence more

capacious and better provided with the requirements of a convent. His prayer was entertained, and the Queen Regent granted him and his successors a piece of ground in the street called *Corpo Santo*, hard by the royal palace, and that river whose sands the mythologists said were grains of gold. The 4th of May, 1659, was a memorable epoch in the history of Lisbon; for on that day the foundation stone of a new convent was solemnly blessed and laid by order of her Sacred Majesty, Donna Lucia de Gusman, Queen of Portugal, who destined it for Irishmen of St. Dominic's Order, and placed it under the special protection of the august Queen of the Rosary and the Patriarch Saint Dominic. The Bishop of Lamego performed the holy function, and a Portuguese Dominican pronounced an oration in which he extolled the heroic virtues of his Irish brethren, who had won and were then winning the palm of martyrdom in their own land. The work was soon carried to completion, for her Majesty was liberal beyond imagining, and had the satisfaction of seeing it peopled by a numerous body of Irish novices and Fathers, who, as in duty bound, daily prayed for their royal benefactress and her consort. Fra Domenico's sympathies for the Irish Dominican nuns, persecuted by the Puritans in Ireland, were tender and energetic. Among his friends in Portugal the Lady Irena de Brito, Countess of Attalaya, proved herself one of the best. At his instance she founded and endowed the convent of Belem near Lisbon for a community of forty Irish nuns of St. Dominic's Order, without

distinction of social caste,* and O'Daly had the gratification of seeing this house established in 1639.

Many years after he had passed out of this life, that Belem-convent sheltered Irish sisters, for as late as 1760 the author of *Hibernia Dominicana* states that the community numbered thirty-nine, the prioress at the time being Josepha Plunket, under whom we find sisters MacCarthy, O'Kennedy, O'Farrell, O'Byrne, Morrogh, MacCrohan, Tuite, O'Cleary—names which leave no doubt of their nationality.

The accomplishment of such works proves that Fra Domenico was a man of untiring energy, devotedly attached to his Order, and worthy the highest honours which the supreme head of the Church could bestow on him. The Kerry stripling whose career opened in the poor convent of Tralee must indeed have been far above the ordinary standard of intelligence and activity to achieve so much in so short a time, and impress monarchs and one of the most noble ladies of Portugal with a thorough conviction of his earnestness and exceptionally large administrative capacity. *

* "Pro Virginibus Hibernis nobilibus et pauperibus."—*Hib. Dominicana*.

* The Queen had such a high opinion of O'Daly's prudence in the management of affairs of State that she never during her widowhood would give her sign royal to any document without first consulting him, nay, she sometimes chided him for not being more outspoken. "Ut nihil regia auctoritate, et manu muniret quod ipsi legendum primo, et probandum non subjecisset.— Depone, mi pater, hunc timorem: Nunquam te consului, quin mihi auctor fueris meliorum, et velut angelus e celo missus ad mea dubia responderis."—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 494.

His fine tact and prudence were so highly appreciated by John IV that that monarch sent him as ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV, then a minor, to announce his Majesty's accession to the Crown of Portugal, and also to settle some matters of serious moment to the interests of both kingdoms. In this mission the Kerry Dominican acquitted himself so ably that Philip IV of Spain accredited him to Charles I of England, and subsequently to his son, Charles II, probably when that sovereign was at the Hague. On the death of King John, his successor, Alfonso VI, sent him to the French Court to announce that monarch's accession to the throne of Portugal. During his residence in Paris nothing could induce him to reside outside the walls of the Dominican convent, but he nevertheless amused the French capital with a display of fire-works on the Seine to celebrate Alfonso's coronation—a proof, if such were needed—that Father O'Daly could relax and be gay, cowl and cloister notwithstanding. There can hardly be a doubt that he was personally acquainted with the unfortunate Queen Henrietta Maria of England and her confidential adviser Lord Jermyn after her Majesty's flight to France, or that she empowered him to transact some important affairs with Innocent X, who took such lively interest in Irish politics at that crisis when the Confederate Catholics were in arms for God, King, and Country.

Fra Domenico's sojourn in the city of the Popes was brief, but long enough to convince him that he had secured the esteem of the Sovereign Pontiff and respect of his own brethren in the capital of the Christian world. The spacious halls and

church of the Minerva contrasted strongly with the humble little convent of Corpo Santo, but that home was dearer to him than any other could be, and he returned to it, we may presume, gladly.

Many a head, lay and clerical, would have been turned by the honors that came unbidden to the Kerry Dominican, but they made no change in him—they never do except in those who have not merited them—for he lived according to the strict letter of his Order's rule, making his whole life a practical commentary on it, and preparing the youthful aspirants to the priesthood placed under his guidance, for whatever fate awaited them on their return to Ireland. It was probably about the year 1650 he set about writing the memoir of the Geraldines, for whom he cherished an enthusiastic and hereditary love. Why should he not? His father was a vassal of that illustrious and most unfortunate race, and he himself was of the family of the Desmonds in the maternal line.* But there were other considerations which transcended these—love of his Order, and a grateful remembrance of its benefactors.

How could he forget that it was Maurice Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, who first brought the Dominicans to Ireland, or that John Fitz-Thomas founded the convent and church of Tralee, in the shadow of whose grand altar he and his son Maurice, slain in battle by Mac Carthy-More, lay buried?† In short, were not the Geraldines munificent and fast friends of the Dominicans, for whom

* *Claro Geraldinorum stemmate Desmoniorum Comitum oriundus, linea scilicet materna.—Hib. Dom., p. 495.*

† 1261.

they erected and endowed stately monasteries and churches in Dublin, Youghal, and Sligo? * He regarded the benefits conferred on his predecessors as bestowed on himself, and, as ingratitude had no biding place in his heart, devoted his leisure hours to composing the book which, in its translated form, has had the good fortune to be largely quoted by John O'Donovan, Daniel MacCarthy (Glas), and other eminent writers of Irish lore. †

While occupied thus in the tranquil study of Corpo Santo, Father Domenico was offered the archbishopric of Braga, which he refused. The See of Goa in the East Indies falling vacant was also offered him, but declined. The instances of his friends were over and over again employed to induce him to accept the bishopric of Coimbra, and at last prevailed, because they represented to him that with the large revenue of that See he could

* For an account of the Antiquities and Families of this County, see the Venerable Archdeacon O'Rorke's "History of the Parishes of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet"—a truly charming book, which deserves a foremost place among the best of our county Histories. The Rev. J. O'Laverty, P.P., Holywood, County Down, has recently published the first volume of the history of his native diocese, Down and Connor, and his friends—those of his own diocese especially—will heartily welcome the second. The learned Doctor Reeve's "Antiquities" of that ancient See will considerably lighten Father O'Laverty's labours. We may add that the Rev. John Shearman, C.C., Howth, will soon give us "*Loca Patriciana*," in which he tracks the footmarks of our Apostle through Ireland, and identifies the memorable scenes of his missionary triumphs. No other could do this half so well as the reverend author, who is intimately acquainted with Irish Topography and Genealogy.

† Mr. Webb in his admirable "Compendium of Irish Biography," has drawn largely on its pages.

render great services to the communities of Corpo Santo and Buon Successo, and to his confrères in Ireland who were depending for daily bread on the kindly hearts and impoverished resources of the plundered and persecuted Catholics. This motive, and this alone—for what cared he for dignities that could only add a few more syllables to his epitaph?—secured his compliance, and he was duly proclaimed bishop elect of Coimbra, at that time known as the Portuguese Athens.

But Death was already at the threshold of Corpo Santo, and outstepped the consecrating prelate: for Fra Domenico was removed—by a sudden stroke, it would seem—from this life, on the 30th of June, 1662, when he had attained his sixty-seventh year. Thus lived and passed away a distinguished Irishman, in the true significance of that predicate, of whom his country, and Kerry in particular, may well be proud. Mass and solemn chaunt concluded, they buried him within those hallowed walls where his heart had long lain centred, and raised a slab with an epitaph, which, unlike the generality of such, is free from the exaggeration that reveals the vanity of the composer and does no good to the departed:—

HIC . JACET .

VENERABILIS . PATER . MAGISTER .

FRATER . DOMINICUS . DE . ROSARIO . HIBERNUS

HUJUS . ET . CONVENTUS . MONIALIUM . BONI . SUCCESSUS .

FUNDATOR .

IN . VARIIS . REGUM . LEGATIONIBUS . FELIX .

EPISCOPUS . CONIMBRICENSIS . ELECTUS .

VIR . PRUDENTIA . LITERIS . ET . RELIGIONE . CONSPICUUS .

OBIIT . 30 . JUNII . . A.D. 1662 .

ÆTATIS . 67 .

For more than a century after its founder's decease, the convent, or as it is indifferently called, *College*, of Corpo Santo continued to send zealous and highly-educated missionaries to England, Scotland, and Ireland, during that dark penal interval which had seen six British sovereigns ruling these realms. Highly cultivated, indeed, were those Dominican Fathers, for to a profound knowledge of theology and philosophy they added acquaintance with Continental languages and literature, and a familiarity with those great works of Art with which the churches, museums, and streets of Catholic cities abounded. Of all the religious Orders none were so eminent in this domain as the Dominicans, to whom the world is indebted for Fra Angelico, and a long line of painters, sculptors, and architects, of whom the most distinguished of our times are but copyists. But, returning to the good Fathers who came back to Ireland in the evil days, we refer the reader to Fra Domenico's *sketch* of "The Persecution," for indeed it deserves no other name, although it records the sufferings and Christian heroism of many of them who deserved a fuller and more circumstantial memoir.*

And the convent of Buon Successo, too, continued to prosper, for its doors were ever open to those Irish ladies who aspired to the habit of St.

* The second part of O'Daly's work, "The Persecution," was very scarce in 1762; so much so that De Burgo states he had never seen a copy of it till Father Burke brought him one which had escaped the earthquake and fire that destroyed Lisbon. The learned prelate adds that he had been anxiously looking for the work—"librum istum, nunquam a me visum, avide quæsvi."—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 544.

Dominic, and devoted themselves to the prayerful seclusion which they could not enjoy at home.

At last, on the first of November, 1755, Lisbon was subverted by that tremendous earthquake—the most awful on record since the destruction of Pompeii*—which made it one wide chaotic grave. A few days afterwards news of the catastrophe came to Ireland, and found the learned prelate of Ossory in his poor residence in the Irish-town of Kilkenny, putting together the pages of “*Hibernia Dominicana*.” Startled by the awful intelligence, he laid down his pen; and, when the first emotion subsided, resumed it and wrote: “Alas the uncertainty of all things sublunary! Lisbon, fair city, with its wealth, commerce, and merchants from every quarter of the globe, torn from its foundations and consumed by fire! Go, now, ye who set your hearts on perishable things, and bethink you how fallacious are earthly hopes, and the blandishments with which they dazzle and delude you.”† The letter that brought the dismal tidings mentioned that four of the community of Corpo Santo had shared the fate of the inhabitants of Lisbon, and the learned prelate took care to transmit their names to us—Miles Burke, of Athenry; Patrick MacCabe, of Coleraine; Antony MacDonnell and Brian Morilly, both of Urlare, County Mayo.‡ But many years had not gone by till Corpo Santo was re-erected; for Father Charles O’Kelly, a native of Roscommon, set out for Rome,

* A.D. 63.

† “Ite nunc ite, et male creduli lenocinantis fortunæ blandimentis confidite.”—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 424.

‡ A convent of Dominicans was founded in Urlare by Nangle A.D. 1434.

appealed to the reigning Pontiff, Benedict XIV, and to his successor, Clement XIII, from both of whom he obtained letters recommending him and his community to the generous sympathy of Catholics throughout the world in behalf of an institution which had rendered signal services to religion in Ireland. O'Kelly's zealous mendicancy was crowned with success; and he who watched over the tomb of Corpo Santo had the ineffable happiness of witnessing its resurrection.*

The after-history of Corpo Santo—for it still exists, to the great benefit of religion in Ireland—remains to be written; and surely there is no one so competent to render us that service as the Venerable Bartholomew Russell, whose virtues, eloquence, and learning have won for him a foremost place in that “holy flock which Dominic conduceth.” †

The Editor of this volume has sought in vain for any papers that might throw stronger light on the career of Father O'Daly, who, in his day, held such a conspicuous place in affairs ecclesiastical and temporal. The earthquake, it may be presumed, swallowed up any documents he might have left behind him, and which, doubtless, would have told us something of his interviews with Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, Henrietta Maria, Charles I and Charles II. ‡ Talking of this with J. P. Pren-

* Father O'Kelly died May, 1758.

† Dante, *Paradiso*, c. x.

‡ De Burgo, quoting Father Vincenzo Baron, a learned Dominican and contemporary of Fra Domenico, states that the latter was confessor to Queen Catherine, daughter of John IV, of Portugal, and wife of Charles II, of England.

dergast, Esq., that learned and most obliging gentleman placed in his hands the subjoined letter, which he found among the Carte Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It plainly proves that Fra Domenico never forgot the adopted land of the Geraldines; and that he gave the Marquis of Ormond credit for what he did not deserve—patriotism.

FATHER O'DALY TO LORD ORMOND.

“MOST EXCELLENT LORD LIEUTENANT,

“I AM extream sorry I cannot have the happeness to kish (*sic.*) your hands having failed conveniance his Majestie was pleased to appoint me, the time limited for my apparence to Rome being neere expired which depriving me of fully filling my intentions for Ireland constrains me to be troublesom to your Excie. with these lines.

“I was employed by the King of Portugal to his Matie. of Great Brittain, who, by reason of the correspondency, I had before with his father and himselfe, grounded on my past endeavours in his affaires in the Court of Lysbone

“I presume to signifie your Ex. how his Matie, commanded me to deliver my minde plainely to

The venerable prelate adds that Charles II, previous to his marriage, wrote many letters to O'Daly. The earthquake, doubtless, deprived the world of this correspondence, which the late Miss Strickland would have turned to good account in her biography of Catherine of Braganza.

him in all I understood in the cause of Ireland. and I possessed his Matie. (according to my opinion) that the agreement and settlement of that kingdom consisted principally in the fruition of the priviledges of a free kingdome, as Ireland is deserving it better than any of his Majesty's Dominions for to have shewen themselves more loyale in their later revolution for which they should not be of worste condition, rather enjoy larger priviledges for the future example and consequence. I added how it was against naturall law that a kingdom should be under an othor but only dependent from their King imediately, according the conditions of all nations. Whereunto I found his Matie. well disposed, but his counsell most averse, whom I cannot blame herein for not concurring to deprive themselves of the government and disposition of that kingdom whose conservation and preservation now, My Lord, depends in a manner wholly on your Ex. by admitting the propositions of your kingdome, seconding them in such manner as shall appeare convenient to your Ex., whose conservation to (too) is necessary to the common good of that countrie. My love and respects to your Ex., doe oblige me to be so bould as to informe you how it is admired in all foraine parts that a person of your quolitie and interests in that kingdom should not be the chief instrument to procure and advance all privileges that may conduce to the public credit and honnor of your own nation (for all passages in the same leitle corner are manifest to all Europe).

“My Lord, your posterity is (posterity's) pur-

petuall credit may both unite and sollicit your uttermost furtherance heerein, if your Ex. doe but reflect seriously on the danger they and the kingdom will be in if they relay (rely) on the mercy of another nation, and your experience and knowledge may inform you of much more than I can express, and how we had been heitherto and continually sleyghted and disesteemed by English and Scots, and consequently by all others for the poorness of our spirits in our easie sufferance of base subjection beyond all other nations. This is the tyme of a maine concurrence to obtaine a seasonable remedy for all our evils, not following the example of the Scots in demanding unreasonable insolencys, but only demanding what is just and lawful, and never denied to any Commonwealth.

“If what I offer here for comission and looe of monies may seeme to your Ex. to merit the charge of an expresse, Mr. King may be entrusted therein who hath instructions how and where to find me, who humbly craves your Ex’s. pardon for the liberty I assume to express myself, and the desire I have manifest by some better testimony my zeale to serve the countrie and your Ex. in pursuance of the resolution I have taken to purchase by my uttermost endeavours the esteeme and title of

“Mi Lord

“Your Excies. très humble

“Most obedient and most faithful servant,

“Fr. Daniel O’Daly, *alias* Dominique
du Rozarre.”

[Endorsed in the Marquis of Ormond's handwriting is the following:—

“Father Daniel O'Daly, without date. Received by Sir James Preston, * 28 August, 1650, with his demand for a free kingdom. And this Fr. was regarded by ye King and Queen and Lord Jermyn as having very good pretentions.”
—Carte Papers, vol. xxix, p. 506, Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

In conclusion, the editor presents to the reader a list which evinces the wonderful vitality of the Irish Dominicans, and shows how warmly they are appreciated by their countrymen, whose pious liberality has enabled them to erect so many churches and conventual residences.

Tallaght.—Noviciate and House of Studies,
founded 1854.

Newry.—A new foundation, 1870.

Tralee.—The old foundation restored, 1857.

Waterford.—The old foundation restored, 1867.

Since 1840, the following conventual churches have been erected:—

1840.—Cork.

1847.—Sligo.

1861.—Dublin.

1865.—Dundalk.

1870.—Newbridge.

1871.—Tralee.

1877.—Waterford.

1878.—Drogheda.

1862.—Black Abbey, Kilkenny, restored.

1869.—St. Saviour's, Limerick, restored.

* Son of the temporising General Preston, whose hatred of Owen Roe O'Neill and desertion of the Nationalists of 1641 helped to ruin the Confederated Catholics.

As for the Dominican nunneries, we have only two in Ireland—St. Catherine of Siena, Drogheda,*

* After the lapse of six hundred and fifty-four years the shattered tower of the Magdalene sees its latest offspring on the north bank of the Boyne, disinherited, it is true, but enriched by the devotedness and affections of those whose forefathers saw the former in the freshness of its religious beauty and splendour.

And now a few words in behalf of what remains of St. Magdalene's, so scandalously neglected and desecrated. De Burgo, who visited it in 1760, describes it as a mass of ruin, and contributes the following incident, the perusal of which may, perhaps, help to save from further desecration the little that Cromwell's artillery has left standing. In the year of our Lord 1412, there was a battle between the inhabitants of Drogheda dwelling on opposite banks of the Boyne, anent the jurisdiction of the Alderman. In order to prevent the recurrence of such broils, a report of which had been sent to King Henry IV Philip, Bennet, O.P., preached to the contending factions in the collegiate church of St. Peter, and subsequently invited them to a collation in the monastery of St. Magdalene, at which William Symcock (the Alderman) presided. Then and there it was arranged that Robert Ball should proceed to London with letters subscribed by Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh, praying his Majesty to settle the controversy. On the 15th December, same year, Ball returned, bringing royal letters which appointed Symcock first Mayor of Drogheda, and decided that both banks of the Boyne should be subject to his jurisdiction. When his Majesty's letters were read, the archbishop blessed the people, and thus ended the dispute about the question of boundaries. To this appeal for the preservation of the beautiful ruin, we may add that Primate Luke Netterville, its founder, was interred there in 1227, and that his successor, Patricius O'Scanlan, who died in 1271, selected it for the place in which he desired to await his resurrection. Nor should it be forgotten that nine Primates of All Ireland were reared within the walls of St. Magdalene; and that one of them, Roland Joyce, was schoolfellow of the Angelic Doctor, when Albertus Magnus taught in Cologne.

founded 1752; and that of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, in Galway,* *under the obedience of the General of the Order*. The former has been, for many years, one of the best educational establishments in Europe; and many of its Sisters deserve to rank among those whom Father Marchese has celebrated in his "History of the Dominican Artists."

* The parent House, of which the actual one is a restoration, was highly esteemed by the Nunzio Rinuccini, in 1645-6.

AUTHOR'S DEDICATION.



TO THE MOST EMINENT PRINCES,

ANTONY AND FRANCIS BARBERINI,

CARDINALS OF THE HOLY ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

I PRESENT to your view the mourning of your daughter, like unto "the mourning of ostriches" (*Mich. i*), Most Eminent Princes and Cardinals, in rank and dignity equal, vivid images of all other virtues, prototypes of firmness and fidelity, patrons and protectors of the Irish nation. Behold, "the sea-monsters" of English heresy "have drawn out the breast" of your daughter; "they have given suck to their young, and the daughter of your people is like the ostrich in the desert," *Lam. iv, 3*. She has left her eggs on the earth, nor has she warmed them in the dust. She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers. She has left her young in the dust, to be trodden by the feet of beasts. Truly, Ireland, like a young maiden, who is to be guided by the circum-

spection of a parent, and not by the caprices and vanities of youth, must ever own herself more indebted to your prudence than to her own sufficiency ; for you, in the days of her sorrows and trials, protected her as long as she hearkened to your counsels—cherished her till she grew cold ; and advised her till she grew foolish. But, alas ! Tully (*Rh.*, lib. i) hath taught us, that wisdom, without strength, may be of much avail, and that strength, without prudence, availeth little. One of you, the Cardinal ANTONY, has shown himself the protector of Ireland ; and the other, to speak truth, a powerful reliever in her struggles. One of you, by solicitude and earnest prayer, faithfully clung to her ; the other stretched out the arm of authority to defend her. One of you exerted all his energies for the sake of the Irish nation, to foster and cherish the order of friars-preachers—and in this work he stands singularly conspicuous—let the halls of the Minerva* at Rome attest the fact. The other, an anxious spectator of events, gave all his powers of mind and ample revenues to sustain the war in Ireland, by sending a Legate, together with copious supplies. One of you, in the pontificate of Urban VIII, of blessed memory, deputed a most prudent and pious man, the Rev. Peter Francis Scarampi, to discharge a most im-

* The great College of the Dominicans at Rome, so called because built on or near the site of the Temple of Minerva.

portant mission in our island ; and when Urban passed from this world, you, Most Eminent Cardinal FRANCIS BARBERINI, offered to take on you the onerous duty of Legate, and to sustain the war at your own expense.

Would that he * who now rules the Christian world might only signify a desire authorising me to dwell at greater length on these subjects ; but my memory shall never lose the grateful recollection of that humanity and kindness with which Cardinal FRANCIS took me into his confidence, in the year of the Jubilee, at Rome. I shall not be silent whenever the remembrance of these facts recurs ; but, above all, of the generous avowal I myself heard him enunciate—that he was ready to present the Irish people with a sum of 500,000 gold pieces, to maintain themselves against oppression. What need is there of more words ? Many schoolmasters has our country had—verily, many teachers—but very few fathers. Destiny so willed it that she should have pretended friends in abundance ; but, alas ! few true ones. Prompters there were many, but actors have been scarce ; vows and protestations of love were made her, but, O heaven ! they were violated as soon as made. You alone, Most Eminent Princes, have proved yourselves the sincere patrons of our people. Avenging time has confirmed the truth of my statement. The sense

* Innocent X.

of gratitude which I shall ever cherish for you is, therefore, my motive for dedicating to you this little work, whose object is to depict the persecutions inflicted by the English on the people of Ireland. To none but you should such a work be devoted ; for you have consoled a weeping people by your sage admonitions, and aided them by your largesses when they had recourse to arms. For these reasons, therefore, spurn not the labour of my hands ; but, if I may advance another reason why you should receive it kindly, bear with me for a while.

In the land of Hetruria there flourished once a mighty vine, thither transplanted from the desolated plains of Troy. Florence claimed this beauteous plant her own ; and well might she glory in it, for “its branches stretched forth unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river” (*Ps.* 79). From the banks of the Arno, and the shores of the blue Tyrrhene Sea, the branches of that great tree extended themselves to the far off land of Erin. That tree was the noble race of the Geraldines, who, under the shadow of Tuscan banners, penetrated regions whither Roman legions never dared to venture. Well nigh five hundred years did the Florentine plant bloom and flourish on our soil. And fame has not been silent ; for your Eminences are learned in the history of the Kildares and Desmonds. Oh ! how deeply treasured in my heart are the memories of

that beloved race ! “ The shadow of it covered the hills, and the branches thereof the cedars of God ” (*Ps.* 79). But the destroyer out of the wood hath laid it waste. Heretic wrath hath felled it, and the fierce boar of England hath torn it up by the roots. The history of this Florentine family has been my special study ; for it is intimately associated with that of my religion and country ; and fondly does she cherish the remembrance of the Geraldines. Nor do I think I have imposed on myself an ungrateful task in rescuing from the accidents of time their chivalry and piety. Accept, then, Most Eminent Princes, this little book, and protect it with your patronage. Five hundred years of nobility and fidelity to their fathers’ faith, must entitle the Geraldines to your esteem ; my little work is ambitious of it too. Receive it, then, and its author, with the same benignity and commiseration which have distinguished your sacred and noble characters in regard of your Eminences’

Most observant client,

FR. DOMINICUS DE ROSARIO O'DALY.

PREFACE

CONCERNING THE INVASION OF IRELAND BY THE
ENGLISH.



FIVE hundred years have now passed away, benevolent reader, since Adrian IV, an Englishman, conferred by his Bull, the title of Lord of Ireland on King Henry II. Ever since that memorable event the English have ruled Ireland. Far be it from me to examine whether flesh and blood prompted the Vicar of Christ to bestow on a king of his own nation the island of Erin, on some vain and unfounded representations. Historians of great weight have asserted it. I enter not into the controversy, neither do I intend to assert that the Head of the Church was deluded by the false statements of Henry, nor to argue with the Church concerning the justice of the fact. I am not ignorant of the limits which must circumscribe the Pontiff in deposing or removing princes; in what cases and under what circumstances he can maintain or deny the right of

temporal dominion. I am not ignorant of the question so often raised, whether the Pope has power over temporalities, and of what nature that power is. It is enough for me to know the fact, and, knowing it, to be able to account for it. The authority of great historians has taught me that this king, Henry II, pretending zeal for religion, acted the part of a tyrant and hypocrite, in order to advance his power, and gratify his avaricious lust. Granting that he may have been at some former period an excellent king, it is indubitably certain that he subsequently became an inordinate tyrant, and the unrelenting enemy of the liberties and immunities of the Church.

When Adrian IV was elevated to the Apostolic chair, in the year 1154, Henry wrote him letters of congratulation, in which the crowned hypocrite dared to lecture him on the art of governing; not only instructing, but admonishing him about those who should be raised to the dignity of cardinals, and promoted to ecclesiastical benefices. Another artifice he had recourse to, in order to effect his designs against Ireland. He affected, forsooth, a holy indignation against the Turks, and insisted on the necessity of redeeming the Holy Land; purpled by the blood of the Redeemer. But these were impositions and stratagems by which he obtained from the pope, about two years afterwards, that is, in 1156, a Bull, authorizing him to

establish law and order in Ireland. This is apparent from the Bull in which Adrian recapitulates the assertions made by King Henry; for that instrument commences thus:—"Laudably has your magnificence given your thoughts to the propagation of God's glory on earth, thus securing for yourself a glorious reward in heaven; for it appears that you are desirous of enlarging the domain of the Church, by declaring to a rude and ignorant people the truth of the Christian faith, and clearing that portion of the Lord's vineyard of weeds, as becometh a religious monarch." And again, "You have signified to us, beloved son in Christ, your intention to invade Ireland, and reduce the people of that island to order, by clearing that region of the Lord's vineyard of tares. You have also announced your intention of levying a tribute of one penny off each house within the limits of said island, to be paid annually to St. Peter's Chair, and have declared your determination to maintain whole and inviolate the rights of the Irish Church"—"We, therefore," but I refer you to the *Annals of Baronius* for the whole of this Bull of Pope Adrian.*

* Authority for the authenticity of Pope Adrian's donation of Ireland to Henry II:—John of Salisbury, sent by Henry to Pope Adrian in 1155, to obtain said Bull. Having got it and a gold ring from his Holiness, he, on his return to England, presented the ring as a title of investiture to King Henry. Giraldus Barry, and his contemporary,

Therefore, Henry got power to invade Ireland, to extend the boundaries of the Church, and to declare to an ignorant and rude people, the truth of the Christian faith, to root out weeds from the Lord's vineyard, to subjugate the people to laws, and to pay one penny annually out of each house to the See of St. Peter.

Behold, reader, on what pretexts the dominion of Ireland was given to an English king. But Henry's real object was to weaken the power of the Church, as will appear to those who patiently peruse what we are about to state :—

First—It is certain that the boundaries of the Dicetus, dean of London; Roger de Wendover, and Matthew Paris. Publication of said Bull by the Irish bishops in Waterford, 1175. Copy of Adrian's Bull sent by John XXII to Edward II, when the Irish nobility protested against English misrule. Baronius, who gives the Bull in his *Annales* “ex Codice Vaticano.”—Theiner. Instruction given by Pope Innocent X to the Nuncio Rinuccini when about to leave Rome for Ireland in 1645 :—“Henry II,” says that most interesting *rèsumè* of the History of Ireland, ‘wishing to subjugate Ireland, had recourse to Adrian who was an Englishman, and obtained from him, most liberally, all he asked. The conditions on which the Bull was given being violated, John, Adrian's successor, bitterly censured Edward, successor of King Henry.’ [Nunziatura in Irlanda.] The *Bullarium Romanum*, Romæ, 1739. Sweetman's Cal. State Papers, temp. Henry II, in which will be found a series of Bulls, temp. Alexander III, all confirmatory of Adrian's donation. Lingard, Lanigan, and other historians.

Roman Church were not, and could not have been enlarged by an invasion; for, fully more than seven hundred years before the time of the second Henry, the whole island was Catholic, so much so, that it knew not the name of heresy or schism till introduced by the English themselves. Yea, Ireland was a Catholic country since the year 431, when Pope Celestine sent St. Patrick to preach the Christian faith. Thus, it is manifest that the first and second pretexts on which the grant made to King Henry was founded—namely, to enlarge the territories of the Church, and to announce to a rude and ignorant people the Christian faith—must have been false and delusive.

Second—Equally certain it is that the third and fourth pretext conveyed in the words “to uproot the weeds of vice from the Lord’s vineyard, and to subjugate the people to law,” are of themselves fictitious, and only invented for the occasion. Know you not the fable of the wolf and the lamb? Whilst innocence was drinking at the mouth of the running stream, the thief, who was seized with a desire to devour it, cries out, “you have muddied the fountain head.” Even so was it with Henry II, who, inflamed by lust of dominion, describes the Irish as rude and uncultured in religion; and thus obtained from Adrian, his countryman, a commission to revive the faith, and improve the people’s morals. But, it is known to everyone

that in the days of Henry there were five provincial kings in Ireland, one for each province, and that each of them was subject to the supreme ruler, King Roderic. This was the order from the earliest times, if we desire to know the political and civil regimen, and the subjects of these potentates were all, without exception, Catholics. But, if you search the history of the Irish Church, you will find that in the days of this Henry, and long before him, illustrious and holy men ruled it from the metropolitan chairs of the four provinces, and that Cardinal John Papiron, in the year 1151 or 1152, was sent as Legate by Pope Eugene III, to bestow on them the honour and dignity of the pallium.

In the See of Armagh was St. Malachy, who died in the year 1148, and is mentioned in three letters as Legate and Archbishop. If we may credit Baronius, he was succeeded by Christian in the primatial see—(Christian was a disciple of St. Bernard)—but it is more likely that he succeeded him, not as archbishop, but legate, because his name is not found in the list of the bishops of Armagh, and it elsewhere appears that this Saint Christian, as Bishop of Lismore and Apostolic Legate, presided at the Council of Cashel, in the year 1172, the very year in which Henry came in person to the Irish shores.

Moreover, at the date of Henry's landing, and

for a considerable time after it, St. Laurence O'Tuathail was archbishop of Dublin. This saint was the son of Moriarty, king of Leinster, by the daughter of O'Brien, king of Thomond, who, following the example of St. Romuald, renounced the royal purple, was appointed abbat of Glendaloch, and afterwards raised to the metropolitan see of Dublin. This illustrious archbishop was appointed Legate, and, resisting the tyranny of Henry II and his iniquitous government of Ireland, was persecuted by him, and died in exile, in Normandy, A.D. 1181. He was afterwards canonized by Honorius the Third, in the year 1226. Nor are we to believe the English historian (Hovenden), quoted by Baronius, who asserts that Henry II was acknowledged by all the archbishops and bishops in the Council of Cashel; for in Surius' life of Laurence O'Tuathail, it is stated that he went to Rome on business connected with the Church, and to interpose in the dispute between King Henry of England and Roderic, king of Ireland. Nay more, that he returned in the capacity of Legate Apostolic, with a Papal Bull condemnatory of King Henry, which so enraged the latter that the saint was denied entrance at any of the ports, and soon after died in exile. Hence it is that Surius describes Henry acting the tyrant against this saint, as he did a short time before against St. Thomas of Canterbury. It is certain,

too, that St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, together with Felix of Lismore, and the Bishops of Waterford and Limerick, were present at the Council of Lateran, under Alexander III, in the year 1179, when Laurence was appointed Legate to Ireland. The saint discharged Legatine duties in Ireland for a brief space, and died an exile at Eu, in Normandy, far from his native land.* From a life of him written by a monk of the monastery in which he expired, we collect some important facts—the most remarkable of which is, that every potentate and minor prince in Ireland was opposed to King Henry; and this is as certain as that Cardinal Vivian was appointed Legate to Ireland, after the death of St. Laurence, in the year 1183. Concerning Vivian, Philip O'Sullivan, author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, relates, that when the northern princes rose to a man, and repudiated English sovereignty, the cardinal, truckling to English influences, pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who would make war against their invaders. But the conduct of this man, and his efforts to crush a people struggling against oppression, may be read at full length in the history

* His tomb was restored by King Louis Philip, in the Church of St. Laurent at Eu, which preserves the saint's head, his chalice and other relics having been destroyed by the Calvinists.

of Cardinal Baronius, who, quoting William of Newbury, writes thus :—"Vivian * held a general council, but without success ; the civil war which tore the vitals of the island interfered with his projects, nor could he perfect the work he had at heart. He was finally obliged to retire, loaded with Irish gold, for he was avaricious ; and this hankering after wealth damaged his reputation." From which I conclude that Vivian, corrupted by the bribes of Henry II, was weak enough to whet the edge of the spiritual sword, forgetful of his own honour, and to pronounce spiritual pains and penalties against men who fought for their freedom. I may also add that after the English had been eleven years in Ireland, neither people nor clergy acknowledged them as masters or conquerors.

But let me make an observation about the general state of the island at the time of the arrival of Henry II ; or, at least, let me try to shadow forth a feeble notion of the splendour of its church.

* The text of William the Chronicler, as it appears in Baronius, runs thus :—"Sub hoc anno, 1183, Gulielmus Newburghensis ponit legationem Viviani Presbyteri, Card., ubi tradit generale concilium celebrasse, sed infelice exitu ob ingruentia bella civilia, quibus impeditus perficere non potuerit quod intendit, coactus recedere auro Hibernico, quod multum sitierat, onustus. Ita plane, nullum bonum finem potuit sortiisse legatio, quam infamis auri cupiditas infamavit."

I will not here attempt to enumerate those ancient monuments of piety, so abundant that the hermitages of monks and other pious men were as numerous as the cottages and homesteads of the agriculturists. I will barely glance at those asylums of holiness which were famed all the world over—for example, that of St. Mongret, in the county of Limerick, where in the time of St. Cormac O’Cuillenan, archbishop and king of Munster, there were forty contemplative recluses, five hundred learned preachers, and six hundred psalmists, who poured forth daily to the Lord of Heaven the tribute of their praises. All this is evident from the Psalter of Cashel, composed by the same king, Cormac, as may be seen by reference to Dr. Keating. Look you, also, to the monastery of Benchor, restored by St. Malachy, A.D. 1130, in which there were, in the olden times, three thousand monks, and out of which, in one day, nine hundred souls winged their way to Heaven. Of this monastery you will find a beautiful and glorious record in St. Bernard’s biography of Malachy. Pass for a moment from the more ancient monuments of our piety, and keep this fact in remembrance. In the course of ten years before the English invasion, besides innumerable oratories repaired and restored, there were twenty-four grand abbeys of the Cistercian order founded and erected in Ireland. Moreover, there were then in Ireland universities, whose fame had

gone abroad through the world. Of these there were not less than four or five, along with innumerable schools, which were fountains of knowledge in every department. Among them, the most celebrated was that of Lismore, founded A.D. 636, by St. Carthag. It was the most famous of all the western seminaries. This glorious academy of arts and sciences was established by that holy man, who was subsequently Bishop of Tarento. The Danes did, indeed, destroy its halls and cloisters, but St. Malchus restored them after King Bryan had expelled those heathens from our shores.

Now, generous reader, I pray you, is there anything in all this which needs a verbose or critical apology? Long before the days of the invasion Ireland had a civil government, and her kings were Catholics. In the ecclesiastical government, she had holy men canonized by the Church. Three successive Apostolic Legates—Malachy, Christian, and Laurence—and her sons were always devoted to the hierarchy. Her children were renowned for the cultivation of literature; the number of her saints was all but countless; and such was the purity of her faith and morals, that the name of a heretic was never heard, or, if pronounced, was hardly understood by them. On what ground, therefore, was founded this idle pretence of reducing the island to laws and civilization? Surely, the morality of the inhabitants, and the state of the kingdom did not

deserve reprobation. But that you may know who and what this Henry was—this reformer of morals ; how perverse his character ; how faithless in his engagements ; how regardless of his promises, and cruel in his conduct ; in a word, how prejudicial to the interests of Catholicity and the Pontifical authority, attend, I beseech you, to what I am about to lay before you.

Let me, then, refer you to Baronius, who, writing of the year 1164, places before your eyes the Constitutions of Clarendon, which contemplated the destruction of the liberties of the Church and the forfeiture of all her hallowed immunities. But against this tyrant there arose another “Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life propped up the house, and fortified the temple.” This champion of faith was St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was persecuted by Henry, and afterwards won the guerdon of martyrdom. This holy prelate proceeded to Pope Alexander the Third, who was then in France, and laid a statement of the affairs of his hurch before him, what time the Ciniquitous king added worse and more tyrannical enactments to a code already characterized by intolerance. The following, selected out of many, may serve to elucidate my assertion :—

1. “If any one be found carrying letters from the Pope, or any instrument from the Archbishop

of Canterbury, containing an interdict against the Catholics of England, let him be arrested and adjudged guilty of treason against the king.

2. "No monk or cleric of any order shall be permitted to cross the seas and land in England, unless privileged by the letters of the king; whoever shall dare to contravene this order, let him be thrown into prison.

3. "Let no one appeal to the Pope or Archbishop.

4. "No mandate of the Pope or Archbishop shall be received in England by any man; whosoever shall have been found acting contrary to this order shall be imprisoned.

5. "It is also generally forbidden that any mandate, whether from layman or cleric, be carried to our Lord the Pope, or to the Archbishop: who does so let him be imprisoned.

6. "If any of the clergy or laity shall hold themselves bound by the terms of an Interdict, let them be outlawed, together with their kindred, nor shall they take their chattels along with them.

7. "Let the chattels of all those who espouse the party of the Pope and Archbishop, no matter of what order, sex, or condition, be forthwith confiscated to the king.

8. "Let all clerics, who have benefices or property in England, be forthwith admonished that if they return not within the term of three months

all such benefices and property shall be confiscated to His Majesty.

9. "The moneys called Peter-pence, shall no longer be paid to the Pope; but collected with greater diligence, and consigned to the Royal Treasury, to be disposed of as the king shall think fit."

The tenth enactment denounces the Bishops of London and Norwich, who fulminated the interdict against the Lordship of Count Hugo.

Behold now, good reader, how this tyrant, Henry, became intolerable and domineering: "he grew fat and kicked," just eight years after he had obtained the Papal brief for the conquest of Ireland and the subjugation of the Irish to laws, on condition that he would pay tribute to the Holy See, and guard the rights and immunities of the Church—behold, I say, his marked contempt for Pope Alexander the Third. Verily, instead of protecting the Church, he desired nothing more than the annihilation of the Papal supremacy. Let it also be remarked, that some have regarded this Bull of Adrian the Fourth as spurious; for although, according to Baronius, the original instrument may be seen in the Vatican, nevertheless, it does not appear on what day or year it was issued; Philip O'Sullivan, however, says it was given in the second year of Adrian's Pontificate, A.D. 1156.

I pause not here to investigate what demon from the abyss tempted Dermid M'Murrough, King of Leinster, to bring the English among us. History has sufficiently enlightened us on that lamentable subject, and I rest content with what I have stated of the invasion. I have it not at heart to question the right of English dominion over the Irish people, for, cursed as it has been, a possession of over five hundred years has confirmed it. But there is one subject which I will not hastily dismiss, to wit, the utter recklessness of honour and principle on the part of our tyrants, and the fortitude and constancy with which the Irish have sustained "the burden of Babylon." Alas ! five hundred years have seen my countrymen bearing the toil and sweat of the day, treachery and treasons have beset their footsteps, the pitfall was digged for honour and simplicity. Oh ! how many of them have perished, victims to wiles and snares ; even as I write, ruin is hovering over the land, and, what is still more strange, not alone the ancient inhabitants have sunk beneath it, but, along with them, have perished the children of those who invaded our shores in the days of King Henry. Scarcely had they come among us, when they exchanged the soil and salt of England for that of our island ; they adopted our habits, our language, and customs ; those invaders and their posterity resisted English tyranny and extortion with a boldness and determi-

nation which was only equalled by that of the old Celtic race ; for their God, their children, and possessions, both struggled with heroic perseverance. But I will not intrude on the labours of those whose duty it is to write the history of the wars of our own times.

But, ever foremost in the van of those who fought for freedom, has been the illustrious family of the Geraldines. Let none gainsay it, they were the first to fall in their country's battle. If it be pious to love your natal soil, chivalrous to arm for it ; if it be religious to prefer God to a king, and magnanimous to spurn dangers and difficulties ; then, to the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, let fame bestow the palm of piety, chivalry, and magnanimity.

Hence it is that I have felt myself bound, as it were, by a twofold obligation of truth and history, to write the deeds of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond ; for, although the whole of the Irish nobility may now be described as totally extinct, nevertheless, something remains which must outlive the tyrannical oppression of the English ; to wit, the unblemished honour and reputation of the Geraldines, though God knows this may be short-lived and evanescent.

I therefore divide this little work into two parts. The first shall treat of the origin of the Geraldines, their lineage and prosperity in the land of Erin,

and, finally, of their ruin in the battle for their country's liberty, and indomitable attachment to the ancient faith. The second part shall treat of the persecutions inflicted by the English on the Irish people after the overthrow of the Geraldines. But in this matter, I confess, I do not handle my subject as amply as I might, for I pass over many things in silence, lest I may be accused of adding pain to pain, or embittering still more the cup of our sorrows. This may not be in strict accordance with the canons of history; truth whispers that I ought lay them bare before the world, but prudence counsels a becoming silence. If the Geraldines have had powerful rivals, nay, determined enemies in Ireland, whose fortunes are nothing bettered by that enmity, and whose love of country can never be placed in competition with theirs, I do not envy them; but I will not suffer the honour and the glories of the Geraldines to remain unchronicled. But of the recent struggles and dissensions which have torn and divided you, beloved fellow-countrymen, I will say nothing; they are shrouded in darkness, and I shrink from touching gaping wounds, lest I should make them bleed afresh. But my undertaking must prove acceptable to you, men of Ireland, as well as to those of other lands, if I shall have proved that Ireland fell beneath English oppression, barbarity, and cruelty, after sustaining every hardship for the freedom of her faith and

homesteads. But mark me, generous reader, I wish it not to be understood that I entertain hostility to the Catholics of England, or that I confound them with our persecutors; of the latter I echo the saying of Gregory the Great, they should not be called *Angli* but *Angeli*, provided they were Christians; withal, as I am a debtor to truth, I will not disguise from you the atrocities of those heretics who, like the fabled two-headed serpent of Lybia, have crept into the fold of Christ, and poisoned the people with their deadly venom. If it be objected to me that this is a painful and aggravating narrative, I ask, in reply, why do you commit deeds from the exposure of which you are ready to turn away with loathing? God, be Thou propitious to my design. Bear with me, reader, and then farewell.

THE NAMES OF SOME OF THE INVADERS OF IRELAND
WHO CAME FROM ENGLAND IN THE TIME OF
DIARMID, KING OF LEINSTER.

Henry the Second, and King John, his son; Richard, Earl of Strongbow; Robert, son of Stephen, uterine brother of Maurice, son of the great Gerald, and germane brother of the King of England, from whom descended the Stephensons, all of *Clanskine*; Raymond le Gros, son of William, son of Gerald the Great, from whom descend the

Graces, in the County Wexford, and Mac Maurice, of Kerry ; Maurice, son of Gerald the Great, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert the Great, of Windsor. From this you may adduce that Mac Maurice of Kerry descended from Raymond, nephew of Maurice, the first of the Geraldines in Ireland.

Hervey de Mateis, *alias* de Monte Marisco, son of Gilbert, first Earl of Clarence, in England, son of Richard, Earl of Anjou and Brienne, in Normandy, who came to England with William the Conqueror ; the aforesaid Hervey came with Earl Strongbow and Maurice the Geraldine to Ireland. This Hervey was uncle to Earl Strongbow, and the maternal uncle of Maurice, as Cambrensis writes.

Hugh Cantoval, *alias* de Gundevilla, knight (the name is of Norman origin), was left by Henry the Second, as Cambrensis informs us, together with Robert, son of Bernard, in charge of Waterford, with forty other knights, as appears from the history of the conquest of Ireland, written about the year 1549, by William Mac Dermid. From these descended the Cantwells and Condons. In the ancient records of these families you will frequently find them called Cantown ; but correctly the name is Cantwell ; for the English name is formed out of the Norman one, *i.e.*, *Town pro Villa*.

Gilbert Caosluig, from whom descend the Mac Costelloes.

Hugo de Lacy, from whom descend the Lacys of Munster.

With Dermid, king of Leinster, came many other noble knights, as Cambrensis and Camden inform us.

Robert Barry, whom Henry II left in charge of the garrison of Wexford, placing under his command twenty knights. Together with Robert came the Meylers. From the latter sprung a clan well known in Leinster, and from the former the family of the Barrys in Munster.

Maurice Prendergast, from whom sprung the family of that name.

Milo de Cogan, Risterd de Cogan, Walter de Ridelsford, Robert, son of Bernard, William de Burgo, Humbert, *alias* Humphrey Bohun, Philip Hasting, Hugo Tyrrell, David Gualensis, nephew of Raymond le Gros, Robert Poer, Osbert de Herlotesa, Philip de Brensa, *alias* Brus, Griffin, nephew of Robert Fitzstephen, Walter Barry, Philip Duvalensis, *i. e.* Duval, Adam of Hereford, Gerald and Alexander, sons of Maurice Gerald, Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis Barry, knight, the historian, brother of Philip Barry, and nephew of Fitzstephen, John Cursen, Raymond Cantemar, for whom consult Camden "*de Hibernia.*"

THE RACE OF THE GERALDINES IN IRELAND, TAKEN
FROM THE IRISH AND ENGLISH RECORDS.

1. Maurice (Fitz), or son of Gerald of Windsor, was the first of the Geraldines who landed in Ireland with Dermid MacMurrough, A.D. 1169.

2. Gerald, son of Maurice, Viceroy of Ireland, died in the Franciscan habit in the monastery of Youghal, A.D. 1205.

3. Maurice, who built the monastery of St. Francis, at Youghal (some think him the same Maurice who married the daughter of Geoffrey Morrison, Viceroy of Ireland), died A.D. 1257.

4. Thomas, Justiciary of Ireland, was slain at Callan (Glean-naroughta), with his only son, John, knight, who built the monastery of Tralee, A.D. 1260.

5. Thomas Symiacus, called *a nappagh*, or of the ape, whose wife was Jane, daughter of Lord Barry, had two sons, Maurice and John, from whom sprung the MacThomases, Lords of Decies. This Thomas, after having flourished thirty-nine years, died, and was buried in Tralee, A.D. 1229.

6. Maurice, first Earl of Desmond, was Viceroy of Ireland. His first wife was daughter of the Duke of Buckingham; his second was daughter of Geoffrey Morrison, Viceroy of Ireland, who had for her dowry an island of Kerry, with many other possessions; his third wife was daughter of the

Red Earl, or, as some would have it, Eleonora, daughter of MacMaurice, of Kerry. He died in Dublin, A.D. 1305.

[Here there is a discrepancy in the ancient vernacular records ; for some of them place Gerald after Maurice, whilst others have inserted another Maurice and his son John between Maurice and Gerald.] Thus :—

7. Maurice, the younger, Viceroy of Ireland, who was drowned in the year 1358.

8. John, son of Maurice, died A.D. 1369.

9. Gerald, or Garret, son of the above-named John, whose wife, Eleonora Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond, died in the year 1390, leaving three sons—John, James, and Maurice.

10. Earl John, who was drowned in the river Suir, near Ardfinn, A.D. 1409.

11. Thomas, son of John, was driven into exile by his uncle, James, and died in Normandy, A.D. 1420.

12. James, son of Gerald, who took to wife Maria de Burgo, daughter of MacWilliam of Clanricard, had two sons, Thomas and Gerald, Lords of Decies. James died A.D. 1450.

13. Thomas, son of James, Viceroy of Ireland. His wife was Eliza, daughter of Lord Barry. This Thomas was beheaded at Drogheda, A.D. 1466.

His sons were James, Maurice, Thomas, and Gerald, of Mocollop.

14. James, son of Thomas, was slain, together with his son, at Rathkeale, A.D. 1487.

15. Maurice, son of Thomas, called Maurice of the Chariots. His wife was Evelina, daughter of Lord Roche. He had two sons, James and Thomas, and died A.D. 1519.

16. Thomas, son of Thomas, whose son, and grandson James, were slain by Brien, surnamed the Black, at Athicailli.* This Thomas married the daughter of the Lord of Muskerry. He was called Thomas the Bald, the Victorious.

17. John, son of Thomas, son of James, brother of the aforesaid Thomas, took to wife Morea, daughter of Donatus O'Brien. He lived two years in possession of the earldom, and died leaving four sons, James, John *oge*, Maurice *dhuv*, and Thomas.

18. James, son of Maurice of the Chariots, son of Thomas, died, and was buried in Tralee, 1574. He had a daughter named Jane, who married James, Earl of Ormond. She died, A.D. 1577. [Here some have introduced John, son of Thomas, son of James, of whom we will speak anon, and insert James, his son. This James was thrice married. His first wife was daughter to Lord Roche; the second, the daughter of O'Carroll, of

* This place is in Muskerry, County Cork. It is now called "Attically," *i. e.*, "The Ford of the Wooden-house."

Ely; the third was daughter of M'Carthy Mor. He had four sons. By his first wife, Thomas *rua*; Gerald, alias Garrett, and John, by the second; the issue of his third marriage was James. Thomas, the first born of James, had two sons, James and John.]

19. But Gerald, or Garret, second son of James, took to wife Eleonora Butler, daughter of Mac Piers. He was slain in battle on the 11th of November, 1583.

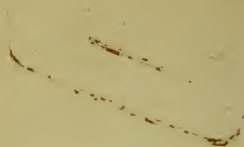
20. James, son of Thomas *rua*, was proclaimed earl by his own people; but Queen Elizabeth liberated from prison James son of Garret, and set him up against the first-named James, whom she caused to be committed to the Tower of London, where he died, as some say, of poison.

21. James, son of Garret, was delivered as a hostage for his father. Having endured seventeen years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, the Queen sent him into Ireland with the title of Earl of Desmond; but when the power of James, son of Thomas *rua*, was broken, and peace restored, she gave herself no further concern about the earl, who went back to England, where, it is said, he died of poison, A.D. 1602.

22. The last of the line was Garret, son of John, son of Thomas *rua* (or Rufus), who was created Earl by the King of Spain. He died in the service of the Emperor of Germany, A.D. 1632.

Hitherto we have given the descent of the Geraldines, from Maurice, son of Gerald. The following is the genealogy of Maurice :—

Maurice, son of the great Gerald, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert Mór, that is, the Great, Constable of the King of England, in the lordship of Windsor.



THE GERALDINES.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE GERALDINES.

It is a fact beyond questioning that the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond *—a race renowned for valour—derived their origin from the ancient Trojans. Ten years' siege had destroyed the glorious city of Ilium, and cut off all its leaders, with the single exception of Æneas, who, being compelled to fly, assembled about him a trusty band of youths, who had outlived their country's overthrow, foremost of whom, in dignity and bravery, was the founder of our Geraldines. Accompanied by these faithful followers, and after seven years of vicissitudes by sea and land, Æneas at length set foot on the coast of Italy. King Turnus having been slain in battle, Lavinia, his daughter, was wedded to Æneas, who,

* Desmond, in Irish, signifies South Munster. It was divided into three regions—Clancare, which lay next the sea, between the bay of Dingle and Kenmare river; Bear, lying between that river and Bantry; and Everagh, or Evaugh, situated between Bantry and Baltimore. There was also another district of it which lay next the Shannon, being the small barony of Iraghticonner.

succeeding his father-in-law, ruled over Latium. Æneas soon afterwards divided the land of Italy amongst his followers, assigning to each his portion ; and in the distribution, he bestowed on the great ancestor of our Geraldines that region of Hetruria, where Florence now stands.*

CHAPTER II.

THE GERALDINES COME TO ENGLAND.†

WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, asserting that he had a better claim to England than Harold, and finding that repeated remonstrances failed, determined to assert his right by force of arms ; he therefore resolved to collect a mighty army ; and when the fame of this went abroad, thousands came from all quarters to rally round his standard. Amongst these was one who, yet a stripling,

* For some very curious and rare documents concerning the Tuscan origin of the Geraldines, the reader is referred to the Appendix, as they are too long to be introduced here, and would be deprived of their value if cut up into fragments for annotations.

† A rapid transition this of the Geraldines, from the banks of the Scamander, over the sea to Latium, thence across the Tiber to the Arno, and finally to the Thames. There is not, however, any exaggeration as to the number who, from all quarters, flocked to the standard of William. Alexander II sent him a consecrated banner and a ring, thus conferring a sacred character on the invasion of England. "William," says Thierry—*Hist. of the Norman Conquest*, p. 62—"offered good pay, and the plunder of England, to every man who would serve him with spear, sword, and cross-bow.

rivalled in valour the boldest of the followers of the Norman Duke ; from him descend the illustrious Geraldines of whom we are going to write. Followed by a chivalrous band, he was warmly welcomed at the court of William, and appointed to high command in the army destined to invade England. When every preparation had been made, they crossed the sea, and landed on the shore of England * in the year of our Lord 1066. A mighty battle ensued, and, despite the valorous bearing of the Saxons, King Harold fell, leaving his kingdom and crown in the hands of the conqueror. When, therefore, William was in possession of the throne, he determined to reward his adherents with large possessions. In requital of their valour, he gave to our Geraldines the castle and lordship of Windsor, of which they held possession till the days of Walter, son of Ether. This Walter had three children ; from the first of whom, William, sprung the Earls of Windsor ; from the second, Robert, the Earls of Essex ; but the third, Gerald of Windsor, having married the daughter of the Prince of Wales, had of her Maurice Fitzgerald, from whom descended Thomas Fitzmaurice, Justiciary of Ireland, who was buried at Tralee. He left two sons, John and Maurice—the former, first Earl of Kildare ; the latter, first Earl of Desmond. But now we will narrate the cause of their coming to Ireland.

* At Pevensey, on the 28th of September, 1066. The battle alluded to in the text is that of Hastings, fought on the 14th of October, 1066, in which King Harold and his two brothers were slain.

CHAPTER III.

ARRIVAL OF THE GERALDINES IN IRELAND.

DERMID MACMURROGH, King of Leinster (one of the five provinces of Ireland), had carried off the wife of a neighbouring prince; the name of this lady was Devoirgilla, and she was far-famed for her beauty. Her outraged husband, burning for vengeance, summoned the princes of the land to meet him in council, and aid him in bringing back his wife. They consented to assist him, and declared war against Dermid; who, deserted by his own subjects, fled into England, to implore aid and subsidies. Henry II, who was then King of England, was actively prosecuting war in France; and thitherward hastened Dermid, who, in an audience with the king, made him an offer of a yearly tribute provided he enabled him to recover his throne. King Henry, whether touched by pity or moved by a desire to enlarge his territories, promised him assistance, and dispatched letters to Richard, Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow, commanding him to collect troops and proceed to Ireland to reinstate Dermid in his own dominions, reserving the other parts of Ireland to Henry himself. Now Strongbow was a man of fearless daring, who, having squandered in luxury and debauch his ancestral revenues, gladly seized an opportunity of retrieving his ruined fortunes by any means. He, therefore, collected a band of adventurous youths,

fitted out ships, and prepared everything necessary for the prosecution of his orders. The most distinguished of this band were Maurice Fitzgerald, knight, Robert Fitzstephen, Robert Barry, Miles Cogan, and Raymond Le Gros, progenitor of the noble house of Lixnaw.*

Truly these are names which must be immortal ; but that I may not prove tedious, for it is not my object to write a long history, they landed at Wexford, and many were the battles which they fought with the native Irish ; finally, that desperation might add to daring, they caused their ships to be burned, thus leaving themselves without means of retreat. Soon afterwards Strongbow came in person, and, placing himself at the head of his companions, succeeded in taking Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, as much by treason as by force of arms. The island was thus in great measure won, and Dermid restored to the sovereignty of his fathers. Henry, in the meantime, grateful for the service done him by these brave youths, bestowed large grants on each of them, to be retained for ever by their posterity. On Maurice Fitzgerald he bestowed the amplest reward in lands, as well as honours ; which, being won by the sword, he increased in progress of time, and having long and boldly guarded them, finally bent beneath the weight of years, and died.

* Earls of Kerry. Their seat was in the barony of Clanmaurice, and the town of Lixnaw or Lisnaw, together with its old bridge, were built by Nicholas, the third Baron of Lixnaw, A.D. 1320.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST DISASTER OF THE GERALDINES.

THE descendents of this Maurice, through a succession of seven generations, became so powerful in wealth, honours, and landed possessions, that they excited the envy as well as the hostility of the Prince of Clancarthy and other chieftains, who dreaded their increasing power. They, therefore, conspired to destroy Thomas Fitzgerald, then Justiciary of Ireland. Now, it so happened that when Thomas, and his son John Fitz-Thomas, were on an expedition for the king, the M'Carthys, with their adherents, surprised them between Kerry and Desmond. Fitzgerald had but few followers, and seeing no chance of escaping, dashed boldly amongst the enemy, but, after he had given many and signal proofs of valour, slaying many of his foemen with his own hand, he and his son fell by the swords of those who were allied to him by most sacred ties, for M'Carthy Mor was the son-in-law of Fitzgerald.*

* This battle was fought in Callan, about five miles east of Kenmare. Eight barons and five knights, besides many others, fell there. Earl John, who, with his son, was slain by Fineen MacCarthy, was ever afterwards known as John of Callan. It was he who founded and endowed the Dominican monastery in Tralee. He there erected for himself and his posterity a costly sepulchre. Thomas, son of Maurice, killed in Callan, was only nine months old when, if we can believe the legend, the ape carried him to

Alas ! the whole family of the Geraldines had well nigh perished. At one blow they were cut off, father and son, and now there remained but an infant a year old, to wit, the son of John Fitz-Thomas recently slain. The nurse, who had heard the dismal tidings at Tralee, ran about, here and there, in a frenzy of grief, and left the cradle of the young Geraldine without a watcher. Thereon an ape, which was kept for amusement, lifted the infant out of his cradle, and carried him to the top of the castle. There, to the astonishment of those who passed that way, the ape took off the babe's swaddling clothes, licked him all over, dressed him again, and brought him back to his cradle safe and sound. Then, coming to the nurse, as it were in reproof for her neglect, he dealt her a blow. But ever after was that babe called "Thomas an-appagh," that is, of the ape. When he grew to man's estate, he was ennobled by many splendid characteristics. He avenged his father's and grandfather's murder,

the top of the Dominican bell-tower and back to his nurse's arms. Some attribute the ape-supporters in the Fitzgerald arms to this incident; but his Grace the present Duke of Leinster states that they do not appear in the Gherardini arms at all. Many members of the Desmond family took the habit in the convent of Tralee; among others, John Fitzgerald, who became a lay-brother of the order, and was buried there in 1536. When De Burgho, the learned bishop of Ossory, visited Tralee in 1754 there was not a vestige of the ancient house. There was, however, a small community of Dominicans, consisting of two priests, residing, we may suppose, in a hired house (*domus conductitia*), in the neighbourhood of the original foundation. The zeal of the Dominican Fathers erected the actual convent in 1857.

and re-established the fortunes of his house. He left a son, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who was the first Earl of Desmond.

CHAPTER V.

CREATION OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.

THIS Maurice was created Earl of Desmond by Edward III, in the second year of his reign.* He married the daughter of Geoffrey Morrison, Justiciary of Ireland, and received as her dowry the sweetest island of Kerry, together with its whole territory. Not long after this Maurice led an army into Scotland, at the king's command; and, having rendered signal services, returned home loaded with spoil. As a reward for his services he was then appointed to command a fleet, which swept the seas and cleared away the pirates, who had long rendered a passage to England unsafe. As long as Maurice lived he kept the Irish people obedient to the English crown, and thus endeared himself to the king. Now, when he had enjoyed the title fifty years, he died, bequeathing all he possessed to Maurice Og, that is, Maurice the younger, of whose exploits we have no record; but in truth, he had but little time to achieve much, for he was only two years in possession of the

* Edward's Irish policy was to retain power by the nobles resident in Ireland, whether of native or Norman origin. Some he attached by titles, to others he granted stipends, and interfered not with the prerogatives of any, so long as they left him at liberty to pursue his Scottish and French wars.

paternal honours when he was drowned on his voyage to England, A.D. 1358.

John Fitzmaurice, a man of splendid intellect, and brother of the deceased, who left no issue, held the title till the year 1369. This earl gave sore travail to the Irish chieftains, who could not brook to see their ancient patrimony seized, and held by strangers.*

Garrett, or Gerald, a man remarkable for prudence and military renown, who, they say, was skilled in magic, succeeded to the earldom, and lived thirty years from the time of his accession, that is, to the year 1399. He left a son, Maurice Fitzgerald, who died about the end of the aforesaid year, leaving no children. He was succeeded by his brother, John, a youth of great promise, who, in the following year, that is, 1400, perished in the river Suir † whilst journeying to Clonmel, and, indeed, without having done anything worthy of himself or his ancestors.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST RISING OF THE GERALDINES AGAINST THE ENGLISH, AND THEIR RECONCILIATION.

THOMAS, son of John, succeeded his father. He rose in rebellion against the English, and, being summoned to appear before the Lord Justiciary,

* A remarkable proof of the untruthfulness of those who assert that the landing of Henry had reduced the whole island to submission.

† At Ardfinnan, when returning with his followers, who had made an incursion into the Earl of Ormond's territory, A.D. 1399.

was compelled to give twelve Anglo-Irish barons as hostages for his appearance. Soon afterwards, being charged with treason, nor daring to appear, his bails were heavily mulcted. The entire property of the earl was forfeited to the crown ; but he himself, after wandering about for a long time through Ireland, at length, destitute of friends and money, fled to France, where he died an exile A.D. 1420, twenty years after he had succeeded to the earldom of Desmond.

James Fitz-Garret, third son of the former earl, and uncle to Thomas, recently deceased, was now restored to his nobility and possessions by the king. This earl was far-famed for his warlike character, and great prudence in the civil administration. Thirty years was he Earl of Desmond, and, dying in 1450, bequeathed all his possessions to his son Thomas.

CHAPTER VII.

THOMAS FITZ-JOHN IS MADE VICEROY—HIS TRAGIC
END.

Now, when Thomas succeeded his father, he soon earned for himself a glorious name, by means of his great prowess. He was beloved by Edward IV ; for, during the long and bloody contest between the houses of Lancaster and York, Thomas Fitzgerald was ever on the side of the king. In nine battles, fought with Henry VI, he acted the part of soldier and chieftain ; and when the whole family of Lancaster had perished, with the exception of the Earl of Richmond, and Edward was in peaceful

possession of the throne, he resolved to remunerate the Geraldine according to his deserts, and raise him to highest honours. He, therefore, created him Viceroy of Ireland, and, before dismissing him, called him to a private interview, which we shall here narrate. "Tell me," said the king, "I conjure you by the recollection of our friendship and intimacy, do you see anything in my administration either injurious or disagreeable to my people?" The earl, therefore, candidly informed him that he knew nothing which could be turned to his Majesty's prejudice, except the marriage he had contracted with Elizabeth,* wife of Sir John Gray (slain a short time before at St. Alban's). "Wherefore," continued the earl, "I think you would do well by divorcing the present queen, and forming an alliance with some powerful foreign princess." The king, who thought highly of Desmond's judgment, assured him that his mind was at ease when he reflected that the marriage already contracted could injure none but himself, and kindly took leave of the earl. Desmond held the reins of government in Ireland several years, during which he administered all concerns honourably; and, at the end of the eighth year, retired, full of merits, to his own territory. Many happy years did he then pass, till he perished, most tragically, as I now will tell.

King Edward, on a certain occasion, was moved to great anger—for what cause I know not—against the queen, whom he bitterly reproved; nor less

* Elizabeth Woodville, who told Edward she was too low to be his wife, and too high to be his concubine.

censorious was the reply of the proud-minded consort, whereat the king, growing warmer, said: "Long since would I have broken thy insolent spirit, had I hearkened to the advice of my trusty servant, Desmond." The queen, hearing this, brooded over the words, and begun to meditate vengeance against the earl. Subsequently, when she and her royal consort became reconciled, she elicited from the king the history of his interview with the earl; for his Majesty did not suspect that she meditated revenge. She thereon clandestinely possessed herself of the king's privy seal, and sent letters to Worcester, then viceroy in Ireland, ordering him, on receipt of them, to summon and behead the earl. Worcester immediately cited Desmond, and, in obedience to his orders, caused him to be decapitated at Drogheda, to the great astonishment of all the nobles and commons of Ireland.*

* The remains of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, so wantonly decapitated in 1647, by Tiptoft, then Lord Deputy, after having been interred in the Dominican convent, Drogheda, were removed to the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, where the monument erected to Strongbow was, by some, thought to be that of the Geraldine. Recent investigation shows that it is unquestionably that of Strongbow, at whose obsequies Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, presided. The cathedral has no memorial of the saint; but, despite centuries, and a hundred restorations, nothing shall dissociate his memory from that spot. He shall always be GENIUS LOCI.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS SONS MEDITATE REVENGE—THE KING CONDEMNS THE VICEROY, AND BESTOWS THE PALATINATE, TOGETHER WITH THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF DUNGARVAN ON THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

Now, when the death of the Earl of Desmond was proclaimed throughout the land, his five sons, who were most valiant men, raised their standards and drew their swords, resolved to avenge their father's murder. They devastated the entire country, far and near, even to the gates of Dublin; and King Edward, bitterly deploring the untimely fall of the brave earl, was exasperated against the queen; but she, who was the cause of this great crime, consulting her safety of soul and body, fled to a sanctuary. The viceroy being called out of Ireland, and ordered to appear in court, produced the order signed with the king's privy seal. But, although he urged this as a palliation of his offence, he was soon after put to death, and sacrificed to the angry shade of Desmond. The king then admonished the Desmonds by letters, not to sully their father's escutcheon with the foul blot of rebellion; protesting at the same time, that the Earl of Desmond had been put to death without his order, nay, without his knowledge. Finally, he promised pardon for all offences committed since the earl's death, and granted the amplest clemency to all who would immediately return to their obedience. Thereon.

when the Desmonds read these letters, they laid down their arms and cultivated peace. The king, adding benevolence to clemency, bestowed on James Fitz-Thomas, eldest son of the earl, the palatinate of Kerry, together with the town and castle of Dungarvan.* Many were the immunities and privileges which he added to be held by the Desmonds and their posterity for ever; and long did they enjoy them, till, as we will hereafter narrate, they lost them all.

Thomas Fitz-James, who, as we have seen, was put to death for his loyalty to his prince, was in possession of the earldom for twenty-four years, and dying, left five sons, born to him of his wife, who was daughter of Lord Viscount Barry. The eldest was James; the second, Maurice; the third, Thomas, the Bald; and the fourth, John. They were all in their turn earls of Desmond; but the fifth son, Garret, received as his hereditary domain Mocollop,† and the entire territory of Coshbride.‡ Even in our days the descendents of this Garret,

* Anciently Achad-Garvan. An Abbey was founded here in the seventh century, by St. Garvan, who gave the name to the town and port.

† “Mocollop Castle,” says Mr. O’Flanagan, in the beautiful description of the Blackwater, in Munster, “consists of a circular keep, or donjon, flanked at the base with square towers. Nearly half of the principal tower was battered down in the war of the seventeenth century, but the winding staircase is still tolerably perfect.”

‡ Coshmore, in the County Waterford. It is bounded on the north by the County Tipperary; on the west, by the County Cork; on the east, by the Barony of Decies; and on the south-east, by that of Immokilly, in the County Cork; and contains the parishes of Lismore, Mocollop, Tallow, Kilwatermoy, Kilcokan, and Templemichael.

as well as those of Maurice Fitzgerald, still exist. The deceased earl had also a brother, Garret, from whom the family of Decies derives its origin.*

Now James Fitz-Thomas, having made terms with King Edward, and received pardon for any act he had committed to avenge his father's death, became Earl of Desmond. He was a man of singular prudence, and greatly to the prejudice of the Irish did he add to the lands he had acquired. But lo! when fortune seemed to smile upon him, he was murdered in his castle of Rathkeale,† at the instigation of his own sons, and, as some think, with the connivance of his brother John.‡

He was succeeded by his brother Maurice Fitz-Thomas,§ who subsequently became renowned for

* Decies is commonly described as within Decies, and without Drum, in the County Waterford. Decies within Drum is bounded on the south and east by the ocean; on the west by the Blackwater river; and on the north, by Decies without Drum. Decies without Drum is bounded on the south by Decies within Drum; on the south-east, by the ocean; on the west, by Coshmore and Coshbride; on the east, by Upperthird and Middlethird; and on the north, by Upperthird and Glanebirry baronies.

† In Rathkale were three castles, built by the Desmonds, one of which commanded the River Deel. It had also a priory of Augustinian canons, of the order of Aroasia, founded and endowed by Gilbert Hervey, A.D. 1289.

‡ This crime was perpetrated in April, 1540, as we learn from a letter sent to King Henry VIII by the Council of Ireland: "James Fitzmaurice of Desmond has been slain by Maurice, the brother of James Fitz-John, whereby the latter has concentrated in himself the whole title to the Earldom."

§ This Maurice, styled *baccagh*, i.e., the lame, married the daughter of Lord Roche, and, dying in 1519, was buried in the Franciscan Church, Youghal, founded by his ancestor, Earl Maurice, in 1254.

feats of arms. He augmented his power and possessions, for all his sympathies were English, and proved a furious scourge to the Irish, who never ceased to rebel against the Crown of England. He made MacCarthy Mor—the most determined enemy of the Geraldines—his prisoner. Having lived thirty years in power and opulence, and dreaded by the Irish, he died, to the great sorrow of his friends and exceeding joy of his foes.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SLAUGHTER AT THE ABBEY OF MOURNE.

BUT his enemies soon had reason to turn their exultation into bitter grief ; for, when James Fitz-Maurice became earl, he rivalled the valour of his fathers, and many were the victories he gained over his enemies. He was, in sooth, a glorious hero ; but, in an evil hour, he made an incursion into Muskerry, and was met at the monastery of Mourne,* situate between Cork and Mallow, by

* The MacCarthys were Lords of Muskerry, and the chieftain, named Laider, built the castles of Kilcrea and Carricknamuck, the Franciscan monastery of Kilcrea, and the nunnery of Ballyvardane, with five churches. Cormac Og, who defeated Desmond, near the monastery of Mourne, was interred there. The Irish called the place Monastana-mona. It was founded for Knights-Templars in the reign of King John, but was subsequently transferred to the Knights-Hospitallers. At the time of the dissolution it was granted to Teige MacCarthy, whose descendents forfeited it in the insurrection of 1641. "That family," says Archdall, "are at this day (1786), styled Masters of

Cormack Og Laider, Lord of Muskerry, M'Carthy Riagh, and the confederated Irish ; and here, for the first time, the glory of the Geraldines was dimmed, not so much by the valour of their foes as by their own temerity ; for, on that memorable day, the uncle of the earl, namely, Thomas the Bald, who was captain of the horse, made a furious charge, which disordered the array of his footmen, and thus opened the way for his foes to triumph ; whereupon the earl, after having done prodigies of valour against the serried hosts of his enemies, was obliged to abandon the field.

He had no male children born to him in legitimate wedlock : he had, however, an only daughter named Jane, who married James, Earl of Ormond ; she was mother of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, Knight of the Garter, and much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth of England.

Mourne." We may add that it suffered great damage at the hands of Murrough O'Brien, surnamed the "Burner," who, rebelling in the reign of Edward IV, harried and destroyed several walled towns in Munster.

CHAPTER X.

CARDINAL WOLSEY URGES HENRY VIII TO PROCEED AGAINST THIS EARL, AND SUMMONS THE EARL OF KILDARE, THEN VICEROY, TO ENGLAND, CHARGING HIM WITH HAVING REFUSED TO ARREST DESMOND—THE EARL OF KILDARE IS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER—WOLSEY MEDITATES KILDARE'S DEATH.

HE married the daughter of O'Brien of Arra, and died in 1529, leaving one daughter, who was mother of Thomas (Dubh), Earl of Ormond. This earl, James Fitzmaurice, held secret correspondence with the Emperor Charles V of Spain, whose daughter, it is said, he ambitioned to marry. Many messages passed between them, of all which Henry VIII was a long time ignorant. It is commonly thought that Charles V at this time meditated an invasion of Ireland; and when at length these rumours reached the King of England, Cardinal Wolsey (a man of immoderate ambition, most hostile to the Geraldines, and then ruling England as it were by his nod), caused the earl to be summoned to London; but Desmond did not choose to place himself in the hands of the Cardinal, and refused to obey the citation. Thereupon the king despatched a messenger to the Earl of Kildare, then viceroy in Ireland, ordering him to arrest Desmond, and send him to England forthwith. On receipt of the order, Kildare collected troops and marched into Munster to seize Desmond; but after some time,

whether through inability or reluctance to injure his kinsman, the attempt miscarried, and Kildare returned to his country. Then the cardinal exasperated the mind of the king against Kildare, asseverting that by his connivance Desmond had escaped. This, indeed, was not the fact, for Kildare, however anxious, was not able to arrest Desmond. Kildare was then arraigned before the Privy Council, as Henry gave willing ear to the cardinal's assertions ; but before the viceroy sailed for England, he committed the state and administration of Ireland to Thomas, his son and heir, and then presented himself before the council. The cardinal accused him of high treason to his liege sovereign, and endeavoured to brand him and all his family with the ignominious mark of disloyalty. Kildare, who was a man of bold spirit, and despised the humble origin of Wolsey, replied in polished, yet vehement language ; and though the cardinal and court were hostile to him, nevertheless he made such a bold defence of his conduct, that he was only committed to the Tower of London. But the cardinal having determined to carry out his designs of vengeance, without knowledge of the king sent private instructions to the constable of the Tower, ordering him to behead the earl without delay. When the constable received this command, although he knew how dangerous it was to contravene the cardinal's mandate, commiserating the earl, he made him aware of his instructions. Calmly, yet firmly, did Kildare listen to the pursuivant who read his death-warrant ; and then, launching into a violent invective against the cardinal, he caused the constable to wait on the king, and learn if such

order had emanated from him, for he suspected that the cardinal acted thus without having obtained the royal sanction. The constable, regardless of the risk he ran, hastened to the king, and about ten o'clock at night reported to his majesty the order he had received from Wolsey to behead Kildare. Thereon the king was bitterly incensed against the cardinal, whom he cursed, and forbade the constable to execute any order not signed with his own sign-manual ; stating, at the same time, that he would cause the cardinal to repent his usurped authority, and unjust prejudice to Kildare. The constable returned, and informed the earl of his message ; but Kildare was nevertheless detained prisoner in the Tower to the end of his days.*

* There is a chapter in Galt's *Life of Wolsey*, full of errors and misrepresentations of Ireland and the Irish. It is only fair, however, to give him credit for his spirited sketch of Wolsey's interview with Kildare. "My Lord," said the former, "you remember how the Earl of Desmond, your kinsman, sent letters to Francis, the French king, what messages have been sent to you to arrest him (Desmond), and is it not yet done . . . ; but, in performing your duty in this affair, merciful God, how dilatory have you been . . . what! the Earl of Kildare dare not venture ; nay, the King of Kildare : for you reign more than you govern the land." "My Lord Chancellor," replied the earl, "if you proceed in this way, I will forget half my defence ; I have no school tricks nor art of recollection ; unless you hear me while I remember, your second charge will hammer the first out of my head. As to my kingdom, I know not what you mean . . . I would you and I, my lord, exchanged kingdoms for one month ; I would, in that time, undertake to gather more crumbs than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. While you sleep in your bed of down, I lie in a poor hovel ; while you are served under a canopy, I serve under the cope of heaven ; whilst you drink wine

CHAPTER XI.

HIS SON RENOUNCES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM—MEDITATES REVENGE—ANOTHER VICEROY SENT IN HIS PLACE, WHO, AFTER A BLOODY WAR, HAVING PATCHED UP A FICTITIOUS PEACE, PERFI-
DIOUSLY ARRESTS THE SON AND FIVE UNCLES, WHO ARE SENT TO ENGLAND, AND PUT TO DEATH.

Now a false rumour went abroad through Ireland that the Earl of Kildare had been put to death, and Thomas, his son, called Silken Thomas,* roused to fury, flung away from him the viceregal sword, which he had received from his father. Without

from golden cups, I must be content with water from a shell; my charger is trained for the field, your jennet is taught to amble." O'Daly's assertion that Wolsey issued the earl's death warrant does not seem to rest on any reliable authority; and the contrary appears likely, since such usurpation of royalty was not adduced in the impeachment of the cardinal.

* So called from the silken banners said to have been carried by his standard-bearers. When he heard the rumour of his father's death, he hastened to the Cistercian Monastery of St. Mary, Dublin (of which some remains still exist), and there resigned the sword of state, and declared war against the Crown of England. In his zeal for the Geraldines, O'Daly omits many of the rash and cruel acts of Silken Thomas. Allan, then Archbishop of Dublin, and devoted to Wolsey's policy, terrified at the revolt, set sail for England, but was obliged by stress of weather to land at Clontarf and take refuge in the house of one Hothe, at Artane. There he was confronted by Lord Thomas, from whom he earnestly begged his life, but the former ordered

pausing to learn the truth of the statement, he made an onslaught on the Anglo-Irish—wasting with fire and sword everything, even to the Castle of Dublin. When the news of his revolt reached the king, he sent another viceroy* to Ireland, who with a numerous army, sat down before the Castle of Maynooth, the strongest of Kildare's palatial fortresses. But when Thomas had garrisoned the castle with men equal to its defence, and stored it with great supplies of munitions, he proceeded in haste northwards, to collect provisions, and unite the people against the English. In the meantime, the Castle of Maynooth, owing to the treason of its keeper, was surrendered to the English; were it not for

the archbishop to be removed from his presence, 'calling him an "English churl." Two of his men, Wafer and Teeling, misinterpreting Silken Thomas's command, beat out the aged prelate's brains. It does not appear that Lord Thomas contemplated or approved this horrible atrocity. Allan, who died in 1532, was succeeded 1535 by the notorious Browne, an Englishman, who apostatised and desecrated the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity.

* Sir William Skeffington was now made Lord Deputy, and hastened to besiege Maynooth, a castle erected by John, Earl of Kildare, A.D. 1416. Parese, castellan and foster brother to Silken Thomas, being blinded by avarice, betrayed the garrison to Skeffington and Brereton. Skeffington then marched against Fitzgerald, and the battle alluded to in the text was fought near Naas. Leonard, Lord Grey, is said to have made terms with him, and he is also accused of having violated the solemn promise of pardon given to Silken Thomas and his uncles, who were subsequently put to death in London. "The ship in which the Fitzgeralds were carried to London was called 'The Cow,'" which, when they learned, their courage fell, occasioned by a prophecy which set forth, "that an earl's five sons should be wafted to England in a cow's belly, but should never return."

this, that strong place could not have been taken. But when Thomas returned from his expedition, he fought a sanguinary battle with the viceroy, in which there was fearful slaughter on both sides, till night coming on left the victory doubtful. On the following day peace was made between the viceroy and Lord Thomas, who was granted forgiveness of the past, and restoration of the family to all their former possessions. But Thomas and his five uncles were soon afterwards arrested, contrary to all honour, and put on board ship. Some of them were seized in Dublin, others in the country. They all were carried off to London, and beheaded. Their property was confiscated to the crown; and by this untoward event—the father had already died in prison—the whole family of Kildare was well nigh extinguished. The younger brother of Thomas, that is, Gerald, survived, and was subsequently restored by Queen Mary to the paternal honours, and a portion of his ancestral estates.* Hitherto we have been digressing, in order to show that the

* There can be no doubt that Wolsey's conduct to the Fitzgeralds was harsh and unjustifiable; but it is gratifying to know that another cardinal, Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, expiated the English Chancellor's enmity to the house of Kildare. Young Gerald was protected by his tutor Leverous, afterwards Bishop of Kildare, who carried him to Rome, where he was amply provided for and educated by Cardinal Pole. After many vicissitudes, graphically narrated by his Grace, the present Duke of Leinster (*Earls of Kildare*), Gerald returned to England in 1547, when his estates were restored by Edward VI. The noble house of Leinster was thus providentially saved from extinction by an Irish bishop and an English prince of the Church. Queen Mary restored Lord Gerald to the honours of his family.

Munster Geraldines did not bring final ruin on the house of Kildare, and, verily, it is amongst the first of our country, whether we regard its wealth, magnificence, or nobility ; but let us return to what concerns us most.

CHAPTER XII.

JAMES FITZMAURICE DIES—THOMAS THE BALD IS MADE EARL—HIS WICKED DOINGS—THE PREMATURE DEATH OF HIS SON, MAURICE FITZ-THOMAS, AND HIS NEPHEW, JAMES FITZMAURICE—THE SUBTLE SCHEME OF ANOTHER MAURICE, WHO OBTAINS THE LORDSHIP OF KERRY, THROUGH THE INTERPOSITION OF HIS BROTHER THOMAS.

JAMES FITZMAURICE, having been earl eleven years, breathed his last A.D 1536. Thomas the Bald, uncle of Maurice, and third son of him who was put to death at Drogheda, was proclaimed Earl of Desmond, after his nephew. Far-famed was he in feats of arms ; in nine battles he won the palm of victory ; he commanded the horse in a memorable action between the Earl of Kildare, then viceroy, and the great O'Brien ; short and bloody was that fight, and the victory was subsequently a matter of question between the combatants. Another subject for gratulation had this earl : the two Lords of Muskerry (one of whom was his wife's father), fell beneath his sword. He had a son born to him of the daughter of the aforesaid Lord of Muskerry ; his name was Maurice Fitz-Thomas. He, dying during his father's lifetime, left an only son, James

Fitzmaurice, who at the time of his father's and grandfather's decease, figured in the court of Henry VIII. Thomas died aged eighty, leaving the title to his successor and nephew, James Fitzmaurice, who, when he heard of his father's and grandfather's death, sought and obtained permission from the king to return to Ireland. His majesty loaded him with honours, fitted out ships to accompany him to the Irish shore, and provided him with a number of men who were ready to stand by him, against those who were inclined to dispute his title to the patrimonial honours and inheritance. Having crossed the sea and landed on the southern coast, he journeyed thence towards Cork, and passing through the territories of Lord Viscount Roche, fell into the toils laid for him by his kinsman, Maurice Geraldine, and was unfortunately slain, A.D. 1542.

Alas ! this horrid act was the first step to the ruin of the glorious family of the Geraldines. Divine justice took terrible vengeance, and soon after extirpated the whole race of John of Desmond ; for this Maurice, who shed the blood of his kinsman, was the second son of John of Desmond, who was brother to Thomas the Bald, and son of the earl who was beheaded at Drogheda. But let us speak of this Maurice. He was a redoubtable warrior, and princely in his castles, but nature gave him a fiendish character—humanity abandoned him—no generous trait distinguished him—impetuous and dishonourable, he was hated by every one. Wherefore, fearing that his eldest brother might seize his possessions, he deemed it safer to have him far removed from him, and, for this

reason, conferred on him a district called Kerri-curihy,* of which he made him lord, in the hope that he might fall by the swords of those who were the implacable enemies of the Geraldines; or, at least, if this did not happen, that he might be out of the way of inflicting injury on himself. But Maurice, having attained his eightieth year, still bore the brunt of many an assault, repelling and crushing his enemies. Now, when an octogenarian, he made an incursion into the lands of Muskerry, and was met in battle by Diarmid Mac Teig, his father-in-law, and made prisoner. Diarmid committed him to the custody of four horsemen, while he himself hastened to pursue the flying bands of Desmond; but in his absence, the guard fell upon the latter, and treacherously slew him. Yet we retract the word; for they only meted out to him the same treatment which he gave to all those whom the fortune of war delivered to his hands. He had two sons and three daughters, the first of whom married M'Carthy Raigh, the second the Viscount Roche, and the third Diarmid Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry. His eldest son, Thomas, did not long survive his father; but he left a son, Thomas the younger, who subsequently perished in the wars of the Desmonds; the second son, James Fitz-Thomas, remained to represent and perpetuate the race. John of Desmond, fourth son of the earl who was beheaded, enjoyed the earldom after the legitimate

* Kerri-curihy (called in Elizabeth's time, Kerrywherry), was given by James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, to his brother Sir Maurice of Desmond. It was anciently called Muskerry-millane, was owned by the MacCarthys, and, after the Conquest, was granted to Richard De Cogan.

heir had been cut off by the treachery of Maurice ; but he held it only for one year ; for, like Achab, in holy writ, he acquired it by the shedding of blood, and by bloodshed lost it.* He left many sons, the eldest of whom was James ; the second, Maurice, well known for his cruelty ; the third, John the young, all of whom, including their children, perished in the last war of Earl Garret, with the single exception of Maurice Fitz-John, who died in Spain.

CHAPTER XIII.

JAMES FITZ-JOHN AND HIS SONS, ESPECIALLY GARRET FITZ-JOHN, ARE INTRODUCED TO THE READER ; THE PARTS THEY PLAYED IN THIS TRAGEDY.

JAMES FITZ-JOHN succeeded his father. Attended by a splendid retinue, he proceeded to England, and made submission to Henry VIII, acknowledging, at the same time, that all the property of the Desmonds was forfeited to the Crown by reason of the murder of the legitimate heir ; but he boldly asserted that this act was committed, not by his hand, but by that of his brother, Maurice. The king, who, at this period, was at war with France, and desirous to see commotion entirely allayed in

* He died, aged eighty years, and is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* thus : " Maurice, the son of the Earl of Desmond, went on a predatory excursion into Muskerry. Dermot and Cormac MacCarthy overtook him, and beheaded him. He was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents."

Ireland, received him with the greatest kindness. He then confirmed to James his ancient patrimony, reinstated his brother, and sent him back to Ireland with the title of Treasurer to the Kingdom and President of Munster. For fourteen years he filled these high and honourable offices; and, dying, left three sons, Garret, John, and James. He had, moreover, another son, called Thomas "the Red," born of the daughter of Viscount Roche, who, they say (I know not on what authority), was not lawfully married to the earl. Be that as it may, Thomas *Rua* was declared illegitimate, and many calamities followed the brothers in their contentions; for this was a subject of never-ending dispute among them.

Now Garret Fitz-James, even in his boyhood, gave splendid promise. His first expedition was against M'Carthy Riagh, on whom he inflicted great and deplorable losses; but, in an evil hour, he marched into Muskerry, and was set upon by a great body of the natives, led by Edmond Mac-Teig, Lord Muskerry's son, by whom—his valorous bearing notwithstanding. he was made prisoner, after his horsemen had been put to flight. Six years he pined in captivity, shut up in the castle of Askeaton.* At length the prayer of his wife

* The Franciscan Monastery here was founded by James, seventh earl of Desmond, in 1420, and was a singularly beautiful edifice. It was greatly injured by Malby's *brigands* in 1579, after the defeat of Sir John of Desmond near Bruff. A guardian of this house was murdered on his own threshold by a bailiff, because the former had impounded his cattle. Earl Desmond was indignant, but his countess, who had received some costly gifts from the bailiff's wife, prevailed on her lord to condone the murder.

prevailed. She was the daughter of Maurice of Desmond, and Edmond, her kinsman, took compassion on the earl, and set him free.

Now, it so happened, that when Garret was restored to liberty, some one brought him word that Thade MacMurrough O'Brien was besieged in his castle of Inchiquin* by the Earls of Thomond and Clanricard. He thereon sent a promise that, on a given day, he would hasten with supplies of men and provisions to his friend, nor did he fail; for, having collected about five hundred foot and sixty horsemen, he crossed the Shannon at Castle-Connell,† and having appointed his brother commander of the horse, marched rapidly towards Inchiquin, resolved to give battle, and raise the siege. But when the earls heard of Garret's approach, they retired from before the fortress, to collect what number of men they thought necessary to encounter him. In the meantime, he succeeded in throwing into the castle supplies of men and provisions; and now, when Garret was returning, his followers being encumbered with spoil, Thomond and Clanricard fell upon him. He clearly saw that the only hope of escape was in a dashing charge; and, having briefly exhorted his clansmen to follow his lead, and not be disheartened by their superior numbers, he gave the earls such a shock that they broke and fled. Brilliant was this

* The ruins of this ancient stronghold, built by Teigue, Lord of Thomond, in 1466, stand near Corrofin, County Clare.

† Anciently called Carrig-o-Gunnel; one of the grandest residences of the O'Briens. De Ginkell destroyed it in 1691, during the siege of Limerick.

achievement of Garret ; honourable to him, and disastrous to his enemies. These, and many other chivalrous deeds did he perform, which the narrow limits of this book will not suffer me to recount. Soon after his father's death, accompanied by a noble retinue of a hundred youths, all of honourable birth, he proceeded to do homage to the queen, by whom he was graciously received, and restored to all his ancestral honours by a new patent.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTENTIONS BETWEEN GARRET, EARL OF DESMOND,
AND THOMAS BUTLER, CALLED THE BLACK—THE
BATTLES OF BOHER-MOR AND AFFANE.

BUT now, when Garret returned to Ireland, sore contentions arose between him and Thomas, Earl of Ormond, surnamed the Black. They both were young in years, hot in blood, and rivals in the high offices which they held in the queen's court. But Ormond was a prudent and sagacious man, who carried out his schemes silently and phlegmatically. Desmond, on the other hand, was frank, fiery, and impulsive. But the queen inclined most to the house of Ormond ; for, during the civil wars, the Butlers sided with the family of Lancaster, as the Desmonds did with that of York. The first cause of quarrel between the earls was a question of boundaries. They were neighbours ; and it frequently happened that they made incursions into each other's territories, for the purpose of lifting preys of cattle and corn ; but now, when both

parties became infuriated, this lust of rapine and dominion could only be quenched in blood. They therefore appointed a day to meet in mortal combat, near Boher-mor.* To this day it is called "The Battle-Field." Desmond commanded four thousand foot, and seven hundred and fifty horse. The very bravest of the Munster nobility accompanied him to the field. Nor inferior was the host that marched with Ormond. Who could describe the pomp, chivalry, and rivalry of the combatants? Ormond, moreover, had a number of great guns. There they stood fully fourteen days, confronting each other, their blood boiling, and all panting for the wacry of their respective leaders. Some of the nobility, however—chiefest of whom was the Countess of Desmond, mother of Ormond—interposed, and for a while there was a semblance of peace. But the countess dying soon afterwards, the wound which had been partially healed gaped afresh; for John Geraldine, brother of Earl Garret, routed Ormond's men, and killed, with his own hand, John Butler, brother to the Earl, in single combat. John Geraldine did this feat even while yet a boy. Now it came to pass that Desmond made an incursion into the territory of Decies, in order to lift rents which were due to him; and Decies immediately sent to Ormond, begging him to come and befriend him. The latter rejoiced that he had an opportunity of encountering Desmond, and complied with his kinsman's request. He brought with him a large body of men, to intercept

* Bothar-mor, the ancient highway from Tipperary to Cashel.

Desmond on his return; and the latter, never thinking that Decies had invoked Ormond's aid, was but ill prepared to meet their superior numbers.

Desmond, accompanied by a small band, had reached Affane,* where he saw Ormond's followers drawn out in order of battle; and, disregarding the counsel of those who urged him to retreat, turned to his companions, and said that he would rather fall by the edge of a sword than turn his back on a Butler. Then they came to blows; and the little band of Desmond did all that men of valour and chivalry could. Bloody was the struggle to win the victory, or, at least, to save their lord, who, dashing into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, rushed upon Ormond. Thus separated from his own men, he was struck by a gun-shot, discharged by Edmund Butler, knight; and, unfortunately, unhorsed. His followers were all killed, and the earl himself was carried prisoner to Clonmel. When his wounds were healed he was sent to London, and imprisoned in the tower, where he lay for seven weary years. Would to heaven that his incarceration had been perpetual! happy, indeed, it would have been for him.

* Formerly called Athmean, or Aghmean, from the Blackwater being fordable there. This battle was fought in 1564. Desmond lost 300 men; and when carried off the field wounded, made the well-known reply to the question, "Where's now the great Earl of Desmond?"—"Where, but on the necks of the Butlers." "Affane" is famous for the best cherries in Ireland—they being first planted here by Sir Walter Raleigh, who brought them from the Canary Islands.

CHAPTER XV.

REVOLT OF THOMAS RUA, AGAINST WHOM JAMES FITZMAURICE IS SET UP.

IN the meantime, his eldest brother, Thomas Rua, "the Red," reputed illegitimate son of James Fitz-Thomas, thinking to raise his own fortunes above those of his brother, took the earldom into his own hands, now that the brothers of Desmond were prevented by the queen and Ormond from prosecuting their right. The ministers of the queen were partizans of Butler, and although all the brothers were opposed to Thomas Rua and his pretensions, none of them was more determined to oppose the claim of Thomas than James Fitz-Maurice, second son of Maurice Desmond, second son of John Desmond, brother of Thomas Maol, or Thomas the Bald, both sons of Thomas of Drogheda, which first-named Maurice, as we have said, was slain by Diarmid MacTeig, Lord of Muskerry, and received a sad, yet meet reward for the treachery by which he slew James Fitzmaurice, legitimate son of Thomas the Bald, and heir to the earldom.

Bravely, therefore, did this James Fitzmaurice come forward to vindicate the right of Garret; nor less daring were his achievements. He was ever formidable to his enemies, defeat never waited on his standard, and in the eyes of all he was deemed worthy to be earl. However unwilling Queen Elizabeth might have been to act mercifully, the

uprising of the Geraldines induced her to liberate Desmond from the Tower. He, therefore, having received a pardon for the past, returned speedily to Ireland. But, ere he set sail, the queen reminded him of the ancient lealty of his house, and the honours bestowed on the Geraldines by her predecessors, the kings of England; and then, exhorting him to be steadfast in his allegiance, dismissed him. Desmond, returning thanks for this favour, pledged himself to be mindful of all her injunctions when not opposed to the mandates of God; and then, having crossed the sea, was received in Ireland with exceeding great joy, and immediately restored to all the honours of the earldom, despite the fictitious pretensions of Thomas Rua.

CHAPTER XVI.

ZEAL OF GARRET FOR THE CATHOLIC FAITH; HE IS ARRESTED BY LORD SIDNEY, VICEROY OF IRELAND, AND SENT TO ENGLAND WITH HIS BROTHER.

Now when he had been restored to the peaceful possession of his patrimony and ancestral honours, and saw himself surrounded by many a gallant band of followers, Garret, was sorely grieved by the insults which were showered by the preachers of the Reformation on the professors of the ancient religion. Then did he say to himself: "It ill seems a man of my position and belief to tolerate this; for, no matter how loyal I may be, I will not swerve from the lealty I owe to my God." Then did this champion of the faith openly avow his love

and veneration for the Catholic faith, causing all its rites and ceremonies to be performed even under the eyes of the queen's ministers, and swearing to stand by the religion of his fathers even to the last. Verily, the name of those innovators was odious and intolerable to him.

In the year of salvation, 1575, when Elizabeth heard how the Catholic nobility of Ireland treated many of her ordinances, but particularly when she was informed of the inflexible determination manifested by the Geraldines to resist her tyranny, she resolved to destroy, if possible, at one blow Desmond and all his people. This, indeed, she afterwards accomplished, as we shall see. But, alas! their destruction brought ruin and woe on the Irish people, and the Catholic religion.

To carry out her design, she wrote to Sir Henry Sidney,* a man of consummate craft and splendid accomplishments, to entrap the Desmond. He accordingly issued an invitation for the nobility of Ireland to meet him on a given day, in the city of Dublin, to confer with him on some matters of great weight, especially regarding religion. This was the scheme which the queen entrusted to Sidney for execution. He had instructions, moreover, to arrest the earl on his appearance in the metropolis, and commit him to prison. The Catholic nobles, never suspecting the viceroy's

* Sir H. Sidney landed at Skerries, September 12, 1575. From thence he went to Drogheda, where he was sworn on the 18th, the plague then raging in Dublin. At this time Surleboy, MacMahon, and O'Donnell, together with Turlough Lynogh, were in arms in the north, and had discomfited the English forces under Baker, at Carrickfergus.

subtle design, hastened to the city, and along with them the Earl of Desmond, and his brother John. They had a safe conduct from Sidney, and had hardly crossed the Liffey when they were arrested and committed to the dungeon of the castle.

After being detained a short time in Ireland, they were sent off to London, shut up in the tower, and compelled to pass five weary years in its loathsome seclusion. During this time the Queen of England more than twice contemplated putting the Geraldines to death ; and this was believed throughout Ireland, Scotland, and England. But the great and good God, who never abandons those who confide in him, not only prevented their death, but liberated them in the manner which I will now narrate.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLT OF JAMES FITZMAURICE—HIS STRUGGLE FOR THE CATHOLIC FAITH, AND THE RESTORATION OF HIS KINSMEN TO THEIR ANCIENT HONOURS AND INHERITANCE.

Now, while the earl and his brother John were languishing in captivity, they conferred together concerning their possessions in Ireland, and after mature deliberation concluded that unless their people were subject to some one who would lead them against the Reformers, who were possessing themselves of all the property of the Irish Catholics, even their own territories must soon be overrun and laid waste. Their kinsman, James, who was then in Ireland, was well known for his devotedness

to the ancient faith, and also for his valour and prudence. The earl and his brother therefore privately signified to him their anxious desire that he would take on himself the leadership, at the same time instructing all who owed them fealty to be obedient to him and submissive to his orders. Gladly did the people of Earl Desmond receive these commands, and inviolable was their attachment to him who was now appointed their chieftain.

And now, when James was elevated to the place vacated by the earl (detained in chains by the schismatics), fired with zeal for holy religion, he began to meditate war against Elizabeth ; but as a resort to the carnal weapon can be of little avail without first having recourse to the spiritual, he deemed it wise to send an envoy to Pope Gregory the XIII, [to pray his blessing on the undertaking, and concession of those Indulgences which the Church bestows on those who unsheath the sword for the faith.

The Pontiff received the envoy graciously, and spoke words which were meant to stimulate James in his enterprise. Then forth flashed the sword of the Geraldine, scattering like chaff the host of the Reformers.* Then did he carry fire and devastation into their strong places ; so much so, that for five years during which the contest raged, he won many a glorious victory and carried off innumerable trophies. But here I have not room to recount the many signal actions in which he defeated Sir John

* Here and elsewhere O'Daly revels in the style known as bombastic, but whosoever has perused the Sermons of Fra Gerund, will perceive that it was largely cultivated by preachers and writers of his period.

Perrot,* then President of Munster. In a word, Victory always followed his standard. This fact coming to the knowledge of the queen, who dreaded his growing power, now that his success seemed to be certain, she sent certain proposals to him, the object of which was to bring about a peace.

To the commissioners of her majesty, James Fitzmaurice replied, that he would gladly lay down his arms, provided liberty of Catholic worship was guaranteed, and that his kinsmen were restored to their ancient inheritances and all their honours. The queen thereon returned answer that she would grant what he desired, and send the earl and his brother safely to Ireland, provided James Fitzmaurice laid down his arms and desisted from spoiling the land.

* Sir John Perrot was appointed President of Munster, and landed in Waterford, 1572. He states that James Fitzmaurice was "a man very valiant, politicke and learned as any rebell hath been of that nation for many years." A month after his arrival he took up his quarters in Kilmallock, which had been burnt down by James Fitzmaurice a short time previously, and issued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to return and rebuild the town. He then took active measures against Fitzmaurice, who entrapped him in the wood of *Kilguy*, near Kilmallock, and slew his secretary, Trewbrigg, who had two hundred pounds on his person. The President himself had a very narrow escape from one of Fitzmaurice's men, who was "making redie to punch him with his pike overhand as the manner of the Irish charge is," when he was saved by one George Greame who ran the rebel through before he could give the deadly blow. Fitzmaurice challenged the President to meet him in single combat in the village of Emly, the weapons by the former's appointment being sword and target, and the dress *Irish* winsey, which the President did provide of scarlet. True to his agreement, Perrot, followed by many of

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EARL AND HIS BROTHER ARE SENT BACK TO IRELAND—NEW TOILS ARE LAID FOR THEM—THEY REVOLT AGAIN.

ALTHOUGH this treaty was ratified by the queen, and sealed with her seal, her perfidious mind and faithless counsellors never meant to carry it into effect. She received the earl and his brother with bland words and cheerful countenance; ordered a ship to be fitted out in regal state to carry them to their native shores; and, when the Desmond kissed her hand at parting, she addressed him thus :

the nobility who wished to witness the duello, went to the place on the day named, where, instead of meeting Fitzmaurice, he was accosted by one Conor Roe O'Harnan, an *Irish poet*, who delivered the following message:—"My master will not fight the President, not because for fear of his life, but because on his life depends the safety of all his people. If my master should kill the President, the Queen of England can send another into this province, but if the President should kill him, there is none other to succeed him or to command as he does." The President being much discontented at this, vowed without delay to hunt the fox "out of his hole." We may easily imagine how the crowd assembled to witness the performance must have felt when they learnt that Fitzmaurice declined the combat, and justly decided that discretion was the better part of valour. Perrot was appointed Lord Deputy in 1583, on the departure of Lord Gray of Wilton, and in 1592, being found guilty of high treason, was committed to the Tower under sentence of death. He lingered for a while, and so disappointed the headsman. See *Life of Sir John Perrot*, ed. 1728.

“You are well aware of our friendly disposition towards you, and now we would fain exhort you to never again sully the splendour of your ancient house with the foul stain of rebellion. Be loyal, and you will ever find in us a kind and considerate sovereign.” To this the earl replied, that he never had been guilty of rebellion; that the fidelity of his house to the crown of England was well known, and that when he drew the sword, it was only in defence of immemorial rights, and the vindication of his religion, which suffered daily insults from the stipendiaries of her majesty in Ireland. “Grant, therefore,” continued he, “my liege sovereign, that these men may no longer be allowed to infringe my rights, or offer violence to my religion—for you know that I owe allegiance to God.” The queen then reiterated the promise already made to James Fitzmaurice, and the earl and his brother set out on their journey homewards.

But she had privately directed the captain of the ship to proceed at once to Dublin, and avoid every other port, for the residence of the viceroy was in the metropolis. The object of this arrangement was to hand over the earl and his brother to the Lord Deputy. Now, she had previously instructed that personage to induce Desmond by cajolery to fix his residence in the city, and then despatch John to his brother James, and persuade him to come at once to Dublin, in order to secure them all, and, having committed them to prison—O grief! to see them put to death.

But on his arrival in the city, the earl was informed by a member of the Privy Council that a plot was laid for the destruction of the great and

glorious family of the Geraldines. On learning this, the earl despatched a messenger to John and James cautioning them on no account to leave their country or approach Dublin. "Come not here," he wrote, "for if you do, you will only have exchanged the prison of London for this of Dublin; but remain where you are and enjoy liberty on the fair wide plains of Munster." Having despatched this message, the earl himself escaped from Dublin at daybreak, and mounting a fleet horse, five days afterwards reached the residence of his uncle and brother in the remote fastnesses of Kerry, far, far away from his astute and implacable foes.

And now, when they had reflected for a while on this recent treachery of the English, and their black designs, the blood of the Geraldines boiled in their veins, and, like unto magnanimous lions long hunted and wounded by the spears of pursuers, they resolved to turn on their enemies. How their wrath kindled and blazed! They then betook them to the open country; their pursuers were in turn pursued: loudly sounded the deafening war-cry of their followers, and, ere it burst upon their enemies, they had plighted a solemn vow to die as became men, rather than desert their faith, their country, and their friends.

Thus did these three brave men, deeming it base to suffer any longer the wiles and perfidy of England, betake them to the field, where, day by day, they fought their foes. Stimulated by a species of fury, blood and devastation marked their footsteps; for, as I have said, they resolved to slay and be slain, rather than suffer the Catholic religion to be outraged within their territories—nay, to endure

every species of torment rather than be again circumvented by the lures and artifices of a treacherous race. Lo, here was magnanimity, here was honour! Oh! would to heaven all the nobles of Ireland had rallied to their banner—How glorious would not this nation be to-day? But those who deserted them turned away from the right path, and their penalty has been a bitter one. Heaven grant, that in another world they suffer not for their treason to religion and country! Not that I would suggest disobedience or disloyalty to the kings of England, legitimate as they are, and acknowledged by our forefathers—but I would rather impress on my countrymen the duty of giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's. And well might the nobility of Ireland have complied with this injunction, even though this combat for the freedom of their faith and country had cost them their heart's blood. Oh! that they had been united in an indissoluble bond for all that they should have held dearest!

And now Queen Elizabeth, greatly grieved by the disasters which her armed vassals sustained in this conflict, again sent peaceful propositions to the Earl of Desmond, who, indeed, was little loath to reject them. His faithful friends urged that he should make terms with Her Majesty; for his treasury was well nigh exhausted, and, yielding rather to necessity than inclination, the peace was agreed upon for two years. Stringent, however, were the conditions; for he stipulated that no one should be persecuted for his religion within the territories of Desmond, and that neither he nor his brothers, nor any of his kindred or dependents

allied to him by treaty or blood, should be summoned before the Lord President. Such were the conditions on which the peace was concluded.

CHAPTER XIX.

DEPUTATION OF JAMES FITZMAURICE TO THE POPE AND CATHOLIC PRINCES.

Now when this matter had been settled, the earl began to think that, although the queen might not make war upon him within two years, she would most certainly do so at their close. Wherefore, in order to take the necessary precautions, he despatched James, his brother, to Pope Gregory XIII, to implore his blessing on all his projects, and a grant of indulgences to those who would take up arms for religion and country. Now, although James was somewhat chagrined at the conclusion of the peace, and would fain have dissuaded the earl from agreeing to it, he, nevertheless, received from him pardon for any acts which might have pained him, inasmuch as they all were meant to procure Desmond's liberation. He, therefore, besought the earl to bestow on him some lands which he was able to defend, in order to maintain that state to which his high lineage entitled him; but the inopportune counsel of a woman, namely, Eleonora Butler, Countess of Desmond, thwarted James's hope. She was the mother of an only son, and employed all her powers of persuasion to convince Desmond that it would be dishonourable to sequester any portion of his domains, and that

the whole should be bequeathed to his son, James Fitz-Garret, then an infant. Desmond, indeed, in this instance, appears to have been over uxorious and selfish ; and, not regarding the claim and merits of his kinsman, who had perilled everything for him, rejected his entreaty. James was astounded at this great ingratitude ; but he was willing to forget such unmerited treatment, and generously resolved not to hazard the common cause for a family quarrel. He, therefore, set out for Rome, and brought with him his two sons, for, as yet, they were unable to wield the sword ; and he foresaw that the chances of war might throw them into the hands of the enemy. He knew, moreover, that Pope Gregory XIII was well affected to the Irish Catholics, and that by presenting to him these youths, the Pontiff would be still more anxious to aid the former in their struggle. It also occurred to him, that if he should fall, the children would thus be safe, and, when grown to man's estate, enabled to avenge their father's blood. Who could tell but at some distant day the two boys might obtain the pity of Catholic princes, and return to their own land with money and troops ?

At length, when the necessary preparations were made, they commenced their journey, and sailed for France. Here they were courteously received by the king,* who pledged himself to assist them against the English, and also to defend the Catholic faith ; but, although His Majesty was bent on doing so, the counsels of his ministers prevented

* Henry III.

him from carrying out his intentions. From France Fitzmaurice proceeded to Spain, where he was received at court by Philip II ; but this monarch had already made a treaty of peace with the Queen of England, and, not wishing to violate it, contented himself with giving Fitzmaurice commendatory letters to the Pontiff, beseeching him to take into his consideration the miserable state of the Irish Catholics. But when the king saw the two boys, Maurice and Gerald, he was highly pleased with them ; for, indeed, they were fair to behold, and well worthy his affection. He, therefore, resolved to take charge of them, and accordingly committed them to the guardianship of Cardinal Granville,* then Legate à Latere at the court of Madrid. Well and kindly did his Eminence watch over them. His Majesty provided for their education in the university of Alcalà, and had them brought up in all acquirements befitting their noble birth. And here let me say a few words about those brothers. In the royal presence and among the courtiers their ingenuous wit made every one cheerful, and the patrician elegance of their features excited the compassion of all those who had made themselves acquainted with their history. The Cardinal on many occasions acted as their interpreter ; and their talents, as well as mirthful repartees, won the admiration of all who heard them. Honour and dignity marked their

* He was by birth a Burgundian, and warmly attached to the interests of Ireland. He was in the habit of dictating to five secretaries, in five different languages, at the same time. He died some time before the expedition of the Armada.

actions and sayings ; and in a very brief space they outstripped all their youthful compeers in the science of arts and arms. Nor in this rivalry did they lose the affections of their noble school-fellows ; on the contrary, they were loved by them all, revered and esteemed. Amongst those attached to the youthful Geraldines, let me mention Thomas Granville, nephew to the Cardinal, who loved them with a brother's love ; and who, when Maurice, the eldest, died, became so devoted to Gerald that he never could bear to leave his side. There never was attachment and devotedness more faithful or persistent than theirs ; for when the " Armada " was about to sail, young Granville insisted on embarking in the same ship with Gerald. But both, unfortunately, were lost on the Irish coast. Sorely were they lamented in the land of Spain and Ireland ; but Granville and Maurice had been friends in youth—in death they were not separated.*

Here, too, might I narrate the many calamities which befell Alphonsus de Leira, the vice-admiral of that fleet, on account of Gerald's death. Alphonsus was a man of noble birth, and great military experience. When his ships were driven on the rocky coast that renders navigation so perilous on the western shores of Ireland, seeing that he could not ride out the furious gale, his

* In the *Icon Antistitis* there is a most pathetic account of the shipwrecked Spaniards who were cast on the coast of Galway. Those who fell into the hands of the English authorities only escaped a watery grave for a bloody one, and the women of Galway had the corpses decently shrouded and buried in consecrated ground.

crews took to their boats and gained the land. Multitudes of the native Irish, armed and desperate, rushed down to the strand. "Who are you?" they demanded. And when informed that they were crews of the Spanish expedition, they asked again, "Where, O where is the Geraldine?" And, woe is me! when told that he had perished in the storm, loud and mournful was their wailing. "Go, go," they exclaimed; "since you have lost Gerald, we want you not."

And now in vain did Alphonsus hope for rest and relief; but his famished seamen would not be allowed to pitch a camp. He, too, bitterly bewailed the death of Gerald; for, living, he would have been life to him and his; but, alas! he again spread his torn sails, and vainly sought to gain the open sea. The storm lashed the waters into foaming billows, and drove back his doomed ships on the terrible reefs, where they soon went to pieces, and, miserable to be told, all their crews perished. The history of these matters might well employ me, were it my object to write it; but as I am only making a brief narrative of the actions of the Geraldines, I fear lest my pen might be shipwrecked. I therefore return to the land I left, namely, James.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES ARRIVES AT ROME, AND RETURNS TO SPAIN.

Now, James having left his two sons with King Philip of Spain, travelled to Rome, to the court of

Gregory XIII. The Pontiff received him with greatest honours, and so far was his Holiness from denying him any favour, that he bestowed on him whatever he asked, and gave him a considerable sum of money for the prosecution of the war. At last when about to take leave, his Holiness blessed him, and pronounced a spirit-stirring exhortation, that, if possible, intensified the holy zeal which Fitzmaurice cherished for the true faith. "Defend it," said the Pontiff, "and in me you will always find a friend." In the letter which his Holiness addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, he appointed the Earl of Desmond general-in-chief, as well in matters of war as peace; to James he gave the rank of second in command; and in case of James's death, he appointed John; and, providing for any contingency which might cut off the last named, he ordained that the honour should be conferred on James, brother of the earl, as you may learn from what follows:—

Gregory XIII to the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, as also to the Catholic Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, Nobles, and people of Ireland, health, and Apostolical Benediction.

"A few years ago we admonished you, through our letters, when you took up arms to defend your liberties and rights, under the leadership of James Geraldine, of happy memory, that we would at all times be ready to assist you against those English heretics who have deserted the holy Church of Rome. Praiseworthy throughout all time must his exertions be in endeavouring to cast off the hard yoke which the English have imposed upon you.

Strenuously did we exhort him to prompt and fearless action, and in order more efficaciously to move him thereto, we granted to all those who contritely confessed their sins, pardon and remission, provided they enrolled themselves under the banner of the aforesaid James, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, or aided him with counsel, munitions, or other requirements for the maintenance of his army. This indulgence is the same as was imparted to those who fought against the Turks for the ransom of the Holy Land. But a short time ago we learnt, with profoundest sorrow, that James fell in battle, stoutly fighting for the faith. John Geraldine has succeeded him, and has already given heroic proof of his devotion to the Catholic religion. We, therefore, exhort each and every of you to show him the most implicit obedience, and that you exert yourselves to aid John, as you would have aided the aforesaid James, if he were still alive. We, therefore, impart to each and every of you the same indulgence, provided you shall have first confessed and communicated, and supported by every means in your power the general-in-chief, John, and in case of his demise, which God avert, James. We, therefore, decree, that the power of obtaining this indulgence shall last as long as the aforesaid John and James shall live.

“ Given at Rome on the 13th day of May, 1580, and eighth of our Pontificate.*

* Gregory XIII died in 1585 after having with the assistance of the celebrated astronomer, Lilio, reformed the Calendar, which was published by a Bull in 1582, and accepted by most of the Catholic kingdoms. The Protestants rejected it because it was the work of a Pope; so much

Now James yearned for home, fearing that the spirits of his people might droop. In his last interview with Pope Gregory, he besought him to appoint a certain Englishman, named Stukely, to the command of the vessels destined to convey men and arms to Ireland. This Stukely, who accompanied James out of Spain, had wasted his patrimony in Ireland by luxurious living, and, hoping to repair his fortunes, devoted himself to the Desmonds. The Pontiff knew not how to deny James any favour; but he dreaded much that he was greatly deluded in trusting to an Englishman on such an occasion. Fitzmaurice declared that he was fully convinced of Stukely's fidelity, and consequently he was created by the Pontiff, lord of Idrone, and appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, "till its arrival in Ireland." The Pope gave two thousand soldiers,*

so that it was not adopted in England and Ireland until 1752, in the reign of George II.

* It is impossible to determine the exact number of men given by the Pope to Fitzmaurice. O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath. Hib.*, p. 113) says that they were in or about one thousand, and adds on his own responsibility, that most of them were brigands pardoned at the entreaty of Fitzmaurice on the strict understanding that they should clear out of the Pontifical States and take service under him in Ireland. Some of them, however, did not follow the free-booting profession, and we may assume that Ercole di Pisa was an honourable man, although a soldier of fortune. Be that as it may, his Holiness and travellers in Italy must have been glad to get rid of them all. The Geraldine, too, may have congratulated himself on having under his command compatriots of his Tuscan ancestor; and if it once occurred to him that *la noblesse à commencé par des brigands heureux*, he had no reason to be ashamed of his Italian allies who volunteered to measure swords with Queen Elizabeth's commissioned brigands in far-off Munster. Desperadoes and

recruited in his own states, and fully equipped for the fated expedition. After taking leave of his Holiness, Fitzmaurice appointed Stukely to conduct the troops to Ireland. Passing rapidly through France, Fitzmaurice* reached Portugal, and sailing thence with a few Spaniards, landed on the coast of Kerry, where his unexpected arrival struck fear into the hearts of his enemies, who thought he was accompanied by numerous forces. But let us return to Stukely.

Fra Diavolos the former may have been, but they were just as honest as Sir Walter Raleigh and others who evicted the natives with fire and sword, and were rewarded with immense grants of land in consideration of their unparalleled atrocities. Twelve thousand acres of the Desmond estates fell to the share of Raleigh, who sold them to Boyle, first Earl of Cork, who came to Ireland with a few pence in his pocket, as he himself tells us.

* According to O'Sullivan he went to France to rejoin his wife, and then to Spain where King Philip gave him those Italians who escaped the scimitars of the Moors, together with some Spaniards, making in all about 800 men. He also gave him arms for 4000 Irish, and a considerable supply of munitions. On the homeward voyage, Fitzmaurice was accompanied by Cornelius O'Mulryan, a Franciscan, and Bishop of Killaloe from 1576 to 1616, Doctor Saunders, and Father Allen a learned and zealous priest. They reached Smerwick with six ships in July, 1579, when Fitzmaurice issued a proclamation and sought by his letters the assistance of the MacDonnells, then chief leaders of galloglasses—heavy armed infantry—in Munster. See Appendix.

CHAPTER XXI.

STUKELY AND HIS TROOPS ACCOMPANY KING
SEBASTIAN TO AFRICA.

STUKELY, having taken the command, shaped his course for Portugal, and sailed into the harbour of Lisbon at the very moment when King Sebastian was preparing an expedition against the Moors in Africa. When the king heard of his arrival he sent for him, and exerted all his powers of persuasion to induce him to accompany him in his erratic warfare against the Africans. He finally consented to accompany Sebastian with the troops under his command, when he heard the king avow that on his return he would aid him with large supplies for Ireland. Now, Stukely violated the promise made to the Pope, and the oath he had sworn to Fitzmaurice. It may be that he accepted King Sebastian's proposal as a surer means of retrieving his fortunes, or was reluctant to be concerned in a war against his own sovereign. But, not long after they landed in Africa a terrible battle was fought, in which three kings were slain. Muley Moluc perished in the heat of the action, after having drunk immoderately of mare's milk, and exhausted by exertion. Mohamet, for whose sake this expedition was undertaken, was slain by the Moors; and King Sebastian, who was recognised by his glittering armour, was suffocated while the victors were disputing for possession of his person.

And with him the race of the Lusitanian kings had like to end. The new lord of Idrone, Stukely, inferior in dignity, but not in valour, experienced the same fate, the meet reward of his treason to Fitzmaurice. Nothing could have happened more agreeably to the wishes of Queen Elizabeth ; for, had Stukely landed with his Italian swordsmen while Fitzmaurice lived, it would have fared ill with the English, and little money and less blood would have sufficed to drive them out of Ireland.*

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ARRIVAL OF JAMES FITZMAURICE—HOW JOHN SLEW HENRY DAVELLS—FITZMAURICE IS KILLED.

Now when James Fitzmaurice had landed on the Irish coast, in total ignorance of what had befallen Stukely and the fleet, he was immediately joined by John Desmond, the earl's brother. This John was lord of ample possessions, and, in all respects, highly accomplished ; wherefore, that he might ingratiate himself with Fitzmaurice, and give proof of his devotedness to the King of Spain, to whose court he could not repair, he resolved to perform some very notable action. Now it so happened

* Some say that Stukely was a natural son of Henry VIII, and according to others he was maternally descended from the MacMurroghs, Kings of Leinster. King Sebastian landed at Sila, on the coast of Morocco, July 10, 1578, and was killed in the action, which took place at Alcazarquivir, on the 4th August, same year. Dying without issue, Portugal for a time was annexed to Spain.

that Henry Davells, of the County Cork, on hearing of the arrival of Fitzmaurice and the Spaniards, retired into the County Kerry, and took up his abode in the principal castle of the Earl of Desmond in Tralee. At dead of night, John, who had been his gossip, entered the chamber, accompanied by his retainers, and slew Davells,* Arthur Carter, and

* Nothing could justify O'Daly for having treated this wanton atrocity as he does, but he was blind to all the shortcomings of the Geraldines, and his partizanship obscured his better judgment. As far as we can learn, Davells' only crime was holding session of jail-delivery in Desmond's palatinate, and bringing an order from the Lord Deputy to Desmond and his people to drive Fitzmaurice's Spaniards and Italians out of Smerwick. Carleton, Bishop of Chester, in his now rare book—*The Thankful Deliverances of the Church since the Gospel began to flourish from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth*, published 1630—gives the following account of the murder, after stating that the Desmonds refused to comply with the deputy's command. "As Davells returned, John of Desmond followed him and overtook him in an inn at Tralee, and in the night time came to his chamber with some other cut-throats, where Davells slept with Arthur Carter, Deputy-Governor of Monmouth. Awaked by the tumult, when he saw John of Desmond with a naked sword, 'What is the matter with my son?' quoth he (for so he was wont to call him). 'Nay,' said the Desmond, 'I am no more thy son, nor thou my father, for thou shalt die.' And presently killed both with many wounds. Davells' footboy defended his master with his naked body: then he killed all Davells' servants that lay scattered in many places. Returning to the Spaniards all imbrued in blood, he gloried at the slaughter he had made. 'Let this,' said he, 'be a pledge of my faith to you and the cause.' Doctor Sanders commended this action as a sweet sacrifice before God. James Fitzmaurice blamed the manner of the slaughter. He would have had it rather on the way than in their bed. The Earl of Desmond when he heard of it, utterly detested it" However true this narrative may be, in many particulars

some others. This fact has often been stigmatized and denounced as derogatory to the honour of John Desmond, yet, I think, unjustly, for Desmond only killed an avowed enemy, who not only sought to crush the cause of liberty, but did signal injury to John himself in the house of Lord Muskerry. At length he united his forces to those of Fitzmaurice, and having unfurled their banners, they marched from Kerry into the County of Limerick. Having pitched their camps, it unfortunately happened that one of John's soldiers ill-used a woman. Now, when notice of this was brought to Fitzmaurice, he was greatly pained; for he knew that his cause could not prosper if such acts were permitted. Wherefore, as a rigid enforcer of military discipline, he ordered the culprit to be brought to trial. On the other hand, John flouted the order; so that, to prevent the scandal of a conflict between such parties, Fitzmaurice deemed it more prudent to separate from his kinsman than connive at such infamy.

In the meantime he marched towards Connaught, where he reckoned on being joined by John Burke, brother to the Marquis of Clanricard, and, on his route, turned aside to the monastery of Holy Cross,* in the County Tipperary, to fulfil a vow he

there is nothing but Carleton's assertion to show that Dr. Sanders approved John's atrocity. But the *Remembrance* teems with lies which were taken for verities, especially when they reflected on Catholic priests.

* Pope Paschal II, who died 1118, and one of the few who meditated resignation of the Pontificate, sent a particle of the True Cross, richly enshrined, to Murtoagh, King of Ireland, 1110; and Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, erected the splendid Cistercian Church and Monastery of Holy Cross,

had made. But, while passing through the lands of Theobald Burke, his near kinsman, he was not a little surprised to find Theobald himself, at the head of a large force, following him in the direction of the open country. Now when Fitzmaurice saw that his life was perilled in a quarter where he had least reason to dread danger, he sent one of his men to Theobald, beseeching him to draw off his forces, nor offer outrage to one so nearly allied to him. Burke, who dreaded that he would suffer if he allowed the angry lion to pass him by, or, perhaps, in the hope of raising himself in the queen's estimation, sent him word to prepare for battle. Fitzmaurice, seeing no chance of avoiding a conflict, did such deeds as I dare not pass over in silence ; for, although he was far inferior in numbers, he exhorted his men to fight bravely to the last, encouraging them rather to lay down their lives like men than disgrace themselves by flight. He had about a hundred foot, and very few horse ; he cared not to bring more with him, as he never foresaw any danger ; but when the parties came to blows, they both fought bravely, until at length some vile hireling discharged a gun at Fitzmaurice, who was easily recognised by his yellow doublet, and struck him to the ground. Wounded as he was in the breast, he artfully concealed the injury he had received, exhorting his men to stand firm, even against overwhelming numbers. This was his last action. To falter for a moment he deemed

for its reception in 1182, when Pope Lucius III was exhorting the kings of France and England to arm for the rescue of Palestine, then overrun by the victorious Saladin.

unworthy of his name and progenitors—and then, making a final effort, he dashed into the midst of his enemies, like another Achilles, foremost in battle-front, striking about him with sword and lance, until he cleared a passage for himself to where Theobald stood, and with a single blow cleft his skull in twain, and with another stroke killed his brother William. Now, when Burke's soldiers had taken to flight, Fitzmaurice, conscious that his wound was mortal, quietly retired from the scene of the fight, and called to him, Dr. Allen, who was his chaplain. Dismounting from his horse, he declared that he was mortally wounded, and within the space of one hour, after having piously confessed his sins, made his will, appointing John, brother of the earl, who was absent, commander-in-chief, as was ordered in the Pope's letter. In his last testament he exhorted him to make no peace with the English, as he had fatal experience of their treachery, but to persevere unceasingly, as the Roman Pontiff advised. Having prayed a short while, he surrendered his soul to God, who, doubtless, gave it welcome; and bitter was the grief of Allen, his chaplain, and the few who stood hard by.*

Here I pass over in silence the grief which this

* This battle was fought in 1579 at Bohreen, five miles south-east of Limerick, on a ford of the Mulcairn river, where Barrington's bridge now stands. The Burkes were sworn partizans of Fitzmaurice, but found it advantageous to slay him. The widow of Theobald got *head-money* from the queen, and Sir William, father of Theobald, was created Baron of Castleconnell, with an annual pension of 100 marks. Camden says that Sir William died of excessive joy on hearing that he had such honour conferred on him—*inopinato gaudio expiravit*.

sudden and unexpected misfortune brought upon Fitzmaurice himself ; not, indeed, because he knew he was dying, but because he died so soon—his constant prayer was to die for the faith of Christ—and most assuredly because he fell when his hopes were dazzling. In silence I pass over the wailing of his men, who, when they returned from the pursuit, beheld their beloved leader dead. All the Catholics of Ireland mourned for him ; and, as often as they fought their foes, during the five years war which ensued, so often did they miss the right hand that smote for them, and the wise adviser that used to guide them. He was, in truth, a name of terror to his foemen, and a beacon star to his friends. This calamity was felt by all, and his death was the beginning of the ruin of the great house of Desmond. Gifted with a lucid mind, affable, prudent, learned and pious, his graceful address charmed and conciliated everyone. But, if events had realised the projects he conceived, there can be no doubt that he would have brought about grand results. But with him all fell to the ground. Loud was the mirth and exultation of the English ; terror came upon the Irish who were deprived of such a leader. Whatever I have stated concerning him, that and much more I received from those who knew him well ; and, indeed all I could say would fall far short of the eulogy which such a hero deserves. When Fitzmaurice lay dead, his kinsman, Maurice Fitz-John, ordered his head to be cut off ; but, as he could not give the corpse the honourable sepulture to which it was entitled, he buried it under an aged oak, where, not long after, it was found by a hunter,

brought to Kilmallock, fixed upon the gallows tree, and shattered by the musket balls of the heretics, who dared not look him in the face while he was alive. Now, as the prime mover of this first war was cut off, let us see what became of the rest.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JOHN ASSUMES THE COMMAND—DEATH OF HIS YOUNGER BROTHER, JAMES—HOW JOHN HIMSELF DIES.

SIR JOHN OF DESMOND obtained the supreme command after the death of Fitzmaurice. The Earl of Desmond did not question the appointment which Fitzmaurice made in his last will upon the field of battle. That will was sealed with blood; and John and James subsequently proved how worthy they were of the command which devolved on them. They were every day engaged with the enemy, and carnage abounded. In the open plain they routed the English troops, led by the Duke of York, Herbert, and others.* And when the English found that they could not subdue armed men, they turned their weapons against women. Yea, they vented their fury on the quiet townsman, and brutally smote with their daggers the feeble mother and the infant at the breast; thus slaking their impious thirst with the blood of Catholics.

* At Monow, in the County Limerick.

To such extremity were matters now brought, that the husbandman no longer tilled the land, and supplies of food could hardly be procured. No wonder, then, if the spirits of the Geraldines began to faint. The supplies sent by Gregory XIII had been lost in Africa, and diverted from their destination. Yet did these Geraldines persevere to the last, unappalled by dangers, uncorrupted by the temptations of reward. God, who knows my heart, now sees that I cannot speak of the ruin which came upon them without tears and groans. For, let me ask, who can listen to the story of their destruction, or mention it, without bitter grief? The Geraldines were loved in Ireland, and venerated for their devotion to the faith; but especially by those who clung to the ancient religion, and were devoted to their country. And how could I, who am an Irishman—and the son of that Irishman who, leaving all he held dear, even from his boyhood, sat by the hearth of those Desmonds, and when he grew up was made the depository of their confidence, held command under them in their last wars, and saw the slain Geraldines with his own eyes—how, I repeat, can I, the son of such a father, commemorate them without sigh and groan?

And now bear with me while I write of the death of each of them as well as blinding tears will let me. It so happened that James, youngest brother of the earl, who had scarcely arrived at the years of puberty, made an incursion into the territory of Lord Muskerry. James was, in truth, beloved by everyone; of daring spirit and unblemished morals. Now, on his return from that

expedition, he was pursued by Cormac Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry, taken prisoner, and brought before the Lord President.* He urged the youth to renounce the Catholic faith, and acknowledge the queen's supremacy; telling him, at the same time, that he would confer on him the highest honours and rewards if he took up arms against his brethren. But nobly did James spurn this tampering—and bravely did he avow that he would acknowledge no Head of the Church except the Roman Pontiff. Whereupon the Lord President ordered him to be beheaded, his intestines burned, and his body carved into four quarters, and hung in chains from the gates of Cork. Thus, with a martyr's constancy, did the generous youth shed his blood for the Catholic faith.

Now, when James was put out of the way, there remained only the earl, and his brother John, who immediately took measures to protect themselves and avenge their kinsmen. The queen, learning this, sent the Marquis of Ormond, with a large force out of England, to destroy the remnant of the Desmonds. And verily she could not have selected for this purpose anyone more faithful to herself or hostile to the Geraldines. On the other hand, King Philip of Spain, pitying the Irish, sent eight hundred men to the aid of Desmond. They landed on the coast of Kerry, and fortified themselves in that strong place which is called "The

* Muskerry refused to identify himself with James, and having taken him prisoner, handed him over to Warham, St. Leger, marshal of Munster, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who executed him as a traitor.

Golden Fort.”* When Grey heard of their landing, he collected all the troops he could, and on his march to Munster was joined by the Marquis of Ormond. Now, “The Golden Fort,” garrisoned by the Spaniards, in the opinion of everyone, was deemed impregnable. But what is there so strong that treason and money may not overreach? The Spanish leader, called San-Joseph, instead of animating his men to stern resistance, made terms

* This expedition under San-Joseph and Ercole di Pisa, arrived in 1580, and Lord Grey de Wilton was appointed Deputy same year. He brought with him Spenser, the poet, as his secretary. Shortly after his arrival in Dublin, he marched with a considerable force to extirpate the O’Byrnes of Wicklow, whose chief, Feagh-Mac-Hugh, was then acting in concert with the dissembling Earl of Desmond. “I and my brother,” wrote the latter to the mountain chief, “are entered into the defence of the Catholic faith, and have armed to prevent the overthrow of our country by the English who would destroy Holy Church, and go about to make our country their own, and us their bondmen. We, therefore, desire you to take part with us, as you are bound by conscience and by nature to defend your country. And do you fear we would desert you? After you shall have entered this cause, you shall understand that we have taken this matter in hand, with authority both from the Pope and King Philip, who undertake to aid us as we should need.” Desmond and Feagh-Mac-Hugh might have styled themselves Defenders of the Faith by the grace of Gregory XIII and Philip II. While Desmond reigned supreme in his southern palatinate, Feagh kept his state at Ballinacor, on the slope of a hill which overlooks Glenmalure, the wildest, most picturesque, and least frequented of all the Wicklow fastnesses. But we will let Russell, whose *Relation of the Fitzgeralds* was written in 1638, tell how O’Byrne handled Lord Deputy Grey de Wilton and his English brigands. “The Deputy, to strike terror in his enemies at his beginning, calls the captains from all parts with their troops to go with him, to set upon the rebels

with the English Deputy, after stipulating for the safety of his troops. Thus was this important place betrayed to the English, who, soon repenting them of the conditions made with the Spanish commandant, basely murdered the entire garrison. But let us relate how that came to pass.

After the viceroy had invested "The Golden Fort" by sea and land, and kept up a continual fire

who were retired to Glenmalure, which is a valley full of grass, the most part of it fertile and fit to feed cattle, situate at the foot of a steep rock full of springs, and so environed with thick trees and bushes that the very inhabitants of the country knew not the ways of it. When they were come to the place, Cosby, the leader of the light Irish* army, who was well acquainted with the situation of the place, advertised the others of the danger in entering into the valley, it being a fit place for ambuscades; notwithstanding this they must undertake it, and exhorted them to behave themselves valiantly, and himself being seventy years of age, marched in the front, and the rest followed him. But being by the rebels suffered to come down, they were shrouded with shots and arrows, like hail driven with a tempest, from the bushes and strong places where the rebels were advantageously placed; wherewith, and with the furious onset of the enemies, the most part of them were slain. Then the rest retiring and climbing up the rocks and craggy places, and in great distress, came to the Lord Deputy, who stood upon a hill expecting the event with the Earl of Kildare and Sir John Wingfield, master of the great ordnance, who, seeing the danger wherein they were, would not suffer George Carew, one of his nephews, to go to succour them; but (reserving him for greater honours), Peter Carew, the younger, George Moore, and Cosby himself, were killed there. This affront given to the Lord Deputy in Leinster caused him to turn his designs to the province of Munster."

* Irish in the pay of the English.

on it for about forty* days, the English began to tire of their fruitless attempts, and dread the rigours of the coming winter. They knew, moreover, that they could not take up their winter quarters in the open field against a garrison so well provided with guns and victuals. And having maturely weighed all these matters, they resolved to accomplish by fraud that which their arms could not achieve.

Having sent the Spaniards a flag of truce they demanded a parley. In the Spanish garrison there was at that moment an Irish gentleman, named Plunket, who protested against any overture, and vainly sought to dissuade San-Joseph from visiting the English commander's camp; but he was not listened to, and San-Joseph at once proceeded to the viceroy's quarters, bringing Plunket with him as interpreter. They were received with singular politeness by the Deputy, who promised the Spanish commandant most honorable terms if he agreed to surrender the fort. Now Plunket designedly misinterpreted the viceroy's words, and stated that the garrison had no chance of escaping destruction if they did not surrender at discretion. San-Joseph was amazed at hearing this, and the more so when he reflected that the fort was one of the strongest in Ireland, and amply supplied with all requirements for a protracted siege. Thereon Plunket, pretending that he was translating San-Joseph's words fairly, said that the latter had resolved to maintain the fort at all hazards, and, consequently, that the viceroy would only sacrifice his men by remaining longer before it. But the expression of

* This is a slip of Fra Domenico's pen. Camden states that the siege did not last more than four days.

Plunket's features, and the fiery indignation of the Spaniard, caused Lord Grey to suspect that his words had not been rendered faithfully. He therefore had Plunket arrested, and his place supplied by another interpreter.

San-Joseph, on returning to the fort, boasted that he had obtained most unexceptionable conditions, and that, seeing it was utterly impossible to hold out any longer, he deemed it advisable to save the lives of his men. But Plunket, although a prisoner, never ceased crying out: "Treason! treason! Remember the Catholics must be destroyed if you surrender the fort, and that all their hopes are centred in you. Do not yield—the very inclemency of the season will make the Deputy raise the siege before long. The Geraldines are hastening to you with reinforcements. Abandon your position and all is lost." Ercole di Pisa and the Duke of Biscay maintained that Plunket was right; but the soldiers gave willing ear to San-Joseph, and thus forfeited honour and life. In short, Fort-del-Or surrendered at the close of November, and the entire garrison, with the exception of the Spanish commander and a few subordinate officers, were inhumanly massacred. Plunket, too, was put to a cruel death, for the English broke all his bones with strokes of a hammer. Thenceforth "Grey's promise" (*Graja fides*) became proverbial in Ireland, and synonym for consummate perfidy. Behold how those English deal with oaths and treaties which the veriest savages hold inviolable and sacred!*

* Although it is difficult to accept the account that O'Daly gives of Plunket's conduct, which looks like a mere

Now, when Grey had got possession of the Golden Fort, he garrisoned it, and threw troops into all the cities and towns of Munster. He also ordered all his officers to thenceforth harass the Geraldines with fire and sword, and thus, if pos-

juggle, there is every reason for believing that Lord Grey ordered a massacre in cold blood. He himself states that on the morning after the surrender, he sent to see the weapons and arms laid down, and then put in certain bands that straight went to execution. The officers who signalled themselves in this atrocious murder of seven hundred disarmed foreigners, were Sir Walter Raleigh, Wingfield, Denny, and Sir Richard Bingham, who, the deputy says, proved "a jewel" on this occasion. Irenaeus, in Spenser's "*View of the State of Ireland*," asserts that complaint was made to the queen against her deputy, who was "a bloody man, regardless of the lives of her subjects, whom he treated as dogs, wasting and consuming all, so that she had nothing left but to reign in their ashes." A man of that character could have had no compassion for the unfortunate Italians and Spaniards who foolishly laid down their arms. Would they have done so if they anticipated that they would be slaughtered like sheep in a shambles? Pisano and San-Joseph, who were spared, proved traitors to the Pope and King Philip, and were universally execrated for their cowardice. "That fort," says Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*), "which was raised by soldiers who landed there under the papal flag (*sotto il nome del pontefice*), although well furnished with artillery and victuals, was shamelessly (*vergognosamente*) surrendered to the heretics." We may add that Russell, who was a thorough loyalist, maintains that Lord Deputy Grey did massacre the foreigners in cold blood. "The place, by the cowardice of the said governor, was yielded to the Deputy, who, quite contrary to his promise and faith passed to them for the safety of their lives upon composition, put all the soldiers in cold blood to the sword, for which breach of promise and bloody act Her Majesty gave him but small thanks."—*Relation of the Fitzgeralds*. See the whole subject satisfactorily treated in Haverty's *Ireland*.

sible, make a speedy end of the war. But John of Desmond, followed by his faithful adherents, addressed them in words like these: "Brave and faithful companions! you know that the cause for which we have drawn the sword is most just; we are united for the preservation of our faith and our country's liberty. Would to heaven that our nobles had been true to their word, and laboured with us for the same object. The enemy, who seeks your destruction, is not far off. He comes to introduce innovations and anarchy; we are banded together for the religion and freedom handed down to us by our ancestors. These English strive to detach you from the old creed of your forefathers, for they hate the Holy See. They impose on you heavy and exorbitant burdens; and the aristocracy of the land, who should be the rampart of a people's liberty, they have deprived of all authority, that they may bestow their domains and honours on abject sycophants. How long will you tolerate this state of things? Who are the advisers and ministers of the Queen of England?—who but men taken from the veriest dregs, who pander to her worst caprices. Have they not dared to brand me and my brother, the Earl of Desmond, with the stigma of disloyalty and treason, that they may possess themselves of our estates, and thus bend the other nobles of the country to their purposes? But we have sworn to maintain our immemorial rights; and should it ever be our good fortune to gain that place to which we are entitled in the councils of our country, we will guard the interests of the people, secure for the hierarchy and clergy their immunities, and restore to the down-trodden

that liberty of which they have been robbed. Who can say that we are not justified in defending ourselves?" *

When he had concluded, his men marched forth in proud array, hill and hollow re-echoing their defiant cheers. On they marched to Gort-na-Tibrid†, where, full in view of the enemy, John's

* Soon after the death of Fitzmaurice, Lord Ormond, the implacable enemy of the Desmonds, arrested Owen O'Sullivan, chief of Beare and Bantry, and uncle of the historian, whom he imprisoned in Dunboy, where he placed a garrison commanded by Fenton, who figures so largely in the State Papers of Elizabeth's reign. His lordship had doubts of O'Sullivan's loyalty, and apprehended that he would join the Geraldines. Dermod O'Sullivan and the MacSweenys sided with John of Desmond, and distinguished themselves in all his battles. In 1581, Daniel O'Sullivan, then a mere stripling, waylaid a company of Zouch's soldiers—or, to give them their proper designation, *brigands*—after they had rifled the Franciscan Convent of Timoleague, slew them, and avenged the blood of the poor friars wantonly shed on the very altar-steps. This incident inspired T. D. Sullivan's beautiful ballad, "The Convent of Timoleague." Philip O'Sullivan, the historian, gives us the following anecdote of Dermod, his father, who espoused the cause of the Geraldines: "When the Earl of Desmond was besieging Youghal (in 1579), my father, who commanded a regiment of foot, contrived to scale the town wall in spite of sturdy resistance. During the sack of the place, one of his men forced a strong box, full of gold and silver, and said to his chief: 'A lucky affair this, if it don't turn out to be a dream.' To which my father replied: 'Pay no heed to dreams, my brave fellow, lest on awaking you may discover that you have been deluded.'" For a graphic and spirit-stirring history of the O'Sullivans, see "Dunboy," a most graceful poem, which narrates the vicissitudes of that eminently Catholic and patriotic family.

† This battle was fought in 1579, at the place now called "Springfield," in the south of the County Limerick.

horsemen dismounted, that they might do battle with the English hand to hand and foot to foot. Doctor Saunders exhorted John to be of good cheer, and promised that, while the Catholic troops were engaged in conflict, he, like another Moses, with outstretched arms, would invoke blessings on them; nay, more, that he would never quit the spot if victory did not crown Desmond's banner. Whilst Saunders prayed on a neighbouring hillock, Herbert, the leader of the English troops, was advancing, and a veteran soldier came to inform John of Desmond that, if he would ensure success, he must at once fall on the enemy. Thereon he gave the word of command, and such was the fury of the Geraldines, and their eagerness for the onset, that they could hardly be kept from rushing tumultuously on the enemy. The conflict, indeed, was fierce, and the valour of both armies equal. At length they came so close to each other that they were only separated by a long ditch which bordered a neighbouring wood. John of Desmond was indefatigable, giving himself no rest—at one moment acting as general and next as common soldier. His cheerful voice animated his men, and his

Saunders, who acted as chaplain to the Geraldines, was a distinguished English priest, who taught in Oxford and afterwards in Louvain. His works, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*, published 1571, and the "Rise and Progress of the English Schism," are well known to controversialists. He died soon after the fight at Springfield, if we can believe Peter Walsh, ("Hist. of the Remonstrance"), "of hunger, under a tree, in Kerry." O'Sullivan, father of the historian, assisted at his funeral. O'Mulryan, Bishop of Killaloe 1576-1616, and the fast friend of the Desmonds, gave him the last Sacraments.

example inflamed their courage. Very early in the action Herbert's horsemen, after sustaining severe loss, broke and retreated; most of his footmen strewed the field with their corpses, and their guns and banners were carried in triumph to the camp of the Geraldines.*

A few days after this signal victory, Nicolas Malby, President of Connaught, marched through Limerick, and pitched his camp at Ena-beg.† The English troops he commanded were few, but he was assisted by Irish auxiliaries, who basely drew the sword against their own countrymen. Foremost among those were Ulick and John Burke, sons of the Lord Clanricard. Thomas Fitzgerald, son of John, was captain of his father's horse, and deemed it prudent to send out a few squadrons to reconnoitre the enemy's position. On seeing them approach, the English retired to their camp, and then suddenly wheeling about, fell on the reconnoitring party and put them to flight. Perceiving this, John of Desmond rode up rapidly, and commanded the fugitives to turn and stand. Seeing this, the English halted, and did not dare to follow up their momentary advantage. Then John of Desmond

* About three hundred English fell in this encounter, and, among others, Captains Herbert and Eustace. A few months afterwards six hundred fresh troops landed at Waterford to repair the queen's losses.

† The Four Masters, who pronounce a glowing eulogy on Malby, state that he defeated John of Desmond at Ena-beg, in the neighbourhood of Bruff, County Limerick. But O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath. Hib.*, p. 118) says that John of Desmond retired after losing twenty-three of his foot-soldiers. Dr. Allen was among the slain; and Malby died, five years afterwards (1584), governor of Athlone.

commanded his men to attack them on the instant, and so bold and overwhelming was his charge that Malby's troopers were routed and put to flight. But, as it afterwards proved, they only feigned a retreat, their object being to lead the Geraldines into an ambuscade. There was not a moment to be lost, and John dashed against the enemy's right wing and caused it to retire. Indeed, the thundering of their heavy guns did more at this crisis than their balls, for, owing to the broken ground, their batteries were badly pointed. Many of the English were slain, and among them a distinguished officer. As for the rest, the Geraldines charged them repeatedly, till at last they took refuge in a bog that was hard by. After a fight that lasted an hour and a half, their artillery and standards were captured by John of Desmond; but he and his brave men had to lament the loss of his son Thomas, and also that of Sir Thomas Browne,* knight.

After this victory, and when Desmond's men had taken a little sleep and food, they marched from *Conniloe* in the direction of Aherlow. At this moment the queen's cavalry were encamped near Kilmallock, but when they were told of Desmond's approach they speedily mounted, and the hostile forces immediately joined in fierce battle. Wild and impetuous was the charge of the GERAL-

* He, doubtless, was of the family of Sir Valentine Browne, who, in 1583, was appointed surveyor of escheated lands in Ireland, and subsequently had a grant from Queen Elizabeth of all the estates of Donald, Earl of Glencare—the MacCarthy Mor. The Earl of Kenmare descends from Sir Valentine, who, doubtless, had an eye for the beautiful scenery of Lough Leine.

dines—steady and shoulder to shoulder the array of the English horsemen. The conflict lasted three hours ; nor was the lust of victory such an incentive to daring deeds as the innate and mortal hatred which stimulated the adverse hosts. At length, when many had fallen on both sides, the Geraldines resumed their march, and gladly did the English horsemen seek shelter within the walls of Kilmallock.* Many were the victories which John of Desmond won from the English, not to speak of his three hundred raids, which were crowned with success. But if there be any truth in that adage which says, “ ’twere well for them who have reached the pinnacle of fame to die when they have attained it, lest blind fortune should prove adverse,” surely it had been well for John had he died in this moment of his triumph. But although the weapon of fate was hidden from him, the relentless point was, even now, turned against him, and he fell beneath it, as we will now relate.

The war had lasted two years, when Zouch† was appointed to the military command in Munster. He laid a plot for the destruction of John of Desmond : let us tell how he effected it. John had matters of importance to transact with David, son

* It was the chief town of the Desmonds. The White Knight (a branch of their house) founded the Dominican monastery there in 1291. De Burgo (*Hib. Dom.*, p. 581) states that a Father Gerald Fitzgibbon, who was an alumnus of this convent and studied in Spain, was put to death for the faith in Listowel in 1691.

† Zouch arrived in Ireland, 1580, with Sir Walter Raleigh, and did signal service to Queen Elizabeth, extirpating the ancient families, and wresting from them their inheritance.

and heir of Viscount Barry, and appointed to meet him at Castle O'Lehan,* where he was to be joined by the Condons and the Seneschal† of Imokilly. A traitor, named John, conveyed information to Zouch of the intended meeting, who thought that such an opportunity was not to be overlooked. He therefore left Cork at daybreak in the morning, and lay in ambush for his victim near Castle O'Lehan; nor had he long to wait, for John, accompanied by Fitz-John of Strancally, and an escort of seven horsemen, soon afterwards arrived at the place. Now, when John of Desmond saw Zouch's troop, he thought them the soldiers of David Barry, but the heir of Strancally detecting the mistake, advised him to fly to a neighbouring wood. But he was over-intrepid, and refused to do so; in fact, he could not, for, strange to relate, he who used to be most collected in all cases of emergency, at this moment could not mount his charger, for a torpor came over him, and the horse, which at other times was quiet and easily mounted, now became restive, plunging and rearing. "Go now, my brave companions," said John, "for I am not able to mount. I feel myself deprived of all strength, and know that the hour of my death is at hand." Thereon the seven horsemen left him, and he was deserted by all, except his cousin the Lord of Strancally,

* The residence of the O'Lehans, and now called Castle Lyons.

† A branch of the Fitzgeralds; their residence was Castle-martyr. A.D. 1420, James, Earl of Desmond, was constituted Seneschal of the baronies of Imokilly. From this Earl of Desmond this branch of the Fitzgeralds derived the title.

who, turning to him, said, "I will never abandon you, my chief, under whom I have so often been led to victory against those heretic dogs. I will not leave you to perish alone, you who so often have led me triumphant through hosts of foemen, now, if necessary, I will accompany you to the grave." Having spoken thus they were immediately surrounded by Zouch's troopers, and, refusing to give up their arms, a varlet named Thomas Fleming (who, it is said, was once a servant to John of Desmond), thrust a spear into his throat before Zouch could ward off the blow, for he was desirous to seize the Geraldine alive. And now, when the spear-head was drawn from the gushing wound, John proclaimed aloud his devotion to the Catholic faith, and gave up the ghost. His head was then cut off, sent to Dublin, and spiked on the castle wall; his body was conveyed to Cork, and hung in chains at one of the city gates, where it remained nearly three years, till on a tempestuous night it was blown into the sea. His kinsman James might have escaped beyond seas during the troubles that followed, but he thought it base to fly his country in her hour of need. He was, however, subsequently taken prisoner, sent to Cork, and, as some assert, put to death.*

* O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath., p. 120, states that John of Desmond was killed on the hill of Drumfinen, county Cork, close by the Blackwater; and Russell, after relating the fact, remarks that "it was the just judgment of God upon him for the foul and inhuman murder of Henry Davells.—*Relation of the Fitzgeralds.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DEATH OF THE EARL—ESCAPE OF HIS MURDERERS—THEIR FATE.

AND now, when Earl Garret had lost his two brothers, and most illustrious cousin, James Fitzmaurice, the only one left him able to prosecute the war was Maurice Fitzgerald, a truly brave man. He was the earl's cousin, and subsequently held high command in the Catholic fleet, under Philip of Spain. On him, therefore, Earl Garret conferred the supreme command, and, what was extraordinary, he himself girded on the sword, took the field, and, for three years, carried on the war. Often, indeed, was he victor; but, alas! as often vanquished. At length the queen, growing weary of the contest, sent him offers of peace, nay, and promised to restore him to all his possessions and honours, provided he delivered into her hands Dr. Saunders, the Nuncio from Pope Gregory XIII, who, being an Englishman, might be said to be her own born subject. To those who brought that message the pious earl replied, that he would never sacrifice the priest although his enemies were hourly multiplying around him. "Tell the queen," said he, "that though my friends should desert my standard, and a price be set on my head for refusing to do her bidding in this instance, I will never give

her possession of this man's person."* When this answer was delivered, Desmond gave orders to his people to make ready for every contingency; and having collected a number of troops, marched out of the County Limerick into Tipperary, for the purpose of procuring provisions. He had not been long encamped at Gortnapisi,† when word was brought him, by his scouts, that they had seen the English, about daybreak, lighting torches by the fire of their muskets. Very soon afterwards the earl had ocular proof of their vicinity to his quarters. Thereon he hastened to make preparations for the conflict, and gave orders to five hundred musqueteers to conceal themselves in the thick brushwood which covered the encampment, while the mailed footmen, with their battle-axes, took up a conspicuous position on a neighbouring eminence.

This he did in order to draw the English into an ambuscade, and expose them to the shot from the brushwood, and the crushing charge of his

* Lord Ormond was the bearer of the queen's offer and demand for the person of Dr. Saunders, and the earl's refusal was immediately followed by a proclamation of outlawry against himself and his followers. In the meantime he had given his son, Lord James, then only seven years of age, as pledge for his future loyalty. Ormond sent the boy to Dublin, and then prosecuted the war vigorously, wasting Desmond's country, and causing the mayor of Youghal to be hanged before his own door for refusing an English garrison. The unfortunate earl, who did not appear openly in arms till 1579, seems to have deserved the character of a dissembler, or, if we may credit Russell, a half-witted man, haunted by dread of another imprisonment in the tower of London.

† "Peafield," in the County Tipperary. This battle was fought in 1581.

heavily armed infantry from the height. To his musqueteers he gave orders not to fire till the English had passed them by. The latter then advanced to dislodge the men who were on the eminence, but were assailed by a heavy fire from the earl's men crouching in the brushwood, which compelled them to retrace their steps. Many of them were slain, and more must have fallen were it not for the darkness of the hour and the thick foliage, which prevented the earl's men from taking surer aim. But now, when the sun shone out, the two armies beheld each other face to face, and Desmond ordered a charge, which was followed up so vigorously that the English gave ground and retreated to the mountains. The first to fly was the English standard-bearer, and to him they ascribed the disasters which followed; for, although some of their men still stood firm, they suddenly became panic-stricken and disordered by this occurrence. Then the Geraldine infantry who were in ambush sprang to their feet, and, assisted by the cavalry, slaughtered their foes unsparingly. Down went the English under the thundering hoof and gleaming battle-axe; few of them survived to tell of that morning's defeat, and those were prisoners of the Geraldines.

Soon after this victory the earl marched towards Cashel, and dispersed detachments of his men over the fertile plains of Tipperary, with orders to waste the whole face of the country, and carry off preys of cattle and corn, as O'Meara* relates in Latin verse:—

* He was a native of Tipperary, and adopted the medical profession. He practised in his native county, and pub-

“ Quo tu patre satus dux illustrissime bellis
 Qui Geraldium premeris? Hæc prima cruenti
 Semina martis erant: hæc ob Desmonius, igne
 Et ferro vastat qua se Tipperaria
 tendit.”

“ Who, O illustrious Chief, art thou, and whence descended?

Thou whom the Geraldines harassed, but never could force to yield!

These were but the beginnings of wars that yet are not ended—

Mars first sowed the seed, but the reapers are still in the field.

All Tipperary county is wasted by fire and sword,
 And its great people are slaves, because of the Geraldines’ Lord.”

When news of this event reached the enemies of Desmond, all the chieftains who opposed him assembled at Cashel, in order to concert a plan for attacking him without delay. Three brothers of the Earl of Ormond, namely, Edward, Peter, and Edmond Butler, together with Mac Piers, and Purcell Baron, of Lochmogh, assembled a strong body to march against him. After crossing the rugged mountains, they came in sight of him at Cnoc-Graffin, then descended into the valley which is adjacent to Cashel, and thence marched by unfrequented ways along the banks of the Suir. Their shrill pipes made merry music, and their banners were spread to the breeze, when they found themselves in presence of him they sought to overthrow. The ground on which they met was thickly covered

lished a Latin poem on Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, in the year 1615.

with copsewood, and left little room for the heavily armed to act. Nevertheless, when the signal was given, the Butlers commenced the attack. The onset was furious; and for a moment it looked as if the earl had been worsted, till the Seneschal of Imokilly, who was on his left, checked the headlong charge of the Butlers, by bringing up against their right wing the mailed horsemen, together with the archers on horseback, and a body of foot. After a long and bloody contest night separated the combatants; and the right wing of the Butlers giving way, their whole army fled over the precipitous banks of the Suir, then swollen by a flood, closely pursued by the Geraldines. Many of them were swallowed up in the whirlpools; while those who survived the day's disaster took shelter among the neighbouring hills. After the action, the earl asked his officers would it be prudent to pursue the fugitives, and the Seneschal of Imokilly pronounced that it would be unwise to move from the field, and far more expedient to look after the wounded and wearied men who had been engaged since dawn. At this moment it was near set of sun, the river scarcely fordable, the horses jaded, and the footmen unable to march. The opinion of the Seneschal prevailed, and Earl Desmond on that night pitched his camp not far from the city of Cashel. He soon afterwards wasted the country, and routed with slaughter the English captain, Roberts, who advanced as far as Scourlogue, vainly hoping to vanquish him.

'Tis, however, far from my intention to speak harshly of the illustrious house of Ormond; for, beyond all doubt, had not the earl of that name

been detained at the queen's court, it might have fared otherwise with the Desmond. But here I must remark that Dr. O'Meara, following his own caprice, would fain obscure the glory of the Geraldines, and, in over-coloured verse, bestow all his eulogies on Ormond. He, in fact, makes statements which are more like phantoms of his own brain than stern facts. Now, is it not notorious that, with the exception of Affane, the Geraldines in every encounter triumphed over the Butlers? And why, in the name of common sense, does he dare impeach the courage of the Desmonds, for not engaging in a gladiatorial encounter with the Ormonds, when he himself must have known the causes which prevented it? Is not the valour of Earl Gerald known to the whole Irish nation; and did not English monarchs at all times acknowledge the bravery of those from whom he sprung? But O'Meara, although reluctant, admits this truth in the very verses which follow:—

“ *Prædixere locum pugnae; qua proximus oras
Vergit ad occiduas, fœcundus piscibus amnis
Surius, occasum versus bis millia bina
Hic locus antiquus distat Tipperaria: totus
Unde tenet nomen comitatus; martis arenam
Hic statuunt, certumque diem vexilla movendi
Obvia et infesto miscendi spumea ferro
Proelia præscribunt.*”

“ Now was the battle-plain,—a famous place among places,—
Near to the fishful Suir,—marked and mapped out for the fight—
Near Tipperary, too, some two or three thousand paces—
(Thence that county, men say, deriveth its name of right).

This was the chosen spot for the scene of conflict and slaughter ;

Here, on a certain day, as seemed to the combatants good,

Were they to crimson the moaning waves of the innocent water,

Each redoubtable host with the opposite army's blood."

And here, lest I may have forgotten it, let me asseverate that, on the day of Affane, when the Desmond saw the superiority which his enemies had in numbers, and himself almost left alone, and when he might have retreated, he scorned to fly, and dared the Butlers to the contest. This, however, O'Meara admits, as you may perceive :—

"Palantes dant terga fugæ, perque arva feruntur
Præcipites, turpemque fugam, fædasque suorum
Ut mentes vidit Desmonius astra frequenti
Voce ferit, rebusque unum quod restat egenis
Nunc prece, nunc diris fugentes sistere dictis
Nititur : O socii, O nunquam devicta juvenus
Quo fugitis, quonam discessit pristina virtus ?
Quot contra pugnant, nobis animæque manusque
Sunt totidem aut plures : Sed non tot fortia corda,
O pudor, O nullo delendum dedecus ævo ;
Abjicite ignavos animos confidite dextris,
Non pedibus, revocate iras convertite cursum
Rumpendum, qua nos hostis densissimus urget
Est iter : huc et honos et nostræ gloria gentis
Nos vocat, hæc fatus medios prorumpit in hostes
Prosternitque sola ferrata cuspide multos."

"Woe for the national name !—the Geraldines here were defeated :

Stricken, as 'twere with panic, they fled from the field in dismay,

Then Earl Desmond, in anguish, witnessing how they retreated,

Thus uplifted his voice, to nerve them afresh for the fray—

Thus he shouted aloud, and cried to the fugitive cravens,
 Having no other resource, as he bitterly gazed around,
 For in his grief he would rather their flesh had glutted
 the ravens,
 Than be compelled to behold that they shrunk from
 standing their ground :

“ ‘ O companions in arms, and hitherto Europe’s wonder
 Both for your valour and prowess, wherefore is it ye
 fly ?
 Look ! you equal in number your haughty enemies
 yonder ;
 Why are ye not, like them, willing to conquer or die ?
 O disgrace of disgraces ! your glory hath lost its
 brightness ;
 Never again shall its rays illumine the battle-field,
 Since ye have thus preferred to rely on your feet and
 their lightness,
 Rather than on your hands and the broad sharp swords
 they should wield !

“ ‘ Men of degraded souls, hear me !—The one and the only
 Path to immortal renown lies through the ranks of your
 foes !
 But, since upbraidings avail not, since ye have left me
 thus lonely,
 Let me, at least, with honour bring *my* career to a
 close.’
 This was the speech of the Earl, a speech indignantly
 spoken ;
 When it was finished he dashed, without an additional
 word,
 In through the enemy’s lines, and though they were
 scarcely broken,
 Many a warrior fell that day by his terrible sword.”

Nor less lavish of encomium is this poet when
 writing of Maurice Fitzgerald. Only hear him :—

“ Hinc alia exhaustis longe majora per omnem
 Tristia Momoniam nascuntur bella : Dinastæ
 Desmonio patruclis erat Mauritia proles
 Jacobus vir ad arma citus, nullique secundus

Marte, famis patiens, et nudo vertice sævos
 Ferre potens imbres, et ventos, otia nunquam
 Amplexus : molli non somno addictus : in armis
 Sæpe vigil : longas noctes transegit humique
 Projectus ; faciles plumas, ostrumque superbum
 Spernebat, foelix, omnique ex parte beatus,
 Has si naturæ dotes, artesque stupendas,
 Pro pace, et patria, sceptris, et principe pugnans,
 Exercere velit."

"Now, after this, in Momonia hostings and wars and troubles

Multiplied every day among the chiefs and the nobles.

James, of the Desmond race, was a man of matchless daring,

Fearlessly braved he wounds, and storms, and hunger, and cold ;

Bareheaded went he in heaviest wintry rains, uncaring

Aught for the elements' wrath, like a hardy Roman of old.

Luxury, pleasure, and sleep, was he ever foremost in slighting,

Scorning purple and plumes, he made no account of his birth ;

Made no account of his rank, but after a day's fierce fighting

Lay through the hours of the night couched on the hard cold earth.

Nothing could conquer his soul ; nothing dejected or bowed him ;

Yet it were happier far had he been but able to bring
 Those inappreciable gifts wherewith his God had endowed him

Into the service of peace, his native land, and his king."

Now, is not this a glaring proof of O'Meara's impiety ? He, forsooth, in every other respect a Catholic, dares to call the Geraldines, who were strenuous supporters of their religion and country, the destroyers of both ! Here is the man who does

not hesitate to extol the Butlers, by whose supineness Ireland was trodden down by the English. Ay, truly was it ruined by Ormond; for, had he leagued himself with his uncle Desmond, for altars and for hearths, this land never could have fallen by fraud or force of arms. But his charges are not levelled against the Desmond only. His pen, dipped in gall, would fain asperse men of unsullied honour and patriotism, to wit, O'Brien, O'Donnell, Mac Guire, Mac Sorely. This encomiast of the Butlers strings together high-sounding verses, and would, if possible, canonize the very men who confederated against the Geraldines, and ruined their country. And what reward do the Butlers now enjoy for all their treachery and abandonment of principle? What shall I say of the grandfather of the present marquis? What words of mine will do ample justice to his pious and exemplary grandfather, Walter;* not to speak of Thomas, surnamed the Black Earl? Was not Thomas Butler, father to James, Duke of Ormond, always hated by the English for his attachment to his country

* Called, for his devotion, "Walter of the Beads and Rosaries."

He was arrested by O'Moore in 1600, and was the first of his family who apostatised. O'Neill, then all but sovereign of Ireland, wrote to him thus: "Our commendations to you, Earl of Ormond,—We are told that you are apprehended by Owny M'Rory: We thank God that you are in the hands of the servants that are true to God, and the Pope, and the King of Spain, whence, with the leave of God, your salvation shall come, and the safety of your conscience and country, by means of your trouble in the hands of men that have less worldly credit than you, and that you may give credit faithfully henceforth in the Catholic faith. Dunganon, 2nd May, 1600.—O'NEILL."

and creed? Yes, his devotedness to the religion of his fathers cost him liberty and life; for it is notorious that he was arrested, shipped for England, and lost on the voyage. Alas! stern and relentless fate, why did you cut short the thread of his existence? Had he lived, Ireland would have been indebted to him everlastingly. Had he been spared to superintend the education of James,* he would not have sucked the milk of heretic doctrines, nor would he have acted a part so dishonourable in the wars of our times. But, as it is, the shades of his father and grandfather reprove and execrate his carriage in this last tragic scene.

But now, when Earl Gerald found himself reduced to extremities, he, like another Aurelian, addressed his followers in words like these: "Brave and generous friends, you all have lived to witness the ruin which has come upon our country, you have seen desolation lowering, and listened to the tempest which has wasted it far and wide. In the days of old the kings of England cherished the nobility of this land, bestowing on them splendid

* Twelfth Earl, who was reared a Protestant, and figured so conspicuously during the Confederation of Kilkenny. "His annual rents," says Dr. French, "before the war was but 7,000 pounds sterling, his ancient estate being then incumbered with annuities and leases, which otherwise was worth £40,000 sterling per annum, and at present (1676) it is upon £80,000. The first part of his new great revenues is the king's grant of all those lands of his own estate which were leased and mortgaged; the rest were grants of other men's estates, and other gifts of his Majesty." Ormond, who duped the Catholics, and never lost a shilling in the royal cause, received the enormous sum of six hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling as *recompense* soon after the Restoration. See Dr. French's "Unkind Deserter," p. 145.

possessions, and taking counsel with them on the concerns of the State. They did more, they sought to conciliate the other orders, by ruling them equitably, and avoiding oppression. You know that by justice kingdoms are made eternal, and that every social structure based on tyranny must fall and crumble. The sovereign who rules according to justice is regarded as the common parent, and willingly is obeyed; but the tyrant throughout all time must be abhorred, though fear may counsel men to disguise their sentiments. But our rulers, ever since they renounced the Catholic religion, scorned to regard the nobles of this land who have remained true to their faith; they have no part in the counsels of the realm, nay, they are treated with contempt. As for the people, are they not harassed, and ground down by imposts such as our ancestors never knew? Spies and informers are sent amongst them, and the misrepresentations of these hirelings are the ground on which Queen Elizabeth has formed her estimate of the Irish people. We are trampled on by a gang of mailed marauders, who despise us. Look at the sacred order of our priesthood, is it not disregarded by those innovators who have come amongst us to plunder and banish the rightful owners from their time-hallowed possessions? In the days of old, the kings who ruled this land were wont to select twelve representatives out of the first order of the nobility, nor was there any enactment made touching the freedom of the subject and the commonweal, without their vote and approbation; but you are witnesses here to-day of the state into which we have fallen, our privileges are placed in abeyance, rights

are disallowed, and liberty is a mere catch-word. The military command is made over to adventurers, the civil administration is in the hands of spies, hirelings, and defamers ; but what is most deplorable of all, we are denied the right of practising and professing our religion openly. Heresy is making rapid encroachments, and we are called upon to do homage to those base-born churls who, in the Queen's name, mock and spurn us. To such men we must submit our lives, liberties, and fortunes ; the property which our fathers have handed down to us is no longer secure, nay, as I said before, our very lives are at the disposal of the perjurer and robber. Can you who have been born and reared in liberty submit yourselves to such a state ? I know that you cannot ; and it is to remedy this deplorable condition of our country that we have taken up arms. A desperate cancer must be cut out, even with the knife ; petitions, remonstrances, supplications, all have failed. See, then, the only means left for redress is the sword. Nature dictates this step, justice nerves our arms, necessity compels us to take it. The greater part of the nobility of this land will ultimately co-operate with us ; for, although they may apparently differ with us, believe me, that with the exception of Ormond, and a few others, who are deluded by the queen, the rest of them are even now praying the God of Hosts to bless and prosper our arms. Come, then, let us rally round our altars and hearths, and shame upon the man who would barter honour and liberty for serfdom and disgrace."

Thus did Earl Gerald speak, and he soon afterwards sent Cornelius O'Daly (a man of remarkable

eloquence) to solicit the co-operation of many of the nobles who had not yet openly declared against the Queen. But, alas ! after escaping many dangers consequent on his mission, he laboured in vain ; for those very men, consulting their own ease, preferred it to the public weal, and sold themselves to bondage. Alas ! such is the condition of poor human nature ; weak and desponding man is too often troubled about trifles, fears that which he ought to despise, avoids that which ought to be met sternly, and, while flying from imaginary evils, is, at the end, overwhelmed by those which are palpable. Such, indeed, was ultimately the case with those who shrank from joining Desmond ; they were blind to coming events, and soon saw the airy hopes which they indulged stripped of all substance. Soon after their refusal to confederate with him, an awful torrent swept over the land they ought have saved ; but they sank beneath it, and were destroyed. O Sacred Heaven, in the four years' war, during which the Geraldines struggled against Elizabeth's tyranny, did not Ireland endure more from English barbarity than ever came upon her in the days of the Pagan Danes ?

But let us draw the veil over that calamitous period, and return to the history of the Earl of Desmond. After four years of blood and rapine, Queen Elizabeth offered pardon to all those who returned to their allegiance. To this amnesty there were great exceptions, namely, the Earl* and

* He was proclaimed traitor by sound of trumpet for having treated with foreign princes for subduing Ireland, for entertaining James Fitzmaurice, Dr. Saunders, Dr.

his kindred ; but that noble-hearted hero, preferring the safety of his people to his own, retired to the woods, and, O shame and sorrow ! he was soon forsaken. Thus deserted, he knew not where to turn ; but he still indulged a hope of getting succour from Spain. Many a long and weary night did he spend wandering through the bogs and mountains, deprived of commonest necessities for himself and the few retainers who clung to him. At length he succeeded in reaching the fastnesses of Kerry, and was obliged to carry off some cattle for his sustenance ; but it unfortunately happened that those who were sent to seize the prey, cruelly robbed a matron, and left her naked in the field. When the fact came to the knowledge of her kindred, they collected a number of men, and, led by a foster-brother* of the earl, approached his hiding-

Allen, and the Spaniards ; for displaying the pope's ensign against the queen's, and for bringing strangers into the kingdom. Among those who accepted the articles of the Act of Oblivion and renounced the earl's party were David Barry, son of Lord Barrymore, the Condons, and the Seneschal of Imokilly. John Barry, brother of David, was among the last to desert ; but after making a raid into Iveragh, and finding that Zouch's forces had compelled Desmond to raise his camp, he too went over to the English and accepted his pardon. Worn-out by anxiety and overmuch labour, the once great Desmond was obliged to wander up and down, and shelter himself in wild and desolate places, attended by a small company, contrary to his wonted custom.—Russell's *Relation*.

* “ Owen Moriarty, the earl's foster-brother, in whom the earl placed so much confidence that he was private (privy) to all his secrets. He informs the English garrison then in Castlemayne of the earl's abode in that valley ; and he leading them to the place where the earl lay asleep, cut off his head.”—*Ibid*.

place, I know not whether with the intention of taking his life or avenging the injury done to their sister. At this moment, there were with the earl John MacWilliam and James MacDavid—these were the only companions who partook of his miserable hut at the time of his death. Cornelius O'Daly and a few others were at a short distance from him in the valley (Gleann-an-ghuinntigh), watching the cattle that had been seized the day before. Had O'Daly been present he would not have deserted his lord at the crisis, as did the aforesaid two, and far be it from me to glory in my relationship to him who was faithful from the beginning to the end. I would not, for the sake of O'Daly, cross the boundaries of truth. Whatever I have written I have had from those who are trustworthy, and many books and manuscripts. Let no one, therefore, accuse me of vanity, but let me do justice to O'Daly, for he was a brave soldier, ever faithful to his lord, and so truly patriotic that, when all was lost, he preferred his honour and reputation to any compromise with the queen. Had he been recreant to his principles he might have saved whatever property he owned; but in the parliament held after the wars of the Desmonds it was forfeited to the crown, as may be seen in the acts then passed; he was thrice arrested by Ormond and honourably acquitted. But let us pursue our narrative. The party led by the earl's foster-brother tracked him like bloodhounds during the darkness of the night, and on the 11th of November, 1583, entered his miserable hovel at break of day. The few horsemen, as we have ere now related, basely took to flight, and the earl was alone,

and stripped. A soldier, whose name was Daniel O'Kelly,* smashed his right arm with a stroke of his sword, and then cut off one of his ears with a second blow. This miscreant then dragged him out, and being apprehensive lest any might come to the rescue, brutally separated his head from his body. Thus perished Desmond, in the twenty-fifth year of his earldom. His aged corpse was thrown on the highway as food for birds and beasts. O'Daly, soon after this deed of blood, followed in pursuit of the murderers; but they had secured themselves against attack in a strong castle, and on the next night a troop of horse cuirassiers came in the solemn stillness (for even then they dreaded the people) and carried away the earl's head to the city of Cork.†

The queen, when she heard of the earl's death, would not believe it till she saw the head, which

* As in later times, so had this miscreant his reward from the Government. On September 14th, 1583, Elizabeth ordered that her well-beloved subject and soldier, Daniel Kelly, who slew the late traitor Desmond, for his very good service therein, should have, at least for thirty years, without fine, so much of her lands, spiritual or temporal, as should amount to £30 per annum.

† Glenagenty, where the Earl of Desmond was assassinated, is in the parish of BallymacElligot, and about five miles east of Tralee. The spot is still pointed out by the name of "Boher-an-Jarla," *i.e.*, the Earl's Road; and the trunk of an old tree used to mark the fatal scene. Smith, in the Hist. of Kerry, states that the body was interred in a small chapel near Castlemain, and that the name of Moriarty is execrated by the natives in consequence of their implication in the earl's murder. O'Sullivan states that Jeffrey MacSweeny clung to the earl with desperate devotedness, guiding him from one hiding-place to another, and procuring him food till he himself was captured and killed.

was then sent to London, and impaled in an iron cage on the Tower of London, as a sign of terror to the Irish princes and Catholics, whom she hoped to deter from resisting her tyrannous will. Now, when that princely earl was no more, the spirits of his faithful followers began to droop, and the pæans of their enemies resounded far and near. Desmond's possessions were forfeited to the crown, and all those of every age and sex who honoured his memory, were maltreated and outraged. The entire property was parceled out amongst adventurers, who were put in possession of those great domains which used to pay the Geraldines more than forty thousand golden pieces per annum. The Catholics began to seek abodes beyond seas, and the few who remained in Ireland, and trusted to the specious promises of the queen, had to endure tyranny, extortion, and robbery.

But as to those who went beyond seas, neither did it fare well with them. In suffering and exile they wandered about, sustained and consoled by one hope, that the God in whose cause they had fought and bled would one day reward them for the miseries they had to endure in this world. Fain would I record the names and histories of those who perished thus; but as I have not the materials at hand, I must pass them over in reluctant silence.

But there is one of whom I must needs speak, lest I might be charged with ingratitude, namely, Thomas Fitzgerald, the last and only son of John, with whose life and actions you are already conversant. He was, indeed, a noble youth, devout to God and of unexceptionable morals. His person

was graceful, and his accomplishments worthy all praise. He was conversant with many languages, so much so that he spoke with fluency Latin, Spanish, Irish, English, and the idiom peculiar to the Celts of Scotland. This noble youth was maintained and educated by the Cardinal of Siena, then protector of the Irish at the papal court. Rome was the city of his adoption, till Philip of Spain sent the Armada* against England. He then gladly availed himself of the opportunity of fighting for his country. Whilst the king was fitting out that expedition, the suggestions made by this excellent youth were much appreciated, and of his eloquence let those six hundred Spaniards speak, who, driven on the coast of Scotland, owed their escape from imprisonment to his interposition. And this he effected at his imminent peril; for the English queen, having heard of his landing in Scotland, requested King James to have Fitzgerald arrested and given up, as a subject of her own then in rebellion; but the king privately warned Fitzgerald, who, escaping in the darkness of night, after many dangers at last reached Spain.

But in the year of the second expedition,†

* The debris of this armament, with its 8,000 sailors and 20,000 troops, strewed the Norwegian, Scottish, and Irish coasts. English historians state that near a hundred vessels perished; the Spanish, thirty-two. Such was the fate of the Invincible Armada—ruined by the same elements which, in a later age, destroyed Napoleon's army on the snow-plains of Russia.

† The cause of the second expedition may be attributed to the outrages committed in Gallicia by the English who landed there; they were, however, beaten out of the country, after losing one thousand men. Portugal, too,

Thomas, accompanied by the Archbishop of Tuam Nicholas Skerret, and Maida, a Biscayan, far-famed for knowledge of military matters, put to sea in the hope of uniting the Irish princes in a combined effort against England. But, like its predecessor, this armament was storm-tossed and shattered on the coast. The archbishop, however, escaped, and died a natural death.

Now let me briefly narrate the wind-up of those who were instrumental in murdering the Earl of Desmond. Daniel O'Kelly was arrested in England on a charge of highway robbery, and, notwithstanding the mediation and influence of Ormond, was hanged as he deserved. Nor less remarkable was the punishment which subsequently overtook Owen Moriarty, the foster-brother of the earl and leader of his captors. This inhuman villain was at one time accused of stealing cattle, and sentenced to die. They were about hanging him, when the earl, contrary to the protest of the judges, saved him and set him at liberty. That such treason and ingratitude could come from such a quarter! but he met a meet reward. For fifteen years remorse tortured him in soul and body. He was shunned by everyone, and universally execrated. But when the Princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell raised their standards, Owen was seized and gibbeted at his own door by order of the Lord of Lix-

was the scene of similar exploits. The commander of the English was the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's prime favourite. "Philip (says the Hist. of Spain and Portugal, in Lardner's Cyclop.), to avenge these insults, resolved to equip an expedition for Ireland, where he certainly would have been joined by the disaffected Romanists."

naw, in detestation of his villany—*ob foeditatem criminis* (O'Sullivan). Much might I write of this noble lord, how steadfast and true he was to his country and religion, how many actions worthy of immortal fame he performed ; but, as this is not my scope, I leave it to other hands. My object is to write of the house of Desmond.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCERNING JAMES FITZ-THOMAS RUA, AND HIS FATHER JOHN, NEPHEW OF THE GREAT EARL—SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING JAMES FITZ-GERALD, HIS SON AND HEIR.

THOMAS RUA survived his three brothers. Throughout all those troubles he sought repose and quiet in his castle ; and dying, left two sons, James and John. When they grew up they could not endure the rapacity and intolerance of the undertakers, who, after their uncle's death, had purchased from the Crown their ancestral domains. When Tyrone's wars commenced, they, too, raised their standards ; and having expelled the adventurers, and laid waste their limestone bawns, enjoyed a portion of their property for more than two years. They met and defeated Norris,* at the head of one thousand

* Sir Thomas Norris, son of Henry Lord Norris, and brother to Sir John Norris, was, on October 30th, 1597, chosen Lord Justice of Ireland, upon the death of Lord Borough, who succeeded Sir William Russell in the year 1598. He was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, where he was beleaguered by the Desmond's and Tyrowen's forces.

men, and thus did signal service to King Philip of Spain. But let us see how that came to pass. The English, with a powerful army, had landed in Flanders, and were devastating the country to the walls of Brussels; nay, having entered the city, were actually preparing to stable their horses in the Church of St. Gudule, when news was brought them of the commotions in Ireland. Deeming it, therefore, more prudent to extinguish the fire in their own house, they re-embarked, and thus rid Belgium * of their hated presence. But when the queen saw James Fitz-Thomas† acknowledged by the Irish as their leader, she, most crafty woman, resolved to unwedge the wedge; and thereon sent over to Ireland James Fitzgerald, the only son of the late earl, who, as we have told, had been sent by the Countess of Desmond as a hostage for his father.

He was seventeen years a prisoner in the Tower of London, and vainly did the Countess of Desmond hope to protect her husband by parting with her child; for on the day after his arrival in London the earl was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, traitor to the queen. But now this youth was used, by this most crafty woman, as a fit instrument to create fatal divisions. The stratagem

* The good and pious Queen Elizabeth, in order to foment disturbances in the Netherlands, sent her weak and profligate minion, the Earl of Leicester, at the head of 6,000 men, into Flanders and Belgium; but he was obliged to retire, after doing much mischief and achieving no triumph.

† Commonly called the Sugawn Earl of Desmond. He was exalted to the title by Tyrowen.

succeeded ; for no sooner had he landed * than the Irish flocked round him as the natural heir of the great Desmond. Thus all the projects of Fitz-Thomas vanished in air. Where to go he knew not ; and many and painful were his trials. In the light of day he had to contend with sworn enemies, and in the night-time to betake him to the shelter of the woods. He was finally betrayed, by some of his own followers, to Sir George Carew, then President of Munster, but was rescued in a short time afterwards by others of his adherents, when within six miles of the lord president's house. By these faithful friends he was conveyed to a place of security ; but his spirits drooped, nor did he dare to trust himself again in the haunts of men. Wandering through the woods, he was finally seized by the White Knight,† in a cave where he had taken up his abode, and committed to the custody of the lord president, by whose order he was subsequently sent to London. After passing seven years in captivity he died. Little did he suspect

* He landed at Youghal, and was received in Kilmallock with great festivity, the people showering down salt and wheat on him as he passed. On the Sunday following he disgusted the people, who strove to "dehort" him from "church," but he lent them a deaf ear. On his return he was railed at and spat upon. After this he was regarded as any other private gentleman.—Hib. Pacata, p. 164.

† So designated from the colour of his armour. His base desertion of kith and kin, and submission to Sir George Carew, then president of Munster, in a great measure committed the entire south to the English. He and one Diarmid O'Connor entered into league against the Geraldines, and resolved to take them up by the roots. Elizabethan gold corrupted them both.

that the White Knight would be guilty of such heinous treason.

His brother John sailed for Spain, and lived there some years, but in a fashion nowise becoming his princely birth. The king, urged thereto by the envy of his courtiers, allowed him but a very slender pension, forgetful, as it would seem, of what was due to a child of the great Geraldine. He soon afterwards died, leaving a son, who was called Garret, whom the King of Spain, at my instance, promoted to the dignity and title of a count.

Now, when James Fitz-Thomas and his brother had been driven out of Ireland, James,* who had been sent over by Elizabeth, remained there for a while without performing a single act worthy of record. Indeed, when the country had been trodden down into a state of servitude, the queen began to think little about him, and he immediately embarked for England, where he soon afterwards died, according to some, of poison. Thus, with the exception of a few branches, the noble tree of the Geraldines was withered. This James enjoyed the earldom for one year only. Alas! the noble tree of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, had now

* This was surely a rotten branch of the great tree, and yet it is hard to blame this James, son of Garret, if we call to mind the corrupting influence of English education, and the unceasing assiduity with which they sought to denationalise the heads of the great Irish houses in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. Nor does it require great power of imagination to realise the detestation with which the retainers and tenants of the Desmond saw Elizabeth's patentee earl proceeding to a schismatical place of worship among the sworn enemies of his ancestors' faith.

well-nigh perished. Four hundred and fifty years had its branches extended over the four provinces of Ireland ; no less than fifty lords and barons paid them tribute, and were ever ready to march under their banners. Besides the palatinate of Kerry, the country, for a hundred and twenty miles in length and fifty in breadth, was theirs. The people did them homage in all their holdings. They had, moreover, one hundred castles and strongholds, numerous seaports, lands that were charming to the eye and rich in fruits. The mountains were theirs, together with the woods ; theirs were the rocky coasts, and the sweet blue lakes which teemed with fish. Yes, they won all these delightful lands with their good swords, and governed them with their laws. Loved by their own, dreaded by their enemies, they were the delight of princes and the patrons of gifted youth. Oh ! but they were a great and glorious race. Alas, alas ! the mighty tree was doomed to perish, when scathed by the lightning of England's hatred. But of the last of them I must tell you now.

The brave boy who, at my instance, was created a count, did not tarry long in the land of Spain. The scanty pension allowed him by the king was not commensurate with the dignity and rank which beseemed the heir of Desmond. In fact, he saw that many Irish then at the king's court were preferred to him, and these were men who could not compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore choosing rather to trust to fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and, taking service in his Cæsarean Majesty's army, served him faithfully and chivalrously for three years. At last, when he had

the command of a strong town, then besieged, and was called on to surrender, he refused to do so, choosing rather to die of starvation than betray his trust. Thus did his career terminate.

Now, while writing this history, the following facts have often presented themselves to my consideration. First, the English are seldom or never faithful to treaty or pledge, but seek by all means to violate it. This is remarkably true in the history of the Geraldines, and Ireland has known it during the late wars.* Secondly, the ruin of Ireland was not brought about by English arms, but rather by the dissensions of her own children, as may be clearly proved by a reference to that period of our history when the English were first brought over by Diarmid Mac Murrough. This, too, is manifest in the Geraldine wars, during which the great house of Ormond aided the English, and, consulting their private interests, sought by all means to crush the Desmonds who remained true to their country and creed. But they dreaded to be denounced rebels. Rebels? Oh! how they deceived themselves? Never did that epithet belong to those who rise and draw the sword for their country, their God, and their rights. Does not the Divine law, and the law of nations, command all men to guard, even at the sword's point, their lives, liberties, and fortunes? And never were there hearts more leal to the crown of England than those of the Geraldines, till England's king, after turning schismatic to God, resolved to crush the Irish people, by placing over them viceroys, judges, and subordinate magistrates

* Those of the Confederates.

who interdicted liberty of action as well as conscience.

Thirdly, in the time of Tyrowen's war, Thomond, Ormond, Clanricarde, and others, assisted with their counsel and arms the English ; so that the power of the Catholics was most materially damaged by their own countrymen. Nay, more, in the last war, which commenced in 1641, is it not apparent that Ireland was desolated by the dissensions of her own children ? Oh ! how many divisions and subdivisions were there not sown amongst them by the demon ? Nor can I account for it but by supposing that Divine Providence thus visited them for their sins. Is it not a fact, beyond all doubt, that men who sprang from the soil of Ireland wished not to be recognised as Irish ? Do not savage tribes love and almost worship the land which gave them birth ? And what then are we to think of those whose ancestors for five hundred years enjoyed large possessions in Ireland, and were of the same religion ! How are we, I ask, to think of them, when we find them turning their swords against their mother's breast ? But there are exceptions to be found among the Butlers, Burkes, Barrys, Roches, and Plunkets ; nay, there are great exceptions to be found even in the noblesse of the County Meath, who, in the days of Elizabeth and the first James, clung faithfully to their country and creed. But were I to dwell on the grandest of them all, I would refer you to the history of the Geraldines, who sacrificed life, and all that makes it dear, for their country and religion. But wherefore should there be division and dissension ? Are not the modern Irish intimately connected with the ancient ?

Is not their blood intermingled? One unanimous and soul-knit effort might have prostrated England's tyranny; nor could any impartial tribunal stigmatise as traitors those who in the struggle for freedom struck despotism to the ground. Nay, more, this united effort would have saved a monarch's life, nor would England have dared to commit the crime of regicide. But it would appear that God thus punished a despotic king, who, had he governed England, Scotland, and Ireland equitably, might have been spared the headsman's axe.

Nor do I know how to account for the overthrow and extermination of the Earls of Desmond, when I reflect on all that they did and endured for religion, save by attributing both to the inscrutable ways of God. Perhaps some awful delinquency of theirs brought down his vengeance, for he is most just, and punishes those who transgress his laws. If curiosity would induce you to ascertain what dark deeds of theirs may have brought upon them such terrible retribution,* ponder well how James Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, was murdered in his castle of Rathkeale, as some suspect, by his brother John. Again, recal the horrid murder of James Fitz-Maurice, perpetrated by

* The fall of the Desmonds was followed by the parcelling out of 574,628 acres of their lands to adventurers such as Raleigh, Spenser, St. Leger, and others, who did all they could to exterminate the ancient Irish tenants. "Estates," says Plowden, "were offered in fee at the rent of three pence, and in some places at two pence per acre to adventurers. The rents were to become due after the expiration of the first three years of tenure; and this was done in favour of those whom the Desmond would not have set with the dogs of his flock."

Maurice of Desmond in the days of Henry the Eighth. Should this not satisfy you, I would have you meditate on all the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed on the M'Carthy's. Now, I have briefly narrated for you the history of the Geraldines, uninfluenced by party bias, and solely motivated by love of truth. God grant that the sad story may serve as a warning to the great ones of this world, teaching them to act justly, fearing God and loving those who are lowly placed in this world. On these virtues you may rear that edifice whose summit, piercing the clouds, must ultimately reach the highest heaven.

PERSECUTION
AFTER
THE GERALDINES.

SECOND PART OF O'DALY'S WORK.

PERSECUTION AFTER THE GERALDINES.

CHAPTER I.

THE DREADFUL PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS,
AND THE INIQUITOUS LAWS AND PROCLAMATIONS
ISSUED AGAINST THEM AFTER THE DESTRUCTION
OF THE EARLS OF DESMOND, PALATINES OF
KERRY.

Now, when that princely race had been overthrown, and ruin loomed over the ancient palaces of the Desmonds, Palatines of Kerry, nothing could exceed the joy of their exulting enemies. On the highways and byways of Munster, with distended cheeks, they proclaimed the downfall of that once potent family, and boasted that they were instrumental in effecting it. Then their wicked ingenuity conceived a thousand plans for offering outrage and insult to the flock of Christ. Now, that their dreaded foeman was no more, these heretics raged like infuriated tigers. They spared none of those who revered the memory of the Geraldines, but smote them, and made it a crime against heaven to be an Irishman or Catholic. Nay, more, you were subjected to every contumely if you spoke the vernacular language; noble or plebeian, of the city or of the country, if a Catholic, you were called a traitor, and for being a native, you were declared

a rebel. Your birth made them spit upon you. Your religion made them crucify you. Divesting themselves of humanity, and disregarding God's anger, the rage of those heretics, who may be likened to famished lions, exhausted itself on our holy edifices. The priests of the Lord were stoned in the public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads made targets for these wretches to aim at. Some of those priests had their brains beaten out—their bodies trodden under foot, and bruised by kick and cuff. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots ; whilst others actually saw their entrails protrude, and their flesh ripped and torn with iron combs. How shall I describe such scenes ? “ They were stoned, cut asunder, tempted, and slain with the sword.” But, praised be God ! they were true to their faith. Truly these persecutors excelled in malice, their cruelty surpassed its ordinary character, and their ferocity shrank not from the most appalling crimes. A thousand proofs of this can be given. The minds and memories of some who are yet living are charged with the recollections of them ; but let us turn for a while to the records on which these events are imperishably chronicled. Is there not, for example, the history of the martyrdom of John Burke,* who perished by the hands of the execu-

* Burke, of Brittas, in the County Limerick, was put to death for the faith, according to Carve, in *Annal. Hib.*, about the year 1610. He consecrated his unborn child to the religion of his country, having nothing else to leave it. A short time after his death his widow gave birth to a daughter, who for some years led a vestal's life in her own country, and then, bidding an eternal farewell to home and

tioner for no other crime than having given refuge to priests, and allowing the holy sacrifice of the Mass to be celebrated in his castle of Brittas? Have we not also the history of the martyrdom of John Gravers, doctor in theology, who, being accused of having written a defence of the pope's supremacy, was arraigned before an iniquitous tribunal? Will not the blood of this man cry aloud to heaven till this world has grown hoary? When arraigned before his judges, and interrogated by them, here was his answer: "See, you," said he, "this thumb, forefinger, and middle finger? With them I wrote this book. I do not repent me of having done so; nay, I glory that I am charged with it. I am not ashamed of the fact." He was then sentenced to die; but after they had thrust his right hand into the fire, the three fingers remaining unscathed, he was consigned to the gallows. What words of mine will adequately describe the cruelties committed on the persons of Patrick O'Healy,* Bishop of Mayo, and Cornelius O'Ruark, a Franciscan friar, who were both falsely charged with high treason. Their hands were smashed, their thigh bones splintered with strokes of a hammer, and they were finally gibbeted when their murderers could wring no confession from them. For eight years the instruments employed in killing these holy martyrs were exhibited to public vene-

kindred, took the Dominican habit, and died in the Irish convent in Lisbon. The father was buried in St. John's church, Limerick.

* They were both of the Franciscan order, and were martyred at Kilmallock. Their remains were subsequently translated to Askeaton.

ration, and they now lie buried with them in the Franciscan convent of Askeaton.

How shall I describe the agonies and sufferings of Dermot O'Hurley,† Archbishop of Cashel, on whom savage malice inflicted a most abominable and protracted process of wicked ingenuity? He was bound to the trunk of a tree; they smeared his feet and thighs with salt, butter, oil, sulphur, pitch, and ardent spirits; his boots, too, were filled with this horrid preparation; think you they needed match and flint? Was not this fit material to kindle flame? The fire preyed on his emaciated limbs, and they then administered restoratives. Again and again they smeared him with the aforesaid preparation, till his muscles and arteries melted in the flame, and the teguments of his bones were consumed. After five days devoted to this torture, they led him out in the dawning, fearing that there would be a rising if they killed him in open day. Now, on that very morning, when others were in their beds, the Archbishop was placed on a hurdle, and, while on the way to the place of execution, was met by a pious friend, one, perhaps, who privately supplied him with means of subsistence, who, seizing the prelate's hand in token of love, ever after bore upon it, indelibly impressed, the figure of a scarlet cross! Here was evidence of sanctity, and the reward of a grateful heart.

† The O'Hurleys were extensive proprietors of land in Tipperary. The martyrdom of the Archbishop occurred in 1583. The scene of it was Stephen's-green, Dublin, and the place of the martyr's sepulture the old cemetery of St. Kevin's, close to the church recently erected in honour of that saint.

This illustrious martyr, this fountain of eloquence and learned lore, was looked upon by all as the most formidable adversary who at any time combated the nascent heresy. Nay, so highly was his indomitable fortitude esteemed by his judge, Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that he over and over again made him most seductive offers of royal bounty if he would acknowledge the queen to be head of the Church, or, at least, head of the English Church. But, when he refused to subscribe this doctrine, Loftus sent to inform him that he would not interfere with him, but would leave him in peaceful possession of his see and add to its revenues if he would consent to renounce the Pope's jurisdiction, and accept his advancement to the archiepiscopal dignity at the hands of Queen Elizabeth. He spurned their bribes, despised their threats, and, having confuted Loftus' specious arguments, won the palm of martyrdom.*

Who is not familiar with the history of Richard Creagh Primate of all Ireland? He was offered every favour which Elizabeth and her ministers could bestow, provided he abjured the supremacy of the Holy See. When he refused, they charged

* Loftus came to Ireland as chaplain to the viceroy, Thomas, Earl of Sussex, and was appointed schismatical Archbishop of Armagh, 1563. He was translated to Dublin 1567, and constituted Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1578. Writing to Sir Francis Walsingham in June, 1584, anent Archbishop O'Hurley, he says: "We put him to the torture such as your honour advised us, which was to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots, and thereby rid the realm of a most pestilent member." Father Fitzsimons, S.J., in his *Justification of the Mass, etc.*, published 1611, says that Loftus was an apostate priest. He died in 1605.

him with having offered violence to the daughter of his jailer. They even bribed the girl to swear against him. They then appointed the day and place for hearing the accusation and invited a great number of the Irish nobility to be present to witness the infamy of a man who had held such exalted station. But wonderful is the power of innocence. When the girl came into court, although urged by the solicitation of the archbishop's enemies, and promised every reward which they could so readily give, she was struck with horror at the thought of perjury, and grew sorry for what she had stated. Think you she grew agitated and confused? No such thing; for when interrogated as to the charge they fancied she was prepared to maintain against the prelate, she replied, with an oath, that she believed that man to be not only innocent of what was alleged, but that he was a saint, and had never touched even the hem of her garment. But although virtue triumphed, the deadly hatred of his enemies still survived, and the illustrious prelate only escaped this snare to be incarcerated to the end of his days in the Tower of London.*

O'Sullivan's History gives ample details of the martyrdom of Cornelius O'Deveney, Bishop of Down and Connor, and his chaplain, Patrick

* Archbishop Creagh was poisoned in the Tower of London October 14th, 1585. He was succeeded by Edmond Magauran, who was slain July, 1593, at Tulsk, Co. Roscommon, while receiving the last confession of an Irish soldier mortally wounded in an action fought there between Maguire, Prince of Fermanagh, and the English commanded by Lord Deputy Grey's "jewel," Sir Richard Bingham.

O'Luarchain, priest. But as it is not my wish to dwell at great length on these matters, I refer you to the history of the time. The facts which I have adduced occurred about the end of Elizabeth's reign, when destruction was spreading her wings over the house of the Geraldines ; and in this, our day, are not the facts themselves on the lips of everyone acquainted with our country ? but I have deemed it necessary to mention them here, that everyone may know how furiously this reprobate woman, Elizabeth, scourged the good, the just, and the ardent lovers of their country.*

But perchance I may be charged as a partisan or a writer of fiction, and the very opposite of trustworthy in what I have narrated ; be it so—let the facts speak for themselves. "Truth," says Tertullian,† "knows herself to be a pilgrim on this earth, and that her origin, home, and resting-place can only be found in heaven ;" nevertheless, truth insists on being heard, and let no one condemn her before she is arraigned. Let us, therefore, hear her speaking, let us hearken to Elizabeth herself, and James of the venomous heart ; let us hear the chief governors of Ireland and their satellites, whose every act and word sprung from hearts overcharged with hatred to Ireland and her religion ; and, first in order, let us produce the edict published by Elizabeth in London, of which the following is a copy :

* O'Deveney was arrested 1611, and executed in the following year, being then aged eighty. The infamous Chichester was then Lord Deputy. The Archbishop's remains were interred in the cemetery of St. James's church.

† "Apology against the Gentiles."

The Queen's Proclamation against Seminary Priests and Jesuits, who are machinating treason against the Kingdom and Crown.

ALTHOUGH we hitherto had some reason to believe that after thirty-three years of our reign, the malice of the Spanish King would have subsided, and that he might be induced to live on terms of peace with us as well as the other princes who are nearer to him. Nevertheless, we are now forced to conclude, from all we have learned, that he meditates more deadly designs, and is equipping forces both by land and sea to disturb the peace of the world. And we verily believe that it has seemed good to the omnipotent God of armies to permit the ruin of such men, who cannot be induced to live peaceably and contentedly with what they already possess. This is manifest from the commencement of a most unjust war which he is now waging against the King of France; which in many respects is like unto that which he carried on against us two years ago, when he meditated the invasion of our dominions, but God resisted him, and gave him and his entire army good reason to repent.

Wherefore we have learnt that the King of Spain, in order to colour his violent and exorbitant proceedings, has lately caused a vassal * of his to be raised to the popedom, and has procured sums of money from the papal treasury for the levying of troops, whom the Pope's nephew is to lead into France. We conclude that such hostile aggression must be exceedingly perilous to us and our kingdom, and

* Nicholaus Sfrondati, a Milanese, who took the name of Gregory XIV, reigned for a very short time. On his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, he found Italy suffering all the horrors of famine, and its inseparable consequence, plague. "Such great dearths," says Muratori, "must henceforth be of less frequent recurrence, owing to the cultivation of Indian corn." (Gran. Turco.) Ciaconio and Cicarelli state that 60,000 persons died in Rome of the pestilence occasioned by the famine, notwithstanding the paternal solicitude of the Pope, who expended 100,000 golden crowns in purchasing provision for his people.—*V. Annali d'Italia.*

more particularly so as we have been informed that the preparations by sea and land are on a more extensive scale now than at any former period.

We have learnt, moreover, that the King of Spain has been intriguing with seditious persons of mean birth in our kingdom, who, as ungrateful subjects and traitors to their country, at the King's expense, have gathered together bands of dissolute young men, for whom they have provided receptacles at Rome and in Spain for the purpose of indoctrinating them in scholastic sedition, and sending them into our dominions with powers from the Pope to seduce our subjects from their allegiance in the hope of a Spanish invasion. Now these priests, who are our subjects, strive by all means in their power, as well as by bulls and by indulgences from the Pope, to induce the people of this kingdom to abjure their allegiance and give all their support to the King of Spain, denouncing maledictions against such as are not inclined to acquiesce in their designs.

Such designs of the papal power we have already to a certain extent impaired by enacting laws against traitors, and solely against traitors: but by no means have we prosecuted them on account of any article of religion, as they and their abettors would have it believed. This is apparent from the trials, on which none of them were found guilty or condemned to death on any other verdict than that of high treason; since they have been proved to have admitted that if the Pope would send an army against us they would be ready to espouse his cause.

Again, were there any other argument necessary to convince those who doubt it that no one suffers death on account of his religion in our dominions, this which we adduce would easily satisfy them. At the present moment there are in our kingdom very many wealthy men who profess a creed contrary to ours, and yet they are not harmed in person or in goods, and are only mulcted in a certain sum as long as they refuse to frequent our churches; which conduct of ours clearly refutes the libellous accusations made by outlaws in other lands. We are well aware that our rebels who frequent these receptacles, which they call seminaries, have informed the King of Spain that although his former fleet had but a lamentable issue, yet that if he could be induced to attempt a similar undertaking, he would

be joined by multitudes in this kingdom at the very moment of his arrival.

Such information has been given to the King of Spain by one Persons, who is his confessor.* Similar information has he likewise received from one Allen,† whose treasons against us have induced the Pope to confer on him the cardinal's hat. Hence it is that they have sent their emissaries (Jesuits and Seminary Priests) into this kingdom to promote their evil designs. But as some of the Spanish King's more prudent counsellors have concluded that this armament can but slightly prejudice us, he has come to the determination of attacking Belgium and France, as well as Scotland and Ireland, whither some of the emissaries of the seminarists have recently journeyed. To counteract such nefarious machinations, we therefore have enacted such laws as are required to crush the rebels and detect their treasons.

In the first place, then, we entreat all ecclesiastics to retain the people in the profession of the Gospel and in their duty to God and us, and we would exhort them to this by the consideration of that untiring energy with which the chiefs of the seditious ever labour, by means of the seminaries, to captivate the ignorant and simple people.

And in order to adopt measures against the covert and fraudulent machinations of the Seminarists, Jesuits, and other traitors (without whom the King of Spain cannot succeed), we have determined to send Commissioners to all the counties, cities, and seaports of our kingdom, who will be empowered to institute the most rigid investigation of all suspected persons who have persuaded others, or suffered themselves to be taught, that obedience of any kind is to be given to the Pope or the King of Spain.

And as it has been ascertained that many of the seminarists have come into this kingdom, and have got access

* A distinguished English Jesuit, who, in 1581, obtained a large sum of money from Philip II for James, subsequently King of England.

† Founder of the farfamed English Seminary at Douay. He was advanced by Sixtus V to the cardinalate, at the instance of Philip II of Spain.

even to the universities, and have introduced themselves into the families of noble men and women, in order thus to conceal themselves the more securely ; we, therefore, strictly command that all persons, of whatsoever sex or condition, shall immediately make an exact return of all such persons who, after the lapse of fourteen months, shall have frequented their houses, dwelt in them, fed in them, or slept in them. They shall moreover be obliged to give an exact account of the name, condition, and quality of such persons, where they were born, where they were a year before their arrival in this kingdom, how and whence they derived support, what they do, what places they frequent, with whom they are intimate, and whether, according to our laws, they frequent our churches and assist at our divine offices.

All this we wish to have noted down in a book kept by the father of a family, after the fashion of a register or calendar, so that our Commissioner by referring to it may get the necessary information whenever he may deem it expedient.

But if anyone should be reluctant in answering the questions put to him, or should appear dubious in his replies, we command that such person be transmitted to the nearest Commissioner. The same we also ordain concerning the heads of houses and fathers of families who have acted negligently in instituting the necessary inquiries. And should anyone be found, within the term of twenty-four days after the publication of this edict, sheltering any suspected persons, we order that they be treated as accomplices and abettors of rebels and traitors.

Given at our palace of Richmond, 18 Octob.,
1590, and thirty-third of our reign

In the heading to this chapter I pledged myself to undertake two distinct works ; first, to give a rude outline of the persecution inflicted on the Catholics ; and secondly, to lay before the reader these iniquitous laws by which the extirpation of the Catholic Irish was to be effected. As to the first, I may be well satisfied with what I have

already written ; but, at the same time, I confess that the limits of this work would not permit me to adduce, as I might, many other proofs of this cruel persecution. As to the second, I had made up my mind to cite such portions of the various penal enactments as might serve to elucidate my subject, without swelling this little volume beyond the size I intended. But to be candid, the multi-form, shameless, and sophisticated acts passed against the Catholics have grown to such extent, out of the many extracts I have been obliged to make, that this little work must become more extended than I wished. In proportion to my book has been my bile ; for what heart is there in the bosom of a rational being that will not beat indignantly at the sight of these horrid and heathenish statutes ? The law of the Eternal God condemns them, the laws of society execrate them, for they are enactments against truth and the Holy Catholic Church. Wherefore I have now resolved to give you the very words of our persecutors, that they may remain recorded against them for ever and ever. Now, with your leave, kind reader—and I implore that you will not deem it tiresome—the rest of this treatise shall be chiefly concerned with the statutes and acts passed by the heretics against my religion and country.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FOREGOING ACT.

It must be plain to every reader that this Act teems with falsehood and calumny. It probes to the very bottom, forsooth, the plans of the Roman Pontiff, the designs of Spain, and the conspiracies of neighbouring countries. This provident queen

commends her foresight, this ambitious woman is anxious for popularity, and would fain have herself regarded as a fountain-source of wisdom and justice. Verily, for her good works we will not stone her. But, lo! she proclaims all priests and clerics traitors, exhorts her ministers to outroot them, and nevertheless would have the world believe that no one suffers for religion's sake. But vainly does she spread her nets before birds. She would change, forsooth, the Ethiop's colour, as if mankind knew not that whitened sepulchres are inside filled with rottenness and corruption. This far-famed English queen has grown drunk on the blood of Christ's martyrs; and, like a tigress, has hunted down the Irish Catholics, exceeding in ferocity and wanton cruelty the emperors of pagan Rome. So far was it from her intention not to persecute the Catholics for religion's sake, that she inflicted the punishment of death on all those who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Usurping, as she did, the headship of the Church, in spirituals as well as temporals, she would be nothing less than chief of both; and this Lutheran pontiff would have all those who owed her allegiance in mere temporal matters solemnly swear that she was likewise the supreme ruler of the Church. No one might hope to escape her bloodstained hand who did not devoutly and piously take this oath. To those who took it she was lavish of her favours, but to those who refused, Proteus-like, she was ever varying, till at length she became more fatal in her glances than the fabled Medusa.*

* Who turned all who looked upon her into stone.

"Gorgoneis Alecto infecta venenis
Cui furor, et rabies suberant, et tristia bella,
Iraque, insidiæque, et noxia crimina cordi."*

Truly, for my own part, I recognise Elizabeth as the Queen of England; for her person I entertain respect, nor do I envy her her fair fame; but, in treating such matters as are intimately interwoven with her public life, religion, veracity, and honour counsel me to conceal nothing. When not more than six years old, this woman excelled not alone all the other princesses of her time in profound knowledge of the Latin tongue, but even those of her own sex of inferior condition throughout England; nor will I gainsay her knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, or her intimate familiarity with the controversies of her time. As far as her heretical teachers were concerned, she not only rivalled but excelled them. 'Tis told of her that once when studying a Latin author in company of her ladies, that she used a Latin word which was not strictly grammatical, and suddenly correcting the error, turned with queenly grace to those who heard her, and said, "I have misapplied the word; nevertheless, let no one henceforth object to it, for it has the sanction of my royal authority." It is not my desire to question her talents, for they were great, but inflated; nor shall I even venture to dispute with one of her voluble sex on the right of making or unmaking adjectives; but the doctrine of the apostle forbids me to bow to any female usurping the primacy of the Church. "But I suffer not a woman," saith Paul, "to teach nor

* Virgil.

to use authority over the man ; but to be in silence." Surely this rule, laid down by the apostle, overturns Elizabeth's primacy. A woman cannot be the head of the Church if it be forbidden her to teach or to guide ; nor, indeed, has it at any time been conceded that such offices are compatible with the state and condition of a female. The head of a woman is man, but the head of man is Christ, the Spouse of the whole Church, whom God hath sent in the fulness of time. And you must know that when Christ appointed His representative in this world, He did not select one out of the number of the pious women who ministered to Him in His sorrows, followed Him in His passion, stood by Him when crucified, and wailed around Him when dying. In a word, He did not say to His Virgin Mother, "Feed My sheep ; whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." It was to Peter He intrusted this great and glorious headship.

Nor was Elizabeth in the number of those who followed Christ, nor has she studied to imitate the example of the meanest of them ; but we must, forsooth, bow our heads and clap our hands since this royal theologian has ascended the throne. I entertain respect for her as a temporal sovereign, for the Divine teaching commands that I should be deferential even to a wicked one. Her right of ruling in temporalities I never questioned, but my allegiance shall never be given to her in the character of a usurper. Now let us return to our task. My premises on the present occasion being that Elizabeth is mendacious when she asserts that no one was persecuted for religion, that the very reverse

was the case, which I will abundantly prove when I shall have said a few words concerning the adjuncts to her Acts of Parliament and her system of persecution. In the first place, then, you are to know that for the enforcing of the Act above cited, as well as all others regarding the queen's supremacy, ample instructions were given to all justices of the peace, and that they were also supplied with secret powers to carry out Elizabeth's designs. These instructions may be summed up under eight distinct heads. 1. An inquisitorial power was given to certain commissioners to discover who were Catholics. 2. They were furnished with grounds of accusations against them, even in matters where their allegiance was not concerned. 3. They were invested with a power of summoning and examining all who were Catholics. 4. They had a uniform rule of examination and interrogation. 5. They were strictly enjoined to find out those who harboured or sheltered priests. 6. They were so organised as to be able to pursue a fugitive, priest or layman, from one province to another. 7 and 8. They were allowed to delegate their power, the more effectually to entrap the Catholics, called recusants.* Having said so much, let me now lay before you this Act of Parliament in all its falsity and calumny, and enlighten you on the origin of the persecution.

To any one recollecting what we have already written, it must be as clear as the sun at noon that nothing could exceed the astuteness of this woman,

* Those who refused to assist at Protestant or schismatical worship.

and her persecuting ingenuity. A political plea was her best excuse for seizing with impious hands the regalia of the Church ; but the futility of that plea is clear to those who are at all conversant with the mad ambition of the woman who would be supreme in the Church as well as State. But, O grief ! the royal mantle which covered her shoulders, which was, indeed, her self-conferred pallium, bore upon it many a bloody stain ; the martyr's gore was on its every fold. She may not have noticed it, but is it not true that every one is conscious of the drunkard's delirium except the drunkard himself ? Know you not that blood will sink into the hardest iron, and unite in one common substance with that of sword-blade ? In vain, therefore, would any one labour to conceal facts which have been preached from the house-tops ; for, from the very moment that Elizabeth conceived the design of enthroning herself in the temple, she must have known that her pontificate should be inaugurated in blood. She then took to her confidence one of her first ministers, to wit, William Cecil, whose origin is very doubtful. Need I say to you how fearfully he raged against Christ and his Church. But I must say a few words of him in passing.

This Cecil, who came of a very obscure family, in the earlier days of Henry VIII sought pleasure in nothing but acts of cunning and duplicity. By the exercise of a perverted ingenuity he succeeded in advancing his fortunes. He fell away from the faith by apostasy ; but in the days of Queen Mary, feigning sorrow for his fall, he began to fawn on that pious queen. Then, to the wonder of all, he might be found attending sermons on the highways,

and in the churches. With rosary in hand, he cried aloud to those who witnessed his hypocrisy : " You who have followed me in my error follow me in my repentance ; " * but when times altered, Cecil adapted himself to their requirements, and his second error was worse than the first. He thenceforth became the principal author and scribe of all those cruel enactments, which is evident from the fact that the sense, and almost the verbiage of these very statutes, are to be found in a book written by him on the subject of " British Justice." And, besides, it is notorious, that in one of the first parliaments assembled in the time of Elizabeth, he enunciated that famous oath of supremacy, and insisted that it should be taken by all those whom he could intimidate. This is the tenor of that oath : " I, A. B., do utterly testifie, and declare in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governour of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." After spending many years forging these statutes, and encouraging the murderers of the Catholics, he composed his famous work on British Justice, in which, even on the very title page, he undertakes to show that no one suffered death or danger in England for having remained true to the creed and ceremonial of the Catholic Church. A

* Nares, in his Memoir of Lord Burghley, proves that Cecil professed himself a Catholic in the time of Queen Mary. Quoting the Wimbledon Easter Book, 1556, he gives the subjoined certificate in the autograph of Cecil's steward, " The names of them that was confessed and received the Sacrament in the parish of Wimbledon—my master, Sir William Cecil, and my lady, Mildreade, his wife."

few pages on in this book he asserts, "no violence has been offered to the conscience of the Catholics, nor has their recusancy brought them into danger of life or fortunes;" and having illustrated this by some examples, he continues: "Is not the contrary the fact, since it is well known that many have gone over to the Catholics without incurring loss of property or life?" See you not here how closely this language resembles that of the statute? And, when replying to some persons who questioned the truth of his statement, here is his answer anent those who had been put to death: "It was not the Roman ceremonial, nor festivals, nor formulas of prayer, which brought about their death; neither was it that they were called Seminarists, Jesuits, Priests, or Papists; neither was it their habit, but the cause was, that they excited the people to sedition." But, without pausing to examine this lying assertion, let me ask why was there such effusion of blood where there was no sedition; and why and wherefore were so many noble families utterly destroyed?

Oh! truly, all the malice of the tyrants of old was revived in this artful Cecil. This was precisely the artifice of Julian the apostate, as we learn from Gregory Nazianzen; for it is well known that this prototype of Cecil persecuted the Christians for their faith, although he would have the world believe they suffered for crimes. "He raged against them," says the historian, "and would persuade the world that innocent Christians were malefactors, and thus deny them their lawful claim to the honours of martyrdom." And again, "O singular folly of the impious, who vainly think to deprive

us of that consolation which we enjoy when suffering for Christ." Now, I ask you, is there not a close resemblance between Julian's policy and that of Cecil? Does not the same astuteness characterize both? and, to have done with the matter, I affirm that no sedition of the Catholics brought down the royal vengeance on them, and that their conscientious convictions and stern opposition to the new-fangled supremacy was the cause of their death, plunder, and outlawry. Again, this persecution originated with the oath of supremacy in Elizabeth's reign, when it was publicly announced that the pontifical power was centered in her, as I have already shown. And now let me ask Cecil, the defender of British Justice, to show me what shadow of right, reason, or justice there is in this solemn oath of the queen's supremacy. In fact, the title of "Defender of the Faith," on which this supremacy rests, was conferred on Henry VIII by Pope Leo X for the king's sustainment of Catholic doctrine against Luther; but surely the pontiff never intended to transfer his power and pre-eminence to the monarch; and when he would have it believed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to him, was he not met by the laughter and scorn of more than half the world? As well might you think of making black white, or evil out of good, as to effect this. But greatly was this queen indebted to Cecil, who, hailing Henry VIII "Defender of the Faith," would have his daughter inherit the same title. He got it for defending Catholicity against Luther, and the queen inherited it for her advocacy of Lutheranism against the Pope. I would that the kings of England were

truly the defenders of the faith, nor basely forfeit this proud title ; but, as for Elizabeth, she used it badly, and thereby loses all claim to it. And now I ask, is there not a great difference between the head of the faith and the defender thereof ? I appeal to you, reader, does not God stultify the wise ones of this world ?

CHAPTER II.

HOW FALSE IS THE ASSERTION OF CECIL THAT NO ONE SUFFERED FOR RELIGION'S SAKE, PROVED FROM THE HISTORY AND STATUTES OF ELIZABETH.

THERE is an old proverb, which says, "a liar needeth good memory." Now, I would impress upon you the necessity of believing that Cecil, in his work on British Justice, and also in his statutes—for he was the author of most of them—has so far forgotten himself that it is difficult to believe anything he asserts. Over and over again he affirms, that no Catholic suffered for conscience sake in Elizabeth's time, as though we were to discard the experience of mankind, or the many volumes which assert the very opposite.* Surely he must know that in the very first year of Elizabeth's reign, Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, together with many bishops, archdeacons, deans, and vicars, were deprived of their sees and benefices for refusing to

* "From the defeat of the Armada to the death of the Queen, 61 clergymen, 47 laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for some of the spiritual treasons which had been lately created."—*Lingard*, vol. viii

acknowledge the supremacy of this queen. Read the history of England during 1556-7 to the year 1580, and thence to 1521, and behold what a multitude of holy and exalted personages were mulcted by death or forfeitures for having denied the Queen's supremacy, or given shelter to priests, or assisted at Mass. Who can count the numbers who suffered during these years, and adequately depict the horrors they had to endure in the ruin of their fortunes and mutilation of their limbs? Besides, in eleven years of Elizabeth's reign, no less than four most atrocious proclamations were published against the Catholics. The order in which they were issued is as follows: the first, on the 15th July, 1580; the second, on the 20th of January; the third, on the 2nd of April, 1581. These enactments were confirmed by the parliament on the 1st of March, 1585; and an Act was also passed about this time, in the Irish Parliament, in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth's reign, as virulent as any of those which had emanated from the Parliament of England. Of this we shall speak by-and-by. The fourth is the well-known act of 1591, on which we have been commenting. But in Ireland the harvest of persecution was far more abundant than in England, and God alone can enumerate the number of martyrs whose blood was shed. We have already made you acquainted with the history of Burke of Brittas, and the tragic death of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel. Now, let Cecil answer me: was not all this persecution inflicted on those who denied the Queen's supremacy, and, consequently, did not those who suffered suffer for conscience sake.

But, to have done with this controversy touching Cecil, the Queen's secretary and evil genius, I will ask your attention to the following comments, which, in my judgment, exhibit him in his true character, while asserting that no Catholic suffered injury for simply adhering to the Holy See and its doctrines.

My first proof is taken from the very words of the queen during the secretaryship of Cecil, who, in a proclamation of indulgence, issued after the session of parliament in the twenty-third year of her reign, speaks thus: "Let care be taken that this indulgence be not extended to those who, at the termination of the session of parliament held in the twenty-third year of our reign, are now detained in the public prisons, or subjected to special custody, for their pertinacity in refusing to frequent the churches, or assist at the Divine offices of the religion now established in this kingdom." Now, observe, kind reader, how false is that assertion of Cecil, who states, that no one suffered for religious opinions, when those who persevered in the ancient faith are rigidly excluded from this pardon and indulgence. The assassin, the robber, and other such had pardon; but for the recusant Catholic there was to be no remission.

My second proof is derived from an act passed in the Irish House of Parliament, and published in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth; and as this act, passed in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth, was the fruitful source of all the penal enactments of James I, and his son King Charles, I will have much to say of it in the following pages. At present I must content myself with this extract. "Every priest thus taken is to be adjudged guilty

of treason, hanged on the gallows, cut down when half dead, his bowels taken out and burned, and his head impaled in some conspicuous place. Furthermore, his goods and lands are to be confiscated." The penalty incurred by those who foster and shelter priests is as follows: "All such shall have their lands confiscated, and they themselves are to be hanged on the public gibbet." This extract I have transcribed from a narrative of the present persecution, printed in Ireland in the year 1653. And now let us have done with the persecution of Queen Elizabeth. But I appeal to your good discrimination, kind reader, have I not made it clear enough that Cecil's assertions are to be disbelieved, as in every respect devoid of truth? Let us turn now to the persecutions of James I, the successor of Elizabeth, and her rival in every species of cruelty and hatred of Catholicity.

The scope and animus of this king may be easily learned from the Acts of Parliament passed during his reign. I have collected my information from the History of Philip O'Sullivan, who may be read by all and everyone with profit and edification. I am not, indeed, a writer of fiction. I am not the author of truth, but one who publishes it. Hence I have thought it wise to consult the works of others, and avail myself of their labours. Most painters imitate some grand original, and the Iliad and Æneid differ not so much in subject as in style; nor can I be accused of giving a false version of the documents which I have to quote, for I solemnly assure you, that rather than hazard my own judgment, I have invariably consulted a third person. Let us now peruse the edict of James I, King of England.

PROCLAMATION BY THE KING.

Whereas we have been informed that our subjects in the kingdom of Ireland, since the death of our *beloved* *sister*, have been deceived by a false rumour that we would allow them liberty of conscience, contrary to the laws and statutes of that kingdom, and the religion which we profess. From this some have thought us less zealous than we ought to be in the administration of the Irish Church, as well as in that of the other Churches over which it is our duty to watch; and very many of our Irish subjects seem determined to persevere in their obstinate contumacy, Jesuits, Seminarists, Priests, and Bishops, who have received ordination at the hands of foreigners, thus emboldened, have lain concealed in various parts of that kingdom; and now emerging from their hiding-places, exercise their functions, contemning us and our religion.

Wherefore it hath seemed good to us to notify to our *beloved* subjects of Ireland that we shall never tolerate such a state of things; and notwithstanding the rumour so industriously circulated, we are firmly resolved to never allow any religion except that which is consonant to the Word of God, established by our laws. By these presents, therefore, let all men know that we strictly order and command all and every of our subjects to frequent the parochial churches, assist at the Divine offices, and attend to the exposition of the Word of God, on Sundays and festival days, according to the rule and spirit of the laws. They who will act contrariwise will incur the penalties provided by the statutes, which we now order to be rigorously enforced.

And as it has been notified to us that Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and many other Priests, wander about the kingdom of Ireland, seducing our subjects to the observance of their superstitious ceremonies, thus bringing our laws into contempt: We now order and command that all such Jesuits, Priests, and Seminarists, who have been ordained in foreign parts, or derive any authority from the Roman See, do, after the expiration of the last day of November, instant, withdraw from our kingdom of Ireland; nor let any such persons after that date venture to return to the aforesaid kingdom. Should they contravene this order, we strictly order that they shall

be punished to the utmost rigour of the laws in this case already specified. We, moreover, strictly forbid all our subjects of Ireland to shelter or countenance any Jesuit, Seminary Priest, or other Priest who will dare to remain in Ireland, or return thither after the tenth day of December, instant.

But, if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or Priests of any order, shall dare to remain in the kingdom of Ireland, or return thither after the tenth day of December, instant: and if any of our subjects shall dare to receive or shelter them, we strictly command all our mayors, constables, sheriffs, and judges, to act as faithful subjects, and to seize the bodies or body of each and every Jesuit, Seminary Priest, and other Priests who have received their ordination in foreign parts, and commit them to close confinement, until our Viceroy or his Deputy shall have inflicted on them just and deserved punishment.

But if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or others, shall, before the aforesaid tenth day of December, next, present himself before our Viceroy, or any others of our officers of state, signifying his desire to frequent our churches, according to the spirit of our laws, we will permit such Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and others, to tarry in our kingdom, and return thereto as long as they shall continue faithful to the observances which we prescribe. Such persons shall have and enjoy all the privileges belonging to our faithful and loving subjects.

Given at Westminster, July 4, 1605.*

* Dublin: Printed by John Franklin, printer to His Majesty.

CHAPTER III.

APOSTROPHE TO KING JAMES.

“NAIL drives nail, and sledge forges sledge.” * King James commemorates the death of his dear sister, and, meditating persecution, turns his eyes to its source. Pray tell us, good King James, did not this Elizabeth cause your father to be murdered in his bed, and your mother to be brought to the scaffold, after about twenty years’ incarceration? Is it true that she laid snares for you before you breathed the vital air? Wherefore, then, these tears and lamentations for the woman you call your sister? Looks not the motive of your love for her like that of Herod for Pilate? Yea, mankind, throughout the world, acknowledges a common brotherhood, but Herod and Pilate were most implacable foes until both conspired against Christ. From that day they became fast friends. Was such your friendship for Elizabeth, O pious prince? O lover of peace—hater of discord! O father of your country, and protector of your people, are you dreaming? At peace with all the world besides, will you rage against the flock of Christ, and proclaim war against the King of kings? O defender of the faith! O son of a most pious mother! O hope of the Catholics,

* “Clavus clavum trudit, et malleus malleum cudit.”

who have hoped against hope! * is not the name of a Catholic odious to you, and the habits of their religious an abomination in your sight? Yea, but pause to contemplate these Catholics, who are ready to bestow on you their affections, to applaud your humanity, and do you humble homage. How splendid the characteristics of this people! how faithful to the ancient creed! how unimpeachable their honour! See you not on what solid foundation you might build your throne? Why, therefore, do you regard them as contemptible and disloyal? Is it, forsooth, because that which has become old in the world is now rendered more venerable by antiquity? Ah! truly, the hoary monuments of time are never dishonoured by the flight of years; and that which you and your predecessors would fain destroy, phoenix-like, takes new life from its ashes. Why, then, would you make enemies of those who extend their right hands to you, whose sudden indignation might circle you as with flame? They are your subjects, they are loyal—what more do you desire? You would not intrude into another's harvest—why, then, set your own on fire? Be assured that your valour and prudence will be more profitably employed in guarding what you have than consulting the promptings of ambition. Behold Solomon with his glorious patrimony, his far-famed wisdom. Behold him turning to idolatry,

* Before and after the accession of James I, many of the Irish Catholics fancied that he would act tolerantly to them, simply because his mother, Mary of Scotland, was such a distinguished member of their religion.

befooled, degraded. Beware, great prince, and strike not at God, for He will avenge Himself. You lash the flock of Christ with a whip of scorpions; you caress their enemies. The lambs are dispersed and hunted, and the wolves are kenneled by you, and unslipped to devour them. According to the measure of sin shall be its punishment. Beware!—beware, proud king, lest your son may have to pay a bloody penalty for your sins, not before Tiberius Cæsar, but in presence of Christ and His angels. Let us now speak of the royal ordinance.

With all haste the satellites of James put it in execution in every quarter of Ireland. Their virulence knew no bounds; the priests of the people were made to suffer, and those who stood by them became sharers of their tribulations. For carrying out more effectually their wicked intent, they framed an oath of allegiance regarding spiritualities and temporalities, and insisted that it should be taken by every one. But God, pitying the afflictions of His people, raised up an illustrious Pontiff, who, if he failed to redress their grievances, bestowed upon them no passing consolation. This Pontiff was Paul V, of blessed memory, who ascended the throne of St. Peter on the 16th of May, in the year of our Lord 1605. I will speak of him hereafter, when first I shall have made you acquainted with the history of this oath of allegiance.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, AND ECCLESIASTICAL PRIMACY PRESCRIBED BY JAMES I.

THAT an oath of allegiance to the rightful sovereign is in itself rational and just, nobody will deny ; for the sovereign has an indisputable right to the fidelity and support of his people in all matters which regard the stability of his crown and the public weal. But, from the earliest moment of King Henry's schism, the oath of allegiance began to have interwoven with it a strange novelty, namely, the acknowledgment of the monarch's supremacy in religion as well as in the state. For when Henry cast off the old faith, he determined to bind all his liege subjects by a new and unheard-of obligation. But, as Saunders tells us in his first book of "The English Schism," Henry gave himself little concern about the laity in this matter ; but rather sought to exact it from the clergy, that he might thus exhibit himself as the depositary of that power and pre-eminence which hitherto had been acknowledged as solely belonging to the Roman Pontiffs. At first some were induced to take this oath with considerable restrictions ; but in progress of time it was stripped of them, and stood boldly out without qualification, condition, or restriction. During the short reign of Edward VI, it is said to have gone into disuse ;

it was, however, revived in the time of Elizabeth, who caused it to be administered to the commonalty and clerics, while, at the same time, she studiously avoided forcing it on the peers and prelates, from a dread of civil war. In a parliament held by that queen, in the second year of her reign, the following was framed :—

“I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare, in my conscience, that the Queen’s Highness is the only supreme governour of this realm, and of all other her Highness’ dominions and countries, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal ; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm ; and, therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities.”

Now Saunders, commenting on this, remarks that the queen did not wish to assume the designation of “Head of the Chureh,” which had been usurped by Henry VIII, but rather chose that of “supream governour.” If there was any difference, it was only in name ; but that the queen wished to enjoy, even under this title, the power usurped by her father is beyond all doubt. James I adopted the oath in this form, till, somewhere in the beginning of his reign, he caused the following words to be added :—“I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown, and dignity.” But soon

afterwards, when the Gunpowder Plot* had been discovered, the king invented a new form of oath, which was sanctioned by parliament, and ordered to be taken by all his Majesty's subjects, as well for the detection of the guilty, if such there were, as for the security of the royal person. The oath runs thus :—

I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King James is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his Majesty's dominions and countries, and that the Pope, neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorise any foreign prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state or government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions.

Also I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said king, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience: I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity,

* This conspiracy originated with ten or twelve English laymen. The Catholic priests of England had no hand, act, or part in it; but the king visited the crime of the few on the entire body of the English and Irish Catholics by penal enactments of the most atrocious character.

by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them.

And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, of any other whatsoever.

And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God.

Many and conflicting were the comments made on this oath. Some Catholics did not hesitate to take it without reservation; while others asserted that there could be no objection to it, provided the swearer merely intended civil allegiance. At last the Holy See was consulted, and Pope Paul V returned the following answer:—

THE EPISTLE OF POPE PAUL V TO THE CATHOLICS
OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

“Sadly have we mourned, beloved children, over the tribulations which your unshaken devotion to the faith has brought upon you. But when we learned that even now you are more bitterly afflicted, our sorrow has been intensified. We have heard

that you are compelled, under grievous penalties, to approach the temples of heretics, to assist at their solemnities and sermons. But truly we do believe that those who have already suffered so much affliction and atrocious persecution, that they might walk immaculately in the way of the Lord, will never disgrace themselves by commingling with those who have deserted their God. Nevertheless, zeal for our pastoral office, and that paternal solicitude with which we labour for your salvation, compel us to admonish and conjure you, never to approach the churches of heretics, never present yourselves at their rites or ceremonies, lest you incur the anger of the Lord.

“Wherefore, from the very wording of it, it must be evident that you cannot with safety to your consciences and the Catholic faith, take this oath; we, therefore, admonish you to abstain, by all means, from taking it; and we confidently rely on your ready compliance with this request, when we call to mind all that you have already suffered, and the alacrity with which you are prepared to sustain torments more atrocious, nay death itself, rather than outrage the majesty of God. Yea, verily, our faith in you is strong, when we consider that the early Christians endured not more than you yourselves.

“Gird ye, then, your loins with truth; put on the breastplate of justice, and the shield of faith. Be comforted in the Lord, who, looking down from heaven on you, will finally crown you, and perfect the work which he has begun. You know that he promised his disciples to never leave them orphans; and he is faithful who made that promise. Retain

then the discipline of the Church, that is, be you rooted and bound together in charity. Whatever you do, or contemplate, let it be in simplicity of heart and unity of spirit; so that all men may know you are disciples of our Lord Christ, by the love ye bear to one another. We, therefore, exhort you, by the bowels of Christ, whose charity has ransomed us from the jaws of everlasting death, to love one another. On this most important subject you have been already instructed by our predecessor, Clement VIII, in the breve directed to George, Archpriest of the kingdom of England, bearing date October 5th, 1603. The instructions conveyed to you in that, as well as in this instruction, you are to follow to the very letter, simply as they sound, and without comment, gloss, or interpretation, other than they bear.”*

This breve had scarcely arrived in England, when a rumour went abroad that it was not authentic, but drawn up by some designing and malicious person; and when the rumour reached Rome, the same Pontiff addressed a second breve to the English and Irish Roman Catholics, of which the following is a copy:—

“Beloved children, health and Apostolic benediction. It has been announced to us that some amongst you have been led to doubt the authenticity of the letter recently addressed to you. They have thus dared to teach you that you might, with safe conscience, take that oath, contrary to what we have strictly ordained. Truly this announce-

* Given at St. Mark's, Rome, tenth of the calends of October, 1606.

ment has caused us much pain, particularly when we reflected on the prompt obedience with which you have at all times bowed to this Holy See, even to sacrificing your lives, liberties, and properties. Truly, we never did suspect that any one could have doubted the genuineness of our letters, or resorted to such stratagem to seduce you from the strict letter of our command. But here we recognise the fraud and artifice of the devil, to whom we attribute this device. Wherefore, we determined to write to you a second time, in order to repeat what we have already enjoined you to observe concerning this oath, and also to assure you that, after long and grave consideration, we have arrived at the conclusion made known to you in our former letter. May he who has selected our humility to preside over the Christian flock, multiply Christian peace and charity among you, whom we bless with all our heart. Given at Rome, kal. Octob., 1607, in the third year of our Pontificate."

Sorely was James annoyed by these letters from the Holy See, and he immediately sat down to write a book, the object of which was to exhibit to the world the injustice of the popes, who forbade the Catholics to pay due allegiance to their sovereigns. The subject matter of this work may be briefly described. "In the first place," says the king, "I will abundantly prove that this oath requires nothing of the subject save obedience to the civil power, and that I have sought nothing else. Secondly, I can easily show that this power, which the Roman Pontiffs endeavour to exercise over princes, was usurped by them, and is repugnant to the teaching of the Scripture and holy fathers."

But whoever is curious enough to know all about this controversy, is referred to Father Suarez in his third and fourth books ; as for me, I only give an outline of the history of the times. Whilst James was intent on these lucubrations, four years passed by without any great noise ; nor did the Catholics at any period of his reign enjoy more quiet than at this. Now and again rumours and whisperings gave them to understand that it was not meant to last. Finally, however, in the year 1610, the fires of persecution lighted in Ireland, and the herald of many woes was the atrocious proclamation published by Chichester, in Dublin, July 10th, 1610, a few extracts from which are here subjoined :—

“Whereas the peace of this kingdom has been imperiled by seminarists and priests, who go beyond seas for the purposes of education, and on their return teach doctrines calculated to imbue the minds of the people with superstition and idolatry, we strictly prohibit all, save merchants and sailors, from passing over to other countries, on pain of incurring the royal indignation and the other penalties decreed against those who transgress the laws of this realm. Wherefore we command all noblemen, merchants, and others, whose children are abroad for educational purposes, to recal them within one year from date hereof ; and, in case they refuse to return, all parents, friends, &c., sending them money, directly or indirectly, will be punished as severely as the law permits.”

Having thus briefly informed you of the nature and object of the various Acts passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, I will now reduce to five principal heads the immediate results of King

James's despotism. First, the nobility and gentry of Ireland were deprived of all military command, cast into prison, or forced to betake themselves to other lands. They had no alternative. To profess their faith was deemed treasonable; to respect the dictates of conscience involved them in rebellion. Secondly, the Catholic nobility as well as gentry, who were landed proprietors, were robbed of their estates, and saw Scotchmen and Englishmen put in possession of them. Here, again, let me inform you, that they might have preserved their properties if they abjured their religion. Thirdly, the Catholics were deprived of arms, and actually prohibited to cultivate profane or sacred literature. Fourthly, they were commanded to frequent the communion of heretics, and to swear that King James was head of the Church in his own realms. Fifthly, the clergy were ousted from their places in parliament, their receivers and friends denounced and exposed to penalties for the great crime of performing acts of common humanity. Indeed it is needless to dwell at greater length on these matters, as the pith of this persecution may be collected from the statutes and other enactments already quoted; nor need I in this work recapitulate the expedients adopted by these plunderers: the finding of titles for the crown, the destruction of the old documents which were extant in the families of the Catholics, the planting, as they called it, and multifarious frauds practised on the original proprietors in favour of those who had no claim to a single rood of our country. I could, if I had space, cite for you a letter written by the king at Hampton Court, A.D. 1613, in which he

excludes Catholics from all places and posts, and even from the magistracy ; but I have said enough to teach you the craft, the fraud, and the hypocritical pleas on which the Catholics were persecuted for their religion, and plundered of their domains. This king would have tolerated atheism ; in short, anything, in preference to the Catholic religion. But let me now bring you to the history of more dolorous days, when Knox, schismatic Bishop of Raphoe, was sent to scourge the unfortunate Catholics of Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

IN the year 1611 there arrived in Ireland a Scotchman named Knox,* who had received crozier and mitre at the hands of King James. He was intrusted with a special commission, and ample powers to tear up Catholicity by the roots ; and if he did not succeed, no one can question the malevolence of his intentions or the sharpness of the instruments he employed. If anyone should doubt either his devilish malignity or expedients, let him peruse what follows.

* This son of darkness promised the infamous Chichester, then Lord Deputy, that he would assist in framing a code, whose provisions, if duly executed, would clear Donegal of Catholics. The Deputy accepted his services, and both did use that fiendish ingenuity suggested in persecuting the faithful. Knox died in 1632, having survived Chichester seven years.

SYNOPSIS OF KNOX'S ORDINANCES.

"I. Let all 'papists' and 'popish priests' forthwith depart out of Ireland, or remain at peril of their lives.

II. Let none henceforth send their children or kindred beyond seas for educational purposes. Those who are abroad must return within one year, or suffer confiscation of their property.

III. Let no 'papist' dare to exercise the function of schoolmaster in this kingdom.

IV. Whosoever shall harbour a priest in town or country shall forfeit his possessions to the crown.

V. Let each and every one be present at our rites and ceremonies on Sundays and festivals.

VI. The churches which have sustained any injury during the late wars* are to be repaired at the expense of the papists for the benefit of the Protestants."

Such were Knox's ordinances for the benefit of the Irish Catholics. Every town, city, hamlet, and homestead in the island was visited by trained bands of perjurers, informers, and assassins, to carry out the designs of the so-called bishop. And that they might not run counter to each other, they were furnished with a uniform rule, of which I here give you a few significant extracts:—

"I. All bishops and clergymen are to administer the oath of supremacy to their parishioners and subjects.

II. Let a list be kept of those who refuse to take this oath, as also of those who refuse to be

* Tyrone's.

present at our ceremonies, suffer their children to be baptized by papists, or their dead to be buried according to their rites. Moreover, let care be taken to collect the names of those who marry according to the ceremonial of the Romish Church, and let the list be forwarded every third month to the Lord Deputy.

Lastly. Let schools be erected in the various dioceses, and let Protestant schoolmasters indoctrinate the people in the Bible, translated into English ; and thus let us erect the holy Protestant Church in this country."

It would be idle to make any comment on these enactments—they speak abundantly for themselves. Nor am I quite certain that this Knox was not the man who preached* at the coronation of James, who was crowned at Stirling, being then only one month and thirteen days old. I am rather inclined to think, however, that he was the son or nephew of that man. Whoever he was, they could not have selected any minister of the devil more fitted for the work of persecution in Ireland. Supported by the king and his viceroy; applauded by fanatics, and protected by the strong arm of sword-law, what had he to fear? Attended by assassins, perjurers, and informers, the Catholics who fell into his hands on the highway, byway, or in the hostelry, had no hope of escape from death and torments ; but God, in good time, put an end to this state of things.

* O'Daly's doubts are not well founded. The Knox who preached when the royal child was crowned James VI of Scotland, was the well-known *John*, very properly called "the Ruffian of the Reformation."

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT AGAINST
THE CATHOLICS.

A PARLIAMENT was convened in Dublin, the first session of which was held on the 18th of May, 1613. I will not pause to inform you here of the many truculent acts which were passed against the Irish chieftains and princes ;* but it is my duty to narrate to you briefly some of the proceedings against the Catholic religion. One of the first of its enactments was the following :—

“ All archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, priests, friars, Jesuits, and seminarists, who have been inaugurated or ordained since the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth, are commanded to withdraw from this kingdom, and all other dominions of our sovereign lord, provided wind and weather permit them to retire beyond seas. Forty days after the promulgation of this decree, if any of the aforesaid (who derive their authority or have received their inauguration from the See of Rome) be detected in any part of the kingdom, let such be adjudged guilty of high treason, and their property confiscated. And if any be found harbouring or in any way contributing to the support of the aforesaid archbishops and bishops, let him first be fined in

* O'Neill, O'Donnell, and others, whose vast estates this Parliament confiscated to the Crown.

the amount of £40 for the first offence ; for the second he shall incur all the penalties of the statute 'præmunire ;' and if offending a third time he shall be adjudged guilty of high treason."

To these they added some secret instructions, which may be briefly enumerated :—"1. Let all priests be sent out of the country. 2. Let places be prepared for such of the nobility as are committed to prison, in the Castle and seaport towns. 3. Let gentlemen (Catholics) be deprived of arms, swords, muskets, etc. 4. Let every precaution be taken to prevent marriages between the Scotch and Irish."

Now, when the knowledge of these matters reached the Catholic nobility and gentry, they presented a remonstrance to Deputy Chichester, in which they boldly declared that, in spite of past and future persecutions, they would still adhere to the ancient faith, whose brilliant ray pierced the gloom of error in which their forefathers were enveloped before the day-star of Catholicity had risen in this land. They therefore resolved to wait on the king in person ; and Catholics of all classes contributed a considerable sum of money * for that purpose, notwithstanding the threats and imprecations of the Deputy. They adopted this course in the month of July, 1613.

* The deputation comprised Roche, Lord Fermoy ; the Earl of Fingal ; Richard Nugent, afterwards Earl of Westmeath ; and Patrick Barnewell, knight.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES, AND HIS PENAL
ENACTMENTS AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.

“VERILY, I know not,” said the king to the deputation, “with what face you come into my presence, ye faithless men of Ireland. You make proclamations of loyalty when you know in your hearts that you are traitors. What! does not the whole world know you to be Papists, and most obstinate Papists? Are you not among those whom I hate with all my soul? You call yourselves my subjects! I deny it, and will prove the contrary to be the fact. Man consists of body and soul. Now, do you not give the soul to the Pope of Rome? And as for the body—the ignobler part—do you not divide it between me and the King of Spain? Ay, verily, you give to him the armed portion of it, and to me the unarmed and the useless.”

Here Richard Nugent, Lord Devlin, interrupted the king. “Far be it from me, most potent monarch, to deserve such character. I never have been, and never will be, a traitor to your Majesty; and if I cannot be esteemed a loyal subject as long as I adhere to the religion of my fathers, permit me, I pray you, to depart with my family to some other land. My property is at your disposal. I prefer you to all earthly things; but surely you will allow me to prefer

God to you." "Rise, my lord," said the king; "I blame you not so much as I do others, though God wot the prelates have been telling me much to your prejudice." And then he continued his invective thus:—"But that I may pass over your treason—are you not an intolerable race, who foolishly believe that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ? I take God to witness that if, after diligent study, and conversation with learned men, I came to the conclusion that this Pope and his predecessors had been delegated by our Lord, I would stab any king (were I a subject) who would question their authority. But this I have not discovered; nor will you renounce your errors. You will not frequent our churches, you will not hear our sermons, but you will pin your faith to the Council of Trent! You never cease conspiring against my crown and life. At home and abroad you are ever hatching sedition. At Rome you have Peter Lombard,* whom you call a doctor; and in Ireland Christopher Hollywood,† who insist on sending your children to foreign seminaries, teaching them rebellion, and confirming their hatred of me. Now, once for all, I would have you know that you are strictly bound to observe all the laws passed in the second

* Archbishop of Armagh, formerly a professor in Louvain, highly esteemed by Clement VIII. He died at Palombaro, near Rome, 1625. A graceful biography of the archbishop, by Most Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, is prefixed to that learned prelate's edition of *De Regno Hiberniæ*. Dublin: J. Duffy.

† A distinguished Jesuit, who wrote two books on polemics. He died in Ireland, 1626.

year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1559); and all such as shall be passed against the Popish religion. My good Lord Deputy, who is here present, will see them put in active operation."

Then Christopher Nugent, knight, appealed to his Majesty, and said that the Irish would not submit to such enactments, and that if he would graciously cancel them all, all Ireland would be tranquil.

Hereon Lord Chief Justice Cole interposed:—"I would pray your Majesty to dismiss these traitors and their remonstrance. If you entertain one or the other you are likely to lose your kingdom. May God destroy this Irish people, who cause your crown to tremble on your head."

The Lord Chancellor, following in the same strain, urged the king to commit Nugent to the Tower; and in this he was seconded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who delivered a long tirade against foreign seminaries, priests, seminarists, Jesuits, nuns, and friars. He then declaimed against the treasons of the Irish Catholics, and the hatred they bore his Majesty, the source and origin of which, he said, might be found in their superstitious and abominable religion. To all these invectives the deputation replied that they came commissioned by the Irish people to state that, in spite of the worst description of persecution, they would never abandon their ancient faith, or yield a single tittle of it by way of compromise. Nay, more, that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives sooner than renounce it. "These," said they, "are our instructions, which we have conscientiously followed." But, notwith-

standing argument and remonstrance, King James soon afterwards caused the following proclamation to be issued :—

“ Whereas we have recently discovered that, in our kingdom of Ireland, many of our subjects are in the habit of receiving priests, Jesuits, seminarists, and others, calling themselves archbishops and bishops, who derive their authority from the Pope of Rome ; and whereas such persons encourage the Irish people to send their children beyond seas to foreign seminaries, thus confirming them in their obstinacy ; we now declare and pronounce that we will never give any countenance or toleration to any religion save that which is conformable to the Word of God, and now sanctioned by the State in Ireland. We, moreover, strictly order that all archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, and seminarists, who have derived authority from the See of Rome, shall betake themselves out of the kingdom of Ireland before the last day of September instant ; and that such as have received orders in foreign lands, whether archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, friars, or seminary priests, presume not to return to that our kingdom, or dare appear in it ; but if any such be found transgressing our commandments, we empower all our constables, and other officers of justice in that part of our kingdom, to seize and secure such offenders in close confinement until our Viceroy for the time being consult the council as to the punishment to be inflicted. But be it understood that our royal clemency is extended to all those who present themselves before our Viceroy, or any of the other officers of justice, within nine days after the aforesaid last day of September, and con-

form themselves to our Church, and acknowledge themselves subject to its rites and discipline. All such shall enjoy our royal bounty, as do the rest of our faithful subjects. Given at Westminster, the last day of May, and twelfth year of our reign."*

Now, good reader, let there be a truce to words, and listen to the whistling of the lash. This proclamation came upon the Irish people, nobility, clergy, and middle orders, as though a thunderbolt had been hurled from heaven; dreadful was the crash, and the most faithful servants of the crown seemed horror-stricken. A few simple facts will best describe the state of popular feeling at this moment. There was then in Ireland Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, who changed his religion in the court of Elizabeth. Brooding over the scandal he had given by his apostasy, he resolved to be reconciled to the Church in his last days. He, therefore, made his peace with God, edified all by his piety, and, soon after losing the ineffable blessing of sight, was gathered to his fathers. Now, before he died, he was heard to lament two incidents of his life: first, that he had ever renounced that holy religion in his youth, which in his old age he was not able to succour; and secondly, that he had taken up arms against the Geraldines of Desmond, who were always the strenuous champions of the faith, and vindicators of their country's liberty. O good heaven, why did Ormond conspire to ruin them?

Nor less singular is the history of Gerald

* Printed by Thomas Baker the king's printer. Lond., 1614.

Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare,* who was then commonly reputed a Protestant. Pained by the stings of conscience, and mourning over his country's afflictions, he resolved to wait in person on the Viceroy, and protest against the extortions, murders, and rapines which were perpetrated in the name of justice. Fatal to thee, generous youth, was that manly invective. Thy importunity and solicitude for the lives and liberties of thy countrymen brought ruin and death upon thee! The crafty Viceroy commended his zeal, invited him to his table as a guest; but, before he pledged him in the second cup, Fitzgerald discovered that the wine was poisoned. He then hastened to his castle of Maynooth, called to his bedside a priest, confessed his sins, received the body of the Lord, and the morning shone upon his corpse!

Here let us draw the veil over the persecutions of King James I.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE PRESENT PERSECUTION.

Now, when King James departed this life, in 1625, he was succeeded by his son, Charles I. Hope

* He was fourteenth earl, and died 1612. His widow demised the castle of Kilkea to the Jesuits, who held it till 1646. Suspected of sympathising with the insurrection of 1641, she was outlawed. The noble author of the *Earls of Kildare* quotes O'Daly's statement, but does not gainsay what is said of the poisoning. Chichester's atrocities during his career in Ireland incline one to believe that he was quite capable of any crime. See *Addenda to Earls of Kildare*.

dawned upon the Catholics, for they had been taught to admire the noble bearing and marked clemency of the new king. They were more inclined to cherish these hopes when they reflected that Charles had at one time contemplated a marriage with the daughter of the King of Spain ; nor did their hopes fall when he selected,* instead of the Infanta, Henrietta Maria, princess of France. From this circumstance the Catholics concluded that they would be allowed to profess their religion openly, or at least that they would be tolerated. Indeed, as far as the queen could, she assisted them. Her own chapel was always open to them, and although she could not abolish the penal statutes, she constantly deprecated those scandalous enactments. But, in spite of all her efforts, and the naturally benevolent disposition of the king, the Presbyterian party, then dominant in the Parliament, caused a new oath to be framed, and, by Act of the same Parliament, ordained that it should be taken by all his Majesty's subjects. A few extracts will be sufficient to acquaint you with the nature of the oath and the statute :—“Forasmuch,” says the latter, “as divers ill-affected persons to the true religion established have sent their children into foreign parts, to be bred up in popery, notwithstanding the statute made in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign King James, be it enacted that the said statute shall be put in due execution : and be it enacted that any person who shall convey or send any child or person to be trained up in any nunnery,

* The marriage took place in England, June, 1625.

popish university, college, or school, or in any private family, to be strengthened in the popish religion, or in any sort to profess the same, every person so conveying or causing to be conveyed such child or person, being thereof convicted, shall be disabled to sue or use any action in any court of equity, and shall forfeit all his lands, chattels, rents, and tenements for and during his natural life, provided that no person so sent or conveyed who will six months after his return conform himself to the established religion, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, shall incur any of the penalties aforesaid."

And it was also enacted that any person refusing to take the following oath should lose two-thirds of all his property, moveable or immoveable, real or personal; and that the persons empowered to administer the oath should be Justices of the peace, and the other constituted authorities in every town and village in Ireland. But let us copy the oath.

"I, A.B., do reject and abjure the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and assert that he has no jurisdiction over the Catholic Church in general, or myself in particular. I abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, and the worship of the crucifix or other images. I abjure, moreover, the doctrine which teaches that salvation is to be procured by good works. This I swear without any gloss, equivocation, or mental reservation. So help me God."

I have copied this statute and oath from a book published in England in 1653. The author of the work was one William Berkley; and without

examining the statute or oath, replete as both are with folly and bigotry, I will only observe that Berkley did not dare inveigh against the ordinances, as he could, had he been less influenced by the spirit of the times. To do him justice, he clearly proves that this oath is totally at variance with the liberties of the English nation as well as laws. Nothing, in fact, could be more true; for in the year 1640, on the motion of both houses of Parliament, nine commissioners from the upper house presented a memorial to the king, in which they set forth that the liberty of the subject was likely to be destroyed by the frequency of oaths and abjurations. The result was that another Act was speedily passed, of which the following extract will give you some faint idea:—

“It is hereby ordered that no one shall henceforth, on any pretext whatsoever, administer any oath or test whereby the person who takes such oath or test may be obliged to confess anything prejudicing himself, or thereby subjecting him to incur danger, penalty, and soforth.”

Notwithstanding all this, three years had scarcely elapsed before another perjurious form was fabricated, as you may read in the history of the Parliament of 1643. Need I inform you that this new oath was opposed to the immemorial rights of the subject, as they are laid down in “Magna Charta.” “Let no one,” says that great charter, at the drawing up of which Catholic prelates assisted, “be seized, imprisoned, outlawed, or driven from his liberty save by the legal judgment of his peers, and the laws of the land.” And Chief Justice Coke, 2nd part Institut., f. 45, interprets this as

having reference to capital offences ; and yet, by this oath, all who would not do violence to their conscience are to be stripped of two-thirds of their property. The same "Magna Charta" ordains that no justice shall exact an oath concerning a simple avowal, unless the person to be sworn is brought to trial and charged by trustworthy witnesses with having enunciated it. Nevertheless, this oath of abjuration takes cognizance of the internal act and thoughts of the heart !

Conformable to this is the statute passed in the reign of Edward III, which ordains that no one is to be ordered to answer unless first arraigned before a judge, and the charges against him duly registered. Hence it is that, according to that statute, no one is bound to criminate himself. Nevertheless, this oath and statute would make a man betray his own conscience. The ordinance of Henry VIII sets forth "that no one is to be convicted or brought to trial, so as to peril honour, life, or fortune," till arraigned on charges sworn by credible witnesses. And on this foundation rests the statute enacted in the ninth year of Elizabeth's reign, which expressly sets forth "that no one in such cases (in matters regarding ecclesiastical supremacy) is to be declared guilty" till the accused is confronted with two or more witnesses, particularly if the accused demand their appearance. To this let me add the authority of Chief Justice Coke, who expressly states "that no person, cleric or layman, is to be examined in the ecclesiastical or lay courts as to the actions of his mind and heart." But as to the oath we have been speaking of, it is levelled at the very inmost workings of

the soul, nor would I dwell on the repetition of these oaths, and never-ceasing innovations of the times in which they were framed, were it not my purpose to remind you of the ever-varying characteristics of the *modern* religion. Of these tyrants we may say what a prophet of the olden time remarked of their prototypes: "The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies."* But, before I resume my narrative of the persecution endured by my countrymen, I deem it expedient to detain you a while, that you may consider the past and present condition of Ireland. My words shall be simple, nor shall I avail myself of flimsy ornament. The moral which I would have you collect from the past and present is, that persecutors in every age of the Church have been influenced by the same spirit of iniquity, and that God is ever faithful to the decrees of his providence. No matter how he dissembles the sins of parents, he visits them sooner or later on their children. O look upon us to-day, ye nations! Are we not a spectacle to men and angels? Learn of us what a terrible calamity it is to fall into the hands of the living God, and let him who stands take heed lest he fall. Yet if we glory, 'twill be in our infirmities; for in the days of old we were Trojans, and as glorious as the race of Teucer.†

Would you have evidence of our former greatness? Then hearken to me while I tell you of the days gone by. We were once a glorious people,

* Paul to Titus, i, 12.

† "Fuimus Trojes, fuit Illium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum"

ruled by our own kings and princes, proud of the valour of our chieftains; gold, and gems, and purple were ours, and victory followed our arms both by sea and land. Neighbouring nations owned us for their rulers, the English of the west quailed before our swords, the Scotch did us homage. From the sweet Orkneys to the Hebrides, and thence to the remote Thule, honoured and glorified was the Irish name. The sea-kings of the north knew us as their implacable foes, and the Norwegian race grew pale before our standards. Armoric Gaul revered us, ay, dreaded us more than foemen.

Our strongholds * were numerous in the cities and the towns; the deep lagoon, the lofty tower and subterraneous vault sentinelled our island. A hardy race, inured to the rigours of winter, to whose ears the loud roaring of the north wind was familiar as a mother's voice, furnished us with gallant warriors; yea, from the mother's breast they imbibed indomitable bravery, even as the lion's cubs who are fed on blood.

We were opulent in the resources of our own land, and supplied with the productions of other climes. This sweet isle of ours yielded us in abundance the purest gold and silver, lead, tin, iron, saffron, and purple; fruits delicious to the taste; linen and woollen cloths; milk, wax, honey; the antlered deer, warbling birds, countless fishes, and shells replete with pearls. Barbary sent us gold and ivory, and Italy the richest produce of her

* Hyperbole, says La Bruyere, resembles the telescope and microscope, both being equidistant from the truth. Fra Domenico's imagination was over-vivid.

looms. What if our climate did not ripen the vine? a gallant race grew strong on beer which did not intoxicate.

We were distinguished above all other nations for the cultivation of literature. We were the fountain source whence the tide of arts and sciences sprung, and inundated Europe. The great university of Paris, and that of Pavia, were created by Irishmen. Charlemagne employed Clement, Albinus, and Alcuin to relume the quenched lamp of science in his dominions, and these were men of the Irish nation. Oxford,* Lindisfarne, and Malmsbury, in England, originated with the same people. Germany, too, stands indebted to our saints and sages for similar institutions. At home we had universities illustrious in great names—Cashel, where Petrus Hibernicus † studied, who afterwards

* In a General Chapter of the Dominicans held in London, A.D. 1314, it was decreed that the Irish Dominicans should have the privilege of sending two students to Oxford, two to Cambridge, and two to the Dominican schools of London. Malmsbury was founded by Meldulf, an Irishman, and Lindisfarne was greatly indebted to another Irish ecclesiastic.

† Petrus Hibernicus flourished A.D. 1240. He taught at Naples, and amongst his scholars was St. Thomas of Aquino. He wrote a work entitled “*Quodlibeta Theologica*.” It is commonly thought that he died at Naples, whither he had been invited by Frederick II, as appears from the letter of Peter de Vineis, quoted by the celebrated Luke Wadding. Another illustrious Irishman, named Thomas Hibernicus, or Thomas of Palmerstown, distinguished himself in France and Italy A.D. 1259. He died in a monastery on the confines of the kingdom of Naples. The following works are attributed to him: “*Flores Doctorum*,” “*De Christiana Religione*,” “*De Tentatione*

was tutor to the angelic doctor, St. Thomas. Need I speak of the great schools of Emly, Armagh, and Down, from which went forth the "subtle doctor," Duns Scotus? To these spring-heads of knowledge the youth of Europe, thirsting for literary fame, were long known to resort: and the poet of old has recorded the fact:—

"Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi;
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabili claros."

Would you know what bands of philosophers, schoolmen, and teachers of surpassing merit our country has scattered over all the nations of Europe? Read, I pray you, the dedicatory epistle to Carolus Magnus, prefixed to the life of St. Germanus written by Ericus of Auxerre. Speaking of the emperor's zeal for literature, hear what he says of the Irish: "What shall I say of them who, little heeding the dangers of the deep and stormy seas, have migrated to our shores with their bands of sages? Strange fact!—the greater the learning of each of them, the more ardent their desire to expatriate themselves, and sit down in the halls of the modern Solomon." *

We were remarkable for the pomp and splendour which characterised our ceremonial; and in this respect not surpassed by any other Catholic nation under the sun. Truly has Theodoricus, in his life of St. Romuald, affirmed that this island of ours, excelling all others in the fertility of its soil,

Diaboli," "De Illusionibus Demonum," "De Remediis Vitiorum."

* Baronius ad finem, anni 876.

excelled them likewise in the glorious simplicity of its saints. They, according to St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, spread themselves over the earth, like an inundation. Ay, truly, men like Columbanus, who exceeded in number the holy contemplatives of Thebes and Egypt. Oh ! how the Lord God visited our land, plentifully watered it, and many ways enriched it !

Well might we boast of our ancient nobility, upon whom time and nature itself had set their impress. Even to this very day (a circumstance which attaches to no other nation) we can point you out the illustrious descendents of families which, for more than two thousand years, gave kings, princes, and chieftains to our country. Some of these are still possessed of portions of their hereditary domains ; and although they have declined from their pristine glory, they have only degenerated to marquises and earls. This I deem more worthy of remark, because, ever since the English invasion, both males and females were allowed to inherit. In one word, "Our empire was bounded by the ocean—our fame by the stars." *

Now that you have heard me describe who and what we have been, hear me while I tell you what we have come to. In these latter days of revolution and anarchy, whilst the king and parliament were at issue, our people and our nobles girded on the sword to defend their religion. Our loyal hearts associated his defence with that of our Church ; but, alas ! our blood was spilled in vain,

* "Imperium oceano famam finivimus astris."

for he arrayed his battalions against us and our altars. But schism first sprung from the heart of an English king ; and is it not likely that schism and infidelity brought ruin on the monarchy ? Sextus Tarquinius ravished Lucretia, a splendid model of chastity ; but the impious act tore the crown from his brow, and for ever banned the race of Roman kings. May not England, without knowing what she did, have thus avenged the outraged honour of the pure Spouse of Christ, corrupted by kingly lust, in that awful hour when the executioner struck off the monarch's head ? Heresy is like unto a lost woman ; kings embraced her, were embraced by her in return, and finally perished. From these causes evils without number have come upon us. The people coiled round the monarchy, crushed it in their fury, and democracy stalked triumphant over the ruins of the throne. That raging mass, besprinkled with the monarch's blood, burst upon the land of my love. The butcher, the buffoon, and the hired cutthroat, each led his band ; and the very dregs of English cities and towns were invested with authority. Then came hideous woes, as though God would lash us with a triple scourge—discord, famine, and pestilence.* Well was it for those who died of the plague, for they passed away without dishonour ; and happier were they who perished by the edge of the sword, for they thus escaped the lingering pangs of hunger. Cities and towns were seized by

* O'Daly alludes to the Cromwellian era, when Ireland suffered from famine, war, and pestilence. See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*.

those ruthless slayers, the nobility was ruined, the temples of God razed, altars polluted, everything sacred profaned, whole families swept away, smiling plains reduced to desert barrenness, and the lowing herds slaughtered to feed a ruthless soldiery. Blessed, then, were they who possessed nothing. But how shall I describe the horrors which those fiends heaped on the heads of the Catholic clergy? In their private homes, in the caverns of the earth, in the recesses of the mountains and woods, naked and unarmed, were they not maimed, stabbed, stoned in their very transit to the gibbet? Oh! how many of them breathed out their souls exhorting their countrymen to deeds of valour, and undying attachment to the religion of Christ!

It is not my intention to write the history of each of these martyrs for their religion and country, nor have I as yet the necessary documents at hand; nevertheless, I would fain record the fortitude of some of those belonging to mine own Order, whose heroic devotion entitles them to an honourable place in the esteem of all good men. And, truly, in this instance, the voice of the people is the voice of God. Let me then narrate for you the trials of a few of them, in their proper order; and the first who descends into the amphitheatre of the faith shall be the Rev. Father O'Higgins, prior of the convent of Naas.* This pious and eloquent man

* In Naas (*i. e.*, Hibernice, the cataract) was a Dominican convent founded by the Fitz-Eustaces A.D. 1556; and the martyrdom so circumstantially narrated by O'Daly took place 1641. Sir Charles Coote was the prime actor, and carried out the orders of Parsons and Borlase. Carte makes passing mention of the fact; but Ormond's eulogist

was arrested and brought before the Lords Justices of Ireland, charged with dogmatising, or, in other words, endeavouring to seduce the Protestants from their religion. Now, when they failed to sustain any capital charge against him the men in power sent to inform him that if he renounced his faith he might expect many and great privileges ; but all depended on his embracing the English religion. On the very morning of the day on which his execution was to take place, a messenger came to his prison with the terms proposed by the Lords Justices. O'Higgins in reply said : " Alas ! I am not so weary of life as to wish speedy dissolution, but if your masters are so anxious to preserve me, return and ask them to forward, in their own handwriting, a document leaving life and death at my option ; so that if I shall have renounced the Catholic religion in presence of the gibbet, the terrible circumstances in which I shall have been placed may extenuate the guilt attaching to what is deemed apostasy."

The Lords Justices, when they heard this, gave orders for the execution, and at same time sent him the necessary document on the aforesaid condition. Now, when the intrepid martyr had ascended the first round of the ladder leading to the gibbet, the executioner placed the paper in his hand. He bowed courteously on receiving it ; and loud was the shout of the heretic mob, who thought they were about to gain a " convert." Now, when he stood exposed to the view of God and man, he

is an indifferent authority on any matter regarding the Catholic Church.

exhibited to all about him the instrument which he held in his hand, and commenting with warmth on it, convicted his impious judges of their own avowed iniquity. Knowing well that there were Catholics in the crowd, he addressed them thus:—

“My brethren, God hath so willed it that I should fall into the hands of our relentless persecutors. They have not been able, however, to convict me of any crime against the laws of the realm ; but my religion is an abomination in their sight, and I am here to-day to protest in the sight of God and man that I am condemned for my faith. For some time I have been doubtful of the charge on which they would ground my condemnation ; but, thank heaven, all doubt has vanished, and I am about to suffer for my fidelity to the Catholic faith. It is the cause, not the sentence, which makes the martyr.* Now, see you here the condition on which I might save my life. Apostasy is all they require ; but before high heaven I spurn their offers, and with my last breath will glorify God for the honour he has done me in allowing me to suffer for his name.” Then turning to the executioner, after having cast the Lords Justices’ autograph to the crowd, he told him to perform his office, and the bystanders could hear him glorifying God, even with his latest breath. Thus did iniquity lie unto itself—thus did the martyr’s constancy triumph !

The second was the Rev. Richard Barry, prior

* “Cord, or axe, or guillotin,
Make the sentence—not the sin.”

of the Dominican convent of Cashel, the metropolitan city of Munster. When Murrogh O'Brien,* Earl of Inchiquin (a man whose name must be execrable to the latest posterity, cursed by the widow and the orphan), sat down before its walls, a band of Catholics took refuge on the Rock, resolved to sell their lives with bitter cost to the assailants. Now, though it may appear to be a digression, let me inform you that the Rock, on which the cathedral stands, towers high above the surrounding country, and looks over against the Dominican convent. The ascent to this elevated place was then very difficult, and on its summit was a small green plot, hard by the ruin of what was once the treasury while yet the Milesian kings ruled in the land. On the eminence stood a gorgeous shrine, erected by Cormac O'Cuillenan, and next to it the cathedral church sacred to St. Patrick. To this church Father Barry betook himself; and when the assault was made by Inchiquin those who held possession of the temple made an heroic effort to repel it. About eighty men fell on both sides; and when the priests had been cut to pieces, Richard Barry alone survived. God reserved him for greater trials. The captain who commanded the assault had scarcely entered the desecrated

* He was the son of Dermot, fifth Baron of Inchiquin, a most exemplary Catholic. Murrogh was reared in the English school of Wards, and perverted. He was commonly known as "the Burner" during the Confederate war, when he perpetrated the most wanton atrocities in Munster. He took Cashel by escalade in 1647; and died 1674, leaving to the Franciscans of Ennis a sum of money for Masses for his soul.

precincts when, seeing the venerable friar in his habit, and struck by his noble and sanctified appearance, he thus addressed him :—

“Your life is your own, provided you fling off that habit,” for the father was clothed in the habit of his Order ; “but if you still cling to such a banner,” meaning thereby the habit, “you will compromise your life.” “You are to know,” replied Richard, “that this habit represents the passion of Christ our Lord ; it is the livery of my warfare ; and if you are disposed to save me you must respect it.” “Think more wisely,” rejoined the captain ; “abandon this blind passion for martyrdom, for if you do not comply with our orders, death awaits you.” “Be it so,” said the father, “your cruelties will be to me a blessing, and death itself great gain.” Infuriated by this answer, they bound the venerable man to a stone chair,* kindled a slow fire under his feet and legs, till, after two hours of torture, his eyes beheld that heaven which he was about to enter. Three days after the sack of the town, Inchiquin’s soldiers retired, loaded with booty ; and on the fourth day a pious woman found the friar’s body amid heaps of the slain. She reported the fact to the vicar-general, who, accompanied by Henry O’Cuillenan, notary apostolic (who is still living), caused the mutilated remains to be borne in funereal procession to the convent of the Dominicans, where, after chanting “Te Deum,” his confreres interred them

* A circumstantial account of the massacre on the Rock of Cashel, from the pen of a Jesuit father who was there at the time, is given in the *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 360, fifth edition.

with all honours due to a man who died for his God. His transition took place Sept. 16, 1647.

The third in order, although almost the last, if you regard the time of his death, is Terence, in religion Albert O'Brien. None of our many martyrs acquired more fame in their lifetime, or reaped more glorious rewards when this fleeting scene faded from view, than did the illustrious subject of this brief memoir. He was of the Order of St. Dominic, and provincial of Ireland. He had attended the General Chapter at Rome, and, returning through Portugal, sojourned for a while in Lisbon, to visit the convents of his Order, that is to say, of the Dominican nuns and friars. It was there he received intelligence of his elevation to the See of Emly, in the year of our Lord 1644. He then set off at once for Ireland, in order to convene the chapter for the election of a successor in the provincialate. There is a proverb * which tells us that no one ought to be called blessed before the mortal eye closes and the funeral torch is extinguished; but the Holy Spirit has expressly commanded us to honour the memory of those who have been distinguished in their generation; and, in obedience to that high behest, I will not fail to narrate some of the merits of this illustrious prelate, now that he has passed away from this world. He was of a noble race, sprung from the old Milesian family which for more than two thousand years ruled as princes in Ireland.

* "Dicique beatum ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet." O'Brien succeeded James O'Hurley, who, according to De Burgo, was reared in the Dominican convent at Kilmallock.

Glorious as this pedigree is, more glorious and brilliant is the record of his virtues. Scarcely had the mitre been placed on his head when his pastoral zeal became the theme of encomium among all except the heretics, whose bitter animosity he was destined to provoke.

But let us speak of his acts. When Limerick was besieged, the general* who commanded the English sent him word that he would give him forty thousand pounds sterling, and permission to retire whithersoever he would out of the kingdom, provided he ceased to exhort the people against surrender. But the heroic soul of O'Brien spurned the offer, as he had resolved to fight the good fight, and win that crown which is the reward of the just. When the English commander heard this, he determined to except the bishop from pardon, and every other condition which he meant to propose to the besieged. He swore, moreover, that he would visit the citizens with most rueful retaliation if they did not bring to his quarters the head of the bishop, together with those of twenty men who voted against delivering the city into his hands. Some of the citizens thereon began to debate whether they ought to hand over O'Brien to Ireton, and thus save the rest. Two hundred ecclesiastics assembled in council, and after mature reflection resolved to interpose between Ireton and the twenty whom he had doomed to die, but in vain, for *all ecclesiastics were excepted*. I pass over

* Ireton. For a most faithful and circumstantial account of the Siege, see Lenehan's *Limerick*, a work of the greatest value to students of our history.

certain facts which reflect no honour on the parties employed in this transaction.* Those who were witnesses to them are here in Lisbon, as well as elsewhere. The bishop offered to give himself up, provided the lives of the rest were spared, but the entire body of the priesthood refused to entertain his proposal. He knew that death was at hand, although they imagined he would be spared. At length the city was surrendered, and the major part of the citizens began to look to themselves. O'Brien, however, was taken, and condemned to be hanged without the formality of trial. But there are two matters of moment to be observed concerning the bishop's death.

First, when brought before Ireton and charged with stimulating the people to resistance against the English and their religion, he replied, as it were, prophetically, and told the canting Puritan to his face that he would soon have to answer before the tribunal of God; and it eventually came to pass, for heaven so disposed, that, eight days after the bishop's death, Ireton was seized with the plague and died, exclaiming that the prelate's blood hastened his death.

The second is, that the bishop's head may yet be seen, covered with flesh and hair, on the tower which is in the centre of the great bridge, and, strange to say, drops of blood still issuing from it.†

* I have sought in vain for an explanation of the dark hints thrown out by O'Daly in this passage. It is likely, however, that there was treason at work before the surrender to Ireton.

† This, of course, refers to the time when O'Daly was writing his book.

I know full well that there are those* who will deem it a duty to write the tragic history of the others who suffered, and thus exonerate me from giving a minute account of certain portentous signs which were manifested about this time, in which the good God appears to have shadowed forth the evils of the present as well as future. These events were three, and are as follow :—

The first† is a most extraordinary phenomenon,

* De Marinis, a Dominican, and contemporary of Terence O'Brien, wrote a small volume in Latin, the title of which is, the "Brethren and Sisterhood of St. Dominic, who died a precious death in the province of Ireland." According to him, the bishop addressed the people prior to his execution, thus: "Hold your faith like true men, murmur not against God's providence, and pray that I may bear myself as I ought in this last trial." Ireton, he continues, bitterly bewailed having had anything to do with the bishop's death, exclaiming in his frenzy, "I wish I had never seen this papistic bishop!" Immediately afterwards Ireton spat his guilty soul into Orcus. De Marinis mentions that he was writing the Life of Terence Albert O'Brien; but it was not published during the lifetime of De Burgo, the learned Dominican bishop of Ossory, and author of the noble work entitled, *Hibernia Dominicana*, published 1762.

† Rinuccini remarks that the Irish of his time were in the habit of prognosticating and taking auguries from passing events of unusual occurrence. Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, he tells, before leaving Kilkenny for Sligo, where he was killed, took with him all his effects, and bade the people farewell, quoting some prophecies anent the bishops of his church that he would never again return. I find this people greatly addicted to this folly (vanitá), remarks the Nunzio, who, on his flight to Galway, in 1649, had to listen to his Irish attendents conjecturing the future from the appearance of the aurora borealis. In 1642 Parsons and Borlase, although rigid Puritans, were scared by the croaking of flocks of rooks on the leads of Dublin Castle.

which was observed on the 17th July, 1651, a little before midnight of the day sacred to St. Alexius. The Irish garrison had been six weeks working at the walls and strengthening the fortifications, when just as all was completed there appeared on the eastern side of the mountain that is north of Limerick a luminous globe, brighter than the moon, and little inferior to the sun, which for two leagues and a-half shed a vertical light on the city, and then faded into darkness over the enemy's camp.*

* This reads like the dream of St. Ludger, disciple of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, who died 775. This is what Ludger related to his sister Heriburge: "In my sleep I saw the sun traversing the sea northwards, and followed by great clouds. The star of day disappearing from our country was suddenly hidden from my view by the dense darkness which followed in his track, and shrouded with a thick funeral pall the land lying along the sea. After a long interval the sun reappeared paler and less warm, but withal strong enough to scatter the clouds seawards." Now, while the man of God was speaking, tears came fast and hot down his cheeks, and his sister also wept, "Tell me, brother," said she, "what does this dream signify?" "Ah!" he replied, "'tis the chastisement of our sins. Terrible persecutions, dreadful wars, ruthless devastation, massacres. Look at that landscape so peaceful, so highly cultivated, so beautiful! Well, the men of the north (Northmen) will come, lay it waste, and turn it into a desert. But at last better days will dawn; the scourge shall be turned on the scourgers, and peace shall be restored to the Church. I may not live to witness these terrible times, but you, my sister, shall see them." The prophecy, continues the pious historian, was fulfilled, for every year since Ludger's death we have seen innumerable devastations by those cruel men of the north—churches burned, monasteries destroyed, and the seaboard heretofore populous turned into a desert solitude. The sun of justice, obscured by our sins, has withdrawn its rays from us. God grant the realization of

The second is the apparition of the blessed mother of God, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the summit of the great church dedicated to her honour. She was seen by some simple people who were at work in the fields, accompanied by St. Francis and St. Dominic, and five other heavenly beings, who seemed to follow her to the convent of the Dominicans, and thence to the Franciscan church without the walls. From those who beheld this apparition Father James Dooley received information of the details as I have narrated them, and he himself is still living.

The third was a monstrous birth a few days before the surrender of Limerick. Out of one trunk grew two bodies, having all their members complete; but what astonished everyone was, that whenever both moved in opposite directions, so that the faces indicated friendship or hostility, the shoulders of them never could join in cordial embrace. Now, portents have at all times exercised human ingenuity; but we prefer to comment on the past by the light of actual experience. The luminous body which we have spoken of as irradiating the city, and then fading into darkness, typified the extinction, for a time, of Catholic light. The transit of our lady from St. Mary's church, accompanied by the patrons, Saints Dominic and Francis, clearly portended the utter dereliction to which the Catholics were doomed in the last war. The monstrous birth was a foreshadowing of the

Ludger's prediction. May peace and serenity soon return to our afflicted Church and land! *Bolland. Vita S. Ludg. auct. Alfrido, lib. ii, c 1, xxvi, Mart.*

union of Protestant and Anabaptist sectaries, whose mutual aversion, notwithstanding the identity of their origin, clearly indicated that both would struggle for ascendancy, and that the question of superiority would never be amicably settled. We now dismiss the subject, and return to our friars of St. Dominic's Order.

The fourth of our martyrs was Father James Woolf,* a native of the city of Limerick, who was farfamed for his prudence and sanctity of life. He was absent when the city was taken, but returned when the news of the event reached him. On learning that all the ecclesiastics had been either expelled or killed, he contrived to get into the city for the purpose of administering the sacraments to the sick and dying. He had not been eight days thus employed when he was taken and consigned to the gibbet. He made the place of execution a pulpit, and pronounced from it a strong appeal to his countrymen, exhorting them to remain steadfast in their faith. This strenuous soldier of Christ died in 1651.

The fifth was Father Milerus Magrath, alias Michael de Rosario, who had studied in the convent of St. Dominic's Order called "Benfiqua," †

* Woolf, according to the *Capitulum Generalissimum* of Rome, 1656, addressed the people from the ladder of the scaffold in these words:—"We are made a spectacle to God, man, and angels, but angels rejoice while men scorn us."—*Hib. Dom.* p. 568.

† The Irish convent De Benfiqua, according to De Burgo (*Hib. Dom.* 105), was about two leagues from Lisbon. The history of its foundation is told us by the same venerable author, thus:—A certain nobleman, named Garcia Horunca, bequeathed a farm to Father John de Portugallo, on condi-

in Portugal. For some years this zealous missionary filled the offices of procurator and vicar on his return to his own country; and when called to visit a sick man in the city of Clonmel, was arrested by the heretic soldiers while administering the holy Viaticum. He was immediately afterwards hurried to the scaffold, and having addressed the spectators in a stirring appeal, exhorting them to continue true to their faith, merited the martyr's crown.

The sixth was Laurence O'Ferrall,* a descendent

tion that a convent of regulars should be erected on it. The brother of the donor, who was named executor, piously bestowed it on the friars of St. Dominic's Order of the Irish province. Having received some other grants, the Irish immediately set to work, and erected the convent for the education of their fellow-labourers, 1615. At Belem, in the suburbs of Lisbon, there was a convent for Irish nuns, founded in the year 1639, by Donna Irena de Brito, Countess of Atalaya. O'Daly was chiefly instrumental in the erection of this pious foundation, which sheltered forty Irish ladies, without distinction of rich or poor. He did not, however, rest content with this, but persevered till he saw another convent called "Da Buon Successo," opening its doors to receive the faithful Irish exiles whose religion was banned in their own country.

* Concerning Father O'Ferrall, De Burgo, p. 560, gives the following particulars:—He was arrested by order of the Government, in his convent of Longford, and carried before the authorities bleeding at every pore. He had three days given him to meditate the expediency of renouncing his religion. At the end of the third day he gave his murderers the fitting answer, and thereon they determined to execute him. He exhorted the people, patiently submitted himself to the hangman, and, in the agonies of death, elevated before the gaze of the spectators a crucifix which he carried under his dress. The governor, says De Burgo, gave a safe conduct to the clergy, and summoned them to attend the obsequies.

of the illustrious house of that name. He studied in the aforesaid college, near Lisbon, and for some time was guardian of it. He was arrested, and, on examining his person, his captors discovered some letters from the Nuncio Apostolic sewed up in his inner garments. None could have been more active than this zealous man in promoting the Catholic cause during his career. His death was painful as fiendish ingenuity could make it. Beaten with clubs, burned with gunpowder, and finally hacked to pieces, the holy champion committed his soul to God in 1651.

The seventh was Father Thadeus Moriarty,* who, like the former, also completed his studies in Lisbon. He was a distinguished theologian, and the last prior of the Dominican convent of Tralee. Profoundly learned in all the sciences, the splendour of his birth was surpassed by the brilliant effulgence of his virtues. The learning and piety of this holy martyr soon came to be known by the relentless persecutors of his creed, and they left nothing undone in order to seize him. But never did the bride more cheerfully array herself for the marriage altar than did this holy man for the embrace of death. The starveling never desired food with more earnest yearnings than did this glorious champion the scaffold of martyrdom. When the

* In a General Chapter of the Dominicans, held at Rome, 1644, Terence Albert O'Brien and Thadeus Moriarty were appointed judges to determine the limits of the Dominican Order in the province of Munster. Moriarty studied at Toledo, and acquired great celebrity for learning and piety. He was arrested in Tralee, and executed in Killybegney, 1653.

death-warrant was read to him, he embraced the official, and gave money to be distributed among those who were instrumental in destroying his body. From the place of execution he exhorted the spectators not to be disheartened, but to cling with fidelity to their hallowed creed, and to never forget the vicissitudes and transitoriness of this life, whose form and shadow pass rapidly away. And here let me certify that the body of the martyr, which the gloom and hardship of the prison had emaciated and discoloured, seemed as it were transfigured after death. Even from the eyes there appeared to radiate a beautiful brightness, and the executioner was heard to say that he had an angelic aspect. Throughout life he was a model of sanctity, mild, affable, and never known to have lost his temper, even in the most vexatious trials. When lashed with whips he appeared insensible to all the stripes, for he came like the sheep to the slaughter, opening not his mouth. Interrogated by his judge why he did not obey the laws of the kingdom, he mildly answered that he had to obey God, and would not be deterred from the exercise of his functions. In vain did the wife of the judge exhort her husband to have nothing to do with the blood of this just man. This venerable martyr was a disciple of his Lord, persevering in holiness even to the end of his mortal term. On the night of his sepulture they set a guard to watch the cemetery, fearing that the people would disinter his honoured remains.

The eighth was Father James O'Reilly,* of the

* Father O'Reilly was a learned man and accom-

Order of Preachers, who was seized on the side of a mountain near Clonmel, while reciting the divine office. He was slain with the sword the moment he fell into the hands of those bloodthirsty Calvinists.

The ninth was Thomas O'Higgins,* priest of the same Order, who was arrested by the heretics of the garrison of Clonmel, who cast him into prison, and soon afterwards hanged him.

The tenth was Ambrose Cahill, who studied in the Dominican college of Lisbon. He was taken near the city of Cork, and truly may I say of him that he was a valiant soldier of Christ. His eloquence in combating false doctrine was of the highest character, and his heart was brave when his country's cause called him to unsheath the sword in her defence. Furious was the hatred of his persecutors, and bitter was the agony to which

plished poet. He was proceeding from Waterford to Clonmel when he fell into the hands of the Cromwellians, and being asked who he was, replied: "I am a priest and friar of the Dominican Order. I have lost my way and fallen into your hands. With God's blessing I will die as I have lived." They spent an hour torturing him, and he died with the divine name on his lips.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 566.

* Thomas O'Higgins was executed in Clonmel 1651. In the *Hib. Dom.*, p. 567, there is mention of Peter O'Higgins, who was slain for no other crime than that of being a Dominican friar. His death took place in 1641, immediately after the rising of the Catholics. The mortal remains of this victim were denied sepulture in the city of Dublin; and as the friends of the murdered priest were carrying his corpse to a cemetery outside the walls, the partisans of the Lords Justices shattered the lifeless head with their muskets.—*Acta Capituli Generalissimi*, Romæ, 1644, p. 119.

they consigned him. His body was cut into minute particles, and cast for food to birds of prey, 1651.

The eleventh was Dominic Dillon,* a man of illustrious descent, who had been appointed by the nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, to the office of chaplain to the army of the Confederation. He went to Drogheda at the time it was held for the king against the parliamentarians; but when Cromwell sacked the town he was slain.

The twelfth was Vincent, *alias* Gerald Dillon, of the Irish College, Lisbon. This devout priest was of noble family, and much respected for his learning and piety. He resided a long time in London, and joined the royal army in the capacity of confessor to the Catholics who joined the king's standard. He was taken at York, cast into prison, and finally perished of hardship and hunger.†

The thirteenth was the Rev. Stephen Petit, Superior of the convent of Mullingar,‡ who was

* O'Heyne, p. 39, states that he was Superior of the convent of Achonry. This same author relates that Dillon and Richard Oveton, prior of the convent of Athy, were taken to Cromwell's camp and beheaded, in *odium fidei*, A.D. 1649.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 566.

† His death is recorded A.D. 1651. This Dominican, according to O'Heyne, had been Superior of the convent of Athenry. In this ancient residence of the Connaught kings there was a grand convent of the Dominican order, founded by Milo de Bermingham (*Hibernice*, MacHorais), A.D. 1241. The church was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. Who will restore or preserve from further ruin this beautiful, now so shamelessly neglected, edifice?

‡ Here there was a convent, founded by the Nugents shortly after the English invasion. De Burgo states that

taken in the act of hearing an Irish Catholic soldier's confession, in the hamlet of Ballinacurra. He was struck by a shot from the enemy's camp, and died next day, after having received the sacraments, A.D. 1651.

The fourteenth was John Collins, of the convent of Limerick. He was a man below the middle stature, and somewhat deformed in person ; but he was, nevertheless, gifted with an indomitable spirit, which prompted him to perform deeds that surpassed the expectation of those who witnessed them. He was a valiant captain as well as excellent penman, and always foremost in the gap of danger. When the Catholic army besieged Bunratty, he signally distinguished himself. Seizing a crucifix, he led the assault, under the eyes of the Archbishop of Fermo, John Baptist Rinuccini. The chieftains who commanded, as well as the bishops who were spectators, marvelled much at his valour, for he animated the storming parties by word and example. He taunted the enemy with cowardice, and the soldiers of the Confederation dared not falter while he was in the van. The bullets of a hundred muskets fell harmlessly about him ; and when Irish bravery triumphed, the surrender of the stronghold was attributed to him.* Some

he visited it in 1755, and found nothing remaining but a fragment of the bell-tower. The Tuates got possession of its ancient domain at the time of the wholesale plunder called "the Dissolution;" and Charles II bestowed it, a short time before the Restoration, on Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, A.D. 1661.

* Rinuccini dates some of his despatches to Rome from the camp before Bunratty ; and he himself was a prominent actor in the siege of that stronghold of the Earl of Tho-

years afterwards, when Limerick was beleaguered by Ireton's forces, he remained outside the walls, a vigilant watcher of the enemy's movements, ever and anon sending word to the besieged Catholics of the Cromwellian schemes and plans. His devoted patriotism cost him his life, for he was arrested and put to death. So anxious were his bloodthirsty foes to get possession of him that they caused likenesses of him to be circulated, and offered a large reward to anyone who would lay hands on him. Glorious was his end, for he knew that it was a consummate blessing to die for his God and his country.

The fifteenth and sixteenth were Gerald Fitzgerald and David Fox. On a stormy night there

mond. Thierry, in the Norman Conquest, describes Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, putting a hauberk over the pontifical vestments on the day of Hastings. Heber MacMahon was present at the battle of Benburb, and Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, commanded against Coote in Sligo. Innumerable instances might be cited to prove that from the time of the Crusades down to our day, the Church has never anathematised the sword, except when it was unsheathed to slay good men struggling for religion and liberty. On the contrary, the Roman Pontifical consecrates it in the following prayer: "Deign, O Lord, to bless this sword, and this thy servant, who of thy inspiration desires to receive it. Protect him with the safeguard of thy mercy, and preserve him unharmed, through Christ our Lord, Amen." Again: "Receive this sword, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, use it for thy own defence as well as for that of the holy Church of God, to the confusion of the enemies of the Cross of Christ) and the Christian faith; and, as far as human frailty will permit, injure no one unjustly with it; which may he grant unto you, who liveth and reigneth."—*Pontificale Rom.*

came a strong body of the enemy to our monastery of Kilmallock, for the purpose of destroying the community. Some of them contrived to escape; but Fox and Fitzgerald were slain between the porch and the altar.*

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING SOME OTHER MARTYRS.

HAD I not resolved to treat of none but the Irish martyrs of our own time I would have given the most distinguished place to Father Donatus Olvin,† William, his brother, and Arthur MacGeoghegan, all of the convent of Derry, in Ulster, who were sacrificed for their faith. Peter Malphæus, Prior of Brussels, has written a work entitled “The Palm of the Faith of the Order of Preachers,” in which he does ample justice to their merits; nor has he forgotten the many priests who, in the market-place of the aforesaid city of Derry, suffered for their religion and country. Here I deem it necessary to give you a brief outline

* Fitzgerald was a cleric, and Fox a lay-brother. The murderers were some of Inchiquin’s soldiers, whom he recruited from the undertakers and planters who had settled in Munster on the lands taken from the Irish. On this occasion the Dominican convent, which stood *outside the walls of Kilmallock*, was rifled by the sanguinary ruffians.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 565.

† Porter, p. 363, states that Olvin was ninety years of age when put to death.

of the martyrdom of Arthur MacGeoghegan,* He was seized in London, on his way to Ireland, and committed to prison, charged with having said in Spain that it would not be a crime to kill the King of England. He was executed, and his bowels were cast into the fire. Now, when the charge had been well sifted, the Queen (Henrietta Maria) caused proclamation to be made that this man was innocent of the crime laid to his charge ; but all too late. It was ascertained, on investigation, that MacGeoghegan had merely said, while disputing concerning free will, that if this doctrine were overthrown, fanaticism would find its excuse, even if a man were to assassinate the monarch. Queen Henrietta Maria still lives, and can witness the truth of what I have stated concerning this martyrdom. There are some facts, related by Malphæus, which I will not pass over in silence. The first is, that when this murdered man was taken down, barely half alive, the executioner cut out his heart, and holding it up to the people, exclaimed, "Behold the heart of a traitor !" Now, in the very act of pronouncing these words, MacGeoghegan turned his eyes on the headsman, and spat in his face. The second is, that a youth, who stood by while the executioner was burning the martyr's entrails, drew the liver from the fire on the point of his staff, and cursed the man who suffered for religion. But he did not escape the avenging hand of God,

* M'Geoghegan studied in Spain, was arrested in London, accused of high treason, and hanged in 1633. *Cap. Gen., Romæ, 1644, v. Hib. Dom.*

for he was taken suddenly ill, and fell into a neighbouring dyke.

The third is that some women who were hastening to the place of execution declared that they had never before inhaled such fragrant odour as then filled the air in the vicinity of the scaffold. A German perfumer made a declaration to the same purport ; and Carey, Lord Falkland * (who was one of the judges before whom MacGeoghegan was tried), having broken his leg, attributed the occurrence to his part in this martyr's immolation.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PRIESTS WHO FELL VICTIMS TO THE PLAGUE,
CONTRACTED IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES.

It would be unjust to consign to oblivion the memory of those pious men who, of their Christian charity, preferred to perish by the plague rather than abandon those who were smitten with it. In my own opinion, whoever fell victims to

* Henry Carey, Lord Falkland, was Viceroy in Ireland from 1625 to 1629. His wife became a Catholic. Of course we are not bound to believe the circumstances narrated on the authority of Malphæus ; but as to the murder of MacGeoghegan, it is historically true. Nor are we to wonder that the Catholics of the time invested all the details of a martyr's death with something bordering on the miraculous. They fancied that God would make some signal manifestation of his power in behalf of those who suffered for his name, as he had frequently done in the early ages of the Church.

this visitation of God, while administering the comforts and consolation of religion in the pest-house, should be called, in the strict acceptation of the term, martyrs. Nor am I in this opinion alone ; it is sustained by a host of pious and learned doctors, such as Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory the Great, and others. Much will you profit by consulting on this subject Theophilus Raynaldus, S.J., who learnedly proves, in a work published at Lyons, A.D. 1630, that two priests who died of the plague, caught in discharge of their functions, merited the palm of martyrs. Nay more, this belief is in the Martyrology, as you may read, where it commemorates that of holy priests and deacons who, in the time of the Emperor Valerian, laid down their lives for the sake of the poor who had contracted the contagion. Another proof of my assertion is, that the faithful have ever honoured the memories of those men, not to speak of the passages read in Choir in our own Martyrology, on the day before the Calends of March. It is enough for our purpose that this doctrine rests upon probability ; nor will I entertain, in this place, the speculative question whether a deadly wound, *cum effectu consecuto*, be necessary to constitute a martyr ; always taking it for granted that the injury has been inflicted *in odium fidei*. No matter how logicians may cavil, the Church of Christ has, at all times, esteemed the death of those as precious in the sight of heaven who forfeited life in charity to their fellow-men.

The first of those who received the martyr's palm in this manner was Father Michael O'Cleary,

in 1651, the prior of our convent in Waterford ;* for when the plague was raging there the bishop called the priests together, and exhorted them to employ all their energies to console the afflicted. This they did with zealous assiduity, administering the holy sacraments of Eucharist and penance. O'Cleary was ably assisted by a secular priest, named White, a member of one of the principal families of the city, and brother of Francis White, of the Society of Jesus, who is now Superior of the Irish College of Lisbon. They spent three days in retirement and prayer before entering on that harvest of death ; and, after having heard the sacramental confessions of thousands, died of the epidemic.

The second was Gerald Baggot, who was educated in our convent of Lisbon. He was a man of cultivated mind and honourable lineage. While journeying from the country to Limerick, he was importuned to turn out of his way and minister to a man on whom the hand of death was heavy. The pious father complied, and by his death purchased life ; for scarcely had he left the bedside of the sufferer when he knew that the seeds of the pestilence were rapidly ripening in himself. In three days he was a corpse. He died outside the walls of Limerick, for the sanatory laws prohibited ingress at the time. About the same time died Father Donald O'Brien, cut off like Gerald Bagot.

The fourth was Thadeus O'Cahasy, who, during

* The Dominican Convent of Waterford was founded in 1226. Its ruins are still visible, says De Burgo, near the cemetery.

the siege of Limerick, ministered in the hospital of the soldiers, into which the plague-stricken were not admitted. This hospital was situated near the Dominican Convent.* He was constantly among the dead and dying. But all precautions proving vain, he was seized with the pestilence, and died after five days' suffering. Truly those were disastrous times, for the sword was never sheathed outside the walls, while death was mowing down his victims within. John William Fitzgerald likewise perished a martyr in the cause of charity. Many were there like those, whose names I must pass over in silence. I will, however, solemnly commemorate such men as Donatus

* The Dominicans possessed a convent in Limerick, near the wall of the city. Convent and church were built by Donogh Carbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond, A.D. 1227. The father of Carbreach was Donald, who reigned at the time of Henry's landing. Donogh, the founder, was buried in this church, dedicated to St. Saviour, in the year 1241. The statue placed over his tomb was broken by the Williamite soldiers, 1691. The plague, which did more to dishearten the garrison of Limerick than the cannon of Ireton, was not confined in its ravages to Waterford and Limerick; for Borlase asserts that 15,000 perished of it in Dublin. No country ever presented a more pitiable spectacle than Ireland after the surrender of Limerick. The sword, famine, and pestilence did fearfully execute God's secret designs; and Cromwell's transportation of more than 40,000 of the inhabitants to the West Indian Islands and the wilds of Connaught has no parallel save what we find in Holy Writ, when the Israelites saw their temple razed, and their fields wasted by a prototype of the "Protector." See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, a work of eminent merit that should be in the hands of every Irishman who desires to make himself acquainted with that dismal period of his country's history.

Black, a lay brother of the province of Connaught, who, being taken by the English, was instantly put to death. Why should I not make special mention of David Roche, who, with many others, was sent off to pass the residue of his days in the West Indian Islands? But alas! I am not able to tell you in detail how many of my fellow-countrymen were made to drain the cup of persecution even to the very dregs. I know that other men will yet arise to do justice to those of their respective Orders who suffered for their faith. I am unequal to such an undertaking. My only object has been to narrate something concerning those of my own Order, and I must rest satisfied with a mere sketch. In future times, when peace shall have settled on our afflicted Erin, surely some son of St. Dominic will complete what I have left unaccomplished, nay barely touched.*

* The learned Bishop of Ossory's *History of the Cromwellian Persecution* will satisfy O'Daly's aspiration if his departed spirit takes any concern in this world's vicissitudes. The work has gone rapidly out of print, but a large circle of readers would gladly welcome a second edition from the pen of the distinguished prelate who has already rendered such invaluable services to Irish history, ecclesiastical and secular.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE STATUTES OF THE IRISH COMMISSIONERS, A.D. 1652.

BUT not satisfied with torturing, stoning, and slaying all those Irish who fell into their hands, they resolved to expatriate all those who had not been taken in their impious toils. They contemplated the extirpation of the Irish race, in order to secure their triumph, and propagate their new-fangled doctrines. With this intent the Commissioners of England and Ireland assembled in Dublin, and issued a decree of banishment, and a long catalogue of penalties against all "Popish bishops and priests, and their friends and encouragers." Let me place it before you, that you may know in what spirit it was conceived and published :

"As it is now manifest, from many years' experience, that Jesuits, seminary priests, and persons initiated in Popish Orders in Ireland hold it to be their duty to estrange the minds and affections of the people from due obedience to the authority and government of the English Commonwealth, and on pretence of instructing and teaching the people the doctrines of the Popish religion, excite them to sedition and rebellion, in order to bring some foreign power into this country, which gave origin to the barbarous murders of 1641,*

* The most satisfactory answers to the enormous lies of Temple Borlase, and a host of other mendacious slanderers

and the destructive war which followed; and whereas many persons obtained at their own request permission to transport themselves beyond seas, and nevertheless defer their departure in order to seduce the people to their pernicious principles and ways; Wherefore, that such persons may have no further opportunity of leading the people astray, and prosecuting these rebellious schemes, from which no ordinary admonition can withhold them, although they thus expose their lives to danger, and threaten to ruin this miserable nation; now, the Commissioners ordain that all and every Jesuit, seminary priest, and all, whosoever they be, deriving any authority or jurisdiction from the Roman See, withdraw from the Irish nation within twenty days after the publication of this order; and that none of the aforesaid Jesuits and seminary priests remain in this kingdom after the termination of the aforesaid twenty days. And in case they should venture to return, they will be subjected to the penalties and confiscations declared and specified in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth against all seminary priests and Jesuits who remain in or return to England. And it is moreover commanded that all persons who, after the twenty days specified, shall receive, lodge, or shelter any Jesuit, seminary priest, deacon, or any other ecclesiastic, shall be liable to the penalties in such cases specified. And it is ordered that the

of the Irish, in 1641, will be found in Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, and John Mitchel's exposure of the unscrupulous Froude. Mr. Leckey's *History of the Eighteenth Century* is a work for which his country owes him a debt of gratitude.

statute passed in the twenty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth be immediately put in execution. Moreover, all justices of the peace, judges, etc., etc., are hereby commanded to publish this order in their respective limits, and to search out, seize, and cast into prison all Jesuits, seminary priests, etc., etc., who may be found, nor let them be removed from prison till the law has taken its course. *

“CHARLES FLEETWOOD,
EDMUND LUDLOW,
MILES CORBET,
JOHN JONES.

“Given at Dublin, 6th Jan., 1652.”

Historians relate, that according to the ancient law of Bretagne, there was a peculiar description of punishment for anyone who became a traitor to the Crown, or conspired to injure its prerogatives. Such a one had his extremities, hands, and feet broken by the sword, not however by one blow, but rather by a succession of blows, in order to increase the agonies of the culprit. When human vengeance was thus satisfied, the traitor was brought to the place of execution, and received the last blow on the region of the heart (which philosophers have called the “*ultimum moriens*”)—and this in consideration of the benefit conferred upon the sufferer, was ever afterwards styled

* This persecution lasted two years, and De Burgo, summing up its horrors, quotes the following passage from the “Lamentations”:—“The child and the old man lie without on the ground: my maidens and my young men are fallen by the sword: thou hast slain them in the day of thy wrath: thou hast killed and shown them no pity.”

the "*coup de grace*." Truly this proclamation was the *coup de grace* to the body of pained and languishing Ireland; she had no direr ills to fear, and merciless England had no longer an object on which she could wreak her cruelty. The members of Hibernia's body, to wit, her nobles and chieftains, were hewed to pieces; and the heart of the people, the Catholic priesthood, ceased to pulsate when this edict was promulgated. In the days when Demosthenes lived, bitter were his invectives against Philip, Alexander, and Antipater, the most ruthless enemies of the liberties of Greece. Writhing under the lash of the prince of orators, Alexander vowed to give freedom to the Athenians provided they outlawed Demosthenes; but when the latter heard this, he called the people together in the Forum, and eloquently discoursed on the parable of the wolves and the shepherds. "Know you not," said he, "that ancient legend, so descriptive of the astuteness of the wolf and the confiding simplicity of the shepherds? 'I will enter into terms with you,' said the former, 'nor will I disturb your quiet, provided you dismiss your dogs.' The shepherds complied, and in one night the flock was devoured." Nevertheless, Demosthenes was exiled; nor did Antipater think himself safe till the great orator was no more. Such, too, was the policy of England. She foresaw, with lynx-eyed keenness, that her triumph would never be secure as long as the priests of the Catholic religion, who kept watch over the flock, were suffered to live in the land. So true is this, that whilst I am writing, the nobility and gentry who survived their coun-

try's ruin are driven into one province,* deprived of their possessions, and reduced to the condition of tillers of the soil.

But my task is nearly ended. In one small volume I have laboured to describe to you two mangled bodies, and one grave common to both; for I could not separate my country's ruin from that of the Geraldines. It was my intention to have written chiefly of the Persecution which my religion has sustained under English tyranny; but where could I find more tragic illustrations of it than in the family of the Geraldines? Induced partly by this motive, and my love for that family, I have narrated for you the agonies of both; and I now pray you, gentle reader, Irene, or Philopater, or by whatever name you would be known, not to say that I have wasted time or labour in composing this volume. Should you say that I have done so in thus evoking the shades of the Geraldines, I will answer: my own time and oil may have been consumed, but most certainly not yours. May I not indulge olden and hallowed remembrances even in the solitude and darkness of the night-time, while you are wrapped in slumber? I admit that the Geraldines are dead and gone; I call them not up from their graves. Oh! would to God I could! But neither shall you say to me that others still live whom I know to be dead. Tell me, I beseech you, who live to-day in Ireland?† Truly,

* Connaught.

† This reads like a passage of the Lamentations—"The Lord hath taken away all my mighty men out of the midst

no one. Dead are the O'Briens, the Burkes, and Butlers. What fatality doomed them all? That, forsooth, which brought about the ruin of the Geraldines. There is, however, this much difference: the Geraldines were the first to fall, while those who followed them in their ruin were not warned by their overthrow. Moreover, it was not English might which destroyed the race of Desmond. Alas! it was destroyed by black hatred and ungenerous rivalry. As for the Butlers, O'Briens, and Burkes, they fell victims to their own artifices—their own weapons were turned against themselves, and they have all perished. I flatter no one. I will asperse the memories of none; but there are those who understand me, and others who affect to think I am not sufficiently candid.

Of one thing I am certain: had the Geraldines lived, the Butlers and the O'Briens would not now be in their graves, or reduced to misery; nor would the English have attempted to deal as I have described with the Irish, as long as there was one of the race of Desmond to wield a sword. Experience proves the truth of what I assert. While the Desmonds were in the land, the English

of me: therefore do I weep and my eyes run down with water." O'Daly despaired of his country's resurrection, and never thought that a time was to come when the representative of one of our oldest septs and member of the proscribed creed would be raised by the sovereign of these realms to the Chancellorship of Ireland and the peerage, in recognition of splendid talents, always employed for his country's intellectual and material advancement.

dared not persecute: when they were extinct, did not persecution date its birthday?

In the year of our Lord 1578, James Fitz-Maurice, accompanied by Stukely, sailed from Ireland, and two years afterwards he received letters from the Pope, when about to return homewards, that is to say, in the year 1580, the twenty-second of Elizabeth's reign. James passed through France, and in less than one year was slain in his native land, in or about the twenty-third year of Elizabeth. From that moment the Geraldines maintained a struggle against the queen's power, which, lasting fully three years, terminated in the twenty-sixth of her reign. Now, although persecution was rife in England from the second year of Elizabeth, and continued unmitigated five-and-twenty years, no savage edict of hers was promulgated in Ireland till she had been twenty-seven years on the throne. Whence I conclude that the fury of Persecution came not into Ireland until the Geraldines were prostrated in the dust—a persecution which has since brought ineffable sorrows on the Irish Catholics and the Irish nation. Heaven grant that what I have written may tend to God's glory. Amen.

Since the foregoing narrative was written I have been informed by persons worthy of all credit, that other three members of our order of Friars Preachers have suffered death for the faith, namely, Fathers Lynch, William O'Connor, and Peter Costello. I passed them over in silence, for I had not

at hand authentic documents concerning their martyrdom.* Some other will supply my shortcoming, and perhaps make the Martyrology complete.

FRIARS OF THE ORDER OF ST. DOMINICUS SLAIN BY
THE HERETICS.

Peter O'Higgins,	William Lynch,
Richard Barry,	Stephen Petit,
Terence O'Brien,	John Collins,
James Woulf,	William O. Costello,
Myles Magrath,	William O'Connor,
Laurence O'Farrell,	Gerald Geraldine,
Thadeus Moriarty,	William Olvin,
James O'Reilly,	Don. Olvin,
Thomas O'Higgins,	Arthur MacGeoghegan,
Ambrose O'Cahil,	David Fox,
Dom. Dillon,	Donatus Black.
Gerald Dillon,	

SOME OF THOSE WHO DIED OF THE PLAGUE, CONTRACTED IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES.

Michael Cleary,	Gerald Baggott,
John Gerald,	Gerald Geraldine,
Donald O'Brien,	Thadeus O'Cahasy.

[O'Daly has omitted to notice cruelties practised by the Cromwellians on the defenceless

* De Burgo states that he was not able to ascertain circumstantial details of their martyrdom—"nihil peculiare de ipsis recensere possumus."—*Hib. Dom.* p. 569.

nuns. De Burgo, however, has not passed them over in silence; and the account which he has given of the sufferings of Honoria Burke and Honoria Magan in many points resemble those inflicted on the nuns of Minsk by the Czar of Russia. "In 1653, Honoria Burke," says the Dominican bishop, "daughter of Richard Burke, of Mayo, took the habit of the Third Order—in other words, of St. Catherine of Sienna, at the hands of our Irish Provincial, when she was but fourteen years of age. She erected a residence or small convent near our convent of Burishool, and lived there a sanctified life during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, devoting herself to holy works till she had grown decrepid. In the famine time He to whom she was espoused did not forsake her; for they tell that in answer to her prayers for daily bread there came daily an unknown stripling to the convent door (an angel from heaven in mortal guise), who provided her and the other Sisters with all necessaries of life abundantly, and then disappeared.

"But in the late Cromwellian Persecution she with the aforementioned sister and a lay sister fled to Saints'-Island (Mayo), whither they were pursued by the fanatics, seized and stripped of their habits, and left in this state in the depth of winter, for what I attempt to describe occurred in the month of February. After breaking three of her ribs the Cromwellian ruffians flung her as they would a bundle of rags into a boat, and left her to her fate. In her last agony she besought the sister who accompanied her to take her to the convent of Burishool, and this request was cheer-

fully complied with, for the sister carried her on her back, and laid her down before the altar sacred to the Blessed Virgin. This done the sister went to the wood in search of another member of the community who was hiding there, and on her return found sister Honoria kneeling before the altar, with head erect, and placidly sleeping in the Lord. *

“As for Sister Honoria Magan—a member of the Third Order—she would not be separated in death from her whose pains and labours she shared in life. She also was seized by those satellites of the devil in the same island, stripped, and wounded. Apprehending something still more dreadful—for she was young—she tore herself from their sacrilegious hands and fled to a neighbouring wood, hid herself in the hollow trunk of a tree, and next day was found there frozen to death.”

Cromwell's antipathy to nuns is shown in a letter, dated Peterborough, 2nd December, 1643, which he wrote to his “dear friend,” Mr. Squire:—“I think I have heard you say you had a relative in the nunnery at Loughborough. Pray, if you love her, remove her speedily; and I send you a Pass, as we have orders to demolish it (the convent), and I must not dispute orders. There is one of the Andrews in it; take her away. Nay, give them heed to go, if they value themselves. I had rather they did. I like not war on women. Pray, prevail on all to go if you can.”

On the other side of this letter Squire writes:

* Placide in Domino consopitam.

“Got my cousin Mary and Miss Andrews out, and left them at our house at Thrapstone with my aunt same night; and the troops rode *over and wrecked the nunnery by orders of Parliament.*” There can be little doubt that Squire was a Catholic and a friend of Cromwell. (See Cromwell’s Letters, v. 2, p. 287).

In the MS. entitled the “Aphorismical Discovery of Faction,” preserved in T.C.D., there is an interesting episode relating to *Irish nuns* in the year 1642, which the editor of this volume thinks will be acceptable to the reader. The narrative is given without altering its quaint style and spelling:

“In Dillon’s country there is a neck of Lough-ry (Loughrea), where some nuns of S. Clare thither-unto did inhabit. Upon intimation that the enemy forces approached the country the nuns deserted their habitation and retired themselves unto an island of the said lough, their flight so sudden and unexpected that the most part of their household stuff, nay, their very habits, for fear to be surprised, were left behind. The roundheads issuing to the country, the matter of 4 score went to Bethlem (the place where those nuns did dwell was so-called), demolished the house, carried away what they found in it, and hitting on some of the habits, some of the rogues did wear those weeds in a gybing manner, telling their comrades that he was a poor nun. Away they went to their garri-sons as they thought. But against God’s divine providence there is no wisdom. One Captain Charles Mellaghlin of Sir James Dillon’s regiment, and Oliver Boy Fitzgerald, with the matter of 4

score men in their company, lay in ambush before those roundheads, seeing their fit opportunity started to them, slaughtered them all there, neither had they the courage to strike one blow in proper defence. None did the Irish lose but one, and this was killed by his own comrades, reputing him of the enemy as having a brave coat of buff on; for coming to the field none of their party had any such ware. In the commencement of the skirmish this soldier killed the owner of that buff, exonerating the dead thereof, did marshal it on himself, and cost him no less than his life, though by a friendly hand thinking him to be a foe. See how these were paid for plundering the nunnery and for gybing the holy weed " (habit).

Sir Henry Piers, in his "Corographical Description" of Westmeath, states that the abbess of the Convent of Bethlehem was a daughter of Sir Edward Tuite, and that she was alive and very old when he was writing his work in 1682. He gives the following particulars of the destruction of the convent and the fate that overtook the wreckers. The English were commanded by one Bertie, brother of Lord Lindsey. After burning the convent they got drunk and retired to their quarters at Ballinacloffy in the same promontory, but nearer the mainland than Bethlehem, where a gentleman got together six score men who stripped themselves to their shirts, and with such weapons as they had wafted themselves over the Annagh, hastened to Ballinacloffy, fell on the soldiers, and killed sixty of them with their captain. The rest escaped to Connorstown. Sir Henry flavours his narrative for the appetite of the period with a few lies like

those in the mendacious Depositions preserved in Trinity College. Nor are we to wonder at this when we remember that Sir Henry's mother was a daughter of Sir James Ware, and that his grandfather became a Catholic, and gave two sons, one to the Franciscans, and another to the Irish secular priesthood. Sir Henry died in 1691, and is now represented by Sir Eustace Fitz-Maurice, of Tristernagh, County Westmeath. "As for the Aphorismatical Discovery" it may interest the reader to learn that it is about to be published with copious illustrative original documents which have hitherto escaped the notice of Irish historical writers by John T. Gilbert, Esq., whose research and profound knowledge of our MS. resources entitle him to the respectful gratitude of this and future generations of his countrymen. "The Aphorismatical Discovery" ranks next in importance to the Rinuccini Papers, of which there are but two copies in the United Kingdom, one of which belongs to Lord Leicester, and the other to the Most Rev. Doctor Moran, Bishop of Ossory, who has inherited the genius and industry of his predecessors, Doctors Rothe and De Burgho.

From the Instructions given by Innocent X to the Nuncio when about to leave Rome for Ireland in 1645 we learn that there were nuns—poor Clares—who, having been expelled from their convents, went wandering about the country, occasionally fixing their abode in the houses of their friends, and observing cloister-life as well as circumstances permitted. The Holy See taking this into consideration directed Father Scarampi to see them all brought together and provided by

the Archbishop of Tuam with a suitable residence in Galway, and in case that might not be, to have them removed to Kilkenny or Waterford, where they would be maintained by the alms of the citizens and enabled to wear the habit. There can be little doubt that the Confederated Catholics assisted the nuns to the best of their ability; and it may not be out of place to observe that two sisters of James, Marquis of Ormond, were at that time nuns in one of the Kilkenny convents.

We have briefly told how the Puritan fanatics treated those holy women in England and Ireland, and there can be no doubt that they flattered themselves with having for ever abolished the various religious Orders in both countries. And now if Cromwell, or Fleetwood, whom he made Deputy of Ireland, could rise from his grave and again see with mortal vision, what an extraordinary transformation would confront him, not only in the Irish metropolis, but throughout the entire breadth of our island. The remains of the desecrated edifices which they rifled and pulled down, might, perhaps, revive agreeable recollections of burnings and massacres; but what emotion would he experience on seeing the numerous hallowed institutions which have replaced them? Above all, how he would wonder at what has been effected by the religious and social apostolate of those women, who have consecrated themselves to self-denial, and seclusion, and merciful works, at a period of life when its illusions are most active and dazzling?

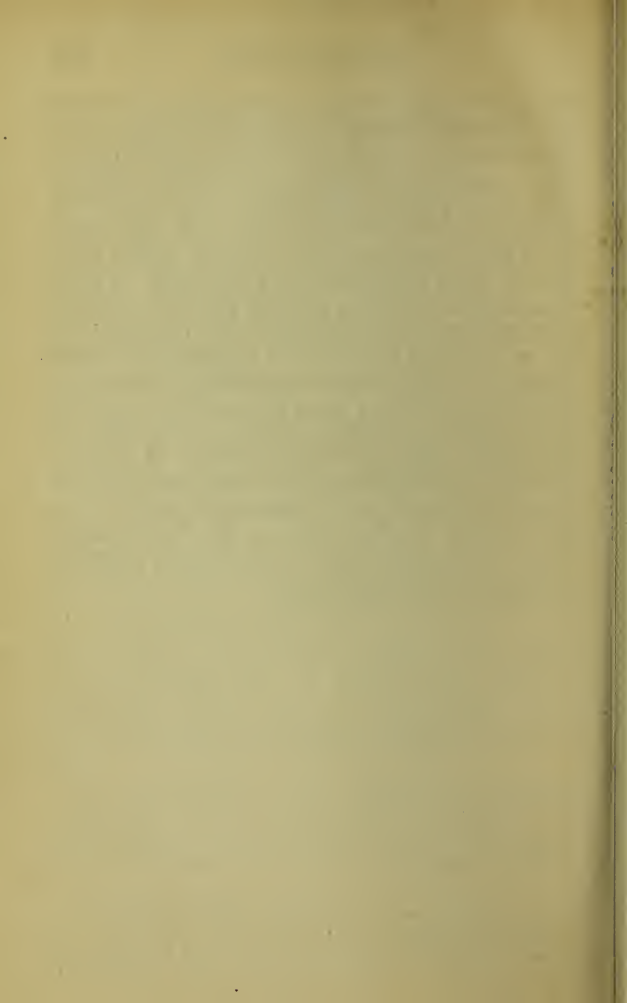
But, coming to palpable facts, what words could

convey a complete idea of the devotedness of those holy maidens in alleviating every phase of human misery whose depths they have sounded? In the thoroughfares and suburbs of this city, how multiplied the asylums in which the ignorant, the infirm, the sorrow-stricken, and repentant, find comfort and hopeful words from the lips and hands of those consoling angels? Widows, orphans, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the poor homeless creature who has not where to lay her head in the dreary hours of night*—each and all are the special objects of the love and all but divine solicitude and attentions of those noble-hearted women, who have made themselves familiar with suffering in its multiform aspects, and found an anodyne for every misfortune. Some may think these reflections out of place between the covers of this volume; but, be that as it may, they forced themselves upon the editor while brooding over the past, and contrasting it with the actual. And it then occurred to him that some one perusing these pages in far-off time might be helped to convince himself that the hand of man, however powerful, is weaker than an infant's when raised against the genius and divine resources of Catholicity.

The vicissitudes of the Regular and Secular clergy, and their beneficial action throughout Ireland in times gone by, as well as in the present, suggest thoughts of a cognate character. What

* The Night Refuge, Cork-street, was founded by the Very Rev. John Spratt, and is now managed by the Sisters of Mercy, who have erected spacious schools for the children of the poorest region in the metropolis.

this book records of the former—their endurance and Christian heroism—conveys but a faint notion of their worth when Ireland was the battle-field of their missionary labours, and their literary achievements in the cloisters of Rome, Louvain, Prague, and other foreign cities, won fresh, and, let us hope, lasting renown, for their native land. Heaven grant that it may be perpetuated by their representatives in these peaceful days, when leisure abounds and the persecuting sword has been sheathed for ever by the liberality of enlightened British legislation. As for the Secular clergy, they, too—but the limits of these pages may not be overpassed, least of all by one whose place is among the lowliest in that category. Sacred trilogy of *Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters*, may your rôle prove as praiseworthy as that of your predecessors, and, if possible, endear you still more to the Irish people, who, at home and abroad, have crowned you with abiding love and veneration].



APPENDIX.

THE following notices of the Gherardini have been copied from papers in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Leinster, and in my judgment prove beyond all doubt that Mr. Moore (*Hist. of Ireland*) is quite erroneous in stating that the Fitzgeralds are of Norman origin. As it may interest some persons to know what authorities may be more safely consulted on this subject, I here subjoin their names: Father Gammerini, Landini, Salvini, Mini, and Villani; of all these Salvini (*Vita del Canonico Niccolo Gherardini*) is the best. See also Soliers and Rosini's *Romanzo Storico*, entitled "*Il Conte Ugolino della Gherardesca*." A few words concerning the Gherardini may not be out of place.

Their origin is involved in great obscurity, and from all that we have been able to collect we incline to believe that it is either Tuscan or Roman. It was one of the families on the ruin of which the Florentine Republic was erected. The possessions of this family were situated in various quarters of the district about Florence, but particularly in the Val d' Elsa, where many of their strongholds may still be seen. When forced to settle in Florence,

they took up their abode near the Ponte Vecchio, in the first circle of the city, where stands their tower, now joined to the Palace of the Bartolomei ; it is the tower next that of the Girolami, and the higher of the two.

The earliest notices of the Gherardini date as far back as the year 910, as may be seen in the work of Gammurini, where he treats of the most ancient families of Tuscany and Lombardy, but particularly in the chapter he devotes to their pedigree.

The family of the Gherardini was most powerful and opulent in the year 1300, and down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when they are always mentioned by Florentine historians with the greatest praise. Anterior to these dates they held the highest offices in the civil and military administration of their country, and a monument still remains in the ancient Church of St. Stephen, at Florence, recording the patriotism and valour of one of this illustrious house. The following is the Epitaph :—

HIC JACET DOMINUS LOTTERINGUS DE GHERARDINIS
QUI OBIIT IN DEFENSIONE POPULI FLORENTINI,
MCCCIII.

This great family emigrated to various countries: some of them passed over to Ireland, and from that branch descends the illustrious house of Fitzgerald; others got possessions in Cracovia, and the Canary Islands, while those who remained in Italy were enrolled on the Doge's Book in the year 1652. Confining ourselves to those who came to Ireland, we may state that Maurice Gherardo and his brother Thomas repaired to Normandy, and

were invested with honours and command by Henry the Second when he meditated the conquest of Ireland. In this undertaking the Geraldines performed prodigies of valour. But the most famous of the brothers was Maurice, who, after the conquest of the island got great possessions and was made Viceroy; from him sprung the families of Leinster, Kildare, and Desmond. Conforming themselves to the habits and style of the country of their adoption, they subsequently changed the name Gherardini to *Fitzgerald*, with the consent of the Florentine people, in the year 1440, as may be seen in the letter of Leonardo Aretino, Secretary to the Florentine Republic, which we subjoin:

Domino Jacobo de Gherardinis Comiti Desmonia. Magnifice Domine amice Karissime. Si vera est assertio, quæ de vobis circumfertur scilicet vestros progenitores fuisse ab origine Florentinos ex familia nobilissima ac vetustissima Gherardinorum quæ una ex præstantissimis, et præcipuis nostræ civitatis existit gaudemus, nos quidem immense, ac nobis gratulamur, quod cives nostri non solum in Apulia, et in Græcia, et Ungheria magnas dominationes habuerunt, verum et in Hibernia quæ est ultima Insularum per vos et vestros Florentini dominantur. O magnam gloriam nostræ civitatis, O singularem benevolentiam Dei erga populum nostrum, ex quo tot proceres, totque dominationes fuerunt per universum orbem terræ diffusi. Profecto gratiæ Domino Deo nostro habendæ, et agendæ sunt pro tot, tantisque beneficiis in civitatem nostram collatis. Nos igitur, magnifice Domine ut longis regionibus distemus,

tamen benevolentia, et charitate proximi sumus, offerimus omnia vobis cum promptitudine animorum. Ad præsens autem proficiscitur ad vos nobilis adolescens Johannes Betti de Gherardinis lator præsentium quem pater mittit ad recognoscendam parentelam, et cognationem vestram. De quo vobis fidem facimus per præsentis literas nostras, quod iste Johannes qui proficiscitur ad vos et pater ejus Bettius, qui illum mittit, sunt ex stirpe, a patre, et avo, et proavo ex ipsa familia descendentes, quem quidem adolescentem vobis plurimum recommendamus, et quia iter est longum, et distantia magna ne quid suspicationis, aut erroris possit contingere signa, et habitura ipsius Johannis latoris præsentium scribemus. Est enim ætatis viginti trium annorum, magnus supra mediocrem staturam, facie honesta ac boni coloris, habetque cicatricem quasi cruciatam in dextro cornu frontis, et super dorso sinistræ manus cicatricem ab igne. Valete magnifice Domine et a nobis cuncta expectetis, quæ a civibus et benevolis debent expectari.—Datum Florentiæ die primo Junii, MCCCCXL.

TO MY LORD JAMES DE GHERARDINIS, EARL OF
DESMOND.

Most magnificent Lord and dearest Friend. If it is true that your progenitors were Florentines by birth, as it has been told us, and of the most noble and ancient family of the Gherardini, which, even now, is one of the most distinguished of this city, we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our citizens have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hun-

gary, but also in Ireland, which is the most remote island in the world. O great glory of our city ! O singular benevolence of God towards our people, from whom have sprung so many nobles and denominations, scattered over the face of the earth. Truly we are bound to give thanks to God for the many and great benefits conferred upon our city. We, therefore, most magnificent lord, though separated from you by great distance, are ever near you in charity and love ; we offer you all that we can afford with willingness and promptitude. Just now there departs for your settlements a noble youth, John Bettius de Gherardinis, the bearer of these presents, whom his father sends to greet his kinsmen. We, therefore, certify by these our letters, that the aforesaid John, who is about to visit you, as well as his father, are descended by the father, grandfather, and great grandfather, from the family of the Gherardini. This youth, with all our heart, we recommend to you ; and since the journey is long, and the distance great, we deem it expedient to give you the signs and tokens by which you may recognize John, the bearer of our letters, nor fall into any error, or indulge any suspicions. He is aged twenty-three years, above the middle stature, with a countenance of fair complexion and honest look. He has a wound, burned as it were, on the right region of the forehead, and on the back of the left hand he bears another wound received from fire. Farewell, most magnificent Lord, and expect all that you may desire from our citizens and your well-wishers.

Given at Florence, June 1st, 1440.

An account extracted from a Book of Memoirs of the Family of the Gherardini, of Florence, composed in manuscript by the Canon Nicholas Gherardini, A.D. 1585.

Now, being about to write these memoirs of our ancient family, which, as I have already mentioned, I have extracted from various writers, I will begin with those who have settled in the island of "Hibernia," or rather "Hirlanda," for the island may be called by either one or the other name. I have to mention, then, that I have read a memorandum written in the last page of a book of memoirs, signed "B. D. Antonio d'Ottaviano di Rossellini Gherardini," to the following effect:—

"I recollect that, in the month of October, in the year 1413, there passed through Florence an Irish bishop, a monk of the Order of St. Augustin, and with him an Irish priest, of the cathedral church of Ardfert, called 'Maurice,' who was of the family of the Gherardini settled in that island. This priest, seeking for some one who had been in his country, made the acquaintance of Nicholas di Lucca, who at one time had been a merchant in the city of London, to whom he mentioned that his ancestors were of the same blood as the Gherardini of Florence, and that, therefore, he was most desirous of knowing some member of that house. Lucca conducted him to me, and we introduced him to Octaviano di Cacciatino, and to Papi di Piero di Cacciatino de' Gherardini. This Maurice at once acknowledged us for his relations, and gave us the following account of their status in Ireland. A long time ago, Thomas Gherald, or 'Gherardo,' and Maurice Gherardini, having left Florence on account of the civil dissensions there,

accompanied the King of England to the conquest of Ireland. Having served in this undertaking with fidelity and great valour, they were left as his governors in that island, and rewarded with the gift of many lordships. Of the possessions acquired by the Gherardini, their valour and feats of arms, he told us mention was made in a chronicle called 'La Rossa,' which is now in the city of Emerlie (Limerick); and that the three brothers afterwards multiplied into many lords and barons, who have a great many subjects. He also mentioned that, at this time, their chief representatives were of Gherardo, another Gherardo, Earl of Kildare; of Thomas, another Thomas, Earl of Desmond; and of Maurice, five barons. At foot of the same memorandum it is mentioned that the writer had received a similar account of the Earl of Kildare from Antony di Giovanni Manni, one of our Florentine merchants, who had been in Ireland."

The foregoing account of Maurice agrees in every respect with that given of the same family by Christofano Sandino, who, in the preface to his commentary on the *Commedia* of our great poet, Dante Allighieri, writes thus:—

"There were in England three brothers, Thomas, Gerald, and Maurice, of the very ancient family of the Gherardini, of Florence, who were exiled on account of the civil dissensions. These brothers, at the time of the invasion of Ireland (an island not much smaller than England) afforded such bold, ready, and devoted service to the King of England, that, when it was conquered, they were rewarded with the lordship of all Ireland, where

there is a large population. In our time their descendents still retain their lordships, and particularly the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Desmond, who have not changed the names or armorial bearings of the ancient Gherardini of Florence."

In the year 1507 a letter arrived from the Earl of Kildare, of which I received many years ago a copy from Alberto di Franchesto Gherardini. I will give it here, exactly word for word, without the slightest variation ; and, first of all, the superscription :—

"To be given to all the family of the Gherardini, noble in fame and virtue, dwelling in Florence, our beloved brethren in Florence, Gherardo, Earl of Kildare, Viceroy in the Kingdom of Ireland, sends greeting to all the family of Gherardini dwelling in Florence.

"Greatly grateful your letters have been to us, most illustrious men ! From them we have learnt the fervour of the fraternal love which you bear your own blood ; but, in order to heighten your joy, I will inform you briefly of the state of your relations in these parts. Know, then, that my predecessors and ancestors, after passing from France to England, and having remained there some time, arrived in this island of Ireland in 1140, and by their swords obtained great possessions, and accomplished great feats of arms. Up to the present day they have increased and multiplied themselves into many branches and families, insomuch that I (by the grace of God) possess by hereditary right the county and earldom of Kildare, with divers castles and lands ; and, by the liberality of our most serene lord, the King of England, I am the

vice regent in the whole of Ireland, during the pleasure of his Majesty, an honour frequently obtained heretofore by my father and predecessors. There is also a relation of ours in these parts called the Earl of Desmond, who holds a lordship extending over one hundred miles. Our house has increased in this country greatly, in a multitude of barons, cavaliers, and noble persons, holding divers possessions and having under them divers persons. We are most anxious to know the deeds of our ancestors; so much so, that if you have any history in your possession, we request you to communicate it to us. We desire to know the origin of our house, and their number, and the names of your forefathers. Whether there are any of them settled in France, and what members of our family inhabit the Roman States. We wish, also, to know the transactions of the present time: for it always gives me great joy to receive news of our house. If there is anything which you wish to have, such as hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs for the chase, I beg you to inform me of it, as I shall in every way possible endeavour to comply with your wishes. God be with you, and love us in turn.

“From our castle of Castledermot, the 27th day of May, 1507.

“GERALD,

“Chief in Ireland of the family of the Gherardini; Earl of Kildare; Viceroy of the Most Serene King of England.”

I will now relate what I have learnt of these

lords from our Florentine merchants who have dwelt for a long time in the city of London, and are conversant with that court. Entering shortly into a history of more modern times, the merchants say that in Ireland some of the people inhabiting the higher and more wooded parts of that country are still very little obedient to the crown of England. They are a race of people who, because in the time of the wars they retired to the woods, are denominated "wild." King Henry, wishing to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, collected an army which he sent into the island for this purpose. It happened that the undertaking succeeded in every respect conformably to the wishes of the king; nevertheless, whether from reports, true or false, conveyed to him, his Majesty was but little satisfied with the Earl of Kildare; believing that he was secretly ill-disposed to forward his wishes in respect to this war. On this account he had him imprisoned with others of his family who had fallen under a like suspicion, and Henry, being naturally hasty and violent, caused him to be decapitated. A son of this Earl of Kildare survived him. He was young, and styled by the English, "My Lord Garret, Jarl of Kildare," which, in our language means, "Signore Gherardo, Conte di Childaria." This young man, during the reign of Henry, remained with the court, and afterwards arrived in Italy, Tarrying in Padua and Venice with Monsignore Piero Comesecchi, he, with that personage, visited the city of Florence. After the death of Edward VI, Queen Mary succeeded, by whom, on his return to the court he was received to favour. I have now to

mention of this lord that Monsignore Girolamo Fortini, having written in the year 1566, to his brother, Pagolini, in London, that he had married a daughter of Antonio di Piero Gherardini, received an answer from him shortly afterwards, in which he stated that he had met there the Earl of Kildare, of the same family of the Gherardini of Florence, who presented him with several kinds of dogs, which he sent to Florence to his brother. This is the account which I am able to give of our family in Ireland up to the present time; and I will close my brief notice with the following Latin verses, extracted from a book which Ugolino Devieri composed on the Families of Florenee:—

“ Clara Gherardinorum domus est hæc plurima quondam,
Castella incoluit fecundis collibus Else,
Insignis que toga sed enim præstantior armis,
Floruit, hujus adhuc veneratur Hibernia nomen.”

“Glorious family of the Gherardini, whose mansions adorned the hills of Elsa, far-famed in the senate, and still more famous for valour, Hibernia reveres thee to-day.” *

* Is it not probable that Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, immortalised in the 33rd canto of Dante's *Inferno*, may have been of the same race as the Gherardini? Gherardini and Gherardesca are almost homonyms.

JAMES FITZMAURICE TO THE RIGHT HON. PRELATES,
PRINCES, LORDS, ESTATES, CITIZENS, AND PEOPLE
OF IRELAND :—

“OUR Holy Father, Pope Gregory XIII, Christ’s Vicar on earth, perceiving what dishonour to God and His saints—what destruction to Christian souls in Ireland and England—what sedition, tumult, spoil, and murder hath fallen to Scotland, France, and Flanders by the procurement of Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England ; perceiving also that neither the warning of other Catholic princes and good Christians, nor the sentence of Pope Pius V, his predecessor, nor the long sufferance of God, could cause her to forsake her schism, heresy, and wicked attempts, as he now purposes, not without the consent of other protentates, to deprive her actually of the unjust possession of these kingdoms, which she uses for her chief instruments of her impiety ; so her first of all attempts, her said actual deprivation by means of our dear country, wherein he does us more honour and favour than can be easily expressed in words. For whereas he understands that other great princes wait for a due time and good occasion to revenge the manifold injuries which they have received by the said Elizabeth, he like a good father, knowing that commonly the commons do bear the pain which is due for the prince’s fault, has taken the correction of these disorders into his own hands, thereby desiring to save and excuse us from all foreign invasions, which otherwise ought and shortly would have been made into our lands, possessions, and

houses, to our great damage and perhaps utter destruction.

“Seeing, then, that it most honourable for his Holiness to remedy so great disorders as by the said Elizabeth have been these many years committed, is it not also most honourable for us to be made the first and chief instruments of so honourable a reformation, for in manner all Christendom shall see, and will, that as Elizabeth has been the firebrand of sedition amongst them, even so her dispossessing shall be the quenching of the fire wherewith they have been so dangerously cumbered these many years. If we then dispossess her first, shall not the country of Ireland obtain the greatest glory that ever it had since it was an Ireland? Shall not also this our glory be accompanied with God’s honour, with liberty of conscience, with doing good to our neighbours, and with enjoying our own goods, which hitherto have been at the unjust commandment of heretics. Now in that his Holiness sends no greater foreign power with us to do this act, it declares first that he would not have the country oppressed with strangers.

“It declares secondly that he has great trust and confidence in our faith towards God, and in our obedience towards himself.

“It declares also that he himself . . . the proper power of our country sufficient for this exploit, and no wonder, for if we ourselves list not to hinder one another, but do agree and join together (as he trusts we will, and indeed as we ought to do), it is certain that there is no power in this realm able to withstand our forces.

“And whereas some men may fear lest greater power than ours is might be sent against us out of England, first they ought to consider that we fight not against the Crown of England, but only against the usurper thereof; and in this behalf we doubt not but a great, and rather the better part of England will rather help forward our good intent than by any means hinder the same, for what wise and worthy Englishman will gladly spend his blood and hazard his house and posterity for her sake, whom he knows to love all Englishmen evil, that her being set in that high throne chiefly for their weale and preservation yet had rather see them all dead; yea, rather one of them in civil wars murder the other, and consequently her whole country destroyed, while the princes and commons thereof fight for the crown after her death, than once to see her own security never so little touched by publishing the heir apparent to the royal crown? Again, is not the most part of England desirous to enjoy the Catholic faith? Does not the martyrdom of many, the prisonment of others, the voluntary exile of more, and the dire commotions of whole states and shires declare and witness the same? How, then, can they, being Catholics, fight heartily against us, who seek nothing so principally as the restitution of the Catholic faith?

“If others were not Catholics in England (as they are), yet all the chief and strongest of the northern parts, as well of Wales as of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland, which are next to us, are so Catholic that they long for nothing more than to see the sacraments of Christ restored again

in their country. If, then, our neighbours be Catholic, and, therefore, our friends, surely they that are farther off can neither easily nor shortly pass on unto us.

“But whensoever and whencesoever they shall pass, assure yourselves that the pretended queen can make no great army out of any part of England, but the greatest number of them must be husbandmen, which commonly are all Catholics, and they will not fight against the Cross of Christ, erected and set up by his Vicar, under whose banner we fight. Yea, Elizabeth herself, knowing how evil she is beloved in England of them that love Christ’s faith or the peace of their country, knowing also how evil she has deserved of her neighbours, our dear brethren the nobility of Scotland, whose castles, palaces, manors, and towns she had so cruelly, without any fault of theirs towards her, burnt and overthrown, dares not send out of England many of her dearest friends (if at the least she has many such), lest she fortune to stand in need of them at home. If none of all which things does come to pass, yet I doubt not but we shall shortly see the said pretended queen so fully set occupied by foreign powers that then had she at home never so many friends she should have small leisure to send them further against us, for as she has offended all Catholic princes, so must she look to be requited according to the measure which she has dealt to them.

“Therefore, seeing the powers of France, Italy, and Spain are much greater than those of England, reason would be rather for the stronger powers which are against Elizabeth, than (for) the weaker

which may seem to stand for her, if there be any such at all.

“But if we will needs fear the English powers, and none else, let us yet fear them that are to do us and our posterity most hurt.

“For, seeing whosoever be the heir apparent to the Crown of England he cannot but think himself injured by Elizabeth for stopping, and under great penalties forbidding, the due publishing of his title and right, and the said heir and his whole powers (which never can be small) will rather love them that endeavour to dispossess Elizabeth, and hate them that fight for her than otherwise. For naturally all men are inclined to love and reward them by whose industry they come the sooner to their preferment, and contrary wise to hate them who, when the occasion of their preferment seemed to be at hand, were the cause of prolonging and delaying the same.

“And what wise men had not rather gratify a younger prince that is toward the crown, and like to leave behind him a lawful heir of his own body, of whom he may justly expect reward, than such a one as is spent in years and worn with diseases, withal leaves no lawful heir behind her, either to reward her friends or revenge her enemies?

“Last of all, what an extreme folly it is to fear the power of man more than the power of God? If any man die for the defence of Elizabeth, can she save him before the throne of God? Shall not he rather be contemned for maintaining a heretic against the commandment of Christ's vicar? For if Christ left St. Peter as the chief pastor and governor of his flock since the Pope of Rome is

St. Peter's lawful successor, are we not bound, that are the flock of Christ, to assist our chief pastor when he commands one that by baptism is a member of the same flock, to cease from the evil government which she has so long usurped, to the utter undoing of a great part of Christendom? If, then, our war be of God, and, therefore, God be with us, who is able to stand against us?

“This being so, I, although unworthy of that preferment, yet being put in trust by his Holiness, do expect all my noble and valiant countrymen to arm themselves with a strong faith, and not to fear any power that is against God, but rather to win with Christ's banner, under which both I and they may warfare together.

“And that this our desire may be better brought to pass, may it please our good lords, the princes, leaders, and rulers of this our dear country, to meet together with me in some convenient place, where order may be taken in common for the common good and wealth of this noble Ireland; for although because I alone was present with his Holiness (and your honours not absent, but also within danger of the said Elizabeth's power) I was only named general captain in his Holiness's war, yet it both was and is in my meaning to be advised and counselled by your honours and lordships, whom I take in great part for my betters, but every one of you for my well-willers and friends.

“And hereof I assure your lordships, as all other my dear countrymen, that as I heartily ask forgiveness of them whom I have at any time injured or offended, even so whomsoever has done

me in time past the greatest injury in the world, if now he join with me in this holy quarrel, and continue faithful to the same, I will forgive and forget all that is past so heartily that it shall never pass in my heart to do or offer any manner of revenge to be done against the same person.

“I wish, moreover, the case stood so that your lordships might name the place of our assembly, whereunto myself would gladly resort; but for so much as that cannot be done by your common consent but after long conference and much sending to and fro, and the matter we take in hands requires no long delay, but speedy execution, therefore I crave pardon if I be so bold as to request your honours to come with all speed possible, or to send your lawful attorneys, to the place where I am, to the end that we may there make a perpetual peace, league, and friendship, first, to the utter destroying of schism and heresy, and next to the establishing of true love and amytie amongst ourselves, whereof the perpetual wealth of our dear country is like to ensue.

“And here, considering the wariness, or rather wyliness of some men; who, for their own worldly security, will see what others do before they themselves move out of their place, and others pretending the better to prepare themselves for their self-coming, will also use delay only to see what event the time is like to have. And knowing that in the meantime the common enemy of God and of us all will not cease to do his best against me, and thereby great damage may come to me and my company before that my friends resort to me; for this cause I must needs most earnestly request

those that indeed have zeal in God's honour and to their country, not to use such delays, but with all speed to show good examples unto others, being assured that, besides the favour of God Almighty, his Holiness, and such other potentates as in this behalf join with his Holiness, will reward any man with honour, goods, and inheritance, according to the readiness which he shall show in furthering this holy cause.

“This one thing I will say, which I wish to be imprinted in all our hearts, if all we that are of a good mind would openly and speedily profess our faith by resorting to his Holiness's banner, and by commanding all your people and country to keep no other but the Catholic faith, and forthwith to expel all heresies and schismatical services, you should not only deliver your country from heresy and tyranny, but also do that most godly and noble act without any danger at all, because there is no foreign power that would or durst go about to assault so universal a consent of this country, being also backed and maintained by other foreign powers, as you see we are, and, God willing, shall be; but now if one of you stand still and look what the other does, and thereby the ancient nobility slack to come or send us (which God forbid), they surely that come first and are in the next place of honour to the said nobility, must, of necessity, occupy the chief place in his Holiness' army, as the safeguard thereof requires, not meaning thereby to prejudice any noble man in his own dominion or lands, which he otherwise rightfully possesses, unless he be found to fight, or to aid them that do fight, against the Cross of Christ

and his Holiness's banner, for both which, as well as I as all other Christians, ought to spend our blood ; and for my part, indeed, at least by God's grace, whom I beseech to give you all, my lords, in this world courage and stoutness for the defence of his faith, and in the world to come life everlasting.

“ In all my tribulations, my hope is Jesus and Mary.

“ JAMES GERALDINE.”

JAMES FITZMAURICE TO AUSTIN KITTAGH MACDONNELL, CHIEF LEADER OF GALLOGLASSES IN MUNSTER :—

“ LIFE and health with thee, O writing, to Austin Kittagh MacDonnell from his own friend and companion—*i.e.*, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl. And be it known to him that I have come safe to Erin with power, after all I had travelled and traversed of foreign countries ; and for this reason I implore of him to come to me with as many Bonaghtmen* as he can bring with him ; and moreover, be it certain unto him that he never came to any war coming into which he should have greater courage than this war, for many reasons—first, inasmuch as we are fighting for our faith and for the Church of God ; and next, that we are defending our country, and extirpating heretics, and barbarians, and unjust and lawless men ; and besides (let him understand)

* Soldiers under pay.

that he was never employed by any lord who will pay himself and his people their wages and their bounty better than I shall, inasmuch as I never was at any time more competent to pay it than now, thanks be to the great God of mercy for it, and to the people who have given me that power under God, and who will not suffer me to want from henceforth. And this is enough, but let him not neglect coming, that he may get some compensation for all the toil and labour that he suffered in my cause before now; let him request his brethren and the gentry of his territory to respond to the time, and to rise with one accord for the sake of the faith of Christ, and to defend their country, and moreover that all their Bonaghtmen will get their pay readily, and that we shall all get a place in the kingdom of heaven if we fight for His sake."

JAMES FITZMAURICE TO AUSTIN KITTAGH MACDONNELL, CHIEF LEADER OF GALLOGLASSES IN MUNSTER :—

"THE custom of the letter (*i.e.*, salutation or greeting) with thee, O writing, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl, to Austin MacDonnell, and tell, O billet, to Austin that I have come safe, after all I have gone through, back to Erin, with great power and influence, thanks be to God for it. Therefore, I ask of you to come to me yourself, and as many Bonaghtmen as you can bring with you, and that ye will get your wages and your bounty, and everything that is meet for

you to get by way of hire, and according to your own wish.

“And it is the more right for you to come, because you have a just cause of war against our enemies—viz., we are defending our religion and our country, and they are abolishing the religion, and about to take our country from us ; we are on the side of truth, and they on the side of falsehood ; we are Catholic Christians and they are heretics ; justice is with us and injustice with them.*

“Therefore, let himself come, and let him request his brethren and the gentlemen of his neighbourhood to take arms, first for the sake of God, and next to defend their country. Besides, all the Bonaghtmen that they shall have shall get their pay readily, and moreover we shall obtain eternal wages (reward) from our Lord—*i.e.*, from the loving Jesus—on account of fighting for His sake.”

EDICTUM ILLUSTRISSIMI DOMINI JACOBI GERALDINI,
DE JUSTITIA EJUS BELLI QUOD IN HIBERNIA PRO
FIDE GERIT :—

‘Si ut bellum aliquod juste geratur, tria requiruntur, causa justa potestas legitima, et legitimi belli administrandi modus : hæc tria in hoc bello concurrere jam planum fiet.

“Causa enim hujus belli, est Dei gloria, cui eternum sacrificii cultum, et visibilem sancti altaris honorem, ab hæreticis impie ablatum nos

* “On our side is virtue and Erin.”

restituendum curamus; gloria item Christi cujus sacramenta gratiam conferre, cum haeretici blasphemie negent, Christi Evangelium ejusdem infirmitatis accusant, ob quam lex reprobata fuit: gloria item Ecclesiae Catholicae, quam contra scripturarum veritatem haeretici aliquot seculis obscurant, et mundo ignotam fuisse mentiuntur. At in Dei nomine, per Christi sacramenta sanctificando, et in Ecclesiae unitate servanda, omnium nostrum, salus potissimum consistit.

“Jam vero potestas hujus belli sumpta est, primum a jure naturali, deinde ab Evangelico. Jus naturale potestatem nobis facit defendendi nosmetipsos contra manifestissimam haeticorum tyrannidem, qui contra jus naturae, sub poena mortis cogunt nos priorem nostram de Pontificis Romani primatu fidem abjurare, novamque et plane contrariam religionem invitos recipere ac profiteri. Quale jugum nec Christiani, Judei aut Turci, nec illi nostris unquam imposuerunt. Deinde cum Christus in Evangelio Regni coelorum claves, hoc est, summam Ecclesiae suae administrationem Petro dederit, hujus Apostolorum principis legitimus in eadem Cathedra successor, Gregorius Decius Tercius, in ducem ac generalem hujus belli Capitaneum nos elegit, ut ex ipsius literis et diplomate abunde constat. Quod quidem tanto magis fecit ejus praecessor Pius Quintus, qui Elizabetham istarum haeresium patronam, omnia Regia potestate ac dominio jam antea privaverat, quod ipsum ejus declaratoria sententia quam et ipsam apud nos habemus, manifestissime testatur. Itaque non jam contra legitimum Angliae sceptrum, et honorabile solium dimicamus, sed contra Tyrannam quae Christum in

Vicario suo loquentem recusans audire, imo Christi Ecclesiam suo foemineo sexui etiam in Fidei causis (de quibus cum auctoritate nec loqui deberet), ausa subjicere, merito Regiam potestatem amisit.

“Porro quod admodum ejusdem belli administrandi pertinet, nec bona civium nostrorum invadere, nec privatas inimicitias a quibus liberrimi sumus, persequi, nec summam regnandi potestatem usurpare cogitamus. Juro restituatur Deo statim suus honor et nos continuo parati sumus gladium deponere, atque iis qui legitime præerunt obedire. Sin aliqui (quod absit) haereses propugnare, ac Deo suum honorem auferre deinceps pergant (nam quos de praeteritis poenitet, iis nihil opponimus, nec unquam opposituri sumus) illi utique sunt qui de Hybernâ veram pacem auferunt, illi sunt qui bellum patriae suae inferunt et non nos. Quando enim pax non cum Deo sed cum Diabolo habetur (uti nunc se res habet) tunc non immerito una cum servatore nostro dicere debemus non veni pacem in terram mittere sed gladium. Si ergo bellum quod ob pacem cum Deo renovandam gerimus longe justissimum est, qui nobis in hoc bello adversantur, damnationem sibi acquirent, habituri adversarios non solum omnes sanctos, quorum reliquias et sanctas imagines haeretici conculcant, sed etiam Deum ipsum cujus gloriam oppugnant. Atque haec sint satis hoc in loco, nam si quis plenius horum omnium rationem perspicere velit, is perlegat aequitatem et rationem hujus edicti, quam alias plenius edendam curavimus.

As it is not probable that Ireland will ever declare war against England “till she has a fleet of iron-clads built on the Clyde, and an army of a couple hundred thousand men—horse, foot, and artillery—duly equipped and trained on the Curragh of Kildare—it would be a waste of ink and paper to translate the foregoing *verbum verbo* for quieting consciences in that farthest off of all contingencies. A summary of Fitz-James’ theological manifesto must suffice :—

“ Three conditions are necessary to render a war justifiable—a just cause, lawful power, and legitimate mode of carrying it on. The cause for which this war is waged is God’s glory, and defence of the Church against heretics. The Natural Law justifies us in defending our persons, and the Evangelical in resisting heretics who would have us frequent their churches and abjure the Pope’s supremacy. Furthermore, Gregory XIII has made us (James Fitz-Thomas) captain and chief in this war, as all men may see by his Holiness’s letters to ourselves. Again, Pius V deposed Queen Elizabeth, and we do not proclaim war against the legitimate Crown of England, but against a woman who has forfeited regal authority by rebelling against the Sovereign Pontiff, and making herself head of the Church. Now as to the manner of carrying on this war. We will invade no man’s rights or property, nor will we avenge former wrongs done us, or ambition supreme government. Those who are opposed to us if they repent we will receive to our favour and protection. But those (Irish) who draw the sword in the Queen’s behalf levy war on their country, fight against God, and do the work of the devil.

Seeing, therefore, that this war is most just, those who arm against us doom themselves to damnation, for they not only desecrate relics and holy images, but stand up against God himself. Let this suffice, and should anyone desire more on the subject let him ponder attentively what we have already set forth at greater length."

Presuming that the reader may wish to see the Title of Father O'Daly's book, as it appears in the Latin Original, we reverse the usual order and append it here :—

INNITIUM . INCREMENTUM . ET . EXITUS . FAMILIAE .
 GERALDINORUM . DESMONIAE . COMITUM . PALATINORUM .
 KYERRIAE . IN . HIBERNIA . AC . PERSECUTIONIS .
 HÆRETICORUM . DESCRIPTIO . EX . NONNULLIS . FRAGMENTIS .
 COLLECTA . AC . LATINITATE . DONATA . PER . FRATREM .
 DOMINICUM . DE . ROSARIO . O'DALY . ORDINIS . PRAEDI-
 CATORUM . S . THEOLOGIAE . PROFESSOREM . IN .
 SUPREMO . S . INQUISITIONIS . SENATU . CENSOREM .
 IN . LUSITANIAE . REGNIS . QUONDAM . VISITATOREM .
 GENERALEM . AC . FUNDATOREM . CONVENTUUM .
 HIBERNORUM . EJUSDEM . ORDINIS . IN . PORTUGALLIA .
 ULYSSIPONE : EX . OFFICINA . CRAESBECKIANA .
 ANNO 1655.

THE END.

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