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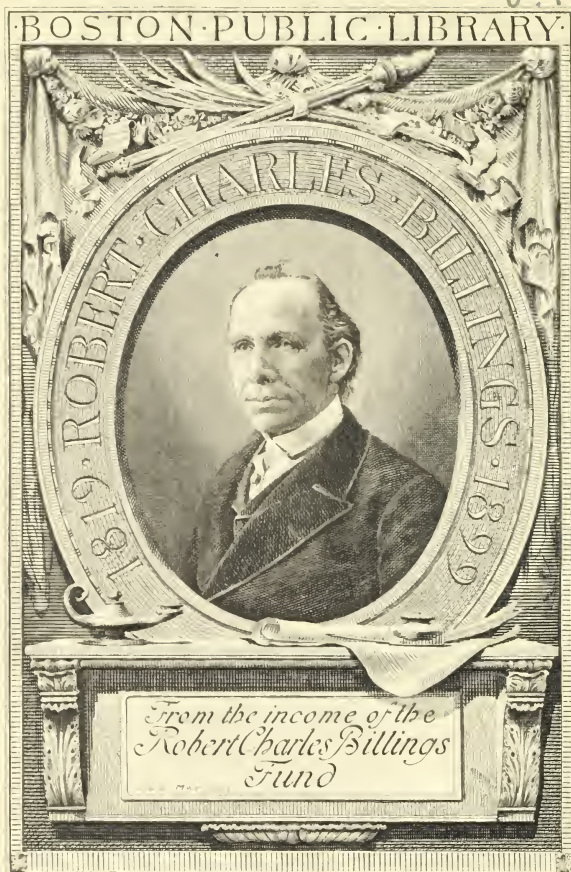
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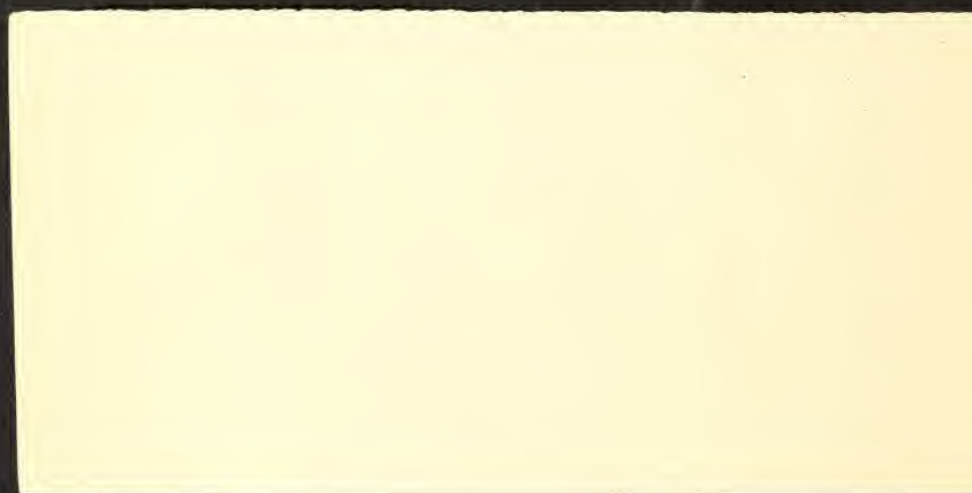
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The Earls of Desmond—cancel the Title-page to No. I., and substitute the following.



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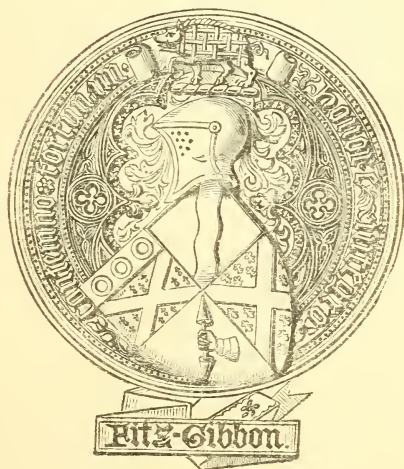
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UNPUBLISHED
GERALDINE DOCUMENTS;

EDITED BY
THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, A.B.,
AND
THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M.R.I.A.

VOL. I.
The Earls of Desmond.

SUMPTU



From the "Journal" of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY M. H. GILL.

1870.

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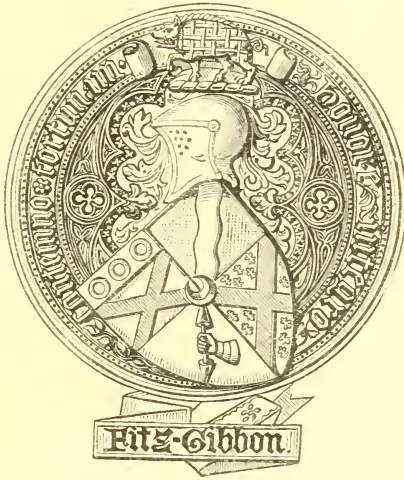
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UNPUBLISHED

GERALDINE DOCUMENTS.

AMONG the *desiderata* of literature, histories of our great Houses may be specified. Goodly tomes, devoted to this species of research, appear from time to time in the chief cities of Continental Europe; and our transatlantic brethren, of late years, have exhibited their characteristic energy in supplying us with genealogical publications of no common merit. Nationally, we are lagging behind. Should we desire the story of some old race, we may open a "Peerage," or a "Landed Gentry," and find—what the industrious compilers only professed to offer—dim tracings of the Family's annals and achievements. But these shadowy outlines fail to supply our curiosity. We ask for more than an array of names and dates. We require, not the dry anatomy, but the living restoration of the Departed. We sigh for what remains to be done, yet what cannot be accomplished, until the sealed muniment-chest give up its treasures, and the silent record-chamber admit the laborious student into an exploration of its mystic recesses.

To most rules exceptions may be found. The piety of a few individuals has done much towards rolling away our reproach about Family Histories. Good and gifted men

occasionally have entered this field of labour, and their zeal has been crowned with no unmeet reward. Honouring their ancestors, they have achieved honour for themselves. The brilliant books with which they have favoured us may be likened to Valhallas, in which we find the *Imagines Majorum*, each in its place, shedding grace and beauty on the scene around them. As representative writers of these specialties, we may name the late Mr. Drummond, for England; the Earl of Lindsey, for Scotland; and the Marquis of Kildare, for Ireland. Well have they laboured, affording to others of rank and station the most engaging precedents to follow their footsteps.

In his valuable compilation,¹ Lord Kildare restricted himself to that branch of his princely house with which he was immediately connected; and to others he left the compilation of materials for the Desmond history. The task is onerous, yet inviting; and, with unfeigned diffidence, it is now attempted. Herewith we commence a series of articles that will prove (as we expect) of national importance. Inedited Geraldine papers, obtained from the Public Record Office, London, from the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from private collections, will be presented successively to our readers. These will comprise pedigrees of the Fitz Gerald, both by Irish *seannachies* and English genealogists; original letters; extracts from wills and deeds; and a variety of other unpublished evidences. The incidents of the title, from its creation to its extinction, will be followed; and much curious information, hitherto unknown, respecting collateral branches—such as the house of Dromana, and that of Fitz Gibbon, known as the White Knight—will be supplied. Lithographs and wood-

¹ "The Earls of Kildare, and their Ancestors, from 1057 to 1773. By the Marquis of Kildare." Third edition. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1858.

cuts will occasionally illustrate our articles; and annotations,¹ where they are deemed necessary, will be subjoined to the text.

We have taken, for our opening paper, Thomas Russell's important "Relation of the Fitz Gerald's of Ireland." We learn from its title, that this compilation was made in the year 1638; and, from the body of the treatise, it appears to have been intended for one of the nobility, whose name has not come down to us. Of the author very little is known. He was probably of English blood; for his sympathies were, on the whole, with the English administration. His father (he tells us) served the *Ingens rebellibus exemplar*, Garrett, the unhappy sixteenth Earl of Desmond; and the "Relation" is valuable, because the author not only gleaned from books and manuscripts, but wrote down events as detailed to him by men who had participated in them. Some of his portraitures were limned for him by those who had personal acquaintance with the individuals described; and characteristics of mien and manner in the Geraldine leaders, that would have been long since forgotten, are thus preserved to us. The morbid state of the great rebel Earl's mind, induced by his lengthened captivity in the Tower, and amounting (as our author shows) to fatuity, throws a strong clear light on his eventful history. Russell's sketch of the gallant, though misguided, James Fitz Maurice, is calculated highly to exalt him in our appreciation; and his account of the other chieftains is fraught with interest.

In the "Historic Doubts," Horace Walpole succeeded in his untiring quest after the identification of the long-

¹ By reason of the great length to which our materials for illustration in many instances extend, foot-notes are not given

with each article; but they will appear at the end of the text of this and the subsequent papers.

lived Countess of Desmond. For help in clearing up the mystery, he expressed his obligations to a correspondent, who supplied him with a remarkable extract from a then "recently published, but unnamed work." It was soon after ascertained that this book was Dr. Charles Smith's well-known "Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork," the first edition of which was published in 1750; and in which the passage referred to by Walpole's informant occurs in volume ii., page 37. As a Geraldine authority, Smith yet occupies a foremost place. His statements have been in every instance corroborated. In foot notes he referred to "Russel;" "Russel's MS.;" "House of Desmond MSS.;" and, in one place (vol. i., pp. 48, 49, note), where he dissented from Sir John Davis's statement about the decapitation, A.D. 1467, at Drogheda, of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, he gave another account, "according to Russel's history of this house, which I have in manuscript." Antiquaries were perplexed by these references of Dr. Smith. The more astute deemed the "MS." of Russell only an anticipation of Sir Walter Scott's enigmatical "Old Play." Others, less distrustful, assigned it to the Boyle collections preserved at Lismore Castle.¹ At last, we are enabled to solve the problem, and to print *in extenso* this excellent contribution to the history of the illustrious Fitz Gerald.

¹ Among the latter is to be placed the late Archdeacon Rowan. In his "Olde Countesse of Desmonde," pp. 10 and 11, our accomplished friend mentioned the authenticated information about this wondrous personage, obtained by Horace Walpole from an "unnamed work;" and he proceeded in this manner;—

"This authority we now trace to be Dr. Smith, the historian of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, who, in his 'History of Cork,' gives the passage transcribed for Walpole, and, as voucher for his statement, refers in a foot note to the 'Russell MSS.,' but without telling us where these

MSS. are preserved, or from what source derived. The probability is, that they form part of the collections at Lismore, to which Smith often refers, and to which, while compiling his County Histories, he was granted a free access. At all events, the further and full investigation of the subject has quite sustained the assertion of the 'Russell MSS.' on this point."

Our readers will see that this plausible conjecture was without foundation, unless we are to suppose that the original autograph of Russell may have been seen by Smith amongst the Lismore MSS., and be still preserved there.

We derive it from a fair transcript, made about the close of the seventeenth or commencement of the eighteenth century, and placed at the disposal of the Association, through the courtesy of its possessor, the Earl of Besborough, by the Rev. James Graves, the unwearied Secretary of this Society. The "Relation" forms portion of a manuscript 8vo volume, bound in calf, of which the first part is a philosophical treatise, from a Parisian edition of 1651, pp. 119, with Index of three pages.¹ Then follow some genealogical transcripts, of which we give the titles :—

- I. Mr. Thomas Russell's "Relation of the Fitz Gerald's of Ireland. Written in the County of Clare, 22^o die Octobris, Ann^o Dom. 1638." (pp. 87.)
- II. "The Pedegree of the Geraldines of Desmond from Oterus of Windsor to Maurice Fitz Gerald, who first came to the Conquest off [*sic*] Ireland with Richard Earle Strongbow in y^e 16th yeare of the Reigne of Henry 2^d King of England. And from the sayd Maurice to James Fitzgarrett, the last Earle of Desmond of that name : togeather with some other branches and familyes that descended from y^e said Maurice in Ireland." (pp. 10.)
- III. "The Pedegree of y^e Whyte Knight, togeather with some Passages, relating to y^e Kn^{tt} of the Glinne or Valley, formerly called the black Kn^{tt}, and y^e Kni^{tt} of Kerry, who was also called y^e Greene Kn^{tt}, and y^e younger brother who was y^e Lord of Clenlish." (pp. 41.)

¹ "Totivs Philosophiæ: Hoc est Logica, Moralis, Physicæ et Metaphysicæ, capita claraqve Compendia. Auctore C. F. D'ABRA DE RACONIS, Almæ facultatis Theologicæ Parisiensis Doctore Nauarrico,

Comienatore et Elemosynario Regio. Parisiis: Apud Fransisevm Prior, propé Fontem Sancti Benedicti et in Conuentu Fratrum Minorum, M. DC. LI." This date gives the earliest period for the transcript.

IV. "The Pedegree of the Fitzgeralds of Dromany in y^e County of Waterford, co^monly called Lords of y^e Decies ; Sprung from the Earles of Desmond, & are a Branch of y^t Family : Written to satisfie the curiosity of some persons ; & likewise to show the various pretensions to that Estate, by w^{ch} y^e right title may be distinguished." (pp. 30.)

V. "The Pedegree of the Most Noble House of Ormond. By Richard Lawlesse, of Killkenny, Gentl." (pp. 76.)

Of the history of this interesting volume it is only known that it at one time belonged, about the first quarter of this century, to the late Peter Walsh, Esq., of Balline, near Besborough, Co. Kilkenny, an untiring collector of manuscripts and antiquities relating to Ireland,¹ from whom it probably passed into the possession of the then Earl of Besborough, to whose estates Mr. Walsh for many years filled the post of "Agent."

It remains to give honour to whom honour is due. With a munificence worthy the race whence they are sprung, two brothers (Maurice Fitz Gibbon, Esq., of Crobana House, county of Kilkenny, and A. Fitz Gibbon, Esq., C. E., of London), have undertaken to supply the charges attendant on the publication of these papers. Nay, even beyond this, they have made journeys to Geraldine localities, explored the arcana of Prerogative Courts, and met the heavy outlay attendant on the transcription of documents. As we reflect on their disinterestedness, shining the more brightly in contrast with the general apathy, we can only exclaim, "*O! si sic omnes!*"

¹ These collections have been hopelessly dispersed ; most part having passed into the hands of the late Mr. Anthony, of

Piltown, county of Kilkenny, whose museum was sold by auction in London several years ago.

No. 1.

THE EARLS OF DESMOND.



Mr Thomas Russell's Relation
of the fitz Geraldts of Ireland,
written in the County of Clare
22^o die Octobris Ann^o Dom. 1638.

*Particularly and Principally
relateing to the Noble and Auncient
house of the Earles of Desmond, who
sprang from Maurice fz Gerald,
the same Noble Auncestor of this
family, as well as of that illus-
trious family of the Earles of
Kildare.*

THE Fitz Geraldts of Ireland, men of approued valour, were without question descended from the auncient Trojans, when, that famous city of Pergamus beeing vtterly layd waste after ten yeares seidge, all her Princes slayne in battailes, Prince Æneas only surviueing; who beeing the close concealement of Poliscena, Priam's most beautiful daughter, was banished by the Greekes, and followed by a gallant and warlike crewe of martiall youths, who surviued theyre natie countryes destruction.

The Auncestors of o^r Fitz Geraldts were of them who followed him in his exile. Æneas, after haueing slayne King Turnus in battaile in Italy, where after many yeares tedious and perilous trauell he arriued, and marryed Lauina, King Latinus his daughter, he became the sole monarch of Italy: and his posterity many yeares and ages enioyed that kingdome. Part of the land he assigned to the rest of the Trojans to inhabit. Amongst others, the Auncestor of the Fitz Geraldts did sett downe his rest in that part of Tuscany where now the noble city of Florence stands. Dureing his owne and his posterityes abode in Italy they boare not the sirname of Geraldine, for that name they assumed after their arriuall in England. For William, Duke of Normandy, pretending to haue a better title to the Crowne of England then King Harold had, haueing made sundry requests to the said Harold to restore to him y^e kingdome, but not obtayneing it, he began to leauy forces to gett the same by force of Armes, which beeing generally knowne, diuerse braue men out of all parts of Europe resorted to the sayd Duke; among which number a younger brother of this House from which our Fitz Geraldts are descended was one; who, beeing well followed, was accepted by the said Duke, and charge giuen him in the Army. All things beeing ready, they tooke shipping, and landed in England in the yeare of our Lord 1067. And a bloody battell was fought att Battell Abbey, in the county of Sussex, betweene y^e sayd Duke and King Harold, in the which, notwithstanding the English did behaue themselues verry valiantly, King Harold was slayne, and the kingdome absolutely conquered by Duke William, who quietly seized and possessed the same, and liberally rewarded his valliant followers with ample and large possessions.

Thus farre haue I followed the sundry opinions of severall authors concerning the originall of the Geraldines, who in this diuision made by the Conqueror, had giuen vnto them the Castle and Lordship of Windsor,

which they enjoyed vntil the tyme of Walter, the son of Otterus. This Walter had issue three sons. The eldest was named William, from whom the Lord Windsors are descended. His second son, Robert, from whom Robert Devereux, now Earle of Essex, is descended; and Gerald of Windsor for his third son; w^{ch} Gerald, being married to the daughter of Rice, y^e greate Prince of Wales, had issue by her Maurice Fitz Gerald, from whom descended, in the right lynce, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Lord Justice of Ireland, buried att Tralee, in the County of Kerry, haueing issue John, his eldest son, the first Earle of Kildare, 1316; and Maurice, his second son, the first Earle of Desmond, 1328, 2 Edw. 3. Now, for the manner of theyre coming into Ireland in anno 1169, thus it was.

Dermott Mac Muroghoe, in those dayes called King of Leinster (one of the five Prouinces of Ireland as it stood then deuided), haueing stolne away the marryed wife of O Melaghlin, King of Meath, weaued y^e webb of the destruction of the other Kings of Ireland, and of his owne alsoe, to beare the rest company. The King of Meath craueing aide from the other Irish Lords, as well to recouer his Lady, as to reuenge the wronge done to him, haueing theyre assistance, made sharpe and cruell warres against King Dermott, whō not beeing able to withstand theyre ioynt forces, his owne followers, & complyces (to auoyd the danger of ciuill warre) did vtterly forsake; and he beeing at last forced to flye, forsooke the country, goes for England, hoping to receiue succour and ayde from the King of England, Henry y^e Second, then engaged in the warres of France, Dermott M^cMuroghoe repaires vnto him, whom the King both courteously and gratiously receiued, pittied his cause, and promised ayde and assistance.

The fugitiue Prince desires to be restored to his former estate, promising a yearely tribute. King Henry, then vnable to spare him any out of the Army of France, writes letters wth Dermott ouer into England to Richard Strongbow, Earle of Chepstow, willing and comāding him out of hand with all the forces he could make to repayre for Ireland, and by force of Armes to restore to King Dermot his former estate, with a reseruatiō of the rest of the kingdome to his Majesty. The Earle of Chepstowe, sir-named Strangbow, being a haughty minded man, and haueing spent and consumed the greatest part of his substance and inheritance, as well in prodigall housekeepeing as other roytous disorders; and glad howsoeuer to fynde out some course to rayse his fortunes, accepted of the charge, and prepared with all celerity possible for the Irish warre a gallant number of right worthy men, armed them well, haueing shipping and all things ready for such an enterprise.

The cheife leaders of this vndertakeing were S^r Maurice Fitz Gerald, S^r Robert Barry, S^r Robert Fitz Stephens, Myles Coggan, Redmond de La Groze, ancestor to the Lord of Kerry and Lixnawe, and diuerse others—all men worthy to be registered in the booke of fame. To be breife (my intent and purpose being not to write a history), here in Ireland they landed neere Wexford, where many bloudy conflicts & skirmishes past betweene them and the Natiues of the land. Soone after arriued the Earle Strangbow, to whose command the rest are obedient. The cheifest cittyes, as Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limericke, were wonne, with a good part of y^e kingdome alsoe victoriously conquered, & King Dermot in his kingdom re-established. King Henry the 2^d, then acknowledged for Lord of Ireland, who beeing myndfull of ye good service done by the right worthy gentlemen, did very bountifully reward every one of those

noble leaders and cheiftanes according to theire deserts with ample and large possessions, whereof some of theyre posterity att this day doe enjoye and possesse some parte.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, as he was in years the eldest of these vnderakers, the rest being neerely allyed vnto him in bloud and consanguinity; so was he next the Earle (I speake it without envy) the cheifest in estimation, as by theyre following acts may appeare, being rewarded by King Henry wth sufficient lands to maintayne his state, wherevnto he himselfe added by his valour and purchase, and after left a good expectation to his posterity for seaven descents, both for wealth, honor, and reputation, boare the whole sway in the prouince of Munster; whose aspiereing greatnesse being much feared by the Clan Capte and the rest of the Irish Lords; in secrett wise they consulted how to worke the ouerthrow of Thomas Fitz Gerald, then L^d Justice of Ireland; who beeing with his sonne and heyre, John Fitz Thomas, with some small forces vpon some peice of service for the King, and passeing from Kerry into the fastnesse of Desmond, an ambush was layed by M^cCartye-more and the rest of his confederates to take them vpon advantage. Thomas Fitz Gerald seeing himselfe betrayed, and noe meanes of escape left him, hee encounters the enemy, and there after too much tryed valour, with the slaughter of a greate number of theyre aduersaryes, both the ffather and the sonne fell by the swords of theyre trayterous and frindlye foes; for this M^cCartye More was son in law to Thomas Fitz Gerald, Lord Justice of Ireland. At this tyme the whole Race of the Geraldines of Munster were vtterly destroyed, an infant of one yeare old only remaineing. This young child was called Thomas, the only son of John Fitz Thomas, both beeing slayne (as you haue heard) by the Irish. This young babe at the tyme of his father's death, beeing nursed and fostered at Traley; the report and rumor of this ouerthrow comeing thither, suddainly the nurses running forth cryeing and lamenting, the childe was left all alone, when a monkey that was kept in the house tooke him out of the cradle, carryed him to the topp of the castle, there vnwrapped him out of the swadling cloathes, licked and lapped the childe, and folded y^e child vp in the cloathes againe, and (contrary to the expectation of such as beheld them) brought him down againe in safety, and left the sayd child where first he found him, and finding the nurse setting by the cradle, gaue her a sound boxe on the eare, as it is thought thereby warneing and admonishing her to looke better hereafter to her charge. You may be sure this is noe fable; for he euer after, during his life tyme, boare the name of Thomas an Appa. Thomas, growing to age, was a uery noble man, and very fortunate in pursueing reuenge for the death of his parents, and rayseing his house to greate honours, it beeing almost vtterly extinguished: when he dyed, he left issue Maurice Fitz Thomas, the first Earle of Desmond.

1. Maurice Fitz Thomas was created Earle of Desmond by King Edward the thirde, in An^o Dom. 1328, in the second yeare of that king's Raigne: he was married to the daughter of Geoffry Morryson, then Lord Justice of Ireland, with whom he had in dower the Island of Kierry and the whole Seigniory therevnto belonging. This Earle was feared of his enemyes, and well beloued of his freinds; and, haueing charge from the King, he went with an Army to the kingdome of Scotland, where haueing committed an infinite harme, and loaden with the spoyles, he returned,

bringing from thence greate bootyes. The Earle Maurice Fitz Thomas, haueing from the King y^e supream command of a flecte at sea, scowred the Irish sea or Ocean, at that tyme much infested with mercylesse pyrates, and dureing his lyfe kept the Irish in due subiection to the Crowne of England. He liued a greate age in greate wealth, honor, and reputation, he standing allwayes in good grace and fauour with the Kings of England. He was Earle of Desmond two and fifty yeares, and dyeing left his Earldome of Desmond to his sonne, Maurice Oge Gerald, Anno 1380.

2. This Maurice Oge, the son and heyre of the above Maurice, succeeded his father in the Earldome of Desmond, of whose Acts there is small mention or relation made, in regard he liued but two yeares after the death of his father.

3. John Fitz Morrice, brother to the last Earle, Maurice Fitz Maurice, (who dyeing without issue), was Earle of Desmond for 12 yeares; A most worthy braue man, who dureing his life had much to doe with the Irish Lords, who would not well brooke to see theyre auncient patrymonies in y^e hands of outlandish men, so tearming the sept of the Geraldines; And, dyeing, left a legitimate son, named Garrett, Anno 1394.

4. Garrett, son and heyre to the last Earle (as is sayed), was Earle of Desmond full thirty yeares, who was alsoe dureing that tyme a very powerfull, wise man. And some would haue it belieued that he had some skill in magicke; he was one of a proper stature and proportion of Body. Beeing very old, he payed nature its ineuitable debt, leaueing issue behind him three sonnes—Maurice, John, and James Fitz Garrett, Anno 1424. This Maurice Fitz Gerald was indeed Earle of Desmond in 1425, not fully one yeare, and dyed without issue (so that he is hardly reckoned in the number of the Earles of Desmond). He left the Earldome to his brother, John Fitz Garrett, as good a pennyworth as he receiued from his father.

5. John of Desmond, second son of Garrett, succeeded as heyre to his Brother Maurice, lately then deceased, beeing a gallant, resolute, and braue gentleman; but, before there was any greate occasion offerd him to performe any braue actions, he was vnfortunatelye drowned, passeing over the Riuer Suire goeing to Clonmell, the first yeare of his Earledome, Anno 1426, haueing issue Thomas Fitz John Gerald, in whom the pernitiuous disease that infested his posterity (though not all of them), euen to the last Act of the most tragicall ending of Garrett, beheaded, first tooke rooteing.

6. This Thomas, the son of John, succeeded his father and vnckle, his noble and illustrious progenitors in the Earldome of Desmond; but not in theyre noble qualities and behaiour; for he fell into a forgetfullnesse of his duty and allegiance to the Crowne of England; and, being held by the State a dangerous man, he was apprehended, and compelled to enter very good and sufficient security for his future loyalty, wherevpon twelve Lords of the English pale became bound for him and his forthcoming. With him it happened according to the generall rule of Physitians; That a hott ague is dangerous; The relapse thereof after critical dayes too pernitiuous, and the second relapse irrecoverable. For he beeing the second tyme suspected and accused openly for Rebellion, and not darcieing to appeare to iustifye himselfe, the Bonds were forfeited—yea, and estreated too to the vttermost—to the generall undoeing of most of those Lords who were bound for his appearance. The Earle himselfe, after many windings and turneings vp and downe the Realme, and wanting both friends and meanes, at last hee left the Land, and fledd to France, where he dyed in

banishment, Anno 1446. His lands, goods, liueings, and Seigniories were by Act of Parliament reuerted to the Crowne of England; and this was the first spott and y^e first misfortune of this kynde that befell the Fitz Geraldts since theyre arrivall in Ireland. Soe that the foolish Earle lost most unhappily all that for which his renowned Ancestors brauely fought. Hee ruled the Earledome of Desmond full twenty yeares.

7. James Fitz Garrett, third sonne of Garrett the Earle, *alias* Garrett Idony, vnckle to the last Earle [and (as I haue seene it in auncient writings belonging to S^r John Fitz Gerald of the Deces, who sprung from this Earle), the seauenth Earle of Desmond], was by the King of England restored to his former honors, dignities, estates, and blood, and succeeded his nephew, Thomas, who dyed in France. I fynd it as well recorded in writings, as commonly spooken by men, that this man was an excellent Earle, both for martiall discipline and ciuill gouernment. During five yeares space hee ruled his Country as Earle of Desmond; and at length, when he dyed, A^o. 1457, left the Earledome whole and entire to his eldest son, Thomas Fitz James (haueing noe other issue saue Garrett Fitz James of the Deces).

8. This Thomas Fitz James immediately after his fathers death succeeded him in all his lands, dignities, Lordships, and happy fortune, vntill about the latter end of his age; for then ineuitable fortune played with him as with many others of his qualite and greatnesse. This Earle was marryed to the Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, his daughter, by whom he had a good issue. Alsoe he was called most commonly the greate Earle of Desmond, and was fauoured by King Edward the fourth, in whose tyme he liued and flourished, haueing followed the fortune of the said King dureing those long and bloody warres which past betwixt the two Princely houses of Yorke and Lancaster. The Earle beeing an actor in those nyne battailes which were fought between King Henry the Sixth and Edward, Earle of March; the victory at last falling to Edward by the death of all the Princes of the house of Lancaster, Henry the Seauenth only excepted. The winning of y^e Crowne cost King Edward much blood; haueing lost his father, Richard, Duke of Yorke, and his brother, the Earle of Rutland, with diuerse others, brave and gallant men. Among whom Richard Neuill, the greate Earl of Warwick, is worthily accounted the cheife. He was slayne at Barnett feild, beeing in his dayes the setter vp and puller downe of kings. Finally King Henry the Sixth, after he had reigned thirty-eight yeares Kinge of England and France, lost both life and Crowne, beeing cruelly murdered in the Tower of London by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, King Edwards brother. The whole race of the house of Lancaster beeing vtterly rooted out, the young Earle of Richmond only excepted. King Edward, of that name the fourth, heyre of the house of Yorke, being in quiett possession of the Realme of England, and not vnmindfull of the good service done for him dureing those Ciuill Warrs by Thomas, Earle of Desmond, in reward whereof he makes him Lord Deputy of Ireland, with many other gifts and fauours, he sent him to his gouernment. The Earle being ready to take leaue of his Majestye, the King tooke him aside, and, by way of friendship and secrecy, demanded of him what fault worthy of reprehension the people found in his new begun gouernment, that he himselfe knowing it, the error might bee amended. The Earle demanded libertye to speake his mind freely; which being granted, hee told the King; The greatest fault any man would lay to his Majestye

was the vnequall and too low match hee made when he married Elizabeth Gray, late wife to Sr John Gray, Kn^{tt}, slayne at the first battaile of St. Albans, beeing too vnfit a match for his Majesty, shee being his subject; adding farther, His best course was to cast her off, and to ioyne and linke himselfe to some greate and powerfull Prince, wth whose assistance hee might be able to maintaine his newly conquered kingdomes, and to leaue an assured estate thereof to his posterity. The King, knowing well the loyall disposition of the Earle of Desmond, and that what hee spake in that private conference was in loue and loyallty to his Majesty, gave him thanks; adding, furthermore, That he was full glad that that fault of his did hurt to noe man in particular, but to himselfe only. Desmond, thus haueing had his dispatch, and alsoe haueing a great desire as well to come home as to come to his gouernment of the kingdome of Ireland, tooke his last leave of his Majesty, came for Ireland, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome, which, for seauen yeares space, hee both nobly and discretely managed, and discharged his command; and after countermand hee came home to his country, where pleasantly he liued and ruled for a long continuance of time, vntil his most tragicall death happened in manner following:—

King Edward, vpon some discontent, grew angry with the Queene, Elizabeth Gray, his wyfe; and shee, being a proud Lady, replies to the King's words with bitter speeches. His Majesty, therevpon growing into farther choler and anger, vttered these following words:—Well (sayd hee), had I followed my Cosen Desmonds aduice, your pride had bin abated long since; which speech the Queene obserueing, gaue way (if not wisely, yet craftily) to the King's displeasure, imagined and thought thereby that the Earle of Desmond meant towards her noe assured good will. Nott very long after the sayd King and Queene beeing reconciled, the Queene would needes know what aduice the Earle of Desmond had giuen his Majesty concerning her. King Edward thinkeing it lay not in her power any way to endanger Desmond, told her what past in conference betweene him and the sayd Earl touching her. The Queene, a sightfull woeman, sought and studyed out meanes how to bee reuenged vpon the Earle, which to bring to passe she stole the King's priuy seale, and then directed a warrant or command formaly therewith sealed to ye Earle of Worcester, who then was Lord Deputy of Ireland, commanding him upon sight thereof to putt the Earle to death. The warrant was noe sooner come to the Lord Deputyes hands, but hee sent for the sayd Earle of Desmond to come to him to the Towne of Droghedagh, a place somewhat remote from Munster, and whither the sayd Earles freinds and allyes could not easily come. As soon as the Earle of Desmond came, without any kind of examination, or layeing any certaine criminall offence to his charge, he was made shorter by the head, to the greate astonishment of the whole nobility of Ireland, beeing att that tyme there presente. This Earle Thomas, att the tyme of his death, left issue fve braue sonns, who heareing of theyre father's death, or rather most tragicall and vnexpected end, tooke it very impatiently, and with Banners displayed sought and intended to be reuenged. Now King Edward himselfe heareing of this most tragicall death of the most worthy and illustrious subject, was herewith wonderfully offended. The Queene, from whome the whole mischeife proceeded, fledd and tooke sanctuary. The Lord Deputy was sent for out of England, and appeareing before y^e King and Councell in his owne de-

fence, shewes his commission for the execution of the Earle of Desmond; yett all his excuses would not serue the turne; off goes his head from his neck to make satisfaction to the angry Ghost of Desmond. Thus you see this nobleman came to his death by the deceit and malicious workeing of the Queene Elizabeth Gray. His fve sonns in pursueing reuenge burned and spoyled the country, not only in the prouince of Munster, but alsoe in the prouince of Leinster, euen to the gates of Dublin, none dareing and none being able to resist theyre martiall strength. King Edward heareing how things past and were in Ireland, wrote ouer to the sonns of the sayd Desmond his Majesties letters in kind manner, aduiseing them not to blemish and infect theyre noble and auncient houses with the infamous Note of Rebellion; protesting for his owne parte that he was most sorry for and noe wayes guilty of theyre fathers death, askeing them to submitt to him, and accept of theyre generall pardon, which he sent them for what was past. The sonns of Desmond immediately vpon receipt of his Majesties letters embraced ye motion, accepted the pardon, came in, and were quietted. The King did grant at that tyme vnto James Fitz Thomas, the Earle's eldest son, the full and entyre libertye of County Pallatine in Kierry, bestowed the castle and towne of Dungarvan on him and his heyres for euer, with diuerse and sundry other large and ample priueleges, all which his posterity enioyed, vntil such tyme as all was lost, as you shall hereafter learne.

I told (your Lords^{hps}) that this Earle Thomas, who lost his head at Droghedagh, had issue fve sonns, begotten on the Lord Barrymores daughter, all being right valiant men, and four of them were successiue Earles of Desmond; the fifth son, beeing the youngest, whose name was Garrett, had the Lordship of Coshbreedy assigned him for his patrimony. This Earle Thomas hee likewise had a brother called Garrett, from whom the Lords of Deses are rightly descended. His eldest son was named James Fitz Thomas, his second son Maurice Fitz Thomas, his third sone Thomas Moyle, als. bald, the fourth son John, and the fifth was Garrett, the heyre of Macollop and all Coshbreedy, part of whose posterity are yett liueing, and the surviueing heyre of Maurice Fitz Gerald (if it were questionable). This noble Earle, of whom I haue made this long discourse, was Earle of Desmond twenty-foure yeares, and ruled his country with greate vertue and manlike vallour, beeing vnworthily cutt off for his tryed love to his Prince and King, and not for any kind of extortion and Coyne or Livery, as it pleased S^r John Dauers to write downe in his booke of Ireland, that this Earle by an Act of Parliament, held att Droghedagh, was beheaded for extortion of Coyne and Livery.

9. James Fitz Thomas succeeded his father in the Earledome of Desmond, beeing reconciled to King Edward for his former offence in the reuenge of his fathers death. This Earle was wyse and polliticke, and gott much by the Irish, but in the height of his prosperity he was by the treachery of some of his vnfaithfull followers murdered, An^o 1480, in his owne house at Raghkealy, and (as some haue sayd) not without the priuity of his owne brother John. The sayd James was Earle fve whole yeares.

10. Maurice F^r Thomas after his brother's death, who dyed without any lawfull issue, came to the Earledome, and for his tryed and approued vallour had the sirname of Morris the Warrelike comonly giuen him. During his tyme, he was euer a scourge to the disobedient Irish, still enlarging and augmenting his terretories to the losse of his neighbours. Hee

alsoe persisted during his tyme, and stedfastly continued in his duty of allegiance to the Crowne of England, and at last dyed in much honor, fame, and reputation, and was worthily esteemed of both by his freinds and foes, having comanded as Earle of Desmond full thirty yeares. This Earle he tooke the Lord of Musery prisoner, whose whole generation did still inwardly greiue to heare or see the prosperitye of ye Geraldines groweing to soe lofty a heighth of greatnesse as then they came vnto; but notwithstanding it lay not in theyre power to preuent or crosse it.

11. James Fitzmaurice, son and heyre to the aforesaid Maurice, was openly accknowledged for Earle of Desmond after his father's death. This Earle was a verry noble and a braue warriour, haueing in his dayes performed seuerall and sundry exploytes. But once in his tyme intending to come to the country called Musery, to make haueock and spoyle of that country, according to the iniquity of those tymes, he was mett by the way of Monnemore, betwene the towne of Moyalloe (now called Mallogh), and the City of Corke, by Cormock oge Ladir Carthy, Lord of Musery, McCarthy Reagh, Lord of Carbry, and diuerse others Lords and Cheifetaines, with theyre forces and complices, all of them vnder the leading of the sayd Cormock. You may here vnderstand that the sayd James Fitz Maurice, his own vnckle, Thomas Moyle Fitz Gerald, was then aydeing the sayd Lord of Musery (to whose sister he was married) against the Earle his nephew. This Thomas Moyle, the day of ye battell, commanding in cheife ouer the horsemen, with a violent and resolute charge, he broke the Earle's mayne battell of foot and galloghglasses, whereby the daye was lost, the Earle haueing in the fury and heate of the daye shewed incredible proofs of his vndaunted courage; but being surmounted by the multitude of his enemys, was at last forced to yeild to necessity, leauing the feild and victory together—Anno. 1521—with Cormock oge Ladir: of which overthrow the Irish to this day doe bragg, not remembering how often both before and after they receiued the like measure from the Geraldines. This was the only cloud that thundered to his disgrace, haueing alwayes had prosperous and fortunate success in all his other attempts. He dyed, haueing ruled his country eleuen yeares, leauing noe issue male lawfully begotten behynd him. He had one daughter named Joane ni James, who was marryed to James Earle of Ormond, and shee was mother to the last most worthy Thomas Earle of Ormond, Count Pallatyne of Tipperary, Kn^t of the most honorable Order of the Garter, and the greate flauorite of Queen Elizabeth. This Earle, James Fitz Maurice, held secret intelligence and correspondency (as was thought and commonly reported) with Charles the Fifth, King of Spayne and Emperour of Germany, and messengers past to and fro between them; the Earle (as was supposed) intending to draw in forraigne inuasion, whereof beeing accused to King Henry the Eighth by Cardinall Woolsey, a proud and most ambitious prelate, who then bare the whole sway in England, and indeed a man who generally hated all nobility, and more especially the Fitz Gerald of Ireland, the Earle being sent for to answer the accusation, and the Articles of High Treason wherewth hee was charged, durst not appeare to iustify his actions, being loath (without any question) to putt himselfe within the Cardinalls compasse. The King herevpon sent command to the Earle of Kildare, who at that tyme was Lord Deputy of Ireland, for to apprehend the Earle of Desmond, and without any delay to send him prisoner to England. Vpon receipt thereof the Earle of Kildare, with the greatest forces

hee could make, comes with speed to the prouince of Munster, to hunt out ye Earle of Desmond; and haueing done in y^e seruice what laye in his power, hee went his way as wise as he came; but whether willingly and wittingly hee omitted the opportunitie, as being loath to bee the minister of his cosen Desmond's ruine, or that it lay not in his power and hands to doe him hurt or harme, he missed the mark at which hee aimed. Cardinall Woolsey, beeing glad to fynd occasion and fitt opportunity to worke the Earle of Kildare mischeife, makes the King beleieue that the sayd Earle of Kildare willingly suffered the Earle of Desmond to escape, who (to speake the truth) was well able to resist, if the Earle of Killdare had done his best endeaour. King Henry giueing credit to the Cardinall's information, the Earle of Kildare was sent for to appeare before the King and Councell, there to iustify his proceedings agst Desmond. The Lord Deputy beeing ready to take shipping, left the gouernment of the kingdome in trust with his son and heyre, the Lord Thomas; and being come to the Court, presents himselfe to his Majesty, the Lords of the Councell being then sitting. The proud and ambitious Cardinall charged the sayd Earle of Killdare with High Treason with much bitterness and learning, and called the Earle, with all his generation, Traytors. The Earle of Kildare beeing a haughty-minded man, and scorning the Cardinalls base birth and peruerse conditions, with an eloquent speech confuted the Cardinalls oration, and beeing both pittied and fauoured by the Lords of the Councell, who too well knew that the Cardinall did rather accuse the Earl of Killdare out of malice, then for any crime by him committed, soe wrought in his Majesty's mercy, that the sayd Earle of Kildare was but only sent to the Tower of London, not receiving any further harme. Soone after his committment, Cardinall Woolsey, altogeath^r vnknowne to the King, sent a warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to cutt off ye Earle of Kildares head; who very much greiued att the receipt thereof, but more to execute the same, and alsoe full well knowing that to disobey the Cardinall was present death, made then Kildare himselfe acquainted with the same charge sent to him by the Cardinall. The noble Earle, noething at all dismayed, with a settled, cleere, and vndaunted courage, reade the warrant, and gaue it to him again; and then storming against the Cardinall, he desired ye Lieu^t. to repayre with speede to the Kings Majesty, to know if that were his Maj^{ty}'s pleasure, for he was well assured the Cardinal did it of his owne authority. The Lieutenant, although he well knew the danger hee ranne in crosseing the Cardinall, was notwithstanding very desirous to saue ye nobleman; and presently goinge from ye Tower to Whytehall, where the Court then laye, about ten of the clock at night, he acquainted his Maj^{ty} with the command sent by Cardinall Woolsey for the execution of the Earle of Kildare. Whereat ye King in greate anger began to chaffe & curse the Cardinall, and commands the L^t not to obey the Cardinall, vntil he had seene it vnder his owne hand; adding withall that he would make the saucy and ouer-officious preist repent him for meddling soe far with the Earle of Kildare. The L^t came back againe to the Tower, and immediately made a full and effectuell relation to the Earl of Kildare of what past betweene the King and himselfe concerning him the sayd Earle. Notwithstanding all this the sayd Earle of Kildare neuer afterwards had his libertye; but, according to that authentique sayeing, That greate smoake appeares from little fyre, and that very often the shaddow extends farre farther then the substance, to which it ought to bee proportioned,

and is taken very often for the substance, euen soe the report of the Earle's death coming out of England, spread and giuen out by malicious tounge, did soe farre incense and furiously enflame the heart of his son and heyre, ye L^d Thomas Gerald, then L^d Deputy of Ireland in his father's absence, that he very inconsiderately and too rashly and without farther examineing the truth of the matter, or ye cause thereof, and alsoe by the guilefull and deceitfull instigation of the Archbishop of the Citty of Dublin, and others of the Councell who boare him ill-will, deliuered up the sword, gaue ouer the gouernment; and in hostile manner soone after invaded the English Pale; burned the Citty of Dublin, euen to the Castle gates, leauing nothing vndone, or at least vnattempted to worke his owne ruine, and to make himselfe an Arch Traytor to the Crowne. When those stirres and insurrectiones made by the Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald were assuredly knowne in England, the King sent ouer a new Lord Deputy, who, coming wth sufficient force, layed seidge to ye Castle of Maynooth, the Earle of Kildare's cheife mannor-house, and the L^d Thomas F^r Gerald then (as he thought), haueing strongly & sufficiently both mannd and victualled the same, and it beeing by strength and seituation of itselfe strong enough, gaue the guard and command thereof to one of his principall followers named Paresius, in whome hee reposed the greatest trust and confidence, and the rather for that he was his foster brother. Hee himselfe, to make his owne party strong enough, tooke his iourney to the north parts of Ireland, to procure and bring aydes from thence, to raise ye seidge, and to fight with the L^d Deputy; but in the meane whyle the Castle was yeelded up to the L^d Deputy, and the English, beeing betrayed by him who had it from the L^d Thomas in guard, it being otherwise not to be wonn. The L^d Thomas, after the losse of his Castle of Maynooth, bidds the Lord Deputy battaile; who, not refusing the same, both armyes came to blowes hand to hand; the battaile was manfully and wth greate courage & resolution fought out. The victory (as farr forth as I finde it written, and crediblye reported) not inclineing to either syde vntil it grew late; and then both armyes parted through the darkness of the night. The next day there was an agreement made and concluded on betweene the L^d Deputy and the s^d Thomas Gerald to this effect: That an act of obliuion should bee made for what was done in that insurrection; a generall pardon to be giuen to the sayd Lord Thomas and all those that followed and abetted him in that action, with a promise of all farther fauour from y^e King. Notwithstanding all this agreem^t and absolute couenante, soone after reconciled, the sayd Lord Thomas beeing in the Citty of Dublin, he was arrested, taken & comitted to the Castle, and fiue of his vnckles that were then in the country abroad were alsoe apprehended, who mistrusting noe such matter, haueing, as they thought, theyre pardons, they were all in one ship sent into England, which ship was called the Cow wherein an aunceint prophesy was fulfilled, That it should be too pernicious to the blood of Kildare to enter a cowe's belly. For they being once arrived in London, that prophesy tooke its effect, for they neuer returned thence afterward, being all putt to death at the Tower-Hill or Tiborne the third day of February, 1536. And dureing those alterations and troubles in Ireland, the old Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare, and father to the L^d Thomas, dyed in the Tower of London. After his death, the Lord Thomas being in possession of the Earldome, and alsoe

attainted for Treason (as you haue heard), the lands fell to the Crowne. All the race of the old Earle being extinct, two brothers to the s^d Lord Thomas, Gerald and Edward—the which Gerrald or Garret was afterwards Earle of Kildare—who by good fortune was restored to his blood and honor by Queenē Mary, but not to the third part of his former estate and greatnesse. I haue made this long digression from the subject I had in hand only to lett yo^r Lordsh^p see how that the Geraldines of Munster were the occasion of the first stepp to the overthrow of the noble and most auntient house of Kildare, which (without question) was not inferior to any other in this kingdome for greatnesse of estate, nobleness of blood, wealth, and reputation; yett, thanks be to God, that house is not vtterly or altogether decayed. But now I must end this digression, and come to my former matter.

12. Thomas Meale, als. Moyle, the bald, vnkle to James F^r Maurice, the last Earle, who dyed without issue, and third son to Thomas, the Earle that lost his head at Droghedagh, succeeded his nephew, James. This man was very fortunate and a greate warrior, & alwayes gott the victory, haueing bin an actor in nyne fought Battailles. He was Generall of the horsemen in that greate battell which was fought out betweene the Earle of Kildare, then L^d Deputy, and Generall of the whole kingdome of Ireland, and y^e greate O'Brien of Twomond; which battaile was valliantly and resolutely fought out by both partyes, and the victory stood doubtfull. This Earle Thomas Meale had the honor to giue two severall ouerthrowes to two Lords of Muscry, and the killing of them, one of them beeing his father-in-law. Many other valliant feats and acts, worth ample relation, were by him manfully vndertaken and performed, both before and after y^t hee came to the Earldome. Hee had issue Maurice F^r Thomas, begotten vpon the foresayd L^d Muscryes daughter. This his son Maurice dyed before his father, leaueing one sonne behind him, called James F^r Maurice, who att the tyme of his fathers and grandfathers deaths was resident in England, serueing as page to King Henry the Eighth. The old Earle Thomas Meale dyed after he was Earle of Desmond full fifty fyue yeares.

13. This James F^r Maurice, grandchild to the sayd Thomas Moyle, succeeded him in the Earldome of Desmond; who beeing then in England, and heareing of his ffathers death, humbly desired the King's Majesty to give him leaue to come to Ireland to take possession of the lands and territories, and quietly to settle his affayres, which request was presently granted him by the King, who of his owne Royall bounty had sufficiently furnished the young Earle of Desmond wth all things fitting and necessary for such a iourney and enterprise. And, knowing full well that there were in Ireland some of the Earle's kinsmen that would seeke to withstand him, His Ma^y sent a sufficient power of armed men to settle the sayd Earle of Desmond in his estate. The s^d young Earle being landed in Corcke harbour, he then tooke his vnfortunate iourney to the county of Limerick; & passing through the Lord Roch, Viscount of Fermoy, his country, there was an ambush layed by S^r Maurice of Desmond, his own kinsman, to entrapp him; into which snare falling vnawares, he was presently slayne by certaine horsemen, and not one man else of the whole army lost but he alone. And this happened in the yeare 1542 of humane saluation. This most wicked and abominable murther of the L^d and Earle of Desmond, James F^r Maurice, being thus committed by S^r Maurice of

Desmond, was the first stepp to the ouerthrowe of this honorable house of Desmond—God, in reuenge thereof of his iustice infinite and deuine, not leauing one of the race of S^r John of Desmond, the sayd S^r Maurice his father, alieue vpon the face of the earth, as by and in the following discourse yo^r Hon^r may very plainly perceiue. This S^r Maurice of Desmond, who acted his sayd kinsman's bloody tragedy, was the second son to S^r John of Desmond, brother to Thomas Meale, and the fourth son of Thomas Earle of Desmond, who lost his head at the towne of Droghedagh. And to speake indifferently of the sayd S^r Maurice, without immoderate passion of loue, or enuious malice and hatred, I doe say and alleadge that he was a stout warriour, very valliant & bountifull, a good housekeeper and liberall withall, according to those tymes. But all those good and commendable parts and qualities wherewith he was endued were much blemished and made obscure by his vnnaturall crueltie; soe as both friends and foes were all alike to him, if they might any way withstand his aduantage. And, to giue a true report of him, he was a man wthout faith in his promise, or truth in his word, cruell, severe, mercylesse, and very bloody. The Earle, this Maurice elder brother, named James Fitz John, after his coming to be Earle, very aduisedly (feareing his sayd brother, S^r Maurice, his ill will, & too apparent badd condition, might reach to the ouerthrow of his house), thought it the surest way to gratifye him, and for his owne safety to assigne to his brother, S^r Maurice, a competent liueing or patrimony farre from the limitts and confynes of the Earldome of Desmond; and, in hope his destruction and vtter ruin would soone ensue, gave him the Barrony of Kerrycurry, that in soe placeing him amongst his mortal enemyes he might haue much to doe wth & between them; that he might not haue or enjoy any leasure to practise any mischeife against him. S^r Maurice, haueing gott the sayd Barrony of Kierrycurry of his brother, the Earle, was well pleased therewith, and alsoe contented to vndergoe all eminent dangers y^t might bee incident to his sayd estate; and afterwards, notwithstanding his sundry aduersaries, did soe gallantly behaue himselfe for full thirty yeares space, he held play against all those that did oppose him. At last, beeing eighty yeares of age, and yett neuerthelesse of an able body, he went to the canthred of Muscry, to bring from thence by strong hand wth him a prey of cowes; and beeing then persued by S^r Dermott McTeige Carthy (Ann^o 1565), L^d of that country, and son in law to S^r Maurice, and then being ouerthrowne in feild, hee was taken prisoner, and left by S^r Dermott in the keepeing of foure horsemen, whilst he himselfe followed and persued the flying enemyes. In the meane tyme these mercilesse rogues, who were left to guard and keepe safe S^r Maurice, fell vpon him, and inhumanly murderd him in cold blood—Allmighty and omnipotent God in his secrett judgement haueing soe ordayned, that the sayd Sir Maurice in his old age should taste of the same cupp w^{ch} in former tymes he often forced and constraynd others to drink of, in murdering such as were his prisoners. When he dyed he had issue two sons, and three daughters. The eldest was married to McCarthy Reagh the second, to the Lord Roch; and the third, to S^r Dermott McTeigue, the aforesayd Lord of Muscry. Thomas, the eldest sonn of S^r Maurice, dyed soone after his murdered fathers death, leauing issue extant behind him Thomas Oge (or the younger), who was alsoe slayne in the last warres of Desmond. But James Fitz Maurice, his second son, liued long after to become the fatall scourge and punishment, to worke the finall ouerthrowe

and last downefall of this famous house of the Giraldines of Munster, as I intend forthwith to declare particularly.

14. Sir John of Desmond, fourth son to him that at Droghedagh was beheaded, after that his son, S^r Maurice, committed, or at least caused to be committed, that wicked murther of the true and lawfull heyre of the Earledome, or rather vpon the Earle himselfe, came to haue the actuall possession of the whole and entyre Earledome of Desmond, and enjoyed the same but one yeare; the Omnipotent Maj^{ty} of God not permitting him to enioy it longer; for, comeing to it as King Ahab gott Naboth vineyard, he begunne in blood, and ended in blood. Hee left issue diuerse sonns, whereof the eldest was called James, the second Maurice (who committed the afores^d murther), and John Oge. They all had issue, & were lost in the Earle Garretts last Rebellion, saueing Maurice Fitz John, the son of John Oge, who dyed in Spaine.

15. James Fitz John succeeded his entered father in ye Earledome, who soone after he was possessed of the same went for England, beeing well and decently (as was fitting) attended by worthy gentlemen and other servants of his, and came to the Court, where beeing admitted to the presence of King Henry the Eighth, then King of England, he submitted himselfe to his Majesty, surrendred all his lands, excuseing himselfe from the murthering the lawfull Earle, sent ouer for Ireland by his Ma^{ty}, with a ciuill grace and eloquent speeche, casting ye whole blame and aspersions of ye s^d odious murther from himselfe vpon his brother Maurice. The King, beeing at that tyme engaged in the warres of France, & alsoe loath or vnwilling to leaue any faction in Ireland, receiued the Earle James very graciously, bestowes back vpon him the whole Earledome, restores him and his Bretheren to theyre blood and dignities; moreouer made him L^d Treasurer of Ireland, and Gouverno^r of the Prouince of Munster, sends him ouer into Ireland againe with much honor, where he liued long a happy age, beloued of his freinds, and mightily feared of his foes & enemyes. Hee was Earle of Desmond for twenty yeares space, and when hee dyed hee left three sonns borne in lawful wedlocke, namely Garret the eldest, John the second, and James the youngest. Hee had an elder sonn, named Thomas Roe Gerald, begotten on the L^d Roch his daughter; but it was commonly alleadged that shee was not the Earles lawful wife, and therefore Thomas Roe, being not legitimate, was not capable of the Earldome, which afterwards was the cause of much trouble and mischeife betweene these brothers.

16. Garrett Fitz James is now a rippening to enter on the stage to act his parte of this most miserable Tragedy. This man beeing but young, his father then liueing, had greate hopes of himselfe, and performed braue and valliant exploits. His first action was against M^cCarthy Reagh, L^d of Carbry, into whose country he entered, and brought from thence greate bootyes; And soone after that he had performed this valliant exploite, he beganne with Muscry, intending there also to doe the lyke as he had done in Carbry; butt there he was mett with all the forces of the whole countrye, beeing ledd by their cheifetaine, Sir Dermot M^cTeige Carthy, son to the L^d of Muscry, and theyre both parties meeting together, a feild was fought fiercelye and valliantly betweene them, where S^r Dermot M^cTeige, notwithstanding his valliant and resolute resistance, was ouerthrowne, his men defeated and slayne, and himselfe, although fiercelye resisting in his owne person, was taken prisoner, and

carried captiue into the County of Limerick, and kept at the Castle of Askeaton a yeare and a halfe in captiuitie, vntill meanes were wrought att length by his wife, the daughter of S^r Maurice of Desmond, to obtayne her husbands liberty and enlargement from her cosen Garrett, who haueing done what is even now related in the south partes of Munster, had alsoe some other occasion presented him to perpetrate something in the north parts of the same, as followeth. A confederate of his, by name Teige M^cMurragh O'Brien, L^d of Inchequin, by both the Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard beeing closely bescedged, hee sent a messenger to the sayd Garrett to signifie to him in what perill and danger he himselfe then stood, craueing and pittyfully imploring his speedy succour, which Garrett speedily consented to doe, and by the messengers sent him word hee would not faile to releiue him by a certaine day, in despite of all those that would offerre to oppose or withstand him. And immediately gathered togeather out of his terrytories some forces, with whome passieng ouer the Riuer of Shanon, neere to Castle Connell, marched up to Inchequin to fight with both the Earles or to force them to rays the seidge. His forces consisted of fife hundred foote and sixty horse, over whom his brother Thomas Roe commanded as capitaine. The sayd two Earles heareing of Garretts approach, forsooke the seidge, and with all speede prepare to gather more forces togeather to bee the better able to fight with him, esteemeing him to haue a greater multitude of men then he had—want of sure intelligence soe much deceiued them—and soe to giue a bloody farewell in his reatrete. In the meane time the Castle is releived, and left strongly manned and victualled; and the L^d Garrett intending to return back, his men beeing heauily loden with spoyle and booty gotten from the enemyes. But then vpon a suddaine both those Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard offerre him battayle in his reatrete, to which purpose they ordered and martialled theyre compaynes. Hee in ye meane tyme, considering that there was noe other way that lay to his safetie but to stand to it manfully, and to endure whateuer might happen, most eloquently and effectually encouraged his small troopes to bee glad, and to giue God thanks for presenting them with such an occasion to eternize theyre fames and reputation, and not to be dismayd, or the leaste jott terrified with the cowardly multitude of theyre enemyes, but rather stoutly to play the part of valiant men, and all should vndoubtedly bee theyres. With this & other speeches to the like effect, beeing mightily encouraged, they went on cheerefully, and fought with theyre enemyes wth such resolution, as both those Earles were ouerthrowne in open feild, and the sayd Garrett remayned victor, to his greate renoune, (the sayd Earles reposing all the safety of theyre lives in open flight), he brought back his troopes without any hurt or detriment receiued. These, and many other valourous acts worthy of ample relation, were by him performed, which I doe pass over for breuity sake.

Not long after his ffather dyed, and hee begann with his vnhappy Earleshipe, and soone after his ffather's death the Earle Garrett with a willing mynd and intention went for England to doe his duty to the Queenes Majesty, hee being well attended on by one hundred prime gentlemen, wayteing and attending vpon him; presenting himself before the Queenes Royall Majesty. She very gratusiously receiued him, confirmed to him and his heyres by Letters patents all the lands, iurisdiccions, seigniories, and priueledges that were held in tymes past by his predecessors, and soe haueing his dispatch in all his matters, and taken his leave of her Ma-

jesty, he came for Ireland, beeing in quiett possession of his Earledome. The worrne of ambition, and the damnable sparke of enuy ministered matter of discord and discontent abundantly to draw out at large dissention and debate betweene him and the Lord Thomas Buttler, Earle of Ormond and Ossory, and Count Palatine of Tipperary, whose mother the Lady Joane was marryed to the sayd Garrett. These two noblemen were both lusty, haughty, and courageous, and likewise uery powerful in meanes, friends, and followers, and both well countenanced in the Court of England. The Earle of Ormond being the wyser, and more politicke of both, wrought his owne ends somewhat subtill and closely. The Earle of Desmond farre otherwise, rashly and plainely, without any pretences to shadow his meaneing. Her Majesty (I confesse) did always fauour the house of Ormond in regard it tooke parte with the house of Lancaster in the ciuill warres. And the house of Desmond tooke the fortune of the house of Yorke; Her sayd Ma^{tye} being by the ffather's syde descended from the lyne of Lancaster. Now, to shew the grounds and materiall motiues of the discord and disagreement that was betweene those two eminent peeres, lett this following-discourse suffice. The occasion of the discord, and that which throughly enflamed the ambitious minds of those Earles was, for mutual takeing of preyes, and also concerning meareing and bounding theyr seuerall patrimonyes and seignioryes, which lay partly the one bordering vpon the others; soe that at length theyre discontent grew to that heighth as noething could, or at leaste would pacifye the quarrell but the sword, to whose sole arbitrement they, by consent, left it to bee decided, to which purpose a day was by them appoynted for tryall of theyre controuersy. The place appoynted for theyre meeteing was at Bohermore, just betweene the countyes of Limerick and Tipperary, where both those Earles mett together with a choise number of gallant and well provided followers.

Desmond (as my father told mee, who was then present serveing vnder him) brought vnto the field at that tyme 4000 ffoote, and 750 horse, all which number for the most parte were his owne ffollowers, and all the cheife Lords and prime gentlemen, or most of them, in the province of Munster. The Earle of Ormond came also thither with noe lesse preparations, equalling the other in number of men and furniture, bringing greate ordinance with other warlike instruments of warre with him to repulse and force back the violence of his ouerdareing enemies. Those strong competitors, for the space of fourteene dayes, confronted one an other in open feild, and yett came not to battaille, contrary to both theyre desires; but were by the discretion and mediation of certayne greate Lords, then in both the armyes, and especially by the intercession and procurement of the Countesse of Desmond, who was also mother to Ormond, reconciled and made freinds at that tyme, at least in outward show; the articles of agreement noething sounding to Desmond's reproach. In which league of friendship they continued not long, for acts and surest purposes of mortall men cannot boast of perpetuity. And here it happened unto them, euen as the Poet Lucan settis downe in his first Booke of the Ciuill Warres called Pharsalia, betweene Pompey the Greate and Caius Julius Cæsar, where the poet by way of simile settis downe: That the Ionian Sea should breake ouer and ouerwhelme the Ægean Sea; but only that the Corinthian peninsula seated indifferently between them, hinders theyre violence, the which, if it were once taken away, would giue way to the one to ouer-

flow the other. Soe Cressus liueing had limmitted the ambitious aspiring mynds of Pompey and Cæsar, but he once dead, they endeaoured to vndoe one an other, and at last Cæsar ruined Pompey. Soe likewise it happened with these Earles, whilst the Countesse lived she wrought meanes to keepe them from doing one another mischeife, but now takeing her last leaue of the world, she could noe more command or intreate the sayd Desmond, her husband, or Ormond her son; noe body beeing left of sufficient authority to cherrish or vphold the late renewed peace or attoneement, the two Earles, much like thunder, broake out into farre worse tearmes of hostility then ever they had done before.

The Lord of Dessey, cosen to the s^d Earle, had some arreares of rentes or services which the Earle pretended to bee due to him, wherevpon hee gathered together some forces, and therewith entered the sayd country of Deassey in all kynd of hostility. The s^d Lord Maurice Fitzgerald, Viscount Dessey and Barron of Dromanny, finding himselfe vnable at all to resist Desmond without the assistance of some other powerfull men, craued ayde of the Earle of Ormond his neere cosen, who of himselfe was most willing to doe Desmond all the mischeife that lay in his power, and thereupon embracing the opportunity then presented, makes ready greate forces to meete with the Earle of Desmond vnawares, and in his returne to fight with him. Thus hee and the L^d Deassy, beeing ioined together, pursue Desmond, who at that tyme was weakely accompanied, not dreaming at all that the Earle of Ormond would have meddled in the quarrell of Deassy. They ouertooke the Earle of Desmond at the Riuer of Blackwater, neere Aghyvane, where Desmond, contrary to the wyse advice of those that followed and accompanied and discretely perswaded him to giue place to necessity for the present time, and to consider the strength of his powerfull and mortall enemyes, and to make an honorable retreat, But he verry rashly and indiscreetly—and rather like a Terentius Varro than a Paulus Æmilius—by any meanes would not be perswaded from fighting, choosenge rather to dye in the feild then to turn his back to Ormond. Both armyes met together, and both fought together very resolutely, needing noe other exhortation to invite them to fight more then malice and mutuall hatred one to the other. And truly the skirmish was valiantly fought by the few that were with Desmond, and performed what resolute and courageous men in the very heighth of extremity ought and would doe, both for obtaining the victory and preservation of Desmond. But multitude rather prevailed than true valour or vertue. Desmond, seeing the day lost, gaue a violent charge into Ormond's battayle of horse, whereinto beeing farre entered, and haueing fewe about him, hee was ouerthrowne from his horse by S^r Edmond Butler, Ormond's brother, who brake his thigh with a shott from his pistoll, and was there taken prisoner. His small company were likewise, for the most part, cutt in peices. This ouerthrowe fell upon him for rejecting the wise counsaile of those who perswaded him not to fight. The fight beeing ended, Desmond was ledd from the place where the battayle was fought by Ormond to Clonmell in the quallity of a prisoner; and, beeing cured of his wounds, he was sent into England by the Earle of Ormond's procurement where, for the space of full seauen yeares he remained prisoner in the Tower of London, from whence (soe it were God's pleasure) I could wish he had neuer returned. In the meane tyme, dureing the Earle's imprisonment, his elder brother Thomas Roe Gerald (who, as I told you already was begotten on the Lord Roche's daughter and, as most men of Munster

then liueing thoughte, for some reasonable causes was not reputed the old Earle's legitimate son and heyre), takeing aduantage of his brother's misfortunes (I meane the Earle's), tooke upon him to command in cheife the Earledome of Desmond; beeing therein mightily countenanced and furthered by the Earle of Ormond (although hee boare neither of them both any good will) and by those who were then appoynted for the gouernment of Munster for her Majesty.

To prevent these insolent proceedings of Tho. Roe, James F^rmaurice, second son to Sir Maurice of Desmond, stepps on the stage, who, dureing these alterations and troubles, was slayne by S^r Dermot M^rTeigue Carthy, Lord of Muskry, notwithstanding that hee was father-in-law to the sayd S^r Dermot. This Sr. Maurice of Desmond, in my opinion, receiued a iust punishment in the decree of God for the wilfull killing (if not murdering) of his cosen, James Fitzmaurice, the true and lawfull heyre of the house of Desmond, in doeing and committing of which wicked act hee soe farre prouoked the powerfullnesse of the wrath of Almighty God againste the whole generation of his father's house, as not one of them liues vpon the face of the earth at this day, but were all destroyed in the s^d. Garrett's last rebellion against the Crowne of England. This James Fitzmaurice, scorning the bold attempts and insolencies of the sayd Thomas Roe, and John of Desmond, the Earles brother, beeing then alsoe a prisoner in London, hee, then, to mayntaine the s^d. Earles titles and rights, leapes into the listes, challenging any man that durst presume to question the Earle's right, which, for the space of full seauen yeares, hee as gallantly performed as hee valiantly vndertooke it. To bee breife, my intent not being to write a historye of his acts at full, hee and the English fforces oftentimes mett, they being led by Sr. John Perrott, then Lord President of Munster, and alsoe by diuerse braue captains, in all which encounters the sayd James Fitzmaurice lost neither wining ground nor reputation, but rather most commonly went off with the wining hand, and held all his aduersaries, which were too many, at the swordes poynt, dureing the Earle's imprisonment in England, drawing to his part diuerse cheiftaines and gentlemen in all the prouinces of Ireland; and sometymes, also, he would retaine some Scotts.

This James Fitzmaurice was (rightly for to describe him) a braue and gallant gentleman, witty, learned, impassionate, circumspect, actiue, generous, deuoute, subtile, and quick of apprehension, elloquent, of a high and aduenturous polliticke and dissembling mind; too forward and apt to traualle, to take greate paynes, and to endure thirst, cold, and hunger; not much giuen to the pleasure of Bacchus or Venus, as Dr. Meacy at large writes of him. And truly hee was well worthy of an Earledom, had hee meanes answerable to maintayne the course hee held; as by the strange military stratagems by him acted dureing those troubles you may easily preceive. Hee, therefore, as well by the assistance of those of his owne sept and the continuall skirmishes held with her Majesty's fforces, as alsoe out of her Majesties most bountifull mercy and clemency, granted him pardon, and received him in after acting those greate troubles. Farthermore her Majesty, out of her Royall Clemency and disposition, was willing to pardon the Earle of Desmond, whom she received to fauour after long and greuous imprisonment of seauen yeares; first released him out of the Tower, sent him and S^r. John, his brother, back for Ireland along with Fitton; but beeing come to Dublin, the sayd Fitton imprisoned them, and after a while

they were enlarged; and an Act of Oblivion made, forgiueing and forgetting all former faults and offences. The Queene, when the Earle of Desmond tooke his leaue of her Maj^{ty}, did putt him in mind of the honors bestowed by her predecessors, kings of England, vpon the race of Maurice Fitzgerald, and her owne bounty extended at all tymes to him, aduiseing him inuolably to keepe his loyalty to the Crowne of England, from whom he was to expect both fauour and rewarde, and not by his owne faults to blemish the long continued honor of his honorable auncient House, with the foule and contagious spott of a second reuolt from his allegiance, in doing which she should alwayes remayne his good Lady and thankfull friend. The Earle of Desmond humbly thanked her Majesty, and with solemne protestation promised, dureing his lyfe, to remayne her true subiect, and soe haueing his dispatch, tooke his leave, and came for Ireland in the company of Fitton as I haue already told, and after an easy restraints for a little tyme came to his Lordships, lands, and seigniories, where, notwithstanding any insolent possessions of his Brother thereof taken before, hee was with full applause and greate ioy of his tenants and followers, receiued and restored to the full & plenary possession of the Earledome.

James Fitz Maurice, of whom I made mention before, who had broake out into rebellion, at the first to oppose Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald (of whom I alsoe spoke before), afterwards stood out to re-establish allsoe the Roman Religion in Ireland, which then began to bee mightily suppressed; which hee did by combineing himselfe with certaine gentlemen out of Conaught. Edward & Pierce Butler, Brothers to the Earle of Ormond, who seuerally vsed them of the Countyes of Killkenny, Crosse, and Tipperary, and other places nere them. And with the Seneschall of Imokilly, and others who had negotiated with the Pope and King of Spayne to re-establish Religion. Now, within a little while after the Earle's returne, James F^r Maurice was sent for, brought in and pardoned, to draw from the Rebels some of theyre forces, for the s^d rebels were then growne very insolent in all parts of ye kingdome. For the Bourkes in Conaught raysed rebellion, gathered together greate numbers to oppose Fitton's tyranny, passed ouer the Shynnan and made cruill incursions vpon the inhabitants of Westmeathe, and pilladged the same and other places. The Buttlers alsoe haueing made vp greate numbers of men & galloghghlasses, beleaugred the City of Killkenny, summoned the same to yeeld, and to deliuer them Warham St. Ledger's wife. But finding the place well furnished, and the inhabitants, with the assistance of the Garrison Souldiers, issueing out against them; they raysed seidge and miserably foradged the country round about. Cnoger O'Bryen Earle of Thomond (vnable to endure Edward fitton, the s^d. Gouvernor of Conaughts austere Gouvernement), retyred to ffrence, and, as was feared, might bring trouble that way; but he was soone after diuerted in ffrence alsoe by Norris, then ambassadour in France, and was brought home, pardoned, and restored to his lands and seigniories. The Sept of O'Moores, in Leinster, being strong, haughty, fierce, and seditious people, about this tyme stirred new troubles and rebellion, and finally it was thought by many that the Cardinall of Lorraine practised with the Spaniards and Irish against England, in fauour of the Queene of Scotland. James Fitz Maurice beeing so receiued and pardoned, alleadged for colour of his actions, that what he did or intended to doe was to hasten the Earles enlargement out of England. And now the sayd Earle beeing quietly established in full seisin and possession of all his lands, he had accomplished

his end. This James Fitz Maurice, the Earles neere kinsman that wrought soe much to defend his territoryes from beeing usurped by his Brother Thomas Roe, as alsoe for his enlargement out of restraite, repayres vnto him, desires his Lordship to assigne for him some sufficient portion of land to liue upon, thereby afterwards quietly to maintayne his estate. To obtaine his request he made noe question, as well for his neereness in blood, as alsoe for his desertes. But see what mischeife sprung from ye malice of a woeman. For Dame Elleynor Butler, Countesse of Desmond, and then the mother of one only sonne, opposed herselfe against this James Fitz Maurice, and with reasons, perswasions, teares, and imploreings, perswaded the Earle, her husband, not to dismember his patrimony, but rather for to leaue it whole and entire to his only son, James Fitz Garrett, who was then a young child. It often falls out that woemen in theyre requests preuaile with men, and even as the soft waue of the sea cleaueth and pierceth the hard rock, not by force, but by continuall falling thereon, soe the Earle of Desmond beeing incessantly aduised or rather conured by his wife or Lady, or rather (as I beleue it) not well established in his witts, without any consideration or respect had of his s^d cosens greate meritts and former seruices done for him, or the expectation of future seruices, vtterly reiected his suite, giues him nothing, soe as it ended in an absolute denyall.

James F^r Maurice perceiueing and pondering inwardly in himselfe the ingratitude of his cosen, from whom hee expected to haue better measure, haueing for his sake soe farre engaged himselfe and his fortunes, and beeing extreamely greiued in hearte for this vnkynd or rather vnnatural refusall, his ambitious thoughts grewe to that heighth of discontente, that he afterwards studyed noething day or night but how to procure and stirre both heauen, earth, and Hell to doe the Earle mischeife, and sought to make all meanes a foundation whereon to leuele his resolute and dangerous designes, and to follow the aduise and counsell of y^e cheife counselors he had, in whom he reposed greatest trust and confidence, who were Edmond Fitz Gibbon, the Whyte Knight; John, Seneschall of Imokilly; and M^r Philip Roch, a gentleman of Kinsale. To these (he beeing burnt with greife and sorrow) he shewed what repulse and denyall was giuen him, how his fortune fayled him, and that he thought fitt to take theyre advice what were best for him to doe; for he expected noething from the Earle, and was diffident in the State. They aduised him to employ himselfe to endeaour to perswade forraigne Kings, Princes, and Potentates to vnder-take and fauour his Quarrell, and to drawe in forraigne powers; and that they themselves would ioin with them in the sayd designes. Beeing thus resolved, they all fledd the kingdome, & sailed ouer into ffrance, where James F^r Maurice presented himselfe before King Henry the Second, then King of France, who was by him courteously receiued. To him he complained how hardly the Gouern^r for y^e English in Ireland vsed the Irish—some takeing away theyre lands, some theyre liues, and from all theyre Religion, if other princes did not help them. Whereupon he offers him his seruice for the conquest of Ireland, and to restore there againe the Catholique Roman Religion. The King was willing to embrace y^e motion, but was otherwise perswaded by his Councill, who therein were more wise than theyre master. James F^r Maurice, finding by his long delay, and the Councills speech, that he could not speede there in what he exceedingly expected, tooke his leaue; and, beeing dismissed thence, hee directed his course for Spayne, where beeing arriued, hee makes the like offers to King

Philip as he did to the ffrench King. King Philip hauing hearde his motions and proffers, and being loath to breake the peace concludèd between him and the Queene of England, after haueing bountyfully rewarded him, wrote for him his letters of commendation to the Pope of Rome, perswading him to vndertake the warrs of Ireland. Gregorius the xiiith, then sitting pope in the see of Rome, who of his owne will and inclination, in regard of the difference in Religion, was full glad to find any fitt occasion to molest the Queene of England, did ioyfully receiue James F^r Maurice with greate honor and much respect, haueing then in his company Thomas Stukeley, who mett him in Spayne. This Thomas Stukeley was an English Gentleman of greate and haughty resolutions and high aspiring thoughts, but withall was a Ryotous prodigall and vayne-glorious person; and after that he had consumed all his estate vnthriftilly in England, hee retired into Ireland, haueing lost all hope of ouergetting the Marshallship of Wexford, whom he thought to obtaine, and perceiuing himselfe also vnable to raise any commotions, after belching forth vnworthy aspersions and Reproaches of his Princesse, who had done for him many fauours, was glad to find occasion soe fittly presented him againe to rayse his decayed fortunes, offerrs his service to James Fitz Maurice, who fully knowing & considering the sufficiency of the man, declares to his Holyness by way of discourse, That M^r Stukeley was able to doe much in this expedition for the Irish warre, intreating his Holynesse that this Stukeley might have a place of command in the Army amongst the principall leaders. The Pope, willing to graunt James Fitz Maurice any thing that lay in him to giue, creates the s^d Thomas Stukeley Marquesse of Leinster, Earle of Wexford and Catherlagh, Viscount Moroghoe, and Baron of Rosse—all of them remarkeable places in Ireland—and freely then created him Lieutenant Generall of 800 Italians, to be furnished and payed by the s^d Pope and King of Spayne, vnder the command of James Fitzmaurice, for the Irish Warrs. And thereupon the sd. Pope caused presently with all celerity to bee mustered out of the Territories of the Church 2000 Italians. The Pope, notwithstanding that he held good correspondence with the Spaniards at this tyme for their owne profit, and vnder collour of restoreing the Catholique Religion, held secrett counsell how at one tyme to inuade both Ireland and England, and to disposesse Queene Elizabeth, who was the surest defence to the Religion Reformed. The sd. Pope intended to conquer Ireland for his Nephew, surnamed Bon Compagnion, Marquesse Diergnoles. The Spaniards succoured and aided the Irish Rebels as the Queene succored the Hollanders against him. Upon these motives and considerations, the Pope was perswaded to give the s^d forces to F^r Maurice and the sayd Thomas Stukely, by his notable subtilty and the s^d Stukeleys greate and monstrous ostentation and shew, and the promises hee made with the s^d Fitz Maurice, his counsell of the Kingdome of Ireland from the s^d Pope, soone haueing won the fauor of this Pope, beeing an ambitious old man (if I may lawfully tearme him soe), that hee honored him with the creations and titles before mentioned, and furnished him with the sayd fforges and all other necessities fitt for such an expedition. Whilst these preparations were makeing ready for theyre voyage vnto the Kingdome of Ireland, Fitz Maurice, impatient of all delays, and to come according to his promise into Ireland to succour those that were of his party, and to draw as many others as he could to hold with him, tooke his leaue of the Pope, leaueing Marquesse Stukeley fully authorized in his place to bring

those forces after him by sea; soe beeing intended to come for Ireland to rayse more helpe, and be in a readynesse againste theyre coming; he posted through France and Spayne, and came to Portugall, from whence with all expedition hee tooke shipping for Ireland, with three shippes, some Spanish souldiers, mony, and Doctor Saunders the Diuine, with the authority of the Popes Legate and consecrated Ensigne, and arriued in Ireland at Smerwick, in the County of Kerry, the first day of July, A° 1579, where haueing landed, the preist consecrated the place.

Hee raysed a Fort in the Peninsula, and brought the shippes neere. Mr. Thomas Courtney, an English gentleman, with a ship of Warre, which at that tyme lay furnished in the Roade neere unto them, by and by to assault them, and intended to barre the sayd Fitz Maurice and his Spaniards from the benefitt of the sea. But the suddaine & vnexpected arriual of Fitz Maurice, it brought noe small terror and feare upon y^e whole Kingdome, imagining that his forces were greater indeed than they were, and alsoe for that they knew him to bee a uery dangerous and resolute man. Wherefore a while I must leaue him, & returne to the order of tyme to declare w^t became of those forces which the Pope gaue him, and that hee left wth Stukeley to come after him. Marquesse Stukeley haueing all things in readynesse, with those Italian forces, haueing weighed Anchor from the Citty Civita Vechia, a place in the Roman territoryes, passed through the Mediterranean Sea and Hercules Straight, and in the end safely arriued in Portugall, at the entry of the Tagus, in the harbour of Lisbon, just at the uery instant time when Don Sebastianus, the young and willfull King of Portugall, was uery busy in making ready greate preparations for that unfortunate expedition for Barbary. This titular Marquesse Stukeley landed his sea-sick souldiers, to refresh them after theyre tedious and long voyage full in the face and view of Don Sebastian^s, who was then alsoe in Lisbon; whom, when the s^d king saw, he sent to know what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound; which being by the generall particularly related, immediately after Stukeley was sent for by the king, & much made of by him. The s^d King Sebastian^s falling into priuate conference with the s^d Marquesse importunately desired him to goe along with him for the expedition of Barbary, for Don Sebastianus, to whom y^e whole expedition of Barbary did concerne, because in the heate of his youth & ambition hee had promised the Pope to make two expeditions in behalfe of the Roman Church; that is, to goe against the Turkes and Protestants with all his power; and beeing then inuited into Africa by Mahomet, the son of Abdalla, against Muly Moluck, king of Morocco, by greate promises treates with Stukeley to goe with him to the kingdome of Mauritania before he should come for Ireland, with those Italians under his command. And the Marquesse being easily wonne to that, knowing full well y^t the Spaniards disdaineing that y^e nephew of a Pope should bee designed king of Ireland, had consented to doe it. And grounding much vpon the Kings word, who solemnely promised him at theyre returne to reward him well and to send him more ayd for his intended conquest of Ireland. Now, the s^d Stukeley forgetting his promise to the Pope, and not at all respecting his oath taken to James Fitz Maurice not to betray the trust reposed in him, and (it may be) beeing vnwilling to turne Traytor to his Prince and country, and beeing a haughty-minded man, and glad to haue meanes and occasions to aduance his owne estate, accepts of the King's offers and yeelded to his Request, and sayled along with him for Barbary,

where a battayle was fought betweene Don Sebastianus and the said Muley Molucke, in which vnfortunate battaile three Kings perished. Muley Molucke dyed in the heighth of the fight, haueing dranked in the morning a good quantity of mare's milke, beeing weake enough before. Mahomett, who ledd Don Sebastian to that unhappy iourney, was drowned in passeing ouer a riuer. The feild being thus lost, Don Sebastian was taken aliuie by the Moors, who, knowing him by the richnesse of his armour, in striving betweene themselves who should take him for his prisoner, was out of hand smothered in his ury armour; in whom ended the race of the auntient Kings of Portugall. To beare him company (wanting all other refuge) our Marquesse of Leinster, with all his Italian forces, were slayne, after an incredible and manlike valour shewen. The s^d Marquesse had his iust rewarde for deceiueing him who reposed soe greate trust and confidence in him, haueing noe greate need of him. In respect of other considerations, Marquesse Stukeley is not to be blamed, for hee could neuer doe Queene Elizabeth better seruice than to hinder the landing of those Italians in Ireland; for, if the s^d Stukeley had lead them on hither, according to directions from the Pope, and landed them in Ireland while James F^r Maurice liued, certainly the rooting out of them, beeing commanded by such a politique and tryed commander as the s^d James Fitz Maurice was, vndoubtedly would haue cost the losse of much bloud and an inexhaustible quantity of mony. But thanks bee to God, it is farre better as it is. And thus came the Marquesse Stukeley to the period of his life, which should haue been one of y^e cheifest instruments to ruin Ireland. But now to my former matter where I left. Lett this be observed, that few yeares before Sebastianus his ouerthrow in Affrica, where Stukeley and his Italians perished, and that long and miserable warre begun by James Fitz Maurice and continued by the Earle of Desmond; a strange starre, commonly called a comett—or rather that you call it soe Apinoment in the Chayre of Cassiopeas Constellation—appeared in Nouember, 1573.

James Fitz Maurice beeing arriued on the coast of Ireland as aforesayd, not knowing of the losse of the Marquesse, soone after his landing began to bring to passe his designs (if God had not prevented him). Vpon his arriual, S^r John of Desmond, the Earle of Desmond's brother, made his repaire vnto him, vpon what intention or notion I know not. This S^r John of Desmond bare a priuate grudge and hatred to y^e Countesse of Desmond, his brother's wyfe; for, after that she became the mother of that young son, the L^d James, S^r John of Desmond was out of all hopes to enjoy or inherite the Earledome after his brother's death; whereas before the birth of that child he conceived otherwise. But whatsoever y^e reason was that made him disloyall, truly he was a plague sent from God to bee the actor of the vtter ruine of this greate house, which stood for soe many descents in honor and estimation. This S^r John's liueinge was greate, and himself well bredd and brought vp; a man of good witt if hee had putt it to good vses; but employing it about pernitiuous matters was the contagious plague that killed him and all his generation, as, sayes the famous poett (*Nor anything so pestilential as misapplied Witt*). To bee the better wellcome to Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards, he thought to performe some peice of seruice whereby hee might giue them assurance of his faithfull meaning to doe them seruice, and not to leaue any after meanes to recant or shrink back. He thought therefore effectually to performe what hee aimed at. On a suddaint, associates with him his brother, S^r John of Desmond, and with all haste drawes

together some Irish souldiers and galloghlasses to ioine with theyre confederates Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards. The Earle himselfe calld togeather his friends, and made some shewe, as though he would goe against them, whereupon the Earle of Clanrickard, with a competent number of souldiers, draws neere the enemy, but at last (as it is reported) was by the sayd Earle of Desmond diuerted, and sent home againe.

The Lord Deputy beeing aduertised by Henry Daus of Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards arriual, forthwith sent strict comands to the Earle of Desmond and his Bretheren ioyntly to assaile the fort, and dissipate ye enemy and Rebelles that held the same. They received the s^d comand, gathered togeather theyre members, talked and considered upon the matter, and haueing found it full of danger and perrill, refused to hazzard themselves headlong to the danger thereof. There was then an English gentleman, called Henry Daus, before mentioned, High Sherriffe of the County of Corke, who was alsoe Gossip to S^r John of Desmond, who tooke his iourney to the County of Kerrey, within a while after the arriual of these Spaniards, as Justice Meade did alsoe. And hee the s^d Daus, being one night at Traly (one of the Earles cheife Mann^r Houses), the s^d S^r John of Desmond, accompanied with diuerse others, not regarding y^e feare of God, his duty of allegiance, the ouerthrow of his House, nor what a monstrous & inhumane a thing it was before the Royall throne of heauen, and odious wrath to murder his Gosship, but rather beeing ledd by deuilish fury, entered about midnight the Lodging where Daus lay, and murdered him in his bedd, with one Arture Charter, Prouost Marshall of Munster, and all theyre people that were with them. This foule murther, when it came to the heareing of Fitz Maurice, it greatly displeased him, as one whose noble nature and free condition deadlily hated & abhorred such wicked acts. S^r John now alledged for iustification the seuerall abuses offered to him by Mr. Daus in former tymes, and that the cleargy told him it was a meritorius act to kill a Hereticke. But James Fiz Maurice reprobued the manner of it, wishing rather it had bin done in the way then in Bedd; And when it came to the Earles ears, hee condemned it with all his heart as a thing most detestable, and in deede this most wicked act did blemish his reputation both with freinds and foes, and noething after committing thereof did prosper with him. Notwithstanding, he ioynes with Fitz Maurice, and both, wth Banners displayed, marched out of Kerry into the County of Limericke without any resistance, none beeing there to stoppe theyre passage. Where both of them being in the campe an vnhappy accident fell out in this manner. One of S^r Johns men rauished a woeman w^{ch} followed the campe, which beeing complained of to Fitz Maurice, to doe iustice and obserue martiall discipline therein, hee comanded the offender presently to bee put to death, wherevnto S^r John would by no meanes consent. This man surely lost his witts, if ever hee had any, not respecting Murther or Rape. When Fitz Maurice saw hee could not haue his will to punish malefactors, and doe justice on soe heynous offences, hee thought good to yeelde to necessity, and for auoyding of ciuill discord, to part company with his cosen, and to expect the company of Stukeley, of whose losse he knew nothing: and in the meane tyme hee determined to goe ouer into Conaught, to draw from thence S^r John Bourke, Clanrickards Brother, of whose assistance he was sure, and in his goeing thither hee purposed to goe to the

Abbey of Holy Crosse, in the County of Tipperary, to performe a vow which hee made beyond seas. But in passeing thither through the lands of Theobald Bourke (his neere cosen, and whose son William was with him in the last Rebellion), hee haueing notice of F^r Maurice, his goeing that way, persued him with all the fforces hee could make, adioyning to his company the Sherriffe of the County, who ouertooke theyre enemy in the feild. F^r Maurice seeing himselfe persued by him, by whom he expected noe danger, sent one of his men to entreate his cossen to desiste from further persute, assuring him hee meant him noe hurt. But the s^d Bourke either feareing his owne danger in suffering him to escape, haueing the aduantage of the day, haueing more men than his aduersary by halfe, or rather being desirous (as I beleieue) to aduance himselfe and his posterity in doing so noteable a peice of seruice, sends him word to prepare for his defence. James F^r Maurice, therefore, perceueing that he must of necessity fight, encouraged his men to the combatt, he beeing followed by lesse then a hundred footemen, and some fewe horsemen, not thinking before of any such surprise in his iourney. To fight they went on both sydes, and on both sydes it was manfully fought out, Bourke farre exceeding him in number. In the heate of this fight a base Boy from the aduerse party, shooteing out of a fowling peice, and aimeing full at James F^r Maurice, who was easily knowne by his yellow doublett, shott him in the Breast farre into the body. This hurt hee concealed from his followers, for feare that the knowing it might discomfort his party; and although hee was then full of greife, payne, and soarenesse, yett remembering his owne fame and renowne spread soe farre throughout the most parts of Europe, left noething vnattempted as well to reuenge his owne death as also gloriously to obtayne the victory. This beeing his last act, and in that desperate resolution, hee gaue in with greate violence amongst his enemyes, where meeting with Theobald Bourke, with one blow hee claue his head, and perceiueing the s^d Theobalds Brother, William Bourke, not farre from him, hee ran at him, and with the second stroake slew him. The enemy beeing thus overthrowne, Fitz Maurice, feeleing himselfe wounded to death, made it knowne vnto Doctor Allen, an English preist, who still boare him company, as well in Italy as alsoe in Ireland. His wound was found to be mortall, and past all cure, which was noe small greife to those that beheld him, who pittifully bewaylled and lamented the vntimely loss of so brave a leader, whose equall they were sure neuer again to meete of his own Race. Well, there was noe remedy—God's will must be done, punishing the sins of the Father in the death of the son. Fitz Maurice made a godly end of his lyfe (only that he boare Arms agst his Sovereigne Princesse, the Queene of England), and within an houre after receiueing his wound gaue up the ghost, to the lamentable greife of all those of his Faction. The death of James Fitz Maurice was the beginning of the decay of this honorable House of Desmond, out of which neuer issued so braue a man in all perfection, both for qualities of the mind and body; besides the league betweene him and others for defence of Religion. Hee was forced against his will to runn that course hee did, by the malice of the Countesse of Desmond, and the ingratitude of the Earle, who most vnkindly reiected his suite. Notwithstanding, the condition of mortall man is not like to bee capeable of a greater benefitt then the Earle received by the hands of F^r Maurice, defending him and his right valiantly, and procuring his enlargement beyond all expectation, after

seauen yeares imprisonment. This Fitz Maurice was well worthy to serue any Prince in Christendome, both for his Manhood, Pollicy, and Good Direction; hee was a noble and gallant Gentleman—grauely, affable, wise, learned, and religious; a man of a farre-reaching witt, of a voluble, sweete tounge, and haue a comely behaueiour; and if his meanes had bin able to second the plott he layed, out of all question hee would haue performed much in that last action. But all his haughty designes died with his lyfe, and the downfall of his house presently ensued. The English through his death tooke heart and courage; and the Irish were daunted, haueing lost theyre cheife Leader, beeing neuer like to fynde such another. Lett noe man bee offended, if I give him his due praise; for I hold it lawfull to commend worth euen in an enemy, for what I haue deliuered of him I speake without passion or partiality.

Now, as soone as James Fitz Maurice was dead, his cozen, Maurice Fitz John, caused his head to bee cut of from his body; and, haueing noe leasure to bury the body, left it wrappt in a caddowe vnder an old oake, where beeing soone after found by an huntsman, the body without head was brought to Killmallock, and there hanged on a Gibbett, and shott by the English souldiers, that were glad to see him dead whom they soe much feared liueing, as they durst not looke him in the face. You haue heard the end of the cheifest actor in this remarkeable tragedy: wee will now proceed on to shew what became of y^e rest.

S^r John of Desmond, after the death of Fitz Maurice, commanded the Rebels in cheife, the Earle all this whyle not intermeddling with the matter, but outwardly shewed greife and sorrow for the course that his cozen Fitz Maurice and his owne Brethren tooke; and came unto the Lord Deputy of Ireland, when he came into the county of Limericke, neere to Killmallocke; and, comeing before y^e s^d Lord Deputy, hee playnely and cleerely quitted himselfe from all imputations and blemishes that hee was charged with concerning the Rebellion of S^r John and others his followers. And before the s^d L^d Deputy promised to remaine and persist still in his faith and obedience to the Queene, and bound himselfe by oath that hee and his would warre againste the Rebelles. Whereupon hee was desired to gather togeather his men, and to returne to the Deputy. In the meane time the Queene, as shee was still a gracious, louing, and bountifull Princesse, at this tyme she so shewed herselfe to William Bourke, vnto whom she wrote comfortable letters, full of loue and sorrow for the losse of his sons and people, and created him Baron of Castle Connell, and bountifullly rewarded him with an annuall pension; but, notwithstanding all this, his greife gaue an overthrowe to his joy, so as soone after hee dyed.

S^r John, being constituted in F^r Maurice his place, marched through the country; mett wth the English forces, ledd by Captayne Porke, Captayne Herbert, Captaine Prince, and others; fought with them, and ouerthrew them in a playne feild, at a place called Moneouan, in the county of Limericke, and happily had the killing of themselves and theyre whole companyes; which made him soe arrogant and proud, that soone after hee dared with banners displayed in open feild to meete and oppose her Majestys Forces wholly. The Queene, still to keepe on foote the whole number of the Companyes of her Army, and to supply this losse, sent hither fye hundred souldiers out of Deuonshire; and Perrott alsoe was sent ouer out of England, with sixe greate shippes of warre to defend the mouth and entry of the

harbours, for that Stukeley with the Spanyards and Italians were dayly expected. At which tyme the Deputy, beeing vehemently sick, goes to Waterford for his healths sake, and left his place to Captayne Nicholas Malby, President of Conaught, and Gouvern^r of Munster; who upon his returne back from the Deputy, beeing a greate enemy to the whole house of Desmond, for Mr. Henry DAVIS his murther, and (as the Irish saye) thought to reuenge the same more then by his office hee ought to haue done. The Countesse of Desmond offerrs him her only son and heyre, in hostage for the Father; for after hee departed from Killmalocke from the Deputy, hee appeared not, least he should bee taken and imprisoned as he was before, beeing his councellors and followers aduised him soe to doe, as well as his owne mistrust of Captayne Malby. This Cap^{tn} Malby often tymes by letters admonished him of his duty and promises, and desired him not to delay. The Gouvernor himselfe remoued to Connilloe against the Rebelles. This country of Connilloe is a large and woody yett fertile country, and was part of the sayd Earle of Desmonds patrimony. There the s^d Gouvernor almost vsed the subiects euen as he did the Rebelles, whereunto the insolencies of the souldiers beeing added, gaue occasion to the Earle to suspect Malby. S^r John drawes his forces there together to entertayne Malby in the feild, putt his men in array, offerrs battaile, displayes the Popes consecrated Banner, and exhorts his men to the fight. The Gouvernor Malby entertaines it, and signes giuen, they ioine battaile, when both armies fought it furiously. But S^r John retyred, suffering more losse than the Queen's army did, and Doctor Allen the deuine was killed encouraging them to fight, and promising them victory. The Earle himselfe, who was a spectator from some neere hill, the same night writes (whither dissemblingly or not) letters congratulatory to Malby, and vnder collour of freindship, warnes him to remoue his camp from thence. Mallby sends back the messenger, commanding him to come to him and ioyne his forces, whom when in wayne hee had expected foure days, hee then remoued to Raghkeale, a towne belonging to the s^d Desmond. Now the Earle, who had egregiously continued his dissimulation, both in countenance and word (as the Gouvernour thought), leaues to bee the same man, and playnely putt on a Rebelles mynd; and the same night, it being darke, the Rebelles inuaded Mallbyes camp, which beeing well fortified, they retired back, doing noe greate hurt to it; S^r John beeing daunted in his spirit by Malbyes courage, policy, and conduct shewed in these two skirmishes, was soe cowed, as he neuer afterwards durst meete her Majesty's forces in plaine feild, but kept himselfe in woods & places of strength. In the first beginning he shewed himselfe very forward, but when it came often to blows he proved not soe forward. Afterwards the English Armye beeing at Raghkeale, suspected the Earle had a hand in his Brothers quarrell, and sent to him to appeare before them to iustifye himselfe. But hee beeing ill aduised, and (as I thinke) not well established in his witts, not dareing to committ the custody of his body into theyre hands (haueing in his Remembrance his long imprisonment in England), sent his Countesse to excuse him, haueing given the Earles son, the Lord James, who was then but of seaven yeares of age, as a pledge for his fathers future loyalty. The excuse beeing not accepted, the Gouⁿor, thinking that place to bee fitt to disioyne the Rebels forces, putt a Garrison there, and from thence marched to Askeaton, a Castle of the Earles, standing upon a hill enuironed with the River Ahsketton, which was guarded by souldiers. But

before hee would lay seidge to it, he wrote againe to the Earle, presenting to him the Queenes mercy, the auncient dignity of the house of Desmond, the glory of his ancestors, and the infamy he should bring to his posterity, and exhorted him not to be tainted with the name of a Rebelle, but to return to his duty. But he to the contrary arms his mynd with obstinacy, and his Castle of all sydes with Spanish and Irish. The Lord Deputy Drury in the meane tyme dyed at Waterford, and by his death, dyed Malbyes authority in Munster, who when hee had put his men in Garrison, went to Conaught, the prouince of his Gouernment. The Rebells tooke hearte by the death of the Deputy, and bethought how they might draw themselves from the English comand, and were of opinion to block up the Garrisons on all sydes, and starue them. Sr James of Desmond besidged Ahdare, where Mr. Stanley and George Carew were in Garrison; but the Besidged apprehending famine as the extremity of all evils, wearyed the Besidgers with often eruptions, soe that they raised the Seidge, James beeing wounded. The Earle of Ormond sends the Earl of Desmond's son to Dublin, to bee kept for Hostage. Pelham, the Lord Justice of Ireland came up to Munster, sends for Desmond, but he excuses himselfe by letters sent by his wife; and for that cause the Earle of Ormond is sent to him to warne him to send away Saunders the Deuine and the souldiers y^t were strangers and to deliuer up into his hands the Castles of Carrigifoye, and of Ahskeaton; to submit himselfe absolutly, and to turne his forces against his Brethren and the other Rebelles; assuring him of Grace of hee did; if not, to be declared a Traytor and an enemy to the Country. But his diffidence and distrust preuailed with him before reason, soe that he stiffly refused to appeare, preferring the immaginary safety of his owne person before the safety of his house and posterity: and soe dallyed with them vntill the first day of Nouember, and the same day hee was proclaimed Traytor, with sound of Trumpett, soe as it seemes he was forced for his owne safety to run that course against his will; and seeing noe other remedy ioynes with his Brethren and the rest of the Confederates, when he heard he was proclaymed Traytor, and guilty Criminis Læsæ Majestatis, these accusations beeing sent him; First, that hee dealt with forraigne Princes for subducing the Kingdome; Secondly, for that hee entertained James Fitz Maurice, Dr. Sanders, Doctor Allen, and cherished the Spanyards that were in the fort; Thirdly, that hee caused faithfull subiects to bee hanged; Fourthly, that hee displayed againste the Queene the Popes Ensignes; Fifthly, that hee brought strangers into the Kingdome. Thus, the Earle shows himselfe now an open Rebelle, whereas his best course had bin, to haue gone for England, or to haue made his repaire to the Counsell in Ireland, and all had bin well, but God depriued him of both good Counsellors, good vnderstanding, and good fortune. The Declaration beeing published, the Cheife Justice sends his Commission to the Earle of Ormond to proceede on with the warrs. Desmond thought to draw to his party as many as hee might, and turned his designes to another part of the country, passeth from the county of Limerick to the county of Corke, drawes some to hold with him: Sacked Yoghill, being a Sea Towne, whilst Ormond entered Conniloe (being the greatest refuge and strength the Rebells had), and tooke away some cattle the Rebells had, which he bestowed on his souldiers: passeth thence after Desmond into Youghill, where hee caused the Mayor to bee hanged

before his owne doore, for refusinge the English Garrison; fortified the Towne, and after prepares himselfe to besidge the Spaniards within Sroane Cally. But they beforehand withdrew themselves from an eminent danger, and hee had the killing of many of them, and molested the Rebells in all parts of the Prouince of Munster.

Desmond and his Brother protracted time, fortifyeing themselves in such stronge places as were of difficult accesse to, writes long letters to the L^a Cheife Justice to excuse himselfe, and to declare vnto him that he was enforced to doe what hee did for the safety of his body, ouer whom his aduersaryes sought noething soe much as to insult upon. And that hee and his Brother had vndertaken the protection of the Catholique faith in Ireland by the Popes authority, and the aduise of the King of Spaine, therefore they warned him loueingly and courteously, that in soe pious and soe meritorious a cause hee would ioine with them for the salvation of his soule. The Cheife Justice pleasantly iested att those things, returnes in hast to Munster, calls there before him the nobility of the same, detaynes them with him, not suffering them to depart without giueing hostages and promises to employ all theyre power and ayde with him and Ormond against the Rebelles. This hee did very politickly to hinder them from entering into any leauge with Desmond and the Spaniards. And soe speedily he & Ormond diuideing themselves, made head in many places against the Rebelles, and brought the Lord of Lixnaw to yeild, and soe began to besidge the Castle of Carrigfoyle, which was then commanded by an Italian, Captayne Jules, with some few Spanish souldiers, who held the place as long as they could. The English with theyre greate Ordinance, haueing made a greate breach in the walls, which were built but of drye stones, entered the same, killd part of the Garrison, hanged the rest and Jules himselfe. Then the castles of Ballylogh and Askeaton, perceiuing the Army to approach, sett them on fire, and forsooke them. Peter Carew and George, his brother, are made Gouvernors of Askeaton, with a new Garrison of the English, and wasted the lands of M^cAwliffe. And from thence the Cheife Justice tooke his iourny by a wett and watery country, or mountaine, called Slew Logher, and entered into Kerry, brings away greate quantity of cattle, and defeats many Rebells. James, the Earle of Desmond's Brother, bearing hatred to Muskry, and because the Lord of Muskry would not ioine with them in that league, with competent forces to depopulate and prey the county of Muskry, and haueing pilladged the same, and taken a greate prey, and goeing of with the same, Daniell Cormock M^cTeige, the Lord of Muskrays Brother, with the whole forces of the country, pursued him, ouertooke him, killd some of his men, recouered the spoyle, and tooke James prisoner, beeing wounded to death. And Cormock deliuered the s^d James to Warham St. Leger, then Marshall of Munster, and to Captaine Walter Rawleigh, a new commander. This S^r Cormock M^cTeige, Lord of Muskry, was a worthy and noble gentleman, and much fauored by Queene Elizabeth, from whom he had receiued greate gifts; yet I doe believe he would wish that seruice had bin performed by some other, yet it laye not in his power to helpe it, vnlesse hee would turne Traytor, which very wisely hee would not doe. When hee was delivered to the sayd Marshall and Captaine Rawleigh, they proceeded againste him in Justice, and beeing condemned, executed him as a Traytor, and set his head upon the gate at Corke. The Earle of Desmond himselfe, beeing overwhelmed with misery and greife, and nowhere safe, re-

moues euery houre, sends his wife to the Lord Cheife Justice to aske pardon, & employd his freinds to Captⁿ Winter (who, with an annuall army, watched the Spaniards in the mouth of the Hauen), that hee might bee transported into England to begge pardon of the Queene. The Lord Cheife Justice heareing that Arthur Gray, who was apoynted Lord Deputy of Ireland, was landed, leauing the comand of the Army with Mr. George Bowchier, son to the Earle of Bath, by easy iournyes returned to Dublin, toe deliuer up the Government of ye kingdome to his successor; hereby some ease was procured for those Rebells of Munster. For noe sooner this Lord Gray was arriued, beeing informed that some Rebells were in Leinster, conducted by Fitz Eustace and Feogh McHue, the cheifest of that house of O'Birnes, who, after theyre spoyles and robberyes, made theire retreate to a place called Glamul-loury. He, to win reputation, and to strike terrour in his enemyes at his begining, calles the captaines from all partes with theyre Troopes to goe with him, to sett upon the Rebells, who were retired, as aforesayd, to Glamullurry, w^{ch} is a valley full of grasse, the most parte of it fertill and fitt to feede cattle, scituate at the foote of a steepe rocke full of springes, and soe environed with thick Trees and Bushes, that the very inhabitants of the country knew not the wayes in it. When they were come to the place, Crosby, the Leader of the Light Irish Army, who was well acquainted with the scituation of the place, aduertised the others of the danger in entering into the valley, it beeing a fitt place for Ambuscades. Notwithstanding this aduise, they must vndertake it, and exhorted them to behaue themselves valliantly, and himselfe being 70 years of age marched in the Front, and the reste followed him. But beeing by the Rebelles suffered to come downe, they were shrowded with shotts & arrowes, like haile driuen with a tempest, from the bushes and strong places, where the Rebells were aduantageously placed; wherewith, and with the furious onsett of the enemyes, the most parte of them were slayne. Then the rest, retyreing and climbing up the Rocks and craggy places and wayes, and in greate distresse, came to the L^d Deputy, who stood upon a Hill expecting the euent, with the Earle of Kildare and S^r John Winkfeild, Master of y^e Greate Ordinance, who seeing and knowing the danger wherein they were, would not suffer George Carewe, one of his nephewes, to goe thither to succour them; but (reserueing him for greater Honors) Mr. Peter Carew, the younger, George Moore, and Crossby himselfe, were killed there. This affronte giuen to the Lord Deputy in Leinster, caused him to turne his designes to the prouince of Munster, as ye shall shortly heare.

S^r James of Desmond, beeing thus cutt of, there remains the old Earle and his Brother, S^r John, with others of the name yett in being. The warrs growing hott in Munster, sometimes giueing and takeing blowes to & fro, the Queene sends out of England ye Earle of Ormond, with sufficient forces to prosecute the warre; made him Gouvernor of Munster, knowing none soe fitt as hee, in respect of his loue to her Majesty, and because of his actuall hatred to Desmond. In the meane time, Philip King of Spayne, heareing how things rested in Ireland, and willing to send ayd to Desmond and his complices, sent hither 7 or 800 Spaniards & Italians, ledd and commanded by sufficient comandars, but it proved farre otherwise. The comandars name was San Joseph, an Italian by country. And besides coming to ayde

Desmond, theyre cheife pretext was for to re-establish the Roman Religion, and cause Queene Elizabeth to diuert her forces, and to call them home out of the Low Countreyes, where shee maintayned them to helpe the Netherlanders. These Spanish souldiers landed in the County of Kerry at Smerwicke, before-mentioned, without any resistance. In regard that Cap^m Winter, who had wayted for them in that place a good while, seeing the Æquinox of Autumne past, returned for England. They fortified the place with Bulwarks; but as soone as they had knowne that the Earle of Ormond was on his way coming towards them, they, by the aduice of the Irishmen, quitted the fort, and went to the valley of Glannegaule, w^{ch} was a place by nature strong, and of a difficult accesse vnto, by reason of the mountaines and woods which enuironed them; but they could not soe soone come thither, but the Gouvernour tooke some of them, who beeing examined of w^t number they were, and what designes they had, confessed that they were seauen or eight hundred, and that they brought Armes for fife thousand, and looked dayly for greater numbers out of Spayne; that the Pope and King of Spayne were resolu'd to driue the English out of Ireland, and to effect the same had sent stoare of Treasure to Saunders, the Popes nuntio, to the Earle of Desmond, and to his Brother. And y^e Spaniards, not knowing how to turne themselues (in regard they could but would not remaine in the caues, haueing noe experience of the Irish warres), by the benefitt of the darke night, returned againe to the ffort. The Earle of Ormond came and encamped before it, but wanting Cannon and other things fitt for battery, and the besiedged denyeing to yield, he was constrained to attend the L^a Deputyes coming, who was speedily there, and with him John Zouch, Cap^{ms} Rawleigh, Denny, Manworth, Achin, and diuerse others. At the same tyme Cap^m Winter being reproued for his coming away from thence, returned from England with his shippes of warre. The Lord Deputy sent a Trumpett to the Fort to aske those who kept it who brought them to Ireland, by whom they were sent, and wherefore they built a Fort in the Queene's kingdom, and commanded them presently to quitt itt. Whereunto they boldly and peremptorily answered, That they were sent some from the Holy Father the Pope, and the rest from the King of Spayne, to whom the sayd Father had giuen Ireland, Queene Elizabeth being fallen from it by reason of her Heresy; and, therefore, they would keepe what they had, and get more if they could. Whereupon the Deputy and Winter haueing consulted how they should besiedge it, caused the souldiers by night to bring some culverings from y^e shippes, and haueing made the Bulwarke upon the shoare, drew them easily forward, and conueniently planted them for battery. The land souldiers bent theyre greatest Ordnance to the other syde, and soe both on both sydes played upon the house incessantly for 4 dayes together (though ye place in ye opinion of all martiall men was held impregnable). In the meane time the Spaniards made many salleys, but in vayne, they noething proffitting thereby. The English looseing thereby but some few souldiers, and S^r John Cheeke. San Joseph, that commanded the Fort, a very coward and vnfit for the warrs, beeing affrighted with the continuall Battery, thinkes presently vpon rendering it; and knowing Hercules Pisano and the other Capitaines vnder his command strong to dissuade him from it, as an vnworthy thing to bee done by souldiers, and to insist that by theyre cowardly-

nesse they should not deminish the courage of the Irish, who were coming to theyre succour with all speede, but to endure the Assault. The Gouvernour, vnwilling to hold out the seidge, with a remarkeable cowardlynesse, sounds out ye intentions of ye souldiers, and threatening the sayd Captaines, in the end brought them to condisceind to yeeld the Fort, notwithstanding the perswasions of Hercules Pisano, a man for his resolution & courage truly worthy to bear that name. Soe, not expecting releife out of Spayne, or from the Earle of Desmond, who, with all hast, was gathering sufficient forces to succor them; the place, by the cowardise of the sayd Gouvernour, was yeelded to the Lord Deputy and to Ormond, who, quite contrary to his promise and faith past to them for the safety of theyre lives upon composition, put all the souldiers in cold blood to the sword, reserueing only the Captaines, for which breache of promise and bloody act her Majesty gaue him but small thanks, who alwayes abhorred and detested such cruell acts, shee beeing the most mercifull Princesse that liued in her tyme.

The warrs of Munster are thus goeing forward betweene the Deputy and Desmond, sometymes with losse on either syde. And now in the second yeare of this warre and Rebellion, Mr. John Zouch, beeing Gouvernour of Munster, polittickly layd a snare to entrappe S^r John of Desmond, the Earle's Brother, and Actor of all these troubles, and thus it happened. S^r John of Desmond haueing appointed to meete with David Barry, son and heyre to the Lord Barry, then alsoe in action with them, neere Castle Lyons, one of the Barryes Mannor Houses, with whom Mr. Patrick Condon and the Senneschall of Imokilly, were to meete. Att the meeteing-place, the plott was revealed by some back freind vnto S^r John, who, not willing to ommit soe good an opportunity, had left Corke at the shutting of the gate at night time, and appeared neere Castle Lyons the next morning. And, as fortune would haue, S^r John, accompanied with one horseman, James Fitz John, the heyre of Sroanecally, appeared at the meeteing place, thinkeing to find Mr. David Barry and the rest of the Confederates, who were not as yett come thither. S^r John beeing seene by the Gouvernours horsemen, and knowing him to bee theyre enemy, gaue a charge upon him. S^r John was then aduisd by his sayd cosen to leaue his horse, and to take the next wood for his safety. But (see the iust vengeance and judgement of God), hee had not the power to stirre hand nor foote, nor once to moue out of the place where hee then stooode, but, turning back when the horsemen came neere him, hee was runn with a lance, and (as some thinke) shott with a pistoll full in the throate by one Thomas Fleming (as was thought), who in former times had bin his owne servant. The Gouvernour presently came to the place where he lay, hoping to haue taken him alive, but the speares head was noe sooner drawne but hee presently dyed. His head was cutt of from the body and brought to Corke. His cosen, that stayd with him, and might have escaped from them but for shame, would not leaue him alone, was brought to Corke, and there put to death. The body of S^r John was hanged in chaynes ouer the citty gates, where it hanged up for 3 or foure yeares together as a spectacle to all the Beholders to looke on, vntil at length a greate storme of wynd blew it off, but the head was sent to Dublin, and there fastened to a pole, and set over the castle wall. The iust judgement of God lighting upon him (as I verily beleieue), for the foule and inhumane murder of Henry Daus. Garrett, the old Earle, outliueing both his Brothers (who

were, as you haue hearde, cutt off), for the space of two yeares held indifferant play with the English Army, giueing and receiueing ouerthrowes by light skirmishes, meeteing once with three of the Earle of Ormond's Brethren, they farre surmounting the s^d. Earle in number of foote and horse, and being glad to haue such an aduantage and opportunity beyond expectation presented them to take him the s^d Earle either alive or dead, triumphed in theire imaginations, and furiously sett upon him, but (according to report) the Earle's troopes being ledd by the Seneschall of Imokilly, a right valiant gentleman, gaue soe violent a charge to coole the heate of ye enemy, that a good number of them were soone enough washed with the cold water of slaughter. At length they, finding themselves thus discomfitted with noe small losse, they speedily retyred. I judge by true relation, as alsoe by writeings, that the Seneschall of Imokilly hath bin a Good Leader, as well durieng the former Warrs of James Fitz Maurice, as alsoe in this last Warre of Desmond; for I find not his equall in that troublesome action, of his owne Ranke and Quality. At 4 yeares end her Majesty sends over from England a generall Pardon, with an Act of Obliuion to all such as were partners, complices, and adhearants to the Earle of Desmond, in this warr or rebellion, that should come in and submitt themselues, and take the benefit thereof. This Act of Obliuion was granted very wisely, only to draw from the s^d Earle of Desmonds party as many of those prime peeres as would submitt and accept of the benefit of that remission, gratusly granted by her Majesty, beeing ye most Gracious and Mercifull Princesse that lived in her tyme. This generall pardon was openly proclaimed in all Cityes, Markett Townes, and Corporations throughout the precinct of Ireland, and especially in Munster, and the benefitt thereof generally extended to euery of those in Rebellion, that would submitt & accept thereof. When this Proclamation and Act of Obliuion was generally knowne to those whom it might concerne, they considered and consulted of y^e matter, and saw how her Majesty, of her bountifullnesse and clemency, was willing to grant them theyre pardons contrary to theyre deserts, after theyre disloyall Rebellion against the Crowne of England; And they being loath to be attainted, and theyre Lands sequestered, for such, and diuerse other considerations and motives they submitted, and accepted of theyre pardons. As Mr. Dauid Barry, the Lord Barrymores Son; Mr. Patrick Condon; the Seneschall of Imokilly, and many others which now I omitt for breuity sake, who accepted of the benefitt of the Articles, then concludet betweene them and those in Command from her Majesty. But Mr. Dauid Barry aforementioned, who after his father's death succeeded him in the Lordship of Barrymore, went for England, presented himselfe before her Majesty, who most bountifully receiued him, restored him and his posterity to theyre former Lordshipps, Seigniories, dignities, and priueledges, & all those his dependancies were also remitted. Now to my former matter.

The Earle of Desmonde outliued his Brethren as forementioned, and on a tyme encampeing himselfe in a Country called Mogouilly, at a place called Aghadoe, and with him was the s^d Barry with many others vnhersed. But Mr. John Barry, the s^d Dauid's Brother, beeing a haughty minded man, a braue warrior, and a man of high warlike resolute vnderstanding, of liberall good Quality, very prodigall in house-keeping, and one very desirous to haue his fame spread in many places, bestirrs himselfe from the Earles Camp, and marches to the country called Iucra-

ghigh, a place of its nature very strong, and the most part thereof fertill, enuironed round about with watery mountaynes and lofty hills of a difficult accesse unto, intending to bring from thence greate Bootyes, which hee as gallantly performed as he gallantly vndertooke it, and returned from thence with greate preyes, his men loaden with the spoyles of the Country; in the meane tyme the Earle still remayning at Aghadoe as aforesayd; and Mr. John Zouch, the Gouvernor of Munster, kept his Garrison at Dingle, a place some thirty myles from the Earles Campe, and beeing informed by some back freind of the dismembring of ye Earles party, thereby intending to assaile him, marches from Dingle at the fall of the night, and all the way long through Castlemayne, and entered the Earles Camp unawares at sun-riseing next morning; dispersed theyre Companies, defeated theyre nobility, with the killing many Souldiers, putt them all to flight, and returned victor, his men being loaden with the spoyles of his enemyes. Not long after this, Dauid Barry, Mr. Patrick Condon, the Seneschall of Imokilly, submitted themselves and accepted theyre pardons as aforesayd.

The Earle, now disappointyd of most part of those that held with him, was forced to keepe himselfe in woods and mountaynes, where his best refuge was, sometymes giueing and receiveing light skirmishes, vntill at last being discomfited of all his forces, he was then constrayned to yeeld vnto necessity, and to shelter himselfe up and downe in wild and desolate places, beeing attended by a small company, contrary to his wonted custome. At last, growing uery feeble and weake, by reason of his ouermuch labour, and extreemly falling sick, was lodged by some of his men at the wood called Glannindinghigh. Where beeing espyed by one Owen Morierty, the Earles Foster, in whom the Earle reposed soe much confidence, that he was priuate to all his secretts, he informs the English Garrison then held att Castlemayne of the Earles abode in that valley, who were extreame glad to entrapp the Earle; they comeing from Castlemayne in the night tyme, the sayd Owen Morierty leading them to the place where the Earle lay asleep in his bed, out of which they tooke him, and immediately cutt off his head (Nou^r. 11, 1583), which they carried to Corke, and it was afterwarde sent into England, where it was hung on a pole. And by Act of Parliament made in Ireland, Anno 28 Elizabeth, his honors, seigniories, Manors, Lands, Tenem^{ts}, & hereditaments, were made forfeited to the Crowne.

After this manner this Earle, as well by the Diuellish instigation of others, as alsoe by his owne irrationall & playne qualities, and the malicious Acts and murders comitted by his Brother, S^r John of Desmond, came to loose that w^{ch} his predecessors had soe valliantly obtained, and for soe many successions enioyed.

NOTES.

PAGE 22, LINE 24.—*Neere Aghjvane.*

Now Affane—famous also as the place where the first cherries grown in Ireland were planted by Sir Walter Raleigh. O'Donovan, in his note to the Four Masters' account of the fray (A. D. 1565, vol. v., p. 1602, note ^a) says—"The situation of this ford is still well known, and vivid traditions of this battle are preserved in the neighbourhood of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford. The place is still called *Át mheadhain*, *Anglice* Affane. It is now the name of a townland and parish, in the barony of Decies without Drum, but the locality originally so called was a ford on the River Nemh, now the Blackwater, and situated about two miles to the south of Cappoquin. The Life of St. Carthach of Lismore gives the exact situation and a curious description of this ford, under the name of *Ath-medhoin*, which is translated *Vadum alvei*." Joyce ("Irish Names of Places," pp. 326-7) gives the orthography as *Ath-mheadhoin*, Middle-ford. Smith's "Waterford," second edition, p. 54, states that "Affane was formerly called Arthmean, or Aghmean, from Agh, a ford, the Black-water being fordable hereabouts. In the year 1564 [new style, 1565], on the first of February, was fought a bloody conflict at this place, between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, where the latter had three hundred men killed. . . . It is said, that Desmond was wounded in the battle, and being taken up by one of Ormond's men, who carried him on his back, one of his people asked him, how he found himself? he answered, nothing could hurt him, since he had the pleasure of riding the Butlers." Desmond's thigh was broken by a pistol shot fired by Sir Edmond Butler, and O'Sullivan Beare ("Hist. Cath." Lib. II., cap. viii.) says, that he was somewhat lame ever after. The battle was fought in an outlying portion of the parish of Affane, situated on the highway between Cappoquin and Dromana. (See Ord. Survey, Co. Waterford, sheet 29, six inch-scale). Ormonde had marched southwards over the mountains from Clonmel, and Desmond had intended to encamp that night at Whitechurch, a short distance east of Dromana; but when he heard of Ormonde's approach, he decided on attacking him, hoping to find that Earle's party in disorder and tired after their long journey: to do so he was obliged to cross Ormonde's line of march, and thus brought on the conflict, in opposition to the counsel of Lord Power, who advised him to retire into his (Power's) country. These facts are brought out clearly in the following State Papers, which Mr. A. Fitzgibbon has munificently enabled us to lay before the Association:—

THE EARL OF ORMONDE TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., NO. 28.

"Mr Secretarie, After my right hartly comendations, I have thought goode to advertise yo^r, that traouelling at the request of my cousen Sr Morishe Fitz Geralde into his countrey called the Decies, wthin the Qwenes Ma^{ties} countre of Waterforde, to bryng his goods hithr under my saufe conducte, he then fearing the envacion of Th^rerle of Desmonde, who at that time was in campe wthin the said Sr Morishes countrey, after he had taken parte of the said Sr Morishes cattell; Th^rerle, hering of my comyng towards Sr Morishes cheif house called Drommany, came from the place where he encamped fyve miles of, and made spede towards me. And in the playne felde wthout messadge or oth^r further circumstance gave chardg uppon me, where uppon I was, for my owne defence, dryven to do whate I coude; so as in the fight the said erle was ouerthrowen and taken, wth some of his men that had don grete spoiles and murders uppon the Qwenes Ma^{ties} subjects under my rule, and others slayne also. It is thought that Lisaghe M^r Morro O'Connor and Arte O'Connor, two Captens of the proclaymed traitors of the O'Connors, were slayne at this tyme in the said erles company also, but the veray certaintie is as yet unknown for that dyuers toke the water. Ther wer taken two captens of his galleglas, w^{ch} he sent ouer into Thomonde to ayde those of the Obryens that were proclaymed traytors. I haue weghtie matters of hieghe treason to chardge the Erle towching the state of this realme, whiche I propose not holly to disclose here till

I may com befor the Qwenes Matie and her honorable Councell there. Therfor I beseeche yo^a to be a meane to her highnes to write to me her cōandement to repayer wth all spede theth^r wth the said Erle, to disclose to her highnes suche furth^r matter as I haue to chardge this erle wthall, not a litle towching the saufegarde and suerty of this her Highnes realme. I haue thought it my duetie to kepe him safe, and to advertise yo^r wthshipp of the same. M^r Secretary, I wolde be lothe to delyuer him to my L. Justice, but that I wolde obey his auctoritie in any thing he shall cōnde me, considering he hathe but one of the Inglish Councell beside the Marshall and veray fewe of the nobilitie. I feare that my L. Justice woll when I shall delyuer him suffre dyuers to haue conference wth him whiche I thinke wer not fytt for many consideracions. The sonner this matter be broght to the hering of the Qwenes Matie and youz that be of her heighnes moste hono^rable Councell the better it will be. Letting furth^r to discor^s till myn awne repayer theth^r, I take my leave.

"From Waterford, this viii of February,

"Your most assured,

"THOMAS ORMONDE OSS'.

"To the right Hono^rable Sr. Willyam Ciccill, knight,
cheife Secretary to the Qwenes Matie.

Dorso : "8 Feb. 1564. Erle of Ormond to M^r. Secr."

SIR WILLIAM FYTZ WYLLIAMS TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 29.

"May It pleas you Sr, the xth of February, after mydnyght, I resevyd a letter from Th^r erle of Ormond wherein he requestyd me for the more suerty sake of sped to wryght unto the Q. Matie my L. of Lessyter and yo^rselfe that th^r erle of Desmond myght not be tacken from hym or put under the keypyng of eny other then of hys L. owne trusty men untill he had brought hym before the Q. Matie or heer Hyghnes consell in England, wher hys L. wold charge hym wth such matter as shold be very wayghty and for the safeguard of the realme and state, and so to me the rather it semyth to be, for hys L. wrytyth that he dar not comyt it to eny wth out heer Maties spesyall commandment, nether to Incke nor paper, Ther hath ben by all lyklyod som fowll devysys in hand w^{ch} is partly burst owt by some now teeken wth hys L. and suerly if eny meane can worke the stoppyng of it from comyng further abrode it shall be sauit wth all the helpe that may be, for he is not smally fryndyd in Irland and thos not in lytell credyt as thys tyme goyth. Cayer Orayle contyneuyth styll in burnyng and spoylyng of the Q. Maties subjects. Of Th^r Erles tackyng and the rest of that jorney, if my L. of Ormonds letters be com unto you, I am suer is at large therin openyd, and for my part I kno not the mannar therof, wherfor I woll not wth eny part of it now trouble you, but humbly seace wth the remembrance of my duty, and to God leve you, who long in helth with increace of honor macke yo^r lyfe to be I pray. From Dublin the xith of February, 1564.

"Yors duryng lyfe humble
to command,

"W. FYTZ WYLLIAMS.

"To the ryght honorable Sr Wylliam Cecill, knyght,
prynsyvall secretary to the Q. Matie.

Dorso : "xi Febr. 1564.

Sr W^m Fitz W^m to M^r Secr.
for Th^r erle of Ormond."

THE ARTICLES ON WHICH THE EARLS OF ORMONDE AND DESMOND WERE EXAMINED. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 30.

"By the L. Justice and Counsell.

"For that we meane presently to procede to th^r examinacion of all matters in controuersie betwene your L. and Th^r erle of Desmounde, but chieffie to th^r examynacion of this late conflicte had betwene yowe, This is to desier your L. and nevertheles in the Queens Matie name streightlye to chardge and commande yowe, that ymmediately

upponn the sighte hereof, yowe make or cause to be made and delyvered unto us in wrytinge a perfitt booke severally and distynctly sett forthe in articles as folowithe.

"First, to declare the severall names of all suche of the nobilitie and other gentlemen or freholders whatsoever they were, that were in your company at the foresaid conffiete, the first day of this present monneth of Februarye.

"Item, howe many horsemen, how many gallowglasses and other fotemen, straglers and others, yowe had then in yo^r company.

"Item, to what intente yowe did assemble yourself with all that company at that tyme, and whie yowe brought them to that place where the fighte was.

"Item, wheare and uppon whose lande yowe did mete.

"Item, whether Th'erle of Desmonde were betwene yowe and your passage to retourne backe, or yowe betwene him and his contrey at the tyme of the chardge geven betwene you.

"Item, whether yowe gave the first chardge on him or no, and if yowe did chardge him first, to declare why ye so did, wth th' ordre and manner of yo^r chardge geven. At Waterford the xviiith of Februarye 1564.

Dorso: "The Articles ministred to bothe Th'erles.

xviii of February 1564."

DESMOND'S ANSWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., NO. 31.

"Th' aunswer of Gerrott Erle of Desmonde to certeyn articles delyuered unto him from the L. Justice and counsell, dated the xviiith of February 1564. At Waterforde.

"To the first article, he saithe there were with him those whose names doo ensue.

"First, the L. Power, Thomas of Desmonde, Mac Donoghe, Macawlyce, Diarmed O Kallaghane and his son Derbye Oge, James Barode gent., John Fitz Edmond of Martinston gent, the White knights sonne Maurice, Edmonde Fitz David gent, James Rolley gent, Thomas Fitz Johnn gent, Mac Thomas gent.

"To the seconde article, he had lvi horsemen, iii^{xx} galliglasses whereof xxxi were harnished, of whiche nombre of iii^{xx} there were of Clane Donels the Queene's galloglassys xv^{tene} w^{ch} came into the cuntrye the nighte before, and of fotemen kyerne about the nombre of iii^{xx}, besides horseboys and other straglers whose nombre he dothe not knowe.

"To the thirde he saithe, that he was (as your L. knowith) apoynted to repayre to the citie of Waterforde, for to attende uppon yo^r L. pleasure, where upon he repayed to the borders of his contrey with no other number then in manner he eustom-abelie trayveled and beeyng there abiding the comminge of your L. to Waterford, dyverse of the forenamed gent. repayed unto him for occasions and matters of coutrouersie happened in their contreys, and then (as dyverse tymes before) many complayntes were made of dyverse robberies steithes and other disorders against S^r Morrice Fitz Geralde and his men, w^{ch} (not withstanding severall admoncions geven by the said Erle) S^r Morrice neglected to redresse. And for that the saide contrey of the Deasies is and alweies hathe been, nexte under her mat^{ie} and her noble aunecestors, in the rule and governance of the howse of Desmounde, as the rest of the Geraldines in those parties have hitherto ever bene, wherefore the saide Erle accordinge the usadge and custome of his said aunecestors came with so muche as then were with him to the said contree of the Deassyes, entending only to have the malefactors into his hands and in defaulte thereof to take a sufficient distresse for the said iniuries for satisfaction of the parties grevid. And after his repayre to the said cuntrye S^r Maurice, intendyng (as it well appered after) to suffer nether nother, fayned and dissembled wth the said Erle and would not delyver any of the parties, or satisfaction, nor yet anny pledge for assurance of the same, where uppon Th'erle distreyned, and in his retourne towards his contrey he marched to the place where the fighte was, which is the directe and only way for his passage, where he was mett by Th'erle of Ormounde with amayne hoste.

"To the iiith Th'erle saith, they mett in the contree of the Deasies w^{ch} is and alwaye hathe bene a member of the howse of Desmounde, and in the rule and governance of the saide Erle and his aunecestors, wth whiche Th'erle of Ormounde hathe nothing to doo.

"To the vth he saith Th'erle of Ormonds force and power was betwene him and his passage to retourne to his owne contrey, &c.

"To the vith article he saithe, that the said Erle of Ormounde, with all the mayne force he had, made towards the fotemen of the said Erle of Desmound beeyng by the saide Erle sent afore homeward, and himself and his horsemen abode behinde to the

intente that no spoille shold be committed in the contrey by eny straglers; w^{ch} ap-
proche Th' erle of Desmounde perceiuing (beeing then a longe space distante from his
saide fotemen) marched wth his horsemen to reskue his fotemen with all the spede he
could, where upon Th' erle of Ormounde gave over his chardge from the fotemen and
bente his force uppon the said Erle of Desmounde, whereuppon Th' erle of Desmound
beeing in greate extremyte, hauinge no place of refuge, but hoped to streingthen him-
self by th'aide of his fotemen (the same beeing also his highe waye and passadge
home), was enforced to incounter wth the said Erle of Ormounde both for saulf garde
of himself and those that were wth him, and by that only meane as many of the
horsemen as eskaped had there flighte by that way to their contrey, having no other
way but only that.

Dorso : "Copy of Th'erle of Desmoundes answer to th'
articles ministered to him at Waterford.
xviii of February 1564."

THE EARL OF ORMONDE'S ANSWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS,
IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 34.

"xxii^{do} Februarii 1564 apud Waterford. Th' aunswer of the Righte honorable Th'
erle of Ormounde and Osserie L. Threasourer of Irelande to Th' articles then ministred
to his L.

"To the first his L. affirmith, that he had not auny Lorde in company there, or
knights but Sr. Edmonde Butler his brother, and of gentlemen his brethern James and
Edward, withe their men and company of horsemen and fotemen.

"To the seconde his L. saithe, to his knowledge that there were the number of an
cth horsemen, and of gallowglasse and kerne the number of eccth, of Stragglers he
knowith not certeynly the number.

"To the thirde and fourthe his L. saithe that the cause why he assembled that
company with him was for the deffence of the contrey of Tipperarie beeing aduertised
from the west that the L. of Desmound had a greate hoste in redynes theare. The
assemblie was at Knockloughte a hill three myles distant from Clonmell, and beeing
there a servante of Sr. Morrice Fitzgeralds came unto his L. geving him aduertis-
mente that his M^r had gathered to gethers the cattell of his contrey aboute Drone-
managhe and besoughte his L. to fetche them away and to salf kepe them for him in
his L. contrey. The place where the fighte was, was by a towne called Athmane
within the countye of Waterforde in the high way to Dronemanaghe towards Sr.
Morrice Fitzgerald's howse.

"To the vth and vith his L. saithe he was goeing forward to Dronemanaghe afore-
said and so mett with Th' erle of Desmond in his way, who gave the first chardge,
whiche Erle was before encamped at a place called Temple Garthe otherwise called
Whitchurche where Th' erle of Desmounde had gathered parte of the cattell of the
contrey and for his victels that nighte killed thre skore beefis or there aboute and had
sente for wyne and other necessaries to Dongervan, determinyng to have encamped
there that nighte, tyll one Donoghe O Begge came on horseback in haste to the said
Erle and tolde him of my commynge into the contrye and offered Th' Erle of Des-
mound to guyde him the nexte way to the mountayns where they did not dowte he
should upon the suddeyn take my horses grasing and my men at rest skattered by
reson of their longe trayvell, which the said Erle was willing to followe but that he
was perswaded by others in his company that he sholde not goe to the mownteynes,
and then Th' erle commaunded his men to horsebacke and sett forwards as faste as he
coulde to Athmane aforesaide where he and his fotemen ioyned to gether and sett
uppon me withe banner displayed. At which tyme in my owne deffence I toke him and led
him away as pryssoner for the Queens Matie; and your LL. shall further understand that
his fotemen passed hard by the highe way where I trayveled, and wytnes to all men
that I mighte, if I had liked to have begonne the quarrell, have overthrowen them, Th'
erle of Desmounde beeing a myle distante from them. Th' erls fotemen marched by me
backe agayne and thwarted the way where I rode, which I was contente to suffre, and
sone after Th' erle and they ioyned to gether and sett uppon mee bothe with the
force of horsemen and fotemen. Their harquebuziers shott of at me afore any stroke was
stryken. More I haue not to say but that I kepte hym as the Queens Ma^{ties} prysoner
hauing chardged him wth matter of Treason tyll by your L. streight commaundement
uppon myne allegiance I delyuered him to yowe, protesting that I am yett redy to avowe
farther treason against him, when it shall please the Queens Ma^{ties} to commaunde me;

beseeching your LL. I may haue your concordatum testifieng in what maner I delyuered him to your LL.

“THOMAS ORMOUND & Oss’.

Dorso : “23 Februar 1564.

“Copy of Th’ erle of Ormoundes Aunswer to th’ articles ministred to him at Waterford.”

THE EARL OF ORMONDE’S CHARGE OF TREASON AGAINST THE EARL OF DESMOND. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 37.

“M^d that I Thomas Erle of Ormounde and of Ossory do lay to the chardge of Gerrote nowe Erle of Desmounde before yowe S^r Nicholas Arnolde Knighte L. Justice of Irelande and the Counsell of the same, at Waterforde the xxvith day February 1564, that he the saide Erle of Desmounde, his brother Thomas of Desmounde, Capten M^c Doneghe, Richard Condon Capyteyn and chief of his name, John Fitz Edmonde Seneschall and Capyteyn of Inokelly, Mac Awley Capyten of the contrey called Clanawley, Donell Mac Arte Mac Oen Okyne capten and chief of his name, Rory Mac Sheane M^c Creagh capten, Mac Thomas called Thomas Fitz Richard of the Pallayce, the White Knights sonne and heire called Morishe, Edmond Fitz Davidd of Ballygeillaghan in the countie of Limericke gent., the traytor Lisaghe Mac Moroughe O Connor with his trayne, and others to the number of a thousand persons, the first day of February in the seventh year of the raigne of o^r soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth came to Beuliewe and Ballynemonteraghe in the countie of Waterforde and then and theare with force and armes and with banners displayed bourned twoo howses, price every of them xl^s, in Ballynemonteraghe aforesaid and the value of xx^l of hous holde stuff and other goods in the said howses then beeng, of the goods of Edmonde Fitz Wylyams and Rory Fitz David of the same husbandmen, and in Beauliewe three howses, price every of them xl^s, and the value of xx^l of howsheold stuff and other goods of the goods and cattell of S^r Morishe Fitz Geralde Knighte, feloniously and traytorously contrary to the Queens Ma^ts peax her crowne and dignytie, and contrary to the statute in that cace provided. And thoughte to haue burned the rest of the said townes and of the whole contrey if they had not been lettred of the same.

“Item that the saide Erle of Desmounde the said day and yeare, to gether with his said company came to the townes of Ballygrewly, Ballyntlee, Ballynecotie, Ballynecurryne, Ballynemony, Ballynemyaleghe, Ballyore, Whitechurche, Kcappaghe, Kilmolassy, Currieghroche, Lareghe, Ballylonyne, Collegane and Athmaine in the county of Waterforde, and then and theare wth banners displayed, and wth force and armes toke from the said townes the number of thre hondreth fortie kyne, vi^{xxii} plowe horses, and to the value of iiii^{or} or v^{cl} of shepe swyne and howsheold stuff¹ of the goods and cattell of th’ enhabitants of the said townes, traytorously and contrary to the Queens Ma^ts peace her crowne and dignytie and the statute in that cace provided.

“Item I haue the borynyng of certyne howses at Kilfiele to lay to his chardge when he came thither and assaulted my howse there himself in proper person, and spoiled the moost parte of the towne and woulde haue bourned the whole towne, if it had not been rescued by th’ enhabitants and the garryson of the castle there, And other heinowse highe treasons I haue to chardge him with all when I shall understande the Queens Ma^ts further pleas^r whose highnes I haue advertised of the same.

“THOMAS ORMOND & Oss’.

Dorso : “Copy of Th’ erle of Ormoundes writing chardging
Treason upon Th’ erle of Desmond & others.
26th of Februar 1564.”

INTERROGATORIES MINISTERED TO SIR MAURICE FITZGERALD OF DROMANA. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 51.

“At Waterford the last of February 1564. Interrogatories mynystred to S^r. Morrice Fitzgerald, Knighte.

“1. Howe often he sente to th’erle of Ormounde for savige his cattell, and the tyme or day, and for whate cause th’erle came thither.

“2. Whate aunswere the said Erle made.

¹ i. e. Sheep, cattle, and household stuff to the value of four or five hundred pounds.

"3. Where he was the tyme of the conflicte.

"4. When he knewe th'erle of Desmound wold come to the Deffye [Dessye], and whate the cause was of his thither commyng.

"5. What he knowith as towching the circumstance and order of the meting of the said Erles.

"6. What he knoweth as towching the contynuanne and ende of the said conflicte, and what nomber th'erle of Desmounde had of horsemen, fotemen and Raskalles.

"7. Whether there was Burnynge, by whome, and by whose commaundmente.

"8. Whither Banner or Banners was displayed of eny side.

"9. Whither he knewe of eny greater force or company loked for by eny the said Erles."

THE ANSWER OF SIR MAURICE FITZGERALD. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., NO. 52.

"Apud Waterford ultimo Februari 1564.

"The depocicion of Sr. Morrice Fitz Gerald, knight, upon suche Interrogatories or articles as were mynystred unto him by the L. Justice and Counsell, the day and yere abovesaid.

"To the firste he deposith and saithe, that aboute vi or vii dayes afore the late conflict betwene Th'erles of Desmond and Ormound the same Sr Morrice hering tell that Th'erle of Desmound wold come into his contrey, he sent a letter to Th'erle of Ormounde requiring his L. according to his old frendshipp formerly extended towards him to come and carry away his cattell into the same Erle of Ormonds contrey to be self kepte. And after hering for more certeyntie that Th'erle of Desmound would come into his country indeed, then the same Sr. Morrice sent a speciall messenger called Shane Tobyn, *alias* Brega, to the said Erle of Ormounde for the cause aforesaid and thereupon the same Erle came to the said Sr Morrice.

"To the second he saith, Th'erle of Ormounde wrote for aunswer that he woulde with as muche spede as he could comme to receive his cattell, accordinge to the request of the same Sr Morrice by his saide letter.

"To the thirde he saith, he was at his owne howse at Dromanaghe at the tyme of the conflicte.

"To the iiiijth he can not otherwise depose then he hath afore deposed to the firste.

"To the vth he saith, Th'erle of Desmounde came to Bewley in the mornyng aboute viii or ix of the clocke on the first day of February last, on wich day the L. Power and one of the Captens of the gallowglass of Th'erle of Desmounds came from Th'erle of Desmounde to this deponente to make demaunde of hym to do service to the saide Erle, to the whiche this deponent aunswered that what soever clayme or chalenge the said Erle woulde chalenge of hym he would therein abide the L. Justice and counsels order, or geue the same Erle suche right touchinge his demaundes as ever eny of his auncestors haue before tyme donne unto him, or els woulde be contented that twoo of his learned counsell by him to be chosen with twoo also on Th'erles parte, should se their evidences on bothe sids, and he, the same Sr. Morrice, would thereapon geve Th'erle suche Righte as the said twoo learned men on bothe sids would order. And thereapon this deponent apon request made by the said L. Power went with him to Bewley to haue spoken with the said Erle, who refused to speke with the said Sr. Morrice as the L. Power related to this deponente from the saide Erle, onles Sr. Morrice would stande to the Judgemente of Th'erles owne Judge², wch this deponente refusinge he was willed by the said L. Powre to repayre backe home agayne, and so he did.

"To the vith, he saith that on the first day of February last, it happened a man of this deponents beeng on the topp of his owne dwellinge castell, to espie Th'erle of Desmonds hoste, aboute a myle or more of, comminge towards this deponents castell and semed to settle his campe a myle of, that first nighte, at a place called Whitechurche, wher apon this deponente wi the twoo horsemen and a dosen fotemen issued out of his saide castell to a certayne hill distant a quarter of a myle from Th'erle of Desmonds

¹ The ruins of the Abbey of Beau-lieu (Bewley) are situated in the parish of Kilmalash, close to Dromana.

² The Earl's "owne Judge" was most likely a Brehon, or Irish Judge, as the Desmonds had entirely thrown off English law. In fact, it was

by the Brehon law that the Earl was entitled to distrain his sub-chief's cattle for default of service. Were he intending to proceed by Feudal or English law, he had his remedy in the Queen's Court, supposing Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald (who certainly held under the Earls of Desmond) had made default.

hoste, to vyewe the saide hoste (hauinge the water betwene them) and there whiles they espyed Th' erle of Ormonds hoste comminge from the mountaynes directly towards this deponents castell of Dromanaghe. And then Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen came forewards and past beyonde the said Sr. Mories castell by which tyme Th' erle of Ormonds host did nere approche them, comminge onwards their direct way towards this deponents castell. And then Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen did stey, and then Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen went out of their right way a twoo or three flight shotts on the righte hande, Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen following them, to mete wth the Erle of Ormonds host and this deponent sawe at that tyme some of Th' erle of Desmonds harquebuziers shote of at the said Erle of Ormonds hoost, beeng then comme within gonne shott. And then uppon the same Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen gave the first chardge. The number of Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen as he hard by reporte was aboute iiii^{xx}, of fotemen beenge gallowglasse and kerne the number of three or fower hundreth, and of Raskally twice as many as he supposeth.

"To the viith he saith that when he wente with the L. Powre as aforesaid at the tyme when he returned backe from Bewley without spekinge with Th' erle of Desmonde, this deponent being on horseback redy to ryde homewarde and lokinge backe sawe the howse, wherein Th' erle remayned that day before noone, and two other howses on fyar, and that a pore woman of that village (whose name he knowith not) tolde this deponent that she sawe one of Th' erles gallowglasse (whose name he also knowith not) sett fyre on that howse where the said Erle had been, but by whose commaundment he so did this deponent can not depose, saieing further that after Th' erle had departed from that village, dyverse of his men taryed awhile theare after him. And further saith, when Th' erles campe was broken upp at Whitechurche there was two bigg howses burnte by Th' erles men in a towne called Ballynemyntaghe wherein twoo men of this deponents [tenants] did dwell, and that there was corne bothe in that towne and the other village abovesaid burnte by the said Erle of Desmonds men.

To the viiith he saithe he sawe a banner displayed amongst the horsemen of Th' erle of Desmonds and another amongst the fotemen, which banner of the fotemens (the berer of yt being slayne) the same was founde and brought to this deponent by a chorle of the country. And afterwards was sente and delyuered to one William O'Brynn, beeng foster father to this deponent and a servante to the saide Erle of Desmonde, and saithe further that Th' erle of Ormonds steieng still at the begynninge of the conflicte, did suddenly putt upp a thinge of redd silke apon a staff, but whether it was a banner or not this deponent can not precisely depose.

"To the ixth, he saithe that he harde saye that Sr Piers Butler of the Cahir, Knyghte, and the White knight were at Lesmore with xvi horsemen and with certeyn fotemen (the number where of he knowith not) and that there came of the erle of Desmonds owne horsemen from Connellaghe, to the said Lesmore to the number of xxiii or xxx, and as he herde say aboute the number of ceth fotemen, to the ayde of the saide Erle of Desmond. And that Mac Art Omore, Oswylevan Beare, and the knyghte of the Kyrry came at that tyme to Conneigh wth sixtene men.

Dorso : "Ult. Feb. 1564.

"Copy of the Deposition of Sr. Moriee Fitz Gerott, knyghte, apon the Interrogatories."

SUNDRY DEPOSITIONS. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 55.

"Edmonde Duf O'Heagane seruant and sariant to Gerrot Fitz John stywarde to th' erle of Desmonde and to Elizabeth Leix the stywards wief, dwelling at Lismore, of th' adge of lx yeres or there abouts, duely examyned uppon the Holye Evangelist dothe by vertue of his othe depose that Cormocke O'Connor wth two men and two boys the Tuysday before my lady of Desmond's deathe being the second of Januarii 1564, came to Lismore aforesaid, about none, to the house of the said Gerrott Fitz John called the busshops courte there, the said Elizabeth Leix the stywards wief beinge there then, the said Cormock havinge then in his company, to attende on him to guide him emongts th' erle of Desmonds seruants and to gett him meat and drinke and suche other like mayntenance, a boy of the said Earls chamber called Donoghe Endodyne, and went that night wth the said Elizabeth Leix to Killahale to David Fitz Johns house, who is married to the said stywarde and Elizabethes daughter, where the said

Cormocke was intertayned that night and his said company wth the said Elizabethe in one house with her, and on the morowe returned wth the said Elizabethe to Lismore aforesaid, where he departed with the said companye, and wth the said Erles man Donoghe Endodyne still wayteing on him to guyde him from place to place in the country. He deposeth also by vertue of his said othe that S^r Piers Butler of the Cahire, the White Knight and others were wth the number of lx horsmen at Lismore ready to come to ayde th^e erle of Desmonde till uppon knowledge had of the conflycte given on his side they departed every one towards his awne house. Further he dothe depose that the same day of the conflycte given he mett wth one which he knewe to have sene before with Cormock O'Connor at Lismore aforesade who tolde him that the said Cormock was wth th^e erle of Desmonde at the tyme of the conflycte and that he knewe not, but he was there slayne with others. And further by vertue of his said othe saiethe that Shane McMorishe of Knockmoen, one of S^r Morishe Fitz Gerald's gentlemen, was at David McShane's howse in Keillahall with Elizabethe Leix the same night that Cormocke O'Connor was there and save the said Cormocke there and his companye as he the said deponent herde. In witnes of all & singular the premises to be the true depositions of the said Edmund Duf made by vertue of his said othe before us S^r George Stanley, knight, Marshall of the Quenes Maiesties Army in Irelande, and John Plunket, her highnes Chiefe Justice of her said Realme of Irelande and others whose names be hereunto subscribed, we the said S^r George Stanley, John Plunkett and others, have hereunto subscribed our names. At Waterford the xiiiith of Marche 1564.

"Item, the said Edmund Duf saiethe further by vertue of his said othe that Gerrot Fitz James, a base brother of the late countes of Desmondes, and John Fitz Gerrot, th^e erle of Desmonds stywards son, with the bussshops sariant of Lismore named Thomas O'Fleyn, were at Lismore aforesaid at the said stywards howse when the said Cormocke came thether as before. And further saiethe that Cormocke caused himselfe to be called by the name of Killeduf to th^e entent he should not be knowen. And saiethe also that he knewe not the said Cormocke before he was told it was he by one of Cormocks aune men. And further dothe say that the said stywards other son, called James Fitz Gerrot, was in the said stywards howse wth others and sawe the said Cormocke there as aforesaid, this deponent being questioned whether he knewe the said Donoghe Endodyn to attende uppon the said Cormocke by the appointment of said Erle of Desmonde or not, said he coule not tell.

"GEORGE STANLEY, JAMES WALSHES maio^r.
JOHN PLUNKET.
PATRICK SHERLOCKE.
EDMUNDE BUTLER."

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XIII., NO. 1.

"The examination of Lysaghe McMorishe Moyle O Connor, one of the proclaymed trayto^rs of the Conno^rs, made by vertue of his othe upon the holy evangelist at Kilkenny the first day of Apprell 1565 before us, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

"Furst the said Lysaghe by vertue of his othe deposithe that Lysaghe McMoroughe O'Connor, one of the chiefest proclaymed trayto^rs of the Conno^rs, was wth the Erle of Desmonde the space of eight or nyne wicks before the conflycte given betwixt th^e erles of Ormonde & Desmonde in S^r Morishe Fitz Gerald's country (being the first day of Februarii last passed) having in his company eight kerne & their boyes, of which kerne one was called Cahill McConne O'Connor, an other Edmund Mac Shane Ballaghe and another Conno^r the sonn of Cormocke O'Connor, besides others that went secretly thether in companyes before him, and showth for cause of his knowledge that he himselfe beinge personally present dud see the said Lysaghe McMoroughe wth others of his retynue in the said Erle of Desmonds companye at his house of Loughgure and saiethe further that he himself came oute of Offalye in companye wth the said Lysaghe McMoroughe when he wente to the said Erle of Desmonds country.

"Item, he deposeth by vertue of his othe that about the later ende of November last past he went to the countye of Lymericke to see suche gentlemen of the Conno^rs as were reteyned and maynteyned by the Erle of Desmonde then, at whiche tyme of his travayll there he mett at Cahirkenleske in the said countie Lysaghe McMoroughe O'Connor & Cahill McConne O'Connor and went in company wth them that night to a house of John of Desmonds called Ballybarre where he saue a gentle-

man seruant to the said Erle of Ormonde named Edmund Grace (whom the said John of Desmonde had taken prisoner) cruelly kept in Irnes. And further saith that the persons aforesaid went from thens the next day after to Lough Girre a house of the said Erle of Desmonds. The cause of his knowledge that they

This James lay
ayek v or vi wyks
at Loughgyr afor the
conflict.

went thether is, because they dyd so tell him. And likewise one of their boyes named James McWillam Moyle O Cahill came backe for this deponent to bring him thether to them, where he went accordingly & mett & saue them there wth the said Erle of Desmond as is before declared.

"He deposithe lykewise that he being in the said countie of Lymericke dud see one Arte O Dorane a proclaymed trayto^r of Leix a horsebacke in the company of

This Art Odoran
lay hurt at Loughgir
also a traytor of
Leix.

John of Desmonde, brother of the said Erle of Desmonde, at a hill called Knockreaghe, and spake wth him there and at an other tyme dud see the same Arte wth the said John at a place called Beal-

labrew, being fowling wth William Keaghe O Mulriane, and hathe

bene maynteyned by the said Erle and his brother John.

"Item he also deposithe that the said Erle and John his brother before the conflicte hapined betwixt th' erles of Ormonde & Desmonde sent their messenger to Moroughe Obriens sonnes into Thomonde, being proclaymed traytors, to come over spedely to them wth all their power of horsmen & fotemen that they could make, and to followe the said Erle of Desmonde into Sr Morishe Fitz Gerald's country. The cause of his knowledge is that he was himselfe in Willam Keaghe O Mulrians house at Dirreliaghe when the said sonnes came over and lay there that night (that is to say Teige and Donoughe Obriene) and mett wth the messenger going for them and told him as mouche as he deposid in that behalfe. And further saith that the said sonnes comyng as farre as the Knockreaghe to the said Erle (being in company wth John of Desmonde, harde there of the conflicte given against Desmonde, by reason whereof they returned backe agayne in to their contrey. Item he also deposeth by virtue of his othe that the said Lysaghe Mc Moreghe O Connor was wth the erle of Desmonde at the conflicte in Sir Morishe Fitz Gerald's country. The cause of his knowledge is that he did see one of the said Lysages men named Tieghe Mc Connor Mc Cahir after the conflicte given, in Owney, who emong other nywes of the conflicte told him that his Mr Lysaghe was there and did escape, And also saythe he dyd see the said Lysaghes Scull¹ and Sworde wth one Edmond de Fitz Edwarde Quemerforde, a kerne of the Erle of Ormonds that was in that conflicte, And knew the said scull & sworde, and told him he founde the same in the conflicte.

"Item he deposithe by vertue of his othe that one Cahill McConne O Connor son to the olde O Connor that was of long tyme deteyned psoner in Englande was wth the erle of Desmonde in the conflicte and slaine there then. The cause of his knowledge is that the above named Tieghe (being a foster brother to the traytor Donoughe O Connor, meting this deponent in the way retourning from the conflicte to Offalye, at William Mc'Donyll Mc'Rory officiall of Owynes house, tolde him there that the said Cahill was then slayne in the conflicte, for whose deathe the said Tieghe made greate lamentacon.

"Item the said Lysaghe further deposithe that one Arte McTeig Enea one of the chiefe proclaymed traytors of the Connors and his compayne hath bene resident for the moste parte wth John of Desmonde and th' erle his brother from two monethes next after they were last proclaymed traytors. The cause of his knowledge is that he saue the said Arte wth John of Desmonde at a place called Cnockreaghe by Glane Ogrey and that he was in talke wth the said Arte after there departing from the said place the space of thre or foure myles travayling afote till they partid at the abbay of Owney.

"EDMUND SHETHE, Souveraigne of Kilkenny.
WILLAM JOHNSON, Deane of Kilkenny.
NICHOLAS WHITE, Recorder of Waterforde.
DAVID ROTHE.
EDMUND BUTLER.
WALTER ARCHER.
ROBERT SHETHE.
WILLIAM SHETHE."

¹ "Lysaghes Scull," i. e. his bascinet, or close-fitting iron skullcap.

INTERROGATORIES MINISTRED TO THE LORD POWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 53.

"At Waterford the last of February 1564. Interrogatories mystred to the L. Power.

"When he knewe Th' erle of Desmounde would come to the Dessye and what the cause was of his thither comynge.

"Whither there was borninge, by whome, and by whose commaundmente.

"What he knowith as touchinge the circumstance and ordre of the metinge of the saide Erles and of the continuance and ende of the conflicte; and what number Th' erle of Desmounde had of horsemen, fotemen and Raskalls.

"Whither there was any banner or banners displayed of enyside.

"What Lords or Knights were in Th' erle of Desmondes company at the tyme of the conflicte.

"Whither he knewe of any greater force or company loked for by any of the saide Erles.

Dorso: "Copy of Interrogatories ministred to the
L. Power, the laste of February."

SIR JOHN STANLEY, MARSHAL OF THE ARMY, TO CECIL, 3RD APRIL, 1565. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 4, ELIZ.

"Mr Secretorye, beinge movede in consyence and in discharge of my dewtye, I am forcede nowe to trouble you wth these my Letres to th' entente the Quenes Maiestye mighte trewlye understande howe, and in what sorte wee haue proscedede in this or late Jorney westwardes, the trew discourse of the fraye that hath happened betwexte the two Erles & whome the faulte was in, as nere as I can learne. . . . And good Mr Secretorye thus moche judge of me that neyther affection, gaine, credyt to my selfe, nor discredytinge of anye others, hath movede me nowe to putt penn to the Booke, but only for dewtyes sake and to th' entente that the treweth mighte manifestlye appere unto her Matie, for I understande there is meanes made to stoppe mens mowthes. . . . I knowe this my saide Lettre shall not only be troublesome unto you but also some strange in that I haue taken uppone me to be a medler in these greate causes, consideringe yt ys the fyrste that ev^r I wrote to any counsellor since I hadde charge here w^{che} is nere twellve yeres. But be you moste assured that w^{che} I wryte ys playnes and trewethe, for the L. can wyttnes w^t me that I never d^yre to be accuser or hinderer of anye to the state, allthoughe I knewe him to be my mortall enemye. . . . And for my L. Justice and or prosedings at Waterford duringe the space of syxe weekes and odde dayes, I shall not nede to be longe nor teddyous to you in the declaracion thereof, for yf we haue orderede seven severall matt^rs we haue reformede the holt. And for the Erles causes we haue waded so farre in th'examinacion of them, that we maye well be ashamede of our selves and doings therein, for my L. Justyce dothe playnely saye that he cannot as yett sertefye the Quenes Matie the trewethe nor certentye of that matt^r, w^{che} I knowe muste nedes seme strange to you. But beleve me Mr Secretarye, yf he colde I dowte he wolde not, as you shall presentely und^rstande by this my Lettre, and further by my L. of Ormonde hymselfe at suche tyme as he shall appere before you. For what affection and fonnde delayes hath bene usede, suche wo^rkinge and practysinge to hyde and shadowe the trewethe, yt wolde make anye dewtyfull harte to be affrayede to thinke of yt, for as God shall judge me I wolde not wyllingly be in the lyke Jorney againe and to be matchede w^t suche a companye as I was, and to receave suche rebukes and checks for the utterryng of my consyence to the furtherance of her Maiesties s^rvise as I then dyd, & w^t payence beare the same, not yf I mighte haue fyve hundred poundes for my labour. And allthoughe yt hath bene panefull and troublesome unto me I am able to shewe in wrytinge the trewethe howe we haue spent everye daye duringe or aboode there, and th' effecte of the matt^ryall talke that hath passed amongste us in consultacon, for I haue bene forcede thereunto because I was alone w^t owte anye that wolde wyttnes w^t me what I saide and dyd in the 'erles causes, to th' entente that the trewethe mighte haue bene knowne unto her Majestye. Butt all wolde not healepe, for what wee determynede the one daye was denyede the other. But God that seethe the secretts of all hartees dothe knowe howe Idlelye and wyckedly that tyme was spent there, w^{ch} I omitt to write thereof, for I knowe you cannot but here yt of others, and allthoughe you und^rstande what assystance of counsel-

lors my L. Justyce had w^t him that jorneye, yett I thinke yt not amysse to name them unto you, and so to dyscrybe of them as I knowe, and howe they have bene drowncd in affectyō towards my L. of Desmonde in all his causes that nowe are in questyon, theire doings will judge: and for my L. of Kildaire yt is not unknownen to you what assurede knott of frendshippes ys betwexte the Erle of Desmonde and him, and all though I colde at full dyscrybe the same, I thinke yt neddesse because I knowe you und^rstande inoughe thereof; and for Justice Plunkett he hathe marryede my L. of Kildaires nyce and ys, as theye here tearme yt, "ajainte and follower to the garontynes," and so affectionede that waye that he is unremoveable yf by anye meanes he may stande theme in stydde, and ys an unknown man in the reste of his doings: I wolde to God the Quenes Matie knewe the trewethe thereof not onlye of him but of all the reste of her Ir^{ish}e counsellers here, and of their *wykednes* and [the words in italics are crossed out in the original] uncerten dealinge in consultacions. Mr Agarde hathe bene greatly mystrusted w^t my L. of Ormonde and others because of his greatenes w^t my L. Justyce, and that he was the only meanes that my L. of Kildaire was brought into suche credy^t w^t my L. Justice as he nowe is, for the drection of the State here ys in a manner holy commytted to hym, so that what he desyrethe to haue don, hathe bynne executede, for the governor here will in no wyse offende him. And I knowe not what myslykinge or cause hathe movede my L. Justice to be so bente againste my L. of Ormonde as he ys, for assuredly he hathe practysede all he can to defate his service, and holye to condemne and charge him w^t this conflycte that hathe happenede betwexte him and the Erle of Desmonde, so that yf I had not bene there at this present, and used suche decente planenes unto him and to the reste accordinge to my dewtye and in discharge of my conseyence, my L. of Ormonde hadde taken for the tyme no small foyle, but also at the fyrste seighte muste nedes haue bene for the tyme condemnede w^t the Quenes Matie and her honourable counsell their: for there was suche devices by underecte meanes and dishoneste dealings as yt wolde greve anye honeste harte to thinke on yt. Therefore I was forcede for trewethes sake to stande in dewtyfull tearmes againste them all, w^{ch} I truste hereafter you shall bett^r understand by the sequell of the same: for my L. of Ormonde at the cominge of my L. of Desmonde to Wallt^rfforde was thus dealte w^t all; beinge called before my L. Justice and counsell was comandedde by my L. Justice upon his dewtye of alledgyance presently to delyv^r my L. of Desmonde for yt was not lawfull to keape him as his prysoner. Then my L. of Ormonde reverently declaredde, that he hadd not tukin him nor mente to keape him as his owne p^rsoner, but for the Quene, therefore he desiredde my L. and counsell that he mighte styll retaine him untill the Quenes Maties pleasure were further knownen therein, and said further he had to charge him w^t highe treason & so he hadd writtin to her Matie, and declaredde further yf he shulde go owte of his handes that he knewe mens mowthes wolde be stoppede w^{ch} might be no small hinderance unto her Maiestyes service. But all that wolde not heale to staye my L. Justice for havinge him of him, for he mente ones, yf I hadd not bene, to have fetehede him frome my L. of Ormondes lodginge per force. The nexte day my L. of Ormonde beinge before us againe, He was comandedde wth owte anye mo delays upon his dewtye of alledgyance to delyv^r him, and then he desyrede that he might haue in wrytinge und^r o^r handes, to shawe for his discharge, the requests that he maide to retaine him, the straite commandmente that he hadde to deliuer him. But that in no wyse wolde be grantede. But at lenghe he was promessed to have a cōpye thereof as yt shulde be enterede into the Counsellis Boke. And so the nexte daye my L. of Ormonde broughte my L. of Desmonde in ord^r as a p^rsoner and delyvered him w^t these wordes o^r suche lyke, "My L. Justice hether haue I broughte to you my L. of Desmonde accordinge to yo^r streighte commandment geven me w^{ch} in no wyse I mente to dissobeye. And I delyv^r him unto you as the quenes Maties p^rsoner beinge taken in the felde by me w^t his Baner displayede Burnynge and spoylinge the Quenes Maties good subiectes w^t in shyre grounde w^t sundry traytors in his commpanye. And I haue to charge him further w^t greate and highe Treason accordinge as I haue wryttin to the Quenes Matie, Therefore I shall charge yo^r L. and the reste as moche as decently I maye That he maye be savelly and sewerlye keapte, and not to be sufferede to haue conference w^t any unyle the Quenes Maties pleasure be further knownen, and that Mr M^rshall may haue the keepinge of him. And seing you haue thus taken him frome me, yf mens mowthes be stoppede, as I feare theye will, and by meanes whereof some partie of his heanous treason come not to light, I truste therein I shal be discharged to her maiestye." And so we broke uppe counsell and my L. of Desmonde wente home w^t my L. Justice and at aft^r sopper he was sufferede to go to his owen lodgyng having butt three of my L. Justice men to attende appon hym, and there did remaine duringe or aboyde in Wallt^rfforde,

and was sufferede to haue conference w^t as manye as he lykedde, and as ofte as he wolde, bothe secretly and openly, w^{ch} was contrary to o^r agreement at the counsell table as I often tolde my L. and dyslykede thereof. But all wolde not healpe. Yf that matt^r hadd bene discrete and well handlede, There wolde be like faullen owte further matt^r then I feare nowe is lyke to come to lighte or that wil be broughte to passe w^t the expence of a greate some of monye. And then w^t in two or three dayes aft^r there was certen artycles drawn for bothe the erles to be examynede upon, and agreede by all the reste savinge myselſe that theye shulde haue answered by theire learnede counsell. I dyd alledgede yt was not laifull as I thoughte that anye that was accused of treason shulde be sufferede to answere by learnede counsell, and so then w^t moche ado yt was agreed at lenghe, By meane that I wolde not geve my consente w^t them, That they should be examynede before us severallye appon the artycles, and the clarke of the counsell to wryte and recorde as theye shulde speake, And so aft^r some delayes wth a daye or twoo my L. of Ormonde was fyrste called and examynede; and aft^r his examynacions taken, w^{ch} was don strectelye inoughe; there was a Respyte of thre or foure dayes aft^r before we wente to my L. of Desmonde, what godde meanyng was therein I will not meddyl w^t all; But m^ke the sequell, for at o^r commynge to my L. of Desmondes lodgginge, I knowinge no other but that he shulde haue bene examynede as my L. of Ormonde was, hee hadde booke Readye and Drawen by learnede counsell to everye artycle and so delyverede thee same to my L. Justice w^{owte} anye faulte founde. And aft^r o^r departure thence we wente to counsell, And then I greatly dyd myslyke of that parycall kinde of dealinge contrarye to all o^r agrements, and saide in no wyse I wolde be partaker thereof, for yt was not to be lyked, or allowede of, That my L. of Ormonde beinge a faythefull loyall and obedyent subiecte shulde be examynede so strectelye, And hee whome was accused of hie treason shulde be sufferede to answer by his learnede counsell: I have oft charged my L. and the reste w^t the same. And yesterdaye before the hole counsell in discharge of myselſe I uttered the same unto them before my L. Justice and dyd charge him therew^h, And other matters worse then that, w^{che} he colde not denye, But saide I was a willfull man and affectyonede to my L. of Ormonde, and wolde consente to nothinge but what pleased myselſe, but when bothe o^r doings shall appere unto indifferente herers, as I truste yt shall or yt be longe, then shall yt be knowne unto the Quenes Maiestye where and in whome the faulte ys. My L. Power, beinge brother in lawe to my L. of Desmonde and in the felde w^t him on his syde, was examynede apou certen artycles concerning the metinge of the two Erles and who gave the fyrste charge. And in lykewyse was Sr Morris Fytze Garret w^{che} was all that was donn duringe o^r aboode at Wallterforde towching that matter, for my L. Justice wolde not wayde anye further in thatt matt^r Because yt minde not for his purposse. There was a Booke delyverede by my L. of Ormonde, indossede to my L. Justyce and counsell, of Burnyuge, spoylinge and prayenge sondry times his countrie by my L. of Dessemonde and his brother Before the tyme of theire meting in the felde, and since Sir Thomas Cusacke concludede accordinge to his accustomed manner a fyckeledde peace, in lyke there was delyverede another Booke by my L. of Desmonde, indossede of the same sorte, butt what was in yt I colde nev^r be sofferede to see, my L. of Ormonde delyverede in wrytinge certen requestees, w^{che} was so reasonable and fytt to be grantede bothe for the furthe furtherance of her Maties s^rvce and for a derecte waye to und^rstande the trewethe as I cannot but m^rvell howe my L. Justice durste denye him enye of them, for when you shall see them, I daire boldlye saye you wyll myslyke thereof. And nowe towching theire meatynge, the ord^r and manner thereof, I will as brefely as I can towche the same: my L. of Ormonde beinge in the countrie of Typperarye, and understandinge by credable reporte that my L. of Desmonde hadd assemblede a greate force of men to th^e entente to envayde his countrie, dyd assemble some parte of his countrie nere adjoynynge to those Borders and sende for Sr. Edmonde Butler and the reste of his brotherne to repare to him wth their forces, And appon their commynge to hym w^{che} was abowte the laste of February, He beinge apou a hyll in his countrie, acostemed place to assemble on, A messenger of Sr. Morris Fytze-Garrettz came to him wth a l^re frome his Mr, requestinge him to be so moche his good L. as to repaire into his countrie and to healpe him to conducte his cattell savelye und^r his rule, for he had perfyte und^rstandinge that my L. of Desmonde was determynede to distroye and spoyle his countrie, therefore he hadd gatherede all his cattell of his countrie to his howsse called Dromannoghe wheare theye shulde remane untill he harde frome his L., humbly requestinge him to releve him, beinge his poore bondsman, as he hadde often tym^{es} donn before, And so apou the same my L. of Ormonde repared towards Sr Morris his countrie havinge in his companye to attende upon him not passinge a houndrethe horsses

and thre houndrethe footemen or there abowtes, and not knowinge at all of my L. of Desmondes beinge in Sr Morrys his countrye entredde but the same daye, and so my L. of Ormondes horssees beinge weyre, rested apon a hill wthin thre myles of Sr Morris his howsse and a horsseman belonginge to my L. of Desmonde havinge knowledge thereof came to him and secretly enformed him of the same, and my L. of Desmonde toke the same verrey joyfullye, and askede the messing^r wheather my L. of Ormonde was there himselfe and he said 'no,' Then saide my L. of Desmonde 'lett us go appon them for they ayr butt yonge boyes and rascally, And we shall take them grasinge theire horsees.' But my L. P^ower perswadedo him there frome and saide 'my L. yt is beste you meddle not w^t them att all, for I dowte theye be a greater force then we ayre, Therefore retorne backe into my countrie where I shall bringe you in savetye, so that yf they wolde attempte anythinge againste you theye shall not be able to anoye you,' and further dyd perswade him not to meddle anye further consyderinge That he knewe that my L. Justice was comynge his waye towards Wallt^rforde, but all that wolde not staye him. Thero was another waye that wente towards Youghall, w^{che} lyethe frome the place where he campede them plane Sowthwarde, and my L. of Ormonde came directlye owte of the north so that he mighte haue gone saveley into his countrie, w^{che} was not passinge seven myles of; the reste of his captaynes perswadede him thereunto butt he wolde no otherwaise do but to go the nexte waye towards Lessemore, where he hadd a greate force of horsemen and footemen, that was appointed to repaire to hym that night into Sr Morris his countrie, w^{che} was letted, as God wolde have yt, by meanes of theire soddan metinge, for ells my L. of Ormonde had bene in dang^r nev^r to have retorne home yf the reste of the erles companye had comen to him before theye hadde mett; and so the erle of Desmonde sent forwardes and appointed his footemen to go before, and so they dyd, and m^rched towards a towne called Athemane where the feighte was, and my L. of Ormonde comynge downe frome the mountaines and keapte as he was appointed his highe waye towards Dromanoghe Sr Morrys his howse, and mighte have slayne all my L. of Desmondes fotemen if he had mente to have begonne the quarrell; for you shall understand that at Athemane aforesaide the two wayes mett and crossed, and my L. of Ormondes waye laye Sowthwarde and my L. of Desmondes westwarde, so that my L. of Desmondes footemen was passede on my L. of Ormondes righte hande, and then distante frome theire awne horsemen above a mylee; so that theye were at his devocion yf he hadde lyste to haue hadde to do w^t them; my L. of Desmonde, havinge my L. of Ormonde in seighte came appon the spurre, and as yt semede thoughte the tyme to longe tyll he mighte encount^r w^t him, and so brake owte of his awne waye, above thyrtye score or more, and gave the charge on my L. of Ormonde verrey desperatelye; and m^rke w^t all my L. of Ormonde sufferede my L. of Desmondes fotemen to crosse him his waye backe againe and joyned themselves w^t theire maist^r at the tyme when he gave the charge, and, for proffe, shott of theire peeces before my L. of Ormonde ev^r offerede to styre, and God that is the juste judge gave the victorie as you haue harde: So that w^{che} my L. of Ormonde dyd was in his awne defence. The daye of theire metinge was the fyrste of February a lyttill before the settinge of the sonne. There was no greate oddes in theyre companyes for as I can learne my L. of Ormonde hadde not passinge, twenty horsemen mo then hee, and threscore fotemen or there abowtes. Well M^r Secretorye truste me, yt was the happiste takinge that ev^r was in Irelande, and yf the matter hadd bene well handlede since, yt wolde, or nowe, so haue provede, for assuredlye he mente not at all to have come to the governor at this tyme, nor to have spoken wth him att all unlesse yt hade bene in the felde where he wolde haue bene stronger then hee; or ells appon safe conducte or protectyon, and this is moste trewe yf one may beleve his awne frendes and trusty s^rvants and besydes of my nawne knowledge I knowe of greate p^rsumpsyons that dothe rather make me to beleve the same. You shall further und^rstande there was a partye in makinge for my L. of Ormonde; yf this had not happenede my L. of Desmonde hadd marryede my L. of Dunboyne's daughter and soche shulde haue bene drawn frome him; and Sr Peres Butler of the Caire, he was assuredlye linkede wth my L. of Desmonde againste him, for proffe thereof he was at Lessmore wth a bande of horsemen comynge towards my L. of Desmonde. The practyses of Irelande be greate and not und^rstoode to all men that semes to haue knowledge thereof. I moste be foreede, lest I shulde be ov^r teddyous to you, cutte of a greate parte of my matt^r because I haue takin apou me to make discourse to you of other matt^rs. Yett I will not forgete howe John O desmonde was comynge towards his brother w^t a force w^t him, and the Traytors the Breues w^h hym; and others, as the Oconnors and other Traytors, were in the feld^e with his brother, whercof some slayne & takin and the reste escapede by

flyghte and swymynge. What greate frendshippe was & is betwene Shane O Nele and the Erle and his brother John I will omitt to wryte of, and for the Tooles & the Brynes what case theye are in and the reste of the Englishe paille I knowe that some of my companyons here hath stēfyde you the trewethe thereof; the wasting of countreyes, as Offayle for one, w^{che} is in maner halfe distroyede and wasted at the leste, and for Leasee yt is in maner clene ov^r ronne, for w^{thin} this fewe dayes there was a castle raisede downe and the tymbr^r burnede at nonedayes w^{thin} the harte of the countreye, and w^{thin} a daye aft^r thre soldyours of Capten Portas killede, and M^r Delves his howse was lyke to haue bene assultede, on Wednesday laste, for theye broughte their sealinge ladders w^{thin} lesse then a quart^r of a myle of yt. And the owte lawes be not in all paste faurescore men, and haue to followe and pursewe them thre houndrethe and fyfye men besydes the helpe of the countreye, whether this be well orderede or no yt is easely seen. My L. of Thomonde is allmoste banyshed owte of his countreye by the good healpe of my L. of Desmonde. He came to my L. Justice and desyrede ayde and was refusede, allthoughe that I and others of her Mat^{ies} army laye still and dyd nothinge, as we do styll and in maier haue donn, since the governor that nowe ys had the charge here. And towchinge lykely hoode of rebellyon that is lyke to ensewe, John O Desmonde for his parte hath a greate force to gethers, what his meaninge ys I knowe not, but belyke yt is for no goodnes, Shane O Nele dothe dayly enttene gonners galliglas and all other men of warre that he convenyently cann gett, and hath sent to my L. Justice to haue licence for the quenens galliglas to serve him, and p^rtendes as he wolde go upon the Scotts, but truste me he meanes no other but to make them assurede to him and to take their pledgg into his handes, to th^r entente to be sure of them for all advents, yf the reste of Aureleys shulde go to warre, as partly yt is to be ferede then will theye sure joyne w^t O Nele, w^{che} wil be worse matter then as yett is conceavede or consyderede of, but yf yt please the Quenes Maiestye she may nowe take some goodde ord^r for all the Weste partes of Irelande and the seure settling thereof, Bothe by sea and by lande consyderinge that my L. of Desmonde, Macarte, O More, and Swilly Mahere are nowe at her highenes commandment, allthoughe yt be againste their willes. I haue to sende you when yt is perfyttede a platte of the grounde where the erles mett for I wente thether myselfe to take the same to th^r entente to understande the trewethe, my L. Justice is not a lyttill gravelede w^t me therefore, and I know that his L. and others that will joyne w^t him will wryte as clene againste this as can be; but what I haue wryttin I will stande to, and no man shal be able to disprove anye parte thereof and thus I shall mooste humbly requeste you to take in the best parte this my rude and plane wrytinge for I meane not to the hinderance of any man as good [*sic*] shall judge me. Trustinge therefore that you will keape to yo^rselfe that w^{che} shall tow^{che} any man pryvatlye, and thus comyttinge you and all yo^r doing unto the Eternal God I ende.

"Frome Dublin the iiii^d of Aprill 1565.

"Yo^rs assurede to his small power to commande,

"GEORGE STANLEY.

Dorso : "3 April 1565, S^r George Stanley to my M^r."

SIR W. FYTZWYLLIAMS TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, VOL. XIII., NO. 6, ELIZ.

"The tryall of the ii erles doyngs I fear wyll not com to you yet thys moneth, for my L. Justyce in hys vii wycks lying at Waterford dyd lytell or nothyng therin, the Erle of Ormond is greatly greyyd that my L. of Desmonde had leve to specke wth whom he wold, secretly or openly, and to wryt at hys pleasur, consyderynge he was delyveryd as to be charged wth hygh treason, besyds thos w^{ch} by the law of thys realme ar treasone. So good an offer gven of God, and so over throne, I wyll not judge to fare, hath not lyghtly ben sen; but xx^{li} [\pounds 20,000] wyll not now by ow^t that w^{ch} (if he had ben but honorably kept, so it had ben wyth restraynt from common speche) myght haue ben had. I humbly seace and to God doleve you, who longe in helth wth increace of honor macke yo^r lyfe to be. From Thomas Couert besyde Dublyne the iiii^d of apryell 1565.

"Yo^r during lyfe ever asuryd
to command

"W. FYTZWYLLIAMS.

Dorso : "To the ryght honorable Syr Wylliam Cecill knight,
pryncipall secretory [to her Majes]ti."

DEPOSITIONS AND MEMORANDUMS. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS,
ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., NO. 9.

"Hereafter followeth the depositions of certain persons taken before us whose names are herunto subscribed at Clonmell the viiith of Ap^{ri}ll 1565.

"Furst Moriortaghe McEdmunde McShyhy captaine of galloglasses, of the age of xxv yerres or thereabouts, solemnly sworne upon the Holy Euangelists deposithe by Examyn Cahyr upon vertue of his othe that abouts the fyue of Julii last past, Teige McMoroghe O Brene, one of the proclaymed traytors of Thomonde, the obrenes. came over the Synenn into Connellaghe under the Erle of Desmonds rule, & requyred this deponents brother named Manus McEdmunde, one of the p^{ri}ncipall captaines of the Erle of Desmonds galloglasses, to goo over into Thomonde, with all the souldyos he could make, to assist him & his kinsmen against th^e Erle of Thomonde, offering to intertaine them well, and to do them then it was the said Erles pleasure & consent they should goo with [him], wher upon they went over wth him accordingly, to the number of ii^lxxx souldyos of galloglasses, & contynued there the space of xiii wicks annoying the said Erle of Thomonde & his adherents in taking away from them their goods & cattells to the utter most of their power. The cause of his knowledge is because he was at the tyme of the comyng over of Teige O Brien & also during the tyme of the said service in the company of his said brother Manus.

"Item the said Moriortaghe by vertue of his othe saith that the day of the conflict given betwixt the Erles of Ormonde & Desmonde one Lysaghe McMoroghe & Connor, a proclaymed traytor of the O Connors, was then in the conflict with th^e Erle of Desmonde. And shewith for cause of knowledge that he himselfe being then personally present in the said conflict wth the said Erle of Desmonde did see the said Lysage there then and knewe him well.

"Item by vertue of his othe he deposeth that th^e Erle of Ormonde might haue slaine all the Erle of Desmonds fotemen long er he & the said Erle did mete, if he listed. The cause of his knowledge is because Ormonde & his power stode still a good while harde by the fotemen wthout attempting to harme them till Desmonde gave the chardge with his horsmen and fotemen upon the said Ormond.

"Item he deposeth that Desmonde determined to tarrye in S^r Morishe Fitz Geraldts country in campe that night, after the day of the conflict given, if worde had not bene brought to him of Ormonds comyng into the country. The cause of his knowledge is by cause Desmonde & his hoste made cabans and tents there and sent to Down Garwane for wyne, and killed beaves to vittail them there that night.

"Item Moroghe brother to the said Moriortaghe, captain of galloglasses, of the age of xxii yerres or thereabouts, likewise solemnly sworne, agreethe wth the pre-contest towching the furst article in matter & cause of knowledge, saving he saith that Teige O Briene & Donoghe Mac Moroghe O Briene came over together to requyre his brother Manus and his souldyos to goe with them into Thomonde, and that they wente to the Erle of Desmonde to Corke (his brother Manus being then wth his L^{ty}) and after their reto^{ne}, diuers of his said brother Manus is men told this deponent that the said Erle had given his consent and good will that they shuld goe wth the said Teige and Donoghe into Thomonde, where they remayned & serued as the furst deponent deposed, and saith further that the proclaymed traytors of the O Briens toke iii or iiii castells from the possession of th^e Erle of Thomonde whiles they were there with them.

"Item he deposith that he harde his brother & diuers others say that Lysaghe McMoroghe was wth th^e Erle of Desmonde at the conflict betwixt Ormond & him, and that he himselfe did see some of the said Lysages men there then to the number of fyve or six, whom others of his fellowes & companions there did assure him to be the said Lysages men.

"Item to the thirde article agreethe with the said pre-contest, his brother, in matter & substance, cause of knowledge & all.

"Item to the fourthe agreethe lykewise wth his pre-contest in matter & substance cause of knowledge & all.

WALTER WHIT, Soffrayn.

NICHOLAS WHITE, Sen^r.

DAVID ROTHE, Justice.

WALTER ARCHER.

JOHN STRICHE.

FOWLKE QUEMERFORDE.

SIR THOMAS CLERE, vicar of Clonemell.

RICHARDE WHITE.

Per me HENRY WHITE.

Dorso: "Taken at Waterford 21 Ap^{ri}ll 1565."

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 17.

"The names of the chiefe of the Oconnors, being proclaymed traytors, as were mentayned by th erle of Desmonde & some of them slayne, wth him at the conflicte.

"Furst Arte O Connor brother to Cormocke & Cahir was slayne there.

"Lysaghe McMorroghe O Conno^r, cosein germayne to Cormocke & Cahir, was slayne there.

"Edmond McSheane Ballaghe O Conno^r slayne there also.

"Conno^r the son of Cormocke O Conno^r was sore hurtte there & escaped by taking the River.

"A kinsman of the Foxes called Donogho, wth divers other of ther company, were slayne at this conflicte.

"Art O Dorane a proclaymed traytor of Leax maynteyned and succorde by Johne of Desmond.

"Also Morrihirtaghe and Morroghe McShihye, traytors, brethren & sonnes to Edmond McShihie, captaynes of th' erle of Desmonds galloglas, whom the said Erle sent to ayde the proclaymed traytors of the O Brians into Thomonde, were taken prisoners at this conflicte, the moost of their soldiours slayne, themselves lefte prisoners in S^r Moris FitzGerald's custody, and remayne ther as yet.

"This Cahirs knowledge of the traytors of the O Brians, the traitors of Lex, or any others, being mentayned in th' Erle of Desmonds & his brothers countrey & company, yo^r L. may it please you comand him to declare.

Dorso: "Examynacions ou the Erle of Ormondes behalfe.

THE EARL OF DESMOND TO THE QUEEN. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 53.

"To the Quenes Moost excellent Majestie, Humbly shewith to yo^r Highnes youre Graces Orature, true and faithfull subiect, Gerald Erle of Desmond: wheare, after the deth of his wiff the late contesse of Desmond, yo^r Maties said suppliaunt, for the entier love and zeale he alwaies bare unto his said wiff, and therby after her death thinking to yoine in moore perfitt amitie with th erle of Ormound, then in the lief of his mother, sent his said wiffs suster, and his styward Gerrot Fitz John, unto the said Erle of Ormound, not onely offering but also hartly requiring him for the good will & dutie whiche he ought unto his said mother, that he would contynue his frendship & amitye towards yo^r said suppliaunt, and as for suche contrauersies as dependit betwene them yo^r said suppliaunt, would be content to abide th' order and adward of indifferent men to be chosen by their owne assents, wherunto the said Erle of Ormound made aunswer that for as moche as the L. Justice and counsell were appointed to be shortly at Waterfourd he would stand to no order wth him but suche as they would take, And yet notwthstanding, immediatly upon the same, staid not onely all the goods and chattels of yo^r said suppliaunt both in the Grenoghe, Clonmell, & els where he could com by the same, but also all the rents due unto yo^r said suppliaunt out of his said wiffs third parte grouen in her lief tyme, as by the particlers therof shall appeare unto yo^r highnes, and styll detayneth the same contrary to all lawe and justice. And although yo^r said suppliaunt by the said unjust demeano^r mought well have conceavid that the said Erle of Ormound had no good meanyng towards him, yet in respect of his former aunswer, and that yo^r said suppliaunt & he stood bound in seuerall recognizaunces of great somes to y^r Highnes for obseruing & keping yo^r Maties peace, he nothing les dubted then that that hapt. And remaynyng upon the borders of his contrey abyding the comyng of yo^r highnes L. Justice to Waterfourd, where by his seuerall l^{res} he did apoint yo^r said suppliaunt to attend upon him, sondry complaints were exhibited unto yo^r said suppliaunt against diuers malefactors under S^r Morish Fitz Gerald, in the Decies, being alwaies parsell of the house of Desmond, where upon yo^r said suppliaunt sent diuers tymes to the said S^r Morish for redresse therof, but the said S^r Morish delaing of the tyme and fyding yo^r said suppliaunt wth faire promises, by all lickloode of purposse purpensid to trapp yo^r said suppliaunt, as in fine it happened, by the comyng of the said Erle of Ormound, as it is thought by th' only drift of the said S^r Morish, aunswerid nothing to th' effects of yo^r said suppliants demands w^{ch} were no other but that the said Sir Morishe would put in pledgg to make satisfaction of suche felloines & roberies as should be provid duely to be done & comittid by him & his upon the inhabitaunts of yo^r said suppliants contrey, & to apoint a certain day for th' examinacion therof; at what tyme he should have like restitution to him & his of all suche things as they should duelye prove to have bene comittid against them or eny of them, by yo^r said suppliants men or eny of them.

Upon w^{ch} yo^r said Orato^r came into the Deacies aforesaid to make a distresse wherby he myght bring the said Sir Morish to condissend to his reasonable requests, w^{ch} so taken, did departe quietly homwards wthout any hostilitie attemptid w^{ch} thing yo^r said suppliant & other his auncestours upon like ocaation hath usid to doo tyme out of mynd as in that land, w^{ch} is parcell of the house of Desmond & liable to their distresse; and so sending his footmen before him in yo^r Graces highway homwards, w^{ch} were in nombre abowtts 1 gallaglasses & iii^{xx} kerne, youre said suppliant taring behind his said footmen to stay suche hurts as mought be done by straglers that sought for buties, Sodenly diseried th^r erle of Ormond marching in battell ray' with baner displaid & trumpett sunding, towards the footmen of yo^r said suppliant, accompanied with xi^{xx} horsmen of w^{ch} nombre xvi horsmen were suche as dwell under the rule of Capten Herne, iiii^c galloglasses and as many kerne, ii^c hagbutters, upon w^{ch} yo^r said suppliant made as moche hast as he could to ouertake the said Erle thinking by his presence to stay the said Erle from using eny force contrary to yo^r highnes peace, but the said Erle, perceavinge the comyng of yo^r said suppliant being in the highway betwen yo^r said suppliant & his footmen, gave ouere his marche from the footmen & bent all his force toward yo^r said suppliant, wth baner displaid & trumpett sunding the allarme, wherby yo^r suppliant, being out of all hope to obserue yo^r Maties peace, was enforced in sauegard of himself & his footmen to encounter the said Erle, having onely that way homward, w^{ch} they kept, yo^r said suppliant being in nombre but lvi horsmen, by reason wherof yo^r said suppliant was stryken doune by shott of hagbut through his leg, and woundid dangerously in iiii seuerall places of his body, besides diuers bruises wth punshing stanes, and taken prisonere, and after, the said erle chased the seru^{ants} of yo^r said suppliant by the space of ii myles; and in the same wilfully kylled & morderd of yo^r Maties subiects the nombre of iii^c whose names were to longe to rehearse, contrary to yo^r Maties lawes, and to the evill example of all yo^r Maties subiects, of whom the greater nombre were innocents that bare no weapon, w^{ch} came thither in hope to have restitution & satisfaction of suche goods & chattells as were taken from them by the malefactors of the said Sr Morish. And suche as by happe did escape the force of the said Erles men thought by swimyng ouere a certen ryuer to save their lieffs, but the poore men being disceavd of their hoppe found the same ryuere full of boats freitid wth the said Sr Morish's men, who moost cruelly morderd wth stones, staves and other wepons, the greater nombre of the poore simers in the ryuere, so that what by meanes of the said Erle by land, & the said Sr Morishe by water, fewe or none escapid; whiche provicion of boats, as a thing not sene or then to haue bene usid, prove this mattier to haue bene before proposid & thought of. And after this great morder comittid upon yo^r Maties subiects, yo^r said suppliant was lede a captive by the said Erle of Ormond to a p^rivate prison of his owne, wher no man was sufferid to speke wth yo^r said suppliant, but suche as pleased the said Erle of Ormond, and notwthstanding that yo^r highnes L. Justice, thinking not meet that an erle should remayn in dures in the privat prison of any subiect, did addresse his l^{res} at seuerall tymes for th^r enlardgement of yo^r said suppliant yet contrary to the tenno^r & effect of the said l^{res}, and to the great contempt of yo^r highnes state there, he was not enlarged till long tyme after it pleased the said Erle of Ormond & his officers to assent therunto, so at length he was broughte by the said Erle to the cyttie of Waterford, with sounding of trumpett and gunne shott, in suche tryumphant sort as though he were an open enemye or traytours rebell to yo^r highnes, the whole inhabitants of the cyttie staring & wondering & diuersly speking thereon, to yo^r said suppliaunts shame slander & dishonor: and notwthstanding yo^r highnes L. Justice & counsell being then in the cyttie, the said Erle of Ormond, to agment wth his contempt, kept yo^r said suppliant in dures wth him the space of ii or iii nights, tyll by meanes of yo^r L. Justice there he was deliuered into his hands, and to the augmentation of the contumacie & disobedience of the said erle against yo^r highnes auctoritie & lawes, he & the said Sir Morish did kepe, & yet doth, for aught yo^r suppliant knowith, in their seueral p^rivate jayles, diuers of yo^r highnes subiects, seru^{ants} to yo^r said suppliant, refusing to bring them to their answers before yo^r Mats L. Justice and counsell, thinking to put them as it should seame to their fines & ransoms, to the notoriouse & evill example of all those that are contemptners of yo^r Maties lawes. And yet the said Erle, not so satisfied by all these former iniuries offerid to yo^r said suppliant, and in further contempte of yo^r highnes lawes sent for one John Fitz Gerrott, a seru^{ant} of yo^r said suppliant, under pretense to have spoken wth him, abowtte eight of the clock at night, w^{ch} comyng to the said Erle was sodenly imp^rsonid in a hand boke and by water conveyed to the house of one Patricke Foster, serunt to th^r erle of Ormond, named the Clogaghe wth in the countie of Kylkeny, wher, hither to for aught yo^r said suppliant knowth, he is kept in

straight dures, wthout eny just cause or collo^r of right, and yet the said erle having no regard to the amendement of eny his former misdemeano^{rs}, but rather as one persisting in the same, and willing to attempt farther as it should [seem], by reason no punishments was extended unto him for the premiss, abowts a xii or xiii daies after, did by like engine as before, and by his owne auctoritie as it weare, setting at naught yo^r Ma^{ty}, take one Gerrot Fitz John, styward to yo^r said suppliant, and him detayned in his owne private prison the space of v or vi daies contrary to all lawe & justice, notwthstanding any meanes that myght be used by the L. Justice & Counsell commaunding him to the contrary, wherby suche terror & feare was dryven into the harts of all yo^r said suppliants servants & followers, as none durst come out of his contrey unto him wth any kinde of necessary furniture or reliefe, to his no small incommoditie & discomfort, w^{ch} hath brought yo^r said suppliant to suche extremitie, that he is not hable to manteyne himself according to his estate & calling, but is enforced to live wth neede & want in an unwounded wise. The premiss considerid, May it please yo^r excellent Ma^{ty}, of yo^r accustomid zeale in executing Justice and reliving of the afflictid, to consider herof, as to yo^r excellency shall seme moost convenient. And yo^r said suppliant shall pray to the highest for the long preseruacion of yo^r Ma^{ty} most prosperous reigne."

ANSWER OF THE EARL OF ORMONDE. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS,
ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 66.

"The answeare of Thomas Erle of Ormond to the Byll of compl^t of Gerald Erle of Desmounde.

"The said Erle of Ormounde saieth that the said byll of compl^t against hym exhibyted is verey untrue and sclanderous, and devysed only by the said Erle of Desmounde to cloke, hyde, and cover such his unlawfull and evill enterpryses, as he hath oftentimes comytted wth in your Highnes said realme of Irelande, and not uppon any iust cause of compl^t. And as unto the message and request of friendshippe, beinge the first matter or cause of compl^t in the said byll mencioned, w^{ch} the said compl^t sermyseth that for the affection he bare unto his late wyffe he sent to the said deff^t, the said deff^t saieth and confesseth that true it is the said compl^t sent the said Gerot Fitz-John wth suche like message in effecte as is conteyned in the said byll, but whether for amytye or frenshippe or rather for some other secrett practise and deceyte towardes the said deff^t, the sequell of the cause doth best declare. Howbeyt for that the said compl^t had dyvers tymes therefore maid proffer to abyde ord^r and award, touchinge the causse dependenge betwene hym and the said deff^t, and wold nev^r performe the same, but under colo^r of faire woordes oftentimes used fyver and swerd in the cuntry of the said deff^t, and against your highnes subjects wthin his domynyons; the said deff^t therefore maid answere unto the said messenger, that the Lord Justice and counsaile wold be shortly at Waterford, and that he wold stand to and abyde such ord^r as they wold take. The w^{ch} answere the said deff^t thinketh was so reasonable that the said compl^t ought well to have liked thereof, and the defendant was the rather moved thereto for that the said compl^t had so often broken the orders taken by the Gouvernors and Counsell of Ireland, as the said deff^t had thereby the more cause to doubte the execucion of any order that should betaken by persones of lower qualitee; and as to the goodes, chattells and rents w^{ch} the said compleynant untruly sermyseth that the said deff^t should wrongefully take receyve and deteyne, the said deff^t saieth that the said goodes and chattells were eyther belonginge unto the late Erle of Ormond, late father unto the said deff^t, or comynge of th^r encrease thereof; and that the said deff^t and his late mother were ionte executors unto his said late father, and that the said deff^t, beinge survyvor of the said executors after the death of his said mother, did receyve and take the same as by the lawe he mought lawfully doe, and as to the stayinge and receyvinge of the said rents in the said byll mencioned, the said deff^t saith That he never stayed or receyved any of the same, albeith he thinketh he mought well to have done for the some of one thowsand pounds or thereabouts in w^{ch} the said compl^t standeth indebted to hym; and as unto the compleyns w^{ch} the said compl^t alledgeth should be exhibyted unto hym for certaine felonies and robberies comitted by dyvers malefactors under S^r Morish Fitz Gerald in the Diecies, beinge parcell of the howse of the said compl^t as he alledgeth, and lyable to his and his ancestors destress tyme out of mynde, he said deff^t, not acknowledginge any such auctorytie in the said compl^t for punisshinge or redressinge of iniuries comitted as the said compl^t chalengeeth, praiseth, that for somuch as the said matter toucheth the said S^r Morish Fitz Gerald and not the said deff^t, that the

same may be referred over unto hym. Neverthelesse the said Deff^t saith that the hole cuntry or terrytorye of the said Decies is wthin the county of Waterford and clerely exempted from the rule and ord^r of the said compl^t, as appereth dyrectly by your highnes recordes in Ireland, and so neyther lyable unto the said compl^t his distresse, nor never heretofore hath bene used rightfully so to be, neyther by the governors of Ireland hath bene permytted so to be; and albeyt such offences had bene comytted to the inhabytants of the said compl^t his country as in the said byll is mencioned, as to the knowledge of the said deff^t were not, yet the said deff^t thinketh yt neyther was nor is lawfull for the said compl^t, under tittle or color of any such prescrypcion by hym uniustly chalenged w^{ch} is not avaylable in lawe, to rayse any such power at his owne wyll and pleasure and wthout comyssyon from your highnes or your counsell there, to make invasyon into any parte of your Ma^{ty}s realme of Ireland, and in warlike manor and under pretence of rectyfyinge, to burne your subiects howses, to murder the inhabytants there, and to spoyle them of their goodes and chattells as the said compl^t hath done, as upon the declaracion of the said Morish at his hyther comynge more plainely shall appere: neyther was the same any good meane to cause the said S^r Moriyshe to come to good order, but only a plaine declaracion of the said compl^t his over bold and unlawfull entente, and occacion of the harme that happened as by the said compl^t his owne confession in the said byll may easely be perceaved. And as unto the marcheinge of the said deff^t in battell raye wth such numbr^e of persones wth baner displayed and trumpett soundinge, and to the residue of the said mysdemenors in the said Byll untruly sermysed, the said deff^t saith, That he havinge intelligence by dyvers persones inhabytynge in the said compl^t his cuntry, That the compl^t wth great power was determyned shortly to spoyle the deff^{ts} cuntry, The deff^t therefore accompanied wth his owne servants wth all spede repayed into the cantrede of Clonmell beynge wthin the Terrytory of the said deff^t, leavinge woord that his brethern, S^r Edmund Butler, James and Edward, should repaire thither to hym for the defence and mayntenance of his said cuntry; and proceedinge in his journey, one of S^r Morish Fitz Garets men metinge the deff^t delyvered hym a letter from his said Mr, whereby he was in most earnest maner requyred by the said S^r Morish, That for as much as the said compl^t did purpose to invade and spoyle the cuntry of the said S^r Morish or of the said deff^t, and that the said S^r Morishe had no place of succor or refuge for his cattell within his owne cuntry, that the said deff^t wold fetch and take the same into his defence, as the said deff^t had upon like occacion done dyvers tymes before, upon sight whereof the said deff^t, moch moved at the earnest request of the said S^r Morish, and merveylynge at the straunge dealinge of the said compl^t, and consideringe also the said S^r Morishe to be a free subiecte answerable only to your highnes and your lawes, and not to the wyll of any other subiecte, determyned to do what in hym lay to save the cattell of the said S^r Morish from the cruel and vyolent spoyle of the compl^t, and to conducte the same under his defence; and travellinge forwarde, one of the compl^{ts} men named Donough Beg, brought woord to the said compl^t (Lyynge in campe at Whitechurch iiiii myles from the place where the conflicte was, and havinge kylled lx beaves and sent for wyne to Dungarvane to vtyuall his campe mynedinge to have camped there that night) that the deff^t was goinge over the mountaines toward Dromany, beynge the apointed place by the said S^r Moriyshe where his cattell should be receyved, where upon the compl^t comaunded his said servant to gyde hym the next way towards the said deff^t and his company, sayynge he was suer to fynde their horss unbrudeled, themselves werey after their travell, and skattered abroad, and thereupon said and accompted all to be his owne to kyll or to save whom he liked, w^{ch} his said woordes openly disclosed his entente, and w^{ch} to accomlishe he presently put in uze, and sent forth all his fotemen before towards the said deff^t, and his company, w^{ch} said fotemen passed and retorned over the high way so nere to the said deff^t that he mought haue kylled theme longe before the comynge of the said compl^t, or before any relieffe or succor cold haue bene brought to theme, if he the said deff^t had ment hurt or destresse to theme (as in truth he did not), but suffred theme to depart againe unto the said compl^t, who presently leavinge other highe wayes that he had to passe home, wth his whole power of horsemen and fotemen joyned together, wold nedes geve the chardge upon the said deff^t, who in the defence of hymselfe and of his men cold not chose but wthstand the charge aforesaid for the save gard of their lyves, and so the hurt which the said compl^t and his men receyved was only by the assaulte of the said compl^t and his men, and further the said deff^t saith that if he of purpose prepensed had intended such force or vyolence against the said compl^t (as the compl^t sermyseth) he mought haue brought a greater numbr^e of his owne men then he did, also he wold not haue lefte the greater parte of his galeglass behynd hym, neyther haue suffered the more part of

his men to leave their sherts of mayle behynd theme, but as he mought haue used the helpe of a greater numb^r of his owne men then he did, so mought he haue joynd his force w^{ch} the power of the said S^r Morishe, w^{ch} he did not, and haue taken his advantage of the compl^{ts} fotemen as aforesaid, w^{ch} he did not, neyther did the said deff^t leave the highwaye towards his iourney to encounter the said compl^t, as the compl^t left his, neyther had the said deff^t any ansynge, banner, drum or fyffe, save only one trumpeter, the w^{ch} was the said deff^t his howsehold servant and used allwayes to ryde wth hym, who sounded not untill the chardge was geven upon the said deff^t by the said compl^t; neyther had the deff^t in his company any men, save such as he or his bretherne gave wages unto, ner any moe hagbutters in his company save only to the numb^r of viii (if there were so many) w^{ch} also did not dischargd ner shote of at all, as the said compl^t hath untruly declared, for that the deff^{ts} fotemen were not come to the fyght when the compl^t wth his hole force of horsemen and fotemen sett upon the said deff^t. In w^{ch} said conflicte the said compl^t was apprehended and taken and dyvers of his company slayne of their owne assaults, the certeine number whereof the deff^t knoweth not, albeyt he is well assured that a great number of theme were such as haue bene notorious and proclaimed traytors and rebells unto your highnes and your said realme of Ireland; and as for the imprysonment of the said compl^t, the deff^t thought yt his dutey to kepe hym saffe as your highnes prysoner, tyll your further pleasure were knowen, havinge broken your Ma^{ts} peace upon hym, burned and spoyled your Ma^{ts} subiects dwelling under S^r Morysh Fitz Gerald, in the countye of Waterford, & at that tyme fyndinge notorious and proclamed rebells and traytors then in his company and dyvers other hayonous offences that he had comitted against your highnes; and further the said deff^t saith that after the tyme of the said compl^t his apprehensyon he never used hym amyse ner restrayned hym from accesse of any of his frendes to hym, savinge that he did not suffer the said compl^t to haue secrett conference wth theme, but at the compl^t his owne request sent hym to a knyswoman's howse of his owne, where also his frendes had free libertye to come to hym; and after the deff^t bringinge hym to the cittyte of Waterford, savely kepte hym there, untill the Lord Justice there by his comaundment he was delyvered; and as for the deteyninge in pryson of dyvers other persones w^{ch} were apprehended at the said conflicte the said deff^t saith that dyvers and sundry of theme haue bene sythens lawfully condempned for dyvers felonies and robberies by theme comytted in the countye of Tipperary, and dyvers others of theme beinge indicted for the like offences, be deteyned to be tryed and adiudged for dyvers other notable and notorious felonies and robberies by theme heretofore comytted and the done; and as unto the apprehensyon of the said John Fitz GERALTE, and the compl^t his steward, the deff^t saith, that he havinge perfecte knowledge and intellygence that they were conversant ayders and succours of Cormock O Conner, one of the proclamed traytors of Ofaly, the deff^t therefore caused theme to be apprehended as he mought lawfully doe by warrant of the Lord Justice and Counsellis Lettres; and further the deff^t saith that the said compl^t before this tyme hath dyvers and sundry tymes threatened to murder and kyll the said deff^t, and hath layed ambusses to kyll hym in his owne cuntry, and hath reported he wold haue the deff^t his head stricken of, if he hawked or hunted in the hart of his owne cuntrye, By reason whereof yt stode the deff^t upon for savegard of his owne liffe to have good gard allwaies about hym; Also the said compl^t in contempt of all proclamacions sett forth by your Ma^{ts} to the contrary hath adyed mayneteyned and encoraged the Borks, Ryans, and Gracs, notable traytors and rebells, w^{ch} spoyled and burned the deff^{ts} cuntrye, comytted horryble murders wthin the same upon your highness ubiects, and haue sundry tymes sought meane to kyll the deff^t; and the said compl^t also sythens the last comyng over into England of th^e erle of Sussex, your Ma^{ts} leveten^{ante}, hath receyved, ayded and maynteyned the O Brenes, the O Conors and O Mores beinge proclaimed traytors and rebells, who haue contynually rebelled against your highnes, and haue some of theme ioyned alyauce wth the Scotts and brought dyvers of theme into Ireland, and haue spoyled your highnes subiects wthin the Englishe pale, as well in Offaly and Leix as in the counties of Kyldare, Catharlaghe, Kylenie and Typparie. wastinge and consumminge their goodes and chattells, burninge their howses and murderinge men women and childers, not sparinge any cruelty they mought haue used wth fyre and swerd (the said compl^t beinge the only refuge and succor of the said rebellyouse malefactors). Also the compl^t hath releved and kept in his cuntry a great number of souldyours of the notorious proclamed traytors of the O Byrens, w^{ch} haue bene exyled and banished by your highnes leveten^{ante} Th^e erle of Sussex, by your highnes comaundm^t, out of Thomonde, not able to abyde our rest in any place nere hande, haue bene ayded and mayneteyned

by the compl^t, as of late he did in sendinge three hundred armed galeglass to ayd and succor theme as the said deff^t is well able to prove, Also the said Traytor Cormock O Connor, havinge of late practised to bringe a power of men out of Scotland into Ireland, hath bene secretly kept in the said Erle of Desmond's cuntry, dyvers messengers have secretly passed betwene the said compl^t and Shane O Nell, and dyvers other secrett confederacies and practiss to noe good entent or purpose. And further the deff^t saith that he hath a boke conteyninge dyvers artycles of murders, burninges, spoyle and other grevous offences comytted by the said compl^t, his brother, servantes and retynewe, w^{ch}, wth all other the premisses, the deff^t is readie to verefye and prove and to showe to your highnes, w^{ch} said unlawfull factes and disobedyence before remembred, in manor and forme before comytted, besides dyvers and many other great offences not here remembred, doth directly prove that the said compl^t did mynd & entend in the said conflicte and affray to murd^r & kyll y^r said deff^t & his said company, if god almightie had not succored & releved theme: of all w^{ch} y^e pmisses, together wth the afflicted stayte of the said realme of Ireland, beinge maid of late through the most cruell & unlawfull delinges of the said compl^t more myserable then heretofore, the said deff^t most humbly besecheth your highnes to haue consideracion of; w^{thout} that the said compl^t, after the said destresse in the said bill mencioned supposed to be taken, did quietly depart home wardes w^{thout} any hostylytie attempted, or that the said compl^t had no greater number of horsemen & fotemen then in the said byll is mencioned, or that the said deff^t had in his company such numb^r of horsemen, kernes and galeglasses as in the said byll is also untruly sermysed, or that he had in his company any horsemen other then such as he or his bretherne geve wages unto, or that the compl^t did what in hym lay to haue observed your Mat^s peace, or that the deff^t was causer or begynner of the said conflicte and affraye, or that the compl^t was enforced of necessity to encounter the deff^t, or y^t he had but only y^t way homeward w^{ch} the deff^t kept, or y^t the compl^t was stricken downe or wounded otherwise then of necessitie he must haue bene for y^e safeguard of the lyves of those y^t he assaulted, or y^t the deff^t chased the servantes of the compl^t by the space of ii myles, or that the great numb^r of the said persones y^t were slayne were innocents w^{thout} weapon and such as came to have restitution & satisfaction of their goodes & chattells, or y^t the residue of y^e said compl^t his Company that escaped y^e conflicte were mured wth stones, staves and other weapons in y^e ryv^r, or that y^e said ryv^r was freyghted wth botes for the same purpose to y^e knowledg of this deff^t, or y^e the said matter was before purposed & thought of by the deff^t, or y^t the said compl^t was kepte or deteyned in pryson in any other manor or forme then heretofore in this answer is confessed, or y^t the deff^t contrary to the tenor & effecte of the Lord iustice Lettres deteyned the compl^t in pryson, or y^t the deff^t doth wrongefully deteyne in pryson any of the compl^t's servantes, or doth wrongefully fyne & ransom theme, or y^t he the said deff^t did wrongefully take and imprysone the said John Fitz Gerot and the said Gerott Fitz John, or that the said compl^t by the meane of the deff^t is dryven to such nede wante and necessitye as in the Byll is also most slanderously and untruly sermysed, And w^{thout} that there is any other matter or thinge in the said byll conteyned materyall to be answered unto and not here in this answer suffycently confessed and avoyded denyed or traversed is true: all w^{ch} matters the said deff^t is readie to averr and prove as your highnes wyll award, and praieth as he before in this said answer hath praied &c.

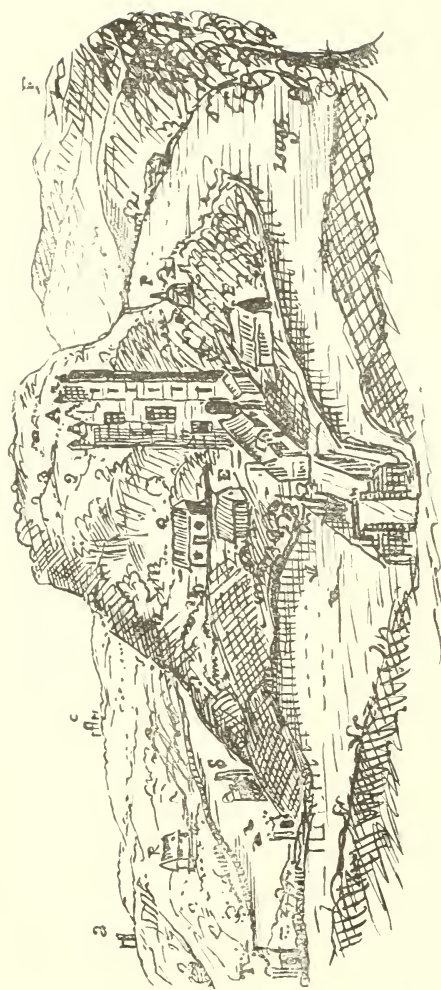
Dorso [in Lord Burghley's hand.] "6 Junii 1565.

"Th'erle of Ormonds answ^r."

THE QUEEN'S LETTERS TO THE EARLS OF ORMOND AND DESMOND. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., NOS. 39 AND 40.

"To th'erle of Ormond.

"R^t &c. We grete you well. We cannot but mislike very much to understand that you & the Erle of Desmond have mett in such manner of hostility one against the other w^t so great number of o^r subjects, contrary to our peace & directly against such orders & bonds as both of you have heretofore acknowledged for th observing of the peace & obeyeng of orders to be taken betwixt you & the said Erle by our commissioners, nevertheles considering we are not yet certainly informed otherwise then by yo^r owne Lettre & a short report from y^e Justice there how this disorder begann, nether w^{ch} of you is principally in the faulte, we have thought it metest to have you both



A—The Castle. S—The Ruines of Black Castle. T—The Gatehouse. V—The Long bridge, wth Drawbridges. B—The New Church.
D—Carrickmore Hill. e—Racamon. a—Drummon. Q—Stableing E—Barnes. P—The Pigeon house. F—Knock Fennel.

LOUGH GUR.

[From Dineley's Tour in Ireland, Temp. Chas. II.]



THE BLACK CASTLE AND CAUSEWAY, LOUGH GUR.

[From a drawing by the late G. V. De Nover.]



BOURCHIER'S, OR THE NEW CASTLE, LOUGH GUR.

[From a drawing by the late G. V. De Noyer.]

to make yo^r repaire to o^r presence, meaning thereby & by other good meanes not only to understand the maner of this disorder from the beginning to the ending, but also ther upon to reforme the same as reason, wheresoever we shall find the fault iustly to be. And therefore we will & command you to make yo^r repaire hither to us w^t such convenient spede as using the advyse therein of o^r Justice shall seme mete & agreeable for the repose & quietnes of yo^r contrey. And because it shall be mete for you to leave some person of creditt to governe the contrey in yo^r absence, we will & charg you to have good regard that the same be preserved in quietnes, & that due obedience may be shewed to such as we have given our Justice in commandment to appoint to remayn in those parts on o^r behalf.

“To th’erle of Desmond.

“We grete you well. We mislike very much to heare, as we have of late by report, that you & th’erle of Ormond, being both accompanied & fortified w^t great multitude of o^r subiects, in hostile manner have fought together, & therby, besides that yo^rself was hurt, no small number of o^r subiects have been slayne to o^r great discontentacion. And because we perceave our peace in this notably broken, our people & subiects under both yo^r rules dayly in danger of ruyn, & not knowing in w^{ch} of you two the cause of this disorder is, we have determined & think it mete that both you & the said Erle of Ormond should make yo^r repaire hither to o^r presence. And that as some as o^r Justice there shall find it convenient & agreeable to the quyett of those parts. And therefore we will & command you to make yo^r repaire hither w^tout excuse or delay, other then such as o^r Justice there shall allowe to be necessary, to whom we have written so to direct you for yo^r comming, & to cawse due examination to be had by all manner of meanes of the causes of this late great disorder, w^t the circumstances ther unto due. And we will & charg you to have good regard in the committing of the governance of yo^r contrey in yo^r absence, that o^r people & subiects living in the same may enioy & kepe quietnes & peace, and obey such persons as o^r Justice by o^r order shall lett you knowe that we have appointed to remayn in those parts as o^r commissioners for governance of those contreys.

Dorso : “M. to Th’ Erles of Desmonde,
& Ormond, 20 Febr. 1564.”

Lough-gur having been mentioned at p. 48, *supra*, as the place where some of the followers of Desmond lay, till cured of the wounds received in the conflict at Affane, we may mention here that it was one of the most remarkable strongholds of the Earls of Desmond. Thomas Dineley, who visited it in the reign of Charles II., describes the Lough as a large moat encompassing an island, and there could not be a better description given of the peculiar features of the place. The plate which faces this page is a fac-simile of Dineley’s drawing, and although it somewhat exaggerates the natural conformation, yet we can vouch for its general faithfulness. The castle and bridge shown in the foreground were built by the Bouchiers after Desmond’s fall, but the old Desmond fortress, called the Black Castle, and which was ruinous even in Dineley’s time, is shown in his sketch. Of this castle of the Desmonds, as well as of a general view of Lough-Gur, we are enabled to give the accompanying plates, engraved at the cost of Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, from drawings by the late G. V. Du Noyer, Esq. The island in the lake is called Knockadoon, and is connected with the land by a causeway (shown in the plate), solidly built of stone, 432 feet long, by 22 feet wide. It is 7½ feet high on the eastern, and about 10 feet on the western side. It was the only approach to the island, was defended by a castle (long since levelled to the ground, but shown in Dineley’s sketch), placed 77 feet from the head of the causeway. The foundations of this castellated gateway are quite visible, and are 23½ feet square. 162 feet farther on is a very wide and deep foss; and 177 feet from this, at the insular end of the causeway, still stand the ruins of a fortified gateway, from which a strong wall was drawn along the edge of the lake till it met the Black Castle. ‘This castle,’ observes Dineley, ‘during the time of the Irish Rebellion was always a garrison for one side or the other; beside, being in an island of above a mile in circumference, encompassed with a large and deep Lough or Poole, it was a receptacle not only for man but beasts to defend from the enemy. Lough-gur is seven miles from Limerick.’ See ‘Journal,’ vol. vi., p. 195. Mr. John Fitzgerald, of The Cottage, whose residence is close by, in whom the antiquities of the locality possess an efficient and zealous guardian, and to whose information we are indebted for the measurements and details of the causeway and its defences, adds that this Earl Garret, taken prisoner at Affane, and who, after-

wards, by his unhappy rebellion, worked the ruin of his house, is, in popular tradition, the guardian spirit of Lough-gur. He is held beneath its waters by enchantment, which will cease, and he shall return to life, when the silver shoes of his grey charger, which he rides over the surface of the lake once in seven years, are worn out.

Some twenty years ago the waters of the lake were lowered by drainage works, and the causeway is no longer the only approach to the island. When the waters were drawn off, great store of antiquities, ranging from the stone and bronze period down to historic ages, were found, thus proving that Lough-gur was a stronghold, even in pre-historic times—a fact no less patent from the wonderful megalithic remains which encircle its shores. It is firmly believed by the people that those engaged in the draining of the lake have been all visited by the retributive punishments of death or exile.

Page 22, line 48. *Remained prisoner in the Tower of London.*

During Desmond's detention in England, he wrote several letters protesting his loyalty, and of one of these, by the kindness of Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, we are here enabled to submit to the Association a fac-simile executed by Netherclift of London. The letter reads as follows :—

"In most humblest wise my duetie to your honourable estates remembrid, For as moch as I vnderstand that swete is made by my Brother, S^r John, to haue a chardge into the west partes of Ireland for the suppression of the rebelles ther, the whiche if it should come to passe would geve me an occasion to thinke that your honnours do either suspect my trewe and loyall seruice towards my soveraigne Lady the Quene, or els do judge me vnhable to geve them the overthrowe, whiche besedes that they are traytours to her Mat^{ie} so haue they bene vtter enemyse and spoylers of all my patrymony. For answeere wherof and especially for my good mynd towards the Quenes mat^{ie}, God who knoweth the secrettes of all mens harts *save me or els dampne me as my hart is well bent* towards her hignes, besedes the which I haue offred good Suerties for the good performans of my duetie hereafter and that for *the obtainynge of my Libertie into my contrey*, whereby I do not doubt but like as I am best hable, so in shortest tyme, and that with lesse chardge to her mat^{ie} I should bothe quiette the contrey *and bring the rebelles to utter confusion*. These are therefore humbly to requeste your honours to stand so good vnto me as to be a meane to her mat^{ie} to grant me the prefermente of the matter before any other. Wherin I shall thinke myself most bound vnto her hignes in *vouchsafing to repose so greate a truste in me, and here withall* I do promisse so to behave myself therin as that her mat^{ie} shall hereafter haue good cause to thinke well of my seruices, and thus eftsones requesting your honours to stand good unto me I humbly take my leave, from Sentleger House the xxth of August 1571.

"Your honours most bounden,
"GEROT DESMOND.

"To the right honorable
the Quenes mat^{ies}
most honorable
privie Counsell."

As will be seen, the body of the letter is written by an amanuensis—Desmond's signature alone being in autograph. Compared even with the handwriting of his contemporaries, the rudeness of his autograph is remarkable, and it is probably only a mechanical "mark," the Earl being unable to write more than his name. The italics represent passages which have been underscored in the original.

ERRATUM.

At page 6, line 22, *for* Crohana *read* Crohana.

In most humblest wise my duety to y^e honorable estate remembred
 shewest as I understand that justice is made by my lord
 for the suppression of the rebellion here. The justice is it
 should seem to pass would give me an occasion to shew
 that y^e honors do viler support my honor & loyal service
 towards my sovereign lady the Queen. or else do judge
 me doubtful to give you the difference with bested that
 for and hereby to for me to have for some letter
 and speech of all my patrimony. for answer
 and specially for my good might towards the
 Queen's majesty god rest her soul the better of all men
 earth also me or else dampned me as my heart is well
 bent towards her service, beside the rest I have offered
 good service for the good service of my duety.
 for as the the other things of my service into
 my service, which I do not doubt but that as I am best
 able to do in the best time. and that will be ready to for
 me to give quiet the country and bring the rebellion to
 their confusion, and are therefore humbly to request y^e honors
 to stand so good like me as to be assured to for me. to
 thank me the government of the matter before any other
 person I shall shew myself most bound unto you
 for in unwilling to step so great abuse in
 me, and therefore I do promise to be before myself
 for as that for me the full provision shall good cause
 to shew well of my service, and have yet some
 something y^e honors to stand good like me. I humbly
 bid my friends from Gwent, your humble servant
 of the 15th of July 1571

y^e honors most bound on

To the right honorable
 the Queen's majesty
 most honorable
 Council

Robert Curlew



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