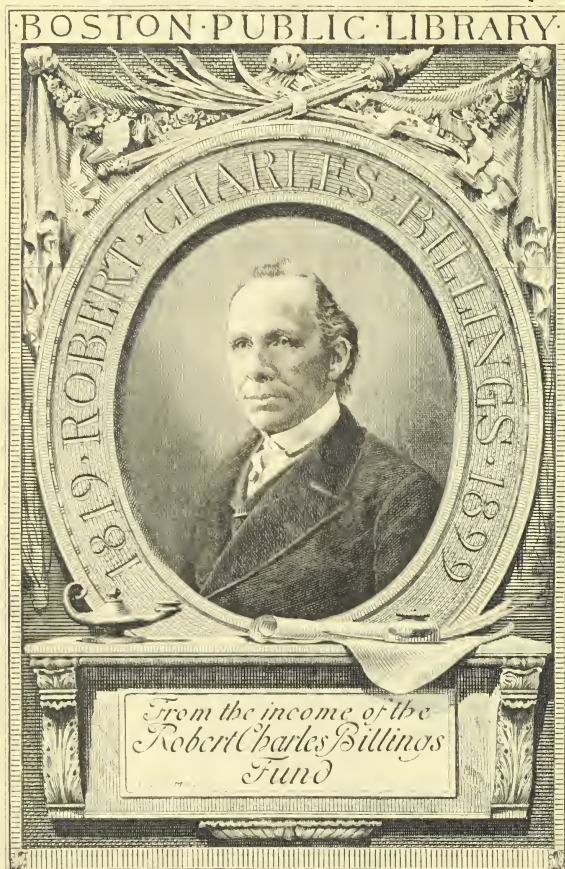


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No. 2.

THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

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

It is much to be regretted that one so capable of editing this collection of Geraldine Documents as the Rev. Samuel Hayman has been compelled, by the increased demands of professional duties, to relinquish the task which, at my urgent entreaty, he, with some reluctance, originally undertook. This unwillingness arose from the fear that his time was no longer his own; and so, unhappily for the work in hand, it has proved. In accepting the responsibility of the task, the writer feels that he follows at a great disadvantage one who has made the history of the Desmond Geraldines his *specialité*. Many valuable documents illustrative of the subject have, however, been communicated by Mr. Hayman, and Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy has contributed several notes; whilst the Appendix is entirely from his hand. Mr. Mac Carthy has also given valuable assistance in compiling the Pedigrees, and the Desmond Pedigree has been revised by the Marquis of Kildare, Lord Gort, and Mr. Wynne, of Penniarth, who himself claims descent from the Geraldine stock; and Miss Hickson, authoress of "Old Kerry Records," has aided in tracing the descent of the Knight of Kerry.

The portion of the MS. (already described by Mr. Hayman), which is now printed, does not seem to have been written by Russell.¹ It was, most likely, transcribed

¹ Russell was probably the son (he says at p. 21, *supra*, that his father was a follower of the Earl) of the James Russell whose name is found signed to "The Combination of Garret, late Earl of Desmond" in 1578 (see p. 138, *infra*); and he would appear to have been an ecclesiastic. He is quoted by Cox as "Friar Russell," but Harris ("Writers of Ireland," Book I.,

chap. xiv.) calls him simply "Thomas Russel," and says that he "continued the History of the Genealogy of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, to the year 1602," adding—"It was amongst the Manuscripts of Sir James Ware, which afterwards became the property of the Earl of Clarendon, and are now in the Custody of the Duke of Chandos." Harris

from some other source by the compiler of the volume, and is more correct as to dates than that of Russell, who cannot be depended on in this particular, as in almost every case the years given for the deaths of the Earls of Desmond are proved to be erroneous when compared with those in the "Four Masters," Lynch's "Feudal Dignities," and Archdall's Edition of Lodge's "Peerage." The annexed tabular list will exhibit the discrepancies:—

	Annals Four Masters.	Russell's Relation	Pedigree of the Geraldines.	Archdall.	Lynch.
	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Maurice Fitz Thomas, . . .	—	1380	1355	1356	1355
Maurice Fitz Maurice, . . .	—	1382	—	1358	1367
Nicholas Fitzmaurice, . . .	—	—	—	—	1367
John Fitz Maurice, . . .	—	1394	—	1369	—
Gerald (the Poet), . . .	1398	1424	1397	1397	—
John Fitz Gerald, . . .	1398	1426	1401	1399	1399
Thomas Fitz John, . . .	—	1446	1420	1420	1420
James Fitz Gerald, . . .	—	1457	1462	1462	—
Thomas Fitz James, . . .	1467	1481	1467	1467	1467
James Fitz Thomas, . . .	1487	1480	1487	1487	—
Maurice Fitz Thomas, . . .	—	1510	1519	1520	—
James Fitz Maurice, . . .	—	1521	1529	1529	1529
Thomas Fitz Thomas, . . .	—	1576	1534	1534	1534
James Fitz Maurice, . . .	—	1542	1540	1535	1536
John Fitz Thomas, . . .	—	1543	—	1536	—
James Fitz John, . . .	1558	1566	1548	1558	—
Gerald Fitz James, . . .	1583	1583	—	1583	—
James Fitz Gerald, . . .	—	—	1583	1601	1608

Lynch and Archdall are the most correct, as to dates, of the authorities here cited.

gives as his authority, "Catal. MS. Angliæ et Hib. Oxon., 1697." In a copy of this work of Bernard, at the British Museum, is a Catalogue of the library of the Earl of Clarendon, entitled "Librorum Manuscriptorum Excellentissimi Domini Henrici Comitis Clarendonii Hiberniæ Pro Rege Gubernatoris Catalogus. Continentur autem in illo Codices CXL., et ex his plurimi vetustissimique de Rebus Hibernicis, quos studio maximo jam pridem collegerat vir illustris Jacobus Waræus Eques Auratus." On this title page Sir Frederick Madden has written in pencil the following note: "These MSS. were catalogued for public auction in a quarto size, without date; but no sale seems to have taken place, and they passed into the hands of the Duke of Chandos, and after his death were sold by auction, in 1746. The greater part of the Irish MSS. were bought by Dr.

Rawlinson, and are now in the Bodleian Library; the remainder of the Irish MSS. were purchased by Dean Milles, and bequeathed to the British Museum." Sir F. Madden has marked off on this Catalogue those of the MSS. which are now in the British Museum. No. 54, which is not marked, is thus described in the Catalogue:—"The History of the Geraldines of Munster, with the Genealogy and Acts of the Earls of Desmond, from Maurice Fitz Thomas, the first Earl, to Garret, the last; continued to An. 1602. By Thomas Russel." Russell's "Relation" is not to be found in the British Museum; and the Library authorities there being of opinion that this manuscript must be at Oxford, a full and exhaustive search for it has been made by the officials of the Bodleian Library, but with a negative result.



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The Pedegree of the Geraldines of Desmond, from Oterus of Windsor to Maurice Fitz Gerald, who first came to the conquest off 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 Fitz Garrett, the last Earle of Desmond of that name, togeather with some other branches and familyes that descended from y^e said Maurice in Ireland.

WALTER of Windsor, the son of Oterus, had issue three sonns—William, Robert, and Gerald of Windsor. Of William, Henry the Lord Windsor was descended; and of Robert of Windsor, Robert Earle of Essex was descended; and Gerald of Windsor, y^e third son, who married the daughter of Reese ap Thyder, the greate Prince of Wales, whose name was Nesta, who had issue two sons (viz.), William and Maurice. William, the eldest son of Gerald of Windsor, tooke to wife Alma, eldest daughter of the Earle Strongbow, vpon whom the s^d Earle bestowed in Franck marriage the middle cantred of O'Whelane, and castle of Guikinloe, now called Wicklowe; with several other lands. They both dyed without issue, in the lifytyme of the sayd Earle.

Then succeeded his younger brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom descended all the Geraldines of Ireland. Hee was a mighty man, full of honour and courage: he exceeded all men of his tyme in martial prowesse and chevalrie, as seuerall chronicles mention, who, after performeing of greate services in the conquest of Ireland, and returneing into Wales upon the death of his father, was drowned by sea at his returne back, in An. Dom. 1192, in y^e 3^d yeare of y^e reigne of King Richard y^e 1, leaving issue Gerald.

This Gerald builded the Abbey and Castle of Sligoe, in Conaught; and after many gallant ouerthrowes giuen to the Kings enemyes, ended his dayes, and was buried in the sayd Abbey, in An^o Dom. 1205, about the sixth yeare of the reign of King John; leaving issue Maurice.

This Maurice succeeded his father; and the King, being truely aduertized of the several good and loyall services done by the Geraldines, created him Lord of Tirconnell, and made him Lord Justice of Ireland. The said Maurice was commanded by the King to goe with forces out of Ireland to the suppressing of the Welsh; and haueing performed the said service with much honour and credit, after his returne into Ireland he subdued O'Donnell, who by the death of Lacy, Earle of Lincoln was then grown very strong and grieuous to his Majesty's subjects. After haueing subdued this O'Donnell, the sayd Maurice Lord Justice forced pledges and tributes from O'Neale, and of most of the suspected nobility of the land, to keepe the king's peace. This Maurice married the daughter of Walter de Burgh, Earle of Vlster and Connaught, by whome he had issue Thomas and Maurice. After performing the services aforesaid, he at last entered into

the order of the fryars minors, and there ended his dayes, An^o Dⁿⁱ 1254, and in the thirty-ninth yeare of Henry the 3, and was buried in the South Abbey of Youghill, whereof he was founder, as also of the South gate and suburbs of the sayd towne. He likewise erected and enlarged the monastery of St. Dominick without the north gates of Youghill.

Then Thomas, son to the said Maurice, succeeded, and proved very famous and greate during his time, in so much that he was commonly called Thomas the Greate. He parted this life in An^o Dⁿⁱ 1260, and in the forty-fifth yeare of the reigne of Henry 3^d, and lyeth by his father at Youghill, leaving issue John.

This John succeeded his father, and proved of noe less courage and fame than his ancestors. He acted many services against the Irish, especially against the Clancartyes, wherevppon Edward, the first prince of that name, haueing had the Dukedome of Aquitaine, the Earldome of Chester, and Realme of Ireland by grant from his father, Henry y^e 3^d, granted to this sayd John the country of Decies and of Desmond. The sayd John was marryed to Margery, daughter to Thomas Fitz Anthony, and by her had issue Maurice. Both the father and the son together were slayne by M^cCarthy, in a place called Callen, in the 52nd yeare of the reign of Henry the 3^d, and were both buried at Traly, the sayd John haueing been founder thereof. Of this John descended the three famous knights, viz. the White Knight, the Black Knight, which is the Knight of the Valley or Glin; and the Green Knight, who is called the Knight of Kerry, now liueing, by name John Fitzgerald; together with their younger brother, called the Lord of Clonlish.

The abovesaid Maurice was marryed, in the lyfe time of his father, John, to the daughter of one Geoffry, that was then Lord Deputy of Ireland. She, being left great with child at the time of her husband's death, soone after was delivered of a son, and called him Thomas.

This Thomas, being in his swadling cloaths accidentally left alone in his cradle, was by an Ape carryed up to the battlements of the monastery of Traly, where the little beast, to the admiration of many spectators, dandled him to and froe, whilst everyone ran with their beds and caddows, thinking to catch the child when it should fall from the Ape. But Divine providence prevented that danger; for the Ape miraculously bore away the infant, and left him in the cradle as he found him, by which accident this Thomas was ever after nicknamed from The Ape.

This Thomas was afterwards marryed to Ellen, daughter of Fitzmaurice, now called the Lord of Kerry and of Lixnaw, by whome he had issue 2 sons, viz. Maurice and John. He parted this life in An^o Dⁿⁱ 1296, and in the reign of Edward the first. Maurice, the elder brother of these two, was created the first Earle of Desmond; and John, the younger, was created the first Earle of Kildare: yet the Earle of Kildare is the elder earle by some few hours; for Kildare was created in the forenoone, and Desmond in the afternoone. Of this John, Earle of Kildare, is M^cThomas of Munster; the Geraldines of Linster, viz^t. M^cThomas of Ballyoghnanan, and several other brave families, whom for brevity sake I pass for the present, and soe to Desmond.

This Maurice aforesaid, the first Earl of Desmond, was marryed to Honora, the daughter of great O'Bryen, and by her had issue four sons, viz^t. Gerald, Nicholas, John, and Maurice. He was Lord Deputy of Ireland dureing his life, and died at Dublin in An^o 1355, in the 29th yeare of

the reigne of Edward the third. This Maurice made a feoffment of all his estate to the use of his heirs males lawfully begotten of his body, when Sr. Thomas Fitz John, son and heire to John before mentioned, only brother of the said Earle, was in remainder of the said entaile.

Gerald, the eldest son of the said Maurice, succeeded his father, and had issue two sons, viz. John and James. He died An^o Dⁿⁱ 1397, and in the 20th yeare of the reigne of Richard the Second, or thereabouts.

John Fitzgerald was married to Elizabeth, daughter to the Earle of Ormond and Wiltshire, by whome he had issue Thomas; he was himself drowned in the foard of Ardfinan, vpon the river Suir, after coming out of Scotland, where he was commanded by the King to goe with an army against the King of Scots in An^o Dⁿⁱ 1401, and in the second year of the reign of Henry the 4th.

Thomas Fitz John succeeded his father; he died at Paris, in France, and was buried vpon St. Laurence's day, with great and mighty show, wher the two kings of England and France were present; he was buried with the fryers minors, in An^o Dⁿⁱ 1420, leaveing issue only one bastard son, of whom descended the house of Broughill.

Then succeeded James Fitzgerald, second son to Gerald before mentioned, who married Mary Bourke, daughter to M^cWilliam Ogther, then (as my author says) a mighty Lord of Lands, of whom (as he sayeth) likewise descended the Earle of Clanrickard; and with this Mary came the galliglasses of the M^cShyhys first into Munster out of Connaught. She had issue by the said James Fitz Gerald two sons, viz. Thomas and Garrett. This James was buried at Youghill, in An^o Dⁿⁱ 1462, and in y^e second year of Edward the 4th. Garrett, the second son of this s^d. James, is the predecessor of the Lords of Deaces, in the county of Waterford; and afterwards, in progress of time, Maurice Fitz Gerald was created Lord Viscount Deaces, having a grant of that title to himself and the heirs males lawfully begotten of his owne body for ever; but he died without bodily issue male.

Thomas, the eldest son of the foresaid James, succeeded his father, and married Elizabeth Barry, daughter to Barrymore. This Thomas was beheaded at Tredagh, by John Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, not for exacting coyne and livery—as Cambden falsely reporteth in his history—for the Earle of Desmond did scorne any such exaction; neither had he any neede thereof, when as he had in his own libertyes from the westerne coasts of Ireland to the gates of Clonmell, and the chiefest buildings there too belonged to those Earles, who were always provided for in theire owne manor houses as they travelled within that compass, and the cheife nobilitie of Munster waited on them as they passed by. But Spenser cometh a little neerer the matter, though a detractor from the nobilitie, in his view of the State of Ireland, sayeing—At which time the Earle of Desmond, who was then called Thomas, being through falseful subordination (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceiued brought to his death at Tredagh most vnjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King. Thus says he, let the reader (says my Author) pardon me, whilst I deliver the truth of this good Earles death at Tredagh, the 15th day of February, 1467; which I had (sayeth he) by the handwriting of one that waited upon the Earle, and was with him in England, and also at the time of his execution, by name Maurice O'Hossy.

King Edward the 4th being one day abroad takeing his pleasure in the country, who delighted much in the company and good conversation of this Earle, amongst other discourses asked the sayd Earle what fault he perceiued to be in him or his court that was not fit for a Prince to suffer. The Earle, modestly smileing, made answer, that as for his own part he could not apprehend any of the least in his royall person but what by a little correction might soone be repaired, by the amendment of his saddle. His Majesty, who soon vnderstood his meaning, tooke that answer in good part. But soon after, some odd words chancing to fall out between the King and Queene, the King, the more to vex her—thinking noe other harne concerning the Earle—told the Queene that it was true what his cousin Desmond sayd the other day, that he had neither fault or blemish but what was in his saddle. The Queene, perceiueing that this meant by the Earle concerning herself, kept silence, waiteing for better opportunity to be revenged on him. In order to which, vpon good deliberation she possessed herselfe of the King's priue signett, and gott a commission written and directed to the Lord Deputy Tiptoft aforesaid, as it were from the King, that vpon sight of the said commission he should execute death vpon Thomas, Earle of Desmond, by separateing his head from his shoulders. This was a warrant sufficient to spurre Tiptoft on to prosecute the same, vnderstanding that the Earle was coming out of England as Lord Deputy in his place; not long after the said Earle landed at Tredagh, whereof Tiptoft hauing certain notice, made speede with forces by night, and marched into the town of Tredagh with torches and lanternes directed to the Earle's house about midnight. Then the Earle's page, by name Baggott, son to the Baggott of the county of Limerick, who was a very comely youth, and endowed with all good manners and conditions—about the age of twenty yeares, and of whome the King himselfe tooke speciall notice with the Earle in England—this youth, I say, being then disturbed in mind, and not able to take any rest that night, rose vp to the chamber window where his Lord and master lay; and, seeing that sight of men and armes, cried out to his Lord, and sayed, O my Lord! O my dear Lord! here are all the men in Ireland marching vp the street in armes; therefore, my Lord, rouse vp your spirits, and bless yourselfe, for my mind tells me they are for noe good intent; whereat the Earle made answer, Alass, my boy, I wish there were but half the men of Munster only. Suddenly these men forced into the Earles lodging, and barbarously handled and apprehended him; and, without any farther deliberation, in the morning chopt off his head. It would (as mine author sayeth) move the hardest heart to pittie and haue compassion, to see the dolefull lamentations and behaviour of this youth Baggott, seeing the innocent bloud of his Lord and master soe suddenly and inhumanely spilt before his face, to whome, as he said, all Ireland within eight days after would gladly bowe and submitt itselfe. Tiptoft, being advertised of the youths speeches, presently commanded him to be killed in his owne presence. But soone after this, the King, being truely informed of all this vnexpected vproar of almost the whole realme, commanded Tiptoft for England, and examined the matter. Tiptoft then, producing his commission for the Earles death under the Kings priue seale, cleared himselfe of that; but the King, more narrowlye pryeing into the business, and being greiued for the Earles death, brought Tiptoft vpon the stage for killing the page, which he did without any commission; wherevpon Tiptoft was condemned that his head should

be cut off, which was accordingly done. This Thomas of Tredagh, as they call him, had issue by the said Elizabeth Barry five sons, viz^t. James, Maurice, Thomas, John, and Garrett. This Garrett is the predecessor of the houses of Maccollop, the Shiane, Kilimocow, Sronecally, Conway, and others.

James, the eldest son of the said Thomas, succeeded his father in the Earldome, and was murdered at Rathkeale by one John Montag, how, why, or vpon what commotion, I have not as yet found out, although I have enquired of many; but one thing I may boldly aver—that John Montag escaped not without revenge. This murder was committed in An^o Dⁿⁱ. 1487, and in the second yeare of the reigne of Henry the 7th. This James had noe issue.

Then succeeded Maurice the lame, being the second son of the foresaid Thomas of Tredagh. This Maurice was marryed to Ellean, daughter to the Lord Roch, and died in An^o Dⁿⁱ. 1519, and in the tenth yeare of the reigne of Henry the 8th, and was buried at Youghill, leaveing issue 2 sons, viz. James and Thomas.

James, the elder of the two sons, succeeded his father, Maurice; he marryed the daughter of O'Bryen Arra, and died in An^o Dⁿⁱ. 1529, and in the 17th yeare of the reign of Henry the 8th, leaveing issue one daughter, by name Joane, mother to Thomas Duffe, Earle of Ormond and Ossory. Thomas, the younger brother, died before the elder, leaveing issue likewise one daughter, who was marryed to the heyre of Paulstowne, in county of Kilkenny, being of the Butlers of neere alliance to the Earle of Ormond.

Then succeeded Thomas, commonly called by the Irish *ipbol na gíarraonnan*, which may be interpreted "Victorious in the battle," he being the third son of Thomas, beheaded at Tredagh. This Thomas was marryed to Giles, the daughter of Cormack M^cCarty, Lord of Muskerry, and died in An^o Dⁿⁱ. 1534, and in the 25th yeare of the reign of Henry the 8th, leaving issue James, his grandchild, for his heire, because y^t Maurice, his son, died before himselfe, who was father to this James.

This James Fitzmaurice succeeded his grandfather, and was a brave, valliant young man, but not of much discretion; otherwise he had not been slaine soe unhappily as he was at Lickseale, but by whome I will forbear to tell at this present; his death happened on Monday morning, being the 16th July, 1540, and in the 31st yeare of the reign of Henry the 8th; he had no issue, nor was marryed; but Maurice *an toitane*, his neere kinsman, was not far of when he was killed. Now, this Maurice *an toitann*, or Maurice the burner, was soe called because that allways in time of war he was wont to burne and destroy all that he mett with in the enemyes quarters. He was father to James Fitzmaurice, who in his lifetime being a great traveller in France, Spaine, the Low Countreyes, Germany, and Turkye, and a renowned Irish warrier, had letters of recommendation from the King of France to the Emperor, and from the Emperor to the King of Poland, where he was honorably entertained, and promoted for his fighting against the Turks; in that war he behaued himselfe soe bravely, that he won greate applause and honor both for himselfe, his King, and his country. In Ireland he was called the famous Rebelle. I could averr many wonderfull acts and enterprizes of him, almost beyond mans capacitye to beleiuve, but the brevity of my intent forbids me. In the Turkish army the common souldiers were wont to say that the God of the Christians had raised again Scanderbegg to be revenged on them. This James was noe

Earle: his sister was the mother of Florene M^cCartye, who died in the Tower of London; his daughter was the grandmother of Morrogh O'Brien, the now Earle of Inchiquin, and Honora, the old Lady of Kerry; of Coll. Fitzgerald of Ballymartyr, and of Edmond of Ballymoloe, and of many other noblemen. He was at the last unhappily slain with a shott by an vnworthy person, out of a wood, as he was vpon his journey towards Abbey Crosse, with intent to perform a vow he made to his Redeemer when he was beyond seas. He was pursued by the Burks in the county of Limerick; but after being shot and mortally wounded, he turned back vpon his pursuers, and killed of the chiefest of them the number of eighteen, the most part with his owne hands, and put all the rest to flight being about 400, haueing but 16 gentlemen in his company. After this he stept with his said gentlemen vnto the wood, where he alighted from his horse; and, seeing there was noe recovery of his life to be expected, he desired Gerald Fitz Thomas, his nephew, to cut of his head, that it might not be made a laughing stock to his enemyes, which accordingly he did, and buryed the same at Traly.

Then succeeded James Fitz John, the elder brother of the said Maurice, and son & heire of John Fitz Thomas, y^e fourth son of Thomas that was beheaded at Tredagh. He had issue by the Lord Roche's daughter one son, by name Thomas, which Thomas had issue James and John. This James is he that was called the titulary Earle, of whom Pacata Hibernia makes so often mention. He ended his days in the Tower of London, and his brother John died in Spaine. This James the Earle had issue by the daughter of O'Carroll three sons, viz^t. Garrett, S^r. John of Desmond, and Maurice. And by the daughter of M^cCarty More he had one son, by name S^r. James of Desmond. This Sir John of Desmond was killed at Bradenearren, not far from Farmoy, by Sir Walter Raleigh, vnawares. This Earle had many crosses and troubles in the beginning; for about the 16th yeare of the reigne of Henry the 8th he was proclaimed traitor, for some had alleged that he had been personally aideing the French king, then in war with England, to bring forces into Ireland, and in like manner the Emperour: it was by means of this Earle that destruction came vpon his couzen, the Earle of Kildare; but, because I am in hast, I refer the reader to that booke of Statutes of Ireland vntil better opportunitye. He died in August, An^o 1548, and was buryed at Traly, in the 2nd yeare of Edward the 6th.

Then Garrett succeeded his said father, James, pretending his elder brother illegitimate. He married the daughter of the Lord of Dunboyne, by whom he had issue one son, and three daughters. This Earle defeated the two Earles of Tomond and Clanrickard, as they lay at seige with Enchyquine, the Earl of Tomond intending to depose Teige M^cMorogh, then Lord of Enchyquine, out of all his inheritance; but by that intent the two Earles lost the number of 2500 of their men, and Enchequine was delivered with the loss of one man of Desmonds. This Garrett was betrayed by his owne fosterers, who with their owne hands did cut of his head at Glungeinagh, in the county of Kerry; for which inhuman act theyre name still remains odious. They were in those days a strong and mighty familie in the county of Kerry, and that by this Earles exalting—in soe much that Fitz Maurice, the Lord of Kerry, could get noe man to execute the cheife actor who first laid hands on the Earle, being before the gallows, so that he was forced to put the halter about his neck with his

owne hands. It was surely the judgment of God fell out vpon this great person; for the very father of these murtherers, being overseer of the Earles lands about Athskeaton, was wont to destraine two or three cowes which the poor fryers had thereabout in a little pasture belonging to their Abbey; which cowes, chancing to goe out of it, were by this man detained from them vntil they should pay treble trespass. This fellowes cattle, I say, chanced to goe into the said fryers little pasture, and were by the fryers alsoe impounded, they (poore souls !) thinking noe other harme but something to allay the mans fury, always bent against them. This man, haueing notice hereof, came to the Abbey door, and there knocked, wherevpon one of the fryers came forth, and saluted him according to their wonted manner, which was noe satisfaction to him, but called for the father-guardian, who likewise came, and with a religious grave countenance saluted him. There was noe farther discourse; but he asking the guardian how durst he presume that boldness as to impound his cattle, he being the Earles fosterer, and with him in great estimation? He expected noe answer, but presently, draweing out his long skeane, stabbed the good prelate to the heart: wherevpon this fellow betooke himselfe to flight, thinking by long running to procure his pardon from the Earle. The Earle, being certified of this henious murther, was exceedingly moved, and sent enquire throughout all parts, but could not find the murtherer. Not long after, this man's wife goes to the Countesse of Desmond with a present of a whole cupboards furniture of plate, and with many other fine and gay things, begging her Ladyship with weeping eyes that she would mitigate the Earles fury against her husband; but, to be short, the mild Earle, being of mercifull and generous disposition, pardoned at last this wicked malefactor, whose sons, as I sayed, brought him to his ruine.

Then succeeded his son James, who at the time of his fathers death was in England, and came over with letters patents from the Queene to succeed his father in the Earldome; but he stayed not aboue halfe a yeare before he was sent for over againe, where he continued vntil his death. Some say that he was poysoned in London, in An^o Dⁿⁱ. 1583, in the reign of Queene Elizabeth. This James was the last Earle of Desmond of the Geraldines. I reckon not James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earle.

There was one Earle, as they say, by name Garrett, that was by inchantment carryed away from Newcastle, in Connellugh, of whom I could be copious, if I followed the vulgar report of him; but in regard I can find noe thing written of him in any chronicle or history, nor in the lineall genealogye of the Earles, I'll tell nothing of him until I am better satisfied.

NOTES.

Page 65, line 11.—*Otterus*.

Mr. Thomas Russell states that the ancestors of the Fitz Gerald's during their abode in Italy bore not the surname of Geraldine, and that one of them made his first appearance in England as one of the commanders in the Duke William of Normandy's army in 1067; whereas, it appears, according to the account given by the Marquis of Kildare, in his book "The Earls of Kildare" (Dublin, Hodges, Smith and Co., 1858), that "Dominus Otho" or Other (one of the ancestors of the Fitz Gerald's), in 1057 (16th Edward the Confessor), was an honorary Baron of England, according to Sir William Dugdale.

"Otho, or Other (the Marquis says), is said to have been one of the Baronial family of the Gherardini of Florence, and to have passed into Normandy, and thence into England." See note, p. 78, *infra*.

This Otho, therefore, seems to have been settled in England previous to the Norman Conquest, where, as the Marquis says, page 2—"He possessed three lordships in Surrey, three in Buckinghamshire, two in Berkshire, four in Middlesex, nine in Wiltshire, ten in Hampshire, three in Dorsetshire, and one in Somersetshire."

"In 1078, Walter Fitz Otho is mentioned in 'Domesday Book' as being in possession of his father (Otho's) estates. He was Castellán of Windsor, and Warden of the forests of Berkshire." His eldest son, Gerald Fitz Walter, by Gladys, daughter of Rhiwallon-ap-Cynvyn, Prince of North Wales, was appointed by Henry I. Constable of Pembroke Castle, and was father of Maurice Fitz Gerald (who came to Ireland with the Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) in 1169), by Nesta, daughter of Rhys-ap-Tudor Mawr, Prince of South Wales.

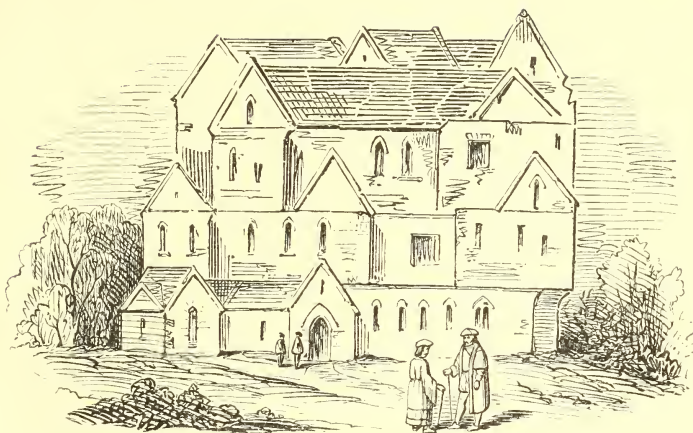
Page 65, line 19.—*O' Whelane, and castle of Guikinloe*.

This grant is thus described in the Norman French "Geste" of the "Conquest of Ireland" (Ed. Michel) p. 146:—

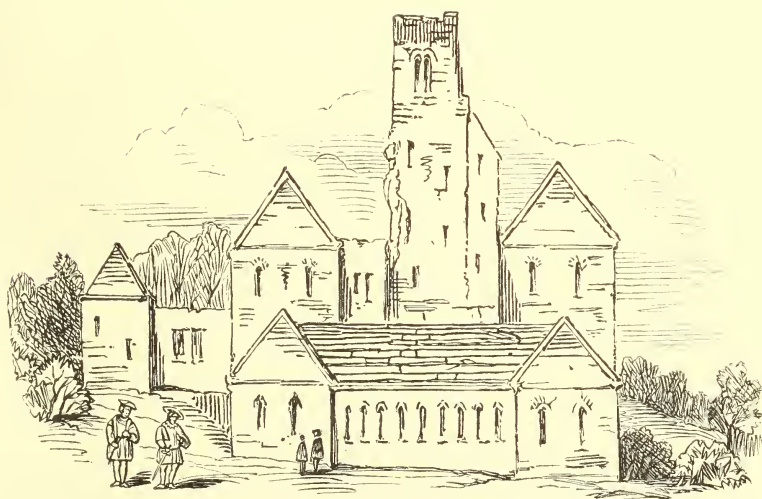
"Li quens Ricard pus donout
A Moriz le fiz Geroud;
Le Nas donat le bon cuntur
Al fiz Geroud od tut le onur:
Ço est la terre de Ofelan
Ki fud al traitur Mac Kelan;
Si li donat Winkinlo
Entre Brée e Arklo:
Ço fud la tere de Kylmantan,
Entre ad Cleth e Lochgarman."

Earl Richard then gave
To Maurice fitz Gerald;
The good count gave the Naas
To Fitz Gerald with all the honor:
This is the land of Ofelan
Which belonged to the traitor Mac Kelan;
He gave him also Wicklow
Between Bray and Arklow:
This was the land of Kylmantan,
Between Ad Cleth [Dublin] and Lochgarman [Wexford].

From Ofelan (*recte* Ui Failghe), the Fitz Gerald's derived their most ancient title of O'fialy, a Barony by tenure, still enjoyed by the Duke of Leinster.



Dominican Friary or North Abbey.



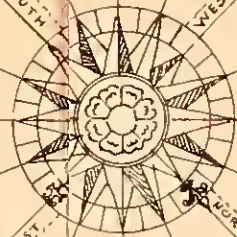
Franciscan Friary, or South Abbey.

• YOVGHAL: ~

YOUGHAL,

(As in Elizabeth's Reign when Sacked by the Insurgent Earl of Desmond)

The Town and Port of Youghal



- A. THE CHURCH
- B. THE COLLEGE
- C. THE NORTH GATE
- D. THE SOUTH GATE
- E. THE KAYE
- F. THE ABBY ON THE NO. WEST SIDE OF TOWN
- G. THE ABBY ON THE SO. WEST SIDE OF TOWN
- H. THE HIGH WAY TOWARDS CORKE
- I. THE HARBOUR VGH
- K. THE PASSAGE
- L. THE BASE TOWNE
- M. NEW KINSALE
- N. PIL TOWNE
- O. THE HIGH WAY TO DUNGANIAN

SCALE - 200 PASSES

Page 66, line 3.—*Youghill*.

Henry III., on Sep. 26th, in the 18th year of his reign (A. D. 1234), granted to Maurice FitzGerald, second Baron of Ophaly, and his heirs for ever, a market to be held in his Manor of "Yohyll," on the Saturday of each week—also a fair to be held on the Vigil and Day of St. Michael, and for thirteen days after. (Rot. Claus. 18 Hen. III., M. 5). In 1334, by an Inquisition taken at Youghal, it was found that Maurice, the first Earl of Desmond, had twenty satellites called Kernes (*satalitos qui vocantur Kernes*), who feloniously slew certain men at Youghal, and were afterwards received and maintained by the said Earl with full knowledge of their felonious acts; also, that the said satellites took from the men of the County of Cork, with the assent of the Earl, various goods and chattels to the value of £20. (Inquisitions, Public Record Office, London.) That is, they took coyne and livery or horse meat and man's meat, so early had the Desmonds adopted the Irish customs. As Youghal was closely connected with the Earls of Desmond down to the rebellion of Earl Garret, we here give a map, from the original in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, of the town as it was in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and also enlarged views of the two Abbeys from representations on the same map.¹ The sack of Youghal by the Earl, after he had broken out into rebellion (and which is merely alluded to at p. 33, *supra*, by Russell) is thus graphically described in the State Papers of Elizabeth:—

SIR WILLIAM PELHAM TO LORD TREASURER BURLEIGH.

Public Record Office,
State Papers
(Ireland), Elizabeth,
Vol. LXX., No. 35, 28
Nov. 1579.

"My very good Lo. the wind hath bine so littell favorable to y^e dispatches sent from England as I have not sene eny from thence of latter date then the second of this moneth at w^{ch} tyme it semed yor lo: were not enformed of the Rebellion of the Earle of Desmond Since my Retorne out of Mounster and the authoritie given to my very good Lo: the Earl of Ormond to be generall & whill he remained at home to make preparation for the prosecution of the Rebels. I heare that Desmond in persone, accompanied with his brother John, hath sackid Youghall and used greatt furie towards the people and it is geven forth by some l^{res} of credible persons that the like outradge is comitted at Kinsall by the Earle of Clancare and his confederatty. I hope God in good tyme by the hand of the Earle of Ormond shall revenge her Mat^{ie} of the horrible treasons comitted by Desmond and his bretherne. And like as Mounster is altogether in armes either to offend or defend, which defence as I parceive is not ioyned with any offence of th^e enemy but in such only as serve in her Mat^{is} paie under the Lo: gennerall, so I looke for nothing northward but all the ill y^t their forces can offer; and the neighbours to y^e pale, as Orelighe Th' Omors and some of the Cave-naughts, are alredie spoiling uppon the countrie by night stelthes, &c.

"At Dubline, 28 of Novemb^r 1579, your lo: assuredlie to commande, &c.

"WILLIAM PELHAM."

¹ This map was lithographed for the Association by S. P. Close, Esq., Architect, who also enlarged the views of the Abbeys from the map. The map and also the transcripts of the State Papers here given were communicated by the Rev. Samuel Hayman. The history and annals of these Geraldine Foundations have already appeared in our "Journal," second series, Vol. iii., pp. 329-336; and formed a portion of "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal," a series of papers contributed by the Rev. Samuel Hayman. Of the South, or Franciscan Friary, not a vestige now exists; while of the North, or Dominican Friary, the only remnants are the western wall of its church, with some small attached portions of the side walls, and a mutilated pier towards the S. E., from which sprang arches that connected the nave, choir, and south aisle. Through the Messrs. Fitzgibbon's generosity, we are enabled to give in the opposite page representations of both Friaries, as they stood, after the Reformation, unroofed

and deserted, but not as yet overthrown and desolate. These curious and hitherto inedited drawings have been carefully enlarged from the picture map of Youghal above referred to. They are done in fac-simile, and, like the originals, are deficient in shading and perspective. Lodge ("Peerage of Ireland," Vol. i., page 60, note) mentions, without citing his authority, that Maurice FitzGerald, the founder of the South Abbey, intended originally to have erected a castle on the site, "and the workmen who were digging the foundation, on the eve of some festival, requesting a piece of money to drink his health, he directed his eldest son to give it, who, instead of obeying, abused the workmen; at which he was so concerned that he altered his design, by changing the castle into a friary, and taking upon himself the habit of the order." It is to be feared that the original draughtsman of the map has not given a very accurate architectural elevation of the abbey, but the general grouping is probably in some degree correct.

THOMAS EARL OF ORMONDE TO THE SAME.

P. R. O.
State Papers (Ireland)
Eliz. Vol. LXX.,
No. 64, 27 Dec. 1579.

"My very good L. Although ye yo^r L. can not be unacquainted wth the reporte of y^e succeſſe of the service in this Province ſence I entred into the charge, I ſending over I^res to yo^r L. & the reſt of the LLs: of her Ma^ts counſell in generall w^{ch} ſhall come to yo^r ſight: yet I thought mete ſomwhat in particuler to touche unto yo^r L. howe thinges have paſſed under me ſithence I entred into the ſervice referreng yo^r L. for the circumſtance of the matter unto the generall I^re.

"I was in Onelo the 6 of this moneth between Asketten & Newecaſtell (ii of the Erles chief houſes) & marched there all the day & prayed, ſpoiled & burned the countrey even to the mountain of Slew logher & returned to Adare wth out ſight of the Rebelles. In the countie of Cork I burned John of Desmonds towne & caſtell called Leſfynen wthall his lands in Coſbride together wth a caſtell named the Shean belonging to Morrice Mc Gerot a kinſeman of the Erles.

"I finde by examinations taken by me & her Ma^ts Juſtices & comiſſioners in this province that the townſmen of Youghall were contented the traytours ſhould enter the towne, who not onely ſpoiled all their goods brake downe their houſes & the walles of the towne, But alſo (w^{ch} is moſt intollerable) the trayterous Erle wth his brother John & the Senecaſſall like moſt unaturall & ſpitefull traytours cauſed her Ma^ts armes in the court houſe of the towne to be pulled downe & they wth their ſkeins or daggers thruſt it through in many places & cut it in peces as an argument of their canckred & alienated harts, But for the townſmen I meane ere longe to make an example by ſome of them according to their deſerts, for that they ſhewed their goodwill to the Traytours in helping them over the walles into the towne wth ladders & ropes. And ſo I take leave of yo^r L.: At Clonemell this 27 of December 1579.

"Yo^r L. to cōmand assuredlye,
"THOMAS ORMONDE."

(Superscription). "To the right honorable my very good L. my L. Treasourer of England."

P. R. O.
State Papers (Ireland)
Eliz. Vol. LXXI. No.
3-I, 4 Jan^y. 1579-80.

"*An Abstract drawn out of divers Examynacions taken before the right honorable the Erle of Ormond & Ossorie &c. and others her Ma^ts Juſtices & Comiſſioners in the province of Mounſter whereby may appere what treachery hath ben used by the Inhabitants of Yoghell & how careleſſe they were of there defence at & before the wynging of that Towne by the Rebels 1579.*

Frances Aynes an alderman of that Towne & now a priſoner & divers other do teſtifie this.

men called Morrice

That the erle had the ferry bote by order from the maior apperth by the depoſition of divers & himſelf confeſſed to have dolyvered hit in this manner.

This is confeſſed by the maio^r & James Geilway of that towne.

Hector Portingall of Yoghell one of the bretheren do teſtifie this, and divers do witnes that candle & victuall went frely out of the towne.

"The Erle of Desmond came towards Yoghell on the afternone of the friday next before the taking therof, before whoſe comyng in ſight of the Towne one of his horſmen came towards the gate, geving out, that the Erle came not to hurt the Towne, but to have a teſtimoniall of his loyaltie, and afterward came one of the erles Meagher to the maior ſaying that the Erle will prove he was uniuſtlye proclaymed & will ſend I^res therof to the L. Juſtice & to Therle of Ormond praing to have the ferry bote to convey his meſſenger to the Deesee, wher upon the maior comanded the ferryman Morrice Ofollow to lett hem have the bote wherby the paſſage was taken from the reſcue of the towne.

"On Satterday the Erle ſent for ii of the Aldermen to confer wth him, the maior aſſembled his bretheren who concluded to ſend James Galwan & Morice White, w^{ch} together w^t one William Neale who kept them company of his owne hede went to thErle carrieng wth them a flagon of ſecke at the cemon chardges. They agreed to pay to tonnes of wyne to the Erle for goeng away & upon their retourne in company wth Morrice Sheghan and ThErles butler a parcell of the wyne was conveighed to the Erle by his men.

"The Erle & his company had as moche victualls & candles for there mony as they noded by order of the maior & his bretheren.

W^m. Yordan Hen-
ry Philipps & John
Randell of Mylbrocke
do depose this & the
maio^r confesseth to
have sene som so do.

The men of Mil-
brocke do witnes this
& the maio^r confess-
eth it.

The men of Mil-
brocke & Ric. Keally
of the passage do
w^{it}nes this.

W^m. Walshe de-
poseth that Morice
White went downe
over the walles & sent
ii ladders. Frances
Anyas is charged by
divers & himself con-
fesseth to have pulled
up one Rebelle w^{it} a
rope.

The Milbrocke men
& Richard Keally of
the passage & divers
others do w^{it}nes this.

Divers are proved
to be of this sort &
among the rest one
James Renan is taken
in Waterford whom
the maio^r Hector Por-
tingall & others do
charge: one Robert
Walshe was helping
S^r John to cary 2
sacres of her Mat^s
from the key & many
more are w^{it}h them
in rebellion. This
the maio^r & divers
others do testific.

"The men & women on Saterdag & Sondag did comen frely
w^{it}h the Rebels over the walles.

"The maio^r comanded the men of Milbrocke who were w^{it}h in
the rounde towre at the key not to shote of untill the Rebelles
shold begin w^{it}h them in the towne; and after, when the rebells were
by the wynde mill on the south side of the towne mustereng, they
would have shott of a sacre chardged w^{it}h a rounde shott a squarre
shott & a hand speake of an elle long, where w^{it}h they were lyke
to have spoiled many of them, one elderly man of the towne com-
manded not to shoote of least the Rebelles would be angry there
w^{it}h & thretnd to kill the gonner if he wold give fyre.

"Some of the Townesmen have gone over the walles by night
on Sondag and sent some ladders to help the rebells to enter and
some haled up rebelles w^{it}h cordes.

"The assault contynued first & last but one houre, the castles
& towres defensible being yealded ymediatly upon there entre,
saving the rounde towre w^{ch} was yelded the next day in the morn-
ing.

"After that the Rebelles entred in, divers of the townesmen
ioyned w^{it}h them spoyling as egerly as any of the traytors & using
other like traitourelek offices, notw^{it}standing that they saw the
ravisheng of there women the spoile of there goods & burning of
there houses, & that (w^{ch} is a moste detestable treason) not w^{it}h-
standing that they sawe the Erle, S^r John the Senescall of Imo-
kellye, & divers others draw downe in the courte house of the
Towne her Mat^y armes & moste dispyttfully w^{it}h there daggers &
other weapons to cut it & trust it through

"Ex copia,

"T. BURGATE.

(Endorsed by Burghley).

"An Abstract of examinations towchyng the treacharye and
betrayinge of Youghill in Ireland."

SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER TO THE ERLE OF ORMONDE.

P. R. O.
State Papers (Ire-
land), Eliz. Vol.
LXXI., No. 3—III.

"My dutie don to yo^r L. It may pleas yoⁿ to understand that
the ixth of November last hether came to me to this towne Alex-
ander Goegh preest, chanter of Yoghell, and in company w^{it}h him
William Aynes of that Towne, who were sent by the maio^r & cor-
poracion there unto me w^{it}h a lettre for powder & municion, to whom I caused to be de-
livered 23 stone & 3^{lb} of serpentyne powder, putting in sufficient suerties in this Towne
to answere for the same to the quenes mat^{ie}. At w^{ch} tyme I offered the said Goeghe and
Aynes for the better defence of there Towne, that captain Rogers, beeng then here in
this haven w^{it}h a ship of S^r. Houffray Gilberts (called the Releef) verie well furnished
w^{it}h ordinance shot & powder & 24 harquebusiers in her, shold goo along w^{it}h them into
the haven of Yoghell, and there lay his shipp at ancre alongest the side of there Towne
where there wall was fallen downe, who would have under taken w^{it}h his ship ordinance
and men to have flanked & defended that side of the Towne requiring nothing of them
but only meat & drinke for the sustentacion of his soldiors. And for the better ani-
mating of them to embrace this offer I told them it was not half a smolkin a daies
chardgs for everie howsholder in the Towne; and further I said to them if they would
take the said shipp along w^{it}h them that I would be a meanes either to the L. Justice or
to yo^r L. that the quenes Mat^{ie} should beare the chardgs therof, or if it shold so fall owt
that her highnes would not beare the same that they should cause the cuntrye people
to bee contributors to that chardge who had there goods & come presarved in that
Towne: w^{ch} offeres they refused, being the xth of November aforsaid w^{ch} was 5 days

before the loss of the towne. So not having further ocession at this tyme to trouble yo^r L. I humbly take my leave. From Corke this first of December 1579.

"Yo^r L to cōmand

"WARHAM SENT LEGER.

"I wrote sondry letters to the said mai^{or} of Yoghell willing him in eny wise to entrench & fortifie there Towne and to make it lesse whereby they might wth there smal number defend the same, willing them in enywise not to abandon there walles till by force they were driven from it.

"EX^d. BURGATE."

There is great obscurity as to the precise manner in which the Desmond Fitz Gerald obtained Youghal and its district. The Inquisitions preserved in the Public Record Office, London, distinctly make out the conveyance from the Fitz Gerald, Barons of Ophaly, to the De Clares, through their heiress to the Badesmeres, and by the heiress of the latter eventually to the Tiptofts. After all it is most likely that the Desmond title, originally, was occupation by the "strong hand."

Page 66, line 8.—*Thomas the Greate.*

Sir William Betham, in his "Irish Antiquarian Researches," p. 226, says that this Thomas the Great was second son to Maurice Fitz Gerald, the companion of Strongbow. He died in 1213. "This Thomas Fitz Maurice married Elinor, daughter of Jordan de Marisco, and niece of Hervy de Montmarisco, before mentioned, by whom he had—

"John Fitz Thomas, founder of the Abbey of Tralee, who acquired the lands and lordships of Decies and Desmond,¹ by marriage with Marjery, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Fitz Anthony, lord of Decies and Desmond, and was slain 1260 (at Callan); he was father of Maurice Fitz John, second lord of Decies and Desmond, who was slain with his father in 1260; he married Joan, daughter of John lord Cogan, by whom he had Thomas Fitz Maurice, commonly called *Nappagh, or the Ape*, third lord of Decies and Desmond, who married Margaret, daughter of Walter de Burgo, son of Walter, earl of Ulster. He was summoned to Parliament in 1295, and accounted for 500 marks, the rent of his land in Decies, 18 Edw. I., 1290; and dying before 1299, was succeeded by his son, Maurice Fitz Thomas, fourth lord of Decies and Desmond, who was created earl of Desmond, and lord of the palatine regalities of the county of Kerry, by patent dated 27 August, 1329. This Maurice, and John, who was created earl of Kildare, in 1316, because they were both sons of a Thomas, and consequently in those days were called Fitz Thomas, have been named as brothers by Mr. Lodge, and others, an error which any one might fall into, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary. "The truth is, that Thomas, the great-great grandfather of the first earl of Desmond, was brother to Gerald, the great-grandfather of the first earl of Kildare."

It will be seen that, lower down, at line 42, our Author has fallen into the same mistake as to the relationship existing between the first Earls of Desmond and Kildare.

Ib. line 19.—*In a place called Callen.*

In the obits of the Fitz Gerald, attached to Grace's Annals, this John, usually called John of Callan, is erroneously styled Lord of Ofaly. The battle of Callan, as we learn from the Four Masters, was fought at Callainn Gleanna O'Ruachtain, about five miles eastward of Kenmare, in Kerry, between the MacCarthys of Carbery, led by Finin of Reanna-Roin, or Ringrone, and his two brothers, Donal Mael, and Cormac of Mangerton (whom Dr. O'Donovan calls "the most heroic of the Eugenic line of Desmond since the English invasion") and the Fitz Gerald, assisted by William Denn, the Justiciary, Walter de Burgo, Walter de Riddlesford, and Donal Roe Mac Carthy Mor, the son of Cormac Finin, who took part, upon this occasion, against his own sept. This battle cost the Fitz Gerald the life of their chief, and of his son Maurice, "eight Barons and fifteen Knights, besides an infinity of others." After the battle Finin burned and levelled the castles of his enemies, and killed their English warders.

¹ They were confirmed to him by King Henry the Third, by patent, dated in 1259, in the forty-

fourth year of his reign, in as ample a manner as they had been held by Thomas Fitz Anthony.

Page 66, line 49.—*This Maurice aforesaid, the first Earl of Desmond.*

Gilbert ("Viceroy of Ireland," p. 171) states, that through the alliance with Fitz Anthony's heiress "John Fitz Thomas added to his previous Barony of 'O'Conneloe,' or Connello, in Limerick, the lands of Decies in Waterford, the Castle of Dungarvan . . . together with estates in *Deas Mhuma*, or South Munster, styled by the settlers 'Desmonia,' 'Desmun,' 'Dessemond,' and 'Desmond.'" Hence came the title of the Earldom conferred in 1369, on his great grandson Maurice.

"The Earl of Desmond [having been arrested by the Viceroy D'Ufford] was released from custody at London, in 1349, on the joint bond of his father-in-law, Raoul, Lord Stafford, Thomas de Berkeley, Richard Talbot, and Reginald de Cobham, each of whom personally undertook to produce him within eight days from the time he might be demanded from the king.

"Edward III. and his council pronounced D'Ufford's proceedings to have been erroneous, and ordered the restitution of the lands and properties which had been seized from the Earl and his bailsmen. Eighteen knights are, however, recorded to have lost their estates through these transactions, from which Edward, according to his own statement, did not derive any profit.

"The king took the Earl under his special protection, ordered the royal officers to defend his possessions, and decreed that all questions in connexion with him should be referred to the Council in England.

"Desmond, nominated to the Viceroyalty in 1355, governed with justice, not hesitating to hang some of his own kindred, convicted of plunder or rapine." Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland," pp. 210, 211.

The Pedigree of the Earls of Desmond preserved in the Harleian MS., No. 1425, fol. 40, states of this Earl, that "he tooke Morrice Fitz Mietus Lord of Kerrie prisoner, and sterved him in prison. He was the first of the English blood that ynnforced coynce & livery upon his tenants. The first peere of Ireland that refused to come to the Kinges Parliament, being summoned. The first that by extortion and oppression enlarged his territories, and the first that made distinctions between English blood and English birth. This Maurice Fitz Thomas attended John Darcy lo. Justice of Ireland when he invaded Scotland, Anno 1334."

In the foregoing extract *Fitz Mietus* should read *Fitz Maurice*. The "Island of Kerry, and the whole Seigniory thereto belonging" (see p. 9, *supra*), passed as dower to Earl Maurice by his second marriage with Ellenor, daughter of Fitz Maurice, third Lord of Kerry and Lixnau. In consequence of his having been insultingly termed "rhymer" by Baron Arnold le Poer, at a public assembly, this Maurice embarked in a fierce intestine strife, the nobles of Ireland banding themselves on the opposite sides. Such ravages were committed that the towns were obliged to provide garrisons for their own protection, and Royal writs were issued from England, ordering the Le Poers and Geraldines to desist from levying forces for the purpose of attacking each other; but to little purpose.

Page 67, line 5.—*Gerald.*

Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," states that—"On the retirement of Duke Lionel, in 1367, the Viceroyalty was committed to Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, styled 'the poet,' who, from his learning and acquirements, was generally regarded as a magician. Some fragments of Anglo-Norman verse, entitled 'Proverbs of the Earl of Desmond,' still survive.

"Becoming closely allied with the natives, the Earl obtained royal license to send his son James to be fostered and brought up among the O'Briens, in Thomond, notwithstanding the prohibition under the 'Statute of Kilkenny.'

"The native writers describe Earl *Gearóitt*, or Gerald, as a lord of marvellous bounty and mirth, cheerful in conversation, charitable in his deeds, easy of access, a witty and ingenious composer of Gaelic poetry, a learned and profound chronicler, and one of the foreign nobles that held the learning of Erin and its professors in greatest reverence. The Earl lived long in Irish legends, according to which, he once in seven years revisited his castle in Lough Air, or Gur, near Limerick." The 'Four Masters' thus mention him:—

"A. D. 1398. Gerald, Earl of Desmond, a man of gaiety and affability, the most distinguished of the English of Ireland, and also of many of the Irish, for his attainments and knowledge of the Irish language, of poetry, history, and of other branches of literature which he had acquired, died after he had gained the victory of repentance."

Page 67, line 14.—*Thomas Fitz John.*

In Grace's Annals the death of this Earl is thus recorded:—"Died, Sir Thomas, son of John Earl of Desmond, in the realm of France, in the city of Rouen, in the province of Normandy, in the year of our Lord, 1420." At this date the city of Rouen, after fierce siege and gallant defence, surrendered to Henry; and it would not be surprising if the Earl perished under or within its walls; but if he died at Rouen he was in all probability buried in Paris—if, as this narrative asserts, the Kings of England and France attended his funeral, for we know that Henry was in Paris for some time in the winter of 1420, as guest of the French King, whose daughter he married; but we have no mention of the presence of Charles in Rouen after that city had surrendered to the English.

Ib. line 19.—*James Fitz Gerald.*

We learn from Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland" that—A. D. 1416—despite the interference and opposition of the Viceroy, at this period, James Fitz Gerald succeeded in deposing his nephew, Thomas, Sixth Earl of Desmond, on the pretext of his having married the beautiful Catherine Ni Cormac, in the house of whose father, one of his vassals, he had been benighted while hunting near Tralee. Under the "Statute of Kilkenny," marriage with the native Irish was penal, without the royal permission, which was usually accorded, and would in this instance have been of little moment, had the Earl contracted an alliance with one of the powerful clans, whose aid might have enabled him to resist both the Crown and his intruding relative. The usurper thrice expelled him from his lands, and obliged him, in the presence of the Earl of Ormond and others, to make formal surrender of the earldom, a portion of land being assigned to his son Maurice.

The deposed Earl died at Rouen, and his kinsman, King Henry V., is said to have attended his funeral.

While the territories of the English Crown in Leinster became daily more limited, James, Seventh Earl of Desmond, who had expelled his nephew, acquired, in the south, important additions to his estates and rights.

From Robert Fitz Geoffrey de Cogan he procured, in 1438, a conveyance of all lands¹ claimed by him in Ireland, comprising about one half of the so-called kingdom of Cork.

The Earl married Mary, daughter of Ulick de Burgh, or Mac William *Iochar*; brought into the county of Cork the sept Sheehy, whom he retained as his body-guard; and reduced to obedience the Barretts and other strong Anglo-Norman families of Munster. The fame of Desmond reached Tuscany, whence his remote ancestors were said to have migrated.

In 1440, the following letter was, in the name of the Florentine Republic, addressed to the Earl by their secretary, the learned historian, Leonardo Bruni, or Aretino, one of the associates of Cosmo de Medici:—

"Magnificent lord and dearest friend,—If it be true, as is publicly stated, that your progenitors were of Florentine origin, and of the right noble and antique stock of the Gherardini,² still one of the highest and greatest families of our State, we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our people have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hungary, but that our Florentines, through you and yours, bear sway even in Ibernia, the most remote island of the world. O great glory of our State! O singular benevolence of God towards our people! from whom have sprung so many nobles and dominations, diffused over the entire orbit of the earth.

¹ The Harleian Vol., No. 1425, recites the names of these lands, and adds "ae etiam manerium de Cogan in Wallia." The Irish lands read are as follows:—"The manors of Carrickgrohan, Downedrinan, Rathcogan, Novam Villam de Monnore, Muskrie, Mitten Benvar, Columord, Duslois, Shandon, Ocarbellaighan, Flanloe, Killeurhie, Kinalbeekie, et Muskrie cum omnibus suis pertinenciis in Com. Corke, ae reversion' de Muskrie Cogan, viz. Rathcogan, Ballacath et Jorrell cum acciderit."

² We are enabled by the kindness of Charles G. Napier, Esq., of 2, Eaton Villas, Putney, to give the arms of the Gherardini of Florence, as blazoned in a Florentine armorial MS. of the year 1302, in his possession. They are as follows:—*Gules, three bars vair*. The dissimilarity of arms is not conclusive, one way or another; but it is likely that the similarity of name led to the assumption that the Geraldines of Ireland and Gherardini of Florence were of the same family.

"Truly are we bound to give thanks to God for so many and such great benefits conferred upon our State. Therefore, most magnificent lord, although in regions far away, yet nigh to you in good will and affection, we willingly offer you our all with cheerful hearts. At this moment there sets out for your parts Giovanni Betti de Gherardini, a noble youth, the bearer of these letters, whom his father sends to become acquainted with you and his kinsmen of your stock. We therefore certify by these our letters, that this Giovanni, now about to pass over to you, is, as well as his father who sends him, descended, by the sire, grandsire, and great-grandsire, from the family of Gherardini.

"We heartily commend this youth to you; but as the journey is long, and the distance great, we here set down the marks and appearance of this Giovanni, the bearer of our letters, so that neither error nor doubts may arise. He is aged twenty-three years, above the middle stature, with a well-complexioned countenance of honest expression. Impressed, as it were, on the right region of his forehead he bears a wound, and on the back of his left hand he has a scar caused by fire. Farewell, magnificent lord, and expect all that can be desired from our citizens, your well-wishers."

By Royal Patent, in 1413, Desmond was appointed Governor and Custodian of the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry. Two years subsequently, the Earl obtained exoneration from personal attendance at the Parliaments of the Colony, in consideration of the great labour, pains, and care which he had devoted to the preservation of the rights of the Crown, in the counties under his jurisdiction; the king having regard to the fact that the places where the Parliaments usually sat were remote from the territories of his cousin, the Earl of Desmond, who could not travel to such councils without the greatest danger in passing through the intermediate districts occupied by strong Irish enemies. This privilege was surrendered by Earl James Fitz John, 32nd Hen. VIII.—"Council Book of Ireland," quoted in the Carew Calendar, Vol., v., p. 455.

On the 21st of October, 1449, the Duke of York's ninth child, George of York, afterwards Duke of Clarence, was born in Dublin Castle, and the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde stood sponsors at the Font.

A. D. 1462. The young Earl of Ormonde [*recte* Sir John Butler] arrived in Ireland, with a powerful host of Saxons, and a great war arose between the Earls of Ormonde and of Desmond, in which Gerald, the son of the Earl of Desmond, was taken prisoner by the Butlers, who also took possession of Waterford. Both parties finally resolved on giving each other battle, and it was against the will of the Earl of Ormonde that the son of Richard (Butler) went to fight the battle on that day; however, he was defeated in the engagement, and he himself taken prisoner, and some state that 410 of them (the Butlers) were buried on that day, besides all that the dogs and birds [of prey] devoured. The Geraldines, after gaining the battle with great slaughter, took Kilkenny, and the great towns of the territory, from the Butlers. The young Earl of Ormonde, with his English, were in a fortified town, which could not be taken from them. Another brother of the Earl (of Ormonde) arrived in Ireland, and seized on four ships belonging to the Earl of Desmond, at sea, with all they contained, through which the Butlers gained great power.—"Four Masters."

Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland" thus mentions the same event:—

"A. D. 1462. Sir John Botiller, heir to the Ormonde Earldom, a strong Lancastrian partizan, landing in Ireland in 1462, with a body of English soldiery, was joined by his kinsman, Edmund Botiller, surnamed 'Mac Richard.' Combined with their Irish allies, they assaulted Waterford; but the Yorkist Earl of Desmond having advanced against them, they agreed to 'a sett battle, meeting each other with odious and direful countenances.'"

Desmond encountered Sir John Botiller at Piltown, or *Baile-an-Phoill*, in the county of Kilkenny, defeated his forces with great carnage, and took his chief commander, Mac Richard, prisoner. According to the native annalists, Mac Richard engaged on this occasion against the desire of Sir John Botiller; for they added, "Englishmen were accustomed not to give battle on Monday, nor after noon on any day; but Mac Richard respected not their superstitious observances."

Page 67, line 33.—*This Thomas was beheaded at Tredagh.*

Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," says, that Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, eldest son of the usurper, James, and Mary De Burgh, daughter of Mac William, had succeeded to the earldom in 1462. The native writers describe this Earl Thomas as valiant and successful in war, comely in person, versed in Latin, English,

and Gaelic lore, affable, eloquent, hospitable, humane to the needy, a suppressor of vice and theft; surpassingly bountiful in bestowing jewels and wealth on clerics and laymen, but especially munificent to the antiquaries, poets, and men of song of the Irish race.

Thomas Earl of Desmond having been, by King Edward the Fourth, nominated as Deputy Governor of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence, on assuming the government was opposed in the field by five thousand of the English of Meath, whom he soon reduced to obedience, as his kinsman Mac William, with O'Donnel and other powerful English and Irish allies, gave in their adhesion to him at Dublin.

The custody of Lord Shrewsbury's seignory of Dungarvan, which had been "almost finally destroyed" by the neighbouring Irish, was committed to the Earl of Desmond. He was also appointed custodian of the wasted castles and towns of Carlow, Ross, and Durbar's Island; and authorised to collect the customs at Dungarvan, to be applied to the reparation of its walls.

In the summer of 1463, Sir John Botiller and his adherents made another attempt to establish themselves in the Ormonde Country, but the Earl of Desmond advanced against them with a numerous force. At the head of his troops, Desmond, during seventeen days, burned, wasted, and destroyed the Ormonde lordships, till the people submitted to him.

Variances having arisen in 1464, between the Deputy and Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, the Earl of Desmond and the Prelate proceeded to England with the intention of arraigning each other before Edward. Letters in commendation of Desmond were ordered by the Parliament of the Colony to be transmitted to the King, his Council, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England.

The Parliament referred to the great services which Thomas Earl of Desmond, the King's Deputy, had, at "intolerable charges," and "in jeopardy of his life," rendered to the reigning Monarch, as well as to his father, "the right noble and famous Prince of blessed memory, Richard Duke of York." They certified that he was and ever had been the King's true and faithful liegeman, governing himself always by English laws, and by those that were well-wishers to his Highness. By God's grace, and the great travail and labour of the Deputy, the land, they wrote, was in a reasonable state of peace and tranquillity. The Parliament prayed that it might please the King to bear in remembrance the great services, costs, and charges of the Earl Thomas, to have him in tenderness and special favour, and to reward him according to his wisdom and bounty. They requested that credence might not be given to those who impugned Desmond, nor to any subsequent accusation against him, till his Highness had certified the Earl, and the latter had addressed the King, on the truth and lawful answer to the charge. They also prayed that Edward would not make further grants of his Irish revenues, which, they recommended, should be employed by the Deputy in defence of the land.

Edward, satisfied with Desmond's representations, granted him six manors in Meath; admitted him, apparently, to his confidence; and the Earl returned to Ireland as Deputy Governor with many tokens of royal favour.

Edward had, apparently, at this period, grounds to suspect Desmond, and his brother-in-law, Kildare, of favouring the projects of the Earl of Warwick, which originated in dissatisfaction at the royal marriage with Elizabeth Grey, and the consequent advancement of her obscure relatives. In 1467, Desmond was deposed from the Deputy Governorship, which was committed to the King's trusted confidant, John Tiptoft, or Tibetot, Earl of Worcester, whose ancestors had claims upon the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal, in the vicinage of the Munster Geraldines. Gilbert's "Vice-roy's of Ireland," p. 385.

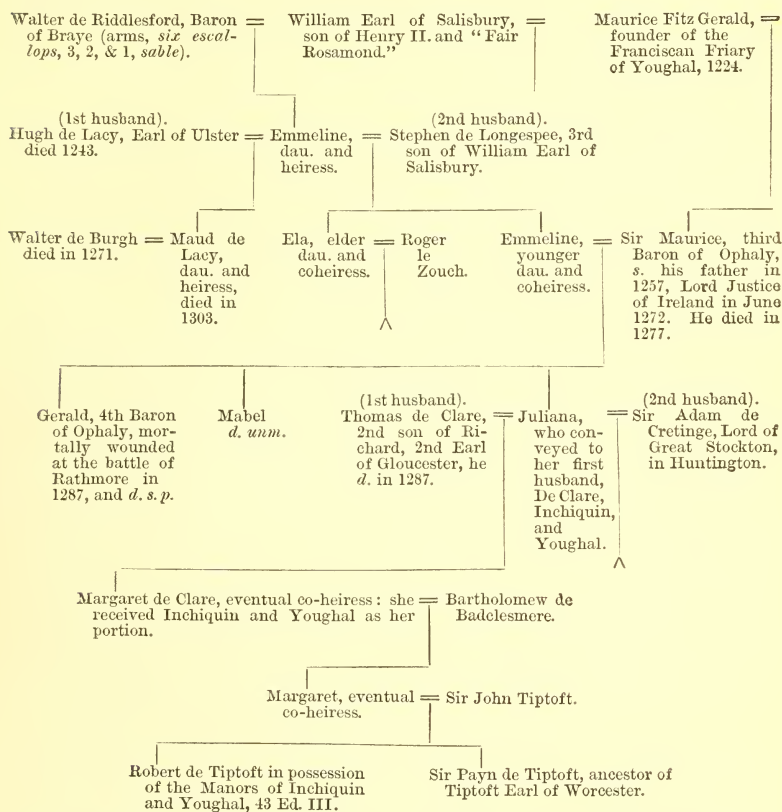
The ancient possessors of the district were the *Ui-Cuinn* [O'Quins]. When Christianity became the accepted Religion of the people, Inchiquin was made an appendage of the See of Cloyne.¹ Even in the fifteenth century homage was done to the Bishop as feudal lord.

In the distribution of lands by King Henry II., Inchiquin fell to the lot of Robert Fitz Stephen. To him, along with Milo de Cogan, the king granted the kingdom of Cork. The two grantees, in 1180, divided their portion. Of the ten cantreds near Cork, de Cogan obtained the seven to the west and south; and Fitz Stephen the three

¹ Smith's Cork, vol. i., page 124; and Archdeacon Rowan's "Olde Countess of Desmonde," p. 16.

eastern,¹ including the fertile district of Imokilly, of which Inchiquin was a subdenomination.

Fitz Stephen conveyed to Maurice Fitz Gerald a moiety of the estates which he had received from the king.² With other lands came the manors of Yoghill and Inchiquin—the latter to be held of him and his heirs, at 100^s, when the Regal Service was proclaimed.³ Maurice Fitz Gerald's son, another Maurice Fitz Gerald, 2nd Baron of Ophaly, was the founder, in 1224, of the Franciscan Friary of Yoghill, or Youghal; and his grand son Maurice married Emmeline de Longespee, through whose daughter, Juliana, Inchiquin and Youghal passed from the Kildare Fitz Gerald's to the De Clares. The following table will show the connexion of the Tiptofts with Inchiquin and Youghal:—



For the proofs of the above, the reader is referred to Sainthill's "Old Countess of Desmond," Vol. ii., p. 47, where the original records supplied by the Rev. Samuel Hayman, are printed. Robert de Tiptoft assigned the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal to John de Harkyn, King's Sergeant, by whom they were assigned to James Earl of Ormonde and Elizabeth his wife; but although the latter conveyance was confirmed by

¹ Girald. Cambr., Hib. Exp. lib. ii., c. 18, 19.

² Vide the Decision pronounced at Cork by Sir Anthony Lucy, the Chief Justice, on the 31st of

August, 5 Edward III.

³ Post Mortem Inquisition, 14 Edward II. [1321-22], about Thomas Fitz Richard de Clare.

Edward III. (Nov. 15, 1371), it is certain that the Earl of Desmond held possession of the manors; and it is probable that when James 3rd Earl of Ormonde, constituted the 7th Earl of Desmond Seneschal for life of Imokilly, Inchiquin, and Youghal, it was because Desmond was the virtual possessor of the manors, and would not allow any one else to interfere with them. One cannot help suspecting that this claim on the fertile tract extending from Youghal to Cork Harbour may have had something to do with the execution of Thomas, 8th Earl of Desmond, at Drogheda, after being tried and convicted of treason by a Parliament summoned by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, the Lord Deputy. The execution is accounted for in a very circumstantial way in the text; a similar explanation of it will be found in the "Book of Howth;" and, as may be seen from the passage above quoted from Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland," that accurate writer inclines to the same view, and there may be some truth in it. We add our own conjecture as to motives which may, also, have had something to do with an execution which was evidently looked on at the time as harsh and uncalled for.

Page 69, line 6.—*James, the eldest son of the said Thomas.*

We are informed by Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," that king Richard the Third dictated special measures to be pursued by the Bishop Thomas Barrett (a cleric of Somerset, who had been appointed to the Bishopric of Enachdun, in Connaught), for the purpose of securing the attachment of James, Ninth Earl of Desmond. That nobleman, then in his twenty-fifth year, exercised almost independent authority over the English in Munster, was allied with the powerful Irish dynasts in his vicinity, where his rights were recognised by Sixtus IV.; but the execution of his father, the Earl Thomas, had engendered among the Southern Geraldines a distrust of the Kings of England and their Viceroy.

Richard commissioned the Bishop to intimate to Desmond his desire "to receive him into tender favour, both from his nobleness of blood, and for the manifold services and kindnesses rendered by the Earl's father, at great jeopardies and charges to himself, to the famous Prince, the Duke of York, the King's father, at divers seasons of great necessity." The King, it was added, had "inward compassion" for the unjust execution of the Earl's father; but that his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, and others of his "high kinsmen and great friends" in England, had similarly suffered; and he was content that his cousin Desmond should seek satisfaction by law against those who had been implicated in the death of his sire.

With the object of detaching Desmond from his Irish associations, the Bishop conveyed to him the royal wish that he should not contract marriage without the advice of his cousin, the King, who intended to "provide for him in such wise, and of such noble blood, as should redound to the weal and honour of himself, and of all his friends and kinsmen." The Earl was informed of Richard's desire that he should renounce the "wearing and usage of the Irish array," and adopt English apparel, after the fashion of the gowns, doublets, hose, and bonnets which he sent to him. He was also enjoined to maintain the rights of the Church; to repress spoliation and extortion; and to provide that the English subject might safely pass on the common highway, so that, "according to the King's great trust, he might appear and be named a very justicer, as well for his proper honour and weal, as for the common weal of those parts."

The Bishop was authorised to receive Desmond's oath of allegiance, and to deliver to him, "in a convenient place and honourable presence," the King's livery, consisting of a collar of gold, with his cognizance, or device, of a white boar, pendant from a circlet of roses and suns.

In addition to the collar, weighing twenty ounces, the following "parcels of clothing"—were transmitted from the King's great workshop, by the Bishop to the Earl:—A long gown of cloth of gold, lined with satin or damask; two doublets, one of velvet, and another of crimson satin; three shirts and kerchiefs; three stomachers; three pair of hose—one of scarlet, one of violet, and the third of black; three bonnets, two hats, and two tippets of velvet.

Notwithstanding these overtures, Desmond augmented his alliance among his Irish neighbours, married Margaret, daughter of Tadhg O'Brien, Chieftain of Thomond; while his sister, Catherine, became the wife of Finghin, head of the powerful Munster sept of Mac Carthy Reagh. A large vellum volume of Gaelic writings, compiled by Aengus O'Calladh, for this Lady Catherine and her husband, was discovered, in 1811, secreted, with an ancient crosier, in part of the building of Lismore Castle, in the county of Waterford, and is now known as the "Book of Lismore," or of Mac Carthy Reagh.

Page 69, line 13.—*Maurice the lame.*

The following curious record relative to this Maurice is preserved in the Public Record Office, London, Hibernia Bag:—

“Toe alle thos toe whome thuse presente wryttenge comythe the Mayr Ballyf and Co'es of the towne of Yoghylle Sendyth grettynge in God everlastyng. And wher ase Moryce Erle of Dessemond hath made hyse solempne othe upone the Holye Sacramente, Evangelistes, ande othere Releques, to be faythfulle and trewe liegmane un to hyse moste noble exellente and dredfulle Soverayne Lord Kynge Henry the vij, Kyng of Englande & of Fraunce and Lord of Irlande, before the Worthye and Worshipfulle Maystere Rychard Hatton Clerke & Doctoure in bothe lawes, trewe & faythfulle comys-sarye Depute and Attorneye toe oure sayde Soverayne Lorde, & tofor manye other Worshipfulle thene beyng presente to hyer the sayd othe and to doe many other thyngges in our sayde Soverayn Lord ise name, as more playnlier hite appiereth be hise wryttengese sealed & subsigned in his name, We the sayde Mayr Ballyf & Co'es of the sayd Yoghylle promytted and faythfully swerryth that we shalbe faythfull & trew liegmene un toe oure said Soverayne Lorde, and feythe & growth shalle doe toe hymne so God use helpe & all Sayntes, and be the Evangelysts, Sacrament of the Awter, & other Releques &c. And over thuse we wylle exorth and as well toe compelle solonc oure pouere, Therlle of Dessemonde toe accuplyshe his faythe of his allegeaunce and aswell toe kepe the t^{no} & effecte of thenditures tripartyd made attwene the sayde Mayster Rycharde Hatton Comys-sarye, the sayde Erle, ande the Mayr of Corke, of dyverse covenantes of the lyv'e of the said Erle ise sone, as be the sayd Enditures mor playnlier hyte shalle appiere. And yf the sayd Erle wold nat thus agree, othere breke any poynte, other the hole sayde Enditures, thate thene the sayd Mayr Ballyf and Co'es of Yoghylle toe thaire powere shall ayde assyste and maynteyne the sayd Mayre Ballyf and Co'es of Corke in that behalf: the premisses ande every parcelle of theme to be fully holde and trewlye perempled. We the sayd Mayr Ballyf and Co'es of Yoghylle to thus presente wryttenga hath leythe our co'ene Sealle: yewene atte Yoghylle the xiiij day of Marce the xj yer of the reygne of our said Soverayne Lorde &c.”

I hereby certify the above to be a true and authentic copy of the original Deed, having been examined therewith, and being sealed with the Seal of the Public Record Office, pursuant to Statute 1 & 2 Victoria, c. 94.

14 Aug. 1862.

H. J. SHARPE,
Assistant Keeper of Public Records.

Id. line 25.—*Then succeeded Thomas.*

It seems to be of this Earl that Sir John Fitz Gerald, of Dromana, complains to Henry VIII. in the following letter, preserved in the Irish Correspondence, Public Record Office, London.

“TO THE KING MY SOVEREIGN LORD.

“Ryght hie and myghty and my synguler and graciouse prynce, I humblye recom-mend my unto your nobyle grace. It [] the same that according to your graciouse last letter send unto my, I have not onlye suffered gret harmes doune by the Erle of Desmond unto my tenants, but have as well seeked with my pusance the maner of Dongarvan as others, and to my grette costs and damages contenuallie unto the tyme we dryven the sayd Erle unto the mayn se yn serteyn Englyshe vessels, the whiche have landed at Youghull with as gret a company as he myght cary yn the sayd vesselles, and fro thens scape when he sawe his tyme; the mayr balyves and comens of the same, yn as muche as I ame the next neighbore havynge perfit knowledge of ther secrets, trustyng that [your] grace wyll regard my record yn that behalf, have desyred me for to enforme your grace of the trouthe of the same, wher upon I advertise your sayd grace that the sayd Erle came soudenlie at full see unto the sayd towne by yngnorance and symplenesse that the watgatt was not fast, and not soffered by the good wyll of the sayd enhabytanses, afterward affirmyng the same by the suffrance of Jamys Butler, Cormok oge and my, with others your adherents, unto the said towne, putyng us yn suffycientt surance to be faythfull and trywe unto your grace for evir,

gyving not onlie noe maner suportation nor socor unto the sayd Erle, but all so wyll envade hem to ther power: wher for I humblye desyre and pray your sayd noble grace for to pardon the sayd enhabytances of ther offences hider to, and wyl by borne of ther forsayd fydelite by the wyche I dubt not shortlye to sye the sayd Erle is envacion and the moe for the [] of the sayd enhabytances by the grace of God, whom I pray enstantlie to send your grace victory of all your enemyse. Wrytten at my maner of Dromany the xxiiii day of Febrary the xix yer of your noble reyne

“Your faythfull Subject and [] to his power
“SIR JOHN FITZ GERALD, Knyght.”

Page 69, line 36.—*Being the 16th July, 1540.*

It would appear from the extreme precision of the date here given of the murder of James Fitz Maurice that there could be no possibility of doubt as to its correctness; and yet it is inexact. The crime was thus reported to the king shortly after its perpetration on the 4th of April, 1540, by the Council of Ireland, who had not the same delicacy as the writer of this narrative in naming the murderer:—

“James Fitzmaurice of Desmond has been slain by Maurice, the brother of James FitzJohn, whereby the latter has concentrated in himself the whole title to the earldom.”

Maurice, the murderer, lived to be 80 years of age, and lost his life in an attempt, for some offence taken with his son-in-law, Sir Dermot MacTadhg MacCarthy, to plunder the lands of Muskerry. This disastrous attempt of Maurice Duv, and its result, is thus chronicled by the Four Masters:—“Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl of Desmond, went upon a predatory excursion into Muskerry. The sons of Tadhg, son of Cormac Oge, son of Cormac, son of Tadhg MacCarthy, namely, Dermot and Cormac, overtook him and beheaded him; though the profit of sparing him would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He who was there slain was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents.” Maurice Duv left one son, James FitzMaurice, usually designated the Arch Traitor; and, besides the daughter mentioned above, as the mother of Florence MacCarthy, other two; one married to Lord Roche, and the other to Sir Dermot MacTeig MacCarthy, Lord of Muskerry, by whose followers he was slain.

Page 70, line 5.—*Unhappily slain.*

The account left us by O'Daly of the conflict of James Fitzmaurice with the Burkes is sufficiently wonderful; but it approaches a little nearer to the limits of credibility than that of this narrative, though both the one and the other read like an episode from the “Orlando Furioso.” O'Daly, in his history of the Geraldines, informs his readers that “James had about a hundred foot, and very few horse; he cared not to bring more with him, as he never foresaw any danger. When the two parties came to blows, bravely fought they both, until at length some vile hireling discharged a gun at Fitzmaurice, who was easily recognized by his yellow doublet, and struck him to the ground. Wounded as he was in the breast, he carefully concealed the injury he had received, exhorting his men to stand firm . . . then in the last effort he dashed into the midst of his enemies, like another Achilles, foremost in the battle front, striking about him with sword and lance, until he made a lane for himself to where Theobald stood, and with a single blow cleft his skull in twain, and with another stroke killed his brother William.” (O'Daly's History of the Geraldines, translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan).

As the narratives of the Russell MS. and O'Daly are in substance the same, and in language and detail so nearly identical as to force their readers to the belief that the one copied from the other, it may be well to endeavour to ascertain what authority, other than theirs, can be found for performances so marvellous as those they have related; but it may first be permitted to us to remark, that the behaviour of the Burkes was treachery of the darkest kind, and influenced by the basest motive. In the first place, they were nearly related to the gallant FitzMaurice, whose wife was one of their own family, but this very Theobald had been present at the assembly of the relatives, friends, and followers of the Earl of Desmond, when it was decided that the Earl should defend himself against the Lord Deputy; and all present engaged to assist, with all their followers—that is, that rebellion should be at once begun; and he had placed his signature with the

rest (and that of James Russell, the father probably of the Russell whose narrative has been already printed (see p. 7, *supra*), amongst them) to a certain deed of conspiracy of rebellion then drawn up; and until this attack upon his cousin he was held to be one of the chief leaders of the rebels in arms. That Tibalt Burke was slain in the conflict is certain; that he may have received his death from the sword of FitzMaurice before, or even, by possibility, after the latter was mortally wounded, is not unlikely; but that "with a second blow FitzMaurice slew William Burke, the brother of Theobald," is more difficult of belief. On the 29th February, 1584, Sir William Burke wrote to the Queen, showing how "his sons Theobald, Edward, and Richard fell in her quarrel." On the 8th May, the Lords Justices wrote to the Privy Council, "commending the bearer, Ulick, son to the Lord William Burke, Baron of Castleconnell, whose three brethren, tall and forward gentlemen, had been slain in Her Majesty's service." There is no mention of any son William; nor is it expressly said that the other sons were slain, or even present, in the encounter with FitzMaurice. The reward received by this family was, for the widow of Theobald, the head-money promised by the proclamation of Sir W. Drury, the Lord Deputy, for the slaying of the Arch Traitor, and a Peerage for his father, which nearly proved as fatal to him as the sword of FitzMaurice had been to his son. On the 20th May, 1580, the Lord Deputy, Sir William Pelham, wrote to the Queen—"By virtue of your Majesty's last commission, I created Sir William Burke a Baron; and rewarded such as had faithfully served you. The old man, feeling an impression of overmuch joy, had like to have resigned your pension within an hour after his creation, being, in all our sights, dead, and with great difficulty recovered." Another correspondent wrote "that the joy of his heart and the tightness of his robes had nearly killed him." The assertion of the writer of this narrative, "that he could aver many wonderful acts and enterprises of FitzMaurice almost beyond man's capacity to believe," no one who reads his narrative can doubt; but that "Fitzmaurice received from the French King letters of recommendation to the Emperor, and from the Emperor to the King of Poland, who promoted him for his fighting against the Turks, who, for his bravery, thought him to be Scanderbeg restored to life to be revenged upon them," is, unfortunately, not so evident, brevity preventing him from giving his authority for this portion of his story. O'Daly could have known nothing of this heroism of FitzMaurice against the Turks, or he would surely have given it place in his history of the glories of the FitzGerald. We have no reason to believe that James FitzMaurice was absent from Ireland at any time before the year 1568, when the Earl of Desmond and his brother, Sir John, were sent prisoners to the Tower, and when the rule of their country devolved upon him. In the exercise of this authority we know but too well that he remained in Ireland till the earl's liberation, for he kept Munster in hot revolt the whole time. We know that he left Ireland—for the benefit of his health, he affirmed—in March, 1576, and returned in 1579. During the whole of this interval his time is pretty well accounted for; and he certainly had other business on his hands, and prospect of abundant fighting, without entering the service of the King of Poland in search of it. The intelligencers whom Sir Henry Sidney put immediately upon his track kept the Lord Deputy well informed of his movements, from the day he left Ireland until the day of his return. He went from Limerick to St. Malo, thence to the Court (of France), thence to Spain, to Rome, back to Spain, and then to Ireland. On the 17th August, 1580, Friar J. O'Hare, whose evil fortune had thrown him into the hands of the Irish authorities, was taken before Sir Lucas Dillon and Edward Waterhouse, when he deposed that:—

"1. The cause of his flying over to Spain was his habit. 2. Touching the working of James FitzMaurice in France, or at Rome, he knoweth nothing but that he departed out of this land into France, and thence to Rome, and from Rome he thinketh he came into Spain, and from thence went again into France to visit his wife, and there came one John Fleming, in company with Stuckelie from Rome, who left Stuckelie, and afterwards went into France to James FitzMorris, and thence returned to Bilboa, in company of the said James, his wife, his son, and his two daughters; and after their landing at Bilboa, James FitzMorris, John Fleming, and Doctor Allen went together to the Court (then at Madrid), where he remained fourteen or fifteen weeks, and returned without speaking with the king. He left his wife at Vidonia (the sole city in Bisquay), five leagues from Bilboa; and she was lodged in the house of Juan Sarnozza, being so bare that she had not money to pay for her necessary provisions till such time as her husband sent her 1000 ducats from the Court. The said James returned from the Court; Doctor Sanders came in company with him; and coming thither they understood of the death of the King of Portugal." O'Daly informs us

that at the time of his landing in Ireland FitzMaurice "was in total ignorance of Stukely and the fleet," and that at the time of his death "he was ignorant of Stukely's violation of his oath and honour," i.e. in lending the troops destined for Ireland to King Sebastian, and himself joining that monarch in his expedition against the Moors. If the deposition of Friar O'Hare was correct, that "Fitzmaurice heard of the death of the King of Portugal when at the Court of Spain," he must have known of Stukely's "violation of oath and honour" before he sailed for Ireland, and have been fully aware how hopeless it was to look for further foreign aid. His speech to Dr. Sanders, before leaving Spain, clearly proves that his mind, and the minds of the Geraldines and their allies, were fully made up to a struggle with the Queen's Government. When Dr. Sanders informed him that the King of Spain would not furnish him with ships or soldiers, he answered—"I care not for soldiers at all; you and I are enough; therefore let us go, for I know the minds of the noblemen in Ireland."

See, also, an interesting series of letters written by James Fitz Maurice, and edited for the Association by the late John O'Donovan, LL. D., "Journal," Vol. ii., p. 354, second series.

Page 70, line 33.—*It was by means of this Earle.*

The destruction that came upon the Earl of Kildare arose out of the insubordination, not of James Fitz John, but of James Fitz Maurice, the eleventh Earl of Desmond.

Ib. line 36.—*He died in August, An^o. 1548.*

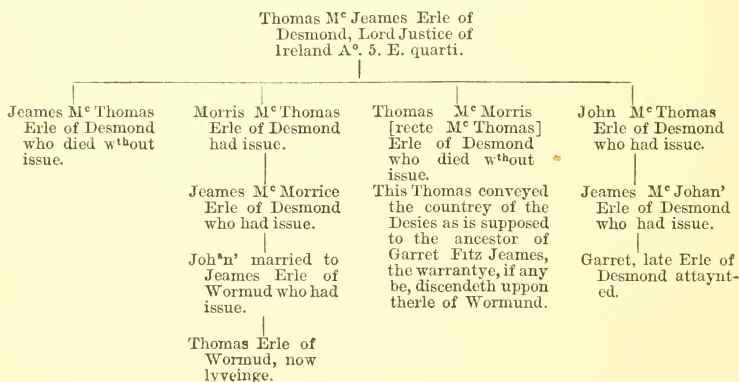
This is a mistake of our author; not, as at first sight might appear, a mere clerical error—a 4 for a 5. James Fitz John died, not in the reign of Edward, but ten years later, in the last days of Queen Mary.

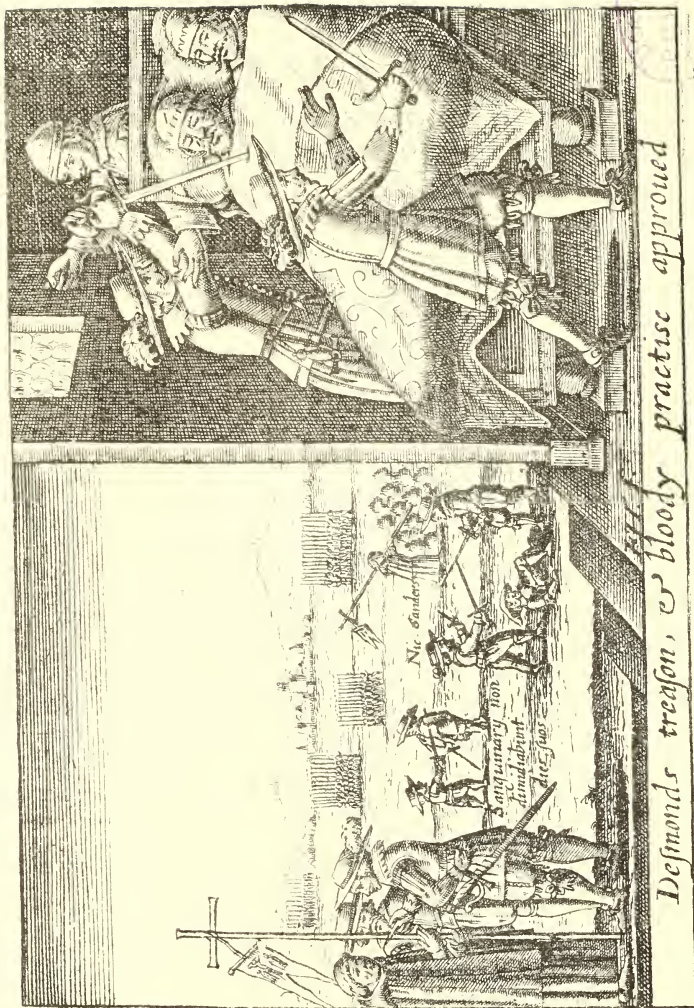
On the 4th of August, 1558, the Lord Deputy Sussex wrote to Mr. Secretary Boxal, "The Earl of Desmond is not dead, but past recovery." And on the 31st October he wrote to the Queen, "The Earl of Desmond is now certainly dead."

Ib. line 39.—*He married the daughter of the Lord of Dunboyne.*

Elleanor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, by his wife Ellen (or Shilie), daughter of Cormac Oge Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, and widow of Cormac-na-Haoine Mac Carthy Reagh, was the second wife of Gerald, Earl of Desmond; he had been previously married to Joan, widow of the ninth, and mother of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, the "Lord General" who pursued the unhappy Earl to his death in the cabin of Glaneguinty.

The following pedigree from the Carew MS., Vol. 616, p. 155^a shows the relationship already existing between the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde, before the marriage of the former with the mother of the latter took place:—





Desmonds treason, & bloody practise approved

"MURDER of HENRY DAVELLS by IOHN of DESMOND."

Page 70, line 45.—*This Garrett was betrayed by his own fosterers.*

The Four Masters, under date 1583, support this statement as follows:—

"The Earl of Ormond, i. e. Thomas, the son of James, son of Piercee Roe, was Governor of the two provinces of Munster this year; and the Earl of Desmond became confirmed in his treason and insurrection; and he proceeded to ravage the country in his neighbourhood, during the winter, and the spring of the following year. His people, however, were so much in dread and awe of the law, and of the Sovereign of England, that they began to separate from him—even his own married wife, children, and friends—so that he had but four persons to accompany him in his movements from one cavern of a rock or hollow of a tree to another, throughout the two provinces of Munster, in the summer and autumn of this year. When, however, the beginning of the winter and the long nights had set in, the insurgents and robbers of Munster began to collect about him, and prepared to rekindle the torch of war. But God thought it time to suppress, close, and finish this war of the Geraldines, which was done in the following way:—A party of the O'Moriartys, of the Mang side, a family of race of the Aedh-Beannan, took an advantage of the Earl of Desmond, whom they found in an unprotected position; he was concealed in a hut, in a cavern of a rock, in Glean-an-Ghinntigh. This party remained on the watch round this habitation of the Earl from the beginning of the night to the dawning of day; and then, in the morning twilight, they rushed into the cold hut. This was on Tuesday, which was St. Martin's festival [11th of November]. They wounded the Earl, and took him prisoner, for he had not along with him any people able to make fight or battle, excepting one woman and two men servants. They had not proceeded far from the wood when they suddenly beheaded the Earl. Were it not that he was given to plunder and insurrection, as he really was, this fate of the Earl of Desmond would have been one of the mournful stories of Ireland." Dr. O'Donovan adds in a note—"Glean-an-Ghinntigh, now Glanageenty, a townland situated in the east of the Parish of Ballymacelligot, barony of Troughnamaemy, and county of Kerry, and about five miles to the east of Tralee. The spot where the Earl was killed is still pointed out by the natives by the name of Bothar-an-Iaula, and the trunk of an old tree, under which his body was thrown, still remains. They also show what they call his grave, but this must have been only the place where the body was for some time concealed, as it seems certain that his body was finally interred in a small chapel at Kilnamanagh, near Castle-Island." The same author is also of opinion that Owen O'Moriarty did not mean to take the Earl's life, he having set out with his party to recover a prey taken from his sister by some of the Earl's followers; that a soldier, named Kelly, had wounded the Earl severely before he knew who he was, and that he was beheaded, only, after it was evident he would have bled to death from the wounds he had received. It appears, however, by the State Papers that £1000 had been set on Desmond's head, "and therof paid to the E. of Ormond, to be distributed by him, m. marks.—Aug. 30, 1585."

Page 71, line 25.—*The mild Earl, being of mercifull generous disposition.*

Russell, at p. 29, *supra*, refers to the murder of Henry Davells, whom he calls Davis by mistake. Davells had been very intimate with the Geraldines, and his assassination would have been a foul stain in the Earl's memory had he been cognisant of it. There is a curious copperplate representation of the murder printed in the text of a rare work, the fourth edition of which was published in London, A. D. 1630, entitled "A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie. In an Historicall Collection of the great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England, since the *Goepell* beganne here to flourish, from the beginning of Queene ELIZABETH. Collected by Geo: Carlton, Doctor of Divinitie, and late Bishop of Chichester." This plate, after the fashion of the old illuminations, gives three scenes at one view: 1st. The Murder of Davells; 2nd. The Slaughter of his Servants; 3rd. Sir John of Desmond glorying in his crime. A facsimile of the plate, enlarged by the photo-lithographic process, is presented to the Association by Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, and will be found opposite to this page. The following, from p. 44, is Bishop Carlton's account of the murder:—

"The Lord Deputie understanding by certaine Messengers, that the enemies [the Spaniards who disembarked at Smerwick Harbour] were landed, sent *Henry Davil*, an English Gentleman, a man of valour, and who had good acquaintance with the *Desmonds*, to the Earle of *Desmond* and to his brethern, commanding them presently to set upon the Fort, which the

enemies had raised. But that they refused to do, as a thing full of dangers. And as *Davil* returned, *John Desmond* followeth him; and overtaketh him at *Trally* in an *Inne*. And in the night time, having corrupted the host, came into his chamber, with some other cut-throats, having drawn swords in their hands; where *Davilus* slept in securitie with *Arthur Carter*, an olde soldier, a man of worth, Deputie Governor of Monmouth. But being awaked with the tumult, when he saw *John Desmond* with a naked sword rushing towards him, What is the matter, my sonne, quoth he (for soe hee was wont familiarly to call him;) Nay, said *Desmond*, *I am no more thy son, nor thou my father, for thou shalt die*. And presently thrust him and *Carter*, which lay with him, through with many wounds, and killed them both. *Davilus* his foot-boy defended his Master with his naked body, receiving many wounds to save his Master if he could. Then he killed all *Davils* servants, which lay scattered in divers places. And returning to the *Spaniards* all imbrued in blood, hee gloried of the slaughter which he had made. *Let this*, said he, be a *pledge of my faith to you and to the cause*. Doctor *Sanders* commended this action, as a sweet sacrifice before God. *James Fitz Maurice* blamed the manner of the slaughter. He would have had it rather in the way then in their bed. *The Earle, when he heard of it, utterly detested it.*"

Page 71, line 28.—*Then succeeded his son James.*¹

It has been questioned whether we may receive it as matter of certainty that this young FitzGerald, known as the "Queen's Earl," or the "Tower Earl," was, as Lodge asserts, born in London; and it has been remarked that in none of the correspondence from Ireland, nor in any of the letters of Sir R. Cecyll, when so much was written about him, at the time of the experiment of sending him to Ireland in 1600, does there occur any mention of his age; this, and the very puerile style of his letters to the Queen and her ministers, appear to have suggested cause for uncertainty on these points. The events and dates following afford all the information that can be collected on these matters, and are sufficient to guide us to a judgment that may be deemed satisfactory in an enquiry of no great historical importance.

Joan, the dowager Countess of Ormond, the first wife of Gerald fifteenth Earl of Desmond, died in January, 1565; the Earl then married Ellinor, daughter of Edmond Butler, Lord Dunboyne, half-sister of Donal Pipi, Mac Carthy Reagh. The ministerial correspondence of the time, which is mainly occupied with the concerns and conduct of the Earl, make no mention of any son by this lady up to January, 1568, when he was separated from her, and sent prisoner into England: nor did she, until the month of November, 1569, succeed in obtaining permission to rejoin her husband. She then procured letters to the Queen on her repair to England. The precise time of her arrival in London is not discoverable, but she was there in June, 1569, for the Earl then wrote from the Tower that she was kept there for want of money, and thus hindered in her suit for his deliverance:—

THE COUNTESS OF DESMOND TO HER HUSBAND.²

"My dutie to yo^r good L. p'mised, having of late obtayned I'res from my L. Deputie here in my favor to the quenes Matie, I was therupon in full purpose, as I am yet, to repaire towards yo^r L. to be humble sueter to her Matie according my duetie, for yo^r enlardgment. But so it is when I made myn accompt to take shipping I fynd myself utterly unp'vided of eny furnytur for my chardgs thither, yo^r contrey being utterly distroied and wasted by the unhappie rebellion of James Fizmorish, that by like attempted the same not onely to bring you yf he could in further displeasor, but also usurpe all yo^r enheritance to himself by the leude example of his unfortunate father, that dyve's tymes (as I am enformed) sought the death and distruction of yo^r father. The distruction of yo^r contrey is so great as I can gett no p'te of yo^r rents or other duties that maye enhable me to repaire toward you, whereby I am enforced to staye tyll I gett farther habilitie, as I cannot tell wher the same is to be had unles my L. Deputie do helpe, to whome I have eftsones written in that behalf, thoughte

¹ This note, as well as the matter comprised in the Appendix, is contributed by Daniel Mac Carthy Glas, Esq., author of the "Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy," whose kind aid in compiling the Pedigree of the Earls of Desmond, given at p. 65, *supra*, is here thankfully ac-

knowledgeed by the Editor.

² Nearly all the documents quoted in the following pages are taken from the Public Record Office, or the Published State Papers. Where the sources of information are different, they are noted accordingly.

he hath heretofore told me seu'll tymes he was not hable to helpe me therunto, or that otherwise you were hable to helpe me by weye of creditt there, wherin I beseeche you I maye knowe yor mynd out of hand: other newes I have not onles I should make p'tycular rehersall of the distruction and waste of yor revenues. I praye God send us joyfull meeting or me shorte dep'ture out of this world. yf you can make eny p'vic'on for me ther I beseeche you lett the same be in a redynes in Brustowe against my comyng, and upon enformation therof I will in all hast repaire toward you. From Youghall the xxiiiith of Novembre, 1569. Yo^r loving miserable wief,

"ELLYNOR DESMOND."

Superscribed "To my loveinge husband The Erle of Desmond."

THE EARL OF DESMOND TO SIR W. CECYLL.

"My humble duetie to yo^r honnor remembred, yt is so that very extreme necessitie doth enforce my wief to staye here, wherby she is not hable to followe her suet for my delyverance into the cyttie of Londone, wherfore I humbly beseeche yo^r honnor like as hitherto you have showid yorself frendly toward me, so nowe yo^r honnor will have in remembrance the furtheraunce of her said suet. And thus I beseeche God send you longe lief wth encrease of honnor. At the Towre the vth of July, 1570, yo^r honnors to command,

"GEROT DESMOND."

(Superscribed) "To the right honorable Sr Willm Cycell, knight, princypall secretary to the Quenes Ma^{tie}."

When these letters were written, the Earl had been for a year past complaining that he was suffering in his health from the cold of the Tower, and petitioning "to be allowed some honest house out of the Tower where he might have convenient lodging under sure keeping." As soon as his wife joined him, she commenced her suit for his liberty to return to Ireland. In the Autumn of 1570, the Earl obtained a favourable answer to his first petition, and was placed in the house, and under the custody, of Sir Warham St. Leger. In October, St. Leger applied for a warrant for money for the diets of the Earl and Countess, and Sir John of Desmond, the Earl's brother and fellow captive. In June, 1571, Sir Warham wrote to Lord Burghley from St. Leger House, Southwark, that "the Countess was sick." In July followed other letters from St. Leger to the same minister, "desiring to be discharged of his prisoners;" and again in August, from Leeds Castle in Kent, that "the Earl of Desmond refused to go down to Kent with him, and in his absence had rashly ranged abroad into sundry parts of London," and "he prayed to be delivered of him, or to have command to keep him prisoner without liberty."

It was not till 1573 that the Earl and his family obtained permission to return to Ireland. They arrived on the 25th of March at White Friars in Dublin. In the following June, the Earl, being still under restraint in Dublin, received a letter (dated "at the Corte," June 18th, and subscribed "yo^r loveinge frend,") from the Earl of Leicester, informing him that he had, according to his request, dealt with the Queen and the Council, whose pleasure and resolution (as to his being allowed to quit Dublin, and return to his own estates) he should understand by the Lord Deputy; and he added, "Yo^r L^s request lykewise for the presentinge of yo^r soune to Her Ma^{tie} I have also accomplished. Her Highness accepteth of him and taketh yo^r offer of him in very good p't, as I have signified by l'res to my Lady yo^r wife; and by cause he is yet to yonge to be brought hither, Her Ma^{tie} hath taken ordre for his plasinge until he shal be fit to be removed."

The child had evidently been left behind by his parents on their departure for Ireland, as a hostage for his father's future obedience. From that moment he was never restored in absolute freedom to his parents, though allowed for a time, with the Queen's permission, and under such conditions as she appointed, to reside with them. Thus we have for guidance in this inquiry, an absence of all mention, by a very vigilant government, of any son born to the Earl previous to his departure from Ireland; evidence of a separation of the Earl and Countess for about 18 months; of their reunion and residence together in London for four years, and then the letter of the Earl of Leicester mentioning his presentation of the infant to the Queen. The Countess herself tells us he was born in England, and the conclusion seems satisfactory that the child was born in St. Leger House, Southwark, shortly before or after the 6th of June, 1571, when Sir Warham wrote to Lord Burghley that the Countess was sick. If so, the unfortunate youth must have been 29 years of age when "he arose from his tomb in the Tower" and was sent to extinguish the fiercest rebellion that had ever till then raged in Ireland. It is to be presumed that

when the infant was presented to Her Majesty, it was borne into the royal presence in the arms of its nurse; it is remarkable, but extremely natural, that at no period of his life is this Tower-trained babe mentioned in the despatches of the time, not even, as the reader will see, when on his martial mission to Munster, without mention also of this indispensable officer of his household. But not the entire period between his first and last recorded appearance was spent in England. The few extracts following, from the Calendar of Irish State Papers, will keep him within sight of the reader till the Tower gates closed upon him, and his English education, lasting through a course of 17 years, commenced.

June 10, 1575.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO THE EARL OF LECEISTER.

"I was informed by Thomas Chester of Bristol that he can have no allowance for my son there, which in short time will grow to no small charge. I desire licence to have the child brought hither, where he will not put Her Majesty or me to any charge, until he be able to go to school, at which time I will return him thither.

Asketen, 10 June, 1575.

"GEROT DESMOND."

August 3, 1579.—THE LORD JUSTICE AND THE EARL OF KILDARE TO THE
PRIVY COUNCIL

Desire that Ormond and the young Lord Fitz Garrett may be sent to Ireland.

Sept. 22, 1579.—TREASURER WALLOP TO WALSYNGHAM.

The Lord Garret expected to be sent to Limerick as his father Desmond's pledge.

Oct. 3, 1579.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO ORMONDE.

Fears that his brothers would imbrue their cruel hands in the blood of his wife and son.

Oct. 18, 1579.—WALLOP TO WALSYNGHAM.

Desmond's son might be executed [he was then eight years of age!] as an ensample of Desmond's disloyalty.

The next mention of this young lord is that copied into a recent number of this "Journal" (fourth Series, Vol. i., p. 271), from the records of the Corporation of Kilkenny, in which payment is claimed for his diet, and that of his suite, during the few days of his stay in that town:—

"Suche allowances and expursements as Peirs Shee praith to be allowed by the Auditors in his bailifes Discharge of his receipts of them.

xxx ^s . str.	{	In p ^r imes for the dieth of thearle of Desmondess sonn beinge com- itted bye the Lo. Chancello ^r and Couंसell to the saffe garde & keping of the said Peirs as Sov ^r aigne of Kilkeny and comaunderd uppō his dutie of alleadgēaūce to have greate watche and keaping uppō the saiede younge Lo: being fyve dayes in his custodie, and at meales, drinkins, and brekfastes, w th his nvrse, a launderer, M ^r Charluse, two serving men, and foure boyes, with comers and goers, flōr their wyne and dieth during that tyme	iii ^{li} str.
		Item for fier, candelight and Drinke for xii p ^{sons} nyghtly watchinge the saide prisoner	v ^s str. "
30f.	{		

Oct. 31, 1579.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND SIR H. WALLOP, TO THE
PRIVY COUNCIL.

The young Lord Garrett, son of the Earl of Desmond, is brought from Kilkenny, and committed to the custody of the Constable of Dublin Castle.

Dec. 1579.—THE LL: JUSTICES AND COUNCIL TO THE LL: IN ENGLAND.

As to the allowance to be given to Desmond's son, we have ordered that the Constable of the Castle of Dublin shall provide for his diet and wants, and that his nurse shall only attend him there.

June 28, 1580.—THE COUNTESS OF DESMOND TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Desmond had put in his only son whom the Countess presented to Drury at Kilmallock.

August 28, 1582.—THE COUNTESS OF DESMOND TO LORD BURGHEY.

"My very good Lorde, I thought good to let you understand that after the joining of my husbands wycked bretherne wth the treator James FitzMorice, then I, for the better prof of my loyalte and dutiefull meaninge allwayes towards her Mat^y. brought my boy that I bare in England (w^{ch} then both his father and I gave to her Mat^y as a fry geaft) to S^r Will^m Drury beinge then L. Justice, as acknnowledginge our former geaft to her Highnes of the same, w^{ch} boy now remaneth in the castell of Dublin wth out any kyend of learninge or brenginge upp, or any to attend upon hym. My good L. for that he is her Mat^{ys} geaft, and in consideration of his innocencye and tender yeares, I humbly pray your honor to be a meane that the sayd boy may be brought over into England, whereby he may be the better hable hereafter to dischargd both his dutie towards God and his gracious Prence; and so cravinge pardon of your Lp: for this my tediousnes I humbly take leave

"Dublin, 28 August.

"Your Lps moste humbly,

"To comand,

"E. DESMOND."

Nov. 17, 1583.—THE LORDS JUSTICES TO THE LORDS OF THE DUBLIN PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Post scriptum—Our verie good Ll: for that we acompt Desmonds sonne here in the castell to be a prisoner of greate chardge, and that manie escapes have been made herehence (though not in our tyme). we wyshe, for the better assurance of hym, that her Mat^{ie} Mighte be p^suaded to remouve hym hence into the Towre of London, w^{ch} notwthstandinge we leve to yo^r Ll.'s grave considera^{co}n."

July 9, 1584.—TREASURER WALLOP TO WALSINGHAM.

Desmond's and Clancar's sons are sent by Wallop's man to London.

Memorandum of Sir R. Cecyll. "A note of y^e somes that have been delyured by me to the E. of Desmond's use.

"One chⁱ. delynred to hymselfe in y^e p^sence of Cap^a Price, at my house at y^e savoy, for the prouyding of armor, and apparell, and necessities for the sendinge away his nurse and syster."

This young Earl of Desmond—henceforth, for a while, but Mr. James Garolde—was 13 years of age when the Tower gates closed behind him. In Ireland men were too busy, in a fierce struggle for life and lands, to concern themselves about the fortunes of a child whose patrimony was gone, whose legitimate place was taken by another, and who would have been—even had the Queen left him to his own fortunes—equally set aside, as from his youth unfit to command in troubled times so powerful a sept. He was shortly as entirely forgotten as if, in the language of the seal, said afterwards to have been engraven for him, as symbolical of the vicissitudes of his life, he had been in reality buried in the Tower vaults. The secrets of the great state prison of England seldom found their way to the world without, and for 16 years nothing was known, or even rumoured, of this young prisoner. Had all the prison bills for the diet, apparel, and comforts allowed to state prisoners perished, as most of them have done, we should know no more of him than was known to his own generation; but many of those curious and most interesting documents have been preserved, and fortunately

most of those concerning this captive. The limited space that can be spared in the pages of this "Journal" will allow but the briefest sketch of the prison life of this youth. From the first day, apparently, till the last of his abode in that dreary residence, his life was a continual struggle with infirmities, from which no portion of his body was free. The necessities for his sustenance were, of course, regularly recurring items, advanced for him by the Lieutenant of the Tower, but very small was the proportion they bore to the prodigious physic-bills sent in quarterly by his apothecary and surgeon, for he had such gentlemen in regular attendance upon him, as well as a physician, all the years of his imprisonment. One such account, one of a multitude, and the briefest, is now presented to the reader; it may offer some slight grounds for guessing what maladies his crazy frame was free from, and what were the infirmities to be encountered by drugs, and a treatment so peculiar.

"The demandes of Sir Owyn Hopton Knight Lewitennant to her Maties Tower of London for the diette, and other chardges of Prisoniers in his custodie, from the Nativitie of our Saviour Christe, laste paste, 1588, till the annunciation of our Blessed Ladye the Virgin then next followinge, beinge won quarter of a yeare, as hereafter is particularly declared :—

JAMES FITZ GARALD.

Imprimis for the Diette and other chardges of James Fitz Garolde, from y^e xxx December, mdlxxxvij, till the xxjv. March then next followinge beeing xij. weeks at xx^s the weeke for himselfe xijli :

Itm for his appell at xxx^l the yeare vijli x^s.

Itm for the dyet of his sch'lmaster at xx^{li} the yeare, vli.

Itm for the wadges of his scholem^r, at xijli vj^s the yeare, iijli : vj^s. viij^d.

Itm for the wadges of my servant attending on him at vli. the yeare xxv^s.

Somma xxxli : o^s xx^l."

In this bill nothing is said of fuel and lights, but in a later list from 25th March, till 24th June, a charge is made for these items of vj^s viij^d the week; by the side of this item occurs one, not again occurring, of doubtful, and not pleasing import. "For his keeper for three months, at vj^s. the week"—this was in 1595. The first of this unfortunate youth's physic-bills is undated, it was probably sent in during 1588.

"A note of all suche chardges laide unto the use of Mr. James Garolde, as shall appeare followinge :—

Imprimis paide for ij Bottells of Serope of iij pints apeace at	xij ^s	iiij ^d
Item j unnce of the beste Rubarb at	ix ^s	vij ^d
Item iij bottells of diet drinke of a potel apeace	xij ^s	iiij ^d
Item ij Doiltes perfumed for his hed at	x ^s	vj ^d
Item ij pourgatives	vj ^s	vij ^d
Item iijj ownces of perfumed lossengis for his eare	x ^s	vj ^d
Item iijj ownces of Serope for his nostrells at	vij ^s	vij ^d
Item iijj ownces of Unguento for his eare at	vj ^s	vj ^d
Item ownces of Implaster for his eare at	v ^s	iiij ^d
Item iijj ownces of Pilles of Masticgini	vij ^s	x ^d
Item ij drames of Pillemics	v ^s	vij ^d
Item j drame of Trossecs deterra sigillata,	ij ^s	vj ^d
The Holle some of chardges at	vli. o ^s .	vj ^d .

I stande to yor Honor's rewarde for my paines taken in curinge of Mr. James Garolde, at yor Honor's pleasure. Yor Lordeshipes to commande duringe Liffe.

"OWIN HOPTON.

JOHN ROBERTES, Surgion."

This account of Mr. Roberts consisted but of twelve items, the one furnished on the 12th of June, 1596, contained sixty-four! by that time the prisoner's ailments had spread away from his ears and nostrils to his backe, his syde, his lyver, and his stomach, and still kept their hold upon his eares, and his head and nostrils, all of which were doctored according to their several maladies, with quiltes, or coolynge oyntementes, laxative cinrans, aqua celestis, acornes and barberies (for a stitch), electuaries, water-lillyes, lixiviums, diaphalmas, sugar-candy, and comfortable drinks. The reader may remember that the youth's mother had complained several years before, that "he was kept in Dublin castle without learning;" this reproach could not be made to his English jailors. A schoolmaster was attached, as the reader has seen, to his establishment, and we are enabled to judge by a multitude of letters written by the pupil afterwards, that he was taught, at least, to express his thoughts in

clear and appropriate language, occasionally with much pathos, and where occasion needed, as when he wrote letters or petitions intended for the eyes of his royal god-mother, in a style, as far as he dared to venture it, not much inferior to the language in which that divine beauty was usually addressed. He had learned also to write a bold clear hand, very superior to that of the statesman to whom his letters were mostly addressed. Of the state of mind produced in the prisoner at the age of twenty-two, by nine or ten years of captivity, the reader may judge from the earliest, and, in all respects the best, of his letters that have reached us.

From JAMES FITZGERALD in the Tower of London, to the RIGHT HON.
SIR R. CECYLL.

“HONORABLE SIR,

“Let it not be offensive, I beseech you, to be troubled with the lynes of an unknowne stranger, who though yong in yeres, yet being old in misery, is taught thereby to apprehend any meanes of favour wheresoever vertue may move compassion. My hard fortune and my faultlessness, I hope, ar nether unknown unto you; howe only by being born the unfortunate sone of a faulty father I have never since my infancy breathed out of prison,—the only hellish torment to a faithfull hart to be boulden in suspect when it never thought upon offence. The favour and comfort which I have alwise receyved from my especiall good Lord yo^r father hath (I verily thinke), ben the preserver of my sorrowfull lyfe, which er this would else have pyined away with grief. And nowe, in his Lordship's absense I am therfor imboldened to sollicit yo^r Honor, as a worthy branch of so true, noble and vertuose a stocke; hoping to find the same favourable inclination towerdes me which his Lo: hath alwise shewed. Lett me then humbly intreat, and obtain at your Hon^s handes to further my humble request which I shall this day make unto Yo^r Honourable assembly at the Counsell table, and soefar as ytt shalbe thought reasonable and convenient, to lett it be cōmended to Her Ma^{tie}. If you shall afford me any favour herin, soe furr as so unhappy a man shalbe able to doe you service, assure yourself to have made a purchase of a most faithfull, and thankfull hart. Thus praying for the preservation of your health, and daily increase of Honor, I humbly take my leave.

“Your Honors ever to comand,

“JAMES FITZ GERALD.”

“From the Tower, this xvij of June, 1593.”

A dead silence followed this plaintive appeal. Whether it obtained any written reply from the minister to whom it was addressed we know not, none has reached us. Seven more prison years passed on, and the captive appears to have ventured upon no more letters. At the end of that period the political vicissitudes of the great world without, of which he knew as little as was known of him, forced him into active correspondence, and laid bare a mind possessed of as little vigour as the frail body entrusted to the care of Dr. Noel his physician, and Messrs. Robertes and Fethergill, his surgeon and apothecary.

Whilst the Queen's Earl was soothing his many sufferings with juleps and perfumed quilts, O'Neill had made himself virtually King of Ireland. He had destroyed, on the borders of the Blackwater, the only force the Queen possessed in Ireland; had created James Fitz Thomas Earl of Desmond, and filled Munster with “Bonaghts” or hired soldiers; he had shut up the President within the walls of Cork, and delivered the entire province into the hands of Fitz Thomas and Florence MacCarthy, then elected, under his auspices, MacCarthy Mor. All the undertakers, with rare exceptions, to the great disgust of the Earl of Ormond, the Queen's general, “had most shamefully fled away” from the princely seigniories they had carved for themselves out of the lands of the late rebel Earl. When matters were at the worst, Sir George Carew was sent as Lord President into Munster. He had no sooner taken possession of his Government than he found, to use his own words, “that the walls of Cork were the limits of his jurisdiction.” The Fitz Gerald, under James Fitz Thomas, called the “Sugan Earl of Desmond,” had repossessed themselves of all the lands which had been taken from them, were all in arms, occupied all the open country, and, together with some thousands of hired soldiers called “Bonies” (Bonaghts), sent to them by O'Neill, far outnumbered all the royal forces available for action. Many schemes presented themselves to the mind of this able and unscrupulous man, for his delivery from a position so critical and undignified. He attempted various “drafts,” first upon the life, and then upon the liberty of the Sugan Earl: the bullet of John Nugent missed its mark, and the treachery of O'Connor was defeated by the vigilance of Florence MacCarthy, both the Lord President's “draftsmen” paid the penalty of their failure; the hired assassin was hanged, the traitor shot.

A project then presented itself to the mind of Carew, which, if successful, promised nothing less than the peaceful transfer of all the rebel forces to the side of Her Majesty, and the delivery of the usurping Earl into his hands. This hopeful project was the restitution in blood, and to his forfeited honors and estates, of "Mr. James Garolde," the prisoner in the Tower. Cecyll instinctively perceived that the mere proposal of such a scheme would excite to the utmost the Queen's anger; he had himself, besides, no faith in it; and in fact when, at the repeated and urgent instance of Carew, and after failure of the simpler drafts—the attempted assassination of John, and capture of James Fitz Thomas—devised between himself and the Lord President, he consented to submit the matter to Her Majesty, had he announced to her the return to life of the great rebel, the late Earl, it could scarcely have surprised her as much, or enraged her more, than such a proposal. The letter of Carew, containing his reasoned opinion of the hopeful nature of his proposal, and a few passages from the letters of Sir Robert Cecyll will show to the reader the opinion and feelings of the Queen, and the trembling reluctance with which the weaker will of the Minister gave way to the more resolute will of the Lord President:—

THE LORD PRESIDENT SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SIR R. CECYLL.

"Whoso knoweth this kingdome, and the people, will confesse that to conquer the same, and them by the sword onlie is opus laboris, and almost may be said to be impossible, and I do verylie beleve that all the treasure of England wilbe consumed in that worke, excepte other additions of helpe be ministered unto ytt. The fayre way that I am in towards the finishinge of the taske w^{ch} I undergoe, I am affrayed will receyue some spedye and roughe impediment unlesse my advice in sendinge of the yonge Desmond hither may be followed. The good w^{ch} by his presence wilbe effected hath bene by me so often declared as I holde ytt needlesse to trouble you with reiterations of the same; the danger that may ensue if he shoulde proue a traitor (w^{ch} I suppose to be the motine of his detention) is no more then the malice of a weake rebell, who can neuer be so great by reason of his education, w^{ch} hath bene in simplietye, unaccustomed to aetion, together with his religion, as this countrefaict Earle [the Sugan Earle] nourished in villanie and treasons, and the greatest piller (Tyrone excepted) that euer the Pope had in this kingdome; and farther, if this traytor were taken or slayne, yet the rebellion is not ended; for these Mounster rebells will establishe another Robin Hood in his roome, and so in sequence as long as there is a Geraldine in Ireland. As soon as the bruist was divulged that he shulde be sent unto me, I found such an alacrytie in his followers, as an immediate sighte of a present quiet did represent ytself unto me. Sir, beleue me, all the persuasions in the world will not preuayle to induce them to serve against James MacThomas, much lesse to do anything upon his person, before they see his [the Queen's Earle's] face. If God be pleased, for the good of this cuntry to direct Her Maties counsayles to send him hether I do humblye beseeche you to moue her that he may come (or not at all) as a free man, without any marke of a prisoner, and that he may enioy the name, and tittle of an Earle. What land is most conuenient for him to have, and least dangerous, if he should be ill disposed, I haue heretofore at large deliuered my opinion, and also how easie it is to prevent any harme he may do, if he enclined to do ill."

The reader will notice the desire of Carew that the young Fitz Gerald should be sent to him as a free man, without any mark of a prisoner, and with his rank restored to him, or that he should not be sent at all. The advice was wise, and the neglect of it may have assisted in causing the failure of this great inspiration of statecraft; but another condition should have attended the scheme; the compliance with which would have availed as much as the restoration of land and lordship, and the omission of which rendered certain the instant and utter failure of this, as it would of all schemes not comprising it, which the fertile brains of the Lord President, or Her Majesty's Chief Secretary could have devised; this all important condition escaped the keen foresight of these sagacious statesmen. It was not till the author of the "Pacata Hibernia" came to record the experiment, and its failure, that the fatal oversight was discovered and pointed out. Her Majesty's consent to a trial of the experiment of Sir George Carew was extorted from her by his persistence, and the continued ill news from Ireland; but having yielded on the main point, the return of the young Fitz Gerald, she indulged her indignation in the stubborn refusal to yield anything more. What a business it was to her minister to obtain so much, and with what an ill grace so much was granted, the reader will now see. Having declared her

entire disapproval of the project of Carew, and thrown upon him and Cecyll the entire responsibility of a recurrence of all the scenes of the last Desmond rebellion which had left such painful scars in her memory, she seemed to take a perverse satisfaction in doing her utmost to render the project a failure. The youth should go to Ireland with the most evident "mark of a prisoner," under the authority of the safest man that could be found; the title borne by his ancestors was to be rather lent than given to him, pending the experiment; for the patent extorted from the Queen was to be kept in the hands of Carew until "suitable earnest of service had been rendered by his followers;" not a foot of land was given to him; and as to his retinue and personal state, it was to be on such scale of magnificence as would be within compass of the annual income of £500, to be obtained for him by the discharge of a company of foot soldiers, and the transfer of the sum thus saved, to his exchequer.

Notwithstanding the unyielding displeasure of the Queen, and the increasing misgivings of the minister, it was at last decided that the young Earl was to be sent over to Carew, to be turned to such use as that wily ruler should find expedient. It had been a cause of much anxiety to Cecyll to find a suitable person to take charge of so precious a traveller. On the 24th of September, 1600, he wrote to Carew—"Here hath been many propositions who should go with the yonge Erl, wherein my care hath been that noe such man should be employed as should retourne with a spirit of detraction, from that which you deserve. Sir Thomas Wilford refused it, and here weare some that would have employed p. f. 6. v. o. y. y., of whom you know whether I had not reason to be jealous in your behalf. At the last I bethought me of a vallient honest man, Captayn Price, to whom I pray you give good usage, for he hath noe designe but to perform the Queene's command, and retourne as soon as he can." To Captain Price were eventually added these other men, viz. :—Miler M'Grath, the Archbishop of Cashel, Patrick Crosbie, John, the son of Sir John Fitz Edmund Fitz Gerald of Cloyne, and John Power. It might be more interesting to the reader to ascertain, from this youth's own writing, the impression made upon him by his sudden change of fortune, than to read of the doubts and fears which his restoration to freedom was occasioning to all who had any share in procuring it. An active correspondence between him and Sir R. Cecyll commenced, but we look in vain through his letters for the expression of any emotion other than a nervous desire to ascertain the wishes of the minister, as to his conduct, and a childish apprehension of doing anything displeasing to Captain Price. From the few interviews Cecyll had with him, and from his letters, it was not difficult for that able man to sound the shallows of his feeble character. From the few touches with which he sketched what to him were the essentials of that character, for guidance to Carew, it is evident that the forebodings of mischief connected with him arose, not from the youth himself, but from the use that might be made of him by those around him; hence, writing to the President, he cautioned him to be vigilant lest his person should be seized by any of his rebel relatives or followers.

"In the observation of the yonge gentlemans disposition," he wrote to Carew, "I fynd this to be in him; a mynd easylye raysed, but professinge to be tyed to honest growndes, and soe truly I thinke he is, but spendfull beyond measure, and therefore you must have a warye eye over him." In another letter he wrote, "He may be told that he shall come over, when he hath don any good, and marry in England, whyther it seems he longeth to return; and I assure you, in my opinion, he will never much like an Irishe lyfe, for he is tender and sickly; but time will shew."

Of the political condition of his native land, the young Earl could know nothing; the fiery passions of the men, and sons of the men who had fought for his father for ten years, and who had seen their estates parcelled out amongst English adventurers after the Earl's death, who had recovered them by the sword, and were engaged in deadly conflict to retain them, all this his languid temperament rendered him utterly incompetent to understand. A few feeble paragraphs, occurring in his letters to Cecyll from Ireland, concerning the events passing around him, cause absolute astonishment by the manifest incapacity of the writer to appreciate the importance of the acts, or the passions of the actors. With Myler M'Grath, valiant Captain Price, Crosbie, and Power, the restored Earl took his way to Bristol, where he had been at school in his boyhood, and whence, when tide and wind served, with his various keepers, his horses and armour, his nurse and sister, he took ship for Cork. In the meantime letters upon letters concerning him were passing between Cecyll and Carew. The reader will scarcely be astonished to see to what extremity of "curious precautions" the presentiments of the minister at last impelled him.

JULY 11, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"Much adoe we have had to persuade her [Majesty] to have sent him, because she feareth that when he shall be there it is not unlike but he and his cousyn [the Sugan Earl] may be reconciled, the rather if the counterfayt erle shall pretend that he never meant to hold it agaynst him, but agaynst the Queen."

FROM THE COURT AT NONSUCH, 2 AUG., 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"For the other poynt, I must deale playnly with you, that I am infinitely to seeke what to write in certainty ; for I doe fynde Her Majestie wonderfull tickle in it ; some tyme fearinge the storme of sendinge him over if noe good successe should follow, and other time doubting if he should be at lyberty there that he would be harder to be pulled downe than any other. To these have been returned the best answeares that could be thought of ; and yet I proteste unto you, I fynde Her Majestie is still brauste in the poynt, and though I think feare of his playing Robin-hood be a great impediment, yet the other conceipt that little would be done for him, is some tyme as stronge a perswasion. He [the young Fitz Gerald] still injoyeth of liberty, that, though he lyeth in the Tower everie night, yet he goeth everie day where he will. Send me word if Desmond may be sent to you without being created first ; and only promised, which shall be indeed performed. Whyther it will do any good to send him to you I wold know it, for I shall never gett the Queen to do it first, till somewhat be don. Write to me wth all speed secretly."

AUG. 6, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"I must confess that I am of opinion that it is fatal to us probare meliora, et deteriora sequi ; for besides that Her Majesty deferreth to doe anything at all in that matter, all the credytt wee have not beinge able to procure him yet to lye out of the gephher [Tower] I doe protest unto you, in myne opinion that all the Queen wilbe brought unto wilbe to send him to you, but with some gentleman to looke unto him by the waye ; and neither to create him afore he goe, nor so much as to seale him a patente and send it with him, but only write a letter to you, intencially, whereby you shalbe able to assure them that yf his frends will leave the other party, and come in and serve him, that she will make him an Erle, and geve him competent living to dwell amongst them."

SEPT. 24, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"Noue is the houre come that you shall receaue the person of the Erle of Desmond, soe called here by curtesye already, and soe resolved by Her Majestie to be. For the matter I must now speake to you my opinion, that you and I have made a great adventure to presse and importune for a thinge soe subject to ill successe, in a time when most thinges are iudged by effect ; and shallespecially be applied unto us, because the mallice of some, and the ignorance of others have taught them this odd sentence to hinder anything (they would not have, or understand not) by sayinge Yea but he may proove a Rebelle hereafter. I pray you therefore, when you have him take this counsell of me, whensoever you fynde any cause to doubt him, never feare to lay holde of him, for therein we will never blame you, but we will take it for a thinge that was necessarie, quoniam ipse dixit."

OCT. 8, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"I pray you let us be wyse as serpents though wee be as simple as doves, and yf, upon his coming over you find no great taske to be done by him, rather take a true and wise way, and make sure of him that he cannot escape ; and advertise hether what you thinke ; for take this from me upon my lyf, that whatsoever you do to abridge him, which you shall say to be done out of Providence, shall never be imputed to you for a fault, but exceedingly commended by the Queene, for God doth know it, the Queen hath ben most hardly drawn unto it that could be : and hath layed it in my dishe a dozen tymes 'Well I pray God you and Carew be not deceived.' Besydes Sir, it shalbe an easy matter for you to cullor whatsoever you shall doe in that kind by this course :

You may ether apostate some to seek to withdraw him who may betray him to you, or rather then fayle, there may be some found out there to accuse him, and that may be sufficient reason for you to remande him, or to restrayne him, under cullor wherof they wilbe more greedy, peradventure, to labour for him. As soon as you may, lett me heare from you, for methinks it very long; and still remember what I say unto you—blame shall never betyde you for any caution (how curious soever) in the managing of this young Puer male cinctus, and so leave you to God's protection. Inn my lodging at the Savoy, this 8 October 1600."

The only important service rendered by the young Earl was the surrender of Castlemang. a strong place, which had been starved into surrender by the Sugàn Earl, and was held for him by Thomas Oge Fitz Gerald. Of this event the Earl gives the following account:—

DEC. 18, 1600.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO SIR R. CECYLL.

RIGHT HONNORABLE,

The dutye that I owe unto that Sacred Matie that hath rayseed me from nought to be her creature (in which tytyle I doe onely hold myselfe happie) maketh that the least defect, which might be a hindrance unto the aduancement of Hir Highness service, soe greuous unto me, that I come soe farr short of intymatinge myne humble thanckefullness for soe exceedinge a mercy, as the greatest service which I might doe, euen to the sacrefysinge of my lyfe, weare but tooe litle for her gracious favour towards me. Not withstandinge, lest Yor Ho: should hold your expectation of my endeours altogether frustrated, may it please you to be aduertised, sithense my last letter unto your ho:, Thomas Oge, who was Constable to James Fitz Thomas in Castlemayne, yelded the same unto me, whereof I tooke possession by my seruant John Power the xiiij of November, and kept it for som feu dayes, untill it pleased my uerie good Lord, the Lord President to haue it yelded into his owne handes; to whom I comaunded it should be deliuered, and his Lordship is now possessed of it. When it was perfectly knownen in Ireland that I landed, James Fitz Thomas his company that remainyd, dispersed themselves, and himselfe being sicke, kept him close in solitarie places; for which cause I sent my spialls to trackt him out, who brought intelligence yt he was kept in Arlough, untill the verie first night that I came to Kilmallocke; at w^{ch} time he was conueyed from Arlough, by a feu horsemen, to one Morris Power's house, as they informed; but I hope by my spialls shortlie to finde his trackt, if he be within Mounster . . . Now I humbly beseech youe to consider my estate w^{ch} is so despperat in this kingedome that my person is not here secured by these inhabitants great or litle, nor able to do any service by reason I want meanes to execute it . . . I finde my Honourable good Lorde kinde unto me, but I am contemptible unto the contry, in regard that they see my meanes, under my Lorde, not soe much as a priuatt captains to follow the rebelles, if there were present occasion of service, nor in their good carriage to geve soe much countenance as a farr mener man then a Erle . . .

R^t Hon: sithence the writing of my l'tres Thomas Oge hath brought unto me Piers' Lacyes two sonnes. I doe find him the trueste follower I haue since my coming over . . .

Your Ho: in all humble and faithfull affection,

DESMOND.

Moyallou the xvij of Dec: 1600.

These sons of Pierce Lacy,—whelps as Carewe called them,—were liberated after their father's death. A letter or memoir, bearing date 1598, but evidently written in 1600, or 1601, contains in a brief paragraph the narrative of the deaths of their father and three uncles:—"At this time (an^o. 1597) Davie Lacie and his brotheren Pierce, Ulick, and William played the rebels, being once pardoned. Davie was after killed in service, Pierce was hanged at Limerick, Ulick and William were hanged at Kilkenny by the commaundment of the Earl of Ormond. Fair riddance of such rebels!"

A gallant and successful charge of Cavalry, made by Captain Richard Greame, upon the forces of the Sugàn Earl, when making their way by Connelloe to the fastnesses of Arhlow, in Tipperary, removed all necessity from Carew of using any curious precautions against the cause of the anxiety which harassed the mind of the English

Minister. A despatch informed him that "Captain Greame had fought with the pretended Earle of Desmond, as he was marching unto Arklow [Arhlow], slew his sonn, and sixty of his cheefest men, with two or three of the Captains of his Bonnaughts; he took his cowes, his sheepe, his garrous, his munition, and all his baggage; he fetched them out of the woods, and neuer leaft followinge of him until he drove them into Leix with 300 rascalls with him, not having searse a ragg about him."

There remained nothing after this, for the young Earle to do. The "*Pacata Hibernia*" (Lib. I., Cap. 14, p. 890), sums up in few paragraphs the narrative of this brief stay in the land of his great ancestors:—

"It was thought by all men, that the coming of this young Lord into Ireland, would have bred a great alteration in the Province, and an absolute revolt of all the old Followers of the House of Desmond from James Fitz-Thomas [the Sugan Earle], but it proved of no such consequence; For the President, [Sir George Carew], to make triall of the disposition and affectione of the young Earle's kindred and Followers, at his desire consented that hee should make a journey from Moyallo into the Countie of Limerick, accompanied with the Archbishop of Cashell, and Master Boyle Clarke of the Councell, (a person whom the Lord President did repose much trust and confidence in, and with whom he then communicated, and advised about his most secret and serious affaires of that Government). And to Master Boyle, his Lordship gave secret charge, as well to observe the Earle's waies and cariage, as what men of quality or others made their addresse unto him; and with what respects and behaviour they carried themselves towards the Earle; who came to Kilmallock upon a Saturday in the evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the Towne, there was a mighty concourse of people, insonmuch as all the Streets, Doores, and windowes, yea the very gutters and tops of the Houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to bee that Comfort and Delight, their soules and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signes of joy, everyone throwing upon him Wheat and Salt, (an ancient ceremony used in that Province, upon the Election of their new Majors and Officers, as a Prediction of future peace and plenty :) That night the Earle was invited to supper to Sir George Thorntons, who then kept his house in the Towne of Kilmallock; and although the Earle had a guard of Souldiers, which made a Lane from his lodgings to Sir George Thorne-ton's House, yet the confluence of people that flockt thither to see him was so great, as in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his returne to his lodging.

"The next day being Sunday, the Earle went to Church to heare divine Service; and all the way his Country people vsed loud and rude dehortations to keepe him from Church, unto which he lent a deafe care; but after Service and the Sermon was ended, the Earle coming forth of the Church, was railed at, and spat upon by those that before his going to Church were so desirous to see and salute him. Insonmuch, as after that public expression of his Religion, the Towne was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the Earle from thence forward, might walke as quietly and freely in the Towne, as little in effect followed or regarded as any other private Gentleman.

"This true relation I rather make, that all men may observe how hatefull our Religion and the Professors thereof, are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that Kingdome: For from thenceforward none of his Fathers followers, (except some few of the meaner sort of Free-holders), resorted unto him: and the other great Lords in Mounster, who had evermore been overshadowed by the greatnesse of Desmond, did rather fear than wish the advancement of the young Lord: But the truth is, his Religion, being a Protestant, was the only cause that bred this coynesse in them all; for if he had been a Romish Catholick, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the Province would have bowed unto him; Besides, his coming was not well liked by the Undertakers, who were in some jealousie, that in after times he might be restored to his Fathers' inheritances, and thereby become their Lord, and their Rents, (now payed to the Crowne), would in time be conferred upon him. These considerations assured the President, that his personall being in Mounster would produce small effects, but only to make tryall what power hee had."

This account, given by the author of the "*Pacata Hibernia*," was written many years after the occurrence of the events therein recorded. It may be interesting to the reader to compare with it the description of his reception, written by the young Earle himself at the time, to Sir Robert Cecyll; and the account of the same event by Patrick

Crosbie, who was with him, and assisted him to make his way through the crowd. One singular circumstance it may be permitted to point out to the reader's notice. The "*Pacata Hibernia*" informs us that the Earl arrived at Kilmallock on a Saturday, and that the next day his repairing to the church to attend divine service brought upon him all the indignities recorded. The letters of the Earl, of Patrick Crosbie, and of Capt. Price, state that they embarked at Bristol, on Monday, the 13th of October, and arrived at Youghall, the next day at 7 o'clock in the evening, where the great popular welcome took place; the next day all the rural populations came pouring into the town to welcome him in like manner; that night he slept at Cloyne, Fitz-Edmund Fitz Gerald's house, the next day they went to Cork, where the Mayor and Magistrates received him but coolly; and so on Thursday, to Mallow, to my Lord President. The first Sunday spent by the Earl in Ireland was the 19th of October, and he was then at Kilmallock, or Mallow. Had the scenes, attending his repair to church taken place there, they must have been acted, as it were, in the presence of the President himself.

On Tuesday, the 21st, both Patrick Crosbie and the Earl despatched their letters to Cecyll, with a detailed account of their reception. Is it credible that the former, whose express duty it was to report the minutest circumstance concerning him, and the latter, who was so susceptible of the least apparent affront, as that he complained of the Mayor of Cork, for not providing him with a repast and lodging becoming his dignity, should have written glowing descriptions of his reception, as if the popular shouts were still in their ears, and have concealed so important a matter as the instant conversion of unbounded worship into contempt and hatred? A coloured narrative of such events might have thrown Sir Robert Cecyll into a dangerous distemperature of mind and body, but can we believe that Patrick Crosbie would have dared to conceal such a matter? On the 22nd, the third day following the eventful Sunday, Miller M'Grath wrote to Cecyll, "Howsoever the successe shall proue, there is a gret aparance of gladnes, and good will shewed in every place wher the Yonge Erle of Desmond came, Corke only excepted, whosse Magistrates seemet not to be glad of any tinge that might induce mor streight or possibiliti in the Englis Government then to be as it is, nor so muche in itsheffe." No mention of the scenes attending the going to and returning from the church! If they did occur, they must have occurred on some later Sunday, or all the correspondents of the Minister must have agreed to be silent concerning them.

MALLOW, 21ST OCT., 1600.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO CECYLL.

"My pen not daring to presume to approach the piercing and resplendent Ma^{ty} of my Souereigns eyes, I have imboldened myself to commend my humblest service and affection by you.

"Let me advertise you of my progress since my departure from you. Upon Monday, the 13th of October, wee sett sayle from Shirehampton for Corke, where wee having so fair a passage as the honest gentleman this bearer can tell you, the master and saylers saied they neuer for this time of the year knew the lyke. We held our course for the place appointed by your Honors instructions, but I, that was so seasicke as whilst I liue shall neuer loue that eliment, being two dayes and a night at sea, besaught them to land me any where; so being not able to reach Corke, a Tuesdays at night being the 14th of this month, wee fell in at Youghall, where that y^r Honor may know the truth of my proceedings, I had like, comming new of the sea, and therefore somewhat weake, to be overthrowen with the kisses of old calleaks [hags]; and was reuealed with that joy of the poore people as dyd well shewe they joyed in the exceeding mercy of hir Sacred Ma^{ty} shewed towards me. From thence wee went to Mr. John Fitz-Edmonds house at Clone, where wee had a great deale of cheere, after the cuntrye fashion, and shewe of welcome, and thence to Corke."

MALLOW, 21ST OCT., 1600.—P. CROSBIE TO CECYLL.

"It may please y^r Honor, on Mondaye the 13th of this instant the Earle of Desmond with his retynue and attendants were embarked at Bristoll, and arrived at Youghall the next day, about 7 of the clock at night. At whose entry into the town there was so great and wonderfull allacrytye and rejoicing of the people, both men women, and children, and so mightie crying and pressing about him as there was not onlie much adoe to followe him, but also a great number ourthrowne and ou'r run in

the streates on striving who should com first unto him; the like whereof I neuer hearde or sawe before, nor woulde think it coulde euer be, excepte it were aboute a Prince.

"So likewise (though unmette to be done to a subject) the harts of the people, yea the uery infants, hearing but this Desmond named, could not contyne themselves from showing th affec'on they beare to his house."

With the capture of the Sugàn Earl, all interest in the existence of the Queen's Earl ceased. He had himself written to Cecyll:—"My good Lord is kind to me, but all the gentlemen of Munster despise me." No hand was raised to injure him, no man befriended him—"he walked the streets of Kilmallock as quietly and freely, and in effect as little followed or regarded as any other private gentleman;" his own people were ashamed of him, and the undertakers dreaded lest a portion of the lands which his father had forfeited, which they called their Seignories, and which they were now crowding back to repossess themselves of, should be assigned to him to maintain the dignity which the Queen had restored to him. His health was failing, and it is not difficult to perceive, from the tone of his letters, that the little spirit or joyousness his nature had ever possessed had broken down under the misery of his situation. He was allowed to quit the country, into which he had been welcomed by the people in a manner so enthusiastic as to be "unmete for a subject," and made his way back to London. No trace is discoverable in any Irish writer of the date or place of his departure, and we are indebted to Mr. Lodge for the information that, "on the 22nd of March he left the kingdom, and after a few months died in London, unmarried." Sir R. Cecyll, who had doubtless entieed, or commanded his return to England, wrote to Carew tidings of his arrival and reception into safe hands; all that we learn more about him is that the mean pittance assigned to him was reduced, that what remained was grudgingly continued, and that the unfortunate youth, with only such experience of the value of money as was to be acquired by a life spent in the Tower, where there was, in his instance, none, and no use for any, found himself without even the means to attend the Court to solicit the Queen for alms. In his last melancholy letter to Cecyll, which was a petition for relief in some humble fashion, that was to benefit the Queen as well as to relieve himself,—probably the sale, for some present small sum, of a portion of his yearly allowance, or the exchange of it for some small scrap of the Sugàn Earl's forfeited lands,—there occurs an expression which, used by one so subdued and passionless, may give the reader some idea of Tower life. Comparing his present state,—penniless, despised, and dying,—with the past, he calls it "happiness compared to that hell!" In this happiness he languished four months beyond the date of that letter, and died in the last days of December.

APRIL 30TH, 1601.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"I am ueray gladd y^t th Earle of Desmond is heer; he is well used, and shall haue the same some w^{ch} growes by the lendynges, but not by the apparell; att the least, he shall not knowe soe muche, because he is every daie lookynge for more than his allowance. Other newes heare are none but y^t the Queen is well, and goinge to Greenwich."

"ROBT. CECYLL."

THE EARL OF DESMOND TO CECYLL.

"MY MOST HONORED S^r.—It is no smale greefe unto me that I cannot attend hir Matie nor so often accompanye yo^r Honor as in all affection I would; for in both those courses only, under God, my hopes doth rest; but before I begin these fewe lines of my demongstratinge necessities I knowe not whither to turn me; if into tyme past, I behold a long misery; if into the present, such a happines in the comparison of that hell, as maye be a stopp to anie farther incrochement. Yett, pardon, I beseech you, this my humble sute, who wayhinge with my self hir Maties liberallitie unto me, and yo^r honorable favours towards me, that I may not be distasinge to either in ouerpressinge receaued bounties, I haue, heere inclosed, sent yo^r Honour a note of a sute wherof no disbursement shall growe foorth of Hir Highnes purs, but an increase of £20 yerely to hir cofers, w^{ch} by the aire of yo^r breathe into Hir sacred Matie, and the blessednes of hir graunt maye supplye these my wants, w^{ch} never hereafter shall importune you. If it be my misfortune not to haue it, soome other shall; and where can Hir Highnes charity more perfectly shine then uppon Hir humble creature, who hath receiued life from hir, and grace by you; wheriu as



Desmond

James (the Queen's) Earl of Desmond. 1600.

James fitz maurice de geraldine

*James fitz Maurice, from his submission in the Church of
Kilnallock, 23rd February. 1572-3.*

James geraldine

*The Sugar Earl of Desmond, from his petition for pardon 2nd June 1607.
to which Signature the following Note is appended. "He first signed his name
James Desmond w^{ch} I sent back unto him, & then he blotted it out & hath
written his name in a hand nott accustomed nor yett wth the orthographie w^{ch}
before he assumed the name of Fide he wrote, w^{ch} was Fidergeralld whereby it
appears how loathe he is to leave the name of Desmond."*

"George Carew.

(From the Originals in the Public Record Office, London.)

F. G. Mearns, Facsimile.

you have begun with me, so I maye not herin find you wanting to me that submits all his ends to your liking, and in all humblenes doth rest much assuredly bound to you.

“DESMOND.

“Greenwich, this last day of August, 1601.

“I do heere that yor Honor shalbe earnestly solicited for certaine lands in Ireland, especially James Fitz-Thomas lands. I beseech yor Honor not to procure anie graunt to anie boddie untill the land wch shall stand at Hir Highnes fauour to bestow uppon me, be passed.”

When news of the death of the Queen's Earl was communicated, by order of the Privy Council, to the Lords at Dublin, the official voice replied, “As your Ll. have directed, upon notice of the decease of the Earl of Desmond, the Company allowed for him is discharged; saue what yt hath pleased you to continue to the Arch-Bishop of Cashell, the Erle's sisters, and John Power. Jany. 14, 1602.”

Three days later followed a plaintive appeal from William Power to Sir Robert Cecyll, in his own behalf, and that of four poor sisters of the deceased:—

“ . . . and least my l'es have not come to yor Honors hands, and that the best frend I had, the young Erle of Desmond (whom yor Honor had raised) is latelye dead (as it is credibly reported), so as nowe I am altogether destitute of any frend there to countenance my honest desart, &c. The late unfortunat younge Erle of Desmond hath left here fouer poore sisters; the Lady Roche best able of them, but of mean estate, to live; and the rest, albeit having some annuity of Her Majesty, yet for the smalnes thereof are much distressed, without any other frend or means to help them. You have been a father unto him (as himself often told me), and I think yor Honor should add much to your immortal fame, to be so unto them in p'curing Her Matt's most gracious goodnes towards them for their reasonable matching there or here.

“Yor Honors humble dependant,

“WM. POWER.

“Cork, 17 Ja.: 1601.”

Sir Robert Cecyll had been awakened from a trance of a year's terror, and it may be hoped that in the rejoicing at his relief, he may have paid some attention to this petition. Carew had long since ceased to concern himself about the failure of the later, as of the earlier, “drafts,” and henceforth no further mention occurs, in the despatches of these Statesmen, of the Lord President's project, of the Queen's Earl, or of his destitute sisters.

That he died by poison, as hinted by the author of our MS., seems to have been a rumour void of any foundation.

A Seal graven with the device—an oak growing from a grave-stone, with the motto “De marmore exeo”—is in the possession of Colonel Fitz Gerald of Auckland House, Clifton, a descendant of the Kildare branch of the Fitz Gerald's; that is, from the fourth son of the Seventh Earl. He inherited it from his father, but is unable to trace the manner or period of its acquisition by his family. Relative to it, Colonel Fitz Gerald thus expresses himself in a note to this writer:—“I wish I could give you more information connected with the seal. I had often heard the anecdote of Queen Elizabeth's giving it to the young Earl on his restoration, from my father. What he possessed was evidently a copy; it is on brass, as a wafer seal.” This writer is informed by the Rev. James Graves, whose authority was the Rev. Samuel Hayman, of Doneraile, that some years since the late Crofton Croker caused a plate to be engraved for some work not eventually published, with a copy of this device thereon represented. Whether a seal thus engraven was in reality ever given by Queen Elizabeth to the young Earl, on his restoration to the peerage forfeited by his father, or whether a mere heraldic device, not unfrequently in easy language called a seal, symbolical of the resurrection of the fallen family, was with the Queen's authority assigned by the heralds of the day for the Earl's use, we have, as far as is known to this writer—no documentary evidence to show: what precise tradition had reached the popular Irish author above named is also unknown to him; but he is informed that subsequently to the engraving of the plate mentioned, diligent search was made by the present courteous and pains-taking Assistant Keeper of the Public Records—Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., through the letters written by the young Earl, and that no single instance is discoverable of any such impression on any of them; whilst frequent instances occur of an armorial seal, *ermine a saltire gules*, surmounted by an Earl's coronet—the ensigne of his race. A fac-simile of this seal will be found on the Plate which faces this page. Had such a seal been indeed given by the Queen, or even had Her Majesty caused the device to be appointed for his use, it is very unlikely

that he would have neglected to make use of it when corresponding with her principal Secretary of State, much less when writing to herself. Nevertheless the tradition current in at least two known channels so distinct, and the careful preservation, as an heirloom, in the family of the Fitz Gerald, of a seal thus graven, is evidence of a nature not easily overthrown by the negative objection of the non-appearance of the impression of any such seal on the letters of the Earl, preserved amongst the State Papers.

Page 71, line 33.—*This James was the last Earle of Desmond of the Geraldines.*

Thomas the 10th Earle of Ormonde, in right of his mother, Joan Fitzgerald, daughter and heiress of James, 11th Earl of Desmond, claimed this Earldom after the death or attainder of all the heirs male; and when Earl Thomas's only daughter and heiress was bestowed in marriage by James I. on his Scotch favourite, Sir Richard Preston, Groom of the Bedchamber, this claim was revived, and Preston was created Earl of Desmond by Patent dated A. D. 1619. Carte ("Life of Ormonde," vol. i., p. 8) states that by a curious clause in the Patent it was provided, in case Preston died without heirs male, that the Earldom of Desmond should descend to George, a younger son of William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, a marriage being at the time purposed between the Earl of Denbigh's son and Preston's only daughter and heiress. Although this marriage fell through, the *proviso* nevertheless took effect, and, on the death of Preston, Earl of Desmond, without heirs male, the title passed into the Fielding family, by whom it is enjoyed to the present day along with the Earldom of Denbigh.

Id., line 35.—*Was by enchantment carried away from Newcastle.*

It is much to be regretted that our author did not give these legends. He evidently alludes to Gerald, the fourth Earl of Desmond, for a notice of whom see p. 77, *supra*.

APPENDIX

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS) ESQ.

IN the perusal of the Geraldine Documents recently published in the pages of this Journal, through the liberality of Messrs. Maurice and A. Fitz Gibbon the attention of the reader has been almost exclusively occupied by the acts and fortunes of the great central figures of the historic group therein presented to him; but there were other actors, and other incidents in the mournful drama traced in those pages which merit scarcely less his attention; and there exists other material than that already made use of, for completing the history of the melancholy struggles with which, after a glorious career, and rare prosperity lasting through four centuries, the dignity, scarcely less than regal, of that illustrious Anglo-Norman House sunk to its extinction.

It has been deemed undesirable to interrupt the course of these Geraldine documents by the introduction into their pages of foot-notes unavoidably so long as to imperil, in the memory of the reader, the continuity of the narratives they are intended to elucidate and develop; it has therefore been judged more convenient to leave the original MS. unencumbered by frequent annotation, and to place in an appendix such additional matter as it is hoped may render more complete a narrative, of which the accessories possess nearly as much interest as the leading subject. Of the minor but still exciting incidents of the great Geraldine tragedy which lasted through a desolating party-war of several years, through two rebellions, and kept Munster in convulsion for a century, none possess greater historic interest than The disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, at the death of Thomas the 12th Earl; The part taken by the two principal members of the family of the Fitz Gerald of Cloyne and Ballymartyr in the Desmond wars; The episode of the young Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald; and The half-hearted rebellion of James Fitz Thomas, called the Sugán Earl. These four chapters of the history of the Fitz Gerald are now offered to the reader, with the mere premonition that, as they are purposely compiled from materials not hitherto published, or not till now brought together under notice, they are rather supplementarily than directly narrative.

CAP.: I.—THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO THE EARLDOM OF DESMOND, A. D. 1534–1540.

When in the Spring of the year 1520, Henry the Eighth sent into Ireland, as his Lieutenant, one of the ablest statesmen, one of the bravest soldiers, and, by blood, the noblest of his subjects, Thomas Earl of Surrey, to govern such portions of that land as, by courtly benignity, it was usual to style his Kingdom of Ireland, it pleased his Majesty to instruct him to make it his first care “as well by policie as by exploite of warre to repress the temeritie of his Irish rebelles there,” and he added “forasmoeche as we perceyve right well that the powers of our Irishe enmyes be assembled in soo many sundraye places, soo ferre distaunt the oon from thoder in woddes, and other strong groundes, that it is not possible for fotemen to encounter theym for resistance of their invasions, but that of necessitie ye must be furnished of moo horsemen for that purpose,” he was graciously pleased to place at his command a body of a hundred light horsemen under the leading of the son of Sir John Bulmer. Such was His Majesty’s first solicitude, and such the means furnished for remedy of the mischiefs which caused it; how proportionate to the evil the reader will speedily perceive. But the rebellious spirit of his Irish enemies was even a less anxiety to His Majesty than another evil to which he directed the notice of his Lieutenant with equal earnestness; this was the private feuds of certain great English families to whom he should naturally have looked for assistance in controlling the Irish enemy, and keeping peace in the country, but whose quarrels led them constantly into alliances with the septa around their respective borders, not seldom into armed participation in their party conflicts, and whose irreconcilable discords and variances kept the country in a state of endless disturbance. Chief amongst these family feuds in the province of Munster was that between the Fitz Gerald and the Butlers. Traceable to the utmost limits of the memory of man, since the settlement of their

families in Ireland, their rivalries and contentions had passed as an inheritance from generation to generation, and continued growing in fierceness and frequency till they reached their climax on the fight of Affane, and their extinction in the blood shed in the cabin at Glennaquinity. The earnestness of the language with which the king recommended these matters to the attention of his Lieutenant and the Council was justified by the magnitude of the mischiefs they occasioned. "And with your politike and substanciall direccion taken by your mutual consentes for the sending of the Archbishop of Dublin, our chauncelour there, to Waterfourde, for the pacifying of such discourdes, debates, and variaunces betwixt the Erle of Desmonde [James the 11th Earl, who had lately succeeded his father Maurice], and Sir Piers Butler [who claimed to be Earl of Ormond on the death of Thomas the 7th Earl, in 1515, but was not acknowledged till 1538], we geve unto you our speciall thanks; and right comfortable newes it shulde be unto Us, to here and understande of a goode concourde betwixt theym, so that they being soo pacified mought, with their preysaunces, joyne, and attende personally with, and upon you our Lieutenante, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enemyes." But lest his Lieutenant should make an indiscreet use of the powerful body of light horse placed at his disposal, His Majesty cautioned him that "at the begynning, politike practises might doo more goode than exploite of warre, till suche tyme as the strength of the Irishe enemyes might be infebled and diminished, as well by getting their capitains from theym, as by putting division amoniges theym, soo that they joyne not togeders." And for this purpose he added that, if his Lieutenant thought "Our wringings to theym, or any other thing to be by Us doon, may be advaillable to further and advaunce those matiers, upon knowledge of your meynds therin, we shalbe glad to spede, and doo the same with all convenient diligence." In compliance with these royal instructions the Earl and his Council immediately occupied themselves with the endeavour to give effect to them. Their first proceeding was to select certain of their own body to repair to Waterford, where the rival Earls of Desmond and Ormond were invited to meet them, and urge them to an instant, and thorough reconciliation. The mode of dealing with the Irish enemy would much depend upon the success of this first attempt at peacemaking.

It was not long before the Lord Lieutenant had to report to the King the result of the first effort made in accordance with his instructions; the politike practices entered upon with the Irish enemies led to the discovery of a condition of things throughout the entire realm of Ireland which greatly surprised the Lord Lieutenant, and must have equally astonished and afflicted the Royal personage, to whom a detailed description, free from all courtly ambiguity of phrase, was at once despatched.

"Pleas it your Moost Noble Grace," the Earl of Surrey wrote to the King on the 23rd of July, 1520, "to understand that The Archebischop of Dublyn, the Vycount of Gormanston, the Lord of Trynlettiston, and the Chief Justice retourned from Waterford the 10th day of this month, where, with mouche difyculty, they have takyn a day of truis between the Erles of Desmond and Ormond, to endure until Candylmas next comyng; and have takyn the othes of theym truly to serve your Grace, and in like wise they have takyn the othes of the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, Sir John Fitz Gerot, Sir John of Desmond, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Cormok Oge [Mac'arthy, 10th Lord of Muskerry], Sir James Butler, Sir Edmund Butler, and Sir Piers Power."

This list of powerful Lords of countries, ranged on the respective sides of the rival Earls, and the difficulty with which they could be kept asunder for even six months, was the earliest insight which the Lord Lieutenant obtained into the social condition of the King's Irish subjects, and of their notions of the obedience they owed to their sovereign.

It seems also to have excited in his mind some doubt of the sufficiency of the body of light horsemen placed at his disposal, for any great exploit of war against the Irish enemy, or even to compel a prolongation of the truce between the Earls, who had assembled around them all the Chieftains, Irish and English, and all the fighting men of Munster; but not only had he doubts of the adequacy of this force, but its efficiency was matter of equal doubt; even its leader had not his entire confidence. On the 25th of September, 1520, the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland wrote to Cardinal Wolsey:—

"And where the Kinges Grace hath now sent hither oon hundrieth horsemen with Sir John Bulmer, yeving us auctoritie to discharge as many of his Grace's Garde as may pay the wagis of theyme, after 9d. a man by the day, we have not yet seane theym all; for many of theym arryved not tyll yesterday, which by the reoport of our servauntes, and others that have seen theyme, bee not soo good personages as were here before, and many of theym right ill horsed, and amoniges theym all not passing 30 speres. Oure desire was to the Kingis Grace, and you, to have furnysshed us with Northumberland speres, and with summe Walsh speres, and not with bowes on horsbak."

On the 3rd of November, 1520, he reported to the same minister the intention of the Council to remodel this royal force so as to obtain more effectual service for the money which it was costing his Majesty; his own professional opinion of these horsemen accompanied his report:—

"I have been so bolde to discharge 50 of the horsmen that came with Sir John Bulmer, which were no worse in apparance than they bee in dede, wherof I sawe good lyklyhode in O'Byrnes cuntry this last weke, where I made oon invasyone. And with the wagis of the said 50 I have wagid 20 good English horsmen and 30 of this cuntry, which shall doo mouche better service then they. Hors-mete is soo skante to be gottyn in this cuntry that it is thought by me and the counsaill here that it is better to wage for this wynter, good horsmen of this cuntry, which have provysion for their horses, than to kepe suche rascalles as the others were.

"Also please it your Grace to understand that Sir John Bulmere hath, seth his comyng into this land, been sore vexed with siknes; and forsomouche as he doubtith that he shall not perfectly recover his helth in this cuntry I have therfor lycensid hym to departe. The King's Grace shall save by his beeing hens £45 a yere; and for the nombre of persons wee bee here, we have ynagh of suche yonge capitaynes."

Quickly following upon the Lord Lieutenant's scheme for the reorganization of the Royal forces, there reached the hands of His Majesty a despatch most minutely describing the condition of the country which this force was intended to overawe and keep in order. His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland contained, as we know, four spacious provinces, with millions of acres of fruitful land, with many noble rivers, some walled towns, countless castles, and a warlike population. Within this realm the King's sheriffs were received, and the King's writ travelled through the entire extent of six halves of counties, viz., "Half the countye of Uriell, by estimac'on; Halfe the countye of Meath; Half the countye of Dublyn; Half the countye of Kildare, and halff the countye of Wexford." Within this royal zone lived the "King's English subjects," around it, and beyond it till land and sea met, lived numerous populations variously designated; but classified generally as "the King's English rebels," and "the King's Irish enemies." In the happier regions prevailed the King's law; beyond it "no law at all, but only the lewd usage of Tanistry or Brehon law," a mere assemblage of traditional juridical decisions of Bards and Ollams, administered, not in any becoming court of justice, but upon hills, and in glens under the open heavens; traditions which had been collected eleven centuries before by Laoghaire the King, and Dubhtach his Arch Brehon, and reduced by St. Patrick to conformity with the law of the Gospel which he was then preaching.

"And fyrst of all," said this remarkable treatise on the state of Ireland, "to make His Grace understande that ther byn more than lx. countreys, called regyons, in Ireland inhabited by the King's Irishe enemyes—some region as bygge as a shyre, some more, some lesse, unto a lytyll—where reygneith more than lx. chief capytaynes, that lyveyth only by the suerde, and obeyeth no other temperall person, but only to himself that is stronge; and every of the said Capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for himself, and holdeith by suerde, and hathe Imperiall juryisdiction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to such persones as maye subdue hym by the suerde.

"Also, ther is more then xxx. greate captaines of the Englyshe noble folke that folowyth the same Irishe ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and peace for himself, without any lycense of the King, or of any other temperall person, save to him that is strongeyst, and of such that maye subdue them by the suerde.

"Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe language, and of Iryshe condicions, except the cyties, and the wallyed townes. Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes, for the more partye, would be right gladd to obey the Kinges lawes, yf they myght be defended by the King, of the Iryshe enemyes; and by cause he defende them not, and the King's Deputye maye not defende them, therfor they are all turned from the obeysaunce of the Kinges lawes, and lyvieth by the suerde, after the manour of the Iryshe enemyes; and though that many of them obey the Kinges Deputye when it pleaseith them, yet ther is none of them all that obeyth the Kinges lawes."

This description of Ireland was enlarged fourteen years later, when Sir William Skeffington was Lord Deputy, by certain "Artecleis and Instructions to the King for his land of Ireland," which contained truths even more unsatisfactory.

"Item, Whereas your Grace is subjectes in every shire wher any of the Erls of Kildare, Desmond, or Ossery have dominion, beth now attendant and dyevedyd betwix them, so that if your Grace or your Deputie dyd intend to envade any of your Irishe rebels, you must make peticion to eury of the said Erlles, for your own subjectes: and if it please them your Grace shall haiv men and streinthe to go and envade wher it shall please your

Grace or your Deputie; and when they will have no envacion made then your Grace must abyde ther further plesur."

But the outer regions were not exclusively inhabited by the Irish enemy; there were poor families of English or mixed descent engaged in the pursuits of husbandry; there were also walled towns capable of some defence, but with no means of protecting a foot of ground beyond their walls; these populations were, as we have seen, well inclined to obedience to the King's laws, but as the King's governors were unable to protect them, they were reduced to purchase protection from the Irish Chieftains whose countries surrounded them. Forty pounds yearly appears to have been the sum paid by the larger counties. O'Neill received that sum yearly from Uryell; O'Brien of Arragh the same from Limerick, Cormac (Oge) M'Teige, whose lands surrounded Cork on all sides, and whose numerous castles frowned around it, and almost within sight of its walls, received also forty pounds. How these Irish Chieftains kept faith with the tributary cities and counties, and how the king's English subjects fared in their occasional disputes when set to rights by enlightened lawyers within the Pale, and by rude Brehons without it, the reader may judge. And first in matters of law.

His Majesty was informed "ther be as many Justyces of the Kinges Bench, and of the comyn place, and as many Barons of the Exchequer, and as many offycers, ministers, and clerkes in every of the said countye, as ever ther was when all the land, for the more part were subgett to the lawe. Wherefore the saide subgettes ben so grevously vexyd dayly with the said courtes, that they be gladd to sell ther freholdes for ever rather than to suffre alwaye the vexation of the said courtes, lyke as the freholders of the marches, wher the Kinges lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexed by extortion that they be gladd to sell ther landes and freholdes to such persons that compelleth them, by means of extortion, to make alyenation therof rather than alwaye to bere and be under the said extortion. And so, what with the extortion of coyne and lyverge dayly, and wyth the wrongful exaction of osteing money, and of carryage and cartage dayly, and what with the Kinges great subsidye yerely, and with the said trybute, and blak-rent to the Kinges Iryshe enymies, and other infynyt extortions, and dayly exactions, all th Englyshe folke of the Countys of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meathe and Uryell ben more oppressyd than any other folke of this land Englyshe or Iryshe, and of worse condition be they athysside than in the marcheis."

If such were the lot of the King's loyal subjects resident close to the chief city of his government, and under the eye of his Lord Lieutenant, what might we expect it to be in the wild regions of glen and mountain, or under shadow of fortresses where the will of a Chieftain was supreme law? What their condition really was, would almost suggest the possibility of there having existed some inchoate elements of justice in the Brehon traditions, and some humanity in the hearts of these wild Chieftains. The King was informed that "many an Irish greate capytayne kepeyth and preserveyth all the King's subgetes of their rome and countreys in pease, without any hurte of ther enymies, so that ther landes be tyldyd, and occupied with the ploughe as well as ever they were; and the said capytaines hath the over hande of ther enymies Englyshe or Iryshe on every side, as O'Bryon, The great McCharrye [Mac Carthy Mor], Marck Charry Ryvaghe [Mac Carthy Reagh], Cormak Oge [Mac Carthy o' Muskerry], and O'Donolde; in as much as some of those hathe tribute yerely of Englyshe men; and this notwithstanding all ther comyn folke, by their Iryshe rule and ordre, be but poor capytaynes. Every Iryshe captaine defendeyth all the subgetes, and the comyn folke, within his rome, fro ther enymies, as much as in hym is." Such was His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland when the Earl of Surrey assumed its government.

It may have occurred to the reader that the King had not provided his Lientenant with sufficient force for much exploit of war, should such be required; but His Majesty had been informed that "All the wyld Iryshe, with all ther galloglagheis, and Iryshe Scottes called Keteryns, have no more power ne myght to stande in the fylde, ne to mayntayne ther warres ageynst the King's suggettes, then have the wolffe ageinst lyon, or the kyte ageynst the fawken." The knowledge of this great superiority of the royal forces over any that his Irish enemies could bring against them will account for the limited numbers of the horse-men sent under Captain Bulmer into Ireland to scour the woods, and strong grounds where it was not to be expected that footmen could follow the rebels.

The endeavour of the Lord Lieutenant to reconcile the Earls of Desmond and Ormond was not wholly unsuccessful; for he had taken their oaths to maintain peace amongst their followers and allies for six months. Not six weeks elapsed before he was compelled to write to Wolsey: "To advertise your Grace further of newes here; there is summe bissynges betwene the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond, and their parttakers, which I have sent to pacify; and yet have noon answer, whate shal come thereof. Shortly I intend to goo in thos parties to set them in good order. All Irishmen of this land bee at peas, and shew theym silf desirous of my good wyl. I cannot assure your Grace of long contynuanee thereof,

for there is small trust in their promyses." What the Lord Lieutenant had next to report of the business between the Earls was not long delayed. Two months of the Truce had not elapsed when the following despatch, bearing the signatures of the Lord Lieutenant and his Council, was placed in the hands of the King.

Sept. 25, 1520.—THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING
HENRY VIII.

Pleas it your most noble Grace to bee advertised, that this day came unto me a messenger from the Erle of Ormond with a letter expressing of a great discomfiture lately gevin upon the Erl of Desmond, on friday last past, by Cormok Oge, McCarry Reagh, and Sir Thomas of Desmond, as by the contynue of the said letter, which I send unto your grace herein closed, pleyner it may appere. And as the messenger reapperteth, in the sayd cōflict were slayne of the said Erl of Desmondes party xviii. banners of galoglas, which bee commonly in every baner lxxx. men, and the substance of xxiv. baners of horsemen, which bee xx. under every baner, at the leest, and under some xxx., xl., and l., and emonges others was slayne the said Erl is kinsman Sir John Fitz Gerot, and Sir John of Desmond takyn, and his son slayne, and Sir Gerald of Desmond, another of his uncles, sore wounded and takyn; with many others wherof the certainte yet apperith not.

Sir oon ways it is no great hurt that he is punyshed, for of late he hath lent more to the counsayl of Irishmen then of me your Graces Lieutenant, and of others of your Gracis Counsail here; and contrary the direccion lately takyn at Waterford by my Lord of Dublyn and others, hath invaded thos that now have overthrowne him, which bee swoore to your Grace, and wold not forbere soo to doo for divers commaundementes sent by me your Graces Lieutenant, to him, upon his alligance to desist. A nother way his discomfiture and losse may bee right hurtfull: the moost part of theym that overthrow him bee Irishmen; and I feare it shall cause theyme to wex the more powder, and also shall cause other Irishmen to take pryde therin, setting the less by Englishmen. Notwithstanding the said Cormok, who was chyef capteyne is the man of all the Irishmen of the land, save O'Downyl, that I thynk wold moost gladly fall to English order; and undoubtid yf the said Erl had not invaded his cuntrey, and brent and distroyed the same, he wold not have attemptid any thing against him; and this discomfiture was in the same Cormok Oge's own cuntre.

Writin at your Castell of Dublyn the 25th day of September.

Your most humble subjectes,

(Signed)

JOHN STILE.

T. SURREY.
PATRICK BERMINGHAM, Juge.

The description of the state of Ireland already referred to must have prepared the King to receive without much surprise the news of such an encounter as this just related. The private quarrels of great chieftains, either Irish or English, were usually settled without troubling the King or his Lieutenant; the humiliation of either party was rather a gain to the Royal authority; and though such encounters were not usually encouraged, they did not provoke the interference, otherwise than by counsel and mediation, of the authorities. Within six weeks the victor in the recent engagement himself waited on the Lord Lieutenant, presented by the Earl of Ormond, as was also his relative the young MacCarthy, Chieftain of Carbery, who had been with him in the fight. The former was the most distinguished and powerful chieftain that his race had produced since the days when Finin of Ringroan scattered the FitzGerald's in the battle of Callan, a battle scarcely more sanguinary than that which had just taken place between these same clans. Cormac Oge was the chieftain who has been already mentioned as the Lord of Muskerry to whom black mail was paid by the city of Cork, for sufferance to exist in peace under the walls of his Castle of Blarney. What his power was, may be gathered from the narrative of the battle lately fought, and the anxiety shown by the Lord Lieutenant to attach him to the Royal cause. Young MacCarthy Reagh was the son of Eleanor, sister of the great Earl of Kildare, then prisoner in the Tower of London; and notwithstanding his modest demeanour in presence of the Lord Lieutenant, speedily proved himself equal in pride and petulance to his cousin, Silken Thomas. An expression in the despatch of the Earl of Surrey that these chieftains were of Ormond's band, must have excited some misgiving in the sagacious mind of Cardinal Wolsey: for although Surrey reported well of the loyalty of Ormond, it must have suggested the likelihood of there being other chieftains *not* of his band, but of his rival's, whose loyalty was by no means so assured.

Nov. 3, 1520.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to be advertised that sith my last writing to your Grace, I, and others of the Kinges counsaill being at Waterford, did our best devour to bring the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond to good concord and anytie, and hath theyme both solempnely sworne to kepe peas, and to help eche other in all their lawful causes; and also they bee bound with collateral suerties with theyme soo to doo. There came thidder unto me Cormok Oge and McCarty Reagh, twoo Irish Lordes of great power, and were brought unto me by the Erll of Ormond, for they bee of his band; and they have put in their pledgis in my hand, to kepe peas to the Erll of Desmond, and his adherents, and to be orderid by me in all causes between theyme. They bee twoo wise men, and I fynde theyme more conformable to good ordre then summe Englishmen here. I have mocioned theyme to take their landes, and to hold theyme of the Kinges Grace, and they wol bee content soo to doo, soo they may bee defended.

"Written at Dubline,

"The thirde day of November.

April 27, 1521.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to understand:—

"Also a great Captyn of Irishmen called Cormoke Oge, dwelling nigh Cork, who is a sadd wise man, and very desirous to become the Kinges subgiect as an Englyshman, offering to take his landes of the Kyng; but whate yerely rent he wol gave I am not certayne; desyring also to bee made a Baron, and to come to parlamentes and counsailes, hath shewed me a charter graunted to his grauntfather by the Kinges noble progenytours, under the great seale of England; the veray copy wherof, at his request, I have sent nou to your Grace, duely by me examyned, to the entent, by your Grace's favours, the same may bee confermed by the Kinges Grace, which may encourage him to the better service. Suerly he is substantiall of his promyse; and without any saufconduct hath come to me, tending his service, and very willing to confourme him to the Englysh order; and hath no parcell of land wherunto the Kinges Grace is entytelyd; wherfor I beseeche your Grace to tendre his desire in obteyning the said confirmation. And Almightie God have your Grace in his moost tendre tucion.

"Written at Dublyn the 27 day of April.

"Yours most bownden,
(Signed),

"T. SURREY.

(Superscribed.)

"To My Lord Legate's Grace."

Although the effect of the defeat of the Earl of Desmond, and the slaughter of so many of his followers, was to render him much less a cause of anxiety to the Lord Lieutenant; and although the Earl of Ormond had given constant proof of his loyalty by attending in person, and with numerous followers in various minor exploits of war, against the northern Irish chieftains, and Irish Scots, the Earl of Surrey had not been in Ireland longer than a year and a month,—he was appointed Lord Lieutenant on the 20th April, and landed with his family in Dublin, on the 23rd May—when he arrived at the painful conviction that the country would never be brought to due subjection but by a re-conquest; and so, on the last day of June, 1521, he wrote to the King:—"After my poure opinion this londe shall never be broght to goude order, and den subjeccion, but only by conquest." It had been made evident by the late battle that the similitude of the lions and kites was not to be universally relied upon as a law of nature, or as figurative of unfailing fact, and he found himself compelled to propose to His Majesty an increase of his force to not less than 2,500 men. He informed him that at the time of writing "all the Irishmen off the west parties off this londe had confedered, and bounde to gyders to do all the hurties they might unto your Grace's poure subjectss here." He concluded his despatch—"Fynally, in the most humble wise that any poure subject can thynk, I beseech your Grace to command me, your poure servaunte, to serve your Grace in Inglaunde, or in any other place then here, where my poure well-wylling servyce may appere."

This petition he continued to urge until he received permission to deliver up his authority into other hands.

On the 18th of June, 1529, James the Eleventh Earl of Desmond died; his latter days had been employed in a treasonable correspondence, at one time with the French King, and at

another with the Emperor Charles V., to induce those monarchs to invade Ireland; and when he died, he left, with the Earldom, an unfinished intrigue with the latter, which was instantly taken up by his uncle and successor, Thomas, the Twelfth Earl; and as readily made known to his own Sovereign. This was barren knowledge to the King, for he had no means of punishing the traitor. Nothing, however, came of the Earl's design, and the King, without hesitation, established him in his Earldom, merely endeavouring by friendly phrases to induce him to send his grandson and heir to His Majesty's court, which, with phrases equally amiable, the Earl showed the impossibility of his doing. What loyalty would certainly not have obtained from the Earl, his own peculiar circumstances extorted from him; and they proved of more avail to the King's service than many companies of light horse; they procured his peaceable behaviour during the whole time of his Earldom, and that reconciliation which the King had so greatly desired between the rival potentates of the south of Ireland. The Earl was aged, he was the third of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl of Desmond, beheaded at Drogheda sixty-two years before. He had had an only son, Maurice, who had been married to a daughter of the White Knight, by whom he had a son James. The validity of this marriage, and, consequently, the legitimacy of its offspring, was denied by the great body of the FitzGerald's. The parties, they said, were too near of kin; the legitimate successor to the Earldom would one day be John, the fourth son of Thomas. Maurice died, and the aged Earl his father saw before him a certain contest for succession to the Earldom, as soon as he should himself be taken. The means instantly adopted by this able man to secure the succession for his grandson, though not calculated to gain the good-will of his clan, he knew would secure for him support even more available. His first care was to solicit, by professions of fervent loyalty, the King's favour for himself, and the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of his grandson. His second was to seek reconciliation and indefinite truce with the rival house of Ormond; and the third, which proved the most politic of all, to obtain a daughter of Cormac Oge in marriage for his grandson. James the Eleventh Earl, his predecessor, had left an only daughter, his heiress Joan, and this lady was given as wife to the Earl of Ormond.¹ Thirty years later, when the Earldom of Desmond had passed into other

¹ This lady was daughter and heiress of James 11th Earl of Desmond. She was married, first, to James 9th Earl of Ormond, by whom she was mother of Thomas the 10th Earl; secondly to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Marshal of Ireland and Lord Deputy. Sir Francis died in 1550, and the lady set her heart upon a hasty marriage with the young Earl of Desmond. Whether this desire proceeded from love or from ambition we can scarcely tell; but from "certain instructions written by Lord Chancellor Allen to his brother to declare to the Government of England," we learn that it was an old longing of the lady, and that, could she have had her way, she would have sought this marriage in her first widowhood, but it was judged matter of State policy to prevent it then; the vigilance of the Chancellor discovered the revival of the desire now, and he warned the Lords of the Privy Council that if they did not quickly interfere to stop it, she would surely accomplish it this time. Either the officious warning of the Chancellor was disregarded, or the matter was indifferent to the Lords, or the wit of woman "in soche a case" was quicker than the wisdom of the Statesmen who had interfered and thwarted her before, for the dowager accomplished her purpose, and married the Earl.

"Remembrances for my broder Thomas Alen. Forthe.—After my Lorde of Desmonde toke an excuse of his com'ng so as we were in desperation of him, whiche I iudging to com' (as it ded in dede,) of a displeasure betwixt my ladie of Ormond, and my ladie of Desmond, I tempered the matter so, be it spoken wth owte boast, as at last he came, and after his dep'ture to rescue a castell (as ye knowe): advertised by me of the lorde Justice dethe, he returned, and by p'suasion made to him by me secretalie, he came wth us to the buriall, and wolle repaire wth us to Rosse (which his doeng no doubt shall do grete good in this perillous tyme); wysching

that he sholde have bothe thanks, and some gift of apparell, or other token sent him from the King's Mat^e bothe to anymate him, and confirme him in his well doeng.

"Sixt.—Ye shall (if it shall be demaunded of you), declare the maner of the Lorde Justices [Sir Francis Bryan's] dethe, which I have amply declared unto youe, myself lying in his house, and being then wth him; and where it had been reported that he sholde dye of a purgac'on it is not true; for he wolde by no means be p'suaded to take any medicine. I was at th' opening of him, wherupon the physicians, by the serche of his hart, and other his entrailles, defnyed that he died of gref; but wherof so ever he died, he dep'ted veray godly. I have the rather made menc'on of his dethe, because when he bade me farewell, he desired me to haue him com'ended to all his frends in England, and speciallie, saithe he, to my Lorde Pryvaie Seall [Lord Cromwell] my Lord of Warwick, and Mr. Herbert, and pray them to be good to my son the poore boy; whiche my chardge I com't to youe to doo, if ye can attayn to their presens, to declare it.

"Seventh.—Ye shall put my Lords in remembrance howe upon the late Erle of Ormond's dethe it was suspected as thing wolde happed in dead, that the Countes of Ormonde intended to marry therle of Desmonds Sonne and heir; whereby therle of Ormonde being not in age sholde not oonly be so hindred, that when he came to age he sholde not be able to serve the King as his auncesters had doone; but also the same sholde be a mean to make all his rule ineyvill and Yrishe: For avoyding wherof she was sent for into Inglande, and bestowed as she was [i. e. as wife to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Justice of Ireland], and now she is againe at lib'tie, and as farre as I can p'ceyve, as moche (if it be not more) bent to marylge that waye then she was before; whiche if it shold take place it were not

hands, and the fires of the ancient feuds were rekindling, a similar attempt was made for their extinction, and, strange to say, the same lady, Joan, daughter of the Eleventh Earl, who had been given as a peace-offering to the rival Earl of Ormond, was then restored, for the same sacred purpose, to the family from which she had been taken, and was remarried to Gerald, the Fifteenth Earl, the great rebel. At the time of her last marriage she was for a second time a widow, and was mother to the Tenth, or Black, Earl of Ormond, who in the end effectually extinguished all possibility of further rivalries in the blood of his mother's husband. The following letter was the Earl's endeavour to gain the good-will of the King for himself and his grandson, even whilst he was evading the King's wish for the presence of his heir at court.

May 5, 1532.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Mooste highte and mighty Prince, and my mooste reduplithe Sovereigne hyghe Iorde, I in my mooste humble wise recommaunde my unto your mooste noble and haboundaunte

only a playne undoeing of therle of Ormonde, thinking it better for the King to haue two Erles then oon, and therfo somewhat coequall as thei were before, but also if the saide Erle (whom I take neu'theles to be an honorable subiect, after his educac'on, and oon that must be cherished) or his sunne, sholde digresse from their duties, thei had so instroyed the King in Ireland, as the remedy wolde be bothe dangerous and chargeable, as it maye be p'ceyed at the eye of him that will consider the chartre of Ireland, with the said Erle's rule, and this added into it. I iudge undoubtedlie the saide Erle wol be a suter in it, and p'chance hereafter desaire this counsell to write in his favors, for whiche cause I thought good to p'monish my Lords beforehande, wher in if his desirc be graunted the p'elles before menc'oned ar lyke to ensue; and playnely to denye him is the mean to loose him, or make him strange; and upon this wth myself p'ceditating, the daie after her husband's dethe, I toke oportunitie to com'vune wth hir to comfort hir, and so takyng som' occasion, what honor God had called her to, in this worlde, first to haue to husband so noble a gentleman as this was, by whom she shold enioye an honest portion of lyving for lytle more then a yeres payne, remembring hir of the goodness of the King, and the Lordes to prefere hir to the same, I advysed hir not to marie w^{thout} his Graces licens by the aduice of his noble counsell, adding diuers p'suasions more to confirme the same, so as in thende she p'mised me upon hir honor that she wolde lyve sole for oon yere; and sithens, before p'te of this counsell she p'mised neuer to marie w^{thout} soche licens, and that she wolde by hir wryting to the Lordes confirme the same; neuertheles I wolde my Lordes (if thei take hir mariage of any moment) trusted a woman's p'mise no fuder then in soche a case it is to be trusted; but the soner thei p'vent hir the better."

Unfortunately the evil passions of the rival Houses were not appeased by this marriage; and when, in 1563, the Earl of Desmond was summoned to England to answer for his open warfare with his rival, and was for a while kept there "sequestered of his liberty," evil tongues were not wanting to attribute his restraint to the intrigues of his wife.

The Countess appealed at once to the Queen's principal Secretary of State, and requested no less than the testimony of all the members of the Privy Council to assure her husband of the untruth of such a charge:—

"Right hono^rable after my right hartie comendac'ons may it please the same. Yt is beaten in my L. my husbandes hedde by certain yll

disposed p'sons that hath bene aboute his L. that I shulde be the chief stayer of my L. my husbunde in Englande, in taking my sonnes p'te against his L. towching their variaunces, and that I shulde haue wrytten also to yo^r hono^r in that behalf, which thing if I dyd, yo^r hono^r knoweth, and if I dyd it nott, and that yo^r hono^r may suppose I am gillies in the p'miss', I shall most hartely beseeche the same that of yo^r courtiesie throughe myne olde aquayntaunce ye wolde woodsulfe, at this my contemplan'con, to stande so moche my frinde in my defence and p'gac'on, if ye thinke it so good, as to procure the residue of the queanes Ma^{tie}s moste honorable Counsaill to declare to my said L. whether euer I sent to any yo^r hono^r" any suche l'res or whether euer ye p'ceived fro me by any kynde of meane to be that woman that procured any suche thing against my said L., wherby he may be brought owte of that susp'con so conceived against me in the behalf of my said sonne, for their variaunces, w^{thout} my des'te. As nowe I protest before God I never thought ne ment any suche thing against my said L., butt alwayes wysshing them bothe to be p'ficht frinds, as two whome I love as myself, whose humble request eff sonnes most hartely beseeching yo^r hono^r t'accept in good p'te, butt also to extende yo^r favo^rable goodnes to my said L. for his dispatch over in her Ma^{tie}s favo^r & yo^r hono^r. And then not doubting, god willing, his L. following good con'sail shall doo good s'vice to her highenes in thies p'ties. And once he being here shall nott waunte to satisfie his creditors at thannds of his adherents and others his s'vents and freinds, that being in dispayre of his coming ar not wylling to sende him any thing over as farr as I canne lerne. That knoweth the Lorde, who send yo^r hono^r long lyf wth then-cesse of moche hono^r, wth my hartie comendac'ons to my good lady yo^r Bedfellowe. From Youghall this xii of Julii 1563.

"Yo^r hono^r assuredly co'mannde in that
"I may,

"JOHAN DESMOND,
"ORMOND & OSS.

(Superscribed). "To the right honorable S^r William Ciell Knight chief Secretary to the Queanes Ma^{tie} and one of her gracs most hono^rable Privie Counsaill.

(Dorso). "Countes of Desmond to my M^r. 22 Julij, 1563."

By this lady, who died in 1565, the Earl had no issue.

Grace. . . For I have submite myself to your Grace, as I dude unto your noble direst fadere of fames memory, whose soule Jhesu pardon; trusting for to shauue my self the same man accordinge to my bounden duetie of alleageaunce, during my lyf, with fullfilling of all my promessis to my power, savinge one, of the which I desseyre your Grace my to pardone, while that it is receusyde and necessary, and more ease for your Grace, and for my, so to dowe, theue otherwise; as, be all experiaunce it may be well known; as heir after doth exsprime; that is to say: wher as I have promist for to send myne herre unto your Grace, I. being well stricken in age, having none other but only he, my lordshipe, under your Grace, beinge ferr asondere, having sundry mortall enemyes, considringe myn anciente, and his tendere aige, your Grace may considere, that we bothe has moche adowe for to keepe our oune; and if he were absent, bothe in danger of the see, and other myschaunces, I shaulde hade moche adowe, then I may well away with. Also that I wile fere that your Grace wile take more pain in the defence of hym in his absent thene to soffore hym, as he is, for a while. At your Grace is commaundement at all tymis.

“Written at Youghal the 5^e day of May, the 24^e yere of your noble rainge.”

In 1534 the writer of this letter died; and then burst out, as it was long foreseen there would, a conflagration through the whole of Munster, a fierce contest for succession to the Earldom of Desmond, in which were engaged every family of following, or influence in the province. The claimants were apparently three; for the Earl of Ormonde pretended some claim to succeed in right of his wife Joan, the daughter of James the Eleventh Earl; but, in reality, the claimants for whom men were ready to shed their blood were James, son of Maurice, grandson of the late Earl, and John the late Earl's brother, fourth son of Thomas the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. The Annals of the Four Masters have enumerated for us the various chieftains who took part in this furious struggle; and when are added to them the names of the Butlers and O'Briens, and the multitude of petty septs owing allegiance to them, the reader will perceive that no name historical in Munster was wanting in the general uprising of all the septs and populations, whether English or Irish, in the south of Ireland.

“The chiefs of his army [that is, of James, the son of Maurice, the heir to the Earldom, say the annals], were MacCarthy Cairbreach, Cormok Oge, Cormac the son of Donogh Oge MacCarthy Lord of Eallu [Duballow], the White Knight, the Knight of Glyn, the Knight of Kerry, Mac Maurice, O'Conor, and the sustaining tower of the army, MacCarthy Mor [Cormac Ladrach]. John the son of the Earl [the rival claimant] went to complain of his distress to the Dalcaies [the O'Briens], for there existed friendship and affinity between them; for More, the daughter of Donogh, son of Brian Duff, was the wife of this John.”

The King had long before been made aware of the irregularity of succession to coveted dignities in his realm of Ireland. The same pen that had conveyed to him so much unpleasant information on the state of that kingdom, had written—“Also the sonne of eny of the said capytaines shalle not succeed to his fader, withaute he be the strongeist of all his nation; for ther shalbe none chief captayn in eny of the said regions by lawful succession, but by fortmayne, and election; and he that hath strongyst armye and hardeyst swerde among them hath best right and tytil.”

But Cormac Oge, justifying the character given of him by the Lord Lieutenant, of being “a sadd wise man, and very desirous of becoming the Kinge's subject,” before entering into actual battle with a man supported by all the power of the O'Briens, and the greater part of the FitzGerald, and knowing in his heart that the chieftain of a race must derive his right from the free election of his followers, not from the accident of primogeniture, determined to appeal to the King in favour of his son-in-law. Of this intention, and of the opinion of the Council in Ireland respecting the matter in contention, His Majesty was made aware, before any letter of Cormac Oge could reach him.

April 9, 1535.—LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY TO KING HENRY VIII.

“Pleaseth it your Magestie to be advertised, that the Iryshe man, who sued to your Highness at Mr. Secretories, hath enfourmed me, that ther is a prist commyng with letters to your Grace from James of Desemounde, of your land of Irland, and from one Cormoke Ogge, a knight, whois daughter the saide James hath married; and the effectes of the letters shold be, to make sutes to your Highness that the saide James mought be Erle of Desemount, as heir to his graundfather, late Erle of Desemount; and hath likewise enfourmed me, that one Sir John Decemount, Knight, uncle to the saide James, pretendeth to be Erle; which Sir John, as this Irisheman reporteth, in this tyme of hostilitie in your land of Irland, hath put his good endeavour in assisting your subject, the Erle of Ossery, agaynst the rebell, and

traytour Thomas FitzGarrard [Silken Thomas,] and hath gotten part of the countie of Lymeryk, and diverse of the castelles of the saide rebell and traytour. And this Cormok Oge and James daily warr upon the saide Sir John Decemount, wherby he is the lesse able to pursue the said traytour, bycause he is compelled to defend him self and his cuntrye agayne them; so that the opynyon of this Irisshe man is that whatsoever sutes shalbe made to your Magestie by the saide James and Cormok Oge, or the saide Sir John Decemount, that your Highnes shold, in this tyme of contencion, in your saide land of Irland, abstayne to graunt your favour to any of theym, to be Erle of Decemount; but to giff the prist that shall come to your Highnes on this behalf, faire dulce wordes, till your Grace maye knowe more of theire demeanours, and service towards you in your saide land."

At the time this letter was written the Lord Deputy Skeffington despatched the force at his command, consisting of the hundred bowmen on horseback, which had been originally sent into Ireland under Captain Bulmer, but which the Earl of Surrey had since remodelled by discharging fifty of their number, and replacing them by an infusion of Welsh speers, twenty good English horsemen, and thirty fighting men picked up on hire in Ireland, under the command of Stevyn Ap-Parry, to observe the proceedings of the claimants and their followers, then face to face, and ready for battle. The instructions of Ap-Parry were to place himself under the orders of Lord James Butler, who, at the head of a powerful force of his own people, was about to endeavour, even by force if he should find it discreet to attempt it, to prevent collision between the hostile parties; we fortunately have the benefit of Captain Ap-Parry's account of that expedition, and in it incidental evidence of the jovial life of a soldier of fortune in those stirring times.

OCT. 6. 1535 —AP-PARRY TO CROMWELL.

"Right werschypfull, my dewte rememberyd, Plesythe yt yower Masterschyp to be advertyzed, that apone my Lord my Masters [Lord Leonard Gray's] departyng with Thomas Fygh Garrett [Silken Thomas], owght off Ierlond into Ynglond, he commandyd me, beyng captyn of a hunderythe of hys men, that I schold take my company, and too go in too my Lorde of Osserys cuntry, with my Lorde James Butlere, and too be at hys poyntment to gooe upon the Kynges enymes, where hys plesuer was to apoynte us, tyl my Lorde my masters cummyng bake agayn. . . . And so my Lorde Jamys plesyr was that I schold prepare my self in a redynes to go with hym to comen with a young gentylman, chalengys to be Yerle of Desmond, and with Cormak Oge, and with meyne other, and to se O'Bren's cunterey. . . . The first nyght frome Dugarvyn we went onward ower journey to a toyne callyd Yowghol, wher we had very good cher, and onestly receevyd; and ther they did sell a galond of Gasgoyn wyn for iv^d. sterling. The second nyght we campyd by a castell, the wych is callyd Cahermon, and ther my Lorde Jamys musteryd his ost. . . . And upon a hyll halff a myll a thys syde Corke, ther my Lorde Jamys commandyd me to put my men in too aray, and he lykwyse commandyd all hys captyns too put ther men in too a ray. And apone a hyl, halffe a myle ore more, Cormak Oge was with hys oste, and soo downe came Cormak Oge in to the valey with a certyn, and my Lord Jamys with a certyn, with hym, as ther was apoynted and soo they met too gether, and fyl to parlyng; and after they had parlyd, my Lorde Jamys went in to the towyn with all his ost, and the Mere of the town ther dyd receive hym, with hys bretherne, in ther skarlet gowns, and ther tyettes of velvet, after the Englysche faschyon; and was very glad of us Ynglyschmen, and mad us the beste chere that ever we had in over lyves; and on the morow came Cormak Oge in to the towyne end, to my Lorde Jamys, and brougth with hym the ywng gentylman the wyche chalengys to be the Yerle of Desmond; and so thys yeong mane spekes very good Ynglysche, and kepthe hys here and cap, after the Ynglysche faschyon, upone hys hede, and wolde be, as far as I can perceive, after the Ynglysche fashion. And heys sayng was as thys, that he never ofendyd the Kinges Grace; and that londs that he hade, ore schold have of ryght, came by the Kings yest, and that he was a treu Ynglysche mane borne, and wold be content with all his hert, yf Sir John a Desmond, hys uncyl, wold cume and submyt hymeself un too the King, and hys counsell, and to open his tytyll, as he wold doo; then he wold be content to cume in too Yngland, ore in too Yerlond; or wher so ever the Kyng, or hys counsel woul apoynt hym; he ys very well content withall. And as for Cormak Oge, he is very well content that he shold soo doo. . . . More over ther came in to my Lorde Jamys, one, the wyche ys callyd my Lorde Barrow, [Barry] that cane speke very good Ynglysche, the wyche is a very young man, not past 17 or 18 yere of age, that is a gret enherytor and yff he had ryght, and leyd very sore too Cormak Oge, and to one Macarte Ryghe, the wyche is one ilaw to Cormak Oge, and ys my Lorde off Kildars systers-sonne. And soo the awn-

sware of Cormak Oge was thys, that he wold be sworn too doo the Klyng trewe servys, and too put in hys plegys too abyde the jugment of the Depute of Ierland, or the counsel of Yerl-nd, betwen hym and eny man in Yerland, that can ley to his charge that he hathe done hyme eny wrong in londs or goods. Macarte Ryagh came in apon a saff cundewte, and hys anneswar was, that he wold not be sworn unto the Kyng, nor put in no plegys for to doo eny man eny ryght, that he had don wrong to; for that, that he hathe won with hys sworde, he wyl hold yt with hys sworde. And then my Lorde Jamys, beyng sore movyd at hyme, sayng untoo hyme, yt schold be un to his payn; he makyng awnswar, he wold a byyd ytt; with a prowd countenance, lyke the Garadyns, as ever I saw.

"Therefore, my Lorde Jamys thowght best to recoyll bake agayn, and to bryng the Desmontes, and Cormak Oge, with hys company, to a stay, ore that he wold pase eny further. And so in Leymeryk we had very good cher; but nat nothyng lyke the cher that we hade in Corke.

"This day came in Sir Jhon a Desmond, and he is a very old mane, and cane spek very good Ynglysche, and as far as I can perceive, hee hathe bene full of myscheff, and ys yet at thys ower; and hys awnswar ys thys—'What schold I do in Ynglond to met a boy ther? Let me have that fresche horson Cormak Oge, and I wyl goo in too Ingland before the Kyng.'

"From Waterforde,

"The 6th day of October.

"Your poer Bedisman,

(Signed)

"STEVEYN AP. PARRY."

In the month of June, 1536, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote to Cromwell that "Sir John of Desmond had attayned into his possession the hole Erledom of Desmonde, and all the powre of the Inglishrie of Mounster; that he was combyned with O'Brene and others, the Kings auncient enymies, intending by their aydes, forcible to retayn the same agens the Kinges will and pleasure, dayly consoulting togethers, and preparing theymselfes to abyde playne batell ayenste the Kinges poure."

In the middle of the same month Walter Cowley wrote to the same minister, "Sir John of Desmond is dead, and also Cormok Oge,"—brief notice of the withdrawal of two personages on whose conduct depended the lives of so many of their countrymen!

The death of Cormac Oge is thus recorded by his own people:

"The age of Christ, 1536. (Annals of the Four Masters).

"Cormac Oge, the son of Cormac, son of Teige Mac Carthy, the choice of the Irish of Leath Mogha, died, after having gained the victory over the Devil and the world; and was interred at Kilcrea."

Into the high place and pretensions of Sir John of Desmond stepped immediately his eldest son, James, who was supported by the choice, if not by the formal election, of his clan. With the death of Cormac Oge, fell all hope for his son-in-law, James the son of Maurice. This unhappy claimant at once repaired to England to carry his complaint to the King; and to the King also wrote James Fitz John, the son of the late so-called Earl of Desmond, showing how little claim the fugitive could have either to Royal favour or to the Earldom; for that he was of base birth, and himself a rebel, as his father and grandfather had been, as His Majesty well knew.

March 3, 1539.—JAMES FITZ JOHN OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"In moste humblewise shewith unto your mooste excelent Highnes, youre true and faithfull subjecte, James Fitz John of Desmond, right inheritor of the Erldome; that where James Fitz Morice, lattalye pretending to be heir to the said Erldome, usurped the name, rule, and auctorite of the said Erldome, and commytted dyvers abhominable and detestable treasons to your Highnes, and publisshed and declared dyvers sklanders and traitorous wordes against your noble person, and commytted many and grevous homycides, murders, theftes and robberies, upon your poor subjectes; the forsaid John, father of your suppliant, then beinge in youre moost noble service, made their tytill unto the said Erldome, as next heyris to the same Erldome, for that the said James Fitz Morice was, and is bastarde, for soo moche as there was noo lawfull mariage solempnysed between the said Morice his supposed father, and themother of the said James Fiz Morice, being daughter to the late White Knyght deceased, whoo was cossyn germaine to the said Morice; and for the specialtie of the sayd tytill, the father of your said suppliant submytted hym to the determinacion of William Skeffington your late Deputie in Irelande, and your consaill there; whereunto the said James Fiz Morice beinge requyred, utterlie refus'd to stand to, and obey the same;

therefore your said suppliant, and his father, by the comandement of your said late Deputie, as well for the atteyning of his saide right and tytill, as also for the punysshement of the abhominable treasons, and other detestable crymes and offences commytted by the said James Fitz Morice againste youre Highnes, and your subjectes, with such power as he could make, invaded the said James Fitz Morice, and fynally expelled hym from the said Erldom; and the same dignite, tytill, and honoure used, with his owne right, and so died, beinge seasid and possessid in the same Erldome. After whose dete the said Erldom descendit to your suppliaunt as sonne and heyre to the said John, and your said suppliaunt hath entred and occupied the same accordnglie. And for as moche as the said James Fitz Morice who, beinge in power and streyngt, used himself in treason, and robberies against your Highnes, and your subjectes, as is aforesaid, now beyng, by your said suppliaunt and his father expelled, and put from his said possession and rule, thynkinge by fayr wordes, frendship, and colorable hydinge of his said detestable crymes and offences, and humble submyssion of hymself, which came never but by compulsion, to achive his purpos, hath repaired to your Highnes. therby trustinge to be by your Highnes restored to the said Erldome, whereunto he hath noo tytill nee right. . . . and finally it may please your Highnes to orde all things touching the premyssis, soo that all tytill, contraversies, and debate that may or shuld hereafre growe, or ryse, touching the premyssis, may by your Highnes discrete wysdom, and orde, redounde to a good orde and knowledge. And your said suppliaunt shall dailie pray for the prosperous contynuance of your noble estate long to endure.

“Written the third day of Marche,

“Your mooste bounden subjecte

“and Servant,

(Signed)

“J. of D.”

(Superscribed)

“To our Sovereigne Lorde the Kinges mooste

“Excellent Highnes.”

The several despatches following trace the remainder of this struggle to its abrupt close by the death of the weaker claimant. The letter of James Fitz John, and his offer to aid in the pacification of Munster, excited more of sympathy in the heart of the King's ministers than the sorrows of the fugitive; and Cromwell made known to the Council at Dublin His Majesty's inclination to recognize the claim of James Fitz John, and “to benefit the young man [James Fitz Maurice] in some other way.” This sudden stroke of state craft was not in accord with the designs of the great House of Ormonde, or with the nicely poised policy of the Council at Dublin. In an evil hour these Lords persuaded his Majesty that, to keep the hands of Fitz John full of troubles of his own, and to force him to some show of submission, and reverence for His Majesty's laws, it would be expedient to send the fugitive —“the young man”—back to Ireland, and afford him some means of reviving his claim.

1537.—CROMWELL TO SENTLEGER AND OTHERS.

“After my right hartly commendations. This shalbe to advertes you that the Kinges Mageste hathe receyved suche another letter frome Jamys of Desmonde, as the copy wherof was sent to you enclosed in my letters, addressyd by Patryk Barnwell. And forasmoeche as by his wryting ther aperith not only a great conformyte in hym, but also an overture of reducyng of hole Munster within two yerres to a perfect obediens, having therunto the asistens of 300 men for that tyme. His Highnes desireth you to handell the sayd James in a gentyll sorte, declaring that His Mageste takyth his letters in gode parte; and to enter with hym upon the pointes of the same, that you may the better fele hym and his purpose; and, therapon devising with others, way what service he shall be abyll to do, if His Mageste shold take suche an order between hym and the young man, the said young manne's title notwithstanding, whiche most men do preffer, as he might contynue in his extennacion, which I suppose assuredly His Grace wolde do, what recompens so ever he shall make to this man, if the said Jamys will contynue a feythfull obedyent corespondent to the lawes ther, and can therwith accomplishe that he wrytith, touching Mounster, if His Grace shold beare as moche with hym for the same as he desirith. And what you shall fynde herein His Graces pleasur is, you shall advertes accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well.

From Ampthill, the 9th day of August.

“Your lovinge Frende,

“THOMAS CROMWELL.”

JULY 20, 1538.—ORMONDE TO COWLEY.

“—— My Lord Deputie hath so strengthened this James (Fitz John) of Desmond, that all the Capitains of Monnester in effecte ar of his bande, and is of greater strength by meanes of my said Lord Deputie, then any Erle of Desmond that have bene these many yeres; so that this yong man, that is with the Kinges Majestie in England, is never like to come by his enheritans: And as I am credably informed, he hath counsaillid the said James of Desmond to make werr upon mee, for suche landes as my sonn James hath in his wife's right, and have procurid Sir Thomas Butler to be of the same mynde, and to take his parte.

“(Signed),

P. ORMOND & Oss.”

“From Callan the 20 day of July.

“(Superscribed.)

“To my trusty servaunt,

“Robt. Cowley, at London.

1538, Nov. 28.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO CROMWELL.

“—— James the pretended Erle of Desmond (by dissimulation as it were) pretending to the Commissioners that he wold be ordered in all thingis to the Kinges pleasure, and so synnes my Lord Deputie's last journey into Mounster, hathe obteyned suche a strengthe in Mounster as no Erle of Desmonde had there in no mannes remembrance: And therfor our advise is that the Kinge's Majestie sende ouer thother James, which is there, giveng him (which as farr as we hitherto can pereeyve, is the veray right heir) aide against thother; whereby the combynation and power of thother may be abated, and diminished. For moche more good wisdom and policie it is to put them two together, thoon against thother, whereby this pretended Erl may have his handes full, to loke to his awne defence, than to permitt him to aggregate to him self, all the strenght of the best parte of Ireland, wherwithe he may, at his sensuall pleasure, retorne upon the Kinges subjectes for we see no likeliode ne esperance of conformitie in him for the Kinge's purpose.”

APRIL 4, 1540.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING HENRY VIII.

“Oure moost humble duetie premised to Your moost Excellent Majestie. Please it the same to be advertised, that we being in thiose parties above the water of Barrowe, dissolving, and surveying the religious houses, leasing out the same for certain yerlie rent to your Highnes, and executing Your Grace's affaires in mynstration of justice, redressing enormities, and establisshing good order, worde came to us (which is veray true) that your Grace's servaunt James Fitz Morishe, who claymed to be Erle of Desmond, was cruelly slayne the friday before Palme Sondaie, of unfortunat chaunce, by Morishe Fitz John, brother to James Fitz John then usurpor of the Erledome of Desmond. After which murdor doon, the same James Fitz John immediatelie resorted to your town of Youghill, wher he was wele received, and enterteined, and er he departed entred into all souche piles, and garrisons in the countie of Corke as your Majesties Deputie, with the assistance of your army, and me the Erle of Ormond, obtayned before Christenmas last; and haithe recovered nowe not onely the hole strenght of Mounister, besides the frendship of O'Breene, O'neyle, and O'Donyll, but also the Lorde Roche, the Lorde Barrye, the White Knyght, McCarty Riaghe, and diverse other Capitains, befor, at the saide jorney allured from hym, to your said servaunt, wherby he was competently stronge to berde the other with a litle more helpe, and within short space had put hym in great daunger of exile. Soo as the hole title to the Erledome (as he thinketh) being nowe disceded upon hym, and having more strenght than ever he had, your Majestie is at a great hindraunce for reformation or subjection of theis parties. And howe he wold order hymself for keping of any peaux we be mouche in doubte. And as ferre as we can perceive, this fatall chaunce had not happed, if the two hundred archers of your Graces said army, left in the Town of Youghill, and in thois borderes, havying commaundement to remayne, and contynue there still for his aide, had not departed from thens to Waterford, distansing farre from any service or exploit to be doon. We have sende to have a communication with hym, and as we shall finde hym, if he comon with us, we shall advertise your Magestie at length. And thus we beseeche God to send your Majestie long and moost prosperous life. Written at your Cittie of Waterforde, the fourthe of Aprill; the one

and thirtie yere of your moost noble reigne. Your Majesties most humble Servauntes and Subjects.

“(Signed),

JOHN ALEN,
GEOR: DUBLIN.
JA. ORM & OSS,
WILLM. BRABASON,
ROBERT COWLEY.”

Mr. Lodge numbers this James, son of Maurice, as Thirteenth Earl of Desmond. *De facto* he was never Earl for a day; for immediately at the death of his grandfather Thomas, the Twelfth Earl, the succession was disputed; the title was assumed, and the lands of the Earldom seized by John, the brother of the deceased, the fourth of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. Whether James Fitz Maurice was Earl *de jure* would depend upon the validity of the marriage of his parents; upon this point no legal sentence was ever pronounced. Cormac Oge, whose daughter he had married, and MacCarthy Reagh, who had married another daughter of Cormac Oge, and MacCarthy of Glean na chroim, married to a grand-daughter of that chieftain, and doubtless the White Knight, his mother's father, considered the marriage valid; but the aged John, and his many allies, declared it otherwise. Lodge makes John to have succeeded James Fitz Maurice, and thus to have been the Fourteenth Earl; this is impossible, for he died four years before him. John died in 1536; James was slain in 1540. On the death of John, his son James Fitz John, as the reader has seen, assumed his place. If James Fitz Maurice, the grandson of the Twelfth Earl of Desmond, is, as Mr. Lodge places him, to be considered the Thirteenth, then John, who disputed the Earldom with him, and died before him, could not have been Fourteenth Earl, or Earl at all! One or other of these claimants must be removed from Mr. Lodge's list. James Fitz John, whom he calls the Fifteenth, was in reality the Fourteenth, and Gerald, the great rebel, the Fifteenth, not the Sixteenth Earl of Desmond.

The death of James Fitz Maurice was called by the council of Dublin, in their despatch announcing it, in one passage “an unfortunate chance,” and in another “a murder,” and Maurice, who slew him, has been termed “Maurice the Murderer.” He was known also as Atotane “The Incendiary,” and “Maurice Duff, or Black Maurice.” We know enough of his long fierce career to be forced to admit that he was a turbulent, and probably a cruel man; but we have no reason to believe that the slaying of Fitz Maurice was murder in the odious sense in which the word is now used. James Fitz John had been for some time—four years—in actual possession of the Earldom of Desmond; and when tidings reached him and his supporters, that the fugitive had returned from England to renew the struggle, Maurice, “the firm steel of the Geraldines,” was despatched to meet him. Of the incidents of the encounter between the parties we have no detail. James Fitz Maurice fell, but whether by the sword of his relative, we know not.

Maurice Atotane outlived his victim twenty-five years; his career had been tempestuous through more than sixty of the four score years of its duration, and he had brought up his two sons to a life as stormy; the end of all was—*qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt!* In the year 1560, at the age of seventy-five, twenty years after his securing the Earldom of Desmond to his brother, by the slaying of James Fitz Maurice, and after his allying himself with the most powerful of his neighbours, by the marriage of his daughters, his turbulent and fierce spirit led him into constant quarrels with those amongst them, with whom, if with any, he might have been expected to live in peace. One of his daughters had married David Roche, Lord Fermoy, another Sir Dermot McTeig, Twelfth Lord of Muskerry, the grandson of his old enemy Cormac Oge; and a third, Donogh MacCarthy Reagh, chieftain of Carbery. No family alliance, no motives of common prudence were able to keep him on terms of good fellowship with these latter powerful chieftains. We read in the Annals of the Four Masters, p. 1581, that—

A. D. 1560.—“Thomas and James, the two sons of Maurice Duv, son of John, son of Thomas, the son of the Earl, marched with an army into Carbery. ‘The son of MacCarthy Reagh [Donogh, son of Donell, son of Fineen, son of Donell] rose up on hearing the shouts, to oppose them. He had with him at this time Turlogh, son of Mulmurry, son of Donogh, son of Turlogh Mac Sweeny, of the descendants of Donogh More, from Tuatha Toraighe, with a company of fine select Gallowglassers; and they pursued the warlike bands [of the Geraldines] to the banks of the Banndon, where, on the margin of the river, directly opposite Inis-Eoghanain, they defeated this band of adventurers. Two or three hundred of the fine troops of the Geraldines were slain and drowned.”

The sword which Black Maurice had himself used so ruthlessly, and which had spared

him so long, failed not at last to find him. Mr. Lodge informs us that—"In the year 1565, when 80 years of age, preying upon the Mac Carthys of Muskerry, he was pursued; as he was carrying off his booty, by his son-in-law Sir Dermot M'Tadhg MacCarthy, who taking him prisoner left him in the custody of four horsemen whilst he pursued his party, who in the mean time put him to death." The "Annals of the Four Masters" record his death in nearly similar terms, but they have not been able to suppress an expression of regret that so illustrious a life should have been taken for an offence so insignificant. "Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl [of Desmond], went upon a predatory excursion into Muskerry. The sons of Teige, son of Cormac Oge, son of Cormac, son of Teige MacCarthy, viz., Dermot and Cormac overtook him, and beheaded him, though the profit of sparing him would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He who was there slain was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents." The account of the death of Maurice Duv given by O'Clery differs from that of Lodge; and, whilst it is not inconsistent with the narrative of the "Four Masters," it enters more into detail:—"Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, son of Garrett, son of the Earl, was killed by Tadg M'Carprach, son of Tadg MacCarthy, Lord of Muskraighe M'Diarmada, and by his sons, viz., Dermot and Cormac; and Maurice killed Donough of the staff, son of Tadg, son of Cormac, of one blow of a spear, and he drove a portion of his breastplate through his body with that thrust, so that he was dead, without soul, on the 7th of the ydes of August." When we consider that this fierce warrior was over eighty years at the time, we can well understand the truth of the remark of the Annalists that he was "the firm steel of the Geraldines, the slaughterer of his opponents." Be it remembered also, that Sir Dermot M'Teig was Maurice Duv's son-in-law, and his sons Maurice's grandsons!

Of the two sons of Maurice Atotane, who led the unsuccessful predatory excursion into the country of Sir Donogh MacCarthy Reagh, Thomas died the year before his father. He left an only son, who fell under the sword of Captain Zouche in the streets of Achadh-da-eo. His fate is thus recorded by the "Four Masters":—

A. D. 1581.—"The Earl of Desmond (Gerald the 15th E.) was encamped at Achadh-da-eo (the field of the two yews, now Agadoc, I. O D); and at that time an English Captain, namely Captian Siuite, was appointed by the Queen and the Lord Justice to preside over Desmond and Kerry. This Captain marched day and night, with a party of Cavalry to make an attack on the Camp of the Earl of Desmond; and it was on a Sunday morning that he arrived at the Camp. The Earl, and all those who were with him, were at this time buried in deep sleep, and profound slumber; for they had remained vigilant, and on the watch all the night, and until that time. The captain immediately and alertly attacked all those whom he found standing in the streets, and slew them without mercy; nor did he wait for battle or engagement, but proceeded directly till he reached Castlemaine. The following were amongst the freeborn persons slain by the Captain at Achadh-da-eo on that day, i. e. Thomas Oge the only son of Thomas the son of Maurice Duv, the son of the Earl; Mulmurry the son of Donogh Bacagh, son of Mulmurry son of Donough M'Sweeny; and Teige the son of Dermot, son of Cormac of Magh-Laithimh [i. e. Lahiff's plain, now Mol-lahiff, a townland, in which stood a Castle belonging to a respectable sept of the Mac Carthys, near the village of Castlemaine, in the Barony of Magunity, and County of Kerry, J. O. D.]"

The career, and the heroic but bloody end of James (the Arch-rebel), the other son of Maurice Duff is well known to the reader; he left two sons, one of whom was slain in Ireland, and the other son died by shipwreck on the Irish coast when the great Armada of Spain came to so great confusion and ruin; thus perished the entire male posterity of Maurice Duv, whom the Lords of the Council called the murderer; and the Annalists of his country, the destroyer of his opponents.

CAP. II.—THE FITZ-GERALDS OF CLOYNE AND BALLYMARTYR, SENESCHALS OF IMOKILLY.

In casting their lot rather with the head of their house than with their Sovereign the selection of the junior members of the Fitz-Geralds, as of other Anglo-Norman houses, was ruled not by mere family influence, but by conformity with the usages of the people amongst whom they lived rather than with those of the land from which they sprung. In all but in name the Earls of Desmond had become in course of time as Irish, nay, it was proverbially said, more Irish than their Milesian neighbours the O'Briens and Mac Carthys. Not only had they so constantly allied themselves, during the four hundred years of their abode in Ireland, with the great Irish septs around them as that their Norman blood barely sufficed to tincture the Celtic current in their veins, but they had practically immersed the dignity of their English peerage in that of their Irish chieftainship, adopted the usages of tanistry, submitted themselves to its laws, and claimed its privileges. Foremost amongst these privileges or chiefries was the fatal right of "The Rising Out;" consequently when the Earl of Desmond raised his standard, whether in rebellion, or in mere quarrel with his neighbours, every member of his race, every dweller upon his lands was in theory bound to range himself around it. It was this assimilation of their nobility with that of the Milesian princes amongst whom they dwelt that rendered them the most powerful subjects in the realm, and was a constant temptation to them to rebellion; for it was this alone that enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force competent to contend with the armies of their Sovereign.

With his succession, described by Lodge as "commanding almost four counties, his lands extending 110 miles, and containing 574,628 acres of English measure," Gerald the 15th Earl of Desmond succeeded also to the fatal inheritance of a fierce family feud with his Anglo-Norman neighbour, scarcely less powerful than himself, Thomas 10th Earl of Ormonde. An effort had been made, from which success might have been fairly hoped, to appease these ruinous contentions; a marriage had been effected between the young Earl of Desmond and the Dowager Countess of Ormonde,¹ the mother of the head of the rival house; but ancestral rivalry and hatred were too virulent to be healed even by so intimate an alliance. The usual quarrels speedily broke out afresh, their Irish neighbours, as usual, took part in them, and Munster returned to its normal condition of party warfare, contempt of English law, and disregard of the Queen's authority. These quarrels were rendered all the more widely spread by the numerous alliances formed, by the principal parties in them, with the Irish around them. For example, Mac Carthy Mor, not then ennobled, had married a sister of the Earl of Desmond, to whom, by a marriage of the previous generation, he was so near of kin that he had been compelled to seek a dispensation for his marriage;² McDonogh Mac Carthy of Dowally was married to a sister of the second Countess of Desmond; Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh to a sister of James Fitz Maurice; Sir Dermot

¹ See a notice of this marriage in a note at p. 109, *supra*.

² On the 24th of March, 1558,—Robert Remon wrote from London to the Earl and Countess of Desmond, stating that "he was about to go to Cardinal Caraffa, Legate in Flanders or Brabant, for a dispensation for their daughter Onoria and M'Carthy Mor, because Cardinal Pole had not yet received his powers; and requested them to send him money for that journey." Eleanor, the wife of James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, was a daughter of Domhnal-an-Drumainn Mac Carthy Mor, and sister to Domhnal Earl of Clancar; hence the necessity of a dispensation for their marriage. Onoria was not, however, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar's sister, consequently not his niece. She was daughter of Desmond's third wife Catherine, daughter of Pierce Earl of Ormonde, widow of Richard Lord Poer. The only offspring of the Earl of Desmond by Clancar's sister, his fourth

wife, was Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald, who lost his life for complicity in his brother's rebellion. On the death of James Fitz John, Earl of Desmond, his widow remarried with Conor, Earl of Thomond; a marriage so fortunate as to meet with the approbation of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the "Instructions given 17 July, 1559, to Thomas Earl of Sussex, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland," was pleased thus to make known her approval. . . . "And for the marriage of him (the Earl of Thomond), with the Dowager the Countess of Desmond, we think he (the Deputy) should do well to make such convenient means on both parts, as to his wisdom shall seem convenient; for thereby (the said Dowager being, as we perceive, the sister of Mac Carthy Mor) may be made so good alliance betwixt the said Earl of Thomond and the said Mac Artye, as the Earl of Desmond should be occasioned thereby the better to govern himself towards us."

PEDIGREE OF FITZGERALD, KNIGHT OF KERRY; FITZGERALD, SENESCHAL OF IMOKILLY; AND OF FITZGERALD OF CLOYNE IN IMOKILLY.

ADDENDA.

AFTER I had finished the above-mentioned Pedigree in October, 1875, and after the last revise had gone to press, a short printed account (drawn up, I believe, for the Dublin University Museum) of the fine old Irish harp to which Mr. Graves has alluded in a note to p. 141, was sent to me. In this account we are told that the harp was made for Sir John FitzEdmund FitzGerald of Cloyne, and that his arms, impaled with those of his wife, Ellen Barry, having the boar crest above them, are carved upon it, and also an inscription in Irish, which has been translated as follows, by Eugene O'Curry. The instrument, according to an old Gaelic custom, is made to tell its own history, as though it were animated:—

“These are they who were servitors to John FitzEdmond [FitzGerald], at Clauin [Cloyne], at the time that I was made, viz., the steward there was James FitzJohn, and Maurice Walsh was our superintendent, and Dermot FitzJohn wine butler, and Philip FitzDonnell was cook there, Anno Domini 1621.

“Tiegue O'Ruarc was chamberlain there, and James Russell was house marshal, and Maurice FitzThomas and Maurice FitzEdmund, these were all discreet attendants upon him. Philip FitzTiegue Magrath was tailor there, Donnchadh FitzTeigue was his carpenter; it was he that made me.

“Giollapatrik Mac Cridan was my musician and harmonist; and if I could have found a better him should I have, and Dermot Mac Cridan along with him, two highly accomplished men whom I had to nurse me. And on every one of them may God have mercy on all.”

On another part of the instrument is carved in Roman letters, “I^GE. & E. B. ME FIERI FECERUNT. EGO SUM REGINA CITHARARUM.”

I have not had an opportunity of examining this harp, which was undoubtedly made at Cloyne, in the lifetime of Sir John FitzEdmund. If it was his property, the carvings on it would seem to show that he used the boar crest which is on his half-brother the Seneschal's tomb at Ballyoughterah Abbey (v. Pedigree sheet, note *b*), rather than the knight on horseback, which is carved on his brother's residence, Castle Ishin. But it is quite probable that the Cloyne Knights used both these crests, or either of them indifferently. The boar crest seems to have been borne by James the Arch Traitor, the maternal grandfather of the half-brothers at Cloyne and Ballymartyr; and their followers would naturally prefer it to all other as a memorial of him and of Desmond.

The tomb of Sir John FitzEdmond's daughter, the wife of the nineteenth Lord Kerry, as well as the little FitzMaurice chapel in which it stands at the north-east side of Ardfert Cathedral, are in a very dilapidated condition. The Cathedral is now, with other National Monuments, being partially repaired and strengthened under the direction of a skilful architect employed by the Board of Works; but the tomb will probably be left to the care of the families to whom it belongs, or is considered to belong. The following inscription is carved round the slab which covers the upper portion of it:—

“This monument was erected and chapple (*sic*) re-edified in the year 1668 by the Right Honorable Honora Lady Dowager of Kerry for herself, her children, and their posterity only, according to her agreement with the Dean and Chapter.”

Smith, in his “History of Kerry,” written in 1756, and Archdeacon Rowan, Miss Cusack, and others, in their notices of Ardfert, give the date in this inscription as 1688,

but it is plainly 1668, as indeed might be expected. The first dozen years after the Restoration were the only ones, between 1641 and the close of her long and changeable life in 1684, in which Honora Lady Kerry had a respite from many sorrows, anxieties, and fears for the fortunes of her husband, children, brother, and nephews. In 1684, as appears by her will, she was in absolute poverty. Hereafter I hope to be able to give a short sketch of her life, and the curious circumstances which probably led her to purchase this tomb and to record her title to it so emphatically in the inscription. The lower part of the tomb where Lady Honora lies is in good repair, and has, of late years, been used as a burial-place by the Crosbie family; but the front slab of the upper portion, in which only one body it is said has ever lain, is broken, and a woman's skull with long, flowing hair still clinging to it, and several bones, are visible. I am sorry to say that the people have for years been in the habit of dragging out these ghastly relics, and displaying them for amusement, and for money, to visitors. It is said that they are part of the embalmed remains of Anne, Countess of Kerry, the daughter of Sir William Petty, and the friend of Swift. There is an old local tradition, related with an amusing emphasis, and an evident sympathy, by certain old inhabitants of Clannaurice, to the effect that this Anne, Countess of Kerry, was much displeased when some of the family of her son-in-law, Sir Maurice Crosbie, were interred in the lower part of the tomb; which she rightly considered was, with the whole chapel, designed as a memorial of the FitzMaurices only, and that she directed, that she should be buried in the upper "*storey*" of the tomb, which in such structures is usually left empty, saying (with a spirit worthy of her husband's warlike ancestors, or his kinsman the captive but unsubdued Earl of Desmond "still on the necks of the Butlers") that "*living or dead she would be above the Crosbies!!!*" The FitzMaurice arms are sculptured on a small stone shield which hangs under the east window of the little chapel, opposite the tomb; but the centaur crest, or the coronet, which evidently stood over the shield, has been broken off, apparently with some violence. It would be a good work if the present Marquis of Lansdowne ordered the restoration or repair of this FitzMaurice Chapel, or at least of the tomb within it, and saved the remains of the distinguished lady, through whom he inherits the Shelbourne estates, from a desecration which it is painful to witness.

M. A. H.

Addition to note, page 141.

This harp, which for many years was preserved in the Dalway family, has now passed into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, and is deposited in their Museum. There is a model of the harp in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. On the Harp are the initials I^{GE}. & E. B. ME FIERI FECERUNT, *i.e.* "John [Fitz Edmund] [Fitz] Gerald and Ellen Barry, caused me to be made." Under the royal shield on the bow of the harp are carved the armorial bearings of Sir John Fitz-Edmund—Ermine, a saltire gules, a crescent for difference; crest, on a helmet, a boar fretty: motto, "*Virescit vulnere virtus.*" With these are impaled the arms of Barry, and the motto of that family, "*Boutez en avant.*" Upon the inside of the bow is inscribed "*Donatus filius Thadei me fecit.*"—JAMES GRAVES.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 77, line 7, for "1339" read "1329."

Page 163, line 2, for "daughter of the White Knight," read, "widow of Maurice, elder brother of Edmond the White Knight."

Pedigree of Fitz Gerald, Knight of Kerry, p. 121.

For "William Knight of Kerry, living in 1405," read, "William Knight of Kerry living in 1465."

For "Earl of Inchiquin, the distinguished general of 1643-9," read, "Earl of Inchiquin, the distinguished general of 1641-9"

For "failing the descendants of Edmund of Ballymaloo, in 1670," read, "failing the descendants of Edmund of Ballymaloo, in 1641."

For "Edmund (son of John K. of Kerry) died *s.p.* in 1660," read, "Edmund died *s.p.* in 1676."

affirmed that he possessed the rare talent of reconciling the exhibition of a benevolent attachment to his rebellious chieftain with loyalty to his Sovereign. The peculiar subtlety of his mind enabled him also to demonstrate his fidelity to the Queen without much violation of his sept sympathies, or deviation from the duty he owed to his erring chieftain: thus he preferred to leave the corn in his fields, and his vast flocks—the entire harvest of Imokilly upon one occasion, and 3000 head of great cattle upon another—to fall into the hands of the rebels, rather than to withdraw from the President in the city of Cork the advantage of his counsel and his presence, and go in defence of his property. His learning and greatness, which had attracted the admiration of the Lords of the Privy council, enabled him also, through the several years of these terrible struggles, to retain “Her Majesties extraordinarie good opinion of him, by the constant exhibition of his faith and affection,” without forfeiting the confidence of his rebellious chieftain. Of this a remarkable instance will be later brought under the reader’s notice. Certain it is that both these Fitz Gerald’s were amongst the foremost men of Ireland in their day: the Seneschal as “the chief man of service amongst the rebels,” Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, as the words of his epitaph afterwards recorded, “doctrinâ clarus et armis.” How the latter came by the anomalous title of “Dean of Clone” will be noticed hereafter. Smith informs us that the Fitz Gerald’s of Cloyne descended from a second son of Maurice Knight of Kerry, son of John Fitz Gerald, who was slain at Callan in Desmond. Their estate was given to them by their cousin, Thomas A n-Appagh. See Pedigree B., facing this page.

The possession of the office of Seneschal of Imokilly did not, however, proceed from any grant of Thomas A n-Appagh, but originated in a grant made in the year 1420, the 9th of Hen. V., by James Earl of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to James Earl of Desmond, who constituted him Seneschal for life of the Baronies of Imokilly, Inchiquin, and the Town of Youghal, which the former had purchased from the representative of the Tiptofts.—See p. 81, *supra*. These baronies being situated in the heart of Desmond’s country, the office,¹ if it needed to be exercised at all, naturally became hereditary in the Earl, or the Earl’s deputy. It was bestowed by the Earl of Desmond upon the Fitz Gerald’s of Cloyne, who, Dr. O’Donovan informs us, took the surname of Mac Edmund in the year 1420.

The latter years of the life of Mr. John Fitz Edmund are not unfamiliar to the reader of the “*Pacata Hibernia* :” he was a friend of Sir George Carewe, and his name is prominent in the narrative of the Lord President’s difficulties in the management of Florence Mac Carthy, when his intermediation was employed to persuade or intimidate that chieftain, his near relative, to submission and loyalty; he was then old, between 70 and 80 years of age, knighted, and in the enjoyment of as much leisure and dignity as Presidential favour could procure for him; but during what are called the Wars of Desmond he was in the vigour of life, and used that vigour both of mind and body in the service of the Queen, and in arms against his kinsmen. The Seneschal continued to trouble the despatches of the successive Lord Deputies, Presidents of Munster, and the Lord General Ormonde, from the first outbreak of the Geraldine rebellions till their termination by the Earl’s death. During the several detentions of the Earl of Desmond in England his country was governed, as was asserted, “by the Earl’s appointment and with the Queen’s consent,” by his cousin, James Fitz Maurice; and during nearly the entire period of his rule, rebellion, or rather a series of petty rebellions—separate risings out of discontented chieftains—unconnected in their origin, but speedily running one into another, desolated the whole of Munster. There was the Fitz Maurice rebellion, of essentially religious origin and purpose, which speedily drew to itself the Clan Car

¹ What were the duties and emoluments of this important office, we learn from the following document:—

“Febry 11, 1571.—Carew MSS. Vol. 611, p. 170.

“The O’Farrolls.

“Indenture betwixt Sir Henry Sydney, President of the Council of Wales, and Lo: Dep. General of Ireland of the one part, and Faghne O’Ferrall. . . . 5th. The said Seneschal shall apprehend all traitors, felons, and other malefactors, and commit them to the common Shire-gaol of the said county, and prosecute them according to the laws. For his travail he shall have the moiety or halfendell of

the lands of persons attainted, and the goods and chattels of such felons as shall be executed within his rule; the other moiety to remain to the Queen. The Seneschal shall also have all frays, batteries, and bloodsheds that shall happen within his rule,” &c., &c. Could the Seneschal of Imokilly but have realized his perquisite to the “halfendell” of the lands of all persons who, within his jurisdiction, fell into rebellion, and all, or indeed a hundredth part of all frays, batteries, and bloodsheds happening within his rule, he would speedily have become the most powerful chieftain, and the wealthiest man in Munster.

rebellion, traceable with difficulty to aught else than to the levity and vanity of that Chief: there was the Thomond rebellion, arising from that Earl's anger against Sir Edward Fytton, the Queen's Governor of Connaught and Thomond; and, worst of all, the Butler rebellion, headed by Sir Edmund Butler, and other two brothers of the Earl of Ormonde, the General of the Queen's forces. This proceeded, as its authors believed, from the attempts of Sir Peter Carew to possess himself of the inheritance which should have descended to him from his ancestress, the daughter of Robert Fitz Stephen, but which had been intercepted in the days of Richard II. by usurping Irishmen, and subsequently, in part wrested from them by other usurpers, of English blood. A portion of this inheritance the Butlers had been accustomed for two hundred years to consider theirs, and Sir Edmund, the present usurper, had inherited their error, and indeed their perverseness also, for he refused obedience to the sentence of the Jury which had acknowledged the justice of Sir Peter's claim, and declared that he "would never submit to any such claim, or to any Lord Deputy who should endeavour to enforce it."

How, and by whom, the election to the rule of the Earl of Desmond's country was in reality made, and how these several rebellions grew, and flourished—not so entirely to the blame of the Geraldines as their adversaries asserted—and how they subsided, we have related for us, with equal brevity and vigour, by the able man who suppressed them, the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney. It has been observed that the Earls of Desmond had for many generations adopted the usages of Tanistry, and that to the most important of the chiefties recognised by those usages—Rising Out—they owed the power which enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force to maintain their quarrel, were it even with the Sovereign. This finds remarkable proof in the very first proceeding of Fitz Maurice, as it is related in the following letter, who notwithstanding the Earl's choice and the Queen's approbation of it, sought his election from the followers of his house, whose clear right it was to elect their ruler.

In 1583, Sir H. Sydney wrote to Sir F. Walsingham "A summary relation of all his services in Ireland."

MARCH 1, 1583.—(CAREW MSS.)

Three times Her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy, into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great and a violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and (with honorable peace) left the country in quiet. I returned to Dublin, and caused the old ruinous castle to be re-edified. But Ormond ceased not to persecute me, alleging that his people were still oppressed by Sir John of Desmond and the Desmondians. . . . I then caused my revocation. . . . and, unwitting to me, the Earl of Desmond and Sir John his brother were sent for, which Sir John (being come to Dublin for conference with the LL. Justices) was (together with his brother the Earl) sent as prisoners, and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained, I think, seven years; and truly, Mr. Secretary, this hard dealing with Sir John of Desmond was the origin of James Fitz Mores' rebellion, and of all the evil and mischief of Munster. . . . I was sent for to the court again and again. As the people of that country were desirous to have me, so were there some of this country unwilling that I should go; but before a full year was run out I was sent again Deputy into Ireland. I landed at Carregfergus the 6th of Sept., 1568. . . . James Fitz Mores, son to Mores of Desmond, nicknamed Attotane, brother to James [14th] Earl of Desmond, father to the now Earl, traitor and rebel, understanding that I was arrived [at Dublin], and had not brought with me neither the Earl, nor Sir John his brother, which he thought I might, and would have done, assembling as many of the Earl of Desmond's people as he could, declared unto them that I could not obtain the enlargement either of the Earl or of his brother John, and that there was no hope or expectation of either of them, but to be put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison; and therefore (saying that the country could not be without an Earl, or a Captain) willed them make choice of one to be their Earl or Captain, as their ancestors had done, after the murder (as he termed it) of the good Earl Thomas Fitz James, his ancestor, put to death by the tyrant the Earl of Worcester (as he called him), then Deputy of Ireland. And according to this his speech, he wrote unto me, they forthwith, and as it had been with one voice, cried him to be their Captain." . . . This was the origin of the rebellion in Munster; and to use plain terms, 'twas the withdrawing of Sir John of Desmond from the governing of that country where he governed well. . . . James grew into more and more insolencies, and great outrages upon divers whom he loved nor liked not; whereupon I was driven to proclaim him traitor and rebel. And looking for the service of Sir Edmund Butler, then Captain and Sene-

schal of all the Earl of Ormond's countries (for so the Earl his brother had made him, and politicly kept himself in England, as well for duty's sake to the Queen, as ancient and innate malice to the Earl of Desmond, and all Desmonians), I was quite disappointed, being answered, as well by scornful letters, as frivolous and foolish speeches, that he was able to do none; alleging that I had made him "to ride up and down the country like a priest," inferring thereby the suppressing of the most filthy and intolerable exaction of coyne and livery, used most harmfully by him, the country being quiet, and no wars, nor likely to be. I, urging him still to serve, he fell into rebellious actions; for he wasted and destroyed almost all the Queen's County, killing very many of the inhabitants of the same, but most especially all the Englishmen. . . . Then encreased he his strength by stirring the Earl of Thomond to rebellion, and to resist Sir Edward Fytton, then Lo: President in Connaught and Thomond, and had with him both his brethren, Edward and Pierce, and by far the most part of all the fighting men of both the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; for although some householders and principal gentlemen, more wary than the rest, went not, yet their sons, servants, and followers (as they term them there) went to him. And finally all Ormonists of whatever surname soever they were, except Sir Theobald Butler, Lord of the Kaer [Cahir], and the Lord Baron of Dunboyne's people (who then was in England, and under age) rebelled with him. James Fitz Mores for his part had gotten with him the Earl of Klankar, M'Donogh, M'Awley, Oe Kueefe, O'Suillivan Moore, and I think O'Suillivan Bere joined with him; and though the rest of the potentates of Munster remained (as they seemed), sound, yet their young and loose people went to him. I sent the good knight Sir Peter Carew, and the valiant Malby to keep the frontiers of Carlo and Cavanaghe's country; and the hardy and politic Captain Collier into the good town of Kilkenny, the people whereof I did not very soundly trust. Sir Peter Carew and Captain Malby gave Sir Edmond Butler a shrewd blow, after a bloody bickering and slaughter of his men, and chased them, and wan his house at Kloghrynan, and hanged the ward, Sir Edmund returning to James Fitz Mores, and both they with their forces encamped, and besieged the Town of Kilkenny, where the Earl his brother hath a strong castle, and the Town is well closed, and defended with gates, walls, and river; but had not the soldiers been, the town had been sacked, and many of the people ransomed, as I after in truth found. But Captain Collyer so vigilantly attended his charge, as well in guarding the gates and walls against the rebels, as in preventing the practice of the townsmen, as the rebels were forced to go away with shame.

Then departed I from Limerick to Dublin, and was advertised of the Earl of Thomond's revolt. . . . Now approached the Parliament. . . . During this session, the Earl of Klankar came to me and confessed his rebellion, alleging that Sir Edmund Butler was the cause thereof. . . . Towards the end of this parliament came the ox, I should say Earl of Thomond, having found that he could find nothing in France, but according to his worth suffered to live there without relief, he made such mean to the then Lord Ambassador in France, as he obtained of Her Majesty over-great grace. He made his submission. I kept him in prison, and his Castles warded by my men."

Sir Henry closes the narrative of his second government of Ireland as Deputy, with a paragraph offering soothing contrast to the scenes of civil war, and the desolation resulting from it, which filled the Irish correspondence of his day.

"I caused to plant, and inhabit there above forty families of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake, in one ruinous town called Surds [Swords], and truly, Sir, it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled old castle of the same town, and repaired almost all the same; and how Godly and cleanly they, their wives, and children lived. They made diaper, and ticks for beds, and other good stuff for man's use, and excellent good leather of deer skins, goat and sheep fells, as is made in Southwark."

In all these Munster "garboils and violent wars" alluded to in Sydney's letter, the Seneschal of Imokilly had shared the counsels the successes and reverses of Fitz Maurice. The reader has seen how one after another the rebels had submitted; the Earl of Clanear "upon his knees in the Cathedral church in Dublin, professing that he did so with sorrowful heart and repentant mind;" Conor Earl of Thomond "misled by evil and naughty counsel;" Sir Edmund Butler to his brother the Earl of Ormonde, who at his own request had been commissioned to receive the submission of his brothers. The Earl wrote to Her Majesty that "Sir Peter Carewe had been the cause of all this mischief but that his brother had been bewitched, as he had himself also been, but that he had recovered." The submission of these several chief promoters of rebellion left but little possibility for Fitz Maurice and the Seneschal to hold out much longer. They did

not, however, submit as speedily as might have been expected; not indeed till they had assaulted Sir Thomas of Desmond, then in obedience to Her Majesty, slain forty of his men, and hanged two Captains of his galloglas; nor until they had captured and burned the town of Kilmallock. To relate with the detail used by the Lord Deputies, in their despatches to the Privy Council, the rebellious actions, the burnings, slaughters, and spoilings done to the Queen's friends by these Fitz Gerald before they submitted, would require far more space than these pages could afford. It may be said that the Irish correspondence contains an ample diary of the exploits of the Seneschal of Imokilly from the year 1569 when Sir H. Sydney captured his castle of Ballymartyr, till 1583, the period of his second and final submission. The briefest summary of his actions is the utmost than can be here presented to the reader.

In 1575, Sir Henry Sydney took upon him, as he expressed himself, for the third time the thankless office of Lord Deputy. "He departed from the Queen at Dudley Castle, passed the seas, and arrived on the 14th of September, as near the city of Dublin as he could safely, for at that time the city was grievously infected, and so was the English Pale, with the pestilence. Albeit it was deep winter I travelled towards Cork." When Sir H. Sydney wrote this summary of his proceedings, in the year 1583, his memory did not serve him correctly, for it was in his second, not his third tenure of the office of Lord Deputy, that the capture of the stronghold of Ballymartyr took place; he refers to it in his narrative to Sir F. Walsingham as occurring in 1575; it happened in reality in 1569. The account of it, bearing his own signature, as well as the signatures of the Council at Dublin, was despatched, as the reader will see, in the year last named. Sydney had landed at Carrickfergus to commence his second Deputyship on the 6th September, 1568.

THE LO: DEPUTY S^r H. SYDNEY TO THE L^{ps} OF THE COUNCIL,
OCTOBER 24TH, 1569.—CAREW MSS.

"At my beinge there [at Cork] I hard that betweene that and Yonghall the Seneshall of Imokelly (beinge also a principall communicator wth James Fitz Morice) did robbe and spoyle all that contrie, and had victualled his Castell of Ballymarter, beinge bound by his tenure to defend it against all men. And by cause as well for the arrogance of the partie, as for the strength of the place, and that it might be an example to all Monster how to defend any forte against her Maties power, I determynd to march thither, w^{ch} ymmediatly I did: Sommoned the Castell and had an answere from the Seneshall hymself that he wold defend it to the uttermost of his power, but after a day or two weare spent in preparacion of gabians, baskets and things necessarie for the assault, and the defence of the gunners, and that one peece of the wall was battered w^t a demy Culvereyne w^{ch} I brought from Cork, the Seneshall and his companie, in the dead of the night, fledde oute of the howse by a bogge w^{ch} joynes hard to the wall, where no watche cold have prevented their escape, and the Castell beinge lefte to the spoile of the soldiers. I caused it to be garded w^t xx. shott under Jasper Horsey, brother to the Capitaine of the Ile of Wight, to whome I have committed the order of that contrie of Imokelly, and made hym Seneshall of the same. At this Castell I lost one of my houshold servants, and two or three other hurt w^t shott, amongst w^{ch} the Mr. Gonner, Thomas Elliott, was one, manfully standing by his peece, w^{ch} is some satisfacion for that small gifte w^{ch} it pleased her Matie lately to bestowe uppon hym."

In his summary, which contains but a passing reference to this assault of Ballymartyr, Sydney adds, "There I left a ward which continued long after." It continued, as did the suspension of his office, till the rebel Seneschal made his first submission, and received his pardon in February, 1573. "The cannonier, old Thomas Elliott (now suitor at the court), was stricken through the thigh." Sydney was in Lord Barry's country when tidings reached him of the daring design of the Seneschal to attack the town of Kilmallock. "Then and there," continues his narrative, "I heard that the rebel James and his associates went afore me wasting and destroying the Queen's good subjects, as well of the County of Cork as of the County of Limerick, and therefore was constrayned to alter my former intention of going into Desmond, and turned towards the County of Limerick; but I could not get so far as Kilmallock, but that the rebel had by scale surprised the same town; not without vehement suspicion of falsehood in many of the townsmen; for some he saved, many he sacked, some he ransomed, and many houses of base building he burned, which afterwards were re-edified, and the same made better than ever it was."

This was, happily, the last of the terrible exploits of Fitz Maurice and his Seneschal

during the first Geraldine rebellion : they shortly after submitted to Sir John Perrott, the new Lord President of Munster ; when by a just retribution, the ceremony of their public submission took place in the Church of Kilmallock amongst the ruins of the town which they had so recently destroyed. They, like the other penitent chieftains, had been misled by "the evil allurements of the Earl of Clan Car and Sir James [*Recte* Edmund] Butler." After these various submissions Munster was reported to Her Majesty as in tranquillity ; she was assured that the Province was passable by every stranger without safe conduct ; and the Lord President Perrott wrote "The plough doeth now laugh the unbridled rogue to scorn," though, he added with ominous suspicions of the future, that he wished the Earl of Desmond could be sent back to England. The Earl had been recently liberated from his long captivity ; his infant son had been taken from him as hostage for his good behaviour, and he had been allowed to return to Ireland, not immediately as a free man, but to Dublin, where he was to await the further pleasure of Her Majesty, or, in plainer language, till further proof was had of the peaceable intentions of the late rebellious Geraldines.

During the last five years little more than an occasional mention of spoil made upon Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had kept that loyal gentleman in the memory of the Privy Council. It had indeed been made known to them that he was so cruelly hated by the rebels that he had been obliged to fly from his home, and take refuge in Cork. But if he had been unable to offer Her Majesty active service, he was too good a subject to appeal inopportunely for indemnity for his losses ; but now that tranquillity was restored in Munster he thought it not inexpedient to present his petition, humbly setting forth his services and sufferings, and his prayer for Her Majesty's gracious consideration of his suits. This petition, and the Lord Deputy's opinion of it are laid before the reader as an instance of the ingenious manner in which loyal subjects could seek the reparation of their losses without direct appeal to the Royal Exchequer.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LL. AND OTHERS OF THE QUENES MATIES
PRIVIE COUNSELL.

"Humble sheweth unto yo^r hono^{rs} John Fitz-Edmonde Fitz-Gerald of Clone in the Countie of Corke gent. That whereas he ever since the begynnyng of the Rebellion of James Fitz-Morishe hath contynued constante in his bounden dewtie to the Quene's Matie againste the said traitor and all his adherents, and upon affiaunce of his loialtie & trewe service was appointed Shreif of the countie of Corek, in which office contynuinge two yeres he hath maynteyned a greate number of horsemen, galloglas, shotte and kerne upon his owne costs wthout any Her Ma^y charges, wth w^{ch} force he hath not onelie killed at sundrie tymes verie manye of the said traito^{rs}, but also hath not spared the due execution of his owne followers and nerest freindes when they have forsaken him, and inclined to the p^{te} of the Rebells. For w^{ch} his faithfull service towards the Quene's Matie he hath bine so maliced & hated of the Rebells, as they haue not onelie burned all his townes & villages to the utter banishinge of th' inhabitants of the same, but also haue robbed, spoiled & consumed all his goods & cattells and thereby brought him from a gentleman of good abilitie to lyve, to extreme povertie not able to mayneteine himself & his people about him in the service of Her Matie as his harte desireth, of the p^{ticularities} of w^{ch} his doings because he will not be over tedious unto yo^r Ll. he humble praieth yo^u that it may please yo^u to informe yo^r selves of the late L. Deputie, Sr Humfrey Gilbert & M^r Jasp^r Horsey and any other Cap^{ns} or gentlemen that served the Quenes Matie in that p^{vince} in the tyme of his govermt, and of the L. Deputie that nowe is, the L. President of Munster, Mr. Edward Barkley, & any others that serveth Her Matie there in this tyme. In consideration of w^{ch} his fidelitie & service & in respecte of his great losses susteyned by the same, He humble sueth unto yo^r Ll. to be a meane to the Quenes Matie to haue favorable consideracion of him in these his suits followinge, viz :—

"1.—That he may haue the late dessolved monasterie of Chore in fee farme for some resonable rente the same beinge nowe so over rated at xxxv^{li} Irishe per annum, as no farmo^r will or dothe take it, nor Her Matie hath presentlie thereof any rente at all.

"2.—Item where the Abby of Tractane is lett for xviii yeres yet to come, He disireth the Rev^{sion} thereof in fee farme for the accustomed rente of viii^{li} Irishe per annum.

"3.—Item the fee farme of the p'sonags of Ballimarter & Cork begg w^{ch} he himself holdeth of her Ma^{tie} in lease for xvi yer^s yet to come for the yerelic rente of viii^{li} xvi^s per annum.

"4.—Item where the comon gaole of the Cittie of Corke, nowe decayed, is known at this daie & is called by the name of the Kings Castle whereunto there belonged a Constable & a fee. All prisoners being nowe kepte abrode in seuerall howses by gentlemen in the cuntrey & elsewhere who for frendshipp or covetousnes of ransomes do discharge & sett at libertie the saide prisoners at their owne plesures, wth great inconvenience and to the lett & hinderance of justice. He dothe desier that it might please her Ma^{tie} to renewe the said office of constableness wth some resonable fee to be levied of the issues & p'fits of the Sessions there, and to make him officer thereof to him & to his heires. He offereth to builde & mayneteyne it at his owne costs & charges, so it would please Her Ma^{tie} to write to the L. President to p^cure some benevolent contribution by the cuntrey towards the said buyldinge."

SIR HENRY SYDNEY TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"1.—It may please yo^r Ll. y^t for M^r Fizedmonds first demand, it shal be verye well done that her Ma^{tie} do gawnt it him at resonable surveye for that it being to hilye surveyed at the first dissolution her Ma^{tie} hathe had noe rent therefore. The partye well deservyth the same as well for his losses sustayned in her Mat^s service, as also for his honestye and civilitie.

"2.—The Second was grawnted and gyven by her Ma^{ty} to one Mr. Henrye Guldeford for lxi yer^s, whoe made over his interest thereof to S^r. Warham S^t Leger knight and so not to be grawnted.

"3.—The Third. I wold wishe that the parsonage of Ballemartre shold be annexed to the howse, he enjoying the yer^s thereof as yet unexpired: for Corke Bege yo^r Ll. to use yo^r favorable consideration towards him, and the rather for the considerations aforesayed.

"4.—For the fowrthe I wold wishe for th' advancement of her Mat^s sarvice that the comon gayle were erected at Corek, uppon the chargs of the contrye, issues and profits of the Session wth some convenient fee, yet the constableness thereof not to be grawnted to anyman more then for his life, and so to this man for y^t I think him mete therefore, if y^t wear a great deal better.¹

"SYDNEY."

Dorso. "2 Julie 1572, Jo. Fitz Edmond^s Fitz Garret."

The distrust shown by the authorities in Dublin of the loyalty of the Earl of Desmond produced the mischief they so much dreaded; he had fulfilled, as far as his limited liberty enabled him to do, the conditions exacted from him as the price of his freedom; but he was not allowed to return to his country. Eight months had passed away and he was still a prisoner in Dublin Castle. Wearied at last of remonstrating against the injustice of such captivity, he escaped; or, to describe his departure more accurately, he withdrew. This mode of return to his own territory left the Irish authorities little doubt of the evil days that awaited them. They speedily learned that "the Earl had been met at Knockdalton by Rory Oge and Pierce Grace, and conducted by them through Kildare; that at Leix he was received by 400 of the O'Mores, and at Limerick by James Fitz Maurice; that the Earl and Countess put on Irish raiment at Lough Gur, and made a proclamation." On the 25th of November, 1573, the Earl wrote from Ballyallyne to the Lord Deputy and Council that "eight months were long enough to determine his causes; that he had had neither favour nor liberty shown him, and that his country had been barely fleeced in his absence." On the 13th of

¹ Amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 6993, iii., a letter is preserved from Sir Walter Raleigh, dated from Lismore, to the celebrated Earl of Leicester, which concludes with the following postscript:—

"I am bold, being bound by very conscience

to commend unto your honour's consideration, the pitiful estate of John Fitz Edmonds, of Cloyne, a gentleman, & the only untouched & proved true to the Queen, both in this & the last Rebellion: Sir Warham [St. Leger] can deliver his service, what he is & what he deserveth."

December, he wrote from Askeaton to the Queen relating the griefs and discountenance he endured at Dublin; "the sending away his wife in miserable poverty; and his chest of evidences embzzled." Such, he also informed Lord Burghley, were the causes of his leaving Dublin.

The rebellions that had raged hitherto in Munster, though essentially Geraldine rebellions, are not what were designated the Wars of Desmond; these are usually dated from the time of the Earl's flight from Dublin, although he was not proclaimed a Traitor by Sir W. Pelham, the Lord Deputy, and his Council till Nov. 1579. When it became of importance to decide on what precise day the Earl's rebellion actually began, it was dated from the day of his signature of a certain "Instrument of combination of treason" in an assembly of his followers soon after his departure from Dublin, six years earlier. To this instrument of combination of treason the attention of the reader will be called later; no document producing consequences of equal public importance had been signed in Ireland. Estimating the signification of the term rebellion as it was usually applied by the English authorities to Irish chieftains, or others who had large lands for distribution, the Earl might have been proclaimed a traitor from the year 1568, the 10th of Her Majesty's reign, when by his quarrels with the Earl of Ormonde, regardless of English law, of Queen, and Deputy, but within the limits of his rights as an Irish chieftain, he plunged the whole of Munster into open party warfare; even by an indulgent extension of the term, his rebellion might not unreasonably have been dated from the day of his reception by the O'Mores, and his conduct at Lough Gur; but the Lord Deputy and Council had not the courage to push matters rashly to extremity; on the contrary "using him mildly," as they informed the Privy Council, "till they might have sufficient force." They wrote repeated letters to him, varying in style from mild rebuke for "the rashness of his escape at such a time" to friendly counsel "not to ingrieve his own cause; that what he had as yet done was but a finable contempt;" and finally they informed him that they had Her Majesty's letters to give him his liberty! All was in vain; the great rebellion destined to endure as long as the Earl lived, a period of 10 years longer, was in reality begun. It is not the purpose of these pages to supply, as they might do, many dramatic details not hitherto published of this well known terrible civil war which depopulated the whole of the south of Ireland, but to relate, and that with much brevity, the part borne in it by the Fitz Gerald's of Cloyne and Ballymartyr.

The shrillest note of warning of coming mischief that reached the Government came, as might have been expected, from the intelligencers employed to watch the conduct of James Fitz Maurice. The Lord Deputy was informed that he had sailed on board a French Merchant ship with his wife and daughters to France. He himself wrote that he did so "for the recovery of his health and to make friendship to come to the Queen's favour." Thither intelligencers immediately followed them, and it was not long before the Privy Council was informed that he was living at St. Malos "keeping a great port, well appparelled, and full of money, having oft intelligence from Rome, and out of Spain." Nearly at the same time were intercepted the two following genial letters from the wife of Fitz Maurice to an assured friend, and to her mother, informing them that their voyage had been prosperous, and their reception honourable and friendly:—

ENCLOSED IN A LETTER FROM THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL IN DUBLIN
TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY AND THE EARLS OF SUSSEX AND
LEICESTER.

"Wyth my harty cōmendacyons to youe me trusty frend letting youe to understande that my husbāde and I wth the rest of o^r company came in good helth to Fraunse, thankes be to God, aduertissing you that my housbāde was in the kings corte at the wrytting hyreof and that I did nott receiv his nyves at the departing of this letter, but yo^a shall understand at his goyng to the corte he was honorably receeved be the governor of Brytain and be the bussop of the Nantes, youe shall further understand, I remayn in Sainet Malos uppō myn one chardgs, wth a cople of gentillmē of my husbandes coussins, and my maydnes, wher I ame welbestowth and honestly used. I desire yo^a to haue my cōmeded to my cousin my L. Puer, and to my cousin Richard, and to all me cousins and frendes, Requyring them to be good to me poure serwants in my absence, as Richard Chahill, James Ronā and others that to my doth belong, yo^a

shall send this other I're to my mother, byding hir and you allso to send all nyves to my wth this berer, and so I take my leav wth youe from Sainet Malos in Fraunce, the xviii of Aprill, 1575.

"Yo^r assured frend,
"KATREN BURKE."¹

Superscribed. "To mylouinge and moste assured frende Ihone O'Dvyn in Kilvarry be Watterforde in Irelād, Gev this wth trust."

¹ Lodge informs us that Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, called Maurice Duffe Mac-an-Early, or black Maurice son of the Earl John (whom he calls 14th Earl of Desmond), was married to Julian, second daughter of Dermot O'Ryan of Sulloghede, Co. Tipperary, and by her had a son James Fitz Maurice (the Arch-Traitor) who was married to Honora, daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, by whom he had an only daughter who married first John Fitz Edmund Gerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, and secondly Sir Edmund son and heir of Sir John Fitz Edmunds of Cloyne," whose issue he continues to trace. For this marriage of James Fitz Maurice with a daughter of Ryan no authority is given; if he was as often married as his uncle James Fitz John, one of his earlier wives may have been, as Mr. Lodge asserts, the daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, and by her he may have had the issue named; but the letter just laid before the reader proves beyond doubt that the wife of James Fitz Maurice, and the mother of his children, was Katren Burke. From the signature to the letter, and the name of her mother, Margaret Power, as well as from the terms of her message, to be "commended to my Father your bedfellow, and all other friends," it would seem that her mother, widow of a Burke, had contracted a second marriage with a Power. In confirmation of the evidence in the letter, which indeed requires none, we have amongst the State Papers of Ireland: (Eliz. Oct^r 25, 1582), a paper of memoranda in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, containing two or more generations of the various great Lords and chieftains then living in the South of Ireland, and amongst them mention of the marriage of James Fitz Maurice, more precise than is to be found elsewhere:—"S^r. Moryce of Desmond, uncle to y^e Erle of Desmond, he dwelt in Kerry-Wherry, [his son] Sir Jams Fitz Moryce, married to fi^a [filia] W. Burk of y^e muskry, their daughter, [whose name is not given] married to Edmund Fitz Seneschall of Ino-Kelly. From the blank space in the original opposite the name of Maurice Du, it would appear that the name of his wife was not known to Lord Burghley. None of the State Papers (so many of which are occupied by the doings of James Fitz Maurice—invariably styled the Arch-Traitor, who was incessantly watched by spies both in Ireland and on the Continent, whose business it was to report to the Government every discoverable incident, not less of his domestic than of his public life), make mention of any wife but Katrin Burke. But there is in existence a document of greater authenticity than any that reached Lord Burghley, which would suggest the probability of an earlier marriage, and one of a very strange character, of which no trace is discoverable elsewhere. In the year 1583, Sir Cormac M^{te}ig Mac Carthy was dying in his Castle of Blarney, and made his will, which has been preserved till now. The earliest passage in this will is remarkable—"And I protest before God that Johan Butler is my lawfull wedded wife, and that Ellyn Barrett was at the time I wed her, and before, the lawfull wife of James Fitz Maurice, and so Cor-

moke ogge my son is my lawfull and undoubted heire of my body lawfully begotten."

The name of this lady appears no more in this document, but there occurs a multitude of bequests to Mac Carthys, whose names, chiefly Donoghs and Teigs, afford little help to their identification. Turning from this will to the pedigrees of the Muskerry Mac Carthys, preserved at Lambeth, in Vol. 635, we find it stated, that "Sir Cormac was twice married. First to Ellen daughter to James Lee of Barretts, and divorced because of a former marriage with James Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald, by whom he (Sir Cormac) had a son Donogh married to a daughter of Donall M^{te}owen Iloyghie M^{te}Shihie of Draykay; and a daughter Grany married to Owen M^{te}Teig Mac Carthy of the Drishane; and secondly to Joane, daughter to Pierce Butler of the Grallaghe."

In a second pedigree in the same collection at Lambeth, Vol. 626, Fols. 6 and 7, the name of Donogh occurs as a natural son of Sir Cormac; the name of the mother is not mentioned, but the marriage of Donogh with a daughter of Donal M^{te}owen M^{te}Teig, Galloglas, appears duly.

This would be unintelligible but for the light thrown upon it by the will of Sir Cormac; returning to this document, we find this Iloyghie appointed, with others, to see the conditions of the will carried out, and to protect the interests of the Donoghs and others to whom legacies are left. The conclusion seems inevitable, that Ellen (called Ellen Lee of Barretts in the pedigree) had passed as the wife of Sir Cormac, and was the mother of several children to him; and that when he was about to marry Joan Butler, this lady was put away: there remains the doubt, whether the James Fitz Maurice, whose wife she was then opportunely discovered to be, was the Arch-Traitor! Sir Cormac took no pains to designate the husband of Ellen, whom he called Ellen Barrett not Ellen Lee, otherwise than by his name, as if no other were needed; and certainly we know of no other James Fitz Maurice before the world at the time.

As to the children of James Fitz Maurice, by Catherine Burke, it is certain that he had at least four; that is, two sons, and two daughters.

Dominic O'Daly, in his history of the Geraldines, has preserved for us an interesting account of the reception of these sons at the court of Spain.

"He (James Fitz Maurice), therefore, departing for Rome, brought along with him his two sons, for they were as yet unfit to wield the sword. . . . From France Fitz Maurice proceeded to Spain, where he was received at the Court of Philip II. . . . When the king saw the two boys, Maurice and Gerald, he loved them; and, in truth, they were fair to behold, and well worthy his affection. He, therefore, resolved to take them to himself, and committed them to the charge of Cardinal Granville, then Legate a Latere at the Court of Madrid. Well did the illustrious Cardinal watch

ENCLOSURE IN A LETTER FROM THE L. DEPUTY, ETC., 15 MAY, 1575.

"Loving mother, after my hartie cōmendacyons p'missid, lettting youe to understande that wy came in good helth at Easter Munday to Sainct Malos in Fraunce where wy were honestly and gentyly receved be the Captein of the said twne and other

over them. At the royal expense they were educated in the University of Alcalá, and trained in all the science of chivalry befitting their noble origin. And here let me speak of these noble youths. In the King's court, and in the presence of His Majesty, did their innate humour move to mirth, whilst the character of nobility stamped upon them excited the compassion of those who knew their history. Cardinal Granville acted on many occasions as interpreter for them; and the quickness of their comprehension, as well as mirthful repartee, won the admiration of all who heard them. . . . Amongst those attached to the youthful Geraldines, let me mention Thomas Granville, nephew to the Cardinal, who loved them with a brother's love, and who, when Maurice (the eldest) died, became so devoted to Gerald, that he never could bear to leave his side. Alas! how faithful was this attachment; for, when this expedition against England was undertaken, A.D. 1588, Granville insisted on embarking with Gerald in the same ship in which (Oh! grief of griefs!) both were lost on the Irish coast."—"The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond," translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan.

It would appear that one, if not both of the sons of Fitz Maurice, accompanied their father, when he returned to Ireland; for on the 18th of September, 1580, Richard Meagher, Sovereign of Kinsale, wrote to the Commissioners of Munster, "James Fitz Maurice's two sons are come as Captains with the Spanish expedition." It is not probable that the younger of these sons was in that expedition; but of one of them, doubtless Maurice, the elder, we discover unexpected trace in a letter of May 28, 1580, from Ormonde to Walsingham. . . . "The Lord of Upper Ossory was charged with receiving into his country the late traitor James Fitz Maurice's son, called by the name of Richard Burke, from that most wicked and detestable traitor Pierce Grace."

In his account of the death of Fitz Maurice, O'Daly says:—"He marched towards Connaught, where he contemplated being joined by John Burke, brother of the Marquis of Clanrickard; . . . but while passing over the lands of Theobald Burke *his near kinsman*, he was not a little surprised to find Theobald himself at the head of a large force pursuing him, &c. Fitz Maurice sent one of his men to Theobald, beseeching him to draw off his forces and not offer outrage to one so *nearly allied to him*." This mention of the close alliance of Fitz Maurice with the Burkes is the nearest approach we are able to make to the discovery of the precise parentage of his wife Katrin Burke. We know from the memorandum in Lord Burghley's writing, that her father was "William Burke of the Muskry." An Irish writer would have given the Christian names of William's father and grandfather, and probably have traced them to the head of their family; Lord Burghley leaves us in the uncertainty which of a multitude of O'Daly Burke's this one was; from the expression of O'Daly "one so nearly allied to him," the fear suggests itself, that William Burke, the father of Catherine, was probably

the son of Sir William, made Lord of Castleconnell, on account of Fitz Maurice's death. If so, Fitz Maurice fell by the hand of his wife's uncle. But, if there existed some confusion in the accounts of the marriages of James Fitz Maurice, there is nearly as much as to the subsequent marriage of his widow. That this poor lady had sore need of a husband, and of a powerful one, to protect her, is but too evident; for she was, after the failure of the Spanish attempt to support the rebels, flying and hiding for her life. On the 31st March, 1580, Walsingham was informed, that "the Traitors were like savage beasts, lurking in wild desert places." And on the same day another correspondent wrote to him that "the late Traitor James Fitz Maurice's wife was taken in a deep cave in a rock, with others, by Ormond's horsemen." Only two months earlier, Thomas Arthur had written to Sir N. Malbie, that "on the 29th of December, Sir John of Desmond burned the residue of Sir William Burke's country, twenty-six townes, in revenge for the death of James Fitz Maurice, slain by his son Tibot. The Lord McMorris [the Baron of Lixnawe] has put away Sir Donal O'Brien's daughter to marry J. Fitz Maurice's widow." This very definite assertion appears, however, to have been erroneous; the next and last mention made in the State Papers of this lady, occurs in a letter of the 15th of June, 1581, from Captain John Case, to Sir Francis Walsingham, from which we learn, that she had, indeed, married again, though not to the Baron of Lixnawe, and that she was already a second time a widow. The Chief Captain of the Galloglasses, who had married Fitz Maurice's widow, and was slain by Colonel Zouche, was probably one of the Mac Sheehys, hereditary Galloglasses to the Earl.

"CAP. J. CASE TO WALSYNGHAM.
Vol. cxlvii., art. 58, June 15, 1581.

"My humble dewghty unto your honore, may it pleas youe to Consethere that sence I came into Ireland I could not fynd a daies service to bowste [This word was first written *bestowe*, it was then erased with the pen, and *bowste* written over] I was at before nowe; it is so righte honorable that uppon Setterday the tenth of June at two of the Clocke in the aftre none we departed out of Dingell our Collonnell Mr. Zouche myselfe and Capten Acham towards Castell Mange wíthe vj^{xx} foottmen and xxxⁱⁱ horsmen; the Collonnell I myself and Capten Acham wíth xxxⁱⁱ horsmen and x shotte wente before to Castell Mange and hearynge that the Earle of Desmond, John of Desmond, Daved berrey, Patricke Condey and the sennshall wíthe theyre holl forces lay wíthe in seven mylles of us and that John, Daved berrey, and the sennshall were gon up into mackayrtes Cuntre for a pray, wíthe theys fewe horsmen we had. beinge the day broken, we gott up of our beste horses and bracke forrey to the Erles Campe and came to it aboute the risenge of the

Mr. Zowche, Case,
and Capt. Acham
depart from Dingell
120 footemen
and 30 Horse

Thennemye goeth
into Mc Carries
cuntry for a pray
whom followe

honest and gentlemen of the twne, and w^{thin} a sevenight after wy haue landed my husband went towards the corte wth half a dossē mē honestly apointed, leving my and me cousin Hary Rian in Sainet [Malos, wetting for his nyves spe'ding, uppō or oune chardgs, and at the wryttinge hyreof wy had nott his nyves, but only at his goying up to the corte he mete wth the gov^{no}r of Bryttain be whom he was honorably receved. I desyre yo^u loving mother nott to be offended wth my for my com'ng to youe unknowē and to sende my yo^r blissing, wth all nyves, wth this berer Jho' Grud, besiching yo^u to be gwd to all my serwants in my absent praying my brother in like case to be so : haue my cōmēded to me father yo^r bedfelow and to all me frēdes and so I take leav wth youe from Sainet Malos the xxviii of Aprill 1575 : yo^r loving doctor.

"KATREN BURKE.

"Post Scripta, wth my harty cōmēdacyons to yo^u, mistres Puer, and to my loving frend yo^r husband, besiching to be good to Jho' McFarill who has my sone, and lett him understand, I haue send him a milche kow at my cōming wth my boy Edmonde Kiegh, youe shall haue my cōmēded to More Cares and t[ell] hir I was in good helt at the wrytting hyreof, and lett hir send my all nyves closed in youre, and also lett Jho' M^c Farill send me word did he recev the cow or the value in monny. Thus I end wth youe besiching God to send us a mery met[ing] from Sainet [Malos] aforesaid,

"Yo^r trusty and assured frend

"HENRY RYANE."

Dorso. "To my lovinge mother Margaret Puer gev this wth sped."

Vigilant eyes quickly discovered that the Seneschal went and came between the Earl of Desmond and Fitz Maurice in his retreat at S^t Malo. The conduct of the Earl became at last intolerable to the Government, and the Lord Deputy Sir William Pelham was compelled, much against his will, and as it proved, very greatly to the displeasure of the Queen and the Privy Council of England, to proclaim him a traitor. This was done on the 2nd November, 1579, and from that day all disguise was thrown aside as useless by the Earl's

sonne, whearewe found redy in the towne wheare they lay aboute the nombre of iiij^e gentillmen gally-glase and Keyrne w^{ch} was mor then we looked for, but

Thennemyes force
400.

then no remedy but to charge them w^{ch} the Collonell did and that very valyantly, by w^{ch} means we bracke them; the on half tooke to a bogge and the other downe to Lowghe lande

They charge them
and breake them
into two partes.

of his principall the Cheyf Captain of his galle-glases on that had marryed James Fitzmores

The names of ye
principal yt were
slyane.

wif, James fites John fites garrett the Earls neare Kynsman, Daved Duffe his Judge, Teige Macke Dyrmonde, and on Pursell, men of great estymacion withe hym besides divers soore hurte; this donne we retourned backe agayne to the villadge wheare Desmond and his Countes was in a lettell ston

Desmond himselfe
being lodged in a
small house
hardly escaped
thorough want of
there footmen.

house, we thoughte to a proched it and as we weare redy to do it theyre came aboute the nombre of a seven scoore withe the swoordes and tergettes withe som shootte w^{ch} also we charged, wheare withe we had dyvers of our horses hurte but non of our selves, but we overe threwe them and put them all to flyghte and Kyllled and hurte dyvers of them, but our horses was so far sett down that the moste of them for ranne us oppon theyre feett; so fyndenge our horses wery and the enemy sekenge to cut the paice from us we retyred fayre and esely takinge no spoyll of nythere

They are driven
to retyre by reason
of ye faimmes
of their horse.

horse nor cove wheare theyre was at the leaste xx^{iiij}; this haithe mor greved Desmond

then all the Lose he haithe had sence his rebellyon, but if we had bene able to have broughte our footmen thithere, w^{ch} was comed withe in iiij mylles we had taken the Earle his wif & frendes that weare in a baggaige house. Theys that weare slyane weare the prid of all his traitors whom thoughte not to have bene overe

thrown withe so small a nombre, but god whiche is the gevere of all victory haithe at this tyme deylvered them into our handes his

blessed name be prayd for it: thus havege trubled your honore withe theys fewe Lynes I am moste humbly to crave youe honors good frenshipe towards me accordyng^e to youre accustomed goodnes to all of my Coott that standes in ned, thus moste humbly I talke my Leve at Dingell Coushe the xvth. of June 1581.

"Youre honors moste humble and wholly to Comaund,

"JHON CASE.

Thennemy hath in
his campe 1600
able men.

MacCartys contry, "The enymys campe ys at this present above xvj^e. able men and lyes in Desmond in

Commendacon of
Mr. Zouche.

Addressed,

"To the righte honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham Knyghte principall Secretary unto hir Maigestie and on of hir Prevy Counsell this be deylvered at the Coorte or els wheare."

The signature and postscript are alone in the handwriting of Cap^t. Case.

friends, and rebellion blazed again fiercely throughout Munster. Foremost in these, as in all previous troubles, was the Seneschal of Imokilly. His open adhesion to his chieftain was signalized by an act of the utmost defiance of the Earl of Ormonde, who had again been appointed General of the Queen's forces for the suppression of this rebellion. He burst into the country of the Butlers, and "burned Nenagh and 12 more of Ormond's towns." From this time to the close of his career the despatches of successive Lord Deputies contain ample record of the exploits of this determined and implacable rebel. He was reported wounded, and, more than once, as slain; and each time the contradiction of his death came accompanied with tidings of some fresh assault, and not seldom, of some signal success against the royal forces, or the Queen's good subjects. Shortly after the burning of Ormonde's towns, "Sir Walter Rawley returning from Dublin had a hard escape from the Seneschal, who set on him with 14 horse and sixty foot."¹ "About twelfth-tide the Seneschal of Imokilly killed 36 of Pers's soldiers, and 10 of Sir W. Morgan's, as they had been to get a prey." In June of the year following he burned thirty-six towns in the Decies and carried off seven thousand head of kine; in October he slew sixty of the chief townsmen of Cashel.

The following letter written by St. Leger, then Commissioner of Munster, to Lord Burghley, will enable the reader to form some idea of the deplorable condition to which not Cork only, but the entire province of Munster, was reduced by these terrible struggles. The description of the city of Cork itself may cause some surprise when it is considered that it was the seat of Government, a fortified city, and the Capital of the Province. It may appear doubtful whether the writer could really mean that "the Town was but one street, not half a quarter of a mile in length;" but it is not obvious what other meaning his words could bear.² The passage relative to the slaying of two of Lord Roche's sons by the Seneschal is a lamentable instance of the cruelty with which these contentions were accompanied. We learn from a petition to the Queen from a sister of this unfortunate Nobleman that he had no fewer than five sons slain in these wars:—

SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER TO LORD BURGHELEY.

"My humble dutie don' to yo^r L. Th' experience I haue of yo^r honorable dealings and good acceptance of my former rude l^res ymboldneth mee to acquaint yo^r L. wth a l^re I nowe write to the Queene's Mat^y concerning the state of this Province. The copie whereof, as also a plat of my poore opinion howe this rebellion may bee soone ended, I send yo^r hono^r hereinclosed, humbly desiring yo^r L. in yo^r conference w^t her highnes therein, to yeelede my said l^re and plat yo^r favo^rable allowance, and w^t all to beseeche her Mat^y in my behalfe not to condemne mee ouer busy in dealing in matters of so great weight; Protesting to God, the cause that moveth mee thereto is dischardge of my dutie the zeale I beare to aduance her highnes service and the well dooinge of this poore afflicted countrie, w^{ch} by the great murders and spoiles don' by the Traitors of th' one side and the killinge and spoiles don' by the soldi^{ers} in service on th' other side, together wth the greates ymposition of Sesse, is becom' so ruinated and waste as I holde it irrecoverble, wthowt the present aid and helpe of her Mat^y: for by these disorders and banishing of plowes, (w^{ch} shulde bee the relief of men to live) there is sutch famin among the people heere, as it is to be feared this province, or the greatest parte therof, will ere it be longe be unpeopled, the mortalitie beeing sutch as the like hath not ben known in life of man. There dyeth som' dayes in this Towne (beeing but one streete not half a quarter of

¹ Hooker gives us an account of a skirmish that took place near Cloyne, between the Seneschal of Imokilly, and Sir Walter Raleigh, in which the intrepidity and skill of Raleigh were remarkable. Raleigh afterwards accused the seneschal of Imokilly of cowardice on the occasion; and such were the manners of the times, that Lord Ormonde and Sir Walter, more than once, publicly challenged Sir John of Desmond, and the Seneschal, both of whom were in open rebellion, to decide the matter by single combat.

² Mr. John George Mac Carthy, relying upon a similar but separate authority, in an admirable lecture delivered in Cork, in 1856, and subse-

quently printed, describes Cork, as of dimensions and plan in no respect different from its description by Sir Warham St. Leger. "It was, he says, a Danish town fortified in the Norman manner with massive walls, and castellated forts. North and south, beneath a high portcullis, was a drawbridge; the space inside the walls was very narrow—one long street with the breadth of an arrow's cast at either side. Cork was indeed rather a fortress than a city." A curious and gratifying contrast is the Cork of our own day, as described by the late learned J. Windele in 1849, with its 9600 houses spreading over 2379 statute acres, and its population of 107,041 souls.

a myle in lengthe) 72, 66, 62, and one day w^t an other thorowe out the weeke 40, 30 and 20 when they dye leaste. The like death is thorowe out all the countries in this Province, as well in Townes as elsewhere, saving among the Traitors, who nether bee toucht w^t these diszeases nor yet taste of any famine; All true men's goods beeing Preys for them, and enjoy continually the holsonⁱ eyre of the feedes, w^{ch} is cause of their preservering.

"John Fitz Edmonds, the best subiect the Queene hath in these parts had w^t in this 2 moneths 600 p^{sons} at the leaste in his Townes and wards that hee maintaineth, and hath nowe left alyve of them 30. It is not the plague of pestilence that is amongst this people, for nether haue they Gods marks nor yet sore when they bee dedd. It maketh as speedie wo^k wth them as dooth the plague, for they lye not sick above 6 or 7 dayes. Besydes these sicknesses, wee have heere plague of famin' in sutch sorte, as were it nott for the Queenes Mat^s store, wee shulde sterve: of w^{ch} there is nothing nor hath not be'n this 6 weeks, but bred, and beere, and of that no sutch store as will serve the soldio^{rs} heere a fortnight, which spent it will not bee possible for the soldio^{rs} to remeyne heere, for the countries can yeele nothinge all that they had beeing consumed. And if there were beeves to bee had (as there is not), so leane bee they (by means they cannot bee suffred, to feede abrode), as they are no better then carrions. I have ben' in 2 townes besieged, and never founde like scarcetie, as is here, God and her Mat^y amend it, and put into yo^r hono^{rs} hedd that bee her wo^{rthy} Councelle^{rs}, to advise her highnes to reforme the miserie of this poore countrie w^{ch} may easylie bee don', if her Mat^y will followe the course of government I nowe sende yo^r hono^r to bee ymparted unto her.

"And if the same seeme to her highnes ouer great chardge, better it were (not offendinge), for her Mat^y to bee at one chardge, then by lingering to spend 5 tymes so mutche and by sufferance hassard the Realme.

"I dare gage my life and likewise my poor lyvinge towards her Mat^y chardge, (if shee will maintein 2,000 footemen and 300 horsmen 4 moneths and send victuells at once wth them for that tyme), shee shall make an hono^rable end of this rebellion in that space, and haue this province in that subjection as never had euy of her auncesto^{rs} before, and wth all greatlie increase her highnes revenue. Besides gratifying of a number of poore men, that painfully serve her. My good Lorde, there is no way to subdue these Traitors, but by setting downe of men in their woods, w^{ch} bee their fortresses. That don', their harts bee dedd: for beeing beaten out of their woods they are not able to holde uppe their hedd, and if it be bee said to yo^r hono^r, that soldio^{rs} shall not be able to live in their woods, beleewe it not, for they may as well sette themselves, and live in the woods as in othr places, and chieflie considering everie garizon shall be so settled as they may well be victuelled by water, if by land it bee difficult to bee don'.

"It is settled garrisons that must make an ende of this wo^k, and not runing journeyes, for that weareth out men and to no purpose of service, till they bee beaten owt of their woods: And then followinge the Traito^{rs} w^t convenient companies of footemen, and horsmen divided into 2 parts. They shall so hunt the Traito^{rs}. as they shall haue eith^r the killinge of them or driving them in the sea. And if this course of governem^t be liked of her Mat^y and yo^r hono^{rs}, the soldio^{rs} to execute this enterprise had neede to bee heere by the latter end of May next, or by the midle of June at the ferthest, for it must bee sooner wether to doo this service.

"After the 4 moneths the greatest numbers of the soldio^{rs} may be caished for in that space this rebellion will be ended or els' I am greatly decayed.

"I have annexed to this plat I nowe send the distancs of the woods one from th' other, as also the largenes of them, as well in lengthe as in bredth, for that there is no man heere skilfull to make a mappe as it ought to bee.

"I haue also set downe what numb^{rs} of men are to bee placed in evrry wood, and likewise th' apt places for their settlem^t & victuelling beseeching yo^r L. to beare w^t my rude dooings therein.

"And so having no straunge newes to aduertise since the writinge of my l're to the Queenes Mat^y, but that the Rebels, the Senishall, and Patrick Condon, the 6th of this moneth, murdered 2 of the Lorde Roche's sonnes, Tibold and Redmond, and to the numb^{rs} of 30 more, whose deaths are greatlie lamented in as mutch as they were held good subiects, I humbly take my leve. From Corck, this 20th of Aprill, 1582.

"Yo^r L. at comaundem^t,

"WARIHAM SENT LEGER."

Dorso.—20 April, 1582. S^r Warham St. Leger to my L.,
Dearthie & famine there, His opinion for y^e placing
of garrisons in y^e woods.

Driven, as it would seem, to utter despair of ever reducing the Munster Irish to loyalty and civility, the rulers of the Province at last adopted the resolution to make an end of all: *to lay waste at once the whole Province, and destroy the entire population by famine!* The letter which has just been laid before the reader may have led him to the opinion that this desired result was already so nearly obtained that Her Majesty's Government needed to give themselves no active concern further in the matter. On the 12th of March, 1582, Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to Her Majesty one of the most remarkable state papers to be found in any archives in any Christian land:—

MARCH 12, 1582. SIR W. ST. LEGER¹ TO THE QUEEN FROM CORK.

"I will be bold to set down to your Highness how the State of this your province of Munster standeth, and withal deliver to your Majesty my poor opinion what is like to become of the Government now in execution. It is so, and please your Highness, that in this Govern-

¹ The name of this brave, truthful, and conscientious statesman occurs so frequently, and under titles so diverse, during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, in connexion with the troubles and Government of Munster, that it may be interesting to the reader to see some few particulars of his biography, which need to be collected from other sources than the narrative of public events in which he took part. He is presented to us sometimes as President of Munster, sometimes as Knight (Provost) Marshal, and sometimes as Commissioner. What his connexion was with the high office of the Presidency of Munster, the reader will see presently. Sir Warham was the second son of Sir Anthony St. Leger—who was Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1540, with two brief, and one longer interval, till 1556—by his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Warham, and niece to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Warham St. Leger, whose elder brother died young, was styled of Ulomb. He married Ursula, fifth and youngest daughter of George Nevil, Lord Abergavenny, by whom he had a son Sir William, his heir, and two daughters. He married secondly, Elice Rothe, widow of Henry Davells, murdered by Sir John of Desmond; and widow also of Captain Mackworth, slain by the O'Conors. Sir Warham was Sheriff of Kent in 1560, and knighted in 1565. Smith informs us that in the year 1567, "The Presidency-Court of Munster was first erected, and that Sir Warham St. Leger was the first Lord President, during the government of Sir William Drury Lo: Deputy of Ireland," that "in 1570 Sir John Perrott was made Lord President in the room of Sir W. St. Leger;" and he adds in a note, "the Presidency courts were not fully established till this year; for which reason Sir J. Davis, in his historical relations, makes Sir John Perrott to have been the first Lord President of Munster, and Sir Edward Fitton, of Connaught." We learn, from the ministerial correspondence of the time, the more accurate account of the appointment of Sir Warham St. Leger as President of Munster, the brief tenure of his office, and the cause of his revocation.

In February 1566, Sir N. Bagnal wrote to the Earl of Leicester that Sir W. St. Leger had been appointed Lord President of Munster. On the 16th of January, 1567, the Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, that "she did not allow of the appointment of St. Leger, as he was not likely to be so indifferent in the cases of the two Earls [Desmond and Ormonde], as were meet."

It is true that Sir Warham, as well as his patron, Sir H. Sydney, had an ill opinion of the loyalty of Ormonde, and a personal dislike of him (which was amply returned to them both by

the Earl), and that he seldom missed an opportunity of stirring the Queen also to distrust him. This dislike was hereditary, and arose from a rivalry springing from the fact that the St. Legers considered themselves the direct representatives of Thomas the 7th Earl of Ormonde through one of the latter's daughters and heirs general, whilst Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, as the heir male, through a collateral descent, had the title and Irish property of the house.

In April, 1563, Sir H. Sydney had written to the Queen, "If ever there be faulte founde for partiality in Sir Warhame Sent Leger, let it be my faulte as well as his; he hath already done good service, to the gret quiet of the countie of Waterforde; doubtless he is an honest, and sufficient man." And on receipt of the Queen's letter disallowing the appointment of Sir Warham as President, he wrote to Her Majesty. "While Sir Warham there still remainyd (whose revocation, by all the honest that I could speak withall in the whole province of Munster, was not a little lamented) there was no such outrage committed, nor, I dare say, had ben neither in Kylshelaw, if he had there remainyd."

It was during the brief period of his Presidency, upon occasion of a short absence from the seat of his Government, that MacCarthy Mor, and the Seneschal of Imokilly appeared with a large force at the gates of Cork, demanding admittance, and the surrender of the city; this was refused, and "they then vowed never to depart unless the Mayor should deliver out of the town the Lady St. Leger, and Mrs. Greyville, with the rest of the English, and Barry Oge, and Cormac Mac Toig, with all other prisoners." The arrival of the Lord Deputy and the timely coming of 400 fresh soldiers from England saved the ladies from the misfortune that threatened them.

In October, 1579, Sir Warham was appointed Knight Marshal of Munster, and in this capacity his first duty was the trial and execution of Sir James of Desmond.

Sir Warham met his death in an encounter with Maguire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, under the walls of Cork, in March, 1600. The details of this deadly duel have reached us in the words in which they were written a few days only after the event, by the Bishop of Cork to Sir Robert Cecyll:—

THE BISHOP OF CORK TO CECYLL,

March 5, 1600.

"On Saturday last, beinge the 1st of this moneth, M^e Guyre wth others, were sent by Tirone into Kirriwhirry [the Seignorie of old Sir Warrham St. Leger] to burne and spoile. In his retourn a litell before night he was encoun-

ment it is thought good policy to make waste the five counties within this province, the corporate towns only excepted; holding it the only means to subdue and famish the traitors. A government, no doubt meant to good purpose, but (under correction) far wide from the due course of government that ought to be; and so have I sundry times told the Governor since my coming hither; for by wasting the countries there will ensue four great inconveniences:—First, Starving numbers of poor innocent people, being already dead by famine in this province not so few as 30,000 at the least within less than this half year. Secondly, it will be the otherthrow and decay of the corporate towns. . . . Thirdly, it will be the decay of your Majesty's customs, imposts, and other duties to your Highness appertaining. Fourthly, it is to be feared it will be the wasting of the whole realm, or a great part thereof."

This "good policy of Government," though in a great measure successful in the object it had in view, failed to intimidate the chiefs in arms. In September, the restless Seneschal was again in the neighbourhood of Cork, and "made prey of four towns:" his next exploit was conceived in audacious and more direct defiance of the policy of the Government. The Bishop of Rosse wrote to the Lords Justices touching the present state of Munster. . . . "The Seneschal is with his company in the Decies, and hath reaped the corn there, and also in Imokilly, and carried it into the woods. For proof whereof Sir Warham St. Leger's man returning from Dublin, and coming through Imokilly, passed through the rebels, as they were reaping the subject's corn (he thinking them subjects till he was past them, and then understood they were rebels). The Seneschal is in number 200 footmen, picked kern and expert fellows, sixty shot, and 24 horsemen, and since my coming into the country, about the beginning of August last, they have preyed the county of Waterford twice, even to the Passage."

When this corn, which proved to be the property of Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had been carried into the woods, and stored in caves, the Seneschal burst again into the Butler's country, laid waste the domains of the Lord General, and made spoil of his very "house at the Carrig."¹

From the incessant attacks of the Seneschal upon the country of the Earl of Ormonde, and particularly from such exploits as the burning of Nenagh, and 12 other of his towns, and the plunder of his house, it might not occur to the reader to suspect that these actions were not in reality acts of hostility, but mere incidents hiding a forbidden friendship; the keen eyes of Ormonde's personal enemies discovered by other and less mistakable evidences, that the sacking of Carrick Castle, the slaughter of his soldiers, and the hanging of the Seneschal's followers in return, were but acts of a sublime astuteness designed to disguise a traitorous collusion between the commander of Her Majesty's forces, and the most formidable of the rebels. In March, 1581, there were drawn up and sent for the Queen's grave consideration, certain "observations of the Earl of Ormond's Government during his being Lord General in the Province of Munster, and the success of the same." Two circumstances, casually revealed by this document, the reader cannot fail to notice: one, the incidental manner in which mention is made of an assassination to be done—in the language of the time, a draft to be drawn—upon the Seneschal of Imokilly: and the other, the

tred withall by Sir Warrham St. Leger and Sir Henrie Power, who issued forth wth certain horse, out of Cork, and about the sunne set M^c Guyre was slayne by Sir Warrham himself, and he again wounded by M^c Guyre, in the head, wth, an horseman's staffe, to death (as it is thought). The same tyme were slayne M^c Guyre's some, his priest, his foster-brother, wth, divers others of account. Some of theire horsemens staves, and M^c Guyre's oollors were brought away. He left his staf in Sir Warrhame's hedd, and fled wounded; and by reason of the fall of the evening after he had ridden about a mile, not beinge further pursued, fell downe from his horse, died that night under a bush, and is gone to his place. the next morninge was carried to the rebell's campe dead."

It may have taken the reader's notice that several of Sir Warham's letters written in England were dated from Leeds Castle, in Kent. We learn from "Lodge," Vol. 6, p. 104, that "In 1550, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the father of Sir Warham, had a grant from the King of the

manor house of Wingham-Barton, Bersted, (an appendant to the Manor of Leeds Castle) East Farbon, and Bentley, two small manors, and the fee simple of one of the Parks of Leeds Castle in the county of Kent." The connexion of the family of St. Leger with this locality was, however, of much earlier date than this grant; for "Ralf St. Leger of Uleomb, Esq^{re}, eldest son of Stephen St. Leger, had been appointed in 1470, Constable of Leeds Castle, with one of the parks annexed to it, for then there were two, though now neither of them are to be seen." Sir Ralf left a son, who left two sons, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert, who both settled in Ireland. The former was a Knight of the Garter, and, as the reader has seen, for several years Lord Deputy of Ireland; the latter was, in 1543, appointed Constable of Dungarvan.

¹ Carrick Castle, on the Suir, in the county of Tipperary, bordering on the county of Kilkenny, and, next to Kilkenny Castle, Ormonde's principal residence. It was in fair preservation until lately, but is fast falling into decay.

identity, in the minds of two honest men, of the appreciation of such drafts, and the fitting mode of dealing with the draftsmen. This was not the first time that such a proposal had been made to the Earl. Upon a previous occasion he had spoken his mind in a manner peculiarly his own, to the Lord Treasurer, through whom the proposition reached him. This time he wasted no words upon the proposal, or the persons entertained for its performance, but handed the latter over to the Seneschal, whom it more immediately concerned, and the Seneschal with as little hesitation passed them on to the hangman. Of these accusations the 10th was "He discharged Edmund M'Ruddery, son and heir to the White Knight, being by Theobald Roche, the Lord Roche's second son, accused of sundry treasons, in the presence of the Lord General. The 12th; he set at liberty a chief messenger of the traitor Seneschal of Imokilly, taken by Theobald Roche. The 16th; where two choice persons were entertained for the killing of the traitor Seneschal, and had undertaken the same, the matter not being revealed to any by the persons that entertained them, saving only the Earl of Ormond; these executioners were no sooner arrived at the camp, but they were apprehended by the Seneschal, and charged with the practice, and for the same executed, to the great grief of the persons that entertained them."

The 10th and 12th of these observations will explain to the reader the cause of the bitter feelings of the rebels against the sons of Lord Roche, which resulted, as has been mentioned, in their death. These young men had been in rebellion, had abandoned their party, and were seeking favour with the Government by such actions as the above. But evil times were coming quickly for the unfortunate Earl of Desmond, and his chief followers. Few narratives are sadder than that which may be extracted from the constant reports sent by Ormonde to the Privy Council, of the last few weeks of his existence. Lord Burghley was informed that "Ormond vowed with fire and sword to follow him." Doubtless it was the duty of the Lord General to do so; but there can be as little doubt that the life-long hostility of the two Earls burned the more fiercely as the one drove the other to extremity. Ormonde had many enemies, men who thought him already too powerful, and foretold evil days when, by the death of Desmond he should be without a rival in Munster. Many suggestions had been made to the Queen, and constant instructions sent by Burghley to the Lord Deputy, to treat with the rebel, to accept his submission; but Ormonde petitioned also that "no one else (than himself) might be commissioned to treat with him," that "he might not be supplanted till he had reduced the rebel." And the unfortunate Earl, driven as he was to utter despair, whilst declaring himself ready to surrender to Her Majesty, refused to submit to his enemy. The issue was inevitable, and the despatches written nearly day by day, to Lord Burghley and the Queen, contain the touching narrative of the last feeble struggles of the great rebel. On the 22nd of September, 1582, at the time when the Seneschal was in his greatest force, and, in the audacity of continual success openly reaping the subjects' corn, the Earl was reported to be "stronger than ever he was, he had 200 horse, and 2000 footmen;" but by May in the following year Ormonde wrote that "the Earl of Desmond was in great extremity; that he had cut off all relief of victual from him, put his principal men to the sword, and placed companies to meet him in every way." "That all men fell away from him; he knew not where to stay, or whom to trust." It would be unjust to the followers of the Earl to suppose that they abandoned him prematurely; most of them *never* fell from him, but were slain, as Ormonde's long lists of rebels put to death by him, prove; but in the Earl's great extremity he was compelled to separate himself from nearly every attendant, as well to prevent discovery of the places of his refuge, as to obtain the means of subsistence: above all it is due to the fame of the most faithful of the followers of the fugitive to state that, whatever other men may have done, the Seneschal remained in arms till he had endured nearly as great suffering, and far more affliction than his chief. Of those who continued in action after the death of James Fitz Maurice, none had been so hotly followed up as he had been. The force of the rebels had been latterly divided into two bodies, one remaining with the Earl in the woods of Arlow, the other under the Seneschal about Youghal, and his own country of Imokilly. Against the latter Ormonde's first efforts were directed. Before long "he overran and burned Imokilly, slew the Seneschal's brother, and captured his mother." The son of the rebel was already in the hands of the President of Munster. It is painful to read that the aged lady captured by Ormonde "was by him slain by form of law;" even more painful to see amongst the list of the Queen's enemies slain by him "the son of the Seneschal of Imokilly, a stripling." Whilst the Lord General was reporting his daily advances against the Earl of Desmond, Sir William Stanley wrote to Sir G. Fenton, "Desmond is now in one place having not above 80, the Seneschal is dispersed in another place with but 24 swords, and four horse." Unable to render any further assistance to his chief, a fugitive himself, and

hopeless of succour, the Seneschal gave way at last under his heavy afflictions, and made offer of submission to the Lord General. It was accepted conditionally, till the Queen's pleasure could be known; and how welcome was this surrender to the Queen may be judged from Her Majesty's instant reply that "she was glad the Seneschal had abandoned the Earl." On the 18th of June, Ormonde wrote that "21 of the few that followed Desmond were put to the sword; the Countess had submitted; the unhappy wretch wandereth from place to place, forsaken of all men." Two days later he added that, "the Earl was forsaken of all his followers saving a priest, two horsemen, one kerne, and a boy." On the 15th of November, 1583, he wrote his final notice, and the last passage of the Desmond tragedy: "On Monday last Donill D'Donill Imoriertagh, dwelling near Castell-Mange, assaulted and slew the Earl of Desmond in his cabin of Glanegientye, near the river Mange. . . . So now is this traytor com to the ende I have longe looked for, appointed by God to dye by the sword to ende his rebellion, in despite of soche malitiose fooles as have divers tymes untruelye enformed of the service and state of Mounster."

How greatly Ormonde respected the character of the Seneschal, the ablest of his adversaries after the death of Fitz Maurice, is proved not only by the brief sketch of his character already cited, which was written to Lord Burghley at this time, but by the repeated and urgent suit made by him after the Earl's death, to procure his pardon. In September he wrote that "the Seneschal would prove a good subject; that he and his people were now employed in good order and husbandry;" and in November he wrote again urging the Lord Treasurer "to plead earnestly to the Queen for pardon for the Seneschal." The after history of this distinguished Geraldine is to be gathered from stray passages relative to the confiscation and distribution of the lands of the rebels. In November, 1585, instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy that "some order was to be taken for the Seneschal and others, pardoned of their lives." The only order taken by the authorities at Dublin was to deliver him into the custody of the Constable of Dublin Castle. In 1587, other instructions were sent to Sir Valentine Browne, concerning the escheated lands in Munster, "that where as about a year past Her Majesty gave order to the Lord Deputy and the council to consider how the Seneschal of Imokilly and Patrick Condon may be agreed with, whereby there might not arise any disturbance from them to the undertakers; Her Majesty has never yet received answer from the Deputy. The parties themselves remaining now under guard in the Castle of Dublin, may be dealt withal, and let understand (that notwithstanding) their great offence committed, Her Majesty can be content, in hope that hereafter they will carry themselves dutifully towards her, to bestow some portion of the land that heretofore appertained unto them (whereof the whole was forfeited), upon them towards their relief and maintenance."

The Seneschal survived the announcement of this act of Her Majesty's clemency about two years: his troubled career terminated in the calm of his seclusion in Dublin Castle at the end of January or beginning of February, 1589. Whether he was buried in Dublin, or with his ancestors at Cloyne, we know not. That he left at least one son surviving the slaying of his brother, uncle, and grandmother, we learn from a warrant of the Queen, sent on the 17th of June, 1597, to the Lord Deputy Burgh, for "passing the wardship of the body and lands of the son of John Fitz-Edmunds of Ballymartie, [Ballymartyr] late Seneschal of Imokilly, to Captain Henry Moyle, under the great seal." A later notice of this son occurs in a letter of Cecyll to Carew, dated 8th November 1600, which leaves little doubt but that the youth was already involved in the rebellion of the *Sugan* Earl, and O'Neill; and is but one instance in a multitude, showing that the rebels of 1583 were fathers of the rebels of 1600, they of the rebels of 1641, and these of the rebels (?) of 1688. Whilst the Seneschal had been in open warfare with the Queen's forces, Mr. John Fitz-Edmund of Cloyne had for a second time taken refuge in Cork, where he continued a model of loyalty, and the victim of the hatred of the rebels. His sufferings and losses were not, however, wholly unconsidered; much petitioning succeeded in obtaining for him "a minute from the Queen to the Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland, for an annuity of 100 marks, and a grant of 100 marks out of the escheats in Munster." The most remarkable passage in the life of this conspicuous Royalist occurred at the close of the great struggle which had desolated Munster for so many years; it was destined to cause him more affliction than the loss of herds and harvests, and almost made shipwreck of the reputation gained by a long life of loyalty.

At the death of the Earl of Desmond it was considered of pressing importance that a Parliament should be summoned to authorize Her Majesty to distribute the forfeited lands, and to pass such Acts as should be necessary for repairing the broken and miserable estate of Ireland. A Parliament was accordingly called by Sir John Perrot, then Lord Deputy. Its first session was held in 1585; its second in 1586. The reader may be surprised to hear that one of its earliest proceedings was to pass an Act against Witches! this was evidently

done at the dictation of Ormonde, and proves the sincerity in his blunt mind, of his belief of what he wrote to the Queen, that, in their disloyalty "his brothers had been bewitched, as he also had been, but that he was now cured." But of far other importance was an Act for the passing of which, in reality, this Parliament had been especially assembled, to the effect "that all conveyances made, or pretended to be made, by any person at-attainted within thirteen years before the Act, shall be entered on record in the Exchequer within a year, or be void." When this Act was introduced it met with much opposition; but when Sir John Fitz-Edmund arose, and, doubtless encouraged by the feeling of the House, produced a certain "Feoffment," by which the late Earl of Desmond had placed all his estates in trust for his wife and son, at a time when he was wholly free from all taint of rebellion, consternation and panic fell upon the whole assembly. "This Act," writes Sir R. Cox, "did not pass the Houses without great difficulty, and perhaps had not passed at all if John MacEdmond Fitzgerald (to prevent the Earl of Desmond's forfeiture) had not produced a Feoffment made by that Earl, before he entered into rebellion, which had taken effect, and baffled the expectations of the undertakers, if Sir Henry Wallop had not, by good luck, gotten the aforesaid deed of association, made the 18th July, 1578 (which was two months before the pretended settlement—to which this John Fitz-Edmond himself was a party), but upon the producing of that confederacy, and the discovering of this fraud and subtlety, the honest part of the House were ashamed to abet so ill a cause, and so this Act was made to prevent the like contrivances." At Lambeth are preserved, amongst the Carewe papers, copies both of the Feoffment and Deed of Confederation. The passage quoted from the history of Sir R. Cox will have prepared the reader to find this Feoffment—which it was fraudulently pretended had been executed before the Earl had committed any act of rebellion, and was therefore valid in law—to find this document bear date two months *after* the date of the deed of association of rebellion, thus proving the document produced by Sir John Fitz-Edmond the act of a traitor, and therefore of no value; but, strange to say, the copy of this Feoffment preserved at Lambeth is dated not two months *after*, but four years *before* the Act of Association, that is, the former on 10th September, 1574, the latter on July 18, 1578!

That the discovery made by the sharp-sightedness of Sir H. Wallop was a discovery of the truth relative to these two documents, we are bound to believe, since the Act of Parliament was passed in consequence of it. It follows inevitably that one or other of these dates must be faulty. It is remarkable that Sir R. Cox should have transferred to his pages, without any observation, the dates of both these documents as he found them in the copies at Lambeth, although so glaringly inconsistent with the discovery of Wallop; more particularly as such mighty interests—the validity of the forfeitures, one million two hundred thousand acres—depended upon the priority of the execution of the Deed of Association of rebellion to that of the Feoffment, a fact provable only by the dates of the documents! In our modern calendars these State papers are placed unavoidably in the years of the dates they bear respectively, thus perpetuating the error which misled Sir R. Cox. Happily the discovery of the mistake is not difficult. The correctness of the date of the Feoffment will admit of no doubt, for the document was presented to Parliament by Sir John Fitz-Edmund, who had himself, in company with various other gentlemen, several of them lawyers, attested it. Had the date of the other deed been as correct, the vast estates of the Earl must have slipped through the fingers—matchless for their tenacity—of Her Majesty, and a multitude of enterprising English gentlemen must have returned to the country from which they came. But the instrument of confederation reveals its true date in its very first paragraph. It states that, whereas the Earl had assembled his kinsmen and others, "*after his coming out of Dublin, and made them privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July, 1578.*"

Now the Earl *came out of Dublin* (escaped from Dublin Castle), as we have already related, in November, 1573; and turning to the State papers of the period in quest of these "Articles which had been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Earl," we find them under date of 8 July, 1574. The deduction is that the date of the year, occurring twice in the Deed of Association, has been altered by transcribers, and that for 1578 we should read 1574. But although error has thus crept into the date of the year, it has not affected that of the month or day. The deed bears date 18th of July, which, as Sir H. Wallop discovered, and placed on record on the deed itself, is "seven weeks earlier than the execution of the feoffment." In the entire collection of the State papers of England, no document exists that was of equal importance as to its absolute correctness of date, as this one, for on none other ever depended the transfer of estates so vast and so valuable! Lord Justice Pelham, in his "Plot for Munster," dated July 28, 1580, showing how Munster may be made to yield revenue to Her Majesty, and in short time repay the charge of the war," proposes to the Queen "to take the benefit

of all the possessions of the Earl of Desmond, and the traitors, in all ten thousand ploughlands, rating but 120 English acres to every ploughland."

CAREW MSS., JULY 18, 1578.—LAMBETH, VOL. 600, p. 45.

"The combination of Garrett, late Earl of Desmond, attainted of high treason.

"Whereas Garrett, Earl of Desmond, has assembled us, his kinsmen, followers, friends, and servants, after his coming out of Dublin, and made us privy to such articles, as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July, 1578, [*recte* 1574], to be performed, and to his answers to the same, which answers we find reasonable; and has declared to us that if he do not yield to the performance of the said articles, and put in his pledges, the Lord Deputy will make war against him: we counsel the said Earl to defend himself from the violence of the Lord Deputy, and we will assist the Earl against him. 18th July, 1578, [1574.]

"Garrett Desmond; Thomas Lixnaw; John of Desmond; John FitzJames; Rorye M'Sheaghe; Moroughe O'Brien; Moriortaghe M'Brien of Lonforth; Ja. K. E. F. D. K. B.; Theobald Burke; Donell O'Brien; Richard Burke; John Brown; Daniel M'Canna of Drombraine; James Russell; Richard Fitz-Edmond; Gerold Ulicke M'Thomas of Billuncarrighe; Ulicke Burk; John Fitz-William of Karne-dirrye; Teighe O'Heyne of Chairreyleye."

"Copia vera ext^a. Matheue Dillon."

Mr. Hamilton's "Calendar of Irish State Papers," places these "Articles propounded to the Earl of Desmond, and his answers," in the year (July 8, 1574), in which they undoubtedly were laid before the Earl's associates in rebellion; the Carew "Calendar" refers to them also in the same year.

FROM THE QUEEN TO THE COUNCIL AT DUBLIN. August 20, 1574,—
CAREW MSS., VOL. 628, p. 171.

"Your letters of the 11th of this present, together with Desmond's answers to such articles as were propounded to him we have received, and do no less mislike of your, and our Council's slender kind of dealing with him than his rude answers." [The remainder of this despatch is occupied with a consideration of the Earl's answers to the Articles.]

September 10, 1574, CAREW MSS., VOL. 608, p. 104.—EARL OF DESMOND.

"A true copy of the feoffment made by Gerald, Earl of Desmond, testified under the Lord Deputy and Council's hands, which appeareth to be made 7 weeks after the Combination, 1574.

"Charter of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earl of Desmond, Lord of Decies and Ogonull, and Lord of the liberty of Kerry, granting in fee to James Butler, Lord Baron of Dunboyne; John Powar, Knight, Lord Baron of Curraghmore, and John Fitz Gerald Fitz Edmund, all his baronies, manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, in the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, or elsewhere in Ireland. He has appointed Maurice Shighan, and Robert Liston, his bailiffs and attorneys, to enter and take seizin in all the said hereditaments, and to deliver them to the said Barons and Fitz Edmund. Dated 10 Sept. 1574, 16 Eliz."

Then follow other documents, explanatory of the intent and meaning of the said feoffment; attestations of the ensealing, and delivery of seizin by the attorneys in the various counties, &c., &c.

The learning and the wisdom which had guided this exemplary royalist through a long career of difficulty and danger thus seemed to have failed him at the last. He had unquestionably placed himself towards the rebel Earl in a relation as intimate as it was in the power of man to contract with his fellow-creature, at a time when it was high treason to parley with him, for he had not only assisted the rebel in the endeavour to place his estates beyond reach of forfeiture in case of accidents, seven weeks after he was deeply plunged in rebellion, but he had accepted in trust the future impunity of his wife and son, both compromised by the Earl's treason; and the responsibility of defending the political integrity and status of his tribe, when all—nobility, estates, personal liberty, nay, life itself—were by

law already forfeited. The anger of the undertakers, and their dismay at the disaster they had so narrowly escaped, rendered them incapable of believing that Sir John had been ignorant, at the time, of the rebellious practices of the Earl, and that he had no knowledge of the existence of the document produced by Sir H. Wallop. A tempest of accusations, the hatred of the undertakers, the indignation of Parliament, and the great displeasure of the Queen, was the bitter result of this attempt to avert the overthrow of his house. The injured Royalist wrote without delay to Sir F. Walsingham an explanation of his conduct and speech in Parliament, showing how much he had been misunderstood, protesting that he would be the first man to approve of the Earl's attainder and loss of life and lands condignly happening unto him for his horrible treason, and that no one could more willingly assent to these forfeitures than himself:—

JOHN FITZ EDMUND GERALD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

"Right honorable my humble duetie remembred; understanding that by som sinister Information from hence, the Lorde God knoweth how Iniustly, your honor hath conceyved som harde opynyon agaynst me, so as my sonne by me appoynted, saying for audyence in discharge of my obligacion ageynst me, coule not be hearde; in so moche as now one calumpnye growing upon an other I am dryven to speak for my owen purgacion. Least by sylence where speache may not be admytted, I rest utterly condempned; and least my not speaking might conforme for a trothe myne adversaries surmyses, wherefore moste humbly craving, that which was never denyed to any, graunte to me my answere wth all humblenes and submyssion. The greate matter ageynst me is my speache in the Parlyament of the ffeoffment made by the Earle of Desmonde to me and others, which I thought it my parte to tell, onely, in diccharge of my conscience and honestie before God and the worlde, not as a thinge I wished allowed, but farre otherwise, Protesting that myself woulde be the first man, that woulde assent (as I was indede, els I am content to rest condempned in yo^r honorable Judgement) to the acte of attaynder of him as a thinge condignely happenyng unto hym, and the losse of lyfe and londs. Too small a guerdon for his horryble treason, and so I do thinke unfaynedly. Also in a matter newly happenyng wⁱⁿ this provynce, concernyng Florence McCartye his unloyall parte, in assuryng and affyng himself to the Earle of Clancare's daughter; in that action I referre myself to the reporte of the Councell of this provynce, I do holde it moste unduetifull and a thinge moste ageynst my mynde, and wishe for example of others, that her Matie may gyue the guerdon fytt for such contempts. I did diswade the mother of the yonge Lady from euer thinking of that matche, in presence of two of the best in Corke, who dyd testifie the same: God knowith my harte, my charges and losses in her Maties service shal be sufficient testimony of John Fitz Edmonds trew allegiaunce when I am deade, I do desire onely to rest uncondemned untill I may answere, and yf my answere by my sonne upon hearing, may not sufficiently satisfie I desire but this yo^r honorable favor, that the poynts, wherein yo^r honor restith unsatisfied may be transmytted to me to answere, and yf I do not answere all to your honorable lykyng, I will rest condempned and never desire other Judge but yourself, Further I have not, but I humbly take leave. Corke, this xvth of November 1588.

"Your honors moste humble at comaundement.

"JOHN FITZ EDMOND GERALD."

Addressed. "To the right honorable Sr
Frances Walsingham knight,
Principall Secretary to her Ma^{ty}."

With the rebellion of the Sugán Earl, the son of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, the nephew of the great rebel, we are not at present further concerned than to observe that the reader may see in the Pacata Hibernia that with the same loyalty with which,—apart from the ambiguous incident of the Feoffment,—he had sustained the hatred of his race, the spoliation of his lands, and peril of his life during the two previous rebellions, Sir John continued, through this third and fiercest, to show himself as he had ever been "the best subject the Queen had in Munster," and that at its close he was not left wholly without his reward. On the occasion of sending the Queen's Earl of Desmond into Ireland in 1600, three or four persons only were chosen to accompany him. Of these one was the son of Sir John Fitz Edmund. Sir R. Cecyll then wrote to Carew, to whom he was in the habit of writing his mind with respect to persons and things, with admirable frankness, a few passages respecting Sir John, which suggest a belief that the incident of the Feoffment, and the speech in Parliament in 1586, had not faded from the memory of the writer:—

SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"There comes in the company of the younge Erle a soon of Ihon Fitz Edmondes, on whom the Queen hath bestowed a pence'on of one hundred markes in reversion after his father. He hath made two other sutes, the one to haue some men to kepe his castles, the other to surrender all his landes, and to take them in soccage. For the first, for ought I see, he is rich enough, and craftye enough, soe, as many a man hath sued for that, which hath more neede of it, and therefore, in that pretend you to have no warrant; for although I know he is wise, and hath kept a good forme, yet I am not ignorant that he might doe more than he doeth; but I haue used his soone with kindness, and the rather because you know how deere he is to a good friend of ours (who is in Jarsey); besides he pretendeth to be much affected to this Desmond, and I see his soone much follow him, amongst which persons if any should be made to give cautyon, it weare not amisse that ould Fitz Edmondes weare wrapt into bondes for him."

The life of Sir John Fitz Edmund (he was knighted,¹ A.D. 1601, by Lord Deputy Mountjoy, "to requite his perpetual Loyalty to the Crown of England, as also to encourage others"), was prolonged till the year 1612, when he expired at the ripe age of 85. He was buried with his ancestors in the Cathedral of Cloyne. A monument there erected to his memory records his many illustrious qualities, and chief amongst them his learning and hospitality; the former, as the reader of these pages has seen, had been many years before "commended by the Lords of the Privy Council," and the latter attested, in his honour, by Sir Warham St. Leger, in a despatch to the Lord Treasurer. He died on the 15th of January, and under the same marble was placed, only two months later, the body of his son, who died on the 10th of March, at the age of 43. The reputation of this distinguished Royalist would lose nothing if the epitaph, with its false metre and strange Latin, graven upon his monument, could be exchanged for the vigorous, unpretending sentence written of his rebel kinsman, the Seneschal, by the Earl of Ormonde—He was valiant, wise, and true of his word!

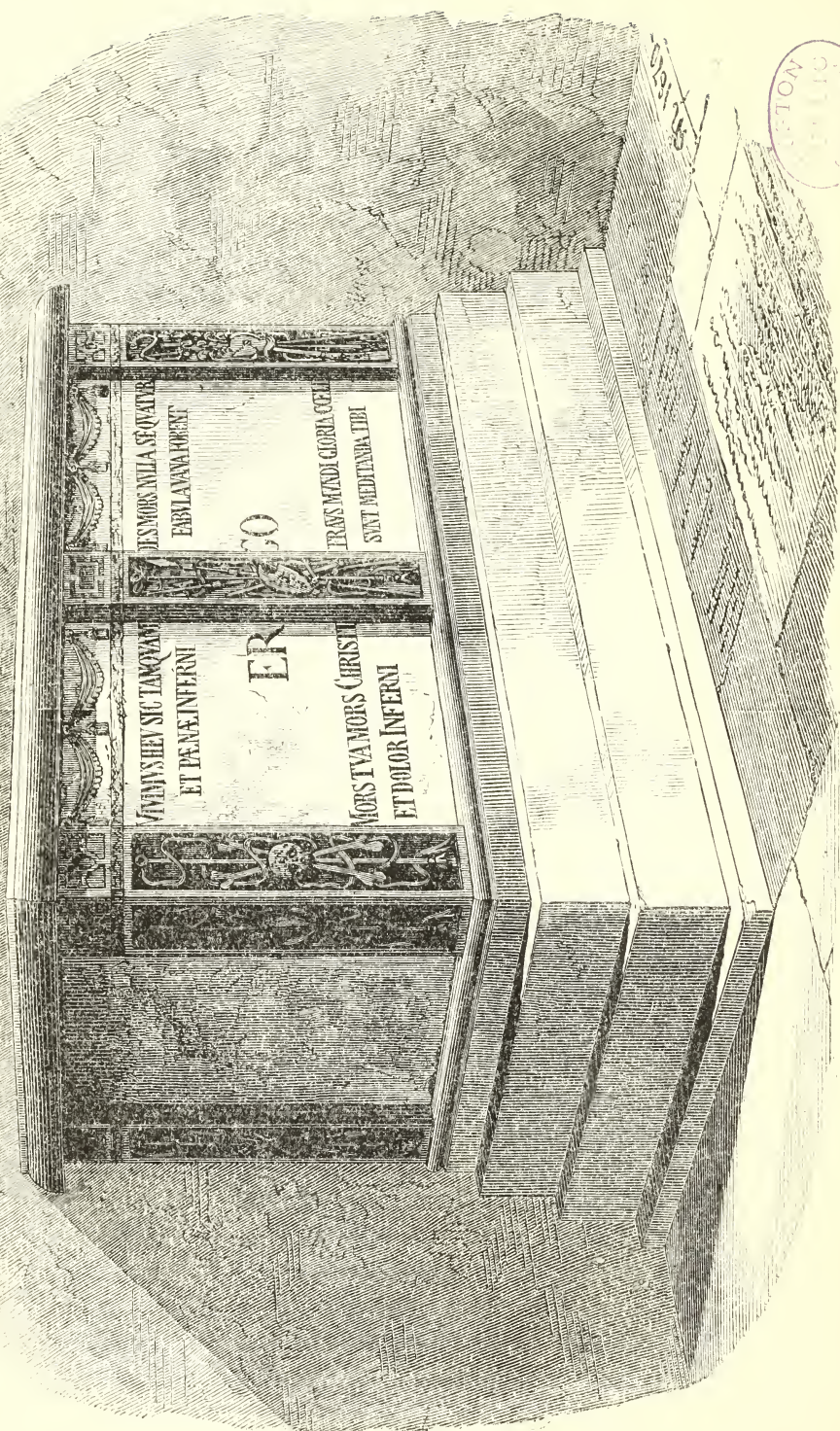
POSTSCRIPT TO CAP. II. BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

"The Barony of Imokilly, County of Cork, in which the Cloyne and Ballymartyr branches of the Knight of Kerry's sept were planted, is a compact territory stretching about twenty miles in length from Cork Harbour to the mouth of the Blackwater at Youghal, and extending inwards about twelve miles from the sea-board. It is surrounded by the Atlantic or its eastuaries on all sides but the north; and being a warm limestone tract, must always have been, as it still is, a fertile region. Imokilly may be divided into two nearly parallel valleys separated by a low range of hills. In the northern vale was the Seneschal's stronghold, Ballymartyr, and his fertile lands. In the southern valley, about three miles from Cork Harbour, and as much from the sea, rises a small insulated hill on which stand the Cathedral and Round Tower of Cloyne—and here was also Sir John Fitz Edmund's Castle of Cloyne.² In the N. E. angle of the North Transept of the

¹ We are informed by the writer of the *Pacata Hibernia*, that the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, on his return from the siege of Kinsale to Dublin by way of Waterford, came out of his road to pay a visit to Cloyne, where he slept on the 7th of March, 1601, and was received by Mr. John Fitz Edmund who held the town and manor house in fee farm, and who gave cheerful and plentiful entertainment to his lordship and all such of the nobility captains, gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. Upon this occasion the Lord Deputy knighted his host.

² This was originally the Palace of the Bishops of Cloyne. The Regal Visitation of 1615 (MS. Royal Irish Academy), has the following statement:—"John Fitzgarrat, miles, per usurpationem tenuit non solum domum et mansiones, sed etiam terras et possessiones Episcopi et Dignitatorum." Sir John Fitz Edmund, though a layman, was Dean of Cloyne—(See p. 119, *supra*), and some of his ancestors seem also to

have held that dignity though laymen also. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, has left in MS. in the Registry of that See a "History of the Property of the See of Cloyne," which has been printed by the Rev. Dr. Brady in his "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross." Bishop Bennett states that "the family of the Fitzgeralds, who were extremely powerful in Imokilly, and had already obtained the manor and the greatest part of the Burgage of Cloyne, cast their eyes on all the remaining possessions of the See. As the plan was a bold one, it was necessary to proceed with caution. In order to make the leases of Bishops' lands valid in those days, it was proper to have them confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, the Church having thus, as it were, two securities that estates should not be wantonly granted away. In order to get over this difficulty, Mr. Fitzgerald, though a layman, got himself appointed to the Deanery of Cloyne, and filled the



W.G. SMITH, DEL. ET SC.

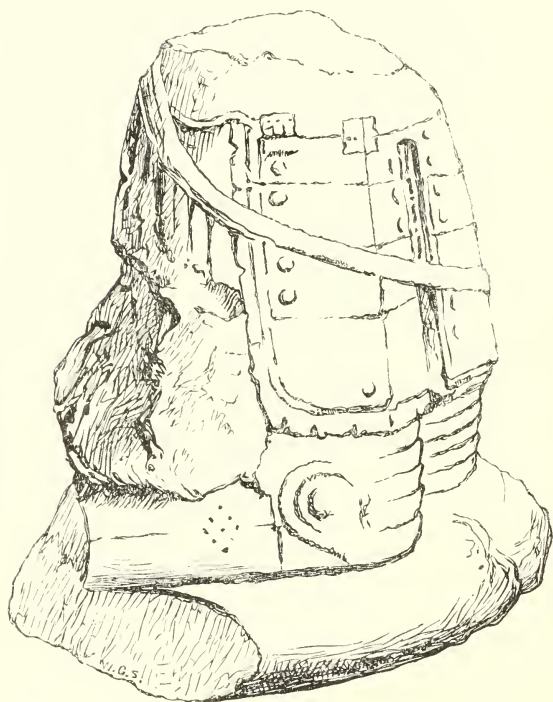
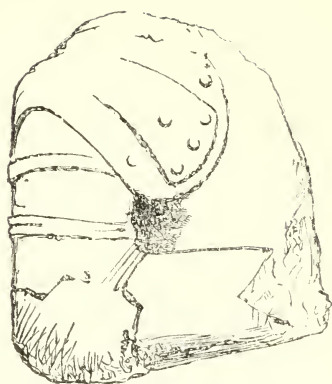
MONUMENT OF SIR JOHN FITZ GERALD, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.



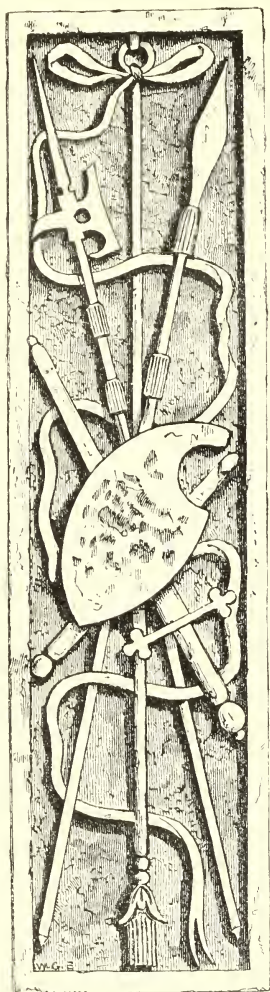
EPITAPHIVM IOHANNIS DE GERALDINIS MILITIS
ANNO DOMINI 1611.

HIC SITVS EST MILES MAGNI DE STIRPE GERALDI
ÆTERNA CVIVS PATRIA LAVDE SONAT
HOSPITIO CELEBRIS DOCTRINA CLARVS ET ARMIS
DIGNA FVIT VIRTVS NOBILITATE VIRI
OMNIPOTENS ANIMAM RAPIAT MISERATVS IN ALTV
DVRA HEC EX ANIMVM MARMORA CORPVS HABET
ILLIVS & GESTA IN PACE & QVAM PLVRIMA BELLO
TE DOCEANT VIVI LECTOR AMICE VALE

OBIT PRÆDICT, EQUES ANNO ÆTATIS 85 DIE VERO MENSIS IANVARIII 15 ANNO DOMINI 1612
SVB HOC ETIAM MARMORE REQVIESCIT FILIVS CVM PATRE QVI IMATVRA MORTE
PATRI PRÆPITVIT ITER ANNO ÆTATIS 43 DIE VEROMENSIS MARTII 10 ANNO DOMINI 1612



FRAGMENTS OF EFFIGIES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.



No. 1,



No. 2.

SCULPTURES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.

Cathedral was erected, doubtless during his lifetime, a very fine monument, in the renaissance style, originally consisting of an altar-tomb above which was reared a pillared superstructure crowned by an ornamented entablature: whilst from the fragments still remaining it would appear that two kneeling armed figures surmounted the first named part of the monument. The Plate which faces this page shows the altar-tomb as it appeared before its restoration. In the floor beneath it (as indicated in the engraving), was inserted a large slab engraved with the epitaph of which a fac-simile is given on the accompanying Plate, whilst other fragments of the superstructure were scattered about the building, having been torn down in 1862 when some restoration works were going on in the Cathedral, as that part interfered with a window. The tradition extant at Cloyne, as I have been informed by the Rev. Thomas B. McCreery, is that about a hundred years ago the armed figures stood intact upon the altar-tomb, fastened to the back of the upper structure by iron cramps; about that time the cramps gave way and the effigies fell down, were broken into fragments, and have never been restored. Two sides only of the altar-tomb are exposed, and on the front of it is an inscription, as indicated in the engraving. The pilasters at the front and end of the altar-tomb are carved with foliage and trophies of arms. A very good effect is produced without deep sinking by the design being traced on the surface of the polished marble which is then given a slight relief by the ground being punched away. The two most interesting of these pilasters are represented in the accompanying Plate, carefully engraved from rubbings made on the spot. The shield, sword, and dagger, together with a halbert and spear, are represented on No. 1, whilst No. 2 shows Sir John Fitz Edmund's plumed and vizared casque, and a very well carved example of the matchlock of the period. There are three fragments of the two effigies, both kneeling to the right. The armour agrees with the date of the monument. A coat of arms still remains. The shield bears a plain saltier. The monument was originally built of red, black, and white marble highly polished. The Dean and Chapter of Cloyne having lately undertaken a restoration of that ancient Cathedral, their Architect, Mr. Arthur Hill, of Cork, (finding that sufficient portions of the superstructure remained to guide him in the work), kindly undertook, with their permission, to restore this ancient monument also, giving his professional services and time gratuitously. The Marquis of Kildare contributed the necessary funds.

The engravings, presented by Mr. A. Fitz Gibbon to the "Journal" of the Association, give an accurate representation of the condition of the monument at the close of 1871. It is briefly noticed in the Ordnance Survey Papers preserved at the Royal Irish Academy, which state that it was "converted by the Earls of Thomond, since the decline of the Fitz Gerald family, to their own use."

The Pedigree (B) of the Fitz Gerald's of Cloyne, the Seneschals of Imokilly, and the Knights of Kerry, which is given at p. 121, has been compiled by Miss Hickson, authoress of "Old Kerry Records." It is a corrected version of that originally issued; and the compiler hopes that it will be found as full and as free from error as it was possible for her to make it at a time when ill health interfered with her researches.

In the Pedigree (A) of the Earls of Desmond (p. 65), Basilia should be tabulated as "sister," and not "daughter," of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, and as "wife," not "mother," of Raymond le Gros.

Richard.

Chapter with his dependents. Lay Prebends as well as Deans were not uncommon in the days of Queen Elizabeth. . . . Matthew Shehan [Bishop of Cloyne], in consideration of a fine of £40 . . . leased out in July 14, 1575, at the annual rent of five marks, for ever the whole Demesne of Cloyne (four ploughlands), with the lands of Killinewery, Coolbrighan, Ballybane, Kilmaclenan, Ballycroneen, and Ballycotton. . . . In order to give some colour to the transaction, it was performed in this manner:—Bishop Shehan granted the fee-farm of all the temporalities of the See of Cloyne for ever to Richard Fitz Maurice and his heirs on the above conditions. The Dean and Chapter confirmed this grant; and then Fitz Maurice, who seems to have been merely an agent, is stated to have sold his right and title to Master John Fitzgerald of Cloyne." (Vol. III., p. 2.)

The Castle and See lands were subsequently

recovered for the See, and Bishop Pooley, in 1700, finding the Castle to be old and inconvenient, built a new See House. The Castle, which seems to have been repaired by Sir John Fitz Edmund, whose initials were carved on stone thereon, stood at the South East angle of the four cross ways in the centre of the town of Cloyne, and was taken down in 1797. (Id. p. 25.) We have a vivid glimpse of the household and mode of living of the head of this line at Cloyne, in an Irish inscription on a Harp made for Sir John Fitz Edmund Fitz Gerald and his wife Ellen Barry, in 1621, which recounts the names of the Steward and the Superintendent; the Chamberlain, the House Marshal, the Wine Butler, the Beer Butler, and the Cook; two Harpers, the Taylor and the Carpenter—"Donchadh mac Teige, it was he who made me. Ego sum Regina Citherarum."—See O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," Vol. III., p. 292.

CAP. III.—SIR JAMES OF DESMOND.

Amongst the multitude of victims who in these Desmond wars fell in promiscuous slaughter under the merciless sword of the Lord General the Earl of Ormonde—"Nearer 3000 than 3," as he asserted in answer to a taunt thrown out against him for his sluggishness in the suppression of the rebellion—of none was the fate so utterly deplorable as that of the young Sir James, son of the 14th Earl of Desmond called "Of the Assemblies," a designation painfully suggestive of tastes and habits more suitable to his age and social rank than meetings of desperate and rebellious men, and the terrible scenes of a cruel civil war. Matchless in the splendour of his birth; conspicuous above all the youth of his generation for the magnificence and celebrity of a public baptism, when he was held at the font by the Queen's Deputy; destined, if all went well, to add to the wealth and power of his house power and possessions at least equal to those it already possessed; an orphan in his infancy; reared under the guardianship of a man wholly without principle, of scandalous private life, ever in rebellion himself, or encouraging it in others; forced almost from his boyhood by the sterner passions of his relatives and followers into rebellion; captured after scarcely a year of action, in which he had accomplished nothing more note-worthy than a spoil of cattle; judged without mercy, and most ignominiously executed, the brief career of this young Geraldine presents to the reader's notice a picture of the instability of human fortune rarely surpassed.

In the first year of Philip and Mary, 1553, a marriage was celebrated between Sir James Fitz John, 14th Earl of Desmond, and Eveleen, daughter of Donal-an-Drummain, son of Cormac Ladrach Mac Carthy Mor, and sister of Donal, afterwards Earl of Clancar. From a few passages of the extraordinary settlement made upon the occasion of this marriage, and which was subsequently laid before the Privy Council by Florence Mac Carthy to show his right to the Country of Desmond, through his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar, we learn that the Irish chieftain not only disinherited his brother Tadhg and his issue, and his daughter Catherine and her issue, and the female issue of his eldest son, but by settling his lands on the heirs general of the daughter about to marry the Earl of Desmond, he projected them through a strange circle of alienations, conveying them first to the house of Desmond, then to the house of Thomond, back again to the Fitz Gerald, then to the house of Ormonde, on to the O'Rourke, according to the various marriages of the successive heirs of inheritance as they stood in the entail, and finally—thanks to an entail of sterility which appeared also to form part of these settlements—back to the Mac Carthys, from whom they had been for forty years wandering around in search of a permanent heir, though in reality never for a day out of their possession. From this document we learn also incidentally two facts interesting to be assured of, and which we could not ascertain from any other source, viz., 1st. That the young Baron Valentia, the son of the Earl of Clancar, died in his boyhood a fugitive in France; and 2nd. That Sir James of Desmond, contrary to the belief of Lodge, died without issue; as also did his sister Ellen, who had married 1st, Edmund Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormonde, and 2ndly, Sir Brian O'Ruarke. In the "Reasons that Florence Mac Carthy alleged to prove that the Earl of Clancar's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife, and to his heirs," it is stated that "Donal Mc Cormac Lireh Mac Carthy Mor, father to the said Earl (of Clancar) in his life time entailed all his lands to his only sonne, the aforementioned Earl and his heirs; and, for want of such issue in him, to the heirs of James Earl of Desmond by Ellen his daughter, wife to the said Desmond, and sister to the aforementioned Earl of Clancar, and the remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Ellen [Eveleen] for ever, which is Ellen daughter to the Earl her brother, and wife to Florence aforesaid, considering that the said Earl of Clancar survived Sir James of Desmond her son, and Eleanor, wife to Edward Butler, her daughter, who both died without issue. This entail made by Donal Mc Cormac Leiry, was perfected, and diverse of the witnesses yet living that were at the perfecting thereof, in the 1st and 2nd year of Philip and Mary, and now ready to be produced." The death of the young Valentia is mentioned in an earlier passage of the document from which the foregoing is extracted.

About four years after this marriage there took place one of those imposing journeys or progresses made occasionally by the Lords Deputy through such parts of Ireland as were reduced to civility, that is, were safe for Her Majesty's Deputy to travel, for the purpose of encouraging the loyal, overawing the disaffected, and executing malefactors. To the narratives of these journeys, particularly of those made by the

Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, we are indebted for the most vivid pictures that have reached us of the status of our Irish chieftains, and of the great English nobles who had imitated them in all things—who, to the great displeasure of the Queen, spoke their language, wore their dress, adopted their laws, and assumed those rights or chiefries which intercepted the authority of the Sovereign over their followers. The journey made in the summer of 1558 by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, was one of more than usual pomp, and ostentation of power. He was accompanied by a considerable force of horse and foot, by the nobles and chieftains in amity with the government, and by their military retainers, bonies, galloglasse, kerns, and others—for it was the purpose of the gallant soldier then governing the country, to reduce to, at least, a semblance of submission various troublesome heads of septs, and to assault every stronghold along his route which should not throw open its gates at his approach. He was, fortunately, also attended by Her Majesty's Pursuivants at Arms, the Herald's Athlone and Ulster; and to the former of these we are indebted for the interesting narrative that follows:—

Carew MSS. Vol. 621, p. 20, A., 1558, July 25.—A JOURNEY MADE BY
THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

"Monday the 20th, the Deputy came through a great pass and foul way, called the pass of Carkin Kisse; he rested upon a plain side of a hill, where there were a few trees, and then there came to him the Earl of Ormond and his brother Mr. Edmund Butler, with a good sort of handsome gentlemen on horseback from his camp. All our carriages being past, the Lord Deputy went to horse, and on the way met with him the young Lord of Cahir with a goodly company; and shortly after he rested by the way, and dined. William Bourke made my Lord drink as he passed by his castle, called Carrec Kerrallois, within six miles of Limerick. Then my Lord Gerald of Desmond [afterwards the 15th Earl] and M^c Carte Mor [Donal Leyragh father of the Earl of Clancar] and Sir Maurice of Desmond [Atotane] met him with a goodly company of horsemen. On drawing towards Limerick the Deputy caused his bands of footmen to march in order of battle, their ancients [ensigns] displayed before him, he himself being in the middle ward, the horsemen behind him, and all the Irish horsemen on the right wing. Accompanied by the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Gerald of Desmond, the Lord of Cahir, Sir Henry Sydney Vice Treasurer at Wars, and M^c Carte Mor, he marched into Limerick, where at the gate the Mayor and his brethren in their scarlet gowns met him, and delivered into his hands the keys and mace of the city, which he delivered back again to the Mayor. Then the Mayor, bearing the mace, and the officers of arms went before him; Sir George Stanley, Knight Marshal, bearing the sword, until His Lordship came to the stile of St [] churchyard, where he alighted. In the churchyard were the Bishop of Limerick and the clergy in procession, and there he kneeled down, was censed, and kissed the cross, and when he rose up holy water was sprinkled upon him, then he went into the church, and did in like manner before the rood, and from thence to the high Altar, where he kneeled until the Te Deum was sung, and then offered, and so separated to his lodging in Dominick White's house. — Sunday the 26th June, in the afternoon, at the Bishop's house of Limerick was bishopped James the son of the [14th] Earl of Desmond. The Lord Deputy being Godfather, called the child's name James Sussex of Desmond; and the officers of Arms during the Bishoping, in their coats of arms, proclaimed the child James Sussex of Desmond three times: and my Lord Deputy gave to the said child a chain of gold; and after that M^c Carte Mor was dubbed Knight, and called Sir Dermont M^c Carte [his name was Donal, not Dermot], and my Lord Deputy gave unto him a chain of gold, and a pair of gilt spurs; wherefore Wolster and Athloon [the heralds] set the same on Sir Dermont M^c Carte; and he gave unto me Athloon, for his fee a double ducat of gold; and after this, the Earl of Desmond's men, horsemen, kernes, and gallowglasse mustered in the straight [street] against my Lord Deputy's coming to his lodging, they being a goodly band of men.—On Wednesday the 6th [of July] a gallowglass man was nailed to post for drawing a weapon in the camp, contrary to the proclamation: and on the 7th a gallowglass was hanged for stealing a shirt of mail. On Sunday 10th July after the high mass in the great church of Limerick, the Earl of Thomond, and all the Freeholders of the county of Thomond were sworn upon the Holy Sacrament, with all the relics of the church, as book, bell, and candle light. The Earl was sworn to forsake the name of O'Brien, and use the name and style of Earl of Thomond, and

be faithful and true to the King and Queen; and they in like case were sworn to be true and faithful subjects, to be true to their Captain the Earl of Thomond, and utterly to withstand all such as will take and usurp upon them the name of O'Brien. After this the Deputy dined with the Earl of Desmond, and remained there till Tuesday.

"Finis Quod Phil. Butler, alias Athloon pursuivant d'armes."

Barely three months after this glorification of the parents and kindred of this infant, the Earl of Desmond died, and was succeeded by his unfortunate son Gerald the 15th Earl.

Life was short in those days, and what had to be done needed to be done quickly. After nine months of widowhood the Countess remarried, with the Queen's approbation, as the reader has seen, with the Earl of Thomond. This lady's second experience of matrimonial life was of short duration, for two years scarcely elapsed before the annalists were compelled to chronicle her demise.

"The age of Christ 1560.

"The daughter of Mac Carthy, i. e., Eveleen, daughter of Donnel, son of Cormac Ladrach the wife of the Earl of Desmond in her youth, namely of James the son of John who was son of Thomas, and afterwards the wife of the Earl of Thomond, namely of Conor the son of Donogh son of Conor, a charitable, humane, friendly, and pious Countess died, and was interred in the burial place of her ancestors, namely Oirbhealach" (now Irrelagh or Muckruss Abbey, situated near the rocky shore of a small bay at the end of the lower lake of Killarney, and within the demesne of Muckruss in the Co. of Kerry.—Dr. O'Donovan).

Thus was the child of so great promise left an orphan when but two years of age. With the encomiums of the parents by the chroniclers in his recollection, the reader may understand the terrible misfortune of this infant in falling under the guardianship of Donal Mac Carthy, called by Bingham "a most vile man," and by Sir H. Sydney "a mischievous monster." On the 21 March, 1569, John Corbine wrote to Cecyl of the practices of Mac Carthy Earl of Clancar, and James Fitz Edmond with Mac Carthy Reagh and others; "The Earl of Clancar has the charge of James Mac-an-Erle the Earl of Desmond's brother, twelve years old, who would be better brought up by the Queen." As the youth grew towards manhood he received ample proof of the friendly disposition of the Queen and the Lord Deputy towards him; for Her Majesty especially interfered to compel the Earl, his brother, to surrender to him the estates bequeathed to him by his father, and which had been withheld from him; nor was this the only, or the earliest proof given of the desire to attach him to the cause of order and obedience. In a list of "Knights made from anno. 1566 to the year 1578, tempore H. Sydney, Dep." we find his name occurring in 1566. The entry is peculiar, and suggests the exercise of especial favour towards him. Immediately following the names of Sir Edward Fitton, and Sir Peter Carewe, occurs the entry "Sir James Fitz Gerald, brother to the Earl of Desmond in his ———" it is not difficult to supply the word here omitted, "in his *childhood*" was evidently intended; for the young Knight was but eight years old at the time. But the rebellious example of his kinsmen, and the influence of his brothers the Earl, and Sir John of Desmond, which was certainly not opposed by any sager counsel of his guardian the Earl of Clancar, overpowered all sense of gratitude to the Lord Deputy, and duty to his Sovereign. When his relative Fitz Maurice landed at Smerwick, and raised his standard a second time in rebellion, Sir James, with his elder brother Sir John, immediately joined him. The course of his rebellion lasted, as we have said, barely a year. The single incident in this brief career worthy of any record is his presence in the fight of Monaster-Nenagh, where, as Sir Wm. Stanley wrote to Walsingham, "The rebels came as resolutely minded to fight the battle of the 3rd [of October, 1579] at Monaster-Nenagh as the best soldiers in Europe could." Relative to this encounter of the forces of Fitz Maurice and his relatives with the Queen's troops, Sir Nicholas Malbie wrote to the same minister—"In the conflict with the traitors all their captains were slain, saving the two traitorous brethren who carried away the Pope's standard through the woods and thorns in post haste. Desmond joined his force of 600 Galloglas with 600 of his brethren, gave them his blessing, and instructions to fight on the morning of the battle, and then departed to Askeaton himself. The Earl of Clancar had a base son and many men slain there." Soon followed letters, written to England by his captors and others, detailing the wretched encounter in which the young Geraldine fell grievously wounded by the hands of his kindred, and was captured and delivered by them to the Queen's government. His entreaty to his kinsmen to strike off his head rather than

to deliver him to the enemies of his house, and his gallantry in the fight of Monaster Nenagh suggest what the youth might have been had his noble parents been spared to train him, instead of his falling into the evil hands of the reprobate Earl his uncle:—

Aug. 6, 1580.—ST. LEGER TO ORMOND.

“My dutie don to y^r L., a messing^r repaireing now to wardes you I thought it my parte to advertice yo^r hon^r of sutch matt^{rs} as are here lately befallen: Upon Thursday last the 4th of this moneth S^r Cormuck M^c Teig going to take a prey from the Rebells and beeing onwarde in his way to perfourme y^e same, there came to him intelligence that the Traitor S^r James of Desmond w^t div^{rs} oth^{rs} of his Accomplices was coming to take a prey out of Muskry. Whereuppon the said S^r Cormucke returned into his Country: In w^{ch} his returne he lighted on the said S^r James going his way w^t a greate pray, and so S^r Cormucke meeting him set uppon him, and hath taken him prisoner beeing sore wounded, and hath sleyn xiiij^{xx} men whose bodies were founde: besides sundry gent^l kild whose names I send yo^r l. here inclosed. A peece of service don, worthy of great comendation and a full requitall of his form^r slacknes: I hope this wilbe a setting on of oth^{rs} to follow his good example. The prison^r had been brought heth^r to this Towne, but y^t it is doughted if he shulde be removed, he w^old presentlye dy of his hurtes. And therefore wee have thought (he beeing in safe custody) to let him remeyn there for a tyme till he may be somewhat amended of his woundes and then brought heth^r; he greatly desired to have his hede cut of, whereby he might not be brought hether: S^r having no further matt^r at this tyme to trouble yo^r l., wth thanckes for yo^r sundry Curtezies, I humbly take my leve.

“From Corke this 6th of August 1580,

“Y^r l. at comandm^t

“WARHAME SENTLEGER.”

Addressed. “To the right hon^oable my singuler goode lorde Therle of Ormond and Ossery, lorde Thresore^r of Ireland and lorde generall of her Mat^e Forces in Mounster.”

Endorsed. “Aug. 6, 1580. S^r Warham S^t leger to my l. of Ormond James of Desmond taken sore hurt, and dyvers gent^l slayne.”

1580, AUG. 6.—P. GRANTE TO THE EARL OF ORMOND.

“Right honno^oable my humble dwetie alwaies remembred: this is to lett you^r L. to understand of suche service as was done in this com^r, [county] sithence yo^r honno^r departed from hence: first, on the xxvj of the last moneth, M^r Justice Walsh repaired to Carrebrey in companey wth S^r Cormecke M^c Teig, sherif of this com^r, where they kept cessions, and hanged one of the galleglashe that wth S^r Johne of Desmond (that traitor^r) takinge the pray of Kerrycurrehe and one oth^r that killed a man wthin 4 daies before: and then he sent for the Clandermonds^l w^{ch} were of longe tyme in warre against S^r Cormecke, and uppon thei^r cominge he made them frends of eith^r side. On the 29 of Julij aforesaid they came to Muskrey, and there kept cessions, where there was one notable rebell executed.

“Also on the saied day one Conogho^r o Mahoune being a rebell and kept xl men alwayes attending uppon him, was killed by ij cosen jermains of his owne, w^{ch} are sones to O Mahoune that now is, and his head send heith^r to Corecke (w^{ch} Conogho^r was broth^r to Teige M^c Releagey, who also is come in uppon protecc^{on}).

“More ov^r on the 4 of this moneth, S^r James of Desmond being accompanied wth ij^o men came to taik the spoile of Muskrey, and have taiken about 2000 kyne and garrans (as is reported). And S^r Cormeck undstanding of his so doeng, gathered his forces togeth^r haveing wth him both his brethren Donyll my Countie and Kallekhane, and followed the saied Traitors, w^{ch} Donyll have not stayed for his companey (being well horsed) went uppon the rebels and manfullie bracke uppon them and fyve tymes gott trough the myddest of them before his owne companey or his broth^r S^r Cormeck came at them; then uppon the comeng of the greet companey they slewe 79 perones, have taken 3 prerson^{rs}, and S^r James himself haven maney deadlie wonds, and is also taken presoner and lies at a Castle of S^r. Cormecks called Carriedroged.

¹ The sept of the MacCarthys “Cluasagh” of Clan Dermond, who dwelt “by west the Leppe

in Carbry adjoining to O'Donovane, and O'Mahon Finn.”

"There were iij of Sr Cormeekes men killed, vij soer wonded and his brothr Donyll was wonded wth a dart wch strock him under the right eare and gott sidling through his neeke vj unches, but god be thancked he shall take no harme.

"Mr. David Barrie have a good companey in aredynes to do a pece of service, and do also meane to joyne wth Sr Cormecke against the rebels, and both of them do hope in god that they will cut of verye shortlie therle and Sr Johne, or els they will lose their oune lyves if evr the Rebels come wthin any place of this countie ; And all that they do is and shalbe by yo^r L: advice unto them, and from hence forward yo^r honno^r shall not need any way to mystrwt their service.

"Cessions shalbe kept here on Monday next beinge the 8th of this moneth.

"My L. Justice hath written his warrant to the Sessor of this countie of putting in of 900 galleglash for 2 monethes.

"Also where my L. Justice did grant unto me at his last being in this cittie und^r his hand thoffice of gent^l port^lship, uppon Sr. Warhame is comeng from Lym^licke he send for me and telt me that my L. Justice wilt him to deale wth me for geveng ov^r of the same office, and that his L. did pase the same to one of his oune men wch is an English man, and sayes that by instructions come to his L. out of England he is appointed to have none in that office but one borne wthin the realme of England: yet I do stand in the matt^r till yo^r honno^r do come theith^r, not for any comoditie that I can gett by it but for the credit of the same : Sr Warhame saies for yo^r L. sake that he will not se me ov^r laied in this matt^r, and thus I most humbly take my leave: From Corcke the vjth. of August 1580,

"Yo^r honno^rs most humble servant to command.

PR. GRANTE."

Addressed. "To the Right honno^rable and my singular good L. and Mr, Therle of Ormond and Osserey, heigh L. Threesorer of Ireland and L. Generall of Mounster."

Endorsed. "Aug. 6, 1580. Grant to my l. of Ormond, Sr James of Desmond taken sore wounded."

1580, AUG. 28.—ORMONDE TO LO. DEP: GREY.

"The Copie of my L. of Ormonds Ire.

"My very good L. on the xxijth of this month I marched wth myn owne companyes of horsmen & fotmen towards Corke, and on the xxiiith of the same being at Sr Cormoke M^l. tege is house called the Blawernye he brought unto [me] the trayto^r James of Desmond brother to therle of Desmond, and on the morow after I thought good to put him to his triall in Corke, the maio^r, Sr Warham St leger, M^r Justice Welshe, Justice Meaghe and other her M^{ts} comysioners being pre^sent, he was araigned before us and Judgint geven by the Justice that he shold dye according his desertes, and after was stayd by me from execution tyll yo^r L. is pleasure be further known: he delyvered unto me [and] som of the said comysioners being present, his knowledg uppon certayne matters moved to him, as by his examynacon to that effecte subscribed by us and in my custody doth appere. As I returned from Corke I came through Atherlagh, a fast place wher I herd the trayto^r Sr John and the rest of them were, and suche of them as were ther hid them selves in the woddes, so as none of them nor ther cattell could be met wth save a fewe kyne & ploughe gerands I brought from thence, the trayto^r Sr John of Desmond (hering of my being in Monster) wth thold trayto^r pers grace, docto^r Sandres, some fewe Spanardes and others of ther men, wer afor my comyng to Atherlaghe entered into a pece of my contrey, burned 2 villages there, toke the spoile of them and slewe some Kerne & husbandmen of myn that folowed to rescue ther goodes: after this they went throw ossorye quietly wthout resistance to assault my brother Pers dwelling in thabbey of leix, and toke all the cattell ther and burned a towne of myn called balliosker,

"From Kilkeny the xxviiith. of August 1580, Yo^r. lo. fast assured

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORIE.

Addressed. "To the right hono^rable my very good L. my L. Deputie."

SR. WARHAM ST. LEGER TO MY L. FROM CORKE.

"My humble dutie don to yo^r L. a shippe departinge hence for England I think my parte to informe yo^r hono^r. of the state here.

"Morgan is appoincted to keepe Youghall w^t a hundred men, I was commanded by the Lorde Generall to remeyn here, as charged w^t Sr James of Desmond, who (by direction from the lorde deputie) I caused to be hanged drawn and quartered at the gates of this Towne on Munday last: who yeilded to godward a better end, then otherwise he woulde have don, if he had not dyed y^t death.

.
 "From Corck the 9th of October 1580 Yo^r l. to commaunde
 "WARHAM SENTLEGER."

Addressed. "To the right hono^rable my singular good Lorde the lorde Burghley lorde high Thresure^r of England in haste poste haste for life."

Endorsed. "9 Octob. 1580.

"Sr. Warham St Leger to my l. from Corke Advertisementes of y^e State of that Cuntry Thexecucōn of James of Desmond."

The same pen which had recorded the virtues of his parents, has recorded also certain particulars of the last few days of the existence of Sir James of Desmond, which afford to the Christian reader consolation so great as to deprive even the brutal details of his execution of much of their terrors:—

"James himself was taken, and sent to Cork to be imprisoned. He was (confined) nearly a month in this town, daily preparing himself for death, doing penance for his sins, and asking forgiveness for his misdeeds. At the end of that time a writ arrived from Dublin from the Lord Justice and the Council, ordering the Mayor to put that noble youth to death, and cut him in quarters and little pieces. This was accordingly done."—Annals of the Four Masters, 1580.

Thomas the 10th Earl of Ormonde, whose name has been before the reader throughout all the previous pages, was the most conspicuous of the personages to whom the rule of Ireland was intrusted during the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a brave and upright man, but regarded human life with a shameful disrespect, as the long lists sent by himself to the English Privy Council, of persons put to death by him during his command of the royal forces, but too manifestly prove. He died on the 22nd of November, 1614, at his house at Carrick,—“the Carrig” which we have seen assaulted and made prey of by the Seneschal of Imokilly. He was aged 82, and had been blind for the last few years of his life. He was thrice married, 1st, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, by whom he left no issue, and from whom he was in 1564, not without reason, if we may attach belief to the following letter from one of his friends, divorced:—

"It is fully agreed that from the first day of August next, there shalbe no Coynnoe nor Lyvery used in the Countie of Tipperarie, but the same to be governed and defended in Inglish sort and order, the copie of the devise wherof I have sent to youre wourship herinclosed. My L. of Ormonde and my Ladie his wife be devored from bed and borde, I have ever hitherto (upon good respectes) favored her cause, but nowe uppon hir L. departure into Inglande, my L. hathe disclosed unto me such letters past betwixt hir and one Morgan more, and Mansfielde, importing so great folye as I feare she hath deiserved to have fewe frendes or none in this case, (God comfort hir and give him grace to be worthie of a chast wife), thus beinge loothe to trouble youre wourship, I make an ende.

.
 "From Whits halle, this xx day of Julie, 1564. Yo^r owne to comaunde,
 "NICHOLAS WHITE."

Addressed. "To the right wourshipfull my good frend Sr Thomas Wrothe, Knight."

Ormonde married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield, who died in 1600, by whom he had two sons, neither of whom outlived him, and a daughter Elizabeth; and thirdly, Helena, daughter of David Lord Buttevant, by whom, who survived him, and lived till 1642, he had no issue. He was succeeded in the Earldom by his nephew Walter, son of John Butler of Kilcash, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Cormac na Haoine Mac Carthy Reagh.

CAP. IV.—THE SUGAN EARL OF DESMOND.

When placed, by the death of James Fitz Maurice, in the undisputed possession of his Earldom, James Fitz John occupied himself in restoring tranquillity to his people who had suffered so much in his cause, and his father's. His first care was to effect his reconciliation and theirs with his sovereign; his overtures were received in a friendly spirit, and he became, and continued thenceforward an obedient, nay, a zealous subject of the king, and a wise counsellor to the Lord Deputy in all matters concerning his own province. The despatches that reached the king during the whole continuance of the Earl's life were such as had been rarely before written from Munster. On the 22nd of December, 1551, Sir James Croftes wrote to Sir W. Cecyll, "That which I have spoken of the Erle of Deccomonde is true, as you shall p'ceyve by l'es wrytten to me, and one other, the cōpyes whereof I sende you, that you may iudge wth me how noble a man he is maide by the Kings Ma^{tis} goodness, w^{ch} before lawles lyved, without any good rule or ordre, and nowe in justice none more severe then he; for his eldest sonne the Lorde Garrett taking a prairie from an Irysheman adioyning to his cōntrey, and beying in the Castle of Dublin, at my cōmaundment, both for restitution, and for his pōnnyshe^mt, hath sent me word that I sholde nether spare to pōnnyshe hym, nor any other that offendyd with him; a rare thing to fynde suche a father in these p'ties."

A similar account of the Earl's conversion to loyalty, and certain wise suggestions by which this loyalty might be best encouraged; and at the same time a sad description of the poverty to which this great Earl was reduced by the long desolating struggle for the succession, was presented to His Majesty by the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger:—

"According to my moste bounden deutie it may please your most Excellento Majestie to be advertised that immediately after the wryting of my laste letters to your Majestie, I repayred to a castell of your Highnes cauled Caterloghe, where I hadde before appoynted to kepe the Christemas aswell for th' establisshemente of the Cavenaghs as the Omores and other Irisshe^men beyng borderers to the same your castell, where resorted to me the saide Cavenaghs and Omores with meny other Irisshe^men aswell to do ther dewties for the honour of your Highnes to me a poore man, your Deputie, as also to have redres of wronges comnytted amonges them. Wherin I truste to God suche order was taken by me and the Lorde Chancellor here (who hathe this jorney and in all other sythe my repayre into this lande taken greate paynes) as redoundethe to the honour of your Majestie and the quyet of the cōntrey. And ther taryeng till the Monday after New yeris day, I, with my fellows the Commissioners and the saide Lorde Chancellor with your saide Counsell ther being, wente towards James of Desmonde, first taking with us the Erle of Ormonde, who in the sayde progres made me and my saide fellowes grete chere. And so having before sente to the saide Erle of Desmonde he advertised me that he wolde upon pledges for him resorte to me towards the cety of Casshell, whereunto I with the saide Erle of Ormonde and the reste of your Counsell repayred and sent eftsones to the saide James who was not paste 10 miles thence. He required to have the Erle of Ormonde in pledge for him which I wold not agre unto, but sent the Archebishop of Dublyne, Mr. Travers, Master of your Ordinance, and a brother of my owne, who remayned for hym, in pledge, and so he cam to us to the saide Casshell, where after dyverse overtures to hym made and declaring how good and gracious your Majestie hadde bene unto hym, we advised him bothe to submitte hymselfe to your Majesties obedience according his naturall dutie, and also to make moste humble sute for your moste gracious pardon whiche I had redy to be delyverid unto hym upon resonable conditions whiche I and my fellowes wolde exhibite unto him. Wherin we founde the saide Erle moste willing to submitte him selfe according our advice. And for that we were not ther in place propice, we departed from thence to one Sir Thomas Butleres howse, where we fully concluded with the saide Erle of Desmonde making his humble submission in maner and fourme as may appere to your Majestie by the copie of the same herin inclosed. And in presence of McWilliam, O Chonor and dyverse other Irisshe gentilmⁿ to the number of 200 at the leste, he knelyd down before me and moste humbly delyverid his saide submission, desiring me to delyver unto him his saide pardon granted by your Majestie; affirming that it was more gladd to hym to be so reconciled to your favours then to have any worldly treasure, protesting that no ertely cause shoulde make him fro' hence forthe swarve fro' your Ma^{tis} obedience. And after that done I delyverid to

hym your saide moste gracious pardon, whiche he moste joyfully accepted. And then consydering the grete variance betwene the Erle of Ormonde and him concerning the title of the Erldome of Desmonde, the saide Erle of Ormonde having maryed the doughter and generall heier of the ondoubted Erle of Desmonde and this man pretending but as heier male, I and my fellowes thought it not good to leave that cancor remayne, but so labored the matter on bothe sydes that we have brought them not only to a fynall ende of the saide title, but also themselves have concluded betwene them a crosse mariage to be hadde betwene ther children, ether bounde to other in the som of foure thowsande £ sterling to perfourme the same, and sworne before us upon the Evangelistes to consarve the peace and to joyne as subjectes ought to do in the service of your Majestie. Whiche matters being ther finissed I and your saide Chancelor and Master Cavendishe your Commissioner departed from thence, at requeste of the saide Erle to a towne cauled Kylmalocke where I thinke none of your Graces Deputies cam this hundreth yeris before, where he made us very good chere and toke my comyng and thers thethir in so kinde parte, that he openly declared that if I wold desire him to go to London to your Majestie, he wolde gladly do the same. And thus tarieng with him 2 daies in the saide Kylmalock as well to survey serten your landes ther as also to fulfill his requeste, he and we with the ladie his wife wente to your Highnes city of Lymerycke, wher mette with us the Erle of Ormonde and ther we taryed 8 daies as well to pacefie sarten matters of variance depending among the citezins there as also to parle with O'Brien, who is the gretest Irisshe man of the west of this lande, who cam to the saide cite and ther remayned with us 3 daies, in whiche tyme we moved hym to conforme himselfe to your Majesties obedience upon serten articles; wherunto he requyred, for as miche as he was but one man, all though he were capytayne of his nation, that he moght have time till Shrofetide to consulte with his kinsfolke and frendes and then to make answer to the same accordingly, but for his own parte he didde not deny your Highnes to be king of all Irelande. But it lyked him nothing that we wolde not permitte him nether to buylde his brydge upon the Shenon, nor yet suffer him to have those Irisshe men upon his peace that be upon this side the same rever, whiche he pretendid hadde bene upon the peace of his predecessors and were wonte to be upon his peace and now be upon your Highnes peace. For I showed hym playnly that rather then he shold have libertie in any of the bothe I wold be at warre with him as long as it pleased your Ma^{tie} to permitte me. As I here of his answer I will God willing advertise your Majestie accordingly. And if he do not com to honeste conformite I truste with your Highnes supportacion to sette little by his malice and all the frendes he can make, for the Erle of Desmonde and Erle of Ormonde, McWilliam, and Donoghe O'Brien being your Highnes faithfull subjectes as I truste I may now call them, O'Brien shall have little powar to anoye your subjectes here. I assure your Majestie that sithe my repaire into this your lande I have not herde better counsell of no man for the reformation of the same then of the saide Erle of Desmonde, who undoubted is a very wise and a discrete gentilman and as farre as we can possible perceive a man moste rejoycing the attaining of your favours that is possible to be. And we were so bolde upon your Majestie to swere him of your counsell. And being among us declared that the variance betwene hys auncestors and the Erles of Ormonde hadde bene the only cause of the decay of that lande and of your subjectes and the grete increase of the Irisshe men whiche he now trusted shuld be clerely extirped, so, that bothe he and they mought now concurre in the sarvice of your Majestie, he will not faile God willing to be here at Dublyne at the Parliamente. Wherefore if it may please your Majestie to geve unto him parliamente robes and some apparell, whereof he hath grete lacke and not furnisht with substance to buye the same, his contrey as yet being in maner wasted with the warres, it shal be to him a grete comforte. I as a poore man gave unto him gowne, jackette, dolette, hose, shertes, cappes, and a riding cote of velvet, whiche he toke very thankfully and ware the same in Lymerycke, and in all places where he wente with me. In the brynging in of this man a servante of your Majesties called Edmonde Sexten hath taken greates paynes, moste humbly beseeching your Highnes that he may perceive by your gratus letters that ye take the same in good parte. For syche thinges as the saide Edmonde was accused to your Majestie it apperithe upon the examination thereof that it miche procedid of malice.

"There is also one M^cGillapattricke who is lorde of a faire contrey called Upper Osserie, that, at my firste being here, &c., &c.

"From your Highnes manor of Kylmaynan besides Dublin, the 21st of Februarij.

"Your humble servante and subjecte,

"ANTHONY SENTLEG^r."

Superscribed. "To the king His moste Excellente Majestie."

The document placed by the Earl of Desmond in the hands of the Lord Deputy, and despatched by him to the king, was a formal declaration of allegiance, of his readiness at all times to obey the King's Majesty in all things, as any other Earl in Ireland was held to do, and to respect the rights of his neighbours, Irish and others, which neither his own ancestors, nor any other Earls, were much in the habit of doing. From this detailed instrument of allegiance we learn that "syns the beheading of his grandfather [Thomas the 8th Earl] in Drogheda, coming to a Parliament ther holden," all the Earls his successors "had ever claymed to have priviledge and exemption to apaire in no Parliament ne grande counsaill to be holden in this lande: nether to come within walled town under the king's obedience."

This privilege he now renounced for himself and his heirs for ever. Smith, the historian of Cork and Kerry, informs us that James the 7th Earl of Desmond was suffered, during the government of Richard Duke of York, who was his gossip, and of Thomas Earl of Kildare (his kinsman), to raise upon the king's subjects the Irish impositions of Coign and Livery, Cosherings, Bonnaghts, &c. Notwithstanding those illegal extortions, he procured license dated Aug. 11, 1445, twenty-two years before the execution of his successor at Drogheda, to absent himself from all future Parliaments, only sending a sufficient proxy in his room. Thomas the 8th Earl of Desmond was said to have been the first who introduced these extortions amongst the king's subjects, and it was under the pretext of punishing him for doing so that he was beheaded at Drogheda, whither he had been summoned by the Deputy to attend Parliament. Why the later Earls of Desmond held so firmly by the privilege, accorded to James the 7th Earl, of absenting themselves from all Parliaments, and from attendance, on any pretext, on the King's Deputy within any walled town, the document of allegiance signed by James Fitz John ascribes to its true and sufficient cause.

Several years of bitter party warfare and the desolation of all Munster had resulted from the disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, and the disputed succession itself, from a marriage disapproved of by the great body of the Geraldines, and believed to have been contracted within the prohibited degrees of kindred. Maurice, the son of Thomas the 12th Earl, had married the daughter of the White Knight, and it was solemnly declared by James Fitz John, the nephew of Thomas, in a letter to the king in support of his own claim, that the contracting parties were cousins germain. This assertion remains, as far as we know, uncontradicted, and it is certain that the chief supporters of James Fitz Maurice, the offspring of this marriage, were the Mac Carthys, to whom he had allied himself by his marriage with a daughter of Cormac Oge, the Lord of Muskerry, and the authorities who, above all things, sought to prevent disturbance in Munster, and who desired to settle the matter by due course of law; and his chief opponents, the great body of the Geraldines, who considered the marriage null, and the fruit of it illegitimate. Upon the irregularity of this marriage depended the justice of the claim of James Fitz John to the Earldom, when Thomas the 12th and John, calling himself 13th Earl, were gathered to their fathers. This long and fiercely contested dispute was settled, not by course of law, nor in accordance with the wish of the king, but by the sword. James Fitz Maurice was slain by his uncle, Maurice Dubh, and James Fitz John found himself without a competitor; but unfortunately he found himself in precisely the situation which had cost the unhappy Fitz Maurice his Earldom, and his life. He too had married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity; and it was not to be expected that his sept, and their allies, with their passions barely subsiding after their long and fierce quarrel to avert such a stain from the blood of their chieftain, would submit to allow the succession to pass to an heir similarly stigmatized. James Fitz John had made a marriage, probably more abhorrent to his people than his uncle Maurice had done; he had married, not indeed his cousin germain, but his grand niece. His brother, Black Maurice, had several daughters; one of them had married Maurice Roche, Lord Fermoy, and it was her daughter whom James Fitz John had married before the outbreak of the late war for the succession, and by whom he had already a son, his supposed heir. The Earl could not fail to see before him a prospect of the repetition of all the terrible struggles through which he had himself passed, and the probable repudiation of his son. Yielding to the exigency of his situation, and doubtless under pressure of the opinions of all around him, he put away his unfortunate wife, declared the marriage null, and his son illegitimate, and immediately married afresh. His second wife was a daughter of O'Carroll chieftain of Ely O'Carrol, and by her he had a son whom he immediately declared his heir. The King and his Irish Government, wearied also of a civil war which they had not the power to suppress, and profiting by their past experience of the little attention paid to their wishes in the mode of settling such clan quarrels, at once accepted the decision of the Earl.

From this time forward James Fitz John met with no further obstacle to the tranquil enjoyment of his Earldom, either from the government, or the allies of the deceased claimant; nor did he himself cause any further anxiety to the king, or the Lord Deputy. The rival house of Ormonde had no longer any legitimate cause of open enmity, for the Earl of Desmond had become extremely loyal; it may even be presumed that the great rancour of the ancient rivalry had been, in some measure mitigated, for James Fitz John finding himself a second time a widower, espoused Catherine, a daughter of Pierce Earl of Ormonde, at the time widow of Richard Lord Poer. Soon after the death of James Fitz Maurice, when all opposition to him had entirely ceased, the Earl repaired to England to pay his homage to his Sovereign, from whom Mr. Lodge informs us that "he met with a princely reception, and entertainment; was honoured with the post of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and was admitted into the Privy Council." He was one of the ablest Earls this great race had produced.

In the course of his long life he was four times married. His first wife was, as we have mentioned, Joan, daughter of Maurice, Lord Fermoy, from whom he was divorced; by her he had a son, afterwards known as Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald; his second wife was More, or Maud, daughter of Sir Molroney O'Carroll, Lord of Elye O'Carroll, and by her he had two sons, and four daughters. The sons were Gerald, his successor, and Sir John of Mogeely, killed in his brother's rebellion by Captain Zouche in 1581, whose only daughter Ellen was, according to Lodge, married to Donal Mac Carthy. The daughters were Ellice, married to James, Viscount Buttevant; Margaret, to Thomas, Lord Kerry; Ellen, to John, Lord Poer of Curraghmore; and Honora, to Donal Mac Carthy Mor, Earl of Clanear. His third wife was Catherine, the second daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde, widow of Richard, Lord Poer; by her he had no issue. The last of his wives was Eveleen, daughter of Donal M'Cormac Ladrach Mac Carthy Mor, and sister of the Earl just mentioned, by whom he had a son, James Sussex Fitzgerald, who shared the common ruin of all his race; and a daughter, Ellen, married first to Edward Butler, and secondly to Sir Brian O'Ruark. She died issueless. James Fitz John lived to an extreme old age, as did his brother, Black Maurice, and as his father John, the de-facto 13th Earl, had done. He lived through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, and died on the 14th October, 1558, within a month and a few days of the demise of the last-named sovereign, and was buried at Askeaton. No eulogy could be desired for him greater than that recorded by our Irish Annalists to his memory. "The loss of this good man," they say, "was woful to his country."

At the death of James Fitz John, the Earldom of Desmond passed, without a contest, to Gerald (the Great Rebel); and the son of the first marriage, called Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, after a few vain appeals to Queen Elizabeth, and an idle protest against the great injustice done to him, sunk into an obscure privacy; but in due time he married, and had two sons and a daughter. The daughter married Donald Pipi MacCarthy Reagh; the sons were James, called, in early life, James Fitz Thomas, but better known by a designation fixed upon him in unjust contempt, the Sugán Earl; and John, who, after his brother's death, assumed the title of Earl of Desmond, and passed the latter years of his life in honoured exile in Spain. As soon as the elder of these brothers became of an age to comprehend his position, he joined his father in a renewed appeal to the Queen for the restitution of what they considered their rights; he even repaired to the Court, where he met with some encouragement, and obtained a promise of some small yearly allowance for his own maintenance. When the Earl, his uncle, burst into rebellion, neither he nor his father, Sir Thomas, joined him; on the contrary, James, according to his own showing, took part, though a not very important part, against him. When the Earl was slain, and universal ruin fell upon the entire race of the Geraldines, the feeble appeal of the sons of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald were again heard, but were speedily drowned in the great clamour of the undertakers. The vast territory of the Fitz Gerald's was parcelled out into signories amongst adventurous English gentlemen, from whom more loyalty was expected; and the few Fitz Gerald's, against whom no treason could be proved, were permitted, through Her Majesty's great clemency, to retain the lands they had inherited. In 1598 a tempest of war again burst over Ireland, and, to use the words of the Annalists, Munster became again "a trembling sod." The undertakers, as might have been expected, instantly disappeared. The Earl of Ormonde wrote to the Queen, early in October:—"At my coming to this province (Munster) I found that all the undertakers, three or four excepted, under Your Highness correction, had most shamefullie forsaken all their Castelles, and dwelling places, before anie rebell came in sight of them, and left their Castells with their munic'ons, stuff and cattell to the traytors, and no manner of resistance made."

The Queen's Governors were shut up within the walls of the towns in which they resided, and O'Neill, the victor of the Blackwater, was acknowledged as supreme ruler of Ireland; his first proceeding with regard to Munster was to desire James Fitz Thomas to assume the title of Earl of Desmond, and to cause a rising out of all the Geraldines; or to make way for John, his younger brother, to do so. No one can be surprised at the readiness with which Fitz Thomas obeyed this summons. Before long he found himself at the head of 8000 well-weaponed men, in part his own followers, in part Bonough's hired, or sent by O'Neill, and officered by his own followers. The history of this severe struggle for the possession of Ireland is too well known to require further notice of it here, where the purpose chiefly is to present the reader with certain less known passages in the biography of the Sugán Earl. The same stern man, Thomas Earl of Ormonde, who had extinguished the previous rebellion in the blood of Gerald the Fifteenth Earl of Desmond, was charged by the Queen with the suppression of this. The earliest encounter between the Queen's Commander-in-Chief and O'Neill's was of a pacific nature; an interchange of polite letters—the salute of courteous swordsmen before entering upon deadly duel.

The letter of Fitz Thomas was a truthful and firm, though respectful protest against the injustice done to him and his father, and to many of his name and race, and his determination now to right himself and them :—

October 8, 1598.—THE EARL OF ORMONDE TO JAMES FITZ THOMAS.

“James Fitz Thomas, Hit seemed to us most strange when wee hard you were combined and ioyned wth theis Leinster Traytors lately repayed into Munster, considering how your father Sir Thomas alwaies continued a dutifull subject, and did manie good offices to further Her Ma^{ties} service; from w^{ch} course if you should degresse, and now ioyne wth those unnaturall traytors, we maie think you very unwise; and that you bring upon yourself your own confusion. w^{ch} is thende of all traytors, as by daylie experience you have seene; wherfore wee will that you doe p^{re}sently make your repaire unto us whersoever you shall hear of our beinge, to lay down your griefes and complaints, if you have anie; and if you stand in anie doubt of yourself theis our P^{re}s shall be for you, and such as shall accompanie you in your cominge and retorning from us, your safeties; and further on your drawinge nere the place where wee shalbe we will send you safe conduct for you.

“THOMAS ORMOND & OSSERY.

“Given at the Campe of Cowlin, 8 Oct^r 1598.

“Wee need not put you in mind of the late overthrowe of the Earle your uncle, who was played, wth his p^{re}takers, by fier, sworde, and famine; and be assured if you p^{re}ceede in anie trayterous actions you will have the like end. What Her Ma^{ties} forces have done against the King of Spaine, and is hable to doe against anie other enemye the world hath seene, to Her Highnes immortal fame; by which you maie iudge what she is hable to do against you or anie other that shall become traytors.”

Superscribed. “To James Fitz Gerald.
Geve theis in hast.”

JAMES FITZ THOMAS TO THE EARL OF ORMONDE.

“R^t Hon: I received your Lo^s P^{re}s, wherein yo^r Lo. dothe specifie that you think it verie strange that I shoulde ioyn in ac^{on} wth theis Gentⁿ of Leinster. It is soe that I have ever at all times behaved myself dutifullie, and as a true subjecte to Her Ma^{ties} as ever laie in me; and as it is well known to yo^r Lo. I have showed my willingnes in service against my uncle, and his adherents, wherbie I have bin partiele a meane of his destruction. Before my uncle's deseace it maie be remembered by yo^r Lo. that I have bin in England from my Father, cleamege title to his inheritance of the House of Desmonde, which is manifestlie known to be his righte; wherupon Her Ma^{ties} hath p^{re}missed of her gracious favour to doe me iustice upon the deseace of my uncle, who then was in ac^{on}, and haue allowed me a marke sterling p^{re} diem towards my maintenance, untill Her Ma^{ties} further pleasure were known, of w^{ch} I never receaved but one year's paie; and euer since my uncle's deseace I could gett no hearinge concerninge my inheritance of the Earldome of Desmond, but have bestowed the same upon diuers undertakers, to disinherite me for euer; haueing all this while staid

myself in hope to be gratuslie dealt withall by Her Ma'tie, seeinge no other remedie, and that I could gett no indifferencie, I will followe by all the meanes I can to maintaine my right, trustinge in the Almightye to further the same.

"My verie good Lo: I haue seene so manie bad exsamples in seekinge of diuerse manie gentⁿ bluddely false and sinister accusacions, cutt off and executed to deathe, that the noblemen and chief gentlⁿen of this province cannot think themselves assured of their lyues, if they were contented to loose their landes and linings; as for example, Redmond Fitz Geralde uppon the false informac'on of a scurfey boy for safegard of his leif, was putt to death, being a gentⁿ of good callinge, being three score years of age, and innocent of the crime charged wthall. Donoghe M'Craghe alsoe was executed uppon the false informac'on of a villainous Kerue, who wthin a sevennight was putt to death wthin yo^r Lop^s Libertie at Clonmell, who tooke uppon his salvac'on all that he said against the said Donogh was untrue, that he was subborned by others. Of late a poore cosen of ours, James Fitz Morris of Mochollopa, is so abominable delt wthall uppon the false informac'on of an Englishman accusinge him of murder, who neuer drewe sworde in anger all the daies of his liefe, and is manifestlie knowne that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like. Pierce Lacie who was an earnest seruitor, and had the killinge of Rory McMorrogho, and the apprehension of Morrogho Oge, till he left him in the goale of Limerick, and after all his seruices was drinen, for the sauegarde of his leif, to be a fugitiue. To be brief wth yo^r Lo. Englishmen were not contented to haue our landes and linings, but unmercifullie to seeke our leives by false and sinister meanes, under cullor of lawe; and as for my p'te, I will preuent it the best I maie.

"Committinge yo^r Lo: to God, I am yo^r Lo^s. loveinge cosen,

"JA: DESMONDE.

"From the Camp at Carrigrone, 12 Oct^r 1598."

Superscribed. "To the Right Hon. my verie good Lo: and cosen the Earle of Ormond and Ossery, Lo: Lieut. General of Her Mat's forces wthin the realme of Ireland, theis to be deliuered."

Between the date of this correspondence and the date of the letter containing tidings of the writer's capture there was an interval of three years and a few months—years of indescribable misery for Ireland, of unsparing conflict between the native chieftains and the authorities—a conflict carried on and completed by such policy and exploit of war as no pen can so clearly and candidly relate as the pens of the parties engaged in them. When Sir George Carewe was shut up within the walls of Cork or Limerick, with the Sugán Earl of Desmond, and several thousand "bonies," in possession of all the open country and its fortresses and every inlet and outlet of Desmond closed by the forces of Florence MacCarthy, and the province swarming with the soldiers of O'Neill, under Dermot O'Connor, and others of his captains, the following letter was despatched by the Lo: President to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

The project it contains, like various similar projects of the writer, called "drafts" in the language of the day, is related with a matchless candour and ingenious detail:—

AUGUST 17, 1600.—CAREWE TO CECYLL, FROM LIMERICK.

. . . James McThomas direction of his letter is 'To the R^t Honourable his very good cosin the Lo: Mac Carty More,' w^{ch} title before he leaue itt, will cost the Queane more crownes then Desmond is worthe, and therefore it is worthe of consideration.

"2049 [Sir George Carewe] found out one called Nugent, who promysed him to do Her Ma'tie seruice uppon the person of John McThomas; he was imprest by 2049 [Sir George Carewe] wth a horse, a pistoll, some municion, and £10 in money. Nugent wth a resolued intent did purpose to kill him wth his pistoll; and the same day that I had viewed Loughgier Nugent and John McThomas came thither; there was also one Coppinger, sometime a footman to Sir Walter Raleghe, unto whom Nugent did reveale his purpose, and promised him faythefullie to assist him in the enterprize. Not long after, John McThomas departinge thence towards Arlowe woods, hauinge but onely these two above-named on horsebacke, and 2 footmen with him. Nugent tooke his pistoll in his hand, tellinge Coppinger that now he woulde kill him; and as he was ready to shoote, Coppinger snatcht his pistoll out of his hand, and cried Treason! Nugent spurringe his horse to have escaped, by misfortune his horse stumbled, and so he was taken; and wthin 2 days (after he had, by Coppinger's accusacions, beene enforced to confess that he did acqaynt 2049 [Sir G. Carewe] with his enterprize), he was fayrelie hanged; of whose deathe there is no great losse, for he was but a protected traytor; and I doe thincke he woulde, uppon the least occasion, have relapsed. 2049

[Carewe] denies his knowledge of the pretence, and for my parte I am ignorant of it. 129 [Dermot O'Connogher] hath sworne to perform the service. 1070 [the Archbishop of Cashel] dothe follow it vehementlie. 2049 [Carewe] woldd willinglie impart the circumstances unto you, but I do forbid him, for feare of interceptinge of his lettres; for albeit the passage betweene Limericke and Corke is open, and free from any great force, yet the countrey swarms with stragglinge rebells, and neutral companions that robbe all the messengers they meet wthall to get intelligences."

The project which 1070 [Miler M'Grath, the Archbishop of Cashel] was following vehemently, met with no better success than the project of Nugent; it was a project for the capture of the Sugán Earl, and it terminated in a manner altogether unexpected and distressing; for the Archbishop had lent two of his sons to fall into a preconcerted ambush: the "bonies," into whose hands they fell had not been admitted into the mystery of the project, and the two young men were roughly handled, stripped, plundered, and put into handlocks till their father should ransom them, which, as the Archbishop piteously represented to Sir R. Cecyll, it cost him £300 to do; a sum which he was not—so he said—possessed of, which he had to borrow, and for which he was constrained to pay £30 yearly.

The incident of the capture and rescue of the Sugán Earl of Desmond, here alluded to, has been passed by with slight notice in these pages because it has been related with much detail in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, works in the hands of all men; but this notable scheme of Sir George Carewe to possess himself of the person of the Earl, which needed for its entire success only the means of conveying him, when captured, from Castle Lishin to Cork, through a country in the possession of the Geraldines and their allies, and swarming with their bonaghts, is related with even more detail by Carewe himself in his correspondence with Sir Robert Cecyll.

The following passage from the *Annals of the Four Masters* presents us with a crowd of Fitzgeralds who flew to the rescue of their chief, not all of whom are discoverable in their precise places in the *Genealogical Charts* accompanying these pages:—

ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS—A. D. 1600, p. 2173.

"As soon as the Geraldines had heard of the capture of the Earl, and the perilous position in which he was placed, the descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald collected from every quarter, on a certain day, to the neighbourhood of *Caislen-an-Lisin*. Thither repaired Mac Maurice of Kerry, *i. e.*, Patrickin, the son of Thomas, son of Edmond; the Knight of Kerry, *i. e.*, William, the son of John, son of William; the Knight of Glin, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John, son of Thomas; the White Knight, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John; and the brother of the Earl himself, viz., John, the son of Thomas Roe, and a gentleman of the Burkes, whose name was William, the son of John of the Shamrocks."

Circumstances over which Carewe had little influence were in the mean time reducing the armed force of James Fitz Thomas to numbers so small that the Lord President no longer submitted to so restricted a frontier as the walls of Cork; and he wrote to Cecyll that, "were it not for that fool Florence MacCarthy, whose designs he much distrusted, and who had so placed his people and Bonaghts as to be able, should he venture into the open country, to cut off his return to Cork, he would go at once to Limerick." When in much perplexity how to proceed, Carewe learned that so many of the Earl's Bonaghts had been withdrawn from him by O'Neill, who was himself hard pressed by the Lord Deputy, that Fitz Thomas no longer deemed it prudent to occupy the open country, and was sending portions of his force into the fastnesses of Arlow. It was whilst himself engaged in this march, with a divided force, and encumbered with baggage, that a body of cavalry, detached by Sir George Thornton, under Captain Grame, surprised him. It would seem that panic seized them, for they were scattered at once, and with little resistance. The whole force broke and fled; their baggage was all abandoned, and multitudes of them slain. From that day the Geraldines never rallied again to any purpose. The Earl dismissed the remainder of his followers, and determined to remain himself in hiding till the following Autumn, when he had full assurance of the arrival of the Spanish expedition, which was preparing, as was well known to all men. But it was no part of the design of Carewe to allow the fugitive this period of security, and the Geraldines' opportunity for the reassembling of their forces. No wise discouraged by past failures, in which the penalty of ill success had fallen only upon those who had, for sufficient consideration, encountered the risk, the Lord President meditated other "drafts," and sought other implements for their accomplishment. So fertile a mind so abundant a choice of "draftsmen," and such ample means as were found in the Queen's

Exchequer, could scarcely fail of success at last. The history of the next "draft" drawn against the Sugán Earl is related by the parties themselves engaged in it, in language equalled in its candour and detail only by the previous narrative relative to Nugent and his employer:—

FROM PACATA HIBERNIA, LIB. 2, CHAP. 3.—ANNO DOM. 1601.

"There was no man of account in all Mounster whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earle, still lurking secretly within this Province, promising very bountifull and liberall rewards to all; or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten alive or dead, every man entertained these proffers, as being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought, but at last it happened after this manner. The Lord Barry having one hundred men in pay from the Queene, employed them many times about such service, as either the President should command or himselfe thought requisit; and namely about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one Dermond Odogan, a Harper dwelling at Garryduffe, vsed to harbour this Arch-rebell, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had been made in his countrey, the thieves making towards this fastnesse, his souldiers pursued them into this Wood, where, by good fortune, this supposed Earle with two of the Baldones, and this Dermond were gathered together, being almost ready to goe to supper; but having discovered these Souldiers, they left their meat, and made haste to shift for themselves; they were no sooner gone out of the cabbin, but the souldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a mantle (which they knew belonged to James Fitz Thomas), they followed the chase of the Stag now roused: By this time the Harper had convaied the Sugán Earl into the thickest part of the Fastnesse, and himselfe with his two other companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the souldiers, and left the wood with the Lapwing's policie; that they being busied in pursuite of them, the other might remaine secure within that Fastnesse, and so indeed it fell out; for the Souldiers supposing that James Fitz Thomas had bene of that Company, made after them till evening, by what time they had recovered the White Knight's Countrey, where being past hope of any further service, they returned to Barry Court, and informed the Lord Barry of all those accidents. On the next morning, the Lord Barry, glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom he hated, hasteth to the President, and relating unto him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the Arch traitor had made, and that if the White Knight's people had assisted his Souldiers, he could not possibly have escaped their hands: Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who being called before the President, was rebuked with sharp words and bitter reprehensions, for the negligence of his Countrey in so important a business, and was menaced, that for so much as hee had undertaken for his whole Countrey, therefore hee was answerable, both with life and lands, for any default by them made.

"The White Knight receiving these threatnings to heart, humbly intreated the President to suspend his judgement for a few dayes, vowing upon his soule, that if the said Desmond were now in his Countrey (as was averred) or should hereafter repair thither, hee would give the President a good account of him alive or dead, otherwise hee was contented that both his Lands and Goods should remaine at the Queenees mercy; and with these protestations he departed. And presently repairing to Sir George Thornton, hee recounted unto him the sharpe reproofs, which from the President hee had received; Sir George finding him thus well nettled, tooke hold of the occasion, and never left urging him to performe the service, until hee had taken his corporall oath (upon a booke) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same. As soone as he was returned to his house, he made the like moane unto some of his faithfullst Followers, as hee had done to Sir George Thornton, and to stirre up their minds to help him in the perill hee stood; hee promised him that could bring unto him word where James Fitz Thomas was, hee would giue him fifty pound in money, the inheritance of a Plough land, to him and his Heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedoms.

"One of his Followers, which loved him dearly, compassionating the perplexity hee was in, But would you indeed (said he) lay hands upon James Fitz Thomas, if you knew where to find him? the Knight confirmed it with protestations. Then follow me, said he, and I will bring you where he is. The White Knight and hee, with six or seven more (whereof Redmond Burke of Muskry-quirke was one), presently upon the nine and twentyeth of May tooke horse, and were guided to a Caue in the Mountaine of Slewethgort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deepe in the ground, where the Caytiffe Earle (accompanied onely with one of his foster brothers called Thomas Ophieghe) was then lurking.

"The White Knight called James Fitz Thomas, requiring him to come out and render himself his Prisoner. But contrarywise, hee, presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coeming to the Caues mouth, required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight (for both hee and they were his naturall followers), but the wheele of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the Caue, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who carried him to his Castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to Sir George Thornton, to pray him to send some of the Garrison of Kilmallock to take the charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine Francis Slingsby, who, marching with his Company to Kilvenny, had the Prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir George Thornton, and Captaine Slingsby brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle, adjoining to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his servant it may be doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from Her Majestie for the service.

"The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Towne, appointed him lodging and a keeper within Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, until he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councill, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interested in his Lands, but by Act of Parliament, and also his brother John was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earldome of Desmond.

"When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, James Fitz Thomas, into Captaine Slingsbey's custody, he told him, now the house [*sic*, perhaps a misprint for "horse"] is yours, take care and charge of him."

The same evening that the White Knight had performed this great service, he wrote an account of it to Carewe; and, without loss of time, Carewe passed on the welcome intelligence of it to the Lords of the Privy Council:—

A. D. 1601, MAY 29TH.—THE WHITE KNIGHT TO CAREWE.

"My dutie most humble remembreth to yo^r good Lo. being not unmyndfull of the great chardge yo^r Lo. gave me divers tymes, for the seeking out of James Fitz Thomas, and especially when nowe last I was at Cork, I have, both to satisfie yo^r Lo. as also to manifest my willingness to doe my Prince service, all this while endeavoured my selfe to enquier after the said Ja. for compassinge of w^h purpose I protest to yo^r Lo. I could tak noe rest, for I thinck if any other should take him but my selfe, my harte would burst. I came in conference wth the harper, Dermot O'Doan, John Shannyghane the priest, and the Baldons, whom yo^r Lo. knoweth to be the last releavers and company, privately offeringe eurie of them p'teculerlie to have her Ma^{ties} mercy and favor extended to them, their wiffes and children, wth other great rewards, about w^h matter I spent a long tyme, yet eurie one of them dyd put me of, taking their ots they knew not whear the saide James was at all. Yet I found them p'tured therein because nowe I know the priest and Doan was that very day wth him. Well when that way failed me, I brought before me all those of my country that I moste trusted and that I knewe to have loved me most. I fell into private conference wth eurie of them p'ticulerly, shewinge them what great danger was lik to ensue to me & my country unless I had don some service upon James Fitz Tho., who alwaies was founde to be bordering upon my country. Wherefore they weare to be suspected for him. And the more to procure them to ventur themselves for me in my extremitie, I published amongst them that Sir George Thornton was bonnde for me body for body to appear at the next Cessions. Wherupon I eftsones praied them as they loved me & my country, & to avoyd such great inconvenience, that they would wourck all the meanes they could to learne me newes of the said James, to w^h eurie one answered that they knewe nothing of him at all.

"At last seeing me in that p'plexitie, one whom I protest I least suspected of all my country, came to me a little before supper, and told me that the said Ja. and one Thomas Roe Offeighie, lay at such a cave or denn be Slevgrott. I unwilling to looss my opportunitee, seing it pleased God to send me such good newes, repaired thither prettly wth a very few Company, and being right ou^r the said cave or den, sent down 3 or 4 men, whose fyndinge them there, James retourned me one fourth, putinge me in mynde of his kyndred, and praigne me not to remember him at that tyme for any harme he dyd me before, promysinge to make greate amends hereof, and that he was sure to be well hable to performe it wthin two monethes. for that he should have, or that tyme 6000 men well provided wth amuni-

tion and other necessaries in Mounster, wth many other unreasonable offers w^{ch} should be to my greate profietie. When I would not accept any thinge at his hands, but told him that he was nowe her Ma^{ty}s prison^r, then began he to raile at me, and laboured my followers and servants to forsake me and take his p^{te}, and that he would reward them lardglie with landes for their posteritie for ever, and other gifts of great value, wherof he failed, as of the rest. This is the maner of his takinge, havinge him and the saide Feighie in my safe keeping w^{thin} my Castell, to be presented to her Ma^{ty}s and as I have p^rformed this w^h manie other principall services heretofore for her Highnes, even soe doe I hopp that this shall not be the last. I sent to Sir George Thornton to Kilmallock p^rsentlie to bring me a good garde of horsse and foote to leade him to yo^r Lo. to Corck, tomorrowe. Even soe humbly tak my leaue, resting yo^r Honor's ever to doe yo^r L. service.

"Kilmeheny this evenynge, being the 29th of May, 1601.

"EDD: GYBBON."

A. D. 1601, JUNE 3.—CAREWE TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"It may please yo^r L^{is}. the 29th of May (being the next day after the date of my last to yo^r L^{is} hearwith) the White Knight (by me employed and earnestly spurred on to repaire his former errors) did his best endeours w^{ch} (I thank God) had the successes desired. For the day aforesaid havinge notice by his espyalls wheare James Fitz Thomas (the usurping Erle of Desmond) laye hidden w^{thin} his contrye in the mountayne of Slewgrott, in an obscurer caue many fathomes under the grounde, upon intelligence wth such companie as then were in his howss wth him, not being of weaponed men above 8 in nomber, repaired to the place, discovered and there tooke him, and one horseman more who attended him, and brought them to one of his owne castles, from whence S^r George Thornton wth a good garde conveyed them them safe to my hows, where in Irons he remayneth, out of the w^{ch} I dare not els trust him to be kept, being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sortes (as well in this towne as in the contrey), that in my life I have ever known.

"I cannot sufficiently comēd unto yo^r L^{is} this dutifull act of the White Knightes, who p^rformed the same more in respect of his dutie to Her Ma^{ty} then for the benefit of the £400 head money proclaymed, and presently to be paide, for the doinge wherof he was not ignoraunt to purchase to himself the generall malice of the Prouince, wherby his desert is made the greater, and (but by himself) I protest unto yo^r L^{is} I do not know any man in Mounster by whom I might have gotten him. Neither may I leave unrecōmended unto yo^r L^{is} the dilligent and painefull endeou^{rs} of S^r George Thornton, who next unto the Knight himself, hath best deserved, being the chieftest and most effectuell instrument by me employed herein, and therefore (as well for their incoradgmets to p^rsevere in doinge Her Ma^{ty}s service as to move others to forward the same) I most humbly besech yo^r L^{is} that in her Ma^{ty}s name, you wolde take p^rticular notice of yt, and by yo^r L^{res} to give them the thanks they deserue. For this traitors hope (notwthstanding all the miseries w^{ch} in his tyme of distress he hath sustayned) was nothing abated; every day expecting either by Irish or Spanishe ayde (w^{ch} ayde from Spayne (as he tells me) he was confident to receive before harvest) to be no lesse hable to mentayne the warrs then in former tymes; assuring yo^r L^{is} that he was the most potent Gerraldyne that ever was of any of the Erles of Desmond, his auncestors, as may well appear by the numbers of Prouincials p^rdoned and cutt short since my cominge hither, as also by the numbers of the Bonnoughtes by me from time to time banished.

"The manner of his apprehension (for yo^r L^{is} more p^rticular satisfaccō) is expressed in l^re of the White Knightes unto me w^{ch} herewith I send yo^r L^{is}.

"I once purposed to have sente the arch traitor by this passage into England; but upon better considera^ōn (wherof I hope yo^r L^{is} will give good allowance) I do stave him for a tyme, and by the same do hope to avoyde all inconveniences that may happen; for yf he should dye before he come to his tryall (as the judges heare informe me) the Queene (but by Act of Parliament) can not be interested in his lands; and also his brother John (by the same reason) is not by the lawe debarred from the title w^{ch} this Pretender holdes to be good, to the Erledom of Desmond: for theis reasons (by their opinions) I have resolved to have him arraigned, and adjudged heare, and then do thincke yt meete he be sent unto England, and left as yo^r L^{is} shall please to dispose of him. And because yt is likewise by the lawyers told me, that a man condemned in this Realme cannot, by the ordinary course of Lawe, upon the same Indictment

be executed in England, I purpose to send with him 2 or 3 indictments ready drawne with sufficient matter, by w^h he may be there at all tymes arraigned.

"The reasons that induceth me to send him lyvinge into Englande are grounded upon an appaunt dowt concealed that as soone as this Archtreator shall be executed, his brother John will ymediatly assume the title he did, and prehaunce therby prove no less powerfull than this traytor hath bin; whereas (whilest he lyves) he cannot make any pretence to move the naturall followers, and dependaunts of the hows of Desmond to assist him; likewise I hold yt (under reformac'on of yo^r graue judgments) to be very dangerous to contynue him any long tyme prisoner in Irelande, beinge (as aforesaid) so exceedingly beloved as he is, not daringe to comit him into any hands, owt of myne owne.

"G. CAREWE.

"Cork, 3^d June, 1601."

When safe, and in irons, in Carewe's own house (Shandon Castle), out of which he dared not else trust him to be kept, so exceedingly was he beloved of all sorts, overtures were made to the captive by the Lord President, with the purpose of making him, in exchange for a promise of life and Her Majesty's grace, an instrument for the capture or killing of even a more powerful rebel than he had himself been; but the first care of Carewe became, as the reader has seen by his letter of 3rd June to the Privy Council, to have him arraigned and adjudged, without which the lawyers declared Her Majesty could not, except by special Act of Parliament, be interested in his lands. It was the custom both of Carewe and Cecyll in their correspondence, to accompany their despatches to and from the Privy Council, with letters sometimes absolutely private, sometimes intended for communication to particular members of the ministry. The letter of the 3rd June was to the Privy Council; on the day following, Carewe wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll a letter which contained a foreshadowing of one of those notable inspirations of statesmanship which Carewe at times forced upon trial, and failure, in spite of the reluctant concurrence of Cecyll, and occasionally of the opposition of the Queen herself:—

JUNE 4, 1601.—CAREWE TO CECYLL.

"The titularye Erle, my prisoner, is very confident of there cominge (the Spaniards), w^{ch} made him to lead the miserable poore lyfe he did, in hope to be of greater abillitie to continew the warre then at the first; yett he is muche reserved in his speache, and will hardlye discourse anythinge that may advaunce Her Matie's service; but after a fewe dayes I doubt not but to make him him speake more freely."

The interval between the 4th and the 18th of June, when Carewe wrote next to Cecyll, was spent in the endeavour to teach his prisoner the necessity of freer speech. In the first hours of his captivity Fitzthomas had written to the President a letter or "Relation," which will be presently laid before the reader, in which he made such apology as he was able, in palliation, as far as it might serve, of his joining the rebellion which others, not he, had commenced. Two inducements chiefly are pleaded why his life might be spared; one plainly intended for the consideration of Carewe and Her Majesty's ministers, viz., "that his life would be of more value to the State than his death." And the other an appeal to the heart of the Queen—"He defied any Englishman to charge him with hindering him either in body or goods; but as many as ever came into his presence he conveyed them away from time to time." To this Relation of Fitz Thomas no allusion is made in the letters of the 3rd and 4th of June, of which portions are before the reader, its enclosure is not even mentioned in either of them; but in another letter of the 4th June, from Carewe to Cecyll, he says, "he had yesterday sent him by Patrick Crosbie four packets;" of these two only are in the Record Office, and doubtless it was in one of the missing packets that the enclosure of the Relation was announced, and, in all probability, Carewe's judgment of its contents, and some detail of his project regarding O'Neill, sent with it. But the letter of his captive was by no means such a document as with a little further negotiation he hoped to obtain from him. By the 18th of June he was able to write to Cecyll—"James Fitzthomas is arrayned and adjudged. I would have sent him and Florence [Mac Carthy] this passadge, but I hope every day to heare out

of England to know Her Mat^{ties} pleasure; but yf the winde do settle in the West I will send them presentlye unto Her Mat^{tie}, beinge the best presentes that Mounster affordes." Although this letter speaks so positively of sending his prisoner away to England as soon as the wind should serve, he was deep at the time in negociations with Fitz Thomas for the furtherance of a scheme by which he hoped to secure, alive or dead, the person of O'Neill. Hence no sooner had he penned that paragraph of his letter in which he promised the early despatch of his prisoners to England, than he added—"James M^c Thomas, to redeeme his owne lyfe, promises by his brother John, and Pierce Lacye, to gett me Tirone alyve or dead. I have putt him in confident hope thatt upon thatt service done, thatt the Quene will be gracious unto him; and thatt I may haue the bettre ground to moue them to performe the same, I do beseeche you that I may haue a lettre from Her Mat^{tie} unto me to assure them thatt uppon accomplishinge the service uppon Tirone thatt James M^c Thomas shall be sure to lyve, and be sett at libertie; and that his brother John and Pierce Lacye shall be likewise pardoned."

This proposal of Carewe, which he calls a promise of his captive, to get for the President Tyrone alive or dead, reads like the promises of Walker, or Atkinson, or Combus, or a score of others, for the drawing of such a "draft" upon the great northern rebel as the President was most familiar with. How else than by assassination could the captive's brother and Pierce Lacy, the parties to be employed, both at the time fugitives, and living under the protection of O'Neill, expect—even were they willing (which Carewe seems to have considered a matter of course and certainty, but which no action in the life of either warranted him in supposing) to effect the overthrow of that powerful chieftain? It is remarkable that Carewe should have considered this wild project so practicable as that he urged the Queen to promise life and pardon to the man who had kept Munster in rebellion for nearly four years, and for whose apprehension Her Majesty was under engagement at the time to pay a thousand pounds to the White Knight. Whatever may have been the precise nature of the President's negociations with his prisoner, two months passed away, so persistent was the wind in not settling to the west, before anything more was said about sending him to England.

In the vindication of the character of a man who openly acknowledges his hiring of assassins to remove an adversary otherwise beyond his reach, no one can take any interest; but to rescue from a calumnious accusation the fame of one who, apart from the matter of his rebellion, ever proved himself an honourable, truthful, and humane man, is by no means a matter of the same indifference. It is not absolutely impossible that between the writing of his "Relation" on the 3rd, and the 18th of June, when Carewe wrote that he had promised to procure for him O'Neill alive or dead, the prisoner may have promised the capture, or the murder, of the great Northern chieftain; but it is absolutely impossible to believe, without other evidence than the assertion of Carewe, that he did so. All that we have in evidence of what Fitz Thomas did promise is contained in the "Relation" itself. Not a syllable therein has reference to any attempt upon the liberty or life of O'Neill; and even the undertaking to procure the submission of his brother and Pierce Lacy was conditional upon their receiving assurance of life and freedom. As to the nature of the proposal made by Carewe there remains no ambiguity; nor would there be any as to the manner of its reception by Fitz Thomas, but for the assertion of the President to Cecyll that he had promised to accomplish it. However the matter may have been, or on whatever portion of it the negociations fell through, whether he himself became at last conscious of its impracticability, or whether his prisoner shrunk from some one or other of its conditions, it is certain that by the 13th of August the scheme of the Lord President was abandoned; for on that day he wrote to Cecyll that Fitz Thomas was but a "dull spirited traitor;" and, as the wind served at last, he had made him over to Sir Anthony Cooke for conveyance to England, and the Lords might dispose of him to their liking:—

CAREWE TO CECYLL. CORK, 13TH OF AUGUST, 1601.

"It may please your Honnour, the 6^t of this monethe I dispatched a packett unto you, but the wynde served nott to deliver att sea untill the nynthe. In thatt I wrote thatt by the nexte James Fitz Thomas and Florence M^c Cartie should be sente prisoners into England, w^{ch} now is done by this bearer Sir Anthony Cooke your

kinsman, &c. I do likewise send you the examinations of James FitzThomas; he can say little of any worthe, being but a dull spirited traytor, and understandinge no more of his owne business then by his counsaile was put into him. Before S^r Anthony wth his chardge do com to London, I humblye pray you to send a direction whither he shall carry them, thatt they may be disposed of to their Lordships' liking.

Your Honors humbly to serve you

GEORGE CAREWE."

There remains now but to lay before the reader the "Relation" of the Sugan Earl, not precisely as it is printed in the "Pacata Hibernia," but complete, with the sole observation accompanying it by Carewe, and its endorsements, as the reader may see it now amongst H. M. State Papers. Connected with this document is an incident which this writer thinks will have some interest for his reader, though it had evidently none for the author of that history. When the letter left the hand of the prisoner, it was with a signature entirely different from that which it now bears: it was signed "James Desmond." In this Carewe discovered an assertion of his right to the Earldom, and sent it back to be signed otherwise. The unhappy captive had used the signature familiar to him during the three prosperous years of his rebellion. The reader has seen in the letter which Fitz Thomas had written to the Earl of Ormonde, at the commencement of the outbreak in Munster, that when the great rebel his uncle was living, and it was the policy of the English ministers to promote disunion amongst the Fitz Gerald, a promise had been made to him by the Queen that "Justice should be done to his father in the matter of his inheritance, as soon as the usurping Earl of Desmond should be overthrown;" but when the Earl's death occurred, the temptation of so huge a forfeiture as the lands of nearly all the Fitzgeralds, caused the royal promise to be forgotten; but the justice of his father's claim to the earldom had been acknowledged, and a pension promised, and for a quarter of a year paid, in pledge for the fulfilment of such promise. And when, at the demise of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, his rights passed to his eldest son, there remained to him no other signature, unless he consented to abandon the Queen's promise and his own birthright, than the one he attached to the Relation which he penned from his prison, and which Carewe rejected. It is remarkable that the President, whose sharp sight so readily detected a claim to the earldom in that signature, should have failed to discover the same claim, and in words identical, in the very first line of the same document:—

RELATION OF JAMES FITZ THOMAS. 2 OF JUNE, 1601.

"The relation of me James Desmond to the Right Honorable S^r George Carewe L. President of Munster, moste humbly beseechinge yo^r Ho: to certefie her Ma^{tie} and the LLs of her moste honorable Counsell of the same, hopinge in the Allmightie that her Highnes of her accustomed clemencie and mercie, by your intercession, will take moste grations and mercyfull consideration therof, to the ende that her Ma^{ty}s realme of Ireland shall be the better planted and maynteyned in good Government by his release.

"Fyrst it maye please yo^r Ho: to consyder that this action at the begynninge was neuer pretended intended nor drawne by me nor by my consent, but by my brother John, and Piers Lacye hauinge the oathes and promyses of dyuers noblemen and gent of this Prouynce to maynteyne the same, and not ever consented unto by me untill S^r Thomas Norreys lefte Kylmallocke, and the Iryshe forces camped at Rekele in Connolloghe wher they staye 5 or 6 dayes, the moste parte of the country conynginge and adioynninge to them, and undertoke to holde wth my brother John if I had not come to them. The nexte sessions (before theis proceedinges) at Corke, S^r Thomas Norreys arrested me in persone there, for my brother, he beinge then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall pryson for him, untill I made my escape, by this the intent of S^r Thomas Norreys beinge knowne, the fear and terrification thereof drewe me into this action. And had I byn assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in pryson for my brothers offences, I had never entred into this action. Farther I was bordered wth moste Englishe neighbours of the gent of this Prouynce. I defyce any Englishe that can chardge me wth hynderinge of them ether in bodie or goods, but as many as ever came in my presence I conuayed them awaye from tyme to tyme.

"Also it is to be expected that the Spanyshe forces are to come into Ireland this sommer, and O'Neile will sende up the strongest armye of northerne men into Munster wth my brother John, the L. of Lixnawe, and Piers Lacy; and when they are footed in Munster the moste parte of the country will adioyne unto them. Preuentinge this, and many other circumstaunces of service, the sauinge of my lyff is more beneficiall for her Matie then my death, for if it may please her Matie to be gracious unto me I will reclayme my brother, the L. of Lixnawe and Piers Lacy if it please her Matie to be gracious unto them, or ells so dylligently worke against them wth her Maties forces and yo^r dyrections, that they shall not be able to make heade or styrr at all in Munster, for by the sauinge of my lyff her Highnes will wynne the hartes in generall of all her subiectes and people in Ireland, my owne seruice, and contynuaunce of my allyance in dutyfull sorte all the dayes of their lyffs.

"Farther, I moste humbly beseeche yo^r Honor to foresee that there are three others of my sept and Race alyve. The one is in England my unkle Garrett's sonne, James, sett at lybertie by her Matie and in hope to extend her Matys fauour; my brother in Ulster; and my cozen Morishe Fitz John in Spayne; wherwth it may be suspected that ether of theis if I were gone, by her Matys fauour might be brought in credyte and restored to the house. It maye therefore please her Matie to be gracious unto me assuringe to God and the worlde that I will be trewe and faythfull to her Matie duringe lyff, by w^{ch} meanes her Matys Gouernment maye be the better settled, myself and all other my allyance for euer bound to praye for her Matys lyff longe to contynue.

[“JA. DESMONDE,

originally written here, but struck out.]

“JAMES GYERALLDE.

"He first signed his name James Desmond, w^{ch} I sent backe unto him and then he blotted it out and hath written his name in a hand nott accustomed nor yett wth the orthographic w^{ch} before he assumed the name of Erle he wrote, w^{ch} was Fitz Gerralde whereby itt appears how loathe he is to leave the name of Desmond.

“GEORGE CAREWE.”

Dorso, in Carewe's hand. “James M^r Thomas, 1601.

Superscribed. “For Her Matys especiall Affayres,
To the R^t Honorable the LLs and others of Her
Matys Honorable Privie [Council]. George Carewe, 3 Junii 16[01].

Dorso, in Cecyll's hand. “June the 3rd, 1601, Lo.
President of Munster, to the LLs. R[ecieved] the
7th, at Greenw^{ich}. S^r G. Caro.

In seeking a signature that would not wound the loyal susceptibility of the Lord President, the prisoner did well not to fall back upon “the one he had used before he assumed the name of Earl.” He had borne that as long as his father lived, but at his death it ceased to be his legitimate signature; and when he submitted to an order which he had no means of resisting, rather than re-assume it, he invented the one of which a facsimile is now presented to the reader (see plate, p. 101, *supra*). Some traces of the name rejected by the President, which he had borne during the brief period of his rebellion, when, to use the words of Carewe himself, “he was the most potent Geraldine that ever was of any of the Earls of Desmond his ancestores,” are still discoverable under the heavy mass of ink with which he endeavoured to efface it.

Of the two other facsimiles which accompany that of Fitz Thomas, one, that of the Queen's Earl, was to the writer as great a novelty as that used for the first and only time by his cousin, then in Shandon Castle. He too had been a captive, and had had to unlearn the signature of his boyhood. For more than twenty years he had been known as “Mr. Garrolde,” although he had been allowed to sign himself “James Fitz Gerald,” and had been taught by his Tower schoolmaster to write it in the clear, scholarly, calm characters which he subsequently used when allowed to assume the designation which his cousin was forced by Carewe to relinquish.

The third of these facsimiles was the signature of a man who, if we may credit Russell's narrative or the history of O'Daly, was the most heroic Geraldine who ever bore that illustrious name! He is familiar to the reader of the history of his time as "the Arch-Traitor;" but as the bearer of the name now before the reader, he is not recognizable; and yet that signature contains in itself an epitome of his political career. It has been seen in the earlier pages of this memoir that his hopes for the overthrow of English rule in Ireland depended mainly upon his procuring a foreign force for an invasion of the country; that to obtain this he had visited most of the Catholic Courts of Europe, and had been received with especial favour and distinction in Spain and Italy, and that from the Pontifical States chiefly he had procured the force which had landed at Smurwick, and which after surrender Lord Grey had deliberately, and in cold blood, butchered. It was in furtherance of his endeavour to obtain foreign aid that he adopted the tradition accredited beyond the Alps, of the Tuscan origin of his race, and assumed a signature such as the more vividly recalled, and more appropriately fitted, the resumption rather than the initiative of a project of the invasion of Ireland, which had been matter of treaty in times not far remote, and which he could represent but as suspended by the death of the eleventh and the domestic troubles of the twelfth Earl of Desmond his ancestors. He signed his name precisely as a cadet of a noble Florentine or Neapolitan family, with whom the Norman "Fitz" was not in use, would have then written, or would now write it; not "Fitz Maurice," nor "Fitz Gerald," nor "James Gerald," but "James of the Geraldines," or, as in the facsimile, "de Geraldini." It is to be noted that the date of the Sugan Earl's signature given in the plate is incorrect; it should read 1601 instead of 1607.

With the great "draft" successfully drawn by the White Knight, and a similar one by Carewe himself upon Florence Mac Carthy, and "the despatch of these two counterfeit Earls of their own making" to be dealt with in England, the connexion of Carewe with his captives terminated; their after life is to be sought for in the records of the great English State prison, the Tower of London; that of Florence Mac Carthy, lasting forty years longer, was ever before the Queen and her successors; for as long as he lived he employed himself in composing endless appeals to Cecyll and to a numerous succession of Secretaries of State after him, in constant demands to be brought to trial "for that no charge had ever been made against him," in unwearied justification of himself, "to the great displeasure of my Lord Clopton" [Carewe], and in a manful fight, from his ever changing prisons, with a multitude of squatters, titled and others, upon his lands. But of his fellow-prisoner, the unfortunate James Fitz Thomas, from the day the Tower gates closed behind him, a single incident only is discovered that may enable us to measure the mind of the man who had undertaken to overthrow the authority of the Sovereign, and to drive the English out of Munster. The Tower bills, which would doubtless have revealed to us the expenses of the last illness of the Sugan Earl, and the cost of his funeral, and of some slab, if any were placed to mark his grave in the Chapel vaults, have perished; and it remains matter of uncertainty how many years his dreary captivity lasted; some say eight—some twelve; but fortunately the accounts sent to the Treasury for diet, &c., of the prisoners at the time of their arrival at the Tower have been preserved, and from them we learn the effect upon the mind of each of them of sudden solitude and of a hopeless future, coming quickly upon the downfall of great fortunes. The bodily health of both gave way; the stronger mind stood firm, the weaker wavered, though we may hope but for a while:—

"The demands of Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Tower of London for one quarter of a year from St Michal's day 1602 till the feast of our Lord God next:—

"For Florence Mc Carthy—

"For the diet and charges of Florence M^cCarthy for the foresaid
12 weeks and 8 days, at 5^s 4^d per week 33^{li} 6^s 8^d

"For his washing, and to the Barber, for Apparel and other
necessaries 7^{li} 3^s 6^d

"Item for physicke, Surgeon, and one to attend him in his sick-
ness 8^{li} 7^s 3^d

"For James Mc Thomas—

"Sayd tyme at 3^{li} per week, physicke, Sourageon, and Watcher with
him in his Lunacy."

Other similar bills, sent in quarterly till Lady-day, A. D. 1604, are extant, at which time both prisoners were removed—one to the Gatehouse, and thence to the Fleet, and the other to the Marshalsea:

Mr. Lodge asserts that the Earl died in 1608, and was interred in the Chapel of the Tower, having been attainted the 10th of March, 1600. He married Ellen, daughter of the White Knight, but had no issue. The few particulars that have reached us of the after history of John, the brother of James Fitz Thomas, and of the biography of Garrett, the son of John, the last of the direct male issue of James Fitz John, will not be without interest for the reader, more especially as it chanced that the last descendant of this princely race found himself dependant upon the patronage of the writer who placed them on record—one of the humbler of the followers of his house—for the title which established his social position, and enabled him to obtain service in the army of the Emperor, in which his life was spent.

widow of
Maurice
elder brother
of Edmund
the

"John sailed away for Spain, and lived there for some years; but in a fashion no wise adequate to his princely birth. The King, urged thereto by the envy of his courtiers, allowed him but a very slender pension, forgetful, as it would seem, of what was due to a child of the great Geraldine. He soon afterwards died, leaving a son who was called Garrett, whom the King of Spain, at my instance, promoted to the dignity and title of Count. . . . The loved youth, created Count, at my instance, did not tarry long in the land of Spain; the scanty pension allowed him by the King was not commensurate with the dignity and rank which belonged to the heir of Desmond. In fact he saw that many Irish, then at the King's court, were preferred to him, and these were men who could not dare to compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore, choosing rather to trust to fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and taking service in his Cæsarian Majesty's army, served him well and chivalrously for three years; but at last, when he had the command of a strong town, then besieged, he was called on to surrender; this he refused to do, choosing rather to die of starvation than betray his trust. Thus did his career terminate."

In concluding his history, and striving to account for the "overthrow and extermination of the Geraldines, notwithstanding all they had endured for religion," the historian can only attribute it to the inscrutable ways of God; but he points to three principal crimes which he suggests may have brought Divine vengeance upon them. 1st—The murder of James Fitz Thomas (9th) Earl of Desmond, in his castle of Rathkeale, as some suspect, by his brother John; 2nd—The horrid murder of James Fitz Maurice, by Maurice Duv; and 3rd—All the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed against the Mac Carthys. (O'Daly's "Hist. of the Geraldines;" translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan).

Mr. Lodge writes that the son of John (Garrett) died in Germany in 1632 leaving no issue; "so that," he adds, "in him ended the heirs male of the four eldest sons of Thomas, the 8th Earl of Desmond." In concluding this very brief memoir of James Fitz Thomas, it may be permitted to repeat the passage from the letter of his captor, which contains an epitaph not unworthy of the last of these great Anglo-Irish Earls and Chieftains. "He was brought," says the Lord President, "by Sir George Thornton, with a good guard, to my house, where, in irons, he remayneth; out of the w^h I dare not els trust him to be kept; being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sortes (as well in this towne as in the country) that in my life I have knowen."

CORRIGENDA.

PAGE 154, line 56, *for* "Geraldines'" *read* "Geraldines."

— 158, line 33, *for* "Matie's" *read* "Matie's."

X

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