

Nov<sup>7</sup>tis me de consensu et assensu decani et capituli n<sup>r</sup>i sc<sup>i</sup> Canici Kilkenie concessisse et hac p<sup>n</sup>ti carta n<sup>r</sup>a confirmasse Thome Vnch civi n<sup>r</sup>o Kilkenie duo Burgagia jacentia iuxta viam publicam que extendit v<sup>s</sup>us domū frat<sup>r</sup>ū predicator<sup>z</sup> ex p<sup>te</sup> boriali, cū v. acris terre in tenemento n<sup>r</sup>o Kilkenie ad d<sup>ca</sup> burgagia p<sup>n</sup>inent' q<sup>d</sup> Johes le Messag' aliquando de nobis tenuit. Habend' et tenend' de nob' et successorib<sup>9</sup> n<sup>r</sup>is sibi et heredib<sup>9</sup> suis vel assignatis libere et quiete integre pacifice et hereditar' cū oib<sup>9</sup> libertatib<sup>9</sup> et liberis consuetudinib<sup>9</sup> ad libera burgagia ville n<sup>r</sup>e Kilkenie spectantib<sup>9</sup> reddend' inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui vel assignati nobis et successorib<sup>9</sup> n<sup>r</sup>is duos solidos argenti ad duos anni terminos vz xij<sup>d</sup> ad festū Michaelis et xij<sup>d</sup> ad festū pasche et ecclie sc<sup>i</sup> Canici Kilkenie dī fi ceree in d<sup>cto</sup> festo pasche pro oī servicio exaccione et demando. Et ut hec n<sup>r</sup>a donacio concessio et chart' confirmar [ . . . . ] firma et stabilis impetuū p<sup>r</sup>everet' p<sup>r</sup>sent' scr [ . . . . ] sigillū n<sup>r</sup>ū una cū sigillo comuni dict' capituli n<sup>r</sup>i fecim<sup>9</sup> apponi hiis testib<sup>9</sup>," &c.

The Bishop Hugh who granted this charter may have been, Hugh de Mapilton, who sat from 1251 to 1256. It cannot date later, however, than the time of his successor, Hugh III., who filled the See from 1257 to 1259.

*(To be continued.)*

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EXTRACTS FROM THE IRISH CORRESPONDENCE IN  
H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.

COMMUNICATED BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

My promise of resuming extracts from the Irish State Papers requires to be fulfilled, in order to draw the attention of our readers to the extent and interest of these documents, soon to be made more apparent by the publication of the first Calendar of them, which must be deemed a great boon to our archæologists, and to all who feel interested in the history of our country. This voluminous catalogue is a digest of the earliest papers, extending from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. to the close of the year 1573; and the quantity of the state correspondence and documents indexed may be imagined from the facts that this Calendar comprises 536 large octavo pages, and that the folio volumes of MSS. thus catalogued are forty-three in number, for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. The reigns of her predecessors are, unfortunately, less fully illustrated, the papers of Edward VI. being contained in four volumes, and of Queen Mary in two, while the memorable times of the Eighth Henry are developed by a series of twelve manuscript

tomes, most part of which has been published. The Calendar has been admirably compiled by Mr. Hans C. Hamilton; and the existence of this printed index must, in affording means to students of the history of Ireland to refer to our State Papers, be deemed a serviceable step towards Irish archæological free trade. There can, of course, be no doubt that this publication will be followed by facilities for research and for obtaining transcripts; and whenever these facilities are accorded, the regret that such important materials towards a complete History of the British Empire are not accessible, as expressed by the late Mr. Tytler, the historian of Scotland, in the preface to his excellent work, will give place to a sense of the public benefit conferred by opening our Irish historical state treasures, and to a hope that time will soon bring forward some one gifted with the talents and tastes required to produce a valuable History of Ireland, for the period embraced in the eventful reigns of the Tudor dynasty. Taking a narrower view, it is agreeable to see that the publication of many curious Irish documents in the State Paper Depository will increase the growing pleasure taken in our national antiquities. Our Society has already been enabled to publish a small portion of these documents, the details of which, while adding to our knowledge of the general history of their times, often illustrate and group around the topographic history of particular places and families, in lights and forms of new and pleasing interest. In order to convey ideas of the nature of these documents, I give the ensuing notes of several, which relate to our archæologic district, and are well worth publishing. The period selected from is the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign:—

1558, Nov. 28. Orders made at Waterford, by the Lord Deputy Sussex and Council, for the reformation of the country called the Decies, under the rule of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald.

1562. The correspondence and accounts of this and subsequent dates respecting the lead and silver mines in the county of Wexford.

1562. A document, comprehending twenty-four articles, specifying the miserable state of the English Pale, delivered to the Privy Council by certain students of Ireland, among whom were Gerald Wesley, John Talbot, William Bathe, Henry Burnell, Christopher Fleming, and Richard Netterville. With the Earl of Sussex's answer, and other papers thereon.

1562, Oct. Sir Thomas Barnewall, Sir Patrick Hussey, the Baron of Navan, and other gentlemen of Meath, to the Queen, demanding to pay a certain tax, in lieu of cesses for the maintenance of the viceregal household, garrisons, &c.

1563, April 16. The citizens of Cork, as to the state of the city, undefended from pirates.

1565, Feb. Deposition of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord of the Decies, respecting the conflict near Dromana, between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond.

1565, April. Marshal Sir George Stanley, relating at full the proceedings respecting the late conflict between these Earls.

1565, June 22. Privy Council to the Earl of Kildare, thanking him for his good service against the O'Mores and O'Conors.

1565. Letters of Craik and Daly, Bishops of Kildare.

1565, July 8. Petitions of Sir Owen O'Sullivan, to the Queen.

1568, Nov. 29. Suit of Kedagh, son of Rory O'More, sometime Captain of Leix.

1565, Dec. 2. Articles by Oliver Sutton, Gent., of Richardston, county of Kildare, relative to the state of the Pale.

1565, Dec. Petition of Catherine, widow of Captain Cuffe, ancestor of the Earl of Desart.

1566, Feb. 24. Sir W. Cecil to the Viceroy, recommending Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, in whom he sees good parts, and wishes his neighbours were all as civil as he seems.

1566. Petition of Cormac O'Conor, of Offaly, on his return from Scotland, to the Queen; of George Parysh, Gent., on his return from Scotland; and of James Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, for the fee-farm of Dusk Abbey, for Fertnegeragh Priory, and for Shanevest village, county of Kilkenny.

1566, Dec. Particulars of the value of Tintern Abbey, county of Wexford.

1568, Jan. 8. Examination of Cahir O'Conor, showing his treatment whilst travelling in the country of the Earl of Desmond and others, he being a proclaimed traitor. A very interesting document, exemplifying the manners of the times.

1568. Examinations of the Earl of Desmond and his brother Sir John. The Earl thinks he might challenge authority to rule all Geraldines in Munster, and conceives that, in all cases betwixt two Geraldines, he ought to be their judge. These ideas were based upon the seigniorial authority of seniors of clans.

1568, July 13. Grant to the Grace family.

1568, Sept. Attack on the O'Carrolls, by Edward Butler. Various documents respecting it.

1569, April 18. Sir Nicholas White, as to the state of Waterford, 1100 poor relieved on Good Friday.

1569, June 10. Deposition of Richard Stafford, as to expressions of Stucley undutiful to her Majesty, in presence of himself and William Hore. The accused, the notorious pirate, adventurer, and political traitor, Captain Thomas Stucley, of the Devonshire family, of whom the present representative has recently been created a baronet, had been charged by Masterson, Constable of Ferns Castle, with conspiring to levy war against the Queen, upon which

the accused was committed to prison, and deprived of his offices and other emoluments, such as the seneschalship of the county of Wexford. The witness, Stafford, was a merchant of Wexford, and William Hore was knight of the shire. Stucley seems to have conspired with James Fitzmaurice and the Earl of Clancarty, who, soon after, marched to Enniscorthy, and committed extraordinary ravages and barbarities. The papers connected with this incursion of the western insurgents into our south-eastern district, narrating their siege of Kilkenny, &c., are of much interest. Perhaps one of the last letters is the most curious, in which the Earl of Ormonde, having suppressed the rebellion, directly his brothers joined it, declares that his brother, Sir Edward, "was certainly bewitched," and that he himself was "also bewitched, but has recovered."

1571, May. Relation of Stucley's proceedings. His sailing from Waterford to Spain, and his political intrigues in Madrid and Rome. Also two bills presented to the jury of the county of Wexford as to him, and Mathew Fitz Henry, and Arte Tomin, his confederates.

1571. Survey of Tintern, in possession of A. Colclough, Esq., and arrears of St. Molin's barony, wrongfully detained by Brian M'Cahir Kavanagh.

1571, Aug. 28. Notes relative to the septs of the Kavanaghs, the cesses yielded by Idrone to Leighlin House, &c.

1572. Correspondence relating to the murder of Robert Browne, Esq., of Mulrangan, county of Wexford, by two chieftains of the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes, and the consequent warfare, such as an inroad into Shillelagh, with the slaying of O'Byrne's foster-brothers and two of his sisters on the side of the river Avanagh; the "killing of the bullies in the glinn;" the apprehension of Mathew Furlong, promised by these chiefs, on the ground that he and others were the murderers; the desperation of these leaders, their revolt, and victory over the Englishry of the county of Wexford.

The following copies of letters on other subjects will show the style and character of these State Papers. In the ensuing curious letter, Piers, Earl of Ormonde, writes from Shirehampton, 7th September, 1526, to Cardinal Wolsey, complaining that the townsmen of Bristol, to the number of 600, had, the night past, surrounded his lodgings, with intention to burn the house, while he lay in bed. This mob of angry burghesses seems to have risen to chastise the Irish Earl's servants, who may be believed to have conducted themselves in the turbulent manner of their country, for their master entreats the Cardinal to command the mayor and sheriffs of Bristol to cease all process against them, and to discharge his sureties until his return, when Wolsey may examine the matter. This Earl was a man of extraordinary character, which enabled him to succeed in establishing himself in the hereditary dignities of his house. One of the earliest letters is from Lord Deputy Kildare to the King, re-

specting the controversy between Ladies Anne St. Leger and Margaret Boleyn, coheireses of a late Earl of Ormonde, and "one Sir Piers Butler," who, however, though so designated, was, as is stated in another letter, a great and powerful nobleman.

"PIERS, *8th* EARL of ORMONDE, to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

"After my due and humble recommendation, Please it your Grace to be advertised that certain of the inhabitants of 'Bristow' contended with certain of my servants, by seeking, and in default of the said inhabitants, as I am informed; of which intermeddling I was then ignorant, and not minded to bear or maintain my servants; But rather to have punished them, or to have delivered them to the officers of the town upon their demand. Yet, nevertheless, a great number of the Commons of the towne, about vi<sup>e</sup> personages, before any 'monycon' given unto me, or request made, assembled riotously, and in the night assaulted me in my lodging on all sides of the house with rude demeanour, making exclamation to pull down the house; others cried, Set fire on the house; I being in my bed, so as I can not remember that ever I was in so much danger of my life: whereupon the King's officer of arms, 'Carelyle,' with some difficulty, entreated the mayor to repair towards my lodging, whom I suffered to enter in, and gave him all his demands, and such of my servants as he required. I sent them to ward; notwithstanding the mayor demanded sureties of my servants to answer to all such actions as any of the town would commence against them; and I answered that for so much as so great a number of the town kept one party, It might not be intended that any indifferent trial might be had there betwixt them and my servants; wherefore I desired that they would be content that the matter might come before your Grace and the Council, and they should have sureties to be answered there, which they utterly refused, and some of them said that they would never come before your Grace; and finally I was constrained to follow their appetites, and to find suerties; and now in my absence they intend with all rigour to condemn the sureties: wherefore, I most humbly beseech your Grace to direct your gracious commandment to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Bristow that they do cease of all processes and executions of all matters commenced before them against any of my servants, and to discharge the suerties unto such time as at my next coming your Grace may examine and try the truth and plainness of all the matter. The King's said officer may instruct your Grace of all the circumstance of the premises, which know Almighty God, who have your Grace in his most tender 'tuycon.' Written at 'Shirehampton,' the vii<sup>th</sup> day of September.

"Your most bounden orator,

"P. ORMOND.

"To my Lord Legate's Grace."

The following letters illustrate the enmity between an English family named Alen and the Geraldines of Kildare, and the rise of the former on the ruin of the latter. One of the Alens, John, was sent to Ireland by Crumwell, as chief commissioner for the dissolution of monastic establishments. Another, a cousin John, appears to have been elevated to the Archepiscopal See of Dublin, on ac-

count of his adoption of the principles which guided the Reformation, and he became especially hostile to Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, then Governor of the realm.

An account had been demanded from the Archbishop, by Lord Deputy Kildare and his Council, of £100 sterling, and some other sum, but the prelate pleaded a pardon and release which he had procured from the King, dated February 7, 1532, as a bar to all further inquiry. However, on the 9th July, 1534, Crumwell, the king's secretary, writes to his "loving friend," Mr. Thomas Alen, of Rayleigh, in Essex, saying that he trusted to have received from him the £100 which of gentleness he lent him, and mentioning the 700 marks which Archbishop Alen owes the king, who, observes the writer, "is no person to be deluded or mocked withal." In the meanwhile, the following epistle was addressed by five brothers of the Alen family to their brother, Thomas, Warden of Youghal College :—

"1534, May 17, No. 10.

"Right worshipful brother, we heartily recommend us unto you, certifying you that my lord of Desmond marvels greatly of your long tarrying; moreover, we certify you of truth that Thomas FytzGerrald, the Earl of Kyldare, his son, is now with my lord O'Bryan, and makes all that ever he can to obtain my lord of Desmond's good will, and as yet we do our best to keep him from his purpose in that behalf, and shall do with God's grace; moreover, the said Thomas has burned all your 'cornys' that lay in 'Lytyll Bewerly,' and he says, where soever he meets with you he will slay you [with] his own hands, for because that you hold so 'soor' with the King's grace and causeth the Earl of Desmond to buy his fee; also with all your brethren and kinsfolk do stand in jepurdy of our lives for your sake; wherefore we counsel you to instruct the King of this promise, and cause his Grace to write a letter to my lord of Desmond in all haste to take the said traitor, and also to cause my lord O'Bryan to withdraw his favour from the said Thomas and all other his lords for the rather the better; for, if you were with us, we put no doubt, but we would with your wisdom and help displace him and his, and that soon; moreover, you send to me for more costs; by my troth, I lost £300 in the river of . . . . . this year; I thank God of all; I have sent you by this bearer £3 3s. 4d., for I have paid to your priests for their wages at Easter last past £20 6s. 8d., and I have paid to your workmen £12 3s. 2d. No more to you at this time, but Jhesus bring you home shortly. Written in all haste at Youghyll, in Ireland, the 17 day of May, by your brethren,

"RICHARD ALLEN.

"JOHN ALLEN.

"ROBERT ALLEN.

"JASPAR ALLEN.

"and MELLISHER ALLEN."

*Addressed*—"To his right worshipful brother, Mr. Thomas Allen, Warden of the College of Youghyll. This be delivered in all haste possible."

The recipient of this letter was evidently at the time in London. The Earl of Kildare had gone there in the month of February, leaving his son, Silken Thomas, his vice-deputy, Governor of the realm. Both the John Alens were special enemies of the Kildare Geraldines, having, apparently, been sent to this country by Wolsey and Crumwell, who were inimical to this house. The Desmond referred to was Thomas, twelfth Earl, then an aged man. "Lord O'Bryan" was Prince of Thomond. The young Governor, Lord Fitzgerald, did not break into revolt until the 11th June, so that those letter-writers were premature in styling him "traitor," and desiring that he should be arrested. It was on the 28th July that the Archbishop was murdered. In August, Thomas Alen, of Rayleigh, writes to Secretary Crumwell, on having intelligence of the murder of his brother, the Archbishop, for whom he was surety for many debts to the Crown, imploring assistance to liquidate them. In September and October, whilst the young rebel lord was besieging Dublin, John Alen writes to the Secretary, from Chester, respecting the hastening over of troops. In the next month, a correspondent of Alen of Rayleigh's describes "the pitiful death" of the Archbishop, whose goods, such as had not been plundered by the rebels, the King's Treasurer had seized to pay the prelate's debt to the Crown. Alen, Master of the Rolls, subsequently obtained a grant of part of the Kildare estate.

Silken Thomas had laid siege to the metropolis in the month of September, and, among other modes of offence, endeavoured to stop the springs that supplied the city with water. Whilst assaulting the Castle, he caused the partitions between the houses on both sides of Thomas-street to be broken through, and so formed covered galleries, through which his men advanced, protected from shot,—a novel and excellent mode of town warfare, wherever ordnance was as scarce as it then was in Dublin. In the ensuing letter, the citizens refer to these injuries during the late siege, and entreat for a supply of "falcons," or small cannon.

"THE PETITION of the MAYOR and CITIZENS of the KING's city of DUBLIN, unto our SOVEREIGN Lord the KING's HIGH MAJESTY. 1536, May 22.

"In consideration of the ruin and decay that the said city sustained in breaking their towers, bridges, houses, leads of the 'conducts' of the water, in the late siege thereof, and for their true and effectual service according their bounden duty. That it would please your highness of your most abundant grace to grant unto them the possession of the hospital of St. John's without the wall of the said city in perpetuity, which is by the year a c & x marks and xs., or the priory of Allhallows, which is by the year lxxx & iiij marks for the building, fortifying, and maintaining of your said city and chamber.

"Item, that whereas the said city is holden of our sovereign lord the King's majesty in fee-farm for 200 marks yearly, which is so 'chargious'

that they was not hable to pay the same, whereupon the King's majesty and his noble progenitors, by their several letters patents, did grant unto the said city six and forty pounds, parcel of the said fee-farm, for murage, pavage, and other necessaries for certain years, which be well nigh spent, that it would please your highness to amplify the said years in perpetuity.

"Item, that it would please your Majesty for the defence and preservation of your said city to give them six falcons, one for every of the six gates of the said city, with 4 last of gunpowder, there to remain for the fortifying thereof.

Dorso,—“The Petition of the citizens of Dublin after the siege of the Geraldyns.”

Among the officers commanding the troops sent from England to suppress Silken Thomas' insurrection was Thomas Lord Dacre, head of the celebrated Border family of this name, and who, as “Captain of Northern Spears,” and well experienced in irregular warfare, had, doubtless, done good service against the young Geraldine's rude kernes and horsemen; yet, who complains that, on the arrival of Lord Deputy Leonard Gray, he has been arrested. In truth, the Lord Deputy, being uncle to the rebel, showed no favour to the instruments of his nephew's discomfiture.

“THOMAS, LORD DACRE, to CRUMWELL.

“Right honourable my singular and especial good master, my humble duty remembered as apertaineth it may please your good mastership to be advertised; that, at the arrival of the Lord Leonard Gray, the King's high marshal of his Grace's army here, I was attached and committed to ward by the space of 8 days, and in the meantime due inquiry and examinations made and had of my demeanor by the said Lord Leonard and others of the King's highness his council here, which I trust by no mean could not be proved, but that I have done my duety; howbeit, by some sinister mean I have been misreported to my most dread sovereign lord, and to your mastership; I take God to record that I have done, and ever intend to do, as a true and a faithful subject, my diligent service in adventuring my life or otherwise, as I have or shall be commanded, to the uttermost of my little power; and that I doubt not but the King's grace his council here will advertise the King's highness of my demeanor; and so they promised me when they did discharge me out of ward, and in consideration that I was and am at your commandment appointed to this land as a captain of certain of the northern ‘sperys’ of the King's highness’ army here. I humbly beseech your good mastership to be a mediator for me unto the King's grace, to be my good and gracious lord, for, without his most gracious favour and your mastership's, I desire of God no longer to live. Further, I have a poor kinsman, Richard Dakers, which was commanded to ward at the same time by the said Lord Leonard, and he remained there by the space of 7 weeks, and he had irons both on his arms and legs by the space of 14 days, as I trust Mr. Agard, your mastership's servant, will inform you of the same, for he did take the irons from him; and as your mastership shall give me any evidence hereafter, there is no manner of thing



that any of the King's grace's council here can lay to his charge, so far as I know; since his coming to me he hath done the King's grace the best service that lay in him to do; and also, I beseech your good mastership of your goodness to be mean for me that I may for a certain space repair unto your good mastership to 'declare' myself of such misreports as hath been moved against me to the King's most excellent highness; and I shall daily pray to God for your preservation, with long life and increase of honor; at Dublin, the 5th day of January (1536).

"By your humble and obedient servant at commandment during life,

"THOMAS DACRE.

*Dorso*—"To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> and my singular good master, Mr. Thomas Crumwell, Chief Secretary to the King's Highness."

The extirpation of the O'Mores of Leix, and O'Conors of Offaly, and the colonization of their countries, are fully developed in these papers. By an unedited letter, dated 24th January, 1538, from (Sir) Francis Herbert to the Duke of Norfolk, we learn that "the last hosting made by the Lord Deputy had punished O'Conor sorely," but nevertheless, a truce for a fortnight had been concluded with this formidable chieftain. The writer says that if the Earl of Ormond would join his best endeavours with the Viceroy, the O'Conors might soon be banished out of their country; and, expressing his earnest wish that Englishmen were planted there, he assures the Duke that colonization is the only way to end the Irish wars, which spend so much of the royal revenue. Our space does not admit of more than a few brief notices of this interesting episode in Irish history, the plantation of the King's and Queen's Counties, a theme well worth full research and publication.

The native annalists chronicle that, in the year 1548, "O'Conor and O'More went to England with the Lieutenant (Sir Francis Bryan, afterwards Marshal), at the King's mercy. The King, however, gave their patrimonial inheritances, namely, Leix and Offaly, to the lieutenant and his kinsmen, who built two large courts (mansions), in these territories, namely, the Campa in Leix, and Daingean in Offaly; and they proceeded to let these lands at rents to the English and Irish, as if they were their own lawful patrimonial inheritances, after having expelled the rightful original inheritors, O'Conor and O'More, from thence, with all their adherents and descendants." This "Campa," or camp, was "the Fort of Leix" on the site of Maryborough; and the Daingean was "the Fort of Faly," on the site of Philipstown. The fame of commencing this work of colonization in earnest, and with effect, is due to Lord Deputy Sir Edward Bellingham, a wise and vigorous governor.

In July, 1548, the leading colonists, John Brereton, Richard Aylmer, Francis Cosby, and James M'Gerald, write to Lord Deputy Bellingham, that the gentlemen of Kildare are willing to serve

against their ancient enemies, the natives of the border countries. Ley Castle was given in custody to M'Gerald; he desired to have two gunners with ammunition, at the King's charges. Redmond Oge<sup>1</sup>, who kept Ballymore, also demanded powder and shot. The insurgent chiefs, O'Connor, O'More, and Cahir O'Conor, are reported as lying within three miles of Rathangan, with 500 foot and 24 horse, expecting to be joined by O'Molloy, at the head of many Connaught galloglasses. On Wednesday, a report, dated "The Governor," was sent by Cosby, how that O'More, with a large band of men, had taken a prey, and that this chief, being determined to continue his defensive war, had endeavoured to seduce the kerne in the service of the crown, by offering them, "like a jolly fellow" (says the writer), 6s. 8d. a fortnight, and to their gentlemen, other wages, according to their degree. The great wood of Leix was the place of rebel rendezvous, and of such importance did the Lord Deputy deem the measures he proposed for penetrating this vast fastness, that, in August, in upbraiding the Mayor of Dublin for negligence in not furnishing supplies for the King's service, he declares it were better that the bulk of the harvest in the metropolitan county should be lost than the purpose of cutting passes through the woods in Kildare be, as he terms it "for slowed." During the month, Saintloo obtained a victory over Cormac O'Conor, at "Clowneygawno."

In a despatch dated subsequently, Lord Deputy Bellingham gives an interesting recapitulation of services recently performed in the new colony. A hosting for thirty days had been proclaimed, in order to bring the whole armed force of Government to bear upon the native opponents of the colonists, and to aid the preliminary steps towards founding a town in O'More's country. The eminent officer, Saintloo, had been made captain of the new "Fort Protector," or "Governor." The revolt of Cahir O'Conor and his two ill-disposed sons was much feared. Recently, the rebels had entered the Pale upon the border of Carbery, and had burnt and destroyed, and had killed man, woman, and child. By good chance, however, they were met by (Sir) Nicholas Bagenal, Marshal of the army, at the head of thirty horse, on which, ten of their number, who were archers, alighted, and, discharging their arrows, and attacking the enemy, killed a dozen or so, and rescued the prey. Subsequently, Saintloo had met with them, when assembled in their greatest pride, and where they never thought that Englishmen would seek them. Falling upon them, he succeeded in slaying many of their followers and slaves, who bore their victuals, and retaliated upon them the usage some of the hapless colonists had been made to feel at their hands. Mr. John Brereton, Francis Cosby, and Travers, did good

<sup>1</sup> Named Raymond Oge on Blacu's Map. He was a powerful Geraldine chief.

service, and "more wood kerne were slain that day," boasts Bellingham, "than the oldest man in Ireland ever saw before."

The allusion to slavery is the most curious point in this paragraph. The term "slave" seems to have been literally and practically appropriate to a certain caste among the Irish, even at this period. We shall see "slaves" mentioned again in a succeeding letter. The question as to the lateness of the period in which slavery existed, even in its latest phases, in Ireland, is so novel and curious a one, that we request the attention of our readers to it, and also contributions of information upon it, since we propose to make it the theme of a future paper.

In 1550 the Irish Government beg that O'Connor may be detained in England, considering, say they, how oft he has been an offender, and that no "reconciliation could wynne, neither othe ne promise staye him to abstayne from rebellion." The same letter shows that George Parys had been O'Connor's principal agent, and how he had lately been with the King of France, and was now bound with O'Connor's son, Cormac, to ascertain whether the French and Scots would aid the enterprise of expelling the English from Ireland. In 1552 this "old Irish rebel" was in Scotland, where he was known by the name of "the Ambassador of Ireland;" whence he sent a ring as a token to old O'Connor Faly (Brian), who had recently (effecting his escape, and flying into Ulster) been recaptured, but was afterwards set at liberty by Queen Mary, through the mediation of his daughter. The letters that passed at this time between the Government and the traitor Parys are curious. They sent him his pardon, and promised him either restitution of his lands forfeited in Ireland, or such like as shall serve for a gentleman to live upon. In 1559 a grant passed to George Gerland, gent., of an estate of and in "Parysh of Agher's lands," of the value of 17 marks; but, in 1563, the grantee agreed to surrender his patent of Agher, county of Meath, in favour of George Parysh. Some curiosity attaches to the conduct of this man, if he was son of Christopher Parese, who, at the time of his master, Silken Thomas's revolt, betrayed Maynooth Castle, and who was executed, immediately after the surrender, by the Viceroy, thus receiving as the wages of his treachery what was ironically called "the pardon of Maynooth."

The work of colonization proceeded slowly, and terrible revenges occurred between the settlers and the natives, such as have become traditionally notorious; as, for instance, the "Mullaghmast Massacre." The expatriated and straggling chieftains of these devoted clans suffered severely. In 1557 Connell *Oge* O'More, King of Leix, was actually crucified on Leighlin Bridge.<sup>1</sup> Another great Leinster lord was put to death at the same time, namely, Mac Mur-

<sup>1</sup> Dowling's "Annals."

rough (Murrough), chief of the Kavanaghs. Soon afterwards the Justiciary called a meeting, expressly to banish the O'Conors from Offaly, and left an English constable, "Master Francis" (Cosby), at Meelick.<sup>1</sup> But is impossible for us to attempt to notice a tithe of even the more interesting documents connected with this section of our national history. It must, however, be mentioned that a plan of Maryborough, referred to the year 1560, is to be seen among these papers. This map includes the fort and town, with the names of each inhabitant attached to his house.

Many pictures curious to archæologists are to be found of the state of the Irish and Anglo-Irish people. Of these, the most detailed are now publishing, as regards the inhabitants of the south-east of the kingdom, in our "Annuary." A vivid account of the savage condition and manners of Munster is given by one Thomas Wood, writing from Cork, 24th April, 1551, to the Secretary of State. After mentioning particulars of his journey through the country, he declares:—

"Neither is God's laws nor the King's known or obeyed; the father is at war with the son, and the son with the father, and brother with brother; wedlock is not held in any price, and whoredom is committed as no offence. The upper hand is all regarded. The lords visit their tenants twice and thrice a year, with 20 or 30 followers, and so consume in three days all the poor man hath, and leave nothing at their departure that be not too hot or too heavy."

Our province being strictly confined to editing original documents, it is not our business to offer comments on all the passages they contain; but our pages are always open to any such, especially if in refutation or explanation of reflections on our ancient countrymen. Thus, in 1552, the fifteenth Desmond was declared to be of *no religion*, or, if of any, of the old one. This Earl, *however*, gives testimony of his affection for one of the forms of religion, by a petition to Queen Mary, requesting that certain merchants of Cork, who had recently purchased the Friary outside the walls of this city, "where," observes he, "many gentlemen and lords have had their monuments," should be made to restore this house to the Friars; because, he says, "it would do much good among the poor, savage people in these parts, who know not where to be buried decently."

Our next extract is —

"A NOTE of the EARL of CLANRICARD'S WIVES and CONCUBINES now alive, 1558-9, Feb. 15.

"1. Margaret, daughter to Moroughe, the first Earl of Thomond, and mother to Ullicke Boorke; she is his only lawful wife, and yet liveth.

<sup>1</sup> O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

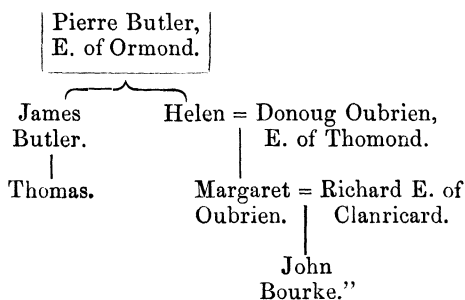
" 2. The Lady Gilles, widow to the old Baron of Dunboyne; she was married unto him after the death of John's mother, and within three or four years he put her away.

" 3. Onora, daughter to M<sup>c</sup>Bryen Arra, a concubine; he kept her awhile, and put her away again.

" 4. Saunyowg, a gentlewoman of Clanricard, a concubine; he kept her awhile, and again put her away.

" 5. Julian Browne, a merchant's wife of Gallaway; he married her, and put her away, and then brought home M<sup>c</sup>Bryen Arard's daughter aforesaid.

" All these are alive.



According to Archdall's peerage book, the Earl married, first, 24th November, 1553, Margaret, daughter of Murrough O'Brien, first Earl of Thomond, by whom he had Ulick, his successor; and married, secondly, Catherine, daughter of Donough, second Earl of Thomond, by whom he had issue John, created Lord Leitrim, and two daughters. His third wife was Honora, daughter of O'Brien of Duharras. The question as to the legitimacy of Ulick, his successor, created a terrible feud between this Ulick and his brother John. The legal proceedings concerning this question are enrolled, 22 Eliz. Besides these ladies, Sir George Carew (MS. 635) mentions Cicely O'Kelly as another concubine, and adds that she afterwards married Richard Mac Yorris, or Bremyngham, Baron of Athenry. This Earl of Clanricarde was Richard, the second who bore the title. He was styled *Sassenach*, from his adoption of English habits, and is described, in a letter of 1578, as "a very comely and civil gentleman." The conduct of his rebellious sons broke his heart. The ensuing despatch is among the most interesting of his letters:—

" E. of CLANRICARDE to the QUEEN. 1565, Apr. 12, Vol. xiii., No. 11.

" My most humble and bounden duty unto your most excellent Majesty always remembered; please it the same to be advertised that where, according your highness' most honourable letters addressed to us, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the nobility of this your highness' realm of

Ireland, for maintenance and aid of your Grace's subject, the Earl of Thomond, being by virtue thereof required to join with him for repressing the traitors of the Obryens, assembled to invade him and his countrey, contrary to your Majesty's pleasure and commandment. I have first, with my power in company with the Earl of Sussex, repaired to his aid and assistance, so as we had good hope to abate their courage, till Gerode, now Earl of Desmond, contrary to his duty, and in contempt of your Grace's commandment, with a great nombre of people, came to their aid; and finding the said Earl of Thomond and me at advantage, we, mistrusting nothing, came into Thomond to their rescue, and killed out of hand of my Lord's men great nombre, and 30 or 40 of my men; and being not therewith contented after his coming out of England, remembering his private and malicious intent towards your highness' faithful subjects sooner than his duty to your most excellent Majesty and conformation professed, afore your Grace, have sent all his galloglasses in great numbres to help the said traitors, by mean whereof the Earl of Thomond was almost banished from his countrey; and the rebels, strengthened and encouraged so as they have won many of his chief castles by his aid, they came, at their return from Thomond, and took of the goods and 'cataills' of me and my men, by stelth, 800 kine, and therewith paid their wages to the galloglasses which he sent them; which 'matiers' and offences, together with the prosecution and tyranny daily used by him, as well against the right honourable the Earl of Ormond as against us, declareth evidently what grudge and malice he beareth to your highness' faithful subjects, and how he goeth about to disturb them that employ their service to the banishing of those traitors, which would soon take good effect if he were not a let thereto: these his attemptates and deeds I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to consider of and redress, or, at the least, if the same stand with your highness' pleasure, to grant me, and such as shall take my part, your Grace's leave to seek my remedy at his hands, or his brother's, according their own fashion, whereby it shall appear how much I and others have foreborn him for quietness' sake, being thereto willed by the governors here, these his undutiful parts encouraging traitors by his maintenance would (if your highness provide not to withstand them) subvert the whole quiet state of this your realm, to your highness' great charges, and the undoing of all your Majesty's good subjects, which I according my bounden duty have thought meet to advertise, humbly praying God to give your Majesty a prosperous long reign over your subjects, with victory over your enemies. I omit further to write, from Claurnisse this 12 of April, 1565.

“Your Majesty's most humble  
“and obedient servant,

“CLANRYCARD.”

*Addressed,*—“To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.”

My next extract is a letter describing the attack on the town of Athlone in the summer of 1572, on which occasion, the Lord President of Connaught, Sir E. Fytton, writes, 16th July, from this town, to the Lord Deputy, stating that the rebels of the province, aided by a Scots force, have burnt the place wholly to the ground,

the chief leader being James Fitzmaurice. The Bishop of Meath and others join in another despatch conveying further intelligence.

The "Annals of the Four Masters" supply information, showing that this attack on Athlone was a step taken by the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, on breaking into revolt. These *Mac-an-Iarlas*, as they were styled, namely, Ulick, afterwards Earl, and John "of the shamrock," his talented, but turbulent and profligate brother, began by demolishing the castles in their country, to prevent these fortresses from being used as garrisons, and proceeded to destroy the few adjacent towns, lest these places should serve as store-houses of victuals to the soldiery that they knew would be sent against them. The annalists say that the *Mac-an-Iarlas* ravaged and burnt Mullingar, from whence they marched to the gate of Athlone, and burned that part of the town from the bridge outwards. Subsequently they destroyed the town of Athenry, in order that, as they said, "no English churl should inhabit there." The writer of the following letter was an Englishman, and, as Clerk of the Council recently established to govern the Province of Connaught, was, probably, odious to the native rulers.

"JOHN CROFTON to the LORD DEPUTY. 1572, July 16.

"A copy of John Crofton, his letter; he is Clerk of the Council there, and at my request took upon him to bake and brew for the garrison."

*Margin*—"For the LORD BURGHELY.

"I can not, my good Lord, without great grief of mind, write the lamentable and most miserable estate of this unhappy town. To which this morning, about eight of the clock, approached on the east side allongst the bog through Omelaghens and Obrynes country, to the number, as I judged them, of 800 Scotts, galloglasses, and kyrnes, who very boldly, notwithstanding the shot of the Castle, entered the backside of the town and fired the same, to which the wind so served them (being north-east), as that in a moment the whole town was burnt, so as not any one house is standing. During the time of the fier they slipt allongst behind the town to the Abbey, and on the north side, out of the danger of the Castle or steeple, with masons broke into the cloister, and so fired the loft where my malt lay, which once set on fire kindled the roof of the body of the church where the rest of my malt, biscuit, and beer was, and all my brewing and baking vessels, which all are consumed with fier, saving about a ton and a half of beer, which with much ado is saved; and as God would have it, the most part of the wheat (whereof part was carried yesterday into the Castle), and the rest was laid in a loft which was shingled, and stood on a vault, to which, for fear of the steeple, the enemies durst not approach, is saved so as, God be thanked, I have yet unburnt very near cc. pecks of wheat and meal; as for malt, I have not past 30 pecks of beer malt, and 10 or 12 pecks of oat malt, whereof part was in the loft with the wheat, and part in my own tower where I dwell. The tun, &c., of beer, and xvi<sup>s</sup>. of biscuit, which by chance I brought home to my own house

two days past, for want of good stowage. This is the sum of those provisions I have left, both ready and unready, neither know I how to prepare any more, having neither place nor meet vessels to do it, with both the town and all the country abouts being utterly destroyed, whereupon your honour is there to provide for such soldiers as your honour mindeth to send hither which, would God had been here, or a 100 of them, for if they had been here, I am of opinion all this had not happened.

*Dorso*—"Of part of a letter sent from John Crofron to the Lord Deputy, the 16 of July, 1572."

In the following letter, M<sup>c</sup>-I-Brien-Arra, a chief of the O'Briens, inhabiting the country in Tipperary called Arra, complains to the Lords Justices of an attack recently made on his country by Edward Butler, a younger brother of the Earl of Ormonde. The knight of the same house, Sir Edmond Butler, who, the writer considered, ought to prevent his younger brother from entering into such courses of exceeding and cruel ravage, was, at the time, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ormonde Palatinate. The writer is mentioned by the Four Masters under the year 1559, as having been then subjected to a severe incursion by O'Carroll, who, on being inaugurated king of his clan, selected Arra as the district for making his *sluaig-headh ceannais readhna*, i. e., hosting excursion on receiving the headship, which every Gaelic chieftain, Irish or Scottish, was expected to make, as a specimen of his talents, as soon after his inauguration as possible. On this occasion, the writer (who was descended from Murrough of the Fern, celebrated by the poet Spenser) suffered the devastation of much of his country, and was himself, when attempting to avenge his losses, taken prisoner, and held to ransom. This sept of the O'Briens was specially liable to be oppressed by the powerful house of Butler.

"TURLOUGH M<sup>c</sup>-I.-BRIEN-ARRA to the LORDS JUSTICES.

"Right honourable and my very good Lords, my bounden duty remembered; advertising the sonne of Sir Edmond Butler, and his brother, Mr. Edwards', evil behaviour and cruel dealing towards me within these xviii. days; first, the said Sr. Edmond's men took from me xxiii. caples; secondly, the said Mr. Edward came upon me the third and fourth of this present September, with the number of vi. hundred gunners and kerne, one hundred galliglas, lx. and horsemen, & iii. hundred slaves, knaves, & boys,—all which number of notable malefactors and wicked people hath camped in and about two churches of mine two days and two nights, and hath taken away from thence the spoil of iii. hundred chests and coffers that lay within the said ii. churches, to the value and some of five hundred pounds, and there ravished all the poor women, young and old, married and unmarried, that fled for 'condicte' into the said churches, being most vilest and wickedly occupied, misused, forced, and ravished thus by the said wicked people continually, day and night, within and without the said



ii. churches, during ii. days and ii. nights; and further, they have eaten and wasted such 'some' of corne as my poor followers are like to be furnished by the same in time to come; and as for me, I might soon revenge the same on some of their followers, but fearing your displeasure in moving any war, and observing the tenor of your honourable letters, and, without your honors' licence, will do harm to no man. As for me, my good Lords, I do not a little marvel of such deeds and facts, true subjects robbed and spoiled dayly, and poor tenants driven to beg their bread, banished from their dwellings, and notable malefactors succoured and maintained, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's good laws; insuring your honors, since Shane Oneale died, there is not the like maintainer of Rebels as Mr. Edward is; and although Sir Edmond doth say that he can not rule Mr. Edward of his riotous doings, it is but a saying, and not true; and therefore I shall most humbly desire your honors either to find me some speedy redress betime herein, otherwise to licence me to revenge my quarrel, if I can; and thus I humbly take my leave from Arreye, the ix. of September, 1568.

"Your honors' most humbly to command,

"TERRELLAUGHE M<sup>o</sup>YBRENE ARREYE.

"For Mr. Secretary."

One of Lord Deputy Sydney's admirable despatches, dated 15th April, 1566, and unpublished, is thus calendared, as respects its interesting account of his recent visitation in East Leinster:—

"Not an O'Toole, O'Byrne, Kavanagh, Kinshellagh, O'Murroughoe [Murphy], or O'Doill refused to repair to him. Has taken their sufficient sureties and pledges; has committed the Walshs', Archebolds', and Harolds' countries to the charge of Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Merrion; and all the coast under the Red Mountain, being the west part of the Tooless' and Byrnes' countries, to Robert Pipho."

Of the somewhat romantic personal history of Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Lord Upper Ossory, which well deserves illustration, there is much material in these papers for elucidation.

An Irishman named Edmund O'Byrne, is honourably recorded in the ensuing letter, from the Lord Deputy, to the Lord High Treasurer of England, recommending the bearer, above named, one of the pensioners lately discharged.

"L. D. FITZWILLIAM to LORD BORGHELY. 1572, *May* 21.

"It may please your good Lordship, where this bearer, Edmond Byrne, was entered here a pensioner in the time of the late Government, in this realm, of Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, Lord President of Wales, and by late order to me addressed from the Lords of Her Majesty's Council there, hath been discharged as of the number of the rest of the pensioners entered upon the breaking up of the 'Dirrye,' and being a serviceable man, which, before he was retained in pension (as I am informed by credi-

<sup>1</sup> Derry Fort, abandoned after the loss of Colonel Randolph.

ble persons), served in Spain under the King's son, the Prince deceased, at which Court, hearing a gentleman of Spain (noted of good credit) to utter evil speeches and opprobrious language against the Queen's most excellent Majesty (the very words whereof I refer to be reported by the said Edmond to your Lordship)—the same Edmond, in the challenge and quarrel of her Majesty, being a stranger in that country, to the adventure of his life attempted the fight, even at the King of Spain's Court gates of Madrid, against the said gentleman, and his two men, and slew the gentleman, and quitted himself also valiantly from his two men; and for the fact being forced for safety of life immediately to take succour of sanctuary, as is usual in those parts in such behalf, found the means after, in respect of the man which he so slew was there greatly frended and allied, that he escaped in safety into the King of Portugal's Court in time, when, as Mr. Doctor Wilson, now one of the Masters of the Requests to her Majesty, was present in some embassy or commission there; and that the said Edmond Byrne, to advance further his fidelity to her Majesty with like exploit, and upon like challenge, upon one there in that Court, a misreporter, a slanderer of her Majesty, fought there with him also, and wounded him; the report of which he referred to Dr. Wilson's relation, which respects of so much valiantness of the man, and his loyal heart, to serve Her Majesty, hath moved me the rather to recommend to your Lordship as it might please you to stand his good Lord, and to be the rather his good means to her Majesty; that it may like her Highness to have consideration of him, either to continue him in meet entertainment to serve, as he is willing, in this his native country, or otherwise to consider of him as may be best liking to her Highness, and so do beseech the Almighty to prosper your good L. with long increase of all godly honour. From St. Pulchres the xxi of May, 1571.

“Your L. most humble at commandment,

“W. FITZWYLLIAM.

“To the Right Honourable the L. Baron of Burghley, Knight of the right noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Highness' most honourable Privy Councillors.”

Our extracts from the earliest series of the “Irish State Papers” give but a partial sample of the extent and interest of these documents. The papers specially relating to our district may be summarily mentioned as—numerous letters and records respecting the noble houses of Ormonde and Kildare; the correspondence regarding the war between Sir Peter Carew and Sir Edmond Butler; the colonization of the King's and Queen's Counties; manifold letters and records relating to Kilkenny and Wexford shires; accounts of the estates of dissolved monastic establishments; and letters and document respecting various families of our district, such as the Fitzpatrick's, Kavanagh's, O'Mores, O'Conors, Wys'es, Colclough's, Herber'ts, Cowley's, Devereux's, Cuffes, Peppard's, Eustaces, Brownes, Wingfield's, Bagenal's, &c., &c.