

theach," or "Cill-teach,"—another reading advanced by Mr. E. Fitzgerald in your Transactions for March, 1857, p. 293.

The ancient Irish are not singular in their illustrative mode of nomenclature. Thus the Romans derived the name of a similar class of structures, the obelisk, from *Obeliscus*, a javelin.

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL
OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

THE original of the curious Manuscript about to be published is in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, numbered 3756; but we shall lay the document in a printed form before our readers from an accurate transcript in the possession of the Duke of Leinster; and we are principally enabled to do so by the liberality of his Grace's eldest son, the Marquis of Kildare, who has also recently obliged the public by permitting his interesting Memoir of his ancestors, the Earls of his House, to be published. With respect to the archæologic value of the volume about to be given, our researches enable us to say, unhesitatingly, that it may challenge any other, whether in print or manuscript, for the interest and curiosity of its contents in illustrating the mediæval, social, and domestic history of Ireland. Our readers are well aware that no similar publication has as yet appeared, to throw such light on life in the past of our country as is so vividly cast on courtly and noble life in old England by "The Household Book of the Earls of Northumberland," and other rich works of the same character. We fear this singular compilation is almost unique, so far as old Ireland is concerned; yet will not descant upon its merits prior to publishing it, but let them speak for themselves, as they appear in our necessarily disjointed pages, accompanied by some brief annotations. Some prefatory remarks are certainly also required, by way of introduction, in order that the reader may comprehend the object for which Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, caused the book to be commenced.

In the year 1503, his father, the eighth peer, Lord Deputy of Ireland and K. G., caused the volume called "The Earl of Kildare's Red Book" to be compiled. This ancient manuscript tome contains copies of title-deeds, grants, agreements, and other documents, resembling, in fact, a Chartulary. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

Fifteen years subsequently, the ninth Earl, then Lord Deputy,

determining to have a complete summary of his rents and other sources of income, commenced this large volume, the numerous and various entries in which are under sufficiently explanatory heads. Besides that object, some of the blank pages of this great manuscript leger were afterwards used to catalogue the books in his Lordship's library, to enter lists of his plate, and to chronicle the war-horses, hackneys, and pieces of armour he was accustomed to present to his friends and relations. On the last page we find an entry of "The Obytt of dyvſce Lordys and Gentyllmen of the Geraldys." This record leads to our immediate purpose, viz., to preface this edition of "The Kildare Rental Book," with a short account of the first Geraldines, whose early pedigree in peerage-books is notoriously faulty, but appears to be correctly set forth in the recent publication referred to. A few points worthy of notice have, however, been omitted; and these we supply, with, as well, some original documents, because they are of local interest; though, indeed, no excuse is needed for endeavouring to further illustrate the genealogy of an illustrious family, whose story and fortunes are closely interwoven with the history of their country. The motives for such labours do not require any explanation to archæologists, who do not regard history as a mere "old almanac," and who know that—besides how many an agreeable hour may be employed in investigations into the past—very serviceable morals can be pointed from them. But the circumstance that our noble families, and our archives and historic papers, offer a fair and fertile field for such labours, is not so generally well known. Nobility of descent has been narrowly defined to arise from ancient possession of riches. Whether the ancient peers of Ireland were wealthy, in the present sense of the word, is a question; but there is no doubt that they were so, in their command of the hearts and hands of brave and numerous followers; and they do not yield, so far as regards the antiquity of the respective dates of their nobilitation, to the proudest *noblesse* of the Continent. Setting apart that the ancestors of the Lord Inchiquin, of O'Neill, O'Conor, and Kavanagh, were kings of provinces anterior to the time of the Capets of France, and Plantagenets of England, the Irish peerage can claim, for many of its members, an earlier nobilitation than can, as we believe, most of the nobility of any other country. The Fitz Gerald, Burghs, Butlers, Nugents, Fitz Maurices, Talbots, Courcys, St. Lawrences, Wellesleys, Plunketts, and Powers can, at the least, prove descents of venerable antiquity. The house under consideration boasts, moreover, be it declared, far higher claims to our regard, in the fact that its story surpasses that of any other family in Ireland in varied interest, in the eminent instances it affords of ancient energy, valour, and patriotism, and of modern worth, virtues, and attention to home duties. These points, however important, are somewhat apart from

our archæologic department; yet we will not pass over the morals to be deduced from the compilation we are about to publish, viz., that, while it contains notable proofs of the ambition of its compiler, the property it catalogues was swept from him and his by their own acts; and that, while we find that his house, purified, as it were, by calamity, subsequently rose again to honour and wealth, at a period offering less political temptations, we can better understand the perils which surrounded all ranks in lawless ages, and better appreciate the inestimable advantage of having the good destiny to live in times of law and liberty.

The obits of the Geraldines entered in this memorandum book differ in some instances from those printed at the end of Grace's Annals, which seem to have been transcribed from a Mortilage of Youghal Friary, since there are two notices that the Countesses of Desmond were benefactors to "this convent." Taking them in conjunction with passages in Clyn, the apparently correct pedigree in Lord Kildare's work, and other authorities, we offer the ensuing account of the first Geraldines.

Of MAURICE Fitz Gerald, son of that Gerald *à quo* the Geraldines, or, *Hibernice*, "Clanna Garoitt,"—the record of obits in the MS. "Kildare Rental Book" saith:—"Qui primus venit in Hiberniam, nullum post se in Hib' constancia fide firmiorē relinquens." Earl Strongbow, Lord of Leinster, gave him the barony of Naas, for the service of five knights (printed "Chartæ," p. 5). The Norman poem on the Conquest states that the Earl gave him Naas, Offelan, and Wicklow:—

" 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."

The "Gormanston Registry" (copied in Lansdowne MS., 418) says, Naas and Wicklow. The country of Offaly, whence this family take their baronial title, was originally granted by Strongbow to the De Birminghams:—

" A Robert de Burmegam
Offali al west de Osfelan."

How it came about that Offaly fell to the Fitz Gerald does not appear, unless the family Chartulary contains copies of explanatory documents. The family Rental Book begun in 1518 mentions that "Offale was then holdin by Thomas ffitz John, Erle of Kyldare, and John Bremingame, Erle of Lowth, by the service of xxiiij". Itñ

Wykinglo, alias Wicklo, which John Lawles in Edward the thurde ys days did holde of therll of Kyldare, by xx^a." Maurice Fitz Gerald died in 1177, leaving, among others—

Gerald, of whom hereafter.

William.

Thomas.

The second son—

William Fitz Maurice, Baron of Naas, is styled "filius et hæres" in the "Gormanston Register;" but the Earls of Kildare, as lords of the fee, seem to have been of senior line, since their Rental Book has an entry, among the royal services due to them, as "doth apiere by olde feodories of Kyng Edward the Secund^d dayes," of payments for the barony of Naas, by the tenants, Preston, Brune, &c. This Baron was granted right of market, &c., in Naas, by Henry II. ("Chartæ," p. 5). He married Mahaut de Pontearth ("Gormanston Register"), and had issue—

William, Baron of Naas, who was living, married to Eva, widow of Philip de Braosa, in 1220 ("Rot. Finium"), and had a grant of fairs in his town in 1226 ("Carew MS.," 610, p. 25).

David and Maurice.

The second son—

David, Baron of Naas,¹ married, first, Matilda, daughter of Hugh Lacy, Earl of Ulster; and, secondly, Ceciline, sister of Thomas Verdon. In 1226 he gave his mother Tullaghtipper Castle, in dowry. By his second wife he had a son and daughter—

1. William, Baron of Naas, who left three sons, William, Hugh, and Robert, who died without issue, whereupon the estate was divided among the five daughters of their aunt ("Gormanston Register").

2. Matilda, who, by John le Butler, had—1. Matilda, married to William de Loundres, ancestor of Elizabeth, married to Sir Christopher Preston, Lord Gormanston; and Margaret, married to John Brune. 2. Margaret, married to Richard de Loundres. 3. Joan, married to Walter Lenfaunt. 4. Rosa, married to Gerald Roche. 5. Ceciline, married to Geoffrey Brett.

From the line of Naas would seem to have sprung the knight mentioned in the following original document, given from the Exchequer Rolls:—

"Henricus, maj' et balliv' civ' Dub.' Cum p' quand' supplic' nob' p' dilec' et fidel' hm ROLAND FITZ MORICE, militem, legitim' hered' a Mauricio Fitz Gerod, milite, rectâ lineâ descensum, qui in conquestu Hib' labor' accessim qualiter ipse et omnes antecessores sui heredes p'd'ci Mauricii semper a tempore conquestus p'd'ci de quinque feod' milit', jacent in ma-

¹ The Marquis of Kildare's work gives no account of these Barons of the Naas, a distinguished branch, the ramifications of whose

property, through heiresses, would, if known, serve largely to develop the history of the Lords of the Pale.

ner' de Morice Castell, in tenur' de Othoyghfynglas, in ter' nost' p'd'ca videl' in longitudine a mari usque ad cacumen Montis de Croghan, et in latitudine a terra comitis de Weysford usque Botiller's land quousque feoda p'd'ca in man'io p'd'ca ac alia diversa ter' p'd'ci Rolandi in diversis partib' tre' nre' p'd'ic p' inimicos n'ros Hibernicos ibidem vastata et destructa fuerint. Ita quod habet unde vivere potest nisi duodecim libras annuas tre' quas ipse habet p' termin' vit' sue ex concessione Domini Henrici IV. nuper Reg' Angl', carissim' d'n'm' et av' nost', p' let' pat' p' r' n' reg' defunct' et nob' confirm' de feod' firm' civitat' nost' Dub'." &c.

The writ concludes by confirming this pension to him for life. In the tenth year of Henry IV. this Roland Fitz Morice was one of the custodiers of the peace in the county of Kilkenny.¹ He was, probably, ancestor of the Barons of Burnchurch in this county, and of the numerous family of "Barron." We are curious as to the descent of Sir Roland, and as to his possessions, and request any one who may be able to assist in further elucidation of them.

The third son of MAURICE the Conqueror, namely, Thomas, is considered in the Marquis's work as ancestor of the Desmond line. Lynch, in his "Feudal Baronies," gives the early pedigree of this line, illustrated by records. From this Thomas *More* the chiefs of Desmond seem to have obtained their Gaelic clan title of "Mac Thomas." His son, John, was granted in wardship to Thomas Fitz Anthony de St. Leger, one of whose five coheiresses, namely, Margaret, he married before 1232 ("Comptus Waterfordii"). Their issue, Maurice, married Matilda Barry ("Inq., 28 Ed. I."), and had Thomas, who, by "Inquis. 28, Ed. I., No. 34," held Dungarvan Castle. By "Inquis. 10 Ed. I., No. 10," John fil' Thomas held a cantred in Decies, and other lands, the tenants of which form a curious list.

Lord Kildare's work makes "William, ancestor of the families of Carew, Grace, Fitz Maurice, and Gerard," a younger brother of Maurice the Conqueror. Certainly the Fitz Maurices held eight knights' fees of the Carews ("Rot. Pat.," 4 Ed. II.). It may also be added that these Fitz Maurices, Barons of Lixnawe, or of Kerry, paid a chief rent of 240 marcs and six score beeves out of Clan Maurice to the Earls of Kildare,² who, as receiving this seignior, must have been of senior line.

The eldest son of the celebrated invader (Maurice), was—

GERALD, summoned to Parliament as Baron of Offaly, who is thus recorded in the Obits:—"Obiit Geraldus, filius ejusdem Maricij, Just' Hibn'. aº Dñi Mº. ccº. vº." His son—

MAURICE, second Baron of Offaly, was ward, in 1205, to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster, whose vassal he was; and the grant of wardship includes the custody of

¹ Printed Rot. Pat.

² State Paper Office, 1576, vol. xl.

Geashill and Leix Castles (Lynch's "Feudal Baronies," pp. 10 and 152). He was, by mandamus dated 1216, put in possession of Maynooth, and all other his father's lands.¹ He is named as "Maurice fil' Gerald," as one of the magnates present at the taking of an important inquest at Limerick, in 1224.² In 1232 he was made Justiciary, or Chief Governor, of the kingdom; and in the following year, when Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, having rebelled in England, came over to take possession of Leinster, he assembled the Englishry of the province on behalf of the Crown, whereupon the rebel Earl was slain on the Curragh of Kildare "per," as the chronicler Clyn states, "Geraldinos, locum et partem regis tenentes." This mention of the Geraldines as a family shows that they had already become a clan, or "nation," as the chronicler subsequently styles them. So famous was the fall of this great nobleman, that verses were repeated in Clyn's time, to retain the date of the event in memory. Matthew Paris describes the Geraldine Viceroy as "a valiant knight, a very pleasant man, inferior to none in the land he swayed with the sword of justiceship." He died in 1257. The record of obits follows the entry of his death by no more than one of his sons, Thomas; but he had three sons by Juliana, daughter of John de Cogan. There is some confusion, it is to be suspected, between the marriages with the Lords de Cogan, which cannot yet be cleared up.

Maurice, of whom presently.

Gerald.

Thomas, "filius dicti Maricii" [obiit] "xxvij^o die mens' Maii, anno Dñi." the rest is torn off, and next follows, as if of the son of this man, "Obierū felicis recordacionis dñs Johaãus filius Thome," and then follow all the line of Desmond, excepting a notice of the first Earl of Kildare.

The eldest son—

SIR MAURICE OGE, was third Baron of Offaly. In 1264 a dangerous war broke out between him and Sir Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in which "the greater part of Ireland was destroyed." It was this wide-spread feud between these "two mighty lords, Sir Morice and Sir Wauter," that caused New Ross to be walled, as stated in the curious contemporary ballad describing this work of safeguard. During this contest he took the Lord Justiciary prisoner, in Castledermot Church. He died in New Ross, in 1277. His wife was Emmeline, heiress of Sir Stephen de Longespée, by Emmeline, heiress of Ridlesford, Baron of Bray, to whom King John had granted the territory of O'Murthy, in which are Kilkea and Castledermot. Longespée was grandson of "Fair Rosamond." By his heiress, who died in 1290, the Baron had—

¹ Note to "Four Masters," p. 217.

² Hib. Bag. Chapter House.

Gerald, fourth Baron, of whom presently.

Mabel, who died unmarried, having settled her property on her cousin John, afterwards first Earl of Kildare.

Juliana, who, in 1216, married Thomas de Clare, son of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. Inquisitions in the Tower, taken after the death of De Clare (14 Ed. II., No. 37; 35 Ed. I., No. 72), mention Emmeline de Longespée as wife of Maurice fil' Maur'. Another of 29 Ed. I., No. 154, mentions Juliana as mother of Gilbert fil' Tho' De Clare. Published transcripts of these curious inquests would prove a useful addition to our archæological knowledge of the times.

The eldest son—

SIR GERALD, became fourth Baron; he is witness to Thomas Fitz Maurice's surrender to Edward I. of the barony of Ocassin, half barony of Olyt, and thirteen townlands in Corcumroth, county of Clare (printed "Rot. Antiquiss."). In 1285 this King granted him and his heirs a weekly market in his manor of Maynooth.

His almost contemporary, chronicler Clyn, of Kilkenny, states that, in 1285, this nobleman, who was distinguished by the Gaelic soubriquet of "Roch falyaht," was taken prisoner in Ófaly by his own Irishmen; and writes, under the year 1287, "mortuus est Geraldus filius Mauricii, capitaneus Geraldinorum;" adding, "*hereditatem suam dedit domino Johanni filio advunculi sui; hic Johannes primus de hac natione factus est comes Kildariæ.*" This mention of him as chieftain, and the statement that he bequeathed his heirship, are evidence that the question between succession by tanistry or by feudality was then rife in this family. He died in 1287.

The second son of the second Baron, viz.—

Gerald, married Joan, daughter of Sir Geoffrey de Joinville, Lord of Trim, and was drowned in 1277, leaving a son and daughter, namely—

Maurice, fifth Baron, of whom presently.

Juliana, who married John, Lord de Cogan, by whom she had a son, John. She granted her cousin, John Fitz Thomas (first Earl) the manors of Crom, Adare, Castlerobert, and Geashill, to which she succeeded as heiress of her brother, on condition that she should have the manor of Maynooth for her life, and the dower to which she was entitled on the death of her sister-in-law, Agnes, and her mother, Joan ("Earl of Kildare's Red Book"). This grant evidences the determination of the clan to sustain a male succession. John de Cogan sold lands in Maynooth to John Fitz Thomas (printed "Pat. Antiquiss.," p. 4).

Maurice, fifth Baron. In 1281, he married Agnes de Valence, daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke. Upon this occasion John Butler, Lord Verdon, conveyed to him, in frank marriage with this lady, the manors of Adare, Castlerobert, &c. (Lynch's "Feudal Baronies," p. 68). She married, secondly, Hugh Balliol, and was

styled *Domina de Offalie et Ballioli* ("Harl. MS.," 1425). This distinguished lady's possessions became the grounds of a wide-spread feud, which was of so absorbing a character as to have interfered with the prosecution of the great war of the time against the Scots, as appears by the ensuing original record, a royal writ dated 6th July, 3 Ed. II., 1310, to the Treasurer of Ireland, which concludes:—

"Whereas we have heard that there is war and contest between Monsieur Jean fitz Thomas and Jean de Bermingham on one side, and the Lacys and the people of Meath on the other side; and between the said Monsieur Jean Fitz Thomas and his allies on the one side, and Monsieur Jean de Cogan and Monsieur Eustache le Poer, the Barrys, the Rocheyns, and their allies on the other side, for the lands which belonged to *Agnes de Valence*,—the which wars and contests, unless they be appeased, may turn to the great disturbance of our said business" (the war in Scotland), "We command you, that you take pains and counsel with the Earl of Ulster, and with our Justiciary of Ireland, that these wars and contests be appeased, or, at least, be deferred until our said war be finished, that we may do right and justice between the said parties in their aforesaid quarrels."¹

On the death, without issue, of the fifth Baron, the date of which is unknown, but material, the chieftaincy seems to have been accorded to the celebrated knight, Sir John Fitz Thomas, son of the third son of the second Baron, namely—

THOMAS FITZ MAURICE, who, having built Geashill Castle, was styled Baron of this place. The Four Masters styled him "a baron of the Geraldines, commonly called the Crooked Heir." This soubriquet may have arisen from his being deformed, and, therefore, incapacitated from being chieftain, which seems hinted at by the heirship having been bestowed, during his lifetime, on his son. According to "Harl. MS.," 258, Thomas of Geashill married a co-heir of Gerald Fitz Maurice, and sister of the wife of John, Lord Cogan. Marlborough says that he was Lord Justiciary, and that he died in 1298. His son—

JOHN, was first EARL OF KILDARE. The genealogy ascribed to him in the printed volume under review, and which differs from that given in the peerage books, is warranted by an entry in the obits, that "Rycardus de Burgo, comes Ulton', fuit capt⁹ per Johan' fiū Thome, filii' Mauriciū, filii' Mauriciū, anno Dñi M^o. cc^o lxxxiiiij." In that year, and, as observed by Clyn, on the same day, forty years subsequent to the slaying of the Lord of Leinster by Maurice, grandfather of this Earl, he, as John Fitz Thomas, "*dedit vadium pro duello*" with William, Lord de Vesci. These two events, indeed, seem to form two origins of the rise of the Leinster Geral-

¹ Mem. Roll, 3 Ed. II., m. 43, dorso.

dines, since the shires of Kildare and Carlow fell under their sway by the absenteeism of the slain lord's heirs, and the Kildare estates of Vesci were granted to his opponent. The title of Lord of Kildare had accrued, by Isabella Marshall, to Lord Vesci of Alnwick, who is said to have been created Lord of Kildare in 1254. Sir George Carew states that William, Justiciary of Ireland in 1290, had a natural son by Devorgoil, an Irishwoman, called "The Master of Kildare," and slain at the battle of Stirling. It seems that the father, on the death of his only legitimate son in the Welsh wars, granted his lands in Ireland to the King, in order that his natural son, the Master of Kildare, might be allowed to succeed to the Northumberland property, and appointed the Bishop of Durham trustee for his son. The prelate, however, sold the estate to Lord Percy. The writ "De adjornatione duelli inter W. de Vesci et Joh' fil' Thomæ" is dated 1294. The whole record is set forth in Reilly's "Placita Parl." Stanihurst's version of the story, which is one of the legendary romances invented to flatter the lords of the Pale, is false, as is proved by the particulars published by the Marquis of Kildare.

This distinguished chief of the eastern Geraldines was, in 1299, summoned to the Scottish war, with his cousins, Sir Thomas Fitz Maurice, of Desmond, and Sir Maurice Fitz Thomas, of Kerry. In 1312 he held a "great, rich, and peaceable" Christmas feast at Adare.¹ From this town, he it mentioned, a branch of this family took their surname, and, migrating to Scotland, founded the house of "Adair." In 1310 the Earl obtained the royal permission to wall his towns of Adare and Cromoth ("Printed Chartæ," p. 42). From the castle of the latter town, called Crom, the eastern Geraldines took their slogan, or tryst summons, of Crom-a-boo. The question, how far this great clan adopted succession by tanistry is a curious one. Why was "the crooked heir" passed over, to the benefit of his son? The latter seems to have taken possession of Offaly in 1294, when, as Clyn states, he despatched many horses and horseboys into this territory. This question, which is elucidatory of the ancient feudal claim of an uncle in preference to that of his nephew, if a minor, illustrated in the murder of Prince Arthur by King John, might, perhaps, be illumined by means of the chartulary called "The Red Book of Kildare."

From this first Earl we must pass rapidly to his successors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The active cause of the great rise of power in the Earls of Kildare seems to have been their imitation of the custom by which the Irish kings imposed the maintenance of soldiers, called *Bonnachta*, on their people, under the usage called "coigne and livery." An Earl of Desmond had, at the close of the fifteenth century, raised his family to their exorbitant

¹ Clyn.

power by similar means.¹ "Our house," writes the eighth peer, to the Gherardini of Florence, anno 1507, "has increased beyond measure, in a multitude of barons, knights, and noble² persons, holding many possessions, and having under their command many persons."

This Earl Gerald was the first who imposed the quartering of galloglasses on the English Pale. About the close of the fifteenth century, one Barrett, an exile from Connaught, offered the services of himself and his band, amounting to but twenty-four "spars," or men bearing battle-axes, who were then put at *coyne*, or quarters, upon the county of Kildare.³ In elucidation of this marked turning-point in history, one from whence the inordinate and perilous independence of the houses of Kildare and Desmond dated, we give transcripts of original documents in the State Paper Office and Dublin Exchequer:—

(*Rot. Mem., 3 and 4 Ph. & Mary, m. 41.*)

Corā of Trinity Term.

"Memorand quod Thomas, Comes Sussex, Deputatus dñi Philippi, Regis, et dñi Marie, Regine, Regni suoꝝ Hiġnie, misit coram Baronib⁹ hic xxvto die Junij hoc termio p— Calshile, secretariū suū, quasġ examinaġōnes Testiū captas apud Kylmaynañ xiiiio die Maij Anno dñi millimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo coram p̄fato Thoma, Comite Sussex, Hugone Archiepō Dublyñ, Geraldo Aylmer, miliġ, Henrico Sydney, milit. Jacobo Bathe, Armig^o, Joġe Plunkett Armig^o, & Thoma Lockewood clico, Consiliarijs dēi dñi Regis & dñe Regine in Regno suo p̄dġo. Et jussit examinaġōnes illas coram Baronib⁹ hic p̄ comōdo dicti dñi Regis & dñe Regine hic irrotflari. Et Barones illas irrotflari p̄ceperunt Quazquid̄ examinaġioniū tenor sequit' in hec verba ss. Att Dublyn the xiiiijth of Maye 1557, Memoꝝ d̄ thatt Donyll M'Ony of thage of lxx yeres, or thereabouts, Capytayn of his sept, examyned before us whose name be underwritten, and chardged upon his duetye of Allegeance to declare the trouthe whether thatt such Bonaughts as were putt upon the Irissmen by therles of Kildare were putt upon them in the tyme thatt thei were deputies or otherwyse, sayeth thatt he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught upon eny Iriss man butt when he was deputie. And this he affirmeth to be true. Beyng demaunded wether thatt Bonaughts were putt upon the Irissmen for the Kyngs use, or for therles of Kildare. And wether thatt the Kyng or therle of Kildare, ought to have them, he sayeth thatt they were putt upon the Irissmen when therle of Kyldare was Deputie, and to the Kyng's use. And therefore, he thynketh ought to be the Kyng's for thatt he knowyth nott whose they shold be elles. And further, thatt he, his father, and grandfather, have served ever the Kyng & goon with the Deputye.

"T. SUSSEX.

"HUGH DUBLYN, Cancell.

"GERARD AYLMER. HENRY SYDNEY. JAMES BATHE.

"JOHN PLUNKETT. THOMAS LOCKEWOOD."

¹ Finglas.

² It is to be remembered that this word then implied all gentry of free birth, known,

i. e. noble, by cognizances.

³ "Published State Papers," vol. ii., part ii. 502.

“The like Memorandum as above, and then thus:—

“Att Kylmaynam the xxijth of Maye 1557, Shane Burge, Marshall to Alexander M'Tyrlagh (M'Donnell), of the age of lx yeres & upwarde beyng examyned before us whose names be underwritten & chardged apou his duetye of Allegeaunce to declare the trouth wether such bonaughts as were putt upon the Irissmen by therles of Kyldare were putt upon them in the tyme thatt thei were Deputies, or otherwise, sayeth thatt he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught upon eny Irissman butt when he was deputye. And this he affirmeth to be true. And for the better declaraciō herof he sayeth thatt he knewe no moe Earles to putt any bonaught upon Irissmen butt only this Earle's father. And thatt he dyd att suche tyme as he was Deputye.

“T. SUSSEX,

“HUGH DUBLYN, Canċ.

“HENRY SYDNEY. HENRY RADCLYF.

“JAMES BATHE. JAMES STANYHURST. S^r. PETER LEWYS, Prist.

“S^r. XPÖFER GAFFNEY, Prist.”

“Like Memorandum, and then thus:—

“Att Kylmaynam the xxiiith of Maye 1557, Js. Phelym M'Neyll boye, chief of his sept, & one of the Captaynes of their Matie's Galloglasses, of thage of ffyftye yeres or therabouts, sworne & examyned, deposyth and sayeth thatt he remembreth well this Earle of Kyldare's ffather to have putt Bonaught upon M'Mahon Oreyly and others. And herd saye thatt this Earles Grandffather dyd the lyke upon the Amalye & the Countie of Kyldare, butt wether thei were Deputies then or nott he is in doubtte, for he in his youth served Oneyll in the North, and was nott prevye to these doyngs, butt as he herd of others. And sayeth thatt he doth nott knowe thatt therle of Kyldare dyd att eny tyme putt eny first bonaught upon eny Irissman when he was nott Deputye. And beyng demanded wether those bonaughts were first sett to the Kyng's use, or to the Erles of Kyldare his use. Sayeth thatt he never knewe eny bonaught sett or leyved butt to the Kyng's use and by the Deputye for the tyme beyng. And thatt they went allwayes in the Kyng's servyce.

“T. SUSSEX.

“HENRY RADCLYF.”

“These psons whose names are underwritten were p'sent when this examynaciō was taken, and have putto their hands as wyttnes whatt they herd.

“JAQUES WYNGFELD. HENRY STAFFORD. GEORGES DELVES.

“FFRANCIS COSBY. S^r. PETER LEWYS, Chappleyñ.

“A similar Memorandum, and then thus:—

“Att Kylmaynan the xxiiith of Maye 1557. SS. Memor'd that Alexander M'Tyrlagh of thage of lxx yeres or therabouts, Captayne of his septe, beyng examyned before us whose names be underwritten and chardged apou his duetye of Allegeaunce to declare the truthe wether thatt suche Bonaughts as were putt apou the Irissmen by therles of Kyldare were putt apou them in the tyme thatt they were Deputyes or otherwyse.

Sayeth that he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught upon eny Irishman butt when he was Deputye. And this he affirmeth to be true.

“T. SUSSEX.

“HUGH DUBLYN, Canc.”

The ancient Earls of Kildare, as lords of most of the midland and richest champaigns of Ireland, confident in their castellated strongholds, and in the attachment and valour of their clan and connexion (whether of their own blood, or partaking of it through female descent), and supported by nearly all the Gaelic chiefs from the Leinster hills to the Tyrone mountains, who rose at their slogan and ranged under their banner—these mighty Earls stood, during two centuries prior to the culmination and temporary fall of their house, in a political position closely resembling that of the ancient Kings of Tara, whose sovereignty was similarly owing to their possession of the fertile central plain of Erin. IARL GAROITT, perpetual viceroy, and, as such, ruler and leader of the Anglo-Irish, when standing, with his banner planted on this hill (the usual rendezvous of great hostings), begirt by the gydons of all the eastern Geraldines, and by the ensigus of numerous barons and chiefs sprung from ladies of his house, was far more potent and formidable than any *Ard Righ* that had ever mustered his rude battalions on the same ground. The famous battle he fought, in 1504, on the Hill of the Battle-axes, near Galway, was undertaken without either warrant from the Crown, or upon the King's charges, but merely upon a private quarrel. A notable proof of the impression generally entertained during the fifteenth century, and the earliest half of the next age, that the House of Kildare was the only power capable of coping with the native clans, is to be found in the dispatch first in date among the Irish correspondence in the State Paper Office, an unpublished letter of 1509, from the Lords of the Council in Dublin, to Henry VIII., stating that the Earl having purposed to repair, on the occasion of the King's accession, to his noble presence, they have entreated him to abide and protect them from the Irishmen, and have elected him Lord Justice. We pass on to this great nobleman's son and successor, whose story, as of the originator of the manuscript “Rental Boke,” we are about to edit, we are bound to give a sketch of.

Gerald Fitz Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, the author of these interesting family memoranda, was the only son of the eighth peer by his first wife, Alison, co-heiress of Sir Rowland Eustace, first Baron of Portlester, a lady of ancient Norman-Irish descent, and who is stated to have died, in 1494, of grief at her husband's incarceration in the Tower of London. Gerald the younger, or *Garoit Oge*, as he was styled by the Irish, was long detained, during the lifetime of his father, as a hostage at the English Court, where he

was brought up in the King's service. Some curious particulars as to the wardrobe provided for him, whilst a mere boy, are to be found in the present Marquis's publication. In his seventeenth year he married a daughter of Sir John Zouch, and, being soon after permitted to return to his native country, was appointed, in 1504, though but some seventeen years of age, to the high office of Treasurer of Ireland, which he subsequently resigned, yet perhaps not before he had acquired the useful financial knowledge this important station gave him. To his tenure of this office, it is indeed probably owing that we have the advantage of perusing the careful ledger which he afterwards caused to be kept.

On the decease of his father in 1513, he was elected Lord Justice, and speedily distinguished himself by subduing the Irishry, and extending his dominion. It is to this time that the tradition may perhaps be referred, which ascribes the first possession of the large estate owned in eastern Ulster by his house to the assistance given by an Earl of Kildare to the native clans of the district, who, being oppressed by Lord Savage of Lecale, obtained the Earl's potent aid, on promising him one or two townlands, according to the extent of the lands of each clan.¹ Upon the Earl marching into the country, at the head of his forces, the oppressor submitted, and, the quarrel being ended, the powerful peacemaker received his wide guerdon. His zeal and services were well received by Henry VIII., and, on going over to Court the next year, he was constituted Lord Deputy. Besides obtaining this honourable gratification of his natural ambition, he received another substantial proof of favour, namely, a grant of the customs of Ardglass and Strangford, two port-towns in Lecale. The duties leviable under this irregular exercise of royal bounty are detailed in the Rental Book about to be printed, and they continued to be received by his descendants until the government of Strafford, when this satrap recovered the customs of the latter town to the benefit of the Crown.² The grant is dated 1514, and, three years subsequently, the Earl invaded Ulster, and, after a bloody engagement, took, by storm, Dundrum Castle, the strong key to Lecale, the fertile tract in which, as appears by his Rental, he obtained possessions. The rich fisheries of the north were, manifestly, the special objects of his cupidity, since he received a grant of the fishing of Strangford Lough, and possession of the valuable salmon fishery of the Bann, which he leased to English merchants. Other acquisitions were also made by him in the same province, under circumstances evidencing its extreme decay and poverty.

Referring for some other of his exploits at this period to Archdall's peerage-book, we find that, in 1516, this youthful Lord Deputy attacked the clan O'Toole in the valley of Imale, and having

¹ Harris's Down, p. 22.

² Letters, ii. p. 91.

slain their chief, placed his head as a trophy on the gates of the metropolis, the inland trade of which was impeded by robbers from the Wicklow hills. In the same year, the Viceroy—whose life was that of a leader of loose troops in an enemy's country, living often in bivouac on the hill-side, rather than the life of a governor of a peaceful province—demolished several castles in Irish regions, and then, marching against the walled and English town of Clonmel, in the heart of the realm of his hereditary foe, the Butler, compelled its factious burghers to submission. From these particulars we may turn to the strong light thrown on the history of the period under review by the printed State correspondence.

The first of these documents, dated 1515, describes the King's Deputy as attended no longer, as of old, by a guard on horseback of spearmen and archers, well appointed, after the English manner, but as accompanied by a multitude of Irish galloglasses, kerne, and pikemen, with an infinite number of horse-lads; and as ever moving from one place to another, and with extortion of coyne and livery consuming all the common people's substance. In the year 1518 this Earl caused the curious compilation about to be laid before our readers to be commenced, a work probably suggested by the usefulness of the older volume, which his father had caused to be compiled in 1503, now called the "Red Book of the Earls of Kildare."

In 1518 he was summoned to England to answer the following charges:—1st. That he enriched himself and his followers by seizing the Crown revenue and lands; and 2ndly, that he had formed alliance with divers Irish enemies of the State. To rebut these accusations, he sailed for London, and, while residing there, awaiting inquiry into his conduct, he married, being now a widower, his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset, a marriage by which he gained much influence at Court, the lady being first cousin to the King. In the year 1520, however, he was superseded in the viceroyalty by Lord Surrey, the father of the illustrious poet, whose muse afterwards immortalised the Earl's beautiful daughter, the Fair Geraldine. In the month of June he accompanied the King to France, and was present at the celebrated meeting with Francis I., on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where he was distinguished for his appearance, being accounted one of the handsomest men in that brilliant assembly. Soon afterwards, Cardinal Wolsey was directed to examine the charges against him, and in July his superseder sent over information respecting his practices in inciting the native chiefs to keep Ireland in a disturbed state. It seems that he had written to O'Neill and O'Carroll, desiring them to make war upon the Anglo-Irish, excepting such as were his friends, so long as an Englishman was governor, hoping by this means to bring about his own reinstatement, as of the only man who could keep the country quiet.

The latter chief, "the most esteemed captain of the land," was searchingly examined as to the reason why he had made war, and was informed that the Government were aware of his having received a letter to that import. "It was that letter," said Surrey to him, "that led you to levy war." The Irishman smiled: but, when urged to disclose the contents of the treasonable epistle, chivalrously replied that the Lord Lieutenant's pavilion full of gold would not bribe him to stain his honour. He had carefully burnt the letter, yet afterwards incautiously acknowledged to some of his brother chiefs that he would have continued at peace, had not Kildare sent to desire him to act on the opposite policy, and that he durst not disobey the mandate, lest he should incur this powerful Earl's displeasure, on his probable return as Lord Deputy. Preceding lords of this puissant house had, verily, been *de facto* sovereigns of Ireland. Their numerous and wealthy half-feudal, half-clannish adherents hardly knew any other political authority, for, although they heard of a King in London, they felt that *Iarl Garoitt* was *Righ* of Kildare, and *Ard Righ*, or supreme King of Erin. The Geraldine dynasty, however, was about to be overturned, and, strangely enough, received the first blow from the hand of him whose poetic son has, by his love for a daughter of this house, endowed the name of Geraldine with imperishable fame. "Thanked be God!" wrote Lord Lieutenant Surrey, "this country is now comparatively at peace, notwithstanding the malicious practices to the contrary of Kildare's servants." Among these allied servitors was the King of the North, the great O'Neill, who still held out in rebellion, and declared he would never cease war, for so had his kinsman the Earl instructed him, until Kildare should be reinstated on the viceregal throne. "If ever Henry of England send *Iarl Garoitt* here again in authority," observed a loyal native chief, "his grace may as well make over this realm by indenture to him and his heirs for ever!" Apart from the readiness all native leaders exhibited to break into open war at a signal from their exiled but hereditary governor, it seems that the hold he retained on the state purse as Lord Treasurer was more serviceable to him than his intermittent grasp of the state sword. His officers were in receipt of the revenue, but, when the exchequer opened, in August, for the receipt of custom, every debtor defalked "because of the wars." As a consequence, Surrey's sturdy English men-at-arms were more inclined to mutiny than to march against rebels. Their noble leader "continued," says Hall the chronicler, "in great hardness two yere and more, in which space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wilde Irishe."

(To be continued.)

O'Kane, &c. &c., with such additions as the King-at-Arms thought proper to introduce, in order to complete the escutcheon after the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry, according to the rank of the family for whom the coat was manufactured."¹

Elsewhere (p. 350) the learned Doctor says:—

“The armorial bearings of the old Irish families, as preserved on their tombs since the reign of Henry VIII., if carefully collected, would throw much light on the kind of badges they had borne on their standards, previously to their adoption of the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry.”

In these opinions of this justly esteemed scholar and antiquary I fully concur. The few shields of arms belonging to the Milesian race which I have seen and examined at Inis Caitre, Roscommon, Mucross, and elsewhere, are all blazoned in this Anglo-Irish style, and evidently belong to a recent age. Indeed, it is highly probable that before the entire submission of the native Irish, temp. Elizabeth, those proud chiefs, who had so long sought to maintain their independence, refused to accept or to imitate the herald's art, as organized in the English school.

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL
OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 280.)

THE charges brought against Kildare not having been substantiated, he was, in January, 1523, permitted to return home. In the following month he writes from his “Manor of Maynooth” to Cardinal Wolsey, asking to nominate the new Bishop of Kildare, significantly observing that, as the profits of the see were mostly to be gathered from among the Irishry, they were not lightly to be come at without the aid of temporal power. In the month of May he describes a military expedition he had lately made to chastise an Irish enemy in the north, whose castle, Belfast, he broke down, and through whose country he carried a cloud of fire and smoke for some four and twenty miles. In the same despatch he complains that a severe raid had just been made upon him by the Lord Deputy, Piers Earl of Ormond, to the extent of carrying off no less than five hundred stud mares and colts. His Countess wrote by the same cou-

¹ “Magh Rath,” p. 348.

rier to Wolsey:—"My lord," she says, "suffereth patiently, fearing the King's displeasure; were it not for that, little would he suffer such wrong!" The old feud between these two mighty Earls was endeavoured to be reconciled by an indenture drawn up at this time, which sets forth in the preamble how there "had been of long season, debate, unkindness, and variance betwixt the said Erles, for divers wrongs, burnings, robberies, and spoilings committed either of them to other." On this occasion Kildare remitted his claim to a fee of one hundred pounds yearly, promised him by Ormond, so long as the latter was Deputy, for his aid and good will.

Kildare was restored to the office of Viceroy in August, 1524. After taking the oath, he went in state to Thomascourt, his nephew, O'Neill, the semi-independent King of the North, being intrusted to carry the sword of state before him; and he there entertained, at a splendid banquet, some English commissioners, who had decided in his favour an inquiry into Ormond's charges against him. In the following year he was commanded by royal letters to arrest James Earl of Desmond, against whom there was a heavy charge of high treason.¹ This James, the eleventh peer, was twice engaged in a treaty with foreign powers against his King.² A copy of his treaty, dated June, 1523, with Francis I., wherein he is styled "Prince d'Irlande," may be seen in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris. By this compact he engaged to make war against Henry VIII., so soon as the French army should land in Ireland, and to bring into the field 400 horse and 10,000 foot. In order to arrest this traitor, Kildare assembled a large force, and marched into the south. But Desmond avoided any meeting, by the advice and warning, it was said, of Kildare, alleging his privilege not to come in to any governor unless he listed. Ormond, a mortal enemy to Desmond, now accused the Lord Deputy of having engaged the powerful clan O'Brien to assist the traitor, who had begun another plot, with the object that Charles V. should land a Spanish army in Ireland. His Lordship was ordered to London to answer this impeachment, and, on his arrival, was committed to the Tower. His appearance before the Council was the occasion of the violent speeches that passed between him and Wolsey, recorded by Stanhurst. The Cardinal, among other accusations, charged him with negligence in arresting Desmond, "while," urged the accuser, "had you lost a cow or a horse of your own, two hundred of your retainers would have rescued the prey, had it reached the uttermost edge of Ulster. Earl! Nay, King of Kildare! for, when you are disposed, you reign more like than rule the land!"

In August, 1532, he was again installed Deputy, and, on landing, was received with great acclamation by the people.

¹ Published "State Papers," vol. ii., p. 123.

² *Id.*, p. 198.

Two incidents that had occurred previously mark the lawless character of the time, being no less than the illegal capture of Members of Parliament by Kildare's followers. Thus, it appears that the Baron of Burchurch, Knight of the Shire for Kilkenny, was, whilst journeying up to attend Parliament, seized by a servant of the Earl's, and imprisoned in irons in Beardie's Castle, one of the Kildare fortresses. Similarly, the burgesses for the city of Kilkenny were, on their return homewards from Parliament, made captive, and carried off handlocked by another servant of the Earl's, who swore at the time he led them away that he wished he had Henry VIII. at one end of the handlock, and Viceroy Ormond at the other!

The State Papers of the time represent the universality of the popular belief that the Viceroyalty of Ireland was the "inheritance" of the Earls of Kildare. A report of 1533 observes:—"The Earl, by the continuance of the King's authority in him and his father, hath banded himself in such wise that if the King make any other Deputy than him, all the land shall be disordered; so as the King must depend upon his pleasure, and not he upon the King's." In consequence of reiterated complaints, Kildare was again summoned to England. On this occasion he took extraordinary measures both to show his power and increase it. By a curious letter, dated 3rd of September, from a priest in Dublin, it would seem that the Earl was then actually starving the metropolis. All the butchers in the city had not as much beef among them as would have made a basin of broth. "This," observes the letter writer, "is a very sore abstinence!" During this forced famine, Lord Deputy Kildare caused all the King's ordnance to be conveyed out of the Castle to his own country, and fortified his own fortresses with them.

Under the year 1534 the Gaelic annalists chronicle that "great complaints and accusations were transmitted from the chiefs of the English of Ireland, and from the Council, to Henry VIII., against the Lord Justice, i. e. the Earl of Kildare, *commander of the strength and power* of Ireland; and the Earl went over to the King, to vindicate his conduct before him; but it was of no avail, for he was taken and confined in the Tower, where he remained for one year; and they were exerting the rigours of the law against him."¹

The impartial historian, Ware, states that the enemies of the house of Kildare practised to effect the Earl's destruction deceitfully. The intriguing Cowleys of Kilkenny, the villanous William Cantwell, of the same county, and the adventurous and designing Allens, a family of English extraction, were the special instruments of the temporary downfall of this ancient family. If we turn to the writings of Campion, the ill-fated Jesuit, who at one time was an

¹ Dr. O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

inmate of these Earls' castles, we find a legend how a certain priest, and, afterwards, a certain gentleman retained by Thomas, Lord Offaly, who had been left as Deputy Governor of the realm by his father, became possessed of a fabricated letter, which falsely announced that the Earl had been executed in the Tower. The lying missive was manifestly put in the way of the retainer, in order to produce the effect it did, namely, instant revolt on the part of the Earl's young and hasty son.

The several tragic incidents of Silken Thomas's famous rebellion are historic and well known. We may add, however, a note or two, from original sources.

The Allen family had contrived, it seems, to sow such seeds of enmity as made the powerful Earl of Desmond a formidable foe to the young heir of Kildare, who was so exasperated at the part taken by one of them, then Warden of Youghal College, in this matter, that he declared he would slay the Warden with his own hand.¹ His second act, his first being to declare his revolt from allegiance, was to cause John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor, a special friend of Wolsey, and one of his instruments in the dissolution of monasteries, to be foully murdered. A general confederacy was then entered into by all devoted to the Geraldine party, and the rebellion commenced in desperate earnest.

At this distracted period, the old feud between Butlers and Geraldines was aggravated by the different parts the lords of either race took on the newly raised and exceedingly important question of religion. The latter family remained attached to the old creed and establishment, while the former advocated and led the new politico-religious movement. Our space does not permit of entering into the history of this memorable epoch, and we have proposed no more than to give a sketch of the story of him who first owned the manuscript about to be published. The most interesting portions of this record are, undoubtedly, those which develop the politic methods employed by the ninth Earl of Kildare to insure his hold of viceregal power. During his contest with the Earl of Ormond for the sword of state, when success was expected to depend much on the comparative numbers of the men who would fight on either side, respectively shouting *Butler-abo*, and *Crom-abo!* the banded Englishry of both factions were diverted from the necessity of defending themselves against the common enemy, the Irishry, who, could they have combined, might as easily have swept the Saxon remnant opposed to them into the sea, as O'Brien and O'Melaghlin had done at Clontarf, where, some centuries previously, the Danish invaders were nearly exterminated. When it was known in England that Kildare's son, to whom the viceregal sword had been intrusted, had

¹ MS., State Paper Office, 1534.

cast it aside to draw his own in rebellion, troops were hurried over, but, landing on that same strand,¹ were attacked by Lord Offaly, and defeated with complete slaughter. The conduct of this rash young nobleman drew a cloud, as is well known, over the fortunes of his family. Upon receiving the news of his revolt, and, above all, a copy of the awful sentence of excommunication hurled against him, his father, still a prisoner in the Tower, expired of grief. This tragic event happened on the 12th December, 1534. The severity of the blow that broke the heart of this stout Earl may be better weighed when we state that he was but in his forty-seventh year, and had always been remarkable for vigour of mind and body. Many anecdotes of him will be found in the Marquis of Kildare's volume, to which we gladly refer the reader, merely quoting a single characteristic, viz., that even his enemies accorded him the high and unusual character of having been "the greatest improver of land in Ireland."

To revert to the Rental Book. It will be preferable to notice the various interesting subjects as they appear. For the present, we will therefore merely give a few unpublished notices respecting this manuscript, and some of the chattels and moveable property of the ninth Earl, which are inventoried in it.

It appears that, on the outbreak in 1534, "all Kildare's effects were carried away" by his revolted son to Lea Castle. In the month of March, 1535, Maynooth was besieged, and taken by the English army; but the sack of the place could have little rewarded the brave assailants, since it seems that Lord Thomas had providently delivered part of the plate, of which there are three different entries in the "Rental Boke," to a retainer, and to the White Friars of Kildare, besides placing a large quantity in charge of O'Brien of Thonond. He had given all the hangings or arras tapestry of Maynooth, and his parliamentary robes, to his sister. A mass of rich apparel was also sent in care to O'Brien. By royal order, dated 1547, Lady Cecilia Fitzgerald was allowed to retain certain plate which belonged to her father. The original inventory² of the apparel, plate, ordnance, and other articles of value so disposed of, would, if published, add to our small store of knowledge as to the domestic wealth of the Anglo-Irish nobility. A document in the State Paper Office, dated December, 1537, gives "an account of the lands of the late Earl of Kildare, forfeited for high treason."

Our protracted introduction to the ensuing publication may be well closed by quoting a paragraph from a state document, dated December, 1534, mentioning "the book of the Earl of Kildare's rents and tributes, which is with the Countess," and another in a letter,³ dated 1536, from Robert Cowley, the intelligent and inde-

¹ Dowling.

² MS., S. P. O., March, 1536.

³ MS., S. P. O.

fatigable enemy of the House of Kildare, who writes to the King's Secretary, informing him that "divers profitable lands, forfeited by the Earl, are concealed from his Majesty," and advising the Secretary to examine Thomas Fitz Gerald, the attainted heir, then a miserable captive in the Tower, in order to learn "*where the fair book REGISTRALL is, which was written on parchment by Philip Flattisbury, and contains all the evidences of the said Earl's inheritances.*" This coveted record we take to be "The Red Book" already mentioned as compiled for the Earl in 1503. Its writer is mentioned by Stanihurst, once an inmate of Kilkea Castle, as resident at Johnstown, near Naas, and as having, in the year 1517, written, at the request of the ninth peer, certain chronicles, which, however, Ware says, are but a transcript of those by Pembridge. If our suggested identification of the Red Book with the "Registrall" is correct, the publication of this curious MS. would be a boon to Irish archæologists.

The Rental commences with a Tabula, or table of contents, with reference to the folios of the MS. where the several items occur. We close our preliminary notice by giving this summary, merely observing that as the names of places and persons are nearly alike in both, the identifications and notes are chiefly reserved for the body of the document.

(*Harleian MS.*, 3756.)

TABULA.

THE CONTENTIS OF THIS BOKE, BEGON THE YERE OF O^R LORD GOD,
M^VXVIII, by GERALD FITZ GERALD, Erl of KILDARE.

Such tethes and fermes as the said Erle hath to f^{me}.¹

. Court	{	Furst, the half tythes of Lucan and Monemehannok. The tethes of Rathmore by Slane, Inchgorey, Rathdonnyll, & Moycon in the countie of Catherlagh. Bealaghmone, in the countie of Kildar. Cowlekin ² in Osserey.
. hus by Dublin.	{	The landes and tethes of Grange Clare. The tethes of Downarde, Kilbealae, Crehelp, Walshtown, Rathgole, Drougans, Clonen, Clohir, Cordonygyn, Kilshane, Ardbistil, Ruskagh, Tempulmore, & Rathtoo.

¹ The Earl farmed tithes and church lands in certain situations, because the spiritual

power was inadequate to levy the dues.

² A mistake, for Cowlkir, i. e. Coolkerry.

TABULA, *adhuc.*

S ^t Mary Abbay, by Dublin.	{	The two partes of the tethes of Catherlagh, and Churchtown Reban.
Cartmell, England.	{	The landes and tethes of Kilrush, Ballysax, & Balmadon.
Tymolinge.	{	Tethes of Crokiston, w th thappurtenauncf; halfe the tethes of Molaghmast & Burnchirch; the two partes of the tethis of the Norragh, Inchmaquidder, and Brounestown; the two parties of the tethis of Glashely, Kilmedy, Yongeston, Skeris, and Ballindromy.
Tulley.	{	The tethis of Eyrke and Glasare, in the diocessy of Ossly.
Th Archdeacon of ffernes.	{	The fourth part of the tethis & prouffits of Marney, in the diocessie of ffernes.
The P ^{or} of Loghseudy.	{	The tethis of Toghseenny, in the diocessie of Ardagh.
Connall.	{	The oon half of Ponchardisland in Kildare. Boitonrath. The teythes of Kildare. The teithes of Kyllaconogane.
The P ^{or} of Kilmainon.	{	The Archdekinry of Myth. The lands & tethis of Moylagh & Kyllaconogane in the countie of Myth, & the teth of Ballygill, Garrooke, Tymogho, Court Duff, Cowlgharogan, Clane, the Newton, Ballgappagh.
The P ^{or} of	{	The tethe of Taghsenny, in the dioc. of Ardagh.
Of the Bushop of Myth.	{	The fferm of Ballyespuck, Clare, & Clonefod.
Of the P ^{or} of Kilmainam.	{	Kilcock.

FFERMES SETT.

Payneston, to William Eustace; the More land to John Slo; the tol of the [Naas], Corbally in the King's lands; Wodton in Carbry; Moynley in . . . ; Hethton by Cashell; the castel and island of Lym^ſik; Corbyn, in the countie of Corke; Ballycathelan in Ryenry;¹ the castel of Lissardole, wth galloglas rising owt upon O'fferall; Aweleston, Grene Castell, Galbeggiston, & the Buncassell in Lecail ffolio

The Wair of Lawore, for xviii^{xx} elys [eels] yerly. Robineston in Fertulagh. The tethis of Coulkir, Balligawin, Coulgad, Monnymok, Philipston, Castelton, & Corbally. Ferranycallagh in Kynaliagh. The Bishoppis Cōrt in West-Myth. The castelton of Kynnaleany. The millys of Maynoth & of Lexlep, Ballygoolmor in Fertullagh ff. v¹⁰

¹ *Sic*; at folio v., the MS. reads "Lym^ſik."

TABULA, *adhuc.*

Borecolyn & Balmalister. The tethis of Clan; the tethis of Clondehorke; the new castel Makarmyton; Dippys and Ballynslyan in the countie of Wexford; Wernelston, Krove-martyn; the teythe of Clane; the castel and towne of Dippys and Ballynaslaney; the poundage of Ardglas and Strangford; the Differens in Ulster; Shanlys in Westmyth . . . ff. vi^o

The myll of Aghersketh. A message in Cromlyn. The demaynes of Rathmore. The custom toll of the Naace. The teth of Ballygyll. The lordship of Ballygarth. The ffysching of the Bann. The archdekinry of Myth. Dromyn in ffebolke. The millis of Old Rosse & Rossponde. Cowlekir in Ossere. The horsemyll of Kildare. The mill of Dromollyn. The castel and mill of Lexlip. Ballysallagh in Maghyghurkne,¹ set to Dermot O'Coffy, Rymo^r. The manor of Ardmulghan, sett to John ffele.

FEES, *Folios viii^o. and ix^o.*

Of y^e P^or of Lanthony², yerly *xli*. Of the Abbot of the Navan, yearly *xls*. Of the Archdekin of Myth, *vii*. yerly. Of the Abbot of Granard, yerly *xls*. Of Xp^ofer Plunket, of Donsaghly,³ yerly *xls*. Of ffer-rall O Gibne, yerly *vis. viijd.* Of Thomas Kannyn Vicar of Gyrly, yerly *vis. viijd.* Of the P^or of Molynger, under the co^en seal yerly. Of James Plunket fitz Richard, yerly . . . Of David Wellesley, archdekin of Kildare, *xiiis. iiijd.* yerly. Of the P^or of S^t Thomas of Athy, *ii*. rudders yerly. Of George Drake, *xxvis. viiid.* Of Clanm^evarde in Uriel, [Rymor^e] to my lorde and his heyres, *vi*. rudders yerly, at hallontyde. Of . . . Had-sor and his heyres, unto my lorde and his heyres, *xls*. Of Cowle Amory Moybrekry, in Mith, unto my lord, yerly *vis. viijd.* yerly. Of thabbot of Stroughyr, *iiii*. rudders to be at Hallontid. Of the Prest of Kilrush, for the s^vice of the same, payable at Shroftide, *x*. gallons hony. Of Shan O'Mony, p^oson of Geisill, yerly *vi*. melsh kyne. Of Gerot Dalton of Moymor in Westmyth, yerly *vis. viijd.* Of Remond Dillon, captayn of his nation, *cccc. elys⁴ or ijd.* for ev^o eeil unpayed. Of the Vicar of Yre-gane, yerly *ij*. rudders. Of Morish fitz Richard Delamare of Westmyth *vis. viijd.* to be paid in Rup. A Waer in the hawyn of Waterford, *xxs.* yerly. The di teths of Tymoeg in Leys *xls.* yerly in Kenanston. *xli.* in Kylmaynonwood. *xls.* in Cradoekiston & Ponchiston. *viiij.* gallons hony upon James tharchdekins son. Upon William O'Senaght, *c. ellis*. Sir James-Shffielde, *xxs.* Upon thabbot of Kilbeagan, *iiij.* bevis. Upon Sir Alexandre Plunket, preste, and his brother Edwarde, *xxli.* yerly. Upon Cayr O'Doyne, yerly *iiij.* rudd^{is}. From the P^or of Kilmaynam,

¹ Machaire-Cuirene, the barony of Kilkenny West, in the county of Westmeath. The O'Coffy clan were hereditary poets, or rhymers.

² Llantony Priory, in South Wales.

³ A large castellated mansion in Fingal.

⁴ Eels. The payer of this fee had probably been created "captain of his nation" by the Earl. He perhaps commanded the great eel fishery near Athlone.

TABULA, *adhuc*.

the town of Kylbride, with the teth, and the teth of Kilcock. Upon the Vicar of Dromranye, iij. m^sks. Upon John Plunket fitz Ric. yerly in Crosskyle, vis. viii^d. Upon the Vikere of Olde Ross, yerly xxx. A rod-der yerly upon the P'son of Preston. Upon the P'son of Pierceton in Westmith, ffour pound^f yerly. Upon the Bushop of Wat^sford, ffyve pound^f yerly.

THE SAID ERLE IS DUTIES UPON IRISSEMEN.¹

TABULA.

ffurst, M ^c Morghe is contre. O'Morowis countre, called Ophelome. O'Nolane is countre, called ffoughert,	ff. xiii.
O'Byrne is countre.	
O'Ryanes countre. O'Thole is countre, called O'Mayle and in Gleancapp,	ff. xv.
Leysh, O'Mores countre. Ossery, M ^c Gillepatrikes countre,	ff. xvi.
Iregane, O'Donnes countre. Irre, M ^c Morish is countre,	ff. xvii.
Clanemalyry, O'Dympsy is countre. O'Connors countre of Offaly,	ff. xviii.
Fferkeall, O'Molmoyses countre. Kynealeagh, Mageogheganes countre,	ff. xix.
Moynertaganes, the Shynnaghis countre. Clancolman, O'Mullalaghlynes countre,	ff. xx.
Calrye, Magawuleyes countre. Breavoyne, O'Braynes countre. The Anaile, O'fferalls countre,	ff. xxi.
The Breany, O'Realy is countre. Uriel, M ^c Mathona is countre,	ff. xxii.
Moylorg, M ^c Deramada is countre. Kylene mannagh, O'Dowir is countre,	ff. xxiii.

The Awowsyn of Benefisis longing to therll of Kildare,	ff. xxviii.
The Cess to the Werk,	ff. xxix.
Therll of Kildare is myllis,	ff. xxx.
The forme of doing ymmage and ffealtie,	ff. xxxi.

The Rentall of the Erll of Kyldare is Land^f, begynning with the countie of Kyldare, ff. xxxi.
 The Riall s^rvⁱce of the said countie, longing to the said Erll.
 The Rentail of the said Erll is land^f, in the countie of My^th, ff. xlii.

¹ These were "duties" or tributes rendered to the Earl of Kildare by various Gaelic

clans in consideration of the protection afforded them by that powerful nobleman.

TABULA, *adhuc.*

The said Erle is plate, beginning with gyllid plate,	ff. lvii.
Whyte plate,	ff. lix.
Landf in the countie of Uriel, of the said Erll,	ff. lxi.
The said Erlf is landf in the com' of Dublin, beginning in,	ff. lxxv.
The said Erle is landf in the com' of Cathirlagh, beginning in,	ff. lxxvi.
The said Erl is landf in the com' of Wexford, beginning in	ff. lxxviii.
Hys lands in the com' of Kylkenny,	ff. lxxviii.
The com' of Typpary,	ff. lxxix.
The countie of Watforde,	ff. lxxx.
The com' of Corke,	ff. lxxxi.
The countie of Lymlike,	ff. lxxxii.
Connaght,	ff. lxxxiii.
Lecayll,	ff. lxxxvi.
The Cesse of the Worke,	ff. xxxix.
Th'erll of Kildaref Millf,	ff. xxx.
The Fo'me of doing homage and Foyaltie.	
The copie of the Rentall of the Erll of Kildaref landf in the countie of Kildare,	ff. xxxi.
The Riall s'vice longing to the said Erle in the said countie,	ff. xl.
The Rentale is of the said Erlf land in the countie of Myth, beginning	ff. xlii.
The Inventarie of the said Erlis Plate, beginning in	ff. lvii.
The Latyn Bokf in the said Erlis Library,	ff. lxxviii.
The ffrensh Bokef and Englishe Bokf in the said Librari,	ff. lxxix.
The Irish Bokf in the said Library,	ff. liii ^{xx} .

(To be continued.)

NOTICE OF A RARE BOOK, ENTITLED, "BEWARE THE CAT."

BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

ABOUT twenty-four years ago, a singularly curious and interesting volume, under this quaint title, was advertised for sale in Thorpe's Catalogue, at the price of seven guineas. The book, a duodecimo, was printed in black letter, in London, by Allde, in the year 1584. Thorpe believed it to be unique. It had belonged to, among other collectors, Richard Heber, whose enormous library of rare works so well served Sir Walter Scott. Heber considered it the most curious volume in all his vast collection, as illustrative of the times, and