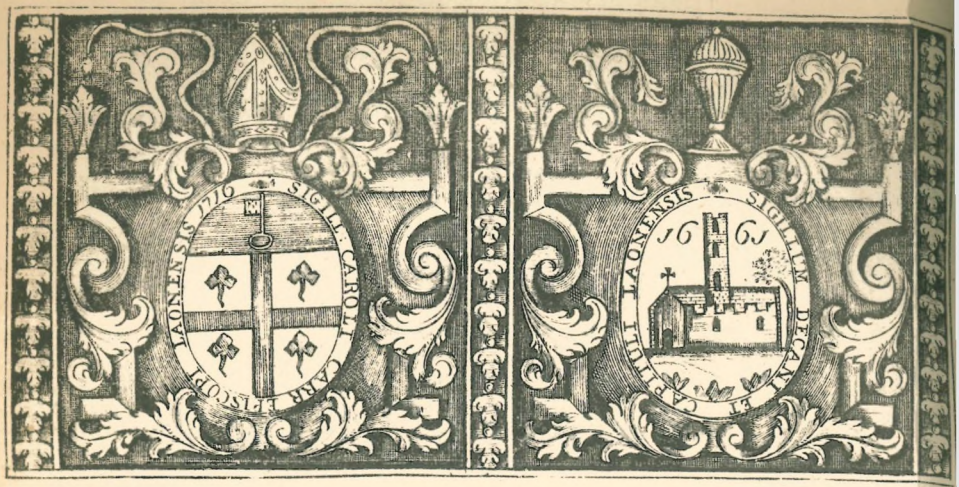


F. J. R. Hort



ARMS OF THE BISHOPS OF KILLALOE

AND

SEAL OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER.

[*This See bears Pearl, a Cross Sapphire, between four Trefoils, Emerald, one in each Quarter. on a Chief of the Second, a Key erected, bow downwards, Topaz.*]

It is valued in the King's Book by an extent returned Anno. 28 Eliz. at 20l. Sterl. (Harris' Ware.)

AUTOGRAPHS OF BISHOPS OF KILLALOE, &c.

Emis Leonensis

Edw. Killalow

Henry Killalo

Dan Laonensis

Jo Laonens

J Abbadie DD Dean

27997

THE

DIOCESE OF KILLALOE

FROM THE REFORMATION

TO THE

CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

With an Appendix.

BY

REVEREND PHILIP DWYER, A.B.,

VICAR OF DRUMCLIFFE AND CANON OF DYSERT, IN THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE.

"IF THE LORD HIMSELF HAD NOT BEEN ON OUR SIDE WHEN MEN ROSE UP AGAINST US."—PSALM CXXIV.

DUBLIN:

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1878.

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Jima Morrissey'a

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A WORD TO THE READER.

It may be allowable to mention that the following pages were written amidst the manifold cares and labours incidental to a parish minister. Also, that the writer knew of no diocesan history from which to borrow hints or summon help as to the manner in which such a work were best designed and carried out. And accordingly it may perhaps be looked upon with a little indulgence, as being the first attempt hazarded to penetrate the unexplored recesses of diocesan life in the Reformed Church of Ireland, and to make accessible the full disclosures. The writer would again thank the good friends who have furnished so many private documents of value, and remarks that he has used the authorities relied on rather in the way of exact citation than of loose reference—preferring accuracy of detail to smoothness of narration. The general reader must considerately bear in mind that matter has been largely introduced for the sake of those connected with the diocese by family ties; and it is hoped that such will possess themselves of a volume which contains a relation of the heroism and constancy of their forefathers. Though the work is narrative rather than controversial, an interesting episode of the latter kind will be found in a note on page 81, in Appendix VIII. The Appendix on Confiscations (V.) is cut short, owing to the great space it would have occupied if given in full. The illustrations have considerably increased the expenses of publication. The delay in completing the work was unavoidable.

Philip Dwyer.

Bindon Street, Ennis, *March* 23, 1878.



MAP

OF THE

DIOCESE OF KILLALOE

SCALE

EIGHT STATUTE MILES TO ONE INCH


Dysert
Templer
Dromcliffe
ENNIS
CLAR
IVER

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the Diocese of Killaloe have survived not a few rich and varied specimens of venerable ecclesiastical structures, from which, even without the aid of public records and local traditions, a pretty fair knowledge may be gained of the time and manner in which Christianity was promulgated and spread within the present diocesan borders. The same remark applies especially to the Dioceses of Kilfenora and Inniscattery, and even in some degree to that of Roscrea. Thus, for instance, the earliest form of ecclesiastical structure is the *Beehive House*. And (to use the words of Mr. Wakeman in his useful Handbook, p. 59) "A fine and hitherto unnoticed example occurs upon the rock called Bishop's Island, near Kilkee, upon the coast of Clare. It measures in circumference 115 feet. The exterior face of the wall, at four different heights, recedes to the depth of about one foot, a peculiarity not found in any other structure of the kind, and which was probably introduced with the view of lessening the weight of the dome-shaped roof. Adjoining this is an example of the second class of ecclesiastical structure, *the Oratory*, the erection of which is attributed to Senan, who lived in the sixth century, and whose chief settlement was at Scattery Island." So far of the remains of the "Island of the Starving Bishop," as it is called. But of oratories there are other specimens. Passing by the oratory at Nouhaval, called by the natives Davoran's Tomb, and the remains of two others at Carran Church, on the road between Lemaneigh Castle and New Quay, we may find additional

specimens of these remarkable structures on little islands and in lonely corners, as well as in more frequented localities—all standing as lasting memorials of the individual energy and heroic devotedness which animated the standard-bearers of the Cross in the prosecution of their great work. The form of this class of structure is peculiar. It is a stone house of diminutive size, constructed of cemented masonry of a superior class. The side walls are usually prolonged beyond the gables at the ends. The doorway is in the west, of massive blocks and sloping jambs. Some have an over-croft or upper chamber, doubtless to relieve the weight and be a sleeping-place for the hermit; and the roof is of stone. Some are built of rectangular slabs in overlaid courses. In others the interior is spanned by a barrel-vault. Wherever the masons may have come from, or whether Oriental models or traditions may have been before their minds, the earlier forms of oratories recall the Cloghauns of the Isles of Aran—a kind of building of stones laid one upon another, which are brought to a roof without any manner of mortar to cement them, some of which cabins will hold * forty men on the floor, so ancient that nobody knows how long ago any of them were made; scarcity of wood and store of fit stones, as that, peradventure, found out the first invention. So far Mr. Brash in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture," p. 7, &c., also the Author of "H Iar, or West Connaught," p. 6, Ed. Hardiman.

And it further would appear from the greater number of these structures on the Clare mainland, within easy reach of Aran Islands, that there can be little doubt of some bold "fellow-workers" in the Christian husbandry having laid the first foundations of piety and sowed the small grain of mustard seed diligently "among the infidels from Corcomroe." And thus the Isles of Aran became to the adjacent West of Ireland what the great missionary settlement on the Island of Iona under St. Columba became at first to the Eastern mainland of Scotland,† and afterwards to a wider circle of ecclesiastical illumination. But, however all this may be decided, two missionaries or hermits, Flannan and Mollua, have their names

* In the interior of one of these clohauns is laid by Mr. Burton the scene of "The Aran Fisherman's Drowned Child."

† See note at end of chapter.

identified with the two oratories which stand to this day, the one on Friar's Island and the other on the Clare side of the River Shannon, where Lough Derg had contracted into rapids, and the "Clare's ford" supplied a constant stream of passengers between Eastern and Western Thomond—some bent on business, some on pleasure, the more part, doubtless, on occasions engaged in cattle-lifting, which had a strange blended relish of both. But here they were sure to encounter those who would draw them, as well as they knew how, from sordid cares to Christian hopes and holy duties. Mollua's oratory, on Friar's Island, is somewhat damaged, yet its main features are easily discernible. But though his oratory is dilapidated, yet his name is associated with that of the diocese, Killaloe being pronounced by the learned to have come from Kil-omullua, or Kil-da-lua, "the Church of my Lua." On the other hand, Flannan's oratory, or rather the addition to it, after a narrow escape from complete destruction, is now in a state of security, having been carefully repaired in the year 1852 through the judicious energy of Rev. W. Edwards, A.M., at that time Economist and Curate of Killaloe.* But if the diocese is called after Lua, or Mollua, the cathedral is called after Flannan,—these two worthies thus fairly dividing the honours of ecclesiastical renown, the one at the crown and centre, the other over the widely-extended circumference of the diocese. The cathedral stands to the south of the supplemental portion of the oratory of St. Flannan, and with its great spreading shadows cast by the slanting sun of early eve obscures its humble predecessor. As to the exact time in which the cathedral was first built and under what circumstances rebuilt and repaired, and subjected to any further changes in its formation, full information will be found in Appendix.

Of the ecclesiastical buildings intermediate between the Beehive structure, with the pointed oratory on the one hand, and the cathedral and abbey on the other, only a brief notice is allowable in this Introduction. According as the hermit adventurer gathered converts around him, and "a flock" grew large enough to require extended accommodation for joint worship, an attempt was made to erect a building of a span to require the covering of a roof, and this often in close proximity

* See Appendix II., *sub fin.*

with the original oratory. So it is at Carran, so at Sladoo—a lonely place amid a wilderness of rocks in the parish of Carran in Burren Barony. The walls here are built with very small stones, the gables are rounded at the corners, the roof seems to have been arched like a bridge. There is a bench of stones all round the inside of the walls, evidently used for seating the congregation. The old simple stone-altar or slab still stands. Adjacent is what is called a Druids' altar, with a grave at the west end for the reception of the ashes of the dead in common. Near hand are two wells, called holy; also two cahirs, or stone forts, the stones not displaced, nor the floor disturbed. Probably this was an original settlement of Pagan immigrants, who have thus left behind the surviving traces of their dreary system and of the better hopes they afterwards entertained, and it is for the professional antiquarians to decide upon, or rather, perhaps, to wrangle over the position.

Other structures of this class exist, as "Temple-Cronan," a small church, nearly as old as Christianity in Ireland, and that equally ancient and well-preserved structure facing the Isles of Aran and standing by the Atlantic coast on the townland of Crumlin. But many specimens are extant of the class in advance of this, such as Oughtamama, Nouhaval, Disert, and Holy Island—all in Clare and Galway. The great feature of this class is their having a chancel divided off by a bold centre arch. But for further particulars reference is directed to Dr. Petrie's profound architectural speculations and to Lord Dunraven's exquisitely beautiful volumes of photographic illustrations.

And thus it was, that as individual converts were gathered into congregations, so also congregations in turn came to require the bond of diocesan unity and that combined action of many pastors and parishes under one Episcopal head of which the cathedral became the crown and centre. Although, indeed, in Ireland particularly, the ecclesiastical progress often ended in, if it had not originated from, the abbey and the monastery, as exponents of a system of complicated centralization; or, to use the words of the learned writer of "Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland" (Introduction, p. 37):—

"At home the Church was struggling against a lawless and savage Paganism, in the midst of which neither life nor pro-

perty was secure, and against a state of society in which a Christian life was impossible, except in a community exclusively Christian. Hence the monastic character impressed upon Irish Christianity from its first introduction into the island. A cœnobite association (not always rigidly confined to one sex) seemed the natural and almost the only means of obtaining for their inmates all the rites of the Church—those which could be administered by priests and those of which the proper minister was a bishop only. Hence the monastic bishop of the Scottish houses. The abbot or superior may have been a presbyter only or a layman, or, as in the case of St. Bridget and her dependent abbesses, even a woman. But a bishop was always connected with the Society, although without diocese or jurisdiction, and bound, like other inmates of the monastery, to render an absolute obedience to his monastic superior."

And to the same effect Dr. Reeves, in his learned edition of Adamnann's life of St. Columba, Additional Notes, p. 364 :— "The officers and servants of the community were at first but few; however, as the system became developed, the duties became defined, and agents in the various departments multiplied. Those which are recorded were—the abbot, prior, bishop, scribe, anchorite, butler, baker, cook, smith, attendant, messenger; to whom was added in after times the President of the Culdees." Again, he remarks :—"Those who desired to follow a more ascetic life than that which the Society afforded to its ordinary members withdrew to a solitary place in the neighbourhood of the monastery, where they enjoyed undisturbed meditation, without breaking the fraternal bond; the abode of such was called, from the Latin, desertum.* They agreed in their preference for the Presbyterate, their observance of the old-fashioned Easter, the anterior Eastern tonsure, and seclusion from female society." It is a remarkable fact that many of the monastic churches, which grew in after times to be bishops' sees, were formed by presbyters. The great promoters of the conventual system sought no higher order than such as would enable them, consistently with the vows of humility, to administer the Sacraments and conduct the ordinary devotions of their fraternities. The abbatial office gave them all the jurisdiction of the Episco-

* *E.g.*, Dysert and Kill-dysert.

pate without its responsibilities, and little more was left to the bishop than the essence of his office—the transmission of holy orders, with the personal reverence that was due to the holder of so important a commission." And to the like effect may be noted the remark of Archbishop Usher in his Discourse on Religion of Irish, chap. vi. :—"Of the regulars there was a great number in Ireland, because here almost all the prelates were wont to be chosen into the clergy out of the monasteries. For our monasteries in ancient time were the seminaries of the ministry; being, as it were, so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people usually resorted for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers." Thus, then, while it will be allowed that much is due in the dark ages to the monastery and abbey, and many may have been the ways in which they proved beneficial, yet, on the other hand, the injurious effects impressed by these institutions both upon the parochial and diocesan systems were many, and great and of long duration. While the richer offerings, the fairest lands, and (after the institution of tithes in Ireland) the greater tithes fell to the share of the abbey and the monastery, the work of the parish was entrusted to the "vicarius," or substitute priest—and a very pitiful substitute indeed he was. With his slender store of learning and miserable way of living, he soon lost all influence for good upon the wild chieftain, and sank into worthless companionship with the cowkeeper and the kerne. And the Reformation, instead of curing, perpetuated these sore evils; nay, even intensified them. The benefices formerly appropriate to monastic institutions now became impropriate in lay patrons—(see Browne, Eccl. Law, p. 22)—and consequently no clerical ministrations of any kind were available in consideration of the greater tithes; also this deficiency of clerical labour took place chiefly in and around the place where the monastery or abbey stood, which in many cases had grown into an important town or city. And thus the parishes most needing rich endowments and numerous labourers were involved in the opposite conditions. And it is well known how the Crown seized upon the lands and tithes—not regarding (as Bishop Jeremy Taylor put it) "the good, but the goods of the Church"—and passed them away in every direction

with a reckless profusion among hungry courtiers and manifold claimants. Indeed the spirit of ecclesiastical spoliation had become so rife that the Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen of Ireland could not be led to restore anything even in the days of Philip and Mary. And afterwards, when the Convention sat at Kilkenny, Carte tells how the Provincial of Augustins was hissed out of the house by the lay impropriators and gentlemen, and that he threatened to wipe off the dust from his feet and those of his friars, and to bend his course beyond the seas, if the possessions of his Order were not restored. (Carte i. 367. Ann. 1642.)

Nor was this all. Not only had the parochial and diocesan systems been each reduced to a low condition, but one of them, the diocesan, was made to swallow up a great portion of the other. Attention is directed particularly to the system of bishops in bishoprics that were slenderly endowed, or rather indeed abundantly robbed, supplementing an utterly inadequate income by holding livings *in commendam* under the Act of 25 Henry VIII., c. 21. Examples of this are, alas, forthcoming in the ensuing narrative. And then, again, the sad detail requires notice of the alienations, retentions, depressed settings and unscrupulous farmings out of the lands and tithes still left behind to the Church, as practised only too often by ecclesiastics of high degree. As if to point with most glaring illustration the moral not only that a man's but even a Church's foes shall be they of their own household, a class of bishops came upon the stage of affairs of whom the following is related as their most eminent and memorable achievement:—

"The bishoprics were dilapidated by fee-farms and long leases at small rents. These had been granted by the Popish bishops, who resolved to carry with them as much as they could, and partly by their Protestant successors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, disposed enough to make use of the same arts. By such means on the one side and on the other, many bishopricks were made extremely small, some reduced to £100 per annum, and some to £50, as Waterford and Kilfenoragh, &c.; some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh, and particularly Cloyne, the Bishop of which was called 'Episcopus quinque markarum,' or the Five Marks Bishop; Aghadoe was £1 6s. 8d., Ardfert £60; Limerick had about

five parts out of six made away by fee-farms or encroached upon by undertakers. The like was done in Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, *and Killaloe.*" (Bramhall's Works, vol. i., Appendix xviii. Lib. Anglo-Cat. Theol.)

And to this must be added the systematic neglect of the Crown "Fermor," or lessee, to fulfil the conditions required by his contract in reference to repairs of chancels, not to mention other terms of his contract unfulfilled, nor to expatiate on his systematic invasions of ecclesiastical rights, commenced in barefaced fraud, carried forward by perjury, and upheld by violence and intimidation. All these hostile forces acting upon the Church from without and from within, further impoverished what had been freely plundered, in so much that, of the Church of the Reformation period and of the Diocese of Killaloe, not less than others, the old saying seems to hold good—"Nil habuit Codrus et tamen infelix hoc perdidit omne."

Of all this, abundant evidence will be adduced in the following pages.

As to the original *form* and *size* of the Diocese of Killaloe—*per se*—it may have been influenced, as in other cases, by the civil boundaries. "The principality of Thomond, generally called the county of the Dalcassians, comprised the entire of the present county of Clare, the parishes of Inniscaltra and Clonrush, in the county of Galway, the entire of Ely O'Carroll, the baronies of Ikerrin, Upper and Lower Ormond, and somewhat more than the western half of the barony of Clanwilliam, in the county of Tipperary. The baronies of Owneybeg, Coonaght, and Clanwilliam, and the eastern halves of the baronies of Smallco'y and Coshlea, in the county of Limerick. Having thus defined, according to the best historical evidences, the extent and boundaries of Thomond; the county Clare, in Regno. Elizabeth, was properly called Thomond, or North Munster." So far the learned writer of the "Ordinance Survey of Clare." (Antiquities in R. I. A. 14, c. i. page 9.) On this it is only to be observed that the boundaries continue the same, with the exception of the line bordering on the county of Limerick, to the south of which only one parish, that of Stradbally Union, still belongs to the Diocese of Killaloe, the rest having been most probably separated and attached to Limerick on the forfeitures which ensued after the Desmond

or some other rebellion, in which some of the Mac O'Briens of Coonagh and of North Limerick had implicated themselves deeply.

The Diocese of Roscrea, lying to the north-east, was added to that of Killaloe late in the 12th century. Traces of the ecclesiastical structures connected with the head-quarters at Roscrea remain to this day, and present features of no slight success attained in the cultivation of the graceful and beautiful in architecture. The diocese seems to have originated in a great ecclesiastical seminary, and was of but limited extent, not going beyond the little Brosna River on the north, and restrained by a mountain range on the east, by the Shannon on the west, and on the south by the great plain of Ormond. In fact, this diocese seems to have been exactly the same as the territory of the O'Karvils or O'Carrolls, with that of the O'Kennedys added on. A curious light is recently shed upon these times and upon the relation of Killaloe to Roscrea Diocese, from the learned researches of Mr. Sweetman. (Calendar of Documents, Ireland, A.D. 1171—1251. No. 2,760.)

"Donatus, Bishop of Killaloe, writes to the King thanking him for commanding the justiciary of Ireland to cause an inquisition to be taken as to what lands the Bishop's church had been deprived of, transmits the inquisition, and prays the King to persevere in his good purpose of exalting the Bishop's church.

"Inquisition (issued) as to whether the lands of Roscrea ought to belong to the Bishoprick of Killaloe, by whom they were alienated, and what they were really worth—taken at Roscrea on Wednesday next after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, A.R. 29, before ——, a jury, who say that in time past Murchercath MacBren ravaged the lands of Herman and Hely-O'Karrill, and levelled five castles there, whereupon the King's force and Council in Ireland assembled at Roscrea to expel M. MacBren. The lands were at that time in the hand of Cornelius O'Heny, then Bishop of Killaloe, as of right belonging to his bishoprick. The King's Council commenced fortifying a castle on the Vill of Roscrea, by erecting a moat and wooden tower. Meanwhile Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, from England, Justiciary of Ireland, repaired by King's directions to the Vill. Hearing this, Bishop Cornelius came thither and prohibited a castle or any

fortification from being constructed in his ecclesiastical possessions, and said that if they proceeded further therein he would excommunicate the justiciary and the whole army. Thereupon the justiciary and the army prayed Bishop Cornelius on behalf of the King and for the common good that they might be allowed to fortify the moat and the wooden tower until the termination of war, undertaking in the King's name that the Bishop should then have the Vill and its appurtenances or the just value thereof. The Bishop thereupon granted permission accordingly. In this manner the lands of Roscrea were alienated. These lands are annually worth 35 marks of silver, and the Custodee of Roscrea receives the marches as his fee."

Another diocese was added to Killaloe, in the south-western extremity, namely, that of Inniscattery. The bishoprick of Limerick and Inniscattery were, according to Ware, united about the end of the twelfth century, but, according to Usher, the possessions were divided between Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardfert. Saint Patrick is liberally credited with the foundation of this see, also with a prophecy of Senanus. But people were as much over-inclined towards the sham supernatural in old times as they are now averse from the true. The founder was Senanus, a native. And he owes more for being generally known by the Irish public of this century to the graceful lyric of the poet Moore—

> Oh! haste and leave this sacred isle—

than to the doggrel Latin of the Hagiographer Colgan. It is curious to note the traditionary or legendary impressions connected with Inniscattery. They chiefly run on two points—first, how to turn out the *Piach*, or serpent, which had got possession of the isle, and, secondly, how to prevent the woman from gaining possession. "For, legends hint,"

> That had the maid
> Till morning's light delayed,
> And given the Saint one rosy smile,
> She ne'er had left his lonely isle.

For more on this and other localities the Topography of parishes in the Appendix must be consulted.

Kilfenora, a diocese situated on the north-west of the county of Clare and of rather small extent, was added to Killaloe in the

middle of last century. "There are no accounts to be depended upon concerning the time of the foundation of the see of Fenabore." Dr. Todd specially mentions it as one of those dioceses in which the district which owed allegiance to the chieftain, and was inhabited by his followers, became the proper field of labour to his bishops and clergy; and this was the first approach made to a diocesan or territorial jurisdiction in the Church of Ireland. Thus the bishopric of Cillmhic-Duach (now Kilmacduagh) is the ancient territory inhabited by the clan of the Ui-Fiachrach. The diocese of Kill Finnabrach (now Kilfenora) was the tribe-land of the Corca-Modmaidh, or Corcomroe. The founding of this diocese is usually attributed to St. Fachnan, of whom nothing certain is known. It is said that his brother founded a religious house at Ross. There is a very old monumental slab in the Cathedral of St. Fachnan, at the south corner under the east window, which is accepted by local tradition to have been erected in honour of this saint. His costume is remarkable, being evidently the tunicle or dalmatic. His tonsure seems *frontal*, as that of the Greek Church. The manner in which he holds (not a book, as erroneously asserted, but) the chalice is primitive and catholic (see further in Reeves' Adamnan, p. 350; Palmer's English Ritual, Appendix, Vestments, II. 309; and the Ritual Commissioners' Report, p. 383). As bearing on elevation, the following is laid down in the latter reference:—"The elevation of the blessed Sacrament was not incorporated formally into the law of the Western Church before the beginning of the thirteenth century. The account given by Cardinal Bona is clear and concise (Rerum Liturgicarum, lib. 2, ch. 3, sec. 2). Archbishop Peccham, consecrated 1278, appears to have first introduced into England this custom." On the passing of the Church Temporalities Act in 1833, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh dioceses were added to the union of Killaloe and Kilfenora.

It may not be superfluous to notice the *area* and *acreage*, the *situation*, *shape*, and *natural advantages* of the territory comprised within the present limits of the united diocese. The area of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh, is of very considerable extent, including the entire county of Clare, except some parishes near Limerick city belonging to Limerick diocese, and is found also in parts of Tipperary, King's County,

Limerick, and Galway, and covering the vast space of 1,707,851 acres, or taken separately—

In Killaloe	1,038,125
„ Kilfenora	135,746
„ Clonfert	394,320
„ Kilmacduagh . .	139,660

In respect of shape the united diocese of Killaloe and Kilfenora alone extends in length for over 100 miles from the Sleive Bloom Mountains in the north-east along the borders of the Queen's County to Loop's Head on the south-western extremity at the mouth of the Shannon. Its breadth varies from about thirty-two miles at its widest part, which is from Castle Connell to Blackhead, down to nine miles at the narrowest, near Parsonstown (see Beaufort's and the Royal Commissioners' maps). For such matters as its situation and natural advantages, the student of social science and economical progress in the West of Ireland is referred to the writings of Arthur Young, Dutton, Wakefield, Sir Robt. Kane, and to the Reports of the Fishery and Devon Commissioners. But natural advantages, whether of situation or of soil, have been little availed of. Things remain—or rather relapse into—such state as they were found in three hundred years ago, the pastoral largely predominating in the West. Killaloe Cathedral and the Episcopal seat, although not exactly in the centre of the united diocese, are generally accessible by railway communication from the three chief diocesan angles lying on the northern, eastern, and western extremities of the diocese—viz., Ballinasloe, Nenagh, and Ennis. Indeed, lines connecting these towns form a triangle containing the main central portion of the united diocese. What falls outside is easily and about equally reached from these three points.

The history of the temporalities of this united diocese within the period under review is mixed up in a considerable degree with the fortunes of the houses of Thomond, Clanrickarde, and Oliver Grace.

The distribution and valuation of the bishopric, rectories, vicarages, and dignities as given in the King's Books stand as follows, none being found for Killaloe prior to King Charles I., although Bishop Rider alludes to parishes taxed in the King's Book. The particulars are to be found in

"Valor Beneficiorum Ecc. in Hibernia," Dublin, 1743, Ex shaw, p. 21, and in this instance have been tested carefully by comparison with the original in the Record Office. It may be also observed that most of the valuations in other dioceses were made in prior reigns; but doubtless fit Commissioners could hardly be found to execute such a trust in Tipperary or Clare at an earlier period with anything like completeness. Besides, the Commissioner named was a County Clare man, Mr. Delahoyde; and, above all, the livings were so poor and mean as not to bear taxation. "Rectories not exceeding 5*l.*, and vicarages not exceeding 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, being both exempted from taxation for firstfruits."

From the "Valor Beneficiorum" in Record Office:—"Taxatio et extenta dignitatum et beneficiorum spiritual infra diocesen prædict, noviter fact per Rowlandum Delahoyde, militem et alios Commissionarios virtute Commiss. Dni nostri Regis Caroli iis directæ et returnatæ in hoc scaccarium termino Sancto Michæl, anno Reg. dict. Dom^ni^ Regis Caroli quinto."

DIŒCESIS LAONENSIS.

	Sterling.		
1. Episcopatus, *ib.*	£20	0	0
2. Decanatus	5	6	8
3. Precentoriatus.....	1	6	8
4. Cancellariatus	6	0	0
5. Thesauriatus	2	0	0
6. Archi Diaconatus ...	3	6	8
7. Præb. de Clonydagad (vasta)	0	10	0
8. Præb. de Tomgreney.	5	0	0
9. „ Rath-blanage .	1	6	8
10. „ Ennis Cathie .	4	0	0
11. Logh Cayne	3	0	0
12. Præb. et R. de Dysert	2	0	0
13. „ de Tullo	3	0	0
14. „ de Clondagad.	0	10	0
(Seems given above already.)			
15. Rect. de Ogashin ...	3	0	0
„ de Traderry ...	6	0	0
16. „ de Kilmaferboy	3	0	0
17. „ de Dromclyffe, als Ogormuck.....	5	0	0
18. Rect. de Killinaboy...	1	6	8
19. „ de Rath	1	6	8
20. „ de Kilkeedy ...	1	0	0
21. „ de Obloyde.....	5	0	0
(Quære O'Mullod, but perhaps here called and spelled more closely after Blod, son of Cass.)			

	Sterling.		
22. Rect. de Roscrey.....	£7	0	0
23. „ de Birra	6	0	0
24. „ de Moydriney .	5	0	0
25. „ de Moysse (now called Monsea)	6	13	4
26. Vic. de Clonrush.....	0	6	8
28. „ de Inishecaltragh	0	6	8
29. „ de Castle Connell	2	0	0
30. „ de Quyn	0	10	0
31. „ de Clonee	0	13	4
32. „ de Durey	0	6	8
33. „ de Kilmurry als Duffkeyne ...	0	6	8
34. „ de Tomfynlagha.	0	10	0
35. „ de Kilmalyra ...	0	5	0
36. „ de Kilcomery ...	0	13	4
37. „ de Clonloghan ...	0	5	0
38. „ de Bonratty	1	8	4
39. „ de Clonadagad...	0	10	0
40. „ de Kilfedan	0	6	8
41. „ de Killafin	0	6	8
42. „ de Kilmurry.....	0	10	0
43. „ de Kilamory.....	0	6	8
44. „ de Kilfieragh ...	1	0	0
45. „ de Moartagh ...	0	10	0
46. „ de Kilbannyhoyne	0	13	4
47. „ de Killardagh ...	0	10	0
48. „ de Killyferby ...	0	13	4

	Sterling.
49. Vic. de Kilmakadowen	£0 10 0
50. „ de Dromcliff, als O'Cormock ...	0 13 4
51. Rect. de Killanora (*sic*) et Vic. ejusdem	2 0 0
52. Vic. de Rath-blanage	0 6 8
53. „ de Killeneboy ...	0 5 0
54. „ de Kilkidye	0 6 8
55. „ de Killeneawgh .	1 0 0
56. „ de Moysey	1 0 0
57. „ de Kneagh	1 0 0
58. „ de Kilbarrayne...	3 0 0
59. „ de Ard Cromey	
60. „ de Ballyngarry .	0 13 4
61. „ de Uskean.....	1 0 0
62. „ de Burresakeyn .	1 0 0
63. „ de Fynough	0 10 0
64. „ de Moydriney ...	3 0 0
65. „ de Oghill	0 10 0
66. „ de Burgessbogga	0 6 0
67. „ de Roscrey	2 0 0
68. „ de Burrechin ...	0 6 8
69. „ de Dowcorrchin .	0 5 0
70. Rec. et Vic. de Finglassye	0 10 0
71. Vic. de Templenohorry.....	0 13 4
72. Rec. et Vic. de Kilcomyn	0 10 0
73. Vic. de Soyanrone ...	0 13 4
74. Rec. et Vic. de Kilmurry	
75. Vic. de Etagh	0 13 4
76. „ de Birra	3 0 0
77. Rec. et Vic. de Kelterlana	1 0 0
78. Rec. et Vic. de Kynity	£2 0 0
79. Vic. de Rossmacrowe	0 10 0
80. Rect. de Clonfert Mollore	0 13 4
81. Rect. de Fynagh ...	3 0 0
82. „ de Durragh ...	3 0 0
83. Vic. de Aglyneclogh-rane	1 0 0
84. Vic. de Ballylough-cugn	1 0 0
85. Rec. de Baunagh-cayne	3 0 0
86. Vic. de Killansowlagh.....	0 10 0
87. „ de Clonleagh...	1 0 0
88. „ de Kilfinaghta .	1 0 0
89. „ de Kilteelagh .	1 0 0
90. „ de Killokendice	1 0 0
91. „ de Killnoe	2 0 0
92. „ de Killuran ...	0 15 0
93. „ deOgonoka(this seemed in original rather like de Ogonola)	2 0 0
94. Vic. de Moynoe.....	0 15 0
95. „ de Kiltanaleigh	1 0 0
96. „ de Kilbraghtas	1 0 0
97. „ de Tullo	3 0 0
98. „ de Templemalie	0 15 0
99. „ de Insicronane.	3 0 0
100. „ de Dysert	4 0 0
101. „ de Finagh	0 5 0
102. „ de Kilchrist ...	1 0 0
103. „ de Killidisart .	2 0 0
104. „ de Kilmihill ...	1 0 0

The title in the printed vol. of the "Valor Beneficiorum" gives the following abridged heading:—"Hæc extenta et Taxatio partim facta fuit 5 anno Car. I., per Rowland Delahoide et alios Commissionarios."

The taxation of Kilfenora district is not given in the King's Books, doubtless owing to the tenuity of the endowments.

In the Appendix will be found the topography of the parishes briefly set forth from the best authorities, also a map on the lines of Dr. Beauford's.

The events connected with the internal and external state of the Church within the limits of the Diocese of Killaloe and Kilfenora it shall be our aim to record. The task is not lightly entered upon, and is more difficult than even the indulgent

may be ready to allow. Should, however, this sketch of a diocesan history serve in ever so slight a degree to cheer along the path of Christian devotedness those whose ancestors fought the good fight of faith; should these pages direct the attention of others outside to a diocese long placed in most trying circumstances, the labours of the writer will not be altogether lost, nor the censure of presumption prove intolerable to him.

That he has enjoyed the help of kind and learned friends must be evident. Their names shall be mentioned in connexion with the manuscripts they lent and the helps they have given. On the other hand, local advantages and access to some private collections have resulted in too many instances in but slender additions to what had been already published by Bishop Mant and Archdeacon Cotton, &c. Indeed, Ware's lament too often turned out true:—"I have found so few memoirs of the Bishops of it (viz., Kilfenora), that I am under a necessity of owning that the following catalogue of them is very lame and imperfect." And Archdeacon Cotton re-echoes the lament:—"In truth the lists of succession in almost every diocese are defective; and the information which could be gleaned respecting individuals very scanty."

NOTE, p. 2.—ARAN ISLANDS.—Colgan, in vit. S. Endei Abbatis Araniensis (p. 704) die 21 Januarie, draws the following glowing picture:—"Auro illo sæculo quinto, quo cœlestium astrorum numerum Sanctorum syderibus sacra Insula Hiberniæ propè æquabat, cœpit mirabilis conversio et mirifica conversatio, S. Endei Abbatis," &c. Colgan, however, relates that the records of the Island are lost—a loss, indeed, when the facts known are so few, and the fictions so freely spun round them have given to the whole account the complexion of a mediæval romance.

CHAPTER II.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

The question whether the King of England or the Roman Pontiff was to be supreme in England and in Ireland in all causes spiritual and temporal became mature for decision in the reign of King Henry VIII. Nor was this a novel contention. On the contrary, as Sir John Davis remarked in his "Speech at the censuring of Recusants" (Calendar of State Papers, King James I., 1605, No. 580), "The prerogative of the King in matters Ecclesiastical is no new thing invented in the time of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Queen Elizabeth, but hath been a flower of the Crown from the beginning, ever since any Church had been planted in England or Ireland. . . . . And as the law had given the King this power and jurisdiction, so had it excluded all foreign princes and prelates, and particularly the Bishop of Rome. . . . . That was the voice of the people in open Parliament at that time. . . . . Before the Statute of Premunire, the ancient common law was, that whoever brought a bull of excommunication against any of the King's subjects was adjudged a traitor . . . . thus the law utterly excluded the Pope. . . . . He spoke of the old common law and statute law for 400 years before King Henry VIII. was born. The judges who expounded those laws were not Protestants, but old Popish judges, learned in the canon law. Not one king since the Norman Conquest but had claimed and used that authority." As to the Acts re-establishing the King's supremacy, which was the first step of reformation, it will be remembered that in the year of our

Lord 1537, King Henry VIII., having had his supremacy in the Church of England "recognised by the clergy and authorized by Parliament," naturally desired the establishment of the like supremacy in the Church of Ireland. Accordingly a Parliament was summoned in Dublin, and at length, notwithstanding "thobstancie of the spiritualitie used in this cession," the Supremacy "Bills overcame all opposition, and were passed into law." But another Act was also passed in the year 1541, at the suggestion of Bishop Staples of Meath, by which Henry was declared to be not "*Dominus*," but "*Rex Hiberniæ*," "which style and name of *Rex Hiberniæ* shall no doubt put many fantasies and opynions out of Irishmens heddes, that they held before to the contrary: and especially that abhominable error, that the most of them reputed the Busshop of Rome as hedd and King of this land, For prouffe and experiment of the same to be true, divers of them sithens, rather inclyned to obedience and conformitie." (Cal. St. Papers, Pt. III., H. VIII., page 341.) And the Bill was read, and declared to the said Lords, who most willingly with all the rest of the Lords spiritual and temporal consented to the same: and after three times read with like consent, it was sent to the lower house, where it likewise passed with no less joy and gladness. Among "the names of such Lords both English and Irish as were at the same, who gave their liberal consents thereunto," we read as the representatives of the Diocese of Killaloe:—

Episcopus Lawonensis.
Episcopus Duanensis=Duacensis, or Kilmacduagh.
Episcopus Clonfortensis.

We also find the heads of the laity connected with the diocese well represented by proxies, viz.:—

Isti nondum sunt de Parliamento. { Procuratores Domini Obrene. Willielmus de Burgo, sue nacionis capitaneus. Donat Obrene. (*Ubi supra*, page 307.)

The proxies of the first party above, Sentleger calls "deputies assigned by the greate Obrien to be for him in the Parliament."

The letter of Sentleger to King Henry VIII. announces the passing of this Act as a step of the greatest importance to the King, and tells how "all the hoole Howse moste willinglye and joyouslye condissended

and agreid to the same;" he adds, "and for that the thing passeth so joyously, and so miche to the contentation of every person, the Sonday foloing ther were made in the citie greate bonfires, wyne sette in the stretis, greate festinges in their howses with a goodly sort of gunnes." The King on this occasion issued a proclamation for a general pardon, And the said Sonday, all the Lordes and gentilmen rode to your Chirche of Sent Patrikes, where was song a solempne masse by the Archebisshop of Dublin, and after the Masse, the said Acte proclaymed ther in presens of 2000 parsons, and Te Deum song, with greate joye and gladnes to all men, And forbicause my riches is small, I have sente Your Majestie a poore paier of gloves of silke, beseching Your Majestie to accepte the same so simple a presente, as of him that wold as gladly presente yow with the empier of hoole worlde, if it were in him to gyve; beseching Almighti God to send Your Excellente Magestie no lesse honour than the moste honorable that ever raigned in erthe.

Your Magestes humble subject and sarvant,

ANTONY SENTLEGER.

It would be a grievous omission if we did not give one other extract from the letter just quoted in reference to the Speaker of the House and the object sought in the session. The writer uses the following terms: "and the Friday following being assembled in the place of Parliament accustomed, the Commons presented unto us their Speaker, one Sir Thomas Cusake, a man that haath right painfully served your Majesty at all times; who made a right solemn proposition in giving such laud and praise to your Majesty, as justly and most worthily your Majesty hath merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome out of this your Realm (who had of many years been a great robber and destroyer of the same), as also for your innumerable benefits showed unto your Realms and subjects of the same."

That the effects of the Supremacy Laws should have been anticipated as injurious, and resisted accordingly by the Court of Rome, is only what might be expected to have taken place in a land which had proved a mine of wealth to the Bishop of Rome, as Sentleger states above—in a land, too, where the Pontiff had devoted adherents ready for any amount of treason and conspiracy, which they might justify to themselves on the score "that the King's Highness is an heretic against the faith because he obeyeth not and believeth not the Bishop of Rome's primacy." (*Ubi supra*, p. 147.) Besides this, these men were reckless, who "*woll have all, or lose all.*"

The attitude which the *Spirituality* assumed is now presented. On the one hand Archbishop Browne of Dublin writes to Crumwell thus: "Concerning even his Diocese of Dublin and province of the same, where the King's power ought to be best known, yet that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over once to preach the Word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious Prince." The Archbishop then censures their inconsistency, "who will now not once open their lips in any pulpit for the manifestation of this, although they used to preach very often until the right Christians were weary of them." And again he deplores that "there is never an archbishop or bishop but myself made by the King but he is repelled, even now by provision." (S. P., vol. ii., H. VIII., part III. pp. 539, &c.) The conduct towards the "Fourme of Beades" indicates the existence of an intense opposition to the Royal supremacy. And Archbishop Browne complains to Crumwell of one Prebendary Humphrays playing a daring trick indicating this opposition: "When the form of beades should have been customably read in the manner set forth, the Prebendary scorned to read them, and the preacher went up into the pulpit and there began to read them to the people. He had only read three or four lines, when the parson began the preface and the choir sang, insomuch that the beades were unbidden." The Archbishop complains, "they be in manner all at the same point with me. There is an twenty-eight of them, and amongst them all there is not three learned of them, nor yet scarce one that favoureth God's Word." (*Ubi supra*, iii. iii., p. 7.) And the Archbishop, vehemently pressing his demand for a Master of Faculties, tells Crumwell how the friars expect now daily to bring the people's minds to their own "lewre that they mought be once again esteemed as young Godes—which God forbid they should." But then, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the supremacy was insisted upon as a crucial test of loyalty due to the Crown on the part of the Church. In the ordinances for Ireland of 1534 the following appears: "Forasmuch as it is notorious and manifest that the abominable abuse and usurpation of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, by his provisions and otherwise, hath not only

destroyed the Churches of Ireland, but also been the most occasion of the division and dissension amongst the people of the said land, and the desolation, ruin, and decay of the same, the King's Highness, like a most virtuous Christian Prince, above all things desiring the repressing of any enormity or abuse which by any means might tend to the violation of the laws of God, or be an occasion to his people to digress from charity or Christian manners—willeth and straightly chargeth and commandeth his deputy and council of that land, that they and every of them, endeavour themselves to their powers to resist the said Bishop of Rome's provisions and other his pretensed and usurped jurisdiction according to the statutes thereupon provided, and the like to be enacted there the next Parliament." In 1583 Bishop Staples of Meath writes: "Over this mine advice shall be, that his Lordship appoint some means how that such bishops as had their Bulls of the Bishop of Rome, by our Sovereign Lord's commandment may bring in their Bulls, cancelling the same, and to have some remembrance from his Highness, which shall stand them in like effect with the same." (*Ubi supra*, iii. iii., p. 28.) Cowley to Crumwell deplores the ejection, from a diocese in the West, of Bishop de Angulo or Nangle, the King's presentee, in favour of "one Roland Burke, who purchased Bulls from the Bishop of Rome," and adds, "Nothing was executed of the King's pleasure in that behalf, whereby general recourse is daily to Rome by religious men of the Irish nation and papisticalls, so that where in time past they repaired to the King's Highness to obtain his Grace's denomination, they go now immediately to Rome, and obtain what they pursue, so that there be now lately five bishops in Ireland, by the Bishop of Rome's authority, besides abbots and priors. And never so much suit from Ireland as now to Rome, all by permission and sufferance, without any persecuting." (*Ubi supra.*) Grey, in 1538, took a tour, "setting forward towards Ofaley, 17th June"; and in Limerick the following is related by him to have occurred:—"And after this I called before me the Bishop of Limerick, Coyn or Quin, and had him sworn likewise, according to the tenor of the Act of Supremacy, and hath commanded him to have all his clergy sworn, and the same to be certified unto your Chancery." (*Ubi supra*, p. 59.) And in "Galway he took the like order with the Bishop."

(P. 60.) The Council writes to Crumwell of a tour they took and of what they did at Clonmel. This is most valuable in evidence. "We kept sessions this day, and on Sunday the Archbishop of Dublin will preach here likewise, as he did in other places before mentioned, in the presence of all the Bishops of Munster, who, upon our commandment, been repaired thither for the most part already, and or (ever) they depart shall be sworn to the supremacy of the King and against the Bishop of Rome." (P. 115.) And as to the actual execution of this determination, the Council again to the same writes (p. 117) :— "At Clonmel was with us two archbishops and eight bishops (why not the Killaloe Bishop among them as a Suffragan of Cashel Province?), in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached in advancing the King's supremacy and the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, *all* the said bishops, in all the open audience, took the oaths mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, both touching the King's succession and supremacy, before me, the King's Chancellor. And divers others there present did the like."

Nor was this all. In 1542 Henry VIII. to Deputy and Council writes thus (S. P. III. III., 430): "Seventh, we be pleased that the late Master of Any shall be preferred to the Bishoprick of Emolye for his election; and to such Bishops as you shall think meet for his consecration as to take his oath and homage according to the minute which you shall receive herewith,— which oath our pleasure is that all Bishops to be hereafter made in that our realm of Ireland shall make unto us. And being these things done by you our Deputy, we will that by like warrant hereof, you our Chancellor shall with the advice consent and oversight of our Deputy make out and deliver to the said Bishop such and as many our writs and other writings under our seal in your custody as in such cases be requisite."

The King again in the case of another Bishop writes in 1543 (*ubi supra*, p. 476) :—"We have granted that the Bishop of Clonfert shall have the said Bishoprick confirmed unto him by our letters patent, so that he cancell and utterly renounce the Bishop of Rome's bulls and grants of the same; &c. &c."

How fully then is the following official language of the Archbishop of Dublin borne out:—"It appeareth plainly that the said Bishop of Rome hath nother autoritie ne pour, in this land

nor never had by Godds Lawes" (S. P. III. III., H. VIII., p. 565). It is to be fairly presumed that the Bishop of Killaloe, who voted for the title of "King" in Parliament in 1537, also took the oath of supremacy and abjured the Pope as Head of the Church; and that the Bishop in any intermediate vacancy of the see of Killaloe (such as in the case of O'Corrin), until Cornelius O'Dea, did the same. Of this latter the following entry appears in "Morin's Patent Rolls" (I., p. 130):— "20, Election of Cornelius O'Dea, Chaplain to the Earl of Thomond, to the Bishopric of Killaloe, vacant by the resignation of James Curyn;" also "consecration of Cornelius O'Dea, July 12th, 1546." Bishop O'Dea therefore may be well presumed to have obtained and held his office upon a solemn renunciation of the Pope's authority.

The attitude taken by the Laity of the Diocese of Killaloe in this reign is patent and beyond all reasonable dispute.

In the "State of Ireland"* it is narrated that there "Reigneth over sixty chief captains in Ireland, and every one of them liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth no other temporal person, but only to himself that is strong. And every other said captain maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by the sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his own room (or, territory), and obeyeth to no other person, English ne Irish, except only to such persons as may subdue him by the sword." "Hereafter folowyth the names of the Chyef Iryshe Regyons and Countreys of Twomounde and Chyef Captaines of the same:—

Obryen de Toybryen, Chyef Captaine of his nation.
Okenedy de Oromounde, „ „
Ocherwell de Ely, „ „
Omeaghyr de Ikery „ „
McMahunde de Bruye-Colls de Corkvaskyn „
Ochonochour de Corkenruo „ „
Ologhlyn de Boryn „ „
Ograde de Kenall Downall „ „
Obren de Arraghe* „ „

* State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 1.

† From river Arra, which runs by Nenagh and falls into Shannon at Dromineer.

Omolryan de When, or Owney, Chyef Captaine of his nation.
O'Dwyer de Kylnemanagh „ „
McBren de Coonagh „ „

The relation of Ireland to King Henry VIII. must have caused him much anxiety. On the one hand there was a foreign Potentate claiming to be the Sovereign Lord in both Temporals and Spirituals, and, on the other, there were the sixty captains, "reigning, every one of them—living only by the sword, and obeying no other temporal person but only himself, that is strong, and each one making war and peace for himself, and holding by the sword, and exercising Imperial jurisdiction, and obeying no other person, English or Irish, except only such persons as may subdue him with the sword." Here then were two extreme forms of rule in Ireland, both clashing with the King's authority. And the latter was not a heptarchy as once in Saxon England, but no less a thing than a Keltic *Sexagintarchy*, or *a dominion of sixty*, such as is related above. If the King broke with the foreign power and trode down its pretensions, it was needful that he should not break with but rather conciliate the sixty captains or as many of them as he could turn to his part. And in particular, of these formidable gentlemen the King had need to make fast friendships with those whose territories lay so far west of the English pale as Munster, and whose subjugation would involve the assembling of large armies and supplies, and the fitting out of vast and costly flotillas.

The submission, then, to the Crown of any of these captains, and above all of such distinguished leaders as the Lords of Thomond and Inchiquin, and the Tanists McNemarroe and O'Grady, must have been regarded as a grand stroke of policy, to be celebrated with pomp and ratified by gains. In fact, the whole thing was to be made very pleasing to the ambition and material interests of the Irish captains.

Accordingly, after several negotiations, the chief of these captains, Sir Donnough Obryen, wrote to the King a letter of submission, in which he addresses him as "under God my ledge Lord and vice Dei," and adds that though he made submission to the Deputy now in Ireland and had pardon under the Great Seal, yet his mind is never satisfied till he has done the same to the King's Grace in his own person, whom he most desires

to see above all creatures on earth living, now in his old days, which sight he doubts not but shall prolong his life." The Deputy also wrote to apprize the King that Sir Donnough in company with his uncle, Lord O'Brien, had determined to do his duty to his Majesty and to recognise his humble obedience for the same.

And "as he is a gentleman of hardy courage, and one that of long time hath right faithfully served his highness, the Deputy trusted that this access to his Majesty and the sight of his princely magnificence and the savouring of his most kingly bounty shall totally confirm him to good civility and order whereunto he is much given by his own inclination."

Accordingly, on Sunday July 1st, in the thirty-fifth year of King Henry VIII.'s reign, there was a most imposing spectacle elaborated to impress the minds of the native Irish chieftains in a manner favourable to the Imperial power of England and the magnificence of the King.

Of this the King writes, "We be pleased that O'Brien coming in and doing his duty and making his submission unto us, &c., &c., be advanced to such honour and degrees as hereafter shall be specified." "The Queen's closet at Greenwich was richly hanged with cloth of arras and well strawed with rushes."

The Earls and Baron to be created, viz., Moroughe O'Brien, William Burgh, and Donoghe O'Brien, in company, went to the Queen's closet aforesaid, and there after sacring of High Mass put on their robes of estate with all the King's noble Counsell with other noble persons of his realm, as well spiritual as temporal, to a great number, and the Ambassadors of Scotland, &c., &c.; then came in the Earl of Thomond, the Viscount Lisle, bearing before him his sword the hilt upwards, Gartier before him bearing his Letters Patent; and so proceeded to the King's Majesty. At length Secretary read them openly.

And when he came to "*Cincturam Gladii*," the Viscounte Lisle presented to the King the sword, and the King girded the said sword about the said Earl bawdrickewise, the foresaid Earl kneeling, and the Lords standing that led him, and so Clanryckard the second Earl was created there in everything according to the ceremony of the first Earl. That done, the

Baron was had in, the patents read, and when he came to "*investimus*" he put on his robe.

And so when the patent was read out, the King's Majesty put about every one of their necks a chain of gould with a cross hanging to yt, and took them their Letters Patent, and they gave thanks to him.

And there the King's Majesty made five of the men that came with them Knights. Then they all took leave of the King's Highness, and were conveyed, with their Letters Patent in their hands, to the Council Chamber underneath the King's Majesty's chamber, appointed for their dining place, in formal order.

After the second course, Gartier proclaimed their Stiles in manner following:—

Du Treshault et Puissant Seigneur Murrough O'Brien, Conte de Tomond, Seigneur de Insecoyne, du Royaulme de Irelande.

Du Treshault et Puissant Seigneur Guillaume Bourghe, Conte de Claunryckarde, Seigneur de Downkelleyn, du Royaulme de Irelande.

Du Noble Seigneur Donoghe O'Brien, Seigneur de Ybrakan, du Royaulme de Irelande.*

It must be particularly noticed that the King, writing to the Deputy and Council, especially points out the limitations under which he creates "O'Brien Earl of Thomonde." This is only "for terme of his lief, and his son after him to be Baron of Enchequine."

As to Sir Donough O'Brien, Baron of Ibrackain, he writes: "We have given him all such lands as he now possesseth

* The five newly-made Knights were:—

1. McNemarroe. The Deputy and Council wrote urgently to the King in behalf of McNemarroe, "an Irish Captain, bordering upon O'Brien's lands, and Lord of Clencullen," pressing that he be advanced to the honour of a Baron.

2. O'Shafnessy is described as "a goodly gentleman dwelling twixt Thomond and Connaught, who would only take his lands of your Grace."

3. Denys.

4. Grady was from Kinnell Downell, in Thomond; in fact, from Tomgraney, or Termon-i'-grady.

5. Wyse.

beyond the Shanon to him and his heirs masles, having also appointed him in the Letters Patent of his Uncle to be Earl of Thomond for the term of his life," an arrangement which caused much trouble to Clare in aftertimes. The four Earls and Barons appointed also got each one "summe house and pece of land near Dublin for the keeping of their horses and trains at their repair to our Parliaments and Councils in Dublin." For instance, "Conor 3rd Earl of Thomond, 13th Nov., 1582, entered into articles with John Bath of Drumconrath, who obliged himself to find his Lordship 4 boys, 4 horses, also horse and man meat as often as he came to Dublin."—*Lodge.*

The King's Majesty also gave them their robes of estate, and all things belonging thereunto, and paid all manner of duties belonging to the same, also pensions to the Earl of Clanrickarde and Lord Inchiquin. The King also, for the expenses required for the journey from Ireland by the O'Brien, lent him 100*l.*, which was to be handed to him* "in harp grotes," in default of other money available in the Irish treasury.

And Clanrickarde, Thomond, Inchiquin, and the rest no doubt took the King's oath in the words which stand in the indentures of O'Donnell, O'Neil, and Lord Barry, which runs thus :—"*Quod renunciabit reliquet et adnihilabit pro posse suo, usurpatam auctoritatem et Primaciam Romani Pontificis.*"

One extract more must suffice on this head. Lord Gray to the King writes (*ubi supra*, p. 59) :—"I went to Limerick and remained there a week, in which time I called the Mayor before me and his brethren, and there had them sworn unto your Majesty according to the tenor of the Act of Supremacy, and there further had them sworn 'to refuse usurpid powre of the Byshopp of Rome,' which things, after their humble and bounden duties unto your Majesty, without stop or grudge, they conformed themselves to ; and further, I commanded the Mayor to have all the commonalty of the city in likewise sworn, and to certify the same their oaths unto your chancery."

Thus, the renunciation of the Pope became an accomplished

* Simon, on Irish Coins, says of these :—"In 1530 the harp was now first put on Irish coins. All these groats (struck with certain differences) weigh from 36 to 39 grains, and were probably struck at the rate of 40 grains each—that is, 144 pieces to the lb."—(Simon, Reprint 1810, p. 32.)

fact in the reign of Henry VIII. throughout Ireland generally, and was accepted by the Bishop and chieftains of Killaloe Diocese; in particular by those acting as the legitimate representatives of the clergy of the diocese, and of the laity of Thomond.

But the subject which, above all others, concerns this Diocesan History, is the policy which was laid down in detail by King Henry VIII., and deliberately carried out by him in dealing with the Temporalities of the Church. His Majesty remarks to the Lord Deputy upon this subject, "And for the better alluring of those of the remote parts, we shall not much stick to let them have some of the religious houses which shall be suppressed in their countries, in farm, at such reasonable rents as you shall think meet, so as we may be in surety to be answered of the rents as appertaineth." (State Papers, vol. iii., H. VIII., pt. iii. p. 334). On the occasion now under review—of the creation of Moroghe O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, for term of his life and his son after him, to be Baron of Inchiquin, the King writes to the Deputy and Council "that he has given to him all such lands as he hath and possesseth, at this present, in Thomond, on the further side of the river Shannon, and also all such abbeys as he hath in his possession in Thomond aforesaid, to him and to his heirs masles. We have also granted unto him the gifts of all benefices spiritual being of our patronage within the compass of the said lands, bishopricks only accepted." The King adds, "We have created McWilliam Earl of Clanrickarde, and have granted him estate, &c., &c. We have also given unto him the gift and disposing of all such parsonages and vicarages as be of our gift within the compass of his lands and possessions aforesaid (bishopricks except), with the third part of the first fruits growing of the same towards the maintenance of his estates. Further, we have also granted unto him and his heirs masles, the Abbey de Via Nova, in the Diocese of Clonfert, which is now in the possession of his son, being of the yearly value of forty marks sterling or thereabouts." (*Ubi supra*, p. 474.)

As to the Baron of Ibrickane the King remarks that to him he has given the Abbey of Ellennegrane (or, as more correctly stated in the patent, Ilaun-na-Gannanagh, or Canons Island), a rich island at the mouth of the Fergus and Shannon, and the moiety of Clare Abbey already in his possession.

Another question remains,—namely, what progress was made with the reformation of the Church, outside of the essential and primary requirement of the utter negation of Papal Supremacy in the reign of King Henry VIII. In elucidation of this point a few illustrations are submitted.

A glimpse of the state of Ireland in the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., and perhaps under Henry VIII., is given in a curious paper composed by an author styled the "Pandar." (State P., II., III., H. VIII., p. 1, &c.)

"The noble folk of Ireland oppresseth and spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties, and therefore they have no fortune ne grace, in prosperity of body ne soulle.

"Who supported the Church of Christ in Ireland save the poor Commons? by whom the Church is most supported right well, by them most grace shall grow." (Page 10.)

Again the Pandar showeth "that the holy woman Saint Brigitta used to enquire of her good angel many questions of secred dyvinė, and among all other, 'Of what Christian land was most sowlles damned?'

"The angel showed her a land in the West part of the world (!)

"She enquired the cause why.

"The angel said, 'For there the Christian folk died most out of charity' (!!)

"She enquired the cause why.

"The angel said, 'For there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrerary to charity, and without charity the sowlles can not be saved.'

"And the angel did show to her the lapse of the sowlles of Crystyn folk of that land, how they fell down into hell as thik (thick) as haylle shewrys (hail-showers) (!!!)

"And pity thereof moved the Pandar, for, after his opinion, this is the land the angel understood.

"For there is no land in this world of so long continual war within hymsellf, ne of so great sheding of Chrystyn blode, ne of so great rubbeing spoyleing praying (the Pandar surely meant making preys, not prayers) and burnings, ne of so great wrongful extortion continually as Ireland.

"Wherefore it cannot be denyed by very estymation of man but that the angel did understand the land of Ireland."

In the "State of Ireland, and Plan for its Reformation, anno 1515" (*ubi supra*), the following is assigned among the causes of the extreme wretchedness of Ireland:—

Some say that the Prelates of the Church and Clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land. For there is no Archbishop ne Bishop, Abbot ne Prior, Parson ne vycar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, *that useth to preach the Word of God, saving the poor Fryers beggars. And ther wodde (sic) do cesse, there can be no grace.* And *without the special grace of God this land may never be reformed.* And by preaching and teaching of Prelates of the Church, and by prayer and oryson of the devout persons of the same, God useth always to grant the abundance of his grace. Ergo, the *Church not using the premises is much cause of all the misorder of this land.*

Also the Church of this land use not to learn any other science but the Law of Canon, for covetyce (*sic*) of lucre transitory. All other science, whereof grow none such lucre, the Parsons of the Church doth despise. (P. 16.)

In 1541 Cusake, to the Council, gives the following striking reason of the failure of administering the laws of the realm:—

These orders ne non other shall take good effect among them for lack of knowledge of the laws of God and the King's laws of that his Majesty's realm.

For *they never hear the word of God preached among them, and in divers places little or no christening used.*

Wherefore after my poor mind, it were requisite that every bishop made and to be made shall preach certain times in the year in his diocese, or else find one to preach for him, or be fined, *toties quoties*, ten pounds.

In "certain decrees for the Reformation of Ireland," John Travers deplores the state of the inhabitants of the realm in these terms:—"For the more part they have of long time and yet hitherto *be ignorant of the true doctrine of Christ, for lack of preaching of the same* which hath caused them to neglect due obedience to God and the King.

"It shall be for remedy thereof necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin, my Lord of Meath, and such others as favour the gospel, do instruct the Irish bishops of this realm, causing them to relinquish and renounce all Popish or Papistical doctrine, and set forth sincerely, within each of their diocese, the true word of God."

Among "the Irishmen's requests" we find first that of O'Brien; and whether it was made sincerely or not sincerely, it must have been the re-echo of a very general persuasion, not only in England but also in Ireland, even in Henry VIII.'s reign.

"Item. That there may be sent into Ireland some well-learned Irishman (? men) (sic in p. 463, S. P., vol. iii., part iii., Hy. VIII.), brought up in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poison of the Church of Rome.

"And they to be approved first by the King's Majesty, and then to be *sent to preach the word of God in Ireland.*"



CHAPTER III.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

In the reign of King Edward VI. appear but slender notices of the Bishops or of the Dioceses of Killaloe and Kilfenora. The Crown gave pardon to Cornelius O'Daye, Bishop of Killaloe, and again October 24th, fourth year of reign. Also there was made a "conveyance from Maurice Earl of Tomond, to Cornelius O'Dea of the Castle of Desert (=Dysert) in Thomond . . . . lying between the land of Dromfeiglas and the territory of Rath, on the north, and the land of Donald Vechlanaghi, or Clancy, of Kyll Ennayne (= Killenena) on the south, and the lands of the Sept of Ydeane (? the O'Deas) on the south and west; to hold for the term of his life, at the rent of a red rose, with remainder to *Dermot O'Dea, son of the Bishop, for life.* And the Earl appoints Thady and Donat O'Breene, his sons, his attorney, to give seizen of the castle to the said Lord Cornelius the Bishop."* (Morin, i. 261.) This certainly indicates pretty plainly that the Crown regarded O'Dea as a Bishop of the Reformed Church of Ireland, also as "the husband of one wife."

Of Kilfenora, Ware relates that John O'Hinalan was Bishop in 1552 of Killaloe or Kilfenora. As to the deans of the diocese, Archdeacon Cotton places on the list in "15—Boëtius Clancy." He died in 1559. This is probably the individual whose name is subscribed to the grant of Dysert, in 1551, as above, although he was not at that time dean. For it appears by

* Witnesses Boëtius McClanchy, chief of his nation, with many others.

Morin (i. 283), anno. 1552, that there was then another dean, concerning whom the following special privilege is related—"150, Like grant (viz.)—*of English liberty*—to Donat McShiddie, Dean of Killaloe." What this conveyed is explained by Sir John Davis—"This, then, I note as a great defect in the civil polity of this kingdom, in that for the space of 350 years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed to them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same, for as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without control, *how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the Crown of England?*"

As to the laity, elements of most important consequence had been introduced into "life in Thomond" by the submission of the O'Briens in the former reign, and by their acceptance of Peerages and holding their lands from the English Crown under tenure of knight's service. "It was only on the demise (remarks Mr. O'Donohue in his "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," p. 186) of these patentees, that questions were raised, the discussion of which opened the eyes of the people at large to the importance of the changes introduced by the acceptance of titles conferred by the King of England, and produced that series of civil commotions which desolated Ireland during the reigns of the remaining Princes of the House of Tudor. The surrender of the Royalty of Thomond and acceptance of a Peerage by Murrough O'Brien was productive of tranquillity among the Dalgais for some years."

On Murrough's death, however, in 1551, the discontents of the O'Briens, which were ill suppressed during the lifetime of the head of that warlike race, burst out and involved the Dalgais in the miseries of a war more than civil.* The Feudal Law of England now came into conflict with the Celtic Law of Tanistry, and by means of descent being limited in the line of primogeniture, it cut off from the possibility of ever succeeding to any rank or knightly pre-eminence the second family of Conor the last King. There was no end of the blood shed, and of the sorrow entailed by the fierce contentions brought about in

* See Annl. 4 M., p. 523, edn. M'Dermott.

that way. And even during Queen Mary's brief reign Donald O'Brien was suffered to continue in the undisturbed possession of the rights and privileges of the dominion of Thomond, which he ruled according to the ancient law of Tanistry. At length, in 1558, Sussex, the Lord Deputy, entered Thomond, and placed Connor, Earl of Thomond, in full possession of title and lands, the said Connor publickly renouncing in the Cathedral of Limerick the name of O'Brien as an appellation or title, promising to be faithful to the Crown of England, and to defend Her Majesty's subjects of Thomond according to the laws. (*Ubi supra*, p. 191. See also E. O'Curry Manners, &c., iii. 229, and Ann. 4 Mast.)

Bishop O'Dea died in 1555, and Terence O'Brien succeeded in 1556. And although he came into his see on the Pope's nomination as a Marian Bishop, in a very few years after we shall find that he became an Elizabethan Bishop, at least by making a complete negation of the Pope's supremacy, if not also by further action. And he remained the Bishop of Killaloe until 1568, when he died. "Instructions had been sent to Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Deputy, and the Council in Ireland, to advance the true Catholic faith and religion now recovered in England and in Ireland, and to set forth the honor and dignity of the Pope and Apostolic See, and with the aid of the secular force to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors." (Carew MSS. Lambeth Calendar, pp. 252-3, from transcript of Ri. Nugent.)

Now, however, all this is changed with the change of Queens, and the Bishop turns his bac on his old friends and publickly ignores "the honor and dignity of the Apostolic See." But even Marian Bishops, as such, did not receive restitution of temporalities without making remarkable renunciations. Thus in Curwen's case, the Queen writes to Lord Chancellor of Ireland—

Sept. 13, 2° & 3° Ann°.—"Whereas we have received from our Holy Father the Pope a Bull herein enclosed which you shall clearly understand, that his holiness upon our recommendation hath preferred unto the Arch Bishoprick of Dublin in Ireland, our trusty and well-beloved Chaplain Hugh Corren (or Curwen) where upon he hath done unto us his homage and fealty, and hath *expressly renounced all things contained in the said Bull or any other which may be prejudicial to us or our Crown: we therefore* will and command you that under our great seal you make out such,

and as many writs as shall be necessary and requisite for the restitution of the Temporalities of the Arch Bishoprick to our said Chaplain accordingly. And restitution of Temporalities was made to Hugh Corren, Oct. 21, 2° & 3° Ann°. regni."

This Bishop Terence also took part in the Parliament of 1560, which passed the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. All this formal recognition of Queen Elizabeth's supremacy and renunciation of the Pope's, made by the legal representatives of the Church of Ireland, may have been very "glaring," and to some (such as Mr. Thomas Moore) was very disgusting, but the fact is, that such a thing seems most probably to have taken place, whatever the consequences may be to those who do not like it. (See T. Moore's History of Ireland.)

It is to be borne in mind that the lands, &c., belonging to the religious houses suppressed by King Henry VIII. were not interfered with by Queen Mary, great though her zeal for the Roman Church in Ireland may have been. Cardinal Pole was too far-sighted an adviser to raise a universal confusion and turmoil by so arbitrary and unpopular a movement openly undertaken. He preferred to wait, and if things went on well to regain as much power and property as could be safely grasped in time. At the same time, the Queen, in her 4th year of reign, secured the passing of an Act, cap. 8, repealing statutes and provisions made against the Apostolic See of Rome since the 20 Henry 8, thus reviving the authority of the Pope from this day in matters ecclesiastical. Also, an Act, ch. 9, reciting that the ordinaries wanted authority against those who were infected with errors and heresies which there lately had increased within the kingdom, and for that purpose the Act revives the Statute of the 5th of Richard Second, and a Statute of the 2nd Henry 4th, giving ample powers in that behalf. (Hardinge's Narrative, p. 31.) But behind all this was the high presumption of Pope Paul IV., who erected Ireland into a kingdom and conferred it on the English Queen Mary, that it might appear that she did not derive it from her father but from himself, to whom alone *it belonged* to dispose of crowns and to erect states into kingdoms. He at first used the same haughty language with Queen Elizabeth, but she would none of it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE, ETC., IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The general condition of the Diocese of Killaloe, as part of the Church of Ireland, having been traced from the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign to the close of Queen Mary's, the parentage, education, and official life of Mauritius Mac O'Brien Arra now claim particular attention.

Mac O'Brien Arra, or "De Bren de Arrha," was one of the sixty great Irish captains of their nations. His territory extended along the eastern side of the Shannon—

> Up from the Castle of Druim-anair,
> Down from the top of Camailte.

In fact he occupied what is called the Barony of Arra, now running with that of Owney, the latter also the territory of another O'Brien. He had a castle at Kilmastulla and a manor house at Castletown. This latter position commanded a noble view of "Mighty Shenan, spreading like an inland sea" across the expanse of Lough Dearg into the bosom of Scariff Bay, the whole prospect bounded on the west by a wild range of purple mountains between Clare and Galway, and having as a central object the lofty round tower on Holy Island. Ormond to Cowley tells how Mac O'Brene Arha "stickid mouche to give any hostage, most of any man he met in all Munster." However, he submitted after quiet persuasion, and became a good subject of England on "assurance of protection against his immediate friends and neighbours." (!!)

In 1569 (the date of Bishop Terence O'Brien's death—An. 4 M.) the Deputy apprises Cecil "that a bishopricke named Killalowe is presently void, the custodium whereof he has

committed to McO'Brien Arra—a very good subject, of good power in his country, and especially well-inclined to the English Government—that he, McO'B., having sued, had obtained power to hold his lands from Her Majesty; that he also sued for his son Morgan, who was too young to be made a bishop, but might be permitted to enjoy fruits of the bishoprick to maintain him at Oxford till more years, with English education, whereby he may be more fit to enjoy the place itself." Her Majesty directs that this be so done, as no person could enjoy without the goodwill of O'Brien Arra the profits of the Bishoprick of Killaloe. Poor Morgan, however, complains in a letter to Burleigh that, after three years in Oxford and Cambridge, he never received any profit or commodity from the see: and adds, "The rudeness of the country is such and the people so disordered that for the most part they care to be fed with Pharoe's fleshpots than to taste the heavenly manna—he means the comfortable bread of the Gospel. He begs them in the name of the furtherance of God's truth for relief that he may take his journey thither to the glory of God and the comfort of his weak brethren blinded with ignorance."

Morgan or Maurice MacO'Brien writes again (this time to the Privy Council), reminds of being elected bishop three years past, and that he was to have and to enjoy the same, when the country shall be quiet, which now, through rebellion and other means, as of certain persons who gladly would that their Bull from Rome should take place; so that as yet he cannot be placed or have any commodity, although for his furtherance in learning he had been at great cost and charges at Oxford and Cambridge. He finally prays "to be put in lawful possession of the bishoprick, and thus that he would, by God's grace, so instruct the people there, that he doubteth not but to cause them to be true subjects, to the pleasure of the Queen's Majesty and comfort of the people therein." The Queen writes to the Deputy, Lord Fitzwilliam, to aid Maurice "in convenient sort and by all the best means expedient assist him further in all his lawful causes."

Maurice, dating from Castletown Manor and styling himself "Bishop Elect," discloses a conspiracy and a meeting the Thursday after Christmas-day, 1573. The Earl of Desmond and his followers were to meet the Earl of Clanrickarde, Thady

McMorrough, O'Brien, &c., &c., on the other side the Shannon, their intention being, as the common report is, to send some of their messengers with their letters signed with their own hands and seals unto the King Phillippe, desiring him to send them aid out of Spain. He closes his letter with a sad lamentation—"Alas! my Lord, it is hard to trust any man in these quarters. *For they do but rob, steal, burn, and kill every night. It were better to be in prison in England than to be here amongst them.*"* (! !)

At last, however, in 1570 according to Ware and Cotton, after Maurice "had been well-commended from my Lord Grace of Canterbury," all difficulties are overcome, and he is consecrated, as may be fairly presumed, with all the requisite solemnities.

The deplorable picture drawn by Maurice of "the preys and frays" of his native country is by no means over-coloured, and his fears were not groundless. He had doubtless learned among the traditions of his family that, in 1460, "the Bishop of Killaloe—an O'Brien—was killed by Bryan of the fleet, the son of Donogh, at Clonroad, that is, Ennis" (Anl. 4 M.). Yes, the bishop of the diocese was *killed*, but then it was only in "Ennis, by Bryan of the fleet."

In 1548, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, writes from Ardbraccan. "Particularizes the excessive hatred raised against himself among all ranks of society for preaching the Reformed religion, for which the people accuse him of heresy. Fears for his life. Desires a chamber among the petty Canons, which was Sir John Russell's" (C. S. P., p. 96).

Lord Deputy Sussex, in 1561, informs the Queen of "letters from Armagh confirming that Shane O'Neile had attempted the burning of the church, and was repulsed with the loss of divers men. Shane, offended with that, assembled next day all his force of horsemen, footmen, and gallowglasses, who brought with every one of them a faggot to a little hill not far from the church, where he caused the Popish-pretensed Primate to sing Mass with all the friars. After Mass *the Primate* and the friars went thrice about Shane's men, saying certain prayers, and willed them to go forward, for God was on their side.

* The Anl. 4 Masters are full of such statements, and just at the time a feud raged between Butlers and Desmonds.

Whereupon he and all his men made a solemn vow, and took their oaths never to turn their faces from the Church till they had burnt the church and all the English churches. And so with a great shout set forward."

But this was not all of the dangers and difficulties which beset Irish Bishops in those days. Thomas Lancaster, Archbishop of Armagh, writing from Dublin, Nov. 12, 1568, gives the following lively illustration of the episcopal situation:— "Many complaints of the poor people for wrongs done unto them, which my Lord takes care to redress. Also one Morrish rioghe McGibbon, who came from the Pope, hath taken the ArchBp. of Cashel prisoner in his own house, and carried him away, some say to Spain. For my part I have not yet durst to go to Ardmagh for fear of the like; yet notwithstanding something is done towards the Church, for there is a Roof cut for the Chancel with shingles and all that appertaineth, but not yet brought home."

Sir E. Fytton and R. Dillon appointed a sessions at Athlone, and directed the attendance of Earls Clanrickarde and Thomond and both the Bishops of Tuam and Clonfert, according to the trust and charges laid upon them for the government of their countries. Not one member resorted to the sessions; the Bishops only excepted, and with what peril they journeyed may appear from their joint letter:—

Kilconayll, March 5, 1574.

Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Clonfert to Lord Deputy.

To the illustrious Lord Edward, Treasurer of this kingdom of Ireland. Health and the consolation of the Holy Spirit is our prayer for you. Your letters we received with the best of goodwill, by virtue of which we were cited to Athlone on the 6th of this month of March. But when there is so great peril, that one can hardly pass from one place to another without corporal danger, inasmuch as the Scots roam about in Clanrickarde and linger there; and more particularly do so in all places where they perceive that we are forwarding your interests. And not only are they content with the present Scots, but with other Scots to the number of seven hundred, with John, the son of the Knight (as we found to be the commonly current persuasion), are immediately to arrive.* And further, because in the common road, lying between the Rivers Suck and Shannon, there are so many difficulties and dangers besetting, arising from the insurrection of some of Sylkelly, who there lye in wait for all travellers, and inasmuch as we understand the generals of the Scots are hovering about these very parts, we could only attempt

* See State of Ireland—List of Rebellions.

to make our journey good to Athlone as our point, by making our way by Clonfert and passing on thence without a safe conduct. And accordingly we earnestly prayed and found a place of safe retreat with Edmond O'Fallen and other loyal men. And so we hope to be at Clonfert, unless something terrible comes to pass, &c. (Translation of transcript by Ri. Nugent.)

All this, however, formed but a part of the religious and Royalist difficulty which the bishops and all faithful lieges of the Crown encountered on every side. But the every day and every night requirements of life in Thomond must now be superadded and specified in detail.

In 1537 R. Cowley to Crumwell advises "that no silk or saffron be set upon shirts, for, especially against High Feasts at Christmas and Easter, there is no Irish man of war—horsemen, Kernagh, nor gallowglass—for the more part, but will steal, rob out of churches or elsewhere, to go gay at a feast: yea, and bestoweth for saffron and silk to one shirt many times five marks, so that more robbery and felony is against such feasts committed as all the year following."

In 1544 the Deputy and Council inform the King of a certain castle or pyle, situate in the remote parts, marching as well upon Mc J. Brian Arra's as upon O'Moll Ryans; and high to the River Shannon in a very barren and waste soil, which was of late inhabited by a sept of thieves and outlaws, called properly "*The old evil children*"—by reason whereof few or none of your Grace's subjects in effect could pass or travel between your Highness's cities of Limerick or Waterford but they were either spoiled, robbed, or killed in your highway betwixt both cities. It is requested that Teige Mc J. Bryen, who so well demeaned himself to the expulsion of these malefactors, and is married to Lord Power's sister, may have the castle and his heirs masles. But though these "old evil children" were thus expulsed, another lot of the same old evil children grew up—the illegitimate sons of Terence late Bishop of Killaloe.

The Deputy and Council to Privy Council give the following account of these sons of this Bishop:—"Upon my departure from Limerick, and a little before the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond came unto us, and perceiving by them and by complaint from the merchants of Galway, that on the borders of Thomond certain outlaws being *bastards of the Bishop*

of Killaloe robbed all travellers, and had put a ward in a castle, which they meant to defend, I marched thither, and after it was attempted, the ward in the night came away and left the place, which was committed to the custody of Sir Roger O'Shafnis Lord of that country—an obedient and dutiful servant of the Queen's Highness—one of the best to be liked in all Connaught."

The Bishop's mother—Maure Ny O'Carrill—writes in strong terms of an event, which exasperated her considerably:—

After my hartie commendations you shall understand that Mr. Edward Butler—his men came to your country of Arra the 9th of this present month of November with force and arms and hath not only taken away all the kyne and cattle that was left to the number of sixteen score kyne, six score* capples and 11 hondrithe shepe and goots with all the household stuff in the country. But also burned Kilmastulla with eleven children in one house in the said town—and killed your loving Uncle Tage McDonough Rowe with divers others of your men; whose death grieves me more than all your said losses—which Tage we have worshipfully buried at Youghell upon St. Marten's Day. Therefore I desire you to show and declare this with other your sore griefs and great losses to the Lord Deputy:—earnestly desiring this honor of speedy redress herein betyme; against those Butlers† whom hath already (=who have) past recovery disturbede, banished, robbed and spoiled all her Majesty's true subjects in these borders, and do aid, maintain, and succour all her Highness's enemies as these rebellers and traitors be, insuring you as I suppose you were better holding some farm in the English Pale, whereby you may lead a quieter life, than to be thus alway and continually sustaining such outragious extremity and cruel dealing undeserved; for when all men travelled either in to England or to Dublin where the law is ministered and extended, then do they their best to spoil those that travel. And thus I take my leave from Arra the 12 of this present Novembre 1568.

Your loving wiff

Dorso MORE NY CARRILL.‡

To her loving husband Mac Y' Brine Arra, geve these.
In haste at Dublin, post hast.
(From a transcript in full by Ri. Nugent, Esq.)

Can there be any wonder, then, that this Bishop, Irishman and native though he was, felt ashamed of his country and afraid of returning to his birth-place, and had rather "live in a prison in England than here amongst them"? Indeed he

* Horses.

† The Desmonds and Butlers had a horrible feud then, as noticed.

‡ At p. 139 of the Kilkenny Archæological Society's Proceedings, Vol. 6, New Series, an inscription is given from a tombstone in the

seems to have combined in his lot the unhappy alternatives which Robinson Crusoe contrasted. For,

> He both dwelt in the midst of alarms
> And reigned in a horrible place.

One of the strangest statements confirmatory of the wretched condition of affairs in Ormond, and of the bad opinion entertained about the district in question, is to be found in Camden's Britannia. (See Edn. 1600, Impensis Georg Bishop Londoni, p. 770.) After describing *Ormond*, and alluding to the Butler family as "clarissima," Camden then gravely adds (Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's Brit., Vol. 2, p. 135) :—

> As to what has been said by some of the Irish (and these too such as would be thought very creditable witnesses) that certain *men in these parts* are every year converted into wolves, it is without doubt fabulous, *unless perhaps*, through excess of melancholy, they may be affected with the distemper that the physicians call Λυκανθρωπια, which makes them fancy and imagine themselves to be so transformed. And as for these metamorphosed *Lycaones* in Livonia, so much talked of, I cannot but have the same opinion of them also.

Thus far of Munster, which Queen Elizabeth, with great wisdom, sought to advance, and to advance the wealth and happiness of this kingdom committed to the government of a Lord President, who (with one assistant, two lawyers, and a secretary) might correct the insolencies of this Province and keep all men to their duty. The first President was Wadham St. Leger, Kt.

As to the sons of the Bishop, it is stated by Sidney, with a military brevity quite in the style of Cæsar, "I went into Thomond, where the Earl met me. I there subdued a rebellious race of the sirname of the Earl—the O'Briens. Their captains were called *the Bishop's Sons*, and, indeed, the bastards they were of the Bishop of Killalowe, which Bishop was son to an O'Brien, Captain of Thomond" (Collin's Edn. State Papers).

It has been pronounced by a master of the art of writing history to be a most difficult achievement to enter into the spirit of an age gone by, throwing aside one's modern prejudices and looking at the past in the light of the past and

old churchyard of Castletown, Arra, county Tipperary, which seems to have been erected in memory of this lady. It runs thus—"Ego Teren. Brien hoc in meo et in uxoris Morine Caryl noîe fieri feci," &c., &c.

with the eyes of those who are passed away. Certainly it is very difficult for us to look upon such a case as that before us as being an actual reality. But this is not all. If credit is given to Camden, this mode of life taken up by the Bishop of Killaloe's sons was not exceptional, but one quite in the ordinary course of things, and apparently carried on according to known laws and universal allowance. In the "Hibernicorum Mores of Camden," Edn. 1600, p. 288, the following will be found :—

"Latrocinia apud eos nullam habent infamiam, quæ passim summâ cum immanitate exercentur. Latrocinaturi preces ad Deum fundunt (see Sir S. Baker, Livingstone, and explorers of savage Central Africa), ut præda offeratur, et prædam pro munere a Deo oblatum arbitrantur, neque vim, neque rapinam, neque homicidium Deo desplicere persuadentur. Audies a sicariis et incendiariis "*Misericors est Dominus et non sinet pretium sui sanguinis in me irritum.*"

Patrum porro vestigiis se insistere dicunt et eam sibi vivendi rationem reliquam esse, nobilitatis suæ autem infamiam esse, si velint ex labore manuum victitare, et a facinoribus abstinere. Progredientes ad prædam, vel aliquod aliud opus, observant manè quem primum obvium habent. Si bene res cedat, ut idem quotidie sibi occurrat, curant; sin secus, studiosè evitant. Nocte tempestuosissima stertere, et non pedibus viam longissimam noctu conficere et spoliando omnibus periculis se objicere, abjecti animi esse dicunt. Nuper nec templis nec sacris locis parcunt, quin inde etiam deprædantur, ignem quoque non nunquam injiciunt, homines ibi latitantes interficiunt est sacrificulorum turpissima vita.....Sacrificulorumque horum filii, qui studia non consectantur plerumque latrocinio sunt insignes qui enim *MacDecan*, *MacPherson*, *MacO'Spac*, id est, *Filii Decani*, *Ecclesiæ Rectoris*, et *Episcopi* maximi existunt prædones et ex parentum libertate ad seditiosorum manum conscribendam potentiores, eoque magis quod ad paternum. Exemplum hospitalitate vacant. Filiæ autem horum sacrificorum, patribus superstitibus, magnis dotibus elocantur, si nubunt, patribus vero defunctis, aut mendicant aut se prostituunt.

The case before us certainly bears out Camden's statement, wherever drawn from, and demonstrates (even if standing alone) the fearful depths of corruption among all classes in Ireland, and the absolute need for what one properly calls "the special grace of God if ever this land be reformed."

With respect to an opprobrious epithet applied to the nativity of the sons of Bishop Terence O'Brien by an English contemporary report, it is only of a piece with the record of an impediment in Bishop Terence's own appointment, as given by Dr. Brady "from the Barberini Archives."

Die Lunæ, 25 Julii, 1554. Referente Reodigs Carpensi, sua

Sanctitas providit Eccles. Laoneno. vacanti per obitum *benæ memoriæ* Jacobi Corrin *extra Romanam Curiam defuncti,* de personâ Dni Theodorici O'Brien decani Eccles. Duacensis cum *dispensatione* super defectu natalium.* It also seems strange that the name McAnaspic (McAnaspie, the Bishop's son) should be so *general.* Anyhow, the observance by the chieftains, bishops, and others of what Protestants enumerate as the 7th Commandment is very curiously exemplified in the Brehon Laws.

In reference to some of the painful disclosures which fidelity to truth compels to be made upon the melancholy state of moral depravity prevalent in the West of Ireland, some remarks are submitted.

First, Camden, in his tractate on the "Antient and Modern Customs," &c., bears witness that the Rev. Mr. Good (of Limerick) testifies nothing malicious or partial, but all he says is what is exactly true.

Secondly, the Law of Social Connexions (Senchus, Mor. II., 381, 399, and 401) contemplates and has given some strange rules as to (1) "a first wife" and (2) the "Airech," (3) the "Carrthach," (4) the Dormuine, (5) the Imrim, (6) the Indlis. In fact, this whole system reminds one of one of the Eastern Rajahs, or the Abyssinian chieftains, or of that Zoolu in whose illumination and conversion Bishop Colenso seemed to have taken such a pleasure and pride.

Thirdly, in reference to Poets, and what St. Patrick abolished also allowed, the following will give a very correct idea of what was considered as the subjects which, above all others, were congenial to the national tastes and dispositions of the Irish (Senchus, Mor. I., 47) : —"These were the *chief stories.* The chief stories, the chief which they repeated, treated of demoli-

* This phrase "de defectu natalium," under which Ter. O'Brien laboured, points to the fact that, according to the Canon Law of the Roman Church, he was as illegitimate under an impediment. Van Espen (pars. ii., vol. x., cap. 3, de irregularitate ex defectu natalium) gives much learning on this point. Gregory IX. (1227—41) reserved to the Holy See this dispensation in all the higher cases, leaving minor orders for the Bishop's dispensation or faculty. The Pope complains—"Nimis deformatur Ecclesiæ honestas, ex eo quod filii Sacerdotum et alii non legitime nati, ad dignitates, et Personatus, et alia beneficia curam animarum habentia sine dispensatione sedis apostolicæ" (Dr. L. Studdert).

tions, cattle spoils, courtships, battles, killings, combats, elopements, adventures, tragedies, and plunderings." Particular examples are then given, such as the cattle spoils of Cuailgne, the Carlingford mountains; then follow those upon demolitions, then of courtships, then of battles.

But as the Bishop came to live so he continued in his diocese without going back to an English prison in preference, as he somewhat passionately seemed to desire. After due delay and proper testing of his fitness, he was consecrated and admitted into the full rights of the Bishoprick of Killaloe, it is supposed, some time in 1575-6. And this will appear by the following extracts taken from the official correspondence. In December, 1573, he writes from Castletown Manor, signing himself "Futurus Epus. Laonen."

The Lord-Deputy, in August, 1574, writes that—

When the Bishoprick of Killalowe was bestowed in custodium upon one Maurice O'Brien Arra, alias Morgan, for his maintenance in the University of Oxford, Her Majesty, about a year ago or somewhat more, upon the said Maurice's *return, well commended from my Lord of Canterbury*, addressed his letters unto me with the said Maurice, signifying that it was Her Highness's pleasure that the said Bishopricke should be conferred on him; but yet not warranting me thereby to proceed to his consecration, but referring me to a former warrant which it was supposed I had in that behalf. Hereupon I wrote my letters in November last, opening this case, and humbly praying Her Majesty's pleasure therein. And now the party renewing the matter unto me (I presume with your Lordship's good favour) humbly pray your favourable consideration thereof *to perfection*. The rather for that the said Maurice, his father and *himself* (*besides his sufficiency and zealous disposition to the true religion*), have and do at this time of stir show themselves as well by good advertizements as otherwise, very well and dutifully affected to Her Majesty's service.

In January, 1575-6:—

Her Majesty has appointed Maurice O'Brien to be Bishop of Killalowe now void, and wills and commands to Lord-Deputy upon sight thereof to cause letters *patent* and *writs* to be issued under the great seal for his consecration and admission to the said Bishoprick, with all rights, duties, &c., &c., appertaining, as has been accustomed; and commends the said Maurice to the kind offices of the Lord-Deputy.

Mauritius Mac O'Brien Arra being now safely settled in his Bishoprick without any possibility of his disallowance or rejection by art or craft of competitors, we must now take a look at his rival.

It becomes a duty to disclose some particulars of the career of Malachias O'Molona, the Titular Bishop of Killaloe. Dr. Brady makes this Malachias O'Molona the successor of Terence O'Brien, and says—He was "appointed by Papal provision on 10 January, 1571, and per obitum Terentii was translated to Kilmacduagh, on the 22 August, 1576, when Cornelius O'Melrian was appointed to Killaloe." The author of "The See of Killaloe in 16 Co." (see Irish Eccl. Record, page 464, July, 1865), agrees, calling this "his being proclaimed in Consistory." And adds, that "on 22nd August, 1576, his translation to Kilmacduagh was solemnly promulgated in the Roman Court."

He had appeared in London prior to this and was the guest of Ed. Grindall, then Bishop of London. In the spring of 1571 he is in London, not in the good quarters of the kind bishop, but in the Marshalsea, with a fellow prisoner—one Herle—who made himself spy of Lord Burleigh. Herle wormed himself into his secrets but to betray him. Here is his report. "Touching Malachias (he writes in 1571) he shall write unto your Lordship to desire that he may come unto your presence, for so he hath entreated of himself before, alledging that he hath something to say unto your Lordship, whereupon your Lordship sending for him secretly by the backways with gentleness he is to be won and with promise of his former promotion, for he is ambitious and obstinate, and hath entered into some displeasure with the Spanish Ambassador, insomuch as he would utter all he said if he refused now to help him for whose cause only it is,—which displeasure of his might be aggravated (if your Lordship thought so good) ministering unto him some sharpness and contempt proceeding from the Spanish Ambassador." But all this did not free Malachias from durance vile. So after some year and a-half elapsed, Malachias threw himself upon the sympathy and pity of Mauritius Mac O'Brien, Bishop-elect of Killaloe. He told this young man how greatly and unfeignedly he did detest the Antichrist of Rome—how he would write a book against the Pope; he told him about the plots and machinations of the Pope against England and the Queen. And Mauritius believed all that Malachias told him so plausibly. And with a genuine good nature he forwarded his letter to Burleigh. Mauritius, however, found out, through Burleigh no doubt, a good deal of what Malachias had *not* told

him about, viz., that he was appointed by Papal provision per obitum Terentii to the See of Killaloe. In fact guileless Mauritius found out that his suppliant was his rival and anti-Bishop, and intended to write after his name "*Malachias Laonensis*," having the sanction of the Queen super-added to that of the Pope already in his pocket—provided only he could get out of prison and make his little plot go on well. Accordingly Malachias (though secretly "giving Popish counsel to some of the Archbishop of Canterbury's servants") put on a bold face and appeared before the Privy Council. Here he submitted, protested, confessed, promised, repented, bewailed his Popish superstition and idolatry. And to crown all with a brilliant climax, swore a solemn oath on the Holy Evangelists to bear to the Queen true allegiance, and that he would devote his future life to her service. But alas, he went back to prison notwithstanding. After ten days' deliberation he made one more appeal, and in April, 1573, was released. And now that he is free, he waits on his deliverer. "On the knees of his heart," as he says, he offers him his thanks and asks him some further favours. Burleigh shook him off at once and referred him to Archbishop Parker. This good prelate admitted him, listened to his requests for what he called "a Plurality," which he did not give him, "to hold with his bishoprick." But he did give him for his immediate wants "an honest piece of gold." Exit Malachias with the gold in his pocket, and perhaps some more besides, left out of "the 20 marks" which prying Herle found out and reported he possessed. This was in 1573, and it is presumed that Malachias betook himself to Ireland, where after three years, or in 1576, he was translated to Kilmacduagh. In 1580 we find Malachias again busy at plots and counter-plots. Sir N. Malbie writes from Athlone to Walshingham that Ulick Burke has joined himself with John, by means of O'Molony, constituted by the Pope Bishop of Killaloe. They proclaim hanging to the priests that will not say mass. "Again in April, 1583, Malachias O'Molona, Popish Bishop of Killaloe, writes to Malbie in Latin, expressing his desire to converse with Malbie and to reveal certain matters perilous to the State." (See the State Papers, Vol. 1572—1583.) But it was in Galway in the year 1584, August, that Malachias performed one of the most remarkable of his

transmutations, and the narrative must be given in Sir J. Perrott's "Answer about Malachias" (copia plena) :—

Touching Malachias, he was brought to me as I remember in Galway by the Earl of Clanrickarde the Bishop of Killaloe to my chambers, as many other the ministry came to me, and seeing that he was a priest, and hearing that he was learned and had been beyond the sea, I told him of his great faults therein, as I now remember by Done the sworn interpreter, or some other and in broken Latin, that he was in fault to go beyond the seas without license, being a subject, and further persuaded him to acknowledge the sup'myssi (= supremacy) to be in her Majesty, and also to confess other his errors and to conform himself in religion according to her Majesty's laws, and he might do good. Because it was said he was ready to confer with any learned man in that matter, and would not be found obstinate being persuaded. Whereupon the Bishop of Laughlin was appointed to confer with him, and the Bishop after some disputations found him conformable. And there was drawn a recantation acknowledging the supremacy to be in her Majesty—that her Majesty's subjects were not to obey any foreign Prince or Potentate but her only, or the like words, as of other things, which was brought to me. And I believe the Bishop of Kildare was some dealer in the matter. And I was glad thereof, and willed that the Bishop of Laughlin should make a sermon, in the Cathedral Church of Galway, as I remember of his recantation which was done in the presence of a multitude of people. He the said Malachias being before the pulpit, sitting in a chair or such like thing during the sermon in the face of the people. And after that the Bishop had ended his sermon he did publish the said recantation in English and Latin. And the said Malachias did there likewise read the same in Latin, and published it to the people in Irish. And then the said Malachias came after to take his leave of me, at which time I told him, I would be good unto him, and seeing he had begun so well, I wished him to continue and go forward and to advertize me of any inconvenienceys that he should hear like to fall out in the State of Conaught or Ulster, which he faithfully promised me to do. And did as I remember write certain letters unto me of the Scotts coming out of the North, and such like things of his order in those provinces. And the said Malachias came to Dublin, but what time I do not now remember. And then I believe I told the Lord Chancellor and other how I had converted him, and a Friar, being Sir Ri. Burkes, Son., some time called McWilliam Euter, who was well learned, adding how well I had played the Bishop, and telling how he did advertize me of very necessary things. And I believe the said Malachias and the said Friar did there acknowledge their errors, and to encourage him and other, I and the Council or I myself gave him some concordatum or warrant for £6 13s. 4d. The Recorde thereof will best witness the same. And he and the Friar likewise that recanted had at some other time *some small livings* (!!), but what they were I know not. And I further believe that the said Malachias was pardoned at the Earl of Clanrickarde's suit among a number of others by me and the Council

long before I saw him or heard of him, for I have seen a warrant under my hand, written by one John Tompkins, sometimes clerk to Phillip Wittens, being Ann° d[i] 1584, for the granting of that pardon, wherein Malachias was pardoned. Knowing that there was many thousand pardoned that I never saw or heard by their names, which was done upon good policy, as had been used by other Governors to quiet the State, and to have bonds upon most of them for good behaviour thenceforward. Other than this I had never to do with the priest, neither did I nor the Council think of the granting of his pardon, but that he had been some chaplain of the Earl's. And I did never hear until now of late that any Pope had spoken such lewd and treacherous words of her Majesty. And I have often caused my chaplains to preach vehemently in their sermons against the Pope and his Bulls.

In a letter written by Perrott in 1584, September, he had given a statement of Malachias' conversion, though very briefly. "The suspected Buyshop Malachias Analone, and a Friar, &c., did renounce the Pope, swear to the supremacie, and the Friar gave over his habit presently, both published a profession of their faith and recantation" (Perrott's Life, p. 150).

In 1590, August 9th, Kilmainham, the Lord Deputy, to Chancellor writes:—"As for Malachias O'Molony, I think it *not good to trust him with himself*, for the causes mentioned in N. Dillon and R. Mile's declaration; and so I send him under guard with Segar, the late constable, and Nollen, the pursuivant, who is in your schedule called Kelly."

In August, 1590, Sir Denis Roughan to Lord Burghley writes a letter bearing hardly enough against Perrott, in which, however, is contained a most valuable statement as to the causes for which parties professing the Roman Catholic faith were subjected to punishment of death. (This Roughan was a Popish priest convicted of counterfeiting Perrott's handwriting. See Perrott's Life, p. 231.):—

Sir D. Rougham to Burghley.

August 30, 1590.

And as for Malachias O'Mollenane he confesseth that he had a Bull from the Pope to dispense *with any for whatsoever* (*sic*). But concerning Sir John Perrott he can say nothing of him but that he had a pardon and promotion of a living and 20 nobles for giving Sir John a good conceite (*sic*, perhaps good information), and for no other cause, as he saith, and would not confess nothing against Sir John Perrott, the which, all the world that would scan, see, or hear this would not believe that Sir John Perrott, Her Majesty's Deputy, would pardon a Roman

Bishop, and one that confesseth to have a Bull from the Pope. I deny that any Deputy that was in Ireland in this Her Majesty's time did pardon any bishop or priest, and having committed no other fault but to minister the office of a bishop or a priest, after the Pope's authority, for so doing is no pardon nor death-matter in Ireland. *For there is no bishop or priest or any man put to death for religion only in Ireland. Ergo, Malachias did commit some great heanouse matter of treason against her Majesty*, or else he would never seek for a pardon only for ministering of his office or in granting of dispensations, which is, it must needs be, high treason that he was pardoned for, for which Sir John Perrott could not for whatsoever, especially a traitorous Roman bishop, the which the said Malachias confesses himself to be. *Ergo*, Sir John Perrott is a traitor.

My Lord the Bishop Malachias should be compelled to tell truth, otherwise he will conceal all and confess nothing.

Dated 30 August, 1590.

Malachias is found to have ordained Sir Denys "*Auctoritate Romana.*" Another is mentioned as ordained by him in Cashel, viz., John Hasshea, "fatetur se primum fuisse ordinatum per Malachiam O'Malone, postea per Milor Archbishop Cassel." (See the Cashel Regal Commissioners' Report, MSS.)

In Dr. Cotton's 4th vol., p. 207, among the Treasurers of Kilmacduagh, or Tuam, is found,—"1591, Malachi O'Molona, or Molownan." Sir John Perrott mentioned that Malachias and the friar had "*at some other time* some small livings bestowed upon them." And although the dates may not exactly agree, yet delay of induction or neglect to make an entry in the Registry may have occasioned the difference. Should this prove the veritable Malachias whose career we have so far traced, it is clear that he ended very wretchedly after all his manœuverings and twistings, being deprived of his small living under the sentence of King James's Commissioners, "Propter manifestam et nocivam informalitatem." (MSS. T. C. D., E. 3, 14, p. 87.) Dr. Brady, in his celebrated work on the Irish Reformation (5th edition, p. 155), alluding to Perrott's and such statements, concludes thus concerning Malachias:—"The foregoing extracts from the State Papers leave no doubt remaining that Malachy O'Molony conformed in Queen Elizabeth's reign to the State religion; but according to the Roman Catholic historians O'Molony was a *staunch upholder of the Pope and the Papal faith.*" So much the worse for Malachy O'Molony and the Papal faith, too, because otherwise he might

have been passed over as a ridiculous weathercock ecclesiastic; now he stands forth a shameless hypocrite, eating the bread of one Church the better to do the work of a rival. It is only right to remark that for most of the State documents quoted in reference to Malachias the writer is indebted to Mr. R. Nugent, who most kindly lent his valuable MS. collection of extracts, and supplied others needed to a full elucidation of this curious case.

In 1576 Malachias was translated to Kilmacduagh to make way for a more suitable man—"Cornelius O'Melrian (O'MulRyan), O.S.F., and for forty-one years till his death, in 1617, he continues Bishop of this ancient See. This Prelate played an important part in the last great struggle of the Desmond chieftains. And we have intentionally passed rapidly over the preceding bishops that space might remain for dwelling on the unpublished documents connected with his history." So writes the author of "The See of Killaloe in the 16th Century" (&c., *ubi supra*, p. 465). This is fortunate, as Dr. Brady "has several of O'Melrian's unpublished letters copied, but they are *not* sufficiently interesting for publication," although he pronounced O'MulRyan himself to have been "a bitter opponent of Elizabeth and a frequent correspondent of the Roman Court."

Few of the outbreaks or rebellions in Ireland fell so heavily upon those who originated and carried them on as that of Desmond. Spenser's descriptions of the desolations he witnessed in Munster, and those gaunt spectres of famine-stricken survivors he encountered crawling out of their hiding-places and crowding around the springs where watercresses grew to grasp them as food, form about the most effective delineations of his gifted pen. The Privy Council warned Desmond beforehand of the perils he was incurring. (C. S. P., 1571, &c. Pref. xlii.)

The Queen wrote a letter of entreaty to the Countess of Desmond (*ubi supra*, xlii.) :—

We be advertized (urges her Majesty) *of the submission and late coming in of the Earl your husband to our Deputy*, &c., and of his purpose to shake off the great number he hath had attending on him, entertained through fear he conceived by a false rumour spread of a Commission that our President had to apprehend him—a matter never

thought or intended towards him, but suggested, as we conjecture, by such of your private enemies as would gladly by any practice throw him into some action of arms, whereby he might incur our heavy displeasure.

Forasmuch as We be also informed that your good travel with your husband to remove from him this vain fear of his apprehension, and to leave off his number of followers, hath brought him to such good terms of conformity as he now standeth in, We thought it very meet to signify unto you Our good acceptation of your travel in this behalf, wherein as you have shewed yourself a dutiful subject to Us, and careful of the quiet of that country, so have you declared yourself no less wise and loving towards your husband for the preservation of his estate, which might easily have been utterly ruined if he had not by good means been brought to the said submission. (And so the Queen entreats the Countess to continue her loyal and loving influence with Desmond) "in persuading him to cut off the multitude of his followers," the Queen engaging "to protect and defend him against all the unlawful attempts and injuries of such as seek his decay and overthrow."—*Minute to Countess of Desmond, March* 1, 1578.

Nor was Desmond himself without signs of some active impulses of patriotism and loyalty, especially on the occasion of "the arrival in the harbour of Dingle of six Spanish ships, both great and small, suspected to be appertaining to the traitor James Fitzmaurice," of all which, in the words above used, Desmond himself gave intimation to Lord Justice Dury. (*Ubi supra*, lvi.)

Nor was this all that Desmond had done and endured valiantly while walking in the paths of loyalty. In 1579 Desmond writes thus to Ormond (as in Calendar, *ubi supra*, p. 189) :—Relates his services against Fitzmaurice, a bishop, and two Irish scholars, arrested by him and executed. His successful opposition to the traitor and the O'Flaherties. John of Desmond most cruelly murdered by Mr. Davells and the Provost Marshall. Fears that his brothers would imbrue their cruel hands in the blood of his wife and son. He chased Sir James Fitzmaurice, &c., whence to be ran to where he was slain by Desmond's nephews. Relates the ill usage he suffered. Killed Rory ny Dillon and Knagery O'Kyne. Malbey hath spoiled Rathmore, murdered the keeper of the castle, spoiled Rathkelly, defaced and burned the Abbey and town of Askeaton. Desires his correspondent (Ormond) as a gentleman to certify her Majesty and the Council of these doings (and his sufferings).

But other influences swayed Desmond to his ruin, other advisers made him the tool of their inordinate ambition. On June 14, 1578, information was given to the Privy Council of Stukeley's invasion; £5,000 was provided as the sinews of war to resist him. That it was no small storm he was prepared to hurl upon these shores may be gathered from the account received from the region whence it fell. *The Pope Gregory XIII. was amusing himself with the dream of making his son, Signor Iacomo, King of Ireland.* Stukeley (C. S. P., Pref. xlii., 1574) agreed to everything, and was preparing a large army for the purpose, when, on going to the young King of Portugal, Don Sebastian, to ask for aid from him, that King prevailed on him to go *first* (!!) against Muley Moloch, King of Fez, Morocco, &c., and promised that *afterwards* he would give him valuable aid for his invasion of Ireland. But the King of Morocco beat them utterly, not above 50 escaping, and the King and Stukeley with the flower of Castilian chivalry falling at the battle of Alcazar-quivir. (C. S. P. Ir., an. 1574, Pref. xliii.) All this fell out in the course of God's providence, just in the same way as when Julian chose first to march to conquer Persia, or Charles the Fifth must first beat the Moslem before he would attack the Protestants of Germany. Nor was this all the discouragement and weakening. It was just as complete at home as abroad. Sir N. Malbrie vanquished in Connaught the few among the Burkes, O'Flahertys, &c., not forgetting Grany-ny Moyle, the great heroine of the Western Main, who were expected to create an important diversion and weaken the Queen's military movements in the South. These were stirred up by the Earl of Desmond and Doctor Saunders (see a letter of Saunders' printed in Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, Vol. iii., pp. 92—7) to raise their forces and enter into open rebellion, with promise of present aid from Spain and other countries to assist them in this *holy* enterprise (so termed by Dr. Saunders) for maintenance of the Catholic faith and *liberty* of their country. (*Ubi supra*, lix.)

Pope Gregory next fixed his attention on Ireland (as Ranke has remarked, Lives, &c., 456, Bohn's edition.) It was represented to him that there was no people more strictly and sturdily Catholic than the Irish, that the nation was tyrannized and maltreated by the English Government, that the people

were despoiled, disunited, wilfully kept in barbarism, and oppressed in their religious convictions, that they were thus at every moment prepared for war, and wanted nothing more than the aid of a small body of troops; with 5,000 men, Ireland might be conquered. . . . . Philip of Spain contributed a sum to the Expedition, just 20,000 scudi according to the Nuncio Sega. He also made grants. Baron d'Acres, Signor Buono, and other English noblemen then at Madrid, these he urged to go on this Expedition, *together with Bishop Lionese* (= Laonensis) of Ireland.

But what else of Bishop Cornelius all this time? Let the brave Sir W. Sent Leger, President of Munster, reply. From Cork to the Queen in 1582 he writes :—

Having first for sundry good reasons reprobated a war of wasting advocated as the only means of subduing and famishing the traitors in the five counties of the Province of Munster, he then goes on to mention "the state of the traitors" and the head and front of the rebellion. "There is as I am credibly informed come of late from Rome *a traitor called O'Mulrian*, a man born in the County Limerick, brother to O'Mulryan chieftain of the county he beareth name, which traitor usurpeth the name of the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, authorized so to do from the Pope. This traitor as it is given out hath brought assured promises from the Pope to the Earl, that he shall have relief both of men, money, and munition by mid-summer next at the farthest; upon whose arrival the traitor the Earl calls all his followers before him and caused this lewd prelate to deliver them this news—which done the said traitor the Earl told his followers that there were some amongst them that sought to betray him for that he could not go through with the enterprize he had begun, requiring them to be true and faithful to him, till the time pronounced by the prelate, and then if they found not his sayings true, no longer to trust him, but seek means for their safeties. Whereupon they all swore to be true and faithful unto him. (Lxxxvii. p. ubi supra.)

But before coming to the really rich treat of "the unpublished documents," one might just take a rapid glance at those that are published. It can do no harm, especially when given as abbreviated in the general index of the Calendar of State Papers (*ubi supra*), in which O'Mul Ryan figures largely, as much inquired after by English Ambassadors and statesmen. His country is South Tipperary or Limerick.

"He is the pretended Bishop of Killaloe and nominally of Cork and Ross. With another Bishop and with 300 soldiers he is in Stukeley's well-appointed ship at Lisbon. Friar

MOviedo, Commr. Apostolic, and (our friend) the Bishop, are in company with the Spaniards in Ireland. The Pope's message to the Earl of Desmond (is given by him), he being made Bishop of Cork (why so, we shall see anon). He and Pat Fitz-Maurice (of whom something has been noted already) have gone to Spain. Desmond has sent him and Purcell to Spain to hasten the foreigners. He and Lacy are bringing help to Desmond. He and McThomas (reported) slain. His last voyage to Ireland (of this more after "the unpublished"). Receives a pension from King of Spain." (C. S. P. 106.)

"Before setting sail from Lisbon, 30 Oct., 1577, James Fitz-maurice wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo, acquainting him with the disaster which had befallen our Bishop Cornelius, who a little while before, having sailed from Rochelle for the Irish coast, was captured by pirates, and being despoiled of all he possessed, was obliged to return to the Continent. Fitzmaurice adds:—"He (Dr. O'Melrian) is most devoted to us, and we confide to him all the secrets which are to be communicated to you connected with the succour which is sent to us. It would be most useful that he should *accompany* the expedition of troops to instruct them as to the place of landing as well as to conduct them to our quarters."

After this declaration it can be no ill-natured comment to say that Bishop O'Melrian acted the part of *Quarter-Master General* of an army of foreigners invading Ireland in the interests of the Pope. Then follow three letters of Desmond urging for aid to be sent by the Pope (Gregory 13th), and eulogizing Dr. O'Melrian as the Ambassador of the Confederates:—

Sanctissime Pater,

In vineâ Domini exercituum laboramus, expugnando Luteranam istam Angliæ Reginam; toto enim hoc triennio elapso, prout jam bellum gerimus, in armis sumus. Nostrum omnemque statum omniaque nostra exposuimus periculo evidentissimo semper perdendi, bellumque istud in Hibernià propter causas subsequentes his tribus annis elapsis in manus libentissime assumpsimus, nimirum quod sanctæ matris ecclesiæ causa erat, ac quod vestra Sanctitas jussit atque hortabatur ut rem inciperemus. Mihi meìsque omnibus minime peperci, oppida villas et pagos, arces et castra cum fratribus nostris Johanne et Jacobo de Geraldinis ac Sexdecim aliis ex nostra domo, in hoc bello perdidimus: nihilominus quamdiu vita comes fuerit, istud bellum prosequemur contra Angliæ maledictam Reginam,

donec S. Sanctitas ac Sua Majestas Catholica nos juverit ut possimus hæreticos propellere ex Hibernia totumque regnum subjicere legibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ. (That was very pleasant for some, but not for others "in Hibernia.") Et quia hactenus præstolationem istius subsidii experimur, harum latorem Episcopum Laonensem nostro et omnium nobilium hujus causæ consensu ambasciatorem et sollicitatorem universi negotii ad suam Sanctitatem et ad S. Majestat Cat. mittimus cui V. Sanctitas omnem fidem dabit, illumque ita auscultet non secus quam nos si præsentes fuissemus auscultaret, rogantes obnixe V. Sanctit (cui pedes humili animo exosculamur) ut nostram inquietudinem et longam perturbationem animadvertat auxiliumque cum hoc nostro ambasciatore mittatur quo poterimus confrigere audaciam adversariorum Christi ecclesiæ. Expediret denique ut V. Sanctitas auctoritatem nuncii in negotiis ecclesiasticis mitteret ad Laonensem Episcopum et potissimum ut ipsi liceat pontificalia officia exercere ubicunque se invenerit cum licentiâ ordinarii, Vir enim spectatæ vitæ et virtutis magnæque spei apud omnes est, huicque causæ addictissimus ac fidelissimus.

Datum in Castris Catholicorum in Hibernia,
Die 1 Sept. 1582,
Sanctitatis væ : addictissimus servus,

GEROLD DESMOND.

This last request indicates that though O'Mulryan was found useful as a military man and ambassador, he would be much more useful as such by following the Army into any other diocese than his own and there discharging Episcopal duties for the Army as a military chaplain of the Episcopal order.

In a second letter, after recounting his bereavements and losses, he tells the Pope that he will cling with a desperate tenacity to the cause of God and the Pope, but must obtain help "quo possem severos Ecclesiæ hostes propellere ex Regno, illiusque integrum statum legibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ subjicere."

Then he urges that with the subsidy he demands should come among them some one having the authority of a Nuncio ; and that the Bishop of Killaloe, according to universal consent, would be the fittest person for this.

Then, in a third letter, dated 18th June in the following year, Desmond repeats the same sentiments of devoted attachment to the Holy See, and petitions that the lands of the deceased James Geraldine should be granted to his son Gerald. It thus *concludes* :—

Literas vero super prædictas terras confectas, V. Sanctitas dignetur mittere per Nuncium Apostolicum Hispaniarum ad nostrum Ambascia-

torem Cornelium Episcopum Laonensem cui cupimus ut V. Sanctitas fidem in omnibus adhibeat, eumque fretum auctoritate Nuncii cum subsidio mittendo ad nos dignetur mittere, quia aliis palmam præsipit quibus hoc esset concedendum. Valeat ac Vivat V. Sancitas, &c. &c.

DESMOND.

The *conclusion* of this letter is given in full in "Spicilegium Ossoriense" (p. 81), and the part of the letter in which Desmond asks the *Pope to dispose of lands in Ireland as Sovereign Lord* deserves a full meed of acknowledgment for its outspoken confidence. Indeed the compiler, who has disclosed such a delicious morsel of *loyalty* for the inward digestion of the public of the 19th century who live under Queen Victoria, must be complimented for his candour and kindness.

The writer of the letter entitles himself—

Geraldus Desmondiæ Comes, Vræ Stis Generalis Dux* Exercitus Catholicorum in Hibernia et Sincerus Servus, Salutem precatur atque æternam felicitatem optat.

Quia ratio postulat ut illi qui toto zelo inserviunt atque omni desiderio Sti Vræ præmia sibi suisque successoribus subministrentur, ut alii incitentur ut eorum exempla in servitio S. Statis imitentur.

Quare cum noster Consobrinus D. Jacobus Geraldinus noster prædecessor Generalis S. Vræ, in Hibernia sit interfectus a filiis Gulielmi Burk et a quibusdam satelletibus Capitani, MacBrien Ara, dignum consuimus oratum iri S. Stsm ut dignetur *per breve Apostolicum eorum terras perpetuo concedere Geraldo* filio prædicti D. Jacobi Geraldini ejusque hæredibus, ut quemadmodum prædicti serviendo Reginæ Angliæ neci tradendo D. Jacobum præmia opima recipiunt, ita nostra domus Geraldina decoretur a S. Vra, nedum propter servitium in defensione fidei et S. Vræ causa *contra nefandam atque impiam potestatem Reginæ maledictæ* Angliæ, cujus rei causa magis cupimus gloriosam mortem ipsam impugnando, quam legibus male dictæ Reginæ obtemperare, participesque fieri ejus maledictionis et fulmine anathematis feriri, quo ipsa aliique adhærentes innodata existit.

The writer of "The Diocese of Killaloe" already quoted has remarked "that the relations of our (Catholic) Bishops and of the Holy See with the native Princes during the wars of Elizabeth's reign have often been misconstrued in the writings of those who are led away by the frenzy of political agitation. The *Irish chieftains* had at this period the title and privileges of *independent* (!) Princes, and as such they were

* *The Pope's Standard* (carried before Desmond's rebel forces) was nearly taken in the battle at Adare, Oct. 12, 1579 (C.S.P. 1574, &c., p. 190).

entitled (!) to defend with the sword those religious and civil rights which the Government of Elizabeth attempted to destroy. Hence their struggle merited the sympathies of the Holy See and the blessing of our martyr clergy. But far more distant than heaven is from earth were the chivalry of James Fitzmaurice and the heroism of Hugh O'Neill from that cursed Fenian blight which, alas! nowadays has fallen upon some of our benighted and deluded countrymen."

In other words, it is quite right for subjects—sworn to allegiance as Desmond was sworn—to rebel against their Sovereign *in the interests of the Holy See*. But for such subjects to rebel, to the imperilling of these interests, *then*, oh! it is a case "of an *accursed* blight falling upon our benighted and deluded countrymen"! But why not this latter equally true in the one case as in the other? in *Desmondism* as in *Fenianism?* in the 16th as well as the 19th century?—"the frenzy of political (or Episcopal) agitation" notwithstanding, unless, indeed, the knowledge of the times and seasons for Irish rebellions, also the exclusive privilege of hatching and bringing them forth, are to be supposed belonging to *others* and *not* to the wretched Irish rebels themselves.

The letters of the Bishop O'Mulryan may now supply a few further traces of the *diplomatic* mission he followed and of the *warlike* enterprises he sustained. In his 1st he implores succour for the Catholics and Desmond, or else it will be all over with them, and the accursed Queen will vanquish them and bring them under her power. He also states that a clause in his Episcopal title forbids his exercise of Episcopal functions outside of the limits of his Diocese without express license of the Ordinary. And he asks that this license should be granted as a most important advantage. In his 2nd to the Pope from Madrid, he reminds his Holiness that the King was ready with men, but the Pope must come down with money for the Irish expedition at once, or else the enterprise will fail. And that Desmond was promised this help and has suffered heavily. His 3rd urges "ut necesse esse ut sua sanctitas subministret pecunias ut parti militum stipendia solvantur." In his 4th he states that his Catholic Majesty is supplying for the war in Ireland a great sum for purchase of arms and victuals, which he shall at once despatch from nearest port to

Desmond's relief. His Holiness must frequently urge this matter on his Catholic Majesty to complete the war.

His own demand for an extended license the Bishop presses in these urgent terms :—

Intelligat sua Sanctitas hanc clausulam non esse positam in mea Bullâ proper meam culpam, neque etiam esse positam in Bullis Hibern. Episcopm. post me creatorum, qui nihil perpessi sunt in hoc bello Hibernico, quemadmodum ego perpessus sum, nullaque præclara facinora ediderant quemadmodum me edidisse, nobilesque Hibernos esse valde offensos quando dicebam, *in campo me non posse exercere pontificalia extra meum Episcopatum etiam cum licentia* ordinariorum loci. Proinde sua Dominatio rogabit Suam Sanctit; ut dignetur in præmium laborum susceptorum et suscepiendorum in hoc bello Hibernico mihi. Concedere facultatem exercendi pontificalia et hic interim quoad me rex detineat, cum licentia ordinariorum vel sede vacante jussu regis et in Hibernîâ eodem modo et ubi non sunt Episcopi Catholici, jussu Comitis Desmondiæ Generalis Catholicorum possem similiter exercere pontificalia, servatis servandis a jure et a Sacro Concilio Tridentino, contra quod aliquid molire illicitum esse semper duxi.

26 May, 1583. CORNELIUS EPISCOPUS LAONENSIS.

July 5, 1583.—He writes that his Catholic Majesty declared it impossible that a fleet could be sent to Ireland before his Majesty, "intelligat exitum classis quæ jam proficiscitur ad insulas Tertiæ, contra Dominum Antonium." Then he mentions his going with supplies, &c., and of his obtaining a pension. "Interea Rex Cathol jussit ut pensio mihi assignaretur, qua honeste potuissem me sustinere super Episcopatu Tigitanensi, interimque classis præparabitur, cujus proprius pastor oblitus sui status se junxit Domino Antonio contra Regem Catholicum Ex portu de Scetufill.

July 5, 1583.—The sixth letter of Bishop Cornelius is addressed August, 1583, "Sanctissime Pater," and urges what Desmond had proposed in reference to the Pope giving away lands in Ireland to recoup some of the Desmond sufferers :—

Comes Desmondiæ Generalis Catholicorum ferventer scripsit ad me superioribus dictus, ut cum suâ sanctitate agerem ut digneretur per Bullam authenticam, vel per Breve Aposolicum concedere terras possessionesque illorum qui interfecerunt Dominum Jacobum Geraldinum Generalem Vestræ Sanctitatis in Hibernia, Geraldo Geraldino filio prædicti Jacobi ut ipsi Geraldini vehementius habeant ansam in serviendi sedi Apostolicæ atque suæ sanctitatis ac ut adversarii hoc concedendo terreantur (!) ne Sedem Apostolicam impugnent, neve istius sedis Sanctissimæ sint adversarii *inter nos* (!) qui Anglis faveant

atque opitulentur posthac quemadmodum hactenus. Quocirca non nihil conducet negotio atque ad augmentationem fidei in Hibernia, ut sua Sanctitas consideret servitium Geraldinorum et potissimum Jacobi Gerald *Generalis Vestræ Sanctitatis* et istius postremo (*servitium*) Comitis Desmondiæ qui totis viribus impugnat maledictam Reginam ejusque fautores qui que progressus felices ipsam impugnando hactenus habuit. Proinde in præmium horum omnium Vestra Sanctitas dignetur concedere litteras *atque possessiones* istorum qui interfecerunt D. Jacobum Geraldinum, Domino Geraldo Geraldino filio prædicti D. Jacobum Generalis Vestræ Sanctitatis prout Comes Desmondiæ suæ Sanctitati fusissimè scripsit; quod si fecerit sua Sanctitas rem gratissimam Comiti, factura sit cæterosque pœne nobiles Hibernos concitabit ut sibi sedique Apostolicæ inserviant, domumque Geraldinorum semper sibi addictissimam et promptissimam experietur, &c.

If this does not exhibit Bishop Cornelius urging the Pope to act as Sovereign Lord of Ireland, punishing the Queen's subjects by dispossessing them of the lands she gave to them, and rewarding his subjects by bestowing these lands upon them *for services against the Queen*, then there can be no acts by which Sovereign Lords exercise their authority and liege subjects exhibit their fealty.

In the seventh letter Bishop Cornelius agitates the sending of the fleet to Ireland:—

Quâ transmissa, Hibernia legibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, atque Anglia propediem subjicietur. Denique hæc erit proxima via, qua Sua Majestas habebit Flandriam quietam sibique subjectam. Cornelius, &c.

8th letter, written from Lisbon, deplores the death and decapitation of Desmond:—

Tristissima ac longe mœstissima nova nobis sunt ista, ac prorsus de reductione Hiberniæ ad fidem principia (sic) desperandi, nisi S. Sanctitas mox manus adjutrices porrigat, tum subserviendo militibus aut pecuniis tum etiam scribendo quam effectuosissime ad Suam Majestatem Catholicam ut non differat jam mittere classem ad Hiberniam, qua transmissa Universa Hibernia legibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ subjicietur, erit que etiam principium et solidum, fundamentum reductionis Angliæ ad fidem; quod si hoc non fiet mox antequam Regina Maledicta iniquis Suis legibus subjiciat sibi regnum, cum non sit aliquis principalis qui resistat—actum erit de toto negotio et scintilla fidei quæ huc usque illic viguit omnino extinguetur, eritque Hibernia non secus quam Anglia referta iniquis legibus Maledictæ Reginæ.

CORNELIUS.

In the 9th letter Cornelius Ep Laonensis implores some money to be paid by the collector in Lisbon, as he is in penury

and actual need; that he receives none of his Episcopal revenues; that he will stay on in Lisbon to be near intelligence from Ireland, until either the invading fleet sets sail or the Queen shall die.

His 10th letter is to the Pope, and he closes with a demand, not for a miserable subsidy, but for a fleet to save Ireland, win England, and secure Flanders.

His 11th and last letter in the collection is dated 29 Oct. 1584, and addressed to Cardinal de Como :—

Illustrious Lord,

Ten years have passed away since his Holiness created me a Bishop. And although I betook myself to Ireland, I had no induction to my Bishoprick, in consequence of its being in the possession of a certain pseudo Bishop of the Queen's appointment, who although he collected the revenues, took no trouble about the cure of souls, and during the whole time did not live within his Episcopate.* And thus I could not touch a farthing of my Episcopal revenues, nor can I ever expect to do so at least until the Queen's death, or until your Holiness and his Catholic Majesty shall send a fleet to Ireland, in which I shall then resort thither. But hitherto, with the Earl of Desmond and the rest of the nobles adhering to him, I remained in Ireland in the camps of the Catholics, showing myself a bright pattern of all virtues, enduring terrible labours and want of food, preaching, exhorting, admonishing, correcting vicious conduct, sometimes with gentleness, sometimes with severity, and always giving such advice and counsel as was best calculated to promote the salvation of men and the progress of the war against the English, those most frantic and ferocious enemies of the Church. At length it seemed good to the Earl of Desmond, General of the Catholics, and to the rest of the leaders, to send me hither (to Lisbon), relying as I did upon my authority as ambassador to move his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty on the subject of sending a fleet and a subsidy into Ireland. And this undertaking of mine I discharged with all diligence in the way of corresponding with his Holiness, as very well known to your Excellency. I pleaded also most urgently with his Catholic Majesty, and with difficulty wrung from him one little ship with arms and money, which had but reached the shores of Ireland when news was brought of the Earl of Desmond being slain in the war, and that all his followers were so scattered that not a word about a war was heard any more. Then the subsidies were fetched back to this place, and I restored the sum total thereof to his Catholic Majesty. And yet after all I am still working urgently upon his Majesty that he would deign to send a fleet, or at least a moderate subsidy, to Ireland under command of Lord Maurice Geraldine, the next of kin of Earl Desmond, who at this very time, for sake of imploring aid from his Holiness and the Catholic King, has hastened hither out of Ireland. Most urgently I

*This is quite true of himself, but quite untrue of the other Bishop.

plead with your Excellency to treat with his Holiness to come over and help us. Let his Holiness condescend to treat with his Majesty as to carrying out this matter. This Lord (Desmond) is indeed a man of energy, noble, and of much practical knowledge in warlike affairs, and one who, in the late war of the Earl of Desmond, won some important victories against the English. And surely his Holiness is under deep obligations to the Geraldines, who exposed their lives and properties to peril of utter ruin in the service of his Holiness. And further, his Excellency will understand that I am remaining here in Lisbon for sake of news from Ireland, and for sake of pressing an incessant suit with his Majesty that he would send a subsidy worth mention or else a fleet to Ireland.

The creation of Bishops just at present is quite useless, unless a fleet be sent. Indeed it is injurious, because Bishops cannot easily be consecrated or sent forth on the Mission in Ireland or in England (unless in parts of Ulster in Ireland); because in either case they have only to hide themselves, or appear disguised in secular dress, or must adopt the soldier's, carry a girded sword or else a halbert (?), without being either shaven or shorn, without any clerical habit, without revenue or obedience rendered by their subject faithful. And thus even so far, if they are convicted of being Bishops, they suffer capital punishment or perpetual imprisonment—nay, even their own parents and blood relations who give them shelter lose all their chattels and estates, which go to the Royal treasury.

(He then proceeds with particulars as to what befel the Titulars of Cashel and Tuam, of Emly and Ferns, of Ross and Limerick, and closes with an earnest dissuasive against the immediate appointment of successors in the present position of Irish affairs.) But we must take one last look at this Cornelius O'Melryan—"the ILLUSTRIOUS Bishop of Killaloe"(!!) —on the occasion of his final visit to the shores of his native land after a life spent not in the sedulous discharge of episcopal functions within the diocese which he never once visited, but in bustling about amid the clash of arms and in crouching a suppliant at foreign Courts for ships and soldiers to subjugate Ireland to the Pope.

The Calendar of State Papers is usually dry as dust and pulseless as a skeleton. But R. Wingfield in a letter to Ch. Jas. Wallop, with something of grand measured pathos—something of the swing and swell of a Greek tragic chorus—sounds the alarm and points the moral of these wild and wicked enterprises of rebellion, Desmond being now dead, and the bloody swords of Elizabeth's soldiers just wiped dry after Keltic slaughter only to slaughter again with a sharpened thirst.

Arrival of a carvill of five tops for the late Earl of Desmond. The chief man in her that presented himself was an old friar, who demanded of the country people who went on board, where the Desmond was? They answered, He was slain.

He demanded, who maintained that action?

Answer was made—None; for that all were either slain or else protected. Quoth he—Is there none of the Earl's name, that will take upon him to follow and maintain that enterprize? They answered—Not one. Well, said he, if any had continued it until now, we had brought here to furnish them, of treasure and munition good store. And shortly they would have more, and aid enough. And therewith he shewed them great store, both of treasure and munition. The Lord General Ormond hath written to the ports to send out to take it..... Dublin, January 21, 1584. Letters to be written to the Lords Justices and the Lord General to intercept the supposed Bishop of Killaloe. (!!)

He died in exile in 1617. And what makes his overt rebellious activity all the more culpable is the fact that his own subjects in Thomond, when the Spanish Armada was wrecked, right loyally aided the Sheriff Böetius Clancy to march the invaders to Ennis, instead of giving them any encouragement or help.

It may appear to some that an undue stress has been laid upon the case of this military Bishop—or rather military agent of the Court of Rome acting under the guise of a bishop. But it must be remembered that O'Melryan was not the only one of these militant ecclesiastics. Oviedo is another, Mac Eggan another, and doubtless there were more of them, all able men and well chosen for their work. But as for their being bishops, this was a mere colourable pretext, the better to engraft religious war upon hostility of races, and thereby promote at once ecclesiastical revenge and imperial ambition. As for Desmond being "an INDEPENDENT Prince and IRISH Chieftain"—as the writer in the I. E. Record ventures to assert—this man was of *English* origin, and had always, as his ancestors, held under the Crown of England. And it was "his plundering and rebelling against England" that brought him to his doom, at the wicked persuasion of O'Melryan—his evil angel. (See Annl. 4, Masters.)

The pedigree of the Earls of Desmond from the MSS. of Sir Wm. Betham, U.K.A., 1834, is given in Mr. Sainthill's "Old Countess of Desmond," after p. 72. The first name on the long list of this renowned family is Gerald De Windsor, Con-

stable of Pembroke Castle, and Governor of S. Wales, who marries Nesta, d. of Rhys, Prince of S. Wales. Their son was Maurice Fitzgerald, one of the conquerors of Ireland, who died A.D. 1177, and was buried in the Grey Friary of Wexford.

The Episcopal succession of Kilfenora Diocese now claims a brief notice. "On the 16th of May, 1552, John O'Hinalan was Bishop of Kilfenora, but I have not yet discovered (writes Ware) either the time of his consecration, or death. One John was Bishop of Kilfenora in 1570. I do not know whether it was John O'Hinalan." The Four Masters relate that a "John of Kilfenora, was John Oge O'Niallan, a preacher of the word of God, and that he died A.D. 1572, and was interred in Kilfenora." Anyhow, in 1573, Murtagh, son of Sir D. O'Brien, succeeds. Ware omits him altogether, so does Dr. Cotton. But of this link in the chain of episcopal succession there can be little doubt, inasmuch as the record of the Calendar of State Papers exhibits the following (page 502, May 10, 1573):—"Lord Deputy and Council to Queen. Commend Murtough O'Brien, son of Sir Donnell O'Brien, for the Bishoprick of Kilfenora. *The Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Meath certify his worthiness.*" But as the matter is of some importance, owing to the careless way in which it has been believed that the Bishops of the Reformed Church of Ireland in those days were mere political agents—very little better than English policemen in black clothes,—it is safer to give the letter in full which relates this business:—

Lord Deputy and Council to Queen.

Dublin Castle, May 10, 1573.

Sute hath bin made unto us to commend unto yr Majty one Murtough O'Brien, son of Sir Donnell O'Brien, Knight, for the Bishoprick of Kilfenora, alias Finniborensis, being voide, and by us assigned to the custody of the said Murtough. *For his sufficiency every way he hath been well commended unto us by diverse.* But we not thinking it good without *further trial* to presume to commend him to your Majestie, committed *the examination of him* to the ArchBishop of Dublin, who under his hand hath certified unto us that he and the Bishop of Meath had conferred with him and found him to be the worthiest man for that promotion (for godly life and sincere religion in that province).....

In an official document (a composition-deed, dated 1585) appear the names of the Bishops of Killaloe and of Kilfenora as

parties of the deed in their capacity as "Lords Spirituall," viz.—

"The Revd. Father in God Mauritius, Bishopp of Killalow."

"Daniell, electe Bishopp of Killfinnoragh."

The following also appear:—

"Daniel Sheanagh, Dean of Kilfenoragh; Donogh O'Hiaran, do. of Killaloe; Denis, Archdeacon of Kilfenoragh."

As this deed is of much value, illustrating the topography, customs, and tenures of Thomond, also the Lords or chieftains in Elizabeth's days, and their relationship to the Crown and to their dependents, illustrating also much about the Church and its property, it has been considered better to give it *in extenso* in the Appendix, No. 5. But the chief value of it arises from the fact that this document marks the second step of an important kind taken by England at that period in reference to the Irish. In the reign of King Henry VIII. the Sovereign Lordship of the King as the fountain of honour was asserted. Now the Regal power to establish something like the English system of taxation was attempted, instead of the irregular and most oppressive exactions used under the Irish régime.

Sir J. Perrott had made a similar composition with the Chieftains of Galway, which is given in O'Flaherty's H Iar by Hardiman. This deed relating to Thomond has never, to the writer's knowledge, been given in full. The copy from which it is transcribed, belongs to the Ennistymon House collection, and seems of the time of Charles I.; made, probably, when enquiries about tenures and grants under the Crown were rife.

The document and transaction are referred to in Annals of 4 M., who state that "a session was held in Ennis in which were enacted extraordinary decrees," and they look with no favourable eyes upon this innovation.

It may be added that Sir J. Perrott was highly esteemed and greatly beloved for his kind and considerate bearing to the Irish.

Another highly characteristic document is added in the Appendix, viz., a copy of the Fiant appointing Sir D. O'Brien Seneshall to Corcomroe and Burren, &c. From this, together with the previous document, a tolerably fair idea may be gained of what was the political and social condition of the Dioceses of Killaloe and Kilfenora in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Two particulars of consequence in connection with the ecclesiastical affairs of the period in Killaloe still demand consideration.

1st. The *language* in which the services of the Church were appointed to be conducted.

2nd. The state of *education.*

In the "Proposal for the Conversion of the Popish Natives of Ireland to the Established Religion, submitted and dedicated by John Richardson—afterwards Bishop of Raphoe—to the Upper and Lower Houses in Convocation assembled, and printed in Dublin, 1711," the following suitable observation is laid down as a primary postulate" (page 1) :—

"When a design is set on foot to convert a nation to the true religion, one would think that the ordinary Gospel-means are the fittest and most unexceptionable. Wherefore, to prevent all just cause of exception about so useful and necessary undertaking, the scheme *here* proposed for the conversion of the Popish natives was framed according to that most excellent pattern." And at page 21 of this outspoken manifesto Richardson states and confutes the following objection :—

"XI. It is objected that *the best way to convert the Irish is to abolish their language according to the wise design of our ancestors nigh 200 years ago.* I answer that after the experience of near 200 years we find very little or no progress made in this design—they still retain their language and their religion too. Nay, the *Irish* language is so far from being abolished, that as many *British* proportionably speak Irish as natives speak English." So far Richardson as to the effects of not following "that most excellent pattern." But how this came to pass may be further elucidated from the just reflections made by Dr. Stephens in his Introduction to The Book of Common Prayer for Ireland, p. cxxxvi., &c.

While the Canon Law provided "ut pontifices civitatum vel diocesum provideant viros ideneos, qui secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum, divina illis officia celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent, instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo," —while "the Queen, like a most godly and virtuous Princess, having chief respect and regard to the honour and glory of God, and the soul's health of her subjects, did in the first year of her reign, by the authority of her High Court of Parliament chiefly for that purpose called, set forth a Book of Common Prayer,

&c., in the vulgar English tongue, to be used through all her realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, that thereby her Highness's most loving subjects, understanding in their own language the terrible and fearful threats rehearsed in the Book of God against the wicked and malefactors, the pleasant and infallible promises made to the elect and chosen flock, with a just order to rule and guide their lives according to the Commandments of God, might much better learn to love and fear God, to serve and obey their Prince, and to know their duties towards their neighbours. Which book being received as a most precious jewel with an unspeakable joy to all such her subjects as did and do understand the English tongue—the which tongue is not understanded of the most and greatest number of all her Majesty's most loving and obedient subjects inhabiting within her Highness's dominion and country of Wales, being no small part of this realm, who therefore are utterly destitute of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like or rather more darkness and ignorance than they were in the time of Papistry,"—enacted, "That the Bishops of Hereford, St. David, Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff, and their successors shall take such order among themselves for the soul's health of the flocks committed to their charge within Wales, that the whole Bible containing the New Testament and Old, with the Book of Common Prayer, &c., as is now used within this realm in English, to be truly and exactly translated into the British or Welsh tongue." But this was substantially identical with the Irish tongue, a Connaught harvestman to this day being intelligible to a Welshman and *vice versa*. Provision is also made for the correction, publication, and general use of such translation by curates and ministers before a given day.

But in Ireland, notwithstanding that in the time of Elizabeth, four-fifths of the population understood no language but the Irish, no statutable provisions were made to have the Book of Common Prayer translated into Irish, or that clergymen should speak the vernacular language of their own flocks. But, on the contrary (seemingly to provide for Englishmen), it was expressly enacted by Stat. 2nd Elizabeth, ch. 2, sect. 15 (Ir.), that the Book of Common Prayer should only be read in *English or Latin* (!!) And it may here be observed that even in 1537, Stat. 28 Henry VIII., ch. 15, sect. 7, (Ireland)

directed "spiritual promotions to be conferred solely on such as could speak English, unless after four proclamations in the next market town such could not be had." But of this unhappy Act of Henry VIII. more hereafter.

Sir Henry Sidney, in 1576, ventured to call the attention of the English Government to the importance of providing the *natives* of Ireland with religious instruction in the only language they could speak or understand, and yet this was asked for only in the remote places.

A curious incident is related in an interesting modern work of an English Ambassador on his way to the Court of Spain, being caught by a south-western storm and driven for refuge to Tralee Harbour. He landed, went to morning prayer, and to his utter amazement found the service in the parish church conducted in the Latin tongue. Nor was it until 1587 that the following steps were taken to attempt a partial remedy of this great evil:—

Council Register, Vol. VII.
November, 1587, to May, 1589.
Apud Greenewich iiij. Marcy 1587.
Pñte.
L. Chancellor, L. Shrer, L. Stewarde, Mr. Shrer, Mr. Vice Chamberlaine, Mr. Secretarye, Mr. Wolley.

Page 86.

A Lre to the L. Deputie of Ireland and L. Archb. of Dublin, that her Maty had been of late aduertised of *a notable abuse continued in Thenglish pale*, where it was said that in sundry partes thereof the book of Comon prayer is publicklie vsed in the LATIN tongue, and contrarywise the booke of praier in English appointed by the Lawes there is allmost whollie neglected, and but lyttle vsed, whereby the people there for lack of instruction that they might have receaued if the Comon prayers might haue been vsed in a known tongue, are still bredd vp in error and blinde zeale to poperie to the great offence of Allmightie God, and the wth drawing of great numbers of her Maties subjectes in that realme from due obedyence in pointe of relligion, whereat her Matie doth greatlie mruaile and cannot but impute the faulte thereof chiefly to the L. Archb. Considering how the care to abolish such kind of suprstitious abuses principallie aprtaineth to him, for that it belonged vnto his L. to have acquainted the L. Deputie wth all, by whose aucthoritie the said Inconvenience might haue been redressed. Their Lls are required to take pñt order throughout all Thenglish Pale for the reformacon of the said abuse, and the establishing and generale vse of the Bible and Book of Comon Prayer in English, according to her Matys Iniunctions, and not otherwise, and to see that all such as should be found to neglect or refuse to yield vnto such reformacon, as by their

Lls should be appoynted, be ordered according to their good discrecons.

At the same time, although this attempt to suppress the language of a nation produced a very injurious effect upon the political and religious relations between the English and Irish, unfortunately there were other causes at work producing effects not much less injurious. Indeed, Dr. Richardson asserts this when he designates the opposition to the Irish tongue "the principal cause why the Reformed Religion hath made no greater progress," but adds, "it must be acknowledged, indeed, that *other causes have concurred*" (p. 67).

A word on the state of education in the Diocese of Killaloe under Queen Elizabeth may close this chapter. As regards the effects of a superior native education apparent upon the clergy, unfortunately there are no means of arriving at an immediate decision, all records having perished. But this may be judged in the way of comparison, when the further progress of the Church is traced and its records are searched out. Yet it would be strange to conclude that almost immediately after Trinity College, Dublin, had emerged the bright particular star of sacred and secular illumination in the Western Hemisphere, no graduate of this University was found upon the Diocesan Roll of Clergy. As regards intermediate education, we can find nothing performed, nothing even attempted. And although the principle was laid down by law that there shall be a parochial school in every parish, yet the provisions of this Act must have proved inoperative from the very date of publication, its application and action being left to be carried out not from public funds, not from ecclesiastical forfeitures, but at the cost and charges of the few half-starved clergy who constituted the diocesan staff of Bishop Mauritius Mac O'Brien in Killaloe. In fact, as to Church work in general in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we may safely conclude in the light of even what these pages disclose, and without the labour of reproducing Bishop Mant's minute citation of particulars, that it went but a very little way, merely laying the foundations of an ecclesiastical and civil polity, and endeavouring to provide security for life and property, rather by repelling force than by establishing law, and kindling the beacon-lights of the Church and School in full blaze throughout a benighted Diocese.

CHAPTER V.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE, ETC., IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

Sir John Davys, showing how the defects and errors in the government of Ireland had been supplied and amended since the beginning of his Majesty's reign, first touches upon errors in martial affairs amended; secondly, points out the courses pursued for the supply of the defects in the civil government; then dwells, thirdly, upon the settling of all the estates and possessions, as well of Irish as of English, throughout the kingdom. Under the second head, he luxuriates in an exposition of the establishment of the public justice in every part of the kingdom, by which the common people, albeit rude and barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come. The law having made progress into Ulster with good success, A. Chichester established new circuits in Connaught and Munster. Of this energetic Deputy's circuits in Ulster, and of what knowledge he acquired not only in affairs secular but, alas, in the affairs of the Church, summaries appear in Bishop Mant's History of the Church of Ireland. To Sir J. Davis' circuit of justice in Munster reference is now made, that a well-drawn picture of life in the West during the earlier years of King James I. may be presented (C. S. P. Ireland, p. 467, 1603-9) :—

Having related the issue of the legal proceedings against "well nigh 100 of the citizens and burgesses of Cork—who at the Quarter Sessions

before, had *been indicted upon the statute for not coming to church, we required them to pay the penalty of the laws—viz., twelvepence for each Sunday and holiday.* The chief of them then desired copies of the indictments to the end they might put their traverses thereunto . . . . they submitted to payment. The gross sum amounted to £60 and upwards, for which we appointed collectors, and assigned the moneys towards the building of a hospital there: as well because that town does swarm with poor and impotent people, as also because one of the citizens dying in London had by his testament given £200 to maintain the poor, whensoever the city should erect an hospital. The citizens were glad of this assignment. And so we departed from Cork towards the county of Clare and Thomond, where we had appointed our next session. . . . . In the county of Clare, which contains all Thomond, when I beheld the appearance and fashion of the people, I would I had been in Ulster again, for these are as mere Irish as they, and in their outward form not unlike them; but when we came to dispatch the business, we found that many of them spake good English and understood the course of our proceedings well. For the Justices of Munster were wont ever to visit this country, both before my Lord of Thomond had the particular government thereof and sithence. After the dispatch of the gaol which contained no extraordinary malefactors, our principal labours did consist in establishing sundry possessions of freeholders in that county which had been disturbed in the time of rebellion and had not been settled sithence. The best freeholders next to the O'Briens are the McNemaraes and the O'Lancys (*sic**) (rather the O'Clanceys). (See C. S. P. 1606, p. 211.) The chief of which families appeared in a civil habit and fashion, the rest are not so reformed as the people of Munster. But it is to be hoped that the example of the Earl,† whose education and carriage your Lordship knows, and who indeed is served and waited on very civilly and honourably, will within a few years alter the manners of this people, and draw them to civility and religion both."

We ended the ordinary business of the county Clare somewhat sooner than we expected. (Then follows an account of the horrible cruelty of one Downing, "a swashbuckler," towards a poor idiot. Downing was reprieved.) The gaol being cleared, we began to consider how we

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* Ballynacloghy Castle, now Stone-Hall, is said to have been built by D. McClancy, and was returned in 1570 as the property of D. McClanshy. The McClanchys were the hereditary Brehons, Judges or Lawgivers of Thomond, and many documents still exist attested by members of that family. Before 1641 Ballynaclough passed into the hands of Nicholas Fanning. Thomas Cullen was installed as Titulado. (Note by Hon. R. O'Brien from Dinely's Tour, p. 81.) The name of Clancy appears elsewhere in this volume. Böetius was the most eminent of the family, and it was borne by a Dr. McClancy, an eminent literary man, whose Memoirs in two volumes were published in 1750. The Clancys are still found in Kilfarboy parish—a respectable and industrious family.

† See Dyneley's Tour.

could cut off two notorious thieves or rebells who with two or three kern at their heels did infest the whole country—the latter, Redmond Purcell, we understood chiefly to be relieved in the county of Arra upon the borders of Thomond and Tipperary by Sir Tirlagh O'Brien and his sons,—which Sir Tirlagh is brother to the Bishop of Killalowe, natural Lord of Arra and uncle to the Earl of Thomond by the mother's side. For Sir T. O'Brien and his sons we had at once resolved to take bonds of them for their appearance at the next sessions, because the proofs against them were not direct and clear; but afterwards the Bishop of Killalowe (Mauritius Mac O'Brien), his own brother, accusing him and his sons as relievers and familiar companions of Redmond Purcell—my Lord President after our departure from Limerick towards Cashell, committed them prisoners to the Castle of Lymerick. Whereupon this effect did follow—Purcell not daring to trust the inhabitants of Arra, among whom he was wont to lurk fearing they would seek his head to redeem Sir Tirlaghe's liberty, retired into the county Limerick, where one M'Hurley drew him into a castle of his, and brought some of my Lord President's soldiers upon him, who killing one or two of his kern, took Purcell himself alive and brought him to the President since the end of our circuit, so that now we hear he is executed by martial law.

Sir John then proceeds to give an account of the petitions of certain undertakers in this county (Limerick) and the county Kerry for the re-establishment of their possessions in some parcels of land whereof they had been disseized in the time of the late wars. Sir John pitied them as English and poor, but in other respects they deserved no favour—"as bad pays, vile farmers, and, finally, as observing few or none of the covenants comprized in their Letters Patent, and laid down in that wise and exact plot for the undertakers of Munster—and among the rest they utterly neglected the principal, namely, that they should inhabit their lands with tenants of English birth to the end that every Lord of a seigniory, being able upon all occasions to rise up with 150 to 200 Englishmen, they might be a mutual strength and security one to the other, and be enabled to stand upon their guard against the mightiest rebel that could rise in those parts. But contrarywise, all our undertakers for the most part have planted Irish tenants, and among others even the sons and kinsmen of the ancient proprietors and owners thereof, who forfeited the same by their attainders; so that these vipers being nourished in their bosoms, upon the first alarm of any rebellion, do fall upon their landlords and cut their throats, make spoil and booty of all their

substance, and cast out their wives and children stript and stark naked, whereof even these men themselves had a bitter experience upon the last revolt in Munster." (472-3, *ubi supra.*)

Donough, the fourth E. of Thomond, was most exemplary in his efforts to introduce civilization and plant with English. Thus Sir A. Chichester holds him up as a bright example to other noble Lords in the following terms :—

"Often advises the Lords, especially in the North, to embrace civil plantations, and to take example from the Earl of Thomond, who receives and entertains as many English as he can any way draw unto him, and uses them so well that many resort thither. Suggests that by some letter or other means he the Earl may receive encouragement to continue that good course which is the best means to bring peace, safety, and plenty into the land." (C.S. P. 1606, &c., p. 34.) In a note by the late Honble. Rob. O'Brien to Dyneley's Tour, the following appears :—"The Earls of Thomond were anxious to encourage Protestant settlers on their estates, and several of the Earl's tenants and of the New Patentees, had houses in this town. The rents paid in 1675 for houses and plots of ground bear a very high proportion compared to the value of farms. £10 a year for a house and shop, with a covenant to rebuild, and £50 a year for a malt-house, represent the rents paid for considerable extents of land even in the vicinity of Sixmile Bridge." (O'B.) At a future page reference is incidentally made to a plantation of Dutch settled at Kilrush. In the subsequent notes of Dyneley it is stated that "The Earl of Thomond, after the restoration, granted a lease of Kilrush with four and a half plough lands to Isaac Granger (? Ganier) to expire in 1675, and another in reversion in 1672 to Col. J. Blount, which contained a covenant to lay out the town of Kilrush, and settle therein ten English families or in want of them ten tradesmen, and to build no houses, but with brick or stone and lime, &c. At general hostings to send two horsemen, furnished for 1 mo. &c. &c."

At Clonmel, Sir J. Davyes adds (*supra*, p. 475), We arraigned but one prisoner, namely, one of the sons of Sir Tirlagh O'Brien before named, who was indicted for a murder or treason, found to have been committed by him and Redmond Purcell, the wood kern or rebel of whom I spake before, with others of that

lewd company. The county did so much complain of mischiefs done by R. Purcell, that it was thought meet for a terror and example to suffer the execution of the law upon this young gent, (*sic*) and accordingly he was executed.

After this, my Lord President (whose zeal in matters of religion tempered with good moderation doth merit very much consideration) was desirous that a priest, one James Morice, who was lately before apprehended, should have been indicted for publishing a slanderous and seditious *bull*, though without all question it be a forged and counterfeit thing, as you may *perceive by the copy*. We deferred this business to another session. This town being in the liberty is more haunted with Jesuits and priests than any other town or city in the province, which is the cause we found the burgesses more obstinate here than elsewhere. He then gives the legal proceedings against the Recusants, and the names and haunts of the Jesuits in Munster.

Sir John crowns these statements as to his legal action against Recusants with the following extremely sensible and forcible suggestions, as a sort of *per contra*, addressed to the chiefs of the Established Church and the friends of the Reformation in Ireland :—

"If our Bishops and others that have cure of souls were but half as diligent in their several charges, as these men are in the places where they haunt, the people would not receive and nourish them as now they do. But it is the extreme negligence and remissness of our clergy here, which was first the cause of the general desertion and apostacy, and is now again the *remora* or the impediment of reformation." At the same time, referring to the state of things he found at Dungarvan, he remarks that "the true reason why country towns and villages are not yet looked into (for carrying out the Recusant prosecutions and fines) doth consist in this—the most part of their churches are broken down or ruined, and the Commission for the re-edification thereof and planting of the ministers therein hath not yet been well executed. The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer in the Irish tongue, which will incredibly allure the common country people, are not yet fully prepared." (C. S. P. 1603, &c., p. 467.) And as reference has been made by Sir J. Davys to the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Clonmel, it may be

well to give a few brief notes from Cashel Regal Visitation Book, 1606, now in Ch. Temp. and Record Offices, also calendared in State Papers, as perhaps Killaloe was then not very much better off.

"Vicar de Fithmenen or Fishmoyne" was John McGrathe puer 10 annorum at school. He learns in the Book of the "Seven Wise Men." (This youth is officially pronounced "studiosus" for this mighty mental achievement.) A Popish priest is his curate. The Archbishop holds many livings "in commendam" (besides what his sons and others hold for him).

Others were vacant and no curate. Others alleged that their letters of Orders were burned. Another parish was served by Patricius Maguire, a runaway priest. Another by "a decrepid old man." Lewis Jones (Cotton I., p. 35), afterwards made Bishop of Killaloe, who, by the way, makes a strange-looking bargain about Church lands with the all-devouring Archbishop Miler Magrath. The parish of Camkill has no church, no chancel, no curate, and yet it was assigned "ad mensam Archiepiscopi." Ballycahill was better off; as, though it had no curate, the church and chancel "were covered with straw." Of several parishes the note is thus: "Ecclesia (de duffyn) *ignota*" ! ! The Prebend of Dysert Lauras was rather well off. "Vicar Edmond Hurley, Student in College, Curatus. Da MacFoy sacerdos rudis et Barbarus." Almost solitary stands the favoured case of Ballynlough. "Vicar David Rawley, a reading minister, resident and serving his cure." Ecclesia Balinard had for Vicar, Donald O'Torg, "an unworthy fellow." Another had Hugo Hartes—"Homo indignissimus." This individual was also "Minister of Willistown, value 4*l.*, for eight years, but upon oath he doth confess that he never yet celebrated Baptism or Communion, and accordingly he was deprived." But the Precentor of Cashel, one Stephen Dowdall, is one of the most interesting cases of all. "Erat *servus* Domi; Archiepiscopi" (Reg. Visitn. Book)—"altogether unlearned, not understanding Latin, and only able to read English." The visitors deprived this worthy "Heavenly Footman" as John Bunyan might well have called him.

Before passing to particular details of the Ecclesiastical affairs of the Diocese in this reign, it is advisable to give a brief extract from a State Paper on the subject of "The removal of *grievances*

and the advancement of trade," these being among other projects furthered by the King, "with a desire to advance the flourishing estate of the realm of Ireland." (Rot. Pat., 19 Jas. I., pt. 16, No. 46.) The Commissioners were to enquire, &c., "what lands, rents, or hereditaments were given, &c., by our predecessors to any College, Free-School, or the maintenance of any corporation or other charitable or public use—and by whom they were given, when given, where the same are situated, of what value they are, &c.; whether they have been wholly or in part converted to the use of any private person, or contrary to the use designed; and how they may be restored to the good charitable uses designed." With regard to Killaloe Diocese there is not a trace of an endowment in this way accruing, although under its peculiar conditions most particularly requiring such extraneous helps.

The Commissioners of the King were also to enquire, examine, and find out all such things as do or may in any wise occasion the let, hindrance, or decay of trade, traffic, and commerce within the kingdom (of Ireland), &c.

And now having approached the period of conflict between the English laws, customs, social and political systems, with those of Ireland, some brief reflections may not be deemed altogether out of place in the present narrative. This conflict, the manner in which it was carried out, and the issues involved, may perhaps be found to have a far greater influence than is generally taken account of upon the fate and fortunes of the Reformed Christianity now raising its glorious standard in the West.

The establishment and enforcement by the English upon the Irish or Keltic community of their English laws and language, of their domestic and social usages, their prying interference with and suppression of old Irish family names, their minute spying out and dictation of the dress* the Irish man and woman must wear, and even how he is to trim his beard, and whether he wears a moustache on his lip or not, the hard measures dealt

* In Patent Rolls, by Mr. Morrin, the following in reference to dress and the material and colouring of same is interesting :—

Pat. II., Jas. I. 63. Grant to Danl. Birne and Chas. Hedley, Gent., of authority to seize all Irish mantles and bendells dyed with Saffron which may be worn in Leinster and Munster Provinces, &c., together with ⅔ part of all fines incurred for wearing thereof, contrary to the Statute, during seven years, yielding to the Crown the ⅓ of such fines. 17 Apl. 11. Act. Reg.

out not alone against the Brehon interpreting the antient laws of Ireland at the cairn, the fort, or the old cross, but also against the wandering harper and the "rimer," or bard, beloved of old and young, of rich and poor in the tribe and clan—all this was not a thing first put forward at the time of the Reformation in religion and the enforcement of English rule by Elizabeth and James. It was an old story, the story of conquerors crushing and exterminating the fallen, instead of undertaking the gradual and humane amalgamation of diverse tribes and estranged races under one beneficent rule. The 28th of Henry VIII., chap 15, deals with "a conformitie, concordance and familiaritie in language and tongue, in manners order and apparell with them that be civil people." Here also is set down the notable opinion "that there is againe nothing which doth more conteyne and keep many of his subjects of this his said land in a certain sauvage and wild kind and maner of living than the diversitie that is betwixt them in tongue language order and habit," &c. Then particulars ensue in proof of "the persons that esteem not his most dread laws." They are these: Such as shall be shorn or shaven about the ears or use the wearing of* hair upon their heads, like unto long locks called glibbes, or have or use any hair growing on their upper lips, or use or wear any shirt, smocke, kercher, bendel or linnen-cap, coloured or dyed with saffron—ne yet in any of their shirts or smocks above seven

* A curious incident is related in Perrott's Life (p. 199): The Lord Deputie caused a Parliament to be summoned. In which none of any degree or calling were suffered to come in any clothes, but only in English attire, and although it appeared uncouth and cumbersome for some of them to be so clad (who preferred custom before decency and opinion before reason) yet he constrayned them that did need any constraynt. Amongst whom because it is a matter of some mirthe and that doth discover their myndes, though it be not of any great wayght, we may remember one, who being put into English apparell came unto the L. Deputy and besought one thinge of hym (in a pleasant sorte, as they are most of them wittie) which was that it please his Lordship, to let one of hys Chaplyns, whom he termed his Prieste, to accompany hym arrayed in *Irish* Apparel, and then quoth he they will wonder so much at hym as they do now at me. Soe shall I pass more quietly and unpointed at.

By this it should seem, that they think, when once they leave their old costomes, then all men wonder at them, and that then they are out of all Frame and good Fashion, according to that saying, "*They which are borne in Hell, think there is no Heaven.*" What folly all round! !

yards of cloth to be measured according to the King's Standard (!!) Or that no woman wear kyrtell or cote tucked up, or embroidered or garnished with silk, or conched ne laid with usker, after the Irish fashion (!!) Then, the Act prohibits "mantles &c. made after the Irish fashion" under penalty of a forfeiture of the offending article, also with penalties and mulcts ("times of hosting or rising out upon a cry" always mercifully or indeed selfishly excepted). Then come penalties specified in a sliding scale, from 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* down. Then comes a prohibition of induction of Irish-speaking Clergy, unless after notice at market-cross, and in default of any other English applicants coming forward. (See "The Statutes of Ireland newly perused, &c. Dublin: Printed by the Society of Stationers.")

Going back to the preceding reign, we find it gravely enacted about war-cries, "that no person shall take part with any Lord or uphold variances, using the words 'Crom a boo, Butler aboo,' but *to call only on Saint George or the name of his Sovereign Lord the King for the time being.*" In the same reign is an Act for confirmation of the Statutes of Kilkenny.

That all and every of the aforesaid statutes (those that will that every subject shall *ride in a saddle, and those that speaketh of the language of Ireland all* ONLY *excepted*) be authorized, &c., &c.

One more specimen of this legislation so systematically pursued will be found in the 5th of Edward IV., cap. 3 (Ireland): "Every Irishman that dwells betwixt or among Englishmen in Coy. of Dublin, Uriel, Meath, and Kildare, shall goe like to one Englishman in apparell and shaving of his beard about the mouth and shall be within one year sworne the liege men of the King in the hands of the Lieut. or Deputy—and shall take to him an English Surname of one *town*, as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skreyne, Cork, Kinsale, or *colour*, as Black, White, or Browne, or an *art* or *science*, as Smith or Carpenter, or an *office*, as Cooke, Butler. And that he and his issue shall use this name under pain of forfeiting of his good, yearly, till all the premises be done, to be levied two times by the year to the King's warres," &c. Now, without at all conveying that no legislation had been useful and needful, even though utterly adverse to Irish prejudices and practices, the kind of legislation, which may be called irritating intrusive and ineffective, had largely predominated for centuries, and had left upon the Irish mind at the

Reformation period a very sore feeling, and a deep-rooted aversion to England and everything that came under English auspices or was associated with English power in Ireland. Whether this was right or wrong is not now the question; but that such is a fair statement of a matter of fact can hardly be made a question. However, an authority as learned and as English as can well be found may now be produced in confirmation of these conclusions.

"I do not know (writes Mr. Maine in his Early History of Institutions, p. 54) "that the omission of the English, when they had once thoroughly conquered the country, to enforce the Brehon laws through the Courts which they established, has ever been reckoned among the wrongs of Ireland."*

This is not the question before us. But the question now to ask is, Did it redound to the wisdom of English policy, and did it pave the way for a "free course" of the pure reformed faith, to which the Irish were then by no means averse, that the Irishman found all which tied him by the very heart-strings to the past and to the present of his native soil, treated as if it was the barbarism of a barbarian, who must at once strip himself of these absurd and intolerable belongings and surroundings?† Alluding to "Coyn. Livery and Coshering," the same erudite exponent of ancient law makes the following decisive concession (p. 161, *ubi supra*) :—"Perhaps there was no Irish usage which seemed to Englishmen so amply to justify that which as a whole I believe to have been *a great mistake and a great wrong—the entire judicial and legislative abolition of Irish customs.*" And what made this all the worse was the fact that the English did

* Whether any one may contend, that the omission of the English conquerors of Ireland to enforce the Brehon laws through the Courts they established is to be reckoned among the wrongs of Ireland, is a matter of indifference to the writer. But it may be worth stating that one who is fully competent to give an opinion as a jurist and as an Irish archæologist has arrived at the following conclusion as the result of a careful enquiry:—"That there is a *substantial resemblance* between the antient Celtic law of Ireland and some considerable portion of the Common Law. And this disclosure, with further elucidations and enforcements, will teach our countrymen the wholesome social and political lesson that *all* our insular populations have a common inheritance in the Common Law." (Dr. S. Ferguson's Paper, R.I.A. Transactions, p. 37.)

† See Sir John Davis on the Cavan Case.

much to perpetuate the Brehon law in the state in which we find it. "And the Anglo-Norman settlement on the East Coast of Ireland acted like a running sore, constantly irritating the Celtic regions beyond the pale, and deepening the confusion which prevailed there." Thus, for example, some of the chieftains gained only a life interest and not a real estate transmissible, as McNamara, of Glancullen, under Sir J. Perrott's deed. And the McNamara is soon brought to Dublin under strong escort, by the orders of the energetic Chichester, upon a charge of treason and traitorous correspondence. (See C. S. P. 1606, p. 428.) Besides this, the tenants of the chieftains (except, indeed, those of the Earl Thomond and the Earl Clanrickarde, who are honourably omitted from the censure (C. S. P. I. 1606, p. 211), though ever so meekly preferring to be fleeced by their own chieftains, if only not bled by others, fared worse than before, from the Crown giving them no adequate protection against unmerciful exactions. Thus it was with McNamara above. So also with O'Neille. "So soon one mischief succeeds another in this accursed kingdom!" as Chichester bitterly exclaimed. (C. S. P. I. 1606, p. 560.)

In Miscellaneous Collections of co. Clare in R. I. Academy among the Ordinance Survey MSS., it is stated at p. 246 that "the Irish Brehon law was ordered to be abolished and the laws of England were substituted in their stead, except with some families who retained the privilege of being governed by the Irish law, as the O'Loghlens, the O'Connors, &c. But perhaps some important aspects of this question may be better taken in by reading the following *Letter of Queen Elizabeth in favour of Conor, Earl of Thomond*, A.D. 1577 (from original Roll):—

We have, in consideration of the dutiful mind the said Earl pretends to bear to us and our said service, not only consented that for his better contentation, such a confirmation should pass under our Great Seal of this our Realm of England, &c., with limitations to be decided by the Counsell. He is allowed freedom from cess, not only in the 8 Baronies in which he enjoys his estates, but also freedom from same in the rest.

2nd. Where the said Earl pretends an antient Government, by way of commandment, over the Freeholders within of Thomond, especially *in making of Surnames*, and *after the decease of every Chief of every name, to allow the next Captain or Successor, which* he says has been heretofore beneficial and profitable to him and to his ancestors that were Captains of that country. Which custom he either prays may continue in him; or else for his relief. If the land shall be or shall be brought into

an ordinary succession of inheritance, as were to be wished both here both there and in the rest of the Irishrie, that the wardships of their heirs may be at his disposal, as his heir by his tenure ought to be Ward unto us, &c. (This is granted very doubtingly and with strict limitations, but with a generous consideration had) "of his loyalty towards us as of the meanness of his estate and hability to maintain the countenance of the degree whereunto he is called without such help."

3rd. He alledges great sums of money due to him for cesses, &c. And during inquiry as to the truth of this "we have thought good to lend him 200*l*."

4th. He is allowed the customs of Clare and Clonroade chiefly upon merchandizes of wine and ale brought from our Port towns to castles, &c.

5th. The Bonnaght of the gallowglasses, a cesse of victuals raised universally upon the whole of Thomond for their wages is now to be allowed the Earl so far "as hath been leviable on his own proper lands," be remitted to him.

6th. King Henry VIII., by grant, gave Earl of T—— the moiety of the Abbey of Clare. And he wants the other moiety still in our hands, with the territories of Ince and Cohenny. The Chantries of Termon Shenam, Termon Tulloughe, Termon Mynough, and T——n Skenoway, we are well pleased that upon a survey to be made thereof by our surveyor, &c., He shall have an estate in ye sd Abbey lands, &c., and Chauntries to him and the heirs males of his body, reserving to us such rent.

Lastly, he desires the island of Innis Cathrie, under pretence that he wld convert it in to a "Fyshe-town," (unless, because we suppose it to be within the river Shenyn, and of some importance to the city of Lymerick), We have thought good to be advertized therein, and therefore require to be informed of you touching the importance and situation of the place.

To Sir H. Sidney and Sir Wm. Gerrard, &c.

What a contrast to all the needless confusion and lasting offence raised upon collateral issues—issues not absolutely essential to the requirements of either Church or State—is presented in the conduct of St. Patrick when he came preaching the Gospel in Ireland. In Senchus Mor, p. 5, vol. i. of the Brehon Laws translation, one may read that—

> "Patrick baptized with glory
> In the time of Theodosius,
> He preached the gospel *without failure*
> To the glorious people of Milidh's sons."

And what makes this contrast of the manner in which the reformed Christianity of the sixteenth century was propagated in Ireland, as compared with the manner in which St. Patrick

propagated the Christianity which he brought to Erin in the fifth century, appear so striking, is to be found involved in a single consideration. The two systems were both in their positive and negative aspects substantially identical. In particular, they indicated an absence or else a negation of extreme Pelagian tenets, of Pagan* rites and old-world importations, of a sad retracing of the Christians' footsteps into the slavery of Levitical institutions,—above all, of the building up a sacramental idol partly upon an arbitrary distinction borrowed from Aristotle's philosophy, and partly out of what Coleridge called "Rhetoric turned into logic."

The argument is well summed up by the writer quoted in "Lawrence's Interest of Ireland," p. 56:—

"If the ancient godly fathers, which first converted them (the Irish), when they were Infidels, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganism to the true belief in Christ, as St. Patrick and St. Columb, how much more easily shall Godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already profess." Yes, if an unfortunate prejudice makes not the old true faith odious when preached again.

Patrick came to Erin to baptize and to disseminate religion among the Gaeidhil. And Legaire, King of Erin, in order to test his sincerity, ordered his people to kill a man of Patrick's people. And the Lord ordered him to lower his hands to obtain judgment for his servant who had been killed, and told him he would get his choice of the Brehons in Erin. And he consented to this, as God had ordered him to lower his hands to obtain judgment for his servant who had been killed, and told him that he would get his choice of the Brehons in Erin, *and he consented to this* as God had ordered him. (Senchus.) The subject-matter of controversy was, whether there should be exercised Celtic retaliation or Christian forgiveness. The Brehon adopted in his decision a middle course. And it was after this sentence (thus given) that Patrick requested the men of Erin to come to one place and hold a conference with him. "Then the King said, It is necessary for you, Oh, men of Erin, that every other law should be settled and arranged as well as this. It is better to do so, said Patrick. *And accordingly what did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the*

* Among the Saints of the 1st order at least. See Usher and Todd's Patrick.

New Testament, and with the consciences of believers, was confirmed in the laws of Brehon by Patrick and by the Ecclesiastics and Chiefs, for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith and its obligations and the harmony of the Church and people. And this is the Senchus Mor.* And it is further related that until Patrick came, only three classes of persons were permitted to speak in Erin: 1st, a chronicler to relate events; 2nd, a poet to eulogize and satirize; 3rd, a Brehon to pass sentence from the precedents and commentaries. Since Patrick's arrival, however, each utterance of these professions is subject to the man of the white language, i.e. the Canon of the Gospel." (Senchus Mor, Introduction.) And if we add to this happy union, so judiciously cemented by Patrick between patriotic feeling and religious reformation, the recent experience " of the government of India being rendered appreciably easier by the discoveries which have brought home to the educated of both races of their common Aryan parentage" (Maine, *ubi supra,* p. 19); also if due weight be given to the fact of the late movements in Fijian affairs being eminently successful owing to the bold use of the principle of *assimilation* instead of *innovation* (see *Daily News,* August, 1876), the utter unwisdom of the English of the period under review will stand out in full prominence. They went out of their way apparently to raise up an almost insuperable barrier against themselves and their government; and, worse still, against the pure, holy, and loveable religion of THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, which they professed to follow and spread, when they flung away all Irish institutions, manners, customs, and usages, the retentive shrines of the chronicler's lore and of the Brehon's memory, alike with the golden cord of the poet's fancy and the magic touch of the harper's skill. (See the Composition Deed and the Fiant of Seneschal of Burren, &c., in Appendix.)

The slender success of the Reformation among the Celts was therefore due, not alone or mainly (as is usually considered and repeated) to the fact that the Irish tongue was prohibited in divine services and the Latin preferred. The measure of success is traceable to the general system of the English nation in their dealings with the Irish. This impelled the men who freely yielded to Gray and Perrott and Sidney, afterwards to turn with aversion from every English institution and association—their

* How different all this from the modern Infallibility theory of 1870.

religion pre-eminently—and to cling with a convulsive tenacity to their own old-world life as they knew it. And nowhere was this more conspicuous than in Thomond; for (Manners, &c., of A Irish E. O'Curry, vol. i., xv.) "in 1509 the Irish laws were still in force in the county of Clare, which is indeed the part of Ireland in which the last judgment of a Brehon was delivered; and the poetry, historic tales, and genealogies of olden times, still lived in the memory of the people." And although portions of the Brehon law were unintelligible in the commencement of the 16th century in Ireland, still the startling change caused by the great social revolution now without ruth carried out, turned the singular tenacity of the Irish for their early institutions into a deep-rooted aversion of the new system in all its aspects.

This was the unfortunate influence acting then and since (alas! too often) under which men were prepared for accepting the National though reformed Christianity by being first thoroughly affronted, and were considerately treated as slaves in order to train them to take their place in a brotherhood of free men. And yet, though the Irish race had much to complain of in these and other ways, and thoughtful Englishmen have not a little to regret at needless hindrances of Evangelical progress in the past, still it cannot be denied that, with all just abatement made and fair complaints allowed, the change even as made was an infinitely better thing, on the whole, for the Irish themselves, both high and low, than had things continued on as they were before. But why was the change marred by a gratuitous offensiveness? At the same time, also, few things are more absurd than the solemn introduction into Irishmen's national covenant with the Crown, in the next reign, of a reservation—or, rather, a restoration—to the Irish of their cherished custom or right of tilling the ground by tying the scratching instrument they called a plough to the tail of the horse. (See Borlase and Cox.) The *rationale* of this custom is to be found in the following curious and graphic delineation of Thos. Dyneley, Esq., in his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II., whose pen was as descriptive as his pencil:—

Here (a part of Thomond) Horses 4 abrest draw the Plough by the Tayles, which was the custome all over Ireland, untill a Statute forbad it. Yet they are tolerated (in) this custom here, because they cannot manage their land otherwise, their plough-geers, tackles, and traces

being (as they are all over the rest of the Kingdom) of gadds or withs of twiggs twisted, which here would break to pieces by the plough-share so often jubbing against the rock, which the geers being fastened by wattles or wispes to the horses tayles, *the horses being sensible* stop, until the Ploughman lifts it over. (Kilkenny Archæol. Journal, N.S., July 1867; p. 192.)

A matter of no small importance may here best be treated, and that is the question of the effect upon the marriage laws which the English system produced. To refer the improvement upon the old system to the discipline of the Roman Church would seem wide of the fact.* The Roman Communion had very quietly allowed a state of things, grave in the extreme, to proceed for centuries. The connubial license given to an Irish chieftain under the Brehon Laws was something very free and easy; and the Church of Rome certainly did not put it down. As Archbishop Browne states to Crumwell (Cal. St. P. Ir., vol. iii. pt. 3, page 104), "*In the Irishtie, a man shal not finde amonges an hunderith parsons, not twenty legittimate borne,* so that they can never come to their purposes of sundry promocions without letters of licenses, which doubtless wolde be beneficial unto the Kinges Highnes." The establishment of the English Law of Primogeniture, to the superseding of the elective system of having the strongest and boldest chosen head of the tribe, partly worked out the change from the laxity of the marriage bond in Ireland. (See some curious illustrations of the Irish state of marriage in Sainthill's "Old Countess of Desmond," vol. ii., page 63, &c.) But this beneficial change was also mainly due to the action of the reformed religion. Of this there can be no doubt, if credit be given to the valuable evidence adduced by Dr. Russell and Mr. Prendergast, in their Preface to C. S. P. Ir., p. xxvii.—"The Lord President and Council were to call upon the bishops (of the Church Established) severally to proceed, according to the censure of the Church, against all notorious adulterers, and such as without lawful divorce have two wives, or leave their wives, or while their lawful wife liveth marry with an other; and to execute the sentence pronounced by bishop or ordinary upon such offender."

* See Maine as above, p. 61.

But to return to the strictly ecclesiastical condition of affairs. Maurice Mac O'Brien, having first succeeded to his brother's property (see Morin's Patent Rolls), and also having attained to other considerable pecuniary benefits by favour of the Crown, at length resigned the see of Killaloe in 1612 and demised in the next year.

Dr. Cotton, after Ware, gives the following account of O'Brien's successor in the see of Killaloe:—"1613, John Rider, M.A., was a native of *Carrington in Cheshire*, and was educated at Jesus College, Oxford. For some years he held preferment in England, being Minister of Bermondsey near London, and afterwards Rector of Winwick in Lancashire: and coming over to Ireland, he became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Archdeacon of Meath, and a Prebendary of Killaloe. He was consecrated on January 12th, 161$\frac{2}{3}$. His patent having been dated August 12, 1612. In 1616, the Bishop obtained a Royal letter, for the restoration of such lands as had been wrongfully taken from his see, and also for the general improvement of the Bishoprick. (Rol. Pat. 14 Jac. 1.) He also made a representation to the Royal Commissioners of 1622 of several rectories aliened from his see by his predecessor, M. O'Brien, and, it appears, was successful in causing their restoration. The literary works which the Bishop published are:—

1. A Latin and English Dictionary (improved from Thomasius, 1589).
2. A letter concerning news out of Ireland. Quarto. London, 1601.
3. A claim of antiquity in behalf of the Protestant Religion. Quarto. London, 1608.

He compiled a valuable document entitled 'The state of the Diocese of Killaloe presented to his Majesty's Commissioners at Dublin. 1st July 1622.' A copy of this return is preserved in the Diocesan Registry of Cashel. It is very copious, minute, and interesting; *and well deserves to be printed.* The Bishop shows himself to be extremely anxious that the clergy should study and use the Irish language for the better instruction of the natives. He died at Killaloe on Nov. 12, 1632 (leaving two sons, John and Thomas), and was buried in his Cathedral."

So far Dr. Cotton.

Every effort in the power of the writer has been made to acquire additional information of the birth, family, and literary labours of this Bishop. Search was made in that magnificent work, Ormerod's Cheshire, edited by the learned Mr. T. Helsby, but the result did not answer expectation. Fuller's Worthies added nothing new, and alludes unfavourably to the Dictionary of Thuanus. There is no copy of any of the Bishop's works to be found either in T.C.D. or Marsh's library. In the British Museum is a copy of his controversy with the Jesuit, Fitzsimon, with the following title :—

Rider (John), Bishop of Killaloe.

A friendly caveat to Irelands Catholickes concerning the Daungerous Dreame of Christs corporall (yet invisible) presence in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, grounded upon a letter pretended to be sent by some Catholickes who doubted, and therefore desired satisfaction . . . with the Aunsewere and prooffes of the Romane Catholick Priest. Perused and allowed for Apostolicall and Catholicke by the subscription of H. Fitzsimon, Jesuit, &c.

Dublin, 1602, 4°.

Deane of St. Patrick's.

This performance extends to something about 150 pages foolscap printed matter.

The fullest account of Rider accessible is to be found in Mason's St. Patrick's Cathedral, of which he was Dean in 1597. In this is a sketch of his controversy with Fitzsimon in the Castle of Dublin, while Fitzsimon was a prisoner there.

But neither his controversial nor his literary efforts are to be put in the scale with his able and honest labours as Bishop of Killaloe. These are indeed fine gold. Mr. R. Lascelles, in Lib. Mun. Hib., alluding to Bishop Rider's successor, uses the expression of there being then made an exceptional addition to "*a dead list.*" Had Mr. Lascelles made himself at all acquainted with the work by Bishop John Rider wrought in Killaloe, he could hardly have found anything dead or indifferent about this Prelate.

The following document, though not a very exciting study, is well worth the careful perusal of those who desire a competent knowledge of the diocese and of its Bishop, Dr. John Rider.

Pat. Roles (Court of Chancery) Ireland.

James Rex.

lres dni Regis p Johani Rider laonens Epo.

Right trustie and welbeloved wee greete you well. Whereas John Rider the Bushopp of Killaloe hath made his repaire unto our presence and hath informed us of the *greate decaies and unconscionable concealmte and usurpacons of the temporalties tythes advowsons and other spiritualties of that Bishopricke to the utter overthrowe of the state thereof* if it be not repared with our tymlye care and assistance wch informacon of his and the waies by him psented unto us howe the same might be amended wee thought fitt to refer to the consideracon of the moste reverend fathers in God the Archbishopps of Canterburie and Armagh who have restored unto us their advise and opinion what course is fittest to be taken to restore the said Bishoppricke in some measure to the righte belonginge unto it to wch wee have given good allowance and *accordinglie are pleased to direct these our lres unto you willinge and requireinge you* our deputie of that our Kingdome or other Cheife Governor or Governors for the tyme beinge takinge to you or them the assistance of our Chancellor for the tyme beinge the Primate of Armagh for the tyme beinge the Bishoppe of Meath for the tyme being our Cheife Justice of our bench there for the tyme beinge or any three of them our Cheife Justice beinge allwaies one or any three of them by them selves when you our deputie are not at leasure our Cheife Justice beinge allwaies present *to examine thoroughlie the state of the psent and late possessions* of the said Bushopricke and to restore the said Bishop to the possession of all such landes tythes *fishinge* and other hereditamente as shalbe found to have bine wroungfully detained and usurped from the said Bishopricke or otherwise to have benn fraudulentlie graunted and confirmed without any rent or a verie small rent reserved, together with the restitucon of the arreares of the *meane proffitte* if you shall see good cause in equitie to move you thereunto. *And this to bee doun in a sumarie course of pceeding* giving you authoritie to call any pson or pson by way of pcesse or if neede be by any othere *compulsorie meanes* as you shall thinke fitt before you to *shewe by whate tytle* they hould the land tythes and fishinge which the now Bishopp challengeth and they possesse and if it fall out they have *noe lawfull* tytle or interest in the said land tythes and fishinges but possesse them by usurpacon or pretended prescripcon that then *forthwith* the Bishopp be put in possession of the same to the use of him and his successors and that you doe cause psent restitucon of the arreares allsoe unto the said Bishopp if there be cause in equitie so to doe giving as often as neede in the prosecution thereof in charge to our learned counsell as in case of our owne landes and that the suites may be admitted and prosecuted without payinge any fines or othere expences in lawe by the said Bishopp or his successors—and for such lands of the said Bishoprick as are inioyed by pretence of our or any our predecessors lres patten &c. havinge *fraudulently surrendred the same Bishopps lande* with their owne or otherwise without expresse nominacon of the pticulers frome hence that the now Bishopp and his

successors may be admitted to traverse any office or offices wch concerne not any plantacon whereby our Crowne is or was intituled and that to be doun with all expedicon and lawfull favour without any fee to our remembrancer or any other officer or officers whatsoever and that the Cheife Baron or Barons of our Exchequer there uppon the findinge of such traverses doe cause psent restitution to the said Bishopp and his successors and our Councell learned in the lawes to take charge thereof as of our owne land. But for such lande as were by expresse name from hence warranted by us to be graunted there, that then for recompence thereof our will and pleasure is that you our deputie or other Governour or Govenors for the tyme beinge shall graunte unto the said Bishoppe Rider and his successors for ever so much of the psent *or next escheated lande found therein that kingdome by office or hereafter to be founde wch shall not be disposed of by way of plantacon* as shall in valew countervaile that our graunte—and whereas divers have gained in the rebellious tymes past most of the possessions belonginge to the said Bishoppricke either by fraud or force and so uppon payment of a small chafrie would plead pscription to theis soe greate disorders and lawlesse enormities bred by the confusion of former tymes and not to be suffred in a Christian peaceble comonwealth, wee think fitt to give a speedie redresse and therefore wee require you to take such psent order by the spediest course that you can advise or thynke fitt that this Bishopp for his psente use and his successors may bee relived in all his and their pticular wronges as he or they shall informe you whether the concerne landes tythes fishing Jurisdiccons advowsons defections Court Barons or any other thing whatsoever belonginge or hath belonged unto the said Bishoprick and now detained in pte or in whole from the same and if you thinke it fittinge uppon resonable increase of rent wee are willinge to giue leave and by theis our present lres doe give leave and license unto the said Bishopp and his successors to make lease or leases unto them or their assignes for threescore yeares provided ever the said tennant shall surrender upp unto the said Bishopp and his successors all other claymes tythes and interest wch now they uniustlie doe challenge or if they shall refuse them to lease the same in parte or in whole to anyother soe incresing the rent and holding ymedeately of the said Bishopp for the said lands and further wee require you to have a speciall care to examyne within that dioces wch *be impropriacons (re vera)* and wch be not *and that the vicaredges wth their gleabes, arreares, and mansion houses be restored and intierlie reserved to the use of the ministers of God's service and not otherwise and if they cannot shewe lawfull* warrant that they be imppriacons then you restore them as psentatyes to the Church and soe to remaine forever exacting from them a trew accompt and restitution for their former *sacriledge* and if you shall finde any to be unconformable to such reasonable condicons and composicons as you shall propound unto them in the behalfe of the said Bishopp and his successors then wee require you to certifie their names and what you have donn therein to our Archbishopp of Canterbury that such further course may be taken with them in this busines as shalbe thought expedient—and for the better

effectinge of this our will and pleasure wee authorize will and require you if neede be to *graunte out* any *Comission* or Comissions under our greate seale and without ffee to discover by oath the fraudulent graunte surrenders and wth holdinge of pmisses or to doe or suffer to be doun any other thinge or things devise or devises whereby the pmisses may be expedited with all celeritie in the shortest kinde of Sumarie hearinge without delaies and lastely out of our religious care wee have for the said Church and Gods service wee are well pleased if the said Bishopp or his successors by his or their learned councell thinke itt fitt and comodious for him to surrender all the prmisses unto us that you doe accept the same and allsoe prsentlie *regraunt them for ever to him and his successors in such lawfull manner* as cann best be devised by our learned counsell there without any ffee or ffees whatsoever and these our lres shalbe your sufficient warrant and dischardge in that behalfe. Given under our Signet at our Mannour of Theobald the eighteenth day of July in the *fourteenth* yeare of our Raigne England ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the nyne and fortieth.

To our Right trustie and welbeloved Sir Oliver St. John our deputie of our Realme of Ireland and to any other deputie cheife Governor Chauncellor or Keep of our greate Seale now beinge and which hereafter shalbe whome it may concerne.

Md' quod ultimo die Septembr' Millesimo Sexcentesimo decimo Sexto Griffinus Steephens vicar' venit in Canc' dni Regis Regni Sui hibnie et petiit has lras pse' Supa Script' Irrotulari ad cujus requisicon' Irrotulanter de verbo in verbu cum Indorsament' inde prout Supius.

A Regal Visitation of this Diocese prior to 1622 is now presented. Part was found in transcript among the R. I. A. papers, the rest in Armagh. Doubtless this was part of the General Ecclesiastical Visitation throughout Ireland by Commission directed to the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord Chancellor and others, 13 Jacs. I., p. 501, Patent Rolls (Morin). In addition to the above King's letter to restore to Bishop John Rider and his successors so much wrongfully taken from his see, we now present

THE ROYAL VISITATION OF KILLALOE DIOCESE, 1615.

(Copied from original. Compared with the official transcript. Finished the 13th March, 1812, by R. G. Greene; and further compared with the duplicate originals by the Very Rev. W. Reeves, D.D.)

COMITATUS CLARE DIOCESIS LAONENSIS.

Ecclia Cath (edralis) the chauncell repayred.
Œconomia Eccliæ.
Rectoria Kyllmoor, antiquitus spectans ad ædific eccliæ. Val. 2*l.*
Set and demised for seven yeeres for 10*l.* per an.
Killalow, Degory Hawkes, minister et predicator inservit.
(Thus far is written on the *verso* of the cover in the visitor's hands.)

COMITAT. CLARE, DIOCES LAONEN.

Decanus, va. 30*l.* Hugo O'Hogan, minister legens.
Precentor, va. 4*l.* Daniel Kennedy, minister legens.
Cancellarius, va. 20 marc. Vacat Cancellariatus (sequestr.).
Thesaurarius, va. 4*l.* Nicholaus Bright, minister.
Archidiaconus, va. 40 marcar. Patricius O'Hogan, minister legens.
Prebendarius de Tomgreny, va. 20*l.* Dns Ep. Limnicen.
Prebendarius de Loghkin, va. 7*l.* 10*s.* Georgius Andrew, Decanus Limericen.
Prebendarius de Cloindagad, va. 4 nobles. Thomas Prichard, minister et predicator.
Prebendarius de Tulloghe, va. 4*l.* Danl. Kennedy, minister legens.
Prebendarius de Rath Bartholomeus White, minister legens.

DECANATUS DE OMULLED.

Rector de Omulled, va. xvi.*l.* Richardus ffuller, minister legens. Church well and chancell.
Rect. de Clonilea, ad rect. de Omulled.
Vic. de ead, va. 3*l.*, vacat. Johes Blagrave, cur. minister legens. Old walls only.
Rect. de Killfinaghta, ad rect. de Omulled.
Vic. ad ead, va. 7*l.* Andreas Chapline, minister legens, residens.
Rect. de Killteely, ad rect. de Omulled.
Vic ad ead, va. 3*l.* Church well. Johes Blagrave, idem qui supra.
Rect. de Killokennedy, ad rect. de Omulled. Id. Rooff unthatched.
Vic. de ead, va. 5*l.* 5*s.* Idem. Johes Blagrave.
Rect. de Killnoa, ad rect. de Omulled. Walls up, uncovered.
Vic. de eadem, va. 3*l.* Johes Corbett, minister legens.
Rect. de Feikle, ad rect. de Omulled. Church and chancel shingled well.
Vic. de ead, va. 4*l.* Owen Prichard.
Rect. de Killvran, ad rect. de Omulled. Church down, chancell ruinous.
Vic. de ead, va. 40*s.* Owen Prichard.
Rect. de Ogonila, ad rect. de Omulled.
Vic. de eadem, va. 4*l.* Johes Moran, absens in Anglia. Anthony Hawkes, Cur.
Rect. de Moynoe, Sequestr. Va. 6*l.* Idem. Johes. church and chancell down.
Vic. de eadem Vacat. Hugo O'Hogan, Decanus Laonensis. Curat.
Rect. de Clonrush. Impropr Comiti Thomoniæ.
Vic. de eadem Vacat. Hugo O'Hogan Decanus. Curat.
Rect. de Inisgealtra. Impropr Rico Boyle Mil. parvi valoris. Church down.
Vic. de eadem Vacat.
Rect. de Stradbury als Killanagaraffe. Improp Dno Bourke, Baron de Castleconnell. Va. 20*l.* una cum Vicaria.
Vic. de eadem Vacat. Hugo O'Hart, Curat.
No curat appeares.
Rect. de Castleconnell. Impropr Dno Bourke, Baroni de Castleconnell. Church and chauncell in good repayre.
Vic. de eadem, Vacat. Hugo O'Hart, Curat. Va. 15*l.* una cum preced. Vic. No curat appeares.

Rect. de Killtinanlea. Improp Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chauncell repayred.
Vic. de eadem Vacat.

DECANATUS OGASSIN.

Rect. de Ogassin. Dnus Epus Limericen. Val. 40*l.*
Rect. de Quyn ad Rect. de Ogassin. Val. 4*l.*
Vic. de eadem. Morgan Bennis, minister legens, residens. Church and chauncell downe.
Val. 5*l.* Vic. de Tulloghe. Cornelius McMahowne, minister legens. Church and chauncell repaired.
Rect. de Clonee ad Rect. de Ogassin. Church and chauncell downe.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de ead. Morgan Bennis, qui supra.
Rect. de Dury ad rect. Ogassin. Church and chauncell down.
Val. 5*l.* Vic. de eadem. Thomas Prichard. The parishioners resort to the Church of Innish.
Rect. de Killraghtas ad Rect. de Ogassin. Church and chauncell uncovered.
Val. 30*s.* Vic. de ead, vacat. Johes Corbet, curat.
Rect. de Killtoolaghe ad Præbend de Tomgreny. Church and chauncell downe.
Vic de eadem. No curat.
Rect. de Templemaly ad Rect. de Ogassin.
Val. 50*s.* Vic. de eadem. Thomas Prichard. Annexed to Innish.
Val. 50*s.* Rect. de Inchicronan ad Rect. de Ogassin.
Vic. de ead. Impropr. Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chauncel in repairing. My Lord of Thomond hath undertaken it.
Rect. de Killmorinagall ad Rect. de Ogassin. Church and chauncell uncovered.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de eadem. Andreas Chapline, qui supra.

DECANATUS DE TRADRY.

Val. 30*s.* Rect. de Tradry. Johes Steere, minister predicat.
Rect. de Tomfinloh ad Rect. de Tradry. Church uncovered, the chancel repaired.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de ead. Gregorius Saich, minister legens.
Rect. de Killanafinlaghe ad rect de Tradry. Church and chauncell downe.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de ead. Petrus Lambert, minister legens.
Rect. de Killmaleery ad rect. de Tradry. Church and chauncell downe.
Val. 40*s.* Vic. de eadem. Petrus Lambert, curatus.
Rect. de Killconry ad rec. de Tradry. Church and chauncell downe.
Vic. de eadem, vacat. Petrus Lambert, curatus.
Val. 50*s.* Rect. de Clonloghan, ad rect. de Tradry. Church and chancell up.
Vic. de eadem. Petrus Lambert.
Val. 50*s.* Rect. de Drumlein ad mensam Epi.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de eadem, ad Thesauriarium.
Rect. de Finnoh, ad Rect. de Tradry.
Val. 20*s.* Vic. de eadem, vacat. Morgan Bennis, curat.
Rect. de Bonratty ad rect. de Tradry.
Val. 20*s.* Vic. de eadem, vacat. Morgan Bennis, curat.

These Vicaradges to be united to the cure of Bunratty.

Rect. de Killonie, als Killughe. Improp dmno. Baro de Inchiquin.
Val. 5*l.* Vic. de eadem. Church and chancel downe, no curat.
sequestd. Rect. de Inishdadrum, vic. de eadem. Improp Comiti Thomoniæ. No church, no inhabitants.

DECANATUS DE DRUMCLEIFFE.

Val. 40 markes, una cum Rectoria de Kilmaly. *Rectory de Drumkleiffe* deprivat, sequest. to Captn Norton, sheriffe. Cornelius McConsidin, minister legens, confesses that he hath but five pound from the patron. Church and chauncell down, to be annexed to Innish, value 40 marks—una cum Rect. de Kilmaly. Church and chancel down. Vic. de eadem Thos. Prichard, qui supra.

Val. 6*l.* Val. Rect. de Kilmaly. Cornelius McConsidin. Church and chauncell repaired. Vic. de eadem, Thos Prichard.

Val. 8*l.* Rect. de Killeneboy. Thos Prichard. Ch and chauncell down.

Val. 4*l.* Vic. de eadem, Barthol White, minister legens. Barthol White, inservit curæ.

Val. 10*l.* Rect. de Rath. Daniel McGilliesaghta [now Lysaght, W. R.]. Church and chauncell repayred.
Vic. de eadem. Barthol White, inservit curæ.
Edmond O'Hogan to appere before the Commis att Innish for these.

Val. 6*l.* Rect. sive prebend de Disert. Andreas McGilliesaghta. Chancel up, church downe. Bart White, curat.
Vic. de eadem, dudum vacavit sequestrata. Corneli McGilliesaghta ad inserviendum curæ.

Val. 6*l.* Rect. de Killnamona. Franciscus Frothingham, minister prædicat.
Vic. de eadem. Church and chapple in reasonable repaire.

Val. 15*l.* Rect. de Kilkeady, Vic. de eadem. Jacobus Darsy, scho. studendi, gratia· Church and chauncell unrepayred. Evan Jones, minister leg inservit curæ.

DECANATUS DE CORKAVASIN.

Rect. de Clonidagad. Improp. dmo. Baroni de Inchiquin. Church and chauncell repaired.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de eadem, Robertus Frothingham, a deacon inservit curæ.
Rect. de Killchrist. Improp Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chauncel downe.
Val. 20*s.* Vic. de ead, vacat. Robt Frothingham, curatus qui supra.
Rect. de Disertmurhuly als Killedisert. Imp. Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chauncell in repairing.
Val. 3*l.* Vic. de eadem. My Lord of Thomond undertakes to admit an honest man in the vicaradge.
Rect. de Killfeddan. Impropr Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chancel downe.
Val. 50*s.* Vic. de ead, vacat. My Lord of Thomond undertakes as aforesayd.
Rect. de Killofin. Imp Com Thomon. Church and chauncell well up.
Val. 4*l.* Vic. de ead, Franciscus Frothingham. Curat, Christopher Frothingham.
Rect. de Kilmurry, Clonderelah } Improp Com Thomonæ. Church and chauncel in reasonable repaire.
Val. 3*l.* Vic. de eadem. Robertus Frothingham.

Rect. de Killarda ad prebend de Killrush. Church and chauncel repayred.

Val. 3*l.* Vic. de eadem. Robertus Tuisden, Minister predicat inservit Curæ.

Rect. de Killamure, Imp Comiti Thomonæ. Church and chancell up.

Val. 30*s.* Vic. de eadem. My Lord of Thomond undertakes as aforesayd.

Rect. de Killmichell. Impr Comiti Thomoniæ. Ch and chancel up.

Val. 40*s.* Vic. de ead. Robertus Frothingham, qui supra.

Rect. de Killmcaduan. Imp Com Thomon. Church and chauncel uncovered.

Val. 4*l.* Vic. de ead. Robert Tuisden, qui supra, inservit Cure.

Val. 30*l.* Rect. sive Prebend de Killrush. Marcus Lynch, student, deprived. The Preb sequestr to Robert Tuesden.

Rect. de Killfieraghe. Spectat ad Prebend de Killrush. Church and chauncel unrepaired.

Val. 40*s.* Vic. de eadem, vac. Wilmus Milsam, a mere layman.

Rect. de Kilballihone ad Preb de Tomgreny. Church and chauncel

Val. 30*s.* uncovered. Wmus Milsam, Cure, qui supra.

Rect. de Kilmurry Ibrickan. Improp Comiti Thomoniæ. Church and chauncel repaired.

Val. 50*s.* Vic. de eadem. No vicar. No curat. Comitted to my L of Thomond.

Rect. de Killfarboy. Improp Comiti Thomond. Church and chauncell repaired.

Val. 4*l.* Vic de eadem. Barthols White, inservit curæ.

Rect. de Moefartah. Impropr Comiti Thomond. Church and chancel uncovered.

Val. 3*l.* Vic. de eadem. Robt Tuisden, qui supra, inservit Curæ.

Laonensis Dioceseos pars, viz.

Endorsed "Kilallow pro 5 Decanatibus. Suthwell." Decanatus Ormoniæ Superioris et Inferioris. Decanatus de Ely O'Carroll seu (——).

DECANATUS ORMONIÆ.

Rectoria de Nenah. Impropriat at Monaster de Owney Sir Edmund Walsh—firmarius. Church ruynous, chancell downe. No curat.

Vicaria ibidem. Impropriata vacat.

Rect. integra de Ballinacloy. Est membrum decanatus Laonensis. Decanus inservit.

Rectoria de Lisbunny. Impropriat ad monasterium de Owney, Sir Ed. Walsh, firmarius. Church and chancel down. No curat.

Vic ibidem, impropriat vacat.

Rect. de Killanruffe. Impropriat ad monasterium de Tyone. Sancti Johis de Neynah. Church and chancel down. No curate.

Vicaria ibidem. Impropriat vacat.

Rect. de Dola. Impropriata spectat ad mensam Epi.

Vic. ibidem, impropriat vacat. Dms de Inchequyn tenet. No curat.

Rect. integra de Kilkeery. Hugo Hogan, Decanus Laonensis.

Rect. integra de Dunnamona, est capella annexa ad parochiam de Killalow, et spectat ad Decanum et capitulum Laonen. No church, no chancel, no curate.

Rect. de Burgo boga. Impropriat ad monasterium de Owney, Sir Edward Walsh. A good church, a good chauncell.

„ pr Incumbentis.

Vicar ibidem. Donatus O'Kenedy Studens. Precentor Ecclesiæ Cath, inservit Curæ

Rec. de Yoghallarra, est parcella rectoriæ de Mo[illegible]ea et Decanatus Laon, spectat ad Decanum.

Vic. ib est parcella vicariæ de ffennogh ut dicitur. Piers Butler, Incumbens, Vicar.

Rector de Castletownarra. Danl. O'Kenedy, Cler. Precentor Laonens. Church and chancell well.

Vic. ibidem idem Daniel, Valoris, 8*l.* aut circiter.

Rect. integra de Dromineer, est membrum Decanatus Laonensis, Dictus incumbens inservit curæ. Ch- and cha- well.

Rector de Killmore impropriat ad fabric eccliæ Cath.

Rect. de Kneagh. Improp ad monaster De Owney, Sir Edmund Walsh. Church ruined, chancel.

Vic. ibidem, Johs Hogan Studens. Precentor inservit. Valo 3*l.*

Rect. de Killodierna, improp. ad monast. de Tyone.

Vic. ib impropriat. No curat.

Rect. de Clohapriora impropriat ad monast de Tyone. Church and chancel down.

Vic. ib impropriat. No curat.

Rect. de Kilbarrain. Impropriat ad Monaster de Owney, Sir Edm Walsh. Ecclesia et cancella in ruin.

Vic. ibm. Geraldus Fytzgerald in arte Baccalaureus. Decanus inservit. Valor 5*l.*

Rect. de Ardcrony. Impropriat ad Mensam Epi. Chauncell up, the body down.

Vic. ib Patricius O'Hogan, inservit Curæ. Valor 40*s.*

Rect. de Modrinich. Petrus Butler, Cler. Valor 10*l.* Chauncell up, church down.

Vic. ib idem Petrus. Inservit Curæ.

Rect. de Kilroain, Impropr. ad Monast. de Tyon. Church quite downe. No curat.

Vic. ibid impropriat. Vacat.

Rect. de Balligibbon. Digory Hawkes, Cler. inservit Cure. Val. 4*l.*

Vic. de Balligibbon. Impropriata. Vacat, nullus Curatus.

Rec. de Ballimacky, improp. ad monaster de Tyon.

Vic. ejusdem est parcella annexa ad dignitat Cancellariatus Laonensis. Val. 20 nobles. Deprived for non-residence. Corpus Cancellariatus.

Rec. integra de Thome, est similis parcella, et memb cancellariatus Laonensis. Pars cancellariatus.

Rect. de Athanameala impropriat ad Abbathiam de Tyone. Brian Magrath tenet.

Vic. ib. impropriat.

Rect. de Burss na fierna, Impropriat. Neither church nor chauncell.

Vic. ib. impropriat.

Rect. de Lattrah. Val. 4*l.* Donat O'Kennedy, Studens. Precentor inservit. Church and chauncell well.

Vic. de Lattrah. Est membrum precentoriatus Laonensis. Valoris 40*s.* Precentor inservit.

Rect. de Templedery. Impropriata ad Abbathiam de Tyone. Church and chauncell down.

Vic. ibidem, impropriat. Vacat.

Rect. de Kilderidagrum. Impropriat ad Tyon.

Kilerin ibidem. Impropriata. No curat. Vacat.

Both valoris 15*l.*

Rect. de Fennoh. Petrus Butler, Cler. Minister legens. A church only in repayr, no chauncell.

Vic. ib. id Petrus. Inservit curæ.

Rect. do Tirreglas est membrum Rectoriæ de Fennoh. Petrus Butler minister legens. Pr with Finoa supra. Chancel covered.

Vic. ibidem est membrum Decanatus Laon. Decanus inservit est Corpus Decan.

Rector de Lorrho—impropriat. Una pars ad Priorem de Lorra. Chauncell up, Church down. Altera est parcella Archidiaconatus Archidiaconus inservit curæ.

Vicaria ibidem. Est parcella Archidiaconatus Laonensis. Ipse inservit, pr.

Rect. de Bonohom. Patricius O'Hogan clericus tenet per dispensationem Val. 3*l.* Church up and Chauncell.

Vic. ib. impropriat Priori Lorha, vacat. No curat.

Rect. de Durroh. Patricius O'Hogan per dispensationem.

Vic. ib. impropriat ad Priorem de Lorra. No curat. Sequest.

Rect. de Lockin. Est Præbendæ de Lockin, ad Decanum Lymericensem. Church and chancell well repayred.

Vic. de Lockin. Brian O'Hogan, Studens. Valor 3*l.*

Rect. de Ballingary. Impropriat ad Abbathiam de Any Sr Rich Boyle firmarius.

Vic. ib Patricius O'Hogan cler idem inservit. Val. 3*l.*

Rect. de Usgenan, improp ad Monasterium de Any Sir Richd Boyle. Church and chancel decayed, all save the Vicar's part.

Vic. ib Geraldus Figerald in Art Baccalaureus Studens in collegio.

Rect. de Aglisclohan est parcella Rectoriæ de Durro, una pars: et altera pars est parcella de Rect de Finnoh. Piers Butler et Archidiaconus. Ch and chauncell well.

Vic. de ead est membrum Archidiaconat Laon, Ipse inservit.

Rect. de Buriskean, impropriat ad Monaster de Owney.

Vic. de ead. Petrus Butler, Cler.

Rectoria de Mosea. Val. 20*l.* Ch and chan well.

Vic. ibid vacat. Val. 8*l.*

Hactenus de Decanatu Ormoniæ, incipit Decanatus de Ely.

DECANATUS DE ELY O'CARROLL.

Rect. de Roscrea, impropriat ad Monaster de Tyon, Olyver Grace, firmarius. Val. 8*l.* Sequestrat ob ruinam ecclesiæ.

Vic. ib Æneas Callanan Apostata, ideo sequestratur. Vicaria valet 9*l.* Church and chauncell downe.

Rect. de Castletowne. Impropriat ad Tion. Oliver Grace firmarius valet. Church down and chauncell up. Seqr.

Vic. ibidem Cornelius O'Sheran cler, inservit Curæ. Valet 5*l.*

Rect. de Ramaveog. Impropriat ad Tyon. (Firmarius) Oliver Grace valet—Church and chauncell downe.

Vic. ib est parcella Vicariæ de Castleton, Cornelius O'Sheran, qui supra, inservit Curæ. Parcella Castleton and rated there.

Rect. integra de Finglas, dicitur ea parcella de Dunkerin. Rector Cornelius O'Sheran. Valet 20*s.* Parcella Dunkerin.

Rect. de Dunkerin, impropriat ad Tyon. Firmarius Olyver Grace. Valet 12*l.* Church downe, chauncel up.

Vic. ibidem, Cornelius O'Sherin cler, inservit cure et residet, valet 6*l.*

Rect. de Templehary. Improp ad Tyon. Firmarius quis upra, valet—Church and chauncell down tyme owt of mynd.

Vic. ib est pcella Vicariæ de Dunkerin. Cornelius O'Keran qui supra. Valet 20s.

Rect. de Burrin impropriat ad monasterium Sancte Crucis. Firmarius Comes Ormoniæ. Valet 20 mks.

Vic. ibid Stephanus Stephens Studens. Cornelius O'Keran inservit curæ, valet 20 nobles. Habet pro stipendio 20s. Church and chauncell up.

Rect. de Swinroan est impropriat ad Tyrone Oliver Grace firmarius. Valet. Ch and chan up.

Vic. ib Nicolaus Nelly studens. No curat. Ideo sequestratus fructus in manus Nicolai Nelly, una cam fructibus rectoriæ de Kilmurrey.

Rect. de Kilmurrey Nicolaus Nelly studens, valet cum priori vicaria de Swynroan 4 lib.

Vic. ibidem Taddeus O'Donnilan studens, Gualterus Fytzsymons inservit curæ. Valet 40s. Ch and chan up.

Rect. de Birrha. Walter Fizimon cler inservit curæ. Valet 10 marks. Church repayring and chancel up.

Vic. ib vacat et sequestratus in manus Patricii O'Hogan, Archidiaconi. Sequestratus ad manus Walteri FitzSymons qui inservit curæ.

Rect. de Kilcolman. Est parcella rector de Birrha. Valet 10 marks. Rector qui supra. Church downe, chauncell up.

Vic. ib. impropriat, valet 5*l.* No curat, sequestrat.

Rect. de Ahankon improp ad monast de Thome. Firmarius Bernardus Magrorgs. Church and chan downe. Sequestr.

Vic. ib impropriat ad monester vel prioratum de Innishnambeo. (Now Monahincha.) No curat, to Mr Jas Dyllon firmar. Sequest.

Rect. de Etagh impropriat ad mon. de Tyone firm. qui supra. Ch and chan up.

Vic. ib. Eneas Callanan. Apostata, ideo sequest. No curat.

Rectoria temporalis de Roskomroe impropriat, ad Tyone, fir qui supra. Ch and chan partly uncovered. Valet 6 li.

Rectoria ecclesiastica ib. impropriat to Sir Jas Dyllon. Valet 40 p. Parcella ejud parochiæ.

Vicaria de Roskomro. Thomas Denteth predictus concronat. Valet 4 l. The ch and chan partly uncovered, sequestrantur fructus rectoriarum et vicariæ in manus vicarii ad ædificationem ecclesiæ.

Rect. integra de Clonfertmulloh. Taddeus O'Donnilan studens. Gualterus Fitzsymons inservit curæ. Valet 4 li. Ch and chan up.

Rect. temporalis de Kinnity improp ad monast de Inyshimeo—firmarius Jacobus Dyllon Miles. Val vi. li.

Rectoria ecclestica Gulihelmus Donnilan studens. Valet 6 li.

Vic. de Kinnity. Idem Gulihelmus Donnilan. Tho Denteth inservit Curæ. Val 4 li. Ch and chan downe.

Ideo sequestr: fruct utriusque. Rectoriæ et vicariæ in manus Edmundi Donolan ad ædificationem ecclesiæ ante mensem Maii prox., viz. anno 1616.

Rect. temporalis de Litterluna improp ad monast de Inyshymeo firmar Jacobus Dyllon Miles valet (——)

Rect. ecclesiastica ib. Thom Denteth cler qui inservit curæ. Val 20*l*. Ch and chan down. Sequest fructus.

Vic. ibidem vacat et sequestratur in manus ejusd Thomæ ad inserviendum curæ animarum. Valet 3 li. Sequestrantur fructus. Vicariæ et Rectoriæ ecclesiæ in manus Thomæ Dent, ut inserviat curæ, et ædificet eam partem ecclesiæ quæ ad vicarium et seipsum pertinet.

Rect. integra de Kilcummin. Vacat et seqr. in manus Caroli O'Carroll ad reparationem templi et reliquos usus in lege destinatos. Cornelius O'Sheran inservit curæ habet stipendium 20*s*. Church and chancell downe. Valet 3 li.

Rect. de Quillanoan impropriat ad Tyone, fir qui supra.

Vic. ib sequestr. No curat. Ch and cha downe.

Rect. de Inshinameoh (Insula viventium. W. R.) als Corbally impropriata ad prioratum de Inyshymeo fir. Guil Dyllin.

☞ nota.

Church and chauncell up, but shut up agaynst the minister and reserved for masses. (This is the veritable old church near Roscrea which Ledwich has described. W. R.)

Vic. ib impropriata ad predict monast de Inyshymeo. Vacat. No curat.

In Decanatu de Ormoniæ et Ely O'Carroll.

Sunt 50 Rectoriæ et Vicariæ imropriatæ ad monasteria vel prioratus, viz.,

In Decanatu Ormoniæ sunt Rect improp	17
Et vic ib improp	15
In Decanatu de Ely O'Carroll sunt rect improp ...	14
Et vicariæ ib improp	4
	50

Sacerdotes misales (*i. e.*, Mass Priests) sunt in

Ormonia	*Ely O'Carroll*
Mortah O'Glassan	Teig Moynahan
Piers McCostei	Shane Oago
Wm O'Hogan	Wm O'Hegan
Edmond O'Kenny	Teig McShane

fforgenanim Egan Philip O'Hynan
(vir sine nomine) Teigh O'Gownan
Ludimagistri Papales—Papist Schoolmasters.
Patrick and Mary
Nicolas Webb, Welshman

(Nomina impropriatorum spectant ad comitem Ormoniæ infra Diocesem Ossorien, quorum cancellæ non sunt reparatæ.)

A BOOKE OF MY CLEARGIE OF MY DIOCES OF KILLFENORAGHE AND ALL THE PARSONS VICARS AND CURATES INCUMBENTS IN ALL THE PARISHES OF THE DIOCES ACCORDINGE TO THE RIGHT HONABLE THE LORD VISITORS DIRECTIONS.

Livinges belonging to the Deanrye of Killfenoraghe.
Rectoria de Kiltoraghe.
Rectoria de Cloen.
Rectoria de Glaninaghe.
Rectoria de ————

The Dean Donnellon is revolted to popery. valoris 5*l.*
Sequestred by the faculties, nowe voyd.
All these Churches ruyned.

Livinges pertaining to the Treasurershipp.
Rectoria de Drum-Krye Integrum.

Treasurer of the said Cathedrall Churche Mr. Evan Jones minister and preacher who hath vnited to the said Treasurership the Vicarages of Killmakrie and Killaspoclanan. These are valet iiij*li.*, the Vicaridges ij*li.* Church and Chauncell ruinated.

Livinges pertayning to the Chauncelorshipp.
The Rectorie of Killeny.
The Rectorie of Uchtmawn.
The Rectorie Killtorney.

Chauncelor of the said Cathedrale Churche Mr. Richard Walker minister and preacher who hath vnited to the said Chauncelorshipp the parsonage and vicaradge of Killeylage Cancellar valet 40s. Rectoriæ valent xxvi*s.* 8*d.* Kilmuney 6*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Killeylaghe: all ruinated, Church and Chancels ruinated.

Livinges belonginge to the Archdeacon.
Rectoria de Killaspoclonan.
Rectoria de Killmakrie.
Rectoria de Killmanahyn.

The Archdeacon of the said Church Mr. Hughe Powell, who hath united to the said Dignitie the parsonadge and vicarage of Rathbornie the vicarages of Uchtmawne and Killmanahyn. Archidiacon valet iiij*li.* 10*s.* Rathbornie valet 30*s.* Uchtmawne 20*s.* Kilmanahin 13*s.* 4*d.* Churches and Chancells ruinated.

The chauntershippe ignoratur for as I have learned it hath bin swallowed up in loose tyme.

Vicar de Nochvall and Tomalyn.

Murtogh oDaveryn minister and an Irisheman. Valet xxx*s.*

Parson and Vicar of Killonoghan.

Bartholomew White minister and an Irishman. Valet xxxv*s.* All downe.

Parsonage of Nochwall and Vicar of Killkorney and Clowney.	John Willson deacon not yet, and schole-master of the said dioces of Killfenoraghe. Valent 50*s*. All downe.
The Vicarages of Killeny and Killtoraghe.	Sequestred this yeare towardes the coverinye of the cathedrall churche; and for the vicaradge of Killenye is to be receaved xiiij*s*. by Wm. Neylen and for the vicaradge of Killtoraghe xx*s*. and no more.

The Cannon Portions nomine prebendarum belonging to the cathedrall church of Killfenoraghe.

The Deane	Hath one cannon portion belonging to his dignitie of auncient custome xiiij*s*.
The Treasurer	Hath one cannon portion belonging to his dignitie xiiij*s*.
The Chancelor	Hath one cannon portion belonging to his dignitie xiiij*s*.
The Archdeacon	Hath one cannon portion belonging to his dignitie xiiij*s*.
Willm Neland, deacon	Hath one cannon portion, xiiij*s*.
Murtoghe oDaveryn minister	Hath one cannon portion xiiij*s*.
Andreas McGillisaught	A Protestant's sonn and a student in the Colledge att Dublin hathe one cannon portion xiiij*s*.
Derby Nestor	A Protestant, hath one cannon portion xiiij*s*.
Mathew Powell	A minister's sonn hath one cannon portion studendi gratia xiiij*s*.
The last cannon portion	Is sequestred this yeere onely for the reparacion of the cathedrall church.

Parson and Vicar of Carne Integr. } Mr. Marke Pagett the younger, bachelor of Arts and Student in the Colledg att Dublin

THE STATE AND VALUE OF THE BISHOPRIC OF KILFENORAGHE.

The Byshopricke of Killfenoraghe in the Kinges bookes valued att v*s*. Irishe per annum

The just value as it is now, appereth in the particulars followeinge

There are in the Baronye of Corkcomrowe two plowlands belonging to the manor house of Kilfenoraghe Demayne landes, and in the Bushoppes possession per annum	viiij. li
One plowland in the barony of Burren called Dromcree Derrayen lands and in the Bushoppes possession leased to one Hugh Powell of which lease there are behinde of xxitie yeres xij yeres, the rent xl*s*. per annum	xl. s

CHIEFFE RENTE IN THE BARONYE OF CORKCOMROWE.

Cloen—twoe quarters—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Licken one quarter—Rent per annum ... ... x. s
Kiltoraghe twoe quarters—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Ballywrea twoe quarters—Rent per annum ... ... xxiij. s iiij. d
Ballycross one quarter—Rent per annum ... ... xi. s viij. d
Kearnhmebaughely—two quarters, Rent per annum ... viij. s iiij. d
Kearhumore—one quarter—Rent per annum ... ... viij. s iiij. d
Lisdowny—one quarter—Rent per annum ... ... xi. s viij. d
Ballingowne foure quarters—Rent per annum ... ... xl. s
Ballytarsenaghe, one quarter—Rent per annum... ... xi. s viij. d
Vchtoraghe one half quarter—Rent per annum ... ... x. s
Killenbegeaglan and Killachrie ny Killy—Rent per annum ... ... iii. s iiii. d
Killmachree foure quarters—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Liskanerve, one quarter—payeth no Rent 0

CHIEFF RENTS IN THE BARONYE OF BURREN.

Nohewall, four Cesses—Rent per annum ... ... iiij. li
Killcorne, two Cesses—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Uchtmawne and Aghenonan, foure Cesses—Rent per annum ... ... xl. s
Gleaninaghe, five Cesses—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Killenahan, twoe Cesses—Rent per annum ... ... xx. s
Kromelin, one Cesse—Rent per annum ... ... x. s
Annuall Proxies fiftie two shillinges ... ... lij. s

The Ilandes of Aron aunciently belonginge to the Bishopricke of Killfenoraghe which are five markes rent. Where also there are twoo Prebendes belonginge to the Cathedrall Churche the one named Disarte Breckan the other Killurly. But I could never gett any thinge out of the said Ilandes since I had the Commendam of the Bishopricke, which is almost Tenn yeares.

So the true value of the Bishopricke of Killfenoraghe communibus annis amounteth to no more then } 32*li.*4*s.*ster.

BAR LIMER ET FENCH.

This was Barnard or Bernard Adams, Bishop of Limerick and Kilfenora.

We now direct special attention to

THE STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE, PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTIES COMMISSIONERS AT DUBLIN, JULY 1, 1622, PER JOHANNEM LAONENSEM EPISCOPUM.

(This copy was made from a copy in my possession, this 8th of July, by a writer employed by me, and named Wm. Edward Ellis.

The copy, from which this copy was made, was made by myself from what is most probably the original Report, in May, 1873.

The Document from which my copy was made was temporarily placed in my hands by Major R. A. Studdert for the purpose of having a copy made for Richard Nugent, Esq., of 32, Charing Cross, London, which copy was duly made by the aforesaid clerk for Mr. Nugent, to whom the copy was duly forwarded. The said Document was duly returned by Major Studdert's direction to the Dean of Killaloe, the Very Rev. J. H. Allen, the Registrar of that Diocese.

Archdeacon Cotton speaks of this document in his Fasti, and says it is worth printing. He also states that there is a copy in the Cashel Diocesan Registry.

This copy was made for Rev. P. Dwyer, and at his expense.

CHRISTOPHER FEELING M'CREADY, M.A., Clk.)

Dublin, 8 July, 1874.

THE LOYALL ANSWER OF JOHN RIDER BISHOP OF KILLALOE TO THE ROYALL DEMAUNDS OF HIS MATIE PROPOSED BY HIS HOBLE COMISSIONERS IN 14 ARTICLES WHEREOF 12 ARE EXPRESSED IN THEYR LETTERS TO ME DIRECTED BEARING DATE APR. 23, 1622. AND YE OTHER TWO ARE EXPRESSED IN THEYR SECOND LETTER DAT MAY 1 1622

The first article. How many Parish Churches are wthin ye Diocese of Killaloe?

I answer there are one hundred and sixteene as may appear by a particular account of them given in the answer to the third article.

The second article. How many of those churches are Presentative and wch are appropriate?

I answer yt ye churches in my diocese canot be so distinguished for that some of the churches are divided into 30 [— ?] parts of severall natures: and every church hath his Rectory [and ?] Vicarage; and the Rectory may be pstative, and ye Vicarage imppriate, and so on ye contrary: but all ye Benefices [in ?] my whole Diocesse do stand in five differences

Donative Collative Presentative Appropriate Impropriate	viz.	from ye Kings Matie from ye Bishop from Lay Patrons To ye Bp Deane, chap. and Prebends To certain Abbies	being in number	1 90 16 54 [?] 78

And wch of ye sd Benefices are so Donative, Collative Presentative Apppriate or Imppriate is set downe in ye first columne ye answere to the third article throughout every page.

The third article. How are ye said churches and Parishes supplied with ministers, Curates and Incumbents, and how are ye Cures discharged?

I answer this article by a particular enumeration of [every ?] Parish Church wthin my Diocese, together wth ye names of [the ?] Incumbent and Curate, also (if there be no Incumbent) ye qu[— ?] of theyr persons, and yearely value of theyr benefices as ne [arly ?] as could be remembered (diductis diducendis) mentioning also the Patrons of ye said livings, and what pxies are aunciently due to me ye Bishop out of ye said severall Benefices: as followeth

viz.

Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
1 5 0	The Deanery to which belonges:— Rectory intire of Dromineer ... 70 Benif. Rectory intire of Kilteery ... 61 Ben. Vicarage of Ballinaclohy 62 Ben. Vicarage of Tirraglasse 88 Ben. Cloginkelly of Yohall, arra ... 68 Ben.	20 0 0	Hugh Hogan, a native minister and canonist. Installed in ye yeare 1602. How ye Cures are served shall appeare in theyr severall places.	The King's Majestie.
[?] 5 0	The Chauntorship to wch belongs Vicarage of Lattrah and ye Clohinkellies of Kilmore Kilteely Clonibrah Kiltinanleh	5 0 0	Daniel Kennedy, a native minister and canonist. Installed in Anno 1604 Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
[?] 6 8	The Chauncellorship to wch belongs Rectory intire of Thom Vicarage of Ballymacky	15 0 0	John Blagrave, minister and preacher, a man of good learning and conversation. Installed Aug. 26th, 1618. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
[?] [?] 8	The Treasurership to wch belongs the Vicarage of Dromkeen and ye Clohinkellies of ffinnah, Killinasulah.	10 0 0	Nicholas Bright, a minister and preacher, a man of good conversation. Installed in Anno 1616 Cure not served, see ye cause alledged by ye incumbent pag.—,	The Bishop
[?] 6 8	The Archdeaconry, to wch belongs the Vicarage of Clohan, the Vicarage of Lorrho, and part of ye Rectory of Lorrho.	20 0 0	Patrick Hogan, a native minister and canonist. Installed in Anno 1590 Cures served by Brian O'Moldhan, pag.(—) numero (—) in this booke.	The Bishop

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
1	1 0 0	Prebend. of Tomgreeny, to wch belongs Rectory intire of Tomgreeny. Rectory intire of Killoolah. Part of ye Rectory of Kilballihon.	20 0 0	Barnard Lo. Bishop of Limerick. Installed in Anno 1610. Cures how served. — Vide in suis locis. Pag. 7. Num. 22. Pag. 11. Num. 54.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
2	0 14 4	Prebend. of Enniskalty to wch belongeth Rectory of ye Iland of Enniskalty. Rectory intire of Kilrush ... 0 5 0 And part of ye Rectories. of { Killofin ... 2 5; Killœmuir. 1 0; Kilfiera ... 3 6; Killardah .. 0 6; Moeffarta .. 1 3; Kilballihon 0 8 } 14 4	40 0 0	Thomas Edens, a minister and preacher, sometimes student in Oxford: a man of good life and conversation. Installed in Anno 1617 Cure of Kilrush served by himselfe. The rest are served by their severall Vicars. Pag. — in this booke.	The Bishop
3	0 3 4	Prebend. of Lockin, to wch belongeth the Rectory of Lockin.	8 0 0	Denis Garforth, a minister, one of good life and conversation. Installed Oct. 31, 1620. Cure served by ye Vicar.	The Bishop
4	0 3 4	Prebend. of Tulloh, to wch belongeth the one halfe of ye Rectory of Tulloh.	16 0 0	Daniel Kennedy. Qui supra, pag. 2. Installed in Anno 1604. Cure served by ye Vicar.	The Bishop
5	0 0 8	Prebend. of Disert, to wch belongeth some small portion of tithes in ye parish of Disert.	2 0 0	John Steere, student, sone to ye L Bp of Ardfert. Installed studendi gratiâ for 3 yeares, Jan. 12, 1620. Cure served by ye Vicar.	The Bishop

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
6	0 1 0	Prebend. of Clondagad, to wch belongeth some small portion of tith in ye Parish of Clondagad.	1 0 0	Nicholas Booth, minister and preacher. Installed Sept. 3, 1619. Cure served by ye Vicar.	The Bishop
7	0 0 8	Prebend. of Rath, to wch belongeth some small portion of tithe in ye Parish of Rath.	1 0 0	Richard Wilkins, Master of Arts, a knowne preacher of good life and learning. Installed Jan. 10, 1621. Cure served by ye Vicar.	

☞ Thus farre of ye Deane, Chapter, and Prebends. Now followe the severall Deaneries in the Diocese whereby shall be gathered ye number of ye parishes in ye whole Diocese.

I.—IN YE DEANERY OF OMOLLED.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
I	0 3[?]4	Killaloe parish Rectory intire.	20 0 0	The deane and chapter who partly by some of themselves, partly by some of ye prebendaries, and partly by others have ye word of God there preached every Sabbath. [r?] Randoll Huxley, a native and a minister brought up in ye Colledge at Dublin, one of good life and learning is curate Resident there.	Deane and chapter to whom it is Apppriate.

	Proxies.			Benefices.	Value.			Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
	0	1	8	Clonlea—					
				Rectory	10	0	0	Richard ffuller, minister, a man of good conversation.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	1	8	Vicarage	10	0	0	Inducted Anno 1617. George Zouch, minister a man of good conversation. Inducted Anno 1617. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
2									
				Kilfinaghta—					
	0	5	0	Rectory	12	0	0	Richard ffuller, qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	5	0	Vicarage	12	0	0	Andrew Chaplaine a minister and zealous preacher: a man of good life and conversation. Inducted in Anno 1614. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
3									
				Kilteely—					
	0	1	8	Rectory	8	0	0	Richard ffuller, qui supra.	
	0	1	8	Vicarage	8	0	0	William Doñilan, Master of Arts and a minister: a native, and a preacher: a man of good learning and conversation. Inducted Apr. 16, 1622. Cure served by George Zouch, qui supra num. 2.	
4									
				Kilurain—					
	0	5	0	Rectory	4	0	0	Rich. ffuller, qui supra	Earle of Thomond.
	0	5	0	Vicarage	4	0	0	William Doñilan, qui supra. Cure served by George Zouch, qui supra.	The Bishop
5									

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
		Killokenedy—			
	0 2 6	Rectory	6 13 4	Rich. ffuller, qui supra	Earle of Thomond.
6	0 2 6	Vicarage	6 13 4	Marmaduke Tailour, a zealous preacher: a man of good learning and conversation. Inducted in Anno 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Kilnoa—			
	0 3 4	Rectory	6 13 4	Richard ffuller. Qui supra num. 2.	Earle of Thomond.
7	0 3 4	Vicarage	6 13 4	John Corbett: minister one who reades to ye people in ye Irish Comunion Booke: and is of good conversation. Inducted in Anno 1614. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		ffeacle—			
	0 2 6	Rectory	10 0 0	Richard ffuller. Qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
8	0 2 6	Vicarage	10 0 0	Appropriate to ye Deane and Chapter. John Corbett: minister serves ye cure there, being nearer unto him.	Deane and Chapter, to whom it is appropriate.
		Tomgreeny—			
9	vid. pag. 3.	Rectory intire	vid. pag. 3.	The Lord Bishop of Limmericke. Qui supra, pag. 3. Cure served by Marmaduke Tailour: Qui supra num. 6.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
		Moinoe—			
	0 1 8	Rectory	6 0 0	Deane and Chapter as appropriat.	Deane and Chapter.
10	0 0 10	Vicarage	3 0 0	Vacat propter exilitat, Edward Philips. Qui infra num. 55. Served ye cure hitherto.	The Bishop

	Proxies. £	s.	d.	Benefices.	Value. £	s.	d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
				Clonrush—					
	0	1	8	Rectory	6	0	0	Deane and Chapter as appropriat.	Deane and chapter.
11	0	0	10	Vicarage	3	0	0	Vacat propter exilitatem. Cure served by Trig McKnavin, a native and a minister.	The Bishop
				Inishgaltrah—					
	0	4	3	Rectory	2	0	0	Impropriat.	Earle of Corke.
12	0	2	1	Vicarage	1	0	0	Vacat propter exilitatem. Cure not served, being an Island, and but one house.	The Bishop
				Ogonilla—					
13	0	6	8	Rectory	16	0	0	Richard ffuller. Qui sup. no. 2.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	3	4	Vicarage	8	0	0	Marmaduke Tailour. Qui. supra nu. 6.	The Bishop
				Castleconnell, *alias* Stradbally, *alias* Capella de J'dum					
	0	13	4	Rectory	20	0	0	Impropriat.	Earle of Ormonde.
14	0	6	8	Vicarage	10	0	0	Nicholas Bright. Qui supra pag. 2. Inducted March 18, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	Earle of Ormonde.
				Killinaganuff—					
	0	2	3	Rectory	20	0	0	Impropriat.	Earle of Ormonde.
15	0	1	1	Vicarage	10	0	0	Nicholas Bright, qui supra, pag 2. Inducted Mar. 18, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
				Kiltinanleh aliâs Dunassy—					
	0	2	3	Rectory	10	0	0	Impropriat	Earle of Ormond.
16	0	1	1	Vicarage	5	0	0	Robert Chaloner minister, a man of good conversation. Inducted July 4, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop

II.—IN THE DEANERY OF O'GASSIN.

	Proxies.			Benefices.	Value.			Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
				Quin—					
	0	3	4	Rectory	10	0	0	Lo: Bp. of Limericke qui supra pag. 3.	Earle of Thomond.
17	0	3	4	Vicarage	10	0	0	John Jesop, a minister of honest conversation. Inducted Jan 10, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
				Clonee—					
	0	5	0	Rectory	10	0	0	Lo: Bp. of Limericke qui supra nu 18 [!]	Earle of Thomond.
18				Vicarage	10	0	0	John Jesop, qui supra. Inducted Jan 10, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
				Tulloh—					
	0	3	4	Rector } Halfe	16	0	0	Lo: Bp. of Limericke qui supra, pag 5.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	0	10[?]	Rector } Halfe	Pag. 3			Daniel Kenedy, qui supra, pag. 2.	The Bishop
19	0	3	4	Vicarage	16	0	0	William Hewet, a zealous preacher: a man of good life and conversation. Inducted Anno 1618.	The Bishop
				Dury—					
	0	2	6	Rectory	10	0	0	Lo: Bp. of Limericke qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	2	6	Vicarage	10	0	0	George Andrewe, a Mr. of Arts of 23 yeares standing, a learned and zealous preacher of God's word, and one of singular good life and conversation. Inducted Apr. 26, 1622. Cure served by Thomas Pritchard, qui infra, pag.	The Bishop
20									

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
			£ s. d.		
		Kilraghtas—			
	0 2 6	Rectory	5 0 0	Lo: Bishop of Limmericke. Qui supra pag. 3.	Earle of Thomond.
21	0 2 6	Vicarage	5 0 0	Richard Walker, minister and preacher: a man of good life. Inducted October 28, 1620. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Kiltoolah—			
22	0 0 0	Rectory intire	Pag. 3.	Lo: Bishop of Limericke. Holds it as part of ye Prebend of Tomgreeny, p. 3, n. 1. Cure not served.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
		Templemaly—			
	0 1 8	Rectory	5 0 0	Lo: Bishop of Limericke. Qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
23	0 1 8	Vicarage	5 0 0	Richard Walker. Qui supra, num. 21.	The Bishop
		Kilmormagall—			
	0 2 6	Rectory	8 0 0	Lo: Bishop of Limericke. Qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
24		Vicarage	8 0 0	Andrew Chaplain. Q. supra, pag. 4, num. 3. Inducted ut ubi. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Inscronan—			
	0 3 8	Rectory	15 0 0	Lo: Bishop of Limericke. Qui supra.	Earle of Thomond.
25	0 3 8	Vicarage	15 0 0	Vacat. No cure served.	Earle of Thomond.

III.—IN YE DEANERY OF TRADRY.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Tomfinloh—			
	0 2 10	Rectory	10 0 0	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
26		Vicarage	5 0 0	George Zouch. Qui supra, pag. 4, num. 2. Inducted in Anno 1617. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Killinasoolah—		Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
	0 3 4	Rectory	12 0 0		
27		Vicarage	6 0 0	John Yorke, Mr. of Arts, and preacher: a man of good learning and conversation. Inducted in Anno 1619. Cure served by John Corbett. Qui supra, pag. 5, num. 7.	
		Kilmallery—			
	0 1 5	Rectory	6 0 0	Vacat.	The Bishop
	0 0 9	Vicarage	8 0 0	Cornelius Keiton, student, a native.	
28				Inducted in Anno 1620. Cure lately served by Morgan Bennis, a minister newly dead.	?
		Kilcoury—			
	0 3 4	Rectory	8 0 0	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
29	0 1 8	Vicarage	4 0 0	Cornelius Keiton, qui supra, num. 28. Inducted ut supra. Cure served ut supra.	The Bishop
		Clonluhein—			
	0 0 10	Rectory	8 0 0	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
30	0 0 10	Vicarage	8 0 0	John Yorke, qui supra, num. 27. Inducted ut ibi: Cure served ut ibi:	The Bishop

	Proxies.			Benefices.	Value.			Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
				Dromline—					
	0	3	4	Rectory	20	0	0	*Appropriat ad mensam Episcopi.*	The Bishop
31	0	0	0	Vicarage	Pag. 2.			Appropriate to ye Treasurer, viz.: Nicholas Bright, qui supra, pag. 2. *No cure served for ye cause alleadged pag.*	The Bishop
				ffinnah—					
32	0	0	10	Rectory	8	0	0	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
	0	0	5	Vicarage	4	0	0	Vacat. No Cure served.	Idem.
				Bonralty—					
	0	6	8	Rectory	13	6	8	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
33	0	3	4	Vicarage	6	13	4	Vacat. Cure served by John Jesop, qui supra, num. 17. And sermons often there preached by ye R. Hoble ye Earle of Thomond's chaplain.	Idem.
				Killuh—					
34	0	6	8	Rectory	10	0	0	Impropriat.	Lo: Baron of Insiquin
	0	3	4	Vicarage	5	0	0	Impropriat ut dicitur. No cure served.	Idem.
				Inishdadrom— Rectory				Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
35	0	1	4	Vicarage				Impropriat ut dicitur. No cure served.	Idem.

IV.—IN YE DEANERY OF DROMCLIFFE.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Dromcliffe—			
	0 5 6	Rectory	30 0 0	Thomas Pritchard, a grave minister and preacher; a man of good life and conversation. Inducted in anno 1617.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
36		Vicarage	15 0 0	Idem Thomas. Inducted in Anno 1617 Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilmaly—			
	0 8 0	Rectory	8 0 0	Thomas Pritchard, qui supra.	Idem.
37	0 4 0	Vicarage	4 0 0	Idem Thomas. Cure annexed to Dromcliffe.	Idem.
		Killinaboy—			
	0 6 8	Rectory	10 0 0	Bartholomew White, a minister and native: a man of good life.	Idem.
38	0 3 4	Vicarage	5 0 0	Idem Bartholomew. Inducted 5th October, 1613. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Rath—			
	0 4 0	Rectory	10 0 0	Andreas G[illegible]isaght, a minister and a native, one that was educated in ye Colledge at Dublin and reades ye Irish service to ye people, and is of honest conversation. Inducted October 28th, 1620.	Idem.
39	0 2 0	Vicarage	5 0 0	Idem Andreas, who serves the cure there.	Idem.
	Pag. 3.	Prebend	Pag. 3.	Richard Wilkins, pag. 3.	Idem.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Disert—			
	0 6 4	Rectory	20 0 0	John Twenbrooke, a minister and preacher; a man of good learning and conversation. Inducted 28th October, 1620.	Idem.
40					
	0 3 0	Vicarage	10 0 0	Andreas Gillisaght, qui supra, num. 39. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
	Pag. 3.	Prebend	Pag. 3.	John Steere, student, qui supra, pag. 3.	Idem.
		Kilnamona—			
41	0 5 0	Rectory intire	10 0 0	Richard Walker, qui supra, num. 21. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
		Kilkeedy—			
	0 5 10	Rectory	10 0 0	Vacat.	Idem.
	0 2 10	Vicarage	5 0 0	Daniel O'Meara, a native and minister. Inducted in Anno 1620. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
42					

V.—IN YE DEANERY OF CORKOVASKIN.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Clondagad—			
	0 6 0	Rectory	10 0 0	Impropriat.	L. Baron of Insiquin.
	0 3 0	Vicarage	5 0 0	Nicholas Booth, qui supra, pag. 3. Inducted 28 Mar. 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
43					
	Pag. 3.	Prebend	Pag. 3.	Idem Nicolaus.	Idem.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Kilchrist—			
	0 4 5	Rectory	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
44	0 2 3	Vicarage	6 0 0	Vacat. No cure served.	Idem.
		Killidysert als Disert morhuly—			
45	0 4 5	Rectory	12 0 0	Imppriat.	Idem.
	0 2 3	Vicarage	6 0 0	Vacat. Cure not served.	Idem.
		Kilrush—			
46	Pag. 3.	Rectory intire	Pag. 3.	Præbendary de Inniskalty, Tho. Edens, qui supra, pag. 3. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Kilfeddain—			
	0 4 5	Rectory	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Lo: Baron of Insiquin.
47	0 2 3	Vicarage	6 0 0	Laurence Boyle, minister, a good catechizer, and one of good conversation. Inducted 31 Oct., 1618. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
		Killofin—			
	0 2 0	Rector pars	6 0 0	Impropriat.	Lo: Baron of Insiquin.
	0 0 0	Rector pars	Pag. 3.	Appropriat to ye Prebend of Iniskalty, qui supra, pag. 3.	The Bishop
48	0 2 3	Vicarage	4 0 0	Lawrence Boyle, qui supra, num. 47. Inducted ut supra. Cure served ut supra.	Idem.

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
		Kilmurry Clonderila—			
	0 3 4	Rectory	16 6 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
49	0 1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Thomas Tunsteed, a Batchelour of Arts, and a minister, a good Preacher, and one of honest conversation. Inducted Aug. 1, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
		Killœmuir—			
	0 1 2	Rectory pars.	5 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
	Pag. 3.	Rectory pars.	Pag. 3.	Appriat to ye Prebend of Inniskalty. Pag. 3.	The Bishop
50	0 1 2	Vicarage	5 0 0	Thomas Tunsteed, qui supra, num. 49. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilmurry Ibrickan—			
	0 4 5	Rectory	16 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
51	0 2 3	Vicarage	8 0 0	Vacat. The Cure not served.	Idem.
		Kilmacdowan—			
	0 10 5	Rectory pars maxima	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
		pars minima a cloginkelly yt paies no tithes [?]	0 5 0	Appriat to ye Deane and Chapter.	De. and Chapter.
52	0 5 3	Vicarage	6 0 0	Murtogh O Considin, a native and a minister, one that reades the Irish service booke to ye people, and is of good life. Inducted in Ano. 1620. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Kilfierah—			
	0 1 6	Rector pars.	7 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
	Pag. 3.	Rector pars.	Pag. 3.	Appropriat to ye Prebend of Inniskalty. Pag. 3.	The Bishop
53	0 2 6	Vicarage	7 0 0	Peter Ellis, a minister and Preacher, a man of good life and conversation. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilballihon—			
		1	5 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
		2	Pag. 3.	Apppriat to ye Prebend of Tomgreeny.	The Bishop
	0 3 0	Rector pars. 3	Pag. 3.	Apppriat to ye Prebend of Inniskalty. Pag. 3.	Idem.
54	0 2 2	Vicarage	3 0 0	Dermott O'Harney, minister and native. Inducted 1 Apr., 1622. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilardah—			
	0 2 10	Rector pars.	6 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
	Pag. 3.	Rector pars.	Pag. 3.	Appriat to ye Prebend of Inniskalty. Pag. 3.	The Bishop
55	0 1 8	Vicarage	7 0 0	Edward Philips, minister and preacher: a man of good life and conversation. Inducted 9 Apr., 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	
		Kilfarboy—			
	0 3 4	Rectory	16 0 0	Vacat.	Earle of Thomond.
56	0 1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Edward Philips, qui supra, num. 55. Inducted 9 Apr., 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.				
		Moeffartah—			
	0 2 1	Rectory { pars.	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
	Pag. 3.	pars.	Pag. 3.	Appropriat to ye Prebend of Enniskalty. Pag. 3.	The Bishop
57					
	0 1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Peter Ellis, qui supra, num. 53. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilmihill—			
	0 2 7	Rectory { pars.	5 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Thomond.
	0 1 5	pars.	3 0 0	Impropriat.	Lo : Baron of Insiquin
58	0 2 0	Vicarage	4 0 0	Murtoh o Considin, qui supra, num. 52. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop

VI.—IN YE DEANERY OF ORMOND.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Nenagh als Enagh—			
	0 16 8	Rectory	20 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Oony.	Sr. Edmund Welch.
	0 8 4	Vicarage	10 0 0	Richard Wilkins, qui supra, pag. 3. Inducted Jan. 10, 1621. Cure not yet served, because ye incumbent being disturbed by ye pretended impropriator, is faine to waite in Dublin for redresse of his wrongs.	The Bishop
59					

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Lisbuñy—			
	0 10 0	Rectory	12 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Oony.	Sr. Edmund Welsh.
60	0 5 0	Vicarage	6 0 0	Richard Wilkins, qui supra, pag. 3. Inducted Jan. 10, 1621. Cure not served for ye cause named above. Num. 59.	The Bishop
	Pag. 2	Kilkeery— Rectory intire	Pag. 2.	Hugh Hogan, to whom it is appropriat. Pag. 2.	Pag. 2.
61				Cure served by William Kenedy, a minister and a native.	
	s. d.		£ s. d.		
	10 0	Ballinaclohy— Rectory	10 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Clonold.	Uncertaine.
62	Pag. 2.	Vicarage	Pag. 2.	Appriat to ye Deanery. Pag. 2. Cure served by Wm. Kenedy, qui supra num. 61.	Pag. 2.
	10 0	Killanduff— Rectory	20 0 0	Imppriat to ye Abby of Tion als St. John de la N[?]enagh.	Oliver Grace.
63	5 0	Vicarage	10 0 0	Held also as impropriat. No cure served.	Idem.
	7 8	Dalla— Rectory	13 6 8	Appropriat ad mensam Episcopi Laonensis.	The Bishop.
64	3 10	Vicarage	6 13 4	Held as imppriat to the abbie of Killoin. No cure served.	Lo: Baron of Insiquin.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	s. *d.*		£ *s.* *d.*		
		Kilmore—			
	6 8	Rectory	10 0 0	Appropriat to ye Deane and Chapter for ye fabricke of ye Quire of ye Cathedrall Church.	The Bishop.
65					
	3 4	Vicarage	5 0 0	Held as impropriat. Cure served by Robert Coxe, qui infra, num. 79.	Earle of Ormond.
		Dunamona—			
		Rectory intire			
	1 8	Pars. 1a	4 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Ormond.
	1 8	Pars. 2a	4 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abbie of Oony.	Sir Edmund Welch.
66	1 8	Pars. 3a	4 0 0	Appropriate to ye Deane and Chapter, and ye Cure served by Robt. Coxe, qui infra, num. 79, at ye charges and direction of ye Deane and Chapter.	Deane and Chapter.
		Burges-boga—			
	3 4	Rectory	10 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Oony.	Sir Edmund Welch.
67	1 8	Vicarage	5 0 0	John Hogan, a minister and a native. Inducted in Anno 1616. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
		Yoghall-arra—			
	4 4	Rector { pars.	6 0 0	Appropriat to ye Rectory of Moisea. Num. 71.	The Bishop.
	Pag. 2	pars.	Pag. 2.	Appropriat ad Decanatum.	Pag. 2.
	2 2	Vicarage	6 0 0	Neptune Blood, student in ye Colledge at Dublin: dispensed wth pro quinquenio, April 13th, 1622. A good scholar, and reades ye Irish tongue. Inducted June 10th, 1622.	The Bishop.
68				Cure not yet served by reason of his late induction.	

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons
		Castletowne-arra—			
	0 4 5	Rectory	14 0 0	Daniel Kennedy, qui supra. Pag. 2.	The Bishop.
69	2 3	Vicarage	7 0 0	Idem. Daniel. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Dromineere—			
70	Pag. 2	Rectory intire	Pag. 2	Apppriat to ye Deanery. Pag. 2. Cure served by ye Deane himself.	Pag. 2.
		Moisea—			
	0 6 8	Rectory	4 0 0	John Reynolds, student, dispensed wth for 4 yeares. Inducted Jan. 24, 1619.	The Bishop.
71	0 3 4	Vicarage	10 0 0	Richard Hogan, Master of Arts of ye Colledge of Dublin: a native, a minister and preacher of good learning and conversation. Inducted Dec. 26, 1615. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
		Kneah—			
	0 16 8	Rectory	10 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Oony	Sir Edmd Welch.
72	0 8 4	Vicarage	5 0 0	Richard Hogan, qui supra, num. 71. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
		Killodierna—			
73	0 5 0	Rectory	16 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
	0 2 6	Vicarage	8 0 0	Held as impropriat. No cure served.	Idem.
		Clohapriora—			
74	0 8 4	Rectory	16 0 0	Impropriat.	Idem.
	4 2	Vicarage	8 0 0	Held as impropriat. No cure served.	Idem.

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
		Kilbarrain—			
	16 8	Rectory	20 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Any.	Earle of Corke.
75	8 4	Vicarage	10 0 0	Richard Burk, native, and preacher graduat of ye Colledge of Dublin, a man of good life. Inducted 1 Jun. 1617. Cure served by ye Deane.	The Bishop.
		Ardcrony—			
	5 0	Rectory	10 0 0	Appropriat ad mensam Episcopi.	The Bishop.
76	2 6	Vicarage	5 0 0	Patricke Hogan, q. supra. Pag. 2. Inducted. Cure served by Tho. Garforth, minister qui infra, num. 90.	
		Modrinith—			
	16 8	Rectory	24 0 0	Piers Butler, a minister and a native. Inducted in Ano. 1609.	The Bishop.
77	8 4	Vicarage	12 0 0	William Capell, a grave minister and a preacher: a man of good life and conversation. Inducted in Ano. 1609. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
		Kilruan—			
78	13 4	Rectory	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
	6 8	Vicarage	6 0 0	Held as impropriat. No cure served.	Idem.
		Balligibbon—			
	5 0	Rectory	10 0 0	Robert Cox, a minister, a man of good life and conversation. Inducted in Ano. 1620. Cure served by himselfe, wthout allowance of ye Vicar.	The Bishop
79	2 6	Vicarage	5 0 0	Held as impropriat.	Ol. Grace.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Ballimackey—			
	10 0	Rectory	24 0 0	Impropriat.	Idem.
	Pag. 2.	Vicarage	Pag. 2.	Appropriat to ye Chancellorship. Pag. 2. Num. 3.	The Bishop
80				Cure served by ye said Chauncellor.	
	Pag. 2.	Thorn [Thom ?]— Rectory intire	Pag. 2.	Appropriat to ye Chauncellorship. Pag. 2.	Idem.
81				Cure served by ye said Chauncellor.	
		Ahanameala—			
	10 0	Rectory	16 0 0	Impppriat to ye Abby of Thorn [m ?].	Brian Mc Grath.
82	5 0	Vicarage	8 0 0	Held as impropriat. No Cure served.	Idem.
		Bures-na-fierna—			
	4 8	Rectory	10 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
83	2 4	Vicarage	5 0 0	Held as imppriat. No Cure served.	
		Kilderydagrom—			
	5 0	Rectory	8 0 0	Imppriat.	Brian O Grath.
84	2 6	Vicarage	4 0 0	Held as imppriat. No Cure served.	Idem.
		Templederry—			
	5 0	Rectory	10 0 0	Imppriat.	Ol. Grace.
85	2 6	Vicarage	5 0 0	Held as imppriat. No Cure served.	Idem.
		Lateragh—			
	10 0	Rectory	6 0 0	John Andrewe: student, dispensed wth for 5 yeares. Inducted May 1, 1621.	The Bishop
86	Pag. 2.	Vicarage	3 0 0	Apppriat to ye Chaunlourship. Pag. 2. Cure served by ye Chauntor.	Idem.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.	ffinnoh—	£ s. d.		
87	5 0	Rectory	20 0 0	Piers Butler, qui supra, num. 77.	Idem.
	2 6	Vicarage	10 0 0	Idem. Cure not served.	
		Tirraglasse—			
88	10 0	Rectory	16 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rectory of ffinnoh. Num. 87.	Idem.
	Pag. 2.	Vicarage	Pag. 2.	Apppriat to ye Deanery. Pag. 2. Cure served by ye Deane.	Pag. 2.
		Lorrha—			
89	0 0	Rectory pars 1	Pag. 2.	Apppriat to ye Archdeaconry. Pag. 2.	The Bishop
	5 0	Rectory 2	5 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rectory of ffinoh, sup. Num. 87.	Idem.
	5 0	Rectory 3	5 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rectory of Durro, inf. Num. 91.	Idem.
	0 0	Vicarage	Pag. 2.	Appriat to ye Archdeaconry. Pag. 2. Cure served by Brian O'Molahna, qui infra. Num. 106.	Idem.
		Bonohom—			
90	3 4	Rectory	16 0 0	Patricke Hogan, qui supra, pag. 2.	The Bishop
	1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Thomas Garthforth, a minister and one of honest conversation. Inducted Sept. 22, 1620. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.'
		Durroh—			
91	3 4	Rectory	20 0 0	Patricke Hogan, qui supra, pag. 2.	Idem.
	1 8	Vicarage	10 0 0	Thomas Garforth, q. sup., nu. 90. Inducted Sept. 22, 1620. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Lockein—			
	Pag. 3.	Rectory	Pag. 3.	Est Prebenda de Lockin. Pag. 3.	Idem.
92	1 8	Vicarage	6 0 0	Dyonise Garforth, qui supra, pag. 3. Inducted Oct. 1, 1618. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Ballingarry als Garraga—			
	3 4	Rectory	20 0 0	Impropriat.	Earle of Corke.
93	1 8	Vicarage	10 0 0	Patricke Hogan, q. sup. pag. 2. Inducted in Ano. 1604. Cure served by Tho. Garforth. Qui supra, num. 90.	The Bishop
		Clohan als Aglisclohain—			
	1 8	Rector pars. 1	6 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rectory of ffinnoh, sup. num. 87.	Idem.
94	1 8	Rector pars. 2	6 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rectory of Durroh, sup. num. 91.	Idem.
	Pag. 2.	Vicarage	Pag. 2.	Apppriat to ye Archdeaconry. Pag. 2. Cure served by Brian Molahna, qui infra, num. 106.	Idem.
		Usgrean—			
	6 8	Rectory	12 0 0	Imppriat to ye Comandry of Any.	Earle of Corke.
95	3 4	Vicarage	6 0 0	Denis Garforth, qui sup. p. 3. Inducted Oct. 1, 1618. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop
		Buriskeen—			
	6 8	Rectory	16 0 0	Imppriat to ye Abby of Oony.	Sr. Edmund
96	3 4	Vicarage	8 0 0	William Capell, qui sup. num. 77. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Welch.

VII.—IN YE DEANERY OF ELY AND IGERIM.

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
97	13 4	Roscrea— Rectory	20 0 0	Held as imppriat to ye Abby of Tion.	Ol. Grace.
	6 8	Vicarage	10 0 0	Joseph Clement, a minister, and good catechizer, and one of good life and conversation. Inducted ffeb. 25, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	
98	6 8	Castletowne Ely— Rectory	12 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
	3 4	Vicarage	6 0 0	Cornelius O'Sherin, a native and minister: one of good life and learning: and one that reades ye Irish service perfectly. Inducted ffeb. 4th, 1613. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop of Killaloe.
99	3 4	Ramavtog— Rectory	6 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
	1 8	Vicarage	3 0 0	Cornelius O'Sherin, q. sup. num. 98. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
100		ffinglasse— Rectory intire	3 0 0	Cornelius O'Sherin, q. sup. num. 98. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.

	Proxies.	Benefices.	Value.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
		Burrin—			
	5 6	Rectory	14 0 0	Imppriat.	Earle of Ormond.
	2 10	Vicarage	7 0 0	Brian O'Brian, native and student, a good scholar, and one that reades ye Irish perfectly. Inducted 10th June, 1622. Cure served by Joseph Clement, qui sup. num. 97, being ye next parish adjoyning.	The Bishop.
101					
		Dunkerin—			
	6 8	Rectory	20 0 0	Imppriat.	Ol. Grace.
	3 4	Vicarage	10 0 0	Cornelius O'Sherin, q. sup. num. 98. Inducted 4 ffeb. 1613. Cured served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
102					
		Templeharry—			
	3 4	Rectory	30 0 0	Imppriat.	Ol Grace.
	1 8	Vicarage	60 0 0	Cornelius O'Sherin, q. s. num. 98. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
103					
		Shinroan—			
	3 4	Rectory	16 0 0	Imppriat.	Ol. Grace.
	1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Marmaduke Clapham, a preacher, a man of good life and conversation. Inducted 9th Oct. 1619. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
104					
		Kilmurry—			
	5 6	Rectory	8 0 0	MaremadukeClapham, q. s. num. 104.	The Bishop.
	2 10	Vicarage.	4 0 0	Teige O'Donilan, native and student. Inducted in Ano 1614. Cure served by ye Parson.	Idem.
105					

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patrons.
		Birrha—			
	5 6	Rectory	20 0 0	Heury Sutton, Mr. of Arts, a worthy learned preacher, and one of good life and conversation. Inducted 25th Sept. 1618.	The Bishop.
106	2 10	Vicarage	10 0 0	Brian O'Molahna, minister and native, reades not only ye English but ye Irish service perfectly. Inducted , 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	Idem.
		Kilcolman—			
	1 8	Rectory	8 0 0	Apppriat to ye Rector of Birrha, q. sup. num. 106.	The Bishop.
107	0 10	Vicarage	4 0 0	Held as imppriate. Cure served by Brian O'Molahna, q. s. n. 106.	L. Dillon, Bar. of Kilkenny.
		Ahankon—			
	3 4	Rectory	16 0 0	Impropriat to ye Abby of Thom.	Brian O'Grath.
108	1 8	Vicarage	8 0 0	Held as impropriat to ye monastery of Inshinameoh in Igerim. No cure served.	Lo: Dillon.
		Etagh—			
	2 2	Rectory	20 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
109	1 2	Vicarage	10 0 0	Joseph Clement, qui sup. num. 91. Inducted 25 ffeb. 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
		Roscomrowe—			
	2 10	Rectory	14 0 0	Impropriat.	Ol. Grace.
110	1 5	Vicarage	7 0 0	William Wevill, a good preacher and a man of good life and conversation. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.

	Proxies. £ s. d.	Benefices.	Value. £ s. d.	Incumbents.	Patron:
111	5 0	Clonfert-mulloh als Kilnacorbe— Rectory intire	16 0 0	Samuell Home, a minister and preacher, and a man of good conversation. Inducted Jan. 10, 1621. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
112	1 8 1 8 1 8	Kinnity— Rectory pars { 1 2 Vicarage	8 0 0 3 0 0 5 0 0	Impropriat. Wm. Wevill, qui sup. num. 110. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Lo : Dillon The Bishop. The Bishop.
113	1 8 1 8 1 8	Litterlana— Rectory pars { 1 2 Vicarage	8 0 0 3 0 0 5 0 0	Impropriat. Wm. Wevill, qui supra, num. 110. Idem. Inducted. Cure served by himselfe.	Lo : Dillon. The Bishop. Idem.
114	1 8	Kilcummin— Rectory intire	6 0 0	Marmaduke Clapham, q. s. num. 104. Inducted 9 Oct. 1619. Cure served by himselfe.	The Bishop.
115	8 0 4 0	Quillanoan— Rectory Vicarage	16 0 0 8 0 0	Impropriat. Held as impropriat. No cure served.	Ol. Grace. Idem.
116	0 0 0 0	Corbally— Rectory Vicarage	10 0 0 5 0 0	Impropriat to ye monastery of Inshinameoh als Insula Viventium. Held as impropriat also to ye same. No cure served.	Lo : Dillon. Lo : Dillon.

This third Article being (I trust) fully answered, now follow the rest of ye Articles with theyr severall answers annexed.

The fourth Article. What livinge and meanes ye Incumbents and curats have, &c. ?

I answer

ffirst, for ye Incumbents, theyr means are set downe in ye severall value of every mans livinge in ye answer to ye third article above, throughout ye whole.

Secondly, for ye curats of ye Benefices Presentative, Collative, and Appropriate, they have sufficient allowance to theyr content.

But for ye impropriatours, eyther they have no curats at all, or els they allowe them nothing but what they get for burying, marying, and christening.

The fifth Article. Of what quality and condition ye Incumbents, ministers, and curats are in learning, life, and conversation ?

I answer

That this is satisfied in my answer to ye third Article throughout, where mention is made of every particular Incumbent in my Dioces, and of what quality and condition they are.

The sixth Article. What graunts have bene made from ye crowne of appropriations or church-livings to any person for maintenance or provision of able ministers, &c. ?

I answer

That I knowe none at all in my Diocesse: saving that in ye yeare 1606 his Majesty by his letters Patents gave unto Piers Butler, a native and a minister, ye Rectory of Modrenith, Rectory of ffinnoh (under wch he carries away ye Rectory of Tirraglasse) and vicarage of ffinnoh wth other livings, ye better to incourage him in his ministery to take paines to instruct ye people in theyr language, he being theyr countrey man: but he taketh no pains nor care at all, neyther doth live wthin ye Diocesse.

The seventh Article. What churches are fit to be re-edified, or built de novo: and ye places where, and how, &c., and how ye cures may be served ?

I answer

I knowe not of any place, where there is need of a church to be built de novo: but of many places, where ye churches are fit to be re-edified: and concerning that point thus I certifie:

ffirst, concerning ye cathedrall church of Killaloe, called Ecclesia Sti. fflanani Laonensis: the quire of it is in very good repaire, and adorned wth a new pulpit, and wth many new, faire, and convenient seates: and ye roofe well timbred and slatted, and ye church well glassed: and this partly upon ye prfits of ye Rectory of Kilmore appointed for that purpose, as appeares in ye answer to ye third Article Pag. 13 num. 65. But for ye

body of ye said church, it belonges to ye parishioners to build, who have brought all theyr materialls in place, erected theyr scaffolds, and I hope this summer it will be finished.

Secondly, there is another faire and large church in my Diocesse, called ye church of Ennis, wch is not pperly a Paroch Church: yet because ye said Ennis is ye shire towne for that county (being in ye county of Clare) yrfore it was thought fit by ye Regall Visitours in Ano. 1615 to build that church, and to cause ye parishioners of ye next adjoyning parishes, viz., of Dury, Dromcliffe, and Kilmaly to resort thither to divine service, as to theyr parish church.

This church is fairely built and adorned by ye R. Hoble ye Earle of Thomond.

Thirdly, for ye rest of ye churches in ye county of Clare, they are for ye most part built by ye helpe of ye fines of ye Recusants, wch fines have been that way imployed for these two yeares last past by ye advise of ye said Earle of Thomonde.

ffourthly: ye churches in ye King's County and County of Tiperary wthin my Diocesse are few of them built. Indeed they have pmised me (upon such legall courses as I held wth them) to build theyr churches long before this time, but as yet they have not performed ye worke: So yt I must upon my returne proceed to excomunication, if no other meanes can be used, wherein according to my duty I will not be wanting.

Lastly, concerning ye last part of ye Article, how ye cures may be served: I thinke it good in my judgement, yt some part of ye Recusant's fines in every parish may be given at every assizes or sessions to such curats or ministers as are certainly knowne to reade divine service in ye Irish tongue unto ye parishioners, yt others by theyr example may be encouraged to practise ye reading of ye Irish language, for ye gaining of many of ye natives, who hitherto will not heare us.

The eighth Article. What parishes are fit to be united in ye said Diocesse?

I answer

This had need to be considered of, as well by visitation in ye places as by a diligent and particular conference wth my whole clergy: wch conference I could not have in regard of theyr distance from me at this time, and my necessary abode here in Dublin these 2 Termes about ye recovery of 21 plough lands unto ye see of Killaloe, as unto yrselves is knowne. And yrfore I desire to be respited yrin from further answer for a time. In ye meantime I move 2 things concerning this point:—

ffirst yt order may be taken yt two Rectories or Vicarages either Presentative or Collative, or three where they are poore and adjoyning may be really united: and yt then that church of those 2 or 3 may for ever be held for ye Parish Church, as ye Bishop shall knowe to be most convenient.

Secondly yt wheresoever in any one parish there shall be found a

Rectory and a Vicarage both eyther Presentative or Collative, there may of that Rectory and Vicarage be made a reel union, yt ye Incumbent may there reside ye better for God's glory and ye good of ye Parishioners.

The ninth Article. What and how many alienations, charges and incumbrances have bene made, permitted and suffered of any Ecclesiasticall lands tenements, rents or hereditaments wthin yr Dioces: and by and to whom ye same have bene made, pmitted and suffered, and at what time or times: and what ye said tenements or hereditaments so aliened be of.

My answer hereunto shall be shewed by setting down these "*foure*" *things in* order done by former Bishops.

ffirst, there are five advowsons alienated from ye Bishopricke, viz. of ye

- Rectory of Modrinith
- Rectory of Durroh
- Rectory of ffinnoh
- Rectory of Castletowne-Arra
- Rectory of Moisca

These being of ye Patronage of ye Bishop of Killaloe and his successors, yet were fraudulently surrendered, as I am informed, by ye then Bishop Maurish als Moriarto ô Brian, into ye hands of ye Kings Matie that now is, about ye yeare of Or L. God 1610. Wch Bishop did (as is said) take backe from his Matie ye advowsons of ye said Rectories by letters Patents to ye use of himselfe and his heires for ever: and so ye Church is for ever disinherited of those advowsons, if it be not relieved by his Maties transcendent authority.

Secondly, my Predecessour Mauritius ô Brian hath by consent of ye then incumbents made certaine leases of divers Parsonages, Vicarages, and Prebends wthin ye Dioces whereby ye service of God and good of ye people is much hindered: seeing yt ye meanes is taken away from those clergy-men who should teach and instruct ye people: the leases are thus set downe as followeth, viz.:—

Benefices leased	In wt yeare	for how long	for wt rent	the now value
The Rectory of Castletowne Arrah and The Prebend of Tulloh	1610	21 yeares	£ s. d. 3 15 0	£ 30 sterling
Rectory of Durroh and Vicarage of Ardcrony	1610	21 yeares	4 0 0	40 st.
Vicarage of Castleconnell and Vicarage of Killinagaraff	1610	21 yeares	2 0 0	26 13 4
The Rectory of Moisca	1607	41 yeares as I heare	4 0 0	40 st.

I confesse indeed yt in this kind I myselfe have comitted an errour: but when ye case shal be weighed, and all circumstances discussed, I hope it shall appeare yt either my action was justifiable, or my errour very pardonable. The case is this: There is ye Rectory of Birrha in my Diocese (mentioned in this booke, pag. 17, num. 106). This Rectory Sr. John Mackohlan did usurpe upon, and under ye coloure of his pretended patronage got ye pfits into his owne hands and gave ye last incumbent, Walter ffitzimons, little or nothing, as ye said Walter hath told to some of my officialls. Now at ye death of ye sd Walter I pjected to prevent all such danger to come by reducing ye patronage into ye Bishops hand againe: Just at this time did ye late Lo: Deputy Viscount Grandison by his letters, wch I have to shew, comend to me his chaplaine, Mr. Henry Sutton, a Mr. of Arts, a learned Preacher, to bestowe upon him a Prebend (of my church) wch was then thought to be voide, but indeed was not. Whereupon I most willingly tooke ye occasion to collate him to ye sd Rectory of Birrha; wch being done, Sr. John McCoghlan began to contest, but Mr. Sutton offered me, yt if I would make his assignee a lease of that Rectory for 21 years at ye rent of 5*l.* sterl. p añum, he would at his owne charge maintaine ye patronage of ye Bishop of Killaloe in that Rectory; whereunto for ye more secure gaining it backe to ye church for ever, I yielded, and so he carieth it unto this day. In ye circumstances of wch business (there being wth all three yeares at least already spent, and a sufficient vicarage left endowed), I hope your Hoble Wisedomes will cleare me of any imputation that may be laid against me in that behalfe.

Feb. 12, 1611. Thirdly, certaine Rectories apppriat ad mensam Episcopi are leased away by ye last Bishop, or wthheld by others, viz.:—

Rectory of Dola leased to Daniell O'Brian, gent, for 21 yeares, in Ano 1611 (Feb. 12), for fifteene shillings p. anum, and it is worth yearely 20 markes st.

Rectory of Shamberloe in ye Parish of Quin, leased in Ano. 1587 for three score and one yeares to Daniel Mac-ne marra of Dingane-wiggen in ye county of Clare, gent, for 18*d.* pence p añum: it is worth yearely ten pounds sterl.

Rectory of Dromleen, in ye county of Clare, detained from me by ye Earle of Thomond, Lo: President of Mounster: it is worth p añum twenty pounds sterl.

Fourthly, ye temporall lands anciently belonging to ye Bishopricke are now made away in lease or fee farme by ye former Bishops, or at least wth held from me by others.

Now ye names of ye detainers together wth ye names, quantity, rent and value of ye said lands wth other circumstances are fully described in this and ye next pages:—

Names of ye Lands.	Quantities by plough lands. Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	Old Rent. £ s. d.	New Rent.	Yearly Value. £ s. d.	Deteynors.
Carrickgoholgy, conteyning— Reinmacderig	0	halfe		0 6 8		5 0 0	Sr. Daniel o Brian
Rohanash	1	0		0 13 4		10 0 0	Idem.
Clonkunnin or Clonkarrain	1	0		1 0 0		10 0 0	Idem.
Kilcarradain	1	0	0	1 0 0		10 0 0	Idem.
Kilbehah	0	halfe		1 6 8		5 0 0	Earle of Thomond.
Kilclohir	1	halfe		2 0 0		15 0 0	Idem.
Callabeg als Athnegall als Almontrinollohan	2	0		2 13 4		20 0 0	Sr. Daniel o Brian.
Kilcrony	1	0		1 6 8		10 0 0	Earle of Thomond.
Lissin and ffurrahmore	2	0		2 0 0		20 0 0	Idem.
Downahah	2	0		2 0 0		20 0 0	Sr. Dan. Brian.
Quirinkully	4	0		7 13 4		40 0 0	Earle of Thomond.
Killinagallah	0	halfe		0 13 4		5 0 0	Idem.
Bealantalin als Termontenan Galrista	3	0		1 0 0		30 0 0	Idem.
Kilfierah	1	0	0	1 6 8		10 0 0	Idem.
Ballionan	1	0	0	1 10 0		10 0 0	Doroghc Clansha. Dermotc Cahan.
Kilcashim	0	0	Karcomer	0 6 8		2 10 0	Idem.
Kilquih or Kilkey	0	halfe	and Karromer	1 10 0		7 10 0	Owny c Swiny.
Listin	1	0	0	0 13 4		10 0 0	Owin c Cahan.
Kilrush	4	0		2 13 4		40 0 0	Earle of Thomonde.
Ballinoad	4	0		2 13 4		40 0 0	Earle of Thomond.
Karranalongfort	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0 13 4		6 13 4	Idem.
Kilcarrowl	0	halfe		0 13 4		5 0 0	Idem.
Knockeriheer, als Knockerihash	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0 13 4		6 13 4	Donel o Gorman.
Knockerihaig	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0 13 4		6 13 4	Earle of Thomond.
Madda-more als Moyfadda	1	0		1 6 8		10 0 0	Donel c Gorman. Dermot c Gorman.

Names of the Lands.	Quantity by plough lands.			Old Rent.			The now Rent.			Yearely Value.			Deteiners.
	Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Madda-beg Moquot and Moony	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Sr Daniel o Brîan.
Ballikett	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0	13	4				6	13	4	Earle of Thomond.
Kilkevan	A sixth part of a quarter.			0	13	4				1	13	4	Idem.
Ganyx	4	0		1	0	0				40	0	0	Idem.
Kilmacdowan	1	0		1	0	0				10	0	0	Idem.
Kilteelin, als Termonafeerah, als Termonapriora	3	0	0	1	0	0				30	0	0	Idem.
Moyasta	0	halfe		0	13	4				5	0	0	Idem.
Kilderma	0	halfe								5	0	0	John c Donell.
Karronbeg Karrowdoly	1	0	and a third	1	6	8				13	6	8	Earle of Thomond.
Downagowg	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0	13	4				6	13	4	Idem.
Molaha	Two-thirds of a quarter.			0	13	4				6	13	4	Idem.
Carownamall als The Places als The Balles als Tirvarna	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Idem.
Killiny als. Kilfinny conteyning—				0	13	4							
Knock	0	halfe								5	0	0	Donogh c Swiny.
Lecarrobane	0	halfe								5	0	0	Idem.
Cassernah dim.	0	0	Karromer							2	10	0	Idem.
Cassernah dim.	0	0	Karromer							2	10	0	Edmund c Swiny.
Kilmore	0	halfe								5	0	0	Idem.
Karronenusky	0	halfe											Idem.
Ashlitmacknohor										2	10	0	
conteyning—										5	0	0	
				0	13	4				10	0	0	
Killofin	0	h lfe		0	13	4				5	0	0	Turle Roe c Mahoone.
Knockakottin	0	halfe		0	13	4				5	0	0	Idem.
Balliariny	0	halfe								5	0	0	Murroh Merigy.
Slendooly and Knockcoe	0	halfe								5	0	0	Murroh Moyle.
Moindda	0	halfe		0	13	4				5	0	0	Cnohor c Shane.
Killidisert als Disertmorhuly	0	halfe		0	13	4	2	0	0	5	0	0	

Names of the Lands.	Quantity by plough lands. Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	Old Rent. £	s.	d.	The now Rent. £	s.	d.	Yearly Value. £	s.	d.	Deteiners.
Liskormack	0	halfe		0	13	4	2	0	0	5	0	0	Trige c Donell or Mahoone oge c Gillapatricke.
Inishkarker	0	halfe		0	13	4				5	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Inishmore	2	0		2	0	0				20	0	0	Idem.
Barrain and Fillœmuir	2	0		1	13	4				20	0	0	Trige McMahoone and Turlo c Donnell.
Quirindonellroe	3	0		2	0	0				30	0	0	
Tullakreen	3	0		2	0	0				30	0	0	
Tullacurraboy	0	halfe and Karromer		0	10	0				7	10	0	
Ballinagreenan	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	
Dunnell et Cahir Strassko	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Ballicœgan	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Kilkeran	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Turlo c Mahoone.
Ballimackolinan	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Idem.
Ballinamulkier	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Idem.
Cuillisnahog	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Kilfennan	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Knockery	1	0								10	0	0	Sr. Dan o Brian.
Kilmoony in Burrin	1 and a third of a quarter.			1	6	8				20	0	0	Dono o Brian c Turlo.
Converbiatus de Disert	4	0		3	3	4				50	0	0	Heyres of Bp. Neyland.
Killein or Killoin	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	
Dromcliffe	7	0		5	0	0				70	0	0	The Earle holds it for 100 yeares at 9*d.* per an. from Maur-Law [?]
Kilnamona	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	
Rathblanage	12	0		8	0	0				120	0	0	
Kilkeedy	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	Nich. Darcy and others.
Ahadrumkilly	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Kilfinan	1	0		1	0	0				10	0	0	
Kilcursay	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	

Names of the Lands.	Quantity by plough lands. Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	Old Rent. £	s.	d.	The now Rent. £	s.	d.	Yearly Value. £	s.	d.	Deteiners.
Killinaboy	5 and ye towne.			2	13	4	5	0	0	40	0	0	Heires or executors of Bp. Neiland, Bp. of Kildare.
Kilnafarboy	2	0		2	0	0				30	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Kilmurry or Killinuin	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	
Thomolinny	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	
Aghnes	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	Executors of Bp. Neyland.
Dromleen	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Clonlugham	1	0		0	16	8	3	0	0	10	0	0	
Kilmalleery	1	0		0	6	8	3	0	0	10	0	0	
Killinasoolah	1	0		0	16	8	3	0	0	10	0	0	
Kilconry	1	0		0	6	8				10	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Clonilea	1	0		0	13	4	3	0	0	10	0	0	
Kilruain	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	Sr. John c Nemarra.
Kilteely	1	0		0	13	4	4	0	0	10	0	0	
In converbiatu de Tomfinloh	0	halfe.		0	6	8				5	0	0	Daniel c Nemarra.
Greenahan als Ballicarr	2	0		2	13	4				20	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
In converbiatu de Tulloh	12	0		4	0	0				120	0	0	
In converbiatu de Moinse	4	0		2	13	4	16	0	0				
Clonrush	1	0		1	0	0				10	0	0	Richard oge Burk and Conor o fflanura.
Balliruain	1	0		1	0	0				10	0	0	Earle of Clanrickarde.
In converbiatu de Tomgreeny													
Ballinacleery	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Sr. John c Nemarra.
Kilnorully or Killumpully	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	
Kilfinaghta	1	0		0	16	8				13	6	8	Earle of Thomond and Donnell o Ruddun.
Killokenedy	1	0		0	13	4				10	0	0	Luke Brady and Donoh c Shane Moyle.

Names of the Lands.	Quantity by plough lands.			Old Rent.			The now Rent.			Yearly Value.			Deteiners.
	Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Killaloe	5	0											
Glanamunter-malone	4	0								20	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Finleh	1	0								5	0	0	Lo: Baron of Insiquin.
Ballinreehy or Balliduffy	1	0								5	0	0	Earle of Thomond under a cheifery [?]
				3	6	8							
Craiglegh	1	0								5	0	0	St. John c Nemarra.
Balliteig	1	0								5	0	0	
Clonfadda	2	0								10	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Lickinbana	3	0								15	0	0	Idem.
Ballikillidagh	1	0								5	0	0	Idem.
Gortmagy	1	0								5	0	0	Idem.
Lackintore and Balligerin	1	0								5	0	0	Idem.
Killistrer	1	0								5	0	0	Lo: Baron of Insiquin.
Ballikorney	1	0								5	0	0	Idem.
Ballikogaron	1	0		0	6	8				5	0	0	Earle of Thomond.
Garranboy	1	0								5	0	0	John c Loghlin.
Tomgreeny	1	0								5	0	0	
Shariff	1	0											
Kalla als Knockekalla	2	0											
Balliranan	1	0											
Ballyguin	0	halfe											
Ballimullin	1	and halfe											
Rahiny	1	0											
Tullohary	1	0											
Ballivenog	2	0											
ffossa-beg	1	0											
ffossa-more	1	0											
Kappah-roe	1	0											
Agherim	2	0											
Moony	1	0											
Clonosker	1	0											
Kappah-coman	1	0											
Cullagory	2	0											
Kilmoe in ye Barony of Insiquin	1	0								6	0	0	one of ye Brians.
Dromineer	2	0		5	0	0				20	0	0	John Cantwell.
Ardcrony	3	0		4	0	0				30	0	0	Patricke Hogan. Daniell Hogan. Thomas Hogan.

Names of the Lands.	Quantity by plough lands.			Old Rent.			The now Rent.			Yearly Value.			Deteiners.
	Whole.	Halfe.	Other parts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Lattrah	7	0		8	0	0				70	0	0	John Morris and others.
Tirraglasse	1	0		1	13	4				10	0	0	The Kenedies and others.
Curraha	2	0		1	6	8				20	0	0	John o Kenedy of Lackin.
Killicronagan	0	0	parromer	0	10	0				2	10	0	Conor oge o Dean.
Killogaha	0	halfe		1	6	8				5	0	0	Teige o Carroll of Quillanoam.
Ramabrog	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	Wm. Duigan and others.
Kilclonfert-mulloh	4	0		2	13	4				40	0	0	Iidem.
Roscrea Castle and manour exchanged wth ye Bishop of Killaloe for Castle-Lions nearer to Dublin, as appeares upon good record, yet ye Bishop of Killaloe can enjoy neyther the one nor ye other: nor any consideration for ye same													Roscrea Castle and mannour is wthheld by ye Earle of Ormond, and Castle Lions is wthheld by

In ye description of ye former lands expssed in ye 3 Pages going immediately before, I doe not take upon me to have described precisely eithe ye names of ye lands (in regard of ye diversity of them one man pronouncing them otherwise than another) or ye pcise quantity of ye said lands (in regard of divers fractions in dividing:) or ye direct [?] value (in regard of ye difference of ye soyle:) but yet what I have set downe is far under ye value; or ye names of those that wthhold the said lands by reason both of ye continuall yearely change of tenants, and also ye private compacts of them that hold themselves to be Lords of those lands, wch indeed doe not belong to them but to ye Bishop. But I have gone as neerely as possibly I could by an exact search into those few imperfect rolles that now remaine and by diligent conference wth ancient men who have seene ye courses of these things.

Thus much for answer to ye ninth article.

The tenth Article.

What lands, tenements, rents or hæreditaments have been given by his [Majestie] or his progenitours, or by any other to any colledge, free schoole, corporation, or to any other charitable use, &c.

I answer,

I know of none, saving those lands mentioned in ye 4 pages precedent, wherewith no doubt his Maties noble progenitours and predecessours principally have endowed ye said Bishopricke of Killaloe, and now are unjustly deteined from this see, either in part or in whole as is before described.

The eleventh Artic'e.

Concerning greivances, complaints, and motions for the Clergy.

I answer this by proposing things of that nature, two waies: namely,

ffirst in ye behalfe of my selfe, the Bishop.

Secondly, in ye behalfe of my clergy.

My owne grievance, complaints, and humble motions be these 12 in order following.

ffirst I do complaine of those lands formerly mentioned as deteined from me, in ye compasse of wch lands are many castles, halls, stone-houses, other tenements, services, fishings, refections, and other profits thereto belonging all deteined also from me Nay further, *whereas the said lands* were held from ye Bishop of Killaloe, some by lease, some as tenants at will, and all yearely paying to ye Bishop either rent, or refection or both: yet both earles, barons, knights, and gentlemen have surrendered these lands unto his Matie, and of many of them have procured out letters patents, wch if it were thoroughly searched, it would appear yt ye said letters patents are surreptitious, and ye surrenders fraudulent; their forefathers next in all theyr offices challenging the said lands.

Now ye persons that doe withhold these things are so much the more confident (ye most of them) because when any church business comes to triall, ye jurors (who for ye most part are recusants) are very scrupulous in giving any verdict for ye church: and ye deteiners of those lands are both many and great, and yrfore full both in number and purse: and so consequently the Bp. not able to deale wth them.

Besides that it is not altogether so fit yt a Bp. should spend his time in these temporall affaires, wch are accompanied wth so many contentions incident to causes of that nature: seeing that he is to bend his endeavours another way, namely to his private studies, ye direction of his clergy, and reforming of ye people.

In consideration whereof I humbly desire you ye Rt Honble Comissioners to comend my most humble suite to his most excellent Matie yt his highness would be pleased eyther to cause some speedy and strict course irrevocably to be taken, as to justice and equity appertaineth for ye regaining of those lands, and other things so deteined from my see.

Or els that *whereas ye value of ye deteined premises doth amount yearely to two thousand pounds sterl.* at ye rate of ten pounds a plough land (ye most of them being at this day at ye rate of twenty pounds), his Matie would be pleased to take into his own disposition all ye said lands, and all other profits belonging to ye said Bishopricke (saving what I do now enjoy) and to cause foure hundred pounds sterl. to be paid yearely by four equall portions out of his Highness Exchequer unto me ye now Bp of Killaloe, and my successours; yt we might ye more freely spend our selves, and or times in ye imediate service of God.

Secondly I complaine yt ye pxies of benefices imppriat of monasteries are eyther made away, or wthheld, viz.:—

ffirst *for ye proxies of ye benefices imppriat there is kept from me to ye value of two and twenty pounds st* yearely by those whom I have named as imppriators from ye 5th page of this booke to ye 18th.

Secondly I say yt *there are certeine monasteries in ye diocesse* wch. anciently were taxed to pay proxies, besides what is before described, as it may appeare by ye ancient rolle wch was delivered me upon ye said proxies, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
(1) Monasterium de Lorrha in ye County of Tipperary. This is in ye hands of one John Cantwell: and is taxed at ...	1	0	0
(2) Monasterium de Inshinameoh als Insula Viventium, in ye coun. Tip. This is in ye hands of ye L. James Dillon: and is taxed at	2	13	4
(3) Monasterium de Sto Johane de la Nenagh comonly called Tion in ye county aforesaid. This, in ye hands of Ol. Grace gent. tax. at	2	13	4
(4) Monasterium de Thom in com. p. dict. In ye possession of Brian c Grath sone to ye Lo: Archbishop of Cashell: and is taxed at	1	6	8
(5) Monasterium de foragio als de forago in ye County of Clare. In ye possession of ye Rt Hoble ye Earle of Thomond Lo: President of Mounster: and it is taxed at...	2	13	4
(6) Monasterium de Insicronan: in comitatu predicto: In ye possession of ye said Earle of Thomond: and is taxed at	1	6	8
(7) Monasterium de Inishgad als Ilanakananah als Insula Canonicorum: Chanons Iland in comit de Clare p. dict. In ye possession of ye said Earle of Thomond: and is taxed at	1	6	8
(8) Monasterium Monalium de Killoin in comitat. p. dict. In ye possession of ye Lo: Ba: of Insiquin: and is taxed at	2	13	4
Sûme	15	13	4
out of all wch I doe enjoy but	2	0	0
So that there is a yearely Debentur of	13	13	4

	£	s.	d.
wch sûme of	13	13	4
being added to the	22	0	0, viz:

to ye defects of ye proxies of imppriat benefices before calculated in ye pcedent page: the totall sûme of ye pxies yearely wthheld from me, amounteth to ... ... £ 35 s. 13 d. 4

Thirdly I complaine of ye multitude of Rectories "impropriat" being in number fifty three as in ye answer to ye third article in ye title of Incumbents appeareth. Concerning which imppriat Rectories it may be (by diligent view of ye severall patents: or by ye offices upon wch ye said letters patents are grounded; or by ye letters or warrants upon wch ye said offices were taken; or by some other meanes) it will be found yt his Matie hath not given away those Rectories at all, or yt ye King was deceived in his graunt.

And in some part for manifestation of this point, there is ye Rectory of Roscrea (Pag. 16. num. 97) held as imppriat by Oliver Grace; it is worth at this day fourty pounds p anum, and it is in taxe in ye Kings booke at £7 for first fruites; and ought to pay 7*s.* st. for 20th yearely, wch money is never paid: so great damage doth his Matie susteine by this ptended imppriation. Yet ye taxation is an evident argument that it is no imppriation indeed, but a thing foisted into ye patent of Oliver Grace or Garret Grace his father. Or it may be yt ye Prior of ye Monastery of Tion or St. Johns de la Nenagh held that Rectory in title from ye Bp of Killaloe, and so being possessed of it at ye time of ye dissolution of ye abbies, it might be found by an ignorant Jury to be parcell of ye Monastery of St. Johns; wch indeed it was not but a mere collative living from ye Bp and no imppriation at all.

And ye like may be said of "apppriations," but especially of three Rectories wch have at least three and twenty Rectories apppriat to them, viz.

{Rectory of Omolled / Rectory of Ogassin / Rectory of Tradry} hath {8 / 8 / 7} described pag. {4, 5. / 6, 7. / 7, 8.}

Fourthly I complaine of ye multitude of "imppriat vicarages" being in number 25, viz:—

Insicronan	pag.	7	Killanduff	pag.	13	Templederry	pag.	15
Killuh		9	Dolla		13	Kilderrydagro		15
Inishdadrom		9	Kilmore		13	Bonohom		16
Kilchrist		10	Killodiernan		14	Durroh		16
Killidisert		10	Clohapriora		14	Kilcolman		17
Kilmurry Ibrictan		11	Kilruan Balligibbon		14	Ahankon		18
Nenagh		12	Ahanameala		15	Quikanoam		18
Lisbunny		12	Burresnaferna		15	Corbally		18
					15			

But it may be by ye practise of ye course above named many of ye said vicarages shal be found not to be imppriat.

ffor in ye patent of Oliver Grace (who is ye greatest Imppriator for

number of benefices in my Dioces) there is mention made only of Rectories, and not Vicarages at all. Yet (he being ye Kings patentee) I have not much medled wth him: although (I confesse) that at my first entrance into ye Bishopricke in Ano. 1612 I ventured upon sixe of his vicarages, wch he seemed to hold as Imppriat, viz.

Vicarage of	Roscrea	pag.	16.
	Castletowne Ely		17.
	Ramaveog		17.
	Dunkerin		17.
	Templehary		17.
	Etagh		18.

To all wch I collated ministers, and they doe to this day enjoy ye pfits entirely. Since that, I have farther adventured lately to collate into 6 of those 25 impropriat vicarages afore mentioned, viz.,

Kilchrist and Killidysert	pag.	10.
Durroh and Bonohom		16.
Nenagh and Lisbunny		12.

out of all wch my collatees were ejected.

In these imppriat Vicarages ye glebe land is alwaies devoured, alienated, and turned to ye temporall lands of ye imppriator.

Fifthly I complaine yt where there is an Imppriation, I canot get that church to be builded; for ye Imppriator saies he paies a great rent to ye King, and so will not be compelled by me to joyne wth ye Incumbent, and wth ye parish in so good a worke.

Sixthly I complaine that where there is an Imppriation, especially where ye Vicarage is imppriately held, there ye cure is not served; and where any Curat is put upon them, they will give him no allowance but what ye Curat shall casually get out of mariages, burials, and christenings; and scarce that neither.

Seventhly I complaine yt there are divers *Abbies or Monasteries* dissolved in my Dioces, wherein yet ye people do bury theyr dead out of ye ordinary place of christian buriall to ye contempt of religion and maintenance of theyr superstition. And besides that, to these places many ffriars and Priests doe ordinarily resort and sometimes in ye yeare great concourse of people publikely: as in ye abby of Quin in ye county of Clare: and abby of Inshinameoh in ye county of Tiperary: and in Inishgealtragh or ye Iland of Seven Altars standing in ye midst of ye river of Shanan bordering on ye county of Galway.

Eighthly I complaine that divers advowsons and patronages belonging to ye Bishopricke are challenged and usurped upon by others, viz.,

Advowsons and Patronages of the	Prebend of Tomgreeny	challenged by	Hugh Bradyes heires.
	Rectory of Kilkeedy		Nicholas Darcy.
	Rectory of Dromcliffe		Lo: Baron of Insiquin.
	Prebend of Iniskalty		Idem.
	Rectory of Kilrush		Idem.
	Rectory of Killanaboy		Idem.
	Rectory of Disert		Idem.
	Rectory of Rath		Idem.

wch challenges and usurpations of theyrs phaps may easily be avoided by looking into theyr severall Patents wch they have gotten first and last from his Matie.

Ninthly I complaine yt ye under-sheriffes, county-clarkes, and other officers under ye high sheriffes in most of ye counties wth in my Diocese, are for ye most part recusants, and yet ordinarily serve at Assizes, Sessions, and county-courts: yea sometime ye High Sheriffe himselfe either takes not ye oath of Supremacy, or at least cometh not to church. By wch means ye advancement of God's truth and Religion, and ye service of ye Kings Matie is altogether hindered.

Tenthly I complaine yt ye High Sheriffes in ye severall counties, to wch my Dioces doth extend, do not well execute ye severall kinds of capias wch do concerne ye advancement of Religion, viz.:

ffrst they execute not truly ye Capias against Recusants indicted according to ye statute of 2o Elizab. in this Kingdome of Ireland, whereby God is dishonoured, religion made a scorne, and ye pious intendements of his majesties lawes are frustrated.

Secondly they doe not truly execute ye writ de excomunicati capiendo wch sometimes I get forth against Recusants, wth whom I have pceeded, and other notorious offenders: but by theyr putting of ye said writ into ye hands of theyr Popish officers, ye parties offending psently have notice of it, and they doe shunne that sheriffe during his time: and at ye end of his yeare ye writ is not delivered over to ye next sheriffe, and so ye writ is lost, or concealed among them to ye contempt of Religion.

Eleventhly I complaine of ye multitude of Popish preists wthin my Dioces who drawe ye people from theyr obedience to his Majesty: and then especially when any pclamation or direction comes from his Highnes: hindering also ye minister in ye worke of his calling, and drawing backe those whom ye minister had formerly gained.

The preists are thus named (as followeth) for so many as yet are remembered wth theyr places of residence and interteiners:—

Names of ye preists.	Parishes and places of residence.	Interteiners.
John o Halluran	Quin	
Donnell o Haigshy (sshy ?)	Abby of Quin	
Hugh Halluran	Clonee	
Shane oge o Coxy	Tulloh	
Hugh Hogan	Kilmorinagall	In his own house at Ballimulchashell.
Morrogh c Teig	Killofin and Kilfeddain	In his own house.
Kenedy c Teig	Kilmacdowan	Teige McKenedy his father.
Donnell o Gowan	Rath and Disert	
Teig c Owin	Morffartah	Henry Blackwell.
Mahoon c Jurkan	Kilrush	In his fathers house.
Teig o Rowhan	Kilmurry Clonderila	Thomas oge Gorman.

Connor o Davine	Kilfarboy	Donnogh c Gilpatricke.
Lohlin o Meahan	Kilmaly	In his fathers house one Murtoh o Meahan.
Donnoh o Dooly als Dowly	Clonlughain	
John Reogh	Clondagad	
Morgan o Coman	Kilfinaghta	
Donnell c Broodin	Killinaboy & Kilkeedy	
Teig c Gilpatricke	Dromcliffe, Abby of Clare and Killone	
Donnoh o Malone	Kilmihil	
William o Clery	Clonilea and Killurain	
William o Coxy	Dowry	
James Harty	Killodiernan	Oliver Grace.
Richard o Macky	Killruain and Lisenusky	William o Meara.
Donnoh c Cnoghor	Dorra [?]	In his own house.
Donnoh c Lohlin	Killaloe	John c Lohlin, ye Shiddars, and others.
John o Hogan	Moisea	Connor Hogan his brother.
Murtoh Glissan	Kilmore	Murtoh o Glissan.
Teig o Donnavom	Ballymachursey	
Donnoh o Tierna	Ballymacky	
Piers c Costy	Dunkerin	William o Gavan.
ffarginanam c Egan	Usgran	In his owne house.
Rory c Teig	Ahanameala	In his owne castle there.
Kenedy Hogan	Ballingary	James o Kenedy.
Oony c Teig	Kilclonfert mullo	William Duigan, the Corbe.
Connor o Toohy	Etagh	
JohnMelampitt	Burges Boga	Donnell o Brian.
John o Gravan	Durroh and Bonohom	John o Kennedy.

Besides all this, one Nethemias Nestor priest came over about 4 yeares since from Rome, and tookt upon him to be ye Pope's nuntio, and liveth in ye baronies of Insiquin Burrin and Corkomrowe in the county of Clare: he wthdrawes ye people from theyr obedience to God and his Maties and getteth infinite wealth from the people.

And over ye whole Diocesse Mahoon McGrath is vicar-generall from ye Pope, who takes upon him to order priests, and to dispense in cases of matrimony, and other cases, as is to be shewne and proved: He resorts for ye most part to Sr John Macnamara Kt. at his house in Montalle [ ] in ye county of Clare.

The twelfth and last grievance on my owne part is ye despising of my jurisdiction, to wch very few are obedient at this day, occasioned partly by ye negligence of sheriffes in not executing ye writts de excomunicato capiendo: partly through ye multitude of priests and Popish lawyers who still hold ye people in hand, yt there shalbe liberty of conscience: and abolishing of the ye fees in ye Ecclesiasticall Courts: and partly thorough the calling of ye warrant of assistance backe, given formerly to me (as unto other Bishops) from ye Right Hoble ye Lo. Deputy and in particular to me further from ye Earle of Thomond: which course againe is much to be desired for ye strengthening of ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, wch otherwise will come to nothing: and so both recusants and

other notorious offenders against ye Kings laws and against ye Leitourgy established will goe on unbridled and unlimited in theyr bad and superstitious courses in token whereof ye natives that came to church in severall parishes are gone all backe againe since ye recalling of those warrants.

Thus much for ye answer to ye first part of the eleventh Article concerning my owne grievances.

Now concerning ye clergy in my Dioces, who though at my first coming to the Bishopricke in Anno 1612 were not above ye number of seven, yet now God be praised are seven and forty and of them foure and twenty preachers: they according to ye purport of that 11th Article doe xpose theyr grievances, together wth theyr humble notions as followeth:

ffirst theyr grievances: and that two waies, in particular and in generall. In particular: viz.,

1. Joseph Clement, vicar of Roscrea, complaines yt divers houses, glebes and ruinated places are deteined from him by Garret c [?] Lysaght, and others challenging under ye Earle of Ormond.

Nicholas Booth, vicar of Clondagad, complaines yt one Michael Heathcott under colour of the Earle of Thomond doth keep away from him his glebe land there.

2. Nicholas Bright, Treasurer of Killaloe, complaines yt having no other benefice but ye vicarage of Dromlee belonging to his Treasureship, yet ye said vicarage is wholly taken away from him, and so kept these 7 [?] yeares last past by ye direction of ye Earle of Thomond.

3. Thomas Edens, Prebendary of Inishkalty, complaines yt ye maior and corporation of ye city of Limericke doe keepe from him ye pfits of ye rectory of Inishkalty under ptence of thyr charter graunted in Septimo Jacobi.

4. Also ye sd Thomas Edens complaines yt his glebe land in the parish of Kilrush parish of ye sd prebend is kept away from him by Graneer ye Dutchman and others clayming under ye Earle of Thomond.

5. Also ye sd Thomas Edens complaines yt whereas in August 1618 he was instituted and inducted into ye quiet possession of Kilchrist and Killidisert, and enjoyed ye pfits of them for one yeare, yet he hath bene since ejected out of the same by ye meanes of the Earle of Thomond, who claimes those vicarages as imppriat.

6. Richard Wilkins, Vicar of Nenagh and Lisbunny, complaines of his eject from ye pfits of ye sd vicarages by Lewis Welch Imppriator.

In generall they all complain, viz., as followeth:—

1. *Imprimis* they all complaine that theyr glebe lands are wth held from them by ye chiefe Lords of theyr severall parishes in part or in whole.

2. Item they complaine yt so many burialls are used in abbies,

monasteries, old chappells and places where rectories and vicarages are both impropriat, whereby they are defrauded of theyr duties due to them in such cases.

3. It: yt ye impropriatoures under colour of their impropriations doe take away from ye incumbent two parts of ye offerings, milch money, wooll, lambe and other pfits: yea also they take from them ye two parts of those duties wch should only be appropriat to ye incumbent for ye p.sonall executing of his office and duty: and those two parts ye Popish impropriatours (as for ye most part they are) give to theyr preists besides all other allowances.

4. It: yt ye impropriators under colour of theyr impropriate rectory or vicarage respectively doe take away ye glebe or part or in whole, so yt ye incumbent shall have no house nor place to build a house, but either must live in some poore hired cabin in danger of theyr lives, or in a victualling house not answerable to theyr calling: or be non-resident in repairing to some well peopled towne for safety and habitation.

5. It: yt theyr fees of mariages, burialls and christenings, wch was wont to be much of theyr maintenance is now made lesse than formerly; yea much less then is given to ye Popish preists in that kind, occasioned as by other meanes, so especially by ye working of ye said preists, who rob God of his glory, and them of theyr dues: ye people being unwilling to pay double both to ye clergy of my diocese and to ye Popish preists.

Secondly ye most humble motions of ye clergy: and they are these eight as followeth:

They desire to be relieved in all ye former greivances.

They desire to have ye fines of ye recusants in theyr severall parishes to be allowed to them yearely in some part or totally for a time towards ye building of theyr part of ye chauncells, in regard of theyr poverty.

Thirdly they desire yt ye office of psenting recusants may not be imposed on them any longer, but on ye churchwardens of ye severall parishes, who are best at leasure in time of divine service to observe who are absent; and who are best acquainted wth ye inhabitants; yt ye clergy by avoyding of that office may ye better win ye love of theyr parishioners, and avoide that danger wch ye malice of theyr Popish adversaries is well known to plot against them.

They desire yt ye charge of ye schoolmasters stipend may be laid not upon them, but wholy upon ye impropriatours who gaine much, and doe nothing.

They desire yt they may be farmours to his Matie in ye impropriat rectories or vicarages in ye severall parishes where they are beneficed, at ye same rate that now ye impropriatours pay unto his Matie (if theyr estate can in justice and honour be avoyded:) or that ye impropriatours may be cōpelled to give a good allowance yearely to ye incumbent, or to ye curate where there is no incumbent; and that to be taxed and ordered at ye discretion of ye Bishop.

They desire to be relieved in theyr grazing money according to ye true meaning of ye order made by ye Regall Visitours in ye yeare 1615, for otherwise they shalbe very much impoverished and discouraged in ye execution of theyr places.

They desire to be relieved in ye matter of parish clarkes, yt neither ye parishioners may deny them theyr choyce yrin (they being allowed of by ye Bishop :) neither ye usuall maintenance for them be kept backe, viz. a penny a quarter yearely out of every smoke [?] as it is used in England, besides other usuall allowances at mariages, burialls and christenings: and yt some strict course may be comanded to be taken herein for theyr releife.

Lastly they humbly desire yt whensoever in any of theyr severall parishes any lands shall be at his Maties disposing by reason of any plantation, surrender, attainder, forfeiture or other meanes (as hath befallen in Ely o Caroll) they pstrate themselves wth all humble acknowledgment and thankfulness at ye feete of his Matie yt they might in such like cases have assigned to them as of his Maties bounty some pportion of glebe land to be allotted in ye most convenient place: and yt upon any inquisition to this end, ye Bishop of ye Dioces, or in his absence, ye Deane of ye Cathedrall Church may be one in Comission to see ye same to be pformed according to his Maties gracious graunt and Royall intent in that behalfe.

Thus much in answer to ye 11th Article. Pag. 25.

The twelfth Article.

What Ecclesiastical Courts are kept wthin ye Diocesse, by whom executed, under whom, and by what authority?

I answer,

That there are Ecclesiasticall Courts kept in my Consistory at Killaloe, and in ye Dioces abroad; and that by my Chauncelour and Register.

My Chauncelour is Winter Bridgeman, Esq., an Englishman borne, sometime a Scholar of Oxford of Lincolne Colledge for ye space of three yeares or thereabouts; and after that, a student foure yeares in ye Inner Temple; and since that addicted to ye study of ye Civill Lawes, wherein he doth excell: (being well seene [?] also, in ye Comon Lawes :) His experience in this kingdome is of thirty yeares: A man not unknowne to ye state generall of this kingdome: and so well appved and liked by the ye Rt Hoble ye Earle of Thomond, and ye County of Clare, yt they have moved ye Rt Hoble ye Lo: Chauncellour of Ireland to put him in ye Comission of Peace for that County; and lives at this day in ye execution as well of that office, as of my jurisdiction upright, wthout scandall greivance or complaint.

My Register is one Henry Boreman, gent. who was made in England a publicke notary and executeth ye place wth care skill and faithfulnes: and one that is knowne to many of ye councill of state in this kingdome.

And hitherto of ye answer to all ye twelve articles pposed in ye first letter sent me mentioned in ye first page of this booke.

The first Article.

Now followeth ye answer to ye second letter sent to me from ye Rt Hoble &c. ye Commissioners.

Date. May 10, 1622.

This letter consisteth upon two articles.

What Proxies have bene paid to ye Bp in ye Dioces &c.

To this I have already fully answered in my satisfaction to ye third article in ye first columne of every page throughout, under ye title of Proxies.

The second Article.

To send a catalogue or note of all admissions, Institutions and Inductions since Primo of Henry ye Eighth, or as farre as you can.

To this I answer yt never any of ye ancient Register-bookes did ever come to my hands, or notice, whereby I knowe not what hath bene done before my time, except it be in those few that were beneficed in my Dioces before my time and doe yet live: whose inductions or installings I have set downe under every man's name; as also ye induction of every Incumbent now beneficed in my Dioces, as may appeare under ye title of Incumbents in every page in ye answer to ye third article.

And because in many of those benefices there have been divers others inducted [ ], deprived, or having relinquished ye worse to take a better, I have yrfore (as w[ell as I] possibly collect) made a rehearsall of theyr

Benefices.	Incumbents.	Inductions.
Rectory of Trdry	Teig McBroody	Before my time.
Rectory of Ogassim	Conor McShane	Before my time.
Vicar of Tulloh	Conor c Mahoone	Before my time.
Rector of Birrah	Walter ffitzimons	Before my time.
Rector and Vicar of Moysea	Denis o Brian	Before my time.
The Chauncellorship	Christopher fflangan	Before my time.
Prebend of Tomgreeny	Marke Pagett	Before my time.
Vicar of Killokenedy	John Blagrave, a preacher	Dec. 9, 1613.
Vicar of Quin	Morgan Bennis, clerke	Oct. 9, 1613.
Vicar of Clondagad	Robert ffrothingham, student	Feb. 28, 1613.
Rector of Killinaboy	Thomas Pritchard, preacher	May 5, 1613.
Rector of Litterluna	Thomas Denteth, clerke	Feb. 16, 1613.
Vicar of Roscrea / Vicar of Etah	Æneas Callanan, clerke	Apr. 4, 1613.
Rector of Kilmurry	Patricke Quin, clerke	May 6, 1613.
Rector / Vicar of Kinnity	Denis o Brian, clerke	Apr. 7, 1613.
Vicar of Kilbarrain	Garrett ffitzgerald, clerke	June 10, 1613.
Rector of Kilfarboy	Morgan Bennis, clerke	July 1614.
Rector of Balligibbon	Digory Hawkes	Aprill 1614.

Benefices.	Incumbents.	Inductions.
Rector of Kinnity Vicar of Kinnity	Edmund Donnilan, clerke	Anno 1614.
Vicar of Roscrea Vicar of Etagh	Murtoh o Donnilan	Anno 1615.
Vicar of Killokenedy	Thomas fflangan, a preacher	Aug. 31, 1618.
Vicar of Killidisert Vicar of Kilchrist	Peter Ellis, preacher	Aug. 12, 1618.
Vicar of Ogonilla	Thomas fflangan, preacher	Aug. 31, 1618.
Vicar of Kilkeely	Idem	Aug. 31, 1618.
Rector of Tradry	Morgan Bennis, clerke	Aug. 12, 1618.
Vicar of Kiltinanlegh, Castleconnell, Killinagaraffe	William Jannes, a preacher	Oct. 1, 1618.
Vicar of Burrin	Benjamin Austen, clerke	Aug. 31, 1616.
Rector of Kilmurry Vicar of Swinroan	Marmaduke Clapham, preacher	Jan. 8, 1618.
Vicar of Kilteely Vicar of Killurain	Gillabride c Broodin, student	May 1619.
Vicar of Killamuir Vicar of Kilmurry Clonderila	Peter Ellis, preacher	June 16, 1619.
Vicar of Kilraghtas Vicar of Templemaly	John Twenbrooke, preacher	Feb. 3, 1619.
Vicar of Killard Vicar of Kilfierah	Abraham Holt, clerke	Feb. 3, 1619.
Vicar of Roscreah	Henry Barrham, student	July 1, 1619.
Rector of Clonfert mullo	Idem	Dec. 5, 1619.
Rector of Lattrah	Robert Chuffe, clerke	July 1, 1619.
Vicar of Yohall-arra	Brian o Brian, student	Mar. 26, 1619.

Thus have I fully satisfied (I trust) yr expectations in my answer to ye Articles prposed in both ye forenamed letters.

All wch I do humbly comend unto you his Maties Rt Hoble, &c., Comissioners, and doe intreat yt as well ye greivances of ye clergy, and my owne, as also or humble motions may be taken into [your] wise and grave considerations: praying for a blessing from heaven above to be given to yr [ ] endeavours, for ye glory of ye great God, and for ye good both of this desolate Church [and de]caying commonwealth.

Some notes on the above most valuable document are added, with the view of drawing more particular attention to matters of importance requiring elucidation.

ON FOURTH ARTICLE OF THE BISHOP'S REPORT.

The Bishop's answer to the Fourth Article at page 20 of the original, needs some further consideration. He very properly

states "the value" of each benefice separately. However, by holding several parishes together, as pluralists, parishes sometimes covering a space equal to a Barony, some of the clergy had incomes a little better than what may appear. Thus—

4	had	incomes	from	£50	to £75
15		„	„	15	to 20
37		„	„	2	to 20
56					

The Bishop of Limerick took from the Diocese just £100 per annum in sinecures and dignities. He also held Kilfenora Bishoprick by dispensation (Ware), and was near having had Dromore thrown in (C. S. P. I. 1606, p. 77). he temporalities of the Bishoprick of Limerick were diminished and brought low, as low as sacrilege could reduce them (a fact already mentioned). Bishop Bernard Adams expressly disclaims anything like grasping after riches. On his monumental slab in St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, the following may still be read:—

"Sufficient God did give me which I spent
"I little borrowed and as little lent
"I left them whom I loved enough in store
"Increased this Bishoprick and relieved the poor."

This was all quite true, and very proper indeed. But then how many clergymen of Killaloe did this money, thus abstracted from their diocese, leave deprived of "sufficient to spend" for themselves, or of any "store" to leave "for them whom they loved." (?)

ON FIFTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop designates the quality and condition of the incumbents and ministers "as to learning, life, and conversation," with nice particularity and laborious accuracy of detail. Thus—Some 11 were "native ministers"—or not imported from England, &c. Some 14 were "ministers and preachers." One was a Canonist, Mr. Andrewe. Of the greater number he can report favourably, as "men of good conversation," and of some in particular as "grave ministers." At page 31 he incidentally alludes to "divers (who were) deprived." Of students there were 5. The preachers are classified as either "known, zealous, or good," and number 6 or 7. Of those who

read in the Irish tongue are 5 or 6. Of graduate (students) are 2 or 3. Of Masters of Arts among the clergy there are 4.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop is very sore about Piers Butler, who contrived with aid of the Crown to secure £70 per annum as a Pluralist, and gave no value for it in clerical services, although possessing high powers of usefulness from his familiarity with the Irish tongue.

SEVENTH ARTICLE.

Reserving our remarks on particular churches to the Topographical Notes in Appendix, it is very striking, according to the present views of toleration, how the good Bishop could regard with satisfaction the condition of the great majority of the churches in Clare, as having been for the most part "built by the help of the fines of the Recusants." This may have been a good way of building churches, certainly a very economical way, but whether it was a good way of filling the churches with the Recusants and making them genuine and generous supporters of the Reformed faith, is entirely a different question. So, too, giving "the Recusants fines" as stipends of missionary curates seems an equally repulsive and fatal proceeding. How these Recusants could have been fined into the love of Protestantism baffles all experience of human or Hibernian nature, unless on the supposition that money was the god of such Recusants' idolatry, and that they gave up their professed recusansy the more abundantly to worship the God they really loved. But it is a hard thing to live in advance of one's day and generation and to see clearly the dangers which ever beset the path of duty on the right hand and on the left. And if earnestness carried good men like Bishop John Rider into a repulsive intolerance some two centuries ago, easiness might be leading men of the present day into a cold indifferentism. Anyway, the enterprize of fining Irish Recusants into the love of the Reformed faith does not savour of the spirit of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, at least according to New Testament principles; nor, as the event alas has proved, did it avail much "*for ye gaining of ye natives, who hitherto will not hear.*"

In the "Interest of Ireland," p. 56, &c., the following quo-

tation and sensible remark may be found:—"In planting of religion this much is needful to be observed,—that it be not sought forcibly, to be impressed into them with terror, and sharp penalties as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated, before it be understood, &c. The true religion is not to be planted by penal laws, or the terror of punishments, which may fill a church with temporizing hypocrites, but never with sincere professors—nor is it to be propagated by a vicious, slothful minister."

EIGHTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop's sore travail to recover "21 townlands into the See of Killaloe" was not without good effect. Mr. Erck, in I. E. R., 1830, p. 209, relates that, "Pursuant to Privy Seal dated 26 Feb., 1619, and to Patent of June, 1620, the King granted to John Bp. of Killaloe and his successors, the territory called Termon-i-grady, als Tomgraney or Greney, in the coy. of Clare, containing 21 qrs. or plough lands, with all its spiritual and temporal hereditaments, to hold by one Knight's fee. And with leave to Bishop to renew his letters patent with the addition of the said lands and of such ors as he should recover."

NINTH ARTICLE.

Of alienations, &c., some corroborations and illustrations will occur in the progress of the narrative.

THIRD COMPLAINT (OF BISHOP).

Let it be again impressed on the reader's attention, that out of 116 benefices in Killaloe Diocese, 53 were impropriate, or else seized upon as such. And that this was the final consequence of the invasions of the parochial by the monastic system. "The greatest impropriator and devourer of livings" was Oliver Grace, of whom and his ancestors there is a full account given in a Paper on Tulloroan Parish, to be found in Mason's Parochial Survey. There is also a Memoir of the Grace family, by Sheffield Grace, which is profusely illustrated and of exact research. From these the following may be selected as likely to interest:—

Raymond Fitzwilliam Carew Le Gros accompanied Strongbow to Ireland. The annals of James Grace of Kilkenny commence with the invasion of the English, and close with the deaths of Ormonde and Desmonde. He married Basilia, daughter of Strongbow, as a reward for his services, and he got the control of Grace's Country—80,000 acres. The most illustrious families trace from R. Le Gros.

He is the common ancestor of the noble Houses of Windsor, Earl of Plymouth; Carew, Earl of Totnes; Fitzmaurice, Marquis of Lansdowne and Earl of Kerry; Gerard, Earl of Macclesfield, and Gerard, Bart.; Fitzgerald, Duke of Leinster, Earl of Desmond, and Fitzgerald, Bart.; M'Kenzie, Earl of Leaforth and Cromartie; and Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare. Raymond Le Gros was thus the stem of a tree which during more than 1,000 years has borne its honours high, and spread them branchingly (*sic*) in society. But, omitting the honours, exertions, alliances, and glories of the Graces, the following may prove more to the object in hand. It appears by various official records that the Grace family possessed, under the ancient ecclesiastical and regal polity, considerable Church patronage, which was wrested from them by despotic enactments of the new Puritanical hierarchy (!) and Protectoral Government of Cromwell. They exercised at that period the right of advowson to the following "*Rectories*" (*sic*) :—

In counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, King's and Queen's County.

Graces Parish, Ballygrannagh, Ballyvakye (Ballymackey), Templedeere (Templederry), Ballyandine, Kilcrowan, Kilordirnane (Killodeernan), Cloghprior, Cowlenwane (Cullenwaine), Templeneharry, Dunkerene, Ballycashelem, Ramoreake (Rathnaveogue), Roskene, Rossmorrowe, Etagh, Coynrane, Castle Grace.

In 1615, Oliver Grace, of Ballylinch and Carney Castles, presented to the valuable livings of Castletown and Roscrea, both in Tipperary. To an enlightened and benevolent mind (pursues Mr. Sheffd. Grace) the possession of ecclesiastical patronage affords frequent occasions of just and exquisite satisfaction. The Grace family inherited the advowson of eighteen livings. The loyalty of the House of Grace to the unfortunate House of Stuart was attended with most disastrous conse-

quences to its prosperity. His estates in King's County were seized by Parliament and granted to one John Vaughan.

The Commissioners of the Commonwealth distributed (p. 50) lands of the Graces to the extent of 17,000 acres, together with sixteen Rectories and four Residences.

When King James II. was predominant, Oliver Grace had assigned to him the properties of the most considerable of the Queen's County Protestants.

"The 28 Sept., 5th Eliz. (1563), the Monastery of Tyone, or St. John, with its appurtenances and about 700 acres of land, with several chief rents and 16 Rectories, were granted for ever to Oliver Grace, by homage and fealty only, at the yearly rent of 39*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*; and by Inquisition Post-Mortem at Phillipstown, 23 Oct., 1626, was found seized of above Rectories, all of which were part and parcel of the lately dissolved Monastery of St. John, near Nenagh, in County Tipperary."—Cooke's *History of Birr*. Ed. 1875, p. 303.

But it may prove of more importance to give a brief abstract of the pecuniary values of the 116 Benefices in the Diocese, ranked under their denominations :—

	Value. £	*s.*	*d.*
Donatives, presented to by Crown . . .	20	0	0
Collatives, presented to by Bishop . . .	988	6	8
Presentatives, presented to by Lay Patrons . .	279	0	0
Appropriated *ad mensam Episcopi*, or for cathedral purposes	125	6	8
Impropriated in Lay Presentees	833	13	4
Total	2,246	6	8

Consequently, one-third of the total amount of the value of the Benefices was passed from sacred to secular objects; one-eighteenth had gone from the clergy, though used by Bishop and for cathedral objects; one-eighth had gone as a certainty from the working clergy of the Diocese; not quite one-half of the value of the Benefices was all that the working clergy of the Diocese had to live upon, being on an average for each 21*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* And this is all the endowment wherewith the clergy of this Diocese were remunerated.

FOURTH COMPLAINT (*continued*).

Page 27. "I ventured upon six of his Vicarages, which he seemed to hold as impropriate." If the reader will reflect upon the juries, the lawyers, the long purses of the spoliators, on the Sheriffs, the subordinate officers, and all and sundry the opposition which the Bishop had to encounter, this action which he so modestly relates will most justly redound to his credit as a brave and wise administrator of his Diocese, bent on doing his duty.

No. 6. "No allowance." Some remarks on this and its miserable consequences must be deferred to a future page.

No. 10. On the Sheriffs not executing the writs of *capias* against Recusants, "under ye 2nd of Elizabeth," "*whereby God is dishonoured*," &c. So, no doubt, thought our worthy Bishop. There was no ecclesiastical Mr. Rarey in those days, to tame and train, with a quiet, firm hand. At the same time, when the Recusants did ever get the better of their natural enemies, as they counted them, we shall see how they could act. But as to the practice of "*shunning the Sheriff during his time*," there was nothing novel in it, nothing special in the way "of contempt of religion" about it. But, indeed, it was a practice, not quite forgotten in Thomond at the present day, nor confined to Recusants either.

COMPLAINT ELEVENTH

Is a very serious one; but if the pure faith of the Reformation came, associated with fear and made offensive to the pride of the Romanized Celt or the debased English settler, the priests of the Roman Mission in Ireland, on the contrary, appealed to their natural feelings of resentment, and inflamed their hopes of help from Spain, from France, from the Pope, from any quarter at all hostile to England; and thus, with other influences combining, won an easy victory over a system of compulsion, and "drew back those whom ye minister had formerly gained."

COMPLAINT NO. 4 OF CLERGY.

The charge of the schoolmaster laid exclusively upon the clergy, and clergy so poor, to the entire exemption of the

Impropriators, was a grievous evil. The consequence must have been a deteriorated system of parochial education; in fact, a mere name and a sham. For No. 6, as to grazing-money, see Order of Visitors in 1615.

Page 30. *Registration Books* have proved a great difficulty and sore evil; indeed, a sad scandal in the Church. Duplicate registration, with a small fee, and a central office of safe-keeping and reference, may yet effectually secure an uniformity, certainty, and security nearly equal to the cylinders of Assyria. On the death of a dignitary holding a high place in one of the united Dioceses, his widow performed *suttee*, not of herself, but with a large pile of most valuable ancient books and papers belonging to the Diocese. Some sacks of papers belonging to the archives of the other Diocese have been sold by a private person for a few shillings to a collector. The papers are of unknown value, and ought to be in safe keeping for public use. There are few parochial documents extending to the Reformation period; even the Chapter Book only dates from the Restoration. When a clergyman dies, generally speaking no one knows what befals the registers. In a book now before the writer are blanks and void spaces, caused (it is credibly reported) by two ecclesiastical spinsters erasing their names to conceal their age, so far. Mostly parish books are either burned or else moulder away in damp. Since Eley's patent cartridges and the breechloaders have come into general use, these old papers have enjoyed some respite. Mr. White, in his "History of Cashel," tells of how the rebels took the sermons of the Rector of Fethard—of course to use as wadding of their guns. Perhaps this use may have imparted an unwonted fire into the delivery of them.

"Praying for a blessing." As the good Bishop laboured so carefully and effectively, so did he also pray earnestly for the glory of the great God, the good of this desolate Church (and, oh! how desolate has he not demonstrated fully in this accurate and comprehensive paper?); also of this consequently "decaying Commonwealth." From the skill, energy, and piety manifested by the great and good Bishop in the above elaborate report of the state of his Diocese, and from his own action therein, it may be safely inferred with what paternal affection and pastoral solicitude he continued to look after the interests

of those committed to his charge, and to govern his clergy during the remainder of his episcopate.

Indeed, without any disparagement of any other Bishop, the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. John Rider, may be well regarded as the founder of the Reformed faith in this Diocese. If it be thought by some that too much stress has been laid by Dr. Rider upon the financial condition of the Diocese, let it be borne in mind by such what has been denounced, in the Law and Gospel alike, against those who muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And surely none can deny that every officer was underpaid, and each benefice that showed anything barely sufficient for the eye of avarice to spy, and finger of sacrilege to grasp, was plucked and fleeced. The Danes never plundered in their wars more minutely and mercilessly than did our Lords and our laymen, aye, and some of our Bishops too. Impropriators and ecclesiastical tenants swept away everything they could seize of the temporalities of the Church in the Diocese of Killaloe.

The Author of "The Present State of Ireland" (London, 1673) bears the following faithful witness to the poverty and misery prevalent among the ecclesiastics of the West of Ireland, at page 118:—"First, it is observed that the clergy of this country were formerly little beholding to their Lay-Patrons, some of their Bishops being so poor that they had no other revenues than the pasture of two milch beasts. And so far had the Monasteries and Religious Houses invaded by appropriations the Christian rites, that of late times, in the whole province of Connaught, the whole stipend of the Incumbent was not above 40*s*., in some places not above 16*s*. So that the poor Irish must needs be better fed than taught."

If other Bishops, by "setting up their own servants and horseboys to take up the tythes and fruits" for their own aggrandizement, gathered hoards with which they contrived to purchase great estates and build fair castles, it was not so with Bishop John Rider, nor with his successors, as shall appear. Finding his natural strength failing, he caused to be written a letter, with a view of providing for the Diocese he had loved so well, and served so nobly, one on whom his mantle should fall, to be an Elisha after him; of which letter the following is the reply:—

The Lords Justices of Ireland to the Bishop of London.

Right Reverend and our very good Lord,—It was part of his Ma't's charge unto us, and according to our duties is our daily care to make provision for the Church in this kingdom; and now occasion is offered us to express some part of it in that kynde. There is here an ancient Bishop, one John Rider, Bipp. of Killalow, neere four score years of age, who fynding himself unable any longer to undergoe the burden of his place by reason of the greate decay of his body and memorie, is desirous to leave his Bishopricke to a more hable man. And to that end he hath recommended unto us *George Andrew*, Dean of Limerick—one whom he hath long and in effect only employed in the governmt of his Dioces. And his Lordship hath prayed us to commend the sd Deane to His Highnes, that so by his Ma's grace and bounty he might succeed in that Sea after his Ldsp's death or resignation. Now we well understanding his Royal Highnes Royal and especial care to order aright the affairs of the Church, and that by yr Lordship's means and pious endeavours, we heartily pray your Lordship to make this our humble mocon knowen to his most excellent Majestie. And that his Highness wld be pleased to direct his gracious letters unto us that the sd Bishop's resignation may be accepted, and upon the said resignation (or death, whichsoever shall first happen) that the sd Dean Andrewe may be invested into the said Bishopricke according to the laws of this land and as of his Majestie's bounty and most gracious donation. Mr Andrewe is an Antient Mr of Arts in Oxford, and one of competent age. Hee hath been Dean of Limerick these 28 yeares, and soe long knowen unto us and approved by us and the whole state of this kingdom for his deserving parts, and is well experienced in the ordering and government of Church affairs, especially in ye Dioces.

Now the Bishopricke of Killalowe, as it stands at the present, through the iniquitie* of the predecessors and injury of tymes, is not worth above one hundred pounds per ann., as wee are credibly informed. Therefore wee doe sooner pray your Lordship to be an effectual means to his Majesty that a Commendam of the Chantershipp of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's in or neere Dublin, and of the Rectory of Drumcliffe in the Dio of Killowe (wh he now enjoyeth), may be added to the Bishopricke: and that in regard the sd Deane hath been at a very great charge in re-edifying the decayed House of the Chanter of St. Patrick's: and that it will be expedient that the Bishopp of Killalowe for the tyme being should have a competent howse (*sic*) to receive when his occasions draw him to this State, wee humbly recommend this addition to yr Lordship's good furtherance. And your Lordship to the everlasting protection of the Almightie.

From Dublyn the last of Nov. 1631, your Lordship's affectionate friends and humble servants,

AN. LOFTUS (Canc.), R. CORKE.

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* See Bramhall, Appendix to Life, xvii. p.

Addressed to the Right Rev. Father in God our very good Lord, the Ld Bishop of London, and one of the Ll's of his Majts Privy Councill in England.

Endorsed by Bp Laud, of London. Nov. 30, 1631. The Justices of Ireland about the Bp of Killalye for Mr. Andrewe.

Of Dean Andrewe, it may be noted that though the Diocese of Killaloe lost his services, his merits as an ecclesiastic of high ability could not be long laid aside by the narrowness of party spirit. He was chosen Chairman of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, and there acted with so much ability and spirit as to draw from Stafforde a bitter encomium and a doubtful reward. Ware mentions that the imperious Governor-General "sent for him and told him that not a Dean of Lymerick but Ananias had sat in the chair. . . . Make him Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin to hold *without* commendams; and then I assure you he shall leave better behind him than will be recompensed out of that Bishoprick, which is one of the *meanest* in the kingdom." And accordingly his promotion followed. (Ware, 448.) So again (in "Papers," &c., by Mr. Shirley), "Dean (Lesley), in respect of the exility of the revenues of Ferns and Leighlin, hath craved leave of my Lord to fall off. £200 a year is the full extent of them both—too little for any man to come of England for. Dean Andrewe would be contented to *accept of them*. I know no man better accommodated every way for that work than himself. The man is a grave cathedral-man, well befriended and able to subsist of himself. I confess he hath been a great *deliberator* this Parliament, but surely rather as an instrument of others than a principal agent." J. Derensis, Dublin, Dec., 1634.

At length this great and good Bishop died at his post—"died at Killaloe on the 12 of Nov. 1632, where he was buried in Saint Flaunan's Church."

Having served God in his day and generation, he was mercifully taken away from the evil to come which desolated the vineyard he had cultivated so well and had raised to so fair a prospect of much fruit. No monument remains to mark the resting-place of his body. Ware does not mention any existing in his day. And even had such been erected, the marble long since might have been moss-grown, and the monumental urn itself mayhap become buried in the wreck of graveyard *debris*.

Bishop John Rider's "State of the Diocese of Killaloe" must, therefore, be set up for a memorial of him. Almost everything else of him having vanished away and being lost among the shadows of the past, let his own works at length praise him in the gates. And whose works, it may well be asked, whether of Killaloe's or other Irish Bishop, have exceeded those of this Bishop in the eminent qualities of energy, skill, wisdom, and a holy and hopeful courage in the discharge of duty?

The following being another of the Royal Visitations is to be placed in the interval between the decease of Bishop John Rider, Nov. 12, 1632, and the consecration of Bp. L. Jones, his successor, on the 12th April, 1633. The second article noted by Dean Reeves as "in Bramhall's hand," indicates the character of the Visitation and the authority of the Visitors.

The Roll of the clergy is of value as indicating the number of Incumbents—their collegiate standing, with other particulars of interest, indicative of the earnest efforts of the aged Bishop, John Rider, to provide as large a supply as possible of "able men."

LAONENSIS DIOCESIS.

13° *Martii* 1633. *Epatus Laonensis.*

Rex Patronus, val. lx*l.* ster. per annum. — Eccia Cathedralis Sci Flannani Laonensis. Decanus euisdem Alexander Spicer predicator.

Epus confert, valet 30*l.* ster. per annum. — Precentor Johannes Andrew predicator clericus, in Artibus Magister: Robertus Cox Curatus.

Non residens. [Written in Bramhall's hand. Wm. R.]

Epus confert, valet 30*l.* ster. per annum. — Cancellarius. Vacat eadem dignitas per mortem naturalem Johis Blagrave ult Cancellar ibid.

Ricus Blagrave Curatus ibm.

Epus confert, val. xx*l.* st. p an. — Thesaurarius. Robertus Sibthorpe, predicator, Sacre Theologie Baccalareus.

Epus confert, val. l*l.* = £50 st. p an. — Archidiaconus. Thomas Lodge, predicator, in Artibus Baccalareus.

Epus confert, val. xvi*l.* p an. — Prebendarius de Lockayn. Dionisius Garthforth, Clericus.

Epus confert, val. xx*l.* st. p an. — Prebendar de Tomegreeny. Ricus Wilkins, predicator, in Arts Magr.

Epus confert, val. xx*l.* st. p an. — Prebendarius de Clondigad. Nichŏlaus Booth, predicator.

Epus confert, val. xx*l.* ster. p an. — Prebendarius de Tullagh. Gulielmus Hewett, predicator.

Epus confert, val. 4*l.* ster. per an. Prebendar de Disert. Johes Twenbrooke, predicator, in Arts Bac.

Epus confert, val. lx*l.* ste. p an. Prebendar de Inniskatty. Thomas Heaton, predicator.

Epus confert, val. xl*s.* ster. p an. Prendar de Rath vacat. Sequestrata in manus Edwardi Fennour.

DIOCANATUS o MULLEAD.

Oēs Rectorie spectant ad o Mulled valent p an. lx*l.* ster. Comes *Ormonie patronus. Clonlea.—Rector dce Eccie, Johes Blagrave, predicator, clericus.

Epus cfert valet xii*l.* ster p an. Vicarius, Georgius South.

Epus cfert, val. p an. xl. ster. Killfinaghta.—Rector, Johes Blagrave, antedcus.
Vicarius, Andreas Chaplin, predicator, clericus.

Epus cfert, val. ix*l.* ster. p an. Kilteely.—Rector Dens, Johes Blagrave.
Vicarius, Gulielmus Cox, predicator, clericus.

Epus cfert, val. ix*l.* ster. p an. Killokennedy.—Deus Blagrave, rector.
Vicarius prefatus, Gulielmus Cox.

Epus cfert, val. xiij*l.* iiis. iiii*d.* p an. Killno.—Blagrave prenominatus rector.
Thomas Ayres, vicarius eiusdem.

Epus cfert, val. iij*l.* ster p an. Killunan.—Rector eiusd sepenominatus Johes Blagrave.
Vicarius prefatus, Richardus Wilkins.

Val. x*l.* ster. p an. Feakell.—Rector sepedcus, Johes Blagrave.
Vicari dicr spectans ad caplum eccie Cathlis pdce.

Valet x*l.* ster. p an. Moyno.—Rcoria ptinet ad dcum caplum.
Epus cfert, valet v*l.* ster. p an. Vicari eiusdem, Richus Barnes.

Val. x*l.* ster. p an. Clonrois.—Rcoria ptint ad caplum.
Epus cfert, val. 5*l.* ster. p an. Vicari, Richus Barnes, antedcus.

Val. v*l.* ster. p an. Innisgaltra.—Rcoria imppriata spectans ad preceptoria de Any in possessione Comitis Corke.

Comes Corke Patron. Val. xl*l.* st. p an. Vicaria vacat sequestrata.

Spectat ad Omullead. Epus cfert. val. xi*l.* ster. p an. Ogonila.—Rector pfat, Blagrave.
Vicari, Edward Fennor, pdicator.

Val. xx*l.* st. p an. Idumyn als Stradbally.—Rcoria imppriata. possessa p Comite Ormonie.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* ster. p annum. Vicari dnus Aepus Capelen tenet in comendam.
Robertus Challener, Curatus ibm.

Val. xx*l.* ster. p an. Killenegarve.—Recoria imppriata concessa Comiti Ormonie.

Epus cfert, valet xv*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, eju de pfat dnus Aepus.
Robertus Challenor, Curatus.

* Quere, Thomonie.

Val. x*l.* p an. KILTANLEY.—Rcoria impropriata dehereditate Comitis Ormonie.

Epus cfert, val. viij*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Robertus Challoner.

DECANAT DE OGASSHIN.

Valet c*l.* ster. p an. QUIN.—Rcor Johes Yorke, predicator. It is alleadged on ye behalfe of Mr. Yorke that the Rectory is in ye presentacon of ye Earle of Thomond, and it is alleadged on ye part of Mr. Wm. Huett, clerk, that it is in the gift of his Matie *jure corone.*

Epus cfert, val. x*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Thomas Browne, pdicator.

TULLAGH.—Rcor eiusd eccie Johes Yorke, antedcus. Simlr ut in actu precedente.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, pfatus Gulielmus Hewett.

Valor antea. KILLTOOLAGH—Rcoria integra spectans ad pbenda de Tomegreny.

CLONEY.—Rcor ide Johes Yorke. Simlr ut in Quinn.

Epus cfert, val. xiij*l.* st. p an. Vicari, pdcus Thomas Browne.

DOURY,—Rcor pdcus Yorke. Simlr ut in Quinn.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, pfatus Hewett.

KILLRAGHTAS.—Rcor sepedcus Johes Yorke. Simlr ut in Quinn.

Epus cfert, val. vii*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Robt. Browne.

Epus cfert, val. x*l.* ster. p an. TEMPLEMALY—Johes Yorke, sepedcus Rcor eide. Simlr ut in Quinn.

ENSYCRONAN.—Idem Yorke, Rector. Simlr ut in Quin.

Comes Thomond, patron. Val. xx*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Johes Blagrave, pmentionatus.

KILLANURRYNEGALL.—Rcor dcus Yorke. Simlr ut in Quin.

Epus cfert, val. vi*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, pfatus Adreas Chaplein.

DECANAT DE DRUMCLIFFE.

Baro de Inchiquin, patronus. Val. xl*l.* ster. p an. DRUMCLIFF.—Rector, Johes Andrew, antedcus.

Epus cfert, val. xxx*l.* ster. p an. Vicari, Nicolaus Bright, predicator.

Valor antea. KILLMEALY.—Rectoria est pcella de Drumcliffe. Vicaria similiter.

Epus cfert, val. xxiij*l.* st. p an. KILLINEBOY.—Rcor, Samuel Elliott, predicator.

Epus cfert, valet xv*l.* ster. p an. Neptune Blood, Vicarius.

Baro de Inchequin, patron. Val. xv*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. x*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. xxvi*l.* ste. p an.
Epus cfert, val. xxvi*l.* ster. p an.

RATH.—Rcor Andreas Gylliesaghta, predicator [now Lysaght].
Vicarius, Neptune Blood, predicator.

DISERT.—Rector et Vicarius } Johes Twenbrooke, pdicator.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* ster. p an.

KILNEMONA.—Rcor dcus, Johes Twenbrooke.

Epus cfert, val. 4*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius, Gulielmus Flanigan.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* st. p an.

KILKERDIE.—Rcor, Johes Cookeson, pdicator.

Epus cfert, val. xiij*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius, idem Johannes.

DECANAT DE TRADERIE.

(This is the spelling I would expect of an Irish-speaking clerk for Tomfinlough. W. R.)

TOMENLOUGH.—Rector, Robt. Sibthorpe, antedcus.
Omes Recorie prectan ad dcum Decanatie, valet p an cl*l.* ster.
Comes Thomonie, patronus.

Epus cfert, val. v*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius, Georgius South.

KILLENASALAGH.—Rcor, Robtus Sibthorpe, pdcus.

Epus cfert, val. 14*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius, Nathaniel Snow, predicator.

KILCONRIE.—Robtus Sibthorpe.

Epus cfert, val. 7*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius, Andreas Chaplein.

CLONLOGHANE.—Recor, Robtus Sibthorpe, antedcus.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius Snow, antedcus.

Valor antea.

DROMLINE.—Rcoria spectat ptim ad mensam Epi. partim ad Rcorem de Traderie.
Vicarius, Thesaurari Laonenis.

BUNRATTIE.—Rcor, Robtus Sibthorpe.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* p an.

Vicarius, Thos Bennis, legit Hibnice.

FYNNAGH.—Rcor, Robtus Sibthorpe.
Vicarius, Thos Bennis, antedcus.

Val. 8*l.* st. p an.
Val. 4*l.* ster. p an.

KILLAGH.—Recoria ippriata possessa p Barone de Inchquin.
Vicaria vacat.

Valent 4*l.* ster. p annum.

INISHDADRUM.—Rectoria et Vicaria, spctat ad pcentore.

KILLMALERY.—Rcor, Robt Sibthorpe, pdcus.
Vicarius, Andreas Chaplein, pdcus.

DECANAT DE CORCKAVASKIN.

Val. x*l.* st. p an. CLONDIGAD.—Rcoria ippriata in possession Barony de Inchiquin.

Epus cfert, val. v*l.* ster. p an. Vicari, Nicholaus Booth, pdcus.

Val. x*l.* st. p an. KILLCHRIST.—Rcoria ippriata possessa p Comite Thomonie.

Epus cfert, val. v*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Nathaniel Buckley.

[i.e., John's Church. W. R.] Val. xx*l.* ster. p an. KILLONE.—Rcoria ippriata Monasterio de Killone possessa p Baronem de Inchiquin.

Val. vi*l.* ster. p an. Vicaria vacat. Imppriata ad dcu Barone de Inchiquin.

Val. 8*l.* st. p an. KILLFEADAN.—Rcoria ippriata possessa p Comite Thomonie.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* st. p na. Vicarius, Laurentius Boyt, pdicator.

Val. 8*l.* st. p an. KILLAFIN.—Impropriata Rcoria ut supra.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Laurentius Boyt.

KILLMURRIE CLONDERALA.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comitem de Thomonia.

Epus cfert, val. vi*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Thomas Tunsteed.

Val. xl*l.* st. p an. KILLMURRIE IBRICKANE.—Rcoria impropriata ad Com Thomonie.

Vicaria vacat.

KILLEMURE.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comite Thomonie.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Thomas Tunsteed.

Val. xx*l.* st. p an. KILLIDISART.—Rcoria ippriata ad Comite Thomonie.

Comes (Quere, Rectius, Thomonie) Ormonie, patron. Valet xiij*l.* ster. p an. Vicaria vacat quo ad inductione. Nathaniel Buckley.

Vicari ibm non induct est ad vicaria.

Val. xvi*l.* ster. p an. KILLMCDUAN.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comite Thomonie.

Epus cfert, val. x*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Murtagh McConsiden, legit Hibnice.

Come Thomonie, patron. Val. 20*l.* ster. p an. KILLFARBOY.—Rcoria vacat p morte Richardi Twisse.

Ep 'cfert, val. vij*l.* ster. p an. Vicarius, Daniell McBrodin.

Val. xvi*l.* ster. p an. KILLFEIRAGH.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comite Thomonie pparte.

Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* st. p an. Vicarius Nathaniel Buckley, antedcus.

KILBALLIHONE.—Rcoria ps ad Coite Thomonie, ps ad pbenda de Tomgreney.

Vicarius, Franciscus Menerell.

Val. xv*l.* st. p an.
Ep cfert, val. 7*l.* x*s.* st. p an.

KILLARD.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comitem Thomon.
Vicarius, Daniell McBrodin.

Val. xiij*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. x*l.* st. p an.

MOYFARTA.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comitem Thomonie.
Vicarius, Franciscus Menerell.

Val. xij*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. 6*l.* st. p an.

KILLMIHILL.—Rcoria imppriata ad Comitem Thomonie.
Vicarius, Murtagh McConsiden.

Valor antea.

KILLRUSH.—Rcoria integra est Pbenda de Iniskatty.
Rcoria imppriata ad Comite Thomonie spectan.

Val. 30*l.* ster. p an.

Nathaniell Buckley, Curatus.

Val. 20*l.* ster. p an.

DECANAT DE ORMONIA SUPIORI.

aonach ɕepc. Epus cfert, val. 6*l.* ster. p an.

NENAGH.—Rcoria imppriata in possessione Lewis Walsh.
Vicaria vacat.

Valor antea.

KILKERY.—Rcoria spectat ad Decanum Laonensem.

BALLINACLOGHY.—Rcoria imppriata Monrio de Clonold possessa p Walterum Gough.
Vicaria spectan ad Decanu Laonensem.

Val. 16*l.* ster. p an.
Epus cfert, val. 8*l.* st. p an.

LISBUNNY.—Rcria imppriata qua Lewis Welsh possidet.
Vicaria vacat.

Val. 30*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. 20*l.* st. p an.

KILLENEAFFE.—Rcoria imppriata tenta p Gerrott oge Grace.
Vacaria vacat. Antiquitus habebat Incumbentem ibm.

Val. x*l.* st. p an.
Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* st. p an.

DOLLA.—Spectat Rectoria ad mensam Epi
Vicaria vacat possessa per Barone de Inchiquin.

Val. xii*l.* st. p an.

KILLMORE.—Recoria spctat ad fabricam cancelli Eccie Cathlis Laonen vel ad mensam Epi.

Epus cfert, val. x*xl.* st. p an.

Vicaria vacat possessa p Comite Ormon per pretextum impropriationis ad monasteriu Sce Crucis ut dicr.

Val. 14*l.* st. p an.

DUNAMONA.—Rcoria est partita equaliter inter Comitem Ormonie et Decanu et Caplum Laonen.

Epus cfert.

Vicaria vacat. Existens 3a ps qua Lewis Walsh het prextu ippriacois. Spctat ad monasteriu de Omagh in comitatu Limricensi ut dicitur.

Val. x*l.* ster. p an.
Epus cfert, val. 4*l.* st. p an.
Val. xv*l.* st. p an.

BURGESBOGA.—Rcoria imppriata per Lewis Welsh.
Vicarius, Gulielmus Keitson.

YOUGHALLARA.—Rcoria est divisa in ijas ptes quar unam possidet Rcor de Moysea, alteram Decanus antedcus.

Epus cfert, val. 6*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius antedcus Keitson.

CASTLETOWNE ARRA.—Rctor pfatus Johes Andrew.
Vicarius, Richardus Blagrave, pdicator.

Epus cfert, val. xl. st. p an. BALLIGRIBBON.—Rcor, Robt. Cox.

Epus cfert, val. vil. st. p an. [i.e., Teach Eoin 'ædes Johannis. W. R.] Vicaria vacat. Possessa p Gerrott oge Grace colore imppriacois. Spectat ad monasterium Sci Johes Jerlm = Jerusalem alias Tyone [beside Nenagh. —W. R].

Val. 30l. ster. p an. BALLIMACKY.—Rcoria ippriata tenta p dcum Geraldu Grace. Spectans ad Tyone pdict.

Valor antea. Vicaria est mebru corpis Cancellariat qui vacat.

Valor antea. THOME.—Rcoria integra spctans ad cancellariatu antedcum ut ps eidem.

Val. 30l. st. p an. AHANAMELA.—Rcoria ptinet ad sacrista Monasterii de Thome, imppriata tenta p Marcu McCrath de Bleane in com Tippary.

Val. xl. ster. p an. Vicaria vacat tenta p pdcu Marum ptextu imppriacos spectan ad Thome predict.

Val. 20l. ster. p an. BURISNAFERNA.—Rcoria imppriata tenta p dcum Marcum.

Val. 6l. ster. p an. Vicaria vacat possessa p eude Marcu colore pdco.

Valor antea. LATTRAGH.—Rectoria et vicaria, spectans ad dcum, Johem Andrew Prcentore.

Val. xiil. st. p an. TEMPLEDERRY.—Rcoria imppriata lenta p dcum, Geraldu Grace, spectan ad Tyone predict.

Val. viil. st. p an. Vicaria vacat possessa p eundem.

Val. xiil. st. p an. KILDERRYDAGROME.—Rctoria imppriata possessa p dcu, Marcum McCrath.

Val. vil. st. p an. Vicaria vacat. Tenr p ipsu tanqua imppriata.

DECANAT ORMONDIÆ INFERIORIS.

Valor antea. DROMENERE.—Rcoria integra de corpore Decanat antedci.

MOYSEA.—Rector, Gerrott Fitz Gerrot, predicator.
Vicarius, Ricus Logan Artium Baccalars.

Val. xvl. ster. p an. KILLODIERNA.—Rcoria imppriata qua tenet, Gerrott oge Grace, pdcus.

Val. 8l. ster. p an. Vicaria vacat possessa p dcum Grace.

KNEAGH.—Rcoria imppriata possessa p Lewis Wilsh.
Vicarius, Richardus Logan, antedcus.
[This an appropn of Owney, or Abington, in Co. Limerick, now Knigh; but I find it spelt Cnoyagh. It's a very curious name.—W. R.]

Val. xx*l.* p an. CLOGHAPRIORA.—Rcoria ippra quam tenet Dmns Gerrott oge Grace.

Val. vii*l.* st. p an. Vicaria eiusde vacate, dnus Grace prextu imppriacois possidet.

Val. 30*l.* st. p an. KILBARRANE.—Rcoria ippiata qua dnus Comes de Corke tenet.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* st. p an. Vicarius eide eccie, Edmundus Hurley.

Val. 16*l.* st. p an. ARDCRONY.—Rcoria spectat ad mensa Epi.

Epus cfert, val. vi*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Bryan McDonogh.

Epus cfert, val. 2*l.* st. p an. MODRYNITH.—Rector, Petrus Butler.

Epus cfert, val. x*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Gulielmus Caple, predicator.

Val. xxx*l.* st. p an. KILLRUAN.—Rcoria ippiata tenet, Gerrot oge Grace pdcus.

Val. x*l.* ster. p an. Idem het Vicaria vacante.

Epus cfert, val. x*l.* st. p an. FYNOUGH.—Rector, Peirce Butler antedictus.

Epus cfert, val. v*l.* st. p an. Vicarius eiusdem dictus Petrus Butler.

Val. x*l.* st. p an. TEROUGLASSE.—Rcoria est mebru de Fynogh.

Valor antea. Vicaria est de corpore Decanat pdci.

Val. xx*l.* st. p an. BURISKEANE.—Rcoria ippiata in possessoe Lewis Walsh.

Epus cfert, val. vi*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* st. p an. Vicarius dce eccie, Gulielm Caple, antedcus.

Ep cfert, val. 13*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* DURRHO.—Rcor eide eccie Thos Bridgeman, studios in collegio sce Trinitatis, Dublin.

Epus cfert, val. v*l.* st p an. Vicarius, Robtus Sheepeley, pdicator.

Valor antea. BONNAHAN.—Rcoria est pcella de Durrho predco.

(Hanc ecciam multo labore hodie inveni. W.R.)

Epus confert, valet iiij*l.* st. p an. Vicarius idem Sheepeley.

Valor antea. LORROGH.—Rcoria in iij ptes diuisa quar una spctat ad Durrogh, pdicta altera ad rctoriam de Finogh.

Valor antea. Vicaria ½ pcella Archinatus pdci.

Valor antea. EGLISCLOGHAN.—Rcoria het ijas ptes diuisas quar alta ad Fynogh alta ad Durrogh spctat.

Valor antea. Vicaria ½ de Archinatu pdco.

Val. 30*l.* st. p an. BALLINGARY.—Rcoria spctat ad pceptoria de Any. imppriata de hereditate dni Comitis Corcke.

Epus cfert, val. xv*l.* st. p an. Vicarius, Edmund Hurley, antedcus.

Valor antea. LOCHAYN.—Rcoria ½ Pbenda, Pbedari Dionisius Garthforth.

Epus cfert, val. 4*l.* st. p an. Vicari, ide Dionisi Garthforth.

Val. xl. st. p an. USGEANE.—Rcoria ippiata ad pceptoriam de Any. pred, in possessone dni Comitis de Corcke pdei.

Epus cfert, val. 40l. st. p an. Vicarius, pfat Dionisius Garthforth.

DECANAT' DE ELY CARROLL AND EGERIN.

[Ely O'Carroll formerly belonged to Munster, and this is shown by its ecclesiastical location. But civilly it was transferred to King's Co. in Leinster, where it comprises the baronies of Ballybrett and Clonlisk. Egerin is Ikerin barony in Tipperary. W. R.]

Val. cl. st. p an. ROSCREA.—Rcoria vacat possessa p Gerrott Grace, pdci taqua ippiata. 7s., the 20th part paide for this, and therefore not imppriat.

Epus cfert, val. 25l. st. p an. Vicarius, Josephus Clement.

Val. 30l. st. p an. ETAGH.—Rcoria imppriata in possessoe dci Gerrott.

Epus cfert, val. xiil. st. p an. Vicarius prefatus, Josephus Clement.

Epus cfert, valet 4l. ster. p an. FINGLASSE.—Rctoria intega qua Cornelius oge o'Sherin, studios in collegio pdco tenet studendi gratia.

Val. 20l. st. p an. (*Oge* in the former entry is equivalent to *junior*. W. R.) DUNKERRIN.—Rctoriam ippiatam het pfat Grace.

Epus cfert, val. xl. ster. p an. Vicarius, Cornelius Sherin, senior.

Valor antea. TEMPLEHORRY.—Rcoria ippiata tenet dnus Grace.

Valor antea. Vicarius, pfatus Cornelius Sherin, tenet vicariam existente parcella vicarie de Dunkerrin pdeo.

Val. 20l. st. p an. CASTLETOWNE ELY.—Rcoria imppriata tener a dco Gerrot Grace

Epus cfert, val. xl. st. p an. Vicarius eiusdem Cornelius Sherin predictus.

Valor antea. RAMAVYOGE.—Rcoria imppriata hanc etiam het dcus Grace. Spectat ad Dunkerrin.

Valor antea. Vicaria est ppcella de Dunkerrin pdca ut dicitur.

Val. 20l. st. p an. SWINROANE.—Rcoria est impropriata. Het illam etiam dcus Grace. Spectat ad Tyone.

Epus cfert, val. 8l. st. p an. Vicarius, Marmaduke Clapham, pdicator.

Epus cfert, val. xl. st. p an. KILLMURRY.—Rector dcus, Clapham.

Epus cfert, val. vl. ster. p an. Idem, Clapham, Vicarius eiusdem.

Epus cfert, val. 3l. st. p an. KILLCOMIN.—Rcoria integra, dcus Clapham÷incubens eidem.

BIRRHA.—Rector, Thomas Heaton, pdicator.
Vicarius eiusdem eccie, Robertus Shepeley.

Valor antea.

KILLCOLLMAN—Killcolman Rectoris est parcella Rectorie de Birrha.

Epus cfert, val. xx*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius prefatus, Joseph Clement.

Val. 30*l.* ster. p an.

AHANCON.—Rcoria imppiata possessa p Comitem Roscommon.

Epus cfert, val. 20*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius, Joseph Clement, pnominatus.'

Val. 6*l.* st. p an.

ROSCOMROE.—Rcoria imppiata tenetur p Gerrot Grace, pdcum.

Epus cfert, val. 3*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius, Thomas Smith, predicator.

[This is in Queen's Coy. W. R.]

Val. 16*l.* ster. p an.

CLONFERTMULLOGH.—Rcoria integra cuius incumbens est

Epus confert.

Johes Costigan.

Epus cfert, val. 4*l.* st. p an.

LITTERLUNA.—Rector, Johes Sterne, pdicator qui het una ptem eiusdem. Altera p.÷ippiata quam tenet

Valet 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* st. p an.

dmnus Comes de Roscomon.

Epus confert, val. v*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius pefatus, Johes Sterne.

Epus confert, val. 8*l.* ster. p an.

KINNEETY.—Rcoria dividitur, nichilominus Robtus Shepeley qui unam partem habet tantum est rector.

Val. xv*l.* ster. p an.

Alteram ptem tenet Dnus Comes de Roscomon impropriator.

Epus confert, val. xij*l.* ster. p an.

Vicarius iben pfatus, John Sterne.

BURREN.—Rcoria imppiata spectat ad dnum Comm Ormonie.
Vicarius, Thomas Smith.

[i.e. Cullenwayne, W. R.] val. xx*l.* st. p an.

QUILLANEAN.—Rcoria imppiata possessa p sepedcum, Geraldu Grace.

Val. x*l.* st. p an.

Vicaria vacat tenta p ipsum.

Val. 30*l.* st. p an.

*CARBULLY.—Rcoria impropriata in possessione predicti Comistes de Roscomon.

Epus cfert, val. 20*l.* st. p an.

Vicarius eiusdem eccie pfat, Joseph Clement.

HENRICUS BRIDGEMAN, Norius. Pubcus., Registrarius.

[* Corbally is the parish where was the now dried lake of Loch Cre, which gives name to Ros-cre. In this lake was the celebrated Insula viventium, now Monaincha (Bog island), of which the wonderful stories told of it in Giraldus' times, circ. the English conquest, are chronicled by him. W. R.]

THE ROLL OF THE CLERGY.

LAONENSIS DIOCESIS.

13 *Martii juxta cursum, &c.*, 1633.

Cornelius O'Sherin, ordd deacon by John Bp. of Killaloe Oct. 25, 1613; ordd. priest by same May 1, 1614.

Instituted to the Vicarage of Castrum Philippi, orwise Castletown Ely (which vicarage the said Bishop, on account of their tenuity, united pro hac vice to that of Dunkerin), with mandate of induction, May 24, 1613.

Inducted by George Andrewe, A.M., 20 July, 1614.

Joseph Clement, Vicar of Roscrea, presented by Charles I. to the Vicarages of Killcollman, Ahyncon, and Corbally, *jure devoluto*, as by Letters Patent, Aug. 2 an. 3°; which vicarage the King united propter tenuitatem pro hac v ce.

James Abp. of Armagh granted a faculty to hold same, dated Oct. 1, 1618.

Thomas Smith, A.B., ordained deacon and priest by Thomas Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin, 21 May, 1625.

Vicar of Roscomroe, admitted by John Bp. of Killaloe to the Vic. of Berrin, vacant by the free resignatn of Nathaniel Snow, last incumbt, with mandate of inductn. dated 26 Aug., 1629 (which vicarages the Bp. united propter tenuitatem). Inducted by Henry Bourman, Not. Publ., Archdeacon's Surrogate, Nov. 4, 1629.

Brianus Brian, Clk., alumnus of T.C.D., ordd deacon by John Bp. of Killaloe, Feb. 11, 1620; and priest by same, Jan. 13, 1627.

Instituted by same to Vic. of Ardcronie, with mandate of inductn dated Feb. 25, 1627. Inducted by said Henry Bourman Mar. 10, 1627.

Murtogh McConsidin, in re literaria studiosus, ordd deacon by John Bp. of Killaloe Sept. 10, 1617; and priest by same Aug. 9, 1618.

Institd. to Vics. of Killmichill and Kilmaduan, with mandate of inductn. Oct. 6, 1617 (which vics. the Bp. united propter tenuitatem). Inducted by Cornelius McConsidin, Clk., June 13, 1618.

Franciscus Menerell, ordained deacon by Wm. Bp. of Ardfert and Aghadoe 20 April, 1633, and priest in same year.

Instituted by Lewis, Bp. of Killaloe, to the Vics. of Moyfert, and Kilbalhyhone, with mandate of induction November 7, 1633; vacant by free resignation of Nicholas Bright, late incumbent, which vicarages the Bishop, propter tenuitatem, united. Inducted by Nicholas Booth, Clk., November 25, 1633.

Laurentius Boyle, schoolmaster, ordained deacon by John, Bp. of Killaloe, August 9, 1618, and priest August 16, 1618. Instituted by him to the Vics. of Kilfaddan and Killofin, with mandate of induction

August 30, 1614, which vics. the Bishop, propter tenuitatem, united. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, archdeacon's surrogate, January 12, 1618.

ANDREAS LYSHAGHT, alumnus of T.C.D., ordained deacon by John, Bp. of Killaloe, August 23, 1618; and priest by same, September 14, 1623. Instituted by George Andrewe, A.M., Dean of Limerick, and Vicar-Gen. of John, Bp. of Killaloe, to the Rectory of Rathblanagh (now Rath, W.R.), with mandate of induction addressed to the Archdeacon or John Twenbroke, Rect. of Disart, dated August 28, 1632. Inducted by Twenbrooke, September 1, 1632.

MARMADUCUS CLAPHAM, ordained deacon and priest by Wm. Bp. of Kildare, November 4, 1616.

Licensed to preach by Toby, Abp. of York, January 18, 1617.

Instituted to Vic. of Swinroan, R. and V. of Killcummur and R. of Kilmurrye, by John, Bp. of Killaloe, with mandate of induction dated February 22, 1622. Which Rect. and Vic. the Bp., propter tenuitatem, united pro hac vice. Inducted by Wm. Caple, the archdeacon's substitute, April 26, 1627.

DANIELL M. BRODIN, schoolmaster, ordained deacon, by John, Bp. of Killaloe, April 20, 1628, and priest, by same, April 4, 1624.

Instituted by him to Vics. of Killardagh and Killfarboy, with mandate of inducn dated April 18, 1623, united propter tenuitatem. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, the archdeacon's official, May 7, 1623.

CORNELIUS SHERIN, jun., in re literaria studiosus, collated by Geo. Andrew, A.M., D.V.P., Dean of Limerick, and Winter Bridgman, Esq., Commissioner of Malcolm, Archbishop of Cashel, to exercise triennial visitation in Killaloe (in 1627), to the entire Rec. of Finglasse, now void of incumbent, and to the Abp's collation by lapse devolved, with seven years' dispensation to study in T.C.D. or any other public school where the royal injunctions are observed, with mandate to Thos Lodge, Archdeacon of Killaloe, or substitute, to induct said Cornelius, dated Nov. 29, 1627. Inducted by Henry Bourman, official of Thos. Lodge, Archdn. Laonen. Nov. 30, 1627.

NICHOLAUS BRIGHT, clericus, ordaind deacon and priest, by John, Bp of Gloucester, in 1600.

Instd. by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, to Vice. of Drumcliffe als Icormach, vac. by resign. of George Andrew, last incumb., with mandate of inductn. Oct. 17, 1629. Inducted by Henry Bourman, Surrog of Archdn. Laonen. Nov. 10, 1629.

THOMAS TUNSTEEDE, Cler. A.B., vicar of the united vicarges of Kilmurry, Clonderala, and Killemur, ordained deacon and priest by Thos., Bp. of Lichfield, collated to the vics. by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, united under his epal seal. Inducted Aug. 5, 1633, as proved by certificate dated Mar. 13, 1633.

Robertus Challinor, studiosus, ordd. deacon by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 24 June, 1621; and priest by same, 29 Sep.,1622. Inst. by him to Vic. Kilmanleigh, vac. by resign. of Nathaniel Snowe last vic. with mandate for inductn. dated 13 Nov., 1629. Induct. by Thos. Lodge, Archdn. of Killaloe, 22 Novr., 1629.

Edwardus Fennor, Cler. Verbi Div. Predicator, instd. by Lewis, Bp. of Killaloe,[1] to Vic. Ogonila, vac. by resignat. of Thomas Ayres, last incumbent, with madate for inductn. dated 10 March, 1633.

Instituted by same Bp. to Vic. of Templemalie, vac. by death of Richard Walker, last Incumbent, with mandate for induct. dated 6 May, 1633. Inducted by Jno. Twenbrooke, Clk., 19 May, 1633.

Robert Cox, Clk., ordd Deacon by John, Bp. of Waterford and Lismore, 25 July, 1615. And Priest by same Bp., 7 April 1616. Instituted by Jno, Bp of Killaloe to R. and V. of Balligibbon, with mandate for induc., 13 Jan., 1620 (said R. and V. united by Bp. propter exilitatem, &c.). Inducted by Winter Bridgman, offic. of Archn, Feb. 9, 1620.

Thomas Bridgman, in re literaria studiosus, instd by Jno, Bp. of Killaloe, to Rect of Durrogh, vac. by deprivat. of Daniel O'Brian, Clk., last incumbt.; studendi gratia, with mandate of inducn dated 19 April, 1628. Inducted by Henry Bourman, surrogate of Archn, June 4, 1628.

Wm. Flanigan, Clk., institut by Lewis, Bp of Killaloe, to Vic. of Kilnemone, vacant by cession of Jno Twenbrooke, last incumbt, with mandate of inducn dated 18 Oct., 1633. Inducted by Nichs Booth, clk., by mand. of Archdn. Lodge, 15 Nov., 1633.

Hugo Powell, Clk., admitted by Jno, Bp. of Kilfenora, to the Archdeaconry and a Canonry in the Cath. Church of St. Fecknan of Kelfenora, and to the R. and V. of Rathborny, Oghmama, Killmacree, Kilmanaheen and Kilespughanan, Kilfenore dioc, with mand. to Dean of Killaloe to induct and install; which vicarages and Archdeaconry, propter tenuitatem, the Bp. united into one benefice, Jan. 17, 1628.

Installd in Archdeaconry by Hygatus Lone, Dean of Kilfenora, &c., 18 Jan., 1618.

Admitted to the ord. of Priest by Bernard, Bp. of Limerick and Kilfenora, Aug. 2, 1616.

Edmund Hurley, studiosus, ordd. Deacon by Jno Bp. of Killaloe Sept. 30, 1621, and Priest by same 28th Oct.

Inst. to V. of Kilbarrane, vac. by resignat, promon, deprivan, or cessn of Richard Bourke, last incumb., with mandate of inducn dated 23rd Dec. 1622. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, Official of Archdn, Dec. 27, 1622.

Instd. by same Bp to Vic. of Ballingarrie, with mandate of inductn, also uniting the two benefices propter exilitatem, Aug. 9, 1630. Inductd by Hen Bourman, Surrogate of Archdn. Aug. 10, 1630.

JOHN ANDREW, A.B., ordd. Deacon and Priest 22 Nov. 1629, by John Bp of Killaloe. Instd by him to Rect. of Castletowne Arra, simplex beneficium vac. by resignn of Daniel Kenedaie, last Incumb, with mandate of inducn. dated 14 Feb. 1623. Inducted by Geo. Andrew, Clk., A.M., 21 Feb. 1623.

Instd to Precentorship in Cath. Ch. of S. Flannan of Killaloe by Geo. Andrew, M.A., Dean of Limerick, Vicar Gen. of the Bp of Killaloe, with mandate of installatn. 12 Jun. 1632. Installed by Thos. Lodge, Archdn., 19 Jun. 1632.

Instituted by James Abp of Armagh to the Rectory of Drumcliff, with mandate of Induction dat. 15 Dec. 1633, on presentation by King Charles by two Let. Pat. dat Dec. 13. ano. 9°.

THOMAS AIRES, pedagogus, ordd Deacon by Jno Bp. of Killaloe 29 Jun. 1628. Priest by same 12 April, 1629.

Instituted by same to Vics of Ogonola and Killnoe, vact. by resignan. of Robert Challenor, last incumb., with mandate of inducn. dated June 30, 1628. United by Bp. propter tenuitatem. Inducted by Henry Bourman, July 2, 1628.

RICHARD WILKINS, A.M., ordd Deacon by George Bp. of London 4 March, 1609, and Priest by same on same day.

Instd. by Jno Bp. of Killaloe to Vic. of Killuran, vact by cessn. or deprivn. of Wm. Donnellan, clk., last Incumb., with mandate for inducn. dat. 5 Jan. 1622. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, Archdns Official, Feb. 1623.

Collat and instit by same Bp. to Preb. of Tomgreney in Ec. Cathl. Flanain of Killaloe, vacant by death of Barnard, late Bp. of Limerick (1625-6), with mandate to the Dean of Killaloe or other Cathedral prelate to install same, 28 March, 1626.

Installd by Daniel Kennedaie, Clk, Precentor, &c., 8 April, 1626.

NATHANIEL SNOWE, A.B., ord Priest (and previously Deacon) by John Bp of Killaloe. Inst. to Vics of Killeneasolagh and Clonloghane, with mandate of inducn dated Jan. 10, 1630. Vicarage united propter exilitatem. Inducted by Henry Bourman 13 Jan. 1631.

NATHANIEL BUCKLEY, A.M., ord Deacon by Thos. Bishop of Peterborough 24 Feb. 1617; and Priest by John Bp. of London, 23 May, 1619.

Instd. to Vic. of Kilfieragh, with mand. of inducn. 15 Oct. 1627; inducted by Henry Bourman 15 Nov. 1627.

Inst. by Lewis Bp. of Killaloe to the Vics. of Kill-christ and Killedisert, with mandate of induction 13 Sep. 1633. Vicarages united pter exilitatem.

GEORGIUS SOUCH, Cler., ordained Priest by Wm. Bp of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross (previously ordd Deacon by Jno Bp of Killaloe) Aug 5, 1616. Inst. by Jno Bp of Killaloe to Vic. of Clonlea with mand. of inducn Jan 15, 1617. Said Vicarage united to Vic. of Tomfinloch, propter exilitatem. Inducted by Andrew, Chapleine, Clk, Vic. of Killfinaghta, 23 Jan. 1617.

The Dean and Chapter confirmed the said union of Clonfinloe and Clonlea, Jan. 15, 1617. (Quere for Clonfinloe, Tomfinloe. P. D.)

THOMAS BROWNE, Clk., A.B., ord Deacon by Francis Bp of Limerick 15 April, 1632; and Priest by same on same day. Instd by Geo. Andrew, Official of Jno Bp. of Killaloe, to the Vics. of Quinn and Clonie, with mandate of inducn. April 20, 1632. Said Vicarages united by sd Andrew ppter tenuitatem. Inducted by Heri. Bourman, 21 April, 1631.

THOMAS LODGE, Acad. Oxonien Studen, ordained Deacon by Bernard Bp Limerick 2 May, 1620, and Priest by same 6 May, 1620.

Said Thos Lodge, A.B., Div. Verb. Pred. coll and inst. to Archdeaconry with mandate of installn. 27 Feb. 1624. Installed by Jno Blagrave, Clk, 13 July, 1625.

James Abp of Armagh granted him a dispensn to hold with his Archdeaconry two other benefices, 20 May, 1625.

JOSEPHUS CLEMENT, Studiosus, ordained Deacon by John Bp of Killaloe 13 Aug. 1620; and Priest by same, 4 March, 1620-21.

Instd to Vics. of Roscrea and Etagh, with madate of inducn., and union of the Vicarages ppter tenuitatem 25 Feb. 1621. Inducted by Winter Bridgeman, 1 March, 1621.

Instd by same Bp to the Vics of Killcoleman, Ahyncon, and Corbally on presn. of King Charles by Let. Pat. of 2d Aug., 3d year with mandate of inducn 24 Oct. 1627. Inducted by Robert Grey, Clk., 5 Nov. 1627.

ROBERT SHEPLYE, A.B., ordained Deacon and Priest by Willm. Bp. of Kildare 13 Jun. 1617.

Inst. by John Bp Killaloe to Vics. of Birrah, Durrogh, and Bonnoghan, vacant by resign. of Samuel Honie, Clk., last incumbt., with mand. of inducn. 28 Oct. 1623. Which Vics. of Birrah and Durrogh the Bp united to the Vic. of Bonnoghan nomine unius beneficii. Inducted by Marmaduke Clapham, Clk., 30 Oct. 1623.

Instd. by same Bp. to Rect. of Kinnettie, vac. by resign. of Nathaniel Buckley, Clk., last incumbent, with mand. of inducn 9 Feb. 1627. Inducted by Wm. Wynell, Clk., 11th Feb. 1628.

ANDREAS CHAPLEIN, Clk., ordd. Priest by Jno. Bp. of Killaloe 18 March, 1613. Said Andrew Vicar of Kilfinaghta was instituted by said Bp. to Killmurrinagall, with mand. of inducn. 21 March, 1613. Which Vicarage the Bishop united pro hac vice with that of Kilfinaghta. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, Official of the Archdn., 26 April, 1614.

King Charles, by Lett. Pat., dated at Dublin, 8th July, an. 7, presented said Andrew to the Vics. of Kilconrie and Kilmalerie, vacant by lapse, with mandate to institute; which vicarages the King united pro hac vice with the first named two. Inst. by Geo. Andrew, Dean of Limerick, official of Bp. of Killaloe, to Vics. of Kilconrie and Killmalœre, with mandate of inducn. 22 Oct., 1622.

Inducted to same by Hen. Bourman, surroge. of archdn., 7 Nov., 1631.

Dionisius Gartforth, schoolmaster, ord. Deacon by John, Bp. of Killaloe, 4 Oct., 1618; priest, by same, 25th Oct., 1618.

Instituted by same to Vicarages of Lockeine and Uskean, with mandate of inducn. 1 Oct. 1618. Vics. united pro hac vice propter tenuitatem. Inducted by Patrick the Archdn, Oct. 31, 1618.

Collated to preb. of Lockeine, vacant by resign. of George Andrew, last incumb. With mandate to instal. 31 Oct., 1620. Installed by Hugh Hogan, Dean of Killaloe, Jan. 31, 1620.

Johannes Twenbrooke, ord. Deacon by William, Bp. of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, 19 July, 1615; priest, by same, 2nd April, 1616.

Inst. by John, Bp. of Killaloe, to Rec. and V. of Killenamona, vacant by deprivan. of Richard Walker, Clk., last Incumbt., with mandate of induction 12 Jan., 1622. Inducted by Rich. Walker, clerk, 27 March, 1623.

King Charles, by Let. Pat., 18 May, an. 1, granted to said John, B.A., the Archdeaconry of St. Feeknan, of Kilfenora; also Rectory of Disert, in dioc. Killaloe, vac. per lapse, with mandate to James, Abp. of Armagh, to admit same, with mandate of installan. The King uniting the Archdeaconry with Rec. Disert pro hac vice propter tenuitatem. Instit. in Archdeaconry and Rectory by Malcolm, Abp. Cashel, with mandate of installan 21 May, 1625. Inducted and installed by Hygate Loue, Dec Feneboren, &c., 2 June, 1625.

Institud by Jno, Bp. Killaloe, in preb. of Dysert, with mandate of installan 10 May, 1628. Installed by Daniel Kennedaye, Precentor, 6 Aug., 1628. Admitted and institut by Geo. Andrew, Dean of Limerick, to Vic. of Dysert, vac by resignan of Andrew McGillishaghta, clk, last incumbent, with mandate of induction 8 Aug., 1632. Inductd by Henry Bourman, 14° Aug., 1632.

James, Abp. Armachan, granted letters dispensatory to hold the Rects of Killenamona and Disert, also Prebend of same and Vicarage of Disert, Nov. 9, 1632.

William Cox, Student of College of All Souls, Oxon, ordd Deacon by Jno, Bp of Killaloe, 20 April, 1623, and Priest by same, 27 April, 1623. Francis, Bp. of Limerick, admitted same Wm. to be one of his Chaplains, 10 Feb., 1630.

Inst. by Jno, Bp. of Killaloe, to Vics of Killokenedy and Killteeleigh, vacant by the free resignan of Richard Wilkins, clk., last incumbent, with clause of union and mandate for inducn 5 Aug., 1628.

Inducted by Henry Bourman, Archdn's Surrogate, Aug. 6, 1628.

James, Abp Armagh, granted dispensan to him to hold the Vicarage of Mungiet, in Limer. dioc., with the Vics of Kilteely and Killokennedy, 3 July, 1633.

Johes Cookeson, B.A., ordained Deacon and Priest by John, Bp of Lincoln, 5 March, 1625.

Instituted by Lewis, Bp. of Killaloe, to the R. and V. of Killkeedie, vacant by the death, cession, and deprivan of Richd. Walker, last incumb, with mandate of inducn May 11, 1633.

Nicholas Booth, Clk, inst. by Jno, Bp. of Killaloe, to the Vic. of Clondegad, vac. by the volunty resignan of Eugene Pritchard, Clk., last incumbt, with mandate of inducn 28 March, 1621. Inducted by Johne Twenbrooke, Clk, 5 April, 1621.

Johannes Sterne, Clk., A.M., inst. by Lewis, Bp. of Killaloe, to R. and V. of Litterlune, and V. of Kinneetie, with mandate of inducn. 13 May, 1633, said vicarages united propter tenuitatem. Inducted by Henry Bourman, 3 July, 1633.

Edwardus Fenner, schoolmaster, ordd. Deacon by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 1 Jan., 1619; and priest by same, 6 Jan., 1619.

Samuell Elliott, Clk., A.B. Instit. by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, to R. of Killenboy als Killeneboy, on presentatn. of King Charles by Let. Pat. 22 Jun. An. 2, with mandate of inductn. 17 Jun., 1626. Inducted by Archdn. Thos. Lodge, Nov. 7, 1626.

Willmus Hewett, ordained Priest by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 12 April, 1618. Inst. by same to Vics. of Dowrie and Tullagh, with mand. of inducn. and clause of union ppter tenuitatem, 11 Dec., 1624. Induct. by Winter Bridgman, 6 Jan., 1624.

Coll. and inst. by same Jno. to Preb. of Tullagh, vac. by death of Robert Bridgman, last incumbt., with mandate to Richard Hackett, Dean of Killaloe, to installl., July 12, 1627. Installd. by Danl. Keneday, precentor, 13 July, 1627.

Neptunus Blood, Clk., ord. Priest by Francis, Bp. of Limerick, 18 March, 1632. Instit. by George Andrewe, surrogate of Lewis of Killaloe dioc., to Vic. of Rathblanaghe, with mandate of induction 22 Sep., 1632.

Inducted by Henr. Bourman, 7 Oct., 1632. Coll. and inst by James, Bp. of Kilfenora, to the Precentorship of Kilfenora, with mandate for installn. Nov. 4, 1632.

Installd. by Hegatius Lowe, Decan., 5 Nov., 1632.

Inst. by Lewis, Bp. Laonen, to Vic. of Killinaboy, vac. by deprivn. of Dermot Nestor, last incumbent, with mandate for inducn 2 May, 1633. Clause of union of Vics. Killinaboy and Rathblanaghe.

Inducted by Henry Bourman, 26 May, 1633.

Johannes Blagrave, Clk., ordd. Deacon by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 19 April, 1629; priest by same, 2 May, 1630. Inst. by Jno., Bp. Killaloe, to Rect. o Mullead, vac. by resign. of Richard Fuller, last inct., with mandate of inducn. June 15, 1631. Induct. by Archdn. Thos. Lodge, 6 June, 1631. Instd. by Geo. Andrewe, Vicar-Gen. in Spirituals of said Bp., to Vic. of Insicronane, vac. by deprivan. of Wm. Danaye, last incumb., with mandate of inducn. 3 Oct. 1683.

Induct. by Archdn. Thos. Lodge, 7 Nov. 1633.

Richardus Barnes, literatus, ordd. Deacon by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 6 July, 1628; and priest, by same, Nov. 30, 1628.

Instit. by said Bp. to the Vics. of Moyno and Clonrush, vac. by resign. of Nathanl. Snow, clk., last incumb., with mandate of inducn. 10 Jan., 1630; said vicarages united by Bp. Inducted by Henry Bourman, the archdn's official, 16 Jan., 1630.

THOMAS BENNIS, Clk., ord. Deacon by John, Bp. of Kilfenora, 9 Dec., 1621; and priest, by John, Bp. of Ardfert and Aghadowe, 24 July, 1626.

Inst. by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, to the Vics. of Bonratty and Finnaugh, with mandate of inducn. and clause of union 19 Oct. 1624. Inducted by Winter Bridgman, archd's official, 26 Oct., 1624.

WILLUS REITSON, pedagogus, ord. Deacon by Jno., Bp. of Killaloe, 29 June, 1628; and priest, by same, May 31, 1629. Inst. by said Bp. to Vics. of Burgesbege and Yoghallarra, with mandate of inducn. and clause of union, June 30, 1628.

Inducted by Archdn. Thos. Lodge, 8 July, 1628.

WILLMUS CAPLE, A.B., ord. Deacon and Priest by Thomas, Bp. of Bath and Wells, 29 March, 1609. Inst. by John, Bp. of Killaloe, to Vics. of Modrinith and Buriskean, with mandate of inducn. June 30, 1620, with clause of union propter tenuitatem fructuum.

Inducted by Winter Bridgman, official of the Archdeacon of Killaloe.

(Total 46 incumbents. P. D.)

FENEBORENSIS DIOCESIS.

APUD KILLALOW.

14° *Martii*, 1633, *Epatus Feneborensis.*

Val. xx*l.* st. Eccia Cathlie Sci Feenani. Decem Canonie portiones spectan.

Val. x*l.* Decanus. Higatus Loue, Clicus predicator.

Val. iv*l.* p an., epus confert. Precentor. Neptunus Blood, Clicus predicator.

Val. ix*l.* st., epus confert. Cancellarius. Patricius Lisaght in Artt. Bac. predicator.

Val. 8*l.*, epus confert. Thesaurarus. Nehemias o Daveron.

Val. x*l.*, epus confert. Archideacanat. Andreas Lisaght in Artt. Baccs. predicator.

Val. 13*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* KILLYDEA.—Rector, Daniel Lisaght in Artt. Mag. predicator.

Val. 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, epus confert. Vicar eiusdem Owen Nelane. Nullus Curatus.

Val. xii*l.* p an. Dnus Baro de Inchiquin. KILLMOONYE.—Rector Daniel Lisaght in Artt. Magr.

Val. 7*l.* p an., epus confert. Vicarius eiusdem Owen Nealne Clericus.

KILLMACREE.—Rectoria spectat Archidiacono.

Val. vi*l.*, epus confert. Vicarius eiusdem Owen Nealne.

KILLMANYHEENE.—Rectoria spectat Archidiacono.
Val. 50*s.* ster., epus. Vicarius Hugo Powell Clericus.

KILTOWRAGH.—Capellanus spectat Decano.

CLONEY.—Rectoria spectat Decano.
Val. 50*s.* p an., epus confert. Vicarius Patricius Lisaght.

KILLENY.—Rectoria spectat Cancellario.
Val. 40*s.*, epus cfert. Vicarius Gillykally o Hickye Clericus.

Valent x*l.* KILLONOGHANE.—Rector Nehemias o Daveran Thesaur.
Epus cfert. Vicarius eiusdem Nehemias o Daveron.

RATHBORNY.—Rector Nehemias o Daveron.
Valent xii*l.*, epus cfert. Vicarius eiusdem Nehemias o Daveron.

GLAN INAGH.—Rectoria spectan Decano.
Val. 13*s.* 4*d.*, epus confert. Vicarius Gillykally ô Hickye.

CROMYLYUN.—Rectoria spectan Decano.
Vicaria vacat.

KILKOONEY.—Rectoria spectat Cancellario.
Val. 40*s.*, epus confert. Vicaria spectat Cancellario pdicto.

Val. x*l.* Dnus Baro de Inchiquin, patronus. CARNE.—Rector Hygatus Laue Decanus.

Val. 5*l.*, epus confert. Vicar eiusdem Johes Loue minori studendo gratia.

Epus confert. DROMCREE.—Rector Nehemias o Daveron.
Epus confert. Vicarius eiusdem Nehemias o Daveron.

NOGHAVAL.—Rectoria spectan Precentor.
Val. iiij*l.* p an., epus cfert. Vicarius Patricius Lisaght.

Baro de Inchiquin. 15*l.* p an. KILSHSHONNUY.—Impropr. Curatum Gillykully ô Hicky habet stipendium decim unius Car.rucat terre que valent communibus annis 13*s.* ster.

Dictus Baro. Monasterium Corcomroe. Impropr. Curatus. Gillykully ô Hicky. 30*s.* stipendium.

FENEBORENSIS DIOCESIS.

Decimo quarto Martii, 1633.

EUGENIUS NEALAND, in re literaria studiosus, ordained Deacon by Jno. Bp. of Killaloe, 27 April, 1617, and priest by same 5 Oct., 1617.

King Charles, by Let. Pat. 8 Aug. an. 5th, presented said Eugenius to the Vics. of Carne and KillinCrihy, vacant by lapse, with mandate for institun., uniting them propter tenuitatem to Killeisagh and Kilmoon,

which said Eugenius possesses. Instituted to VV. of Carne, Killin Crihy, Killeilagh, and Kilmoone by Pat. Gilliesaghta, Chancellor of Kilfenora, 17 Sept., 1629. Inducted into same by Daniel Gilliesaghta, rector of Killielsaght, 19 Sept., 1629.

Daniel Gilliesaghta, A.M., ordd. Deacon by Jno. Bp. of Kilfenora, 23 Aug., 1618, and priest by same, same day and year.

Instd. by sd. Bp. to RR. of Killeilagh and Kilmoone, vac. by resignan of Richd. Walker, last incumbt., with mandate of indun. to Hygate Loue the Dean, Nov. 23, 1620. Inducted by Eugene Nelland, vicar of Killen, 28 Dec., 1620.

Andreas McGillisaghta, Clk., A.B., admitted by James, Bp. of Kilfenora, to the Archdeaconry in Ec. Cath. S. Feckenani Fineboren, vacant by the voluntary resignan. of John Twenbrooke, Clk., last incumbent, with mandate for installn. 3 Oct., 1632.

Installed by Hygatus Loue, Clk., Dean, Nov. 6, 1632.

Patricius Lyshaght, A.B., ordd Deacon by Lancelot, Abp. of Dublin, 23 April, 1623; and Priest by Roland, Bp. of Kilmaduagh and Clonfert, 27 Nov. 1624.

Institut. by Christopher [Hampton], Abp. of Armagh, to the Chancellorship of Kilfenora and Vicarages of Nuoghvaile, Cloney, and Killcorney, vac. by lapse, on persentan. of King James, with mandate of inducn. and installan., uniting sd Vicarages and Chancellorship by patent propter tenuiatem, 19 May, 1623.

Instlld. by Hygatus Loue, Dean, 26 June, 1625.

Higatus Loue, ordd Deacon by Bernard, Bp. of Limerick and Kilfenora, 3d Dec. 1615, and Priest by same 3 Feb. 1615, King James by Lett. Pat. dated at Dubl. 2d June, an. reg. 15, granted to same Higatus, Clk., the Deanery of Kilfenora and Rectory of Carund, vacant by lapse, which Deanery and Rectory the King united under the name of one benefice 20 Jun., an. regni 15. Inducted and installed by Jno. Bp. of Kilfenora, Nov. 11, 1617.

Johannes Loue, studiosus, instit by Jno. Bp. of Kilfenora to the perp. Vic. of Carne als Carund, vacan studendi gratia, with mandate to the Archdn. to induct, Oct 31, 1620. Inducted by his proxy Hygatus Loue, Dean, Jan. 1, 1620.

Gilliquilles O'Hickie, ordd Deacon by Jno. Bp. of Kilfenora, 19 Oct. 1618, and Priest by same 18 April, 1620. Instit. by James, Bp. of Kilfenora, to Vics. of Killerea and Glanninafuagh, with clause of union ppter tenuitatem.

Inducted by Andrew Gillisaghta, Clk., Oct. 10, 1632. Admitted by same Bp. to serve the cures of Kilshany and Corkamroe, 5 July, 1630.

The successor of Bishop John Rider now appears at the head of the Diocesan affairs. The good Bishop's earnest wish and urgent letter in behalf of his old and worthy friend, Dean Andrewe, proved ineffectual. And the Diocese lost as a head a learned and good man, who was both an able administrator and intimately acquainted with the special Diocesan requirements. It was charged as a fault of his—that he was "a Church and Cathedral man." Enough, that another Dean was appointed to the position, of whom the following is recorded:—

Lewis Jones was a native of Merionethshire in Wales, and was educated in Oxford. He has been already noticed in these pages as Dean of Cashel, under Archbishop Miler Magrath (that disgrace of the Protestant Church in Ireland). Although he made an arrangement, if not corrupt, at least extremely weak, about his Decanal revenues to the vast advantage of the voracious Archbishop's son, yet Archbishop Usher very warmly recommended him. On the other hand, he had been accused to Parliament of being a favourer of the Scotch Covenanters, and was censured by the High Commission Court. Any how he is made Bishop, in succession to Dr. John Rider, in 1633, "with a clause enabling him to take other livings in commendam (except the Deanery), and with power to exchange what he hath." (Lib mun Hib.)

As the principal question of interest associated with Bishop Jones relates to the age at which he died, with other matters in connection, it may be pardonable to give the different conclusions arrived at on the subject.

In Harris Ware "it is stated that he died in the 104th year of his age." On the other hand, Dr. Cotton asserts "that this must be erroneous, for if the Bishop's age be correctly stated, he must have been *upwards of ninety years old* at his consecration. Unfortunately the parish register of St. Werburgh's does not extend so far back, and no monument of him is found there. But this error is (thinks Dr. Cotton) satisfactorily corrected by Archbishop Usher, who in a letter to Bishop Laud, dated May, 1629, recommends Dean Jones very strongly for the vacant Archbishoprick of Cashel, and describes him as being then sixty-nine years old. If so, he was born in 1560, and at his death, in 1646, would be eighty-six years of age.

(See Tanner's MSS., 461, in Bodleian Library, Oxford.)" So far Dr. Cotton. There is a difference between Ware and Dr. Cotton of eighteen years about the age at which Bishop Jones died in 1646. On the other hand, as to Ware's version being the correct one, it may be submitted, 1st, that this age is printed in Ware's book by the Bishop's own grandchildren, who could hardly allow to be published an incorrect account of their grandfather's age, to whom they curiously allude as printers of his life, and as the offspring of his eldest son. Then, 2nd, as to Archbishop Usher's statement of his age, in the letter of 1629, it must be remarked that Bishop Laud, writing in June, 1629, to Usher, calls this very Jones, in a very sly pointed way, "*the old Dean.*" (See Parr's Usher, p. 409.) Further, if in 1629 Jones was only sixty-nine years of age, he must have been in 1615 only fifty-five. Now, is there any standard for measuring his age in this year? The Regal Visitors of Cashel in this very year in a solemn official declaration pronounce Jones "*a decrepid old man,*" and at fifty-five (?). Surely then, with Jones' own grandchildren, Bishop Laud, the Royal Commissioners, and Ware all on the one side, Archbishop Usher, though so eminent a master of chronology, must be considered misinformed for once in his life on a question of antiquity. On the other hand comes the fact of the epithet "vivacious" being applied to the uxorious Bishop. This is a question for physiologists.

The age of Bishop Jones at his death having been discussed, his will, as extracted from the Record Office, is now given. And those who have a persuasion that the Bishops of Killaloe in those days were a kind of godless infidels or English police, who lived only to amass wealth and to oppress the poor, may learn something of the real facts of the case and the true character of the man. Tracings of this and of the other succeeding Bishops' autographs, taken by the kind permission of the Deputy Registrar, have been given in *fac simile* elsewhere.

Bishop Lewis Jones' Will.

In the name of God Amen. I Lewis Lord Bp. of Killaloe, sick in body but of perfect understanding and memory, do make my last will and test in manner and form following.

1. I commit my soule to Almighty God my Maker and Redeemer, and my body to the earth whence it was taken. I bequeath all my lands to my grandchild Lewis Jones. I bequeath to my son Michael Dore what

he oweth me besides my lands in Cloon Kezwell, which I have given him. I do bequeath to my son Oliver Jones (besides what I have already given him in lands and otherwise) £50 which is to be paid unto him out of my debts as they shall be recovered.

I have already given my son Ambrose Jones £100 for his portion.

I bequeath to my son Theophilus Jones (besides £110 which he hath already received) £50 which is to be paid unto him out of my debts as they shall be recovered.

I bequeath to my daughter Alice £50 to be paid out of my debts when recovered.

I bequeath to my daughter Mary Elliott £50 which Croker (?) Hilton oweth me.

I bequeath to my daughter Sarah Jones to be paid out of debts when, &c.

I bequeath unto Catherine Fowler £5 and to Anthony Gosford my servant £5, which sums out of debts, &c.

I leave to be distributed among the poor Protestants 40s.

Comerford oweth me	£150	0	0
Cahill O'Matigan (?), &c.	249	0	0
John Cate, of Templemore	72	0	0
Donogh O'Kennedy	158	0	0
John White and Mrs. Bouseman (For Michaelmas rent 1641.)	4	0	0
Thos. McConner Clythe	3	0	0
John McGheedy, of Kilcredane	8	10	0
Sir Danl. O'Brien two Bonds of... (Are in Mr. Moley the attorney's hands. The debt is recovered in King's Bench.)	1100	0	0
Jno. McLoughlin	4	0	0
	£1748	10	0

I left with Jno. McLoughlyn nine bullocks, some brasse (?), household stuffe, and half a garnish of pewter to be kept for me. I left likewise with Teige McLoughlin sixteen cows, and nine garrans. I left likewise with Darby Meehan some cadowes (?) and household stuff. I do hereby revoke all former wills and tests and do declare this to be my last will and test. I do appoint my son Henry Jones and my grandchild Lewis exors of my last will and test.

In witness whereof I have hereunto put mine hand and seal this 10 June, 1646.

Present, &c.

Hen. Clogher, Dr. Garforth, Hen. Darragh.

It will be observed that the Bishop calls his children in this document by the name *Jones*, not *Jauns* or Jahnnes. This is a mere fancy of a writer in the Kilkenny Archæological, p. 149, without any foundation except the existence of a monument in Killaloe of a recent date relating to quite a different family.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

The demise of Bishop Rider, and the appointment of his successor, Dean Jones, are the events of importance taking place at the commencement of this reign, a reign so fruitful of sorrow and of change.

Whatever may have been the sins, errors, or misfortunes of King Charles I. and his Irish Executive in the conduct of the secular affairs of that part of the King's dominions, there can be no doubt that their intentions were friendly to the Church, and their action in some respects advantageous. "The principal Irish statutes relating to ecclesiastical subjects that were passed during the reign of King Charles I. were few and unimportant. They are as follow:—

I. Stat. 10 Car. I., chap. 21, Sess. 2, for the restraining of all persons from marriage until their former wives and former husbands be dead (with a specified exception).

II. Stat. 10 Car. I., c. 23, Sess. 2, granting eight entire subsidies by Prelates and Clergy of Ireland.

III. Stat. 10 and 11 Car. I., ch. 2, to enable restitution of impropriations and tythes and other rights ecclesiastical to the clergy, with a restraint of aliening the same, and directions for presentations to the churches.

IV. Stat. 10 and 11 Car. I., ch. 3, for preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the Church and persons ecclesiastical.

V. Stat. 15 Car. I., ch. 10, for endowing churches with glebe lands.

(So far Dr. Stephens. Introduction MSS. Common Prayer, Irish.)

VI. The 10 and 11 of Charles I., cap. 3, also provides against profane swearing, a vice very prevalent at and before that time. Indeed Irishmen, even in the position of gentlemen and gallants, were so notoriously addicted to this odious habit, that Shakespeare has introduced an Irish captain as the exponent of this offence against God and good breeding.*

VII. The 16th Charles I., ch. 2, s. 4, provides that Courts Spiritual shall not inflict temporal punishments.

VIII. The 1st Charles I., ch. 1, provides punishment of breakers of the Lord's Day under spiritual jurisdiction.

IX. The 2nd Charles I., ch. 2, enforces residence of clergy by voidance of leases if absence over eighty days in a year takes place.

X. 10 and 11 Charles I., ch. 2, provides and enables, as to Vicar, if none endowed, that impropriations may be given without license.

It would be unfair to the aristocracy to omit the case of an *Irish cursing Lord*, as recorded in "Moses in the Mount," page 6:—

An Irish Lord, quartering at West Kerby, being bound for Ireland, was observed to be a prodigious swearer, belching out most horrid oaths in great abundance. Tidings are brought to Mr. Murcot in the morning, as he is going to celebrate a solemn fast. The work of the day being over, Mr. Murcot, being lately with God in the Mount, and now grown warm in His cause and quarrel, is impatient of brooking these high dishonours that were done unto His majesty. Wherefore, taking with him a friend, he rides the same night six miles to a magistrate—procures a warrant. The trembling constables are at first astonished to think of approaching in such a way to guilty greatness. But, being animated by Mr. Murcot, they serve their warrant, which provoked a new rage, the multiplying of fresh oaths, even without number, to the great amazement of the standers by. Notwithstanding

* In King Henry V., Act 3, scene 2:—"An Irishman, a very valiant gentleman," Captain MacMorris, in a few words, filling about twenty lines, flings out of his mouth about as many curses, utterly outdoing Jamy, the Scots captain, and Fluellen, the Welshman, in this accomplishment. He swears "by Chrish (*sic*), by his hand, by his father's soul; So Chrish (*sic*) save me" (again and again); and closes his part with the trucid threat,

"So Chrish save me,
I will cut off your head."

the boisterous menaces and outrage of this great man, his horses were seized on and kept till he paid 20*l.* (*sic*), which was employed as a stock for the poor of the parish, so wickedly liberal was this Lord to them.

It is no wonder some public check by fines was attempted of this great offence; and yet this was audaciously violated, as R. Lawrence mentions gravely in his "Interest of Ireland," 1682, p. 38:—

> Our prophane ones so glory in this shame, that they will often belch out their filthy vomit in the face of magistrates, who, when they reprove them, and demand *one shilling for an oath*, have contemptuously, both to God and the King's law, thrown down their guinea, and immediately *swore it out*.

The particulars referred to in Nos. VI.—X. are detailed by Dr. Bullingbrooke, in addition to the summary statement made by Dr. Stephens.

A brief review must now be taken of the religious, political, and economical condition of the West of Ireland prior to 1641. (See more in Desiderata Curiosa, p. 78.)

A Petition of Remonstrance was presented to the Lord Deputy from the knights, citizens, and burgesses assembled in Parliament, that "divers complaints were made of many grievous exactions, pressures, and vexatious proceedings of some of the clergy of this kingdom, and their officers and ministers, against the laity, especially the poorer sort, to the great impoverishment and general detriment of the whole kingdom," and so forth. These grievances were divided into two classes. First, those to be abolished:—

1. For hearse cloths 6s. 8d., though there be no hearse cloth at all.
2. The parish clerk takes a barrel of corn for every plowland, and two quarters of wheat for every acre ploughed.
3. For every corn-mill a bowl of corn grinded per week.
4. In *Connaught* and elsewhere 6d. per annum of every couple, by the name of *Holy Water Clerk*.
5. The Bishops appoint Commissioners for subsidies, and J. P.'s as *churchwardens* upon them, under the pain of excommunication.
6. Curates, &c., are made Commissaries.
7. Men summoned to appear, when, &c., no informer or libel.
8. Married couples that live long together are brought to Court to prove their marriages and then pay 7s. for a dismiss.
9. Allowances by Court to churchwardens and inquisitors, non-payment a matter of mulct to parish.
10. Churchwardens must pay unjust fees, and buy books of articles.
11. Also pay for certificates and discharges.

12. Four tail of corn = nine sheaves the tail per every plough, besides tythe corn in specie.

13. One sheaf for every horse in the plough, called *Punue-nabracke.*

14. Also 32 quarters Lenten-oats.

15. Quides or refections of every parishioner, now a constant revenue.

16. Coshers = 1s. a plough, or spade, per annum.

17. In Connaught a *mescan* or dish of butter in summer, of each parishioner = 6d. or 8d.

18. Of every man that dies a *muttoe,* by the name of *anointing muttoe.*

19. From a poor man that hath but one cow, they take that for a mortuary. From one that is better off, his best garment for a mortuary, if a woman her best garment. And a gallon of drink for every brewing by name of *Mary-gallons.* Then come "*hide and tallow,* and *lamb-muttoe, soul-money, portion canons, Patricks ridges, rood-sheaves, book money, beggars mortuaries,* and parish boundary dues."

Secondly come—

The grievances which parsons, vicars, and curates must reform and moderate. Marriage, churching, burial, clandestine marriage, breaking ground in body of parish church, ditto in chancel—fees.

Multiplying apparitors.

By an Act of Parliament in this Kingdom the Bishop should administer an oath to every minister to keep a school within the parish, to teach children the *English* tongue. This is not observed, nor the schools kept. (To be reformed.)

By another Act a FREE SCHOOL should be kept in every Diocese. Not observed, to the great prejudice of the Kingdom of Ireland. (This is to be reformed.)

Great sums of money received by several Bishops of this Kingdom *for commuting of penance,* which monies by his Majesty's instructions should be converted to *pious* uses. Not observed, but made a private profit.

The mode of dealing with this grievance is that

This is to be disposed of in reparation of churches, bridges, highways, and for the relief of the poor within the parish, where the fact was committed. And Bishops to account for these before the Judges of Assize in their circuits once a year.

No more blank processes to issue.

No more frivolous charges, security for cost by informers.

Bishops' Courts not to be too frequent.

Nor Registers inordinate about fees.

(Journals of the House of Commons, A.D. 1640, June, p. 258, Second Edition.)

What a sad and instructive lesson to Churches does all this teach, not only of dangers past but also in the future. Deficient endowments drove clerical men and Ecclesiastical Corporations to unworthy shifts and shabby extortions. If men muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, the ox will work

sluggishly and trespass wickedly. "Rem quocunque modo rem" is a motto not to be argued out of a hungry man's head.

In respect of political and economical affairs the King was advised to raise money by the expedient of selling lands in Ireland to adventurers, at so much per acre, in the different provinces.

This is the object of the 17 of Charles I., called—The Adventurers Act. In a curious square quarto, "printed in London for Joseph Hunscott, 1642," and "Published by Authoritie," and entitled a "Particular Relation of the Present State and Condition of Ireland as it now Stands, manifested by several letters," &c., &c., the following appears in the preface or introduction:—"Therefore, in answer to those who doubt whether there will be so much land escheated to the Crown out of the rebels estates, as may raise those millions and a half of acres (designed by Parliament for the satisfaction of those undertakers, who with the houses and the rest of the kingdom may be engaged therein). It is credibly affirmed and may by these letters and the Proclamation (published in Ireland) appear to those who know the persons and their estates, that there will be sufficient escheated land to answer that quantity of land (contracted for) upon the terms in the petitions and propositions manifested." This pamphlet concludes with a letter to Sir R. King from "Ad. Loftus," the closing sentence of which is too good to be left in oblivion. "We have indited of treason all the noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Wicklow, which I hope will be a great advantage to the Crown, and good to this poor kingdom, when these rascals shall be confounded, and honest Protestants planted in their places." (Ad. Loftus, 14 Feb., 1641.)

Than this Act, there could hardly have been invented by his Majesty's greatest enemy a more certain method of injuring his friends, of strengthening his foes, and of ultimately ruining the Royal cause in Ireland. Also an idea was long cherished that as Queen Elizabeth had settled Munster, and King James Ulster, so Charles must needs settle Connaught. But the difference was this. In the first case Desmond's rebellion naturally led to a vast forfeiture, and O'Neile's bloody

uprising had left the Crown in absolute mastery of the six counties of the North. Charles I. was to make good the forfeiture and settlement of Connaught by legal chicanery and an unkingly breach of faith, and in fact by coming forward as the self-authorized plunderer of "friendly punctuality." If the chieftains of Clare had on their composition with Sir John Perrot and subsequently surrendered their estates, but neglected to enrol their surrenders and take out new Letters Patent, was it not too hard that their titles should be vitiated and themselves turned adrift, because by a neglect of the officers in Chancery the full formalities had not been complied with, though the cost of the fees had been actually paid into Court by the tenants of the Crown? The details of this ill-starred measure—of this "fons et origo malorum," may prove interesting and instructive, inasmuch as the Reformed faith was associated with the King as upon earth the Head of the Church, also ecclesiastics of high degree had mixed themselves up more or less with these strange proceedings. Letter after letter is found in Stafforde's State Letters (Vol. ii., pp. 84, 93, 98, 332), in which the Royal approbation is expressed, and the completion of the plot urged forward. The greater success of the proceedings in the way of finding his Majesty's title to the two Ormonds is attributed to the influence of the Earl of Ormond, and the friendly aid of the Earl of Thomond is reckoned upon, through the weight of the solid considerations which the King himself held forth to the latter nobleman, in the shape of "his *not* having the fourth part of his lands taken from him as from the other natives there, but that he be suffered still to hold them on such increase of rent as shall be set" upon the rest. (See Lodge's Archdall, sub Inchiquin, vol. ii., p. 49.)

Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, whose zeal for recovering the alienated possessions of the Church was so ardent, took occasion to join Stafforde in his mission for the inquiry into defective titles. After the defeat in Connaught (see Carte), through Lord Clanrickarde's boldness and manliness, the Bishop was surprised to find the revenues of the See of Kilfenora miserably small and quite insufficient for a Bishop, as had been stated by Laud in a letter to Usher in 1629. (Parr's Life of Usher, &c., Letters, p. 416, also p. 427.)

"You have answered nothing about the Bishoprick of Kilfenora, which is so poor in itself that no man asks it of the King, and his Majesty is graciously pleased that your Lordship would think of some parsonage or vicarage or donative that might for ever be annexed to it." Bramhall did not openly mix himself up with the Connaught inquisition. The names of the ecclesiastical persons at the foot of the great Connaught Inquisition Roll, now in the Record Office, are "Robertus Clonfert" and "Randolph Tuamensis." Indeed, Dr. Bramhall, feeling the need of caution in this desperate undertaking, writes that "To have two Bishops in the Comtee for plantation were not amisse, so that it were done without noise. My Lord Deputies designs have been still so propitious to the Church, that to propose any, the least, addition to his resolves were in my poor judgment a degree of ingratitude." (Shirley's Papers, p. 59.) "I am very fearful to be seen to have any hand in this business." (*Ubi supra*, p. 68.)

On the 4th of March, 1640, articles of High Treason were exhibited to the House of Lords in Ireland against him and others; this land affair, and his connexion with it, being the chief offence. (See article 2 in Argt. by P. Darcy, Esq., p. 172; also in the Journals of I. House of Commons.) Members of the O'Brien family, and in particular Captain Dermot O'Brien, one of the representatives of Clare, took an active share in opposing these proceedings. (See History and Memoir of O'Briens.) What was the exact cause of their dislike to Bramhall has not been made quite apparent, whether his connexion with Strafforde, who was invading their lands, or his efforts to rehabilitate Bishopricks which were dilapidated by fee farms and long leases at small rents. Anyhow the charge was made and Bramhall met it. All the Bishop's friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it dishonourable to fly. He showed himself next day in the Parliament House, Dublin, where his enemies stood staring at him for awhile, and then made him close prisoner. Nor was this all; for so determined was the House that he should not escape out of their hands, that the following order was made (though afterwards "*vacated*"):—"It is ordered that the undernamed persons are presently to repair to the Lords and to signify unto their Lordships that it is the desire of this House that they would be

pleased in regard the Lord Bishop of Derry *lyeth so near the water to appoint his Lordship a more secure lodging.*" (Journals, Commons, Second Edition, 1641, p. 377.) In this distress he wrote to the Primate Usher, then in England, who wrote to him a most friendly and sympathising letter in reply. But though proceedings were ordered by the King to be stopped, and the affair died out of itself, and he was at length restored to liberty, yet all this took place without a public acquittal given to him (Bramhall's Works, vol. i., pp. ix. and xxvi., Lib. Angl. Theol.) until many years after. (See Journals H. C., 16 July, 1661.)

Thus difficult and dangerous was it to uphold the cause of the Irish Church in these days, according to the shrewd remark of Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, to Dr. Usher, Archbishop elect. "The growth of the Irish Church (notwithstanding his Majesty's endowments and directions) receives every day more impediments and opposition than ever. Impropriators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they upon whom the care of souls is laid are debarred." (Parr's Usher, p. 322.) One of the strongest passions of the human heart is the proprietary feeling, and the dearest objects around which it clings are landed rights and real property. Stafforde unjustly assailed the real property of the laity. Bramhall honestly (see Carte, p. 68, vol. i.) contested the landed rights of the Church. Making this concession as to the rights of property so unwisely and unwarrantably invaded; conceding, too, that "the claim of the Irish Roman Catholics not to be excommunicated by the Protestant clergy" (see Carte, i., p. 545), as well as by their own clergy into the bargain, who were not slack thus to smite, was not at all an unreasonable claim; conceding, likewise, that the Court of Wards exercised an ingeniously oppressive mode of dealing with the children of the higher classes; conceding, too, how reckless and provocative of rebellion and outbreak was the severity of the legislative action when it had to back it such an incapable Administration and so beggarly an armament as was found at the moment of Ireland's danger (see Carte, Cox, and Borlace) in a few moth-eaten bows and musty bow-strings and withered pike-staves; giving also full weight to the injurious effects of trade restrictions adverse to certain Irish industries, and in particular to

the woollen manufacture in the West, which might otherwise have drawn many a young man from wild ferocity and bloody "toryism" to honest industry and peaceful living,—conceding all this, and even that reforms admitted as necessary by Lord Falkland, for instance, had been left incomplete and, indeed, untried, these were sore evils, irritating items and inflictions at once humiliating and provoking and scarce endurable. And yet, after all, if with respect of these, and the Plantation and Adventurer schemes, the Kelts and old Anglo-Normans, whether as proprietors, occupiers, or religionists, had just and good reasons to be dissatisfied and indignant with the King, with his advisers, with his Executive, and with his Parliaments English and Irish, we ask what had the English Protestant settlers, whether as purchasers, leaseholders, traders, artizans, or whatever else that bore the English name and professed the English faith, of concern or share, of partnership or responsibility in all this, that *they* should be rushed upon as though by a pack of wolves, and treated in a manner almost without a parallel in the records of barbarians?

The Irish "of late times (see 'Present State of Ireland,' p. 121) were so much civilized by their cohabitation with the English, as that their ancient animosities and hatreds seemed now to be quite departed and buried in a firm conglutination of their affection, and national obligations passed between them. . . . And so great an advantage did they find by the English commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their lands and native commodities—so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed or could expect to raise by their own proper industry—as (that) Sir Phelimon O'Neal and many others of the prime leaders in the last Rebellion had not long before turned their *Irish* tenants off their lands, while they took on *English*, who were able to give them much greater rents and more certainly pay the same." No ingenuity, no special pleading can prove that the quarrel of the Kelts, whether as Kelts or as Roman Catholics, had any pretence of a just standing with these innocent English and Protestants. What had they done to provoke a sudden outburst of malignant violence which reached even to the dogs of the English?

The terrible tragedy of 1641 has been viewed and reviewed from different points and on opposing grounds by Protestant

and English writers on the one hand and by the apologists of the Kelts and the Roman Catholics on the other. Almost every assertion has been contradicted as stoutly as it has been made, whether concerning the causes which led to the outbreak, the exact time of its bursting forth, the space it extended over, the originators and first actors in the fatal scenes, with their motives and various methods of operation, as well as the consequences arising out of it to life, property, and religion. This has gone on from the time of "the Remonstrance given to his Majesty at Oxford in May, 1644," in a long line down to the present day.

And, indeed, though the denials, evasions, and explanations were always effectually encountered, there seemed no particular anxiety on the part of the Protestants and English—at least those of later times—to rake up these miserable details. Bishop Henry Rider of Killaloe gave utterance to this feeling in the following noble and manly words, part of a State sermon preached before the House of Commons (page 3), 23 Oct., 1695:—

> It may, I say, be expected that I should enlarge upon these particulars, but hope that the task may be equally ungrateful to us all. That as we delight not in the effusion of any man's blood, so we sympathize too far with the sufferings of our ancestors to disturb the weary that are at rest, to lay open their bleeding wounds, to revive these persuasive calls to vengeance—these cries and fearful shrieks which run parallel to nothing but that in the Revelation, "How long, Lord, Holy and true, wilt thou not judge and avenge our blood?"

And so, too, most gladly would we exclude such sad details from these pages, were it not that this exclusion would leave unaccounted for *the most decisive event* which has taken place in the Diocese of Killaloe since the Reformation; also, if we exclude them, certain grave consequences, attributable exclusively to this cause, might be most injuriously attributed to other causes inadequate to produce them. And, certainly, some of the more recent "vindications" can hardly pass without a refutation of the very confident assertions and denials they contain. Some principle, therefore, must be found, some canon of historical verity used, which nothing but violent prejudice or downright unbelief can dare to resist or gainsay. Such principle seems to be laid down by a recent writer, who has bestowed much research upon this period, and

has exhibited no undue partiality towards the cloaking of English severity, nor yet any insensibility to Keltic sorrows. The Author of the "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland" (2nd Edition, page 60) has laid it down that "The proper evidence to prove or disprove this dreadful massacre are, of course, AUTHENTIC CONTEMPORANEOUS DOCUMENTS, not compilations of a later date, like Hume's 'History of England,' or even the ponderous pamphlets of the party writers of the day —like Milton and Clarendon—strangers to Ireland and its transactions." Whoever else may have dwelt with relish upon these deeds done upon the soil of Erin, or, in a spirit of bitter resentfulness, may have "kept up the expiring memory of the outrages committed by the Irish to posterity," or, "by an afterthought, included murder among the other acts of robbers," such is not our object nor our mode of narration. The event which inflicted on the Protestant religion in Ireland in general, and on the Diocese of Killaloe in particular, "an inexpressible blow," as Ware calls it—*a wound from the effects of which the Diocese has never yet recovered its strength, after* 350 *years*, and the traces of which remain on both sides of the Shannon, and in almost every parish, must of necessity be now disclosed and dwelt on from "authentic and contemporaneous documents." As to one class of these, Mr. Hardiman is fully convinced (after a close inspection) of the importance and value of the Depositions connected with 1641 in MSS. T. C. D.; and so he is persuaded that without their aid the transactions of the seventeenth century, which are among the most momentous of Irish history, can never be adequately portrayed by the historian. (See O'Flaherty's H. Iar., ed. Hardiman, p. 418). Another class of evidence, also contemporaneous and authentic, is that contained in such works as "Irish Narratives of 1641," published by the Camden Society, and having their sanction, and Cooke's "Picture of Parsonstown." The first of these contains a contemporary manuscript (Introduction IX.) by Mr. Cuffe of this siege. The second gives extracts from Sir Wm. Parsons' "Journal of the Siege of the Birr," made at the time, and on the spot. And both of these are fully corroborated by one or more, in some cases by several independent witnesses, on oath, as given in the Depositions; and many of these witnesses, too, are clergymen of the Diocese; also gentlemen

and ladies of position and property, and other parties usually held worthy of credit in Courts of Justice, and among men of honour. Another class of evidence, also authentic and contemporaneous, here made available, was found in the MSS. Collection of the O'Briens of Dough—now in Ennistymon House—most generously placed at the writer's disposal by Mrs. McNamara. These give some very interesting local disclosures, and corroborate statements made in the former classes of evidence. Another branch of evidence which is relied upon, and not without corroboration, is that to be found in the writings of Carte, Clanrickarde, Castlehaven; indeed, also of Coxe. Temple has come under the suspicion of writing under an undue excitement; Borlase has also been discredited. They are not called up to give evidence, although they may exhibit documents worthy of full credit; but their evidence, together with "The Black Book of Athlone," and anything else emanating from exaggeration, revenge, lucre, or partizanship, are left aside as worse than useless.

What is relied on (let it be repeated) is evidence clear, cogent, and often exhaustive, fairly brought forward in proof of facts, which, by a painful necessity, must be disclosed in pursuance of a sacred object, and in vindication of the Reformed faith from the devices of many writers, who, with no slight amount of pertinacity and effrontery, have laboured to deny, to palliate, to justify, to suppress—anyhow, in some way or other, to mislead the public concerning facts of the utmost possible consequence in their bearing upon the fortunes of the Diocese of Killaloe.

The first item of evidence from authentic contemporaneous documents relates to

THE SIEGE OF BALLYALLA.

The name of this once-important stronghold is explained as Halley or Haley's-town. The situation is told in detail by the besiegers. It is about two miles from Ennis on the north-east towards the borders of Galway, and on the edge of the course which the Fergus formerly took, sweeping round by Ballygriffy Castle and spreading into a lake between Ballyalla and Drumcliffe Roundtower. The castle stood upon a hill or mound,

somewhat distant from the scrubby slope which runs away west towards Templemaley. The remains of the building may still be found by those who climb the mound, which is swelled partly by the *debris* of the castle itself. On the lakeside are traces not effaced of an enclosure—the hay-yard, doubtless, alluded to in the siege. Here the Protestants of Clare made a desperate stand, and the family of the Cuffes won a lasting renown. The ownership is established by Fiants accessible. It was leased by the Galway family of Sir V. Blake to Mr. Cuffe, a merchant of Ennis. This Mr. Cuffe was buried within the precincts of the Franciscan Abby, Ennis, in 1638. For this tomb close search was made by the writer, and in vain. The family may well carry the motto, "Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ," after Ballyalla siege and defence. His widow, Mrs. Cuffe, represented him, and exhibited much foresight and judgment before, as her seven sons showed much noble courage and humanity during, the siege. The property is now in the possession of Capt. Wm. Stacpoole, M.P. for Ennis.

The following items are taken from "Narratives Illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690. Edited by Thos Crofton Croker. London: Printed for the Camden Society":—

Parte of a brief narration of the beginning and continuance of some of the commotion of the County Clare, alias Thomond, with the manner and prime actors of it, against the Protestants of the said county, chiefly against the Castell of Ballyaly.

Having recited that on "the 1st of Nov., 1641, news was sent from Limrick to Robt. Coppinger, Esq., being then at the fair of Clare, of the rebellion that was begun in the North, and how the Lord MacGire and his adherents attempted to take the Castel of Dublin," the progress of the movement westward is then traced "to the next abordering counties, specially Ormond, Dough-arra (or Blackarra, where the slate quarries are opened and a wild population lives), and the rest of the Coy Tipperarie, and how the English of those parts were pilleged and robed of all their goodes and cattell, which enforced them to fly from there howses and betake themselves for safety of lives to *Castell* (*sic*), many being stripped out of there cloathes and exposed naked to the extremity of the could, except they would revolt from the Protestant religion."

Then Murtagh O'Brien, "after robbing many of the Eng-

lish, &c., threatened to surprize the town of Killalow and Castell Bank, and to strip the Bishop of Killalow, Dr. Jones, with the rest of the English in them parts: for fear of whose barbarous usage, the sd. Bishop, with his English tenants, forsook the towne of Killaloe, and fled to his Majesty's Castell at Limrick, where they remained till the rebells tuck the sd. Castell of Limrick, which was the 23 of June, 1642." Then ensues a good deal of a play most congenial to the Irish, viz., cattle snatching in Duharra and in Thomond, but the English settlers came off second best in this play. Then "Oliver Delahoyd, of Terreada (now Tyredagh, near Tulla), and John of Fonerla (now Fomerla), go still more heavily into cow-stealing," also for befooling the Earle of Thomond. "Ownie Owg O'Loghlen, and his 3 sons are now out," and "About the 22 of Ober they went to Balecare, and from thence by night drove awaies many cows and sheep from George Colpis, Esq., and from other English." Then Robert Hibard complains of Hugh Gradie taking away from him some 160 English catell, besides horses and sheep, and wounded his servants and occupied his howses. Then the Gradies (of Tomgraney), when a force was sent to chastize them, ran away to hide in Conaght. Then the Earl's soldiers "began to opres (*sic*) and abuse the English that remained in there dwellings, but the most of the E. had betaken them to their castells. Then the Earle strangely gives warrants to strip the English of their arms, and accordingly D. O'Brien came to the Castell of Ballyalla, which then was in the poseshon of Elizabeth and Maurice Cuffe, of Innish, merchants, and by him fortified, and a ward by his mother and bros. put therein. The mother gave no armes and no admission to D. O'Brien; he went away discontented and offended, and being resolved of be avenged of the within wardar." Then "D. McNamara goes North to confer with Sir Phelim O'Neale and the rest of their chiefe rebels, to be derected what armes thaye should goe on withall in Thomond and to procure some battr'ng peeces—being reported there were plenty of them and all other engens of war with them rebels in the North parts—which reportes and threetnings they daily threetened the English with all that were then in Castells—divars Castells at that time being posest by the English, as I shall hereafter nominat—which Castells they vowed to batter down upon

McNemarrowe's returne, specially the Castell of Ballyalla, but he returned without any ordinance.

"Now I shall nominat what Castells were in Englishmen's hands at the begining of the rebellion and whoes poseshon in Thomond.

1.	Bunratty Castell,	posest	by	Earle of Thomond.
2.	Rossmana (her)	„	„	Christian Coule.
3.	Cappagh	„	„	Frances Morton.
4.	Drumline	„	„	Edward Fenar.
5.	Balycare	„	„	Geo. Colpis, Esq.
6.	Ballymacashen (parte of)		„	Thomas Benes.
7.	Drommolan	„	„	Robert Starkey, Esq.
8.	The Ing	„	„	Peter Ware.
9.	Cloghanaboye	„	„	Mr. Rawson's tenants.
10.	Clare Castell	„	„	Captain Heugh Norton, Esq.
11.	Balyaly	„	„	Maurice Cuffe, merchant.
12.	Balehoreck	„	„	Wm. Brickdall, Esq.
13.	Coonaghan	„	„	Mr. Thomas Burton and Mr. Mounsall.
14.	Donagarogue	„	„	Anthony Usher, Esq.
15.	Moygh Castle	„	„	George Norton.
16.	Incheyneagh	„	„	Simson and others.
17.	Newtoune	„	„	Donogh O'Brien, Esq. (then Protestant).
18.	Carnne Duffe	„	„	Francis Dawes.
19.	Baleportre	„	„	John Brickdall.
20.	Ballyharehane	„	„	Mr. Huxley.
21.	Inchecronane	„	„	Anthony Heathcote.
22.	Clowne	„	„	Thomas Bourne.
23.	Lisdfin	„	„	William Costolow.
24.	Garoro	„	„	John Carter.
25.	Scareff	„	„	Richard Blagrafe (son of Rev. John B., minister and preacher).
26.	Caherhurley	„	„	Matthew Hickes.
27.	Toumgraney	„	„	Luke Brady, Esq.
28.	Castell Bank	„	„	Mr. Washington.
29.	Toumrow Castle	„	„	Peeter Ward, where hee and his wiffe were most cruely murdered by the enemy. (See infra.)
30.	Balenacragen	„	„	Richard Keaton.
31.	Castell Keale	„	„	James Marten."

As to the castles in Clare, there is a MS. in T.C.D. (*vide* Appendix No. VII.), being a return of those in the year 1584. They number 165. Mr. Hely Dutton, in his survey, 1802, names 119, out of which number tradition says that the Mac-

namaras built 57. The castles in Clare, from the Ordinance Survey in 1862, are 149. Those in excess of the number known to Mr. Dutton (who was only a bird of passage) are given in the subsequent more accurate survey. Colonel Connor O'Brien, of Lemanegh, now comes forward on the side of the rebellion, and accompanied "by diver other Irish *gentry*," went and drove away what cattell he cld find of Mr. Burton's, Mr. Hickman's, and of any other Englishman, the whole cuntrey being now out in general. About 20 January Mr. Twimbrock (*sic*) (the Rev. John, see Visitation Tour, *supra* No. 40, Rector of Dysert) was turned out of his house and goods by Turlough O'Brien, &c., not leaving him or Wm. and Jno. Bridgman, his two sonn-in-laws, anything, but were to betake themselves to Teige O'Brien, of Drummore Castell,* Esq. (now the property of T. Crowe, Esq., D.L.). Here O'Brien gained two or three fowling peeces and some powthar which was then preshes (precious).

At this castell of Teige O'Bryens, the aforesaid Twinbrocke, through fair promises and invitation of the said Brien, had sent most of his and his sons best goods, but were faine to give the greatest part or all to the said Brien to convey them. Then ensue robbery of arms from English, and also alarms of war—"that the Irish gentry of that county had generally resolved to beseege and take all the English castells in that county, and that they would furst begin with the Castell of Ballgaly—where they expected to recover both welth and store of peeces and powthar and bullets, which would inabell them much for taking other castels, and that the taking of that castell wld be a great danting to all other English of the county. This Castell of Ballgaly having a reasonable strong ward and well provided, notwithstanding the country's malles, as the poorer sort of people, specially some of Mrs. Cuffes and her sons tenants, would furnish us privately with some fresh provition for mony, as hennes egges, geese, lambs, and the like. This, however, is put a stop to."

* The Castle of Dromore still stands, beautifully situated near the lake; over the doorway is a slab with the following inscription :—

"This Castle was build by Teige, Second Sone to Connor, Third Earle of Thomond, and by Slaney Brien, wife to the said Teige. Anno D."

Sir V. Blake then by letters demands possession, which is boldly refused. Then "divers that cum for shelter to the said Castell of poore English, whereof part of them were robbed of their goods and provisions, not being able to withstand so sudden a seedges as was intended, and not any in the castell being provided with more than what they had provided for themselves and families. The names shall hereafter follow of all. (Names not given.*) Hereupon finding ourselves bard of provition for mony, and hearing and seeing the emenent dainger wee were in, cased us to tak time, while time sarved, to releeve these poore, and lickwaises ourselves, with a leetell fresh provition. Whereupon there was a party sent forth, which gained from the enemie and brought home 11 cowes and 32 sheepe which were killed for the releefe of the poore whereby they might induer the seege the bettar."

On 4th February, 1641, came a final demand of the Castle by letter, to which was written a final refusal.

Dermod sent Turlough to besiedge us, indevering to prevent us of firing and water. Then came assistance of the country in general from each barony by turns, and cabins beult under the hedgeroes and bushes, which were seized for firewood by the beseiged. "It was lickwaises obsarved deuring the first seidge, that whenevar the enemi had any practice to com ageinst us, it pleased God to sende extreame stormes of wind or haile or raine."

Then ensued false claims, evil cursings—"to express these base and wicked termes were soe tedious and base, that it were abell to shame the reader to heere their wicked inventions and damnable curses" to frighten the defenders.

The Plot now Thickens.

About the 21st of February Capt. H. O'Gradey summons the Castell, and being demanded by some that were upon the battlement what authority he had to demand it? whereupon he answered that he had Cumishon (Commission) from his Majesty to banish all the Protestants of Ireland. Hereupon without further excamenation (*sic*) there was a bullet sent from the Castle by one of the warders to exsamen (*sic*) his Cumishon

* See names in evidence of Andrew Chaplin.

(*sic*) which went through his thigh. But he made a shift to rumbell (*sic*) to the bushes, and there fell down, but only lay by it 16 weeks, in which time unhapely (*sic*) it was cured.

This evening a poore maid that foremarley came stripped to the Castell, being desirous to venture to an aunt she had at Ballycarr Castle, living with Coalpes (Colpoys), had no sooner begun her journey but was taken and tortured to reveal who shot O'Grady—which then she was forced to confess—the party being Andrew Chapling, minstar.*

The Forme of the Sowes built by the Enemy.

This daye they advanced there sowes, and recoverd her within the outar trench of the Castell Island.

The great sowe was 35 ft. long and 9 foote broad. It was made upon 4 wheels, mad of whole timber, bound about with hoops of iron; the axel-trees whereon she run was great round bars of iron, the beams she was built upon being timber. They had cross beams within to work their levers, to force her along as they pleased to guide her. The hinder part of the sow was left open for their men to go in and out. The forepart of the sowe had 4 doors, 2 on roof and 2 on lower parts, which did hang upon great iron huckles, but were not to open till they came close to the wall of the castell, where they intended to work through the walls of the castell with their tools they had provided. The ruff of the sowe was built like the ruff of a house, with a very sharp ridge, the lower part as the walls of a house. She was double-planked, with many thick oaken planks, and driven very thick with five-stroke nails, which nails cost 5*l.*, being intended for a house of correction which should have been built in Innish. This sowe was lickwaise covered over with two rows of hides and two rows of sheep-skins, so that no musket-bullet or steel arrow could pearse it, of which trial often was made.

There was a lessar sowe imployed to go for vitall for the great sowe to the camp, and for any to come to the big sowe, &c.

* In Lib. Mun. Hib. vol. ii. p. 109, col. 2, No. 18, our brave Parson is thus accounted for:—"Chaplin (Andrew), Vicarage of Kilkenry and Kilmalley, Diocese of Killaloe, with clause of union pro hac vice tantum to the Vicarage of Kilnanaughta and Kilmurrynageal, in said Diocese, which he now possesses. July 8." See also p. 174.

The description of the leathern piece (of ordenance) made by the enemy.

The said peece was about 5 feet in length, not built upon carriage, but fastened to a stocke of timber. This goon (*sic*) they planted in the great trench near the castell, to be ready when they found occation to discharge her.

Then follows a night attack, in part successful, and an attempt to cut off the besieged.

"The next morning they made triall of their lethren gun at us, but she only gave a great report (!), having 13 lbs. of powdhar in her, *but let fly backwarde* (!!), *the bullet remaining within* (!!!). They likewise let fly many musket-shot at our spikeholes, but, God be praised, did no hurt." Then they "continued exchanging shots" very hot till Sunday morning, and had the "killing of divers, but lost none."* Then ensued a battle in the haggard, and a sortie for water, and a successful attack upon the sowes. Notwithstanding, the enemy kept their camps, not removing from us till the 12 of March. Our ward of Ballyaly having cleared and terrified the Irish between Clare and Ballyaly reasanable well, whereupon the poor English would venture from Clare to us divars times for some relief, the which they had usedly given them by us; but at last two poor women coming, being Elizabeth Hackery and Margt. Whitcomb, were by two of the Cowries (?) kild. Then

* The subject of ordnance, and the attempts to supply it, here so absurdly illustrated, may occasion the remark that Sir W. Raleigh mentions that "the Netherlands in those days had *wooden* guns, and the Irish had darts."—*Three Discourses.* Also, the patriot Tyrolese fought the French most brilliantly with wooden guns. The main reason assigned by Bishop Dease, Titular of Meath, for his opposing the rising of the Catholic Confederates, in after days, was their lack of great guns; as if to rebel without artillery was contravening the Canon Laws. (See Cogan's "Meath.") But the strangest attempt of all to extemporize artillery was that made by the Lord Viscount Clanmaleire: —"After two months he brought a great piece of ordinance, to the making of which, as it was credibly reported, there went seven score pots and pans, which was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy before they brought it to that perfection it was in at Geashil. His Lordship discharged his piece of ordinance against the Castle, which at the first shot broke and flew to pieces." (See more in Lodge's "Peerage," by Archdall sub. Digby). Every one will remember the kind of missiles suggested to the men of 1848.

ensued smart affairs in cattle raids, and "the death of Connell O'Herr, being a noted rebell. My brother Thomas meeting with him, *he shat him as he was running awaie, and kild him.*" Then ensued another grand cattle raid for the benefit of the poor. "Theie marched this day at least X miles compass, and gained divars cattell and sheepe, all which they drove with them awaie to Clare, where Captain Norton and Mr. Brickdale prevailed with my brothers in regard of many poor people they had there, to leave that prey there, and the next they should have wholly to Ballyally, which they granted. Now, after a very good dinner, they returned to Ballyally, with help against an ambuscade.

"Upon this the ward of Ballyally parshued the enemy and kept them." Before passing away from Ballyally Castle, and its siege, as related in quaint but graphic terms by Cuffe, it may be well to notice some corroborative statements given in the Depositions; also, a further account of the second siege. (F. 2, 22.)

Thus Frances Bridgeman (676), wife of Hewit Bridgeman, late of Drumsarem (?), county Clare, widow, that about middle of December, 1641, she lost, was robbed, forcibly despoiled of goods, chattels, to 330*l.*, was dispossessed of a lease, lost debts due, &c. She complains of dishonest and deceitful conduct of D. O'Brien, of Drummore (as we shall see in other evidence). Then she escaped, and "being in a castle called Ballyalia, was closely besieged." She mentions "men, women, and children, to the number of 100," so long besieged that they were almost starved, and they "wor faine" to eat horses, the hogges, cows, and our dogges (and there dyed many of the famine). She mentions the sally, also how "that Henry Woodfin and his wife, John Carter and his wife and children, and George Burke and his wife, which were before this rebellion Protestants, had since turned Papists," &c.

The warders killed she names as—

1. John Walker.
2. Abraham Baker, of Ballymulcahill, carpenter.
3. John Burgess, of Ballymally.
4. Ambrose, of Ennis.
5. Thos. White.
6. John Twisden.

7. John Smith, of Ballymally.

8. John Hart, of Ennis, shoemaker.

(703.) Erias Reade, of Knockenane, swears to losses, amount 505*l.* D. O'Brien, of Bonnahowe, was particularly aggressive, and took his arms and said, "It was by a warrant from the Earl of Thomond to disarm all the English, affirming, 'By my soule, Erias,' quoth he, 'I would not do it had I not been commanded by his Lordship'" (*sic in orig.*). Erias also informeth that from that time forth "almost every cowboy did at his will rob and pillage the English, these being thus exposed for want of their army to their rapine."

He further deposeth that about 20 Dec. that among divers other families of English persons, 150 in number, he fled to take refuge in Ballyally Castle. He then mentions by name the besiegers, also the sowes, and the leathern gun. He further saith that the besiegers forsook the castle to lay at least any assault to it till about 28 June last, about which time his Majesty's Castle of Lymerick was yielded up, from whence the said parties, or some of them, procured an iron demi-culverin, and brought the same to Ballyala, out of which they discharged (—) shotts against the castle, having done no operation they continued aforesaid siege to the castle which endured for 12 weeks.

He mentions the name of the slain, as Mrs. Bridgeman does, adding some horrible items as to the treatment of the bodies for the purpose of intimidating the heroic defenders.

He further deposes on oath to their sufferings from famine, and how they had "to eat horseflesh and raw hides, and the poorer sort ratts and doggs, and could only recover water with sheets and other clothes upon the top of the castle." He also deposes to his hearing Christopher O'Brien audibly affirm that they (the Irish) had his Majesty's Commission for what they did, which if I had not certainly known (quoth he) I would not have joined with them. He then mentions how "orders from the E. of Thomond did greatly disarrange the Protestants."

Jurat P. Bisse, Holwell. ERIAS X READE.

As to this pretended Commission, see Warner (p. 77) and Rushworth; also as to the withdrawing of arms. In fact, "no method which fraud or artifice could suggest in order to draw in their own people or to ensnare the English was left untried";

but "the chief engine of fraud and artifice" was a pretended "Commission from the King in Scotland."

Joe Hawkins, sadler (Innish), Co. Clare (805), swears he was robbed of 39*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, and gives a very full and clear statement of the affairs at Ballyala.

The Englishmen in or near Innish or thereabouts, namely—

Winter Bridgeman (of Tulla O'Deer), Maurice, Edward, Thomas, Joseph Cuffe, brothers, all of Innish.

John Crumpe.

Wm. Birley.

Richd. White.

Richd. Roche.

Robt. Baker.

Andrew Chaplin (clerk), and their family, with some others.

John Walker.

John Bandicour.

When all the country was ready to go into rebellion, betook themselves to Ballyala, and were closely besieged (names of besiegers, as by Cuffe). Failure of sowes and relaxing of siege next related, also slaughter and wounding of one hundred of besiegers.

About the 27 June they came to besiege the castle the second time and continued the siege to the 17th Sept. During which period the English within the castle, besides an infectious fever raging among them, had all of them died for want of victuals and relief, being so closely besieged and driven through the extremity of that long and tedious siege. Sundry were driven to eat ratts and doggs, and to eat likewise salt hides half rotten, constrained to wash out the lime, &c.

Dept saith that during second siege your dept and men likewise killed at least thirty-six, and there died (list as above), besides women and children that were utterly starved in the castle.

Beatrice Hopdidch, (324) after sundry statements not now recited, swears that she and four more did succeed "in flying to the Castle of Ballyala, and she and about a 100 more Protestants were there from about the 20 June, 1642, last past, until about the 4 Sept. following, besieged by the Rebels and by Danl O'Brien, of Lemaneigh, and Oge Roe O'Brien, brother to the Lord Inchiquin. . . She saw colours flying, &c. That

the besieged durst not go out for water nor fuel, and were glad to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, and to feed on nettles, docks, or weeds. So that divers famished and dyed of want, and some that had four or five children would have one left alive. Then a parley ensued. "And so far did Christopher O'Brien by his 'adularious and quiteful speeches' prevail and persuade with Maurice Cuffe, that he and others went out to O'Brien and the rest of the rebels. But they were no sooner gone a little out of the castle but that the rebels laid violent hands on Cuffe and the rest and made them prisoners. But Cuffe and John Cweefe suddenly overrun them and fled back. Then after a few days the rebels erected a gallows in front of the castle, threatening to hang them if those inside the castle would not surrender it. At length the castle was given up, as there were no means of relief, nor water, and the castle was given to the rebellious enemy. Then the deponent getting to an Irishman's house was there kept for some time. But being laboured to go to Mass, she and her children escaped to Barrenmore Castle by night, thence to Galway, and by sea to Dublin. And she saith that the women rebells were firmer and crueller than the men, and among the rest one Sarah O'Brien, sister to D. O'Brien, undertook to convey and bring safely out of the Castle of Dromore Peter Newman's wife, the dept's sister, and their family. But when she had gotten their goods, she suffered the rebels first to cut off P. Newman's arm, afterwards grievously to —— him, and at length to shoot him. And after, the sd Sarah stripped the sd P. Newman's wife and her children of their clothes and turned them away exposed to the dangers of the cold. And she hired parties to kill them, but hearing of it, they escaped by another way.

Andrew Chaplin, clk (628), swears to being despoiled of goods, &c., 520*l.*, and church livings worth 105*l.* Dermod O'Brien drove away his stock and stole his goods from Ballymally farm, with the aid of certain yeomen. This is the clergyman who was mentioned above in the Visitation tour, and whose appointment is alluded to in Lib. Mun. Hib.

He gives the list of those in the castle as the others have done, but with more exactness.

1. Elizabeth Couffe (widow).
2. Winter Bridgman.

3. Jno. Vandervort.
4. Alex. Hill.
5. Richd. White.
6. Urias Reade.
7. Wm. Benley.
8. Jno. Hawkins.
9. Hu. Austin.
10. Jno. Walker.
11. Jno. Ribson.
12. Wm. Long.
13. Ri. Wolff.
14. Jno. Smith.
15. Jno. Conie.
16. Ro. Baker, with their families respectively. And the stripped people came afterwards into the Castle to the number of 150 people, who presently after and especially about the 4th February then following, being Wednesday morning, were assailed and closely besieged. He then tells of the great assault upon the 20th February with the sows and leathern gun. He then tells of the intermitting of the siege, and of the demi-culverin brought from Limerick about 28th June, till the 6th or 7th of August, and how the rebels continued the second siege for twelve weeks before and after the bringing of the same gun. He then deposes as to the giving up of the Castle (26th Sept., margin) and the violation of the terms of agreement. He also deposes to the extremity of besieged by famine, as the others have done. He then heard the O'Briens and the rest putting forth (the fable of) the Commission from the King. He also heard Mohune M. McMahon solemnly assert that he would as soon be hanged as stand with or go in this insurrection, if the Earl of Thomond had not certainly known that they had the King's command. Deponent further examined: that after the Castle was given up, 26th September, he and others were conveyed to Bunratty; saw and observed Donnell O'Brien, and Conor his brother, and Teigue and Dermod, also divers others, especially sundry of the said besiegers (of Ballyala aforesaid), freely entertained by his Lordship at Bunratty with meat, drink, and lodging. And near about the 15th of May last, while Lymerick Castle was besieged, Examinant saw and read an instruction or command

sent from the said Earl to W. Bridgman, T. Cuffe, and the rest, &c., in Ballyalla, straitly charging and commanding them not to sally forth to burn, pillage, or do any execution upon the country people, being (since) they only came for service against them, in regard the chiefest and prime men were then at the siege of Lymerick. By which command his Lordship plainly intended to dissuade the Protestants in the Castle from persecuting or persevering against the rebels. Deponent read the paper, which was subscribed in his Lordship's own handwriting. That examinant likewise informeth that the said Earl of Thomond doth countenance and protect rebels in those parts and adheres to them (notwithstanding the daily and lamentable murders, strippings, depredations committed by these people upon the English, as is well known to his Lordship). Deponent specifies his Lordship's entertainment of and confidence in McNemara of Moyreisk, known to be in actual rebellion and Treasurer of the rebels' funds in Clare. 2nd. His Lordship remonstrated with the country people for their ingratitude to him in not paying him their rents, who had kept the Sheriff from burning their houses, robbing and killing their families. 3rdly. That some of the beseegers in parley declared their aim was to drive out all the English and Protestants, and keep the castles for themselves. And as to Earl of Thomond they intended to leave him 14 ploughlands for his cattle, until they saw how he would decide for or against them. But the Earl enjoyeth his stock and undiminished."

ANDREW CHAPLIN.

Jurat coram P. BLISSE J. WALLACE.

(821.) The evidence of Edward Mainwaring of Kilmoney is here introduced as bearing upon the line of action taken by the Earl of Thomond:—"Also the said Earl of Thomond, as he pretended for the good of the country, made and appointed certain of his own kindred, all Papists, to be captains and commanders in that county, and to muster and levy men in the same. And assessed and ordered all the English and Irish inhabitants there to bear and pay 1*s.* for every ploughland to the said captains and soldiers, which was paid by those English in those parts for two months together.* And THEN ALL THOSE CAPTAINS AND THEIR SOLDIERS FELL *into open rebellion*

* Particular Relations, &c., of Ireland. London, by authority, 1642.

and robbed and deprived the most of the English of all their goods, as deponent believes, and killed a great number of them. And although the Earl of Thomond was still suffered to enjoy all his means, yet these rebels at length seemed *not* to *care for him* (!!) And further, the commanders so appointed by the Earl of Thomond took away all the English arms, and took from them about 17 or 18 castles. And whereas, at the first about 100 *English and Dutchmen* * offered to take up arms and defend themselves, castles, houses, and goods, and the country so far as they were able; yet the said Earl of Thomond would not suffer them so to do, but said that course would further provoke and incense the Irish to anger than otherwise. And so the said Earl appointed and *gave the rule of the whole country* to the captains and commanders as aforesaid (chiefly his own relatives), whom at first he commanded himself, but after this they seemed not to care for, nor to be commanded by, him."

Jurat, 8 Jan., 1643. EDW. MAINWARING.

In the letter of the Lords Chief Justices of date February 8, 1641, the following is to be found:—"And we issued arms also to many noblemen and gentlemen of the *Pale*, and elsewhere, of the Romish religion, for the defence of their houses against the rebels. Yet much contrary to the expectation of all equall-minded men, and in deceit of the trust reposed in them by this State, and directly contrary as to their loyalty and duty to his Majesty, so to the great professions which they had so lately before made at this Council Board,—many of those, (—) as well whole counties, as particular persons entrusted with these arms, revolted to the rebels, carried his Majesty's arms with them, and so the arms, which were trusted into their hands for the protection of his Majesty's good subjects, they converted to the annoyance and destruction (as much as in them lay) of those good subjects they were trusted to protect, and of this State and Government, and have not only not resisted the rebels, but have also joined with them, and they and the rebels assembled in arms in hostile manner, with banners displayed against his Majesty, in besieging some of his towns, taking into their possession by force or fraud many of his Majesty's burroughs,

* These latter must have been settled about *Kilrush*.

walled and unwalled, and in committing murders, spoils, robberies, and many detestable cruelties on his Majesty's good subjects."

So far the defence of Ballyalla, conducted by the heroic Mrs. Cuffe and her gallant sons—a defence all the more notable from the extremity of the sufferings undergone by the besieged, from their humanity to crowding fugitives, and from their hopeless and unbefriended condition. No help came from England, no help came from Bunratty, no help came from Galway. Army lists of Cavaliers are extant (edited by the very learned E. Peacocke, Esq., and reprinted by Hotten, London, 1863), also of "the army of his Excellency Robert Earle of Essex, of the Royal Navie (too), for guard of narrow seas and *for Ireland*" (! !) Lists remain of the "Orthodox (= Puritan) Divines to be consulted with by the Parliament touching the reformation of Church government and *the Liturgie*." There is a list, too, of the field officers chosen and appointed by the Committee at Guildhall for the Irish Expedition. "London, printed for Edward Paxton, June 11th, 1642" (*supra*, page 65). This was to consist of "Regiments of 5,000 Foot and 500 Horse under the command of Philip Lord Wharton, &c." Also in the Rawdon Papers, Appendix, p. 408, is a memorial addressed to the colonels of the English regiments in Ulster, for the purpose of clothing the troops under their command. This is signed by the members of the Committee for Irish affairs, and dated London, July 8th, 1642. It seems very like a gigantic tailor's bill, such as one meets with in Napoleon's correspondence with Jerome. But it was men and their movements were wanting then, and not "shirtes of Locram at 11d. the ell, consigned unto Wm. Roberte." But neither Cavalier nor Roundhead, neither Orthodox Divine nor Royal Navy gave the slightest assistance to the Protestants beleaguered, and stripped, and starved, and slaughtered, from one end of Ireland to another.

To succour the Protestants of Ireland and save them from their cruel foes might have been a bad policy for the *Saints*, as depriving democratic fanatics of so many soldiers to fight the King, as putting in hazard the power and prey they sought through the fall of Charles, the extirpation of the Celts, and the overthrow of the Episcopal Reformed Church. (See Warner, *ad rem*, and An order for the relief of the Protestants of Ireland, printed January, 1643.)

The Siege of the Castell of Inchecronane is also given in Cuffe's narrative.

This Castle was besiedged the 13 of March, being the daie after they left Balyaly, by G. O'Shafnes (*sic*), and the Grade's, and some Conaght men, that were returning home. Whereupon Anthony Heathcot sent a letter to the Earle of Thomond, promising his Lordship a rick of wheat if his Lordship would be pleased to releve him (!!) Whereupon the Earle sent for D. O'Brien and J. McNemerrowe and their companies to go with him, which they did accordingly, and likewise tuk his one troop and about 50 Englishmen in armes, and went according to Mr. H.'s desire. But before he came to the Castell some of the Irish sent notes to the beseigers, whereupon they removed before his Lordship came. But, however, finding two or three rogues remaining in the bushes, his Lordship kild them. But the rick of wheat by the enemy was burnt (!) Now the Earle returned home. The seidge being cleared, some of the English ventured forth to recover fresh provisions. But they ventured not far, but the Gradies and the Rowhans fell upon them and *kild* 9, suffering only one, Neuman, to return with neus (= news) losing all their peeces.

Now Gilladuffe (O'Shafnessy) and the rest came against the Castell again, whereupon the aforesaid Heathcot sent to Durmot O'Brien to bring them and their goods off. Whereupon the said Brien ordered the English to give the said Shafnes £20 and so to part with their goods. But they no sooner opened their Castell, but whom pleased entered in, and tuck more of their goods away. Soe some of them were sent to Clare Castell and some came to Ballyaly without any provision to maintain them. But notwithstanding their quarter, they there likewise killed the foresaid Newman there.

John Cookson, of Atterglancey (752) Kilkeedy Parish, swears he was turned out of Castle of Dercane (or, quære, Derryowen) by Ed. O'Hogan of Moghill, and lost cattle, horses, linen, &c.; also deposes that Christopher Hebridge, Peter Newman, John Twisden, jun., Nicholas Wheeler, one Adams, a collier, and his wife, and the wife of Ed. Coom, and Robt. Hart—all which were late of Parish of Inchecronane—were murdered by the hands and means of the sons of Johna McThomas Burk of Kiltarton, in County Galway. He further saith that Catherine

Cookson his wife, and children, were all stripped by Owen McLaughlin. (F. 2, 22. 752)

The Siege of Trumeroe Castle.

The reader will bear in mind the brief note upon this case made by Mr. Cuffe, which is copied above. There is, alas, only too strong evidence to substantiate the case, the evidence of the actors taken at the time. There are also curious and tragic results in the way of retribution recorded.

In the edition of O'Flaherty's West Connaught, edited by the learned Mr. Hardiman, and published for the Irish Archæological Society, at page 407, the following will be found:—

"In the beginning of May, 1653, John Browne, of the Isles of Aran, came before the magistrates of Galway and gave information on oath against Col. Edward O'Flaherty and others for the murder of Peter Ward, of Tromragh, in the county of Clare. This O'Flaherty (p. 412) was tried and executed at Galway, where his kindsman the Lord Viscount Mayo had shortly before suffered for the massacre at Shruel. And thus ignominiously (pursues the learned Archæologist) perished two of the most leading men of the province at the time, for crimes into which they had been unfortunately urged by the unsettled state of society at that unhappy period. That Colonel E. O'Flaherty considered himself acting in the affair within the rules of legitimate warfare there can be little doubt."

His arrest was curious.

"A party of soldiers was dispatched into Iar Connaught in pursuit of the accused. After a long and fruitless search the party was returning, and passing beside a small dark wood near Renville their attention was attracted by the unusual noise and croaking of ravens, hovering in the air towards the centre of the wood. On arriving at the spot over which the birds still continued on the wing, the soldiers discovered a cavity in the rock, from which they drew forth a miserable-looking man, who was soon recognised as the unfortunate object of their pursuit. With him they found a poorly-attired and emaciated female, who afterwards proved to be his wife—the daughter of Sir Christopher Garvey of Lehinch, in the county of Mayo."

"And truly who had seen them would have said they had

been raythe ghosts than men, for pitifully looked they, pyned away for want of food, and altogether ghastly with fear." (See more from Sir R. Bingham's Discourse Cotton Lib., British Mus. *Titus* B. 13.)

His Examination Ensues.

Being examined how long he was in arms against the Commonwealth of England, saith, he was called hither to this town of Galway by the Archbishop of Tuam (Titular), who was President, and by Fra Blake of Galway, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the forces in this said town of Galway, raised against the fort, that he came and assisted with his company in besieging said fort. Then he went to the isles of Aran and continued until he wore out his welcome with the islanders, "upon which he and company went in their boats to the county of Clare to a castle named Tromroe, which was possessed by one Mr. Ward, whom he heard was an honest gentleman, and never heard of him before and neither doth know of what religion or nation he was of (? ? !). And came to said castle 1 May, 1642, in the beginning of the night—within musket shot of said castle—to a house where he and his company kept their Court of Guard. Before their coming to the said house they made some shots from the castle at him, and continued shooting all night, with which shots some of his men were wounded. Then his men attacked the castle 'by the hall, which was joining the castle.' They then stormed the castle, and continued from Sunday night to Wednesday morning, at which time conditions were made by John Ward for his own life with Teige O'Brien and the (Par.) Priest,—which said John this examinant employed as a messenger to his father in the said castle, desiring him to take quarter several times. He would not take quarter of Belian or Scuell (*sic*). On Wednesday Ward's two daughters and two younger sons came out, also an Englishman and his wife. The son and heir of P. Ward came out on Tuesday and was slained in the way by Sorrell Folone (= Fooloo or Foley), who is now gone with Cusack. He gave quarter to each one that came out of the castle except him that was killed as aforesaid. P. Ward did keep his chamber in the said castle from Tuesday night until Wednesday morning, and that the said Peter Ward's wife was slain

by a shot through the window of the said chamber by whom he did not know. And further saith, he ordered his men to keep said P. W. awake, with intention to give him quarter (!!), and the said P. Ward making a thrust out of the door with some weapon was taken by the arm, drawn forth and slained. He defended himself in his chamber for twenty-four hours after the rest went forth. He conveyed seven persons safe to Ri. White of Kilmurry, which was the place they desired to go unto. He and company plundered the house and divided it on Stranee island. He forced John Browne, a drummer, to go with him. . . . . And being demanded wherefore he came not under protection, answered, *because he was afraid in respect of the act he had committed.* And further saith not Edmd. Flaherty."

Let a few words be added from the evidence of John Ward, who escaped with his life.

"On 25 Apl. 1643, saith (examined) that on the 17 Apl. 1642, saith Peter, Alson (Mrs.) and George Ward were in a most cruel and rebellious manner murdered and stripped by the hands of E. O'Flahertie Esqre. and others of his confederates (manner much as related by E. F.) . . . . he shot or caused to be shot Alson (Mrs.) under the right side with a bullet whereof she died immediately, and likewise gave George 18 (!!) wounds whereof he instantly died on 20th. Peter Ward together with said Alson and George, was stripped and they three buried in or near the said castle walls, from whence by directions of Donnell O'Brien of Douagh Esqre. in said Com. they were removed and enterred in the parish church of Kilmurry aforesaid. Yet, notwithstanding, D. McScanlane McGorman of Dunsallagh, in the said Com. Mass Priest, caused their corps to be digged up again, and buried without in the churchyard for no other cause as far as Deponent could learn, but that they said that no unsanctified or heretical corps of Protestants (as they term them) must remain within their churches.

"This Deponent saith, that the said Ed. F. was abetted, counselled, and assisted in said rebellious and traiterous design by the undernamed persons, namely, Donnough O'Brien of Newtowne, M. McDermot of Tromoroe, T. McDermot, Conor D. Richd. Fitzpatrick (Seneschal of Ibrikane, and then and now receiver to E. Thomond). Don O'Brien possessed himself

of £100 of P. W.'s cattle, which he detaineth to this day. Hugh* McCoutten also did use to take a note in writing of the beseegers, openly extolling them for their valour and good service," &c., &c. (Depositions, Clare, vol. xxi., page 709.)

The traveller from Kilkee northward by the coast road, after emerging out of the valley through which the Annagh river tumbles in a cascade over a ledge of rocks and then runs into Lough Donald, has a noble coast and sea view to reward him. In clear weather along the horizon before him, the Nine Pins of Connemara rear their sharpened summits. From the further side of these O'Flaherty started on his expedition to Galway. To the left hand stand the cliffs of Moher and the Hag's Head facing the Atlantic. Further seaward may be discerned the long, low, "*kidney-shaped*" Isles of "Aran," at the opening of Galway Bay. Here O'Flaherty made the final rendezvous for his raid into Clare. Nearer hand, with many a bluff promontory intervening, Spanish Point still receives the resounding shock of the ceaseless Atlantic surges. Approaching the western limits of this glorious panorama of land and water, stands, well in shore, Straw, now called Mutton Island, where O'Flaherty divided the booty and refused that silver goblet to Browne, the drummer—an act which Browne neither forgot nor forgave after over ten years' time. Close to the beach of the RED STRAND, TRA-MOROE Castle (so called) still rears its lonely, lofty head. And bounding all, is found Kilmurry Churchyard, from the consecrated precincts of which were so piously ejected the gashed and mangled remains of the gentleman and his offspring, of whose name, religion, or nation, O'Flaherty and his piratical crew swore they were ignorant. And yet, "acting within the rules of *legitimate* warfare, and urged by the *unsettled* state of society," they foully put them to death.

Moygh and Inchiveaghe Castles.

In the list of castles held by English are the following :—

No. 15.—Moygh Castle. Held by George Norton.

No. 16.—Inchiveaghe. Held by Simson and others.

* Quære McCurtin, ancestor of the two Irish writers.

There are also two other castles to which reference must be made, viz.:—

The Castle of Dough, also
The Castle of Ballinalacken,

both the property of Donogh O'Brien. Of this gentleman's descent the particulars will be found in "Memoirs of O'Briens," pp. 545 and 549. He came of a stock which sprung from Brian Boroihme, monarch of Ireland, through Donald, second son of Conor, ancestor of the extinct Earls of Thomond and Viscounts Clare. His conduct stands in strong contrast with that of O'Flaherty and of the other chieftains of his name and country. (See Carte ad rem.) His territorial position was considerable. (See Letter of King James I.)

Among the valuable papers in the Ennistymon House Collection, kindly placed at the writer's disposal by Mrs. McNamara, there is a lease between Captain D. O'Brien, of the one part, and John Simpson and William Kingwell, on the other, of certain lands and tenements. These English settlers, with a sad forecasting, covenanted *inter alia*,

And it is also agreed that if thre hapen any warres, mutanie or rebellion insomuch as the aforesaid or their assigns be forced from the same lands so that they may not enjoy it, During such, no rents to be payed or demanded.

JOHN SIMSON, his X marke.
WM. KINGWELL.

These two write the following letter, joined by another, viz., Robert Boothe:—

To Captn O'Brien.

Worthie Sir,—Our service love and prayers for your happiness alwaies premised. Whereas you writ unto us concerning our removall and likewise the children of Johna Steele,—so it is that "forasmuch as the children hath seene the *lamentable prospect of their father's, brother's" and mother's murther done before the castle window*, they are become so exceeding fearful that they will not leave the Castle or venture themselves abroad at all, except we should put them out by violence. But, God forbid that ever we should be so inhumane and unnatural towards them. As concerning their goods we have sent you a true inventory of all that which is with us except what is in the lofts which are kept . .

Mr. O'Brien your servant will deliver you up the keys thereof, neither shall they be opened by God's grace, 'till such time as your worship shall be at the opening of them.

And as concerning that little provision which they have, in regard we

are so near and dear unto them, doubt not, we pray you, but it shall be drest (?) ordered and husbanded as well as can be possible even as long as it will last.

Now as concerning ourselves, we stand here by God's providence and your worship's gracious favor shewn long towards us. And therefore, come life or death, if God and yr worship be so pleased, we desire that we all may continue here, until such time as it please God to deliver us, to the end that we may praise Him and express our great gratitude to yrself.

Notwithstanding, if anything here be in any way displeasing unto you, we beseech you to grant your servants only a month's respite, about whiche time by God's grace, we will be so farre from giving yr worship any discontent, that we will rather give you a full satisfactory answer.

Soe, remitting you to the gracious protection of the Almighty, we rest and will remain your wp's very loving friends and servants,

ROBT BOOTHE, JNO SIMSON, and WM KINGWELL.

Dated from Tullareigh,
this
21st April 1642.
Superscribed

To the worshippfull and very much respected friend and landlord Captn Danl O'Brien
These with our service present.

The following is the solemn testimony of Captain Norton as to the transactions in this remote district during these sad times, and it gives a vivid picture of what the English suffered, and how D. O'Brien befriended them :—

I Captn G Norton of Cloughlea in Coy of Cork, an English Protestant resident in the beginning of the late rebellion and before at Mooh (Moy) Castle in the parish of Kilfarboy, three miles N of Miltown Malbay (the ruins of the Castle shew it to have been a place of considerable strength, His Mem O'B. p 489) in the Barony of Ibrickane, which is two miles distant from Dough, in which Danl O'Brien of Dough alwaies was resident,—at the instance of the sd Danl do honestly certify that the sd *Danl O'Brien in the years* 1641-2-*and*-3 *did serve assist, relieve and maintained myself, my wife, children and many of the English Protestant families then resident at my sd Castle of Mooh.* And did furnish us from time to time with what necessary provision and ammunition we wanted during our being at Mooh Garrison. And at my request and my father in law (Brickdall, since spelled Brigdall) did safely convey myself, my wife, children and the English families aforesd with what goods we were pleased to carry with us to the English Garrison of Clare, accommodating himself for his assistance with all his own Irish tenants for our defence and safe conduct and by directions of the Earle of Thomond against the Irish forces then lying in way before him and us.

And that the sd Danl O'Brien did to his utmost pioneer safely lodge me and my father and goods and at all times after, both at the garrison of Clare and Bunratty sent me and my father, what provisions, milsh cows, beeves, wheat and money we called to him for. And kindly and faithfully gave us satisfaction for the goods by us committed to his trust and did the like to several other English families being his tenants then and before and some other his neighbours. And had alwaies afforded to the English communication out and in. And was one in whom the E of Thomond reposed trust then to see their letters mutually with safetie conveyed. And that he exacted nothing then and during my acquaintance with him against the English (like as the gentleman who held Dromore did) but supported and maintained them to his power.

And that the said Danl O'Brien did maintain a child of myne and his nurse and gave them livelihood to maintain themselves for many years during the rebellion. And that the sd Danl O'Brien gave myself arising and accruing to the Earle of Thomond at Bunratty then.

The Irish that stood up in opposition agt the English took the sd Danl as their enemy and did *imprison him at Clare Castle*, going to the E of Thomond after the same was taken by the Irish.

And the sd Danl harboured relieved and maintained two English Captains and the Mariners of a ship arriving near his Castle of Dough, and there shipwrecked by tempest,—fraught with tobacco from the Indies in Dec. 1641 and entertained them at his Castle and safely conveyed them with their goods to the English Garrison of Mooh, and from thence to Clare at his desiring him, and relieved and entertained the Master of a ship called John Cooley for two years at his Castle of Dough and afterwards sent him to Galway at his own desire. And did harbour and protect one of the E of Thomond's English Tenants living at Lisawell called John Copp in the beginning of the rebellion and from thence safely conveyed him to one of the sd Danl's castles called where some of the English Tenants and neighbours garrisoned—as was told furnished them with muskets, powder and or necessaries as they wanted and desired and gave them his Castle for their safetye, until at their own request a long time after he safeli conveyed them to Galway.

All which at the request of the sd Danl. in discharge of my conscience I do gladly certify under my hand and seal this 1 May 1656.

Captain Geo. Norton's wife writes from "Clear" (or Clare) the 22 July, 1642, the following letter of a mother :—

Worthie Sir,

I present myne and my husbands humble service and heart-thanks to yr most loving selfe for your grate kindnesse to us. For all which I hartely desir God to requit you, and what is in our powers shall never faile for being (since) I have found so plentiful assurances of yr love. I comfort myself with the absenc of my poor child that you so kindly ded tak in your cear. Unto whom I am confidant you will show a tendar fatherly love untill it please God that I can receive hem from you againe. I hope his nurts (quere, nurse) will be willing to stay

with him from the company of Ned Barley, that will not leave my father yet. If she will not, I entret you to provid anothar good norse for him. But I trust that —— will not leave him so. Senc you left, we resolved of a more chargeable corse for our saftis. Therefor I and my husband entreats you to spear ous ten pound mor, and send it within feve days safe—which will be in all £16 that you have lent ous,—all which we will secuer to you with many thanks, when it plese God, we can have liberty. Thus, I tak leave and rest

Your true friend
to serve you
DORATHY NORTON.

For my much honored and assured loving friend Captane Donnat O'Briant these

Same to Same Bunratty Sept. 22, 1642.

Worthie Cossen

My love to you remembered, my Lord having come this whole week by ship boord, expecting to have joined you and your Brother with the rest of the Gentry of this County, to have mett him according to their promises to him and to my Lord ( ) who are not very well pleased and they.....
were never so disappointed by the Country.

My Lord out of love to you and to your Brother, commended me for to write to you, how earnestly he does desire you both to repaire hither to him without delay, and dothe think it very strange that upon his last letter, you have so long delayed and not come to him.

My Lord doth desire you out of the love you bear and yr Brother to him and as ever you expect any favor at his hands that you fail not to repaire unto him with all speede,—where you may have your own hearts desire in any thing that lyeth in my Lord's power.

You cannot believe how it does trouble and grieve my Lord, who hath laboured all that lyeth in his power to bring this County into a settled way of peece as the County of Gallaway (see O'Donohue in His Mem O B 257). And to see how the Gentry and his Kindsmen doo detest and forget the good way he intends for them.

Soo, desiring you not to fail in this my Lord's request, I rest yr Loving Cosen to be commanded

GEO. NORTON.

Bunratty Sept 22, 1642.

At close of another letter he makes the following request:—

Clare Augt 10, 1642.

My father and Bro Brickdall, present their service to you. My blessing to my little boy and our love to his nurse. Thanking you for your great care over her and the child and desiring you for to get my (illegible) ———— and send it to me alsoe as conveniently as you can with it, my wifes riding-coat and had (quere, hat). If you do hear of it, and what land you lett of mine, if you lett any from yourself,—to get it lett from year to yeare during pleasure.

That it went hard with Daniel O'Brien for his loyalty and humanity to the English is now made evident, also that but for these rare qualities of his a considerable number of English settlers in the district of Dough must have perished. However, if earthly rewards do sometimes in God's providence crown acts of noble disinterestedness, Daniel O'Brien, before a dozen years, was able to exonerate himself from the position of a "Nocent," and to claim the advantages of a friend and faithful supporter of the English "with constant good will." This will appear in the

Humble petition of Danl O'Brien of Dough Esqre, To The Honble Col. G Stubber and ye rest of ye Commissioners appointed for the overthrowing and demolishing of Castells in ye Province of Conaght and Coy of Clare.

Humbly the within your Petitioner demaining himself in the beginning of this warr, consonant unto the Laws and statutes established in this nation and to the uttermost of his power assisted his neighbouring English against the rebellious insurrection of as many of the natives as have raised against them, in cutting the ears of many of the plunderers and executing of others.

The Earle of Thomond and your petitioner being of one resolution as by his Lordship's testimony may appear and soe continued for two years until by the predominant power of his adversaries his person was taken and his boddy imprisoned, where he continued untill forced to pay contribution.

But neither then nor during the warr, was in arms, nor otherwise acted against the Commonwealth, as is apparent and visible by as many of the English as continued resident in ye countie of Clare—and since ye taking of Lymrick hath paid a heavy monthly contribution, sometimes 100*l.* and sometimes more—the month—'till all the substance he had was exhausted and he was reduced to such extremity and poverty that he hath no livelihood to sustain himselfe and his charge, but if in the future settlement he is in expectation to be relieved by reall estate. If your Honor be pleased to remove an inconveniency, which would partly prevent the same.

Now soe it is, if five of the Petitioners castles were razed doun notwithstanding if the Governor of the Precinct of Lymerick and Clare gave orders that they should not be razed until ye rest of ye Castles in the Coy. of Clare were razed doune.

Yet contrary to the sd Orders, the Masons razed them doun.

And the Petitioner further sheweth that of late he made application to build a house in Dough, which is noe place of strength and a little castle wh is already demolished by the Irish, by name Ballenalacken which hath no bawne or Barbican that stands as yet, and not in the list of the masons. But however your Petitioner is afeard that the said masons out of malice or gain, will fall doune the sd stearcase of Dough

or the ruinous Castle of Ballinalacken to yr Petitioners great prejudice in building his house and the disadvantage of the Commonwealth or that yr Honor may be pleased to grant the Order that the stearcase may not be pulled doun nor the sd ruinous Castle. And the rather to save the estate from charges if yr Honr doe think it fitt, that he will upon his own charges, put doune the steappe in the case and dismantele the ruinous Castle of Ballinalacken.

And further that he will enter sufficient security—that they shall not be anywaies prejudicial to the Commonwealth and he shall ever pray, &c.

Longhrea, 13 Sept. 1654.

Upon consideration hadd of the Petition of Qr Master Smith for the demolishing of Castles in Coy Clare, is hereby required to forbear demolishing the within-mentioned strand (*sic*) hasse of Dough and the within ruinous Castle of Ballinalacken until further orders, or until the Lord Protector and the rest that are joined with us doe send you further orders at our next meeting in regard they are now absent. However you are not to faile, and for so doing this shall be your authoritie. And in Qr Master's Smiths' absence any other employed aforesaid is to observe this order.

Date ut supra,

Gn. STUBBER.

The following letter from Earl Thomond being important, and having never been published, is here submitted :—

Cousen,

I have received your letter and soe good token of your affection to secure the countrey.

The soldiers you sent from Ennis (have reached) and joyned the other company that were not so well made up and sent them under the command of my into the border between Scariff and Lymerick to restrain and correct loose and ill-disposed rascally persons that make a habit of stealing.

I shall therefore desire and authorize you to make up the number of 50 men in the completest and best manner you can, and so march with you in full speed into Innish—where you are to divide them to be garrissoned solely there, and all commanded by for the better discipline and countenance of them. I also desire your continuing your own personal directions amongst them. And soe upon your discretion to raise and goe abroad for restraining the excesses that may be committed in the country. You are to have authority to billet at the rate assessed, being one pennie for everie souldier.

Every constable on duty that the same may be discharged. And you are likewise authorized to seize upon and take into your hands freely both for better furnishing of yr men, all such guns muskets and or weapons as you shall find in the country not necessarily used for the defence and safety of the inhabitants otherwise. And for soe doing this shall be yr warrant

Yr very loving kindsman,

Bunratty, 17th May, 1643. THOMOND.

Keepe and return me an account from time to time of all the weapons and arms you take up from the country.

I am now resolved of a course, in hope thereby to preserve the goods that are mine and the rest of the English tenants in the Country—which I have directed my to imparte to you and my couzen Boetius Clancy and desire you (he was High Sheriff) to put the same in execution.

Having now perused the letters of Steele, Simpson, and Kingwell, also the testimony of Norton, the order of Stubber, with the confession and execution of Ed. Flaherty, one need not look with any suspicion upon the following statement which they or others make, because they happen to appear in the Depositions :—

John Sympson, yeoman, swears he was robbed and forcibly despoiled of his goods and chattels to the value of 314*l.* Also, that John Steele, of Moybulgen; Johanna Steele, his wife; Robert Steele, his brother-in-law, were cruelly murdered by the rebels. Jurat 16th Dec., 1642.

Neptune Blood, of Creggane, in the county of Clare, clerk, sworn, saith that upon the 26th of December last, and since the beginning of the present rebellion, he lost, was robbed, and forcibly despoiled of goods and chattels worth 180*l.*, besides his spiritual living, worth 140*l.* yearly. He also saith that about the 24th of May last Robert Steele and Joshua Steele, his brother, and the said Joshua Steele's wife, were, in a most cruel and barbarous manner, murdered by James Casey. Likewise Margery Owens, the wife of John Owens, of Kilfenora, yeoman, was murdered by Teige McGilla Patrick. That Ml. Hunt, of Moogh, in the said county, yeoman, was murdered by Simon McGilli Patrick. Jurat, NEP. BLOOD.* (699)

* Copy of part of an old manuscript, made by H. W. Russell, Esq., Bank of Ireland, Limerick, and kindly submitted to the writer :—

"Edmond Blood was the first of the name that came over to Ireland, and settled in Clare about the year 1590. He was a captain of cavalry, and came with forces brought over from England by the Earl of Inchiquin. Capt. Blood had a son born on the passage. The earl and another nobleman promised to be godfathers for the child if he were named Neptune. Accordingly he was baptized by that name, and from this circumstance it is supposed the family crest of the Bloods of Ireland was originated, and has been borne by the family ever since. The original arms of the Bloods bore as a crest a stag's head with an arrow through the nostrils, and gouts of blood falling from it. The arms of the Bloods of Ireland

Before passing from Kilfenora district, the evidence of Margery Steele may be noted. (774.) She swears she was robbed of goods, &c., to value 187*l.* She then names Conor and T. O'Brien as having, in a most inhumane manner, murdered deponent's husband, by name Robert Steele, his brother Joshua Steele. Also that one Edward Bedford and his wife Magaret, Roger McNery and his wife Ann, all in the parish of Kilfenora, turned Papists. Jurat 22 Sept., 1642.

The subject of Compulsory Conversions in the district of Kilfenora having been introduced, it is now necessary to call special attention to the evidence of the Reverend John Twembrooke, late of Tullydean, in the Parish of Disert, (742)—"was last Christmas robbed and despoiled of goods and chattels to his loss and damage in 348*l.*, besides his Church living worth 200*l.* per ann., cows, horses, mares, heiffers, turf, books, linens, woolens, hay, corn, leases, debts. That he was robbed at night in his house by T. O'Brien of Tulla (-Turla-) more. And that

"1. John Loue, Thesaurus of Kilfenora,
"2. Patrick Lysaght of Ballywire, Chancellor of same,
"3. Owen Nellane of Killaspuglenane (clerk),
"4. O'Hirley, Vicar of Glanina, and divers others,
"5. Robt. Cox, clerk,
"6. One Mr Geoghegan, clerk,
"7. Robt. Hogan, clerk,
*"8. Pierce Bulter, near Cashel, clerk,

"all of them since this rebellion turned Papist as this deponent is credibly informed.

Jurat 24 June, 1642." JOHN TWENBROKE.

Dr. Cotton sets down Twenbrooke himself as another of the compulsory clerical converts. Gregory Hickman, Esq., de-

(see Heraldic-office, Ireland), a fosse gules between three mantlets sable. The crest on a wreath of colours, a demi-Neptune proper, crown and trident. Motto: 'Honor, virtutis, præmium.' This Neptune Blood, who was born at sea, was the first Dean Neptune Blood of Kilfenora, and his son Neptune was the second dean of the same name."—H. W. R.

The descendants of the Dean are still in Clare, occupying a high position, and owning, with other acquisitions, some of the property originally acquired by the Dean. (See Commons Journals Ir. Par. vol. ii. 343.)

* Can this be he who took things so easily, to the great wrath of Bishop Ryder?

poses to the same effect of Lysaght, also of others in Ennis and Corrofin.

And if we look to *the South of Clare*, the same picture of violence, cruelty, and expulsion is exhibited.

Maximilian Graneer (one of the Dutch settlers) swears to losses by being forcibly despoiled of goods and chattels to the enormous amount of 2,389*l.*, and complains bitterly of the violence of Charles O'Cahane, and likewise Owen in Kilballyowen. (664)

Wm. Chambers of Kilrush, British Protestant, was robbed and forcibly despoiled of his goods and chattels, worth 1,519*l.*, also his cattle, that were sent to Conard O'Brien of Ballymacooda. He names several, all being English Protestants, who were stripped by the rebels. (672)

Isaac Graneer, late of Kilrush, swears to losses by robbery, also to violence, at Dunagroge Castle. (686)

Rob. Abraham of Kilrush, swears he was robbed and despoiled by Sir D. O'Brien, Knight, of Carrigalwet.

Ann Usher of Ballinkennan, in Killymer Parish, deposes to being robbed and at a loss to the value of 944*l.* in debts and cattle.

"And after many raids upon her cattle and garrans," about Christmas last her house was rifled and pillaged by Charley O'Cahan of Termon. Jurat.

So Peter Belfons, or Bolton, of Kilmurry, Ibrickane, swears to robbery and losses of 664*l.*

The *central parts of Clare* were in as wrecked a condition, and the English and Protestants despoiled and stripped and slain, as elsewhere.

George Waters, Merchant, British Protestant, swears he was robbed and forcibly despoiled of goods to the value of 2,047*l.*

John Pring, of Lattoon, swears he was despoiled of goods worth 1,354*l.*; also Martin Trinke, Barony of Islands, is robbed and despoiled by rebels; also Wm. Bridgman, of Coogie, is robbed, and Haslop of Dysert, both swearing against O'Brien of Dromore. Alex. Hill, and a son living in parish of Killowen, swear to losses in cows, cattle, and horses forcibly taken. He fled to Ballyala and stood the siege (Chaplin swears to his name in list of warders). And in the direction of *Tulla* the

same deeds of violence were done. Thomas Andrew, of in the Barony of Tulloh, British Protestant, was robbed about 25 Decr. last past, of household stuffe, provision, implements of husbandry, corn, hay, thrashed corn, books, instruments of chirurgery, physicall drugs, pots, glasses, plate, towels, brass and pewter to value of 146*l.* He also lost besides, debts due and leases unexpired.

In the *Six-mile Bridge and Bunratty Districts,* Francis Ham, a poor glover, is robbed by Rory Roe. And one Roundtree, a husbandman in Kiltoolaght, of his produce.

R. Damer, of Crattelagh, deposes to certain being "in open rebellion." Several husbandmen at Anaghbeg were stripped and robbed; also Ann Edwards, widow, was robbed and despoiled to value of 104*l.* Thos. Lere, of Cool, Bunratty, is robbed to value of 14*l.* 248, Teige Meale, of Anaghbeg in Barony of Bunratty, husbandman, lost and was robbed of to value of 44*l.* Likewise the McNamaras and other rebels stripped naked the deponent and his three children, and the children died through the extremity of the cold.

The deponent further saith that the under-named, English and Protestants, living at Aunaghbeg, about the same time were robbed of all their goods and chattels by the McNamaras and Company. The names of farmers, shoemakers, weavers, &c., follow to the number of ten. (748)

Jurat. GEO. MEALE.

Mary Canter, of Doonass, is robbed &c., of value of 50*l.*, and flies to Castle of Limerick.

William Culliner, of Annacogey, in the parish of Kilmyleagh (quere Kilmalerey), Barony of Bunratty, shoemaker, British Protestant, is robbed and despoiled to value of 132*l.* 8*s.* He further saith—(this evidence discloses horrors quite equal to those recently charged against the Turks in Bulgaria, 788.) He then names six lapsed Protestants. Mary Young deposes to her losses, amount 927*l.*, by Dom. McNemara, of Crattalough, and Jas. Sarsfield, of Lymerick. Also to affairs in Castle of Lymerick during siege.

James Vande-lure (792) swears to losses in value 1,836*l.* He swears he was robbed and his goods taken by D. O'Brien, of Dromore, Esq., McNamara of Rossroe, and McNemara of Crattalagh; also McNamara of Ralahine. This deponent saith that he was expelled and driven away from his dwelling house

in Sixmile Bridge, from his water mills, and a mill for bark, a malt house, tan yard, and many other tenements, and four quarters of land.

The evidence of another wealthy and respectable gentleman, Gregory Hickman, Esq., of Barntick, is now given, and substantiates the sad fact stated by Cuffe that not alone the common sort, but the highest gentry of Clare joined in the proceedings of 1641, &c.

Gregory Hickman, late of Barntick, in parish of Clare Abbey, a British Protestant, was robbed of and lost to the value of 3,672*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* O'Brien, of Ballymacooda, threshed his corn. Rough O'Grady drove away his cattle. Some one else took his wool. Likewise his cows, bull, and gelding were taken by Boetius Clancy. Conor O'Brien, of Lemaneigh, *Gentleman* (sic.), in a most rebellious manner seized upon deponent's corn and turned the same to his own use. Likewise Synen ny Hehir, wife of Rough Hehir, of Cahir (= McCunna), yeoman, did about the 12th of Feby. last, accompanied with divers of her servants, come to his house at Bally Cashin, and took away deponent's poultry, household stuff, &c., at least worth 10*l.*, and one brass kettle. Then about the 12th of Feb. last, Conor O'Brien, of Lemaneigh, accompanied with Mary Brien (this is the celebrated Maureen Rhue), McLaughlin Oge, McCasey, yeoman, &c., &c., with force and arms came to deponent's house and took away 14 English swine and a parcel of his household stuff. Likewise the said Conor O'Brien took away 400 sheep from off his lands. His servants were either murdered or else stripped and turned rebels. He then mentions several recent *converts*, in particular Rev. P. Lysaght, of Kilfenora diocese. Deposes also to murder of Wm. Moore, near Kilrush, husbandman, by Sir D. O'Brien's followers, about Easter last, and Rich. Blagrave, of InchiCronane (quere son of the clergyman, vide Rider's Tour), Goldsmith, and Roger a butcher, and one Whitcombe a husbandman. These were hanged by John O'Griffa (=Griffin) and his followers, Laughlin Oge O'Hehir sitting by on horseback. The butcher's head was then carried from thence to Ballyalla, and they told those in the castle that it was Wm. Baker's head, &c., thinking thereby to turn *her* (the heroic Mrs. Cuffe) to the yielding up of the castle, which notwithstanding they did not yield up.

In his second examination he deposes that he was sent with a cargo of old tobacco from Old Kinsale, to raise money for the King's army, but found sales without licences made by the fleet. He was taken prisoner over and over again, and only got off upon covenant of a cwt. weight of tobacco. He also saw parties with and without protection at Bunratty come into the tower day after day without any disturbance.

Jurat. G. HICKMAN.

Maurice Hickey, of Rossmemaher, Gent., and John Hickey, of same, husbandmen, the latter was assaulted by McNamara in a field of wheat near Ballycarr and threatened on account of his Master Colpoyse. The deponent saw John Shaw knocked on the head by D. Mcfinen with the butt end of his musket, and the said Teige McSheeda struck and stabbed him with his skean, after a while, and in the presence of his wife, who was summoned for the occasion. John Shaw arose from a ditch where he was, and then he fell down of his wounds in deponent's presence, and "was buried while he sturd, and had life in him."

Jurat. M. HICKEY.

(*Castle Bank*) Seige.

John Rinders, late of Ballywallis, in Barony of Tulla, an IRISH Protestant, on 3rd December last lost houses, leases, debts, &c.—336*l.*

Frances Rinders, his wife, sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, saith that the particulars of John Rinders' losses are true as above.

She deposeth that on 1st of January, 1642, among other English Protestants to the number of 100 (one hundred) persons (men, women, and children) or thereabouts fled to Castle-Bank, where they continued to the 27th day of June following, 1642, at which time the castle was delivered up into the hands of one Dermd O'Brien, during which time the parties in the castle, being blocked up by the enemy abroad at least for eight weeks, and were driven towards then to feed upon horseflesh.

As also William Pidgeon, minister at Castle Bank aforesaid, was murdered upon the castle, by whom unknown, likewise George Morgan and Thomas Bailey, two warders (English Protestants), were, when half a mile from the castle, murdered.

Also during the time they were blocked up three young children, one Matthew Rinders, and two Robert Bank's his children, assaying to go forth to gather heartes were taken by the enemy and never found or heard of again. But the common opinion was that they were murdered and buried or thrown into the river and drowned.

She being further examined saith that three of her children, as also thirty others, men, women, and children, during the siege, through the extremity of the same, and being otherwise starved, died in the said castle and were all in the said castle buried.

Jurat. JOHN RINDERS
FRANCES

Anthony Heathcote deposes to heavy losses=3,278*l.*, also corroborates the Rinders evidence of the siege of Castle Bank and the sufferings of the besieged, also swears to the barbarous murder of a confidential man of Earl of Thomond, while on his Lordship's business.

Such is the evidence from authentic and contemporaneous documents, abbreviated of necessity, concerning the affairs in Clare from October, 1641, for the space of a year. Passing to *the eastern district of the diocese of Killaloe,* the siege of Parsonstown is first to be noticed. The primary source of information is a manuscript Journal of the Siege of 1642, in the possession of the Earl of Rosse. This is used as found in Cooke's picture of Parsonstown.

The statements of Captain Chidley Coote and others, as taken from the depositions (F. 2, 7) will then follow, partly in illustration of the integrity of the evidence given in the depositions, and partly to supply any additional items likely to prove interesting and to complete the sad narrative in all essential details.

But first it may be well to note some antecedent particulars connected with the settlement, the family, and the defenders.

Mr. Cooke quotes records in which the plantation of the territory Ely O'Carrol, together with the County Longford, by King James I. in 1618, is set forth. This territory containeth of—

Arable land	10,022
Profitable wood	1,794

Bog	10,370
Unprofitable w and b . . .	6,992
Mountain unprof. . . .	1,186
Formerly granted	2,282
Abbey land	84
Glebe	151
Total . . .	54,199
or of good land Total . .	36,873

Among the undertakers to bestow the land upon in Ely O'Carrol is found Mr. Laurence Parsons, and his share is 1,000 acres; other planters get considerable slices too. The order for giving him possession dates 22nd June, 1620, and in the letters patent, the castle and fort, village and land of Birr are mentioned.

Sir Laurence also made several purchases and was a great builder and improver. He was knighted by the Lord Deputy St. John, and was joined with his brother, Sir William, in the offices of Surveyor-General and Court of Wards. He was descended from a Norfolk family and had settled as an official in Ireland. L. Parsons had married Anne, daughter of Mr. Malham, of Yorkshire, and she was residing with William, her second son, from the commencement of the outbreak until the garrison capitulated.

It is very remarkable that the names of three ladies, viz., Mrs. Cuffe, Lady Parsons, and Lady Offaley, are connected with three most heroic defences of castles in this part of Ireland, viz., Lady Parsons, with Birr; Mrs. Cuffe, with Ballyalela; and the Lady Offaley, with Geashil. Nor should Lady Hamilton be forgotten, though she chose the gentle paths of charity, and seemed to walk an angel of mercy for the relief of misery, as shall appear.

On the 22nd Oct., 1641, upon the first news of the war, the said William Parsons seized upon all the gunpowder in Parsonstown, and sent to Limerick and Kilkenny to buy more, and for some muskets. Then he raised a force of horse and foot for the defence of Ely O'Carroll and its borders, mustered them (140 foot and 60 horse), and marched to Shinrone as a demonstration. Many of the inhabitants of Parsonstown swore allegiance to the

Crown, and the people undertook to support a defence force for a month. Then Parsons secured the castle, and made a flanker, fortified the church, &c., and made stations of guard.

Then the garrison marched out to Castle Cuffe, and took a swivel gun, or "murdering piece," also, to relieve Mr. Hodgins and Lady Offaly at Geashill, where they shot Captain Molloy. Then they relieved Golden Grove, or Knocknamease. Engagements ensued on the 8th, 14th, and 23rd Feb., also on the 3rd of March. Some polite correspondence then follows, and high compliments to "your good mother," from the rebel chief. On the 13th April a surprise was attempted, but it failed; and on the 30th Governor Parsons beat the Molloys, "as usual." We find this castle more closely besieged by the Irish in April, 1642. It was reduced to such great distress during the siege, that many died, while others maintained nature with cats and dogs, several respectable persons giving 20*s.* for a sucking colt and 2*s.* for the blood and entrails of a horse, there having been 900 souls in the castle and town. (See also Lodge and Carte.) The town was then relieved by a party of horse, after a forced march, arriving in Birr at 12 o'clock p.m. on Easter Sunday. The castles of Burros and Knocknamase were also succoured.

About this period Birr afforded an asylum to several Protestants who were harassed by the Irish.

Great indignation was kindled by the hanging of a poor English boy in a wood.

A gallant exploit was now successfully achieved in the relief of Knockamease, in which twenty or thirty were said to have died of starvation, and an ample supply of provisions generously given by Sir W. Parsons.

On the 15th June the Governor led out the garrison to encounter the Carrolls, "whose horse first floundered in a bog, and then ran away as fast as they could."

On the 15th Sept. 1,000 of the Irish horse and foot laid close siege all about Birr. They fired about 100 shots into the castle, and then fired the turf.

The castle of Clonehill was next stormed; and in two days after the enemy assaulted Ballinderra Castle furiously, but in vain. On the 14th January, 1643, Preston advances, and on the 20th the place surrendered, but not until the castle was attacked by artillery as well as undermined by sap.

Lord CastleHaven, however, tells in his memoirs how "he had the good fortune to begin his command with an action of charity," for going to see the garrison of Birrh, before it marched out—

I came [he says] into a great room where many people of Quality were, both men and women. They with many tears so soon as they saw me, fell on their knees desiring me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and petition, and desiring them to rise asked them what the matter was? They answered that from the first day of the wars, there had been continual action and much blood shed between them and their Irish neighbours and little quarter on either side given. And therefore understanding that I was an Englishman, some knowing me, they desired that I wld take them into my protection. I doubted that there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march two or three days through the woods of Iregan and waste countreys before they came to Athy their next friends' garrison. I went immediately to the General and desired that I might command their convoy, which he granted. Then calling out 200 horse and 300 foot, in whom I had most confidence, I marched and delivered them with their baggage safe. They were at least eight hundred men women and children. (Audley and CastleHaven Memoirs. London, 1680, page 23, &c.)

This slender abstract of Parsons' MSS. of the siege, as given by Cooke, may now be followed by some extracts from Captain Chidley Coote's depositions. This gallant gentleman was married to Alice, daughter of Sir T. Phillips, of Co. Derry, and was the Governor's brother-in-law. He was made captain of the infantry.

"Examination 53. Chidley Coote of Eglish Esqre. He deposes to the formation of the troop of 40 horse and of 100 foot out of the town dwellers and their own servants, and these poorly armed as they were, marched into the Dunn's County 17 Nov. and brought away the men and several families, with munition arms and goods, from Castle Cuffe. On Dec. 1st, they heard of Bryan Molloy robbing stripping and despoyling many families of the poor English. The Birr garrison then surprized him, took prisoners a prey of 2000 sheep and 100 cows and pillaged houses. The Molloys then attacked in revenge Clonahella but in vain."

He then attempts the relief of Geashil. On the 24th Dec. he seizes Richard Butler, of Ormond, and in the night attacks and rifles his house and pillages his sheep and cows. Being met, there ensued a successful skirmish in the woods. On Ash Wednesday he fights and beats the Carrols near Cree.

About this time Captain Errol O'Kennedy murdered five poor women and one poor old man. (See Evidence *infra.*) Through April they had excursions, fights, and preys of cattle and corn, in particular a barnful from A. McConnell, "whereof we distributed among the poor, languishing English, who were at that time in very great distress."

On the 8th May Ormonde caused relief to be thrown into Birr, Burros, and Knocknaamease, now Golden Grove, by a large body of horse.

On the 24th May intelligence came of "the necessity in which the poor English were in in Knockamease; and that having eaten up all the horses, dogs, and cowhides, they were enforced to eat the very carcases of the rebels slain by them; and others of them to hang up their own children till they were dead, and eat them; and others to eat the small morsels of bread their husbands had, and to feed their husbands with the milk of their breasts."

1st June they attempted a relief with 40 horse and no foot, but obstacles on the road forced them to return; but with 20 foot added they attempted the second time, though with long fights, great difficulty, and danger, yet they made a way on the rebels' works with shovels and spades, and wattles and thatch, and, with the power of God, put into the house of Knocknamease three months' provisions for all the fighting men thereof, and all with the loss of but one man, killing some score of the rebels, our men having fired upon them very fiercely and roundly. Some six hours before they were so, by God's assistance, relieved, Roger O'More, with the O'Maughers, the O'Carrols, &c., to the number of 500 or 600 horse and foot, had surrounded the place very strictly, engaging quarter. But the poor English, by woeful experience finding the brutishness and perfidiousness of the rebels, refused their cruel advice; at which the rebels went laughing away, asking them whether or no they expected the relief would come down to them from heaven, for they were well assured there was no way for man to relieve them.

In July, August, and September were more sallies made and preys taken.

The references to the siege of Birr, and the correspondence between Lord Clarickarde and Mr. Parsons, are to be found in Clanrickarde's Memoirs, Folio edition.

In page 5.—His Lordship's advice.
„ 8.—Parsons' thanks for same.
„ 28.—Has not a barrel of powder to spare. Dec.
„ 29.—Parsons' thanks for offers of help.
„ 38.—Declines to relieve Lady Offaley in Geashill Dec. 16.

In Sept., 1642, the Marquis of Clanrickarde writes (Mems. p. 263) :—"I recd this month several letters from ————, from Mr. Wm. Parsons, and Captain Chidley Coote, full of thanks and acknowledgments of my care of them, and supplying of them with all things in my power, and privately persuading others to relieve them. Mr. Parsons was served with salt and cattle from others."

About the 11th of September some few of the poor English of Knocknamease stole unto them at Birr and brought them a message desiring a second relief. This they could not do, yet they hazarded them a small convoy of 25, who got into the Castle in the most private manner in the night. About the 15th of September they forsook the house, it being very dark. Some five or six of the weaker ones lagging behind were overtaken and slain. Through the rest of September there were some very severe engagements and arduous efforts, and on the 24th of October, after a long and lying palaver, "they raised the siege and went away," which they of Birr next morning perceiving, could not but much rejoice, in regard that their extreme necessity and want of victuals was such that during the time of restraint, as their poor townspeople, both men, women, and children, were most pitifully hunger-starved, having eaten up all the dogs and horses of the town. Some few horses of service except, and many of them were forced to eat sheepskins, cowhides, and tallow. And many who starved at the siege would have been glad to have eaten hay or stubble, if by that means they could have kept life. But very many who formerly lived in good esteem and condition were contented rather patiently to endure by famine, than to beg mercy of the rebel Papists, or relief from their idoll-gods (sic). Though some of weaker kind of temper would during this siege-time fly unto them for mercy, desiring their pardon in a most submissive manner, if in anything they had done amiss, preferring them theirselves and their best endeavours to all the loss of

their lives, if they would put them to serve them and give them relief. But the most pitiful answers they could obtain were stripes and taunts, and strictest commands to go to Birr and pray to the Puritan gods for relief and to their gods of the Birr, assuring them that if ever they should durst to come unto them again they would kill them, though for this time they were content to let them go back again amongst the English dogs and sowes, and there starve before their eyes to their grief and vexation. And meanwhile, until 13th January, the Garrison made wider circuits with their horsemen, and drove great preys in every direction, of cows, sheep, horses, swine, and corn. Then came Colonel Preston, Titular-General of Leinster, Lord CastleHaven, and with considerable bodies of horse and foot.

14th January.—The rebels vironed the grounds about the Castle to make their approaches, and that day was both a busy and troublesome day unto deponents and rest in the Castle. Such was the flocking in of all the poor widows and orphans from the town into the Castle, of the poor town dwellers, and the poor women and children that were now turned out of the country unto them, out of an intent to starve them out the sooner, whose husbands and children were cruelly murdered by the rebels of the O'Molloy's country and Ely O'Carrol. And the numbers of them being at the fewest 300 or 400 that came in naked upon them without all manners of relief, but what the Almighty made them the ministrants of gaining them by the sword, did much annoy, trouble, and anger them. Soon the Castle is more closely besieged and the lines of approach drawn, but the shot of the defenders "gawled" (sic) them so that they desisted from digging in the rocky soil any longer that day. Then a demi-culverin was directed against the Castle, which was replied to with pistol shot, square shot, and musket shot. And the besieged shot both their canoneers with the pistol shot. And although neither of them was killed dead, yet there was not such a supply of canoneers as any longer to trouble the Castle with their ordinance. About the 18th of January a most brilliant affair took place at a stone mill, which 200 or 300 of the enemy attacked, and it was successfully defended, and the rebels fearfully beaten off and "gawled" by a guard of six musketeers, yet about the break of day they came on again,

with every man a fagot of straw or dry wood fagot with them. And every man casting down his fagot near one end of the mill, they grew to such a heap that they touched the shingle-eaves of the mill, and then putting fire to the heap, the roof took fire, and was suddenly all on a flame, which the rebels perceiving, asked the besieged whether they would take quarter. *But they returned them no answer but what their muskets gave them.* But some shot or other were faine to beat down the shingles from the side, and two (of the defenders) did so bestir themselves, so that what with the fire and what with their halberts, the whole roof was almost without any shingles, and the poor men were left destitute of every other roof but that of the heavens to cover them. But so glad were they that their imminent danger of burning was over as (that) *they called on the rebels to "fall on again for shame."* But it seemeth at that time they had not any mind so to do, and it was well they had not, for our powder was all spent to some dozen shot, which the Deponent supposeth was the reason which put the men to set so good faces on the matter, that thereby they might intimidate the rebels the more. And although the distance of the mill was not over a musket shot from the Castle, yet were all the besieged so surrounded that they could not know whether the men were dead or alive Then they came to a feigned parley with Preston on a matter of cows, which angered him much. Meanwhile, the six brave fellows crept under the mill-dam and escaped with their arms.

On the 18th January mining was tried, under guidance of a mason who was at the building of the Castle. The mouth of their mine was not four yards distant from the foundation of the walls on the west side of the Castle. The besieged hearing their sapping, bestirred themselves with shooting, and with casting and rolling great stones toward the bank on them, which did much annoy them, and many of them fell through right. But at last the night grew so dark that they were faine to hang on the wall two and three links, long lanthornes, and to cast straw on the walls, and firebrands to give the better light, which helped them very much to hit the bodies of these men, and so annoy their sap.

Yet notwithstanding do what we could, they got by the

break of day under ground, and for aught they knew, under the very walls, which the besieged perceiving, and knowing how impossible it was for them to hold out, having had in fourteen months no more than one cwt. (small weight) of powder out of his Majesty's store,—all that time enforced to fight for only the bit they put in their mouths, and seeing no hope of relief. They thought good rather to surrender the Castle than assuredly to lose all their lives, certainly knowing that the passages between them and their armies were so well manned by the rebels, as it were not to be thought the Lords Justices and Council would run the hazard of finding out a way from Dublin unto them, the distance between 50 and 60 miles, to make through not only the bodies of men, but through men strengthened and encouraged to fight by the natural and artificial strength of paths, fords, rivers, and strong outworks.

Moreover, moved by the seditious cries of poor women and children ready to starve—their cattle, by which they must subsist and live, eating the manes and tails of one another for want of fodder,—their men, not in number above fifty for the defence of the whole Castle, killed almost, what for want of sleep, and what with cold, which they took often,—rushing through the dirty court to answer alarums, which was made so noisome by the treading of the cattle, that each step a man took he sunk to the very knees in mud and filth,—the besieged, therefore, duly considering all the forementioned reasons and respects, about the 19th of January, at the fall of the night, sent to Preston and desired to have a parley. This took place, the usual proviso anent the commission from the King being at once presented and denied.

The General Preston allowed to the Governor and the Deponent himself that they should have liberty to march away with a competent number of arms, with their horse and foot, with half their plate and money, all their clothes; but for the rest, they should only march away with their wearing clothes, half their money, and as much provision as would carry them away to Dublin. Then the next day we surrendered the Castle, 20th January—very sorry to part with it on those terms, which they should not have done had they been able to have maintained it. (For all his Jesuitical professions of his Majesty's

commission.) But much more sorry to see his gracious Majesty so impiously belied and illused.

Jurat 11 Apl. 1643. CHIDLEY COOTE.

Coram JNO. WILSON,
WM. ALDRISH,
HEN. BRERETON.

Capt. Coote does not approve of these terms, but it seems established, from the researches of Mr. Cooke, that there were *secret reasons*, in consideration of which the besieged got off far better than they could have expected. These relate to secret articles, under which Parsons should undertake his best endeavours, "with the Lord Justice and Council, that they will discharge the bodies of Nicholas Egan and Katherine Preston his wife, with her sister—a religious woman—the hopes of which enlargement hath encouraged his Lordship to give me so fair and honourable quarter."

WM. PARSONS.

Exam. No. 41.

I. Robert S. Hopley, clerk, Vicar of Parsonstown and Rector of Kinnity,

II. Thomas Mitchell of Birr, Schoolmaster of the Free School there,

III. George Walker of the same, clothier,

IV. Laurence Maltham of the same, gentleman,

being duly sworn and examined, deposed—

That they have known and seen 4 Camps—viz., of Molloys, Coghlans, Carrols, and the Ormond—500 or 600 at a time, and sometimes 1000. They also have credibly heard and known that the Camp of the Molloys did in Christmas, 1641, traiterously kill and murder near Dowrass Capt. Robt. Smith; Johnson, clerk; Robert Banth (? Bennett), clerk; Thomas Holmfield, Esq., Robert Hall, John Johnson, Thomas Torvey.

They have also known and seen seven poor women killed by the Ormond Camp as they were going to get some corne for their relief, and divers poor were killed in time of harvest almost daily.

They have also known and seen the firing of Clonagall Castle by the greatest of the Camps of the Molloys, O'Coghlans, Carrols—where three or four of that garrison were then and there

burned to death, viz., one Harrison with his wife and son, and one other man. The same day, &c., they assaulted the Castle of Ballinderry.

Hopley was despoyled of 1,160*l.* and value of his Church living.

Michell 253*l.* goods. Employ 20*l.* per annum.

Walker was robbed of 1,279*l.*, also his estate and chattels.

Richard Taylor of the Birr, shoemaker, deposes to a horrible transaction in which Mary Nelson, a Scottish Protestant at Croghan, near Birr, was concerned, and lost her life—and Ellen Palmer, Mary Taylor, and four more. The details of their slaughter and exposure are reserved. And then Mr. Parsons made such means that they were sent for and carried to Birr in cars, where they were all buried in the Deponent's grave. Deponent also swears to other murders—too disgusting to detail.

56. Ralph Walmsley deposes to robberies near Birr and Portumna, also to murders witnessed and to something about a Friar's conduct. He also gives evidence of slaughter of Mrs. R. Ward—and of one Wm. Reed, an Englishman, being turned Papist near Glass House. Two of the rebels came to his house, where they feasted themselves all night. Next morning they took him off towards the Camp at Eglish, but in the way at Boltonacrush, these wicked villains killed and slew him and then bragged of the fact, and having brought with them his bloody shirt they forced deponent's maid servant to wash the same. His name was P. O'Coolly. The witness recites the awful act of cannibalism in Knocknamease Castle as given by Coote, and he names parties then living in Portumna who were in the Castle when these things were done before their eyes.

Richard Williamson of Birr deposes to having encountered *a Devilish Virago*, the wife of Pierce Butler of Ormond, who being present at the capture of an old Englishman, a boy and five British women, commanded the soldiers to take their spears to wound and martyr those women in a horrible manner. And one of those five women, Mary Nelson, being assaulted by two rebel soldiers disarmed one of them of his pike and threw down the other on the ground and kept him there (!!), but in a cowardly and treacherous way had her back broken by

a butcher, her next door neighbour, and then she falling down, these rebels gave her thirty-seven wounds, so that she instantly died. Jurat.

Anthony Stockdales loses 760*l.*

Edward Walsh gives an exact and full inventory of his losses in stock, crops, utensils, &c., 1,302*l.*, and then adds the following most graphic description of an unwelcome interruption of his supper.

On the 7th of December, at supper-time, T. Rush and G. Cavenagh and nineteen others, with swords and skeans, came up to this deponent, and Rush, putting his sword to his breast, bade him deliver up the castle to the Pope's Holiness, but this deponent thought he jested, till several other swords likewise were presented at his breast. And R. Fitzgerald, taking his petronell, ready cocked, presented the same also to the deponent's breast, saying (when this deponent offered to draw his sword) that it was in vain for him to strive against so many, and so disarmed him, and took from him his sword and dagger, with eight guns, powder, &c., alledging that there was an excommunication from the chief of their Church against any of his religion that would not do the likes, and that if he had not done so, some of his neighbours would have had his own head.

Henry Bolton, of Culfin (quere: Cullenwaine), deposes to losses—was beleaguered in Birr for fourteen months—till the most of the poor Protestant Christians were so miserably distressed for want of food that many of them died for want. And others eating cats and dogs—and many of good fashion formerly, gave 20*s.* for a sucking colt, and 2*s.* for the blood and entrails of a horse, at that time there being 900 souls, men, women, and children, in the castle and town of Birr, beset with the rebels. Jurat.

Henry Skelton (ex. 10) deposes to storming of Kinnitty, and a horrible graveyard scene.

We close this sad narrative of 1641, &c., in that part of the Diocese of Killaloe which is in King's County, merely remarking that the evidence of Parsons and Coote are beyond all cavil, and that so far from our pressing from these into an undue prominence all the most tragic details and ghastly items, our abstract looks tame and weak beside the originals. We now

leave this locality with the evidence of the Rev. Marmaduke Clapham, Vicar of Synerone :—

"A preacher, a man of good life and conversation," inducted into Shinroan 1619. "The cure served by himself." (See Bishop Rider, supra.) The evidence of a man thus living before the world for twenty years and more, sustaining, as would appear, the character which his sagacious Bishop solemnly gave him in a State paper, must be regarded with very particular attention and respect.

He, being duly sworn, deposeth that he lost in moneys, household stuff, provisions, goods, cattle and chattels at his farm of Darrymore, and the yearly profit of the same, together with his Church means in Synroane, amounting in all to about 1,000*l.*, in manner and form following. About December last, one D. M'Coughlan, of Leddane, with his other confederates, as yet unknown, seized upon his cattle, horses, mares, sheep, and broke up his house.

About the same time, deponent fearing the rumours of rebellion, caused his servants with his garrans to draw away his household stuffe to Tomane, to one Fra Merhope Esqrs. house, which, when Owen Oge McGilfoyle (heard), he desired the deponent that he would be pleased to come to his castle with his goods, pretending that rather than the deponent should suffer any hurt, he would spend his heart's blood. But as soon as he had gotten the same into his castle, his wife told the deponent's wife that her husband nor she durst keep the deponent and his son-in-law, because they were ministers. Whereupon the same night the deponent and his two sons and daughters (left), intending for Waterford and so into England. At Castletown, four miles from Sinroane, at one Mahon Kellane's, they were assaulted in their body, robbed, and stripped of money, plate, apparel, and six horses and saddles, by three cousin-germans of the said McGuilfoyle, sons of one Daniel K. O'Carrol, accompanied by thirty men armed with spears, skeyns, and swords drawn. And they wounded the deponent, returned to go to McGuilfoyle, who had the custody of the rest of the deponent's goods, who that night received them. But the next day McGuilfoyle, by force and arms, thrust out of his castle and town the deponent, his wife, and children; and as soon as they departed, the said McGuilfoyle broke open the lock of deponent's chest and trunk,

and took away all that were in them, and cast them out the castle empty, and likewise the household stuff and other provision. Likewise he had his servants killed, thirty sows, oxen and cows of the deponent, and broke up and pillaged all his houses. Whereupon John O'Carroll, of Clonlisk, Esq., sent for the deponent and his wife and children, and promised that for his old acquaintance and good neighbourhood he would keep them one year, averring the same with many asseverations, for which the deponent was to give him four ricks of corn. But within one week the said John O'Carrol told deponent that he would keep him no longer for fear the country should rob him of his cattle for hatred of the deponent. Yet he undertook to the deponent that if he would assign over unto him his estate whensoever he could get it, upon that condition and no other, he would send a convoy to see him, his wife and children, safe conducted to Dublin; otherwise he said it was impossible for them to escape killing. Whereupon, to save their lives, the deponent made over his estate to John Carroll in writing. *But the convoy ran away,* and forsook the deponent after ten miles travelling. Whereupon, immediately after they were stripped naked, and had forthwith perished but that out of Christian charity deponent was relieved by Sir Robert Pigot and Sir William Culbert (?)

Jurat April 13, 1642.

Idem. iterum Jurat.

"The rebels threatened that if he or his wife stayed longer in a tenant's house of his, where they were sheltered, they should have their throats cut or the house burned over their heads. They threatened also to hang his servants when they came to him. Neither would they suffer their servants to guard him or his wife in their travels. For, though they were stripped naked in terrible winter weather, and in that pitiful plight, peril of life, misery, danger, yet they could not travel above three miles a day, so constantly did every company run upon and assault. Those being armed with skeynes, and swords drawn, darts, pikes, and peeces, shaking, hallooing, pulling and beating them sometimes, as if they had been dogs, with ignominious treatment not to be related—and amongst other railings calling them Puritan rogues, English dogs, rascals, and the like.

"They said they would hang Mr. Wm. Parker (?) and Capt. M. Peiseley on their own gates—and that they detested the ground whereon an English Protestant did tread, and whatsoever in any sort might have relation to them. And thereupon they have made such havoc upon their cattle and sheep, killing the lean and young breed as well as the fat and hogs, in such multitude that for want of salt much was corrupted and lost. And the very dogs that were of English breed they killed, so transported they were with an and inveterate malice to extirpate the very memory of our nation.

"That their men and women, which formerly used the English habit—as bands, ruffs, hats, cloaks, gowns, breeches, &c. —now wear kerchiefs, mantles, trowsers and all Irish habit. Insomuch as forty years' improvement is destroyed by these miscreants in one half year.

"Further, they said they did resolve to banish and kill all the English, and so it was resolved among them to have the kingdom and land for themselves, and that it should never continue (or, contain) the two religions of Roman Catholique and Protestants any longer hereafter. And that we should quit the kingdom or they. And that this was the resolution concluded upon by their grand ones. That a million of men were up in arms; and 900 Priests, Titular Bishops, and Friars in O'Neille's army, who were richly attired,—adorned with Trinkets, Bulls, pardons, Agnus Deis, Scapulars, &c., and that we should surrender completely and (yield) for effecting their design. And when about Easter last, *albeit thousands* of good and honest families of English, men, women. and children, who had lived formerly in commendable fashion, keeping good hospitality to strangers, their neighbours and the poor—have perished and died in the deluge of destruction, first being robbed and stripped and turned out of their estates, houses, and (deprived of) garments in frost, snow, hail, wind in the depth of winter, and so killed with grievous hunger and cold—yet because it pleased God that some by his providence had escaped, the Rebels said that they were sorry, that when they stripped they did not kill them, and but that they thought cold and famine would have despatched them all, they would have done it. For it was not of any pity but of malice to put the English to more pain by a

lingering languishing death that they spared at that time their lives." MARMADUKE CLAPHAM.

The Depositions concerning *murders and robberies done in co. Tipperary* are found in vol. numbered F., 2—14.

Magdalen Redfern's evidence (No. 98) relates that "some of the rebels were more pitiful than the rest." What the rest were to her she has related, and it is recorded in Temple's narrative. So we pass it by.

The evidence (No. 111) of Jane, the wife of Robert Baxter, "late Preacher of the word of God at Clonmacnosh (Clonmacnoise) in the King's Coy, sworn abt 20 Decr 1641, the Depts husband and she were robbed, deprived of and lost their goods, chattels, means worth £100 stg. And that her husband and Captn R. Smyth and 20 more of his soldiers were slain by the rebels in a skirmish near Tirrinelough."

Ml. Caxton (page 1130) "Depth that he heard the cause assigned of inducing the country to rise was because no English garrison should be placed there"—in Ely O'Carrol—"at any future time." What folly it was that such was not there already, and with a chain of communications stretching thence through the best towns to Dublin as the grand basis of operations.

(F., 2—14.) "Dionis Garforth (clk) Prebendary of the Church of Lockine in the Diocese of Killaloe and Coy of Tipy lost £604 and profits of living £220. Was despoyled by Ri Butler of Turloughduffe and McDaniel his servant, by McEgan of Borris, *John Grace* Esqre of Ballinamonin, Philip Roe, yeoman. But one of his children was left behind when he fled to Birr, and he could by no means regain him. Jurat, DENIS GARFORTH."

Thomas Meredith, Catherine Thomas, Robert Langdon, Thomas Turner, and John Fox, all of the parish of Kilmore, in Upper Ormond, depose to losses, plunderings, despoilings, &c.

Lydia, relict of John Colquite, late of Castletown, county of Tipperary, gentleman, sworn, saith that since the beginning of the late rebellion she was robbed and lost to the value of 316*l.*, chiefly by George Carter, of Knockandurrusk, an agent in the silver mines for Sir Basil Brooke, Knight. This Carter they trusted with the most of their goods when before the rebellion they came to Castletown. And after the said George Carter

turned rebel, and yet (as she hath credibly heard) being an Englishman, was at length murdered by the rebels in that county (!!) And she hath also been told by Sir Thomas Meredyth that divers of the English workmen at the silver mines, that were indebted to her husband and her, were cruelly murdered by the rebels and thrown into the lime-pits. Jurat.

414. Ann, the late wife (*sic*) of John Sherring, of silver-works of the county Tipperary, aged about 25 years, sworn, that about Candlemas was two years, the said John Sherring, her then husband, going from his farm, which he held from one John Kennedy, Esq., near to the silver-works, one Hugh Kennedy, and the brother of the said John, and several rebels, together with a great multitude of Irish rebels (soldiers), then and there forcibly assaulted and set on her said husband, and upon John Burke McLoughlin, and eighteen more English Protestants, and about ten women, and upon four children in their company, and then and there, first with stones, poleaxes, skeanes, swords, pikes, and other weapons, most barbarously massacred and murdered her husband and all the other Protestant men, women, and children. In the time of which massacre a most loud and fearful noise and storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hailstones, and rain began; the time being on a Sabbath-day, about one hour before night, the former part of that day being very fair; but that thunder, lightning, and tempest happening suddenly, soon after the massacre was begun, affrighted much and terrified the deponent and many others; inasmuch as some of those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's anger and threatening of them for such their cruelty. Yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloody act until they had murdered those said English Protestants, and had hacked, hewed, slashed, stabbed, and so massacred them that many of them were cut all to pieces. And her husband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given unto him near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back, and neck. And that murder done, those barbarous rebels tyed withes about their necks, and drew them out of the refining mines where they slew them, into a deep hole formerly made, one upon another, so that none of those men,

women, or children escaped them; howbeit one Thomas Eadell, a Scottish man, and one Thomas Collop, who then and there endured and had many grievous wounds, and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up after the rebels were gone away, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives. And deponent further saith, that such was God's judgment upon the said Hugh Kennedy for that bloody fact, that he fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night; yet, coveting to do more mischief upon the English, but being prevented and denied to do it, he, about a week after, drowned himself in the next river to the silver-works. But his barbarous and wicked soldiers went on with their wickedness, and bragged how they had killed a minister and his wife and children near to the city of Lymerick. And this deponent is too well assured that these or other Irish rebels in that part of the county exercised and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages against the persons and goods of the Protestants, so as very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods. And further saith, that all the Popish gentry in the county thereabouts, especially all those of the septs and names of the O'Brians, Coghlans, and the Kennedys, were all acting in the present rebellion against His Majesty, and otherwise acted, assisted, incited, or consented to all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further saith, that by means of the aforesaid rebellion herself and husband were deprived, about Candlemas, 1641, of their cattle, household stuffs, corn, malt, provisions, &c., &c., to 160*l*. And that the said John Kennedy was the man who so deprived and robbed them, and the other rebels stripped her stark naked. Jurat coram H. Jones, H. Burton, 30th Sept., 1643.

William Timmes (416), of Belltaine in Owney, gives a most graphic statement of his hairbreadth escapes and wondrous deliverances. He first relates how he joined with his Irish neighbours, who were gentry, to stand loyal together; and how they sent him to Lymerick to procure powder; also, how on his return with 14lb. of it he met the despoyled English miners who escaped from the silver-works; how they dissuaded him from going on; how he did so, and by firing his fowling-piece into a band of co. Clare men, got a way for himself made,

and galloped to the top of a hill, and thence back to Lymerick. He tells how he attempted to induce the wife of one of the Irish gentry, by a ring, to befriend his wife and save his goods; and how at last they (the Irish) earnestly persuaded deponent's wife to come to Lymerick to him, and to prevail with him to return unto them with his arms and ammunition, and withal to become a Roman Catholic, and then he should have all his estate and means, and live quietly amongst them, and have what command he pleased among them—*i.e.* the Irish—using, as deponent's wife protested unto him, more than ordinary promises and fair shews to draw him and his arms and ammunition thither. Howbeit (as it seemeth) because they would be sure to strip the deponent's wife of all that she had, they persuaded her to go in brogues and a mantle, like a meer Irishwoman (for her more safety in the way), and so leave all her clothes with them, which she more for fear than by their persuasions consented unto. She came away in a mantle and brogues, and so filthily disguised, that when he saw her he scarcely knew her. But when she had acquainted him of their promises and desires, and that he returned them a resolute answer, that he would neither be of their religion—come unto them—nor trust them any more—then they stripped deponent's children of their own clothes and sent them in rags or poor Irish habits unto him and their mother at Lymerick aforesaid.

Timmes then swears that a plot was made to seize and carry him off in "cottes" (or Shannon skiffs), to be useful to the rebels in the art of making of gunpowder. And then he tells how D. Fanning (Mayor of Limerick) acted, "whereupon the deponent suddenly fled to the castle," where he remained as a volunteer for the defence of that castle from that time until about Midsummer then next following. Which castle being for about seven weeks beseiged by the rebel General Barry, of Barry's county, and by the said Mayor, Mr. Fanning, who (treacherously and contrary to the minds of many in the city) let the said General Barry into the city, and by Stephen Purcell, and by Serjeant-Major McNemara, of the County Clare, kindsman of the Earl of Tomond, and by divers other Papistical rebels.

There died of English and other Protestants within the said castle within the time and by occasion and straitness of the

seige, and by want of necessaries, about three hundred of the same, by 14, 15, or 16 in a night. So that they were forced to bury them by 8 or more of them together in one grave, which with their wants among the living and a continued mortality, pestered (sic) and weakened the survivors so, that afterwards they were enforced to surrender it to the rebels.

Then he describes scenes of mining and countermining the castle, also of the taking of two pieces of their ordnance. And yet (he adds) such was the assistance of God that in one of these countermines which the deponent and the rest drove against them, that they killed one Father White, a notable priest or friar, and about 7 or 8 more of the rebels. In and about which operations, the deponent was almost choked and smothered with the very powder of the pistols he discharged against them. Howbeit so many and strong were the assailants and the defenders so weak, that they were necessitated to yield it upon quarter, to part away with bag and baggage, and to leave all their arms and ammunition to the rebels. (Timmes does not mention Bishop Jones, of Killaloe, in the castle, nor does he seem alluded to in the other depositions. Doubtless he escaped to Dublin by sea as fast as he could.)

Then Timmes relates how he and as many as pleased were conveyed by water to Cork by Captain Constable, an Englishman, who long endeavoured to stay in the river to protect the castle, but could not. Howbeit, in his attempts to relieve it, his ship received several shots through and through, and lost its main anchor, and endured much loss and danger besides.

Arrived at Cork, Timmes took arms and fought against the rebels.

The evidence of Timmes as to the affair at the silver-mines is notable:—

He deposes that divers of the English miners had fled from the silver-works to Ballycahil Castle, belonging to Sir T. Meredyth, two miles from the mines, and also carried their goods thither; where, after they had continued for a few weeks, John Kennedy and others persuaded them to give it up, and go and live at the mines again and work there, promising that none should hurt or pillage them of anything. Whereupon these poor credulous people returned with wives, children, goods, families, to the mines aforesaid. But they had

not long continued there, but that one Hugh Kennedy, brother to the said John, John Glissane, R. O'Kennedy, T. Brane (servant), Donell Glissan, called "*Great Donnell*," John, and two or three more O'Kennedys, Hugh O'Coghie, "a most cunning and bloody villain," (sic) being all armed with pistols, skenes, hatchets, swords, and other weapons, came all together on a Sabbath-day at Candlemas, 1641, suddenly and rebelliously into the refining house of said mines, and then and there in several rooms and places, near—(he then tells the slaughter and details the names of the Protestants slain, also mentions the thunderstorm). He then proceeds to narrate that "Presently, after the murder aforsaid, Margaret, the wife of Philip O'Kennedy, of Coolene, Co. Tip., Gentleman, Margaret, the wife of the *Great* Daniel Gleeson, and the wife of Rory Kennedy, with some other women belonging to the murderers, came and—(this act of these *ladies* is not fit for publication. Suffice it to say that the Bashi Bazooks or other most brutal of the Turkish oppressors of the Bulgarians were never charged with anything equal in its atrocity to what was here done), and so left the bodies unburied where they lay until they were buried in a watery ditch—save two." He then tells of the marvellous escape of Collopy, after being wounded in several places and left for dead. Also how Ladeley had "36 wounds and escaped with his life by the good succour and help of Sir Alexander Hamilton, Knight, and the Honble. Georg(ina) Humbleton, Lady, sister to the most Honble. James, Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland. And so did the said Collopy and his wife (cherished, cured, and recovered by the said Honble. Lady), yet being afterwards stripped naked as she went towards Limerick, by the other rebels, quickly afterwards died."

Deponent then mentions how "there came some directions from the supreme Council (Kilkenny) to John Kennedy to apprehend and bring to prison the persons of all those that joined the murders aforesaid (page 431, *sub fin.*), whereupon the said John Kennedy did apprehend and convey to prison all the known murderers (saving his brother Hugh, who aforetime had drowned himself), and the said Hugh O'Cohey, who was servant to himself, which Cohey to prevent some confession and discovery of his mistress's wicked acts, or to preserve him the

said Cohey for the acting of more mischief, the Deponent cannot tell. He the said Jno Kennedy suffered him to go away and stay until the danger was over amongst a wicked company of Priests or Friars. But when the other parties were so apprehended and imprisoned for some time, and strictly questioned for the fact, then they were either suffered to escape or set at liberty, and so came home again."

Deponent, after affairs connected with Limerick, tells how John Kennedy's castle was struck by a thunderbolt, "or whatever else it pleased God, and severely injured, also a rick was carried away into the valley to the admiration of all, but the said John Kennedy shewed no sign of repentance."

Finally, Timmes says that he does not relate cruelties and murders by hearsay, but only those he saw with his own eyes.

His losses amounted to 1,290*l.*

Jurat 6 May 1645. Coram HENRY CLOGHER. HENRY BUNTON.

Page 406. John Powell, of the Mines, silver refiner, gives harrowing details of the scene in the refining-room, especially the murder of Mrs. Clarke's baby by the master, Hugh Kennedy, who seems quite of the type of Nana Sahib. He also adds a word of praise in memory of Lady Hamilton, sister of the Lord Lieut.-General, "by whom not only they but many other of the distressed English met with ample relief, who otherwise would have perished."

He adds that Randal Bigford and wife, now servant to Lord Clanrickarde, were present, and eye-witnesses; also Robert Richardson. "And one John Tymmes and his wife, who now live in St. Patrick Street, Dublin, were present and know of the same and gave relation thereof to the Deponent and one Wm. Lome."

Cornelia Fleming (1946), relict of James Fleming, of near silver-mines. She and her husband were robbed and despoiled by their landlord Darby Mulryan, Esq., of Garrane, gentleman (!) Then they fled to Limerick Castle. Her husband, exposing himself on the walls, was shot in the side, and, after a miserable languishing, died, having also fallen down. Then two of her children died, "of famine merely." Then she and another escaped to Dublin after the surrender, "where they remained in great misery, from whence (the great God delivering

them) they have been forced into England to seek relief. She saith that her father was robbed of a very fair and comfortable estate. And four of his sons taking arms against the rebels were all slain, being first robbed of all. Jurat, C. FLEMING."

I think (writes T. Carlyle) a certain terrible fact, which *the Irish Imagination pretends to treat sometimes as a chimera*, might profitably return and reassert itself there. The Massacre of 1641 was *not*, we will believe, premeditated by the leaders of the Rebellion. *But it is an awful truth, written in sun-clear evidence, that it did happen;* and the noble-minded among the men of Ireland are called to admit it, and to mourn for it, and to learn from it! To the ear of History those "ghosts" still shriek from the Bridge of Portadown, if not now for just vengeance on their murderers, yet for pity on them, for horror at them. And no just man, whatever his new feelings may be, but will share more or less the Lord-Lieutenant Cromwell's old feelings on that matter. It must not be denied, it requires to be admitted. As an act of blind, hysterical fury, very blind and weak and mad, and at once quite miserable and quite detestable, it remains on the face of Irish History, and will have to remain till Ireland cease, much more generally than it has yet done, to mistake loud bluster for inspired wisdom, and spasmodic frenzy for strength—till, let us say, *Ireland do an equal act* of magnanimous forbearance of valour in the silent kind. Of which also we have by no means lost hope.—Part V. Letters of Cromwell, by T. Carlyle, ano. 1650.

Turning from the massacre of 1641, "*that barbarous and unparalleled rebellion in which the Protestant religion received an inexpressible blow*" (Harris's Ware, page 109), we must take another glance at the Diocese as the scene of some affairs of stirring interest. D. O'Brien, in his petition already cited, sets forth how much he suffered since the taking of Lymerick by the heavy monthly contribution, so that he was well-nigh beggared. One of the McNamaras—he of Crevah—was the Treasurer of this fund. Carte mentions the arrival of Lord Forbes in the Bay of Galway with a fleet fitted out by the London Adventurers. As soon as he got into the Bay of Galway, he landed some men on the Thomond side, burned the houses and wasted the lands of *Daniel* and Torlogh O'Brien, the only two gentlemen in the county that had not joined in the rebellion, who had preserved and relieved the English, and had assisted with their long boats and with provisions for the relief of the fort when it was besieged. But as an extenuation of this and other atrocities of Forbes, Carte mentions that "he was much governed by the advice of the famous Hugh Peters, his

chaplain"—a Puritan maniac, who called himself a preacher of the Gospel, but was really, like one Jerome, imported to teach high-treason and hatred of the Church. In fact, he was quite of the type of MacBriar, whom Sir W. Scott has immortalized. And O'Brien, as Norton has deposed, was also imprisoned in Clare Castle by the confederate Catholics for his loyalty to the English.

A curious squib exhibits the frenzied fury of Peters against the Church and Prayer-book in these sharp terms :—

"Whether it would not much advance our long-desired *Reformation* if those places of *Scripture* out of which the *Common Prayer-book* is collected were diligently sought after, *and blotted out of our Bibles*, that no mark of the *superstitious Liturgy* may remain among us to make our children *Idolaters*."

The tyranny of "the Saints," as now exercised by the Commissioners in Dublin, soon grew to such a pitch as to turn upon and crush some of the foremost men who had raised them to power. In illustration we take from the "History of Independency," Part II., p. 64, the following doleful experience of William Pryn, now in prison (!!) :—

I shall close up all (says he in his second letter to Fairfax) with this observation, that as the most glorious angels in heaven when they fell (through pride and ambition as most conceive), became the very foulest devils in hell, so the most splendid seeming hypocritical saints when they fall through the like sins and *have power in their hands*, become the most incarnate devils and *monsters of treachery and tyranny* upon earth, exceeding Turks and Pagans therein, of which we have now sad experience in our *army-saints*, who every day aggravate and yet justifie their impieties and exorbitancies.

Of Hugh Peters we must have another glimpse (ubi supra, p. 67) :—

Cromwell, Ireton, and Hugh Peters have several times made it their errand to go into the city and visit the ministers, giving them threatening admonitions *not to preach anything against the actings of the army and their Parliament*. But Hugh acted his part above all of them. He took some musketiers with him to the house of Master Calamy, and knocking at the door, a maid asked whom he would speak with? He told her, with her master. She asked his name. He replied Mr. Hugh Peters. While the maid went up to Calamy, who was in conference with some Divines, Peters was overheard telling the soldiers "The name of Peters will fright them all." When called up he told Mr. Calamy that he was commanded by the General to warn him to come before him. Calamy, however, leaving Peters vapouring and canting religion and nonsense to the rest of the Divines, slipped down stairs and went to the

General to know his pleasure, telling him he had been summoned before him by Hugh Peters. *The General said Peters was a knave, and had no such directions from him.*

And this was the man who came to convert all Galway (see Carte) forthwith.

Since this the Council of War, finding it difficult to stop the ministers' mouths, have debated often how to shut up the churches' doors in the city for reformation of the Church and propagation of the Gospel. They imprisoned Mr. Canton for praying for King Charles, and threatened to try him for his life. And one of the Dutch agents advises Cromwell to stop the ministers' mouths by hanging up a dozen of them, and vouches a precedent for it in the Low Countries.

But not alone the tyranny and frenzy of the Cromwellians, but the fury and rapacity of the Irish become prominent just now. In Lord Thomond's letter already printed, he urges :—

> Keepe and return me an account from time to time of all the weapons and arms you take up from the country. I am now resolved of a course in hope thereby to preserve the goods that are mine and the rest of the English tenants in the country, which I have directed my . . . . to imparte to you and to my cosen, Boetius Clancy (High Sheriff), to put the same in execution.

It was rather late for his Lordship, in 1643, to look after "*the goods of the English tenants,*" when they were all slain, or plundered, or *driven away naked.* As to his Lordship's "*own goods,*" they were not quite so safe, as we have exhibited already.

In April, 1643, Lord Thomond writes to Earl Clanrickarde to the following effect:—"That your Majesty's declaration and letters into these parts cannot work upon their obstinate dispositions there." (Clanrickarde Mems. Folio, p. 386.) Prior to this the Marquis notes (p. 351), "I received a long letter from my Lord of Thomond, date 30th January, complaining of being debarred intelligence more than such as came from the Irish party, expressing that he rejoiced at my happiness, having many faithful friends and followers adhering to me, but must bemoan himself, being generally deserted by such as should show the like respect to him, having erected a new frame of Government, and confederated themselves with the province of Munster. That he had tried all ways to bring them to obedience, but could not prevail, that they had profaned his Majesty's

sacred name, avouching their actions to be warranted by him. That he had represented the same to his Majesty, and expected a return to disprove that rumour, but that such was the incredulity of our countrymen, that he conceived if the King were himself in person here to declare his detestation of their courses, they would not believe it."

General Preston, on the eastern end of the diocese, by the fall of Birr, was free "to advance further and take Banagher." And though he met with some losses, he was able to reduce all the forts of the King's County.

Lord Clanrickarde, so far back as January, 1641, writes to the King, that (59) "My Lord President of Conaught is forced to retire to the Castle of Athlone, and cannot move far from thence. My Lord of Thomond is in little better condition, as I am informed, and all *his English and Dutch plantations* forsaken." (This proves an important fact of which no other account is available besides an allusion noticed above.)

On the 2nd of November, 1646, Bishop Jones died in Dublin, and was buried in St. Werburgh's Church. His successor was "Rev. Edward Parry, D.D." He was a native of Newry, County Down, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Pro Vice-Chancellor. He possessed considerable talents, and an intense love of the Church and of the Prayer-book, which he showed "in a manner to excite surprise and veneration." In 1627, he was Prebendary of Tipperkevin, in the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin. (In 1630, he was Incumbent of St. Bride's.) In 1634, he was made Treasurer of Christ Church (and in 1635 was appointed one of the High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes). In 1636, he was Prebendary of Stagonyl, in St. Patrick's. In 1640 (he was presented to St. Olave's, Waterford, on March 16, with license to hold his other preferments in union (Rolls). He was installed March 20th). He then resigned, and became Dean of Lismore, and attempted, without success, to recover his Deanery lands, seized by the first Earl of Cork, into his family's grip for near a century. Other lands were never recovered from same family. In 1643, he was Archdeacon of Glendalagh (Dean Parry's house is entered in the Hearth-money Rolls as being in St. Stephen Street, assessed for eight hearths). The King's letter in his favour is dated 29th December, 1646, patent 20th March fol-

lowing. He was consecrated in Christ Church Cathedral on March 28, 1647, by Launcelot, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Bishops of Kildare and Cloyne. He was highly recommended by the Marquis of Ormonde as one singularly well affected for his Majesty's service, and beyond all exception for his life and learning. On account of his good character and the smallness of the revenues of this see, the King permitted him to hold his former livings *in commendam*. Two days afterwards, March 30th, arrived Colonel Castle's Regiment, which was sent by the Parliament to the Marquis of Ormond's assistance, and was followed by Colonel Hungerford's Regiment and Colonel Long's, and by the Commissioners themselves, who landed the 7th June, and brought with them 1,400 foot and 600 horse, and the treaty was on the 18th June concluded. And the same day the Marquis of Ormonde, "*extremâ necessitate compulsus*," says Mr. Beling, surrendered Dublin, Tredagh, and his other garrisons to them, but kept the Regalia till the 25th July. *This action* (specially directed by the King) *hath preserved Ireland in obedience to the Crown of England*, and therefore the Confederates, especially the Nuncio party (whose designs were diametrically opposite to that which happened), do hate the name of Ormond above all things, and have written volumes of scandal (*e.g.* "The Unkinde Deserter of Loyall men and true friends," Cox in Hib. Angl. p. 193). And it is also worth note, that in the articles of agreement concluded, the 10th secures 2,000*l.* per annum, being given in pensions unto such of the civil and martial list, as also of the *distressed* clergy; the 4th provides for those who live in English quarters protection of their persons and estates, without any distinction of office or religion; and the 2nd concludes for all Protestants whatsoever that they be secured in their persons, estates, and goods, and that they may live quietly and securely. And it is also to be noted that just before this event the clergy had met in the castle and thanked the Marquis of Ormond for his vigilant care exercised to preserve, not only within the city of Dublin, but also in out-garrisons, the free exercise of the true reformed religion, according to the Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, *at a time when the use of that Liturgy was prohibited both in England and Scotland*. Let it be remembered then with what precipitancy,

presumption, impolicy, and intolerance the Commissioners sought to enforce an Anti-Liturgical Uniformity in the Three Kingdoms. (See Solemn League, &c.) As Borlace tells it neatly enough, "Soon after the Parliaments Commissioners were warm in the Government they put their sickle into the service of the Church."

Order as to Book of Common Prayer, by the Commissioners from the Parliament of England.

For prevention of inconveniences that may hereafter arise by continuing the Common Prayer-book and ceremonies in the churches of the kingdom, We have thought fit and do hereby require that the same for the future be discontinued. Given at Dublin, June 24, 1647, A. Annesley, Rob. King, Rob. Meredith, Michael Jones, John Moore.

The Church clergy deemed themselves unable, consistently with their clerical vows, to yield obedience. And when they came after the next following Sunday *for their usual weekly allowance of bread* (! !) granted to them by the Marquis of Ormonde, they were met by a refusal and the insulting remark that they might join the ranks of the Roundheads as common soldiers (! ! !)

The following is the petition of the clergy :—

To the Honble the Commors of the affairs for Ireland, the Humble Petition of the banished clergy,

Humbly shewing,—That Petitioners have formerly had weekly a certain proportion of bread allowed them for their relief, wh yr Honours have lately been pleased to continue to us, which we thankfully acknowledge. And now the *said bread will not be delivered to us till* further order given by yr Honours. May it therefore please yr Honrs to look upon your Petitioners wants and to ve orders that the same may be weekly given out unto us, 'till some other livelihood be acquired, that we may not be troublesome to yr Honrs by continual suit and Petition. And they as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Their Honours pointedly reply :—

Dublin, July 2nd, 1647.

If the Petitioners be preaching Ministers, they did ill, not to bestow their pains in such churches as wanted the Ministry of the Word last Lord's-day, and render themselves thereby unworthy of relief. But if they find themselves not qualified for the ministry, they may betake themselves to some other calling, and *inlist themselves* (! ! !) if they will in some companies or troops, where doing service they shall be provided for, equally with others.

By command from the Comrs from the Parliament of England,

Wm. Rowe.

"Which of you if his son ask for bread will give him a stone?" None but a Cromwellian.

These extracts are taken from the Abstract of the Carte papers by Rev. Dr. Russell and Mr. Prendergast.

But "the Honourable (?) Commissioners from the Parliament of England" received, on the 9th of July, "an humble answer and petition from the Protestant clergy of Dublin," signed first by Bishop Parry, of Killaloe, which is a model of clearness, reason, and manly Christian eloquence, and which is attributed to his able pen and noble genius.

The declaration was an answer to the message from the Commissioners, inquiring (I), "Whether the ministers of the city will officiate in their several churches, not using the Book of Common Prayer." (II) Also contained the concession "That such as will officiate may use the Directory or such service as is agreeable to the Word of God, but not use the Book of Common Prayer."

The answer of the clergy, "exciting from its firm and manly tone sensations of veneration and surprise," is an expression of grief at the loss of a customary daily service; of complaint on account of the penalty of "non-protection" for disobedience, and a profession of strong conscientious reluctance to discontinue the Prayer-book and receive the Directory. Then follow eight solid arguments for this, clearly enumerating:—1st. Their ordination vow. 2nd. The oath of supremacy which they took. 3rd. The standing obligation on them of Queen Elizabeth's unrepealed Act of Uniformity. 4th. To lay aside the Book of Common Prayer and receive the Directory would be to depart from the Communion of the Church of England and Ireland; in fact, would be schism. 5th. It would also be a violation and subversion of all ecclesiastical law and order. 6th. It would be an enslavement of a free national Church. 7th. Pastors and people alike were bound to it, were blessed by it, believed in it, and loved it. The Book of Common Prayer had been in use in this Church from the beginning of the Reformation. They had preached for it, and recommended it to the people. *The people of God in this city generally loved it,* (!) had been edified by it, were loath to part from it, and earnestly desired its continuance. Should they consent to take it away, they would be guilty of a sin in destroying that which is well built, and in giving great offence and scandal to the consciences of their

brethren. 8th. Compliance would be a censure unjustifiable upon both Church and State in England.*

The Petition founded on these weighty reasons runs thus :—

That you wld be pleased in pity and compassion to the Protestants of this City and to us the Ministers, who else by your injunction aforesaid are indangered to be exposed to banishment, loss of estate and of present substance, with our wives and families, to restore us to our churches, ministry, and exercise thereof, by permitting of us to use the Book of Common Prayer in our several cathedral and parish churches, as formerly we used the same, before your injunction aforesaid, and to grant us your protection therein till such time as further order be taken by a Convocation of the Clergy and an Act of Parliament in this kingdom. And in the meantime, we shall endeavour to demean ourselves in the whole course of our ministry with such Christian faithfulness and moderation as that we shall, by the help of God, give no just offence.

2nd. That in case your Hrs shall be pleased to grant us this petition, which we hope you will, if after our stay and residence here, we or any of us, shall by the imposal of anything against our consciences be forced hereafter to depart this kingdom, we may then respectively have free passes and convenient time to remove our persons, families, and goods.

3rd. That during the time of our residence here we may enjoy the profits, benefits, and means of our several church livings for our subsistence which are due or allotted to us by the Law of the Land and Acts of State.

4th. That we be permitted to keep the monthly fast (30 Apl.), being a day of preparation for the monthly Communion according to our custom these five years past.

9 July, 1647. ED. LAONENSIS, &c. &c.

Having mentioned Bishop Parry's entrance upon an Episcopate of utter desolation in Killaloe Diocese, and his noble fortitude in standing up to vindicate the great principles of Catholic and Apostolic Union and Communion in the face of the democratic fanaticism and cruel intolerance now in the ascendant, it may be well to notice a sermon he preached, or rather indeed a volume he wrote.

The services of the Bishop if brilliant were also brief. He died of the plague in Dublin, on July 20, 1650, and was buried in St. Audoen's Church.

The information above, connected with Dr. Parry's promotion, which is marked within ( ), has been procured through

* The above bears a strong resemblance to "Reasons of the Present Judgment of University of Oxford. 1st June, 1647."



Woolnoth sculpt.

BISHOP PARRY.

the kindness of Rev. Dr. Leeper, Rev. C. McCready, of St. Audoens, of Rev. W. G. Carroll, of St. Bride's, and Rev. Dr. Gimlette, of Waterford, and is additional to that supplied by Ware and Dr. Cotton.

The vestry book of St. Audoen's records at date 18th April, 1681, that a portion of the N. West corner of the church was railed off for the Parry family burying place, 14 by 8 feet, the Parry family to pay 40s. a year, one half to the Prebendary, and one half to the Churchwardens.

Mr. Garstin referred to the journal alluded to by Dr. Cotton in hopes of finding there a transcript of the original inscription, upon the old monument, but in vain.

We now add the copy of a monument erected in St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, 1848, in lieu of or in addition to a monument erected on the decease of the Bishops Parry, on which the inscription is almost wholly effaced.

(C. McCready, 22nd June, 1876.)

In memory of
Edward Parry and his two Sons John and Benjamin Parry,
who were interred near this spot.

Edward Parry, D.D.,
Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Trinity College, Dublin,
was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 28 March, 1647,
and died of the plague in this city June 20, 1650.

John Parry, D.D.,
was promoted to the Deanery of Christ's Church, Dublin, Apl. 2, 1666;
was consecrated Bishop of Ossory Apl. 22, 1672;
and departed this life Oct. 4, 1687.

On the repairs of this church, A.D. 1848, by permission of Rev. James Howie, A.M., Prebendary of the same, Dame Elizabeth Puleston, of Allington Hall, Shropshire, relict of Sir Richard Puleston, Bart., and Anna, Eleanor Frances, and Elizabeth Hawkshaw, daughters of the late Lieut.-Col. John Stewart Hawkshaw, of Divernagh, Co. Armagh, caused this new monument to be erected in memory of the above-named Bishops; the said Sir Ri. Puleston and Lt.-Col. John Stewart Hawkshaw having been lineally descended from the above-named Edward Parry. The monument underneath was the one originally erected by the said John Parry to the memory of his father, Edward Parry.

Of Bishop Edward Parry's literary remains only one production has been published, and this after his death, by his son John. In the Preface to the Reader, some faint hopes are held out of a "judicious and knowing person giving a large account of his life." But these hopes do not appear to have been realised. "A short character" of this eminent Prelate is given "by a Reverend Divine of great intimacy with the (Right) Reverend Author while alive." In this it is stated that "He was a person of very quick and ready parts, of a clear head, and (which is rare) happy in as great a memory as judgment; of indefatigable industry, as being (notwithstanding his many other employments) a very constant preacher all his lifetime."

He was of a most eminent and singular piety, of an exemplary holy life (such as the world could not cast the least stain upon), of a winning though serious deportment, and of a hospitable spirit. He was, as the reverend person remarks (to Parry's son), "as you can witness, a tender and affectionate father, and, as I can witness, a most sincere and faithful friend, a vigilant pastor, and such a preacher, that, as I have heard from good hands, the Right Honbe. the Lord Digby, a person of no mean judgment, upon hearing of him, equalled him to any he ever was an auditor of.

"In a word, he was a true son of the Church and a most loyal subject to the Crown of England.

"Not all the frowns which were cast upon Episcopacy, nor the calamities wherewith that sacred order was threatened, could frighten him from an acceptance (for he never in the least manner sought for it) of a patent from his late Majesty of glorious memory. Even then, when as I have often heard him protest, *he looked for nothing but persecution.* To sum up all, he was really composed of those excellencies which St. Paul requires in the making up of a Bishop indeed."

Of this discourse—"David Restored," which is very scarce, and only to be found as a rare and curious book—a few extracts are now given, selected not only to show the style and earnest piety of the author, but also his estimate of some most important matters then and now demanding attention. Enlarging upon the "goodness of God to Israel" here in their houses of clay, and while they are in some respects absent from Him, he infers, in a noble exclamation of Christian hope, "How great

then, how transcendently high shall this goodness be to them, in the great day of retribution, when He shall perfectly accomplish all that was promised. How great, when the fire shall restore that which flames devoured, the earth open its vast bosom and the sea deliver unto them their consumed bodies,—when that which was sown in corruption shall be raised in incorruption. How great,—when the Lord Jesus appearing in all his glory with the splendid equipage of saints and angels comes in majesty and glory. When they shall see him, whom they so steadfastly believed, and sincerely obeyed, bringing his reward with him. How great, when that comfortable sentence, Come ye blessed of my Father receive the Kingdom prepared for you, fills them with joy. How great, when that which is perfect is come, and that which is imperfect is done away, when their souls shall be enriched with the most absolute treasures of grace and glory, when their understandings triumph in the full clearness of a divine light.—How great, when God with all his majesty, mercies, comforts and beauties incomprehensible, shall dwell with them in that fulness of perfection.—How great, lastly, when they shall both themselves possess all these unutterable glories to all eternity, world without end."

"Thus from all this discourse there is a short view given unto us of God's high, eminent goodness.

"We have been first led into the outer court, the nations abroad, and seen his goodness eminently dispersed among them.

"We have been next in the inner Court, the Church visible, where high and comfortable rays of goodness shined upon us. We have opened the temple doors and entered into a contemplation of the invisible Church of Christ, where still greater expressions of goodness appeared before us. And, lastly, we have been brought within the vail of the glorious heavenly kingdom, where goodness itself in open full streams communicates itself to the Church triumphant."

Commenting on the sin of *violence*, our faithful divine teaches thus (p. 75) :—

"What oppression was till within late years few of us knew, but now it overflows to a doleful experience, such as no age can, since the Conquest, parallel. Nor can the world afford us more unhappy examples of cruel oppression and violence. The Crown saves not the Sovereign, nor Holy Orders secure

the clergy, nor will the shield of a Reformation defend from enthusiasts. *Men are bent upon spoil,* and the greater success they have, the more they are resolved upon *oppression.* While innocence in the meantime is everywhere struck at, the cries of orphans and the groans of widows are multiplied and the kingdoms run to ruin and confusion. And too many of us, who before would have thought any one piece of injustice horrid, as shamelessly comply, and in an unbecoming slavery prostitute ourselves to the wickedest (if successful) designs of our great masters."

Of the unlimited disorders of "the tongue walking through the earth," this brave and acute exponent of God's word thus expresses himself:—"If in this perambulation of the tongue they meet with truth, they darken it with lies and home-made inventions; if with innocence, they brand it with false accusations and bitter aspersions; if with a strict Government and good laws, then they cry, 'Let us break their bonds asunder and cast away their cords from us'; if with religion, they term it heresy and superstition; if with patience, they term it obstinacy; if with *the Church,* they think of nothing less than of devouring it, and cry, 'Let us take the houses of God in possession'; if with the thoughts of resurrection and of future hopes, 'Let us eat and drink,' cry they, 'for to-morrow we shall die.' Thus no corner is left unsearched by their abusive tongue which walks through the earth.

"If we cast our eyes about us a little we may find a most extravagant licence in these days, where the sword keeps down all laws and gives liberty to the broaching of anything but what is true—where the uncontrolled tongue runs about in a licence as audible as that of the *sword,* and the hand that wields it is visible. Upon one hand we may find a religion made up of *legions,* on the other, nothing but enthusiastical phantasies which are asserted as infallible. Those excellent things (for the enjoyment of which we were thought happy) are now blasted with the breath of poisonous lips and embittered with gall flowing from extravagant pens. The breath of our nostrils lies under black obloquies. That Church Government so many ages acknowledged Apostolicall, is now termed Babylonish and Antichristian. *That Liturgy, which some men defended with their blood, is now termed superstitious, and the order of ministers*

itself defamed and prostituted by those who own no such degree, and who look upon *Christ's ministers as the off-scourings of the world, the utter ruin of whom is accounted the highest service to God.*"

Grappling boldly with *Atheism,* associated with "yet never higher profession of God's glory or more zealous pretences of reformation of religion," our faithful preacher lays down the warning with no little foresight.

"Let us not be too secure, whilst we *are totally bent upon exclusion of Popery—another enemy proves as dangerous.* What is it that hath robbed us of our friends and estates? *but Atheism.* What is it that hath shed the blood of so many innocents, and *under the cloake of a pretended Reformation,* hath triumphed in the disturbance of our peace and the ruines of our kingdoms—but Atheism? He only, he hath reduced us to these miseries and wrought our woe that says in his heart there is no God and imperiously demands is there knowledge in the most High? As for those *demure pretences,* wherewith they speciously guild their actings. They are so far from excusing as they make their atheism more horrid, and serve to render it more perniciously effectual, spreading and contagious. Should men openly profess they fear not God's knowledge they would not have so many applauding (*sic*) followers. But now, whilst they politiquely *pretend* his service and yet deny him in their actings they endanger many who look no farther than their hypocritical pretences to help them on and to partake of their sins."

(p. 134) About "broaching dangerous opinions," our faithful prelate, with a prophetic foresight, admonishes in the following terms:—

"Though this admonition may seem to concern preachers especially, yet since (as these licentious times are) they presume to preach who are not sent, they may take along with them this caveat, That they add not *damnable heresies to their presumptuous usurpation.* It is more than they can well answer for, to intrude into an office they are not called unto. How will they then appear?

"When *they have by uncouth forms of unsound canting expressions made a prey upon the weak sex, and led a lot of silly women captive,* though they may look upon themselves beyond erring, yet if they reflect upon two things, they may be put in mind

that error in them is more than probable—*one* is their *ignorance*, of which there is not a greater evidence than that they keep not within their own bounds. The *other* is that they run *without their commission*. For, were their abilities never so high, yet the defect of *that* is a just ground, that they may be given over to strong delusions."

"Despite of places of worship," our Bishop deals with in these words: "And now since all things look with a common and promiscuous face. *Churches* not preferred before *stables*, public resorts slighted, ministers most injuriously ejected. All recourse unto them condemned (*men now pretending abilities beyond the best of their teachers*). God's word wholly left and exposed to the interpretation of *private fansie*—how can it otherwise be imagined, but swarms of stinking locusts and devouring caterpillars may darken our hemisphere into a confusion, and that *extravagant sects*, and unheard of *unparalleled divisions* break out so thick, as men know not what religion to be of. How can we otherwise think *but that in this strange inconstancy Atheism will creep in, get head, and turn all religion out of doors*."

The point and force of some of these remarks will appear all the more forcible, if but one sentence is added, written by the Bishop's son John, in his "resolution of a seasonable case of conscience," in reference to the principle put forward in these terms by Cartwright and others: "That every action is unlawful which is not expressly commanded from Scripture. Which as it hath been formerly made use of by those of the more rigid size against the decencies and constitutions of the Church, so it is of late driven so high as that a respectful civility is esteemed a piece of idolatry, and the most innocent ceremonies, the most indifferent trivial actions, are persecuted as inconsistencies with the purity of religion unless they carry a 'Scriptum est' in their foreheads." The divina effigies Reverendissimi Patris Edw (Parry) Episcopi Laonensis is presented in this vol., reproduced by the aid of photography after the engraving by Dickson, 1660, Oxon, in the frontispiece of "David Restored."

From the cessation of the massacre of the Protestants and English to the complete establishment of the Usurpation, a period intervenes of some ten years. Than this it would not be easy to find, even in the history of Ireland, another ten years with so much confusion, folly, and sorrow. The country

was divided into many parties, each of which claimed exclusive loyalty to the throne and true love of the land. Ormond led the Protestant, Clanrickarde the Catholic Loyalists. The Kilkenny Confederates—who had as a Representative from Munster Sir Daniel O'Brien of Clare—consulted their theological guides as to the lawfulness of their taking up arms, putting prominently forward the intensity of their devotion to the King and Royal Family of England. (See p. 5, Vindiciæ Catholicæ Hib. Parisiis, 1650.) A curious controversy as to the genuine character of this loyalty, what it permits and what it forbids, is to be found in the Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanrickarde. When Preston had taken Birr and Fort Falkland, he felt emboldened to open a correspondence with the Marquis, expecting to convert him to his views. Preston (p. 330, folio edition. London, 1757) eloquently expatiates on how "he cast off the high employments he had in the Low Countries to embark himself, wife, children, estate, and honour in a cause so full of imminent danger to each. But when, by the opinion of all divines, he perceived that the Catholic religion, the rights and prerogatives of his Majesty his dread Sovereign, the liberties of his country, and whether there should be an Irishman or not, were the principal prizes at stake, he thought all those but weak motives to withhold him from the service of his God, his King and country." The reply is, "I must freely confess my own ignorance, and thereupon, for my own particular, must trust to his Majesty's mercy for not being active and adhering to those *unusual* ways of service which differ much from those rules and instructions which his Majesty left me to guide my actions by; and I believe I have with as much industry as any other endeavoured to know his pleasure, and cannot find anything varying from his former commands." And again, supposing a change of places between Preston and himself, the Marquis asks, "Would you entertain any designs, or run any doubtful course of opposition to that settled trust and command deposited in your hands, without a clear and undoubted warrant from that power that gave it you? Or would you not esteem it a scandal to your religion, a dishonour to your nation, a stain and shame to your name and family, and that you justly merited the scorn and hatred of all good men, even those that might incite and

make present use of you?" And, indeed, these high pretensions of volunteer loyalty, embarking in courses most detrimental to the Royal cause, are very accurately estimated by the King himself, in the emphatic words of the "EIKON BASILIKE":—"It is no news for some of my subjects to fight, not only without my commission, but against my command and person too, yet all the while to pretend they fight by my authority and for my safety." So, in like manner, Clanrickarde tells the Kilkenny Confederates, when they urge him to join their cause, that a trust was reposed in him by the King, and special honours bestowed; and he desires it to be taken into serious consideration in what posture or condition he is most probable to discharge his duty to God, to the King, and to manifest his natural affection to his country, if he should break this trust by any doubtful ways of proceeding. When the Connaught Bishops threatened to excommunicate the soldiers who refused the Oath of Association, and thus would take them from the King's service to that of his *quasi* friends, Clanrickarde remarks:—"I have heard of many punished for perjury and swearing, but never any excommunicated for *not* swearing, though the oath had been lawful and lawfully administered: temporal punishments and penalties are and have been inflicted by Princes upon their subjects." Again, he answers the Archbishop of Tuam:—"If the war be, as is alleged, for God, King, and country, and that no disturbance is intended to any one's loyalty to his Majesty, I have produced the King's late and undoubted authority, approving and directing my proceedings in his service, and his Majesty hath required no more than a quick obedience to me, a native and Catholic governor. Where, then, lies the cause of excommunication against such as adhere to me?" But, whatever may be the force of these controversies about loyalty, one fact is past all doubt, that the English and Protestant loyalists fared very ill, and chiefly at the hands of these professors of loyalty. As the result of the first two years after the war began, the Author of Vindiciæ Cath. thus sums up the gains and losses (Cap. 1):—"The Catholics perceptibly increased in resources, in counsel, and in spirit, by which it was brought about that all the Protestants, almost everywhere, were driven from the central parts of the kingdom, and forced back into the towns near the coasts."

As for Clare in particular, Carte mentions how only two of the gentlemen remained attached to the Royal cause, or submitted to the orders of the King's Lieutenant. And Clanrickarde mentions how, by a strange perversity of fate, these two were apparently selected for plunder and outrage by the commander of an Adventurers' fleet, as has been related.

But whatever the Kilkenny confederates designed or did, in the name of the King, and really against his cause and best friends, Rinunccini the Nuncio, exceeded them. The quarrel between this emissary of the Pope, and these *Home-rulers*, is very instructive. It demonstrates that such domestic legislators and rulers of Ireland must always expect to be mere tools in the hands of some foreign power—a Roman Catholic power—if not indeed Rome itself. It also brings into the clearest light the state and prospects of the Reformed faith in this island during those days. The memoranda for Monsignor Rinunccini (if allowed to be genuine) close with a suggestion that there should be a conjunction of Catholic armies in England, formed partly of English and partly of Irish; to fight, of course, for the King, and in his name, upon English soil. "And *then* if, by means of this Catholic army, you can obtain from his Majesty the revocation of the penal laws, the abolition of the proposed Oath of Fidelity, and freedom in religion, we may hope in a few years for the conversion of the whole kingdom—a most important step towards *the eradication of heresy from the whole north of Europe, and without which the Irish can never hope to enjoy in peace* the conditions granted in favour of the true faith in Ireland." ("Embassy in Ireland," English Translation, lxiv.) In his Report on the affairs of Ireland ("Memoirs," p. 486), the Nuncio, looking back, extols as "*glorious* the resolution taken in 1641 by the Irish Catholics, to enter into a confederacy, in order *to obtain by arms and from the King* (all in the way of loyalty!) the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion." "And doubtless," he adds, "there was manifest in this determination *a ray of Divine wisdom* (!) for, despite jealousies, they at once united to oppose the English, to open the churches, to dismiss the heretic ministers, to recall the parish priests and bishops; and succeeded so far in establishing religious worship that, the Christian world at large, and especially the English Catholics, were in the greatest hope

of restoring the same public worship in England by the example, and with the assistance of the Irish" (p. 486). And as to what "dismissing the heretic ministers" means, the Nuncio is clear enough in a case occurring in Limerick city:—"I took the opportunity of entreating the citizens, as I had done the Supreme Council, to *forbid* the public preaching of heretical ministers in this city, within certain antient ruins of a monastery of St. Augustine—a desecration I have always bitterly felt, and of which there is *not another example in any of these confederate towns.* Many difficulties must be overcome on account of the number of heretical professors in the city, yet God will perhaps reveal some way to obtain our desire" (192). But, independently of the fanatical intolerance of the Nuncio insisting upon the cessation of public worship by the members of the Reformed Church in Ireland, while he himself claimed liberty of conscience for the Roman Catholics, Ormond was so far overpowered by the urgent conditions of the King's affairs, and the desire to conciliate the Irish, that among the articles of the treaty signed conditionally between him and the Confederates, the Sixth runs thus, to the utter extinction of Protestantism in the Diocese of Killaloe in particular (had the treaty been carried into effect). "That the plantation of Connaught, Kilkenny, *Clare, Thomond, Tipperary,* Limerick, and Wickloe, may be revoked by Act of Parliament, and their estates secured in the next sessions." Thus Ormond proposed his peace, and the Confederates were disposed to accept it, in which, among other conditions, the forfeited ecclesiastical property was to be left in the hands of the existing professors, very much as Cardinal Pole had arrranged for it in Queen Mary's time (see Vind. Cath.) But Rinuccini insisted that this property should be all resumed by the Ecclesiastical Corporations as before Henry VIII.'s time. The cathedrals, churches, and places of worship were to be left in Protestant hands so far as they were holding them. But the Nuncio insisted that all were to be given up. The tythes, church lands, and revenues were impounded, and used for secular purposes—mainly to carry on the war—these the Nuncio insisted should be all given back in perpetuity to the Roman Catholic Church, and so forth in every item of advantage. In fact, the Church of Rome was to have *all;* and, as for the Church of Ireland, "now that it was down,

let it rise up no more," was the stern demand of the Nuncio. For this he argued and excommunicated; for this he imprisoned the chief confederates, joined the trucid O'Neill, aimed at the taking of Dublin, and so "destroy the heretics" (p. 437), and, in one word, filled Ireland with a protracted confusion and bloodshed. Nothing could exceed his rage when it was proposed that even Cloyne Cathedral should continue in the hands of the Reformed (pp. 390, 475). But it was not alone in obstructing the peace or protracting the cessation that the Nuncio was so active; he was equally energetic in the field of battle. One does not wonder to read that in those days of universal battling Preston issued from Birr and took the strong castle and important town of Roscrea. It is only what might be expected that Purcell, with a party of Munster men, had to fling himself into county Clare to watch the O'Briens, who were taking occasion to raise disturbance. (Vindic. Hib. Ch. 14, p. 133.) That Carte tells us of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe being in arms and worsted in a severe engagement near Quin, and being wellnigh taken and hanged, is but what is due to the warlike blood of the old Dalcassian stock of the O'Molonys. But the Nuncio's performances at Bunratty exceed all these; nay, even that exploit of Ever MacMahon, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, who so bravely, but unwisely, conflicted with Coote near Letterkenny. The writer of the "Vindiciæ," though making much of the taking of Bunratty, uses but few words (p. 32): "In the ensuing summer of 1646 the war was waged with sufficiently happy issues by the Catholics, for both Roscommon was taken by Preston and Bunratty by Muskerry—both being important strongholds of the Enemy." But not so hastily or carelessly does the Nuncio write of the taking of Bunratty. In March he announces that the Earl of Thomond joined the Parliamentarians. Barnaby, Earl of Thomond, had not joined the Irish massacre of 1641, *but neither would he join against it* (so Carlyle). He apologized to the King's Lieutenant on that occasion, said he had no money, no force,—retired with many apologetic bows into England to the King himself, leaving his *unmoneyed* Castle of Bunrath to the King's Lieutenant, who straightway found some 2,000*l.* of good money lying hid in it, "buried in the walls," and cheerfully

appropriated the same. "The modesty of the Earl's desires" (T. Carlyle thinks) must relate to this 2,000*l.* that it might be acknowledged as a debt, and allowed on the Earl of Peterborough's estate. (See Ludlow, i. 21, Whitlocke, 2nd Edn., pp. 201, 420; Commons Journal vi., 279, 445; Collins Peerage, ii., 216.) These are authorities *ad rem* by T. Carlyle.

Cromwell's letter runs thus:—

To the Right Honble. Sir James Harrington, Knight, of the Council of State. These—

London, 9 July, 164?.

Sir—You see by the enclosed, how great damage, the Earl of Thomond hath sustained by these Troubles and what straits he and his family are reduced unto by reason hereof. You see *the modesty of his desires* to be such as may well merit consideration I am confident that wh he seeks is not so much the advantge of himself, as out of a desire to preserve his Son in Law the Earl of Peterborough's fortune and family from ruin. If the result of the favour of the house fall upon him although but in this way, its very probable it will oblige his Lordship to endeavour the peace and quiet of this Commonwealth, which will be no disservice to the State—perhaps of more advantage than the extremity of his fine. Besides, you showing readiness to do a good office herein will very much oblige.

Sir yr

OLIVER CROMWELL.

July 3 the Nuncio dates from "Camp at Bunratty," and infers from the victory at Benburb, that "this peace is impossible, and the question must be decided by arms." He adds, for Cardinal Pamphili's delectation, "Fearing that the siege of Bunratty would be abandoned by the troops owing to their want of pay, I have come to the Camp and brought all the money I had left and some of my own also to lend to them, and I will not leave the place until I see a certainty of success, or else that victory is despaired of." Vindicating himself in his Report on the affairs of Ireland (p. 497), he relates how the Earl of Thomond took part with the Parliamentarians, and gave them up his Castle at Bunratty.

He expresses distrust of Muskerry, and anticipates a very protracted siege to meet some dark purpose of Ormond's. He determines to go there in person, and in the twelve days that he remained at Bunratty the siege was concluded. He provided everything that was needed, lent money to prevent any shadow of excuse, *inspected the batteries himself*, and at the conclusion of the siege he had the English ensigns carried through the city

of Limerick as a trophy of the Catholic religion. On the 19th July he writes in glowing exultation (p. 191): "The taking of Bunratty is of no small consideration to Munster and to the city of Limerick; and although the money employed was not sent direct from Rome, I have at all events lent some of my own, and having given in *person* and otherwise *constant assistance* during the siege, the people recognised it as an *apostolic undertaking of the same kind as all the rest.*" Poor Colonel McAdam and the other brave soldiers in the castle doubtless thought somewhat differently, and regarded the whole action of the assailants as rather *diabolic* than *apostolic.* Rinunccini is related to have been so intensely fascinated with the glory of these battles and brave doings in Ireland during his mission, that upon his return to Italy he caused frescoes of them to be painted in his archiepiscopal palace at Fermo. What a pity that the jealousy or bad taste of his successor caused these to be destroyed! "How gladly would the pilgrim turn to the pictures of Bunratty!" exclaims Mr. Meehan in his "Confederates," &c. No doubt of this. Life is short, art is long. The painter, next to the poet, must needs follow the footsteps of the great, the brave, and the good; and if a befitting motto is needed to draw the moral out of each event, the Nuncio "inspecting the batteries" of Mucegros old Castle of Bunratty, built "to coerce the rebels," deserves the apposite memento, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds," for "the servant of the Lord must not strive."

Another castle of consequence in Clare escaped for the present. Taaffe, in 1648, wrote a letter to the Governor warning him to prepare himself for a very serious assault or siege.

Lord Taaffe to Governor of Clare Castle.

I am informed that you take very little care or regard to provide maintenance for the garrison I appointed at Clare, whereat I may advertise your being very sensible of the consequences therefrome of that place stands upon. Now I pray and require you to provide an undelayed route for provisions for that garrison from time to time untill my coming to those partes, where they may pretend no excuse to neglect the security thereof. Otherwise uppon the first intimation of the failure herein I cannot but direct the said warder to take up means wherewith it may be had upon that country which may tend

to the great prejudice of some particular persons there. The disorder and blame thereof cannot but be imputed to you. Therefore I pray let not the said warders have any further cause of complaint in this particular, otherwise you will hazard the securitie of the said place, whereby you may prejudice the public, and specially incur the high displesure of yr very loving friend,

TAAFFE.

Drumriske Campe, 16 Augt. 1648.

Here too it was that Ormond rested a few days, and endeavoured to treat with the infatuated men of Limerick city—but in vain. Ormond by flying from Dublin had checkmated the Nuncio, Ormond being afterwards beaten by Jones, and failing to take Dublin, the fate of the Irish Catholics was sealed to the sword of Cromwell. O'Neill now accepts far less advantageous conditions from artful Geo. Monk, than had been scoffed at before when coming from Ormond. The Hierarchy in 1649, assemble at Clonmacnoise, and ostentatiously issue ineffectual appeals and verbose regrets over concord lost and dangers coming. They advise devotion at the altar, censure the "otiosi juvenes" or "play boys," as if these were the authors of the prevalent violence and shocking mischief so rife —recognise the wrath of God come and coming again upon the land. Here for once they were right, also in not damnifying Ormond, as it was expected they were to have done.

And these Bishops, if not wringing their hands in useless agony, perhaps at least not without trembling hands, did they take up their pens. And among the rest of them one who subscribed to the Clonmacnoise paper the name—

"JOAN (O'Molony) EPIS LAONEN."

But it is all in vain in the present state of progress attained for these Bishops to try to break or unravel the fatal threads of a destiny deliberately woven by themselves and others into a winding-sheet for Ireland.

And thus this intensely wretched period closes. How any one could call it one of "joy and hope" (*see Cogan's Meath*) seems a piece of strange misjudging. The members of the Reformed Church in Killaloe Diocese, as much if not more so than any others elsewhere in Ireland, are now for some twenty years ground between the upper and nether millstones of the Long Parliament and the Roman Curia. Dr. Gauden, in his

elaborate Suspiria (at B. 1, ch. iv.) weeps for the English Church thus :—

"My wounds, my wastes, my ruins, my deformities, my desolations are not by the barbarous inundations of Goths and Vandals, not by the rude invasions of Saracens and Turks, not by the severe Inquisitions *and cruel persecutions of Papists.* I do not owe my miseries to the incursions of foreigners to a nation of *strange language,* of professed *enmity,* of *different interests* and *religion.* They are not professed Neroes, Domitians, Diocletians, and Julians, heathen princes, and persecutors that have done me this despight, for then perhaps I and my children could have borne it as did the martyrs of old. But alas! I am ambiguously wounded by those that are of my own house, family, and profession, that have been washed at my baptismal font, tasted of my sacramental bread – these have lifted up their heel against me, 'by these I am hated and despised,' stripped and wounded, torn and mangled, impoverished and debased below any Church—Christian or Reformed."

And who shall lament loud enough, who raise the Threnodia of tender pathos long enough over *one of the* dioceses which has suffered "in the fury of the times" (see Act of Settlement) at once from English democratic fanaticism and from Ultramontane intolerance, from Papists and foreigners speaking a strange tongue, alike as from those of our own blood—a Diocese at once widowed by the death of brave Dr. Edward Parry, bereaved by the massacre and expulsion of her sons and daughters, beggared by the abstraction of her resources, and left without altar or service of praise by the seizure and sacrilege of her shrines.

The motto on our title page is not ill-chosen, when such chapters form so large a part of the history of Killaloe. Nay, it is most true. And then, and since, and yet onwards into the future, let it be even so "If the Lord had not been on our side when men rose up against us."

For some further details concerning Rinuccini, O'Neile, Monk, MacAdam, and Bunratty, see Appendix No. VI.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE UNDER THE USURPATION.

It may be well to call attention to a few facts occurring just before armaments of the Usurpation burst like a tornado upon Ireland.

And first in reference to the relief and assistance of the Protestants in Ireland, and how it did *not* come until too late for their deliverance. The King piteously protested that he might wash his hands in his tears as to the sad apprehensions he had to see the rebellion spread so far and make such waste, and this at a time when distractions and jealousies in England made most men rather intent on their own safety or designs, than to the relief of those who were every day inhumanly butchered in Ireland. He affirms solemnly that he had offered to go himself in person upon the Irish expedition, and draws the just inference that next to the sin of those who began the rebellion, theirs must needs be who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by domestic dissensions, or diverted the aids or exasperated the rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions. (See Eikon Bas., p. 76.) On the other hand, appears "An order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the relief and assistance of the Protestants in Ireland, also several votes concerning the securing the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, ordered to be printed and published for T. Wright. London, 1643, Jany. 4." Now although securities are here engaged to victuallers for supplies to be rendered in Dublin, Youghall, Carrigvergus, and Londonderry to the amount of £35,000, still several votes resolved

"That the several Commissions granted under the great seal to the Lieutenants of Counties were illegal, also any action by the militia in Wales without the consent of both Houses." And again, in "A Declaration with Additional Reasons, Sabbathi, 12 Martii, 1641, ordered to be forthwith published," the Commons, enumerating "the causes of their fears and jealousies," charged upon the King the design of altering the religion of the nation—of the war in Scotland being chiefly procured and fomented by the Papists to make way for this effect—also "that the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived here in England, and that the English Papists should have risen about the same time." And the Commons, in their "Additional Reasons" at p. 7, charge the King with leaving Whitehall, "out of a design to discourage the undertakers and hinder the other provisions for raising money for defence of Ireland. And that this will very much hearten the rebels there and the disaffected in England," &c. We leave the victory in this dispute to which side soever the reader may incline, content to have brought to light the fact that while two great parties in England were engaged in mortal combat, the interests of the Churchmen of Ireland in their hour of supreme distress were postponed or only taken up as supplying the combatants with fresh firebrands to fling at one another.

In reference to the means to be procured for carrying on the service for Ireland, a Committee treated with the Common Council of the City of London for borrowing the sum of £120,000. And the Common Council reported that the security proposed was not sufficient, and that a further security would be requisite. And accordingly the House made some further progress for the encouragement of such as shall *advance money upon Deans' and Chapter lands*, and passed further orders for the advance of money and provisions for the service of Ireland. (Mod. Intel. Ap. 12 to 18, and Perf. Diur., May 19, cited in Cromwelliana, p. 58.) This is the third instance of the secularizing of Church funds from the Reformation to the Revolution, the loyalty of the Irish Chieftains being purchased in the first case, the services of an Irish soldiery secured in the second, and an English invading force provided in the third.

As to the main agent and leader of the Irish Expedition, it may be noted that there was printed, in 1642, "A list of the

field-officers chosen and appointed for the Irish Expedition by the Committee, Guildhall, London, for the regiments of 5,000 Foot and 500 Horse under the command of Philip Lord Wharton, Baron of Scarborough, Lord General of Ireland." (See reprint by Hooten, London, 1863.) These troops, raised ostensibly for "the Irish Expedition," were really used for fighting against the King. And among the foot companies are found first the names of

The Colonel General.
His Captain, Edward Massey.
His Ensigne, Oliver Cromwell.

This was in 1642, and not until seven years after, when the English and Protestants were all dead or gone, at least out of the western and rural districts of Ireland, did this same Oliver Cromwell, upon the 15th August, 1649, as Commander-in-Chief and Lord-Lieutenant, "arrive in Dublin, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy."

THE FIRST GREAT FEATURE ARRESTING ATTENTION IN "THE SERVICE IN IRELAND" IS, THE MARCH OF THE CONQUERORS.

Oliver Cromwell pursued a career of victory north and south, from the Boyne to the Suir. And ere he could vanquish the western portions of the Island, was recalled to carry on operations against the Scots. However he left behind him in Ireton a lieutenant who was well able to flash the terrors of his sword and to enforce the rigours of his intolerance in the faces of his Irish antagonists. "The slaughter at Drogheda," remarks Ludlow (p. 117), "continued with extraordinary severity to discourage others from making opposition." "I do not believe, neither do I hear," observes O. Cromwell himself, reporting this victory, to Bradshaw (Letters and Speeches by Carlyle, ii. 148), "that any officer escaped with his life save only one lieutenant, who I hear going to the enemy said that he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God. I wish that all honest hearts may give *the glory of this to God alone*, to whom indeed the

praise of this *mercy* belongs." So above he remarks, "Being entered, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes." And writing to Lenthall, he dwells upon this universal slaughter, and points to whom it was due in his persuasion :—

> The Governor Sir A. Ashton and divers considerable officers being in the Mill-Mount, our men getting up to them, were *ordered by me to put them all to the sword.* And indeed being in the heat of action, *I forbad them to spare any that were in arms in the town,* and I think that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men.....*I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches,* who have imbrued their hands in much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory ground to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.....And now give me leave to say *how it comes to pass that this work is wrought.* It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, *but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly ?* That which caused your men to storm, &c., courageously. It was the Spirit of God, that gave your men courage and took it away again ; and gave the enemy courage and took it away again ; and gave your men courage again, and there with this happy result. And therefore *it is good that God alone have all the glory.* (Ubi supra.)

Into the Christian ethics or common humanity of all this no inquiry is made, but only into the military policy thereof. This one thing is to be shown. Here is the man and the manner of man, who now begins to overrun and overpower Ireland, "an armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom, doing God's judgments, as he believes, on the enemies of God," not relying so much on his Commission from Parliament, as upon a direct impulse, a guiding providence and special mission from Him, who declares "vengeance is mine, I will repay."

And what makes this terrible butchery at Drogheda all the more remarkable, is the contrast of action and sentiment in the very same man after he had threshed the Scots so completely at Dunbar.

Giving Secretary Lenthall a gracious "prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his

people in this war," he adds, as a special feature (Letters, iii. 46) :—

Since we came in Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have *avoided* blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though much deceived. And to that *end we offered much love* unto such in the bowels of Christ and concerning the truth of our hearts herein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers (= clergy) of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those, to whom we intended them. And now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the ministers are fallen in this battle. This is the great hand of God, and worthy of the consideration of all those who take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd—to wit, meddling with worldly politics and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor if it were, would such means be found effectual to that end—and (who) neglect or trust not to, the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom ; and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered, for their sakes, who were lately too much turned aside. That they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the Gospel—and then no doubt they will discern and find *your protection and encouragement.*

Your most obedient servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

And certainly the extraordinary severity had much of the desired effect in Ireland. For this discouragement, together with the smouldering discontents kept in motion by the Regulars, whom Rinunccini had instructed so to work (see Vindic. Cathol. sub fin.), made the conquest of Ireland a comparatively easy task, always allowing for the desperate resistance Cromwell met from An. O'Neill in the bloody breach at Clonmel, and at another well-known place. As an illustration of this want of true courage exhibited by the Irish in the presence of the Parliamentarian arms, a curious account is found in the "Perfect Diurnal of June 27, 1653," which records—

What new mercy we have been made partakers of, as follows. On June 13 a very good service was performed at Neddeen, in the County of Kerry, against O'Sullivan's and Lieut.-Col. O'Brien's party, who came close to the said fort about break of day in the absence of Capt. Barrington with the purpose to undo his quarters, which they thought infallibly to compass, being in number 300 or 400 men. But those few horse which we had, prepared to charge them and came up to them as they were on the furnace on the land of Dunkeirane, where the enemy

were ready to entertain them (in appearance) four times so many more as they were, and put in such a posture to fight, having before possessed themselves of a few cows they took near the fort. But it pleased the Lord to give (such) courage to our horse though few, that they charged them through and through, and routed them, and in their route, they killed no less than 60 of their men, also several officers of distinction (named). In achieving of this service there were not 30 Horse and but two files of Foot, which Capt. Barnard brought up to relieve the horse. So that it is the opinion of many that it was the desperatest service, and as well managed, as hath been performed in Munster these many days, and is hoped will be the break-neck and undoing of all the Tories in those Western parts, all their arms or the greatest part of them, being left behind them. I have sent you the following list of the Regiments established here for the service in Ireland:—

Eight (*sic*) Regiments of Horse—

His Excellency General Cromwell's.
General Fleetwood's.
Lieut-General Ludlow's.
Com.-General Reynolds'.
Sir Cha. Coot's.
Colonel Henry Cromwell's.
Colonel Sankey's.

Two Regiments Dragoons—

Colonel Abbot's.
Colonel Ingoldsby's.

Foot—Twelve Regiments, 1,200 in each—

General Cromwell's.
General Fleetwood's,
Major-General Waller's.
Sir Cha. Coote's.
Colonel Hewson's.
Colonel Venables'.
Colonel Stubber's.
Colonel Axtel's.
Colonel Laurence's.
Colonel Phaire's.
Colonel Sadler's.
Colonel Clark's.

Lord Clanrickarde's house at Portumna having been surrendered, with 6,000 acres of land around designed for Lord H. Cromwell, and a castle being built on Derry Island, just opposite, for the purpose, as local tradition still maintains, of keeping a watch and a restraint against any further hostile movements of the Clanrickarde, Sir Dermot O'Shagnessy's castle of Gorteen-she-gore having been stormed, Colonel Connor O'Brien, of Lemaneigh, having been slain in an affair near the pass of Inchicronane, and his castle, on being found

"indifferent strong," having been occupied; a garrison also having been put into Killaloe, and an hospital set up for the sick and invalids; Clare Castle, too, having been surrendered, and Carrigaholt taken, and abundant store of guns being provided for a siege-train in the ships of the Parliament now riding at anchor in the Shannon, the siege of Limerick was safely begun, with a good prospect of a successful issue.

And here one is tempted to reproduce a touch or two of the quaint picture which Ludlow drew of himself during this campaign in Clare. Having caught cold sleeping in his tent on the hill near Clare Castle, doubtless near Carnelly, he finds himself much discomposed. But, unwilling to quit the charge committed to his care, he cloathes himself as warm as he could, putting on a fur coat over his buff, and an oiled one over that, by which means he prevents the further increase of his distemper; and so orders his quarters that night that he has his own bed to rest in, set up in an Irish cabin, where, about break of day, he falls into so violent a sweat that he is obliged to keep with him two troops of horse, for his guard, after he had given orders for the rest to march. With these he overtakes the party on their bleak road to Carrigaholt, the wind and hail beating so violently in their faces that the horses often turned about; also the foot having to wade an arm of the sea (doubtless, at Rathaniskey). All, however, does him no serious harm, even though he apprehended much evil from the fact that the sumpter-horse, which carried "his waters and medicines," fell into the river at Bunratty, and they were lost.

On the south of Limerick the operations are thus recorded by Cromwell himself, in a letter to Hon. John Bradshaw, dated Cashel, March 5, 1649 (Carlyle, II., 233) :—

It hath pleased God still to enlarge your interest here. The Castle of Cahir, very considerable, built upon a rock, and seated in an island in the midst of the Suir, was lately rendered to me. It cost the Earl of Essex, as I am informed, about eight weeks' siege with his army and artillery. (But see State papers.) It is now yours, without the loss of one man. So, also, is the Castle of Kiltinan, a very large and strong castle of the Lord of Dunboyne's. This latter I took in with my cannon, without the loss of a man. We have taken the Castle of Golden Bridge, another pass upon the Suir; as also the Castle of Dundrum, in which we lost about six men, Colonel Zanchy, who commanded the party, being shot through the hand. We have placed another strong garrison at Ballynakill, upon the edge of the King's and

Queen's Counties. We have divers garrisons in the County Limerick, and by these we take away the enemy's subsistence and diminish their contributions; by which, in time, I hope they will sink.

The further military operations by which this result was brought about are thus summarized by Cox (II., p. 56), as taking place along the eastern side of the Diocese of Killaloe: —Ireton marched on to Sir Charles Coote; and, having joined, they went to Athlone; but the bridge being broken, and the town on the Leinster side burned, Ireton left Coote there; and having in his way taken two castles in MacCoughlan's country, together with Birr, which the Irish had deserted and burnt, he came before Limerick; but finding the year far spent, and that Limerick could not be forced, unless it were attacked on both sides the river, he endeavoured to get Killaloe pass; and so, having taken Nenagh, Castletown(arra), and Dromineer, he went into winter quarters in Kilkenny on the 10th of November. In the meantime, part of the Marquis of Clanrickarde's forces had retaken Birr, and the other two castles in the MacCoghlan's country, and pretended to relieve Athlone if it should be distressed. Whereupon Colonel Axtell, Governor of Kilkenny, being joined with the Wexford and Tipperary forces at Roscrea, encountered them near Meelick Island (a pass or ford a few miles below Banagher) on the 25th October, and gave them a sore defeat, killing 1,500 men, and taking 200 horse and all their baggage.

Ludlow (p. 151) gives a curious account of an interview he had with an unlucky Tipperary boy taken in arms:—"Having finished our affairs at Kilkenny, and dismissed the officers to their respective quarters, I resolved to go to Portumna to make all things ready for the siege of Galway. Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them; the other was saved. And being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him '*if he had a mind to be hanged?*' he only answered, '*If you please,*' so insensibly stupid were many of these poor creatures." Stupid, indeed, few of them were by nature, or under ordinary circumstances, but the terror of the Cromwellians was upon their hearts, and this doubtless drew from the party in question so strange though polite a reply. Sir Hardress Waller also chastized the

O'Loughlins of Burren severely, "laying their country waste, and seizing what he could, that it might be no longer useful to the enemy." It must be added that, in 1651, Ireton placed a strong garrison in Castle Connell, while on the march to blockade Limerick.

With the fall of Limerick and the surrender of Galway the conquest of the West was completed.

The second head of inquiry is—

II.—How the Victors Disposed of their Territorial Acquisitions on the Eastern and Western Sides of the Diocese.

First, as to the Eastern or Tipperary side, it is to be premised that on the 26th February, 1641, according to Whitlocke (p. 54), the House of Commons passed the Bill for the Adventurers for Ireland, that every one that would bring in and adventure money for the reducing of Ireland should have so many acres of the Irish rebels' lands, proportionable to the money which they brought in, *and very good bargains* (sic), whereupon very great sums of money were brought in for that service, amounting in all to 360,000*l.* Lots were to be drawn first for the province, secondly for the county, of which ten were named, wherein the adventurers' share was to be settled. Tipperary County had 60,000*l.* of adventurers' money put upon it to satisfy, with lands at 450*l.* per 1,000 acres (this being the Munster rate). And there was "the doubling clause" also thrown in for the further benefit of the adventurers who had gone deeper and deeper still into the "very good bargains." Then came the soldiers who served under Cromwell, whose claims were recognised in the Ordinance for the settling of Ireland of 1652. And by an Ordinance, 1653, for the satisfaction of adventurers and soldiers, the forfeited lands in the ten counties were to be divided "between adventurers and soldiers by baronies, moietively by lot" (see Public Records, Ireland, 1825, p. 29, &c.). So far as Tipperary was concerned, the moiety of the adventurers fell by the lot cast for the adventurers in the Baronies of Ikerrin, Ileagh, Eliogarty, Clanwilliam, Middlethird, Iffa, and Offa. And the moiety for the soldiers fell in Lower Ormond, Owney and Arra, Upper

Ormond, Kilnemanagh, and Slievedaragh. And thus it came about that Lower Ormond, with Owney and Arra, being within the limits of the Diocese of Killaloe, were united with its fortunes and became the main source of its Protestant strength. The map at the end of "The Cromwellian Settlement" will display this in an intelligible form.

As to part of the diocese in the Barony of Clonlisk in King's County, this came under the Ordinance of 1653, and as being one of the ten counties, the forfeited lands therein were to be charged with the sums due to adventurers and soldiers, according to the rates settled, and to be divided between them by baronies, moietively by lot; and for the satisfaction of the arrears of the forces there, who should be immediately disbanded, several other proportions of forfeited lands were set out. The actual tenants in 1659 are to be found in Synoptical View, Appendix No. 4, by baronies and parishes. The exact location of each officer's and soldier's lot was to have been marked upon the map of the Down survey, with an index of their names and positions. This was omitted, and the subdivisions were only returned in descriptive lists to Chancery. Even these perished by the fire of 1711. Had they been marked in the Down survey, there would have been seen regiment by regiment, troop by troop, and company by company, encamping almost on the lands they had conquered (Cromwellian Settlement, 205). At the same time a very good idea of the new proprietary, of their numbers, and where they were settled, may be gathered from the lists of the "*Tituladoes*" as brought to light by Mr. Hardinge, and explained in his paper, read before Royal Irish Academy. From the transcript of these valuable lists are extracted the parochial totals, with names of the more remarkable of these Commonwealth tenants or Tituladoes. These will appear in juxtaposition with other authentic accounts of the prior and subsequent conditions of ownership of property within the diocesan bounds. (See Appendix No. V.)

But a far more important consideration than this is the peculiarity of the religious opinions of these new settlers. To this Lord Clare has alluded in the following terms in his celebrated speech, or pamphlet as Grattan calls it, on the Union, page 16, &c.: —"And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England—Independents, Ana-

baptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and Dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy—poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the antient inheritance of its inhabitants. And (continues Lord Clare) I speak with great personal respect of the men when I state that a considerable portion of the power and opulence of the Kingdom of Ireland centres at this day in the descendants of this motley collection of English adventurers." And yet when these men came under the influence of the faithful and sober teachings of the Church in this diocese, if not themselves in a body, and all at once, yet at least their descendants became its true and attached members, and continue such to this day. Nor is this a thing strange or hard to account for. Wearied with the fantastic excesses of individual impulse in matters of religion, and with the hollowness of cant, and at the same time repelled by her exorbitant pretensions of absolute authority from cultivating any friendly relations with the Church of Rome, the adventurers and soldiers who settled, gladly found a secure and blessed resting-place in that Church of ours, which reconciles a sober liberty for each with a mild authority over all of "the many members unified in one spiritual body." And thus it has been, that the seeds of disaster and days of weeping have in due time produced a noble harvest and an occasion of triumph to the Church. At the same time, the soldiers in many instances made strange uses of their territorial acquisitions. Everyone knows the story of the White Horse of the Peppers. Stories of this kind abound. Thus, at Tullah the dragoon sold his lot for a gallon of ale, after having been led a wild-goose chase over bogs and morasses all day. A field at Inch, near Ennis, is still called "The Breeches Park," from the leathern equivalent for which the land was demised.

And if the Eastern portion of the Diocese became the acquittance for the Conquerors' wages in arrear, the Western is turned into a kind of penal settlement or place of transportation in which certain of the shattered and scattered remnants of the vanquished Celts and Roman Catholics were to be transplanted. The province of Connaught, of which Coy. Clare then formed the Southern boundary, being at once isolated and enclosed, by the Shannon on one side and by the Atlantic with an iron-

bound coast on the other—the Isles of Aran being also seized and fortified, as a key to Galway City, and a mile-line or cordon of military settlers being established all round the Province (as more recently has been tried on the confines between Hungary and Wallachia)—a kind of pen or enclosure was thus formed for those who were not transported to Barbadoes, &c., or did not as "Swordsmen" or "Wildgeese" cross the sea and go massacre the Vaudois in their valleys, or confront the Turk at Belgrade, or command Russian fleets, or turn the tide of battle on many a bloody day of Continental warfare. The Celtic inhabitants of Kerry were to be transplanted from their wild retreats to the wilds of Burren and Inchiquin. The inhabitants of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King's Coy., and Tipperary were to be transplanted into the Baronies of Tullagh, Bunratty, Islands, Corcomroe, Clanderla, Moyfarta, and Ibrickan. And the Irish widows of English extraction, *i.e.*, the widows of the nobility and antient English gentry—ladies such as Viscountess Mayo, Lady Louth, Lady Grace Talbot, Lady Dunboyne—were to transplant themselves and their belongings (servant men and maids, garrons, cows, swine, geese, &c., &c.) into the Baronies of Tulla, of which there were two, and into Bunrattyin Clare (Cromwellian Settlement, p. 162). The decrees to Co. Clare proprietors of "constant good affection" (this being the clause among the requirements on which so many were cast out) must needs have been very few indeed. O'Brien, of Dough, most deservedly obtained one of these, from which we have already given extracts.

Henry, the second of that name, succeeded as seventh Earl of Thomond in 1657. He first married Lady Anne, his cousin; secondly, Sarah, third daughter of Sir F. Russell, widow of the Cromwellian General Reynolds, who had left her very rich. Her sister was married to Henry Cromwell, through whose influence the Earl was allowed to enter into possession of his estates before the Restoration. He resided at Great Billing in Northamptonshire, and being a Protestant, his estates escaped the general forfeiture in which almost the entire of the County of Clare was subjected. In royal fashion in the documents of the day he is styled "Henry the Second" (Earl of Thomond). He was seventh as Earl, but second as King. His monument in Limerick Cathedral must be understood thus. As for the

MacNamaras, John Finn having been declared a Protestant in 1655, obtained a settlement at Doonmulvihill Castle in Inchicronane Par, and after the Restoration, his son (36 Ch. II.) obtained a grant of considerable estates. From him spring the McNamaras of Doolen. The mother of Sir D. O'Brien, of Dromoland (daughter of Col. McMahon, a lady of strong masculine temperament, when Col. O'Brien, of Lemaneigh, her husband, was killed at Ballyline), married Cornet John Cooper, of Bunratty, a Cromwellian officer—by which means the estates were rescued at the general confiscation (Dinely's Journal, with Notes by Hon. R. O'Brien).

The case of the Creaghe family will appear further on.

This transplantation was duly proclaimed by sound of trumpet and beat of drum on the 11th of Oct., 1652. The nobility and gentry were especially required to comply. This transplanting was most hateful to the Irish, but was enforced by hanging, then afterwards it was made a matter of transportation to any others who were obstinate enough to refuse compliance. Doubtless to this is due the phrase, "To H—ll or Connaught," as a choice of locations. The transplanted Irish of English descent were to be kept separate from the mere Irish. And the whole inhabitants of no one country were to be set down together. The earliest lot was set down in Burren, which is the most bleak and cheerless part of Ireland. And there was issued a general order, 19th March, 1655, for the general arrest of all transplantable persons who were not transplanted (see Cromwellian Settlement, passim).

The operation, though conducted with much skill, was attended with no slight amount of inconvenience, personal suffering, and pecuniary losses to those who were subjected to it. Records of these proceedings, of which the headquarters were at Loughrea, may be consulted for the full details. But a citation from "The Perfect Diurnal" may give some idea of the unbounded anxiety and almost breathless—one may not say pious—longings with which the Cromwellian expectants awaited the movement by which a way was to be opened for them into the possession of goodly houses they builded not, and fair orchards they planted not.

Friday, Saturday, July 1 and 2.

This to the Council of State from the Commission Officers of Limbrick and Clare, came as followeth :—

Right Honble,—We the Commission Officers in the precinct of *Limbrick* and *Clare*, in Ireland, whose names are under-written, having perused the declaration from his Excellency the Ld. General *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, being sufficiently satisfied with the grounds therein expressed, for their dissolving the late Parliament, holding it necessary, in times of such great changes as these are, that *the people of the Lord* (*that are employed in carrying on His design in the world*) should be acquainted with the minds and spirit one of another, We doe therefore hereby declare our sense, that as the work is God's, which is now afoot, so the course taken to effect it is according to His pleasure, though it be much contrary to flesh and blood, God now leading His people in untrodden paths. Assuring our dear brethren that as our hearts close with them in the same, so we shall be no niggards (through God's assistance) to hazard our lives if called to it along with them for the perfecting of what is begun.

This being the breviate of our thoughts, which God hath sealed on our spirits, we humbly desire may be imparted to the Lord General and the army in England, from

Their, and your, and the Commonwealth's
Faithful servants,

Sam. Wilkins, Heny. Glover, Thos. Man, Va. Greateates, Rob. Huwford, Hen. Lee, Rich. Kirle, Peter Purifie, Wil. Miller, Wil. King, Ralph Wilson, Robt. Wilkinson, H. Ingoldsby, W. Purifie, I. Hidenham, Jas. Harrison, Sam Porter, Rob. Stannerd, Sam. Clarke, Arthur Helsham, I. Friend, V. Hunt, Nic. Mounton, I. Gibbons, I. Bawns, Fr. Gibbons, I. Gibbons, I. Cobb, Robt. Spooner, I. Freeman, Walter Bourgh, W. Skinner, H. Wels, Mic. Cusack, Hum. Hartwell, Rob. Mason, W. Howton, Ric. Dingley, Jos. Miller, I. Harrison, G. Fullow, Hum. Rogers, I. Tilley, I. Harrison, Ed. Llanden, Mat. Cradock, Wil. Hamond, I. Giles, I. Fry, Hen. Morton, Tho. Hewet, I. Crafts, Mat. Philips, Rich. Deyos, Nic. Curtis, Hen. Frogg, Too. Lloyd, I. Bearnes. (Page 2827.)

This orderly unity, this calm submission to being led in untrodden paths, reminds one of the quiet and steady walk before the start in a race—the jostlings, crossings, and cannonings, &c., &c., having not yet commenced. And of these a curious specimen must be selected from Larcom's Edition of Petty's Down Survey, Chapter XVIII. "Sir Hierome Sankey has a regular pitched battle with Dr. Wm. Petty on the floor of the House. Sir Jerome preferred six articles of misdemeanour and breach of trust against Dr. Petty. But what aggravated him above all

else was Petty's irritating refusal to let some one have a portion of land in the North Liberties of Limerick. This was the desire of the man's heart.

'Oh si proximus accederit mihi Angulus iste.'

Petty made a calm, clear statement in vindication of himself, being a very able man, and having a cool, calculating head; to which the Knight replied in so violent and blundering a way that he was silenced. At last he began again, thus (p. 299): 'Why then, Mr. Speaker, there is Captain Winkworth come with an order for the Liberties of Lymrick. But the doctor said, "Captain, will you sell?" "No," said the captain; "it is the price of my blood." "Then," said the doctor, "'Tis bravely said. Why then, my noble captain, the Liberties of Lymrick are *meat for your master*"—*meaning the Lord-Deputy*. Now, Mr. Speaker, who dishonours my Lord-Deputy, the doctor or I? In my judgment the doctor doth. Then comes Lt.-Colonel Brayfield for land; but the doctor asked whether he would sell? He said, "No." "Then," said the doctor, "Little man; little man, there is land for you beyond the moon." I have more yet, Mr. Speaker. There be fouler things yet; this is but half.' Here he was interrupted on the score of 'private quarrels interposed to obstructing of public business.' Finally, an enquiry was ordered."

But however all this may have been, the concern is at present with results; and taking these and the premises into due consideration, one may perceive how it has come to pass, by what seemed to be a providential retribution, that the plan of Strafforde for establishing a great English and Protestant colony in the West by means of fraudulent ejectments became utterly reversed by another plan, namely, Cromwell's one of driving a great host of Irish and other Roman Catholics, by transplantation, within the narrow confines of a single province. This was the way in which Clare became, numerically at least, an essentially Roman Catholic county, and the inhabitants, to add no more, so intensely national in spirit—a spirit slumbering and sluggish, yet bursting forth betimes with all the noisy rage of mountain torrents foaming down her own rugged hills. This fate, then, has woven into the social contexture so considerable a difference between the Eastern and Western portions of the Diocese of Killaloe, the effects of the great Celtic transplanta-

tion predominating here, a body of Cromwellian soldiers and speculating adventurers leaving their characteristic impressions there. Thirdly, it seems hardly necessary to enlarge upon or illustrate by many examples—

THE INTOLERANCE OF THE VICTORIOUS CROMWELLIANS.

Apparently permitted by Providence to check the excessive lengths to which the King had carried his prerogative and the heads of Churches their claims of authority, this mighty power became no less tyrannical and intolerant than the powers it had overcome and crushed. This intolerance extended as far as it could well go, trampling down in its stern career everything which opposed it. What could be expected to stay the hands of regicides who accounted themselves inspired and sent by Heaven's decree—of those who, in their earlier and milder moods (Whitlocke, p. 28), "impeach the Marquis of Ormonde because he forbids the taking of the Covenant"; that Covenant which, after Mr. White, one of the Assembly, had prayed for an hour to prepare both Houses, with the Assembly of Divines and the Scotch Commissioners, for the taking of it, Mr. Nye in the pulpit then highly eulogises, "showing the warrant of it from Scripture, the examples of it *since the Creation* (sic), and the benefit to the Church accruing thereby" (*ubi supra*, p. 70).

To illustrate this intolerance we take from *Mod. Intel.*, August 30 to September 6, 1649, the following picture of life in Dublin:—

"Every man in that kingdom fit to bear arms is in posture of war, the issue time will shew, *the buff coat instead of the black gown* appears in Dublin pulpits, that being a furtherer of preferment, if valour accompany it, to use two swords is meritorious. Not a word of *St. Austin, or Thos Aquinas*, nor any such hard words, only downright honesty is now given forth."

Accordingly the Presbyterians in their turn suffer, and cry out lustily enough after the rout at Dunbar; and the ministers of Edinburgh,

Perceiving the persecution to be personal by the practice of your party [the Independents] upon the ministers of Christ in England *and Ireland* and in the Kingdom of Scotland since your unjust invasion thereof, and finding nothing in O. C.'s letter, whereupon to build any security for their persons while they are there and for their return hither—they are resolved to reserve themselves for better times and to wait upon Him, who hath hidden His face for a while from the Sons of Jacob.

Oliver in reply asserts "that no man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel," and gravely ridicules them "for comforting themselves with being the Sons of Jacob." The ministers rejoin by a citation of the following stinging facts, viz.:—

That when Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestered, forced to flee from their dwellings and bitterly threatened for their faithful declaring the will of God against the godless and wicked proceedings of men, it cannot be accounted "an imaginary fear of suffering" in such as are resolved to follow the like freedom and faithfulness in discharge of their Master's message.

Oliver turns on them again, and charges "the ministers with railing against the Civil power" which delivered them from a tyrant (Charles I.), telling them "they err through mistaking the Scripture," sends them some tough queries to solve, and turns from them as "having no reasonable good leisure to unfold himself further to them in the way of pen and ink," implying there remain other ways—the way of cannon, batteries, and Derbyshire miners. (See this extraordinary controversy in Cromwell's Letters, by Carlyle; Letters Nos. 147-149.) Venables inflicted no small amount of sufferings upon the Presbyterians in the North under the oath of "Engagement," violently excluding them from their pulpits, withdrawing their subsistence, and harassing them by arrest and imprisonment. (See Reid's History of Presbyterians, Vol. II., p. 246.) But there were at that time no Scotch or Presbyterians in the West, nor any ambitious movement to extend the system in that direction. (See Hardinge's Lists.) But if the Presbyterians, as "Sons of Jacob," came in for heavy blows, what must the Bishops and the Church of Ireland expect, as "Sons of Esau," in the way of mercy from Cromwell and his party? The saintly and erudite Usher pleads with Oliver in vain for them, and retires to weep all night from his nearly sightless eyes. (See Parr's Usher.) Archbishop Bramhall is proscribed, and declared, together with many of the best men of Ireland, incapable of pardon, of life, or estate. The Irish Church lands and revenues are seized and secularized with as little remorse or reverence as the Kilkenny confederates had just shown in the case. The churches are turned into stables and cow-houses, &c. The very monuments of the dead are defaced, as appears from the follow-

ing inserted slab still to be found in the old church of Ennis on the south wall :—

Dom. Eugenius Considin, Celebris Stirps nominis hujus, pro se, proque suis. hanc olim struxerat urnam. Post destructa fuit Cromvelli marte furentis. Reparata Jacobo rege secundo ab Eugenio juniori 1686.

The public use of the Book of Common Prayer is now as sternly proscribed as it had been before by the Commissioners of Parliament upon their getting hold of Dublin, and this to the great increase of sin and general corruptness of manners, as Lathbury has proved by ample instances in his History of the Book of Common Prayer to have occurred in England. When the pure reformed faith of our Church was thus put down with a sternness worthy of the Inquisitors of heretical pravity—in fact, with as effective an animosity as the Nuncio had expressed ; when our diocesan ministers were all dead, or had fled away, and, indeed, "not one Protestant was left in Limerick city on its being yielded up to Ireton" (see Clarendon) ; when the last known public use of our Liturgy, even on the confines of Killaloe Diocese, took place in Portumna, upon Bramhall, by a special license, being permitted to lift up to heaven the sweet pure words of holy and classic harmony, in which saints and martyrs and men of God had winged the highest devotions of their souls with blessed acceptance before the throne of grace ; must we not now look upon our faith as for a while dead within this Diocese, and its *witnesses* buried ?

As for the Irish Papists, they showed little mercy, they found less ; they united to destroy, and were destroyed mainly through their own disunion. They thought to make great gains for their Church as the Scotch had done. A power that was able to crush the Scotch, crushed them too. Never was more fearfully illustrated the warning to Peter, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." For some ten terrible years the Irish Roman Catholics had inflicted unparalleled miseries, for about as many more they endured the same. But equal to severest corporeal was the mental and moral laceration which Cromwell inflicted upon the Roman Catholic prelates who, in an evil hour, issued that celebrated manifesto from Clonmacnoise, to which allusion has already been made.

As if there was before him a town to batter, an army to rout, Oliver deliberately fires out and with fury ungovernable drives at them. He charges, tramples and scatters their poor array of puerile arguments and flimsy statements. He seizes them, thumb-screwing them with torturing reminiscences and racking them amid universal scorn. Like the Genius of Battle and the Angel of Judgment in one, he grows before their appalled gaze into more than mortal dimensions, and stands in a light supernatural and scaring. Well may Mr. Carlyle call his reply "one of the remarkablest (*sic*) State papers ever published in Ireland since Strongbow or even since St. Patrick... But let there be a noble pity for them in the hearts of the noble."

The Declaration of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for the undeceiving of deluded and seduced people, which may be satisfactory to all, who do not wilfully shut their eyes against the light. In answer to certain Declarations and Acts, framed by the Irish Popish Prelates and Clergy in a Conventicle at Clonmacnoise.

After dwelling scornfully upon their existing "differences" and proposed "union," also upon their distinction between the "Clergy and Laity," he tells them he is not troubled at their "union." By the grace of God we fear not, we care not for it. Your union is like that of Simeon and Levi (brethren in cruelty). Though it becomes *us* to be humble in respect of ourselves, yet we can say to you, God is not with you. You say your union is against a "Common Enemy." And to this, if you be talking of union, I will give you some wormwood *to bite* on, by which it will appear God is not with you. Who is it that created this "Common Enemy." (I suppose you mean Englishmen). The English? Remember, ye hypocrites, Ireland was once united to England. That was the original "Union." Englishmen had good inheritances, which many of them purchased with their money—they and their ancestors from you and your ancestors. They had good leases from Irishmen, for long times to come, great stocks thereupon; houses and plantations erected at their own cost and charge. They lived peaceably and honestly amongst you. You had generally equal benefit of the protection of England with them, and equal justice from the Laws —saving what was necessary for the State, to put upon some few people, apt to rebel upon the instigation of such as you. *You* broke *this* "Union." You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre (without respect of age or sex) that ever the Sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace. And when, through the example of English industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the Natives hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession and not an Englishman in it. And yet then, I say, was this unheard of villany perpetrated,

by your instigation, who boast of "peace making" and "union against the Common Enemy." What think you by this time, is not my assertion true? Is God, will God be with you? I am confident He will not!

After a most taunting criticism upon their design and the right of their Church, of their Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates, upon their lay-fee, their jurisdiction, ecclesiastical authority and the faith of their Church (as if it were hopeless to enlighten, and useless to elevate such); he asks,—But alas, why is this said? Why are *these* pearls cast before you? You are resolved not to be charmed from using "the instruments of a foolish shepherd." You are a part of Antichrist, whose Kingdom the Scripture so expressly speaks should "be laid in blood," yea "in the blood of the Saints." You have shed great store of that already, and ere it be long, you must all of you "have blood to drink," even "the dregs of the cup of the fury and the wrath of God," which "will be poured out upon you." (!!)

Upon their putting forward "the interest of his Majesty" as "a ground for this war." What Majesty is it you mean (he demands). Is it France, or Spain, or Scotland? Speak plainly! You have some of you lately been harping, or else we are misinformed, upon his Majesty of *Spain* to be your Protector. Was it because his Majesty of Scotland was too little a Majesty for your purpose? We know you love great Majesties (!) Or is it because he is not fully come over to you in point of religion? If he be short in that, you will quickly find out upon that score another "Majesty." His father, who complied with you too much, you rejected, and now would make the world believe you would make the son's interest a great part of the state of your quarrel. How can we but think there is some reserve in this? And that the son (Chas. ii.) has agreed to do somewhat more for you than ever his father (Chas. i.) did? Or else, tell us, whence this new zeal is? That the father did too much for you, in all Protestant judgments, instead of many instances, let this be considered, what one of your own doctors, Dr. Enos, of Dublin, says, who, writing against the Agreement made between the Lord of Ormond and the Irish Catholics, finds fault with it, and says, it was "nothing so good as that which the Earl of Glamorgan had warrant from the King to make, but exceeding far short of what the Lord George Digby had warrant to agree to, with the Pope himself at Rome in favour of the Irish Catholics." I intend not this to you, but to such Protestants as may incline to you, and join with you upon this single account, which is the only appearing inducement to them. "To them I intend it," seeing there is so much probability of ill in this abstracted, and so much certainty of ill in fighting for the Romish religion against the Protestant, and fighting along with men under the guilt of so horrid a massacre, from participating in which guilt, whilst they take part with them, they will never be able to assail themselves either before God or good men. How dare you assume to call these men "your *flocks*" whom you have plunged into so horrid a rebellion, by which you have made them and the country almost a ruinous heap? And whom you have fleeced and polled and peeled

hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them; you poison them with your false, abominable, and Antichristian doctrine and practices; you keep the Word of God from them, and instead thereof give them your senseless orders and traditions; you teach them "implicit faith;" he that goes amongst them may find many that do not understand anything in the matters of your religion. I have had few better answers from any since I came to Ireland that are of your flocks than this, "That indeed they did not trouble themselves about matters of religion, but left that to the Church." Thus are your flocks fed. And such credit have you of them. But they must take heed of losing their religion. Alas! poor creatures, what have they to lose?

Concerning this losing of their religion, you instance Cromwell's letter, repeating his words to the then Governor of Ross, 19 Oct., 1649, which are as follows, viz.:—"For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, *where the Parliament of England have powers that will not be allowed of.*" And this you call a tyrannical resolution, which you say hath been put in execution in Wexford, Ross, and Tredagh.

And now for the people of Ireland. I do particularly declare what they may expect at my hands in this point, wherein you will easily perceive that, as I neither have flattered, nor shall flatter you, so neither shall I go about to delude them with specious pretences, as you have ever done.

First, therefore, *I shall not, where I have power, and the Lord is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the Mass where I can take notice of it. No, nor in any way suffer you that are Papists, where I can find you seducing the people, or by any overt act violating the laws established. But if you come into my hands, I shall cause to be inflicted the punishments appointed by the laws, to use your own term, "secundum gravitatem delicti," upon you, and shall try to reduce things to their former state on this behalf.* As for the people, what thoughts they have in matters of religion in their own breasts I cannot reach, but shall think it my duty, if they walk honestly and peaceably, not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same, and shall endeavour to walk patiently and in love towards them to see if at any time it shall please God to give them another and a better mind. And all men under the power of England within this dominion are hereby required and enjoined strictly and religiously to do the same.

To the *second* danger threatened, which is "the destruction of the lives of the inhabitants of this nation," to make it good that this is designed, they (the Hierarchy) give not one reason, which is either because they have none to give, or else for that they believe the people will receive everything for truth they say, which they have too well taught them, and God knows the people are too apt to do. But I will a little help them. They speak indeed "of rooting out the common people," and also by way of consequent, that "the extirpating of the

Catholic religion is not to be effected without the massacring, destroying, or banishing the Catholic inhabitants." (He then proposes what Mr. Carlyle terms a very subtle "dilemma, and very Oliverian, but it has a real logical validity." Call your religion *true*; men *have* changed from it without being massacred. Admit it to be *false*; will you say they need massacring? Whatever religion you may have, I think you have not much logic to spare.) Your words are "massacre, destroy, and banish." Good: now *give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished, concerning the massacre or destruction of whom justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done.* As for the other—banishment, I must now speak unto the people whom you would delude, and whom this most concerns, that they may know in this what to expect at my hands. The question is of the destruction of life, or of that which is but little inferior to it, to wit, of banishment. Now, *first*, I shall not willingly take, or suffer to be taken, away the life of any man not in arms, but by the trial to which the people of this nation are subject by law for offences against the same. And, *secondly*, as for the banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted on any but such who, being in arms might justly, upon the terms they were taken under, have been put to death—as might those who are instanced in your Declaration to be sent to the "Tobacco Islands." And therefore I do declare, *That if the people be ready to run to arms by the instigation of their clergy or otherwise, such as God by His Providence shall give into my hands, may expect that or worse measure from me, but not otherwise.*

Thirdly, as to that of "the ruin of their fortune," you instance the act of *subscription* whereby the estates of the inhabitants of this nation are sold, so as there remaineth now no more but to put the purchasers in possession, and that for this cause are the forces drawn out of England. And that you might carry the interest far so as to engage the common sort of people with you. You farther say to them "that the moderate usages hitherto exercised to them, is to no other end but to our private advantage and for the better support of your army, we intending at the close of our 'conquest,' as you term it, to root out the common people also, and to plant the land with colonies to be brought hither out of England."

This consisting of divers parts, will ask distinct answers—

And *first*, as to the act of subscription. It is true there is such an act, and it was a just one. For when, by your execrable massacre and rebellion, you had not only raised a bloody war to justify the same, and thereby occasioned the exhausting the treasure of England in the prosecution of so just a war against you, was it not a wise and just act in the State to raise money by escheating the lands of those who had a hand in the rebellion? Was it not fit to make their estates to defray the charge who had caused the trouble? Oliver, (after allowing how this act naturally tended *to induce the Irish* to fight it out *in desperation* rather than repent or lay down arms, also to expect no mercy from England), asks:—"But what was the English army brought over for *this* purpose, as you allege? Do you think that the state of England will be at five or six millions charge, merely to procure purchasers to be invested

in that for which they did disburse little above a quarter of a million? Although there is justice in that also, which ought and I trust will be seasonably performed toward them. No, I can give you a better reason for the army coming than this. *England hath had experience of the blessing of God in persecuting just and righteous causes whatever the cost and hazard be. And if ever men were engaged in a righteous cause in the world, this will scarce be second to it. We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account* (by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength) all who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same.

We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels who, having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society, whose principles (the world hath experience) are to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them.

We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have an undoubted right to do it—wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use their liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen if they keep out of arms.

And now, having said this to you, I have a word to *them*, that in this point which concerns them in their estates and fortunes they may know what to trust to—

(I.) Such as have been formerly in arms may, submitting themselves, have their cases presented to the State of England, where no doubt the State will be ready to take into consideration the nature and quality of their actings, and deal mercifully with them. (II.) As for those now in arms, who shall come in and submit, and give engagements for their future quiet and honest carriage and submission to the State of England, I doubt not but they will find like merciful consideration. (III.) Except only the leading persons and principal contrivers of this rebellion whom I am confident they will reserve to make examples of justice, whatsoever hazards they incur thereby. (IV.) And as for such private soldiers as lay down their arms and shall live peaceably and honestly at their several homes, they shall be permitted so to do. And in general (V.) for the first two sorts for such as have been or are now in arms and shall submit, I shall humbly and effectually represent their cases to the Parliament, as far as becomes the duty and place I bear. But (VI.) as for those who, notwithstanding all this, persist and continue in arms, they must expect what the providence of God, in that which is falsely called the chance of war, will cast upon them. (VII.) For such of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of Ireland as have not been actors in this rebellion, they shall and may expect the protection in their goods, liberties, and lives, which the law gives them. And in their husbandry, merchandizing, manufactures, and other trading whatsoever, the same; they behaving themselves as becomes honest and peaceable men, testifying their good affections upon all occasions to the service of the State of England, equal justice shall be done them

with the English. They shall bear proportionably with them in taxes, and if the soldiery be insolent upon them, upon complaint and proof it shall be punished with the utmost severity, and they protected equally with Englishmen.

And having said this, and purposing honestly to perform it, if this people shall headily run on after the counsels of their prelates and clergy and other leaders, I hope to be free from the misery and desolation, blood and ruin, that shall befall them, *and shall rejoice to exercise utmost severity against them.*—Oliver Cromwell, given at Youghal, Jan., 1649.

The intelligent and discriminating reader of so much of the above declaration, will not regret the time and labour spent over it. If "wolves, and priests, and tories," were now the three wild beasts to be exterminated in Ireland, with prices put on their heads, for their more certain capture, let it be known equally well, that as it seems if not the religion (*supra*), at least the course of action taken by *the Roman Catholics* of Ireland, that they behave in a certain way towards the English and Protestants in Ireland; so it was the religion of Oliver Cromwell, and his course of action to behave in a certain way by these same Roman Catholics in return. And so he behaves accordingly, no doubt in compliance with the dictates of *his* conscience. Also in the Declaration, he gives full notice of his motives and purposes. But, above all, the question must never be forgotten or lost sight of, *who brought down an Oliver Cromwell upon Ireland*, so sternly "asking account of innocent blood that was shed, and rejoicing to exercise the utmost severity."

And accordingly, sundry priests of the Church of Rome were, by incredible escapes, romantic adventures, and ingenious disguises, able to avoid arrest,—some for a shorter, some a longer time, some altogether. Others of them were arrested and transported in great numbers. The first lot of them was sent to Spain. Barbadoes was pitched upon for the next; and the Isles of Aran (where a grand old Abbey had been torn down to make a fort for artillery) were chosen for the sequestration of the rest of those captured, who were to live upon a subsistence of 6*d.* a day each, and under shelter of cabins erected especially for them. (See "Cromwellian Settlement," p. 324; Petty's "Down Survey;" also Havertys' "Tour to Aran Isles.")

If anything could passionately attach the Irish Roman Ca-

tholics (and especially the transplanted) more than ever to their priesthood, it was this course of systematic intolerance. Men, the most part of whom were not very remarkable or attractive, or gifted with high endowments of any kind, assumed, in the estimation of those among whom they ministered, the exalted character of heroes and martyrs,—simply because they pursued their ministrations under the ban of persecution. This was the secret mystery of the romantic tie of "Soggarth Aroon."

However, besides the general principles laid down by Cromwell, and the practice elsewhere, it is in our power to add an account of the particular status of the priests of Clare, as defined in the deed of surrender ratified on the 21st day of April, 1652, in behalf of "The Brigade of Thomond."

(The extract is made from an attested copy which lingered as an heirloom among the O'Bryens of Glen' Columbkill.)

(1) Major-General Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Peter Stubbs (*sic*), Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the County of Clare, Colonel Thomas Sadler, Lieutenant-Colonel John Nelson, Governor of Kilmaloe (? Killaloe or Kilmatlock) and the rest of the Council of War, for and in behalf of the Parliament of England, of the one part; and (2) Colonel Murtogh O'Bryen, Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Brigade in the County of Clare, Colonel Daniel McNemara, and Lieutenant-Colonel James Fitzgerald, Commissioner, entrusted and authorized by the Brigade, on the other part, as followeth :—

There are fifteen articles in the agreement concluded.

The first provides that the forces of horse and foot, under the command of Colonel Murtough O'Bryen, shall by the 4th May next deliver up their arms and horses, at or near the Castle of Clare or Innesh (Ennis), to Major-General Sir Hardress Waller, or whom he may appoint, for the service of the Commonwealth of England; and till that time the county where they are now quartered is to provide for them.

2nd. Those so complying are to receive protection for their lands and several estates, and live in such p'aces as shall be thought fit by Sir H. Waller, &c.

3rd. Liberty to sell horses.

4th. Protection and quarters.

5th. As to the real estate of any of the party, they shall have equal benefit with others under like qualifications in any office that shall hereafter be held out from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, as hath been since 2nd February last.

6th. Liberty to transport themselves to serve any State in amity with the State of England, and under certain further conditions.

7th. Liberty to collect and receive a month's contribution for the Brigade.

8th. Colonel and officers (unless excepted) to enjoy horses, arms, and attendants, &c.

9th. On submission of Brigade, enlargement, liberty, protection for lives, and personal estates, or security given for future good demeanour,—those who cannot get security to be transported to such place in amity with England, under such officers as they shall choose that shall make any such condition with any foreign nation as before mentioned,—provided that the benefit of all, or any of the articles aforesaid, extend not to any "*Who hath been guilty of murder or massacre of any of the English, or any adhering to them since the year* 1641;" and for the avoiding of scruples, which at any time hereafter may arise in the construction of the word "*Murder.*" It is hereby declared and intended that the same shall only be constructed, and extend to such person or persons as had *in the year aforesaid or since,* murdered any English person or other, not then in arms; and the same shall not extend to any man killed, whose forts and castles were besieged in the year aforesaid or since, and that the same shall extend only to such person or persons as committed or aided, in such murder, if any, and no other.

10th. Acts of officers and soldiers, as such, to be absolutely forgiven.

11th. Provided also that the benefit of those articles extend not *to any priest* or others of the *Romanist clergy in orders,* further than the said Major-General do undertake industriously to solicit the Commissioners of Parliament, that such of the clergy in orders, that having *no other act or crime laid to their charge, than officiating* their functions as priest, shall have liberty and passes to go beyond the seas; nor any other officer or soldier that have taken away the lives of any of our party after quarter given; and provided also that the benefit of them extend not to any that have been formerly of the Parliament-party who deserted their colours, since the Lord-Lieutenant Cromwell first arrived, and are or may be now in said party.

12th. Those embezzling horses, or arms, to be excluded benefits.

13th. Conditions as to partial breach of articles—as to election between them—as to sustentation covenanted for—as to incapacity of employment or trust in the Parliament service averted.

14th. The benefit of better conditions if granted to Lord Muskerry covenanted for.

15th. Lists to be sent to Clare Castle of officers and soldiers accepting condition within 6 days after signing, &c.

To the copy from which the above has been taken the following certificate is appended:—"I certify that the within is a true copy of the Articles of Capitulation of the Brigade of Thomond, 1652, original of which is in my possession, stating Murtagh O'Bryen to be Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Brigade. June 18, 1843.

DANL. MCNAMARA, Bouchier.

(The document has also been compared with "Articles of Capitulation," vol. iv. p. 79, Press 14, shelf E.)

As allusion has been made to "*better terms* under Lord Muskerry's Articles of Capitulation," the following is "The Explanacon on ye Articles," in Mr. Hardinge's paper on the Circumstances &c. (p. 408, R. I. A.), so far as relates to the definition of murder and the dealings with the Roman Catholic Priests. (1) The definitions are nearly the same in both documents, but in Muskerry's surrender, the words "murder or massacre of any of the English" have after the words "not in arms," the addition of—"but following their occupations in their farms and freeholds." This clearly points to a cowardly surprizal of the unsuspecting and inoffensive. Also the Muskerry document adds guilty knowledge of breach of quarter, and subsequent harbouring, as an exclusion of benefit since the first year.

The declaration as to

"Religion" is very brief.

"We do declare that it is not our intention nor, as we conceive the intention of those whom we serve to force any to their worship and service contrary to their conscience."

All this, however, is quite compatible with forcing any if they persist in their own Worship and Service to do so under most serious disabilities and inflictions.

But although so much of intolerance was exhibited to "the Sons of Esau" and even "of Jacob," it is but an act of justice to call the reader's attention to a remarkable and exceptional fact. The Cromwellians made a slender recognition of a certain kind of Teacher or Minister of Religion within the limits of this Diocese and elsewhere in Ireland. Doubtless this was done in accordance with the decision of Parliament when despoiling the Church and Universities.

The Cromwellian system being much better fitted for overthrowing than for building up institutions, projected but a wretchedly inadequate Ministry of the Gospel, such as it was, in Ireland. So far as the Diocese of Killaloe was concerned, we give the names, stations, and ministers' allowance as appearing in the "Civil Establishment of the Commonwealth for Ireland," as copied by Reid in Appendix Histy. Prebys. II. 496.

In the Precinct of Lymericke.

	Per annum.
1. Ennis, Alexander Young	£100
Seven Mile Bridge. (Quere, Six Mile B).	
2. Robert Thornton	100
3. Killaloe, Gawen, or Gavin Berkeley	100
In the Precinct of Athlone.	
4. Birr, Charles Chandler	100

These four were the favoured individuals to represent this ministry of the Gospel in the Diocese of Killaloe. Doubtless "the Triers of Preachers" tried them, and "after honest care taken for the ejecting of scandalous ministers (viz., chiefly those belonging to the Diocese), and for bringing in them that have passed an approbation," (see Oliver's V.th speech in Carlyle, *ubi supra*), they were accepted as vessels of grace, and having unction, and they were also no doubt just as one-sided and shallow in their theological pronouncements as the like have been before and since. Possibly we may meet some of these again in the progress of the narrative.

Our account of the Diocese under the Usurpation would be seriously deficient without some notice of (IV.)

"The Civil and Military Administration."

Copious extracts bearing on this important subject are now appended, taken from "The Order Book of the Commissioners of Lymerick, Joshua Bennett, Thomas Carpenter, Thomas Harden," a work which seems not to have attracted attention on the part of historical students.

"John Lysaght engages himself to bring in the body of Sebastian Creaghe in the penalty of £100."

The following are sworn Constables of Wards in the City:—John Parker, John Greenwood, Thomas Bailey, Thomas Chaplin, Nich. Dowell and Edward Sheehey, for Kilmurry Parish. The Oath they took runs thus:—

"I swear to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is established without a King or House of Lords, and to act faithfully as Constables of Wards of Lymerick."

Mr. Blood, plaintiff. Ordered that Mr. Robinson do issue forth a sequestration to the petitioner of such goods and chattels as were the defendants, and are now unjustly detained.

12 Oct. 1652. Ordered that the Governors of Crattalaugh do forthwith restore unto the petitioners the within-mentioned (indistinct; quere "Corne") and the petitioners do likewise enjoy and benefit of their certaintie. They, together with the inhabitants of Annaghbeg, paying equally fire and candle-light to the garrison of Castle Bank, according to the establishment, to be freed from all other garrison.

16 Oct. 1652. Ordered that Lieutenant Jos. Miller do enter into the house late belonging to Dan. Creaghe or Nic. Neothan till further notice.

..... Bryen O'Bryen, petitioner. It appearing that petitioner is resident with all his substance in the Barony of Islands, it is therefore ordered that petitioner be charged in said Barony and not in Inchiquin, provided he hath paid up his arrears.

..... Colonel John McNamara is discharged from supplying

firing to Castle Bank and the Governor to expect his firing from the trustees.

21 October, 1652.

The dividend of oats upon both countries, from the 15th inst. to the 15th of December, allowance one Bristoll (bound) barrel for each troop per mensem, also settlement for fire and candlelight, viz. :—

3 loads of wood,
3 lbs of candlelight

for every three men per week, with non-commissioned officers of horse.

Clare County.		Limerick Barrels.
Barony of	Bunratty	140
„	Islands	25
„	Inchiquin	35
„	Corcomroe	24
„	Clonderlaw	16
„	Moyfarta	40
		280

The assignations for horse and Dragoons for the two months—

1. Captain King's troop, consisting of 102, assigned for 102 barrels upon ... ... } Bunratty. Cosmagh. Small County.
2. Captain Porter's troop of 88 on... ... ... } Bunratty.
3. Captain Napper's troop of 92, ditto barrels ... } Bunratty. Corcumroe. Clanderlaw. Moyfarta.
4. Captain Gibbon's troop of 91, ditto barrels ... } Bunratty. Islands. Inchiquin.

(This shows how the county was made pay for the conquerors who held it. But more of this anon.)

22nd October, 1652.

Slaney Bryen petitioned to the new trustees of the Barony of Bunratty to examine and compose by consent or certify.

..... This referred to Lieutenant Willy, Governor of Ralagheine, John McNamara, and Mr. Thos. Fanning to examine and compose by consent, or certify.

John Reaghe McNamara, petitioner. The Governor of Ballyawlia (Ballyalla) is desired and authorized to examine what corn hath been taken from the petitioner by Lieutenant Bret Lewis, and upon what score the same was taken away. And the same to certify with all speed if such course may be taken for the plaintiff's relief. And whereas it is alleged that the petitioner took the lands of Kilcussin (Q. Kilkishen) for the fourth sheaf. Ordered that he be not troubled in plowing or sowing the same.

..... Ordered that Mary Purcell doth not plow the meadow of —— and —— upon any pretence.

..... The inhabitants of Moyfarta petitioned against an overcharge of 19*l.* It is ordered that the petitioners do receive the said 19*l.* *out of the tythe-money due upon that Barony*, in consideration whereof such persons as are engaged for the said tythes are to take notice, and this order be a discharge for so much paid. (Thus it seems that the inhabitants were robbed so shamefully that restitution must be made. But this comes out of the tythes which had been taken from the Church.)

29th October, 1652.

The Trustees of Barony of Bunratty, petitioners.

Whereas it was alleged that the within-mentioned instrument (whereupon we have granted our former order to the within-mentioned McNemara) was not signed by the persons themselves, but their hands counterfeited. Whereas it is alleged that the gentry of said Barony for the most part never consented to sign same, and the order was surreptitious.

Order was revoked and proceedings nullified.

1st November, 1652.

Richard Creaghe, order for his protection in Barony of Moyfarta to commanding officer at Carrigahaulta.

Rory McMahon's woods to be preserved for the use of the coal works, and no person do cut same.

(This, with some former and further orders will account in some degree for what became of the old trees and vast woods in the west of Ireland, at least those not felled or burned in the times of Elizabeth and James).

1st November, 1652.

The dividend of 400*l.*, monthly contribution upon the County of Clare commencing the first of November, together with the monthly sum of 110*l.* laid upon the said county in lieu of Carradge and Corne (*sic*):—

(Distribution of same.)

put to 10*l.*	Bonrattie	...	£226	0	0	...	£62	0 3
abate 10*l.*	Islands...	...	50	0	0	...	10	0 0
put to 3*l.* 15*s.* 0*s.*	Inchiquine	...	50	0	0	...	13	15 0
	Corcomroe	...	24	0	0	...	6	12 0
	Moyfarta	...	50	0	0	...	13	15 0
			£400	0	0		£110	0 0

The inhabitants of Corcomroe, Petitioners, ... set forth their losses over and above their monthly payments, also the great charge of "forredg" (*sic*) through the refractoriness and delinquencies of the Paronies of Burren and other Baronies. That the inhabitants may the better pay their monthly contribution, we have thought fit and do according order shall so save the rent arising to the State out of the corn of Burren for this year (being 28*l.*), together with the rent arising to the State out of the *tythes* (*!!*) of the said Barony of Corcomroe for this year

being 40*l*., in all 68*l*., in full satisfaction of the said losses and charges of forredg (*sic*) laid upon them through the refractoriness of others, until the 1st of November, whereof Captain Napper and Captain Castle are to take notice and pay the said sums according, unto three indifferent men to be chosen by the Baroney.

4th November, 1652.

Order that the inhabitants of Barony of Tullagh pay, according to their substance, an equal balance with substance of petitioners towards discharging said Barony of Bunratty of their monthly contribution.

A permit to Mrs. Maley for to fetch three or four cows from the county of Clare into the lands of Ballyhaise.

5th November.

Petition of inhabitants of Moyarta to ascertain on oath, by reference to Captains Napper and Gibbons, the substance of "horne and corne" in the Barony, with a view to an abatement.

9th November.

An order to suspend payments until we take course to put said Baronies into equal balance with rest of Baronies. And said Captain is to certify what stores of oats or was brought into Carrigahaltie and Killquii (Kilkee).

11th November.

Another dividend of 400*l*. monthly, with 110*l*. in lieu of forradg—the first to continue for thirteen months, the last for six—was agreed and concluded upon.

Cornet John Gore, Petitioner.

The Inhabitants of Islands. A Reply to their Petition or Grievance.

1. As to fire and candle, is referred to Governor of Countie to settle same as shall be most convenient both for the Barony and all garrisons, according to justice, observing the establishment.

2. All persons who have removed since May last are to return, or else the inhabitants are to set fire to their goods.

3. Orders of exemption to be reconsidered, especially to Robert Peacocke.

4. Ordered that inhabitants are not to be molested in cutting wood for garrisons.

5. Ordered that the Barony of Clanderlaw shall be at liberty to continue where they are, or else remove into the Barony of Islands.

6. If any in said Barony conceal their goods to evade payment of contributions, goods to be seized, valued, and sold in satisfaction.

7. Trustees to send duplicates of applotments seven days after made.

Petition of Roe McMara, John Teige, and Others.

Reply is that Colonel Purefoy, the Governor of Ballyallia, and Thomas Fannig, are to examine, &c., and balance with Bunratty.

12th November.

In re L. O'Hogan for inhabitants of Killenaboy.

An order of reference of Captain Gibbings and Lieutenant Floyd to examine.

15th November.

Andrew Hickman's corn to be restored, "he only paying his portion of contribution, if any be."

A warrant to Captain Kyshe to pay unto Captain Lynnocks for the reparation of several places, viz., Six-mile Bridge, a new bridge at the Loughgir, and other places.

The case of Mr. Neptune Blood *v.* John McNamara and the Justices of Bunratty, to be heard next Thursday seven night.

18th November.

Thomas Hickman's losses to be made good by the Barony of Bunratty now, or as soon as they can.

Oats applotted for two months for the General's troop from 15th October; Bunratty twenty barrels.

Annie Considine als Mahon, "to make good her husband's loyalty."

On petition of Inchiquin Barony—(I.) Other Baronies to be joined in payment. (II.) They shall have 10*s.* per ton for hay.

19th November.

Dr. Gabriel O'Dolory had license to depart, and is not to be charged in Moyfeadta.

20th November.

Assignment of a certain amount of sequestered tythes, as they (the payers) are to pay it to the State in discharge of Edward White's claim for satisfaction.

The payers are :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Quarter-Master Janns, tenant to Drumcleave ...	11	10	0
Thomas Clanchy, Clare Abbey	18	5	0
The Petitioner himself, for Clondagad	13	15	0
	£43	10	0

23rd November.

Captain Stannard's troop; oats, two months.

Bunratty	20
Inchiquin	6
Islands	5
	31

24th November.

Dermod McGlissane. Petition true. Corcomroe. Such of the inhabitants of as are now residing in the Barony shall live and contribute there in future.

John Comyn. Petition and Order. That L. O'Downe and rest shall cut and carry no timber from the wood of Meelick.

26th November.

On Neptune Blood's complaint. Ordered that the trustees of Barony of Bunratty appear.

2nd December, 1652.

Dame Honora O'Brien, petitioner.

Forasmuch as upon setting the tythes of Clare, we have reserved the Lord Thomond's therein unto himself, or those standing under him, and have only set the States parts; it is therefore ordered that such as received the said lord's part of the said tythes give the petitioner satisfaction for the amount, or appear and show cause in four days.

6th December.

Petitioners, the inhabitants of Corcomroe, per James McEnchroe.

As to his petition that Captain Castle be joined with Lieutenant Floyd to hear. The matter is referred to the following:—

Connor O'Dea,
Hugh and James } MacEnchroe.
Bryen O'Bryen.
Bryan Haurahan.

Sir Daniel O'Bryen, petitioner.

That Ensign Hovenden and petitioner shall appear before us to determine the marketable price of beeves taken from petitioner by Captain Napper for use of his troop, and also restore said cattle in specie.

30.

Maurish Hurley had twenty-six beeves taken from him by order of commander for the supply of a party with Lieut.-Colonel Warden.

Ordered that Hurley receive satisfaction for the same from certain in the barony such as are refractory. Trustees to take notice. (Poor Hurley; is he as yet paid for his twenty-six beeves on the order to the refractory? As good security as an order on the pump at Aldersgate.)

20th December.

That Frances MacBrien be allowed a plow of Garranes and two cows; and that further she be permitted to live upon the lands by paying the proportion of charges.

Ordered to pay John Reddan for twenty-four tons of hay, at 10*s.* a ton.

Creaghe *v.* Widenham.

31st December.

That the lands of Athdane (Adane) were inhabited, and paid contribution to the State, at time the said lands were demised to defendant.

Orders to farmers of tythe, by petition, to pay two gales in consideration of losses.

Barony of Bunratty to provide thirty bushels of oats, Lymerick measure.

Wade,—That the 50*l.* tythe-rent of Kilkeedy, sequestered by former order, in the hands of Captain Wade, be forthwith paid into the Treasury, and there sequestered; and that the said Wade do forthwith pay in likewise to the Treasury the remainder of what he had not paid of the first gale of 50*l.*, being reserved upon him to the State out of the

tythes of said parish of Kilkeedy, unless he can produce an order for abatement of same under the hands of us, or any of us.

THOS. JACKSON.
JAS. KNIGHT.
WM. SKINNER.

16th January.

Ireland, by order of Commissioners of Parliament.

Whereas Colonel Ingoldsby hath been at great charge, as Governor of county Clare the last year, in entertaining parties in their marches to and fro the said counties, for which he never as yet received any consideration, it is therefore ordered that the Commissioners of the Revenue for the precinct of Lymerick do order, by warrant, the treasurer of said precinct to pay unto Colonel Ingoldsby two hundred pounds out of said customs and excise to be received for the two hundred tuns of French wines licensed to be brought into the port. Dated at Kilkenny, 6th October, 1652.

EDM. LUDLOW.
CHA. FLEETWOOD.
MILES CORBET.
JOHN JONES.

18th January.

Daniel O'Brien, of Dough, Esquire.

Ordered that the examination of the matter be referred to Captain Napper and Captain Piers to examine and certify.

20th January.

A seizure of corn ordered on the lands of Ballymorris for non-payment of charges thereon.

Roger Crowe, In re. Order.—That he be not charged for the cow he hath already sold.

25th January.

Robert Cox's petition favourably dealt with, and his sufferings for, and his affection to, the Parliament and present Government apparent, is encouraged to live on his estate and protected variously.

7th February.

Bunratty barony to provide eighty barrels of oats.

Captain Porter for oats—thirty-six barrels from Islands Inchiquin and Corcomroe.

That Daniel Connery entering sufficient security to *transport himself for Spain* on the first conveniency, then be remitted and himself *set at liberty* (?)

Petition of Edward White (*Tythes*).

Whereas it appeareth by certificate of Capt. Walker and Capt. Stapleton that 720 sheaves of the within tythes of Dromileer parish, *sold* unto petitioner in 1651, were taken away from him for the use of the State [that was a pleasant tything of tythes, and seizing of what was so'd] which said sheaves we value to six barrels, that the receiver of revenue

of the precinct abate E. White for amount of 3*l.* 12*s.*, at 12*d.* per barrel, out of rent due from petitioner to State for said tythes.

C. Giles Vandaleur, plaintiff (sic)
Mi. Stritch, defendant. } Plaintiff to take possession of all defendant's rooms.

The baronies of Bunratty Islands and Corcomroe had a charge of 115*l.* on them for the fortification of Athlone (! !), and Captain Napper having seized cattle for same is to account with treasurer.

14th March.

Thos. Clancy, petitioner { 136 sheaves of oates, 500 „ of beands,

taken from petitioner.

The treasurer is ordered to make an abatement for value of the same out of the arrears of tythes or absentees' corn from any of the inhabitants of Clare, in 1651. [Poor Tom Clancy. He would rather have had his corn and beans than such a shadowy equivalent.]

To the Right Honourable Commissioners of Revenue.

Petition from the *destroyed* barony of Cosmay. [Though this is not in Clare or Tipperary, yet it will give a very good idea of the ruinous effect of such exactions as have been exposed above.]

1. Whereas it is reported that *the great part of the tythes and glebe land in other counties goes to assist the counties to pay their contribution*, whether it be your sense that this barony may have their glebe and tythes to assist them in some. And the rather because the tythes are surveyed with the rest of the arrears, and paid for by the inhabitants. And some of the *glebes* are *inhabited and stocked with the substance and cattle of the said barony;* and that to such a number as no such quantity of glebe lands are able to bear on or sustain.

In answer to proposition.

To No. 1 we say nothing.

A Proclamation.

23rd March.

All persons which live in any cabin, either in the South or North Liberties, that lived not in the city at May last, are required to depart within fourteen days on pain of forfeiture of their goods and chattels. All such as have lived on Thomond side are to depart to the barony of Bunratty.

Those forsaking their homes, their corn to be arrested and goods seized, for Bunratty, by Thomas Clanchy, 26th March. *Shebeen houses* (! !) Whereas it is manifest that there is a multitude of taverns and tippling houses within this city, as also in the suburbs, by which means idleness and unchristianness in many idle and debased persons is maintained and nourished. And the Commonwealth greatly dampnified (sic). And other ways of industry neglected for people to get a livelyhood. We have, therefore, upon serious consideration of the premises, thought meet to order, and accordingly do order, that no person or persons

within this city or suburbs thereof do, after the 20th of May next, presume to sell, or utter by retail, any wines, strong drinks, beer or ale, or any liquors, upon any pretence whatsoever. Penalties, first offence, 40*s.*; second 5*l.*; third, imprisonment.

The following is also remarkable and valuable in its way:—

Commissioners of city to take care that the Lord's-day be not profaned, to put in execution all Acts of Parliament, and make rounds, and visit the tippling-houses.

On said day, low and idle persons be not permitted lazily to walk about the streets, or boys to sport, play, or hollowe (sic) there, to the disturbance of Divine service and scandal of religion. (This Divine service must have been not that of our Church, but that of the Independents or Brownists.)

To certify how many public-houses exist, and how many you judge may be licensed in every ward under orderly and fit persons. Against mill-owners, what course had best be taken for preventing their grinding the faces of the poor instead of their corn (sic). (This is an instance of the grim wit of the Cromwellians. No doubt there was a cause.)

To recommend how such as are able to work so as to earn their livings, and for the relief of the rest, also to prevent strange beggars being harboured.

Captain Napper's troop of dragoons is empowered and licensed to plow, manure, and sow for the season, with small barley or oats, certain specified kinds of land.

April 14, 1653.

Ordered that the Lord of Thomond, or his agent, be permitted and licensed to keep two Irish servants on the lands of Coonagh, provided they have but one cow apiece. And for the rest of his Lordship's tenants on aforesaid lands, ordered that they be at liberty either to remove into the Barony of Bunratty, or continue where they are provided; that they pay their contribution out of their flock and substance in Bunratty, and not elsewhere, and applotters to have notice thereof.

S. Clarke,
W. Skinner,
W. Carter.

The soldiers to enjoy garden as soon as present crop is raised.

18 September, 1653.

Governor of Nenagh to arrest and transmit Thomas Grady, "who did not pass or clear his account," and he is to be delivered to the Marshalsea of this precinct, there to remain.

23 April, 1653.

Captain Miller hath returned the assignment hereunder written, given him upon the Barony of Ilracken, as being *insolvent*, for which he hath not received any payment. (This proves again how fast the civil and military administration was driving the country into beggary. But more of this anon.)

21 April, 1653.

(A nice case in Church and Tythe affairs, giving a glimpse of what doubtless was common enough.)

Whereas the church and churchyard of Croagh (in County Limerick), with the steeple and a broken wall about it, situated on the borders of Mr. George Aylmer, his land in ye Barony of Connologh, and County of Limerick, *is only fit at present for a bawne or defence for cattle to preserve them from stealth.* And that the said George Aylmer hath expressed his desire unto us to enter upon the premises for the security of—*his cattle* and servants—ploughing and manuring his lands there.

It is therefore ordered that the said George Aylmer be licensed and permitted to enter into and upon said church, churchyard, steeple, and bawne for himself and his assigns for security, provided he doth not demolish the same, or any part thereof, provided also if there be any occasion at any time to put same to public use or service (!!) he doth quit and give up same in as good condition and reparation as at present.

S. Clarke,
J. L. Ingoldsby,
W. Carter.

22 April, 1653.

Daniel McNamara having proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners that the tythes (in kind) which he held on lease and farmed in Tomgraney and Moynoe, were taken away by the Thories, he is allowed in abatement the value of the same.

23 April, 1653.

Upon reading the petition of Samuel Burton, and consideration had thereupon, forasmuch as the said Burton is an Englishman, and purposes to come and plant here, and is at great loss in his stock by the Thories under command of Colonel Morthew Bryne, he hath received little or no satisfaction in regard of the poverty of his strong castle, &c., &c.

Likewise upon consideration had of the poverty and disabilities of the Barony of Islands where Mr. Burton lived. For the better encouragement of Mr. Burton to live, and plant, and make improvement in said barony, we do accordingly order that the certainty of forty shillings per mensem given to said S. Burton be continued, and remain in full force for one whole year.

3 May.

Military at Bunratty to assist T. Clancy in collecting rates.

John McNamara petitions for a survey of *Rath-la-hine*, to make a return in what condition it is at present, and what it may be worth over and above county charges per annum for three years, that we may proceed to let the same to petitioners accordingly.

6 May, 1653.

The Lady McMaughoon's petitioners ordered that she shall be free from paying any contribution for self or servants in the place where she now is, and have liberty to go to Clanderla Barony and the nearest commander to protect her from overcharges.

9 May, 1653.

On petition of James McNamara, and Jourdan Bourke, and the inhabitants of Innish (Ennis).

Ordered that Defendant appear on the 19th that we may order and determine the matter in difference; and meantime defendant's goods and chattels are to remain sequestered upon the hands of Captain Porter, that same be not embezzled.

May 16th.

The Order for glebe lands upon certain Governors of the whole county of Lymerick. Ordered that the rent of such glebe lands as are set free from contribution be allowed unto the barony (where such glebe land lyes) towards the payment of its contribution, &c.

12th May.

(This order demonstrates the continuance of that state of things which had been growing under the iron rule of the military and civil administration of the grinding conquerors): Upon serious consideration had of the *present poverty and disability of the whole county Clare, and the starving condition which the few poor remaining inhabitants are in*, and the impossibility there is of getting in the monthly contribution charged upon the said county by the commands of Parliament—*their whole substance being engaged for their arrears hitherto.*

It is thought fit and ordered, that from the 27th of May, 1653, the said county be charged with the monthly sum of until the further pleasure of the Commissioners of of England for the affairs of Ireland, be known therein.

H. Ingoldsby,
W. Skinner,
S. Clarke.

18th May.

Lieut. Colpuise, or Colpoys, ordered to be free of tax, &c., outside the barony he resides in, as he has necessity to remove unto the Islands of Innishmore, in Barony of Islands.

18th May.

Sir Danl. O'Brien has four cows restored to him, and Sam. Burton ordered to restore same.

25th May.

The Governors of the adjacent garrisons are desired and authorized to be aiding and assisting to the petitioner (Richard Bourke), in recovering his just demands *for tythes* and other public dues, &c., in justice, and *for the advancement of the revenue.*

30th May.

Ordered that Captain Cockayne do make a survey of two town lands of Moyfearta, the town land of Killballyhone, with other plow lands adjoining, and make a return thereof, that we may dispose of the same to Lieut.-Col. Napper and Lieut. Wade, who are in the meantime to enter into possession.

31st May.

Ordered that Mr. Savage and Mr. Horton paying the impost for the three months past, for the excise of the Barony of Islands, shall be disengaged from same for future, and said barony be caused against the next Monday, 6th June, of which Captain Greene is to take notice.

Gyles Vandalur (*sic*), is authorized from time to time to join with the other applotters of the Barony of Bunratty for the public business.

3rd June, 1653.

On the petition of Thomas Donough.

A Poor Minister (!!)

The petitioner finding out a tenement that is *not* already disposed of or set to any other, he is to be preferred to any tennary (*sic*) thereof, and may enter thereinto; and to compound for and take out his lease for such reasonable time as *we* shall think fit.

W. R.—C. Car., W.S.K.

(Certes, this was a great act of condescension and of liberality "to a *poor* minister.")

1st June.

It is hereby ordered that glebe lands of Kilkeedy be not charged or assessed.

5th June.

The Commissioners of the Commonwealth will not allow abatement ordered in May last to county of Clare as begarred (*sic*), but will insist on arrear of bal. 150*l.* being at once made up, and the full money be paid in future, which instructions in that behalf are not to fail.

(Bad news this for beggared Clare, now in like case with the brick-makers in Egypt, whom the taskmasters did oppress.)

1st June.

Survey ordered of the lands of Gortontubrid and Bally England, for Cornet John Gore, Sir E. Fitzgerald to appear and object if he have anything.

7th June.

Teige O'Mollona's cow strayed, and was tracked to Bunratty, where her *skin*, &c. was found,—the inhabitants of Bunratty to make satisfaction for same in 3*l.*

11th June.

Finella Burke, alias McNemarra, licensed to remove to her estate in Lymerick county out of Clare, her husband having been murdered and her lands in Clare waste, also allowance for payment in Clare if made.

11th June.

Ordered to enquire at what rent Cornet Bentley holds the mill at Lymerick.

14th June.

The arrest of John O'Dea, of Dysert, ordered "until he deliver out the engagement Mac-en-Chroe."

16th June.

Clare to be taxed for monthly contribution and equally charged with Lymerick city (P. Creaghe, Mayor). Notice given to Aldermen Fitzandrew, Stacpoole, and the rest.

21st June.

Upon debate concerning the canting of tythes.

Resolved and ordered:—

1. That Englishmen shall have the tythes of their own lands at 20*s.* the English acre of tythes without canting.

2. Upon further debate had, whether Englishmen shall have the tythes of their lands at the rate in such parishes where there are impropriations belonging to an Englishman—whereof two parts belong to the State, viz., the one-third part which formerly belonged to the Vicar, and another one-third part taken from the impropriators in lieu of contribution.

3. Resolved upon, that where there is an English interest besides the impropriation, the impropriator is to have one-third part of said lands, two parts at the rate of 20*s.* per acre, and the Englishman to have the other one-third part of his own and his tenants' improvements at the rate aforesaid. And where there is no English interest, the impropriator is to have the whole, viz., his own part and the other two parts at 20*s.* per acre.

4. Upon debate, whether those (English) who have impropriations shall be admitted to enjoy the same,

Resolved in affirmative, until further warrants further ordering the contrary.

21st.

Survey of Clare and Lymerick ordered to be presented immediately.

25th.

Captain (Joseph) Cuffe (one of the Ballyalla defenders), authorized to cut and carry timber to repair Castle Mungret, from Castle Connell woods, Cuffe being tenant to the Commonwealth Castle, Mungret.

30th July.

Upon the petition of John Andrew, *minister* of the Gospel to the Commissioners. (N.B.—This is one of *their own* gospellers, whose name is down in the list for Precinct of Lymerick, thus: "Rathkeele, John Andrews, 120*l.*" How they treated, indeed snubbed him, under the peculiar conditions, is almost amusing, and reminds one of the line in Juvenal, "Donec Bythino libeat vigilare tyranno.") "In regard *through other more urgent affairs, we cannot as yet meet for hearing and settling* the petitioner's demands, in order to (have) the Right Honourable the Commander Generals (?) Their order of reference in that behalf, and in regard it is the time of harvest, and the corn of the place may be reaped, disposed of, embezzled, so as the petitioner shall be bereaved of his right for this year of his tythes now due. Therefore, we hereby order that so much of the said corn and tythes of the Rectory of Browry (Bruree) and Bullyhyward, as may belong to the petitioners, *be*

by YOU *sequestered and secured in your hands until further orders. To Mr. Robert Cox, Esq., or whom he may appoint.*

(Did poor Andrew get the corn and tythes out of Cox? How did he live till such luck befel him? or, could he get it without Cox?)

Two distressed orphans (Roches) are allowed immediately to take possession of the small "cadge-work" (sic) house, situated on the east side of High Street.

Martin and Carter may cut turf.

15th.

Boetius D'Avorem has sowed corn on lands of Knockfyn, and claims leave to cut and carry.

18th.

Teigè O'Brien, of Kilmastulla, had his whole residence and substance here. Claims protection. Granted, if his arrears are paid.

22nd July, 1653.

(A hope for Clare in extremity.)

The Commissioners are satisfied that Clare is so destitute, and the substance so slender, that the contribution is reduced as before

But the deficiency is made up thus, viz.:—to be supplied out of the one half of the tythes *not* appointed for the maintenance of hospitals, for maimed soldiers, whereof the Treasurer of the Revenue in this precinct is to take notice.

Upon the petition of D. O'Kerin and the rest of the inhabitants of Inichiquine,

Ordered that the petition be referred to Captain Cullen, Lieut. Rosse St. John, the Governor of Ennis, *pro tem.*, Loughlin McInerney, Richard White, or any two or more of them, are desired and authorized, calling the Trustees and the within-named

Hugh McEuchroe (=Crowe, now of Dromore),

a trustee, before them, with all their proofs and evidences, serious (sic) to consider of the matter of fact of the petition.

5th August.

Quartermaster James' assignment of 178*l.* is in arrear, and he is authorized to distrain all such persons as are in arrears.

9th October.

The Inhabitants of Barony of Islands.

In consideration of very great losses sustained by petitioners from thoroughfare of the Army in 1651, the petition is favourably presented to the Right Hon. the Commissioners for the Commonwealth.

Considering that the petitioners are brought to *a very low condition by reason of the heavy contribution and to the taxes laid upon them*, and so take leave.

NAT. WILMER,'
WM. RUMSEY.

NOTE.—(A curious inscription in Ennis Old Church indicates that the Creaghes were not so very thankful as expected.)

19th September.

Pierce Creaghe, petitioner.

Whereas it appears that Pierce Creaghe Fitzandrew, of Lymerick, alderman, being employed as Receiver-General for the Irish, is to be banished this nation. Considering the promises made to Creaghe by the late Lord Deputy Ireton, for his good service done by him, and his appearing in the beginning of the Rebellion on the behalf of the English, to the hazard of his life, and great prejudice of his estate, as appears by testimony and report. He is declared free from censure of banishment, and permitted to remain. And as to his estate, it is referred to the Commissioners of Revenue (for) to him to enjoy such part of his estate as is indisposed of, he paying contribution.

20th September.

Order to Captain Stearne to cut and from any adjacent woods, timber, to repair the garrisons herein-named, provided this be not under this pretence for any other purposes.

Garrisons in margin, viz.:—

1. Ralahine.
2. Cloghenabeg.
3. Danginnybracke.
4. Bryan's Castle.
5. Irchicronene.
6. Inchiquine.
7. Dysert.
8. Smithstown.

(This list is very important, as it exhibits the lines of communication, and the disposition of so much of the forces.)

20th October.

Henry Supple and The Thories. } By annexed certificate of Capt. Wilkinson it appears that the petitioners had brought in to Lt.-Col. Flower *three* Thories who were condemned. These are therefore, in pursuance of a late proclamation for apprehending Thories—and to require payment of said money as remains in your hands to issue for the within-payments to the said Henry Supple, the sum of 6*l.* for taking and bringing in said Thories—being 40*s.* for each man, and this with receipt of petitioner, and the annexed certificate to be your warrant—

3rd 9ber.

For as much as the sum of 40*s.* hath been expended in the reparation of the garrison of Mougani (query, Moughana) by Sargt. Thomas Powell, you are therefore required immediately upon sight hereof to pay 40*s.* to Sargt. Powell and not to fail.

To applotters of Corcomroe.

4th 9ber.

Order to Henry Earl of Bath to receive and enjoy, &c., within this precinct.

9th Nov.

John Dwyer, one of the late Attorneys in this precinct, being put and secluded from his practice, hath no further or more dealings, commerce, or interest in this city than one chamber to lodge in, where he paid rent, he being exempted from contribution.

15th Nov.

L. O'Hehir took six Thories, of whom five were hanged and one transported, whereby there accrued to him 12*l.*, order for payment.

21st Nov., 1653.

On the petition of the poor fishermen of Killaloe—

It is ordered that petitioners be not taxed or charged with any manner of tax, charge, or contribution, other than what is taxed upon them for applotment in Banroy, who are required to take special care that they be not overcharged.

23rd Nov.

Town Major, Isaac Granyer, has due an arrear of 23*l.* 10*s.*

(This was one of the Dutchmen from Kilrush.)

Mr. William Bennis (name still found in Limerick) ordered to assist Mr. Martin in filling up entries, &c.

William Thorne's petition, disposing his house for use of State. (This name is still found near Bird Hill.)

24th November.

Lieut. Chafe to make speedy satisfaction to Connor O'Mollowney.

9th December, 1653.

Upon the petition of the poor inhabitants of the parish of Islands, a meeting at Ennis was ordered of the Commissioners for applotment, and their oath taken as to "inability to pay," and "so much abatement allowed," and an oath taken "of their own and the substance of each barony."

10th December, 1653.

Barony of Owney. Ordered that Mr. John Ryan be dismissed from being applotter, and Teige O'Byrne or Captain Barrington be appointed, if he doth undertake to act in his stead.

The inhabitants of Owney Barony. We desire and authorize Captain Barrington and Lieut. Rose, with the former referees, viz.—

Cornet Andrews,
Quarter-Master Cockdell,

to arrange for arrears.

20th December.

A proclamation forbidding the transplanted Irish cross the Shannon by bridge, by boat, or by swimming cattle, until their applotments were assigned, *on pain of forfeiture.*

Here must close such notices as may be allowable in this work concerning the civil and military administration under the Cromwellian system; and this, taken in connexion with the

religious intolerance essential to the system, and with the transplantation and payment of arrears by lands, and all these conditions being duly estimated as crowning a career of terrible and bloody victory over the rebellious Keltic and Roman Catholic population, it is not an unwarranted conclusion that while, as a policy of retribution, "the curse of Cromwell" was a rare success, indeed, "a burden from the Lord," yet this same "curse of Cromwell" has left behind bleeding wounds and rankling memories which for two centuries have been welling up in the fond and cherished folk-lore of our Keltic firesides, and filling with gall and bitterness the hearts of Irishmen at home and abroad, to the incalculable detriment of English interests in Ireland and, of what are infinitely more precious, the interests and extension of the pure old faith of the Gospel, which at the first and for a long time had free course and was glorified. But this was the alternative put before England: that there must be either a successful rebellion and general *massacre* of the English and Protestants, or else, if all this was to be put down sternly and with a high hand, the Roman Catholic Irish survivors were evermore to raise an outcry of the shocking *martyrdom* which their piety and patriotism had brought upon them at the hands of blood-stained England.

One topic more may suffice for this sketch of the Diocese of Killaloe under the Usurpation. The number of English and of Protestants of course diminished considerably in the period of 18 years, from 1641 to 1659. In the precis given at the foot of Mr. Hardinge's Paper, read March 16, 1865, before R. I. A., there were in Clare of the English race 440; of Irish, 16,474. But if fair account be taken of Protestants and English in Clare in 1641, they must have been at least double this number, as may be judged from the many castles they held, and the lands they occupied, also from the numbers besieged, slain, and fugitives, as well as from the tradesmen in the towns, the farmers in the country parts, and the colonists brought in by Earl Thomond, not forgetting the number of the parochial clergy.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

The Usurpation having terminated with the life of Oliver Cromwell, who was its main support and centre, all honest men rejoiced when the reign of sanctimonious intolerance and grasping ambition had come to an end. But it requires no slight effort of mind to associate with King Charles II. anything wise or good in Church or State, and especially in the minds of those who have been at once shocked and fascinated by the pictures of the profligate Court and awful death-scene of this worthless Monarch, so boldly drawn and highly coloured by that chief of pictorial and romantic historians, Lord Macaulay.

The Diocese of Killaloe, like so many more, having been for years without a Bishop, "on the 27th day of January, 1660," the ceremonial of consecrating twelve Bishops took place in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin. It is remarkable that in the procession of "the men of worth, learning, and abilities, zealously affected to the constitution of this Church, and well qualified to maintain their possession, who were selected to fill up the highest ecclesiastical preferments" (Carte II., 207; also, Bramhall's Life, and Taylor's Sermon at Funeral of Primate), the following order was observed:—

The Bishops elect, in their albs.

The Juniors preceding.

And first among these, as Junior, not in years, but in Diocesan rank, walked "Edward Worth, D.D., Bishop elect of Killaloe."

This "Edward Worth was the son of James Worth (clerc), of Newmarket, Co. Cork, whose father was Jasper Worth, of Tytherington (*sic*), in the parish of Prestbury and Coy. of Cheshire, where the family had resided, as we learn from Lysons (Cheshire, p. 732), upwards of 300 years." (Mason's St. Patrick, Cath., 205, note.) Anxious to obtain as much information as could be gathered from the best sources, the writer made an application to Mr. Helsby, the learned Editor of Ormerod's Cheshire—a work of extraordinary fulness and ability—and this gentleman courteously stated in reply, "that he has no doubt that the Bishop was the grandson of Jasper Worth, of Titherington and of Worth, originally a family of perhaps six centuries' standing, like most Cheshire families. But there is no proof (Mr. Helsby continues) that he is aware of as to Bishop Worth's connection. He was, perhaps, grandson, or son of Thomas, a brother of Jasper." The Worth family must have been in prosperous circumstances, as appears from the large quantity of lands standing in the name of the Bishop in the Abstract of Grants, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. (15 Report Record Commissioners, p. 337.)*

The Bishop had two sons, one Dean of St. Patrick's; the other became a Baron of the Exchequer, of whom Mr. Harris, in William the Third's Life, writes in disparaging terms for the part he took in the establishment of the Court of Claims.

In reference to the line of action taken by Dr. Worth, in Cork, during the Usurpation, an allusion has been made by the late Dr. Reid, in his History of Presbyterianism. It may be better, instead of relying on partial statements, or dealing in indiscriminate censures, to give the original authorities in full, from which an exact and impartial account may be gathered of the whole transaction.

In "Moses in the Mount, being Several Works of Mr.

* In Abstract of Grants of Lands by Commissioners of Grace, edited by Mr. G. Hatchell, is a large quantity of land in Lower Ormond, Owney, and Arra, Upper Ormond, to the name of William Worth, Esq. There is also a very curious incidental allusion, in another branch of Mr. Worth's possessions, to the destructive methods of fishing used on the Shannon at that time:—"The fishing, *fire-fishing*, net-fishing, and weirs between Sheriffe Point on Thomond side, and Dromineer Point, in Tipperary, on the North," &c., &c., are conveyed.

John Murcot, &c. London, 1657," at page 16 the following occurs :—

Some time after Joseph Eyres came out of England to Youghall, upon the account of his own personal concernments, and resolved, after the expiration of some months, to return to London; but, preaching occasionally at Cork, the inhabitants desire his stay, and exercise of his ministry amongst them; and so much the rather because at that time the *Ministers of the County of Cork were articled against.* A petition was presented to the authority there, which, to the sadning of the souls of the righteous, met not with a desired compliance. However, Mr. Eyres was ingaged to continue there till addresses should be made to the superior powers at Dublin.

In order hereto a fast is appointed; Doctor Worth, Mr. Hacket, and Mr. Eyres preached and prayed; the product of which was an unanimous resolution in the people to send Mr. Mark Taylor (a man of known integrity, zeal for God, and love to the truth) to Dublin with a petition to the Commissioners of Parliament, the tenour of which was an humble request that they might have Mr. Murcot and Mr. Eyres settled amongst them. The Commissioners are more inclinable to Mr. Murcot's removal than the inhabitants of Dublin, who are loath to part with a clear and steady light in times of distraction, confusion, and doleful defection from the truth. Wherefore the city petitions the authority for his stay, yet are willing to s[illegible] are him for two months. So that Mr. Taylor hath his company down to Cork, and the people of that and other places the benefit of his ministry, whose doctrine dropping as the rain, and distilling as the dew, caused a greenness and verdure to appear upon some parched mountains of pride, vanity, and profaneness, and a re-flourishing in such precious plants as were now in a languishing condition for want of those refreshing showers which, after a time of drought, were the more welcome to him, and the more fruitfully improved by them. During the time of his abode in Cork, and visible success there, an unhappy accident fell out, whereby the minds of the attentive people (who now began to look about them, and to mind the things belonging to their peace) were wofully distracted, and the free progress and passage of the Gospel impeded, and that was his engagement with Dr. Harding about Infant Baptism, an account whereof take (*sic*) under his own hand, sent in a letter to a friend in Dublin :—

A Brief Narrative of the Discourse between Dr. Harding and Dr. Worth and myself, and the occasion thereof.

Formerly Dr. Worth and some others had a conference with Dr. Harding and some others touching Infants' Baptism, and, being not satisfied herewith, Dr. Harding did provoke Dr. Worth to a further debate about it. And, to omit many other passages not worth the mentioning, Thursday, May 19th, after my sermon at Peter's, Dr. Harding publikely produced a question (which before he had sent to Dr. Worth), and bore the people in hand he was willing to dispute it with Dr. Worth, and that Dr. Worth was unwilling; though, indeed, the

question was such a confused heap that it is no wonder if neither Dr. Worth nor any other rational man would undertake it, viz., whether the practice of Dr. Worth and other pretended ministers of Jesus Christ in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in sprinkling of infants, were according to the mind of Christ, and so be proved and approved by the primitive Churches, or to this purpose, I am sure, for all the substantials of it. If Dr. Worth undertakes this, then every rational man sees what confusion he is involved in; if not, then the people must believe he declines disputing with him.

It is doubtful Dr. Harding did not much matter which way it had gone; he had his ends either way. I conceive Dr. Worth declined his question as stated by himself, and offered to dispute upon either of these two, viz.:—

1. Whether any infants ought to be baptized, holding the affirmative. 2. Whether persons duly baptized in infancy ought to be rebaptized when adult, holding the negative. Dr. Harding refused both, and nothing would serve him but his confused heap of questions in one—a known fallacy. After much contest, *pro* and *con*, I was grieved to see so little candor as I conceived in Dr. Harding, and took the boldness to request of him to satisfy the congregation that to the first of the two he would say I or no. When Dr. Worth pressed him to it many times, he would not answer; no sooner had I spoken, but he said to Mr. Murcot he would say, No; that is, that no infants were to be baptized; and, to satisfie the congregation, would maintain it against me, though not against him. This much troubled me, it being so beside my intention and against my resolution to turn aside from the main work to anything of this nature. And, indeed, it did, I doubt (through the subtility of the wicked one), put that sermon out of the people's minds, and prevent them of another the next week.

I did long refuse it, telling him—He did but now challenge all men and why not undertake Dr. Worth as well as me, except he fought for victory more than thruth; but at last I yielded to undertake with Dr. Worth though I must be forlorn.

The next Thursday, that is May 26, as I remember was set for it, the question was agreed upon then a week before and the manner of managing it, by way of Syllogism, not long discourses which lead people in a maize. The time came and yet (notwithstanding former arguments in the face of the congregation) there was so little candour shewed as that two hours I am confident were spent before I could bring him to agree to the question and manner of discoursing it. A sad omen what the issue was like to be: all that he urged for the negative (which according to promise at last I prevailed with him to defend) was that there was no command or example, or thus,—no institution, warrant nor example for it in the Gospel *ergo*. It was answered, There was express warrant for baptism in the Gospel and consequential warrant for the circumstance of time, the age of the subject. After a cavil (rather than an argument), that for the time it must be in the womb, or after birth and then before the eighth day, or upon it, or after it, which were as easily answered as said; the result was, he

denyed my consequential Gospel warrant for the time, and truly this was all he had to say against us there. Now I was put to prove a consequential warrant for infants' baptism from the Gospel. I first laid down Matt. 28—19 to argue from a Scripture—and argued that from thence there was warrant to baptise all disciples whatsoever, and infants were disciples, ergo; I put not the arguments in form in this narrative; much cavilling there was about discipling. He would have it only such disciples as could learn and that infants were not disciples according to Mat. 28. Dr. Worth urged according to that before, if the word μαθητευω signify all disciples whatsoever, then infants are such as are there intended but the former is true ergo. Here Mr. Hacket unadvisedly tore a piece of the paper upon which the arguments were written, thinking he had torn off only a syllogism of his own which he had written not willing to appear in the dispute in writing.

It seems some letter of Dr. Harding's writing was on the other side, or of mine which Mr. Hacket saw not, else I believe would not have torn it. At this the Dr. takes occasion to break off, crying out of perfidiousness, which the Lord knows was nothing but an ignorance. I am sure to me it was so. He knew the best time to give over even before we came to the pitch of controversie, so the people went away as much unsatisfied as they came, except it were of the want of ingenuity (ingenuousness) in carrying of it on. I am sure I was not a little troubled we should tire ourselves and the people in six hours discourse to so little purpose. I hope it will be a warning to me for the future the Dr. being full at stomack the last Lord's Day in the morning at St. Peter's names a text Heb. 6 beginning, laies it aside instead of a sermon calls for pen and paper writes down the following 13 arguments of infants baptizm, professing (I suppose else, I know not to what end he took that pain) to maintain the negative against all these grounds, thus he entertained the congregation he had to the wearying of some of them, and sent the paper to Dr. Worth or in his absence to me, but with no intimation to what end, as I remember—the arguments are as followeth:—

Paedobap is Assert.

1. Circumcisi Sunt baptizandi.
   At —— gò.
2. Discipuli (οἱ μαθητευόμενοι).
   At —— gò.
3. Πᾶντα ἔθνη, baptizandi.
   Critic S. (Quere Critici Sacri).
   At —— gò.
4. Familiae,
   At —— gò.
5. Sancti.
   At —— gò
6. Foederati.
   At —— gò.
7. Sanctificati.
   At —— gò.

8. Filii Die.
   At —— gò.
9. Christiani.
   At —— gò.
10. Haeredes Regni.
    At —— gò.
11. Privilegiati, Seu privilegio peculiari Supra caeteros. (The next word I cannot read.)
    At —— gò.
12. Traditio seu consuetudo.
    At —— gò.
13. Promissum (επαγγελια).

These I received about half an hour before I went to preach in the afternoon, which (though some distraction to my thoughts) I resolved to say nothing, but to mind that I prepared for the people's greater edification; only by way of preface I let the people know I had received such a paper of arguments for infants' baptism, some whereof I owned, and some not; but in the general I said what was said of Bellarmine, that he had brought more arguments against himself than he could answer. So I thought of these, and cautioned the people to beware what doctrine they did embrace, and gave some other suitable counsel to them.

And so I fell upon my intended sermon. This is the true state of the matter for the substance, which I thought good to send, conceiving there might be occasion for it there. I. M.

As for Murcot himself (the subject of prayer having been alluded to) the language of his biographer, in the quaint phrases of the day, runs thus:—

Page 12, "Jonah's prayer was a *line* to pluck him up out of the deep, Murcot's a *bladder* to keep him and many others from sinking into it. He got a 'feavour' after preaching on the fast day before the Commissioners of Parliament, and was near death, until his nurse mingling some sack (of course not 'an intolerable quantity') his wasted spirits were refreshed therewith, and the fever left him"—as so often in like cases, the insane system of bleeding and starvation being eschewed.

One word more of Murcot, "He manifested his affections for Cork, by procuring an order for the repairing of Christ's Church and settling Mr. Eyres in it"—the ministers of course being "generally articled against"—snubbed, starved, and silenced.

In the Report of Dr. Russell and Mr. Prendergast on the Carte papers, at p. 106 is a very interesting letter to Sir G. Lane, of date 21 January, 1660-1, which elucidates the case of Dr. Worth, and makes it evident and passing all doubt that Dr. Worth had *in some degree committed himself* during the usurpation period, although it is hardly possible that he could be supposed to have gone so far in compromising himself and his Church as Dr. Read would have it believed:—

The Primate to Sir G. Lane.

21 January, 1660-1.

Sir—After the general consecration is done to-morrow, and so many of the public affairs despatched, I hope I shall have a little more leisure. I send you herein enclosed our intended form of consecration. The Lords Justice, Council, Convention will be all present. Your father is a good Protestant, and we have a good Protestant, &c. We have had *some exceptions against the Bp of Clogher and the Lord Elect of Killaloe.* But I have ended them all with a general consent, and in the presence of all the Bishops absolved the Bishop of Clogher for his irregularity.

The Bishop of Clogher had joined the army, acting as muster-master, and adopting Presbyterian principles. But the Bishop Elect of Killaloe had not gone so far, and no mention is made of his being absolved; and it must have been from his having given occasion for reproach from his co-operation with the Independents in Cork, though never nominated as one of their ministers, or even assistants, or taking the payments which such received.

Before entering upon the subjects more especially belonging to the diocesan affairs in this reign, a brief notice may be taken of the legalizing of the Liturgy. The Parliamentary Commissioners, on June 24th, 1647, having issued an order, *on their sole authority*, for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and for the observance of the Directory, the Parliament of Charles II. availed themselves of the earliest opportunity for manifesting their sentiments upon the late course of public affairs, and showing their horror of an Usurpation under which the Church and the Monarchy had both fallen.

Accordingly, the two Houses of Parliament concurred in pronouncing a judgment of stern reprobation of "the Solemn League and Covenant," to the introduction and prevalence of which they ascribed the late rebellion, and which they ordered to be branded with the marks of the greatest ignominy, pronouncing a justification of it to be an act of hostility and injury to the King, the Church, and the Kingdom. As to the rejection of the Directory, "*a meagre and latitudinarian code of instructions to the Puritanical clergy*," as Dr. A. J. Stephens calls it, the further remarks of this eminently learned civilian upon the acceptance of the Liturgy are not less worthy of attention: "The reception of the *English* Common Prayer-book was not forced on this Church, but originated with itself in the acts of its own Convocation." He adds: "It is an extraordinary fact that *no Prayer-book* belonging to the Church of *Ireland* is recognised in the Irish Act of Uniformity, and that the only Book of Common Prayer that is recognised is that of the Church of *England*. It is true that in all the editions of the statutes it is stated to be 'The Book of Common Prayer according to the use of the Church of *Ireland*,' but the Editor [Dr. A. J. Stephens] has recently examined the MS. statute deposited in the Rolls' Office at Dublin, from which it appears that the *printed*

statutes of the realm have given A FALSE representation of that record." One point more from a letter by the learned E. Stopford, Bishop of Meath, 1849, may be noted: "As to how much of our present Prayer-book is to be considered as *law*; the *Preface, however good, is not part of the Prayer-book*, as sanctioned by Convocation and the Legislature in Ireland, neither that part immediately following the Preface, 'concerning the service of the Church,' nor yet 'of ceremonies, why some should be abolished and some retained.' *These all give excellent advice, but are not to be quoted as law.*" The Prayer-book begins with the two orders, viz, "The order how the psalter," &c., and the order "How the rest of the Holy Scripture," &c. (MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland, A. J. Stephens' Introduction.) But, at the same time, it is only just to state that while the consecration of the Bishops was delayed owing to the time required for the making of "a new Great Seal," a kind of anti-Church reaction was got up by the adventurers and officers, civil and military, in behalf "of the godly ministers of the Gospel, that they might be continued and countenanced." Sir Thos. Stanley, Colonel Lehunte, and other officers quartered about Cashel, were very zealous in promoting a petition of this nature, sending *it into all the baronies of the county Tipperary*, and pressing all persons to sign it. (Carte II., 209.) But, then, be it remembered that the non-encouragement—and, in fact, the non-establishment—of these teachers was a thing very different from the active plundering and the systematic persecution which the Church clergy met at the hands of Presbyterians and of Independents, as they had power.

The state in which Bishop Worth found the Diocese, and especially the temporalities of it, is fortunately not altogether beyond the reach of observation. Although the documents connected with this and the former times in this Diocese are few and yield but scanty information, also collateral sources of information are, in fact, not known or in existence, some few authentic and contemporaneous authorities have been secured and laid under contribution, from which items of interest may be gathered. These are:—"An Accompt of all the Lands and other Profits belonging to the Bishop of Killalow, collected by me [Ed. Laonensis], 1661, so far as I could get Information." (This is an autograph private account-book of Bishop Worth's,

most kindly placed at the Writer's disposal by Dr. Wm. Fitzgerald, Lord Bishop of Killaloe. It is a small vellum-bound book, in 12mo., written in a hand rather even than fine, though not illegible, and is carefully paginated.) "The Chapter Book of the Cathedral of St. Flannan," commencing at p. 1, with the date May 4, 1661. The entries are in Latin to the 44th page. A page is lost between 9 and 11, and an entry on p. 11 states that "the old Chapter Book was stolen," which seems an allusion to some words in the text. The entries continue to A.D. 1842. "The Primary Visitation of Dr. Thos. (Price), Archbishop of Cashel, in 1667." This is now in the Record Office, Dublin, and its title is, "Visitatio primaria Thomæ Cassel, &c., Archiepus habit in Cathed S S Flanani 29 Sept. 1667." Another source of information which may be made available in sufficient time is the large collection of records of the Consistorial Court of Killaloe, discharged from the Cathedral, and now fallen into private hands.

Possibly some private letters and family papers may also throw an occasional ray of light athwart the gloomy and buried past of this troubled and dreary reign.

"The Order of Bishops and use of the Liturgy having been preserved" (see Carte II. 207), the King gave orders for the settling of all *impropriate* and *forfeited* tythes in his disposal upon the respective incumbents of the parishes where they lay. This was a confirmation of what the late King had granted to the clergy of Ireland, and what the Marquis of Ormond did not fail effectually to solicit. But though Ormond may have solicited this, not much came out of it for some time. Indeed, one grand feature attaches to this reign. And no one has described this so well as Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, who knew Ireland intimately in this reign as Lord Lieutenant. "This country has been perpetually rent and torn since his Majesty's restoration. I can compare it to nothing better than the flinging the reward upon the death of a deer among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself, for indeed it has been no other than a perpetual scramble" (Letters, 278 p.) But out of the scramble the following at length reached the Church in Killaloe.

It was not until 1673 (see Erck's I. E. Register, 1830, p. 211), that "all the impropriate or appropriate tythes forfeited to, or

vesting in his Majesty by the Act of Explanation, or otherwise escheating to him in right of his Crown, were by a clause in said Act for ever settled and established on the present and future incumbents having actual care of souls in the respective parishes wherein the said tythes arose." In pursuance whereof the King, by privy seal, dated July 4, and by patent, 5 July, 1675, to John (Roan), Bishop of Killaloe, and his successors, granted *in trust* for the clergy of this Diocese the following impropriate tythes:—

The farm of the Rectory of Nenagh als Enagh, at a rent of 2*l.*; farm two-thirds improp. tythe; Lisbunny 3*l.*; two parts Knigha 1*l.* 8*s.*; two-thirds; Boreskeyne at 2*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*; do. Boreslebeg 13*s.* 3½*d.*; Ardcroney at 10*s.*; all which formerly belonged to Lewis Walsh, found nocent., and the farm of two-thirds impropriate tythes of Killodernane at 4*s.* 9½*d.* Part of Tyone, the property of John Grace, nocent.

Also to like trust and like uses were granted by privy seal, July 4, 1673, and by patent, 1680—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Rectories, &c., Ballinegrannanagh and Dallyandive at	1	7	11¼
Cloughprior	1	7	11¼
Killodernane	0	13	0⅓
Killeroan, als Kilruane	1	7	11¼
Ballyvakie, als Ballymackey	2	12	2
Templederry, als Templedire	0	9	4
all in County Tipperary. Also in King's County or Tipperary—			
Cowlenewane, als Cullenoan	0	9	4
Templeneharry	0	7	4¾
Dunkerrin	1	7	11¾
Ballynecashelane, als Castletown	0	16	9¼
Ramoveogue, als Rathinoveogg	0	11	2¼
Roscree, als Roscrea	1	17	3
all situate in Tipperary.			
Rectories and Tythes of Etagh	0	16	9¼
Rosmoroe, als Roscomroe	0	1	10⅓
Teyneraine, als Synroane, als Rossinroane ...	0	6	6½
situated in King's County and Tipperary.			

All which, forming parcels of the estate of the late Abbey or Monastery of Nenagh, were granted by patent, dated 14th September, 1669, by the names of all the impropriations belonging to the late Abbey of Tyhone, in County Tipperary, to Robert Boyle, Esq., for a term of 61 years, from 17th April, 1662. (So Robert Boyle had to disgorge this much.)

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Also the Rectories, Churches, Tythes of Stradbally, als			
Castle Connel	4	6	6
Vicarage of Kilmore Magdalen	1	0	0
in Limerick or Tipperary.			

The tythes of Annaghmore at 4*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, in Co. Clare, and being part of Athassell Abbey estate, were, by patent, 13th September, 1606, demised to Theobald, Viscount Butler, of Tullyophelim, for 61 years, from September 1, 1621, saving to James, Duke of Ormonde, his right to Stradbally and Annaghmore. The aforesaid rectories and tythes were granted to the Bishop of Killaloe and his successors in trust for use of incumbents having actual cure of souls wherein the same arose and renewed. The said incumbents not only paying such rents, reservations, and duties as were formerly paid for same, but such increase of rent as the Chief Governor and Privy Council should adjudge reasonable within two years from the time of this enactment, and not after. *Act of Settlement and Inrolment.*

Having now evidence of the good wishes of Bishop John Rider for the adequate endowment of the clergy, being in some small degree realized after many days, we must take a look into Bishop Worth's book for an account of the lands at present in his possession.

BARONY OF TULLA.

After a list of houses and plots in Killaloe, let for 18*l.* 15*s.* a-year.

Ballwallie, 1 qr., is set for 21 years at 6*l.* per annum, with conditions and reservations usual in his leases.

Moigh, 1 qr. Two acres of bog in controversy with Earl of Inchiquin. This qr. hath been usually kept in Bishop's own hands, as most convenient for his own family, yet he finds it set to Henry Boseman for 12*l.* during Bishop Rider's life.

The Ferry. This and the Green Island (6 October, 1613) was set to Sir T. O'Brien for 21 years at 18*s.* yearly. A lease of the same was granted to D. and C. O'Brien, 1635, for 21 years, at 2*l.* yearly rent, with other conditions. Whilst *Captain Graham, during the usurped powers, held the Bishop's estate,* he suffered Mr. Barkley, who was tenant of Ballina, to enjoy one-half of the profits of this ferry. But when (writes Bishop Worth) I came to be Bishop, and found as well by the said lease as by the rent-roll of Bishop Rider, that the ferry indefinitely (sic) belonged to the Bishop, I declared my right to the whole, whereon Mr. Barclay, to prevent me, seized on the boat, April ult., 1661, with ye help of souldiers, and chained it to a post at Ballina. I intended to have prosecuted him for this force, but Major Thompson, at that time landlord of Ballina, and Mr. Gavin Barclay (clerke), father of the said Mr. Barclay, engaged themselves to refer this difference to Sir Jerome Alexander and Mr. Shaplest, before whom we debated our respective claims, upon which, and upon examining the patent granted for those lands of Ballina to Mac O'Brien, and not finding any express mention of said ferry in said grant, they freely yielded to my right, and submitted themselves to my pleasure for satisfaction of the rent of the year last past, being 6*l.* sterling, whereof I was contented to forgive Barclay

one-half. And he accordingly hereupon at my order delivered the ferry boat to Mahon O'Nihill his partners, to whom I have set the same for this year at the rent of 16*l.* sterling, with other additions.

(The Gavin Barclay above, whose son seized on the Bishop's ferry boat, was the Independent Minister, who seems to have lingered on, and certainly acted in a proper manner on the trying occasion.)

THE FISHING WEARES.

These and two *nights'* fishing of Polekleranne to belong to the Bishop, and valued at 6*l.*, he sets for the year to Mahon O'Neill and Co. for 28*l.* sterling, with conditions to bring down his timber wood, and perform certain requirements, and also to furnish *his house* with fish every Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.

After alluding to other weares at Moygh he gives the following account of

BISHOP RIDER'S MILL,

erected by him in 1619, and set with 3 qrs. of Knocklevane, Creveroe, Barry, and the fair and market to Mr. Anthony Lawrence, of London, merchant, for 4*l.* fine and 30*l.* per annum. It was afterwards rebuilt by Bishop Lewis Jones, and set to Teige O'Murphy for 21 years at 12*l.* yearly, 3rd May, 1636, and afterwards to Robert Casey, 3rd June, 1639. It was set this last year by Captain Graham for 5*l.*, and must be rebuilt. The mill was rebuilt by..... 1663 in a new place, because in the former seat, by every flood of the Shannon, the wheel was choked up, and a new watercourse drawn to it. In regard whereof it was set to him for 21 years at the rent of 2*l.*, and it was afterwards (1655) burned down by accident, and, in regard of the rebuilding of the same, it was set to D. Boile for 2*l.* yearly for 21 years and fair and market.

THE ROYALTIES OF THE BARONY OF TULLA.

These belong to the Bishop in right of his sea—heriots, weaves and strayes, felons' goods, fines for battery and bloodshed, customs and tolls (which are accordingly mentioned as demised at p. 72), &c.

MOYNOE.

Four quarters, being the whole parish. It consists of 5,607 acres, whereof of rough mountain 4,099 is set as follows :—

(I.) Curromore to McCormocan and McBrodine; three stonehouses on it before the rebellion, and very well enclosed.

(Perhaps this McBrodine is related to the celebrated Clare Ecclesiastical author Brodinus.)

(II.) Coolocupane, set to Thom. McBrodyne.

(III.) Drummarhie, part to ditto.

(IV.) Moynoe. A discrepancy with the county survey is here stated and explained; also the names of several successive lessees are named—McCormocan, Foot (Strange and Purefoy under usurpation), Major Henry Bridgman. (After sundry changes the leasing ended thus) :—"I set to Mr. Foot, referring to the Bishop 40*l.* per annum for 21 years, and engaging Mr. F. to pay 40*l.* more yearly during the said term to my son, John Worth, until the said Foot should pay me the sum of 200*l.* sterling by way of fine *in part of my disbursements and the re-edifying of the Bishop's house* (!!)

(From what was detailed above of duties by the lessees of the weare at Killaloe, it looks more than probable that this "*Bishop's House*" was not at Moynoe but at Killaloe; also that Bishop Rider had erected this building in a cheap and temporary manner, after having decided upon Killaloe in preference to another state, of which more below.)

KILFINAGHTY.—The Bishop offers 1 cart (Carrownakelli) to Mr. Hickman, Agent for Lord Thomond, for 21 years, dated 20th October, 1637, at 4*l.* per annum, but he declining I set that part which is on the other side of the water to Mr. Burdet (clke) for 10*l.* fine and 6*l.* per annum. The other part, whereon Mrs. Stephens hath built her house, I reserved to set her at 7*l.* per annum at the desire of Mr. Hickman.

Clonlea.—1 qr. in three distinct parcels.

Bishop Rider set moiety of the whole qr. in 1619 to Laughlin O'Ruddan for 60 years next ensuing at 20*l.* per annum.

The Usurped powers agreed for this with Captain Peter Purefoy for 21 years at 2*l.* yearly, but (observes the Bishop) I have agreed with Purefoy's agent for 5*l.* fine and 6*l.* yearly for 21 years.

In Bishop Jones' rental, 1639, Any, wife of Florence Mcnemara, holdeth the island called Kilcornan, adjoining to Clonlea.

KILTEILEIGH, ALS KILSEILEIGH.

1 qr. C. Mac Flanera released this to Bishop in 1618; two counterparts of lease, in both of which there is an exception of a thatched house near the church, and an English acre of land. (Quære, whether the glebe and glebe house.) I agreed with Cornet Bently to set him this qr. at the old rent of 4*l.* per annum, he giving me 4*l.* fine; but he afterwards refused it, so that it now lies waste.

KILLINASOOLAGH, B. BUNRATTY.

1 qr. released by Ja. McEnneragh, 1616. On 6th Feb., 1636, Bishop L. Jones sealed a lease thereof to Wm. Price, who, Feb. 11, entered the dwelling-house of Ja. McEnneragh and demanded possession thereof. Conor Mallone, yeoman, took a clod of earth and delivered it to lessee as possession for the said land.

PARISH KILLINAS (?).

This qr., or Killinasulagh (?), was set by usurped powers to Captain W. King, who took it for use of Captain W. Cullen,* and he paid for same. I have agreed with Captain Cullen for 21 years at 4*l.* per annum and 10*l.* fine.

KILLMALERIE PARISH.

1 qr. This was released by Murtogh Clanchie, 6th Jan., 1617, to Bishop. Afterwards I find no lease made to any, yet enjoyed by Clanchie. Richard Holcroft was in Dublin, and gave information that said Clanchie did, 26 years past, willing land to his son, who died an infant. Honora, surviving daughter, was married to one Matthew Lawrence, a

* N.B.—More of this Captain Cullen and where he lived, in Dynely's Tour, edited by the learned Mr. Shirley.

Dutchman and a Protestant, and that *for this cause* both he and she suffered the loss of all their goods by the rebels (!) That said Lawrence died in Holland, and left said Honora with 8 children very poor; that said Honora is now married to said R. Holcroft. (Note on margin, "Whether Clanchie made not over his interest to Tirlagh McMahon?")

When I was at Ennis (adds the Bishop) in 1660, some persons whose names I know not came to treat with me in the right and name of the said Honora for said land of Killmalerie. The price we agreed on is 8*l.* per annum for 21 years.

The usurped powers set this to Captain W. King in behalf of Colonel H. Ingoldsby for [obliterated] per annum. And in case the said Honora and Holcroft do not make good their claim, I have promised Captain Cullen that I shall make a lease thereof to Colonel Ingoldsbie for 21 years at 8*l.* per annum.

CLONLOHAN.

1 qr. There was in 1640 on this qr. an old castle a little unrepaired.

Released by Boetius Clanchy, 6th Jan., 1617. I find no lease since. C. and his assignees hold since at 3*l.* per annum.

A contention about renewal of lease between Captain Hartwell and one Hickie. "I ordered the lease should be cancelled."

DRUMCLIFFE, BARONY OF ISLANDS.

7½ qrs. Total, 787 acres. Profitable, 333; unprofitable, 454.

The particulars are:—

Ryne, ½ qr.
Loughvellie, 1 qr.
Knockrone, 1 qr.
Carrownacreene, 1 qr.
Ballyconaght, 1 qr.
Drumcliffe, als Balliannagh, 1 qr.
Clunfeagh, 1 qr.
Shanhiltagh, 1 qr.

These qrs. of Drumcliffe were set by Mauritius (O'Brien-arra), Bishop of Killaloe, unto one *Nelan*, Bishop of Kildare, for 99 years at *ninepence yearly* (sic), and this lease assigned over to *the Earl of Thomond*. The invalidity was proved before the Deputy. The lease was surrendered to Lewis (Jones), Lord Bishop of Killaloe, in 1634, who leased the same to Boetius Clancy at 40*l.* per annum (instead of ninepence per annum as to Bishop Nelan, of Kildare, and his assignee the Earl of Thomond).

In the year 1640 (pursues Bishop Worth) these lands were set to Barnaby, Earl of Thomond, for 42*l.* per annum for 21 years.

In the year 1636 one Patrick Meere commenced a suit in Chancery against Lewis, Bishop of Killaloe, for these lands as his inheritance (!!), whereas he had been only a tenant to the same for many years before the making of the first-mentioned lease to Nelan. But Meere seems to have been only engaged in this suit by the Earl of Thomond, and accordingly surceased the same when the Earl and Bishop came to an agreement.

These lands of Drumcliffe are set by me to —. Hobson, Esquire, for 21 years, for the fine of 50*l.* sterling and the rent of 55*l.* yearly for the

first five years, and afterwards 60*l.* per annum. The term commenced 1st May, 1661, at which time the Earl of Thomond's lease expired.

Mr. Hobson hath, with my consent, assigned over his interest herein to Rev. Robert Fish (clerk), the Prebend of Dysert. This lease was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, April, 1661.

Of which fact the certainty will appear by quoting from the Chapter Book as follows:—

"Quodie (4th May, 1661) et loco post matur. deliberationem, una dimissio facta de sept, quart de Dromcliffe a dno, Epo. ad Johan Hobson Armiger pro termo 21 annor, a Maii primo ad redit 55*l.* lib pro tribus primis annis et ad redit 60*l.* lib pro reliquis, quantum in illis est, confirmaverunt."

Also a lease to Wm. Hartwell, of Clonloghan, for 21 years at 20*l.*

And Aug. 7, lease to P. Purefoy was also confirmed, of Clonlea.

And to Geo. Ross, of Termon of Killmaloy.

And to Christina Young, of Killenamona.

And on 13th Nov., the Killinasulagh lease to D. Cullen.

We now come to the Barony of Inchiquin, parish of Killineboy. Five qrs.:—

In which lies a parcel called Moherroe, containing 15 acres belonging to the ½ qr. of Cross-Caher in county survey.

These *five* qrs. in the Lord of Stratforde's survey are returned by six sworn men to be Bishop's land.

Yet *four* qrs. only were in the Bishop's possession in 1641. And Munnigat, als Cloonehilteen, als Cloonakill, ½ qr., was possessed by the Lord of Inchiquin; and Munanileen, ½ qr., by Tihogue Onelan, but continually set by the Bishop, as appears p. 38. Munnigat and Cloonahyllin were released by the Bishop (p. 42).

1 car. of Ballinelackin. This was formerly set by divided particles with other lands, and is mentioned in the old leases of Killineboy under these figures:—[Here follow details.]

The whole five qrs. were found by the Inquisition in the Book of Composition (which is in the Audit Office) to belong to the Bishop, and no part to Lord Inchiquin. Nor did the Lord of Inchiquin, in Bishop Jones's time, challenge any more than a cartron thereof, and that detained by the Quins, who were usurpers.

Besides these, there are other denominations in the leases, many whereof are particles taken out of the Commons, which paid rent distinct from the land.

The lands of Killenaboy were antiently divided into five proportions, called Cooleavnagh, derived from "*Columna*," a column or proportion, each less than a particular quarter. And that is the reason why in the Composition Book Killenaboy is computed at 4 qrs., noted in Stafford's 5 qrs. For when Bishop Jones found the living and recovered the lands, according to the Composition Book, under the composition of 4 qrs., they set him forth as but 4 callownaglias, and on the pretence laid claim to the 4th, as if every callownaglia had been the 4th part of

a quarter. And the Bishop challenging but 4 qrs., had right to no more than 16 callownaglias, whereas the Bishop's right is to the whole, and the releases are of the whole.

This deceit was practised in Dean Blood's remembrance.

CONCERNING AGHNIS.

Mauritius, Lord Bishop of Killaloe, made first a lease of the Island of Aghnis to Daniel Neylan, Lord Bishop of Kildare, for 101 years, at the rent of 9*d.* yearly. And upon the surrender of the lease, he granted a new lease of said isles, with the 5 qrs. of land of Killenaboy, and the town of Kilnaboy, &c., for 101, at the rent of 12*d.* yearly, which lease was only confirmed by the Dean and two of the Chapters, whereas the Bishop pleaded the major part of the Chapter are at least *seven*, in regard the number of the whole are *twelve*.

By virtue of this lease, the said Bishop Neylan, and after his decease his son William and Sir Roger O'Shagnis, who married the relict and executrix of the said Bishop Neylan, were possessed of the said Island of Aghnis and of one carrowmere of Kilnaboy, and received out of the rest of the said 5 qrs. and town of Kilnaboy only 3*l.* sterling, suffering on some privy contract the Quins, being usurpers, to hold the same.

In 1618, John Rider, Lord Bishop, recovered at Council Board the said town and lands from said Quins, and William Neylan was possessed accordingly. After which, Sir Roger O'Shagnis, claiming in right of his wife, commenced a suit against said Bishop and his tenants in the Common Pleas, which suit being stopped by an injunction from the Council Board, the decision thereof was by consent of parties submitted to the Lord Deputy and Council, who ordered to the said Sir Roger a new lease for 61 years at 5*l.* per annum, otherwise to be possessed of the said lands of Killenaboy, and continued in possession of lands of Aghnis. This order is dated 26th November, 1619. To this order the Bishop and Sir R. put their hands.

But I do *not* find that ever the Bishop, in conformity to said order, made any such lease.

In 1633 a decree, February 27, passed at Council Board that Sir Roger should surrender his lease of Aghnis, and the tenants of Killenaboy their leases, and Bishop Jones grant a new lease to Sir R. at 12*l.* per annum for 21 years, and to the tenants of Killenaboy at 6*l.* per annum for each for 21 years.

So far as I am informed, Bishop Jones never made of the town and lands of Kilnaboy above 24*l.* per annum.

When I came to the Bishoprick these lands were in ye possession of one Patrick Allen, of Dublin, merchant, who, pretending an old lease by Bishop Jones to Robert Casey, whose relict he married, obtained a decree in Court of Claims to be allowed the said lease, which was said to be for 21, from May, 1640, at 8*l.* per annum.

But when I came to the Bishoprick, as I saw no ground to confirm his new lease, so neither could I find any other ground of pretence for the old, but only that about 1640, the Bishop having some contest with his tenants on Kilnaboy, and *Robert Casey being his sollicitor and attorney*, the Bishop made him a lease of ejectment (!!)

As soon as I was consecrated I entered on the lands of Killenaboy, and distrained for the rent due 24th March, 1660, most part whereof Mr. Blood received for me, but rent due 29th September was received by Allen.

RATH.

The termon of Rath consists of four plow lands. These were leased to O'Deas, Hogans also. The Bishop adds :—

"1 cart of Carrownacrossie, 1 cart of Poligriffeen (both of these in possession of Mr. Hugh McEnchroe, by final settlement, 22nd September, 1662). Mr. Hugh McEnchroe came to me to Killaloe and desired to be admitted to the tenancy thereof under me."

The Bishop enters into minute particulars about Moyhill and Rath-Knockorachie. As to the former place he notes :—

"That in year 1641, there was in Moyhill a new stone house in repair, in Scowell a castle out of repair, in Rath stood the church and a stump of an old castle."

In Composition Book, Rath is mentioned under the name of Kinalwye, which was the old name of the parish, and the 4 qrs. therein said to belong to the Bishop. This appears by the record in Auditor's Office, a copy whereof I have extracted. It appears also, by Bishop Rider's orders to Dermot Crone, O'Dea, 27th March, 1618, and Michaelmas, 1620, that the whole termon of Rath was to pay refections to the Bishop as therein appeareth by lease, &c.

ON THE TERMON OF KILLENAMONA.

Consists of 4 qrs., Cloongownagh, Lucknane, Ballinakill, and Rushane. Some of these lands "were transferred to transplanters," also Island-gar. 1 Killinane, Dysert 4 qrs.

Boetius Clancy pretended that a part of this was his inheritance, whereas it appears, by Bishop Rider's orders to his sergeant, 20th March, 1618, that Boetius paid rent for the same.

Ballycullinaboy possessed in 1641, by O'Deas and McLoughlins—released—challenged—set by Mr. Blood to Mr. D. O'Brien.

1 cart Knockdrumcline, do.

1 cart Ballykerwith, do.

1 cart Knockane, set by Mr. Dean Blood to John Brickdale, together with Agashlea, and half a cart of Clonmere for 2*l.* 10*s.*, challenged by O'Deas.

1 cart Agashlea, do.

1 Drumcurrin W. to B. Hennessy.
E. to J. O'Dea.
½ qr.

Letter Moylan challenged by Haires and Brodies, but set to Hobson.

1 cart Clanore and Carhue set to Brigdal and Kerin.

1 cart Benaghar to O'Dea, Rice, and Hogan.

1 cart Murcullen to James Hogan.

The four qrs. of Dysert by the Composition Book, 11 August, 1585,

as appears by copy attested by Sir Henry ——— (obliterated), were retained as belonging to the Bishop.

And Bishop Rider, in his orders to J. O'Dea in 1618 and 1620, required him to *take no rent out of the Castle and lands of Dysert because he hoped to live in it himself.*

Among the papers which I had from John Brigdell, I find mention made of a Commission from the Council Table, in which it was proved that the tenants at Dysert were tenants at will to the Bishop.

Among some papers I have acquittances for the Termon of Rath, Disert, and Killenamona, 10th October, 1669.

By letter of attorney I authorized Mr. Dean Blood to set such lands of Dysert as were unset, and he gave me an account that he disposed of the same after the rate of 4*l.* per annum, with refections and reservations.

(In the further enumeration the good Bishop notes as to Littermoylan), "I have agreed with Mr. Hobson for the half-portion (?), at the rent of 8*l.* per annum for 21 years, but it is worth more, *and I was overreached in the bargain.* (No wonder, when he had to bargain with such able dealers. He adds, however, with an evident *gusto* of satisfaction), "And Mr. Hobson failing to pay me the said rent, I have declared my resolution to dispute the lease" (!!)

His Lordship proceeds in these wonderful revelations as to the temporalities of the Church, thus :—

"Upon my petition to the House of Lords, 2nd June, 1662, I had an order that the possessors of the castle and lands of Disert should deliver up the possession thereof to me, or appear and show cause to the contrary. And upon the affidavit of John Credne, 3 Julii, that the said order was served on Teige O'Griffa (Griffin) and Wm. Carrig, who obeyed not the same, nor appeared, I had an order to the Sheriff to put me in possession, who, with George Purdon, Esq., on 5th September, went personally to deliver the possession to me, but the castle was forcibly detained by Captain William Nealand, but he quickly delivered up the possession of the same to ——, who was authorized by the Sheriff to take it, and which was delivered up to Lieut.-Col. Lucas in the right of the Bishop [75.] However, I petitioned the House of Lords against Neylan, and thereupon a Sergeant of Arms was issued against him.

NEYLAN'S TITLE,

as I am informed, stands thus. One James Gould, of Ennis, was guardian of the children of Dermot O'Dea. The names of these children were —Conor-Leigh, Conor-Duff, Daniel Mall. This James Gould selling his interest in the said land to Daniel Neylan, Bishop of Kildare, delivered possession of the Castle and 1½ qrs. to the said Neylan. In 1603 or thereabouts, Neylan died, after whose death an office was taken by Denis Jordan, deputy escheator, the 13th January, 1603, who certified as follows :—

Whereas an office is passed upon the late Lord Bishop of Kildare, his lands (and) Daniel Neylan, the lands hereunder written were found to have been in his possession at the time of his death, to which the

O'Deas (above-mentioned of the Sept of the O'Deas) maketh claim continually to be their own inheritance, and wrongfully detained from them, which claim is set down in the body of the office, found by the jury, which at their requests, I thought hereby to certify under my hand, dated 13th January, 1603 :—

1. The Castle of the Dysert, with 1½ qr. land, out of which the Lord Bishop of Killaloe receiveth rent yearly—
2. Clonetowhill ... ... 1 qr.
3. Toonenigihie and Critt... ... ... 1 qr.
4. Cahir Maccirmoyne ... ... 1½ cartron.

This is the true copy of so much as concerneth the above Sept of the O'Deas, Davis Jordan, Deputy Escheator, and his certificate is in the hands of Michael Dea, and was shown me 25th March, 1663.

The Bishop adds of Aghnis,—

At my first coming to the Bishoprick I could not make thereof above 7*l.* per annum, but I have now agreed with Colonel Dillon for a lease of 21 years at 15*l.* per annum, &c.

KILMOON PARISH.

1 qr. and one-third 300 acres now in possession of Daniel O'Brien of Duough.

In one parcel stands a decayed church and a stone house in good repair.

CO. TIPPERARY, B. IKERRIN, P. RAMANEAGE (now Rathnaveogue.)

The land, 14a or 19a, and glebe 8, was set by Bishop Rider, 1619, to M. Carney for use of James Butler, Lord Dunboyne, for 60 years, at 10*s.* per annum.

I entered and set to Ensign Bond of Ballinakill at 2*l.* for 6 years.

MENSAL TYTHES.

Kilmore P.

Challenged for many years by Dean and Chapter as belonging to fabric of the Church, and return by Regal Visitation in 1633 was thus—

Kilmore "Rect. spectat ad fabric: cancelli Eccles Cath. Laonens, vel ad mensam Episcopi." *But I find it always possessed by Bishop Rider* and Bishop Jones, and lastly by Bishop Parry. I set to D. Kennedy at 40*l.* per annum for 21 years (Bishop Rider at pp. 119 and 129 states the contrary).

RECT. DOLLOH.

Mensals set to D. Kennedy for 21 years at 12*l.*

RECT. ARDCRONEY.

Mensal set to D. Prescott for 21 years at 20 barrels of wheat and 10 barrels of barley malt. But in 1637 was set by Bishop Jones to Andrew Darling, *the Bishop's servant* (!!), for 12*l.* yearly.

1661. These three rectories are set by me to Captain Parker and D. Kennedy, together (with) the Vicarage of Ardcroney, for 55*l.* sterling.

R. OF DRUMLINE IN BUNRATTY, B.

Also Mensal—

Two leases, one in 1587 to John Macnemara for 61 years at 2*s.*; one to D. Macnemara, 1633, for 21 at 10*l.* per annum.

Quere, whether this tythe be the same with Shamberlaght?

GRANAHER.

1*l.* to Colpoys.

MOYFEARTA.

Ballinode, a townland with an island by E. Thomond held, pays 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Kilkerroll, held by Sir D. O'Brien. Held by 49 men in 1662 for present rent—worth 10*l.* per annum.

For ⅔ of a qr. in 1641, Sir D. O'B. paid Bishop 13*s.* 4*d.*, on being recovered at Council Board from the Mahoons, ordered to be set for 60 years at 4*l.* per annum, was set to Harry Bowerman and Sir R. Delahoyde.

Knockkerriher, Earl of Thomond recovered, set to Sir R. D.

Madda-more, to Sir D. O'B., 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Maddabeg, with field, to Sir D. O'B.

Ballyket in this parcel was a good castle and good store-house in repair in 1641, to Sir D. O'B., at 18*s.*

Gowyr, or Gowerha, possessed 1641 by Sir D. O'B., 1*l.* per annum to Bishop. Four qrs., Kilnish, by Bishop Rider, lease set at 1*l.* yearly, but by Bishop Mauritius at 4 markes yearly.

P. MOYFEARTA.

In 1641, Sir D. O'B. at 1*l.* per annum.

Kiltillyn, do., at 1*l.*

Kilcorrydone, or Kilcredane. Here stood the walls of an old chapel, ruined. Sir D. O'B., 1641, at 1*l.*

Donahoe, E. (Dunaha) and W., at 2*l.* per annum, to Sir D. O'B.

The town, village, lands, hamlet, and fields of Carrigahowlie, alias Rinaneaderrick, Sir D. O'B.

Lissine and Farrow, Kilcroney, Colecorran, to Sir D. O'B.

KILFIERAGH.

Sundry lots to Sir D. O'B., viz., ½ qr. Mayhasta, 13*s.* 4*d.*; ½ do. Kilnegallagh, 13*s.* 4*d.* Here stands an old chapel ruinated; Kilkashel, 6*s.* ¾ qr. of Kilkie, in 1641. One half thereof was possessed by Sir D. O'B., in 1641, on which stood a good stone house.

The other half by Hugh McSwyny, whereon stood *a castle.* (This McSwyny was a dependant of Sir Daniel O'Brien; we shall find the name again ere long. Some remains of this castle are still traceable in the rere of the premises in the square now held by Mrs. Russell.)

Lisdwyin, 1 qr., was possessed in 1641 by Sir D. O'Brien at 13*s.* 4*d.*, as the interest of Charles O'Cahan of Lishonahan, though returned as Sir D. O'B.'s.

Kilfieragh, 1 qr., glebe 3 acres, Sir D. O'B., 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In 1641.

Ballyonan, Teige Murtagh and Robert Cahan (Keane).

Kildema, Hugh Clancie.

Kilballyown, Ross, &c., 2 qr., all in 1641, by Sir D. O'B., at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

So others as Kilcloher, and in bulk more, of which Sir D. O'B. is returned to pay 24*l.* 10*s.* to Bishop for several parcels, names not mentioned.

From this summary it is clear that a bishop in those days had extraordinary difficulties to contend with in order to preserve the property of the see from the tenants, and no few temptations also to join them in divers forms of sacrilegious aggrandisement at the expense of the Church.

The CHAPTER-BOOK is conversant with the confirmation of bishops' leases, and chiefly with those to which allusion has been made in the Bishop's account-book of the See estate. Another entry, however, must now be made, closing our statement of this part of the subject :—

Nov. 7, 1664.

Lease confirmed to Bart. Stacpoole, of Nenagh (O'Flynn), of one qr. of Kiltinaghty, Cahirnakelly, at 18*l.* per annum for 21 years.

(So in Chapter-Book.)

Similiter eodem die et loco confirmavimus al indentura sive dimission fact a dicto Domino Episcopo Gulielmo Worth, Armigero Johan Worth generos, et Susannæ Cross, juniori et eorum longiori superstiti de 408 jugeribus in terr. de Fossamore et Capparoe in Baronia de Tulla, de Craglea continent de 244 jugera, de 37 jugera de Cahirles, etiam Tirronaravan (?), in Baronia de Clonderla, 612 jugera.

Terræ de Ard-Croney de Ormondia inferiori in comitatu Tipperary pro termo vitarum naturalium duorum Guliel, Johan, et Susan, et de superstitis ab hoc instanti die ad reditum 55 lib stg.

(Thus. 1301 acres were set for long periods to members of this Bishop's own family at the rent of 55*l.* per annum, a portion of which had been leased formerly to the Bishop's own man-servant).

At the same time, it is only fair to state that a succeeding Bishop not long after reset the parcel on the same terms, whatever in the way of exculpation this may be worth. (See Chapter-Book.)

Attention is now directed to the ACTS OF SETTLEMENT and EXPLANATION, which are "the Magna Charta of Irish property." Into the principles of these Acts any investigation would be out of place; but the *results* produced thereby are of much consequence, and have an important bearing upon religious profession in the Diocese of Killaloe. This is given in the Appendix No. IV., in which also appears a sufficiently full statement of the Proprietary in 1641, 1659, 1662, and 1688.

The effects which a long series of wild and bloody uprisings against England (always instigated by Roman agents) produced on Ireland and her sons—whether original Kelts, naturalized Saxons, or rather, indeed, Normans, but all of the Roman persuasion—are here brought into a clear light. And an answer is also given to the indignant declamation in the speech or tract of the Right Hon. John, Earl of Clare, in which he demands—

"What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the Revolution, and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive Monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the Island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation." (Speech, p. 22.

The Writer is strongly tempted to present the other side of the question, in which a Roman Catholic Irish gentleman of position deplores the folly and infatuation under which *his* family, like so many others of the Roman Catholics of the West, flung themselves into the cause of the Stuarts, or of Rome, and thereby flung away their own good estates, and left Ireland to be bled and blistered under penal laws, and bound by weighty chains, as dangerous maniacs and delirious patients were then used to be treated. But to the point. A gentleman of a name so highly honoured in Ireland as that of *Sarsfield* writes thus in confidence to the lady of his love. This letter is so quaint and like a thing that Lever would have distilled into spicy fragrance, or Scott have lingered fondly gazing upon as some rich gem of the past glittering with barbaric splendour in the midst of a massive golden setting, that it must appear in full and exactly as it was penned :—

Toomullen, July 14, 1786.

My dear Madam—

I dare say you'll intertain little or no doubt, when I take upon me to assure you with the greatest truth, it has given me uncommon concern and uneasiness that I had it not in my power to write to you earlier, owing to an inflammation I got in my eyes. Surely it's not to be suspected, I could deny myself the honour and pleasure to make answer to your most agreeable and acceptable favour, notwithstanding any idle or indifferent reports, I've been told, which I must own gave me a dale of u[illegible] I canot but feel with pleasure such marks of

your regard for me. As to my part, be assured. I shall not be wanting in any degree to testify my attachment to your own dear person. I shall always take pride and pleasure to see a certain dignity of mind in a lady, to whome I heartily wish to be united. Believe me it's my determined wish and purpose to be down with you as soon as possible, and that your Ladyship and I may come face to face and inter more minutely into the subject of our affair. Further, I hope I need not say more than to request the pleasure of a few lines from you with all convenient speed. My charmer and life, I take leave to subscribe myself without reserve your most faithful affectionate and loving

JAMES SARSFIELD.

Please to turn over.

P.S.—I should be glad you would as soon as leasure permits to collect such papers as are necessary for my inspection, and particularly an account of all the assets and how administered by you and by the late Mr. Rice. The filly is a beauty and in capital order. I would have you look out for a pair of good chattle for your carriage. Since I wrote the within I've been considering how ellegible and advisable it would be, if you would but in God's name determine with yourself to come up to Doolen this fine season. Delays are dangerous. Time is to be taken by the forelock. Your co-operating with me will make everything go smooth and happy. I little imagine you would have refused me the two panes of glass and the stick of indian ink I sent to you, for which [what] was then wanting to compleat the plan of mine.

Who in the world could exert himself more-early in the morning to relieve you from the great danger you were in? Is it not a fact well-known that I was determined to go to you myself single handed to your assistance and fought in blood for your redemption, but that Mrs. M—— ordered the arms to be hid from me? I hesitated not a moment to rouse Mr. M—— and the family.

And now comes the grand disclosure of this thoroughly genuine and most confidential letter :—

It was one of the greatest misfortunes that were attending the Stuart line that they were not as grateful as they ought to be to the poor Irish.

I've often heard my father say how James the 2nd behaved to that brave and gallant officer, Patrick, Earl of Lucan, who so much signalized himself in the service of that unfortunate Prince.

There can be no doubt of it, then, that the three great *confiscations* were the direct consequence—the inevitable retribution which the Roman Catholics of Ireland brought down on themselves by making themselves the tools of the Roman and chiefly Episcopal agents of the Pope, and of the continental foes of England and liberty. But then, on the other hand, it is only fair to ask, Did England, victorious as she was, under God's providence, exercise the rights of a conqueror with as little

rigour as was absolutely necessary? Did she also strive to mitigate the terrible penal consequences of the Irish massacres and rebellions in the manner which Christianity and humanity, and even good policy, would have dictated, by adopting judicious healing measures, and carrying out improving provisions? The fact of such a mode of treatment would have greatly neutralized the evil effects of foreign policy working on native exasperation, and indeed desperation; and above all, would have paved the way for the "free course" of the old religion of Ireland once more among those who had embraced a novel and a corrupted substitute. And further, the oppressions, discontents, intrigues, plots, and wretched fluctuations which are the features of this reign, so far as Ireland is concerned, must have operated most injuriously upon the interests of a remote part of Ireland like the Diocese of Killaloe, in which trade and commerce were not progressive, and even pastoral pursuits ceased for a time to yield a profit.

The Bill of the English Parliament, in 1665, for the total prohibition of Irish cattle from the English markets was a heavy blow to Irish interests, especially in pastoral districts like Clare. The state of affairs in 1666 was most critical. Deprived of commerce with England, disabled from foreign trade, exposed to enemies open and concealed, and every moment in danger of insurrection, Ireland was reduced to a most lamentable condition. At length, in 1667, Ireland was allowed a free trade with all foreign countries. Woollen manufactories were set up in Clonmel; Walloons were encouraged to settle; but all was not right.

The Duke of Ormonde's orders to a Council of Trade (see Ri. Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, p. 191) produced some good effects for the time. The great lords, who were grantees of "great scopes of land, in several of their lots found old, ruined towns; and, to get them planted, grew eager for manufactures, to whom the Lord-Lieutenant gave all possible encouragement, (so) that we had in a few years, erected by private persons on their own accounts, many considerable manufactures. In Leinster . . . Esquire *Parsons* at the Byrr; in Munster . . . several Dutch merchants at Limerick *and Clare;* and the Duke himself erected a most considerable manufacture at Clonmell. But all these, except the northern linen manufac-

tures, did, after the Duke's removal, dwindle away to nothing, except a few, lingering like sick folk, ready to expire." And yet of what use were linen and silk manufactures and looms and bobbins flying, at a time when dark designs were afoot as well by the monarch as against him? It was the hush before a storm. Leaden clouds charged with fierce influences, overhung the fated scene. Church progress was scarcely apparent, and certainly not real. Material interests made but little stir. A greater trade was driven in the sale of land debentures, and better fortunes made in one year than otherwise to be made in seven years. (*Ubi supra*, p. 4.)

There remains no account of any visitation held by Bishop Worth. But in the Record-office is to be found "The Primary Visitation of Thomas (Price) Archbishop of Cashel, &c., held at St. Flannan's Cathedral, 29th Sept., 1667," which sets forth the following as the condition of the Diocese in respect of those matters which are recorded as having been enquired into, viz., fees and proxies :—

Edward Worth (Bishop)	Scedula Procurationum. £	*s.*	*d.*
Economy of Killaloe...	0	13	4
Dean, Jasper Pheasant	2	10	10
Precentor, John Andrews	2	8	10
Chancellor, Paul Amyrant	1	17	6
Treasurer, Edwd. Reinolds	0	9	0
Archdn., Dr. John Hall	1	11	8
PREBENDARIES—			
Tomgraney, Geo. Sinclair	1	4	6
Lockeen, Ez. Webb	0	15	0
Rath, Nep. Blood	0	16	8
Dysert, Rob. Fish	0	10	0
Clondegad, Fra. Whitston	0	10	0
Omullod, John Cox	1	8	4
Kilfinaghta, Rich. Wooding	0	10	11
Kilseely, D. Driscoll...	0	12	6
Kiltananlea, Jno. Scrodon	0	9	0
Ogashin, *John Worth (!!!)*...	1	4	2
Traderee, *William Fuller, Bishop of Limerick (!!!)* ...	1	2	7
Killofin, Kilfidane, and Clardevilla, Wm. Fuller, as above	0	13	1
Prebendary of Inniscaltry, John Padfield	1	9	7
Modneney, Jos. Amyralt	2	0	10
Roscrea, M. McHenry	1	8	4
Kilcoleman, Thos. James	0	11	8

Letterluna, Kinnitty, &c., Thos. Holmes	£0	8	1
Inchecronane, Cornl. Sherin	0	3	8
Tulla, John Bayllie	0	14	2
Finglas and Dunkerin, Roger Cooke	0	11	3
Burgesbeg, Youghal, John Godfrey	0	6	1
Kilmore, Richd. Lynge	0	5	0

IMPROPRIATORS.

Thos. Southwell, Stradbally	0	13	4
Jacob Lilly, Kilnagarriffe	0	2	3
„ Kiltanalea	0	2	6
The Duke of Ormond, the Rectory of Bourchin (or Bourney)	0	5	6
Comes Thomondiæ			
Monaster, Innis da-Canaragh			
Monaster, Inchecronane			
Do. De foragio (=Fergus)			
Rect., Innis da drum			
Vicar, Ejusdem			
Rect. de Kilchrist			
Rect. de Kildysert			
Kilmurry, Clonderla			
Pars. Rect. de Killimor			
Do. Kilmacduane			
Rect. de Kilmurry Ibrikane			
Pars. Rect. Kilfiera			
„ „ Kilballyhane			
„ „ Killardagh			
„ „ Nearyfarta			
„ „ Kilmihil			
Total ...	£15	0	0

Comes Corcagiæ :

Rect. Inniscaltrie			
„ Kilbarrane			
„ Ballingarry			
„ Uskane			
(In the two last the duty was deducted by Mr. Amyrault.) ...	£1	1	11

Comes Inchiquin, per Ben. J. Lucas :

Monast. Killone			
Rect. Killough			
Vic. do.			
Rect. of Clondagad			
Rect. of Kilfidane			
Pars. Killafin			
„ Kilmihil	£8	1	0

Comes Wentworth :

Letterluna			
Kinnetty			

Monaster. de Innis-na-meo (-mesh)	
Rectory de Corbally	£2 16 0
Edmond Wailsh:	
Burrisokane	
Nenagh	
Lisbunney	
Burgesbeg	
Knigh	£2 18 4
Margaretta, Domina Grace:	
Rect. Athnacan	
Anna Meadle:	
Monast. de Thome	£0 18 4
Dominus Dungan:	
Monaster de Lorha	£1 0 0
Dominus Gough:	
Rect. de Ballinaclough	£0 1 0
Robert Boyle Armiger:	
Rect. de Killnaneffe	
„ Killodiernan	
Vic. do.	
Rect. de Kilmane	
Vic. de do.	
„ de Ballymackey	
„ de Temple Harry	
„ de Dunkerrin	
„ de Rathnaveague	
Rect. de Castletown ely	
„ Shinrone	
„ Roscomroe	
„ Cullenwaine	
Vic. Ettagh	
Rect. Cloughprior	
Vic. do.	£5 0 4

A few remarks are not inapposite.

1. This is a reliable statement, as far as it goes, of the financial condition of the Diocese, of the number of working clergy, and of their remuneration, also of the amounts abstracted by Impropriators. And comparing these particulars with those recorded in Bp. John Rider's Visitation-disclosures in 1622, and with the Visitation of 1633, the results are in the main particularly unsatisfactory—fewer clergy at work, lower remuneration for them, diocesan funds still grasped to a large extent by the Impropriators, and "*Comes Corcagiæ*" and the Boyles not yet satiated with the deep drain they had established else-

where upon the body of the Church. (See Usher, Ware, Cotton, and Elrington *ad rem.*) Indeed, if the same rate of taxation is assumed for the working clergy and dignitaries as for the Impropriators, these latter have more by one-third to receive than have the former.

The amount in one case being . . .	£27	9	5
The other	38	0	6
Balance in favour of the Impropriators .	£10	11	1

It now remains briefly to notice Bishop Worth's published theological opinions, also his testamentary bequests.

He published :—

1st. A Sermon at the Funeral of Bishop Boyle. 4to. Cork, 1644.

2nd. Scripture Evidence for Baptizing the Children of Covenanters. 4to. Cork, 1653.

3rd. Sermon at Funeral of Ch. J. Pepeys. 4to. Dublin, 1659.

The Last Will and Testament of Bishop Worth.

In the name of God—Amen.

Being apprehensive of the common condition of fallen nature and that my house of clay is at present mouldering away, and desirous after the example of my Master to leave peace among my dear relatives, I, Edward Worth, Bishop of Killaloe, do make, constitute and ordain this my last will and testament.

Item. I commit my Soul and body into the hands of the Lord my God as unto a faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer who will keep that which is committed to Him.

It. I bewail the sinfulness of my nature as the seed-plot of all that which is evil, and of the sinfulness of my life, by means whereof the very good ways of the God I serve have been by some evil-spoken of, and thereby the spiritual good of others obstructed.

It. I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for my sins and rose again for my justification, through faith in whose blood I hope to partake the inheritance of the Saints in light.

It. I profess myself, through grace, a son of the Catholic Church, and more particularly the Communion of the Church of Christ in England; the best reformed church, and most consonant to Apostolical institution.

It. I beseech my dear wife (whose heart I hope is sincere) to con-

sider whence she is fallen and to do her first works. (She was of the family of the Boyles.)

It. I ingage my dear children to make religion their business that they may secure an interest in that Father, who cannot die, and in that inheritance which cannot be moved.

It. As for my temporal estate, wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, my will is—

It. I give and bequeath to my dear wife, Susanna Worth, all my stock, chattels, and plate, &c., to value of 200*l.*, also leases, in Clare and Tipperary, with profits, in lieu of her dower and thirds, she releasing my son Wm. Worth in two mos. to her marriage demands.

It. My wife to allow benefit under leases in Clare of 140*l.* to the three children of Susanna Crosse, also a debt due by Cousin Sylvester Crosse of 60*l.*, &c.

It. To Susanna Crosse, my six silver plates.

It. To my son John and heirs, my lands in Clare, houses in Limerick, mortgages on lands in county Cork, leases in counties Cork and Limerick; also half of my library of books to be divided between John and William, my sons, or survivor, with respect to their studies and callings.

It. I leave 5*l.* to be laid out towards reparation of church of Newmarket, county Cork, or otherwise to be disposed for use and benefit of said church by Sir Richard Aldworth, Knight, the Vicar or Rector for time being, or the Churchwardens, &c.

It. I will 100*l.* to be raised out of moneys due, to purchase a parcel of land or houses in Kinsale, and the issues and profits to be disposed of and laid out towards the relief of such poor people as shall from time to time be in the Rock (?) of Kingsale (*sic*). My will is that no person shall be allowed to live or inhabit in the said hospital or be maintained or relieved, &c., unless under consent and direction of the local officers and parties to be named.

It. I desire for the yearly maintenance of four schollars (*sic*) in the College (*sic*) of Dublin, till they successively commence Batchelors of Arts, all my interest and estate in certain leases of lands and houses in the N. liberties of Cork; the said scholars to be chosen, and the said allowances equally to be proportioned by the provost of the college for the time being, by my heirs-at-law and the overseers of this my will or the major part of them, &c.

It. To Dorothy Woods, widow, for her care and affection, 6*l.* per annum annuity, secured, &c.

It. Legacy to Philis Jounkin, in acknowledgment of her true and faithful services, an annuity of 6*l.* per annum, secured on his lands.

He leaves his cousin James Worth, exempted from the payment of a debt due, also bequeaths him his tan-house and hides and 1*l.* per annum for same.

It. Wm. Worth, his son, sole executor.

It. I constitute my brother, the Right Rev. Richard Boyle, Lord Bishop of Ferns and Loughlin, Thos. Hackett, D.D., and John Hall, Archdeacon, Overseers of my will.

It. I conjure my children to conform themselves to my wishes herein determined.

It. John, my son, must not marry without the consent of his mother, else, &c. And further, I strictly charge and command him, that if it shall not please God to enable him for that great work of the ministry, then that he studiously and carefully apply himself to some other profession, and that he at once resign all spiritual and ecclesiastical means and livings which he now has or hereafter may have, except he has taken upon him the office and charge of a minister, which I earnestly desire he should do, so as he be fit for the same.

And I desire that all my debts may be justly and faithfully paid, and that afterwards some such memorial may be given to my sisters and cousins as my overseers shall judge most (? best) for my executors to do, as also to my servants and other friends.

Lastly. I do revoke, &c.

The autograph signatures to this and the other Bishops' wills will be found in fac-simile elsewhere in this volume.

Access having been allowed to the residue of documents once belonging to the Consistorial Court of Killaloe, through the very polite consideration of Mr. Maurice Lenihan, the well-known author of the learned "History of Limerick," into whose careful hands these interesting papers have fallen, it may not be amiss to insert here some notes and characteristic cases, to illustrate the nature and working of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction scarcely intelligible to, or endurable by, the Churchmen of the present day. Before entering into particulars some general remarks apply. Not a tythe of the papers have survived the wreck and ruin, which befel the collection. No reader of judgment will argue from the particular to the universal by concluding adversely to the general morals of Churchmen in the time under review, out of the isolated and exceptional instances brought before the Consistorial Court. The cases cited sometimes belong to the middle of the 18th century, but are inserted as being characteristic, and to close the subject finally. Much is inserted as of interest to local readers of these pages.

The following paper will give an idea of the vast amount of the records and instruments which had accumulated at the opening of the 18th century, and of the complicated proceedings and weighty interests involved:—

This indenture, made this 14th day of September, 1713, between Richard Morgan, gentleman, Principall Register of the Diocese of

Killaloe, of the one part, and Francis Hawkins, gentleman, his Deputy, of the other.

Witnesseth that the following records and instruments are in the Registry of the aforesaid Diocese of Killaloe, viz., THE WILLS AND TESTAMENTS of Denish McNamara, Matthew Kennedy, Brian O'Bryen, Teige Cusacke, Domk McNamara, William Smith, Phillip Sullevane, Matthew Honan, Daniel Kennedy, —. Parnell, Margt. Parker, Eliza Powell, Patrick McNamara, William Carter, Richard Ringrose, Maudlin Honan, Christopher Watson, Thomas Poer, Daniel Corry, George Webb, Murtogh McMahon, Philip Colleen Kennedy, John Lawson, Martin White, Teige O'Brien, Roger Carroll, Patrick ——, Joseph Fruen, John Taylor, John Gryppa, Edmond Perry, Garrett Prendergast, Herbert Norman, Robert Lynn, Donogh Dulhunty, John James, John Higham, Daniel McNamara, —. McBoufield, Terence O'Hyare, John Fitzgerald, Fra. Westropp, Darby Meara, Frank Browne, —. Hopwell, William Carroll, Francis Fitzgerald, William Fletcher, Patrick Supple, Thomas Grady, Patrick Arthur, Dermot O'Dea, Teige O'Gorman, —. Barrett, William Meara, John Wilder, John Keeling, Matt. McNamara, John Barton, James Cleary, Dermot Hurley, —. Anthony, Thomas Hernane, David Machie, Thomas Burke, Theo. Butler, Dan O'Brien, Danish Kennedy, John McNamara, James Roche, —. Mulryane, Teige Mulloney, Matt. Sweeny, Thomas Wall, Daniel Carrighy, Edmond Dwyre, Edmond Mealing, Dermod O'Kearing, Francis Foare, Loughlin McNamara, John Straton, Teige Mossan, Jane Stanley, Oliver Burke, Edmond Kelly, John McMahon McNamara, Charles Hallinane, William Merony, Nich. Merreweather, Patrick Meara, Daniel Daffy, Steptum Stirtch, Patrick Seaton, Owna Frawley, Joseph Kendall, Christopher Arthew, Ralph Dolly, James Hendy, Hugh Hickman, William Connell, Teige Gorman, Nil. Croker, William Walsh, Teige Ryan, Murtogh McGoonane, John Gray, Able Thomas, Matt. Cusacke, Ellen Cornwall, Laughlin O'Hehir, Teige O'Bryen, Murtagh Roe McMahon, Isaac Vanhoze, James Himsey, Richard Walls, John Williams, John O'Meskell, Thomas Folds, John Crowe, Johnathan Cecil, John Stoakes, Oliver Newhouse, Edmond Brough, Patrick Woulfe, John Hogan.

THE INVENTORIES of the goods of Michael Croker, Andrew Wolfe, Andrew Creaghe, Muganus Murto Roe McMahon, John McDonogh McNamara, Margaret Spellissy, Teige Crinane, —. Cory, Teige Considin, Daniel Hoggnis, James Wolfe, The Widow Casan, Patrick Seaton, Morgan Ryan, Richard Morony, Dermot Daly, Joseph Randall, Bernard O'Brien, Theobald Butler, David Machgie, William Walsh, Edward Mealinge, David White, Francis ——, James Wall, James Steward, David Melne, William Walsh, —. Power, Dan Magee, John Simmes, Teige Cumane, Oliver Newhouse, John Hall, Conor Considine, John Hall, James Creaghe, Daniel Duffy, Thomas Bold, John Egan, Thomas Roche, John Peppard, Daniel Howe, Teige Keaiane, James Roch, Mort Kelly, John Connell, Mor. Kelly, Colonel Bl. John Merriott, Maurice Connell, John Reddome, William Hewitt, John Datch, Christopher Arthur, Daniel Ryan, Edm. Seaton, Ri. Scott, Patrick Fitzsimons, Nl. Boufield, Ed. Catherall, John Kennedy, Teige Gorman, Basill

Browne, Fra. Browne, Ml. Griffe, William Hipwell, William ffuller, Garrett Pindergast, Dominick Arthur, Simon Martin, Matt. Hehir, Brian O'Brien, Teige Considin, John Lawson, William Connell, James Quin, Daniel Dulhunty, Ri. Wall, Peregrine Blood, Herborde Normane, Owen Cussidin, Matt. Honan, Christopher Watson, John Taylor, Teige O'Brien, Ed. Boylan, Martin Muswery, Margt. Parker, James Bailley, John Simon, John Salisbury, John Warham, Connell Holloway, Simon Martin, D. Sullivane, Deunish Carroll, Teige Lynchy, Patrick McNamara, Thomas Talbott, John Lawson, Thomas Talbot, K. Whealan, William Stack.

The following papers—

CITATIONS,
PETITIONS,
EXCEPTIONS,
ANSWERS and REPLICATIONS,
DUPLICATIONS,
TRIPLICATIONS,
also REPLICATIONS CROSS,
INTERROGATORYS,
ALLIGATIONS,
FORMS OF,
also RENUNCIATIONS,
INHIBITIONS,
APOSTELL'S and APPEAL,
DENUNCIATIONS,
(Hiatus) In POPE'S CAUSE,
SENTENCES,
BONDS of MATRIMONY and others,
TERRIERS of GLEBE LANDS,
BONDS of the PROBATE of WILLS,
15 VISITATION BOOKS,
4 BOOKS of the (hiatus),
REGISTER BOOKS and
AN OLD TABLE of FEES,—

all which records and instruments are at present in the Registry of Dio. Killaloe, and have been deposited with said Ri. Morgan to ye care and custody of the aforesaid.

Fra. HAWKINS,
MORGAN.

In presence of Benj. Lloyd,
Jno. Machamara.

To the Right Rev. my Lord Bishop of Killalow.

The Representation of the Churchwardens of the United Parishes of Finoe, Cloghprior, Kebarron, and Teriglas.

Showing that ever since the restoration these foresaid parishes have been united, and consequently by the Act of Settlement, § 137, are to be understood as one parish, and in pursuance of which the several churches in ye above union, being out of repair, a vestry was called by

Rev. Jo. Hall, then incumbent, to be held in Bellinderry, near ye center of these united parishes, in ye year 1683 or 4, unto which all the freeholders and farmers of said Union came to consider which of the churches would be most convenient to be pitched upon for the Mother Church. And after a full hearing of all parties, it was at length unanimously agreed that the church of Finnoe should be the Mother Church, and to be repaired by the aforesaid united parishes for Divine service, and it was accordingly unanimously agreed upon that the sum of 50*l.* should be laid upon the foresaid parishes to repair the church of Finnoe, and to fit it for Divine service, and that Jno. Hunt, Esq. and Mr. Edward Legge should be churchwardens of the said Union to raise the said sum for the use of the said church, and Mr. McMerrit should be overseer of the said reparation.

This act was confirmed by the Right Rev. Dr. John Roan, the Bishop of Killalow, and the said money was raised and employed to the repair the said Church of Finoe, and that ever since, under the several Rectors, the aforesaid union has unanimously joyned in the keeping of the said mother Church of Finoh in constant and decent repair without any opposition.

Notwithstanding of which some ill-disposed persons upon frivolous pretences, in the parish of Teriglas, refuse to pay their proportion of the money laid upon the Union in this year, 1728, for the repair of their mother Church, the names of whom are hereunto adjoined and presented to your Lordship's Court. Humbly intreating that your Lordship will order a vigorous prosecution to oblige them to repair their mother Church, as they have always done, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws in that case made and provided.

ED. LEGGE, —. KILBURNE. } C. Ws.

October, 1728.

October, 23, 1728.

We, the Churchwardens, present the following, viz., *Imprimis*

John Barry	0	5	10
Mr. Cha. Minchin	0	9	9
Mr. Sam. Robbins	0	7	8
Mr. Richd. Biggs	0	18	6
Mr. Tho. Talbot	0	5	0
Hugh Hogan	0	2	6
M. Luscurry	0	2	6
E. Kingsboro	0	8	0

In all, presented eight persons.

Parish of Ballymackey.

Return of the several portions of tythes for ecclesiastical dues of right belonging to the Incumbent of the Union of Ballymackey, which consists of the following denominations:—Burrisafarney, Kilderrydadrom, Anaghmeadle, and Ballymackey. The two first are by the Down Survey swallowed up in that of Annaghmeadle, which contains altogether 5,983 acres. B'mackey contains according to same 5,963, &c. They are all Rectories endowed with the Vicarages, and all in the possession

of the Incumbent, by an Episcopal Union of the Vic. of Ballymackey, with the small contiguous Rectory of Templedowney, worth about 12*l.* per annum, is the Corps of the Chancellorship to which belongs the 3rd part of the tythes of the whole parish of Ballymackey and the Book money. Upon this Vicarage is the Church, which the whole Union has time out of mind resorted to, and contributed towards its repairs. The tithes paid in the above parishes are of all manner of grain, hay, wool, and lamb. The Book money, or small fees, are as follows, viz. :—

Every marriage, with licence, to minister, 10*s.*, to clerk, 5*s.*
Do. by Banns, 2*s.*, to clerk, 8*d.*
Churching, 2*s.*, to clerk, 6*d.*
Burials in Churchyard, 2*s.*, to clerk, 6*d.*
Inside Church, 8*s.* 1½*d.*
Chancel, 13*s.* 4*d.*

No first fruits payable, but a Crown Rent, 2*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*
Clerk receives 9*d.* out of every house at Easter.
The above is the state of the Parish and Union of Ballymackey, given into Registry 5th August, 1747, pursuant to ye 20 Canon.

PETER WYBRANTS, Rector.

The Rev. Fra Gore, Rector of Tradree, in a Tythe Case against Henry Desterre, of Rossmanaher, deposes that Desterre would not allow hay to be taken according to custom of country, "but offered it in cocks about the bigness of a man's hat." So also he separated and scattered the oats unfairly, item the barley.

So also Desterre cut down an Osiery to his own use untythed.

Then, further, "the tythe of potatoes, honey, geese, milk, pigs, and kitchen garden, Desterre applied all untythed to his own use, all to value of 4*l.* sterling. He would not consent to a valuation reasonable by his neighbour, Mr. Daulton.

Inventory of Mrs. Jane McNamara, or Wilkinson, of Balleyvalley. Very extensive. 1748.

Statement of Lord Inchiquin's presentations in Clare, made by Jas. Hogan (agent), 1749 :—

Killenaboy and Kilkeedy, entire. Inchicronane, ½. Disert and Rath, ⅓	Ambrose Upton, clerk, aged over 60 ; set at 170*l.*, well worth 200*l.*
Kilrush Disert, ⅔	60*l.* yearly. —. Ward, aged about 70, lives at Middleton, in Cork; worth 100*l.*
Rath, ⅔	—. Bolleyn, a young man, lives at Rosstellan ; worth 50*l.*
Kilmoon and Killeily	—. Cooper, a very old gent, lives in Cork ; worth 80*l.*

Vesey's Rectory, in gift of the O'Briens; without cure.

Ogashin, set at 250*l.*, to Pat. Tymons.

The humble petition of Wm. Smith to the Rev. Jno. Hawkins, clerk, officiall principal, and delegate to his Grace Mauritius, Lord Archbishop of Cashel, and Guardian of the Spiritualities of the Diocese of Killaloe.

Humbly sheweth unto your Reverence that whereas your Petitioner was, contrary to the Canons and Constitutions of ye Church, married to Susan Stamers (or Stramers), and thereof convicted—therefore submits to the jurisdiction of the Court, and desires ye benefit of commutation. And your Petitioner, &c., shall ever, &c.

Feb. 15, 1692.

I do hereby accept of the above Petitioner's submission, and doe order that as a commutation for the acknowledged offence he doe pay into Mr. M. Cogan's hands ye sume of one pound sterling, to be laid out for ye use of the Cathedral Church of Killaloe, over and besides all fees, &c.

JNO. HAWKINS,
Vicar Spiritual.

Marriage Bond in 100*l.* Ed. Derring and Susan Graunger, of Castle Keale, in Parish of Kilnasulagh.

Inventory goods, debts, &c., of Francis Gore, 1694:—

Ten bigg cowes at	£12	10	0
One heifer	0	10	0
One bullock, 2 year old	0	10	0
Two fillies, coming 3 years	1	10	0
Two mares	2	10	0
One yeow and a lamb	0	6	0
One sowe	0	5	0
Two Boro' piggs	0	4	0
1½ barl. wheat	1	4	0
A cowlter (sic), 11st.	0	1	10
A hatched, 6wt.	0	1	6
Two aggers (2 daggers, or augers)	0	1	0
Six ,, at	0	1	6
Produce of 2 beds potatoes, 10 bushels... ...	0	3	1½
Wheat sowed, 6 barls. produce	2	8	0
Oats sowed, produce 14 barls.	1	8	0
Barley (after sheafe, do.)	0	3	0
A small owld chest	0	0	6
A pott, or 10*s.*, one of Tiege Madigan	0	10	0
Portion-collop, due T. Madigan, the day he married, at 6*s.*	0	6	0
Total	24	16	8½

WM. EAMES, Donogh Horney.

Deductions to be taken out of the within inventory:—

Land rent	£2	8	0
To the doctor, value	1	13	0
To the smith	0	3	0

Paid for 2 quarts of kinnery (? canary)	20	5	0
For appoticary stuffe (sic)...	0	18	0
For funeral charges and legassies	4	7	6
To be deducted	9	12	6

Libellus. Rev. Jacob Lovey *v.* Jno. Baldwin. Tythes. Shinrone and Kitmurry.

To Rev. Jno. Hawkins, Vicar-General Diocese Killaloe. Humble petition of Wm. Huett, presented in your Court for fornication with one Mary Fitzgerald, to which your Petitioner submitted.

Forasmuch as ye Petitioner is thoroughly sorry for committing said crime, and also resolved never to commit the like againe, may it please your Reverence to grant Petitioner benefit of commutation, and be favourable unto him in the sum he shall pay.

Judgment.

I allow Petitioner benefit of commutation, and order him to pay, &c., 40*s.*—14*s.* into my hands, to be laid out for pious uses.

14th Jan., 1695.

Francis Heaton confeses that in King's County, before the wars, and when he was young and foolish, he committed sin with Mary Kennedy. Since he lived a becoming life as married man. Submits and begs not to be exposed to public penance.

Instead of open penance he is adjudged to pay 1*l.* and costs.

Matthew Kennedy, Kilcraggone, in parish de Larha: Roger Clery, de Kilpadda, Tirraglas parish; also Danl. Hogan, "oh crimen fornicationis," and being contumacious, were adjudged by public sentence, delivered in the parish churches of Larha and Tirraglas, *excommunicated;* and the congregation was also exhorted to have no commerce, consort, or dealings whatsoever with the above-mentioned, under penalty.

MAUR. COGAN, Dep. Reg.

To Archd. Amiralt.

1699.

Thos. Erby acknowledges himself guilty of the same "horrible and abominable crime," and seeks mercy.

Erby's Sentence.

Let Petitioner—extract (?)—by forme of penance, to be pereformed on Sunday in the church of Killrush, and then in ye church of Kilmurry, Clonderla, at the time of Divine service, also paying fees, to be discharged.

J. HAWKINS, Vic. Gen.

Denunciatio, 13th Sept., 1697, of several, addressed to Rev. Mr. Meade, Rector of Roscrea, for publication, viz.:—

Roger Dooly, Cehaucen, fornication.
Ml. Leo, Bourney, clandestine marriage.
Pat. Murphy, Roscrea, fornication.
Patk. Leo, do. do.

The humble petition of Honora Hogan in a paternity case against one Tiege O'Brien, of Brien's Castle, prays a warrant against his father for abusing and beating her, and begs relief.

Petition "for jactitation of marriage against Wm. Ryan, of Corbally, who . . . . and threatened to murder his wife, and betakes himself to (——) whom he declared to have bewitched him, and gives yr Petitioner no subsistence."

Ordered, to sue *in formâ pauperis* for jactitation, dissolving the marriage with this charming partner.

Citation of Wm. Shagnessy, of Byrrs (sacerdotem). 1699.

John Ryan contra Hewet Bridgman, Armiger Libellus, in causa recovationis in administrat. Cath. Ryan al Bridgman, nuper defunct.

Thomas Moriarty allowed to commute 1*l.* and fees. Fornication case.

A charge against Isaac Jackson, of Clonlara, of incest, made by Widow Reynolds, is compurgated.

One witness swears she knows Mrs. Reynolds and her son; knows them to be grievous enemies of Jackson, &c., of several quarrels, &c. Another son made a shot with bullets at this Jackson.

Another swears Jackson "a good, pious, and honest man, of good fame, &c.; his hateful enemies, the Reynolds', invent lies against him." (And so the case goes on, covering over 28 long pages of close contracted writing.)

Mauritius Stacpole is excommuicated.

David Fitzgerald excommunicated for substraction of fees (sic), submits and promises to abide and stand by mandate of Court, and asks to be absolved.

The humble petition of Michael McMahon, of Ennis, charged in a case of fornication, submits, is adjudged thus:

"To perform the usual penance on three successive Sundays or holidays in churches of Ennis, Kilnaboy, and Killaloe during Divine service: also to pay fees and 2*l.* to pious and charitable uses."

31st Jan., 1700.

J. Hawkins acknowledging the recpt remitting fees, and discharges Ml. McMahon.

James Stritch pleads to have erred in ignorance against Court, and is absolved.

Margaret McNamara's paternity case.

And "a caveat to issue that no license of marriage between the co-respondent be granted with any other woman; also an inhibition against his marriage."

The humble petition of Margaret Hiernane, too poor to pay fees of administration.

They are remitted, and liberty allowed.

To John Ouchterlony, Surrogate.

A petition to proceed *in formâ pauperis.*

Loughlin Meehan, charged with fornication, being free to take his oath, does so publickly that he is innocent of said charge, and is discharged from any probation against him.

Slaney McNamara allowed to sue *in formâ pauperis* Teige Croghane for breach of matrimonial contract.

Donogh McMahon offers to exonerate himself on oath of charge of fornication.

Edmond Ruarke confesses, submits, and pays 40*s.*

Elinor Kennedy, a poor widow, administration without fees.

Richard Carrol deposes and certifies that Thos. McNamara has been his apprentice, and "is capable in the knowledge to be an atturney" (sic), &c.

The humble petition of Daniel Ferala, accused of fornication or adultery, deposes that the party concerned is a married woman, and himself "seventy years of age or above," and therefore——.

His petition is discharged on his paying 10*s.* cost, &c.

His compurgators are—

John ——.
Wm. Digan.
John Bentley, C.W.
Henry Rossington, do.
Wm. Hayes.
Ed. Malinge.
Jno. Welsh.
Roger Hamellton.

} The 2 Parsons of Kilseily parish.

Marriage Bond. John Malloney of Drumoland, and Eliz. Huddleston.

Augustin Fitzgerald confesses the fact of fornication, and instead of publick penance, is adjudged to pay (with fees of Court extra) 5*l.* 15*s.*, to be disposed to pious and charitable uses, and then he be discharged.

1702. J. Hawkins, V.G.

James Burke, item 1*l.* 10*s.*

Case of Hemsworth *v.* Moore, clerk. Substraction of tythes . . . at great length.

Elizabeth Gibbon, of Ennis, widow, against James Purcell.

In re distribution of goods under will.

Caleb Minnett, of Kneigh, having been tried at assizes and acquitted of rape, confesses to fornication.

He is "ordered to do penance publickly during Divine service on three several Sundays at Killaloe, Nenagh, and Birr; and, until penance is performed, is to stand suspended from all Divine offices and communion."

Sept., 1701. J. Hawkins, V.G.

Case of slandering of Robert Lydall, at Silvermine.

Paternity case by M. Keating, als McMahon, of Clonroad. "About one year ago she contracted herself in marriage, and did likewise confirm the same by their mutual oaths in the presence of witnesses." Ah! poor Mary!!

("And such is the fate of village maid,
By love's false artifice betrayed," &c.)

Robert George swears he is guiltless of the charge against him in the matter of — Murphy, and is hereby discharged of the crime.

(A Batch of Nice Boys.)

"Patrick Mulrihill, Brian McMahon, Henry Judge, Jno. Dundon, Thos. Cooley, Thos. Cooley, Jas. Marrinane, Rob. Harvey, Wm. Carrig, Dennis Lynchy, James Porrit, P. Walsh, L. Liddane, Wm. Neilan, and D. Haly, are required to appear at the Consistorial Court, 30th January, 1717, between 8—12 a.m., to hear and see themselves excommunicated for their manifest contempt in not appearing to answer concerning their respective crimes of Sabbath-breaking, fornication, and adultery. Fr. Hawkins, Dep. Reg." Which excommunication was solemnly executed and stands duly recorded 11th December, 1717.

James Dabbins, clerk, certifies that he read a mandate and paper in church of Clondagad and Kilfaboy 2nd January, 1717, in reference to David Haly, and that David Haly has since condoned and married the woman, &c., &c.

A case of substraction of tythes in Corbally, denied on part of MlBergin, of Roscrea.

Meade *v.* Meaher.

Impugning testamentary interposition.

Bookmoney in Killaloe Cathedral.

John Healy farmed out the bookmoney of Killaloe to petitioner, Pat Butler, and the Chapter threatened to proceed for deficits, but "the parishioners are refractory in paying the money." And petitioner prays himselfe excused of so much deficit, else to have such compelled to book-up. He gives a list of the refractories, thus :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Dan. Cullan, of Clonfay, for burial money and offerings ...	0	3	2
J. Reddane, of Rooghe, for churching his wife and offerings ...	0	3	2
J. Madigan, of Trough, for burial	0	2	6
E. Murphy, Glanlow, churching, &c.	0	3	2
D. Cullane, for churching, burial, and offerings	0	5	2
J. Ryan, Killaloe, churching	0	2	6
J. Street, the like, &c.	0	3	2
Joseph Allen, burial and offerings	0	3	2
. McGullolimedy, churching	0	2	6
Consl. Mullowney, of Ballyquin, for burial and offerings ...	0	3	2
P. Kennedy, Ballygibbin, burial	0	2	6
	£1	14	4

Another case of bookmoney in Dysert Par.
The defaulters here were—

	£	s.	d.
Eneas McEnchroe	0	2	6
J. Hogan	0	3	0
A. Grifa	0	1	2
J. Do.			
&c.			

The complainant is admitted to sue and process in formâ pauperis.

Elizabeth Cooke, a very poor woman, whose husband had been late parish clerk of Dunkerrin, and admitted by Rev. Mr. Tovey out of charity to occupy a house and garden free on the glebe lands of the parish. The widow now begs to be allowed administration in formâ pauperis, &c.

Florence McNamara, "a young gentleman very much under his father's frown," begs commutation for the confessed crime of fornication. Plea allowed. Fine, 10*s*.

Petition of four orphans, whose mother married again, and the goods of their father were taken from them. Administration free.

Mat. Cusacke is cited at the suit of Rev. Jas. Vandereur.

Mary Bonfield, *alias* Wolfe, of Ennis, petitions her discharge, and excuses an appearance. She had been charged with adultery, but the case had been disproved by the co-respondent. And she could not attend without risk to her life, "being to a height troubled with the dropsy, and, as the doctors tell her, with a consumption." That the charge came through "the barbarity, malice, and wicked inventions of James Burke's wife," &c.

Next comes a defamation case, in which certain Whitnells, Gores, and Coles are concerned. They are from near Nenagh.

Then comes a case of vituperation and scandal at O'Callaghan's Mills, between Mr. O'Callaghan, a respectable gentleman, and McGrath, who greviously maligned him.

After this a bond of 100*l*., in case of appeal to Cashel Court.

An inventory of the goods of Wm. Deane's substance by Thomas Carroll.

Thomas makes out his first item thus :—

Paide to the *Jug* (sic) of the Court... ...	£11	0	0
Paid to Mr. Haughens for righting (sic) a letter	0	2	0
To father Pat. Hogan	0	5	0
To father John Guilfoyle	4	5	0
Then he gives a list of the cattle and a sorrell horse, and "55 sheeps" and "5 putter dishes"			
(Then, inter alia,)			
"Querons and the driser"			
Total	51	17	0

William Walton, of Dungan, and his son appointed sequestrators of tythes of Kildysert, &c., livings of Jno. Lawson, deceased, in 1711.

License of marriage, Rich. White to Anne Harstinge.

Inventory of the assets of David Molony, deceased, and of Thomas Nash, tailors, late of Gortacorky—

The fourth part of 10 2-year-olds sold at Spaniel Hill	£3	2	6
More to the 4th part of 1 do. sold... ...	0	5	6
To the 4th part of a yearling's skin ...	0	0	11½
A mare, bridle, and saddle	3	0	6
An old bed, one sheet, and quilt	0	15	0
" 3 yards cloth; scissors, 1*d.*; wigg powder, 1*d.*; shoe and knee buckles, an old stock			

Inventory Will. French, Culroe, farmer, deceased.

Letters of tutelage and tuition in re Whittens, yeoman, Parish of Birr.

Inventory, true and perfect, by exor. of Ri. Henn, late of Paradise, deceased, 14th July, 1717:—

25 cows	£21	4	0
16 calves	2	8	0
93 4-yr-old bullocks	164	0	0
98 3-yr bullocks and heiffers	132	5	0
86 2-yr-old b's and h's	64	10	0
23 1-yr-old b's and h's	9	4	0
2 horses	5	0	0
738 sheep	129	3	0
Interest in farm of Ballynagard	133	0	0
Do. Effernane	66	0	0
Do. Ballynamally	448	0	0
Do. Canon Island...	411	0	0
Do. Cuney Island	176	0	0
190 lambs	14	9	0
Rights, debts, and credits	1300	0	0
Beds, linen, dowlas, and all other sorts of household goods	50	0	0
Total	3137	0	0

This is a large sum for those times. The prices of stock may interest agricultural readers, and contrast curiously with present prices.

The humble petition of Wm. Hogan, excommunicated for contempt and non-appearance. He wishes sentence taken off, to enable him to go to the Sacrament next Sunday, manage his business, and clear himself in the Court Sentence. January 8, 1713. "I did absolve the petitioner tantum ad cautelam after he was sworn destando in" articulo (?)

In 1722. The churchwardens of Cloney, Quin, and Doory, being Da. Bindon and Fra Sweeny, do present the following as refractory and not paying the Church rate for the use of the Church.

In Cloony—

	£	s.	d.
J. Stapleton for Derrycaliffe	0	2	0
J. Connell for Carrigal	0	2	4
for Maghery	0	3	11
for Ballyverkin	0	2	3
Ri. Greene Connor of Rathcluney	0	1	5¾
Do.	0	1	5¾
Do.	0	1	5¾
Geo. Meaher for Ballyorahane	0	2	4½
Jas. McNamara for Mucknish	0	3	2
D. Hickie, Derby O'Brien, for Corbally; John Miller for Tunnoghnore...			

Doory Par.

Bat. McNamara for Ballyorbla	0	1	9½
Roger Do. for Moyreisk	0	3	5½
P. Hickie, Finanagh	0	2	6½
Drum	0	0	11
Clancy for Mumnea	0	1	10¼
Hashea for Knockcscribbol	0	0	10
Bat. McMara, Nouhaval	0	2	3
Dr. Barnaby O'Loghlin for Knockanean ...	0	1	2
Teige Clancy for Doory	0	3	0
Randal McDonnell, Esq., for Kilbregkane-more	0	1	0
Beg	0	1	0
Donagh McTeige for Shanakiel	0	2	0
D. Hallynane for Dromdoloty	0	1	0

The foregoing is the list of the refractory.

Ed. Egan swears that Revd. Mr. Meade has been inducted to living of Roscrea, and believes impugnant John Meagher to be indebted to promovent Mr. Meade—

For nine purifications	£1	2	6
For offerings at Easter and Christmas, due for 26 years past	0	8	8
For his marriage	0	4	0
	1	15	2
Of this the (shabby) impugnant only paid...	0	1	3
Due	1	13	11

Thomas Westropp of Ballysteen, and Robert Westropp of Fartane, Co. Clare, decline to act as executors of last will of Henry White of Carrigtoher. 1727.

Account of what Mr. Michael Mahon of Ennis, merchant, died seized and possessed of. 25 Sept., 1738.

A long list ensues, covering three pages folio, closely written. On

the fourth page, which doubtless was the outside or verso of the document, appears the following:—

"Acoumpt of Mr. Michael Mahon of Ennis, merchant, his effects, and several ould bonds. The people that past them were dead, fled, or gone a begging. And most of all the bonds Mr. M. Mahon had are worth nothing" (!!)

Then follows about a lease from Henry Brigdale, do. from Capt. A. Gore of Parks, betwixt Clare and Ennis, do. from Anthony Roache. Then comes a very respectable wardrobe, including no less than "three wiggs." Among the live-stock appears the prodigy of "a leam cow, a mayor (sic) and her filly," &c., &c.

Mr. William Carden's letter for a licence to marry, in which he tells his relative, the V.-General, that his hopes of happiness with this lady are built upon her having so "great a sense and knowledge of her duty to God and man, that any reasonable man can't fail of being happy with her." This lady was Miss Colborne, and it is hoped there was more happiness found than in the following case, in which

Mary Armstrong, wife of William Armstrong, of Mt. Heaton, prays for a separation from bed and board on account of cruelty of her husband. But he challenges the allegations through his Proctor.

William Bowdy, of Sixmile Bridge, is cited for diffamation (sic) and other reproach by Mrs. Gray.

The inventory of John McNamara, brogue maker, of Killaloe, reaches the total of . . . . . 5*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, while that of "the Rev. Mr. Henry Birch, deceased, reaches only 28*l.* 6*s.*, including "one black horse, value 2*l.*"

The following does not exhibit much satisfaction at the way his father "cut up," or at the share coming to him.

Rev. Sir,—I have had by my father, as a child's division of his household goods, three or 4 beads and beadsteads (sic), with half-a-dozen old pewter dishes, one dozen old plates, with some wooden vessels, and 3 old metal pots, being the most of what goods he dyed possessed of in his old days, which I certifye to yr Reverence this 19 March, 1734.

Inventory of Thomas Antissell, of Shraduffe, gentleman, Co. Tipy.

Chattles	...	... 1798
Goods	...	... 251
Debts	...	... 220
H. Furniture	...	50
		£2321

CHA. CASSIN, Admr.

Substraction of tythes due to Rev. W. Chamberlaine, of Borrisokane, *v.* James Reynolds, of Tunbrickane.

Petition of John Ringrose and Richard Harrison, gentlemen, sets forth that they were chosen churchwardens of Tomgraney parish, and returned and registered as such. But having neglected to attend the

visitation "through ignorance and inadvertency," were justly decreed contumacious for contempt, and incurred the dreadful sentence of excommunication, being thereby made unfit to partake of the prayers of the Church, or of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, for all which they are heartily sorrow, &c., pray absolution and admission into Church.

(This shows what serious consequences excommunication brought.)

Inventory of Emanuel Poe, of Solsboro', 1748, 953*l.*

Inventory of Mrs. Alice Blood, deceased, exhibits, *inter alia*, the following, belonging to the lady's wardrobe, whereby some idea may be had of "the style" in Clare in 1750.

33 caps	0	8	3
15 do.	0	18	6
5 pair ruffles	0	5	8
22 caps	0	1	10
5 Cambric Hkerchiefs ...	0	15	0
4 worked...	0	12	6

a striped silk gown.
do. blue taffety, do.
do. black poplin, do.
3 cloaks, viz,, scarlet, laced, and velvet.
a capusheen.
a china gown.

Timothy Vaughan, of Glanomera, goods and chattels ...	£22	16	0
Debts, &c.	21	5	0
Balance			

Wm. McNamara, of Doolen, *v.* Davoren.

Substraction of tythes in 1756.

These were farmed by McN. for Rev. Ambrose Upton, &c.

"Miss Fanny Darby, of Ennis, is apprehensive of some ill offices being shown her relative to her sister's death, who by right she is heiress to." Caveat issued in her behalf.

John Bean seeks protection of the Court to save him from a strange will, made by his father some time in 1754, when he had got a fall from his horse and "fractured his head."

Mrs. Catherine Bowdy is excommunicated for contempt in not appearing to substantiate her charges of defamation or reproach against Mrs. Mary Henchy, contrary to charity.

I do nominate Rev. Mr. Thomas Stephens, my curate, in the Prebend of Tomgraney, at 40*l.* per annum, 26 September, 1752.

GODFREY MASSEY.

Inventory of goods, &c., &c., of John Minnett, of Chapmansparks, that came into the hands Mr. Robert Minnett, of Knigh——, 1731.

Execution of will and testament of William England, of Ennis by, Timothy Lucas, of Ballymacooda, Co. Clare, 1739.

In a case of defamation, viz., J. Sayers *v.* Fra. Kennedy, of Ennis, the aforesaid Fra. not being mindful of his soul's health, and regardless of the penalty of the law, did, contrary to charity and brotherly love, use opprobrious and defamatory words, &c.

Sayers desires justice, and that F. K. should retreat and revoke, or else suffer and pay.

Deposition of John Hickey concerning the will of Jno. McNamara, of Dromgreely.

Marriage bonds. Thomas Browne, of Ballyslattery (Newgrove), and Elizabeth Smith, of Dunagrogue. 1694.

Arthur Ward and Elizabeth Spaight, of Lodge. 1698.

Hugh Hickman and Anne Hasting. 1702.

Philip Kelly and Jane Morris, of Coolsuppoon, 1702.

John Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Deane.

Thomas Power and "one Margt. Cunnone, of Kildysert." 170¾.

Jas. Creagh and Ellena Morony, 1703.

Marriage licence of Cornet Blackwell, of Castle Connell, and Fra. Humphret, widow, 1680.

Bond Marriage, John Hyde to marry Susanna Rollestone, of Towlough.

Do. Joseph Griffin and Mary Woulfe, of Craglea. 1692.

Do. John Harrold and Anne Hickman, of Barntick. 1692.

An information on presenting of a drunken clergyman (one Crafford) is found signed by Sir Wm. Parsons. Aug., 1704.

Letters of tutelage of the bodies and goods of Danl. Kennedy, &c.

Marriage, &c.

Fras. McNamara and Bridget Redden, of Garrembuy. 1702.

Caleb Minnet having been excommunicated, earnestly desires to be absolved, and promises to obey the dictates and mandates of the Court and the mother the Church, in everything lawful and honest. 1706.

Joseph Allen, of Ross, yeoman, of Killaloe, excommunicated, earnestly desires to be absolved. 1706.

Marriage bonds.—John Head and Cassandra Merritt, of Finnoe. 1707.

Francis McNamara, of Moyreisk, tutelage bond.

Marriage bond, Mary Gregg, of Ennis, and Henry Moore. 1710.

John Hogan, of Ballyphillip, in county Tipperary, excommunicated in a matter of contempt in a tythes case, prays absolution. 1682.

Marriage bond. John Chawner and Mrs. Anne Alt, of Kilenellane, county Tipperary. 1761.

(This name Alt may be noticed as forming part of the well-known word of Terror in the earlier part of the 19th century in Tipperary, viz., Terry-Alt. And the agrarian disturbers and murderers of that district got the name from the heroic defence made against one of their midnight attacks by a certain "Terence," or "Terry Alt.")

Thomas Matthews has this day, 3rd June, 1710, obtained license for a marriage with Honora O'Brien, of New Hall.

December, 1697.

The humble petition of Elisha Badnett,

Humbly sheweth that your petitioner, upon some false and malicious information, hath been summoned to your Consistory Court of a pretended fornication committed upon Anne (sic) Child; that your petitioner could not attend upon the first summons because when he intended to prepare his horse for the journey, the smith drove two nails into the quick, so that your petitioner could not come unless he came afoot.

That your petitioner is a stranger, banished his own country for conscience sake, and accused or hated by his Papist neighbours, who, to vent their malice, gave this scandalous information against your petitioner; that your petitioner was not presented by ye churchwardens, neither did he give any manner of occasion for being thus abused.

That your petitioner is satisfied that nobody will or durst appeare publickly and charge him with any such crime.

And forasmuch as your petitioner is a stranger, and falsely and maliciously accused, neither presented by churchwardens nor any of his Protestant neighbours, but by such as would doe your petitioner all the prejudice they coulde in ye dark, when they would not nor durst not appeare to accuse him publickly,

May it please your Reverence that your Court may not be made an instrument by such people to persecute your petitioner, who is fled as far as he could from persecution, and to dismiss your petitioner; and he shall ever pray.

Order of Court,

December, 1697.

If the petitioner will, for the satisfaction of the Court and my justification, purge himself by his voluntary oath, let him be discharged; which oath you are hereby empowered to take and administer.

J. Hawkins, V.G.

To Mr. M. Cogan.

Libel: in causa substractione salary vel. fæd. Henry Birch (Rev.) *v.* Danl. Hickey.

Joseph Magrath contra Eleanor Clearyin. Causa matrimonial, 1693.

The petition of James Molony to be dismissed in a most wrongful charge, and for getting his costs.

The matter was substraction of tythes by ploughing out the potatoe land in Affock.

Sentence on Hugh McLosky.

(Ennis.)

The said H. McL. is to extract his form of penance to be performed publickly on three several Sundays in time of Divine service. One in the Cathedral, Killaloe; one in the parish of Kilseily; another in the oratory, Ennis; and to bring certificates of his due performance.

J. H., V.G.

Dec. 1699.

Sentence of excommunication against Brian McMahon-fadda and others.

January, 1700.

The humble petition of Rob. Jackson, a very poor man. Sheweth that he most unhappily met one Anny Doogan on the road from Nenagh, near Crannagh, and being then in drink, &c., &c. He prays that "in regard of he is a poor, infirm, sickly man, now in consumption, and not likely to live long in this world, to allow his penance to be commuted to a small sum." June 1701.

Mary Wallis, a very poor woman, prays the Court to order alimony to herself and child from Edmond ffalia, of Castletown, yeoman, who contracted himself to her in marriage, and by his fair promises and ingadgements invaigilled her (sic), &c. Allowed to plead *in formâ pauperis*, and assigned Ri. Carrol, one of the Proctors, to act in her behalf.

Wm. Murphy, summoned for profaning the Sabbath, and not appearing, is excommunicated. He petitions that out of ignorance he did not appear, and is absolved tantum ad cautelam.

By J. H., V.G.

Lord Inchiquin's presentation of John Shepherd to Killnemona, &c., with the Bishop's return. July, 1705.

In 1711, 13th Aug., there issued a circular citation to several (some 25 to 30 parties) to answer charges of heinous crimes alledged, viz., fornication, adultery, temerarious administration of goods, pro ebrietate, &c., &c.

The humble petition of Joseph Ringrose, being a young man and unmarried, unhappily became acquainted with Hester Scott, a young woman living near Scarff, &c., submits and humbly deprecates public penance.

Sentence is, that he must do the penances duly in Tulla, Feackle, and Tomgraney churches, &c., also return certificates accordingly. Jan., 1711—12.

Messrs. Thomas Blood and Ed. Hogan present several parties for non-payment of their due share of the tax layed on certain parishes for the repair of the parish church of Killeneboy. 17th Feb., 1713—14.

Thomas pro dia Dia Laonen Epus issues sentence of excommunication, and orders it to be read in parish church of Killeneboy by Rev. Ambrose Upton, R. et V., in the midst of Divine service, and when the church was most largely attended. The sentence was against Wm. Hogan, of Ballylickey, ob adulter cum, &c., and being contumacious in not appearing to answer charge and submit.

Ambrose Upton, R. and V., records that he read the sentence accordingly.

Certificate from Thomas Armach states that Francis Corbet, clerk, curate of Dungannon, took the oaths as directed by law. Sept., 1714.

Nicholas, Bishop of Killaloe, in 1715, issues a comprehensive citation to answer the following charges: ob fornicat, ob adult, deeds of profanation (including temerar administrat Bonorm, in latter case Rob. Thad Crowe de Ennis.

Thomas Blood and Ed. Hogan, churchwardens of Killeneboy, present the undernamed for not paying their proportion of the tax laid on them for repair of parish church of Killeneboy. 12th April, 1715.

The names cover ten pages folio, closely written, and include the largest as well as the smallest holders responsible in the parishes.

An account of a Vestry held at the church of Killeneboy on Easter Monday, 22nd April, 1712.

Seventy-four pounds applotted as necessary for the payment of what were repayred and not yet finished of the church of Killeneboy.

JOHN JONES, Minister.

THOS. BLOOD
FRA. O'BRIEN } Churchwardens.

[Probably this was the demand neglected or resisted, which was enforced by the parties being presented as above.]

Inventory of goods of Nathan Patterson, late of Burriskain, deceased, by Mary, his widow and relict. Total, 254*l.*

Thomas Dalton is to answer Anne Stammers, of Nenagh, in a matrimonial cause or case of contract, and the same T. D. is likewise inhibited during the pendency of the suit either to marry or contract himself to any other person, upon pain of contempt, 1721.

In reference to the case of Ann Stamers *v.* Thos. Dalton (supra), the following were deposed to inter alia by Mrs. Magrath, of Inane:—They made a mutual contract of marriage, and swore same upon Holy Evangelists before witness and others. The said Ann Stamers brought forth a daughter after the said contract of marriage, which T. D. owned as his child. He also wanted to bring a priest to marry them. He wrote the letter, dated 19th April, 1722, which closes with these following words:—"I now insist on leaving the blame entirely on your side. You may assure yourself it is a mighty concern to me to be refused by a lady I had so great a regard for as Madame. Your affectionate humble servant, T. D. Madame, excuse me for being a Tom among the maids." (!!)

Patrick McNamara, of Kilrush, stands excommunicated on a charge of substraction of tythes preferred by Mr. Nicholas Comyn (2nd June, 1721), and the congregation are to be forbidden upon pain of law to deal, keep company or society, or to correspond with the above.

Case of Rev. Mr. Meade, of Roscrea, *v.* John Meagher, of Inane,—Substraction of Tythes.

Presentment of the Union of Drumcliffe, made by churchwardens Rob. Hickman, Stan Warham, 29th July, 1723, for non-payment of church rates:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Morgan O'Brien, Cragg	0	15	11
Hugh Kelly, Leford	0	2	2
B. Griffa, widow	0	0	4
J. Fitzgerald, for Drombiggle	0	1	1
Darby Dooley, ib.	0	0	10
Dan Cusack, Leford	0	4	5½
Denis Dwyer	0	0	4
James Burke, Clonkelan	1	8	1
Mr. P. Herte, for Lisbekane	0	8	4

Mr. Wat Hickman, Furror	0	3	4
J. Hickey and Lucius Wilson, for Ballinacraggy ...	0	7	8
James Hehir, Cappaghlegh	0	3	2
W. Cunningham, ditto	0	3	3
Ter. Mighane	0	1	7½
D. Murphy	0	0	9
M. Murierty, for BallimaCooda...	0	3	2
Thos. Crean, for Killuhir	0	1	11
H. Brigdall, ditto	0	0	9
Jas. Connell, ditto			
Roch's, for Knocktana	0	2	2½
J. Dondon, Kilmali	0	4	10
D. Bonfield, Knockmore	0	2	9
J. Gilarigh, for Portiganiff	0	4	9
Pat Roughane, Clonlaghine	0	1	0
J. White, High Rock	0	4	10
H. Neale, Derrygariffe	0	0	4
Thos. Hervey, for Rathkerry	0	5	3
D. Nunaghan, for Derryganif	0	2	3

KILLONE.

Mrs. Honor Matthews, widow	0	14	8
D. Considine, Dromadrehid	0	4	10
J. Considine, Drummuckaleagh	0	5	3
Captain James Aylmer, for two Killurks	0	9	4
Flan. Mulvihill, Knockanoura, &c.	0	9	4

FILNAMONA PAR.

Pat Culinan, N. Power, &c., Balrashet...	0	8	9
Howlet Parker, Ballinakely	0	8	3
Ri. Griffin, Rushane	0	8	9
T. Barry, Knockakarne	0	5	5

CLARE ABBEY PAR.

Darby Ahern, of Ballwanavan	0	1	9

KILRAGHTUSH.

Mr. Hy. Stamer, for Clonkery, &c., Molagha... ...	0	6	9
Jas. Griffa, Ballygaffa	0	2	6
Laurence Crowe, of Droumgraugh	0	0	4
M. Fitzgerald, for James Rosslevin	0	5	7
D. McNamara, Molagha	0	3	6

TEMPLEMALY PAR.

Ri. Griffin, Ballycory	0	17	5
Nora Hogan, widow, Ballynee	0	0	7
J. Hurley	0	7	9

PRESENTMENTS FOR TULLOE PAR.

March the last, 1724.

Dear Sir,—I send you the names of those that wont pay us the church tax of the parish of Tulla, therefore I desire you will send processes or

citations for them, and an account of the fees we are to make them pay if they compound.

PIERCYVAL HARTE.

P.S.—Let as many as can be put into each citation.

May 25, 1725. A citation is issued against several widows for temerarious administration.

Sarah, w of Rob. Spooner.
Dorothy, w of Thos. Folen, of Ballintotty.
Maryanne, w of Thos. Lewis, of Birr.
Maryanne, w of Dan Carroll, of Kilcregane.
Christina, w of T. Otway, of Lisheenarrit, and others.

Arthur Lowe Allen, rector of Kilmore, desires right and justice against Teige O'Brien in the matter of bookmoney substracted from 1736—1740.

I do hereby certify that I did read and publickly publish the within-written English dockett, appended to a citation for contempt, and openly warn the said persons, John Carroll, Thomas Cleary, Darby and John Kilmartin, in the parish church of Birr, during the time of Divine service, on Sunday morning the 28th inst.

Witness my hand and seal, 1742.

JNO. BARTON, Minister.

Answer of John Short, of Gurteen, to Mary Short, in a pretended libel of restitution of conjugal rights.

Bishop Witter, or Wytter, D.D., a native of England, came to Ireland as Chaplain of James, Duke of Ormonde, and was successively made Dean of Ardfert, Prebendary of St. Michael's, Dublin, Dean of Donn, and Chancellor of Dromore. He was promoted to this see by patent, August 19, 1669, and was consecrated in the following September at Cashel by Thomas Price, Archbishop of Cashel. Dr. Cotton (Pref. xvi.) mentions a triennial visitation of Killaloe in 1672, which must have taken place in Dr. Wytter's time. Of this there seem no traces to be found at present in the Record Office, the officers of which, in the kindest way possible, aided in procuring the diocesan documents for full examination by the writer.

In the singular paucity and dearth of matters of interest, indeed of records of the affairs or of the clergy of this Episcopate available to the writer, it is necessary to pass forward into the times made interesting by more stirring events. Bishop Wytter died in Dublin, March 16, 1674-5, and was buried in St. Michael's Church, having by his will left several

benefactions to his church of Killaloe. He likewise gave £50 towards providing communion-plate for the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin (So Dr. Cotton). A copy of his will may interest—a will "written in great pain and haste," as the prelate mentions, which is indeed evident from his trembling hand and struggling words.

Sber. 24, 1671.

In the name of God Almighty and most merciful. Amen.

I humbly resign my soul to my gracious God, trusting to be saved by his mercy and my Saviour's merits. My body to be decently buried at Killaloe (if I die there); my heart I leave to the Church of England, whose doctrine and sanctions I have always had in highest veneration; my fidelity to our King, whom God bless; my love to all, even to my enemies; and I crave forgiveness of all I have injured, either in word or deed, from my prince to the meanest subject. I leave my gratitude and prayers for all my benefactors, especially my Lord Duke and his family, which God prosper and protect.

I leave my rents and goods, after paying my debts (Mr. Shuckborough is he they [sic] I owe most to), the fourth part of all (my debts being paid), after my stock, books, and furniture are sold, to be disbursed for the use of this Church, to buy a silver flagon for the altar, the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer to be hung in the Church, and the rest to go for his adornment within, except 10*l.* of that fourth part, which I give the poor of the parish, and 10*l.* to old Elizabeth Harbottle.

I leave another one-fourth to my cozen Susan Carleton, after my debts paid, another one-fourth to my cousin Sarah Wittar, now in Dublin, and the remaining one fourth part to my cousin Elizabeth Backhouse and Wm. Wittar. If my cousin Yorke continues after me him (quære, then) my brother's son.

I heartily desire Dean Pheasant, Dr. Andrews, Dean Smith, Lt.-Col. Finch to see my will faithfully executed, to every one of which I leave a gold ring. *Written in great pain and haste* (!!!)

DAN. LAONENSIS (Loc. Sig.)

Sealed in presence of Jasper Pheasant, Ptr Laonens, John Limerick.

What debts I owe, to the best of my remembrance a sudden, (are to be) paid to Mr. Wm. Yorke, Limerick, merchant, moneys due for wine, boards, brandy, what he (demands). I believe him honest, and have found him kind. Let him be paid to a penny, with what interest he desires. And my greatest and best ox, which I long since gave him to Mr. Ri. Shuckborough, of Dublin (——) my very good friend, 40*l.*, and use from day of loan; besides I assign him (for) a ring at least 20*s.* 15*l.* to Mr. Merrick, which I have given an order to Roger Lee to pay to Mr. Taylor Morian (?) at Skinner's Row. I confess about 13*l.* or 14*l.*, for I cannot now look for his bill. But what his note or book speaks for, I do not distrust him. Let there (?) be paid what I owe in Limerick

for phis(ic) or any other thing, or anywhere else. Let my servants be paid their wages to a farthing: to Mr. John Lillies 10*l.*, which I wish may be paid carefully with the first that is paid. The moneys of the clergies towards the disbursement of them intrusted for the stopping of the intended imposition. 5*l.* I have ordered to be paid by (?) my good Lord Bishop of Killaloe to Dr. Stiles. What moneys are yet left unpaid for the candlesticks given by me to the College. Dr. Stiles can best give an account of this. What moneys are due Mr. Page of Dublin, &c.

In the Appendix No. II. on cathedrals, it will be found how that in the year after this Bishop's decease the Dean and Chapter undertook some extensive repairs upon the cathedral of St. Flannan. And it is more than probable these were undertaken from the testamentary benefactions of the Bishop, to "the fourth part of all his net residue of rents and goods."

In 1675 John Roan, or Roane, D.D., said to have been a native of Wales, and educated in Brazenose College, Oxford (?), though he did not graduate there, came over to Ireland, but under the patronage of what great man or governor has not been recorded. However, his own merits and excellent good qualities became the best patron he could have had, and recommended him for promotion. He became Dean of Clogher in 1667, and was promoted to this see by patent dated April 19. He was consecrated in the following June at Cashel by Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by Bishops of Waterford and Limerick.

Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, entertained a very high opinion of him, and on March 17, 1674-5, wrote thus in his favour:—"The Bishop of Killaloe being lately dead, I have herewith sent you the draft of a letter for placing that bishoprick upon Dr. Roan, the present Dean of Clogher. He is a very grave man, of good life, and one every way qualified to be a bishop; wherefore if you please to get the letter despatched, I shall take it as a kindness. P.S. The Bishoprick of Killaloe is the lowest of value in the whole kingdom."

And a very unfortunate circumstance for the diocese this proved. Writing again March 30, he presses Dr. Roan's suit to Lord Ranelagh in these strong terms:—"I have recommended Mr. Dean Roan, a very grave man, and one who has the repute from all here to be very deserving, to succeed in that place. I am told that Mr. Dean Smith, of Limerick, is

endeavouring, by my Lord Ormonde, to get into this Bishoprick. This hint, I send you that you may enquire, if it be true. And I doubt not but, your Lordship will use your endeavours that I be not baffled in a thing of this nature." (p. 109.) Just at that time the great Duke was not in very high favour at Court, or rather indeed the Court was under his disfavour. So Mr. Dean Smith did not obtain the prize he coveted, though a "Bishoprick of the lowest value in the kingdom."

The closing years of King Charles the Second's reign were by no means happy. As a pamphleteer in 1689 phrases it, "This king, insensible to that illustrious providence which put him on his throne, and regardless of God's word, gave up himself to sensuality, airy phantasies, and crafty policies, and most ungratefully by an evil example transfused a torrent of all kind of vice, fraud, injustice, profaneness, contempt of religion, and all manner of impudent wickedness, all over the nation." (Reflections upon the Occurences of the last year; London, 1689.) One therefore may expect any movements, no matter how inconsistent, under such a ruler. Conspiracies abounded in these times, whether real or sham ones let others decide.

A form of prayer with thanksgiving was ordered to be used on Sept. 9th—being the day of thanksgiving appointed by the King's declaration to be solemnly observed in all churches and chappels within this kingdom, in due acknowledgment of God's wonderful providence in discovering and defeating the late treasonable conspiracy against His Sacred Majesty's person and government. "By His Majesty's Special Command" —Dublin, 1683. In this order of service appears the following, inter alia, "Strengthen the hands of our Gracious King Charles (*who was a Papist all the time*) and all that are put in authority under him, with judgment and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction, that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church among us, &c." Also, "We yield unto Thee, from the very bottom of our hearts, unfeigned thanks and praise for the late signal and wonderful deliverance of our Most Gracious Sovereign, his Royal Brother, and loyal subjects of all orders and degrees, by the fanatic rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men, appointed as sheep to the slaughter in a most barbarous and savage manner. From

this unnatural and hellish conspiracy, not our merit," &c. And to carry on the system of universal collusion, deception, and censure, there is among other evidences of Popish plots and Irish conspiracies being hatched, a curious paper, still extant, in which one John Macnamara, a county Clare man, swears to an extraordinary conspiracy extending over the counties of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Clare. The objects of this were to raise men (p. 7, *ad fin.*) in every county of Ireland, and that superior officers might meet, that they might return an exact account of their forces to the French King, which being done, and all things ready, the said King would land many thousands of his own men upon the coasts of the river Shannon and march to Limerick, possess themselves of the city and King's castle, and expel all the English very suddenly. "One of the means for preparing the way to bring all this about was by stealing horses in various counties (p. 17), and keeping same in charge of agents of the Earl of Tyrone." He swears he found out this through the Titular Dean of Waterford, Robert Powre by name. And (in p. 2) gives the following account of a curious inducement proposed in a sermon preached by one Edmond Poore, a Jesuit, "the substance of which was to let the congregation understand that they had an indulgence from the Pope of Rome granted them, and liberty to eat flesh on Wednesdays. But in the conclusion he told them that there was *a consideration* for which so great a privilege as that was granted. At the time of his confession (this informant being then one of that religion), made his confession, and (being warned of the great sin of divulging), was informed that the aforesaid indulgence and liberty was granted on this account, that whoever was in a capacity to help and assist the holy cause in the present designs, and which had been in hand for a long time, might have the benefit of the aforesaid indulgencies, which was a pardon of sins for many years. He further added that the clergy were to have the benefits and profits of the tythes accrewing out of each parish, with the glebes and Monks' lands, and appurtenances belonging unto them, which the heretics had wrongfully possessed for a long time." ("The Information of John McNamara, gent., touching the Popish plot in Ireland, carried out by the conspiracies of the Earl of Tyrone and others,

his confederates, to deliver up that kingdom to the French King, and establish the Popish religion therein. Being all matter of fact, and delivered upon oath to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament in November, 1680." London, 1680.)

But however it may be as to "all the above being matter of fact" or not, it must be borne in mind that a committee was appointed so far back as 1661, to desire the Lords Justices that a bill may be prepared for the suppression of the Popish hierarchy in this kingdom, and the Lords Justices assent. Also the Lord Chancellor promises to supersede several Irish Papists who have got into the Commission of the Peace in Connaught. Also in 1662 two Bills were prepared, one for the suppression of the Popish hierarchy, and the other disabling persons not taking oaths of allegiance and supremacy from serving in Parliament, read and approved, *nem. con.*, after solemn debate by the House upon the first reading, and presented by the Lord Lieutenant for transmission. (See the Commons journals.) Thus this reign closes as it began in suspicions, censures, strifes, and discords.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE, ETC., IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE SECOND.

In these pages it is enough to remark, by way of general introduction to days of change and a season of sorrow, that the infatuated King first attempted to overthrow the liberties of England and crush under foot the Protestant principles of his people. And when foiled in this insane project, he risked his last desperate cast in Ireland, against terribly adverse odds, upon the chance of handing over the Island, purged of Protestantism, to become an appendage of the French Imperial Crown. This is the third persecution in succession which, within the space of some fifty years, befel the Church of Ireland. The first was carried on in the way of surprise and massacre; the second in the way of fanatical and democratic retribution; the third, under colour of legal form, made the Constitution subvert itself. All three fell with peculiar severity upon the Diocese of Killaloe.

From a curious paper entitled, "Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly submitted to the Most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons at THE GREAT CONVENTION at Westminster" (Jos. Watts, London, 1689), the following particulars are taken, as indicating the impressions of the English concerning the needs of Ireland:—

III°. That whosoever hath the Crown of England is, ipso facto, Sovereign of Ireland.

V°. Without the subjection of Ireland England cannot flourish, and perhaps not subsist.

VI°. That Ireland was never in such danger as it is now.

VII°. That the Protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruined.

VIII°. That no people in the world are in so miserable a condition as the Protestants of Ireland. For they are not only insulted by their own servants, and in a certain way of beggary, but are also in continual fear, and under imminent danger of being massacred.

XVII°. That the Protestants are already damnified to the value of 3,000,000*l.*, and in 3 months more will suffer as much again.

XVIII°. The Protestants of Ireland had been eternally ruined if it were not for the glorious achievements of the Prince of Orange.

XIX°. The policy and true scheme of government was totally subverted in Ireland. The army was disbanded with circumstances as bad as the fact, and Papists introduced to guard us against themselves. And Irish brought to garrison within those walls that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX°. The law was likewise subverted. For, the force and energy of the law being resolved into trials by jury, when the judge, sheriff, jury, witness, and party were all of a piece, and that in a country where perjury is so frequent that Irish evidence is become proverbially scandalous, what could an English Protestant expect but that many notorious murders should pass unpunished, many forged deeds should be trumped up, and many hundreds of English indicted, drawn in question, and prosecuted without as much as a probability or colour of truth.

XXI°. These injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our religion and nation destroyed there by law. For they dissolved all corporations on forged or frivolous pretences, and in so precipitate a manner, that they did not give competent time to draw, much less to review, the pleadings. They projected to call the eldest sons of Popish noblemen by writ, and so made themselves sure in both Houses of an Irish Parliament.

XXII°. That the disbanded Protestant officers deserve and are fit to be employed in the recovery of Ireland.

XXIII°. That the Prince wants neither courage, conduct, reputation, or zeal.

With such statements taken from the English Loyalist and Protestant standpoint, and with the full and clear account given by Archbishop King in his great work upon "THE STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND," as well as by other writers of the time, also with certain unpublished documents at hand, the great difficulty will be how to offer, within a moderate compass, anything like an adequate illustration of all the injuries, wrongs, losses, dangers, and sufferings endured by the members of the Reformed Church in the Diocese of Killaloe during this reign of terror. With a decided liability rather to an under than to an over-statement, the following particulars of evidence are adduced as bearing upon the state of the Protestants of the Diocese of Killaloe during this reign.

And 1st as to Corporations.—In the list of the constituent members of the several *new* corporations established by King James II. upon the ruins of the old ones, destroyed by *quo warrantos* and forced surrenders, as taken from the Patent Rolls of the Court of Chancery (Harris, Wm. III. Appendix, p. x.), the following are given for

XIX.—Innish.

David White, merchant, Portreve.
Burgesses, 12.
Daniel, Viscount Clare.
Dennis O'Bryen, of Duogh, Esq.
Florence McNamara, Esq.
John McNamara.
Pierce Creaghe, merchant.
James Casey, merchant.
Peter Rice, merchant.
Andrew White, do.
Andrew Wolfe, do.
Obadiah Dawson, apothecary.
James White, merchant.
John Lentall, vintner.
Denis Casey, town clerk.

In the old MS. Corporation Minutes, some time in the hands of the late Thos. Crowe, Esq., D.L., Dromore, the following spirited remonstrance is registered :—

(31). 16 May, 1687. Then the Freemen would not allow the new Charter to be imposed on them. Whereas the Provost and free Burgesses of this Burrough were served with a writ of [illegible] against the Charter of the said Burrough; that the Provost having received an account from those concerned in said Charter, that there should be a meeting of the Provost, Burgesses, and Freemen, and Commons to consider and return what revenues and immunities belong to the Corporation, and what they would have added in the same Charter, if agreed to be taken out; that thereupon the said Provost, together with John Gore, Esquire, one of the Burgesses, did this day meet in said Court House, where were several freemen, &c., made acquainted with the same.

Mr. Sylvester O'Hehire stood (sic) and took upon himself and said that he was employed by the Freemen of the said town to speak and declare their mind, was not contradicted, whereupon he declared if a charter be imposed upon them, and they must take it out, they would take it out themselves, and that no country-man be burgess or freemen. But that they would have all within themselves. And what all said (was) that they would have no charter if it could be avoided. And that they would apply themselves to the Government.

2ndly. The Manner in which the Army was Constituted, and how the Men Behaved.

In respect of the constitution of the army of King James II., Lord Macaulay has represented, rather broadly, that the officers were "cobblers, tailors, butchers, or footmen."

To have vanquished an army led by such a contemptible set of quasi-soldiers as these was a lowering of the glory due to the heroes of Athlone, the Boyne, and Aughrim. Anyone who looks through Mr. D'Alton's "Army List of King James II." must come to the conclusion that, so far at least as the regiments connected with Tipperary and Clare are concerned, there can be no doubt of the majority of the officers being gentlemen, and some even the very flower of old Irish chivalry. The chief of these regiments was Lord Clare's Yellow Dragoons, in which are found the names of McNamara of Cratloe, Magrath, Fitzgerald, Shaugnessy, O'Bryen, Quin, Cahane, Purdon, Hogan, Perry, Clancy, Neylan, Sullivan, O'Dea, Hurley, &c. But, curiously enough, Mr. D'Alton states that, "By an order of Lord Tyrconnel to Colonel John Russell, 18th June, 1686, that officer was directed to receive into his regiment, and to rank there on his respective companies (inter alios) Lieut. C. O'Bryen, Lieut. T. O'Brien, Ensign T. O'Bryen, Ensign M. O'Bryen." These were all doubtless pronounced partizans of the anti-English and anti-Protestant interest; but whom they superseded, and why those superseded were so dealt with, will be no matter of difficult surmise with those who have duly considered the arbitrary and bigotted manner in which Tyrconnel dealt with the army under his control. (See King's "State" and Wellwood's "Memoirs.") Much the same state of organization belongs to Colonel Dudley Bagenal's regiment of infantry from Tipperary South. The case of Colonel Oxburgh and his infantry from Ballybrit and the Southern portion of King's County somewhat differs.

On Mr. Dalton's authority it is stated that, by Royal mandate on the 12th of July, 1689, Colonel Heward Oxburgh, Owen Carroll, Esq., Captain John Dunne, Captain Andrew Kelly, Pierce Bryan, Esq., and Thady Fitzpatrick, were constituted provosts marshal of the King's and Queen's Counties, *with powers to proceed, according to the course of martial law,*

against robbers, thieves, and Tories, with whom, as stated, these countries were infested.

Here, some notice must be taken of this Oxburgh, who he was, and how he became colonel, and what he did with the aid of martial law at his back. In the Impar. Narrative of Sir L. Parsons, written in the reign of King William III., and extracted from Cooke's "Parsonstown" (p. 112), the following exhibition is given of this colonel. In April, 1687, Sir Lawrence Parsons and his family went to England in consequence of the Lady Parsons having been threatened to be impeached by a man who had formerly been a servant in her family. Previous to his departure from Ireland, Sir L. appointed Captain Heward Oxburgh his agent, with directions to remit him 500*l.* yearly, and to apply remainder of his fortune to pay certain debts on his estate. Sir L. being a year away without any remittances, returned, and found Oxburgh advanced to the office of High-sheriff of King's County. The town of Parsonstown was at that time garrisoned by the troops of the Marquis of Ormond, under command of Capt. R. Grace, who ordered his dragoons to turn their horses into the castle meadows. This was done, and Sir L. remonstrated in vain. In vain, too, he applied to his faithless agent Oxburgh for redress. He could not interfere; and if there were wars in Ireland Sir L. must expect no favour, was his reply. But what of the receipts unaccounted for by Oxburgh as agent, and how was he to discharge his liabilities? He had taken up from the tenants 3,000*l.*, which he had applied *to the raising of the regiment of infantry* so gloriously paraded in Mr. D'Alton's pages. He was its colonel, and he also got up a regiment of dragoons for one of his sons. After awhile an occasion offered, by which Sir L. was deprived of the active and friendly aid of a powerful friend at the helm of affairs, who was then principal Secretary of State in Ireland. At this period the country about Birr was much infested with robbers and raparees; in particular one Fannin committed serious depredations in the way of murder and burglary; and Sir L., when the poor people around flocked to him for protection, protected in his castle some four score of his neighbours and tenants, with their wives and children.

Oxburgh now saw his way to settle accounts with Sir L. Parsons, and accordingly reported him to Tyrconnel for having

fifteen hundred armed men within his castle, and keeping smiths busy in making warlike implements. Colonel Garrett Moore was sent to inquire, and to disperse this force. But he gave a certificate (original copied in Cooke) that there was no such force, and undertook to prevail with Tyrconnel that the castle should not be turned into a garrison. But Oxburgh prevailed that it should; he also demanded possession, set up a siege with his twenty-two companies and a troop of dragoons, and at length accepted a surrender, artfully drawn up to the great disadvantage of Sir L. And, finally, Oxburgh seized upon his person, with five of his principal tenants—viz., John Phillips, Philip Moore, R. Knight, J. Bury, and J. Rascoe; and kept all six in close confinement in the Castle of Birr, spending Sir L.'s money, and imprisoning one John Clay, who asked the tenants, on behalf of unfortunate Parsons, for some of the rents due, to procure the very necessaries of life. In three days after the arrest of Sir L., Mr. Jonathan Darby, of Leap, and his brother, were arrested and put in the same prison; also Mr. Thomas Roe. (Then follows an account of the trial, of which more hereafter.) From the time of the surrender of the Castle, two companies of Colonel Oxburgh's regiment were quartered in it, and did great damage there, stripping the shingles off the building for firing, to which purpose they also applied all the timber and wooden vessels in the place. At this period Colonel Oxburgh's regiment consisted of twenty-two companies, two of which were quartered in the Castle, and the other twenty in the town of Parsonstown, as was also Captain John Oxburgh's troop of dragoons and a company of infantry commanded by Lieut.-Col. Robert Grace. Then Lord Tyrconnel was expected to come and review the troops, and Mr. Phillips, Sir L.'s kindsman, was, with his family, turned out of the Castle, and Captain John Baldwin's fat oxen, and Mr. J. Darby's fat wethers, were seized and slaughtered for his Excellency's entertainment. However, Sarsfield came instead, and carried himself well towards all parties, making no distinction between Protestant and Catholic, but courteously treating all alike. Oxburgh's regiment was drawn up for review, and while the Colonel was inspecting the troops two soldiers suddenly threw down their appointments and ran out of the ranks, which Sarsfield espying, put off his

jack boots and pursued them. They were soon overtaken, and brought back by him, and ordered to be shot; but Colonel Oxburgh's wife and daughter being hard by in their coach in great pomp, threw themselves upon their knees supplicating for mercy, and the generous warrior Sarsfield, yielding to their entreaties, forgave them. At this review Sarsfield disbanded nine companies of the regiment.

Passing from Oxburgh and his regiment, which he employed not to protect, but to plunder and dispossess the King's subjects for Oxburgh's own dishonest ends, we must now take a brief glance at Lord Clare's dragoons, called yellow, from the colour of their facings, and see how they conducted themselves, not indeed as yet at Lisnaskeay, nor yet behind the palisades on the Boyne, but while quartered in their own county. And if this was "the flower of King James's army," of what sort must have been the fag end of it, and how they acted will be no matter of surprise to any. On this subject Sir Toby Butler, King James's Solicitor-General (ancestor of Colonel Augustine Butler, of Ballyline), writes the following explicit letter to Sir D. O'Bryen, Bart., at Ennis:—

Dublin Castle, 17th December, 1689.

Sir,—When I found that eight troops of Colonel Daniel O'Bryen's dragoons must of necessity be sent into that country, and remembered the sad complaints made heretofore of them, I could not think of a better expedient than that you should appoint their quarters, and that you should receive affidavits of any extortions they should commit, and send them to the Secretary here, that they may be corrected and payment made to the parties injured. I would be glad to preserve all places, and particularly that county, though I have no interest of my own there now, but my acquaintance with—I cannot direct you on this point who knows the county better than I. But I suppose dragoons cannot hope to keep their horses all at hay, and therefore good grass and some corn would do well, which I believe the western parts of that country can afford reasonably. As for the men, since it is impossible to quarter all in the towns, there being none there, I do not know how it can be done better than to send a quota to each chief landlord, and they to distribute them among their tenants, and the troopers to buy their beef and mutton, corn or bread, which the head landlords would see delivered at reasonable rates, and we to put them westward, and a troop at Corofin, another at Kilfenora, for I must advertise you that what part you place at Ennis, I believe will not be long there, and therefore when orders come, you must have a prospect where to dispose of them.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

THEOBALD BUTLER.

(Transcribed from Colonel William A. MacDonnell's Book of MS. collections on Clare affairs, which, with other valuable information, was kindly and courteously placed at the writer's disposal.)

If the yellow dragoons practised such systematic rapine in their own country, what pleasant folk were they not for the chief landlords to be responsible for feeding, &c., and how delightful the recompense too, in the debased coin of James—even if they should touch it at all.

"It may be well to give here a brief notice by Dean Davies of SOME MILITARY MOVEMENTS in this side of the diocese, he being chaplain with the troops of King William, 1690, September 14."

I preached at Thurles about Contentment in Heb. 13, 5.

18th, the garrison that was at Burryokane marched through the town towards Kilkenny, being relieved by some French that are quartered there. They told us that hearing some cannon on Monday last towards Roscrea, they sent two dragoons to inquire into the matter, who, near Lisnaskea, meeting with seven of King James's horses, and mistaking them for friends, were shot in the back mortally. There came also a trumpeter through the town from the enemy to treat about exchange of prisoners, and with him a soldier as his guard, who told us that Sarsfield had besieged Birr, and that the cannon we heard was there. That our army was on its march to relieve it, under command of Douglas and Kirk.

In *Macariæ Excidium*, the operations are thus fancifully described:—

Young Tiridates (Duke of Berwick), at the head of 4,000 foot, 2,000 men-at-arms, and as many light horse, passed the river Lycus (Shannon) into the province of Salaminia (Leinster), where he attacked the castle of a Cicilian (English) knight, to which he applied his rams and other battering engines, though it might be easily gained without any such trouble. But upon an alarm of the enemy's advance to relieve the place, though with a party much inferior in force, he decamped, and his shameful retreat much discouraged the army and the nation.

3rdly. THE OCCUPANTS of the LEGAL TRIBUNALS, as well as other functionaries, and HOW they ADMINISTERED JUSTICE between man and man, also in particular between the Protestants and the Crown, may here receive a few notices and illustrations. The trial of Sir L. Parsons gives a good idea of what may have been the general method in such cases.

On the 27th March, 1689, the prisoners (L. Parsons, Jona-

than and John Darby, Esquires, of Leap Castle, and Thos. Roe, and others) were sent, under escort, to take their trial at Philipstown assizes. (So the Journal, pp. 15, 15, per Cooke.) On their arrival in the county town, they were conducted to the house of one Robt. Molesworth, which was the only place of entertainment in the town. On the 28th the Judge, Sir Henry Lynch, arrived also at Molesworth's, and immediately ordered the Sheriff to remove the prisoners (whom he called traitors) out of the house. Whereupon they were conducted to the house of one Thomas Rutland, in which they were well guarded by soldiers, who actually stopped in the same room with them. Soon after their arrival they were informed of the charges upon which it was intended they should be tried on the 30th, and which were as follows :—

Sir L. Parsons, John Phillips, Philip Moore, Randal Knight, John Bury, and James Rascoe for high treason, in keeping the Castle of Parsonstown as a garrison against the King. Jonathan and John Darby for high treason, in rescuing Captain Ri Coote. And Thos. Roe for high treason, in holding the house of Ballinmoney against his Majesty. Of these, however, Philip Moore was never indicted.

The accused retained Lieut.-Colonel Owen Carroll and Mr. Henry Oxburgh, the colonel's eldest son, as their counsel, not so much expecting any kindness or assistance as in hopes of abating their malice, and consequently the fury of the prosecution. They also retained a Protestant lawyer of the name of Cliff, who exerted himself to the utmost in their behalf.

The day of trial was now arrived, Sir Henry Lynch was the presiding judge. He was passionate, furious, overbearing, a professor of the Roman Catholic religion ; rage so overcame his reason that he would scarcely suffer the prisoners or their counsel to speak.

When the jury was called over, they proved to be men of little or no property ; and the prisoners excepted against some of them for not being freeholders, but the Court informed them that they must all join in their challenges, and not except altogether against more than twenty peremptorily. Ultimately a jury was sworn, composed of the following persons, viz., George Sankie, Rich. Reding, Oliver Nelson, Robt. L'Estrange, Owen Coghlan, Ignatius Archer, Andrew Fitzgerald, Philip Molloy,

Cosney Molloy, Robert Cusack, and John Kelly. (Only eleven names.)

Of these Sankie was nephew to Sir H. Sankie, who was married to Sir L. Parsons' sister-in-law. This conscientious juror was asleep during the whole trial in consequence of intoxication. Reding was an ignorant young man, never before upon a jury. Nelson afterwards felt severely the stings of conscience for having agreed to the verdict; and, with the exception of L'Estrange, who pretended to be a Protestant, all the rest were Roman Catholics, and of course in those days steady adherents to King James.

The first witness examined was a person of the name of Cornelius Cleer, who was a creature of Colonel Oxburgh's, and therefore prejudiced against Sir Laurence. This witness deposed that Sir L. built a wall of defence against King James's army; that he made spike-holes it, and kept guards night and day; and that he made a portcullis over his gate, and regularly exercised the persons in the castle. The next person produced was Bryan Coghlan, who was the principal servant of Colonel Oxburgh, and by him employed in receiving Sir L.'s rents during the time of his confinement. He proved the perfection of the articles of surrender of the castle by Sir L. to Oxburgh and Lieut.-Colonel Grace—the counterpart of which was written by this witness. Ignatius Archer, who was one of the jury, corroborated the testimony of Cleer. Archer was originally a little shopkeeper in Parsonstown, but was, from his great zeal, advanced to a lieutenant in Capt. Pay's company of Colonel Oxburgh's regiment. Captain Wm. Dulhunty, who from being a private trooper, was promoted to a captaincy in the same regiment with the last witness, gave evidence to the like effect. A trumpeter in Captain Ri Coote's troop, who became an approver, deposed that there passed a great deal of private conversation between Sir L. and Captain Coote at one Darby's, wherein Sir L. said he would raise fifty cavalry for Captain Coote. He likewise swore that Moore was present at the interview. Lieut.-Colonel Carroll also appeared as a witness against Sir L., although he professed to be of counsel for him (!!), and proved the perfection of the articles of surrender, to which he was a subscribing witness, and himself the very person who, under mask of friend-

ship, induced Sir L. to sign them, assuring him that they were only matter of form (!!). The evidence having been closed, Sir Henry Lynch caused the articles of surrender to be read, and declared that they were implicated in an overt act of high treason, and charged the jury to find all the prisoners guilty. The jury soon agreed on a verdict against Sir L., Jonathan Darby, and James Rascoe. The rest of the prisoners, *having no property to forfeit, were acquitted (!!)*. It is here worthy of remark that there was no evidence whatever against Rascoe, yet he was convicted, in consequence of his having been a man of property, consisting of malt, leather, and hides, as he had extensive trade as a maltster, tanner, and skinner.

As soon as the verdict was announced the Sheriff ordered Darby and Rascoe to be ironed. But Sir L. being lame with the gout, it was unnecessary to bolt him. The trial took place on the 30th March, 1689, and the convicts were brought up for judgment on the Monday following, when they were sentenced *to be hanged, drawn, and quartered,* but happily after reflection, the judge reprieved Sir L. for a month. He, however could not be prevailed upon to reprieve Darby or Rascoe for more than ten days. Darby was therefore obliged to send off a solicitor to Dublin, who, after much trouble, procured a month's respite from King James for his client and Rascoe. Upon the conviction of Sir L. he was transmitted under an escort of military to Parsonstown, where he remained imprisoned until 2nd April, 1690; during which period he was several times reprieved. He had also the misfortune to be attainted, as were likewise his son and brother, by the Parliament held in Dublin under King James II., in 1689, in which the before-mentioned Colonel Oxburgh and Owen Carroll sat as members for the King's County.

Parsonstown was also represented as a borough in that Parliament. Archbishop King says that Sir L. escaped from death, because they did not think it safe to execute him, until the war was over. Certainly such apprehensions might have had their effect. But the suspension of the execution of his sentence is also in a great measure to be attributed to various sums of money paid by his friends from time to time in the shape of bribes.

At this period, April, 1689, Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Car-

roll was Chief Commissioner of Oyer and Terminier, and the King's Commissioner for seizing on forfeited estates, as also on the property of absentees.

Colonel Oxburgh, who was father-in-law of Carroll, with the weakness ever incident to narrow minds, conceived himself eclipsed by his son-in-law's greatness, and therefore sent his son, Captain Henry Oxburgh, to Dublin, to solicit Government to invest him with the office of Provost Marshall of the King's County. No sooner was this granted, than Oxburgh showed his authority by riding through the country in great state, and causing gallows to be erected in several places. Amongst the rest, he had a gallows with three pegs put up in the streets of Parsonstown, which was then supposed to be intended for the execution of Sir L. Parsons, Mr. Jonathan Darby, and Mr. James Rascoe. This gallows was erected on May-day, 1689, and was, therefore, ever after called Colonel Oxburgh's Maypole. At Shinrone, he also caused another gallows to be erected, on which he hanged a poor man because some mutton was found hidden in his garden. After Sir L. and the other convicts were brought from the Assizes, they were confined in Parsonstown Castle; but the noise and insults offered to them by Oxburgh's soldiers were so unsupportable, that they were obliged to apply to be removed to the common jail—which was greatly out of repair—although Colonel Oxburgh had received money for putting it in order. Sir L. therefore, on being brought thither, applied to Colonel Oxburgh to lay out some of the money which he had received for its reparation; but all to no purpose, for Sir L. was ultimately obliged to repair it at his own expense.

On the 15th June, 1689, Oxburgh came to visit Sir L. in his confinement, informing him that he was to march next day with his regiment to the North, and requesting to know who Sir L. would wish left in care of the castle. Sir L. requested him to commit it to his kindsman Mr. John Phillips. But Oxburgh next day appointed as governor C. Cleer, the person who gave evidence against Sir L. on his trial. The man was afterwards dubbed governor, and was so notoriously litigious that he went by name of *Councellor Cleer*. Lieutenant-Colonel Carroll and one L. Harman, having been appointed by the King Commissioners for disposing of the forfeited estates, Oxburgh,

previous to his setting out with his regiment to the North of Ireland, took from them *all Sir L.'s estates for one shilling and sixpence an acre, and the town of Birr thrown into the bargain.* Having thus become possessed of the property, he made abatements to the Irish tenantry, and made them allowances for the losses occasioned by the calamities of the times; but the English he kept to the rigour of their former engagements without remorse or pity.

Sir L. being thus deprived of his property and liberty, his wife and children were supported in the town of Manchester, by presents from their friends and relations, afterwards gratefully repaid. His son William, then very young, wrote to threaten Oxburgh with vengeance, if a hair of his father's head was injured.

Sir L.'s journey to Dublin and subsequent most righteous release, we must only barely mention. But poetic justice must needs depict the fate of this Oxburgh and his family. The father soon dies, so do his two daughters, all sadly and suddenly. The eldest son joins King William's army, but is ere long disbanded, and lives at Boveen, near Birr, with his mother, in such a state of distress that she is forced to employ her coach—that coach wherein she had sat in such glittering pomp on the day of Sarsfield's grand review—in carrying fire-wood for sale into Birr market in order thereby to maintain herself and family. How the begrimed and tattered and tarnished "*shanderdydan*" must have groaned under the dead weight of its new loading—groaned too must Mrs. Oxburgh often, and her poor heart have sunk within her as she trudged along the weary road to Birr on her ignominious daily task. *Ev της αλλαγῆς.* Many a stirring drama has ofttimes been woven out of less brilliant materials, and smiles of fortune not a whit more changeful and inconstant have pointed a moral and adorned a tale of high classic renown.

So far of *law*, and afterwards of *arms*, in King's Coy. Here a note must be struck as to THE STATE of LAW and its ADMINISTRATION in Coy. TIPPERARY in these sad times.

In section 36 King notes that "A great many in the Coy. Tipperary were likewise brought into trouble, but escaped the first time by a kind of miracle. One of the jurors was so maliciously bent against them that he swore he would die before he would acquit them. It happened to him according to his own desire.

He fell dead in the place while they were disputing about returning the verdict, which saved the gentlemen for that time; yet this did not discourage their prosecutors. They caused them to be indicted anew, and upon their second trial Justice Macarty, afterwards made Lord Mountcashel by King James, came into the court, threatened and lectured Sir John Meade, who then sat as judge for the Duke of Ormonde, it being within his Grace's Palatinate, because he would not direct the jury to find him guilty. But Sir John stood his ground, and declared that there was no sufficient evidence against them. On which they were acquitted. It vexed them that they could not bring their Popish sheriffs and judges into that county, as they did into the rest of Ireland, by reason that the nomination of them was in his Grace as Lord of the Regalities. And therefore, in their pretended Parliament, they not only attainted, but likewise by a particular act dissolved his principality. Their first plot against the gentlemen of the country having miscarried, they began a second, and got depositions against several; but they were as unlucky in this as in the first. They laid the scheme of their affairs so unskilfully that the witnesses swore that the gentlemen met to carry on their plot *at Nenagh*, a place about 50 miles from Dublin, on the *same* day that some of them had been examined before the Council-board on the first informations. This appearing to the Council by an entry made in their own books, quashed the design against them, and saved them a third time. It would take a volume to enumerate all the particulars of this nature."

4thly. The following evidence goes to corroborate Archbishop King's statements, under the head of SUBSIDIES, TAXES, AND FORCIBLE SEIZURES. (See Section 52.)

The Parliament granted the King a tax of 20,000*l.* per month for thirteen months, which the kingdom could hardly have paid if it had been in its most flourishing condition. But they knew it would fall most heavy on the Protestants, who must be forced to pay it out of their ready money, having lost their stocks generally by plunder, and deprived of their rents and income.

In Mr. D'Alton's lists of Counties Assessments the following are the Commissioners for Clare:—

The High Sheriff pro tem, viz.,
Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart.
John McNamara of Cratelagh, Esq.
Donough O'Brien of Donough, Esq.
Daniel McNamara, Esq., of Ayle.
John McNamara, Esq., of Mayriff (Moyreisk).
James Aylmer, Esq., Cragbrien.
Florence McNamara.
Saml. Boyton (quære) Burton,* of Buncraggy.
John McNamara, Esq., Collector.
The Provost of Ennis, pro tem.
(quære) John Gore of Clonroade.

Their applotment was 1,798*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for three mos.

* See note at end of this chap'er.

As to the HORSES pressed in Coy. Clare, the following letters and lists must interest especially the reader connected with the localities concerned :—

To the Right Honble the Earl of Lymericke.

20 April, 1690.

My Lord,—According to your Lordship's commands, I send a list of the chief gentlemen and ablest persons of this county, whose name I have returned to the respective high constables, to be summoned immediately to bring in their ablest horses without any delay to go to Cork for his Majesty's service. Lt.-Col. McNamara was with me at the making of this list, and has sent a squadron of dragoons to each high constable to go about with them and immediately to seize such of the said persons as refuse or delay the bringing in of their horses, and to carry them as prisoners before your Lordship. This course will, I hope, expedite the business, so as that I make no doubt but a good many of the horses will be at Lymerick a' Monday next, and the rest soon after according as the distance of the places from whence they are to come will allow of it. My Lord, it is the want of horses generally throughout this county, which have been taken from the people by dragoons and others, (and not the want of a good will to serve his Majesty with all they have) that makes this county so backward in sending their horses, as your Lordship says they are. But now I hope what they send will please your Lordship, and that you will not impute any default of this to me. Since I have endeavoured and always will be ready to execute your Lordship's commands.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

DONOUGH O'BRIEN,
Sheriff of Co. Clare.

I send also a copy of my warrant to the constables, and you may see I have not omitted to do all I can in this matter.

Warrant.

By virtue of the Right Honourable William, Earl and Governor of Lymerick and Province of Munster, and the forces therein. His orders unto me directed bearing date the 19 of April inst., and likewise his Majesty's commands of the Revenue unto me directed. A copy whereof is hereunto annexed. You are upon sight hereof to wait in person with a squadron of your Dragoons upon the High Constable of the Barony of ( ) in order to raise strong horses for carriage upon the respective gentlemen of the said Barony, for which Sir Donough O'Brien directed his warrant to the High Constable; and if any of the said gentlemen and inhabitants refuse or delay to comply with the said Sir Donough O'Brien's warrant, you are forthwith to secure him and bring him prisoner to the Earl of Lymerick. Herein you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

D. O'BRIEN, Sheriff.

25 April, 1690.

[From Col. MacDonnell's papers.]

We add *the list of "the chief gentlemen and ablest persons in the coy."* whose horses were to be taken from them, and themselves arrested and imprisoned in case of refusal or delay to comply.

BARONY OF TULLA.

Thomas Spaight,* Teige McNamara of Legort, Simon Purdon, Esq., John Grady, James Grady, gentleman, Florence McNamara, Esq,, Henry Thornton, Daniel McNamara, Esq., Donough McNamara, of Kanna, Nicholas Magrath, Henry Tuey (q. Toohey), Captn. Teige McNamara of Ranna, Henry Bridgeman, John Cusack, James Stacpole, John Magrath, Ambrose Pery, Edward Nagle, Patrick Arthur, Teige Malony, Donagh McNamara, of Derry(f)ada.

BARONY OF BUNRATTY.

John McNamara, Esqre., Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., Thos. McNamara, D. McNamara of Gra, T. McNamara, John McNamara of Moyreisk, Esqre., Roger McNamara, Edward Uniacke, Managh Grady, Andrew Creagh, John Magee, David Bindon, Captn. Edward Fitzgerald, Captn. John Fitzgerald, Edward Pympton, Ignatius and Patrick Connell, Ed. Delahoyde, Francis O'Brien, D. McNamara, John Clanchy, D. McNamara, Giles Vandeclure (sic), William Reyall, T. Dillon, Wm. Butler, Henry Coopp, Michl. Comyn, H. Destare (sic), Richd. Glue, John Resine, Peter Warge (quere Ward), John Colpoyse, Sir Oliver Boorke, Man. Grady, L. Grady.

INSEQUIN BARONY.

Thomas Blood, Ed. Hogan, M. Dea, D. Grady, Pierce Butler, D. O'Kearyn, H. Hehir, Ed. Hehir, M. Griffa (? Griffin), Lt.-Col. Donough O'Bryen, Captn. D. Neylan, L. Hehir, Ri. Connell.

CORCOMROE BARONY.

Donough O'Brien, Esqre., of Ennistymon, Esqre., John Hurley, Bryan Hanrahan, Thos. O'Connor, James Coffee, Wm. McDonagh and his two sons, Darmod O'Teige, James Fitzgerald, Murtagh O'Bryen, Danl. Clancy, Thos. Clancy, Andrew Hehir, Ml. McDonagh, Boetius Clancy, Captn. Micl. Lynch.

BURREN BARONY.

Colonel Terlagh O'Loghlen.

His son, Dan. O'Loghlen.

Murtagh O'Brien, Constance Davoren and Hugh N. Davoren of Ballyvorohugh, James Davoren, George Martyn, William Davoren, Wm. Lamer (?), Edmond Breen, John McDonagh, D. Roe O'Loghlen, J. O'Daly, John Mariaghaun (quere Moynahan or Marinan), M. Davoran of Nuohaval, J. MacDonagh.

IBICKEN BARONY.

Augustine Fitzgerald, Andrew White, Edmond Duyer, Patrick Comyn, — Quillinane, The Lady Dowager of Clare, McNihill.]

MOYFARTA BARONY.

James MacDonnell of Kilquee, Henry Hickman, Edmond Mulrooney, C. Considyn, Bryan Cahane (Keane), John Vanhogard, Ri.

* See note at end of chapter.

Creaghe, The town of Kilrush, Murtagh McMahon, Dermot Consedyn, Ri. Scott, Pa. Wolfe, J. McNamara.

CLONDERLAW BARONY.

Montiford Westropp, Thos. Crofton, J. Linchey, T. Considyn, P. White, Connor McMahon, Rob. Peacocke, Henry Lee, Dan. Ffynucane, T. McMahon, Theo. White, Geo. Mellon, Geo. Rosse, Ri. Henn.

ISLANDS BARONY.

The Provost and Burrough of Innish, William Herrot, Mich. Wolfe, Sam. Burke, James Creaghe, Owen Considyn, L. Curry, T. O'Brien, James Aylemer, James Bedand (?), J. Hickman, Geo. Stamer, S. Hehir. (These papers are extracted from Colonel MacDonnell's MS. Book.)

The burden of supplying the horses fell on these gentlemen and principal persons, many of whom were Protestants. But it must be borne in mind another instance of seizure of horses is recorded in Appendix of Archbishop King's State (No. 16). The sufferers were travelling the road leading from Irris (? Innis), in the county of Clare, towards the town of Loughrea, when the High Sheriff of Galway and Captain Burke stopped their progress and took their horses and arms.

That prior to this, "without the least notice, or declaration premised, the Lord Deputy, on the 24th July, 1688, took away the arms and horses of the Protestants throughout the whole kingdom, except in the North, where they durst not yet attempt it. And a second proclamation, published by King James himself, dated 20th July, 1689, did expressly forbid all Protestants to wear or keep any swords under the penalty of being counted rebels and traitors, and used as such. And lest some should wear them and not be discovered, they beset all the church doors on Sunday morning, Feb. 23rd, 1689, whilst the Protestants were at their devotions, to their great terror, being ignorant of their design. And the soldiers searched every one whether he had a sword or not." (King, sect. 43.)

The author of "A Full and Impartial Account," &c., bears the following curious testimony to the wicked and wasteful destruction of cattle, the property of the English Protestants:—

The natives manfully applied themselves to rob and steal from the English, which, though a continued practice in all the aforesaid reign, yet never arrived at its maturity till this time. In the night time, with firearms and other weapons, they would go and steal 100 or 200 head of cattle from an Englishman at once. This practice continued so long, till many English gentlemen and substantial farmers, who had several

hundreds of black cattle and sheep, &c., had not one left. So that those who had lived in great hospitality and plenty had not now bread to eat or anything left to preserve them from starving. This calamity was almost universal over the whole kingdom, though in some counties more than in others. And I have been told *that in some county in the Province of Munster* eleven thousand cattle were stole by the Irish in nine days. And that hardly one English gentleman or farmer in all that country had above two or three cows left. And that for forty miles together the Irish cabbins were full of beef stolen from the English, which they did not so much as bestow salt upon, but hung it up in the smoke. And that it stunk, and looked as bad as any carrion (p. 142).

But the loss of arms, seizure of horses, infliction of subsidy after subsidy, and such other invasions of rights, were but slight evils compared with those of which some brief account must now appear.

5thly. Archbishop King, sect. 69, gives particulars of the different METHODS ADOPTED "BY WHICH THE PAPISTS GOT POSSESSIONS." Among these was that of "sending the Protestant owners to the gaol, who must never have expected their houses and lives if King James had prevailed." But more particularly "the Lieutenants of counties had an order from Albaville, Secretary of State, to turn all Protestants out of their houses, if they judged them to be houses of any strength, and to garrison them with Papists. We could never procure any copy of this order from the office, though they owned there was such an order, and we found the effects of it. The reasons of concealing it, we suppose, were the same with concealing the Act of Attainder. The design of the order was to turn out the few Protestant gentry that lived on their ancient estates, and had neither forfeited them by the Act of Attainder, nor lost them by the Act of Repeal. It was left to the discretion of the Lieutenant of the county whom they would turn out, and they acted according to their inclinations, and turned out almost everybody, and it was with great difficulty and interest that any procured to be eased of this trouble. In short, the soldiers or militia took possession of such gentlemen's houses as durst venture to live in the country, and they themselves were sent to goal; and had King James got the better, they must never have expected to have got possession of their houses, or been released of their confinement, 'till they had gone to execution, for though they had been very cautious how they conversed, yet there would not have wanted witnesses to prove they had

corresponded with somebody in England or Scotland since the 1st of August, 1688, and then their estates were forfeited."

A letter from Daniel, Viscount Clare, to Donat O'Brien, Esq., of Ennishtimon, Deputy Lieutenant of the County Clare, relative to the securing of Protestants in the county, &c., may here find a place as corroborating Archbishop King's testimony:—

Cork, 10 August, 1689.

Dear Cousin—For your comfort I have only to tell you that yesterday came to me here a gentleman who belongs to the King (James II.), and comes with letters from the King of France. He left Brest on Monday last, where (he) saw a hundred capital ships and fire-ships under sail going towards Plymouth to seek the English and Dutch fleet, and from thence to come to us. He says we shall have in Kinsale this night or to-morrow three frigates loaden with arms and ammunition, and our men which were in the Isle of Wight and a great many French officers are coming. He says that if the King of France gave them leave, we may have 100,000 men from France upon their own charge, such is their zeal to serve our King against his rebels. And he says he never saw men more desirous than they are to fight the English and Dutch fleets. Speak to Father Teigue, and send to all the clergy (Roman Catholic, of course) in the county to pray for their good success. We shall hear soon of a great engagement. You are to remove all the Protestants from Clare Castle, and to keep them confined at Piers Creaghe's house, with a guard of your militia and townsmen, except George Stamer, who you are to leave at Clare Castle with a guard I order for him, Mr. Purdon, and Thos. Hickman, who are both to remain under the charge of Hugh Sweeny at Clare Castle along with George Stamer. And herein fail not without delay (to) confine Bindon, Hewitt, and such other townsmen as are in the county, though you have them not in the list returned from Dublin, as Colpoys, young Lee, young Vandeluer, Smith, and all such, especially when you hear of an invader. Take every one of them that are young (Seir or Mr.), and let the common sort (sic) lie in the prison, and the rest strictly guarded, or rather put into some strong castle that has a grate to be locked on the outside, as Ballahinan (sic). Ye ould folks (sic) may not be so strictly used. But leave not a young Protestant in the county without streight (sic) confinement, for which this shall be your warrant.

(Signed) CLARE.

Note by Colonel MacDonnell:—

The original of this letter was sent by Major Edward O'Brien to Sir Edward O'Brien, and is now in Dromoland.

Another copy also exists in the handwriting of the late Mr. Andrew Finucane, and is identical in every particular with the copy above transcribed, having been collated by the Writer.

But Dean Davies in his Diary (Camden Society reprint),

under date April 9th, 1689, writes more precisely to the point of the invasion :—

The rest of the day I spent with Captn. H. Boyle, and heard no news, but that the Scots were well-inclined to proclaim King Wm., *though the French had* 20,000 *men at Brest, ready to invade Ireland.*

A reflection or two may be made on this authentic and authoritative document. As to the *fleet and the goodwill of the King of France,* and the zeal of his subjects to fight the English and the Dutch by sea, one is reminded of the remarks made by Lord Macaulay upon the exertions of Louis to save James which the perverse folly of James rendered nugatory, "flattery and vanity having turned his head." And so it came about that the naval succours which Louis offered through Bourepaux were not absolutely declined. But his reception at Whitehall was cold, and he was forced to return without having settled anything. (Chap. ix., Ano 1688, p. 448, vol. ii.)

And the remark may be made as to the reason *why Mr. Stamer was excepted* from the same extreme of rigorous usage to which the other Protestant gentlemen of Clare were subjected. The simple fact is that Mr. Stamer was the tenant of Lord Thomond ousted by Lord Clare from Clare Castle. This gentleman, who was the scion of an old English stock in Sussex, had married the daughter of Mr. William Yorke, who was a most successful, prosperous, and generous gentleman, connected with the commerce of the city of Limerick, and whom all the writers concerning that city unite to praise. Mr. Stamer, however, though not in this way extremely dealt with by Lord Clare, met with other harsh treatment at his hands, against which he complains in the following statement :—

Captain George Stamer's allegations why he ought not to pay any rent for his holdings from Henry, late Earl of Thomond, from 29th September, 1688, for the Castle and five ploughlands of Clare and town —140*l.* per annum.

1st. He paid his rent for Michaelmas, 1688; that before the next gale grew due, the Lord Clare, by order from the Earl of Tyrconnell, enters in January, 1688, on the Castle of Clare and the town and the dwelling-house of the said Stamers, and took possession thereof and placed a company of foot therein, by reason whereof the said George Stamer was forced to remove himself and family to Lymerick, where he was forced to live at great expense and damage several years.

And the said Lord Clare brought all the horses seized from the

English on the said lands, also all his own cattle and studd, to a great number.

And seized all the said George's corn and hay on the said five ploughlands, and lived himself in the said castle.

So that the said George Stamer could make no advantage of the said lands, nor of his house, though he had laid out 400*l.* thereon. (From an original document among the Stamer family papers, allowed to be copied by Mrs. Stamer, of Stamer Park.)

"The *list returned from Dublin*" is evidently what Archbishop King alludes to, but though many other important papers have been found among those left behind by Donat O'Brien, no trace of this has been found to the knowledge of the writer. The probability is that orders were issued to destroy the list on receipt, but to keep in memory the names of the parties recorded therein for their imprisonment. Nor can we identify "*Father Teige.*" We turned to the list of officers in Lord Clare's Dragoons, but, alas, in vain. Only the sirname of the chaplain is given, thus, "— Daly." But anyhow "*Father Teige's prayers,*" with those of "the other clergy," raised to heaven for the success of King James whether by sea or by land, as well as any other exertions he or they may have made on earth, all proved in vain and to no purpose. Neither prayers raised nor swords drawn, nor horses taken, nor Protestants put up in strait confinement in "strong castles that had a grate," could save King James and his cause. The end was to come. The world had seen enough of ecclesiastical and regal despotism propping each other up to the sorrow and enslavement of mankind. But possibly it may be ingeniously argued that this peremptory letter of Lord Clare's, genuine though it be, bore no fruit, and fell to the ground without effect. This might be thought one of the possibilities of the case quite sustainable by a perverse disputant; but alas facts go the other way, and some other documents are here brought forward in demonstration of the rigorous action taken against the Protestants of at least one Barony of the county of Clare. (Colonel MacDonnell's collection as above must again aid.)

COUNTY CLARE.

To the Keeper of His Majesty's Gaole for said County.

Whereas I am informed that the persons hereunder named are persons disaffected to the Government, and fit to be secured. These are therefore in His Majesty's name to will and require you in sight

thereof to take into your custody the bodies of the said persons, and then safely to secure in His Majesty's gaole for the said county, until delivered by due course of law, or further orders from the Government, whereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand,

7th July, 1690. D. O'Brien.

These—

Edmond Blood, Benjamin Lucas, John Emerson, John Hobson, Thos. Faircloth, Robert Wheeler, John Bodely, Henry Hudson, John Bugler, Samuel Huleatt, John Huleatt, John Woodroffe, John Partridge.

To Sir Don. O'Brien, Bart., High Sheriff of Clare County.

Ennis Gaole, 8th July, 1690.

Honoured Sir,—

We, the undersigned, poor Protestants out of the Barony of Insiquine, being in particular committed to your common gaole of this county, and after several intercessions by our friends, by name Captain John O'Brien and others, he sent us word that we lay in your custody, inasmuch as we were committed to your gaole, and told us that you can make your gaole, when you please, empty, which emboden us to trouble you with this address; hereby imploring the favour of you to enlarge us upon sufficient securities, or to remove our confinement to a more humane place, upon sufficient securities, where we may be better accommodated. Sir, it is a most barbarous usage that we in particular should be crammed into a common gaole, without cause or crime, and we leave all to your discretion, presuming that you know our conditions, and do expect that you will rise us from this particular thraldom, inasmuch as lies in your power.

Your most humble obedient servants,

Edmond Blood,
B. Lucas,
J. Emerson,
John Hobson, &c., &c.

Such is a faint sketch of just one particular instance of "the barbarous usage by which these poor Protestants should be committed to gaole without cause or crime" (unless it be sufficient cause and crime that they were Protestants), in the pursuance of the insane and inhuman policy of exterminating the Protestants of Ireland, and handing over the island an enslaved and Romanized province to be added to the dominions of the King of France, to the ultimate gain of St. Peter's successors, if not of Lord Tyrconnell, as *King of Ireland* (!!)

On this the reader may consult Mr. Hallam's extraordinary revelation. (Constitutional History, III., 339.)

The unmitigated and systematic cruelty by which the un-

fortunate Protestants of Ireland were pursued (the details of which would fill large volumes) had the effect upon many, indeed upon all who could manage it, of driving them to England for refuge. They paid enormous bribes at Ringsend to get across. They adventured themselves in anything that could float, no matter how small or crowded it may be. Death rode fast behind them; not worse appeared before them. The bottom of the sea seemed not more dreadful than the rage of their persecutors. And large numbers escaped. This however occasioned a fresh and ingenious method of reaping as soon as possible the profits of these departures. A servile Parliament passed a quasi law to make absenteeism under certain conditions punishable by confiscation.

These absentees were divided into five classes, and *the names of those proscribed* which belong to the Diocese of Killaloe are selected.

Article 1*st.* Those attainted with *time given them to the* 10*th of August* to surrender themselves. And this Act was kept a dead secret, and only disclosed by a providential occurrence.

Adare, Wm., King's Coy. (?)
Baldwin, John, King's Coy. (?)
Bradstone, Lieut., Tipperary (?)
Bryen, Connor O., Clare.
Bryen, Henry O., Dublin (Lord Ibricken).
Bryen, Wm. O. (Earl of Inchiquin), Dublin.
Bryen, Wm. O., son of Earl of Inchiquin, Dublin.
Crowe, Wm., Esq., Dublin.
Foulkes, R., Tipperary.
Fox, Capt. H., Tipperary.
Hamilton, Jas., Esq., Clare.
Hawkins, Thos., Gent., Clare.
Hickman, Hy., Gent., Clare.
Ingoldsby, Sir H., Limerick and Clare.
Lloyd, Edward.
Parker, M., Gent., Tipperary.
Parsons, Sir L., of Bir. Bart.
Parsons, Wm., Lieut., King's Coy.
Parsons, Wm., King's County.
Taylor, A., Tipperary.
Warburton, Ri., Esq., King's Coy.

Article 2*nd.*—To appear 1st September, 1689.

Article 3*rd.*—Absentees from Nov. 5, 1688, to appear 1st Oct., 1689.

Aldworth (?) Tipperary.
Annesley, Tipperary.
Brady, Hugh, Gent., Clare.
Castle, John, Gent., Tipperary.
Clarke, Tipperary.
Clutterbuck, Tipperary.
Cope.
Cuffe, A., Cuffe, M., Cuffe, T. } Queen's County, Kilkenny (see Ballyalla).
Hutcheson, E., Tipperary.
Jones, Gent., Tipperary.
Page, Gent., Tipperary.
Parker, Gent., King's County.

Article 4th.—To signify loyalty by 1st October, 1689.

Ballard, Tipperary.
Biggs, Jos., Tipperary.
Doherty, I., Clk., Tipperary.
Drew, Esq., Clare.
Farmer, Tipperary.
Fowler, Tipperary.
Godfrey, Tipperary.
Gore, F., Clare.
Green, J., Tipperary.
Haynes, Tipperary.
Hoyle, Tipperary.
Jones, Tipperary.
Lucas, Saml., Gent., Clare.
Meade, Tipperary.
Meridyth, Tipperary.
Moody, Tipperary.
Perry, Tipperary.
Pike, Gent., Tipperary.
Pretty, Henry, Tipperary.
Sadler, Jno., Tipperary.
Sadler, Ri., Tipperary.
Westenra, Hy., King's County.
White, Jno., Tipperary.

List 5th.—Persons absentees, as sick or under-aged, to prove loyalty on last day of first term. Meanwhile their estates to vest in the King.

Biggs, Fran., Widow, Tipperary.
Davis, Mary, Tipperary.
Frost, Elizabeth, Tipperary.
Frost, Jane, Tipperary.
Hamilton, Elizabeth, Tipperary.
Hamilton, Mary, Widow, Tipperary.
Hunter, Widow, Tipperary.
Hunter, her son, Tipperary.
Parnell, Anne, Widow, Tipperary.

These may not be all, certainly, belonging to the Diocese of Killaloe. But the list of the Act of Settlement may be used to test whether any names are to be omitted. Indeed, the names are mostly of families well known, and many of them having representatives to this day in the diocese. There can be very little doubt that after a fair estimate, between fifty and sixty heads of the highest families are here marked out for confiscation.

Passing by anything done under "the Act of Grace," of which the particulars are systematically tabulated and published by Mr. Hatchell, of Record Office, we reproduce so much as relates to this diocese out of "a list of (1) such persons, Protestants of Ireland, as are lately fled out the kingdom for safety of their lives, and of (2) the yearly value of their estates now, either sequestered by the Papists in Ireland, or so kept from them the said Protestants, that they neither do nor can receive profit of their estates. There are separate headings given in the way of a formal distribution as to "real estates"—personal estate offices—estates in England, &c. Omitting these latter details as unimportant concerning those who, under the iron rule of King James, were made well-nigh beggars, we proceed, merely premising that the paper is in the MS. Room, T.C.D., under title (F. 4, 3)

In the first schedule is a list of the archbishops and bishops. On this the name of the Bishop of Killaloe does not appear among the eight prelates who fled.

On the other appear the following:—

Barclay, Lady, C., income lost	£300
Bayley, John, C. C. (Clare?)	
Baldwin, John, King's Co.	550
Babington, Wm., C. C(lare) (?) Gent.	196
Barrett, G. R., C. C(lare)?	800
Barnet, or Burnet, } Geo. C(lare) (?)	800
Birches, Thos., C. C(lare)	899
Biggs, Joseph, Co. Tipy., family and wife	150
Bolton, Mary, Co. Tipy., widow, 3 children	117
Blundell, Sir Geo., King's Co., w. and 4 children ...	800
Briggs, Jno., Co. Tip., Gent.	400
Brady, Hy., Co. Clare, Gent., wife, 7 children	100
Busteed, Ml., C. C(lare)? Gent., w. and 3 ch.	180
Cox, Ri., C. C(lare), w. 6 children	160
Colbourne, Stephen, C. C(lare)?	100
Cole, Sir Robt., Co. Tipy., Bart.	450
Chidley, Coote, Esq., K.'s C., w. and 3 ch.	572
Drew, Jno., Co. Clare, Gent., w. and 7 children... ...	200
Fox, Hy., Tipy.	300
Godfrey, Wm., Tipy., Esq., w. and 3 ch.	350
Gwine, Tippy.	110
Hailes, J., Co. Tipy., w. and 1 ch....	100
Harrison, J., Tipy., w. and 2 ch.	350
Hamilton, Jas., Tipy., w.	300
Hamilton, J., King's Co., w.	200
Hengy, Bigoe, King's Co., w., 8 ch.	110
Hickman, Hy. Co. Clare	450
Hutchinson, Esqre., Tipy.	500
Inchiquin, Earl, w. and 2 sons	2530
Legge, Edwd., Tipy., Gent., 4 sisters, 2 brothers ...	300
Lysaught, Mic., C. Clare	320
Parker, Ml., Tipy.	350
Patterson, John, Clerk (in Holy Orders), (Clare), w. ...	100
Patterson, Nat. and Jno., orphans	200
Parsons, Wm., King's Coy., w.	1000
Perry, Jno., Tipy., Gent.	250
Pyke, Jno., Tipy., Esqre.	800
Pretty, Hy., Tipy., w. and 6 ch.	700
Purdon, A., C. Clare, w. and 1 ch.	300
Syng, Geo., C. C(lare), w.	100
Smith, Tho., Clare, Gent.	100
Wade, Richd. and Elizb. (minor, her guardian H. Pretty)	380
Wakeham, Wm., Tipy., Gent., w. and 4 ch.	200
Walton, Swithen, C. C(lare), mother and sisters ...	110
Warburton, Ri. King's Co., 6 ch.	1010
Walkins, Jno., C. C(lare), w. and 6 ch.	110

	£
White, Jno., C. C(lare)	
Worth, Wm., Dublin, Esqre.	700
Worth, Ml., Dublin, Esqre.	300

The second folio contains a list of the persons receiving relief from June to April in the ensuing year.

Another is opened thus:—The brief for the Protestants of Ireland at Chester.

Dr.	£2204	2	0
Cr.	2204	2	0

All this however supplies but a faint sketch of the Protestants of the diocese in general. Something must now be added in particular CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE PROTESTANT CLERGY OF KILLALOE DIOCESE. And first as to the Bishop. He fared better than another bishop of the South of Ireland, of whom Dean Davies (as above) gives the following stirring account:—

1690, Sept. 7.

This morning I gave Scravenmore an account of the usefulness of the steeple of the Cathedral (of Cork)—that if boards were laid on the beams thereof, our men might gall the enemy in the fort from that place with their muskets, whereupon Lieutenant Townsend was sent with men thither, and did very good execution. I also took care to have the course of Drowsses mill-stream turned, which ran through the North of the City, and drove a grist-mill there. In the morning our heavy artillery was landed near the Red Cow, by Red Abbey, and there a battery was raised of 30 six-pounders, which playing against the city wall soon made it tumble.

Whereupon the enemy let the Bishop (Dr. Whettenhall*) come out

* This imprisonment of Dr. Whettenhall seems very harsh, if consideration be taken of the six sermons he had preached, earnestly inculcating loyalty to King James. A sentence or two may be extracted from this volume entitled "Hexapla Jacobæa—A Specimen of Loyalty to King James II." At page 2 of the first sermon he says, "When we consider that, notwithstanding all our fears and other's malice, James II.—the dear and faithful brother of Charles Second, that glorious martyr for his religion and the laws—the grandson of the great and happy King James I., in whom the three Crowns were happily united—has succeeded, and that without any stir, tumults, or bloodshed, but with the greatest peace and ease imaginable, unto the throne of his Royal father (and may he long hold it so, may these days of peace long continue to him and to us)—when we consider this, I say, we ought to cheer ourselves and endeavour the temperating our griefs and composing our minds." And in "The Christian Law of the Sword" (Ser. vi. p. 36) he goes so far as to affirm "From the whole tenor of this discourse appears, *the utter unlawfulness of subjects resisting the prince or magistrate whom God has set over them, yea, though it be in the abuse of his power.*" Here is non-resistence in the extreme.

to us, *whom they made prisoner in the city with all the clergy and about* 1,300 *of the Protestants*, whereupon a truce was granted until next morning.

Of the twenty-two Spiritual Lords only seven were left in the kingdom, of which Dr. Ml. Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh; Dr. Hugh Gore, Bishop of Waterford; Dr. Roan, Bishop of Killaloe, were excused on the account of age and sickness. The other four, who were obliged to appear, unanimously refused to have to do with the Proscription Act. Although Dr. Roan was prevented or excused from his attendance as a Spiritual Peer in King James II.'s Parliament, his age did not save him from being "stripped of all his substance, so that he had little left him behind." He took part in the consecration of Dr. Wm. King, Bishop of Derry, in 1690. He died at his Episcopal house at Killaloe on the 5th of Sept., 1692, and was buried at the east end of the cathedral. The following is the present state of his tombstone and its inscription, as kindly examined by the Rev. Thos. Vereker, curate of the cathedral :—

"Copy of inscription on the tomb of Bishop Roan, under the east window (outside) of the Cathedral of Killaloe :—

"'Hic jacet corpus Johannis Roan, S.S., Theolo. Doctoris, Laonensis Episcopi, qui obiit 5 die Septembris, Anno Domini 1692.'"

There are remains of a sentence under this inscription, but Mr. Vereker has never been able to decipher them.

Mr. V. has also extracted the following entry in the register of baptisms, marriages, and burials :—

"Killaloe Parish. 1692.

"The Right Revd. Father in God John Roan, late Lord Bishop of Killaloe, departed this life on Monday night, being the 3rd of September, and was interred in a brick tomb in ye churchyard, under ye great window att ye east side of ye church of Killaloe, on Thursday, being ye 8th day of September, 1692. Ubi in pace quiescit. Judicio extremo in sanctis inde resurget."

The following is Dr. Roan's will in full, and a very touching and simple expression it is of the piety, charity, and hope of a Christian man :—

BP. JOHN ROAN'S WILL.

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Roan, Dr. in Divinity, and Bishop of Killaloe, seriously considering my own mortality, now that by the course of nature the time of my dissolution draweth near. And I being of sane memory (blessed be God) am desirous to set my house in order as well for my temporal and spiritual concerns before I die. (Revoking all former wills at any time heretofore made, &c.), do now make this my last will and testmt. in manner and form following:

1° I commend and bequeath my soul into the hands of my most gracious God and Creator in hopes of salvation through the alone merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ my only Saviour. And as I have in my lifetime professed to adhere to the doctrine of and communion with the Church of England, which I take to be the most orthodox both for doctrine and discipline of any Church in the world, so in the same communion I desire to die. And my body I commit to the earth out of which it was formed, to be buried after Christian burial, in hopes of a blessed reunion both of body and soul at the general resurrection, at the last and second coming of my Lord Jesus, which I humbly pray for him to hasten.

And as for my worldly goods, which are very inconsiderable, having been stript of what stock, household stuff, and books I had, and now little left to me but much debt, accrued by the injuries of the times, so that I am quite debarred from those acts of charity I intended.

Imprimis, I desire and require my Exor. hereafter that he carefully pay and discharge all my just debts, with my funeral expenses.

Item, I bequeath to my sister Dorothy Hawkins twenty shillings.

Item, I will and bequeath to my nephew John Hawkins and his wife Bridget twenty shillings each.

Also I bequeath to my sister Elizabeth Lloyd twenty shillings.

Item, I bequeath to their three sons, John, Thos., and Francis, twenty shillings each.

Item, to their two daughters, Grace and Jane, twenty shillings each.

Item, to my nephew, Thos. Hawkins, 20s.

Item, to my niece, Susan Roan, five pounds, but hope that her brother will be more kind to her, knowing my former intentions, if I had not been so impoverished.

Item, I bequeath to my servant, John Downes, the sum of £5.

Item, I give to the poor the sum of 40s., to be distributed as my Exor. shall think fit.

Lastly, I give and bequeath to my nephew, John Roan, all my estate, real and personal, bills, bonds, plate, and household stuff, all my chattels of what nature soever, and constitute sd. John Roan my sole Exor., &c. 28 June, 1692.

Mr. Craford Clerk,
John Downes, } Witnesses.

Having now reviewed the case of the Bishops, we must take up the story of the clergy of Killaloe, of whom but few traces

are left in the wild upset of family documents and official archives during this reign of terror.

After the surrender of the Castle of Parsonstown by Sir L. Parsons to Oxburgh, the journal as referred to by Mr. Cooke (p. 430), gives the following statement of the manner in which the Protestant minister of this parish, the Rev. Mr. Crump, acted:

"He made away, and deserted his flock, whereupon the profits of the living were seized upon for the King by His Majesty's Receiver, Garret Trant, who set the glebe to the Rev. Thos. Kennedy, the then Roman Catholic Priest of this parish. He also set the tythes of the whole parish to the same tenant. 'This seizure was the first of the kind made in the King's County, or probably in Ireland, and in all likelihood would never have taken place if the minister had kept his ground.'" (So Mr. Cooke, commenting upon the Journal.)

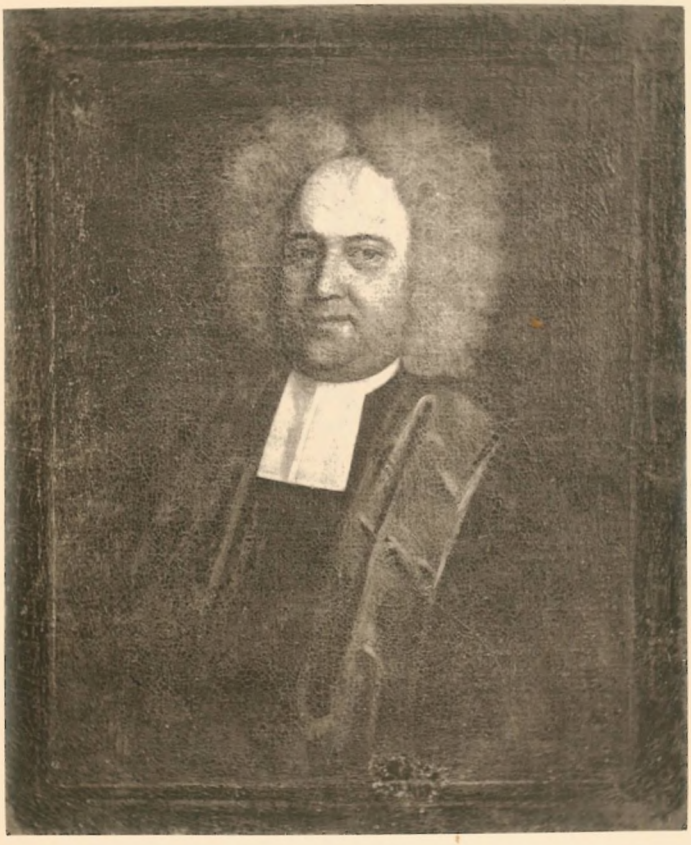
The state of the clergy generally with regard to their maintenance is explained in the clearest terms by the author of "A Full and Complete Account" (p 136).

The clergy made their complaints to the judges the year before as to the obstinacy of the country in the non-payment of their small dues, and received no redress, but now the evils were grown upon them to an higher pitch. The priests were now become so confident in their hopes of establishing Popery, that they could no longer contain from shewing their inveterate malice against the Protestant clergy, against whom they endeavoured to prepossess the people at Mass (over whom they have an unlimited and arbitrary power) with all imaginable prejudice and contempt. The priests now suggested to them that by the same reason that they detained the *lesser* from, they might also refuse the paying the *greater* tythes to, the ministers, as corn, hay, &c. They told them they saw by their own experience they had been discouraged in their pursuit after the first, and after all their endeavours could get no redress, and now that the Catholics had liberty of their religion, they saw not why they should not deny them the last. For the law would not give these to them more than the former. Of right, they told them, that all the tythes belonged to them, as their proper due; and though, by the oppression and injustice of the Protestant Government, they had been kept out of them so long, to their apparent prejudice and disadvantage, yet now things were in another posture. They had now a Catholic King and Catholic magistrates of their own, who would not take their dues from them, but rather invest them in them, and therefore charged the people, under *pain of excommunication and the severest anathemas, not to pay any manner of tythes* to the Protestant ministers. The vulgar Irish were so much overawed with these acts of terror from their priests

(whose sentence in anything they reverence with an equal fear and a like profound veneration, as if pronounced by the Pope in the Infallible Chair), that none would come to the Protestant clergy to take tythes of them unless these dreaded imprecations (which, if incurred, they believed themselves to be certainly damned) were taken off.

By this means the great tythes were like to lie upon the ministers' hands, a great inconveniency in most parts of Ireland, where their parishes, being of vast circumference and full of bogs and mountainous places, 'twould be difficult, if not impossible almost, to gather their tythes in kind, at least, without having one-half of them embezzled and stole by the Irish. This puts the clergy upon a necessity either of setting out their tythes in small proportions, or else they must lose them. And in those countries where the Irish are most numerous, the vulgar sort were wont to take the tythes, which the priests now prohibiting, under the aforesaid penalties, would (as they were sensible) be an unspeakable loss and mischief to the ministers, for the reasons already mentioned, which was what they studiously aimed at, and were desirous to improve as high as they could. These malicious practices of the priests put the Protestant clergy to great inconveniences in the disposal of their tythes, especially in such countries where the Irish were most numerous. Most were forced to descend to an accommodation with the priests, bestowing a considerable proportion of tythes upon themselves (which was what they drove at) to suffer the ordinary Irish to come and buy the rest. Some that would not be abused at that rate made their applications to the Judges of Assize, complaining of these insolent and irregular proceedings of the priests. But, alas! it was not to be expected that these Catholic judges would go and punish their ghostly Fathers—a very unnatural act in their religion. In short, no law could be found out to punish them. All that could be gained (and that very rarely) was a civil admonition to them not to disturb the Protestant clergy in their rights, and the like, and so were dismissed, how plain soever the matter of fact was proved against them. By this it seemed that those of the clergy, though not the most courageous, yet were the most politic, who dealt privately with the priests, and by fair words and considerable largesses of tythe corn, &c., prevailed upon them to be quiet. For the meek and filial regard of these judges to their *worthy Fathers* served but to make them more imperious and insulting over the ministers who still animated (sic) the country against them. And at last to that height that several of the Irish in many parishes violently seized upon the tythe corn, &c., and converted it to their own use, neither suffering any other to buy it, nor any servant of the minister's to come upon the land to collect it.

The parochial ministers of the Diocese of Killaloe must have been "in evil case" whichever way they might choose to come by their own and live. We have, moreover, a particular instance of these hardships inflicted upon one of the clergy—the Rev. Mr. Barclay. We have also the sudden and surprising



REV. D. BARCLAY.

termination of these inflictions and oppressions, and a very notable instance of "the tables being turned at last." The account is to be found in vol. ii. of Mason's Parochial Survey, p. 461, and is here given in full. "The Rev. Mr. Barclay, Vicar of the Union of Kilmurry McMahon, remained at home during the whole contest, and holding a valuable farm under the See of Killaloe paid the tythes of it to the Catholic priest who had usurped his living. The priest was particularly severe in exacting tythes from the ejected vicar, and always required security for their payment. In the summer of 1691 he was unusually hard to be pleased in the security, and Mr. Barclay despairing of being able to procure it, was returning in low spirits to his residence at Ballyartney, when he met Captain O'Brien, of Ennistymon, with the news of the utter defeat of the Irish army at Aughrim. He returned immediately to the house, where the intruder was setting the tythes of his parish, surrounded by a great number of people. 'Have you got security, sir?' said the priest, in a loud and imperious voice. 'I have,' said Barclay; 'my security is the great King William. And if you don't deliver up the security in ten minutes, I will have you hanged on the high road of Kilmurry.' The priest turned pale, and trembled in his seat of office. Lord Clare's dragoons galloped through the village in confusion, pushing for the pass of Moyarta. Mr. Barclay's tythe-books were submissively returned to him; and the Protestants of Clare for fifty years after drank to 'Barclay's Security' in a bumper-toast."*

Of one other clergyman a word—the Rev. John Vandeleur. In the First-fruit Books his name and entrance upon the parish of Kilrush are thus recorded:—"Johes Vandaleur, Cler. In Artibus Magister. Collat Prst. 6 die May, and Prebend de Inniscathrie, also Kilrush, 4*l.* Vicar de Moyferta, 10*s.*; Killard, 10*s.*; Kilfieragh, 20*s.*; Killballyhane, 13*s.* 4*d.* Com. Clare."

The Vanderleurs had been connected with Ireland since the days of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by a curious record tried in Dublin, in which they succeeded against a Dublin firm for 257*l.*, the price of a cargo of wine delivered from Bordeaux. King James gave a special warrant fiant for giving Maximilian

* The family still holds Ballyartney. Mr. Barclay is photographed.

Van-der-Leur, a Dutch merchant, lately made a free denizen of this realm, special privileges. (Calendar State Papers, 1603, &c., p. 399.) The name is found before and in Cromwell's time, at Six-mile Bridge, in connection with extensive manufacturing industries. And a petition appears in the Chapter Book of Killaloe in 1685, and the confirmation of an instrument, setting forth the erection of a monument and place of sepulture in Six-mile Bridge Church for the use of "Egerio Van-de-lure, of Rathlahine Armigero," with consent of Bishop allowing the same. Notice to John Paterson, parson.

Ri. Cotton.
Wm. Butler. } Churchwardens.

At a visitation in 1725 (infra) we found the name of *James Vanderlure,* and the name is also spelt in the same way in reference to the Rev. John, at a visitation by Archbishop Palliser in 1714. Anyhow, of this Rev. John, of Kilrush, the following is recorded by Mr. Graham in his valuable paper (ubi supra) :—

"The Rev. John Vandeleur, a younger son of the Ralahine family in the east of this country, succeeded to the living of Kilrush on 6th March, 1687, in the room of the Rev. John Paterson, deceased. Feeling, in common with the rest of the Protestants of Ireland, the intolerable pressure of Lord Tyrconnell's Government, he took an early opportunity of joining his fellow-sufferers in seeking redress; and after rendering many services to the Protestant cause, and being severely wounded at the battle of Aughrim, he returned to Kilrush, and repossessed himself of his benefice." Such are among "the modern traditions of the locality," and apparently they bear the signs of truthfulness about them.

As the Bishop and Clergy of Killaloe have been found in a state of much affliction and suffering during this reign, so a painful duty imposes the necessity of giving a truthful representation of the Bishop of the Unreformed or Roman Communion in the Diocese during the same period, and of exposing the policy which he and others like him carried out. But first a brief retrospect is needed. Bishop John Rider, in 1622, mentions Mahon McGrath as Vicar-General under Papal authority. In 1624, as it is stated by Mr. Meehan (Franciscans, 5th ed., p. 344), an important and influential memorial was presented by the

chief nobility, in which they pray that Dr. M. Quaely, who had acted as the Vicar-General for two years with great exertions and distinguished success, might be appointed Bishop. This Dr. Quaely was of an ancient family in Thomond, the name of which is still associated with a mill in Kilmaley parish, on the Furroor river. But although so highly "preconized," as Mr. Meehan puts it, Quaely fails to gain the coveted honour, through the adverse interest of the French Queen-mother, enlisted in behalf of Molony, and has to wait a little for the higher position of Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam. His activity and characteristic energies are thus celebrated by his great friend, Dr. Edmond O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick: "Tuamensis is the only Bishop Souldier in the Countrye. General of a Connatian Army, he maintains at his own charge 200 foot. God be praised (!!) If all other things, said he (of Tuam) fayle, I can have a souldier's pay; may be, it will be the nearest way to heaven." This Tuamensis was the individual who lost his life in Sligo, after a sanguinary engagement, and in whose carriage was found a copy of the celebrated Glanmorgan Treaty, out of which so much political capital was made against the King. He was also appointed and acted as the prime adviser, and in fact political nurse, of Rinuccini, and supported and backed him up in his impracticable and ruinous courses. Of Dr. Edmond O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, a word. At first he went in with the policy of the Nuncio and the anti-pacification party; but afterwards suffered much obloquy and the frowns of the Roman war-faction for having abandoned their extreme views. Another Bishop of the same period may be noticed as having been grievously dealt with for his honest and constant opposition to the war policy and the designs of the Nuncio. This was Dr. Dease, of Meath, who had not associated in vain with the most distinguished of the nobility of his time. (See Cogan's Diocese of Meath, vol. ii., p. 99, and Vindic. Hib.) The manner in which the Nuncio expressed his disappointment and disgust at the announcement of this venerable ecclesiastical gentleman's death turning out to be premature is very discreditable to this Italian.

It is a pleasure to dwell on the fact that such men as Drs. Dease and O'Dwyer lived in these days to take a wise straightforward course in the political confusions prevailing, also

that such a noble specimen of Roman Catholic loyalty was to be found in that exemplary nobleman Lord Clanrickarde. Yet these reasonable Roman Catholics, lay and clerical both alike, were the exceptional cases of men who thought for themselves in their country's hour of peril, but were not of commanding influence; while the short-sighted and more violent had the greatest weight with the excitable and sanguine Irish.

But returning to Bishop John O'Molony, Titular of Killaloe. He must not be mistaken for the first of that name and title. This was the party who signed the Clonmacnoise Manifesto, already alluded to; also prior to this, had put his name to another document of dread significance, viz., "A declaration of the Ecclesiastical Congregation of both Cleargies of Ireland, assembled together in the name of the Holy Ghost at Waterford." In this "all and singular confederate Catholiques who shall adhere to the said peace (of Ormonde) or consent with the favourers of it, or after any other manner shall entertane or embrace it, is absolutely to be accounted perjured. The other question concerning Excommunication we have referred until the next sessions.

"12th August, 1646.

"JOHN LAONENS, Episcopus."

(Fifth name on the list.)

This is copied from a London reprint, in which also appears the actual promulgation of the sentence of excommunication of the Cleargie of Kilkenny for adhering to the peace concluded between the Councell and Ormond. This document closes with the following words: "After mature deliberation and consent of our Cleargie (*in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the Supreme Councell*) and others who adhere unto them in matter of conscience towards the Holy Church, and in hatred to so wilful and abominable an act, do by these presents (according to the prescription of Sacred Canons) pronounce and command (from henceforth) a general cessation of divine Offices throughout all the city and suburbs of *Kilkenny* in all churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever. *Given at* our Palace of Nova Curia, the 18th day of August, 1646." (Page 6 of "The Copy of a Barbarous and Bloody declaration by the Irish

Rebels, against the Supreame Councell of Ireland and the Votes of the Popish assembly at Waterford against peace and a Proclamation excommunicating the Clergie of *Kilkenny* from saying Maskes (sic) or executing any other Church offices. Sept. 28th. This declaration and Proclamation is examined, printed, and published, according to order. London, printed for N. E., Anno Dom., 1646.")

So much then for Dr. M. Quaely, the V. G., and for the first Bishop John Molony of Killaloe,—both of whom, as well as the Bishop O MulRyan, took such a line of action as seemed to demonstrate that the highest pretensions ever hazarded in the Canon Laws of the absolute predominance of the clergy over the laity in secular as well as in spiritual affairs, was the traditional policy of the Church of Rome in the Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation and onwards thus far at least. Nor was Dr. John O'Molony, the second of that name titular Bishop of Killaloe, inferior to his predecessors in his devotion to this policy, while he far surpassed them in the energy and versatile genius which he brought to bear upon this main object of pursuit. He was of the old stock of O'MaolDomhniagh, of the progeny of Blat, which held wide sway in the Antient Glancullein (now the Barony of Tulla) for some ten generations before Brian Borhoime. The prefix "Mull," or "Mall," in the name was used to signify a person devoted or consecrated to a cause (Mr. E. O'Curry's letter to the late James Molony, Esqre., D. L., Kiltanon). And certainly this ecclesiastic exemplified the characteristic feature of his name. If all this were apparent only in his discharge of the spiritualities he had undertaken, he might be left unnamed as one responsible to his superiors alone. But as it was with temporal affairs that he meddled, and as his political activity stimulated a movement which proved beyond expression injurious to Ireland, unjust and cruel to the English and Protestants, and absolutely ruinous in every possible way to his own countrymen and co-religionists; the wretched task of tracing the career of this busy meddling priest must be pursued in somewhat further detail.

Assuming that this party is the writer of a letter in the Spicilegium Ossoriense, p. 488, of date 1669, this earnest intriguing courtier thus expresses his conscious sense of power:—

Accipe, vir Illime qualecunque grati animi testimonium, et si quid

exigui hominis et fere inutilis opera hisce in partibus valeat, sive pro rebus familiaribus, sive pro publicis ecclesiæ negotiis in quibus totus versaris, promptissimum in me reperies parendi animum, studiosis simamque complacendi et satisfacendi voluntatem.

In aulâ apud regni ministros non sum ignotus,—in rebus agendis et tractandis non penitus ignarus,—in nostra facultate Theolæ. Parisiensis apud melioris notæ et sanioris mentis Theologos, qui debitam Sdi Aplicæ reverentiam et obedientiam nunquam detrectarunt (cum his enim solis portionem meam semper ponebam) nonnihil possum. Post haec autem omnia, nihil mihi melius convenit quam quod sim. D. V. Illmae.

Servus quidem inutilis, obseqius tamen et fidissimus.

J. O'Molony.

Parisiis, 19 July, 1669.

Accordingly we find in just five years time, secm Battersby's Directory (1837, p. 258), or in four secm Gam (p. 224), this able and bold ecclesiastic appointed administrator of the Diocese of Killaloe. In 1690 he was found an ardent supporter of King James II., for whom he acted as Envoy at the Court of Louis XIV., negotiating assistance for Ireland. Mr. O'Callaghan gives a creditable account of Dr. O'Molony's bravery and humanity in saving the Scotch Major-General Maxwell, who was in great danger of being thrown overboard by some of the embassy, under the suspicion of his secret hostility. (Irish Brigade, p. 101.)

The Doctor was much dreaded by the Government of King William, and was subjected to frequent proscription, and obliged to exile—a fact which is somewhat ostentatiously paraded on his tombstone in the Irish College, Paris, as a thing quite meritorious. Being in receipt of a pension of 150*l.* per annum from King James II., he was well able to endow two bursaries* in the Irish college, also to build a chapel therein.

* As to the *bursaries* in the Irish college, the members of the family of Molony were to have the preference. The right was exercised on different occasions. The writer has seen a curious letter on the subject of fitting out a candidate and sending him to Paris. Bishop Jo. Molony's gold signet ring is at present in possession of the worthy head of the family, Major Wm. Mills Molony, D. L. Kiltanon. The R. C. Dean O'Shaughnessy, sometime P. P. of Ennis, got a Bursary through the MacMahons, in default of a nominee from the Molonys. A Molony (one James) got another soon afterwards. The musket he carried while on guard during the revolutionary troubles, was long kept in the Molony family of Cragg; also the bayonet, which looked a very alarming instrument, being some 15 inches long, and in shape awfully like a marrow spoon.

Not only his personal activity, but also his letters made him especially formidable. Abbe Walsh attributed to Bishop Molony the letter sent to the King, August 14, 1686, "found in Bishop Tyrrell's papers, but imperfect." In this the writer urges the very strongest measures and the boldest men to fight against England, and scornfully confutes the moderate counsels of "trimming courtiers and cow-hearted Catholics." But another document also survives in "Appendix of King's State," No. 17, to which Lord Macaulay has alluded. It was addressed to Bishop Tyrrell, among whose papers it was found. And these papers of this Bishop Tyrrell were of so formidable a character that a Committee of the Irish House of Lords and Commons in 1697 made a very severe report upon the dangerous principles therein disclosed. (Journals, vol. ii. p. 978.) In the letter referred to, Bishop Molony or Maloony, as his name is spelt, argues the question "*How to dispose of Ireland, in which are two parties—the Protestants and the Catholics,*" and he comes to the conclusion, with much satisfaction to himself and friends, that to trim and temporize is not with the usurpers politic; "that to irritate and provoke the anger of the Protestants of England" is not to be thought of. The true policy is for the King to put the kingdom of Ireland upon the best and highest foot, both ecclesiastical and temporal, he can contrive (and yet granting it nothing but its natural right and due), in order that it may be a check upon the people of England. I dare aver, he adds (anticipating the Utopian theories still floated in Ireland under many names), if Ireland were put upon such a foot by the King, he shall never fear any rebellion in England, *especially* if Scotland be faithful to him, and France a friend. This pleasant mode of checkmating England in perpetuity, the ardent Bishop wishes to be insinuated and imprinted, as much as can be done, into the heads and hearts of the ministers and people about Court. He also advises the upsetting of the Act of Settlement —a process which he calls an effort for *a great and solid settlement for Ireland*—generously pensioning off the Protestant possessors, whether temporal or spiritual, although with an almost Scottish caution, abstaining from stating either the *security* for the payment of their *pensions* or for the current value of the *coinage* in which it was to be issued. As for

purchasers being Protestants, they must console themselves for their loss of purchases and of money on their being ejected, by reflecting too late upon the phrase, "caveat emptor," with all that it implies. Finally this pious prelate applies also to these his pet projects of spoliating and proscribing the Protestants of Ireland the words of Holy Writ in the Vulgate:—"Nunc tempus acceptibile, nunc dies SALUTIS. Dum ergo tempus habemus operamur *bonum, maxime ad domesticos fidei.*" Or, as in the Authorized Version rendered, "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation; while we have time therefore let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith."!!

The extreme violence of Bishop O'Molony (for his celebrated letter in full see Appendix No. VII.), and in particular his determination at all hazards to break the Act of Settlement, like those reckless men already mentioned "WHO WOLL HAVE ALL OR LOSE ALL," stand out in very remarkable contrast with the following statement made by Lesly in his answer to the King:—

"I will give you (says Lesly, p. 102) a farther proof of King James's zeal to preserve the Acts of Settlement. It is well known that the address of the Lord Chief Justice Keating in behalf of the purchasers under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and the Lord Bishop of Meath's speech, set down at large in this author's appendix, were subsequent to several conferences King James had with several of the Members of the House of Commons, and with a Committee of that House, in presence of the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, Lord Chief Baron Rice, Judge Daily, and Attorney General Neagle, and others of the Privy Council, where King James plainly laid before them the unreasonableness of their proceeedings. That it was not proper to enter into so great a matter as the destroying the said Act in time of war, when all parties could not be heard. And some of the Roman Catholic judges asserted, not only to the King, but to the said Committee and to several of both Houses of Parliament and of the Privy Council, that it was unjust to break the Acts and destroy purchasers, widows, orphans, merchants, and all traders, on pretence to relieve widows and orphans. And one of the Roman Catholic Judges did reduce this to writing, and showed it to Lord Chief Justice Keating, who had a copy of it, as appears under his hand, and that the Lord Bishop of Meath had the perusal of it, and as I am credibly informed, had a copy of it."

At another place the same writer remarks:—"I am very sensible of the many ill steps made in King James's Government, *and above all*, of the mischievous consequence of the Lord Tyrconnel's administration, which *the most of any one thing*, brought on the misfortunes of his master." (P. 188.)



Woodburytype.

SENESCHAL SPAIGHT.

He might have placed next in rank, and at but a slender interval, the declared policy of the titular Bishop J. O'Molony, and the effect which his exertions brought about.

This slight sketch of the reign of King James II., so far as the Diocese of Killaloe is concerned, must now conclude with the remark of Lord Macaulay, "For the authority of law, for the security of property, for the peace of our streets, for the happiness of our homes, our gratitude is due, under Him who raises and pulls down nations at his pleasure, to the Long Parliament, to the Convention, and to William of Orange."

Without adding to the many censures so freely hurled against King James II., and by none more freely than by the Irish Roman Catholics themselves, this may be recorded as a full explanation of why he was, and what he did in life and time. His ill-starred project in Ireland succeeded fully in nothing else but in producing one most needful and much to be desired consummation—the reconciliation and harmonizing of individual liberty and Parliamentary representation with the action of an hereditary and limited monarchy—to the vast advantage of establishing constitutional government and of securing a due protection and free scope for the reformed faith. For what this poor hapless King intended, but failed in—let him be generously forgiven—for what his reckless action has led to, quite unforeseen by himself and by such as Tyrconnell and titular Bishop O'Molony, let him be regarded as a blind agent mercifully directed for good by Him who ruleth in the armies of heaven, and over the inhabitants of earth.

Note on pages 384 *and* 386.

Thomas Spaight, Esquire (*supra* p. 384).

This gentleman was the son of Thomas Spaight, Esquire, and came from Woolwich, in Kent, to Ireland. He settled first in Carlow, in which town he made many considerable improvements (see Kilkenny Archæological Journal). He was on the grand jury of Clare in 1683, which voted the address to King Charles II. He was high sheriff of Clare in 1697. He is described as sole steward and seneschal to Henry Earl of Thomond. He deceased in 1698. His eldest son Thomas was high sheriff of Clare in 1725, and (male issue extinct) his eldest daughter Grace was married to Robt. Reeves, Esquire; and the estates are now vested in their great-grandson, R. W. C. Reeves, Esq., J.P.D.L., Bessboro', Killymer.

The Spaight family of Limerick and Clare are descended from William Spaight, the second son of Thomas the seneschal. The photograph of this gentleman, whose horses were taken, &c., &c., was made from an oil painting in the possession of Mr. Reeves, which he very kindly lent for the purpose.

Samuel Burton (*supra* p. 386).

In MS. Ordinance Survey 14 B. 17, R.I.A., it is noted "That Francis Burton came to Ireland in the year 1610, accompanied with his brother, and settled at Ballyea, part of the estate of Buncraggy, in the county of Clare, in 1611, as appears by a lease thereof granted to him that year by Don. Earl of Thomond: and the town of Ennis being chartered, he was made one of its first free burgesses. Thomas, his brother, succeeded him, and settled in Buncraggy, who got a lease from Barnaby Earl of Thomond. Samuel, his son (the gentleman named above), was sheriff of Clare in 1669, and married the daughter of Harris, Esquire. He left a daughter, Dorothy, who married David Bindon, of Clooney, county Clare, Esquire, and he had three sons, Francis, Charles, and Benjamin. Francis succeeded, was usher of the Court of Chancery, and, in 1690, was made high sheriff of Clare by King William, then at the camp at Kilcullen. No person was returned for that county in 1691. He was chosen member for Ennis in 1695." So much for this family, now represented by the Marquis of Conyngham, Lord Francis Coyngham, M.P., and F. N. Burton, Esquire, D.L., of Carrigaholt Castle and Carnelly, county Clare.

CHAPTER X.

THE DIOCESE OF KILLALOE, ETC., IN THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM THE THIRD.

Estimating aright the effects of the Revolution as developed in the reign of King William III., one must guard against the extremes of praise as well as of censure, and justly proportion the measure of each.

If the Long Parliament restricted the excesses of Royal prerogative, it established an extravagant democratic domination. If the Convention ejected one form of religious intolerance, it restored and strengthened another. And William of Orange, deliverer though he was, found himself coerced into a policy of exasperating retaliation and repression of the Irish Roman Catholics, while he indulged in an irritating policy towards the Church of the nation, and was very far from satisfying the Dissenters.

But, then, after all these abatements are fairly weighed, a great evil was overcome, a noble deliverance was wrought. The foundations of a secure internal freedom were traced out, and the chains of foreign slavery rent asunder. However, in so far as religious progress and the fair shining of Gospel light depend for their free course and glorious issues upon the existence of civil and religious liberty, it is a fact patent to any unprejudiced enquirer that toleration was not extended to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; nay, on the contrary, that very arbitrary, oppressive, and cruel enactments were passed and carried out against them in this reign. Whether it was wise, as a matter of human policy and deep sagacious statecraft, thus to trample on the fallen, thus to drive to despair men already quite despairing enough, is not the object of this work to consider and

determine. But it is within the legitimate scope of these ecclesiastical investigations to maintain the following conclusion. That such a policy—whether right or wrong, wise or foolish, necessary or needless for the State—raised up an almost invincible barrier against the Church, in the way of her successfully spreading among the conquered the religion professed by the conquerors, no matter how excellent, how pure, how apostolic, how truly national that religion may have been. The Church as a Divine institution has been freely censured for the ill success of her mission among the Roman Catholics. The main cause of this was due to the tremendous severity of the Penal Code. The Norman was never to the Saxon what the Englishman was to the Irish in stern repression and in contemptuous and vindictive dominancy. And this was eminently so from the time when—

Now at last the saddest day is come, that ever appeared above the horizon of Ireland. The sun was darkened and covered over with a black cloud, as if unwilling to behold such a woeful spectacle. There needed no rain to bedew the earth, the tears of the disconsolate Irish did abundantly moisten their native soil to which they were that day to bid the last farewell. Those who resolved to leave it, never hoped to see it again. And those who made the unfortunate choice to continue therein, could at the same time have nothing in prospect but contempt and poverty, chains and imprisonment, and, in a word, all the miseries that a conquered nation could naturally expect from the power and malice of implacable enemies. Here might be seen the aged father, whom years and infirmities rendered unfit to travel, giving the last embraces to his only son; brothers parting in tears, and the dearest comrades forcibly divorced by a cruel destiny which they could not avoid. But nothing was more dismal than the sad separation of man and wife, for though the husbands were assured not only of a conveniency to transport their wives and children but also of a maintenance to be established for them in France, yet when the ablest men were once got on shipboard, the women and babes were left on the shore, exposed to hunger and cold, without any manner of provision, and without any shelter in that rigorous season but the canopy of heaven, and in such a miserable condition that it moved pity in some of their enemies. The lamentable cries of this poor forlorn troop, when the fleet that carried away their fathers and husbands was under sail and gone out of sight, would beget compassion in wolves and tigers, and even in creatures that are insensible. Some of them had the whole length of Ireland to traverse before they came to their former habitations, which were then possessed by the enemy. They had neither victuals to eat, nor money to buy them. And their plundered countrymen, among whom they were to travel, and from whom they might expect some relief, had not wherewithal to feed themselves.

This woeful revolution filled with grief and astonishment all the nations of Europe, who were equally concerned and surprised to behold the most warlike of nations (according to the testimony of one of their greatest adversaries), and a people heretofore undaunted in adversity, so shamefully to lay down their arms, and so feebly undergo that servile yoke, which by former experiments they found insupportable. The fountain of my weak eyes hath been drained up already by the too frequent remembrance of the slaughter at Aughrim, and the sad separating at Limerick. (Macariæ Excidium.)

The Irish had now lost all. Time after time they had allowed themselves to be flung against England, as the ready weapons of rage and craft in the hands of ecclesiastical intolerance and of imperial ambition. Time after time they came out of their rebellions, sadder but not wiser men. The animosities of race and the frenzy of fanaticism were still freely available for use by the confederated Imperial and Roman Agents, to inflame the Irish into a crazy readiness for yet other desperate efforts and still wilder hopes of foreign aid. But worse than all else, coming down upon the Irish was the accumulating severity of restraint infliction and penalty, to which these desperate men were subjected under the prevalence of irritation and panic. This was the method of an intolerant age; these the manifold chains of a deeply injured and much incensed and thoroughly alarmed Mistress. And these she now loads heavily and binds firmly upon her proud, impulsive rival in a long and galling bondage after her reiterated outbreaks of passionate revolt. What an opportunity was now let slip. Mercy shown at this time would, to say the least of it, have saved millions of money, and have given the Reformed Church something like fair play among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. But then, on the other hand, vindictive legislation and a feeble executive were less expensive and troublesome than adequate armaments, accompanied by generous healing measures. Human affairs, after all, progress but slowly towards the standard of a high rectitude. And the day of triumph has its duties equally with the day of trouble—its Nemesis too.

The die was cast. The Irish difficulty had originated, and now ripened, and fast bore its teeming fruits of evil. But whoever else may apologize for, or whoever else may censure, either of the parties engaged in this lasting contention, one thing is certain; one thing must be reiterated—the Church became pre-

eminently a sufferer between them both. Her fair form, her heavenly visage, were lost to view, or encountered but a savage glare of defiance and scorn, amid the smoke-wreaths of battle-fields or throughout regions trampled down and plundered by hostile battalions. Her words of truth and peace, her works of love, and all her gentle offices of goodwill to man, passed, alas too often, unheard and unheeded amidst the rage and dismay, the pride and ferocity of conquerors and conquered, of winners and losers alike.

These remarks are made for the consideration of those who censure the Church of Ireland loudly and freely, and lay at her door the blame of slender success in a land which had become the regular battle-field of a most complicated imperial and national contention.

And yet, after all, it would be unfair to pass by without due consideration the weighty fact that the stern repressive policy of England seemed in those days not without a cause. To look upon it exclusively in its effects upon the Roman Catholics of Ireland, isolated and overcome as they were, would be to take a very partial view. One must remember the fact that a movement had been started, of which France was the head, to crush England and to master Europe; and that the Irish who had lent their hands to carry forward the objects of this movement, were regarded as the most dangerous of all the co-operators, and were, as such, at any risk to be put down and kept down.

"The feeling (writes Lord Macaulay, vol. 2, p. 185, eleventh edition) with which King William regarded France *explains the whole of his policy towards England.* His public spirit was an *European* public spirit. The chief object of his care was not our island, nor even his native Holland, but the great community of nations threatened with subjugation by one too powerful member.....(And again, p. 189) It was plain that when the European crisis came, England would, if James were her Master, either remain inactive, or act in conjunction with France." And thus the Irish having made their bed, had to lie upon it, and as best they could endure its discomforts.

Nor are these unfounded speculations. The situation of affairs cannot be understood without making such allowances as these—allowances made by at least two eminent historical writers, the one an earnest honest Irish Protestant, the other a cold and clearheaded philosophical observer.

The revolution (remarks Dr. Miller, in his Philosophy of History, at vol. iv., ch. 14) which placed William on the throne of the British islands, however ultimately beneficial to every part of the Empire, was not, in its immediate operation, the epoch of the constitutional liberty of Ireland. It, however, arrested the violence which would have overwhelmed in one common ruin the religious establishment of the Protestants and the political rights both of them and of the Roman Catholics, and it proved to be the commencement of a series of events, which at the close of almost a century terminated in bestowing upon the country the blessings of political freedom and of commercial prosperity. This was all which it could effect for a country so unprepared for receiving the adjustment of a balanced Constitution. Its parties had been long opposed, not in the civil struggle of contending orders eager for pre-eminence, and slowly ascertaining their political situation amidst alternate advantages, but in the deadly feud of exasperated enemies, who saw their safety only in the entire subjugation and the lasting depression of their adversaries.

Nor did the Protestant party of Ireland at that time possess the privileges of freedom. The Roman Catholics were depressed, but the Protestants were not free. The struggle for ascendency had ceased, but the struggle for a constitution remained; and it was only the entire removal of all apprehension of a renewal of the former which could permit the Protestants to engage in the latter with the English Government.

So, too, Mr. Hallam lays it down that—

The Irish or Anglo-Irish Catholics were still formidable from their numbers and sufferings; and the victorious party saw no security but in a system of oppression contained in a series of laws during the reigns of William and Anne, which have scarce a parallel in European history, unless it be that of the Protestants in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, who yet were but a feeble minority of the whole people. (Constitutional History, vol. 3, p. 400, tenth edition.)

In the most cursory manner the Popery laws of this reign must now be alluded to, with the following general observations premised:—

It is to be observed in general that *Popish* recusants are liable to all the forfeitures and disabilities and other inconveniences to which other recusants are liable, *and to many others* to which *other recusants are not liable.* The reader will observe, from the dates of several Acts, how *the penalties have been enforced and enlarged upon every fresh attempt against the Government, especially at the several periods during Queen Elizabeth's reign, after the powder plot in the reign of James I., and after the rebellion in* 1688. ("Bullinbroke's Justice of the Peace for Ireland," p. 634, article POPERY.)

The special enactments superadded in this reign contemplated in addition to those unrepealed:—

(I.) The foreign education of Papists was, by the Act of

7 William III., chap. 4, prohibited, under penalty of forfeiture of lands, &c.

(II.) By the 9 William III., chap. 1, all Popish seculars and all other regular clergy, and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart out of the kingdom before the 1st of May, otherwise suffer imprisonment until they be transported. Those who return are guilty of high treason.

None of the like shall come into the kingdom. If so, they shall be served in the same manner.

Harbouring is penal, under accumulating mulcts.

And so the Act goes on until section 11. "Every justice of the peace shall from time to time issue their warrants for apprehending and committal of all Popish bishops, Jesuits, friars, and other Popish ecclesiastical persons that shall remain in the kingdom."

(III.) It may not be amiss, for the information of those to whom investigation into the past and peering into old records is odious, that we here give the curiously dramatic form of oath which recusants under the *English* statute were to take when they *abjure the r alm*, before two justices or a coroner, otherwise be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy :—

This hear you, Sir Coroner, that I, A. O., of ———, in county of ———, am a Popish recusant, and in contempt of the laws and statutes of England, I have and do refuse to come to their church. I do, therefore, according to the intent and meaning of the statute made in the 35 of Queen Elizabeth, late Queen of this realm of England, *abjure the realm of England.* And I shall haste me towards the port of P———, which you have given and assigned to me. And that I shall not go out of the highway leading thither, nor return back again. And if I do, I will that I be taken as a felon of the King. And that at P——— I will diligently seek for passage, and I will tarry there but one flood and ebb if I can have passage. And unless I can have it in such space, I will go every day into the sea up to my knees, assaying to pass over, so help me God, and his doom.

[It is obvious that the framers of this curious form contemplated the identity of the profession of the Roman Catholic religion in England with an active incitement to rebellion against England; and, consequently, in this polite form enabled certain parties to take their flight for more congenial climes.]

A proclamation by the Lords Justices of Ireland, quoted in the appendix of "Lesly's Answer to the King," at page 16, and dated 26th Sept., 1690, in the second year of their

Majesties reign, gives stringent directions to the following effect:—

We do hereby strictly charge and command all their Majesties subjects in this kingdom not to shelter, harbour, or entertain any of their Majesties enemies or rebels, or any other Irish Papist whatsoever, but such as they know to be under their Majesties obedience, under penalty, &c., &c.

Another proclamation, same date, refers to the wives, children, and families of several killed in actual rebellion, are now adhering to the enemies in their quarters, or give intelligence or correspond; all such are to be searched for and apprehended, and conducted to the next adjacent county to the River Shannon, where the sheriff is to be notified, &c., &c., until they are removed from all places under their Majesties obedience; such are permitted to carry so much of their goods and chattels as shall be necessary for their subsistence in their journey.

A third proclamation orders that no Papist whatsoever shall, from and after the 14th of October next ensuing, inhabit or dwell within ten miles of any of their Majesties frontier garrisons, nor within ten miles of the River Shannon, but that all such Papists shall forthwith, with their families, be moved to some other parts of this kingdom, great part thereof being now waste.

Any who shall presume otherwise to dwell, shall be looked upon as spies, and prosecuted accordingly.

[In the county Clare letters of the Ordnance Survey, R.I.A., the writer has met with a statement to the effect that these banished Roman Catholics betook themselves to Ennis, in which they settled, and turned to seek a livelihood by trade, commerce, and their own peaceable industry.]

IV.

Shall not Teach School.

By Act 7 William III., chap. 4, no person of the Popish religion shall publickly teach school, or instruct youth, or in private houses teach or instruct youth, except only the children or others under the guardianship of the master or mistress of such private family, upon pain of 20*l.* or be committed to prison for every such offence. (Thus it is plain from this and the statement on page 155, that

1st. The Roman Catholic was not allowed freely to teach school or instruct youth.

2nd. The Protestant was not enabled to do so.

3rd. The State did not attempt fairly to mediate for the educational benefit of both parties.

4th. Nearly 150 years elapsed before this idea of fair play to all in the matter of education was attempted to be put in practice.

5th. And after over 40 years' trial it does not please both parties.)

Burying in suppressed monasteries forbidden by the Act 9th William III., chap. 1. Penalty to forfeit 10*l.*, divisible between informer and the minister and churchwardens.

V.

Arms of Papists, "under order of any two Justices, to be searched for and seized, to be preserved for King, &c.; to be searched for only between sun rising and setting."

The other sections are too many and complex for an abstract; instead of which it may be as well to make just two practical remarks—1st. In the reign of King James II. the arms of the Protestants were ordered to be taken from them, which order was diligently fulfilled; 2nd, under King William the very same invasion of the Roman Catholics was practised by the Protestants, and quite as severely.

1699. Arms Taken.

Pursuant to warrant by Capt. Purdon and Capt. Stamers for searching the house and castle of Innisdiman for arms, I do hereby certify to have done the same, and to have found in the said house, after diligent search and enquiry,

One fowling-piece,
One brass blunderbus.

All which I engage to deliver to Capt. Purden, in order to be restored to the owner when he forwards sufficient orders from the Government for the same.

Witness my hand,

Edwd. Shank.

To this may be added the receipt passed by the informer who took up these arms from this gentleman :—

1700. Know all men by these presents, that I, Edward Shanks, of Ennis, county Clare, shoemaker, do hereby acknowledge to have received from Christopher O'Brien, Esqre., of Innistyman, within said county Clare, the sum of 15*l.* (fifteen), in full satisfaction and payment of the like sum imposed on him as a fine at the last general assizes and general gaol delivery that was held for the said county, on his being found guilty on the statute against Papists carrying of arms, and then ordered by the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland to be paid to me, in pursuance of the said statute, for discovering of the said arms, and prosecuting the said Christopher O'Brien at the said assizes. I do like-

wise acquit, exonerate, and discharge John Cusacke, Esqre., now high-sheriff, for the said sum and fine which he was ordered to receive and pay unto me.

EDWARD SHANK,
Sor. (shoemaker.)

Present—
Tim. O'Brien.
Ch McDonagh.
Ed. Wadham.
(Copied from the originals in Ennistymon House Collection.)

The gentleman thus grievously invaded, insulted, and heavily fined was not only most loyal but also most humane, and it is a tardy though pleasing act of justice to copy the following from the representative of a mercantile firm in reference to his humanity:—

To Captain C. O'Brien.

It is some satisfaction and a little comfort to me and my friends concerned in the cargo on board "The Little Mary," that in our misfortune we are fallen on your coast. The Master, and Mr. Hackett particularly, does acknowledge *your extraordinary kindness*, which obliges me in a particular manner to give you my thanks, though at present I cannot hope to make due acknowledgment.

This gentleman for some years subsequently (from 1726 to 1735) was the trusted and active agent of Lord Thomond in Clare. Now, however, he suffers under this Arms Act, as we have seen.

VI.

Horses of Papists.

By the Act of 7th Wm. III. ch. 5, no Papist shall be capable to have or keep in his possession, or have kept for his use, &c., any horse, gelding, or mare which shall be of the value of 5*l.* There are several clauses in this Act; and in old leases, made just subsequently, there are curiously worded provisions enforcing, under penalties, the keeping of none but "*Protestant horses*," which expression seems to have been selected to establish a contradistinction to the Papist horses, which must be under the value of 5*l.*, and of indifferent breeding.

VII.

Tendering the Oaths to Papists.

This was the Oath of Abjuration and Declaration against Transubstantiation. And we are able to give another illustra-

tion of the carrying out of this Act in the case of the Corporation of Ennis, taking the extract from the MS. Minute Book already referred to :—

44.

A fine laid on John Higgins for incorraging (sic) James Hickey to open shop without being free of the borrough. Whereas John Higgins, appothecarry (sic), contrary to the laws of the Corporation, he himself not being a freeman, did, in contempt of said laws, countenance and abett one James Hickey, *a known Papist, and one who refused to sign the Declaration and take the oaths, as required by law*, and therefore was fined 20*s.* sterling for keeping open an appothecarry's (sic) shop in said town and borrough by owning himself to be his servant and that the shop was his.

The Court fined 40*s.* to be leveyed.

Fined again.

45.

Then the Serjeants-at-Mace of said borrough distrained two mortars of brass that weighed 120 pounds, an iron pestill (sic) that weighed 8½ pounds, all valued to the sum of 3*l.* 13*s.* sterling, also a nest of boxes, a pair of brass skeals (sic), appraised with the mortars and valued in the above sum.

Happy, happy Burrough of Ennis, with laws in which the Apothecary had his beggarly array of empty boxes taken away and sold, and his scales weighed for his edification; mortars likewise appraised, to impress him with a due aversion and an intelligent reprobation of the mediæval figment of transubstantiation. But after all, this "lean Apothecary" of Ennis might well have rejoiced in heart, when he felt sure that by the Irish statute of 7 Wm. III. ch. 2, the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, and all punishment by *death* upon ecclesiastical censures were now taken away, otherwise himself and his "nests of drawers" might have been burned with the aid of his drugs, essences, old cakes of roses, and crackling bundles of botanical simples cast in, and all the ill-shaped fishes and stuffed alligators superadded to stimulate the grand combustion at the market cross of Ennis.

"The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law."

Poor Popish apothecary of Ennis!

Another law, really well-intentioned, was the Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists. (7 Wm. III., ch. 28.)

Also to empower churchwardens to levy forfeitures for cursing and swearing. (6 and 7 Wm. III., ch. 2, sec. 2.)

In respect of fraudulent deeds and long leases of Church lands, provision was made, and encouragements for building glebe houses were *now first* given in 10 Wm. III., ch. 6.

A considerable amount of light has been thrown upon "the old schools of Dublin" by the learned researches of the Rev. W. G. Carroll, A.M., Rector of St. Bride's, Dublin, to whom the writer is indebted for the following notice of Dr. Henry Rider, which shall be inserted thus (——) in the order of time into Dr. Cotton's statement based on Ware, concerning this prelate. In 1639 Henry Ryder, or Rider, M.A., was born at Paris. He was educated at Westminster School, and from thence was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1663, and in that University he took the degrees of A.B. in 1666, and M.A. in 1673. He afterwards became a member of Trinity College, Dublin. (He is called on the Matriculation Books "Reader" and Rider. "He was one of a long and honoured list of Ludi-Magistri scholæ liberæ Diocæs. Dublin et Eccles, Cathedral Sti Patricii." In 1679 he applied to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick for arrears of salary, and there is an enrollment (C. A. 1660—1689) of a lease made by the Chapter to his brother for his "satisfaction." He was afterwards promoted to Kilkenny College, and he educated there two sons of Primate Margetson, several of the Usher family, and Dean Swift.) He became also Prebendary of Mulhuddart, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in 1683. In 1692 Archdeacon of Ossory, from whence he was advanced to this See by Patent, dated June 5th, and was consecrated on the Sunday following (June 11) in the parish church of Dunboyne, in the County Meath, by the Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Limerick and Killala.

Through the kindness of Dr. William Reeves, Dean of Armagh, the following very important Regal Visitation is presented. The letter of Dr. Ryder prefixed is of great value, as illustrating the point already noticed, that this diocese suffered considerably from impropriations, and that the evil was not corrected, nor even equitably modified, as suggested by the Bishop.

[*This Letter of Bp. Henry Ryder is prefixed to the Return.*]
(*Endorsed*)
To Richard Aldworth, Esq.,
At the Castle in Dublin.

Killaloe, the 11th day of [16]93.

I here at last send you the best account I can at present of this Diocese. I hope hereafter to supply its defects. *By it you see that through the many impropriations and rectories in the gift of the Earle of Tomond, he is in a manner the Bishop of the Diocess, and that consequently the generality of the clergy must be in a mean condition, and that it is impossible for the Bishop to prevent it.* I hope the Government will consider it, and at least unite the rectories and the vicaridges of each parish, and settle it soe that the Lay Patron and the Bishop may present by turnes. As to your other queries, what unions there are here, and what the value of the liveings: to the first I answer, that there are no unions in the Diocese, and none fitter to be made than those before mentioned; to the latter, that the country is generally wast, most of the liveings worth little, some nothing, and the best scarce a competency.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
HENRY KILLALOE.

[*Note.*]—The volume from which this and what follows are copied, contains the returns of several dioceses, as made by order of the Lords Justices, and sent through Mr. Secretary Aldworth, in the year [1693.]

THE STATE OF THE DIOCESS OF KILLALOE.

The economy of the Cathedrall—
The Rectory of Killaloe.
The Rectory of Moynoe.
The Rectory of Clonrush.
Part of the Rectory of Ogonilla.
The Vicaridge of Omullud.
The Rectory of Dunamona.
The Vicaridge of ffeackle.

Cure served at present by Mr. James Tovey, in the Cathedrall, *not in repaire.*

Names of the Clergy.	Their Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
Hieronimus Ryves, deane	Rectory of Kilkeary Vicaridge of Ballynacloghy Rectory of Dromineer Rectory of Munsea	Noe cure	The King of the three first in right of the Deanery, the Bishop of the fourth

Names of the Clergy.	Their Livemgs.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
Patrick Fitz-Symonds, chaunter	Vicaridge of Kilraghtis Vicaridge of Templemaly Rectory and vicaridge of Kilmaly Rectory and vicaridge of Dromcliffe Rectory and vicaridge of Kilnemona Intire rectory of Latteragh	Served by himselfe at Ennis, the abby there in good repaire	The Lord Thomond of the two first, the Bishop of the rest
Daniel Tomlinson, chancellor	Rectory and vicaridge of Ballymaky Rectory of Toem Rectory and vicaridge of Aghnamedall Rectory and vicaridge of Burresnnefarna Rectory of Kilruane Rectory of Aghancon	Served by Mr. Craven in Ballymaky Church, in repaire	Bishop
John Hawkins, treasurer	Vicaridge of Dromline Rectory and vicaridge of Kilnasolagh Rectory of Kilconry Rectory of Clonloghane Rectory of Bunratty Rectory of ffinogh Rectory and vicaridge of Kilmaleery Rectory of Tomfinloe	Serv'd by himselfe in the church of Kilnasolagh	The Earle of Thomond of all the rectories, all being comprehended under the rectory of Traddery The Bishop to the vicaridges
Joseph Amirath, archdeacon	Rectory and vicaridge of Ballygibbon Rectory and vicaridge of Cloghpriora Rectory and vicaridge of ffinoogh Rectory and vicaridge of Terryglasse Vicaridge of Kilbarrane Rectory and vicaridge of Larha Rectory and vicaridge of Durrogh Rectory and vicaridge of Aghlishcloghane	Two cures, serv'd in the churches of ffiniagh and Larha by himselfe Both in repaire	The Bishop

Names of the Clergy.	Their Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
Daniel Higgins, prebend of Tomegreany	Rectory of Tomegreany Vicaridge of Moynoe Vicaridge of Kilrush Vicaridge of Inniskealtra	Cure served by himselfe in the church of Tomegreany Out of repaire	The Bishop
William Nelson, prebend of Lackeene	Rectory and vicaridge of Lackene Rectory and vicaridge of Birr Rectory and vicaridge of Roscomroe Vicaridge of Kilcoleman Rectory and vicaridge of Litterluna	Served by Mr. Edward Armstrong at Birr Church in repaire	The Bishop
John Vanderlure, prebend of Enniscathrie	Rectory of Kilrush Vicaridge of Kilfieragh Vicaridge of Kilballyhone Vicaridge of Killard Vicaridge of Moyferta	Serv'd by himself in the churches of Kilrush and Moyferta The church of Kilrush in repaire, the other not	The Bishop
Richard Goodman, prebend of Rath	Rectory of Rath Rectory of Dyshart	Served by the vicar Not in repaire	The Earle of Inchiquin to the rectories The Bp to the prebend
Robert Wallis, prebend of Tulloe	Rectory and vicaridge of Dunkerryn Rectory and vicaridge of Templeharry Rectory and vicaridge of Shinrone Rectory and vicaridge of Kilmurry in Ealy ô Carroll Rectory of Kilcoleman	Serv'd by himselfe at Shinrone and Dunkerrin In repaire	The Bishop

Names of the Clergy.	Their Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
John Jones, prebend of Dyshart	Prebend of Dyshart and vicar of the same Rectory and vicaridge of Killinaboy Vicaridge of Rath Rectory and vicaridge of Kilkeedy Vicaridge of Insicronane	Served by himselfe in the churches of Dyshart and Killineboy Out of repaire	The Bishop
John Lawson, Scotchman, prebend of Clondagad	Prebend and vicar of Clondagad Vicar of Kilchrist Vicar of Killadyshart Rectory of Kilfarboy Vicaridge of Kilmichael	Served by himselfe in ye church of Clondagad Not in full repaire	The Bishop to the prebend and vicaridge of Clondagad; Earle of Thomond the rest
John Patterson	Rectory of Kilseyly Rectory of Kilfienaughty Rectory of Killogenedy Rectory of Kilnoe Rectory of Clonlea Rectory of Killorane Rectory of ffeakle Rectory of Ogonnilla	Served by the severall vicars The church of Kilseyly not in repair; the church of Kilfenaughty in repair	Earle of Thomond All these rectories are comprehended under the name of the rectory of Omullud, and soe presented by the patron
Dominic Meade	Rectory and vicaridge of Roscrea Rectory and vicaridge of Etagh Rectory and vicaridge of Rathmaveoge Rectory of Finglasse Rectory and vicaridge of Castletown Ealy Vicaridge of Aghancon Vicaridge of Kilcolman Rectory of Clonfertmolloe Vicaridge of Burrchinals Bourney Rectory and vicaridge of Cullenwayne	Cure served by himself at Roscrea, and in a private house till the Church of Aghancon be repair'd	The Bishop

Names of the Clergy.	Their Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
William Twigg	Rectory and vicaridge of Stradbally	Served by himselfe in the Church of Stradbally	The Bishop
	Rectory and vicaridge of Kilnegarruffe	Not in repaire	
	Rectory and vicaridge of Kiltenanlea		
James Vanderlure	Vicaridge of Kilseyly	Served by himself in the churches of Kilfeanaughty and Killseyly	The Bishop
	Vicaridge of Kilfeanuaughty		
	Vicar of Killogenedy		
	Vicar of Kilnoe		
	Vicar of Clonlea	The church of Kilfeanaughty in repaire, the other not	
	Vicar of Killurane		
	Vicar of Bunratty		
	Vicar of Clonloghane		
	Vicar of Kilconry		
	Vicar of Kilmurrynegaul		
	Vicar of Finnogh		
	Vicar of Tomfinloe		
John Lawson, Englishman	Rectory and vicaridge of Quin	No cure serv'd at present; noe church in repaire; the country all wast	Earle of Thomond to the rectories, all being comprised under the name of the rectory of Ogashin
	Rectory and vicaridge of Tulloe		
	Rectory and vicaridge of Cluony		
	Rectory and vicar of Dowry		
	Rectory of Templemaly		The Bishop to the vicaridges
	Rectory of Kilraghtis		
	Rectory of Kilmurrynegaul		
David Barclay	Vicarage of Kilfedane	Served by himself in the church of Kilmurry	The Bishop
	Vicaridge of Killofin		
	Vicaridge of Killeymur		
	Vicar of Kilmurry Clonderela	In repaire	
	Vicaridge of Kilmacdwan		
John Crawford	Rectory and vicaridge of Neneigh	Serv'd in churches of Nenagh and Templederry	The Bishop
	Rectory and vicaridge of Lisbunny		
	Rectory and vicaridge of Kilneneaffe	Nenagh chancell in repaire	
	Vicaridge of Dolla	The church of Templederry in repaire	
	Vicaridge of Kilmore		
	Vicar of Munsea		
	Rectory and vicaridge of Templederry	Both serv'd by himself	
	Rectory and vicaridge of Killodiernane		
	Rectory and vicaridge of Kneagh		

Names of the Clergy.	Their Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
Nathaniel Terry	Rectory and vicaridge of Burgessbog Rectory and vicaridge of Youghall arra Rectory and vicaridge of Castletowne arra	Serv'd by himselfe in the church of Castletown Out of repaire	The Bishop
[No name]	Rectory and vicaridge of Madrenhy Rectory and vicaridge of Burreskeane Vicaridge of Ardcrony Vicaridge of Uskeane Vicaridge of Ballygarry	Served by himselfe in the churches of Madrenhy and Burreskane Churches in repaire	The Bishop

IMPROPRIATIONS.

	The Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
	Rectory of Kilchrist Rectory of Killofin Rectory of Kilmurry Clonderala Rectory of Killadishert Rectory of Kilmacdwan Rectory of Killballyhone Rectory of Killard Part of the rectory of Kilmurry Ibrickane Rectory of Moyferta Rectory of Kilmichael Rectory of Inshicronane Rectory of Clareabby Rectory of Kilfeirah		Earle of Thomond

	The Liveings.	Cures and condition of their Churches.	Patrons.
	Part of the rectory of Clondagad Part of the rectory of Killeymur Rectory of Killone Rectory of Kilfeddan		Earle of Inchiquin
	Part of the rectory of Dunamona Rectory of Burchin als Bourney		Duke of Ormond
	Rectory of Inniskealtra Rectory of Ballygarry Rectory of Kilbarrane Rectory of Uskeane		Earle of Corke

[The two last sheets of the original have been transposed in the binding. The last sheet should be that beginning with Dominic Meade's union of Roscrea, and ending with the impropriations of the four noblemen.—W. R.]

(The sheets are printed in proper order.—P. D.]

The Primary Visitation of this Bishop is now submitted, being the only one among the Archives, since that held in 1667, found by the writer, although Dr. Cotton alludes to one of Killaloe—a triennial held in 1672. This is an ordinary visitation held in 1695.

Visitatio ordinaria Revdi in Christo Patris ac Dvn Domini.

Henrici providentia divina Luacensis (sic) episcopi,—incohata, tenta et celebrata die lunæ,—die quinto Augusti Ao Di 1695, annoque conservacionis, Dv Dvni Epi tertio,—in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Flannani Laoniæ in com: Clare coram ipso Dno. Epo. et ibidem in Pontificalibus pro tribunali sedent.

Interessente et adstante Clericorum cœtu.

(Nomina Dignitor.)

Hieronymus Ryves, Cler. in Art Mag Decanus.
Patricius Fitz Simons, Cler. in Art Mag Precentor.
Danl. Tomlinson, Cler. in Art Mag.
Johannes Hawkins, Cler. in Art Mag Archideaconus.

(Nomina Præbendarior.)

1. Danl. Higgins, A.M., Preb. de Tomgreney.
2. Wm. Nelson, A.M., Preb. de Lockeene.
3. Johannes Vande (sic) lure, Cler., A.M., Preb. de Inniscattery.
4. Robert Wallis, Cler., A.M., Preb. de Tulloe.
5. Johannes Jones, Cler., A.M., Preb. de Dysert.
6. Robertus Goodman, Cler., A.M., Preb. de Rath.
7. Johannes Lawson (Scotus), Clk., A.M., de Clondagad.

(Æconomia Cathedralis Eccles.)

Rectoria integra paroch. de Killaloe, in Com Clare.
Rect. eccles paroch. de Moynoe, in Com Clare.
Rect. eccles paroch. de Clonrush.
Media pars Rect. eccles par de Ogonnelloe in Com Clare.
Vicaria de Feaekle.
Pars Rector eccles, paroch in Downamona in Comitat. de Tipperary.
Daniel Tomlinson, Cancellarius Economus.

(Denominationes Benefi et Impropriat.)

Decanatus de Omollode.

I. Omollud Rect.

Nulla reperitur ecclesia in Omollud. (This is a sinecure.)

Johannes Hawkins, Præcentor et Rector.

II. Kilseilly Rect et Vic.

Johannes Paterson, Clericus, A.M., Rector. (This Rev. gentleman's name is found in the Chapter Book as the Curate of Feackle, and was afterwards worthily represented in the County Clare by a Chief Justice and his representatives.)

Jacobus Vanderlure (sic) Cler., A.M., Vicar. We have noticed him already.

III. Killokennedie, Rec. et Vic.

John Paterson.

Jas. Vanderleur.

IV. Killnoe, R. et V. (as above.)

V. Killurane, R. et V. (as above.)

VI. Clonlea, R. et V. (as above.)

VII. Kilfonaughtie (as above.)

VIII. Killaloe Rectoria integra.

Jacobus Tovey, Clk., A.M., Curatus et Prædicator.

(The entry in Chapter Book about this Rev. gentleman is to be found in Appendix No. 2.)

IX. Feackill, R. and V.

Johannes Paterson, Rect. Vicaria et pars, economus eccles cathedralis.

(Mr. Paterson, according to the Chapter Book, got 10*l.* a-year as vicar.)

X. Tomgraney, Rect. integra, Corpus Præbendæ.

Danl. Higgins, Præbendarius.

XI. Moynoe, R. et V., Rectoria spectat ad decanat et capit.
Danl. Higgins, Vicarius.
XII. Clonrush, R. et V., Rect spectat ubi supra.
Danl. Higgins, Vicar.
XIII. Inniscaltra, R. et V., Rec Impropriat.
Comes Corcagiæ Proprietar.
XIV. Ogonilla, R. et V.
Rect divisa in duas partes quarum una spectat ad rect de Omullod, alia ad decan et capit.
Daniel Tovey, Vicar.
XV. Stradbally, als Bumen (?) R. et V.
—— Twigg, Clerk, A.M.
XVI. Killingarriffe, R. et V.
Idem, R. et V.
XVII. Kiltinnaulea, R. et V., als Doonassey.
Idem, R. et V.

DECANATUS DE CORCAVASKIN.

I. Clondagad, R. et V.
Pars. Rectoriæ, spectat ad Prebend. de Clondagad, alia pars. pertinet ad Com. Insiquin.
John Lawson (*Scotus*) Prebendarius et Vicarius.
II. Kilchrist, R. et V.
Rec et Impropriat. Comes Thomond, Propriet Rectoriæ.
Idem, J. Lawson.
III. Killadysert, R. et V.
Rec. et Impropriat, Comes Thomond Propriet Rect.
Idem, J. Lawson, Vicarius.
IV. Kilfedane, R. et V.
Rect. Improp., Comes Thomond, Propriet Rectiæ.
Davidius Barclay (we have seen him already in photograph), clk., A.M.
V. Killyfynon, R. et V.
Rect. Comes, Thomond Propriet.
David Barclay, Vicarius.
VI. Killymur, R. et V.
Comes, Thomond, et Insequin, Prop.
David Barclay, Vic.
VII. Kilmurry, Clanderalla, R. et V.
Comes Thomond, Imp. et Prop.
David Barclay.
VIII. Kilmacduane, R. et V.
Comes Thomond, Prop.
David Barclay.
IX. Kilfarboy, R. et V.
Johannes Lawson (Scotus), Rec. et Vic.
X. Killfieragh, R. and V.
Rec. est pars, Prebendiæ de Inniscatterie.
John Vanderlure, Præb. et Vic.

XI. Kilballyhone, R. et V.
Rec. est Impropriate.
Comes Thomond, Proprius Rec.
John Vanderlure, Vic.
XII. Killard, Rec. et Vic.
Thomond, Proprius.
—— Vanderlure, V.
XIII. Kilmurry, Ibrickane.
Rect. integra, Impropriate.
Comes Thomondiæ, proprius.
XIV. Moyfearta, R. et V.
Rec. Improp.
Comes Thomond, Proprius Rec.
Johan Vanderlure, Vic.
XV. Killrush, Rectoria Corpus Præbend.
Præbendarius, Johan Vanderlure.

DECANATUS DE OGASHIN.

1. Ogashin, Rectoria Integra.
Johnas Lawson (Anglus), Rector.
2. Quin, Rec. et Vic.
Idem, Johs. Lawson, R. et V.
3. Tullo, Rec. et Vic.
Robertus Wallis, Præbdy.
Idem, Johnes Lawson, Rec. et Vic.
4. Clonie, Rec. et Vic.
Idem, Rec. et Vic.
5. Dowrie, Rec. et Vic.
Idem.
6. Kilraghtis.
Idem, Rector.
Patricius Fitzsimon, V.
7. Templemaley, R. et V.
Johnes Lawson, R.
Pat. Fitzsimons, V.
8. Inshicronane, R. et V.
Rect. Impropriat, Comes Thomond.
Proprius, Rect.
John Jones, Clericus, Vic.
9. Kilmurrynegaul.
Rec. et Vic.
John Lawson, Rec.
Jac. Vanderlure, Vic.

DECANATUS DE TRADEREE.

1. Tradere, R. et V.
Johannes Hawkins, Thesaur.
Rec. et Vic.

2. Kilnasulagh, R. et Vic.
   Idem, R. et V.
3. Tomfinlough, R. et V.
   John Hawkins, Rec.
   Jacob Vanderlure, Vic.
4. Kilconnery, R. et V.
   Hawkins.
   Vanderlure.
5. Clonloghane, R. et V.
   Hawkins.
   Vanderlure.
6. Dromlyne, R. et V.
   Idem, Johannes Hawkins.
   Rec. et Vic.
7. Bunratty, Rec. et. Vic.
   Hawkins, R.
   Vanderlure, V.
8. Kilmaleery, R. et. V.
   Idem, Johannes Hawkins.
   Rec. et Vic.
9. Finnoagh, Rec. et Vic.
   J. Hawkins, R.
   J. Vanderlure, V.
10. Innisdadrom, Rec. et Vic.
    Corpus Precentoriatus,
    Patricius Fitzsimons, Rec. et Vic.
    Precentor.

Decanatus de Dromcleave.

1. Dromcleave, Rec. et Vic.
   Patricius Fitzsimons, R. et V.
2. Kilmaley, R. et V.
   Idem, P. F., R. et V.
3. Killone Rectoria Impropriata.
   Comes Thomond Proprius.
4. Dysart, Rect. et Vic.
   Ricardus Goodman, Rec. et Vic.
   Johannes Jones, Vicar.
5. Killinaboy, Rec. et Vic.
   R. Goodman, R.
   J. Jones, V.
6. Kilkeedy, Rec. et Vic.
   Johnes Jones, Rec. et Vic.

Decanatus de Ormandia Superior.

1. Nenagh als Enagh, Rec. et Vic.
   John Crafford, Clericus, A.M., Rec. et Vic.

2. Kilkearrie, Rec. Integ. Corpus Decanatus.
3. Ballynaclough.
   Rec. est Impropriata.
   Johannes De Lane, nuper tenuit Rectoriam.
   Baylie, firmarius Rec.
4. Lisbunny R. et V.
   Johs. Crafford.
5. Keill na neaffe (sic.), R. et V.
   Idem, R. et V.
6. Dolla, R. et V.
   Rectoria spectat ad mensam Dni. Epusi.
   Johannes Crafford, Vic.
7. Donnamana, Rec. Integra.
   Pars spectat ad ducem Ormandiæ.
   Pars ad decan et Cap.
   Pars ad Johnan. Crafford.
8. Burggess Beg, R. et V.
   Nathaniel Thierry, R. et V.
9. Keilmore, R. et V.
   T. Crafford, Vic.
10. Youghalarra als. Oghill Rec.
    Rec. est pars Decanatus.
    Vic. Nat. Thierry (clk.).
11. Castletown arra. R. et V.
    Nat. Thierry, R. et V.
12. Ballygibbon, Rec. et Vic.
    Josephus Amirant, R. et V.
13. Ballymackey, R. et V.
    Vicaria est corpus Cancellariatus.
    Daniel Tomlinson, Rec. et Cancell.
14. Toem, Rec. integra spectat ad corpus Cancell.
15. Aghnameadall, Rec. et Vic.
    Danl. Tomlinson, R. et V.
16. Borrisnafearney, R. et V.
    Idem, R. et V.
17. Latteragh, Rec. integra pars corporis Præcentoriatus.
18. Templederry, R. et V.
    J. Crafford, R. et V.
19. Kilderrydadrom, R. et V.
    Danl. Tomlinson, R. et V.

Decanatus de Ormondia Inferiori.

1. Monsea, R. et V.
   Hieronymus Ryves Decanus, R.
   John Crafford, V.
2. Dromineer, Rec. integra spectat ad decanat Laonens.
3. Killodiernane, R. et V.
   John Crafford, R. et V.

4. Kneagh, R. et V.
   Idem, R. et V.
5. Cloughprior, R. et V.
   Joseph Amirant, R. et V.
6. Ardcronie.
   Rectoria spectat ad mensam Episcopi.
   Gualterus Browne, cler. A. M. Vicar.
7. Ballingarrie, Rec. et Vic.
   Rec. impropriata, Comes Corcagiæ.
   Proprius Rector, Gualterus Browne.
8. Modrenny, R. et V.
   Gualterus Browne, R. et V.
9. Killmane, R. et V.
   Danl. Tomlinson, R. et V.
10. Finnoagh, R. et V.
    J. Amirant, R. et V.
11. Tyraglasse, R. et V.
    Idem, R. et V.
12. Kilbarrane, R. et V.
    Rect. impropriat Comes Corcagiæ (again).
    Vic., Joseph Amirant.
13. Burreskeine, R. et V.
    G. Browne, R. et V.
14. Lorha, R. et V.
    Jos. Amirant, R. et V.
15. Aglish Clohane, R. et V.
    Idem, R. et V.
16. Dorra als Durrow, R. et V.
    Idem, Rec. et Vic.
17. Bonnohem, R. et V.
    Idem, R. et V.
18. Uskeane.
    Rect., Comes Corcagiæ (and again).
    Vic., Walter Browne.
19. Uskeane, Rec. et Vic.
    Rec. improp, Comes Corcagiæ.
    Vic., Walter Browne.
20. Lockeen, R. et V.
    Walter Nelson, Prebendary.

DECANATUS DE ELY O'CARROLL ET IKYRRIN.

1. Roscrea, R. et V.
   Dom. Meade, cler. A. M. Rec. et Vic.
2. Castletown, Ely R. et V. idem.
3. Rathmoviogge, R. et V. idem.
4. Finglas, Rec. integra, idem Rec.
5. Dunkyrrin, Rec. et Vic.
   Robertus Wallis, clk. A. M.
   Rec. et Vic.

6. Temple Harrie, R. et V. idem.
7. Shinroane, R. et V. idem.
8. Kilmurry Ely, R. et V. idem.
9. Ditto, idem.
10. Kilcommin, Rectoria integra, idem.
11. Ettagh, R. et V., D. Meade, R. et V.
12. Aghancon, R. et V., D. Tomlinson, R. et V.
13. Byrra, R. et V., Guliel Nelson, R. et V.
14. Rosscomroe, Rec. improp., Anthony Pierce, Proprius.
15. Literluna, improp. ut Roscomroe.
    Guliel Nelson, Vicar.
16. Clonfert Molloe, Rec. integra.
    Dom. Meade, Rector.
17. Burhem or Bourney.
    Rect. improp., Dux Ormondiæ, Proprius.
    Dom. Meade, Vicar.
18. Kinnitty, R. et V.
    Media pars, Rec. impropria, A. Percie.
    Altera pars spectat ad vic.
    Wm. Nelson, Vic.
19. Cullenwaine als Coolonvane.
    R. et V., Dom. Meade, R. et V.
20. Insula Viventium als Innishnameo et Corbally.
    Rectoria impropriata.
    Anth. Percie, Proprius.

Finis prospectus Dioces. Laonen.

Examined JAS.
FRAS. CARROLL, Reg.

(Diocesan Registry Visitation Books, 2 N. 261.)

The further list in this Visitation is meant to exhibit the proxies and other fees which the clergy were bound to pay. And it is useful for the purpose of demonstrating to what an extent of misery and tenuity the livings had sunk, so as to make it necessary for the work of the diocese to be attempted by twenty-four incumbents. Those who are acquainted with the country will be able to judge of the enormous size of the Unions, which are in some cases even larger than entire baronies.

PROXIES, AND ½ EXHIBITS.

	£	s.	d.
1. Mr. Jer. Ryve's held the Deanery, Monsea, and 2 pts. of Youghal	2	1	9
2. Mr. P. Fitzsimmons, Chanter, held Drumcliffe R. and V., Kilmalerie R. and V., Kilnemona R. and V., Kilraghtis V., Templemaley V.	2	11	7

	£	s.	d.
3. Mr. D. Tomlinson held Chancellorship, R. of Ballymackey, R. of Thome, R. of Athnameadle, R. and V. of Burrisnafearna, R. and V. of Kilderrydadrom, R. of Kilrune, R. of Aghancon	4	13	3
4. Mr. John Hawkins held Treasurership, Rect. Tomfinlough, R. Kilnasulagh, R. and V. of Kilmalerie, R. and V. of Clerahane (?), R. and V. Dromline, Rect. of Fenagh, Rec. Bunratty	1	17	6
5. Mr. Amyrant, the Archdn., R. and V. of Cloughprior, V. of Kilbarron, ½ R. of Lerha, R. and V. of Bonohan, R. and V. Durrow, R. of Aglish clohane, Rec. and Vic. Finnoagh, Rec. Tyrraglasse, Rec. and Vic. Ballygibbon	4	19	0
6. Mr. Danl. Higgins, Rect. of Tomgreney, V. of Moynoe, V. Clonrush, V. Inniscaltra	1	5	6
7. Mr. Wm. Nelsone, Preb. of Lockeen, Rec. and Vic. Bier, Rec. Kilcoleman, Vic. Rosscomroe, ½ Rec. Kinnilty, Vic. do., ½ Rec. Literluna, Vic. do., omitted Roosscomroe...	2	12	4
8. Mr. Rob. Wallis, Preb. Talloe, Rect. and Vic. Dunkyrin, Rec. Temple Harrie, Rec. Shinrone, Vic. do., Rec. and Vic. Kilmurrie, Rec. Kilcummin	2	8	1
9. Mr. John Jones, Preb. Dysert, Rec. and Vic. Killnaboy, Rec. Killkeedie, Vic. Rath, Vic. Inshicronane Union	2	3	10
10. Mr. Richd. Goodman, Preb. of Rath, Rec. of do. ...			
11. Mr. Percival, Preb. of Dysert, Preb. of Dysert. No union	0	17	8
12. Mr. Lawson, Preb. of Clondagad, Vic. do., Vic. of Kildysert, Rec. of Kilfarboy, Vic. do., Vic. of Kilchrist, Vic. of Kilmichael Union, &c.	1	10	0
Dean and Chapter, Rec. Killaloe, do. Moynoe, do. Clonrush, do. Ogonelloe, do. Feackle, part of Dunamona... ...	1	7	6
13. Mr. James Tovey, not recorded, Vicar of Ogonella, &c.	0	7	1
14. Mr. John Paterson, Rec. of Clonlea, R. of Kilfinaghtie, R. of Kilseily, R. of Killurane, R. of Killokennedy, R. of Kilnoe, R. of Kilfeackle	1	15	3
15. Mr. James Vanderlure, Vic. Kilfinaghtie, Vics. of Kilseily, Killuran, Kilokennedy, Kilconry, Clonlohane, Finnoagh, Bunratty, Kilmurrynegaul, Tomfinlough, Clonlea, Kilnoe	2	5	5
16. Mr. Twigg, Rec. and Vic. Castle Connell, R. and V. of Kilnegarruffe, R. and Vic. of Kiltananlea	1	14	2
17. Mr. Barclay, V. of Killofin, Kilmurry, Kilmacduane, Kilfeddane, Killymur	1	5	7
18. Mr. Nat. Therry, Vic. Youghal, R. and Vic. Castlebeg, Rec. and Vic. of Castletown Union, Letters	1	6	5
19. Mr. W. Browne, R. and V. Modreney, R. and V. Borrisokane, V. Ardcroney, V. Uskeane, V. Ballingarry, Orders, Union	2	17	1

	£	s.	d.
20. Mr. John Crafford, R. and V. Nenagh, R. and V. Lisbunny			
21. Gore Kilnanaffe (?), R. and V. Kilmore, Vic. Monsea, Vic. Killodyernane, Rec. Neagh, R. and V. Templederry, R. and V. Union, Letters of Orders	6	4	6
22. Mr. Tom. Meade, Rec. Roscrea, R. and V. Rosscrea, do. Castletown, do. Rathnaveoge, R. Finglasse, R. Burrechin, Clonfertmolloe, Cullinwayne, Kilcoleman, Ettagh, 5 Clauses of Union, 5 Letters of Orders ...	4	0	0
23. Mr. Rob. Wallis, entered before.			
24. Mr. Lawson (Anglus), R. and V. Quin, R. and V. Cloney, ½ Rec. Tulloe and Vic., R. and V. Dowrie, Rects. Kilraghtis, Kilmaley, Kilmurry, Union Orders	2	9	7

IMPROPRIATIONS.

Thomond Comes	15	1	4
Cork Comes	1	10	11
Insequin	8	1	10
Roscommon, E. of (Carey), per Mr. Anthony Pearce, and Mr. Emerson	2	16	0

The number of clergy seems greatly diminished since the former Visitations, and the work of the diocese inadequately done. Possibly the Protestant population may not as yet have recovered the severe drain during the days of James I.

The Bishop, though a scholar and man of ability, has not been recorded as having left behind any literary work. One State sermon has come into the writer's hand, from which a pleasing extract was given in a former page. One or two additional excerpts may be here presented. The sermon was preached in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 23rd Oct., 1695, being the "anniversary thanksgiving," &c., and was ordered by the Lords to be printed. The text is taken from Job viii. 13:—

"The hypocrite's hope shall perish."

1st. Of the hypocritical pretexts under which the Irish rebellion was attempted to be justified the Bishop thus discourses:—

"It was, say they, a just and holy war, for the liberty of their consciences and the freedom of that which they call their faith and religion. And yet at that very time they enjoyed such a licentious freedom of all their superstitions, that if one of their own holy fathers may be credited, the frogs of the second plague of Egypt were not more numerous than the Priests and Fryers that then swarmed within the precincts of this

one city. But it has never been thought any reflection upon either the piety or charity of the good Catholics to shelter their pride and ambition, their malice and revenge, under the colour of religion, to counterfeit Christ's commission, to put His cross into their banners, to express their zeal for the Lord and His House, in the blaze and flames of their neighbours."

2nd. But then, alas! the Protestants were the *first* aggressors, and the Papists not daring to stay at home assembled together, purely for the safety of their lives, and their mutual preservation. And therefore admire that they should be called *rebels*, who were only a few discontented gentlemen apprehensive of a general massacre, and could not but make some little defence for themselves, and civilly oppose them who first blew the trumpet, and were ready for the battle.

And now, as for the more particular hopes and expectations of our barbarous and inhumane enemies, indeed they promised themselves to do a very great and glorious work—to kill and take possession of all —to suppress our religion, and establish their idolatrous worship, to wrest the sword out of his Majesty's hands, to make themselves absolute masters of this country, and to set up a king of their own. And when they well fleshed and blooded, they made no doubt of transporting their victorious arms into *England*—of making that kingdom such another shambles, and not leaving the memorial of the English name under heaven.

How far these instruments of cruelty might have prevailed, to what height they might have swelled the rivers of that land too with blood, had not an overruling Providence interposed and stayed their hands, who in three months had turned this Island of Saints into a wilderness of ravening wolves; murdered and destroyed an hundred and fifty thousand souls—God knows. But blessed be His holy name, their hopes were in a great measure baffled and defeated, and we have yet a Gracious King, a nursing father to the same Church, they then made such havoc of and persecuted with such rage and violence. That vine, which God's own right hand hath planted, flourishes in the land, and after that excellent way which they call Heresy, we even now worship the God of our fathers. And for these great incendiaries and promoters of that unnatural rebellion—those bloodthirsty and deceitful men who would not that the English monarchs should reign over them —few of them lived out half their days, or went down to their graves in peace; their cruelties have been repaid into their own bosom. As they have done, so God hath rewarded them.

And now (pursues the Bishop), if there be any persons here present who persist in the same design, act under the same disguises, and truly bear witness that they allow the deeds of their fathers, what can become of all their hopes, either in this world or that which is to come? God forbid, that we should prescribe any bounds to His infinite goodness and mercy. But without true and unfeigned repentance, we may without breach of charity conclude that they who have been saints only in show, shall be saved only by appearance—that their expectations are all mere notion, their hopes a golden dream, and that they of all men shall be most miserable.

A time will certainly come, when our masks and veils shall be pulled off and our habits and disguises laid aside, and we shall have no more cloaks for our sin, but shall appear in our own shapes and colours, the same wicked persons we were behind the curtain, and all our iniquities shall be openly exposed to the eyes of God, angels, and men.

It will then be strictly inquired, not how long we have lived, but how well, not in what pomp and splendour, but in what religion and devotion, not what estates and fortunes we have left behind us, but what souls and consciences we have brought along with us, and happy then shall we be, if we can say with good Hezekiah, "Remember, Oh Lord, we beseech Thee, that we have walked before Thee with truth and with perfect hearts," that some may at the last hear that blessed EUGE, "Well done, good and faithful servants, enter into the joy of your master."

Bishop Henry Rider soon after preaching this sermon died, and (we do trust and hope) entered into the rest of the faithful servants of the Lord. His death took place on the 30th of January, 1695-6, and he was buried in the church of Clonmeathan, in the County of Dublin.

Of his grave or place of rest, no trace can be found, nor is there an inscription, effigy, or attempt to carve his name or record his worth. The reason for this will doubtless be found in the strict injunctions he imposed in his will, of the utmost "frugality and thrift."

He, like his immediate predecessors, died a poor man, "being apprehensive that what worldly substance he has will scarcely pay his just debts." Comment is needless upon this statement. It is most suggestive.

BISHOP HENRY RIDER'S WILL.

In the name of God Amen. I Henry, Lord Bishop of Killaloe, being sick and weak in body, but of perfect sound memory (praised be God), do make this my last will and testament, 12th of January, 1695. First. I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, who gave it, hoping for eternal salvation only by the meritorious death and through the mediation of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item. I bequeath my body to the ground, to be buried in the parish church of Clonmethan. And being apprehensive that what worldly substance I have will scarcely pay my just debts, I make it my request to my executor, that my funeral may be managed with all the frugality and thrift that can be used,—that he provide only a plain coffin, covered with black cloth, and that he give not a glove, ribban, or scarf at my funeral.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my dear brother, Thomas Ryder, of Wainstoun, 10*l.*, to buy him a mourning suit.

Item. I give and bequeath to my dear sister, Mary Ryder, 10*l.* to buy her mourning. All the rest of my estate, both real and personal, I bequeath to my dear brother Thomas (as above).

Witnesses:—

Shelston Theaker.
Edwd. Gyles.
Geo. Ogle.
Richd. Ellmor.

It may be now only briefly noted that Bishop Ryder's successor was Dr. Thomas Lindsay or Lyndesay, D.D. He was consecrated in St. Patrick's, on the 20th of March, by Dr. Narcissus (Marsh), Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by William, Bishop of Kildare, and Nathaniel, Bishop of Waterford. Of his family and labours, the details belong to a period which falls outside the limits of the present investigation.

I°. This history may now conclude with a summary review of the chief features brought to light in the progress of the narrative. While many within this diocese were blushing to own, and in heart deploring the predominance of that religious system which held undisputed sway since the supplanting of the pure old religion of St. Patrick's days, and scarcely were daring to expect a reformation in doctrine and discipline, the Reformed faith was established, and in starting upon its high career, found both public and private morals reduced to a very low ebb indeed; found also society (if such a name could be applied) going forward in the habitual practice of bloodshedding, rapine, and impurity.

II°. The Church, although established by law and favoured accordingly by the State, was endowed in a manner and to an amount which left it impoverished and crippled and altogether inadequate as an effective instrument for the extension of religion, morality, and civilization within the diocese.

III°. The legal means proposed and put in force to repair the ecclesiastical structures and fill them with worshippers, were eminently effectual in repelling the Irish people from the Reformed faith; also the manner in which their prejudices were shocked and their prepossessions interfered with in respect of

language, habits, and customs—and in fact of everything national; while a strange indifference and a haughty want of comprehension were exhibited as to there being any necessity for engaging their confidence, esteem, and affection, or for enlightening them by means of a system of secular education universally diffused. Not but that the Irish themselves all through appeared to be wild, insidious, and resentful, and almost hopeless of having amicable relations permanently cultivated with them.

IV°. The massacre of 1641 inflicted a blow upon the Reformed faith in the Diocese, the injurious effects of which are apparent to this day. The hot anger of Cromwell in avenging this, and the cold, resentful, and repressive legislation of King William III., after the Irish army had been utterly beaten down, were both alike eminently calculated to make the Irish and their descendants desperate and implacable; hatred becoming their most cherished tradition, and deliverance their constant hope.

V°. Some paint the English in Ireland as so many heroes, martyrs, and angels; and make out the Irish as very little better than savages, murderers, and of decidedly Satanic temperament. Others, again, hotly enough maintain precisely opposite views. But whichever of these parties be more nearly correct, whichever picture look more true to life, one thing is past doubt, and it is this, that the Reformed faith, planted in the midst of such desperately conflicting elements, must have had a precarious existence—suffering from friend and foe alike, and ofttimes well-nigh overwhelmed between them both, like those vineyards situated on the slopes of a volcano, liable at once to streams of lava and showers of ashes.

VI°. The foreign influences and agencies, no matter how artful persistent and malignant, could never have injected the poison of an universal disloyalty to the Reformed faith, if only Ireland had been governed in a way inducing its people at once to *love and fear* England. The latter motive alone was cultivated; the former was left untried, if not even despised. And this was exactly the thing which, beyond all other impediments, checked the successful progress of the Reformed faith among the

Irish people. This faith was a pure embodiment of love Divine, but being seen through and associated with the medium of political severity, *it became hated before it was known.* If it was the necessity, so it was also the infelicity of the true old Irish faith, now reformed and purified, to reappear before the Irish for recognition and acceptance, associated with and seen through the medium of the English system of governing Ireland prevalent in the 16th and 17th centuries. "*Noscitur a sociis*" was its stinging censure. Who looked for an unearthly and supernatural excellence here? What Irish eye but was strained along the horizon of the deep for fleets and armies of deliverance? And the sons of Erin glared defiance at the SASSENACH minister of religion, scorning the bare mention of his forms of worship. We do not affirm all this with the least approval as of a thing wise or just; on the contrary, we insist upon it merely as a result greatly to be deplored and carefully to be avoided in the future so far as may be. Nor can the situation be reconciled with any rational theory of disestablishment for England, where it is impossible that anything could be found running parallel with such unhappy complications as prevailed over Ireland in and through the union of Church and State as it was managed.

VII°. The chronic state of contention, superadded to the working of the monopoly laws so long in force, brought about a condition of things fraught with such notorious uncertainties and risks, that capital, sensitive as it has ever proved itself to be, shrank back, and would make no considerable venture in Ireland unless in the northern provinces. And thus it came to pass that trade and commerce and manufacturing industries, and a constant stream of improving English settlers, did not make Ireland (at least the western parts of it) their adopted home, nor ever recruited the numbers and increased the power and prestige of the Reformed Church in this Diocese; any occasional or casual efforts such as those of the great Duke of Ormond or some of the Earls of Thomond and others to the contrary notwithstanding.

VIII°. Nor again would it be a just criticism to pronounce such disclosures and conclusions as in these pages are ventured upon to have originated in an ungrateful spirit of hos-

tility towards England. Entertaining the highest respect for and admiration of England and her institutions, we might, in the very same tone, maintain that by a very similar exhibition of political and religious repression, the true interests and general reception of this very same Reformed faith were very considerably interfered with in England itself. This piling up of extraneous outworks of defence made the Church in both islands wear the aspect rather of a fortress of human devising than a temple of Divine building. Not but that, without some such national safeguards and rallying-points, religion and liberty must have fallen a prey to Continental hostility and to our own fanatical extravagancies. If truth then points out how a dire necessity made defensive measures a sacrifice at best, and how the overstraining of their value inflicted a serious injury upon the Reformed faith, truth does but discharge her office; it may be feebly, but of a certain it would be faithfully and fairly attempted in respect of England and Ireland alike.

IX°. As for countenancing the notion that Ireland could prosper dissevered from England in religion and law, Ireland left to herself for a few years would become an island without an Irishman, all the natives falling in a series of universal domestic contentions, or else before foreign invaders and conquerors. This at least became considerably realized in the two decennial periods succeeding 1641, when the Kilkenny Convention became the typical original of "the Kilkenny Cats," until Cromwell saved the combatants from one another by slaughtering them both alike.

And with this another consideration may be joined, namely, that however the Irish people may have fought with one another, however as yet they may have failed to recognize the attractions of their own national faith, one thing is clear, that under any circumstances they have never exhibited the slightest inclination towards but always a strong repugnance for non-Episcopal Protestantism and democratic fanatics in every shape.

X°. The course of this narrative has disclosed (in one section of the Church of Ireland at least) the following curious anomaly—almost unprecedented in the history of religion. The

majority of the people of this country turned from the religion of their country, and clung to the religion of their conquerors, as imposed upon them under King Henry II.; and if their continuance in this unnatural and unnational error is traceable to a persistent course of *misrepresentation* on the part of those interested in perpetuating this error, the entrance by these Irish upon such a course is due no less to an extraordinary amount of *mispresentation* on the part of those interested in the universal reception of the pure old religion of Ireland. And so it has come to pass that the initial mistakes, made by the friends of the Reformation and by those associated with them, have proved nearly as fatal to its extension, as have proved the varied forms of antagonism set in motion by its foes. "The Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland" has been ably analysed, and is generally acknowledged. The want of policy on the part of the Reformed Church in Ireland is almost unknown, and perhaps the elucidation of it is an offence.

XI°. Leaving the potsherds to strive with the potsherds of the earth, higher and nobler relations remain to be traced out. With all her trials, difficulties, upsets, neglects, mistakes, massacres, and sufferings—sufferings not often exceeded in their poignancy, frequency, and diversity—the Reformed Church in this diocese of Killaloe was so befriended and sustained by a Divine and gracious Presence in her midst, that the words which we have already repeated must full often have dwelt upon the hearts and started to the lips of her godly sons and daughters, "If the Lord Himself had not been upon our side when men rose up against us," &c.

And thus, as the bush in the desert—still on fire, still unconsumed—was a wonder of power for God Himself to exhibit and for man to admire, the descendants of the Killaloe Churchmen of the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries may well take up these versicles of praise and love and holy hope.

"Oh, God, we have heard with our ears and our fathers have declared unto us the noble works that Thou didst in their days and in the old time before them."

Oh Lord, arise, help us and deliver us for thine honour.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

APPENDICES.

PAGE

I. The order and succession of the Bishops of the Church of Ireland, and of the Titular Bishops and Vicars Apostolic of the Roman Mission, in the diocese of Killaloe 447

II. The origin, structure, and condition of the Cathedral, with a brief account of the officers, revenues, and other details ... 451

III. The topography of the parishes (116) briefly noted in the more important particulars 472

IV. Sir John Perrot's tripartite deed on the part of the Queen with the Chieftains, Lords, and Bishops, also with the tenants and commonalty of Thomond, together with the fiant to Sir D. O'Brien as seneschal of Burren; also King James I. letter to O'Brien of Duagh, and O'Conor's deed ... 540

V. The effect of the several confiscations upon religious profession within the Diocese 556

VI. The Nuncio, Bunratty, and MacAdam, also the letter of Bishop J. O'Maloney (Titular Bishop) 564

VII. The Castles of Clare in 1584 568

VIII. Further elucidations, with sundry annotations and corrections while the work was at press 573

General Index.

Map and Pictorial Illustrations.

APPENDIX I.

THE ORDER AND SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

I.

Richard Hogan, a Franciscan Friar and Bishop of Killaloe, succeeded in 1525, and was translated to the See of Clonmacnoise by Pope Paul III. on the 16th June, 1539 or 1538 (Ware and Cotton).

II.

"James O'Corrin succeeded and resigned in 1546" (Ware). Gam in his "Series Episcoporum," p. 224, gives the following summary:—"Jacob O'Corrin resigned. Dies et an. mortis, 1546." The author of "The See of Killaloe" in I. E. Record, p. 476, remarks:—"As regards the Bishops of the Establishment, that of James Curryn, or Corrin, seems to have been the first appointment made by King Henry VIII. Some call him Bishop of Killaloe as early as 1529, during the Episcopate of Dr. Hogan. Others date his appointment from 1539-40." Mr. Hardinge in "Narrative," p. 18, says "O'Corrin's consecrators are unknown," also in p. 21, "He succeeded in 1540 in Anno 31 Henry VIII." Dr. Brady states that the Berberini papers record action being taken by the Pope "die Lunæ 25 Junii, 1554," and adds, "Sua sanctitas providit Ecclesiæ Laonensi per obitum bonæ memoriæ Jacobi Corrin extra Romanam curiam defuncti."

III.

In July, 1546, the 37th of Henry VIII., Cornelius O'Dea, Chaplain to Maurice, Earl of Thomond, was appointed next successor by King Henry VIII., and a little after was consecrated by his Metropolitan (the Archbishop of Cashel) (Ware). "He, of course" (adds Mr. Hardinge ubi supra, p. 72), "took the oath of Henry VIII. He sat in the See about nine years, until in the second year of Queen Mary, 1555, when he died."

It is remarkable that The Catholic Registry for 1837, "compiled by Mr. J. B., and revised by a Catholic Priest, approved of for that purpose," makes no mention of this Bishop C. O'Dea, either among the Roman Catholic or among the Protestant Bishops of Killaloe, of both of whom he gives a list; although the Bishop is mentioned by Dr. Brady, as above, also in Gam's Series and "See of Killaloe."

IV.

Terence O'Brien III. obtained this Bishoprick in the reign of Queen Mary, and governed it until the end of the year 1566. "But I have not discovered how long after," says Ware. "He held the see to the year 1569, the year of his death." See the 4 Masters. (Cotton, p. 463.) Within this time occurred the advent of Queen Elizabeth, in whose second year were repealed the several Acts of Parliament by Queen Mary, and others were imposed reviving the supremacy of the Crown, the Consecration of Bishops, &c. (Hardinge.) To this Terence's birth, conversation, and manner of domestic life, reference has been already made. (The writer of "The See of Killaloe," in I. E. Record, p. 464, mentions Tirlough or Theodoricus O'Brien as the successor of R. Hogan in Killaloe (*I. supra*), and being "appointed its Bishop in June, 1539, he died before December the same year; and then mentions Dr. F. O'Geirawan or Kirwan, appointed Bishop of the united sees of Clonmacnoise and Killaloe, on December 15, 1539.") It is in reference to this, doubtless, that the Archdeacon Stopford remarks, "Either Terence O'Brien was a 'Marian Bishop,' holding under the Crown, or he succeeded only to one who was *a mere papal intruder, while* O'Dea held the see canonically." ("The Unity," &c., p. 121.) In Battersby's Cat. Directory, *ubi supra*, no mention is made of Terence O'Brien.

V.

In 1569, December 26, the Lord Deputy recommends to the Queen that Morgan-Maurice-Murtogh-Moriertach O'Brien, potius Mac O'Brien-Arra, should have the profits of Killaloe Bishoprick (which must have been then void) to keep him at Oxford. (Hardinge, p. 72.) He received the profits six years before consecration, and sat about thirty-six years after. (Ware.)

VI.

Jo[illegible] Rider succeeded 1612; ob. 1632; consecrated 1612-3, January 12. (Cotton.)

VII.

Lewis Jones, 1633; ob. 1646.

VIII.

Edward Parry, 1647 to 1650.

IX.

(After a vacancy of eleven years.)

Edward Worth, 1660-1; ob. 1669.

X.

Daniel Witter, 1669; ob. March, 1674-5.

XI.

John Roan, 1675; ob. 1698.

XII.

Henry Rider, 1693; ob. 1695.

The prelates and administrators of the Roman Mission during the above period commenced with

I.

Malachy O'Molony, or Malachias O'Molona. "He was proclaimed in Consistory on the 10th January, 1571. ("See of Killaloe," *ubi supra*, p. 465); "was appointed by Papal provision, *per obitum Terentii*, on 10th January, 1571."

And on the 22nd August, 1576, was translated to Kilmacduagh. His death is given by Gam as occurring "20th of vii mo. 1603." But this may have been the date of his apostacy, and not of his death.

II.

Cornelius Ryan, or O'MulRyan, or O'Melrian, alias "Conoughan O'Mulrian," O.S.F., succeeded as military envoy of the Pope in Desmond, under the assumed title of Bishop of Killaloe. He was appointed 26 August, 1576, "and for forty-one years, until his death in 1617, he continued (*nominally*) Bishop of this antient See." (The See of Killaloe in 16th Century, *ubi supra*, p. 465.)

III.

From 1616 to 1632 were sundry Vicars-General Apostolic. (Brady, p. 145.)

Gam omits any entry until 1640; Battersby's Compiler does the same. The author of "The See" also omits details. Bishop Rider, in 1622, mentions Mahoon McGrath as V.G. But how long he had so acted, or continued so to act, does not appear from any direct source. However, in 1624, August 17, a petition was signed by sundry eminent persons of Thomond in behalf of Jno. O'Molony. (Meehan's Franciscans, 5th ed., p. 345.)

On the other hand, in 1629, O'Neill wrote in behalf of M. O'Quely. But the petition of 1624 sets forth that "for two years past a duobus jam annis sudavit" Qualæus in his capacity of "Vicar Apostolical of Killaloe." Accordingly this fills up some of the break from Mahoon McGrath to John O'Molony.

Dr. Brady gives, "John Molony, Bishop from 1632 to 1650."

Battersby's Compiler gives, "John O'Molony, 1648."

Gam gives, "Jacob O'Hurley succeeded in 1640," and no date of his death; and then "Suce Johannes O'Molony" + (= translated); and then "post 13, xii., 1649."

IV.

Dr. Brady gives next—

"1650 to 1671, Vicars-General Apostolic."

Gam gives, "1650, sed (ebat) Thomas O'Molony."

Battersby's Compiler gives—

"Thomas O'Molony, 1650."

Amidst so great an uncertainty, indeed obscurity, of ecclesiastical authorities who profess to treat upon the order and succession of the Bishops (titular) of Killaloe, it may be well to give a few historical

landmarks, at least to aid in an approximate way towards an exact solution of the difficulty.

That a John O'Molony was Titular Bishop of Killaloe in the year 1646 we have proved at p. 404. That there was such also in 1649 is evident from the date of the Clonmacnoise manifesto; and that he continued as such so long at least as the 12th of August, 1650, will be evident from the date of the declaration and excommunication issued at Jamestown, to which he was a subscribing party. (See Coxe, Appendix, 48.) The (titular) Bishop of Clonfert, writing from Innisboffin on the last day of August, 1652, gives an account of his episcopal brethren; and of Laonensis notes, "Jam judum etiam anno præterito Laonensis in civitate Limericen: obsessus, et Galviæ illustrissimus. D. Dublinensis et Meden obierunt." (Spicily Ossor, p. 386.)

Having now accounted for John Laonen up to 1651, we proceed with the Authorities as to the subsequent administration.

V.

Dr. Brady gives next in order—

"1650–1671, Vicars-General Apostolic."

Gam gives, 1650—

"Sed (ebat) Thomas O'Molony."

Battersby's Compiler gives—

"Thomas O'Molony, 1650."

In a paper on the State of Ireland in 1653, by the Bishop of Kilmacduagh (Fitzalan) in Spici. Ossor., p. 405, it is stated that only four or five Bishops remain in Ireland, none of whom are the Bishop of Killaloe. Again, in 1656, there was no Bishop of Killaloe living in or out of Ireland. The only further addition of historical data which we now add is the fact that a tombstone in Killodiernan parochial graveyard exhibits Doctor D. Harty as V. G. Apostolic of Killaloe for some time immediately preceding 1667 (see Topography).

VI.

Gam gives—

"1673, Johannes O'Molony."

Brady gives—

"1671 to 1702, John O'Molony, also Bishop of Limerick."



CATHEDRAL OF KILLALOE.

APPENDIX II.

THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE, AND CONDITION OF THE CATHEDRAL, WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE OFFICERS, REVENUES, AND OTHER ITEMS.

The history of a Diocese being obviously incomplete without a account of its Cathedral, the following is submitted in reference to

The Cathedral of St. Flannans,

drawn from the best sources of information available.

Of the Approach and Site,

Bishop Mant gives the following clear statement in a paper, read by him August 26th, 1844, before the Down and Connor and Dromore Church Architecture Society, and kindly lent to the writer by the Rev. W. McIlwaine, D.D.—

"The Cathedral stands on a level with the western or Clare bank of the river Shannon, from which it is separated by a churchyard alone, that being perfectly flat. Low, however, and unpretending as Killaloe Cathedral is in its situation (a situation chosen doubtless from the existence of the stone-roofed oratory on the sacred enclosure and from the associations connected therewith), it is nevertheless a conspicuous and captivating object, especially when approached from the eastern side of the Shannon, which here expands to a considerable breadth, and exhibits the Cathedral to advantage on the opposite bank. As you advance towards the town by the Kilmastulla road (the noble river flowing rapidly beside you), your eye is caught by the old Cathedral, the south side of which, with its projecting transept, is first presented to your notice. Advancing, you confront and pass the eastern end with its lofty triplet window. By a turn to the left, you soon cross the river on a bridge (in Dr. Mant's time of nineteen arches). The north side of the Cathedral, as you cross the river, is nearly parallel to your passage, and of course presents a new and convenient point of observation. Near the foot of the bridge, another turn to the left brings you through a short street to the west end and entrance of the building, of which you will thus have had the opportunity of remarking a variety of picturesque and agreeable views."

The Tower.

In every view of the Cathedral, the Tower cannot but form an eminent object. As represented by Harris's plate in 1738 (Ware's Works, Vol. 1), it appears very different from the actual condition. It is there totally destitute of of battlement or parapet, being terminated by straight lines at each side so as to make a level square, from which rises a low pyramidal roof, somewhat smaller at the base than the area from which it springs, and supporting a short pole, which again is surmounted by an iron pillar and vane. The vane is inscribed with the figure "1682." The tower in its actual condition presents four angular turret-like eminences, one at each corner, four small windows, two and two on each side of the tower, and a graduated battlement midway between the two angles.

This addition to the tower was made by the late Honble. Wm. Knox, Bishop of Killaloe from 1794 to 1803. His motive for the addition is understood to have been, that the tower, which was previously not well visible from the Bishop's palace, Clarisford House, might be so elevated as to make a pleasing and appropriate picture in the prospect. By the addition then made of 17 feet, the entire tower was then raised to 80 feet. (In 1795, 13 August, the Chapter directed that certain "sums of money be expended in decorating the Cathedral Church at the discretion of the Honble. the Lord Bishop of Killaloe." See Chapter Book). As to the finish with the pyramidal vane and the inscription "1682," a further reference to the Chapter Book will make it probable that the extensive works upon the roof of the chancel ("tegminis cancelli"), commenced in 1676, may also have been extended to the tower, and finished in 1682. Further, considerable works of reparation upon the tower were carried on in 1703, of which the following particulars are recorded:—

"Paid for 29 cwt. 3 q. 19 lb. lead for the steeple	£28	7	7
Paid for carriage of same from Dublin	5	0	0
Paid Street for sheeting steeple	0	15	0
Paid Curry for laying the leads	1	13	0
Paid labourers for drawing up the lead	0	2	0
Paid mending stairs and making door	0	3	0"

The "vane" must have been up before this, for, in 1701, the Economist discharges himself,

"To ye Smith for ye whether-cock (sic) ... ... 00 06 00."

And in 1702,

"Paid carpenter for taking down and putting up ye wether-cock ... ... 00 06 00"

The West End.

"I proceed to the West End (continues Bp. Mant), which is one gable of the principal part of the fabric, containing a single unornamented doorway, the arch of which is 9ft. 6in. and 4ft. 7in. wide, and above it a long lancet 20ft. 6in. and 2ft. wide, splayed in the inside to the height of 25 feet and to the width of 8ft. 5in." The western front does not present either "a very beautiful appearance," as some (evidently confounding the building with Roscrea Church) have asserted, nor does it

even deserve the epithet "imposing," given to it in Lewis' Topographical Dictionary. This epithet might rather apply to descriptions of what the writers, having never seen, had taken to give at second hand.

Before passing from the western end of the cathedral, a matter omitted by Bishop Mant may be noticed. The Churchyard is bounded on the western or road front by a plain rough rubble wall, which runs in height some 6ft. 6in. across the entire open of the yard, thus intercepting the full view of the Cathedral, the Oratory, and the space around. In the estimates furnished by Mr. Gillespie in 1851 the following item appears :—

"Enclosing fence on road side with rails ... ... £30 0 0"

If any may be found objecting to the removal of a dead wall, which might suitably enough enclose a parish pound, or shelter a straw-yard, and to the substitution of a suitable iron paling with a gain in light, air, and prospect of the Cathedral, of the unique Oratory, and perhaps even of the space across the Shannon—let such persons be reminded of the former condition of Limerick Cathedral, closed off and shut up by high walls and hideous ruins, but now opened out in all its venerable dignity as something fit to be seen, instead of what people seemed ashamed of and strove to hide away.

The Sides of the Exterior.

Both are much like each other, except that the South side nearest the West end has a peculiarity in the arch, to which we shall refer more particularly. Between the West end of the building and each transept is a window, and a little beyond is a buttress at each angle. The Eastern division of the side or choir is divided by two buttresses into three compartments or bays, each containing a lancet window. The buttresses are broad and shallow and flat, slightly projecting from the walls, and without gradations, ending under the cornice or tabu, which supports the eave of the roof. At each angle of the building is a massive square buttress, also without gradations, but rising a little above the eave, and finished with a stunted pyramidal top. The outer angle of each of these is ornamented with a small shaft, terminating in a foliated capital, which is also characteristic of the transition or semi-Norman era. The windows are long, narrow, and simple, with acute lancet-heads, those in different parts being of very different heights. The window in the south gable is 21ft. 8in. high, or, including the splay, 27ft.; and those in the sides of the choir are 14ft. 7in., or inside, including the splays, 18ft. each.

The East Window.

This may be well described as "having a beautiful appearance." It consists of "three lofty narrow arches, the centre one circular and the others pointed." This dissimilarity in the shape of the arches has always appeared to Bishop Mant an architectural curiosity, and seems to him to indicate a state of transition ere the round arch had entirely given way to its successor, whilst he has been charmed with the loftiness, the slimness, and the lightness of the triplet, and its graceful symme-

try, acquired or improved by the combination of its parts. Thus beautiful in itself, it serves likewise, by its elegance, to relieve a building which has been pronounced "heavy." In the Killaloe triplet the exterior height of the centre light is 30½ft., of each side light 25½ft.; the breadth of each is alike, viz., 1ft. 8in.

The Interior.

"We proceed to the interior," pursues Bishop Mant, "into which we must enter through the west door, and first speak of its *dimensions*." Rev. Ri. Martin, of Killaloe, after actual measurement, kindly informed him that the extent from West to East in the clear is 156ft. 6in., or, including the thickness of the walls (4ft. each), 164ft. 6in., and that the width is 29ft. 8in.; also that the extent from North to South is 100ft. 6in., or, with the walls, 108ft. 6in. The height of what Mr. Holmes, in his "Sketches," calls "the great aisle," and Mr. Bell more properly "the nave and choir," is lofty. From the floor to the ceiling it is 38ft. 6in. It was once 4ft. loftier, as indicated by a mark at the outside of the tower. (The surface was also 3ft. below the present level.) To the spring of the arches which support the roof is 20ft.; the same to the spring of the arches which support the tower; and to the top of the said arches 46ft., the span being 30½ft. at the base. Passing from Bishop Mant's paper, this is the fit place to notice that Bishop John Rider, in his Visitation, A.D. 1622, reported that "the choir of the Cathedral was in very good repair. But for *the body of the said church* (he adds), that *it belongs to the parishioners to build*, who have all their materials in place, erected their scaffolds, and he hopes this summer it will be finished." This would naturally lead to the conclusion that, with the exception of the tower and choir, the rest of the Cathedral church, or a great part of it, was built, or rebuilt, in Bishop John Rider's time. Another fact also points to this, namely, that in the Regal Visitation of 1615 (supra) it is stated that "*in eccles. cath. chauncell was repayred*," no mention being made of any other part as being in existence. That the transepts were a recent or modern addition will be made clear from the "discoveries" in 1851 (infra). And the "choir," which in 1622 was in good repair, came to need very extensive repairs of its roof in 1676, the chapter consulting and determining "de et super reparat. tegminis cancelli eccles. cath. Laonen. in quantum et quousque ruinosa existit et reparatio. in præsenti indiget."

The Form of the Cathedral.

The building is cruciform (continues Bishop Mant), and consists of a nave without side aisles, a choir, and two transepts, the tower rising above the intersection, on four arches, the ribs of which are supported by corbels 3ft. 9in. high, partly imbedded in the wall, and standing 16ft. 3in. above the floor.

Distribution of Parts.

A wall 3ft. 4in. thick divides the nave from the choir, the former being 88ft. 9in., the latter 65ft. (Whether this dividing-wall formed a part of the structure originally made or first renovated, or was but subsequent

and recent, may be a question which professed ecclesiastical architects will be able to solve, also whether in any case it is either an advantage or an ornament to be preserved in future.) But the following terms used in an account of the Chapter with their Economist, Mr. Lloyd, in 1707, may be fairly taken, upon the lowest interpretation, to indicate very considerable expenditure upon the upper part of this partition, or screen, if not upon the building of it from the ground.

"The screen and portall at the west end of the choir"... ... £30

Transepts.

In the north transept is the chapter-house and vestry-room, and in the south the consistorial court. (This latter is now used as a place of meeting for the Diocesan Synod.) And some slight attempt has been made to correct its vault-like appearance and chill air of desolation. This most important requirement, as mentioned in Mr. Gillespie's Report, shall be noticed further on.

The Choir.

Passing from the nave, you enter the choir under an organ loft, the Dean's stall on your right, the Precentor's on your left, and the three other dignitaries and the seven prebendaries having also their several stalls ranged respectively on either side. And the Bishop's throne, ornamented with a carved mitre, and with foliage and flowers, on a slight elevation, is situated on the south side, midway between the entrance of the choir and the east end, where, over the Communion-table, rises to the roof of the building the handsome triplet window. The extreme height of the window, including splay, architrave, cornice, moulding, is 37ft. 8in., the extreme breadth 17ft. 10in. The three lights are separated from each other by piers 3ft. wide, greatly splayed on the inside, and ornamented at the meeting of the splays with slender intervening columns. They are also inclosed under a pointed arch, the two principal mouldings of which are decorated with a herring-bone and lozenge sculpture, supported by eight columns corresponding with those between the lights. The other windows of the Cathedral are of graceful structure, and do not approach in elegance and beauty to this, which is the characteristical ornament of the fabric. There are six other windows each of a single light, three on either side the choir, each admitting the greatest quantity of light. They are each 18ft. 2in. in height, and are furnished with metal frames and diamond-shaped glass. In reference to the choir and its fittings, some extracts from the Chapter Book are added in elucidation of Bishop Mant's remarks. 1st. The Dean and Chapter passed the following Resolution as to the roofing, to which allusion has been made already, both in appendix and in the text. 2nd. In 1698, 40*l.* was laid out upon the choir. 3rd. In 1704,

Feb. 16, 1704-5.	Paid Mr. Wm. Twigge towards ye altar-piece	£20	0 0
July 16.	Paid Mr. Jas. Carr for finis. ye altar-piece	7	0 0
July, 1706.	Paid Jas. Carr towards ye stalls	9	0 0
„	For velvet cushions for ye Dignitaries and carriage	10	10 0

August 6, 1703. For ye Bishop's throne...	£21	0	0
„ For ye Stalls	38	0	0
January, 1708. James Carr, in full for Wainscotting Choir ...	40	0	0
Item, Iron for Enges (?) Hinges	0	13	6
„ Leading S. Isle	14	10	0
„ Building a Pulpit	6	0	0
„ Priming ye Pulpit and Gilding two Cherubims ...	1	0	8
„ Painting and Gilding ye Choir of Killaloe, by Cook ye Painter	24	9	3
„ A Bible, Common Prayer-Book, and Carriage	6	14	6
1716. Rails about Communion Table	1	8	6
„ Painting ye Lathers (*sic*) Quere Ladders	0	12	0
1708. Making up two Seats in ye Church	0	8	0
„ Flagging broken parts of Choir			
In 1716 is another charge—			
" To expenses for Communion Plate	30	6	8

Bishop Mant must once again become our architectural guide, and first on the subject of

THE FONT.

"This venerable monument of antiquity," his Lordship remarks, "stands on a pedestal of 2ft. 6in. high, consisting of a pillar slightly tapering, supported on a square plinth, and is excavated in a rectangular block of stone, of which the dimensions are 1ft. 10in., 1ft. 9in. broad, and 1ft. 2in. high. The font is ornamented with a cross, surrounded by foliage, rudely carved in relief, and of shapes ill-defined and not easy to be appropriated. Its appearance bespeaks it to belong to an era at least as antient as that of the church in which it stands. 'The font,' says R. Hoare, in 1806, 'now overturned, is decorated with arabesque ornaments in relievo.' This necessary appendage of a Christian church, not undeserving of attention in this case as a work of art, seems not to have been noticed by any visitor of Killaloe Cathedral, except the worthy Baronet. It continued to lie unheeded and neglected in a corner of the nave, cast aside to 'the moles and the bats,' till it was re-erected in 1820 (the year of this Bishop's consecration for Killaloe), and took its station near the entrance to the choir. Probably, in architectural propriety, it should have been placed near the west door of the whole building, but for the convenience of the administration of Holy Baptism in the presence and hearing of the congregated people, it was judged better to place it within the precincts of the choir." So far the worthy Bishop. It now becomes a painful duty to give a few extracts from the Chapter Book, by which his Lordship's theory of the extreme antiquity of this font may be somewhat weakened, if not indeed quite upset.

The Chapter account for 1701 exhibits the following: "Ordered by the Rev. Joseph Amirald, Archdeacon and Sub-Dean; Patrick Fitzsimons, Chaunter; William Twigge, Chancellor; and John Hawkins, Treasurer, this 8th day of January, in the year 1701, that four pounds sterling shall be paid by the Economist to Edmond Daniel, Stonecutter, for flagging of the Chapter House, *and pollishing and setting*



Woodburytype.

THE NORMAN ARCH, KILLALOE.

up a font in the Quire, where and as the Lord Bishop shall order it, which sum of four pounds is to be allowed the Economist out of the above ballance of 13*l.* 17*s.* As witness the day and year above written." And in a memorandum, in the handwriting of the Economist, is the following entry: "The font not yet made."

At the same time, it is only proper to note that the font is of red sandstone, of a loose texture, and has yielded freely to the corrosive tooth of time. Hence the appearance of an antiquity not due to the work. Besides, it has been made after an antique pattern.

Jos. Amirald, Archdeacon and Sub-Dean.
Patrick Fitzsymons, Precentor.
Wm. Twigge, Chancellor.
Jno. Hawkins, Treasurer.

The Arch.

This curiously elaborate structure is to be found near the angle at which the South wall of the nave meets the Western. Commenting on some who pronounced it a relic of the Saxon period, the Bishop contends that it is connected with the Norman period, and describes it in the following terms:—

"The architectural antiquary who shall have an opportunity of minutely tracing the richly-carved succession of retiring pillars and arches, with their plain or ornamental mouldings, their corbel heads and embattled or nail-head fretwork, the imagery of human faces and indistinct animals, their varied shafts and capitals—playful effusions of fancy, which I lament my inability to analyze and describe with a scientific pen—will probably concur with me in opinion that justice must yet be done to this curious remnant of Irish art. Though vulgarly styled a monument, it evidently is a doorway – the Southern portal of the cathedral. And it is not unlikely that when the cathedral was erected here in 1160 this doorway, having previously existed as the portal of a more antient building, may have been retained for its beauty, or convenience of communication with the adjoining cemetery. But whatever may be the conjecture or speculation on its original, the curious fact is palpable of an elaborate and highly ornamental Norman relique still existing, after the lapse of more than seven centuries, in solitary contrast with the severe simplicity of an edifice of a different if not later style." So far the erudite Bishop. As considerable repairs were carried on in the cathedral from 1708 to 1711, the Chapter-Book must be again put under requisition for accurate information.

Feb. 25, 1708. Paid Thomas Cash, for six days' work of two masons hewing, laying, and putting in the bars of the West window of the church	£0	16	0
To ye same for windows of South isle	0	16	0
Apl. 5, 1708. Paid for carrying rubbish, &c., out of the church	0	5	0
To cash for *throwing down the wall of the South isle of the church*, and for carrying rubbish out	0	10	0

1709. Mr. Lloyd's account of receipts and disbursements on the South isle after deduction of 1*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*	£20	17	1
N. Kennedy, for S. Isle	5	5	0
16 poles for scaffolding	2	0	8
A quarter of a hundred of deal for same	1	10	0
Tarred ropes	0	2	6
To Thos. Greene, for plaistering the S. isle	2	8	0½
To two tuns (sic) straight timber	3	0	0
To Humphreys, the glazier, for ye West window, which the Bishop refused to pay because ill don (sic)... ...	0	15	3

The above items make it plain that there was a complete work of rebuilding of the Western front and the Southern isle early in last century, which must both or either have altogether fallen down or been found in a ruinous condition, needing building from the foundation, or nearly so. This must have influenced considerably the status of the Romanesque arch. (1) Was it then left where it had been found, and merely built over? (2) or was it rebuilt on the same site? (3) or was its site changed in order to incorporate it into the newly made or repaired walls? Looking at the S. wall from the outside, one may see tails and spurs of some previous rubble work projecting roughly; and looking at the arch itself from the inside, the scientific architect will pronounce whether all the stones of the arch as it stands correspond with the original design, or whether some have been set out of correspondence with it.

Some Speculative and Historical Statements

upon the antient structure of the cathedral, of which this arch is the great specialty, may here be appended. Thus Dr. Petrie, in his R. Towers, &c. (p. 277), argues: "That the cathedral is not of Brian's time is sufficiently obvious from its architectural details, which clearly belong to the close of the 12th century; and its re-erection is attributed, with every appearance of truth, to Donnell More O'Brien, King of Limerick, who died anno. 1194. Yet that *a more ancient* church, and *one of considerable splendour*, had previously existed on its site, is evident from the semi-circular archway in the S. wall of the nave, now built upon, and which is remarkable for the richness of its embellishments in the Romanesque or Norman style. It is true that this archway does not appear to be as old as the time of Brian; and the tradition of the place has probably a foundation in truth which considers it as the entrance to the tomb of Muircheartach O'Brien, King of Ireland, who died on the 8th March, A.D. 1120, who, as Ware tells us, was a great benefactor to the Church of Killaloe; and, pursuant to his commands while living, was buried there."

The late Mr. Brash makes the following observations on the subject in his valuable work on "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 17:—

"At Killaloe we have the cathedral, a cruciform building, without aisles, having a central tower. Its prevailing character is Early Pointed, and it is probably erected in the middle of the 13th century. In S. wall of nave, and close to W. end, *has been inserted a doorway, belong-*

ing evidently to a more ancient Church. It does not show externally, but forms an internal recess. It is of rich Romanesque design, having four shafts on each jamb, with carved caps and bases, and diapered surfaces. The arch is composed of four orders, all richly carved. This preserved door and other indications (vide infra) would point to *an earlier Church on the same site.*"

An allusion to this Cathedral and to the neighbouring churches of Tomgraney and Inniscaltra in the days of "the earlier Church," is made in "Wars of the Gaedhill and the Gail."

"By him (Brian Boroimhe) were erected the Church of Cell-da-lua and the Church of Inniscealtra, and the Clochteach of Toemgraine." The terms *erect* and *build* (see Petrie), are frequently used in the annals for repair and re-edify." (The arch was opened out, and discovered by Bishop Mant, the suspicion of its presence doubtless having been suggested by the plate in Ware, which indicates the doorway externally.

We regret to notice that the arch has suffered considerably at the hands of the late Lord Dunraven, *who had it whitewashed,* to throw out a photograph more distinctly from the dim southern corner. But his Lordship's photograph is a complete failure, indeed, the only very bad one in his two volumes, and the arch is spoiled into the bargain. A really good representation is given in this volume, reproduced from a sketch made for Bishop Mant by James Sandes, Esq., architect.)

Mr. M. Keane, at page 372 "Towers and Temples," gives his opinion on Killaloe Cathedral in the following terms :—

"I beg to refer the reader to page 263 *ante*, for evidence that the ancient temple at Killaloe was a Cuthite structure, dedicated to Luan, The Moon, who in Hagiology is turned into St. Luan or St. Mo lua—the good Moon." So far of historical and scientific, also speculative statements.

The Cathedral Reparations, &c.

Subsequent to those already referred to may now claim attention.

1713. The whole charge of flagging tho south aisle and west end of the church, being 3,505 foot at 3½*d.* a foot, 51*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.*

In 1725, such sums as the Lord Bishop might think fit to expend were ordered to be laid out in erecting peirs and gate to the churchyard, also for making pavements, gravelling the walk, and other improvements.

In 1728, was an item for planting trees at the west side of the churchyard wall.

In same year "It was ordered that the Right Rev. Charles, Lord Bishop, shall have the west side of the churchyard wall of Killaloe raised as many feet higher as shall seem necessary to his Lordship. And that the part now standing be dashed or painted."

In 1732 the sum of 22*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* was allowed to the Lord Bishop towards the discharge of a greater sum expended by him in repairing and adorning the Cathedral of Killaloe.

In 1737 Chapter orders 90*l.* to be expended by the Right Rev.

Charles, Lord Bishop, upon a clock and other necessary repairs for the Cathedral.

In 1741 the choir was slated, 8*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*

In 1742, to stripping and slating the choir, 8*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*

Mending the *Library* and other lock.

Repairs ordered, also necessaries herein mentioned be bought as soon as convenient, viz., two master's hoods, two surplices, cushions for Bishop's throne, ditto and forms for the stalls, a velvet cushion for the Chapter, a green cloath (*sic*) for the table, Communion-table linen, a font set up without the choire (!!), to mend the old Prayer-books and to buy half-a-dozen new, to have the south isle steeple, and west end of church immediately repaired.

1744. Ordered that a gown be bought for the Verger, and that the steeple walls be dashed.

1782. "Whereas it would be for the dignity of the Cathedral Church that *an Organ* should be erected in the same. We therefore approve that such a sum out of the economy as may be spared from the necessary uses of said Cathedral may be appropriated to that purpose, and do hereby impower Thomas, Lord Bishop of Killaloe, to take such steps towards the same as shall appear proper."

In 1821 the Dean and Chapter consent (in consideration that the Cathedral is in so bad a condition as to require a considerable sum of money to be immediately laid out upon it for its security) to raise the sum of 10,000*l.* by way of loan from the Board of First Fruits, the Dean and Chapter giving sufficient security for the repayment of loan.

That no reasonable doubt exists of provision to repay when the present lease of the economy funds shall have expired in 1824.

The Chapter consent that the expenditure be made for the repairs in such way as the Bishop shall direct.

1827. The Dean and Chapter enter into articles of agreement with John Cullen, of Newport, County Tipperary, builder, to execute works, repairs, alterations, &c., upon Cathedral for 2,050*l.*, to be paid by two sums to date, and the rest in instalments half-yearly, with interest allowed at six per cent.

These repairs are extensive, and comprise roofing, slating, ceiling, repairs of pews, new pulpit, reading and clerk's desk, repairs of stalls, altering throne, stove, repairs in gallery, nave, Bishop's court, chapter and school-room.

Then again there was a supplementary contract for works internal and external. Total of all, 2,862*l.*

All new stalls instead of repairing.

A screen at back of organ.

A new throne, floor, canopy.

Joists new.

In account from 1835-7, with Cabel Going, Esq., receiver, is the following amount:—

"Paid difference between old and new bell, 14*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*"

In account of 1841 is the following:—

"A marble font for Cathedral, 3*l.*"

In the Chapter of 1830 questions were raised as to passing "the second bond to Mr. Cullen," Rev. Robert Hume, referee.

In 1849 a considerable debt, amounting to 2,000*l.*, was still due to Mr. Cullen, and the Economy Estate was in Chancery. This slow discharge and liquidation was noticed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, 1840.

In 1851 a letter was received by the Rev. Wm. Edwards from the solicitors of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, setting forth the important legal principle that "the Economy Fund was the proper source from which the necessary expense should be derived, and that whenever repairs are required, and the probable expenses ascertained, a motion should be made to the Court in CULLEN *v.* KILLALOE, that same be paid out of proceeds of Economy Estate, and that the building was not to be allowed to go to ruin."

Mr. Joseph Napier's opinion was sought, and he, relying on 10 and 11 Chas. I. cap. 3, advised that under this *Deans and Chapters were disabled from binding their successors*, so that Cullen's charge *cannot* be legally enforced after the incumbency of the present Dean.

After this a valuable report is made by Mr. Wm. Gillespie, the accomplished architect of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Of this report, as being a full exposition of the condition of the Cathedral in 1851, the following summary is taken :—

The walls are in an excellent state generally as regards solidity and perpendicularity and straightness.

Considerable alterations had been made from time to time, but of substantial materials and in an enduring manner. Roofs entirely renewed, but timbers not strong enough. Choir roof liable to danger—of too low a pitch. Flooring of choir generally good and sound. The flagging very good, but should be re-laid ; and as damp rises from below, a good layer of shingles would remedy it.

(Vide supra in TRANSEPTS and Consistorial Court.)

Tower, roof, &c., needs extensive repairs.

The ground outside is higher than the aisle flagging all round, and should be excavated, particularly on the S. side. A place like a well, at angle between N. Transept and Nave, must be drained. The breach of wall closed up.

Walls external to be pinned, and Barges flashed. New stoves required, slating good, fence sufficient.

Absolutely necessary (as above)	£287	0	0
Restoration works	505	0	0

On the absolutely necessary works being applied for by the Receiver from Master in Chancery, Cullen took defence, but was beaten, on the ground that the *repairs of the building are a charge prior to any creditor.* And that it is Receiver's duty to keep Cathedral in proper order.

Accurate account of works done from 1852-3 :—

1. Antient doorway with side of nave re-opened, &c., &c.
2. A crack in window of Bishop's Court bound and closed.
3. Rude doorway stopped up and wall closed.
4. Tower roof, thorough renewal.
5. New Choir roof of open timbers.

6. Studding removed.

7. Coats of whitewash and paint removed from stonework of great E. window, also corbels and string course purified with great trouble.

8. Stone wall of E. window renewed where deficient.

9. String course repaired.

10. Two new stone corbels (over Bishop's throne and over S. gallery) instead of plaister ones.

11. The double Aumbrey on S. side of E. window opened and repaired. Also that on N. side fully disclosed.

12. Windows on each side of choir opened down.

13. Stoves repaired.

14. Eave shoots re-set.

15. Bishop's throne and stalls repaired, and the latter lettered.

16. New painting and varnishing of wood-work.

17. A new font after pattern of font in West Deeping Church in Lincolnshire, of 12th Century.

18. Pinnacles re-set.

19. *Ancient corbels removed from Tower* (this shows that the tower was not of the original structure), and set in Choir for support of roof.

Total cost £347 0 0

Discoveries made while the above works were being carried on:—

1. That the original floor of Cathedral was three feet below present level.

2. Doorway under Purdon monument to an Aisle or Chapel. A loose panel shows this.

3. Another behind Stall of Inniscathrie, stopped up when S. transept was built.

4. Two Aumbreys and Piscina, all now left open.

5. Brass *Pixis* cover, now in R. I. Academy Museum.

6. Remains of passage in wall over Bishop's throne.

7. Windows on south side of Choir are very handsomely finished as to their external framework in carved stones, but now plaistered over, and cannot be exhibited without new sashes.

8. Doorway in south transept, under early English window, on its eastern side, very rudely broken in.

9. When the old plaistering was hacked off the walls, it was discovered that a great many elaborately-carved stones were used here and there as common building stones; and as a number of these are elsewhere to be seen (*i.e.*, one immediately inside the door leading up to the tower, and several on the outside of the eastern gable over the great window, as well as a couple in the splayed mullions within side), the presumption seems plain that in former times the Cathedral here was a building of elaborate execution; and that, having fallen to ruins, it was rebuilt in its present plain and unpretending condition. The east window (which was evidently once in a state of ruin), the richly-carved corbels, the doorway at the south-western angle of the nave (which had long been concealed by the plaistering, and was brought to

light, about 1821, by Bishop Mant), are all probably remains of the more ancient building.

10. Several other discoveries, of less importance, were also made, showing that from time to time great changes have been made in the building. As an illustration of what has been said in the preceding paragraph, it may be stated that one of the carved stones which formed the capital of the pillar, dividing the south aumbrey, was found in the wall over the window at the north-west corner of the Choir.

W. Edwards, A.M.,
Precentor of St. Flannan's.

June 7, 1853.

The Oratory.

It is desired to record that in this year the ancient Oratory of St. Flannan, situated in the Cathedral Yard, was repaired, it having been in a very ruinous condition. The stone roof was renewed where it had fallen away; the earth which had accumulated around it was removed. Iron gates were put upon it, &c., &c. The whole cost was 66*l*., defrayed by a collection made throughout the Diocese, and in other parts of Ireland and England.

John Head Dean.

November 22, 1853.

Mr. Dutton, in his "Survey of Clare," gives a deplorable account of the condition of this venerable monument of antiquity. But it must be borne in mind that this, like some of his other descriptions, was influenced by his acrimonious feelings towards the clergy. He says that this building was in a vile state of filth, and used as a fold for the clergyman's flock,—not of parishioners, but of sheep. "Hic nigri loliginis fucus hæc mæra ærugo."

The following remarks, and accurately given dimensions of this building, by Mr. Brash, may be considered a desideratum by those who wish for correct information:—

"A few yards from the north side of the Cathedral stands a stone-roofed church, attributed to St. Flannan, who was the successor of St. Mullua. In its present form it is a nave of 29 ft. by 17 ft., clear of walls, which are 4 ft. thick. It was built of flat courses of various thicknesses, the joints being generally vertical and horizontal. When originally finished it must have been a fine piece of mason-work. Internally it was spanned by a semi-circular arch, which supports the stone roof; the over-croft is a chamber, the section of which is in form a pointed arch; its width on the floor-line is 6 ft. 9 in., its height to vertex of arch 7 ft. It is lighted by a semi circular-headed opening in the west gable, and by an angular-headed one in the east, both having inclined sides. The doorway is in the west end; semi-circular headed, the arch springing from chamfered imposts; it was 3 ft. 7 in. at base, 3 ft. 2 in. at springing, and 6 ft. 6 in. high to imposts. It is externally ornamented by a pair of stout jamb-shafts, with carved capitals; the right-hand one showing two animals much defaced,—the left a system of plain leaves, curling out under the abacus, which is very heavy and

chamfered. Above these the arch is moulded, consisting of simple rounds and hollows, and having a label cut on the under side into rectangular notches—"the square indent." In north wall was a window opening, in the south a small angular-headed one.

This building *had a chancel, the arch still remains*, though now built up and a common door inserted. It was quite plain; 6 ft. 6 in. wide, and springs from chamfered imposts. The chancel has disappeared. Some toothing stones in the east gable show it to have been 12 ft. wide, its length might be ascertained by excavation. *I doubt much of its being coeval with the main building*, as it appears to have had scarcely any connection with it: the narrowness of the archway would also militate against it. Dr. Petrie labours to prove that it was not the church stated to have been built by Brien Boroimhe, but that traditionally assigned to St. Flannan, A.D. 639, and that the ornamental doorway is of same date. This opinion is untenable. Whatever age the fabric may be, the doorway cannot be earlier than the 10th century, and may be later. There is a remarkable incongruity in many particulars between the general design and details of the church. And the probability is this, that the *original* church was erected by St. Flannan, the first Bishop of Killaloe, somewhere in the middle of the 7th century, the chancel was added, and the west doorway inserted under the auspices of Brian."

Mr. Crofton Croker, in his "Researches," at p. 56, gives a sketch of this "oratory, or stone-roofed chapel, supposed to be of remote construction, and certainly of a much earlier date than the cathedral. Both gable ends contain portals; that on the west side is adorned with mouldings, and the east side (which he sketches as he found it) appears to have had a building with a lower roof attached to it."

Of the other oratory, on Friars Island, a few notes shall appear in the parish of Templeichally at the end of the topography.

The cathedral and oratory of St. Flannan having been now treated of in respect of origin, form, and condition, a brief notice may follow as to the

ECONOMY FUND,

with the sources from which it was drawn, and the amount to which it reached at different periods:—

It is unfortunate that the old chapter-book, running back prior to 1661, has been stolen, to which fact a reference is made in the existing chapter-book under the year 1675—"In priori libro capitulari ultimo et per furtum sublato." But even from this, and from Bishop John Rider's statements, a full account may be gathered of all the means at the disposal of the chapter towards the maintenance and repair of the cathedral and the conduct of the services.

August 9th, 1698.—Mr. P. Fitzsimon, chanter and economist, accounted for the economy sett in the year 1698 for the sum of 77*l.* 7*s.*

(This is the first statement in the chapter-book of the particular amount of economy-fund.)

In 1699 it was set for 99*l.* 7*s.*

In 1701 Mr. Patrick Fitzsimon accounted for the sum of 105*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, "with which he charges himself, as the value of the economy of the Cathedral of Killaloe for 1700."

In 1708 the Bishop charges himself with one whole year's rent, 100*l.*

On going to Raphoe, in 1713, this Bishop gave up his lease of the tythes of the economy, and the Chapter accepted the same.

In 1714, "we do set all the tythes of lamb and wool for the present summer, and all other tythes, great and small, belonging to the Chapter of Killaloe, to Joseph Allen and Wm. Stones for one whole year."

N.B.—There were two plots of ground, held in lease by the Bishop and his predecessors, Bishops of Killaloe, *belonging to the Archdeaconry and Chancellor of Killaloe*, bounded on south by Bishop's orchard, on east by passage into orchard, on west by Treasurer's plot, on north by St. Flannan's-lane. By leave the Bishop takes off so much as may prevent passage into the lane, &c.

(Signed) NIC. KILLALOE.

In 1716 the economy fund was 105*l.*

In 1720 a lease was made of the economy tythes to the Right Rev. Charles, Lord Bishop.

This is valuable, as there is an accurate specification of these tythes made in the instrument, thus :—

"All and singular the tythes, great and small and mixed, belonging to the said Dean and Chapter, viz., the tythes of the entire rectory of the parish of Killaloe, the tythes of the rectory of Moynoe, the tythes of the half rectory of the parish of Ogonilloe, the tythes of the vicarage of the parish church of Feacle, all situate, lying, and being within the county of Clare. The tythes of the rectory of Dunamona, in the county of Tipperary, and the tythes of the rectory of Clonrush, in county Galway, for (in two half-yearly payments) 105*l.* per annum."

In 1720 the Chapter had trouble with one Allen, to whom they had previously set the tythes.

Besides much expensive law, they had to arrest him. Of these proceedings there are some curious entries—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"At Killaloe to Willson's Bill *for entertaining the Commissioners* and Members of the Chapter *at swearing our answers*	1	3	11
"Sending Affidavit of Anthony Dwyer	0	1	1
(He was a Solicitor and the Churchwarden of Castle Connell).			
"Expenses connected with proof of the arresting of Allen and his being rescued by his Sons ...	1	1	8
"To McNamara for taking Allen	4	0	0

In 1737 a lease was made of the Economy Tythes to Francis Hawkins, at 110*l.* per annum.

In 1774 Archd. Synge resigns the office of Economist and is discharged of all claims against him.

In 1782 Theobald Butler is declared tenant for 21 years under lease, and gives an additional rent of 8*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*

In 1784 lease perfected to Theobald Butler's widow.

In 1803 lease to representatives of Ellen Bourke, for 21 years at 172*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, these representatives also paying a fine of 100*l.* and discharging all arrears, &c.

In 1830 the composition for Tythes of Economy of Killaloe Cathedral amount to 529*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* per annum.

But there are ominous entries of expenses of collection, such as—

"For refreshments to Police when attending Receiver in different Parishes, 2*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

"For Drivers fees 20*l.*, &c."

In 1865 the Dean and Chapter passed a highly complimentary resolution pointing out their sense of the exertions and valuable services of Rev. Wm. Edwards, and attached a salary of 25*l.* yearly to the office of Economist.

After the Disendowment Act, the Economy Funds were taken away in toto, and all that was left as the nucleus of a fund for maintaining the Cathedral was—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Commutation of Clerk, Sexton, and Verger ...	277	16	10
And	423	15	6

(The interest of which latter sum is to be paid to the present Organist, Miss Williams, while she performs the duties of her office).

The Officers of the Cathedral.

1st. The Superior Officers, viz.:—

Deans—

McShiddie, Donat, 1552. (See Morin, 1, 283.)
Clancy, Boëtius. (Died 1559.)
Ryan, Cornelius, 1559.
O'Horan, Donagh, 1585.
Hogan, Hugh, 1602—1624.
Hackett, Rich., 1624.
Spicer, Alex., 1628.
Parker, Jno., 1637.

(The following is the entry of his burial taken from the Registry of St. Michans, Dublin:—"John Parker, Deane of Killaloe and Prebendary of the Parish, 1643, June 2nd.")

Pheasant, Jasper, 1662—1692.

During this time his name appears regularly in Chapter Book as taking a part in the action of the Capitular Body.

In 1676 the Dean presented a renewed petition demanding payment from the Chapter on the score of salary due to him for serving the Cure and for Catechizing at 20*s.* for each Lord's day of the time of his actual service.

He also demanded that the Prebendaries should attend in person at the Cathedral unless otherwise absolutely prevented.

He also insisted that this duty was set forth in the former Chapter Book, which had been stolen. And that it should be in future discharged under a penalty of 20*s.* in each case of breach.

In 1677, Augt. the Dean sought that his salary be paid.

Ryves, Jerome, 1692—1699.

Abbadie, James, 1699—1727-8.

His name appears at foot of Acts of Chapter at a meeting 4th of November, 1699. And a tracing of it is given with those of the Bishops *infra.*

PRÆCENTORS,

O'Molowna, Lr., 1591.

Kennedy, Danl., 1604—22.

Andrew, John, 1632—1674. His name appears in Acts of Chapter always as here spelled.

FitzSimons, Patrick, 1674—1705. He was Chapter's Proctor at Convocation in 1705.

CHANCELLORS,

Flanagan, Christopher, deprived 1615.

Blagrave, Jno., 1618—1634 (v. Bishop Ryder, visitation).

Atherton, Jno., 1634.

Bradley, Jno., 1635.

Amyrant, Paul. Dr. Cotton puts his appointment in 1667, but his name appears in Chapter Book as Chancellor from 1661, and is spelled as here given.

Wooding, Ri., 1674.

Tomlinson, Dan., 1693.

Twigge, Wm., 1690.

TREASURERS,

Bright, Ni., 1615.

Andrew, Jno., 1629.

Sibthorpe, R., 1633.

Reynolds, Ed. In 1661 his name appears in Chapter Book as "Thesaur."

Hawkins, Jno., 1687.

In 1693, he was appointed Vicar-General, Chancellor, and Official Principal, "durante vita."

ARCHDEACONS,

Nelland or Neiland, Jno., 1558.

(1579. About this time the Bishop had two archdeacons).

Hogan, Patk., 1590—1622.

Lodge, Thos., 1624-5.

Jones, Henry, 1638.

Barclay, Gavin, 1660-1. Thus Dr. Cotton (on the authority of the Lib. mun Hib.), and so far correctly. But the Chapter Book gives "Hall, John, Archidiaco 4 die Maii, 1661." (See more in Bishop Worth's MSS. Book in text.) His name appears again in Chapter Book in 1676—82—87, 88.

Amyrant, Joseph, 1691, &c.

THE PREBENDARIES not being members of the Chapter.

1. TOMGRANEY—

Flanagan, Patk.
Pagett, Mark, 1613.
Adams, Bernard, 1610 (see Bishop Ryder's visitation).
Gee, Robt. (Quere).
Wilkins, Ri., 1626.
Sinclair, Geo., 1666.
Mortimer, Patk., 1675.
Otway, Nicl., 1685-6.
Higgins, Danl., 1692.
Patterson, Jno., 1698.

2. INNISCALTRY—

Lynch, Marcus, 1615, deprived.
Eden, Thos., 1617.
– Heaton, Rich., 1633.
Bandynell, Jno., 1668.
Wilson, Rob., 1670.
Bedell, Wm., 1672. (Was this a son of the great Bishop? No other trace of him appears.)
Mortimer, Patk, 1674.
Sinclair, Geo., 1675.
– Wallis, Robt., 1681.
Patterson, Jno., 1685.
Vandeleur, Jno., 1687.

3. TULLAGH—

Kennedy, Danl., 1604.
Bridgman, Robt.
Hewitt, Wm., 1627.
Worth, Jno. (The Bishop's son; see his will and Mason's, St. Patrick.)
Bedell, Wm., 1672.
Griffith, Jno., 1688.
– Wallis, Robt., 1693.
Tovey, Jas., 1697.

4. DYSERT—

Nealan, Wm.
Callanane, Æneas, 1612.
Lysaght, A., 1615.
Steere, Jno., 1620.
Twenbrooke, Jno., 1628. (See the depositions for his case in 1642.)
Hoyle, Jonathan, 1635. (Quære, &c., depositions.)
Fish, Robt., 1667. (His name appears in Bishop Worth's Book as holding Church lands under lease; and in Chapter Book in 1662 as holding 7 qrs. of Drumcliffe at 60*l.* per an.)

Padfield, J[illegible] 1672.
Considine, D[illegible]l.
Jones, John, 1692.

5. RATH—

White, Bart., 1615.
Wilkins, Ri., 1621.
Hogan, Ri., 1637.
Blood, Nep., 1667. (See Bp. Worth's Book and the Depositions, &c.)
Goodman, Ri., 1695.

6. CLONDAGAD—

Pritchard, Ri, 1615. (See Bp. Rider.)
Booth, Michl., 1619.
Whitstone, Fra., 1667. (The descendants of this clergyman, a most respectable family, still live and hold property in Clondagad, near the church.)
Lawson, Jno. (Scotus), 1687.

7. LACKEEN—

Omolony, D., 1591; also Rector of Drumcliffe.
Andrews, Geo. (See of his career in Bp. Rider's Visitation, also Stafford's State Letters, Usher, &c.)
Garforth, D., 1620. (See his evidence in Depositions.)
Webbe, Ezk., 1667.
Nelson, Wm., 1693.
Hemsworth, Thos., 1699, Proctor for the Clergy in Convocation. (This name is found still represented by a most respectable old family in Lorha parish.)

(☞ The above list is drawn from Dr. Cotton's laborious work, which in but very few instances has been found incorrect.)

But other lists may be added, drawn from the Chapter Book. Secondly, of the clergymen appointed by the Dean and Chapter; and thirdly, of the secular and subordinate officers connected with the Chapter and the Cathedral.

2ND. CURATES OF KILLALOE AND FEAKLE.

1688, July 7. The Dean, &c., unanimously determined that the cure of souls of the Cathedral be filled up. In the meanwhile, they take the duty by turns themselves, and dismiss Daniel Higgins from this curacy.

In Nov., 1688, they nominate Mr. Henry Jennings to serve the cure of the parishes of Killaloe and Fekill, commencing the year on 25th Nov. at thirty-five pounds, with the book-money, &c.

In 1693 the Rev. James Tovey is appointed Curate of Killaloe Church and parish at 30*l.*, with book-money.

In 1699 agreed with the Rev. Mr. (sic) John Paterson to serve the

cure in parish of Feakle at 5*l.* per an., with book-money allowed him. This gentleman was also Preb. of Inniscattery, &c. (Probably from him has come the worthy family of Paterson, at present represented by Colonel Marcus Paterson, of Clifden.)

1701. To Mr. Cashin, serving cure of Killaloe for one year, 30*l.*

1703. Paid Mr. Cashin, for a year's salary, ending July 21, 1703, and for two extraordinary sermons (so in the original), 31*l.* 10*s.*

To Mr. Paterson, for serving the cure of Feakle for one year (an increase), 10*l.*

Mr. Ben. Lloyd came after Mr. Cashin as Curate of Cathedral, &c., at 35*l.*

Procurator or Economus—

1676. Ed. Reynolds, economus.

1677. Patrick Fitzsimon.

1688. Moxon Watkins de Lorha, procurator ad æstimandum, &c., decimas, &c.

1692. Thomas MacNamara, of Killalce, do., do.

1700. Mr. P. Fitzsimon, œconomist.

1701. Thomas, Lord Bp. of Killaloe, took lease of tythes.

3rd. Secular and Subordinate Officers.

1695. Ordered that the sexton, Jonathan Worrall, shall receive the sum of forty shillings for cleaning the church and chapter-house for said year. (They must have required it somewhat.)

In 1697, it was agreed that John Healy, parish clerk of Killaloe, shall have 40*s.* for this year for his care and attendance of the church, and the sexton also to have the like sum.

Mention having been made of "Book-money," or church fees, the following curious petition from John Healy, parish clerk of Killaloe, is given verbatim:—"Humbly sheweth that your Petitioner is indebted to your Reverences for Book-money, which your Petitioner *sett to other persons*, which said persons is runned out of the country, being thereto constrained by the Pshioners (Parishioners), so the said Petitioner has had no manner of satisfaction from ym, and is therefore like to be a sufferer thereby to your Reverences, if not by your Reverences commiseration. Your petitioner being in a very loe condition, and not able to discharge your said debt, and inasmuch as your Petitioner received no profit thereby, humbly begs your Reverences to forgive the debt or as your Reverences shall think fit."

(To this early example of the danger of creating or allowing a *middleman's interest*, whether in fees or in farms), the Chapter graciously "orders that J. Healy be forgiven 5*l.* 1*s.*"

A verger, or virger, is also paid.

Nothing remaining now of the information attainable except concerning

Education,

of this a note is copied to the following effect:—

"For slating the school-house," 14*s.*

This, however, dates after 1700, and not until even later on appear items of payment (miserable ones too) for the schoolmaster and the diocesan schoolmaster.

Communion Plate.

Patena.—Inscription on :—

"Ex dono reverendissimi in Christo
Patris Nicholai Episcopi Laonensis."

Chalice.—No inscription on it.

On Flagon.—A coat of arms overhead; underneath the following inscription :—

"Deo et Sacris per Rever Dan
Witter Sac Sanct Theol Doct
et Episi Laonen,
1674."

APPENDIX III.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PARISHES.

THE parishes are taken in the order in which they stand under the several rural deaneries, as set forth in the Regal Visitation of 1622, and the particulars to which attention is directed appear in the following order throughout, viz. :—

1°. The name or names of the parish.

2°. The meaning or etymology of the name, as given by some competent authority in Irish literature.

3°. The size, with the actual and relative situation of the parish in each case.

4°. The ecclesiastical and other principal ancient remains and documents; also brief notes of men of mark, old families, natural curiosities, or any historical incidents of importance connected with the parish; also the inscriptions on old church plate.

I. THE RURAL DEANERY O'MULLOD.

This is the same as the territory or cantred of O'Mullod, so called from "*M'Blod, the son of Cas.*"

KILLALOE PARISH.

The name is usually interpreted as *Kill-da-lua*, or *Kill-O'Mollua*, from a famous saint of the 6th century, who is believed to have flourished here. (Lanigan, quoted at Clonfert-Mollua, *infra.*)

The parish is situated on the western side of the Shannon, in size 13,045 acres; and is bounded on the north by the parish of Ogonello and Kilno; on the west by that of Killokennedy; on the south by Kiltenanlea; and on the east by the Shannon, which separates it from the county of Tipperary.

The ecclesiastical remains are the cathedral, and the stone-roofed oratory, or *duirtheach*, to the north of it, which is not unlike Saint ColumKille's house at Kells, or Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough. Particulars of these structures are given in detail in Appendix on Cathedrals. Killaloe was once the resort of many pilgrims. There is a well dedicated to St. Flannan at the east end of the town. On an eminence, just where the Shannon contracts above the rapids, is the spot where the great King of Ireland, "Brian Boriomhe, fixed his residence, at Chann-Coradh (the Head of the Weir), in the immediate neighbourhood of his own ancestral residence of *Grianan Lachtria*, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the south shoulder of the hill of *Craigh-Liath*, about a mile north-west of Killaloe." (E. O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," vol. 2, lec. vi.) Bishop Mant caused one of

the crosses, removed from Kilfenora, to be erected in the demesne at Clares-ford, with a Latin inscription to this effect:—

Quam spectas crucem
In Agro Fenaborensi vetustate collapsam
Ne penitus incuria situque abolesceret
Hic
Apud sedem Laonensem
Erigi Curavit
Antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ Studiosus
R.M.S.T.P.
Utriusque dioceseos Episcopus
A.D. MDCCCXXI.

"The Bishop writes that he found two or three out of the five or six stone crosses of Kilfenora broken and lying on the ground, neglected and overgrown with weeds. The clergyman of the parish (Rev. Richard Brew, afterwards Prebendary of Tulloh) proposed to send him one of the crosses, which he said might be done without difficulty or danger of giving offence." (Bishop Mant and his Dioceses, 133.)

Cragliath Mountain is the widely-known haunt of the great evil spirit, the banshee of Munster and the Dalcassians. Curious that all the saints and bishops have not exorcised her. Has she gone since the potato-blight and the emigration?

Clonlea Parish,

or Clonleagh, or Clonleigh, which means "The Meadow of the Calves." The parish comprises 5,355 statute acres. It is 4½ miles north of Six-mile Bridge, bounded on the north by Clonie and Tulloh, on the south by Kilmurrynegaul, east by Kilseily, west by Quin. On the south-west bank of Clonlea Lake are the ruins of the old parish church and the burial-ground. In this parish is also the old ruin of Stackpoole Castle.

Kilfinaghta Parish.

Kilfinaghta, or Kilfinaughty. That is to say, *the Church of Finaghta.* Who he was, or where this church stood, seems unknown. The parish comprises 7,212 acres, mostly mountain; is on the River Ougarnee, and on the old road from Limerick City to Ennis. It is bounded on the north by Kilmurrynegaul parish, on the south by Kilfintinan parish, on the east by Kileely and Kilquane parish, and on the west by Dromline and Kinnough. A church stands at Ballysheen, which is considered to be the Church of Kilfinaghta.

Inscription on Chalice.

The Gift of  to ye Six Miles
Church in ye County of Clare, Iuly ye 8,
1713.

There are some old monumental slabs in Sixmile Bridge Church, which, if decypherable, shall appear after this Appendix.

Kilteely Parish,

Also called Kilseily.

This parish is about 10,000 acres in extent, is situated nine miles west-by-south from Killaloe on the road to Ennis, and six miles north of Limerick City; and is bounded on the north by Killuran and Tulloh parishes, on the south by Kiltannalea and Kilquane, on the east by Killokennedy, on the west by Clonlea. There are extensive slate quarries in the mountain country of Broadford.

Killuran Parish.

This means *the Church of Jobhran or Uran*—a saint now unknown to fame. Only some of the south wall remains. The parish is about seven miles to the north-west of Killaloe, and in extent 3,197 acres. It is bounded on the north by Kilnoe, on south by Kilseily, east by Killaloe, west by Tulloh and Clonlea. There are some few remains of old castles—*e.g.*, Monegona and Tierovane.

Killokennedy Parish.

The name is obvious. It is about five miles from Killaloe; contains 9,347 acres, mostly heathy mountain. It is bounded on the north by Killaloe, on the south by O'Brien's B., on the east by ditto, on the west by Kilseily and Killuran parishes. The old church, built of field stones, stands in Glenomera, is partly rebuilt, and not divided into nave and choir. Here is a holy well and old ash tree, which, according to an inscription on a stone, "was planted by Wm. Doogan, P.P., in 1733." His tomb was erected by himself, long before his death, with the inscription :—

> "This thomb was erected by Wm. O'Doogan, Rector of the Parishes of Killaloe, Kilseely, and Killogennedy, 1723."

Kilnoa Parish,

Alias Kilnoe, and signifies *the New Church.*

The main road from Scariff to Ennis cuts this parish at about three miles from former town. It comprises nearly 10,000 acres, and is bounded north by Tomgraney and Feackle, on south by Killuran, on east by Ogonelloe, on west by Tulloh. The ruins of the church remain at the roadside, near the Lake of Ballinahinch. Here, too, is a well, dedicated to St. Mocollo of Tulla. Possibly this latter was the old name. Some old ruins remain of the Castles of Ballinahinch, also of Coolreagh.

Feackle Parish,

Alias Feacle.

This means "*a tooth,*" a name supposed to allude to its being a

narrow strip of arable land, running to a point into the wild heathy mountain of Sleive Eichtghe. The walls of the old church were built up into the new Protestant Church in modern times. While the patron saint of Tulla is Mochille; he of Feackle is Mochunna. In this parish on the Townland of Ballycroum is perhaps the most curious well in Ireland, as fully bearing identification with the well called "The King of Waters," celebrated in Book of Armagh. Tubber-Graney is resorted to for the cure of sore eyes. Little doubt can be that this was a Pagan well, worshipped by the old idolaters of Ireland, of whom were two kinds—the worshippers of *fire* and the worshippers of *water*. The modern people of Feackle seem to have united these forms of worship in the extensive production and use of *Fire-water*, distilled and imbibed largely until the revenue and police officers interfered. The Lake of Loughgraney is extensive, and its sides are well wooded; also rare exotics bloom in great luxuriance in Cahir, the romantic residence of Wm. O'Hara, Esq. The late James Molony, Esq., of Kiltanon, opened up this wild district by modern roads. Traditions exist of superior schools being carried on in these wild retreats of the people, whose love of learning was inextinguishable.

Tomgraney Parish.

Alias Termon i graney.

This name is considered by some, and on antient Irish authority too, to have been given in allusion to the worship of *Granœus* Apollo, the Sun-God. Others associate this name with some poetical fancy of the entombment of *The Lady Grain*, which in plain prose is nothing but the fact that a certain mountain stream arising in Lough Graney has its outflow into the Shannon near hand.

The parish is situated on Scariff Bay, a deep indent of Lough Derg, and comprises nearly 8,000 acres. The great N.W. limestone district of Clare dips at Bodyke Hill and reappears across the Shannon in Lower Ormond, near Dromineer. The soil where the limestone and shale blend is, as usual, sound and rich. The parish is distant about 8 miles from the N.N.W. of Killaloe, and is bounded N. by Moynoe and Feackle, S. by Kilnoe, E. by O'Gonelloe and the Lake, and W. by Kilnoe. The ecclesiastical structure still used as the parish church, and more particularly the W. gable, have exercised the skill and elicited the admiration alike of speculative archæologists and of practical architects, from Dr. Petrie to Mr. Marcus Keane and the late Mr. Brash. Lord Dunraven has photographed the western gable as quite a wonder of Cyclopean architecture.

It is but right to mention that Mr. John O'Donovan, in the Letters Ordnance Survey, has committed himself to the opinion that "the present church of *Tuaim Greine* is of no antiquity, and there is nothing there by which the antiquarian can be interested but a rude castle." Lord Dunraven's editors seem to have fallen into an error by following Archdall, who places "Tomgraney Church three or four miles east of Lough Derg," whereas this church is to the west of the lake and not a mile from the head of Scariff Bay. However, the measurements and descriptions are worthy of attention, as given with accuracy and ability.

To summarise, in the most abstract form, the various statements, theories, historical allusions, and expressions of astonishment exceed the present limits. Suffice it, then, to reproduce from the accurate observations of Mr. Brash, with something added out of Lord Dunraven's notes and Mr. Keane's theories. Having quoted from "The Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill" that Brian Borhoime erected the Church of Celldalua and the Church of Inniscealtra, and the Clochteach of Tuamgrainey, &c., Mr. B. adds :—

"The terms 'erect' and 'build' are frequently used in our churches for 'repair and re-edify,' and Brian's works at the two former churches were certainly of the latter description. It is also a curious fact that though his work at Tomgraney is confined in the above passage to the *Clochteach*, of which there is no trace in memory or tradition [however, Petrie asserts the contrary], yet '*the great stone church*' of that place, which still exists, shows in its eastern end an addition apparently of the same age as the ornamental portions of St. Flannan's and St. Camin's. The west end of Tomgraney Church is *the finest specimen of the primitive type in our Island.* Its massive Pelasgic-looking doorway and grand old masonry strike both antiquary and architect with astonishment, while the east end, in its attached quoin-shafts and Romanesque windows, evidences a much later age."

In Lord Dunraven's vol. (I., p. 121) it is called—

"A long building, measuring on the outside 78ft. 6in. in length by 27ft. in width. It is divided by a cross wall into two compartments, which may be termed nave and chancel, though in reality they are separate buildings, the work of different periods and styles. The older portion, or nave, measures 36ft. by 21ft. 6in. It is built of massive polygonal masonry. The stones, which are closely fitted, are of great size, particularly in the north wall, one being 7ft. long by 2ft. deep. There are square pilasters, or antæ, at the W. corners of the building, which measure 2ft. 10in. and 1ft. 11in. deep. They are capped by a double projecting course of stone. The W. door is square-headed, with inclined sides, built of massive blocks of well-cut stone, which extend the full thickness of the wall, thus being 3ft. in depth. It is 6ft. 5in. high by 3ft. 5in. wide at base, 3ft. 2in. at top. The lintel is 7ft. 4in. long, the only ornament a flat architrave band 9in. wide, ¾in. deep. There are two rude square-headed windows in nave. In the later-built portion, or chancel, the masonry is very peculiar. The tower portion is fine jointed ashlar, continued for 7ft. or 8ft. above the level of the ground. Over this the work is inferior, and higher still it is laid on irregular courses, such as in the masonry of O'Rourke's tower at Clonmacnoise. Then of the windows. That in N. wall of chancel is very handsome. In the windows of the S. wall of chancel the mouldings are very curious. They resemble the window at Monaincha, are square-headed outside and round inside, with vertical jambs. The angle chevron and mould roll-moulding may be seen on these windows," &c.

That the founder was Cronan is deduced from the fact that the Abbots of this place were called "Coarbs of Cronan." So far in "Notes." On the other hand, Mr. Marcus Keane, in pursuance of his

theory, pronounces upon Tomgraney Church thus (at p. 379 "Towers and Temples, &c.") :—"There seem to have been two Cuthite (from Cush, son of Nimrod) temples at this place, one of the plain, the other of the ornamented style. Fragments of both are incorporated in the modern church." Mr. Keane also identifies "Cronan, the founder, with Cronos, the Titan, Saturn," just as he would identify "Kieran with Chiron the Centaur, and Dichul with the D——l."

Here it may be well to quote a passage from "The History of the Architecture of all Countries, by James Fergusson" (vol. ii. p. 345).

The identity of Armenian with Irish old ecclesiastical architecture having been established by a citation of particulars as to size, form, grouping, and ornamentation of both, Sir J. Fergusson proceeds to account for this in a *footnote*, for which we make no apology, so great is its value as a clue to the solution of the archæological difficulties involved. "It may seem (p. 345, supra) so wild a speculation to breathe it even in a footnote; but it is, nevertheless, a fact, that there is a similarity between the styles of Armenia and Ireland that cannot be mistaken. It may, of course, be accidental, but is it not also possible, *that during the Persian persecutions in the 5th and 6th centuries some exiled Christians may have sought refuge in the green island of the West, and brought with them their arts?* It is true it may be suggested that the two countries may have derived their architecture from some common source external to both; but whether this be so or not, it at least seems certain that if there was no communication between Armenia and Ireland, the coincidence is exceptional. There is no other case at present known of two countries whose architecture, without the one borrowing from the other, presents anything approaching to the similarity both in plan and detail that exists between the Churches of Armenia and those of Ireland in the earlier stages of their art." At the same time, although Sir J. Fergusson may have been a first-rate architect, his assertion or supposition requires an historical substantiation. Can anyone prove historically that these Armenian Christians left their country on account of persecution for religion at the time stated, also that they made their way to Ireland and set up their religion there, and built churches, &c., on the models of those they are said to have left behind them in their own land? When this is done, the controversy will be brought out of the regions of speculation and assertion into the solid standing grounds of fact and history.

In reference to remarkable men connected with Tomgraney, the following is abridged from "a memoir compiled for and presented by Rev. Wm. M. Brady, B.D., son of the late Chancellor of Ireland, Right Hon. M. Brady, to be preserved along with the Registers of the parish of Tomgraney" ("J. R. Garstin, scripsit"). The late Rev. T. B. Brady, Prebendary of Tomgraney, was the 8th in descent from Sir D. O'Grady, *or* O'Brady, Knight, chief of his name, who resigned the lands held by his ancestors to King Henry VIII., and had a regrant of them by patent, 5th Jan., 1543, under name of Thoymcreney Fynnagh, Kyllachullybeg, to him and his heirs in capite by service of Knight's fee.

Sir Denis' 3rd but eldest surviving son, John O'Grady, chief of his

name ("The O'Grady," from whom descend O'Gradys of Killballyowen, Lord Viscount Guillamore, and the other branches of the O'Gradys and Gradys), surrendered to Queen Elizabeth, &c. (see Perrot's deed, infra), and received regrant with Hugh, his younger brother, and heirs for ever. This Hugh was the Right Hon. and Most Rev. *Hugh Brady, or O'Grady*, Lord Bishop of Meath, the first prelate of the Reformed faith who held that see. He was advanced to it by favour of Queen Elizabeth and Cecil. During his incumbency the See of Clonmacnoise was added to Meath. He died 13th Feb., 1583, and was buried in his native town, Dunboyne, County Meath. His will is preserved. His descendants always called themselves "Brady." His eldest son and heir had livery of his estate by patent, 6th March, 1630. From him descended the ancient family of Brady of Tomgraney. The Bishop's second son, Nicholas, was grandfather of the Rev. Dr. Nicholas Brady, Prebendary of Kilnaglony, Cork, and afterwards Rector of Clapham, London, &c. He translated the new version of the Psalms of David, in conjunction with Nahum Tate, the Poet Laureate. He was Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary, after to Queen Anne, was born 28th Oct., 1659, at Bandon, County Cork, and died 22nd May, 1726, at Richmond. He was great-great-grandfather of Right Hon. M. Brady, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1859. An original oil-painting was in the Chancellor's possession of the translator of the Psalms.

Moinoe Parish,

Alias Moynoe.

This is from two Irish words signifying *The valley of the Yew-tree.* Many places are called from this feature, *e.g.*, Youghal or the Yew of the Stranger. The parish is about 8 miles to the N.W. of Killaloe, and is near the village of Scariff, so called from the *rough and tumbling* waters of the river that runs into the Shannon from L. Graney. It contains nearly 2,000 acres, and is partly mountainous. Is bounded on N. by Feackle, on S. by Tomgraney, on E. by Inniscaltra, and on W. by Tomgraney. The old church still stands, and is in ruins. Near hand is the square building erected by the Reade family as a burying place.

Clonrush Parish.

This must be *the meadow of the Reisk, or wet marsh land.* The parish comprises 11,000 acres, and is situated in County Galway, on L. Derg. It is bounded by Ballynakill and Woodford on N., by Inniscaltra on S., by same on W., and by Shannon on E. There are no ecclesiastical remains or monuments of interest. There are iron mines in the hills, and near Whitegate a curious old building remains, said by the people to have been a smelting house for preparing the iron. This may account, in part at least, for the utter want of old timber.

Inishgaltrah Parish,

Alias Inniscaltra. Bishop Rider gives a derivation as *The Island of Altars, or Churches.*

The parish is situated at the south corner of County Galway, and runs along the beautiful shore of Lough Derg. It is in extent 9,000 acres. The ruins on the island are extremely interesting and picturesque, and include *Caimin's* Church, the belfry, the oratory, the confessional, St. Mary's and St. Michael's Churches, &c. The belfry or round tower is now but 80ft. in height, and is 46ft. in circumference. Dr. Petrie, in reference to the rule of proportion established in the Senchus Mor between the church and the belfry, observes on this one to the following effect :—"In cases of churches having a chancel and nave the rule equally applies. Thus the church of Inniscaltra gives a perimeter of 162ft., from which deducting 46ft., the circumference of the tower, we have 116ft. as the prescribed height of the latter, which cannot be far from the actual original height of the tower. For to its present height of 80 must be added 10 or 12ft. for the upper story now wanting, 15ft. for conical roof, and a few feet for portion concealed at its base. (Petrie, R. Ts. p. 366-7.)

Of Caimin's Church itself, it may be noted briefly that it stands E.N.E. of the belfry, is divided into nave 31ft. by 21ft., and chancel 15ft. by 12ft. 6in., wall 2ft. 6in. thick, E. wall gone, masonry irregular, inside plaistered, chancel 8ft. 6in. in height, eave-course partly ornamented by large pellets, masonry of chancel unlike that of nave, is fine jointed ashlar, flat pilaster buttresses at E. and W. ends of nave, &c. Chancel arch is of fine cut stone, of three plain orders, not rounded off, fine on gaged shafts in the jambs, capitals very peculiar. This beautiful arch (now as well as capital at N. side somewhat displaced and in danger) measures 10ft. 2in. in width at bottom, 9ft. 11in. at top of jambs; the height is 5ft. from ground to capitals. Rev. Jas. Graves pronounces this chancel arch to be work of a date earlier by a century than that in Cormac's chapel, and has no doubt of its being the inserted work of King Brian. He relies on the absence of profuse surface ornament and on the square-cut plain orders of the arch, &c. (In this respect is there not a striking resemblance to Nouhaval chancel arch?) The base of a cross may be seen 30ft. S.E. of chancel. It is inscribed—

ILAD IN DEICHEN BOIR.

The Stone Tomb of the ten Persons.

The remains of a stone tomb are to be seen 100 yds. E. of the church, towards the shore of the lake; one of the stones of which it is built is 4½ft. long by 1ft. thick. It has a narrow doorway of cut stone on E. side; the walls are down; dimensions 12ft. 9in.

Can this be the tomb ordered by Sir Teigue Mac O'Brien Arra to be specially erected for his remains according to the direction of his will? Or can this be the broken-down tomb 9ft. square to the north-west, near the enclosure?* St. Mary's Church is larger than St. Caimin's, and not peculiarly interesting. Lord Dunraven points attention to an

* Sir T. O'B.'s will (see next page).

inscribed stone with an interlaced cross connected with this island, with an inscription—

OR DO CHUNN.

i.e.,

PRAY FOR CONN. Can this be "Cinnathin, one of the four sons of Cas, 6th in descent from Cormac"? Lord Dunraven, not without genealogical authority to rely upon, claims this as the head of the O'Quin family. At the same time, the seat of this family lay in the opposite direction at Inchi-quin lake. Miss Stokes, in "Christian Inscriptions," gives other monumental inscriptions—54 OR DO ARDESI, 55 MOENGAL MAC LODGIN, 56 supra, 57 OR DO DIARMAIT MAC DOLBAD. He was a bishop here early in 10th century, 58 OR DO MEAL PATRICK, not identified, 59 OR DO SIATH-BERTACH.

Extracts from the will of Sir Tirrelagh O'Bryen, Knight and Baronet. Prerogative, 1626.

Imprimis. I bequeath my soule unto Almightye God my Saviour and Redeemer, *and my bodie to be buried in a chappell to be made for mee near our Ladyes Church in Inishkealtrye.* He then disposes of his mortgaged and other properties, &c., *inter alia.* "I will and ordain that the said Daniel O'Bryen shall stand and be seized and possessed of the Prebendary (he means the Prebend) of Tullagh, within the Diocese of Killaloe, during my interest therein, to such pious uses as I have appointed." He leaves all and singular his fishing wares and fishings on the Synyn (Shanon) to his mother, Slanyne Bryen, and after her decease the remainder and reversion to the said D. O'Bryen, without power of reversion. He makes a bequest of 40*l.* sterling that shall accrue and issue out of the parsonage of Castletown, to be given to John O'Duigin *Dr. Meleaghlen O'Quely* (Vicar-General of Killaloe), and Father Bryen O'Bryen to be disposed of, as to them in their conscience shall be thought meete. Some of his personal bequests give a good idea of life in Thomond 200 years ago, and accordingly are abridged. He gives his chiefest bay horse, with his best saddle, to his cousin John O'Carrule of Clonlyske.

To Thomas Hogane, his black mourning suite, new cloak and all, with his wax boots and black spurrs, and 5*l.* sterling.

To his uncle, Olliver Grace, one of his pistalls, and to his cousin, Bryan Duff, the other.

He bequeaths his wife's gowne to his sister, Mary Butler, and the trunke wherein it is kept, his wedding-ring to the Countess of Ormond. He bequeaths to Lewis Walsh his second bay horse, three of his best mares and four English cowes, and a cupp of his plate. He bequeaths to his brother John those parcels of plate that his father left him, with his best salt. To his sister Margaret, one of his cupps of plate and a measing (sic) (qu. from maison) pan. Leaves to his sister Morè one cupp more, and a measing pan.

Leaves his largest cupp of plate he has to our Ladies Church in Inishkeaterye, to be made a chalice of, there to remain for his soule. Item, his sword to his brother-in-law, Daniel O'Bryen, his viall and his

viall-booke to his cousin D. O'Bryen, his crossbow and fowling-peece to Philip Grace.

Item, his riding-coate and cullered (sic) hatt to T. McPharrallane, if he will, otherwise to T. O'Hogane. He leaves his black boots and his new spurrs to W. Hurley, the other black paire to D. O'Hogane. Leaves the lyninge-velvett of his red cloke to be made into a vestment of to the Church of our Lady at Inniskattery aforesaid.

Leaves his black velvett cloke to Lewis Walsh, with his black satten suite and olde morninge cloak to D. O'Hogane. He leaves his black nag to his servant man, and his beaver hatt to T. Bourke, &c., &c.

Probate granted 29th Nov., 1626, to the Executors.

In the S. wall of the great Church there is an inserted monument of an elaborate kind, with the following inscription:—

"This monument was erected by the Lady Slaney MacO'Brien, sister to Sir Tirlagh," and underneath,

"Here lye the bodies of the noble Knight, Sir Teigue Mac O'Brien-ara, Baronet, who died 28th March, A.D. 1626. And his lady, d. to the Right Hon. Walter, Earl of Ormond, who died 10th Feb., 1625. Pray for their soules.

Memento mori."

Attention is directed to another inserted slab, which contains the following:—

(The Grady Arms)

"Vulneratus non Victus."

("JAMES GRADY REPAIRED THESE CHURCHES AND MONUMENTS TO THE PRAISE AND GLORY OF GOD.")

Bishop John Rider describes the annual gatherings or patterns, in his time, as most objectionable. Mr. P. Dixon Hardy and some of the old people of the place tell stories of very dreadful wickedness done in the present century. Public opinion, fortunately for common decency, has compelled the managers of the lucrative traffic in iniquity, conducted under the name of religion, to suppress the meetings totally.

Of St. Camin himself a word may be added. There is a Camin's Church at Aranmore as well as here; but this is not the only case in which the great educational and missionary establishment of Aran sent forth labourers even far more eastward, as Brendan to Clonfert, Coleman to Roscrea, and Brecan to Meath. He belonged to the 7th century. As one of the authorities states, "St. Camin flourished here in miracles and virtues about the year of salvation 640." (A. 4, M.) But he was also noted for abstinence, and for learning having written a copy of the Psalms of David in the Hebrew. A few leaves of what was considered to be this identical document were extant even to the time of Archbishop Usher, who expressed an opinion to this effect. And these leaves are still preserved in the Franciscan Library, Dublin (so Mr. Meehan states in Franciscans, 5th edition).

Mr. Philip Reade, of Woodparks, showed the writer a bunch of keys, large and antique, which were found on disturbing the grave of an old sacristan or sexton. They must have belonged to the old churches.

Ogonilla Parish,

alias *Ogonnelloe*. This is so called from a settlement made there by the *O'Connells*, from Limerick; after whom a barony in same county is also named. It is situated about four miles north of Killaloe, on the road to Scariff, with the lake for its eastern boundary, Killaloe for its southern, Tomgraney its northern, and Killokennedy its western. Its size is about 5,500 acres. In this parish is Belkelly Wood also Cahir Castle which in recent times was bombarded by artillery brought from Limerick, as the building was applied to the very improper use of a distillery of mountain dew.

Castle Connell Parish,

alias Stradbally or *Street-town*, Castle Connell or Conings Castle, alias Capella de Judum (quære) Cluain. The parish is in county of Tipperary and principally in Limerick, is about six miles from the city; is bounded on the east by the Shannon, on the west by O'Brien's B., on the north by Kilmurry and Kilnegaruff, on the south by Newport. It comprises 5,850 acres. This parish, although of remarkable beauty along the banks of the Shannon, is not in its ecclesiastical aspects remarkable, the only ruin being the remains of a friary on an island. Of the castle it is needless to discourse further than that it belonged to the De Burghos, had once four round towers at the four corners, and was destroyed by De Ginkle in 1690. Here is a spa, praised by Rutty, and once much frequented, but now forsaken. It is chalybeate.

Killinagannuff Parish,

alias Kilnegarruff; doubtless so called from the vicinity of the church to the tumbling or broken waters of a stream, such as that from which Scariff gets its kindred name. This parish is next to Stradbally, on the south or Limerick side, comprising 2,900 acres; has no monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, the church having been destroyed by the Cromwellians.

Kiltinanlea Parish.

Alias Doonassy; also Kiltonanlea.

This is pronounced to mean the *Church of Senan the Hoary*. Another name like this is to be found in Kiltanon, near Tulla; doubtless pointing to the same saint. The parish is on the road between Killaloe and Limerick, and is about four miles from the latter city. There are no monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity to be found here. The second name of Doonass, or Doonassy, is interpreted "*The fort of the rapids.*" Its situation is unrivalled in beauty.

There is a curious instrument given by Dr. Theiner, in his *Monumenta*, p. 433, by which Pope Pius II., in 1462, removes Malachias Maconmara from his living and appoints Thady Maconmara instead. Malachias, "Rector Parochialis ecclesiæ de Clueynlard (Clonlara) Medie-Cantriede (Cantred) de Oblayed (now O'Mullod) dictæ dioces, publicus et notorius

fornicator existit." And then he is to be removed, on proof after trial, from "ecclesia de Killokemedid," which is in respect of the vicarage worth "sex marcharum sterlingorum."

THE RURAL DEANERY OF OGASSIN.

This name Ogassin, or Ogashin, is supposed to be derived from Cas, the head of the great Dal-cass-ian race. We find the first parish in this cantred according to Civil, or Rural Deanery in ecclesiastical division, to be

Quin,

Also Choin, or Quinchey, or Cuinche, or Quint.

This is supposed to point to the name of "a Saint *Conchenna*, a virgin from whom the place took its name, and who is venerated here on the 28th April." This, however, is disputed; inasmuch as "it was prophesied that the place would be named from or by *St. Fineen*." All this indicates clearly a feeble attempt to reconcile mediæval piety with Keltic philology. The parish is about five miles east of Ennis, and is bounded on the north by Cloney, on the south by Tomfinlough, east by Cloney and Clonlea, and on the west by Dowrie. The great feature of ecclesiastical interest is the Abbey, well situated on a fair flowing river, and one of the finest and most complete remains of monastic antiquity in Ireland. It is built of black marble, and the carvings have been remarked for their resistance to the effects of weather; not so the carving on the tombstones, which are much corroded by the tooth of time, and few of them easily deciphered. An old abbey erected here was consumed by fire in 1278. The Monastery for Franciscans was founded here in 1402, by Sioda (or the Son of Hugh) Con McNamarra, of Glancullein. The best descriptions the writer has met with are now given, being—1st. King Henry VIII.'s deed to O'Bryen, of Douagh; 2nd. Queen Elizabeth's renewal; 3rd. Bishop Pococke's account in the last century; 4th. In Modern Times Lady Chatterton's Tour.

18th September, 1578.

Quin.

(1) 2687.

For the term of 21 years or less for and in consideration of the sum of 40*s.* current money of Ireland, hath demised, granted, and let unto the said Ti MaConnor O'Brien and Tierlagh O'Brien, and their assignes, the scite, circuite, and precincte of the late house of Frances Friars, of *Queyne*, in Thomonde, in County Clare, containing 1 acre; in which is one great church, now ruinose, covered with sclate and stepill, greatelie dacied, and churchyard and cloister and one greate haull, fowre chambers, two cellers, and ruinous *Doctor* (*sic*)—(query, *dovecote*), with an orchard, and other edifices, &c., of the said Friera; and also one water-mill, now ruinous and prostrate, and ten cottages in the town, village, or hamlet of Quiney, with outgardens and all other lands, &c., belonging to the friery, and woods, underwoods, and all kind of mines, advousens of churches,

knights fees, &c., &c., excepted. Hedge-botte, plough-botte, fire-botte, cart-botte, and housel-botte, reserved to the said tenents, to be expended in and upon the premises and not elsewhere. Tenents yearly to repair sufficiently, and keep up all houses, cottages, chancels, and other buildings.

(Taken from certified copy of original among Ennistymon papers.)

15th December, 1584.

(2) 26 Elizabeth.

A surrender of lands, and grant back again of the same, as also grant of the Abbey of Quin and all belonging to it—To Sir Tirlagh O'Brien, of Innisdymene, his heirs and assigns for ever: *provided that he and his heirs shall not conspire with rebels.*

3. Bishop Pococke states that "Quin is one of the finest and most entire monasteries that he has seen in Ireland. It is situated on a fine stream, with an ascent of several steps to the church. At the entrance one is surprised with the view of the high altar entire, and of an altar on each side of the arch of the chancel. To the S. of the chapel, with three or four altars in it, is a very fine Gothic figure in relief of some saint. On the N. side of the chancel is a fine monument of the family of the McNamarras, of Rance (Ranee), erected by the founder. On a stone by the high altar the name of Kennedye appears in large letters. In the middle, between the body and the chancel, is a fine tower built on two gable ends. (This square campanile, placed central and so supported, is a characteristic of the Franciscan Abbey.) The cloister is in the usual form, with couplets of pillars, but is particular in having buttresses round it by way of ornament. There are apartments on three sides of it, the refectory, the dormitory, and another grand room to the N. of the chancel, with a vaulted chamber under them all. To the N. of the larger room is a closet, which leads through a private way to a very strong round tower, the walls of which are near 10ft. thick. In the front of the monastery is a building which seems to have been an apartment for strangers. To the S.W. are two other buildings."

4. Lady Chatterton, in her Tour, &c., gives her views thus upon Quin Abbey:—

"We made a detour to visit the ruins of Quin Abbey. It stands in a fine green plain near the clear (?) river. The cloisters resemble those of Askeatony, and are in good preservation; indeed, the whole building, except the roof, is entire. Most of the chimney-pieces remain; and a peasant woman, who came up to speak to me as I was examining an old monument, said that her grandmother remembered when it was all perfect. I looked on these cloisters with great interest, as the place where the monk who composed those beautiful lines to Lady O'Brien was wont to meditate and pray."

The corner of the transept and nave affords a space in which a mountain of human bones was piled up. A good hole has been made in it since bones came into use in agriculture; so, too, near Ballyvaughan, a

Scotch schooner lately anchored and took away a cargo from a churchyard at the seaside. It is not proper to subject the bones of decent Irish Christians to the action of sulphuric acid to enrich Glasgow chemists.

As for tombs and inscriptions, we take the following:—

1. "This tomb was erected by Matthew McNemara, of Moohane, in the year 1500, and repaired by his great grandson Matthew McNemara, of Summerhill, in the year 1768, in memory of his father Teige and his brother Rowe McNemara."

2. Here lies the body of Denis McNemara, who died Nov. 17, 1744.

3. There is no inscription on the tomb of Fireball McNemara, the great duellist, as though he had inscribed his mark on many quite deep enough during his lifetime.

4. The name of *Bontet* is on a tomb, date 1751.

5. A tomb also exhibits in deep clear lines an adze, or hatchet, as the implement of a carpenter.

No. 6. "Here lie (sic) the remains of the Right Rev. Pat. McMahon, R. C. Bishop of Killaloe, who departed this life on the 9th June, 1836, aged 76 years. May the Lord have mercy on his soul." For more of the inscriptions see at the end of this Appendix.

Clonee Parish,

Alias Cloney, or the parish of Cluain.

This is a cluain, or *meadow*. This parish contains 7,695 acres, and is situated on the direct road between Ennis and Tulla, about 4½ miles from former town. It is bounded on N. by Kilraghtis, on S. by Quin, on E. by Tulla, on W. by Dowrie. The old church near the castle in Cloney demesne is not of much antiquity or interest, and has been disused since Dr. Andrewe's incumbency under Bishop Rider. In the townland of Toonagh, in this parish, is the field of Maghadhair, where the Dalcassian Princes were inaugurated. (See O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, and Exodus, ch. 24, v. 4.)

Tulloh Parish,

Alias Tulloe, Tullagh, Tulla.

This parish is so called from the old church being built on a *little hill*. It is 9 miles from Ennis on the east, and 16 from Killaloe. It comprises 15,384 acres. The soil is limestone. There are lead mines at Miltown. The church on the hill contains some rather elaborate monuments, and had once a rich black marble carved altar-piece. We copy one of the monuments, leaving out those of the O'Callaghans, Hartes, Brownes, Westropps, &c., for lack of space.

Hoc monumentum fieri fecit
Dominus Jacobus Molony de
Kiltanen die 2 Junii 1702.
Quod ex vetustate ruinam minitans
Conditoris posteri de domo Cragg
refecerunt.

For a grant to this parish, which became forfeited, see Kilrush infra. The McNamaras held grand state at Ranee, the ruins of their desolate halls still remaining. Here, too, is Kiltanon, or Senan's Church; also the curious excavations made by the Affock River, and called Toomines. For an item of curious interest see end of this Appendix.

Dury Parish,

Alias Doora, so called either from Dur (*water*) or *Duran* (a patron saint). Also called Ballagh-boy, or *Bunown*.

This parish comprises 3,684 acres, mostly bog and crag, and is situated near Ennis, on the E. bank of the Fergus. The old church is situated in the middle of a bog, and is of considerable antiquity, being remodelled early. There is a stone over the doorway outside, with the head of some animal rudely shaped. There is a very antient kind of window, round-headed in and outside. One of the windows has over it the head of a wolf-dog.

"The base of the N. wall is a very fine piece of masonry, and evidently ancient."

Kilraghtis.

This is called from Raghtis. Whether this be a man or a place or what else the authorities candidly confess ignorance.

It is 3 or 4 miles N. of Ennis in the Gort direction, and contains 4,594 acres. The old church still stands in the centre of the burial ground. No part of it is over 400 years old. Ballyalla is in this parish.

Kiltoolah Parish.

In Carrowmere is a small old church called Kiltoolah.

Templemaley Church,

Alias.

This is *Maley* or *O'Maley's Church* (a name not uncommon), situated about 3 miles N.W. of Ennis. It shape is long and narrow, and it comprises 3,781 acres. There is an old church here in good preservation.

Kilmurrynegaul Parish.

This is *the Church of Mary of the Stranger*. It is N.W. of Sixmile Bridge, on the road to Tulla. Size 2,129 acres. There are the ruins of an old church in the parish, and certain old castles.

Inscronan Parish,

Alias Inchycronane, alias Inis Cronan, *or the Island of Cronan*.

It is in size nearly 15,000 acres, and extends into the wild mountains on the confines between Clare and Galway. The Abbey is not, as Archdall carelessly stated (an error left uncorrected by his recent editor), built "on an island in the Shannon," but on an island in the Lake of Inchicronane, just at Ballyline, and about a mile from the village of Crusheen. The Abbey is built out of the ruins and on the site of an

old church. This was done by order or D. O'Brien, King of Limerick, and for the use of Canons of the Augustinan Order in the 12th century. It looks picturesque from the railway, but is of no architectural importance.

IN THE DEANERY OF TRADRY.

This territory (according to Mr. E. O'Curry's Manners and Customs, &c., II. 220) even to the present day retains the name of *Trad*, forming as it does the Deanery *Traid-raid-he*, in the present Barony of Bunratty, County Clare, a tract which comprises the parishes of Tuaimfinnlocha, Cill-ogh-na-Suloch, Cill Mailuighrè, Cill Coirnè, Cluain Lochain, Dromlighin, Fiodnach, Bunratty, and Cill Eoin, and the island of Inis-da-drom in the R. Fergus. And this Trad, who was a kingly chief and Druid, found himself without much land though with many children. So he held a consultation with his wife Aeife, and she went to her father Lugaidh, and requested that he and his six sons should depart out of the country and leave the land to Trad and his growing family for ever. And submitting as though to a fated result (and in this very unlike either the landlords or the tenants of modern times), Lugaidh meekly complied. And luckly Trad made the rich lands his own, which have been called after his name, and there is no record of his being shot or beaten to death for so doing—which is strange indeed.

Tomfinlough Parish.

This name must have been given from the *tumulus of the clear or bright lake*. It is four miles N.W. from Sixmile Bridge, and comprises 3,424 acres. The ruins of an old church are in the parish, near a small plot of glebe land. Ballycar is in this parish, where the old family of Colpoys had their residence. Though the name is extinct, there are descendants in the female line. Dynely, in his Tour, gives a graphic exhibition of this district. About 100 years ago, the day coach from Ennis to Limerick divided the day's journey at Ballycar.

Kilnasulagh Parish.

Why this is so called is in "Letters" declared unknown, the name being variously spelled in the original Irish. The old church is gone, too, the site being occupied by the parish church. The parish is situated on the road between Ennis and Limerick.

Inscription on the Sacramental Cup of the parish of Kilnasulagh—

Ex dono donati O'Brien, Baronetti in vsvm ecclesiæ Killanasvlalach in comitatv Clare.

Inscription on Patten the same.

Kilmallery Parish.

Who this Mallery or Leery may have been is not stated by the authorities. Also the old church, of not many centuries ago, is nearly gone. The parish is S.W. of Newmarket. The land very rich. The Castle of Clenagh, a lofty square tower, once the residence of the McMahons, is still in being. The last McMahon, when he left it, broke down the

stairs, that none else should ever ascend them again, and use them for convenience as a resident.

Kilconry Parish.

This is situated at the very junction of the Shannon and Fergus. To it belong three islands in the Fergus: Dynish, Feenish, and Ennish-machauten. The land is of unusual fertility. The ecclesiastical remains are an old church in tolerable preservation, dimensions 55ft. 7in. by 17ft. 9in. On the island of Feenish, or Insula Sylvæ, Senanus built a church. Only an old castle now remains.

Clonluhein Parish.

This parish is situated on the R. Shannon, and is chiefly rich corcass land. It is so called as *the meadow of the Chaff or of the Lough.*

Dromline Parish.

This parish is supposed to have been so called from its situation and the character of the soil, being *The Ridge of the Flax.* The parish is situated three miles S.E. of Newmarket on the Shannon. It comprises 2,365 acres. The old church here is nearly destroyed to the foundation-stone. A large portion of this parish was the Bishop's mensal.

Ffinagh Parish,

or ffenagh. This is said by some to have got its name as "*the woody place,*" by others from a man of the name. Who this Finnagh was, or where his church stood, seems unknown, at least so it is confessed by the learned author of "Letters in Ordinance Survey."

Bonralty Parish,

alias Bonratty, also Bunratty. This is pronounced as meaning *The mouth of the Raite*—a river also called the Owengarney, which has its rise eastward beyond Broadford, and its course along the N. base of the Broadford range. The parish is six miles W. of Limerick, on the Shannon, and on the direct road to Ennis. The old church measures 66ft. by 36ft. The W. gable is still perfect, but featureless. The old graveyard contains no ancient or remarkable inscriptions. The church is probably coeval with the castle, which was erected by Mucegros in 1277. De Clare's widow forsook it after her husband fell at the bloody battle of Dysert O'Dea. Of this Castle and the sieges, details are given elsewhere. The church field is of extraordinary fertility.

Killuh Parish.

Below Clare to the Eastward.

Innisdadrom Parish.

This is *the island of the two backs or Ridges,* which is now called

Coney Island. There are here two churches, not very ancient. The name is also given as Kilderryd drom.

IN YE DEANERY OF DROMCLIFFE.

Dromcliffe Parish.

This is so called from Irish words signifying *the hill or ridge of the basket*, and just such it is to this day, with its hazel-copse, to which the scollop-cutters resort, and return with their gatherings for basket-making and thatching. Another name of the parish is *O'Gormuck*. The old church of the parish is (say) two miles from Ennis, and an antient structure, remodelled five or six centuries ago; its dimensions, 58ft. 9in. by 20ft. 10in. It has a doorway pointed on outside and semi-circular at the top on the inside. This gives an appearance of antiquity rare in churches of the same period. The tombs are all modern, viz., James Tymons, 1775; Alice Brew, 1789; John Tymons, 1789; Foster Parsons, 1789; Major Swyney, Mary Stamer, Dean Stacpoole. At 31½ft. from the church is a round tower, called Cloga Dromaclieve, built of large field stones, and, especially near the base, of truly Cyclopean appearance. The remains of the tower are about 44ft. in height. There is no patron saint to this parish.

The chief item of ecclesiastical interest besides the above will be found in the old Franciscan Church of Ennis. This is said to have been founded by an O'Brien in 1240, and repaired in 1305 by T. O'Brien, who presented many ornamental ecclesiastical appliances, and in particular a "blue painted window." (No doubt for the lovely east window, with its lofty graceful shafts.) The dimensions of this remarkable structure are: the length of chancel, from great window to square tower, 55ft.; breadth of same, 25ft. 4in. The eastern gable has five openings; two, at each outside extremity, are formed by strong stone mullions, drawn to an edge inside, while the three interior ones are formed by mullions of extremely slender dimensions, which give to the window a most pleasing appearance of lightness and grace. There is a striking specimen of the flat ornamental dovetailed arch in what appears to have been a side altar, or tomb, on the S. side; while at the opposite side is the tomb of the Creaghe family. This is an elaborate work, and represents on an enriched entablature in spirited stone carvings, some scenes of our Lord's passion; there are also the 13 Apostles. Vandals have shockingly defaced this work of native genius. The inscription runs thus:—

Creaghe arms.

(Motto) VIRTUTE ET NUMINE.

A tempore cum finibus extorres et hæreditas sua Adarensis Limiricensem juxta ad alienos injustè translata fuit.

Hic humati-sunt nepotes

O'Niel Creaghe.

1 Creaghe filia Matthei Macnamara de Crattalough, obt. 1641.

Piers Creagh, marts. ejus. et Nobilis Franciæ, obiit Castello suo Dangan, 1667.

Simon Creagh, filius eorum, obt. circiter 1700. Maria McMahon de Creagh, uxor ejus. obiit eodem tempore.

Piers Creagh, filius eorum, obt. 1743.

Uxor ejus. domina Elizabetha Matthew de Thomastoun de domo Shandaff, et soror uterina Ormondæ ducis magni, obiit 1745.

Elizabetha Creagh, alias Davoran, filia Perciin (sic) et Elizabethæ Matthew, obt. 1760.

Piers Creagh, filius primus ejusdem Piers Creagh et Elizabethæ Matthew, obt. 1779.

Catharina Quin de Adarensi, uxor prima ejus. obt. 1753.

Gertruda Maghlin, uxor secunda ejus. obt. 1757.

Lavinia Pennefather Newpark, uxor tertia ejus. obt. 1806.

Robertus Creagh, filius supradict Percii et Gertrudæ, 1842, sine prole.

Richd., filius primus Percii et Laviniæ, obt. 1836.

Uxor Ricardi, ejusdem Christina O'Callaghan, obt. 1812.

Simon Pierce Creaghe, filius junior Percii et Laviniæ Pennefather, obt. 1814.

Inside the tower, to the west or street front, the structure has been considerably renovated, and the dimensions are: from the street front, wall itself not included, 71ft. to tower arch, for which must be added 14ft. The items of interest apparent are a carved recess under the tower, with richly wrought interlaced tracery work, and corbels clearly cut, &c., also certain old inserted monumental slabs. One of these latter, that of Considines, has already been copied in the body of this work. The rest run thus :—

1. On S. wall next tower—"Quisquis eris," &c. "Ora pro anima Laurenti Hehir. Drumkharin," &c.

2. N. wall near tower—"Here lyes the body of Teige O'Kerin, of Glean, who died 26 Jany. 1685. This stone was set up by Thady Kerin, his son," &c.

3. On same wall, between windows—"Dermitrius McConsidin, hunc tumulum fieri fecit, anno. 1631." (An exquisitely carved miniature cross of the circular kind is on the left side of this slab.)

A south transept runs out 39ft. 6in., with walls say 4ft., and it is 34ft. across. The window is graceful, but damaged.

Outside to the north are the remains of the old arched kitchen, and above the library or refectory.

In the graveyard are vaults and tombs—J. Lardner, 1772; Davenports, 1761; Robt. Crowe, 1772; Ri. Burk, 1772; Margt. Green, 1797; Pat. England, 1797; T. Mahon, 1745; E. Ryan, 1774.

In 1621, the site, &c., was granted to William Dongan, secm. Erck but to Wm. Donegan, secm. to the new edition of Archdall. There had been a castle at Ennis Cluan-road, as it is pronounced, but it was burnt in the wars of the O'Briens. This was said to have been the first

building in stonework in Mar-Inse, on the western side. An old cross is alluded to in the Corporation Minutes in these words :—

"3 Oct. 1711.

"A quey to be built for the use of the burrough (40*s.* granted), near James Skerritt's quey; and *that the stones of the cross in the middle of the street* may be removed to assist the building of said quey."

This treatment of the distinctive symbol of the Christian religion, and for such a purpose, seems rather strange.

The arms of Ennis are "three galleys with sails sable," which evidently mean turf-boats. And to accommodate these the better, some work of art, doubtless reared by the piety of olden times, was wantonly sacrificed or else allowed to perish, and its very socket or pediment sunk in the river.

Another item of expenditure, of a little earlier date, exhibits none of this destructive penury :—

"61. A piew (sic) to be errected (sic) for the provost (in the parish church). We find and present that the sum of 5*l.* be equally applotted on the inhabitants of the burrough and liberties, by Mr. John Grigg (quere Gregg), John Cruce, and Mr. Fra. Kent, in order to make a good and decent piew (sic) or sate (sic), with a cannopy (sic) for the provost of the said burrough for the time being; and that Thos. Blackwell, joyner, shall make up the same, and give security, &c. And that Patrick Fitzsimons, clerk, shall be overseer thereof." The chalice bears the following inscription :—

"For Ennis Church, 1685."

Killone Parish,

although not specially enumerated, may here receive a brief notice. The parish is a small one, situate in the Barony of Islands, and due south of Drumcliffe. In 1290, Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded an Abbey here for nuns, of the rule of St. Augustin, and dedicated it to John the Baptist. Slaney O'Brien, of the royal race of Thomond, was Abbess here, and was eminent for good works. The Abbey is situated on an eminence overhanging a lake. Its dimensions are 28ft. 3in. by 88ft. There is a fine enriched diagonal moulding over the east window-opens, and a neatly mullioned window in north wall; also a fragment of an ornamental font. A transept is thrown out on the south of the main building; and a large building from this runs parallel to the main structure—doubtless the domicile. The external face of the north side of the wall is of much greater antiquity than the rest, and seems to have survived, a thing of beauty and strength.

The buildings are in general wonderfully well preserved. Here is a well called holy, frequented by numbers as a place of pilgrimage and of devotion. But these or others, in great numbers, fell into such scandalous courses of open wickedness, that the resort to it on a certain day was put a stop to by the Very Rev. Dean Kenny, P.P. of Ennis,

who also, in a very creditable spirit, put down the scandalous doings on Scattery Island, in honour of Senan and his victory over the *Piach*, or serpent, or Outlandish Beast, in which the votaries made utter beasts of themselves.

There are tombs here of several families of the locality. That of the Armstrong MacDonnell family of New Hall, runs under the chancel, all across, and is arched over. The flooring consists of monumental slabs, neatly arranged. Outside of the west wall is an enclosure of the Stacpooles of Eden Vale. Here are also the tombs of Joseph Lucas, 1763; John Daxon, the Englands, the Darcys, &c. In the chancel the "Rev. Jos. Broggy erected a monument in honour of his uncle, Rev. Darby, in 1783."

Kilmaley Parish.

This is called the Church of *Maley*. The name is still found in the district. It is four and a half miles from Ennis, west-south-west. The vicarage of this parish, until 1832, was always united with Drumcliffe Vicarage. The old church still remains the burial-place of the Keanes or O'Cahans, a family which came from the north of Ireland in the 13th century. The parish is mostly pastoral, and the land is cold and wet, being outside of the great limestone field of Clare. There are several forts or raths on the eminences, into which, doubtless, the cattle were gathered from the low swamps and out of reach of the nightly marauder. The old church is prettily situated, overhanging the Furroor River. Its south wall and gable stand. In gable is a neatly finished east window, with two opens, having circular headings and handsome exterior ornamentation. An ornamental coping, or cornice, runs along the south wall, with neat corbels at regular intervals. There was also a carefully finished and pointed porch to south doorway, the latter having a circular head, and at right-hand side the vessel for holy water. The vault of "James Burke, of Strasburg, 1781," with two others, are built on outside of south wall.

Killinaboy Parish,

or Kill(ena)boy, or Kilneboy, which Mr. J. O'Donovan interprets to mean "*The Church of Inghine or Inniwee, the daughter of Böetius.*

The parish is situated on the road from Ennis to Kilfenora, and in it are remains of the old Royal Road. It has Kilkeedy on the N., Dysert S., Ruane E., Rath and Cloney on W., and is of considerable extent and of great diversity of hill and dale, of bare rocks and rich valleys. The walls of the Church of Killenaboy, which is at the side of the road, at the base of Rougham Hill, measure 62ft. 8in. by 20ft. 3in. The chancel slopes on the outside, with buttressed extensions or antæ. There is a circular-headed doorway on S. side, 13½ft. from W. gable, 7ft. 9in. by 4ft., having the representation in relief on a carved slab of a dwarf or stunted man. Mr. Keane pronounces this a relic of Phallic worship. There are two windows on same side, 8ft. by 4ft., and on E. a window with circular head, and divided into windows by three stone mullions below and by two above that. No part is older than the 14th century,

except the W. gable, which is of the 11th, in the opinion of the author of "Letters." He also mentions a tradition which relates that Oliver Cromwell battered this church, which seems a pure fiction.

There are many tombs within this church, some of which are rich and elaborate.

1. On the W. wall, between entrance door and angle, inside, is the following :—

"Loughlen Reagh
O'Hehirs Tombe, F
inished by his son
Andrew O'Heher
Inn. 1711."

2. On S. wall, in a circular-headed and pannelled niche, is the O'Flanagan monument. At the top are the letters—

I. N. R. I.
1644.

Under this is a crucifixion, in relief, with the two Marys on either side. Then comes the following—

"Under these carved marbel stones
lieth Connor O'Flanagain's body and bones,
which monument was made
by Anabel his wife.
Orate pro salute Deo."

3. Further towards the E. gable, on the S. wall, is the O'Neillan tomb. Overhead is a coat of arms and a stone with inscriptions much obliterated by incrustations; this only can be deciphered, and not certainly—

"The Achievements of Fonella Ne."

Underneath the following is plain enough—

"Dermod O'Neillan and Teige O'Neillan his Brother, for them and their Heirs made this Sepulchre, 1645."

4. A circular low archway of cut-stone, on the N. wall, at the ground near the E. gable, is, according to tradition, the entrance to the family vault of the great old family of O'Quin, from which the lovely lake in the bosom of the valley gets its name. Near this is cast a slab with the following—

"Here lies the body of Joseph Leonard,
who departed this life 2 Janry, 1773."

5. There is also a richly pointed and recessed niche, the oldest in the church, but without inscription.

6. Near this, but to the westward, is a monumental stone to—

"Melaghlin O'Hehir and More Hogan, his wife."

7. Adjacent to the N. wall, about the centre, and nearly opposite the O'Flanagan tomb, is the following interesting modern inscription--

"Underneath, in the tomb of his fathers, the body of the Rev. Patrick Hare, A.M., Rector of the Union of Kilbrogan and Prebendary

in the Dio. of Cashel, and for many years V. G. of said Dio., died at the city of Cashel, 27th day of June, 1816, in the 85th year of his age."

This was the father of Dr. Charles Hare. S.F.T.C.D.

8. Further on, same side, is an inserted slab with hand and dagger overhead—

"This is of the O'Briens of Cross,"

and underneath—

"This monument was erected to M. O'Brien in affectionate memory of his father, who departed this life 25th June, 1794."

On the outside of the S. wall, at the corner near chancel, is an inserted slab—

"Erected to the Rev. Patrick De Burgo, Anno Di. 1764, orate precor."

At the western side of the crowded graveyard is a flag slab with a curious symbolical emblem for the parish clerk, bearing the appearance of a stirrup and iron, but really exhibiting a bell attached to a strap with which he rang the people to prayers, perambulating the parish.

There is the stump of a round tower to the N. side of the church, only 12ft. in height.

The Cross of Killeneboy is represented by Mr. Dutton and Mr. Keane as a small stone shaped something like the top of a crutch, with two faces of men and with hands joined carved; and all this is to set on permanent record the reconciliation of the two great families of O'Brien and Quin after some fierce feud. On the other hand, the author of "Letters" scoffs at all this in unmeasured terms of severity.

The facts are these, maintains this high authority: near the gate into Lemaneigh is a large stone, which has a socket cut in it, and into this fits a little cross, having three raised welts across at the top and descending about 4in. at each side. This was a landmark of the termon of Inniwee, and is one of the three which marked its limits. This marked her churchlands on the S. and W., together with another which stood near the house of Elm Vale, still called Teige-na-Croise, and the third stood about ¼ mile to the E., at a place still called Crossard, or the Height of the Cross. The last of these crosses left standing was that outside the gate mentioned above. The writer visited and inspected it some years ago. But on a recent visit he could find no traces of it. However the person who removed it is not unknown, and if he sets up to be an antiquarian and a gentleman, he had better have it lifted back as quietly as he lifted it away. Under the Mosaic law a very heavy and just penalty was inflicted on him "who removed his neighbour's landmark."

The populous village of Killeneboy once stood near the old church. There is a very large and fine cahir, 36 yards in diameter near the cross, walls 7 feet high, with abattis, and 8 feet thick at top. There is a subterranean chamber.

A word may be added of Coon, or Comhad, Church. The name is said

to mean "*of equal height*;" and this alludes to a certain stone now fixed in a hedgerow its ancient situation, and of its being of equal height with T. O'Brien. The church contains, among other tombstones, one with the following inscription:—

"Here lyes the bodies
of Mary and Slaney ny Brien,
daughters to Conor and Mary Brien,
alias Mahon, of Lemineigh.
Anno Domini 1651."

There are some rich engraved coats of arms behind the east window with inscriptions and mottoes, all tossed about in wild confusion. "Sic transit gloria."

Of the castles, courtyards, royal roads, cromlechs, wells, and traditions, particularly that of the fair lady who appeared out of the lake to Conor O'Quin, also of the doings of Loon-Mac-Leomhtha, and of the pail-filling powers of his wondrous cow from Sleive na glaise, the romantic and poetical writers have doubtless given abundant particulars.

Rath,

a parish called from a *fort* or mound, is situated to the north-west of Ennis, at a distance of some five miles. The old church stands on an eminence to the east of a small lake. There is a remarkable carving on the jamb of the window, which, like that over the door at Kilnaboy, is considered an indication of Phallic worship continuing down to modern times. Others from this argue an extreme antiquity and pagan origin.

Dysert,

so called from some hermit establishing himself on a lonely or *deserted spot* in this beautiful locality. The parish was also called in full Dysert-O'Dea, or Dysert-Tola. It is bounded on north by Killenaboy, on south by Templemaley, on the east by Ruan, and on the west by Rath.

The church of Dysert is a remarkably fine specimen of the Romanesque architecture, and is a long building, at different periods put together, and consisting of chancel and nave, divided by a central arch. The nave is 50ft. 9in. by 24ft., and for a part by 26ft. wide. The chancel is 25ft. by 20ft. 9in., and an evident afterwork. The chancel arch is pointed, and springs from square piers. There is a rude and double aumbrey in E. wall. A neat string-course, or cornice, is here, as at Kilmaley, &c. In the north wall is the unusual feature of a window, which is neatly ornamented in the crown; doubtless it had to be broken

out in consequence of the darkness. In the nave, at north side, is the following inscription on a slab :—

" This thombe was erected by Michael O'Dea,
son of Conor Crone O'Dea,
the second day of May, in the year of our Lord
1684,
wherein was interred
Joan Dea, alias Butler,
wife of the said Mich-
ael O'Dea, the eleventh of Nov.
following, &c."

But the doorway is the great glory and beauty of this structure. Its dimensions are 6ft. 10in. by 3ft. 2in., and is of four orders; the outer order is enriched by a row of human heads, intermixed with which are animal heads, which latter hold portions of a roll-moulding in their mouths, like that of Clonfert doorway. This roll is not continuous in the other heads. There are curious interlaced patterns on the jambs, as well as incised chevrons. Lord Dunraven was inclined to conclude from the difference in the heads, and from the appearance of two styles of head in the same row, that the door was an insertion, and even, perhaps, taken from an older church, and made up of two doors. Mr. M. Keane also considers this door an unskilful resetting, as the base stones of the second outer arch are misplaced. But however this may be, the door is even in its present decayed and weather-worn condition a very pleasing specimen of elaborate ecclesiastical ornamentation, and ev n, in some respects, superior to the doorway in Killaloe Cathedral, and very similar to the ornate door in Inchaguila, as figured by Mr. Brash, p. 56.

The round tower is remarkable, being not, as usual with such towers, tapering gradually towards the summit, but just like a telescope drawn out, diminishing by steps to the narrow extremity, and these steps correspond with the successive stories within. In this respect this tower resembles Ardmore and Killossy, although these two latter-named have moulded string-courses adorning the offsets.

As to the cross of Dysert, the following is submitted. It stands on the summit of a rise in the field between Dysert Lodge and the farm-house. It measures 14ft. 6in. in height. The head of the figure, representing the Crucifixion, is a separate and inserted stone, once square, but now nearly rounded from being used as a rolling stone by boys in their sports down the slope. This part of the structure was in equal demand by old women, who held it to their jaw as a cure of toothache. It is now inserted into its proper place.

On a large pannelled section of the lower part of the shaft appears a Bishop in full pontificals, mitre, casula, albe, and bachal. Pannelling, with interlacings and other ornaments, fill the space on the reverse side, not without conventional grotesque animals; indeed full ornamentation

occupies every portion of this elaborate erection. An inscription appears on the east side of the base, to this effect:—"This cross was newly repayred by Michael O'Dea, son of Connor Crone O'Dea, in the year 1683." Mr. Brash remarks that, "To the disgrace of the clergy and gentry of all denominations in the neighbourhood, that venerable and interesting monument was lying prostrate on the roadside when I visited it in 1855, and had been so for a number of years. *I have reason to believe* (he adds) *that it is still in the same state.*" This is his remark in "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," at p. 59, published in 1875. But that this usually accurate and painstaking writer must have been misinformed will appear clear to anyone who reads the following, which was engraved four years previously to this. On the south face of the base is the following plain statement, "Re-erected by Francis Hutchinson Synge, of Dysart, fourth son of the late Sir Edward Synge, Bart., and Mary Helena, his wife, in the year 1871." So the cross is standing instead of "lying," and the censure of the clergy and gentry does not apply through the good taste and public spirit of that most worthy Christian gentleman, Mr. F. H. Synge. But, alas, Mr. Synge is deceased, mourned by many, by none more than by the writer, who had the happiness of his intimate friendship. The old Castle is an interesting relic, and the entire locality, what between the Church and the Cross, the Castle and Lake, those emerald hills and the fertile valley, weave the spell of a potent charm over every visitor of taste.

It must not be omitted that the name Tola, associated with Dysert, has come from "Tola, Bishop of Disert, in the upper part of Dal Cais, in Thomond. He was of the race of Corlomac, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Ollom."

Dr. Lanigan is quoted by Lord Dunraven's editor on the subject of Tola. But the good Dr., on the principle of splitting the difference "between Meath and Munster," places Dysert Tola in Garry Castle Barony and King's County. And yet he had just written that, "according to every other authority" but the Calendar of Cashel, it was in Upper Dalcassia, that is, the Northern part of Munster. He adds, "Tola died Bishop of Clonard, in 734, 30th March" (see "Eccles. History of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 171, and note 107).

Kilnemona Parish.

This would seem so called as being "*The Church of the Bog*," and bog does here abound. It is situated four miles to the W. of Ennis, on the Ennistymon road. Part of the old church is in good preservation. There are one or two old inscribed slabs of the Hogans.

Kilkeedy Parish.

The Church of Keedy. The parish is situated on the confines of Clare and Galway, in the direction of Gort, and being in the great flat between the Galway and Burren mountain ranges, like a cup it receives the outflow from this extensive rainshed. The parish is conse-

quently dotted with lakes in every direction. The old Church of Kilkeedy is noticeable for having an addition thrown out on the north side, which has an upper story, with corbels for floor joists, also fire-places, &c., and seems clearly to have been intended as the place of residence of the priest. This seems in accordance with the case alluded to by Dr. Petrie. The only exception to the simple forms already described is the occasional presence of small apartment on one side of the chancel, to serve the purpose of a sacristy." There is monumental slab, with letters in alto-relievo, plainly though rudely cut, and the inscription is to the following effect :—

"1706.

" This tumbe is made by Fra Conmullen, for him and his family, in his ancestors chaple, to whom God be merciful."

Some interesting castles are in this parish, in particular, Derryowen, &c.

IN CORCOVASKIN R. DEANERY.

This rural deanery formed the cantred which comprises the baronies of Clonderla, Moyarta, and Ibricken. It is said to have got the name, not from Cork—as Ledwich, to the utter disgust of J. O'Donovan, dreamed—but from a colony *of the "race of Baschin"* from the Basque Provinces in Spain.

The first parish is

Clondagad.

Any who please may believe the tradition or romance that it was so called from two priests competing in Thaumaturgic arts, with *two gads*, or green withes, as their instruments of rival miracle working. After a long trial of skill, Fidane lost by his adversary swimming his stick right up against the stream (not so difficult after all, if the tide was flowing) and left the parish to his ingenious rival. It is bounded on N. by Killone, on S. by Kilchrist, on E. by the Fergus River, and W. by Kilmihill. The old church is gone without a trace. In connexion with the modern church is the following inscription :—

" Within this burying-place lyes interred the body of George Ross, Esq., who was the founder thereof. He died the 19th May, 1700, in 79 year of his age. This monument was erected the same year by the order of his kindsman Mr. Robert Harrison."

Another inscription runs thus :—

" Stand, passenger, gaze and see,
Such as I am so shalt thou be;
Who died to live, so live to die.
Depart, muse on eternity.

Mr. Robt. Smith departed this life 17 Feb., 1676."

KILCHRIST.

The name is obvious, and is "an evident proof against the antiquity of the church, as it is now pretty well understood that the ancient Irish did not dedicate their churches to any but saints of their country and people." (*Letters.*) It is situated S. of Clondagad along the Fergus. The ruins of the old church remain in the burial ground.

KILLIDYSERT,

alias Dysert-Marhuly.

This is situated along the western shore of the Fergus, at its point of disembogueing into the Shannon, just opposite Rinanna point. The ruins of the old church still remain in the burial ground near the shore. It was a small monastery, with a square tower let into the west wall, but not filling it up across. It was sloped at the ground for strength. It had several stories, with window-opens and corbels for flooring, but no sign of a chimney. In the south wall of the church, a few feet from an arched opening over a piscina, is a curious doorway, with sloping jambs and of small dimensions, being also on a lower level than the window adjacent. Such an entrance is also found in Killone Abbey. The E. window is arched with a neatly constructed circular arch. On Canon Island is an old abbey, having part of a Gothic inscription—"Hic jacet Magister Cornelius."

KILRUSH PARISH

runs along the N. shore of the Shannon, and is bounded also by Kilmacduane, Killymuir, and Kilfiera. An authority maintains that the name signifies—"*The church of the wood or of the point.*"

The chief interest attaches to the ruins and remains of the churches of Senanus. These are situated partly in the townland of Moylough, or Mullagha, some 4 miles to the E. of Kilrush. Here are two old buildings associated with the memory of Senanus, and are held by local tradition to mark the spot on which he was born, also began his ministry. The buildings stand on a flattened ridge of land, with a lake on one side and a bog on the other, and the site commands a fine view of the estuary of the Shannon. The smaller of these buildings is an oratory, and measures about 12ft. 6in. in the clear by 6ft. 9in. across; and it was just equal in size to Benen's oratory in Aran Island. There is a small window in the E. gable. The larger building is all fallen, except the W. gable and some of the S. wall. To the W. of this gable, and sunk in the ground where it fell, is the top-stone, socketted for a cross. Fragments of this are also at hand, and it must have been of the foliated kind.

But the chief remains of Senanus are on Scattery Island, and consist of the following, according to Mr. M. Keane (T. and T. Ancient Ireland, pp. 377):—

Here is a fine round tower, more than 100ft. in height, and apparently perfect to the conical top. (This is the 5th such tower in Clare standing in whole or in part—1st, Drumcliffe; 2nd, Killenaboy; 3rd, Dysert;

4th, Inniscaltra. R. towers are said to have existed in Tomgraney, also in Killaloe, but no traces remain.) It has undergone such frequent and extensive repairs that it has lost much of its original character. The ancient doorway is gone, and the place which it occupied, 26ft. from the ground, was built up with good masonry about 12 years since. Several stones of the ancient doorway seem to have been used in the construction of a modern doorway, opened on the ground-level, before the dissolution of the monastery.

2. The most interesting object on the island is the W. wall of the St. Senan's Church, within a dozen yards of the R. tower. This wall, to the height of 10ft., is a fine specimen of Cyclopean architecture, with the characteristic feature of buttresses, used when perfect to support a stone roof, and between these buttresses is a very fine Cyclopean doorway (like that at Rattas, in Kerry), having sloping jambs and a massive lintel. We can recognise traces of the original masonry in this ruin, but the upper courses of the walls are all of early Christian workmanship, with fragments of the ancient stone-cutting and sculpture introduced.

3. In a small church, about 100 yards to the W. of the tower, is an ancient window of wide splay—a resetting. All the other buildings on the island (which are said to have been seven churches) are early Christian structures.

So far Mr. Keane. The Rev. John Graham, curate of Kilrush, in Mason's Parochial Survey, vol. 2, p. 441, gives the following information :—

"The remains of the monument of Senanus, which was defaced by the Danes in 816, are still to be seen in Scattery Island, with the ruins of eleven churches and several cells. In the stone that closes the top of the altar window of the cathedral church is the head of the Saint, with his mitre, boldly executed and but little defaced."

The tower is a conspicuous object to mariners working up the Shannon.

In the Island was set up in modern times, by some absurd persons (stonemasons, by name Thomas, James, and Pat. Cusack), a stone with a clumsy representation of an angel, also of St. Senanus, together with certain rhymes about going the rounds of penance, and the high honour the Saint earned by "casting the amphibious beast out of the blessed Island." The stone now lies forgotten somewhere in Kilkee. Also it is to be noted that at the west end of the town was a cairn called Gluin Shenan, or Senan's Knee, where he kneeled while banishing the serpent. All the passers by used to bow in adoration at the cairn; but Dean Kenny, now of Ennis, while in Kilrush as P.P. in 1827, got men to cast this into the adjacent strand; also he put a stop to the pilgrimages in Scattery as immoral.

Of Senanus now a brief notice must suffice. While Mr. M. Keane considers Senanus nothing else than "Shanaun, the ancient Ana, the mother of the gods (Irish), the River Shannon" (p. 46), also that there were "twenty-five Senans, the ancient Ana"; others, again, of no small note in the learned world, consider that there was a Senan connected with ecclesiastical working at Inniscattery, and that he was not a mythical

but a real man, who played his part in actual life, even though what he did is mixed up with and overlaid by the romantic and fabulous, as in many other cases of men whose lives and actions fell into the hands of the mediæval hagiologists. And further, a long list remains, from the 6th century downwards, of his successors as abbots or bishops who presided over the ecclesiastical establishments which he set up. The Editor of Archdall's "Monasticon" (new edition) quotes a passage which, *if reliable*, settles this question, not only of Senan's actual existence and identity, but also goes far to settle the round-tower controversy. We give it as we find it translated:—

"Senan built seven churches or religious houses in *Innis-Cathaigh*. Senan used to have sixty friars in one church, and thirty priests together with seven bishops in another church in Innis-Cathaigh. Senan, too, built a clogas (belfry) in Innis-Cathaigh, which was 115ft. in height, so that when a bell was placed in it, near to its top, the sound of the bell used to be heard over all *Corchabhaisgin*, so that sacrifice used to be made in every church in Corchabhaisgin at the same time that Senan and his followers were engaged in offering it in Innis-Cathaigh." (If this passage is *not reliable*, Irish scholars who may take up the Pagan theory in the round-tower controversy ought to make such appear manifest by demolishing it.)

The serpent and the lady we must leave to Colgan, Moore, and other speculators and spinners of fine-drawn romances, also to all others whom it may concern, to say—

"Redi iterum ad sæculum
Ne sis nobis in Scandalum
Et si es casta pectore
Sexum habes in corpore."

Of Senan's bell we note that it was in great esteem as a sacred swearing-piece. Indeed, an oath on it was regarded as of far more obligation than if taken on the Holy Evangelists. It was accordingly in frequent requisition in the usually abounding cases of cattle stealing, assault, and abduction. The bell is now with Mr M. Keane. It was called first Clog-na-neal, or the Bell of the Clouds, but recently has gone by the name of Clog-an-oir, or the Bell of Gold, although this metal—with which it had been adorned, as well as with precious stones—disappeared.

This beautiful relic of old times has been faithfully depicted in a beautiful illustration to be found in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy Antiquities plate. At end of Appendix see more.

Lord Thomond desired the Island and buildings in order to set up a fishing village, but Queen Elizabeth would not, preferring rather to grant it to the Corporation of Limerick. Just before the Corporation Reform Bill came into action it was leased. A member of the Keane, or Cahane, family, which had been in old times the managers of the see or ecclesiastical property of Inniscattery, is now the owner of the Island.

There is a Senan's well and stone. Many are called Synon after him.

The possessions of this See were considerable. By inquisition taken in 1604, Shinan McGurygine, formerly Bishop of Iniskaha, or Iniscathay, in County Clare, was found seized as of fee of sixteen qrs. of land, of which three lay in Killylline, in Clanderla Bar, three in Boallamtellinge. Four qrs. were called Kilrusheene, a qr. Killygillaghe and Moyhassey, and two qrs. were called Killcorridan. Situate in Moyfortie Barony, which sixteen qrs. of land were in the Irish language, known by the name of "*Tarremon Shinon*," or the lands granted in free gift by the aforesaid Shinan, to hold to the Church to pious uses, &c., &c. Also under same inquest, Maurice, Bishop of Killaloe, with assent of his Dean and Chapter, did make several leases, viz., 10th July, 1595, three qrs. of Beallatallinge to John Gegynn, on last of March, 1595; three qrs., called Killtelan, to T. McGillehanna, for 101 years, the said Thady being at the time Prior of Inniskaha. The said Bishop also at same time granted to Nicholas Cahan and his heirs the four qrs. of Kilrushe, which Nicholas and his ancestors were commonly called "Gorubhne de Tearymon Shynan," that is, "the overseer or keeper of Sinanus Church lands." This inquest also finds that "Mack-ny-marroe," of Danymid, gent., gave one qr. of land, called Caherncottine, in County Clare, to the Church of Tulloe-ny-aspill, in said County, for mass and service, which, being in mortmain, was forfeited. (Erck's Irish Ecclesiastical Register, 1830, p. 209.)

Kilfeddain.

This is situated to the S.W. of Kildysert. The parish is not so called from a Saint Feddan, a fiction clumsily coined to explain a fact, but from being the Church of the *streamlet*, which the locality exhibits still. The old church is in good preservation, but not of interest to the antiquarian or architect.

To the S. of church is Tober Shenain, a well "good for sore eyes."

Killofin.

This parish is on the N. shore of the Shannon, situated between Clonderla Bay on the W., and Kalladysert on W., is named after the family of *Finn*.

There are some remains of the old parish church. The burial-ground is still used; also at Kilkerin are the ruins of an old church, "of great antiquity." Culm is found in this district.

Kilmurry, Clonderla.

There are two other Kilmurrys or *Churches* of *Mary*. This parish is situated on the N.W. shore of the Bay of Clonderla, and on the Shannon. There are no ancient ecclesiastical ruins. There is an acre of old glebe near the modern church. In Clonderla demesne are the remains of Sir T. McMahon's Castle, on an eminence overlooking the long inlet of water.

Killamuir Parish.

This parish is beautifully situated along the Shannon, and further to the West, in the direction of Kilrush. It is so called as "The Church of the Virgin St. Emma." But hagiology has recorded, or invented nothing more of her accessible. The church tells the tale of its own age. The oldest of it belongs to the 9th century. It was contemplated within the present century to remove the curious old east window, and set it up in Kilrush. The enterprise was abandoned. The churchyard is now famous for the burial-place of Ellen Hanly, a beautiful poor girl, drowned in the Shannon, whose murder Mr. Gerald Griffin has made the basis of the romance called the Collegians, which has also been dramatized as Colleen Bawn, by Mr. D. Bourcicault, of Ennis parentage. Mr. Reeves erected the Memorial Cross.

Kilmurry, Ibrickane Parish.

This parish is situated along the shore of the Atlantic, having Kilfarboy on the N., with Killard and Kilmacduane on the S. The church stands still, and is in good repair, being built of the flat flagstones of the district. It is near Tromeroe Castle. The sea-going population here is poor, and must have been in olden times very simple and ignorant, unless far wiser than the present inhabitants, who pay for *masses* for mackarel, which are still celebrated on the shore, and not always with the success anticipated, as nothing but dog-fishes are netted too often. But then, there are in different places, such melancholy exhibitions as masses for sick cattle, unthrifty swine, slow churnings, and other such like, celebrated by those who thus make a trifle out of the gross superstition of their blinded neighbours. These things surely are done "on the sly," and cannot be supposed known to the authorities ecclesiastical.

Kilmacduane Parish.

This is so called as "the Church of the son of Dubham." Some remains of the old ruins still linger. The parish is to the S. of Kilmurry, to E. of Killard, to W. of Kilmihil. This whole region is wild and wet.

Kilfierah.

This parish is situated on a promontory, which runs westward into the Atlantic, and has on the one side Kilballyowen, on the other Kilrush, and to the north, Killard.

The name Kilkee, formerly spelt Kilkei, signifies "the Church of Caeidhe." The size of the parish is 8,591 acres, statute measure. The old church was used for purposes of public worship, until some forty years ago, having been considerably repaired. It is a poor, plain building. The remains of a church belonging to some religious sisterhood are to be found in Killnacaillech, the church of the woman or nun, which is situated on the W. side of Poolnashery Bay.

The old Castle of Kilkei is not quite down; it belonged to the Sweenys, who were dependants of Sir T. O'Brien, of Carrigaholt.

The noble cliffs and the tossing waves along this coast are too well known to need special notice. The island of the starving Bishop is to the left of Kilkee Bay, near what is called Lookout Cliff. Of this we have given a notice in the body of this work at p. 2.

Kilballyhone.

This is the Church of Owen or John. The parish runs to Loop Head, *i.e.*, where Cuchullin took his wondrous leap in trying to escape the pursuit of an importunate lady. She leaped after him, but failed in return. Her blood dyed the waves to Hag's Head. Her name was *Mal*, hence the designation of *Mal*bay. All this for those who listen to such stories sitting on a lofty promontory in the sun, or sheltered from the storm ensconced in some deep recess, while the storm howls and the rollers fall with thundering blows on the cliffs. The Church of Kilballyowen is in a wonderfully perfect state. "Not a cut stone in the whole building," says the author of "Letters." The east window admits but a narrow opening, and the rest are but spike holes. Three courses of hewn stones project over, one over another, round about the side walls, and are supported on the inside by 27 projecting stones firmly fastened in the wall. This accounts for the perfect state of the building. The arch of the door is Gothic. There are remains of a baptismal font here. On the shaft is a human figure, bare-headed, with staff or crozier; also a tree with branches, doubtless to show of good fruits in the baptized. The church measures 76ft. 6in. by 21ft. There is another church called "Of the nine Saints. Their graves are shown. Ross is near this, and a wonderful place it is, with its natural bridges.

Mr. M. Keane pronounces Ross to be Rossbenchoir, of which Archdall in "Monasticon" states that "Rossbenchoir (is) near the Western Ocean. St. Cocca, nurse to St. Kieran, was Abbess of the Nunnery here, which is now wholly unknown." In a note to new edition, a quotation from Annals of Innisfallen sets forth that "A.D. 500, the Monastery of Rossbean-choir was founded in County Clare by St. Conchad." Mr. Graham notes the church as 30ft. by 15ft., with E. wall down, rebuilt as well as altar with loose stones, there is also "a graven image of limestone, which is on the altar." On the bleak crown of the cliff are piled in wild confusion several huge stones, said to have been heaved from below by the tremendous fury of the Atlantic during the earthquake which destroyed Lisbon in 1759.

Kilardah,

or Killard, means the Church of the Height or Hill. It is situated to the N.W. of Kilrush, on the Kilkee and Miltown road. It contains 8,824 acres. It was proposed in the last century to make Dunbeg a harbour of refuge, also to cut a ship canal across the bog to Kilrush. The land about here is mostly very wet, and the sea outside extremely wild. There are no ecclesiastical monuments. The watch-tower on Baltard (the gap or mouth of the hill) is modern, dating from the French

invasions threatened in the last century. The Tower or Castle of Dunbeg is a strong square building.

Kilfarboy.

This parish is said to get its name from *Kil*, a church, *far*, a man, and *buidhe*, yellow, in consequence of the number of dark-skinned Spaniards or others thrown up by the sea and buried here. Another account however is, that it gets its old name from St. Fobrick, who founded a monastery here in 741, of which Cormac was Bishop. But the monastery has disappeared and no traces of it can be found. So that anyone may please himself in pronouncing all this about Fobric a mere fabrication or not. But the parish is there, comprising some 12,000 acres of land. Also the church of Kilfarboy, situated to the N.N.E. of the town of Miltown Malbay, by the side of a pleasant prattling brook. Its dimensions are pronounced to be 65ft. 9in. by 17ft., walls good, except western gable, and made of the flat flag of the district. The monuments and inscriptions are mostly modern, of the O'Gormans, Taltys, &c., &c.

In this parish, on Mount Callan Hill, close to the road at the right, on the Miltown side of "*The Hand*," is the celebrated Ogham Stone. The writer in Lewis T. Dictionary, article Kilfarboy, calls it "a very large and remarkable sepulchral stone of great antiquity, which was discovered about 1784. It bears an inscription in the ancient Ogham character, having the peculiarity of being read in five different ways, to the memory of the Chief Conan, whose death is alluded to in one of the legends of the 8th century (ascribed to Ossian) as having taken place in the year before the battle of Gabhra, which was fought in 296. From the hard nature of the stone the inscription when discovered was perfectly legible." But then on the other hand Mr. E. O'Curry and Mr. John O'Donovan, renowned Irish scholars, have fiercely pronounced all this carving as not a discovery but a forgery and a piece of sham archaic perpetrated impudently and wickedly (as though a pot-lid was made out to be a glorious old shield) by a Mr. Comyn, who lived in the district, knew Irish well, and wrote fictions too in that tongue, on local affairs, and when he died had all his papers burned. However, Dr. S. Ferguson, an Antiquary, has expended rare labour and deep ingenuity in vindicating the antiquity of the inscription, and his paper published in proceedings of R. I. Academy will amply repay careful perusal. From all the writer could learn, this Mr. Comyn was not the wild scamp supposed, but was remarkable for his sobriety, business capacity, hospitality, also for paying his debts. (See p. 363.) The inscription runs:—

"UNDER THIS STONE IS LAID CONAN THE FIERCE AND TURBULENT."

(See more at end of Appendix.)

Moeffarta,

or Moyfarta, or Moy-ferta, or Moyarta, signifies "*The plain of the Grave.*" It forms part of the peninsula bounded by the Atlantic on one side, and by the Shannon on the other, and comprises 7967 acres. The

church is gone to ruin, indeed gone to the grave—the greater part of the walls having been so applied. The place was once a great burial-place for the McMahons, O'Cahans, and O'Honeens, &c. (The writer has read a curious collection of letters from an Admiral O'Honeen in the French Imperial Navy, which, with such other matter, may yet see the light.) The celebrated name of "Conti" is said by Mr. Graham to have been found inscribed on several tombstones in this burying-place. In this parish is the famous old Castle of Carrigaholt, so called as "The Rock of the Fleet," or, according to others, "The Rock of the Ulster Man." This was the head-quarters of the renowned family of McMahons. In this parish, on a projecting spur, is the storm-beaten Castle of Dunlickey.

Kilmihill.

This parish is so called as having been dedicated to *Michael the Archangel*, by Senanus, as an acknowledgment of the help which this high potentate of the heavenly host vouchsafed in the troublesome affair of expelling the Piach, or Cathach, or serpent-monster, from InnisCattery. The writer of "Letters" does not like all this too well, and grows indignant at this presumption of the Saint, whom he pronounces "a feeble hermit possessed of all the human frailties (what, *all ?*), and who was as crazy and vindictive as he was austere and pious, though indeed a great and good man for the little and bad times he lived in." The parish is situated with Kilfarboy on north, Kilmurry on south, Kildysert on east, and Kilmacduane on west. It contains 8,089 acres applotted. It is, for the most part, an extremely wild and boggy district. The ruins of the old church remain.

The ecclesiastical topography of Thomond having now been considered, it is but right to allude to the fact that, as Kilfenora Diocese had not been taken into union with Killaloe until the middle of the eighteenth century, all the very interesting and curious items connected with so many buildings of extreme antiquity here abounding had, of necessity, to be left out of this volume, which otherwise would have been enlarged beyond due bounds.

THE RURAL DEANERY OF ORMOND,

or East Munster, extends in its present limits from the Shannon eastward. The first parish is

Nenagh, alias Enagh,

which is so called from *The Fair or Fair-town* of Ormond. "*The Aenach*, or fair, was an assembly of the whole people of a *Tuath*, or province, always held at the place of the burial of kings and nobles. An assembly was called to celebrate the funeral rites, funeral games, and anniversary commemorations."—So Mr. E. O'Carry, M. & C. A. Irish. (Vol. i., Introduction 326.)

The parish is bounded on north by Knigh, south by Lisbunny, east by Ballymackie, west by Monsea. Of the old church not a trace remains. At the rear of the barrack, foundations of an old building were struck upon, the old Franciscan Friary walls are 20ft. in height and 3ft. 4in. in thickness. Near the north-east corner are fragments of a stone, with figure of a warrior in armour.—So Archdall.

Smith in MSS. mentions "a graceful Abbey founded by the O'Butlers." It is a wonder if any building, secular or sacred, has survived the fury of O'Carroll, or O'Carvil, "who burned Aonach, both monastery and town, from the fortress outward." (A. 4 M. 1548.) And in Carew MSS., Book of Howth, p. 165 :—In 1347 "the town of Nenagh, and all the country thereabouts, was burned by Irishmen on St. Stephen's day."

Of the Butlers, Botelers, or Pincerna Regis, a word or two from Lynch, on Feudal Dignities, may be added. This high office was conferred upon Theobald Walter soon after 1170, by King Henry II.; the King hoping to "redeem his credit in the world, after the murder of Thomas Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury, by preferring his relations to wealth and honour; and this family of Le Boteler were nearly related to the Archbishop, being descended from his sister."—Camden apud Lynch, p. 60.

Thomas, the seventh earl, dying without issue male, his honours and estates in England were inherited by his two daughters, Anne and Margaret; through the latter of whom, who was grandmother of Anna Boleyn and great-grandmother of the Princess Elizabeth, he became progenitor of the most renowned and illustrious Queen that ever enjoyed the crown of England. The great Duke of Ormond, in his confirmation, in all his ancient paternal properties, by several patents and statutes, is styled "James, Duke, Marquis, and Earl, of Ormonde and Ossory, Viscount Thurles, Lord Baron of Arklow, *Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of Tipperary.* (This will explain an incident mentioned in the text.)

Baron Butler, of Lanthony, and Earl of Brecknock in Wales, and as it is elegantly, but truly expressed, "Comes ex Comitibus prædictæ Ormandiæ, percirciter quater-centum annos semper intactæ fidei semper aut bello aut pace conspicuus."

Nenagh Castle, or Round, is a striking object. The erection of it is attributed to King John, and it was at first the head-quarters of the Butlers. Its external circumference is about 166ft. It much resembles Inchiquin Castle in County Cork. South of the round tower are ruins of a large rectangular building, 60ft. by 28ft. 9in. In *Dublin Penny Journal,* March 16, 1833, appear some curious particulars of Nenagh. The Round held out against Ginkell and 1500 men for twenty-four hours.

fish There was an Hospital of Augustinian Canons, founded about 1200; grai a Franciscan Friary in the reign of Henry III., one of the richest in Refo ingdom.

Cah Tyone Abbey, or St. John's House. This is in ruins, and ecc situated about half a mile south-east of Nenagh. The

architecture is of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and rather rude—

	ft.	in.
The length of choir	59	7
Breadth	27	10
Side walls	18	0 high
„	3	8 thick

This monastery had a vast number of rectories swallowed up, which the Grace family gained from Queen Elizabeth.

Of the old church plate there are four silver articles. On a Patena is inscribed "Parish of Nenagh; bought in the year 1788; cost 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*" On a very old silver Patena is no inscription. On a flagon is an inscription "Nenagh Church, 1820." On a silver chalice, inscription "Purchased for Nenagh Church by R. Minnett, at cost of parish 1699." Mr. J. J. Poë has recently presented church plate.

Lisbunny.

The name is pronounced not of ecclesiastical origin, but derived from a townland on which the original church stood, "*arx Buinnœ mulieris insignis.*" The parish is situated in N. part of Barony of U. Ormond, bounded on N.W. by Nenagh, on E. by Ballymackey and Kilruane, on S. by Kilkeery, on W. by Ballynaclough. The old church is much dilapidated. In this parish are the Castles of Lisbunny and that of Ballintotty. The latter is square, with angles slightly softened off.

Kilkeery, or Kilkeary,

Parish is situated near centre of Upper Ormond, bounded on N. by Lisbunny, Ballymackey, and Toom, on S. by Latera and Kilnaneave, on East by Anameidal, and on W. by Ballynaclough. The old church is much damaged, and quite overspread with ivy. The part remaining was built of large limestone rocks, in semi-Cyclopean style. There is scarcely one small stone in the walls—the best sign of antiquity. Wm. Carrol's tombstone is at the E. end. He was of Ballygrenode, gentleman, and died 19th Feb., 1706.

Ballinaclohy,

Or Ballynaclough.

This name signifies "*The town of the stone,*" *i.e.*, stone-house or castle. It contains 3,701 s. acres. It is situated in Upper Ormond, is bounded on N. and E. by Lisbunny and Kilkeery, on S. and W. by Dolla, Nenagh, and Kilnaneave. The old church is situated on level ground, on town land of same name. It is divided into nave and choir, the former 58ft. by 26ft., the latter 23ft. by 20ft. The choir arch is semi-circular. In nave is a tombstone with inscription in raised letters—

"Here lyes the body of Samuel Bindon,
Son of David Bindon, who died in
the year of our Lord, 1611."

Can this be the family afterwards appearing in Ennis Cloney and Aughanis?

KILLANDUFF.

Can this be Kilnaneave, situated in U. Ormond, containing 4,594 stat. a., bounded on N. by Ballynaclough and Kilkeery, on E. by part of Annameadle and Templederry, on S. by the same, and on W. by Dolla. The name signifies "The Church of the Saints," equal to "All Saints Church." The church is gone to utter ruin, graveyard is large, and much used.

DOLLA, OR DALLA.

Dean Reeves, a first-rate Irish authority, seems to consider this name rather obscure, and as conjectural derivations (being deceptive and a literary idolatry) are worse than useless, honest ignorance is pleaded. The parish is five miles S.S.E. of Nenagh. The remains of the old church are in Kilboy demesne. This was much disfigured by the great storm of 1838. Like Kilkeedy, it had a lateral house or sacristry attached to it. The parish is, in shape, a long narrow strip.

KILMORE.

Name signifies *Great Church*. Parish is situated in north of Upper Ormond, 1½ miles south-west of Nenagh, and 7½ miles east of Killaloe. It is bounded all round by Nenagh, Dolla, Killoskully, and Burges.

The name Colgan takes to be the same (Kilmore-aradh-tire) mentioned in life of Senan of Innis Scattery (see p. 173, Acta SS., col. i. xiii, "Quadamdie S. Natalis et S. Senanus iter agentes versus Ecclesiam de Kill-mor-aradh-thire cum appropinquarent, conspiciunt ant[illegible]ostium magnam populi multitudinem." And then something follows so like to the narrative of the raising of the widow of Nain's son, that there is no use in pretending the Gospel fact is not the foundation of the mediæval fiction).

Of the old parish church on the townland of same name, the walls retain their height, and are nearly perfect—

	ft.	in.
It is	51	6 in length,
	24	11 in breadth.

Ballycahill old church is used as a haggard. Here are the Castles of Ballycahill, Tinnekilla, Ballygown; the remains of the old Castle of Dunally, once the O'Kennedy's stronghold. The fort or *dun* is to south-east of Castle, &c.

DUNAMONA PARISH,

or *the Fort of the Bog*.

BURGES BOGA,

Alias Burgessbeg,

Is situated in Barony of Owny and Arra, two miles south-west of Nenagh, and is bounded by parishes of Nenagh, Kilmore, Killoskully, Kilmastulla, and Youghalarra. The name is simply a corruption of the Anglo-Norman word *Burgage*. Of the old church only portions appear,

and featureless fragments. In the graveyard was dug up a curious old tombstone, with the inscription :—

"Hic jacet Donatus Der-
mitii, als BRIEN de Gortmore."

YOUGHALARRA.

The name signifies in Irish the "*Yew wood of Arra.*" Just as Youghal in Cork comes by the same name from the same cause, "and even some of the old yew trees still remain." It is situated in the north of the Barony of Owney and Arra, to the north-west of Nenagh, and is bounded on north and west by Lough Derg, and on east and south by Monsea and Castletown. An old church stands in ruins close to north of the village of Youghal, upon high ground, built of brown and red grit-stone, and with mortar of lime and sand. On the interior the surface of the walls presents a structure of small and long stones, all as much as possible shaped quadrangular by dressing with chisel or hammer. A human head is chiselled on a stone in south wall, with an inscription and date, viz. :—

ST. COEA-
NE, 433.

There is also a cross inscribed near this. In the parish are the Castles of Murroe, Kilcolemem, and Pallas. As the Mac O'Briens of Arra belonged to this parish their genealogy may here find a place :—

Muircheartach
The Bishop
|
Toirdhealbhach
|
Muircheartach
|
Domhnall
|
Tadhg
|
Toirdhealbhach
|
Murch udh na Raithnighe
|
Brian
|
Domhnall
|
Brian Ruadh
|
Conchabhar na Suibh-diune
|
Donchadh Cairbreach
|
Domhnall-mor, King of Cashel 30 years
|
Torrdheal bhach na Brien, King of Munster 5 years
|

Dairmad na Brian, King of Munster 4 years
|
Toirdheal bhach, King of Ireland 12 years
|
Tadhg na Brian
|
Brian Boroimhe, King of Ireland 12 years.

The division of property made by the father of Bishop Mauritius may be here given, as found in pedigree of the O'Briens (MSS. T.C.D., H. i. 7) :—" And it was this Toirdhealbhach who divided the territory among his sons in this manner, viz.,—He left the Lordship of the territory and its chieftainship to Murchoirtach, who was called the Bishop. And he left Bealanatha, now Ballina, and Conocan-an-Enfhin, now Bird Hill, namely two good castles, with the portions of lands appertaining to them, to Toirdeal-bach, Carrach. He left Cilcoleman, namely a castle with its lands, to Tadhg na Buile. He left the Castle of Tuath-easa Greine, with its lands, to Murcha na Dtuagh. He left Baile-au-Chaisleau, the old mansion-seat of the family, and Moinruadh (now Monroe), another castle; Pailis, another castle; and Cathair Conchubhair, and other castles. Also the chieftainship, with the power of coshering and hosting the inhabitants of the country, to his son and heir, namely, Muirchoirtach, who was called the Bishop; and his entire will to be fulfilled by his brothers, and tha he should not exercise injustice to them; and this was the third division that was made of the territory of Duharra, from the time when Domhhall, son of Brian Ruadh, entered into it."

In this parish is pointed out Gallows Hill, a place with a conveniency erected for hanging culprits.

St. Cunlan is said to be patron of the parish. His well is in the village. His bachall, or crozier, is said to remain among the Hogans; it was made of wood, with a brass image on it.

Castletown Arra

is situated in N. of Owney and Arra B., about 4 miles from Killaloe on E. side of Shannon. The parish takes its name from the Caislean, or Manor House, of the Mac O'Briens. This castle is not now in existence, but there are ruins of a building called Castle, the former residence of L. Parker, Esq. The site of the old church is occupied by the new. The old tomb of Bishop Mauritius, Mac O'Brien's mother, Maurè ne Carule, has been mentioned in the text as outside the walls of the present churchyard. The castles of Garry Kennedy and Castlelough remain. Also, in townland of Tomlough, an old house, built by the Roulstons on low ground near the lake; the length of this building was 48ft. 9in. by 29ft. 6in.

Dromineer.

This parish takes its name from a physical feature. Here is the Drom (or *ridge*) of the Inver (*river's mouth*, or, according to others, the *westerly* ridge). This is a small parish, bounded N. and W. by L. Derg, on E. by Killodiernan and Kneigh, and on the S. by Monsea. The old church

is of very considerable antiquity, constructed of very large blocks of granite and slate stones, but not divided into nave and choir. It measures in the clear 59ft. 5in. by 23ft.; the walls are 2ft. 9in. in thickness, and 9ft. in height, and they are held together by a cement of excellent lime and mortar. The semi-circular-headed doorway on west gable is now nearly gone to ruin; the E. window is a very large one, and finely wrought.

MOISEA,

alias Monsea, alias Mousea,

is situated to the west of Nenagh and towards the Shannon in Barony of Oroney and Arra. The meaning of the name in Irish is not at all manifest. The old church stands near the new, has no division of nave and choir, is some three centuries old, is 60ft. by 22ft. 5in., and the side walls are 3ft. 10in. in height.

KNEAH,

alias Knigh.

No authority of value has been discovered to throw light upon the meaning of this name. The parish is in Lr. Ormond Barony, bounded on N. by Killodiernan and Cloghprior, on E. by Killruane, on S. and W. by Nenagh and Monsea, and on W. by Dromineer. The old church is not divided into nave and choir. It is 52ft. 6in. in length, 24ft. 3in. in breadth; the walls are 3ft. thick and 13ft. high. The burial place of the families of Fletcher and Minnet is enclosed by a wall inside this church, cutting off a portion at the western end. Cathair Boirne is the name of the remains of a large stone fort, such as is found in the Barony of Burren. It is to the N. of the old church.

KILLODIERNA

is situated in Lr. Ormond; bounded on N. by Kilbarron, on E. by Cloughprior, on S. by Kneigh, on W. by Dromineer and the lake. The name signifies *The Church of O'Tiernan.* It is an old church, of considerable antiquity, but remodelled in 14th and 15th centuries. It is not divided into nave and choir. The east window is round-headed inside and quadrangular outside, of chiselled and ornamented gritstone. A limestone tablet is inserted in N. wall to "P. Egan, who lived beloved and died lamented in 1821." A little chapel, built in 1667, is attached to this church on the E. side.

Copy of inscription on a tomb in the old graveyard of Killodiernan, situate in demesne of Johnstown Park:—

"Divus Dionysius Harty, Theologiæ Doctor Protonotarius nec non Vicarius Apostolicus Laonensis Diocesi hoc tumulum et Sacellum hoc fieri fecit. Anno di.

1667.

Orate pro anima ejus."

(Per Sadlier Stoney, Esq.)

CLOGHAPRIORA.

The name comes from "*The Prior's Stone, or Castle.*" Of this nothing remains.

The parish is situated in B. of Lr. Ormond, and is bounded on N. by parish of Kilbarron and Finnoe, on E. by Kilruane and Ardcrony, on S. by Kneigh, on W. by Killodiernan. The old church is damaged, seems to date three centuries back, and is densely clad with ivy. There is an old castle on the townland of Carney; this is in ruins, and was once the residence of the Grace family.

KILBARRAIN,

alias, Kilbarron.

The name signifies *the Church of Barron.* The parish is situated in W. of Barony of Lr. Ormond, bounded on W. by L. Derg, on N. by Terryglas, on E. by Finnoe and Cloghprior, on S. by Killodierna. The old church is on low ground near the Shannon, had nave, choir, and tower—all much dilapidated. The graveyard is much used. Inside the church is a tomb-stone with inscription—

"Donatus Kendy, Sacerdos 27
Annos Natus, 11 Octbris 1706, obiit."

Another reads thus—

"Gulielmus Cleborne de Ballycullehome,
Armiger obiit, Vicessimo Secundo,
die mensis 8 bris, A.D., 1684."

Lisguillebeen Castle was built by O'Kennedy. The foundations of a church are shown in S.E. of Islandmore. There is a standing stone ½ mile to S.W. of the old church. Ballycollattone Castle is near Mr. Parker's house.

ARDCRONEY.

This parish is situated in Lr. Ormond, 2 miles S.W. of Barrisokane, on the Nenagh road.

There are remains of an old church very rudely built, divided into choir and nave. On the west wall is a figure of a human head chiselled.

MODRINETH,

alias Modreney,

situated in Lr. Ormond. The name is written in the Irish signifying "*The Plain of Dreone.*" So McFirbis on the tribe of Erna.

This was a young lady who went off with a youth and lived among the fairies in Knock-shee-owna for one year ere she would return to her parents' presence. All which might signify the flowering of the *thorns* from May to May. Only a fragment of the old church remains near the modern one, and is an ivy-clad ruin. The castles are Clogh Keating, Ballycappul; the latter erected by the Hogans, and Behemore.

In the churchyard is a broken monument, with the following remnant of an interesting inscription, here given as Mr. Sadlier Stoney kindly transcribed it—

"Here lyeth —— —— —— ——
John Harrison —— —— ——
Jordan Esq and —— —— ——
his wife. She dy—— —— ——
1689 and he dy—— —— ——
June 1697 —— —— —— ——."

His son James built Clojordon, and occupied it with disbanded soldiers. The inscription on his tomb runs thus—

"Here lieth the body of James Harrison of Cloghjordan, Esq. who died the 25 of July, 1727, in the 72nd year of his age."

His daughter was married to Henry Prittie, Esq.; their grandchild was the first Lord Dunally.

The old church plate consists of a small silver cup and paten on each of which the following inscription is deeply and legibly traced—

"Sacris Sti. Kerani Modriniansis, D. Dq Humilimus Jesu Servus Johannes Harrison."

This inscription forms a circle in both cases.

Kilruan.

This parish is situated in S. of Lr. Ormond, bounded by Ardcroney, Ballygibbon, Lisbunny, Knigh, and Ballymackey. The name in Irish signifies *The Church of St. Ruadan.*

The old church is a mere ruin. On the townland of Rath-Thurles stands inside of an earthen fort an old church. The rath consisted of three concentric rings, the outermost measuring 137 paces in diameter. It is called in Irish "The Strongfort." Outside on the N. are two large stones prostrate—a part doubtless of a pagan monument. Near hand is the very strong Castle of Rathurles, which belonged to the O'Kennedys.

Ballygibbon,

situated N.E. part of Upr. Ormond, 1¼ miles S.W. of Cloghjordan. This is Gibbonstown. The walls of the old church are nearly perfect. It measures 54ft. by 24ft., is 10ft. high, and 2ft. 10in. thick. The old Castle of Glenahelty is situated on high ground, the lower story inhabited by a farmer.

Ballymackey,

alias Ballyvackey.

The name seems to allude to someone of the name of *Mackey*, but no trace of authority exists for this. The old church is on the townland of Cloonmore, and the N. end of the W. gable remains. The old castle is near on the low ground, 49ft. by 32ft., walls 6½ft. thick. It was an O'Kennedy stronghold. There are some monuments in the graveyard, of which the following is curious enough :—

> "I shall see the Lord in glory.
> Hereunder lieth the body of Anne, Lady Cole, daughter of John Spratt, of Grange, in Oxfordshire, Esq., first relict of Sir Robert Cole, of Ballymackey, in the Coy. of Tipperary, Knt., with whom she came to Ireland in 1670; afterwards the relict of Colonel Thos. Whitney, of Newpass, in Coy. of Westmeath, who departed May 30, 1716, in the 62nd year of her age."

This lady, by her will, bequeathed 100*l.* for the support of an English school in Ballymackey aforesaid, interest on which is still paid. The church plate modern.

THORN OR THOM

and Ahanameala, also Aghnameadle,

situated in S. E. of Barony of Upr. Ormond in two *detached* portions, the larger of which is bounded on W. by the parisnes of Lateragh and Kilkeary, and on the N. by Templedowney and Ballymacley, on the N. E. by the King's Coy., on E. by Borrisnafearney, and on S. by Glankeen. The name means "*The Ford of the Medals.*" The old church is nearly gone; the graveyard is situated in a small hillock a little to the W. of the church. There is a strong-roofed corpse-house or vault of the MacEgans in Anaghmeada. South of the church is a square castle; also in Blean townland another old castle stands. At the four roads in the townland of Ballinlough is a *liagan*, or standing stone, 8ft. 4in. in height.

Toom must be the modern Toomavara, or sepulchre of Omara. There are some ruins here, supposed to belong to a preceptory of Knights Templars.

BURES-NA-FIERNA.

This parish is situated in the west of Ikerin Barony; bounded on N. by King's Coy., on N. E. by Rathnaveogue, on E. by Killea and Bourney, on S. by Barnane Ely, and on W. by Anameadle.

The name in Irish signifies *The burgage of the Alder Wood.* The old church is gone; the graveyard of St. John's church marks its site.

KILDERRY-DA-GROM.

This is most probably the parish of Innis-da-drom, embracing what is now called Coney Island, in the river Fergus. Innis-da-drom means "The island with the two backs, or ridges;" and Killdery-da-drom, "The Church of the Oakwood on the two ridges."

"On Coney Island stand two ancient churches, the oldest of the primitive type, being 16 ft. 8 in. by 9 ft. 10 in. clear of walls, which are 3 ft. thick. The masonry large-sized rubble, well fitted, the lower course formed of large blocks. The doorway is but 5 ft. 1 in. in height, 2 ft. 1 in. wide at the bottom, 1 ft. 8 in. at top, built of large blocks, well dressed, being quite angular, with inclined jambs. It had but one window, opened in the eastern gable, which has been removed and a breach left."—(Brash, p. 16.)

TEMPLEDERRY.

This means, doubtless, "The Church of the Wood of Oaks." It is situated six miles south-east of Nenagh. What may be the original difference between a *Cill* and a *Teampul* we dare not determine. Mr. M. Keane, however, pronounces that "Kill, or Cille, was the ordinary Christian substitute for the Irish word Teampull, which was too manifestly connected with heathenism to be tolerated." In Killaloe diocese alone, on the east side, are Temple Harry and Templederry, and, on the west, Temple Maley. And in the next diocese are Templemore and Templeichally, now in Killaloe. Of Templederry no part of the original church remains; the stones were used to build the modern church. Castle Otway is near at hand.

Lateragh.

This name is celebrated in ecclesiastical annals, and signifies "*the slopes or hill sides* of O'Dran." The situation of the parish is in the south-east part of the Barony of Upper Ormond; bounded by Anameadle, Kilkenny, and Glankeen.

The old church stands on high ground in the townland of Lateragh. The nave is all destroyed except ten feet. The walls of the choir are nearly perfect, except at the east. There is a large graveyard, much used, and having a fine old ash tree, as at Moynoe. According to Colgan, Odran of Lateragh died of the plague on 2nd Oct., 548 A.D.

Finnoh,

also Finoagh, also Finnoe,

in Lr. Ormond, bounded by Kilbarron, by Terryglass, by Borrisokane, by Ardcrony and Cloghprior. The name is supposed the same as the Irish word, signifying *a woody place*. The site of the original church is occupied by the existing Protestant church. The following is an interesting inscription found in this church by the Rector, Rev. Ri. Martin, A.M., and kindly communicated:—

Overhead is a coat-of-arms, or, more properly speaking, a shirt-of-arms, with a two-handed sword erect in the centre, and a motto underneath,

"The Lord is my Shield."

(Then the following ensues):—

"Underneath this tomb do lie ye remains of Elizabeth Greenshields ye elder, who died ye year of our Lord, 1739, aged 74. Also of Rev. Jas. Greenshields, Rector of Finoe for 26 yrs., and died in the year —44, aged 76. Also of Elizabeth Greenshields ye younger, who died in ye year —48, aged 24. Also of Rev. Wm. Greenshields, Rector of Finoe for 30 yrs., who died in ye year 1772, aged 68. His son, Wm. Greenshields, caused this memorial to be erected in token of his profound respect for the deceased."

The Very Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D., Dean of Armagh, promises a life of Mr. Greenshields, which, like every other production of his learned pen, must prove full of interest and of great value to the Church.

In this parish is the old castle, built by the O'Kennedys, temp Elizabeth, exhibiting on a Quoin stone, rudely sculptured, a figure of a "Sheelanagigg," or in other words, a "female who plunged herself into all kind of excesses." Now *why* she is set up here is a question. Is it in bad taste as a wicked and wanton exhibition? or does she serve to play the part of an awful warning, like the Teetotal Lecturer's Brother? or can this be an old stone found in some old Pagan building, and here preserved? Some curious speculations occur in "MSS. Letters," Ordnance Survey series about Kiltissan, near Fethard, where some such exhibition also occurs. The Patena is inscribed:—

"UNION OF FINNOAGH, 1792."

Tirraglasse.

alias Tirdaglas, alias Terryglass.

Dr. Lanigan pronounces the name to mean "the land of Greenness." There is, however, a better account of it from a higher source, namely, Adamnan, who, in his life of Columba, defines it as "Ager duorum-rivorum," *the land of the two streams*, just like Finglas, near Dunkerim the bright or fair-flowing stream. The parish is situated in B. of Lr. Ormond, and is bounded by the lake on the N. and W., on E. by Lorha and Aglish, on S. by Borrisokane, Finnoe, and Kilbarron. The ruins of the old Court are here, also an extensive Bawn, said to occupy the site of the great college. St. Patrick is said to have come westward, and that many of the people of Thomond crossed the Shannon to be baptized by him. Columba founded a monastery here, of which he became the first Abbot, and died in 552. The glory of this old school died out after its having been often wrecked and plundered by the Danes, and was unknown except by name after 12th century. The four masters, Colgan and Usher, allude to this school. In this parish is Old Court Castle, a very ancient and strong building.

Lorrha.

This name is given with much variety: "Lotharia, Lothra-Lurchoa, Lortha, Lorhoe, Lorha, Lorhiagh et Lorhes, pronunciatur *Lorra*, in amœnissimo loco situs, non longe a flumine Shanano, juxta pagum ictum Fratribus Prædicatoribus, Cœnobium extruxisse ano. di. 1269. Gualterum de Burgo-Comitem Ultoniæ, Dominum Conaciæ tam certum est, quam quod maxime, id vel uno Scriptorum omnium concensu ad evidentiam comprobante jure avi sui amplissima habebat latifundia in Tipperarensi agro Momoniæ. G. De Burgo tandem Lothoriense anno 1269, fundare non dubitavit et quidem in honorem St. Petri Martyris. Templi itaque majoris partis cœnobii Mœnia ad huc integra manent.

"Ad huc supersunt eâ in regione viventes qui referunt, se propriis vidisse oculis centum et quadraginta circiter religiosos in hoc conventu vestibus Dominicanis indutos, sodales nempe conventus et patres capitulares Comitionem Provincialium anno 1688, regnante Jacobo Secundo Orthodoxo, hic celebratis, in quibus electus in Provincialem P. Magister Galasius MacMahon, Cuinam post Regularium Domorum dissolutionem concessa fueruit Cœnobii hujus latifundia Harrissum latet Actualis autem Dominus fundi (ut ibidem accepi), est Jacobus Ruddock Armiger, qui justa pagum habitat in propria domo sat magnifica." This extract is from De Burgo's Hibernia Dominicana (chap. ix. sect. xxi. p. 274, &c.), and it accounts for the origin and final occupation of the Dominican Abbey, situated at the east side of the village. The Dominican Abbey walls are nearly entire. The building is of the early English style: it is 145ft. 5in. long, by 24ft. 9in. broad, the walls 4ft. 3in. thick, and very high-coped in part. A graceful belfry surmounts the western gable. The window in east gable is broken down, and the walls have a strong buttress at base. Ten lancet windows in a row let in the light

on the south side, near the western end the two nearest being shortened below. Two other small plain windows, one square the other pointed, appear on the long side wall. In the graveyard are the following inscribed tombstones :—

1. "Sacred to the memory of Constantine Egan, of BallymacEgan, who departed this life in the year 1680."

2. "John Kennedy, founder of Lackeen Castle, died 1766."

3. "Sacred to the memory of O'Hogan, of Kilgask, who departed this life 1622."

We now take a brief glance at the Abbey of Canons Regulars, founded by St. Ruadan. Of the saint himself, Dr. Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 233, pronounces him "an eminent saint of this period, founder of the Monastery of Lothra, in County Tipperary. He is said to have been of noble extraction. He studied under Finucoin of Clonard, and was reckoned among his chief disciples. He was Abbot of Lothra before the death of Kieran of Laigher, and had probably founded it about 550. He died 584. His festival is held on 15th April. Some writings have been attributed to him, concerning which let others inquire." But it was not his writings, nor even his alleged miraculous powers, so much as his having cursed Tara, that has made him memorable in Hibernian hagiology. The manner in which Tara, or Teamhair, came under the saint's displeasure, and how he showed it with a fatal effect, is given in the Book of Rights, which has been translated by Mr. J. O'Donovan. The King of Ireland took a relative of Ruadan's, and the saint, with the saints of Eire, *fasted* against the aggressor, and promised or predicted the destruction of the race, and "No King to be at Temor." On the method of dealing with a creditor by fasting, Sir H. Mayne, in E. Hist. Institutions, p. 39—40, has some interesting remarks as a very curious custom, also on the similar Hindoo custom of Dharna.

The ruins of the Canons Abbey, and sundry other old buildings remain, not being architecturally remarkable. The parish church is incorporated with one of these. Here are the following inscriptions :—

"S. to m of Mary Walsh, of Derry, died 1740, aged 54 years."

"S to the m of Thomas Bailey, of Newgrove, died 1788, aged 88; ditto, of Charles Bailey, died 1766, aged 68."

"S to m of Sarah Walsh, of Walsh Park, departed this life in the year 1760, aged 16 years."

"S to m of Cha. Walsh, of Walsh Park, died 1749, aged 54."

The square black castle was but the abbey mill. In Ballyquirke is another square castle, 31 by 37. Portan tolchain *anglice*. Portland is mentioned in A. 4 M., anno 1441, "as taken with great booty of weapons. In 1600 one Redmond Burke took this and many other castles in Ormond, during a pleasant summer excursion." Near Redwood, in this parish, O'Sullivan crossed the Shannon, in his wonderful retreat through Ireland. This was the seat of the MacEgans, an old stock.

Ware mentions that a silver shrine, with the saint's hand, was preserved in the Abbey to the suppression. It is held that the Cumdach which bears the following inscription, originally came from Lorha:—

"The blessing of God on every soul according to its merit;
"Pray for Donchadh, son of Brian, for (the) King of Ireland;
"† And for MacRaith, descendant of Donnehad, for the King of Cashel:
"† Pray for Dunchad, descendant of Taccan, of the family of Cluain, who made this;
"Pray for —— Nain. descendant of Cat——, for whom it was made, and for ——
"And at —— laig."

This inscription was made, according to Dr. Todd, between 1023 and 1050, A.D. The following further inscription runs round the top of the case, and is of 300 years later date:—

"Pray for Philip —— (for) the King of Ormond.
"(By whom) this reliquary was covered.
"And for Aine, his wife.
"† Donald O'Tolari arraigned me.
"Pray for Gilla Ruadan, descendant of Macan, the successor, by whom this was covered."

In Calendar of Ængus, the high praise is given to St. Ruadan. That he was

"An excellent flame that wanes not.
He vanquished urgent desires.
Fair was the precious Jem,—Ruadan."
Lamp of Lothra.

Here he presided over 150 monks, who "used to obtain sufficiency always without human labour to sustain them, by continually praying to and praising the Lord of the elements." (Did they also *advertise* like some modern managers of refuges, who live by *faith ?*)

The bell of St. Ruadan was preserved in the Church of Lorha up to a recent period, when it was obtained by the late Mr. Cooke, of Birr, and purchased for the British Museum.

In the above the name Gilla Ruadan, or servant of Ruadan, may suggest that the owner of it may have been comarba, or successor, of the patron of Lorha.

The cumdach on which this inscription occurs is square in form, measuring 7½in. in length, and is over 6in. broad, and 2in. thick. The material is oak, covered with plates of silver; it is divided into four compartments, covered with engraved silver plates. It contains a copy of the Gospel of St. John, the writer of which gives his name in the Ogham characters, at the end of the Gospel, in these words—"Deo gratias ago Amen, Finit Amen, Rogo (ut) quicunque hunc liberum (sic) legens, ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris i (the Ogham) &c. Amen."

The MSS. also contain a missal of great antiquity. This missal

seems to have been carried to Ratisbon, and was recovered by Mr. Grace, of the Austrian Army. (Trans. R. I. A., vol. xxiii., pt. 2, p. 6.) The above is from Christian inscriptions, edited by Miss Stokes, p. 93, pt. 6.

BONOHAM.

On the east gable of Bonoham Castle is a sculptured inscription—"Erected by Patrick Mara, of Bonoham."

DARROH,

alias Dorra, *the Oak-wood,*

is situated in the N.E. end of Lr. Ormond, on the way between Portumna and Birr.

An old church stands in ruins near Palace, on the N. side of the church now in use, and near a winding stream.

The length of the building was 56ft. by 19ft. 6in., and the walls 3ft. in thickness. In N. wall is fixed a monumental stone thus inscribed:—

I H S

Dominus Bernardus Kennedy tunc Culross inhabitans, sibi, dilectœ conjugi Dominœ Eleanori Kennedy, alias Tubman, ac pro dilecto filio Jacobo Kennedy, bonæ indolis juveni, 9 Jan. 1704 defuncto, ac posteris suis, necnon in memoriam sepulturæ majorum, me fieri fecit die 27 Feb. 1705.

Palace Old Castle stood near the Church to the S.W. St. Deoma's Well is to the east.

LOCKEIN,

alias Loughkeen,

situated in Lr. Ormond, bounded by parish of Dorha, by King's Co., by Ballingarry, by Lorha. The name seems formed by aphœresis, and reduced from Ballagh-a-ken, or "*the townland of the beautiful field.*" See the 4 M. in describing the route of O'Sullivane in 1602. The old church is a mere ruin.

BALLINGARRY,

also Garrago.

The name signifies, according to the 4 Masters, "*the town of the garden*" of Knockshee-una, the most remarkable and conspicuous hill in Lr. Ormond. The parish is in the E. of Lr. Ormond, and is bounded on N. by Eglish and Loughkeen, on S. by King's Co. and Modreney, on E. by Loughkeen and King's Co., on W. by Uskeane.

The bawn of the old castle remains, used now as a vegetable garden. In A. 4 M., about 1597, it is noted that Shane O'Kennedy was slain here by Hugh O'Kennedy, of Baile, in Chuirch=Ballyquirke. The great hill named was the principal habitation of the *Sidh*, or *fairies* of Munster.

CLOGHAN,

also Aiglish Cloghane, also Eglish.

This means obviously The Church, or Ecclesia of the Stepping-stones or Stone Houses.

It is in Lr. Ormond, north from Barrisokane in the Portumna direction. There is a great bog running in the direction of Birr in this parish.

USGREAN,

alias Uskean, also Uskane.

The name means Terra Paludosa, or the *Watery* Country, on the analogy of that park near Dublin called by the natives *Fin-uisge*, or the Clear Water, but politely and poetically transformed by Lord Chesterfield into a *Phoenix* Park. However, the wide bogs and drenching showers of this moist locality still keep up the credit of the old name all over its flat and saturated surface. The old church is near Kent's house. The parish is 2 miles N.E. of Borrisokane.

BURRISKEEN,

also Borrisokane, or Kean.

The parish gets its name from being

"The burgage of O'Keane."

What brought the O'Cahans to Clare is known; what brought them here none has told. This is the district of the O'Hogans and O'Kennedys. The parish is in the centre of Lr. Ormond, 10 miles to N.E. of Nenagh. No old church or ruins of one remain. The present parish church is supposed to occupy the site of the old one; and doubtless is built of the stone filched out of it. Tanbrickane Castle is on the Portumna road. It is 43ft. 7in. by 33ft. 9in., walls 7ft. 8in. thick, and about 80ft. in height. The only inscription on Church plate is "Burrisokane Church, 1776."

IN YE DEANERY OF ELY AND IQERIM.

ROSCREA.

The name was derived say some (1) from *Cre*, the daughter of Eidleochin and the wife of Dalaglas. According to the Book of Lismore, the name means (2) "*Boscus Herois.*" Others, nearer the mark, say it comes from (3) *Riask-cre*, or Ros-cre—*the marsh or wood of the Lake Cre* —in which Monaincha was built.

The parish is situated in Ikerrin Barony, and is bounded by Shinrone, Corbally, Rathnaveoge, and Kyle.

The western gable of the old church of St. Cronan is all that remains since 1812, when the rest of it was taken down as being in the way of the modern church. This gable now serves as a fence, and supplies an entrance into the church premises. It is fortunate that a structure of so much beauty was spared. The doorway is of three orders; (1] the inner arch, or actual aperture, is 8 ft. 9 in. by 5 ft. ½in. wide at base, and 4 ft. 9½ in. at springing of arch; (2) the central arch 9 ft. 7 in. by 6 ft. 7 in. at base, and 6 ft. 4½ in. at springing of arch; the (3) outer arch is 10 ft. 4 in. high by 8 ft. 5 in. at base, and 8 ft. 4 in. at springing of arch. The arches spring from square piers and slightly-rounded

shafts, formed of chiselled grit-stone, with capitals and bases, the abacus being a bold square and chamfer, and the capital in two instances is formed of a human head, while two others have a spiral design. The arches are enriched with bold chevron mouldings, while their soffits are ornamented with a delicately incised zig-zag pattern. The pillars of the outer arch have been re-erected at a comparatively modern period. The stones of the south pillars are not ornamented, and do not seem to be the original ones. The interior of this doorway seems to have been remodelled at a comparatively modern period also. At each side of the porch is an arcade, formed of round arches, two of which have their edges simply rounded off, and two are enriched with chevron mouldings surmounted by pediments. The termination of the mouldings of the two pediments next the centre one is formed by animals' heads, rather resembling the drip-stone terminations at Rahen. The two others have human heads. The pediments "are formed by a projecting square member, the under edge cut into notches, and above these canopies is a horizontal string course, consisting of a square member supported by corbel heads." So in Lord Dunraven's Notes, p. 118 and 119.

The *round tower* is twenty-three paces to the north-west of the gable. It is now about 60 ft. high, or 80 ft. as in Lord Dunraven's Notes; but it was 20 ft. higher until 1798, when one of the rebels shot from the top of it the sentinel at his post in the barracks. The Government then got it reduced in height to prevent the recurrence of such an act. The internal diameter at the ground is 8 ft. 3 in., the thickness 3 ft. 6 in.—4 ft. seen in Dunraven. This tower is built of sandstone, in irregular courses, worked roughly to a curve; the courses are spirally shaped, and the stones peculiarly notched one into another.

The doorway is 9 ft. 9 in. from ground, and is on the east side of the building, facing the church. It is 5 ft. 3 in. in height, 2 ft. 1 in. at base, and 2 ft. at springing of the arch. It is round-arched, and the arch is formed out of three stones.

There is another doorway, and on one of the inner stones a knot is incised, "and on the opposite side a ship is carved in relief, about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep; it is about 13 in. long, and is raised above the surface of the entire jamb of the door, and therefore original." Whatever may have been the original use of this tower, it was used as a belfry of the old church in the last century.

About seventeen paces scuth of the gable of the old church, and in the churchyard, is the upper part of a *stone cross*, having a circle round the arms, one of which is entirely broken. On one side of this cross is a representation of the Crucifixion, and on the other a figure popularly considered St. Cronan, as also that over the doorway. The present height is 5 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., made of grit-stone, and in original pedestal.

To the west of the cross is a *quadrilateral grit-stone*, nearly erect, and now entering into the building of the churchyard wall. It is 6 ft. 2 in. high. On its north and south side are raised two human heads, now greatly injured by time.

St. Cronan's Well is at Inane.

An old monumental stone was dug up from the foundations, on which were ancient characters, which read thus, when rightly rendered in English, "Pray for O'Carroll, King of Ely." A *tombstone*, with a cross also, has an inscription, having the words, "Rechta(b)hra." This name may, perhaps, be identified with the following in A. 4 M., "A.D. 898, Scannall of Teachteille, Actill of Rath, Episp., and *Reachtathra* of Roscrea, died." (See Miss Stoke's Christian Inscriptions, pt. 5, p. 38.)

Of *Cronan* a word may now be added. According to Usher's Primordia, p. 969, Cronan was the son of Selvius, whose death is recorded in the Annals to have occurred in 665. And Cronan Abbot was son of Odran, of whom in his life we read Cronan came to the eastern district of Munster in his own county of Ely, and set up a cell near Crounan Lurgan, over against the land of Ossaigus, which is situated in the south of Leinster. And this cell was near (Stagnam Cree) the Lake of Cre, in which is a little island whereupon there is a monastery of monks under a perpetual vow of religion (semper religiosum). And this cell was called

Clan Ross.

He afterwards, because the place was desert and out of the way, changed his quarters and built a monastery, where a great town grew up which was called *Ross-cree.* And here, after performing many miracles, the aged Saint Cronan rested in death with Christ.

The situation of this is in Tipperary County, near Ely O'Carrol; and in 1283 was bestowed upon Edmond Butler, father of James, the first Earl of Ormond, by King Edward III. It was also in former times the seat of a bishop, but is long since annexed to Killaloe.

Roscrea was also a famous fair place, and here the Danes received a terrible overthrow, leaving traces of their disasters in the names of many places, so far even as Moni-a-gall, or *the bog of the stranger*, in which bones are still occasionally found.

Here a word may be added of *the Book of Dimina.* In National MSS. of Ireland (Pt. i. in Introduction, page xi.) it is related, among other matters, connected with this beautiful old copy of the four Gospels in Latin, having ritual and Visitation of Sick added, that the Scribe Dimma Mac Nathi at close deprecates "venomous criticism." Also this Dimma is supposed the one who is mentioned in a legend as having made a copy of the Gospels in the seventh century for St. Cronan in Roscrea; that he finished in forty days, but only thought he took up one day. The Book of Dimma, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is stated to have been long preserved in the monastery of Roscrea, in a silver case. Of this part remains, which sets forth that the case was gilt by O'Carrol, Lord of Ely, in the twelfth century, and

repaired about one hundred years ago by a Bishop of Killaloe. The case and its contents went through strange changes of fortune, being at one time buried in a field near Bourney. Four pages of the MSS. are fac-similed in plates 18 and 19, and show a very clear, even, and close writing, with an elaborate initial letter and ornamental page.

Castletown Ely.

This parish is called from *Ely*, a descendant of Cian, who gave his name to a Barony; it is on the confines of Tipperary, near Moneygall, on the skirts of the hilly range which runs nearly parallel to the Shannon, and sinks in Queen's County. There is an old church ruined here. The land is fertile and the scenery picturesque.

Ramaveog.

Alias Rath-na-veog; alias Ranavague.

This is so called from Rath-ma-Mobheog, or *the circular fort of this saint*. So it is spelled in the Down Survey. This parish is situated in Barony of Ikerrin, between Dunkerrin and Roscrea. The old church was 56ft. 6in. by 22ft. 6in. There was a sacristy, as at Kilkeedy, &c. Near to the north is an old *Castle* square, with three ornamental chimney-pieces.

Finglas.

This seems called from Fin, or *clear*, and Glas, a *running-stream*. It is a small parish near Moneyagall, 2½ miles east-south-east.

Burrin.

Alias Bourchin, alias Bourney.

The name is not clear to the authorities, but it seems not very far from the word Rath-*bourney*, and this means *Fort of Rocky places*, just as Burrin seems akin to *Barren*, or *Rocky*.

The parish is in Ikerrin Barony, bounded by Corbally, Rathmaveogue, Kyle, Rathclonney, Templemore, &c. The old church is gone. An old church remains in Cloonakenny. There are two old Castles here—Boolybawn and Baummadrum. Two great rivers, the Nore and the Suir, take their rise in this parish, near to each other, on the side of Benduff.

Dunkerrin.

The name is pronounced obscure, and its derivation is not ventured upon by the authorities. The situation is marked by the great coach road from Nenagh to Roscrea passing through it. The Down Survey refers thus to this parish:—"In which townlands are situated the Castles of Cloonegannah, Classigad, Ballintemple, Emmil." This evidently included what is called Temple Harry parish. The site of the

old church is occupied by a modern structure. The monumental slab that marks the resting-place of John O'Carroll, who lived at Cullenwaine in the latter part of the 17th century, is still to be seen in the burial ground at Dunkerrin.

It is inscribed thus—

Dominus Anthonius O'Carroll, hunc lapidem hic apponi (curavit) super corpus, Patris sui Johannis O'Carroll de Callonvane, qui obiit anno doni, 1681 die 12 martis.

Requiescat anima ejus in pace. Amen.

The church plate bears the following inscriptions :—

1. "The gift of Thomas ffranck, Esq., for the use of the Church of Dunkerrin."

2. "The gift of Jane Carroll, of Emell, deceased, to the parish church of Donkarin, ye 26 Oct., 1698."

We cannot pass from Dunkerrin in these brief notes without transcribing a modern monument, erected to the memory of one whom the writer began to know most intimately while Curate of Dunkerrin during the famine years, and, in common with everyone else who knew him, loved and respected him greatly.

SACRED
to the memory of
JAMES FFRANK ROLLESTON, D.L.,
late of this Parish.
That the virtues and usefulness
of one exemplary
in the different Relations of Life,
A Good Husband, an Indulgent Father,
A kind Friend and Landlord,
And an upright Magistrate,
May be recorded in this Church,
which he himself
Was so instrumental in preserving
To promote the worship and glory of God,
This humble Memorial has been erected
By his sorrowing Widow and Children.
He died 30th Dec., 1875,
Aged 69 years.
"After he had served his own generation,
By the will of God
Fell on sleep, and was laid
Unto his Fathers."
Acts xiii., 36 verse.

Temple Harry.

The name seems very like Teampull na Carriga, *The Church of the Rock*, and the rock on which the church stands certainly appears at the pathway of the road. But it may be the same in derivation as Carrig-a-Horrig, and so mean *The Temple of the Shouting*, as though to keep up the memory of some great battle fought near the spot.

This parish is in Ikerrin and Clonlisk Baronies, between Dunkerrin and Kilcoleman. The remains of the old church appear to advantage, situated on an eminence. In this parish is "The Bloody Togher," so called from the O'Carrolls having destroyed a large party of King William's army at the place.

Shinroan,

alias Shinrone, alias Sinroan.

A passage from the 4 Masters mentions that the Earl of Kildare went a second time to Ely to assist O'Carroll at Suidhean-roan, &c. This determines the Irish etymology, which the authorities pronounce to mean "*The Setting of the Seal.*" What brought a seal so far inland is not related, nor whether he might not have been a *hairy* man who was as fond of taking to the water of the little Brosna as if he had been this amphibious animal. The parish is noted in Down Survey as containing the walls of a church and a castle of the O'Carrolls. The latter is to be found at the rear of Mr. Dancer's house in the village. Dunamase was an English castle. The Cromwellians took and destroyed Cangort Castle.

Kilmurry,

alias Kilmurry Ely.

This is *Mary's Church* of Ely O'Carroll. It lies to the N. of Shinroan and S. of Parsonstown. It contains 4,077 acres.

Birha.

The meaning of this name has exercised the acuteness and rather tried the temper of the archæologists and Irish scholars. Some say (1) that the word comes from *the Abbey of Biorra*, founded by Brendan. Others (2) that the word is identical with Bior, *a watery field*, and stoutly maintain that it would be an audacious thing boldly to reject the testimony of O'Clery and the old glossographers who establish this definition. And particularly so, in favour of Mr. Cooke's absurd and unauthorised conjecture (3) that it comes from Bir *a spit*. Indeed the author of *Letters* roasts Cooke on his own spit, putting him under a fiery ordeal not only for this but for some other matters contained in his Picture of Parsonstown.

The parish is situated in Ely O'Carrol, and comprises 4,018 acres. It is about 60 miles from Dublin, and is considered to be in the centre of Ireland, and is accordingly pronounced to be "*Umbilicus Hiberniæ.*"

Indeed a curious stone is said to have been removed from the town by the celebrated Tom Steele, the Head Pacificator of Ireland, and placed in O'Connell's* Chapel in Clare (Where was this?) And this is probably the very stone mentioned by Usher as "excavatus lapis qui hodie ostenditur." However all this may be, the parish is bounded on the N. by Eglish, on S. by Kilcoleman, on E. by Seirkyran, on W. by Lockein and Bonahan. There are no features at Birr, of church, or school, or cell, bearing the name of Brendan, in fact nothing but his well which lies in the demesne of Lord Rosse. In the Irish Calendar the following reference is made to St. Brendan, the patron of Birr—"Nov. 30, St. Brendan of Birra, the son of Nemen of the Clannakury race. He was a contemporary and companion of Brendan of Clonfert, and the founder and first Abbot of Birradh. He died on the 29th Nov., 572." Sir Jas. Ware calls him "Brendan the son of Luaigne, Abbot of Birrh." But he was mistaken. In the Felire of Ængus is a reference to the situation of Brendan's Church. "On the confine of Ely and Fearacall Birra is"—Dr. Lanigan refers to the 4 masters relating that Brendan, surnamed Biorra, was seen rising into the air, 553 (554)." Vol. 2, p. 40.

Instead of such dreams, which have not even the merit of originality, it is better to advert briefly to the schools of Ireland, a celebrated one of which was set up in Birr by Brendan.

In J. L. Villaneuva's notes on "*S. Patricii Synodi*," &c., p. 51, an account is given of the schools from the time of St. Patrick, which not alone in cathedrals and in cells were opened for instructing children in primary education, but in them also young men received higher instruction in grammar, rhetoric and the more sublime sciences, and particularly in the knowledge of Holy Scripture. He then quotes Bede and the Canon of the Council of Constantinople to this effect—"Let the Presbyters have schools in town and country, and the education free." These schools got the name *Abgetoria*, from the letters of the Latin alphabet, *a, b and g*. So great was the fame of the schools of Finian and Coleman, that they were crowded with scholars from England, and in particular they came for the study of Holy Scripture "ad Scripturam Sacram addiscendam." And the same writer notes how the author of the Life of *Molua*, an alumnus of the same school, mentions that "A host of Irish saints were drilled into the mysteries of divinity by St. Finian."

And this went on for some centuries, until Birr and its great educational and ecclesiastical establishment at length fell into the cruel hands of the barbarous Danes, who left no trace of these olden times after them. The same writer, in Appendix III., gives a list of the cities, churches, and monasteries despoiled, plundered, overthrown, and committed to the flames from the days of Patrick to the 12th century; of those connected with or near Killaloe, he mentions—

"The town of Birr was plundered anno 841."

* Tom Steele set up a stone in the Fergus, opposite the Abbey, with his arms engraved thereon, but this was to the beautiful Miss Mattie Crowe by whom his impressionable heart was captivated.

"Lorrha was burned four times from 843 to 1179 A.D."
"Terryglass was given to the flames in 801, and was laid waste in 843."
"Clonfert was despoiled thrice."
"Aran, or the Island of Aran was despoiled and devastated in 1081 A.D., and was submitted to the flames in 1020 A.D."
"Inish Clothran (? Innis Clonroad) was robbed in 1050."
"Rosenca was burned up four times between 1130 and 1152."
"Tomgraney was burned twice, first in 1084, and again in 1164."

And he might have added, Inniscaltra and Innis Scattery were both of them wasted and burned several times (see Wars of Gaedhil, &c., and A. 4 M.)

Mr. Cooke notes from Colgan (A.A. S.S. p. 715) his statement that Brendan of Birr lies buried in the church called "*Tempul on Cheathuir aluinn, i.e.* quatuorum pulchrorum qui Sunt Sancti. Furseus, Brandanus Birrensis, Conallus et Birchanus quorum corpora in uno eodem feruntur sepulchro sepulta jacente in cœmiteriis ejusdem ecclesiæ."
The walls of *this* church are now only a few feet above the ground. To the E. is a small enclosure, and near the church a beautiful little well. To the W. is a spot called *the graves of the four beauties.* They are rude headstones, but without inscriptions. (Notes on Irish Architecture, Vol. I. p. 76.)

Of the inscriptions in the churchyard of Birr, the following may be noted briefly :—

1. "Edwardo Singe, A.M.
Hujus ecclesiæ per annos XXV Rectori
Ine Vixit annis LXVII
Et requievit Septimo idus Octobris
Anno Salutis
MDCCXCII."

(The family name was *Millington.*)

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2. "Sophia Singe
Conjugi dilectissimo posuit
et sibi suisque
Posterisque eorum."

---

3. "Her epitaph is virtue,
It desireth no encomium,
And needs no panegyric."

(Ah, why could they not add

For she played on the Harmonium.)

---

4. "1685
G
H M."

---

5. "Isaac Johns, &c.,
Feb. 1, 1787."

---

6. "Thos. Roberts, 1727.
Hail sacred ashes of
The best of fathers, mourn-
Full, thy son moves to
Thy urn revered, on seden-
Tary feet from clime re-
Mote, by filial duty sent
To guard thy tomb."

The communion plate is thus inscribed—

"The Communion Cup of the parish Churche
of Parsonstowne in the Kings Countie
Anno Domini
1636."

The patena or cover is inscribed—

"The cover of the Communion Cup
of Parsonstowne 1636."

If no traces but the well remain to mark the career of St. Brendan in Birr, there is another name connected with this place. And his handy-work still survives, and Birr may be very proud of the fact. If Roscrea has an indirect claim to Dimma's MSS., and Lorha boasts of Ruadan's casket and its Gospel of St. John, and if Inniscalta's fair isle claims as her own some surviving leaves of St. Caimin's transcript of the Hebrew Psalter, Birr has the proud distinction belonging to it of "THE GOSPELS OF MAC REGOL." This was Scribe, Bishop and Abbot of Birr, who died in 820, A.D. In the final page he leaves his brand "MACREGOL DEPINEXIT." This is the largest-sized of the old Gospel-books and contains the four Gospels in Latin, with figures of Mark, Luke, and John, each occupying an entire page. It has also ornamental initial letters. The book fell into the hands of Rushworth, the historical compiler, and having been presented by him to the Bodleian Library, remains there ever since. The Saxon interlinear version with the Latin text, was for the first time printed in 1854-65 (MSS. of Ireland, folio, p. xiii.).

One remark may not be thought out of place to close these brief notes. In the 6th and following centuries, the principal towns of the Diocese of Killaloe were noted seats of learning, noted above all for the high honour to God's Holy Word of life shown by multiplying copies of it that all might drink of its saving truths and their souls live.

Kilcoleman.

"*S. Colmanus* a matre Macdarene, id est, Filius Dareniæ dictus, Episcopus de Doremor in confinibus Ossoriæ et Eliæ, inter filios A'Engussi regis memoratur." This is what Colgan has to say, Acta SS., p. 174. The church of Kilcoleman is in ruins, also a chapel of ease, within the churchyard, said to have been built by O'Carroll, Colonel Oxburgh's father-in-law, who lived at Boveen. There is a stone representing a human head fixed over entrance in the south wall of the old church.

Ahankon,

alias Aghancon.

Ahancon is in Irish the same as "Ager Canorum," or "*the Field of the Hounds.*" This name accordingly gives the precedent of ancient usage to the sports of the chase, and "the Ormond Hunt" is no novelty. Indeed the writer was informed by an aged gentleman, long since deceased, that five packs of fox-hounds were kept by gentlemen living on either side of the road between Nenagh and Roscrea, in the last and early part of the present century. The old story of Actæon, who was eaten by his own dogs, seems to have been forgotten in those days; and the potatoe famine of 1846 finished the work of desolation and change. But matters for some time are brought to a better standing. And "mighty hunters" still go forth "to join the chase at break of day."

Etagh,

alias Ettagh.

The parish seems to have got its name from *the Virgin Ettagh or Hettie.* The parish is bounded by Kilcoleman, Ahankon, the Slieve Bloom Mountains, and Kilmurry. Knockamase Castle is situated in this parish, on that town-land now called Golden Grove. No ecclesiastical remains of interest.

Rosscomrowe.

Ross generally means *a wood.* The parish is hidden in a corner between Kinnitty and the Slieve Bloom Mountain.

Clonfert Mollua.

The Meadow of the grave of Mollua. It is called also Kil-na Corbe, or *the Church of the Co-arbe,* alias *Kyle.*

A reference to Dr. Lanigan will satisfy those who would desire "a sketch of the history of Mollua." The origin of the name of the parish is thus given (note, p. 209), "Cluain-ferta Molua" id est "*Lati-bulum* mirabile S. Moluæ, eo quod ipse in vita sua multa miracula in illa fecit, et ad huc gratia Dei per eum patrantur." The learned Dr. denies that he was ever at Finnian's School of Clonard, and asserts that he became a disciple of Comgall of Bangor not earlier than 559. The Dr. does not believe (No. 94, p. 209) that his rules were taken to Rome, and

praised and blessed. The Church of Killaloe is supposed (sic) to have got its name from the Saint (in question) either from his having lived there for some time, or from its having been dedicated to his name. This is not improbable, although far from certain. It has been said by some that Mollua was afflicted by leprosy, but this leper was quite a different person from the real Mollua of Killaloe.

The Dr., notwithstanding, assigns the day of his death with great exactness, to the 4th August, not long after the beginning of the 7th century, and also reckons him among the Fathers of the Irish Church.

This is the only parish of the Diocese in the Queen's County.

KINNITTY,

alias Kilnetty.

In A. 4 M. ad an. 1213, it is stated that "the English went to Athlone and erected a castle there. They also erected the Castle of Ceaun-eitigh, the Castle of Birr, and the Castle of Durmagh." The name thus clearly points to the signification "*The head of Ettagh*, or Ita," a lady and saint of eminence, who seems to have lived at Ettagh, and been buried here. "Tertius est Finanus (Tri. Thau. 380) cognomento Cam. Abbas de Kennitigh, in confinibus Eliæ et Fercellæ ut constat in ejus Vita quam dabimus 7th Aprilis. Finanus de Kennetigh fuit discipulus S. Brendanio Cluan fertensis."

LITTERLANA,

alias Letterluna.

This looks very like Latteragh, *wet hill sides* and Lana, or Lena; *a water meadow*. Anyhow, the parish is situated north of Kinnitty, on the Dublin road.

KILCUMMIN.

After a long dissertation and much learned refutation of Lanigan's mistakes, and Colgan's topographical looseness, the writer of "Letters," T. O'Conor, at last settles it to his satisfaction that Kilcommin is the Irish

CILL-CHUIMIN,

formerly called "Disert Chuimin." The parish is situated between Temple Harry and Shinrone. In the churchyard of Kilcumin are some ruins of religious edifices. In the one that is most central appears to have been an apartment with a stone roof, exactly similar to those in Drumcullein and Rathlihin old Churches. In the Down Survey it is stated that "there are two small rivoletts passing through it, on which stand two mills, one at Clonlisk, one at Kilcommon. The remains of the Abbey are on side of the road from Shinrone to Dunkerrin.

QUILLANOAN,

alias Cullenwaine.

"From the local pronunciation the parish may be called after '*The White Holly.*'" So in "Letters." But Mr. Joyce pronounces it "*The Corner or Angle of the O'Duanes.*" The parish is in the S. of King's

Co., between Temple-Harry and Castletown Ely. In Down Survey it is stated: "At Coolenane, in this parish, stand the walls of a church and castle, with some Irish cabbins at Branstown."

Corbally.

This name is derived from an Irish word signifying "*odd*," but another authority pronounces it *not* odd, but "uneven." So be it between them.

The parish is situated in Ikerin Barony, three miles from Roscrea. It is bounded on N.W. by Roscrea, on N.E. by King's Coy., on E. and S. by Queen's Coy., on W. by Rathnaveague.

In the townland of Corbally are the ruins of a small abbey, built in form of a cross, 44ft. 6in. by 19ft. 1in., and the S. arm of the cross is 18ft. 6in. by 14ft. 11in., and the northern 17ft. 5in. by 16ft. 6in. In the townland of Timoney are the ruins of an old church 59ft. by 22ft.; also in Cloneen and Glen is the fragment of a remarkable castle of the O'Mahers.

But the gem, and indeed glory, of this parish is to be found in Monaincha, or "*The Island of the Bog.*" Here are the ruins of an ancient and beautiful church, constructed and ornamented in the primitive style—a curious monument surviving after so many centuries to exhibit the taste and civilization of the ancient Irish.

> And on this happy shore, a temple still
> Of small and delicate proportions keeps,
> Upon a mild declivity of hill,
> The memory of thee.

The history of this institution is not altogether lost in the mists of antiquity or distorted by fables, as is the case with so many other churches; and it seems briefly this: that an abbey was founded here by Culdees—that is, "Cultores Dei"—and was originally dedicated to Columba. An island was the site, to which the early Irish Christians were very partial, as already noted in many cases of this diocese. The island got the name of Inish-na-mbeo, or "*The Island of the Living.*" It was also called Innish-locra-cree, or "*The Island of the Lake of Cre.*" Archdall tells us that "the antiquity of this monastery is indisputable." Giraldus Cambrensis mentions what is evidently this foundation as being "situated in N. Munster in a lake containing two islands. In the greater is a church of the ancient religion." Dr. Lanigan IV. 291, raves at this rendering of the words, "Major ecclesiam habet antiquæ religionis," and translates the words, "A church of ancient veneration." Of course, this is because the doctor did not like the idea of any religion or church in Ireland more ancient than the mission which John Paparo inaugurated. And in the lesser island is a chapel, in which a few monks (i.e., *cœlibes*-bachelors) called Culdees devoutly serve God. Then Giraldus goes on to open a package of nonsense about women, sicknesses, life, death, and something about a boat which savours strongly of what Lucian, and before him Herodotus, had written concerning Charon and the death-boat of the Nile Lake.

Finding "the Island of the Living" deadly unwholesome, the residents removed to Corbally, where they became canons regulars of St. Augustine, and had a priory under the name of S. Hilary or Mary.

The building, in its present state, may now claim attention; and first of all, let it be noted that the lake has been drained, and a very careful architect and measurer has given the following description, than which no better has appeared or could well be given, Archdall's account not excepted:—

The Romanesque church stands nearly in the centre of a raised piece of ground of an irregularly circular form, from 80ft. to 90ft. in diameter, and is enclosed by a rubble-stone fence from 4ft. to 5ft. high; the internal ground is level with top of fence. The church consists of *nave* and *chancel*, with a *sacristy* thrown out on the N. wall (as at Kilkeedy, &c.) The masonry is of superior rubble-stones, large, hammer-dressed, of few spawls, and the grey gritstone found near. The *nave* measures 32ft. 9in. by 16ft. 8in. clear of walls, which are 2ft. 8in. and 11ft. to 12ft. in height. The entrance is in W. gable by a very fine doorway 4ft. 3in. by 7ft. 3in., of highly ornamental details. This doorway has been much injured since 1851. The nave is lighted by three windows on S., two a couplet.

The *chancel* measures 9ft. 2in. from E. to W. and 8ft. 2in. from N. to S. Its arch is the most interesting feature of the building, measuring 11ft. 6in. from out to out of pillars, and 13ft. 6in. to top of outside arch. There are three columns in each pier, with double plinths and moulded bases. The bells of the capitals are cone-fluted as in most Norman examples. The pillars are well-proportioned, and the arches enriched. The ornamentation consists of chevrons, plain and enriched triangular panels, and lozenge ditto, with pellets. The entire has a very chaste and pleasing appearance, and is one of the purest specimens of Norman which Mr. Brash had seen. The east window was, same as in nave, not large, but had human heads for capitals. *There is no piscina either in nave or chancel.* (This fact may aid in the solution of a question connected with certain doctrines and practices associated at present with the administration of the Lord's Supper in the Church of Rome.)

The *sacristy* is entered from nave by a pointed doorway, through a small vestibule. Here are the remains of a stair to the sleeping chamber. On the whole, Mr. Brash considers the building more ancient than the door-open or chancel arch. The portion of an antæ, the quoin shafts of the chancel, together with the plain diminutive window opes, are all conclusive evidences that the original church was a plain, unornamented edifice of early date; and that the entrance, chancel-arch, and ornamentation of windows, are all insertions of a later date.

The whole structure and its lands, with the many parishes by which its splendour was ministered to, were passed into secular hands, and were only estimated at the value of 40*s.*—"the greater part of the lands and parishes being waste." There was recently a pedestal of a cross found here—shaft prostrate, with a Crucifixion scene, since removed.

The inscriptions are on a broken stone—

"Or ar Meanach,
Uameal Lugdach."

i.e.,

Pray for Meanach,
The descendant of Meal-
Lugdach.

There is no cross or other device on the stone.

TEMPLEICALLY.

The name signifies *the Church of the Callow or Marsh* of flooded land. The parish is situated with Castletown to north-east, Kilmastulla to east, Kilcomenty to south, Lough Derg to west.

The old church stands on a commanding rise, about 150 paces from the Shannon, and half a mile to south of Killaloe. It measures 62ft. 9in. by 25ft. 6in.; walls 3ft. 6in. thick, by 10ft. in height, and made of brown sand-stone, cemented with mortar of lime and sand. To the north is an old castle, called Cloghnafionna, or *the Rock of the wine.* On a small island, called Friar's Island, stands a remarkable and very ancient stone-roofed chapel of considerable beauty. Grose has a sketch of it, taken when the building was much more perfect than when Du Noyer limned it. Brash has a plan and section, with an elevation of the east window. Lord Dunraven has disclosed the building, by removing the dense covering of old ivy. The best verbal description of it is given by Mr. Brash. Having mentioned about the island as a deposit of sand, gravel, and boulders, he adds, about the centre of the islet is a small church, consisting of a ruined nave and a nearly perfect chancel—the latter being the original oratory of St. Mollua. Its dimensions are 10ft. 6in. by 6ft. 6in., clear of walls, which are 3ft. thick on the flanks, the gables being 3ft. 4in. (or about the same dimensions as Benens on Aran and Senans, near Kilrush). It was lighted by a semi-circular headed opening 1ft. 6in. high, by 9½ft. wide externally, having large inward splays, the head being cut out of a single stone. The original doorway was in west gable: but when the nave was added, the door-ope was cut away and enlarged, and an ope to the chancel constructed, 5ft 9in. wide. The alteration is quite palpable. A rude door-ope was also cut through the south wall of the oratory. Its most remarkable feature, however, is the stone roof, which is constructed of rectangular slabs of various thicknesses, laid in courses, each overlapping the preceding one, and dressed both inside and outside to the rake of the roof, which has the same angle both internally and externally. Under the ridge is a rectangular air-chamber, 2ft. by 1ft. 3in., having an external vent, and communicating internally by a square ope in ceiling of 1ft. 3in., and close to the west gable. This was evidently a chamber for ventilation. It also lightened the dead weight in the apex of roof. It was built with great solidity and care; the masonry was of large-sized rubble, dressed, and accurately fitted; it has been much injured by trees

and ivy. The nave, added at some remote period, was itself a building of great antiquity, 21ft. 5in. by 12ft. 7in. clear of walls, of which are only about 3ft. in height remaining. The west gable fell about twelve years before Mr. B.'s visit. Grose's drawing shows the doorway to have been a massive square-headed ope, with converging jambs. St. Lua, in the early part of the 6th century, built a cell in this place, hence it was named Cell-da-lua. We have every reason to believe that the oratory on Friar's Island was this identical cell. By judicious care it may stand another 500 years, while the more recently-built nave has all but disappeared. (Brash, pp. 9 and 10.)

Mr. Hull's remarks on the formation of rock basins in calcareous limestone are interesting, especially in reference to the peculiarity of Lough Derg, which spreads out widely over the limestone plain before entering the gorge above Killaloe, where the banks of the lough (here merging into the river) are of slate. (See p. 200 Physical Geography of Ireland.) At page 173 the learned writer discusses the question why the Shannon did not run westward towards Galway Bay, but rather cut its way through hard beds of silurian grits and slates, followed by red sandstone, and concludes, "that when the Shannon selected its channel, the ridge of mountains through which it passes was somewhat lower than the plain to the north; in fact the river was older than the mountains." Sir R. Kane calculates a total of over 30,000 horse-power available here all the year round, but not availed of except to a trifling extent in one small marble-works.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATTER.

TULLA PARISH, *supra*, p. 485.

The following curious Irish tradition is noted by Mr. King in his learned "Church History of Ireland" (Suppy. Vol., p. 1047), and it connects the parish of Tulla with the issuing of the celebrated Bull of Pope Adrian IV. in the following manner:—

"The sale of Ireland by the Pope to the Kings of England was brought about, partly at least, under the influence of revenge for injuries inflicted on a Papal officer by the Irish, worried, as it would seem, to resistance by his extortions. The account is as follows:—O'Annoc and O'Chelchin, of Cill-mor, O'Sluaisti, from Cill-O'Sluaisti (*now Coolo-shlushty, a townland in the parish of Tulla, Barony of Upper Tulla, County Clare*), O'Glesom. These were they who stole the horses, and the mules, and the asses of the Cardinal who came from Rome to the land of Erin to instruct it, in the time of Dornhnall Mor O'Brien, King of Munster, *and it was on that account that the cowarba (i.e., successor) of Peter sold the rent and right of Erin to the Saxons*, and that is the right and title which the Saxons follow on the Gaedhill (i.e., the Irish) at this

day, for it was to the cowarba of Peter, to Rome, used to go the rent and tribute of Erin until then."

At the same time, it is but fair to say that the Writer does not know, nor has learned during a protracted residence in Tulla, of any so-named townland; nor does it appear in the "Tythe Composition Book," nor the "Summary of Act of Settlement;" nor has any one of the inhabitants consulted been able to give a good account of this name.

QUIN, *supra*, p. 483.

Some additional monumental inscriptions :—

In the cloisters.—Revd. Mr. Patrick Liddy. 1752.

Revd. Cornelius Hehir, Parochus nuper de Quin. 1759.

Thos. Kendal, in memory of his ancestors and of his son and daughter. 1763.

Dermod Hickey, surgeon. 1738.

Patrick Fall. 1781.

Peter McNamara. 1784.

In the nave are flat stones to the Lynches, Clunes, Hallorans, O'Neills, to Thomas Silver, to the Hogans, Hassetts, &c., &c.

Near the piscina, in transept, is the grave of Moylans, &c., and certain others nameless, besides what have been already noted.

Under the campanile, on the west side, is a broken slab, with letters raised round the border, running somehow thus :—

"HIC JACET JOHANNES CORPUS (?) MACUMARRA . . . 1601 . . . ARRA ME FIERI FECET."

At the right side of great altar we read on a slab, in an elaborate style of decoration—

"This monument was erected by Mahon Danl. McNemara, and repaired by Captn. Teige McNemara of Rannae, A.D. 1714.
Firmitas in cœlo."

Crest : Lion rampant, sword, and dagger.

The inscription round the base was illegible, to the writer at least.

We find among other crowding monuments of the departed, one to "James and Margt. McNemara, in front of the old high altar"; and not to load these pages beyond all endurance, we give but one inscription more :—

"Here lies the body of Edmond McNemara, grandson of Hugh McNemara, of Corbally, 1761."

KILFARBOY, *supra*, p. 505.

A reference having been made to Dr. Ferguson's paper on the Mount Callan Inscription, read Feb. 10, 1873, the following résumé of it may prove acceptable to many readers :—

Theophilus O'Flanagan read the first paper on this subject in R. I. Academy in 1785. His reading purports to have been prompted by some lines which he cites as from an Irish poem called "*The Battle of Gabhra*," to the effect that one of the Fenian heroes named Conan had been slain at the spot by the *Fiaana* on the occasion of an assembly held for worship of the Sun, and that Conan's name, in Ogham characters, existed on his sepulchral stone, where he had been buried on this mountain. He does not pretend to find the name of Conan, *totidem literis*, on the monument, but avers that, according to certain rules of Ogham spelling, the letters *Conaf* appearing there stand for *Conan*, the *n* and *f* being commutable. (Then) he proceeds to extract a series of no less than five several readings from the line of digits constituting the inscription.

The result is unlike any known authentic sepulchral legend of any age or country, and particularly unlike any Ogham formula hitherto observed. As might have been expected, it has been received with very general distrust. It is now a common thing to hear the Callan mountain inscription, and the verses about Conan from the *Cath-Gabhra*, treated as palpable forgeries, the disgrace of which is imputed sometimes to John Lloyd, author of an Account of the County Clare; and sometimes to Michael Comyns, a gentleman of the same county, who distinguished himself as a poet and romance writer, in the Irish language, about the middle of the last century. Much of the obloquy cast on O'Flanagan is divided with General Vallancey, to support whose speculations, about the ancient Irish having been sun-worshippers, is supposed to have been O'Flanagan's object in the fabrication of the impeached verses. These charges have been put forward with much authority by the late John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Carry. Dr. Ferguson then powerfully vindicates Lloyd and O'Flanagan, also Comyns. Of Lloyd the writer may add that he was a teacher or tutor at Mr. Austin Fitzgerald, of Toureen; also was no poet, and any verses in his little work are signed with the initials "T. M.," or Thomas Meehan, who was a teacher of mathematics in Ennis, and whose advertisements are to be found in the files of the *Clare Journal*. Poor Lloyd's weakness lay in potations. He was found dead on the road.

KILFINAGHTY PARISH. Tombstones.

Copied from Tomb, or rather Vault-stones, in Aisle of Sixmile Bridge Church.

STAY - GENTLE - READER - DROP - A - TEAR
FOR - PIOUS - DUST - IS BURIED - HERE -
A - VERTUOUS - WYFE - A - PRUDEN - MOTHER
AND - ZEALOUS - SANT - LIE - HERE - TOGETHER

IER T (This line quite illegible)
THEN - COURTEOUS - READER - CEASE - TO - MOANE
KATIERIN - COTTER - WIFE - TO - RICHARD
COTTER - DEPARTED - THIS - LIFE - THE - 19
DAY - OF - OCTOBER - 1679.

(Spelled as above.)

Here lies the body of Miss Mary Hickman
Who departed this Life the 13th day of May
1771 Aged 28 years
Erected by her brother,
Robert Hickman Esq.

HERE - LYES - THE - BODY - OF - REBEKAH
OA—— (illegible) WIFE TO - IOHN - OWEN (——
illegible) WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
F (—— rest illegible) 1723 AGED (illegible)
(Spelled as above.)

The flag, with the following Inscription, forms the threshold of church door:—

IN THE YEAR OF (rest illegible) LORD
GOD ——————

Letters across stone.
E V T (illegible).

(On opposite side of stone, just as here)
MICKIL CLARK MOISI (illegible)
R (—— rest illegible) DEPARTED
THIS (—— rest altogether illegible)
(Spelled as above.)

KILRUSH PARISH, p. 449, *supra*.

From the plate of the Bell of Senan (as it is called), it seems to have been about 5in. in height and 2½in. at base, and 2in. at the top on the broad portion front and rear; but at the sides it is but 2in., and runs up into a point of less than half-an-inch. The measurements thus given will indicate that this bell was in shape pyramidal and quadrangular, but narrower at the side than on the front. The front face exhibits two grotesque winged serpents, standing erect, back to back, neck interlacing with neck, and with hands (or fins rather) grasping mutually. The forked tongue of each is protuberant, and falls on the wing. Each supports itself on a broad fishy tail. If winged serpents could be supposed to engage in a waltz, these figures seem as if taken just after a sharp

spin, "*a deux temps.*" Light foliage bordering completes the decoration round these lively monsters. The back of the bell is divided into well-proportioned compartments or panels, over which a serpentine decoration is elaborately evolved in intricate coils, reminding one of the tomb decorations of Egypt.

The two ends are taken up with a bold, comprehensive panel, having in each instance a human head, and in one a body draped in diaper robing, and a beast of the leopard tribe rampant, as though making a deadly spring towards the vital parts near the neck of the man. In the other case, though the head above is human and unornamented, an allegorical fiend, wearing a crown like a Roman mural one, seems to have got its death-blow, and is in an attitude of collapse—head aside, wings drooped, and legs falling together. A question will arise as to what this instrument was originally intended for? If for a bell, it could not have been heard at any considerable distance, certainly not "all across Corcavaskin." But if not originally a bell, what else then was it meant for? Was it to embody the tradition of some heaven-sent blessing, its material representing Divinity, its principal figures exhibiting humanity, and its action indicating sin rampant, but grace triumphant? The verse will occur, "I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven," or rather, "Now is the prince of this world cast out." But then it may be maintained, not without good grounds, that this is not a Christian but a Pagan symbolical sacred monument. So some think.

APPENDIX IV.

I. SIR J. PERROTT'S TRIPARTITE DEED.
II. FIANT TO T. O'BRIEN AS SENESCHAL OF BURREN.
III. KING JAMES I.'S LETTER TO SIR D. O'BRIEN OF DOUGH.
IV. O'LOUGHLIN'S TRANSFER.
V. O'CONOR'S DEED.

I°. *This Indenture Tripartite*, made betwixt the Right Honourable Sir John Perrott, Knight, Lord Deputy Generall of Ireland, for and in behalfe of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, of the one parte, and the Lords, spirituall and temporall, Chieftanios, freeholders and ffarmers and inhabitants of lands or holdings in parte or parcell, of the Province of Connaught called Thomond, that is to witt, Donnogh Earl of Thomond, and Morrogh Lord Barron of Inchiquine, the Rev. Fathers in God Mauritius, Bisshopp of Killalow, Daniell Ellecte, Bisshop of Killfinnoragh, Donogh O'Horane, Deane of Killalow, Daniel Shennaghe, Deane of Killfinorogh, Dennis, Archdeacon of the same, Sir Edward Waterhouse, of Downassy, Knight, Sir Terlagh O'Brien, of Ennistyman, Knight, John McNemara, of Cnappogue, otherwise called McNemara, of West Clancullane, Daniell Reagh McNemarra, of Carrowlagh, otherwise called McNemarra, of East Cloncollan, Teige McMahon, of Clonaddorala, otherwise called McMahon, of East Corconwaskine, Terlagh McMahon, of Moyartie, chiefe of his name in West Corcovaskin, Monertagh O'Brien, of Dromaleyne, Gent., Mahonne O'Brien, of Clonduane, Diony O'Laughline, of the Gragans, otherwise called O'Laughline, Rosse O'Laughline, of Glancollumkyle, Tanist to the same O'Laughline, Mahon and Dermot O'Dea, of Tullaghdea, chief of their names, Connor McGilreooghe, of Cragbreane, chief of his name, Terlagh McTeige O'Brien, of Beallacorege, gente, *Luke Brady, sonn and heir of the late Bisshopp of Meath*, Edward White, of the Crattelagh, gente, Geo. Cusake, of Dromoylin, gente, Boetius Clanchy, of Knockffynne, gente, John McNemarra, of the Moetullen, gente, Henery O'Grady, of the Iland of Inchecronan, gente, Donogh McClancy, of the Urlion, chief of his name, Donogh Garragh O'Brien, of Ballecessye, gente, Connor O'Brien, of Curharcorcal, gente, and George Ffanninge, of Lymericke, merchant, of the other parte. *Witnesseth* that where the said whole

countrey or territorie of Thomond is devided into nine principall Barronies, that is to say—

1. The Barony of Tullaghynaspyll.
2. The Barony of Dengynvyggon.
3. The Barony of Clonraude, " otherwise called " the Islands.
4. The Barony of Clunderala, " otherwise called " East Corcawaskine.
5. The Barony of Moarte, " otherwise called " West Corcowaskine.
6. The Barony of Ibrackane.
7. The Barony of Corcumrow, otherwise called Doughycomogher.
8. The Barony of Gragans, otherwise called Borren.
9. And the Barony of Tullaghydae, which containe in themselves, as well by antient division as by later inquisicon and presentment hereunto annexed, the number of " one thousand two hundred fifty-nine quarters and a halfe and one-third part of land, estimating every quarter with his pasture, meaddow, woode, and bogge of att a hundred and twenty acres, as by a more particular layeing downe of ye same in manner and forme following it may appear.

1°. In the Barony of (*Tullaghypyll.*) There is a quantity of land called *Tuomore*, consisting of thirty-nine quarters. Also *Tullœ*, consisting of twelve quarters, belonging to Her Majestie, as in right of the Abbay of Tullœ. Of *Tullaghline*, consisting of thirteen quarters. Also *Tœronye*, consisting of twenty-one quarters. Also *Termonigrady*, consisting of eighteen quarters, belonging to the Queen's Majestie, as in right of the spiritual living of Tomgrenny. Alsoe *Moynose*, consisting of four quarters, belonging to the Queen's Majestie, as in right of the spiritual living of Maynooe aforesaid. Alsoe *Tuogonnill*, consisting of fourteen quarters. Alsoe *Trog*, Killalow, consisting of twenty-eight quarters, whereof belongeth to the *Bisshopricke of Killalow* five quarters. Alsoe *Annaghmore* and *Annaghbegg*, consisting of nine quarters. Alsoe *Tuoglanny*, consisting of twelve quarters. Also *Tuoghiwine*, consisting of fifteen quarters. Alsoe *Toanohowne*, consisting of sixteen quarters. Alsoe *Togherishart*, consisting of seaven quarters. Alsoe *Kyllaclownell*, consisting of forty-four quarters, whereof lyeth in this Barony twenty-two quarters, and in the Barony of Dengynnyviggon other twenty-two quarters, which in ye whole within this Baronie of Tullaghynespeill cometh to *Tuo hundred* twenty-eight quarters.

2°. In the Barony of *Denginyviggon* there is a quantity of land called ye *Tou-Cloncollen-Woghtraghe*, consisting of forty-six quarters. Alsoe *Touenevercone*, consisting of forty quarters. Alsoe *Tollwoghtrugh-Traderee*, consisting of thirty-three quarters, whereof one quarter beareth cheefry to the Byshoprick of Killalow. Also *Tuovannagh-Tradry*, consisting of thirty-nine quarters and a half, whereof of six quarters beareth cheefry to the Bishopricke of Killalow, *Tooightragh-Tradry*, consisting of thirty-eight quarters, whereof two quarters beareth cheefry to the Bisshopricke of Killalow. Allsoe *Tolluomarrod*, consisting of forty-nine quarters. Alsoe *Torrespard*, consisting of seven

quarters. Alsoe *Kynnadownoll*, alias *Killanadownell*, consisting of forty-four quarters, whereof belongeth to this barrony twenty-two quarters as aforesaid, which in the whole within that Baronie cometh to *two hundred seventy-four quarters and a half.*

3°. In the Barony of *Clonraude, otherwise* called the Ilands, there is a quantity of lands called *Coggryanke*, consisting of twenty-three quarters. Alsoe *Icormuck*, consisting of forty-one quarters. Alsoe *Clonranch*, consisting of twelve quarters. Alsoe Killone, *Ballyruthclæ*, consisting of three quarters, belonging to the Queen's Majestie in right of ye Abby of Killoone. Alsoe *Clanchonsodyne*, consisting of four quarters. Alsoe *Belacoryge*, consisting of two quarters. Alsoe *Innisdadroon-Couppal* of one quarter. Alsoe of *Dromiline*, consisting of seaven quarters, belonging to the Bishoprick of Killalow. Alsoe the Abbay of Clare, consisting of fifteen quarters, belonging to the Queen's Majestie as in right of said Abbay. Alsoe *Tubermaley*, consisting of one quarter. Alsoe *Ballynicoody*, consisting of three quarters. Alsoe *Killyglasse*, consisting of two quarters. Alsoe *Knockneballymock*, consisting of one quarter. Alsoe *Illannagananagh*, consisting of two quarters, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to one hundred and seaveenteene quarters.

CLONDERLAW.

4°. In the Barronie of *Clonedderalae*, otherwise called East Corcowaskine, there is a quantity of land called *Tramolke*, consisting of fourteen quarters, whereof one quarter beareth cheefry to the Bishopricke of Killalowe. Alsoe Tooenefyorny, consisting of thirteen quarters, whereof one quarter beareth cheefery to the Bishop of Killalowe. Alsoe Toeaallae, consisting of thirteen quarters *Di*, whereof two quarters *Di* beareth cheefry to the Bishopricke of Killalowe. Alsoe Tuonekelly, consisting of thirteen quarters, whereof five quarters beareth cheefry to the said Bishopricke. Alsoe Tocœagneagh, consisting of eleven quarters, whereof three quarters beareth cheefry to the said Bishopricke of Killaloe, which in the whole within the Barony cometh to three score five quarters.

MOYARTIE.

5°. In ye Baronie of *Moyartie*, otherwise called *West Corkowaskine*, there is a quantity of land called *Aghamoanagh*, consisting of twenty-six quarters, whereof fourteen quarters beareth cheefry to *the Bishopricke of Killalow.* Also the west side of the said Barony, consisting of forty-one quarters, whereof twenty-three beareth cheefry to the said Bishoprick of Killalow, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to sixty-seven quarters.

IBRACKANE.

6°. In the Barony of Ibrackane, there is contained *sixty quarters*, which the said Earl of Thomond challengeth wholly and freely to himselfe; alsoe in *Penle Mullou Killarnane* and in *Enlagh* one quarter; alsoe Cloghoane and Dremardlough, consisting of two quarters challenged by the said Earle to his household officers, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to sixty-three quarters.

CORCOMROE.

7°. In the Barony of Corcomroe, otherwise called *Doughiconnoghr*, there is a quantity of land called *Tollwoughter-fflahertie*, consisting of forty quarters, whereof belongeth to ye Bisshopricke of Killfynnoragh two quarters, do. to the Deanery of the same one quarter, and unto the Queen's Majesty as in right of the Abbay of Killoone one quarter; also *Toowoughter-She*, consisting of forty-five quarters, whereof belongeth in right of the Abbay of Killsonnagh five quarters, and to ye Bishopricke of Kilfynnoragh seven quarters; alsoe *Tooraine*, consisting of thirty quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Kilfinnoragh seven quarters; alsoe *Quoilea*, consisting of twenty-six quarters, whereof belongeth to the said bishopricke half a quarter, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to one hundred and forty-one quarters.

GRAGANES.

8°. In the Barony of *Graganes*, otherwise called *Borren*, there is a quantity of land called *Toofflanneth*, consisting of twenty-five quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of *Killfynnoragh* two quarters and two-third parts of a quarter; also *Toonagh*, consisting of thirty-seven quarters and one-third part, whereof belongeth to the said Bishopricke of Kyllfynnoragh six quarters and one-third part, and to the Bishopricke of Killalow two quarters one-third part; also *Moynterargagh*, consisting of twelve quarters one-half part, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killfynnoragh one quarter; also *Glannomannagh*, consisting of twenty-one quarters and two-third parts, whereof belongeth to the Queen's Majestie as in right of the Abbay of Corcomroe ten quarters and two-thirds, and to the Bishopricke of Killfynnoragh two quarters and two-third parts; also Gloight-Donough-O'Loghline, conconsisting of eight quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killfynnoragh one quarter one-third part; also Gloight-Jerroll, consisting of nine quarters one-third part, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killfynnoragh one quarter and a third part; also the Towne of the Gragannes, consisting of two quarters two-third part; also Muckenish, two-third parts; also *Carricogane*, consisting of one quarter one-third part; also the island called Aghnis, consisting of one quarter one-third part, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to one hundred and twenty-seven quarters and one-third part.

TULLAGHADEA.

9°. In the Barony of Tullaghadae there is a quantity of land called *Cloonofarrane*, consisting of nineteen quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killalow four quarters; also *Too Inchiguine*, consisting of seven quarters; also *Moynee*, consisting of four quarters; also *Toenovicke*, consisting of fifteen quarters; also *Toevalaryne*, consisting of fourteen quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killalow four quarters; also *Toekmalwoyre*, consisting of seventeen quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishopricke of Killalow four quarters; also the *Dyserte*, consisting of four quarters, belonging to the Bishopricke of Killa-

low; also *Killfynnan Kilceoriske*, consisting of two quarters, belonging to the Bishopricke of Killalow; also *Magheryfargagh*, consisting of three score and twelve quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishoppricke of Killalow one quarter; also *Tullaghcomone*, consisting of two quarters; alsoe *Killowlaghy*, consisting of thirty-two quarters; also *Aghryme*, consisting of one quarter, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to one hundred three score and seventeen quarters. All which being drawn into one total cometh to the aforesaid number of one thousand two hundred fifty-nine quarters and a half and one-third part, whereof belongeth unto Her Majestie three score and eight quarters two-third parts, and to the aforesaid Lords Spritual one hundred twenty-seven quarters.

The said lords, cheiftenios, gents, freeholders, and ffarmers, acknowledging the *manyfould benefitts and easements* which they find in possessing of their lands and goods, since the peaceable government of the said Lord Deputy, and the just dealinge of Sir Richard Binghame, Knight, their chief officer, as well against comon malefactors and spoyllards, also against *the unmeasurable cesses and oppresssions of all sorts of men of war heretofore laid upon them*, have in consideration thereof, and for that alsoe, the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputie doth promise, covenant, and grant to and with the said lords, chieftenios, gents, freeholders, and inhabitants of the said County of Thomond, for and in the behalfe of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, that they and every of them, their heirs, successors, and assigns, for their lands within the said County of Thomond, shall from and after the date hereof be freely and *wholy discharged, acquitted and exonerated for ever of and from all manner* of customs, taxes, charges, exactions, cuttings, impositions, purveying cuttings, findings, or boarding of souldiers, and *all other burdens whatsoever other than the rents, reservations, and charges hereafter in this indenture specified, and to be enacted by Parliament*, willingly and thankfully for them, their heirs, successors, assigns, given and granted, like as hereby they do give and grant to the said Right Honourable, the Lord Deputy, and his heirs, to the use and behooffe of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, her heirs and successors for ever, *one yearly rent charge of ten shillings of good and lawful money of England, going out of every quarter of one thousand fourscore and seventeen quarters* of the aforesaid number of one thousand two hundred and fifty-nine quarters D, and one-third part of land, within the whole, amounteth yearly to the sum five hundred forty-three pounds tenn shillings sterling, payable at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangell and Easter, by even portions; the first payment to begin at the feast of St. Michael the Archangell next ensuing the date hereof, and so yearly for ever at the severall feasts aforesaid, at Her Highness's Exchequer, within the same realm of Ireland, or to the hands of ye Treasurer or General Receiver of the said realme for the time being. And for the lacke of money to be paid into the Exchequer as aforesaid, the same Treasurer or General Receiver to receive kyne to the value of the said rent, or soe much thereof as shall remain unpaid att ye rate of thirteen shillings four pence sterling, for every good and lawful beof.

And iff it fortune the said rent of five hundred forty-three pounds tenn shillings sterling, to be behind and unpaide in part, or in all, in manner and form aforesaid, that then it shall be lawfull unto the said Right Honourable, the Lord Deputie, or other governor or governors of this realm, for the time being, or to the Treasurer, or General Receiver for the time being, to enter and distrain in all and singular the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the said one thousand four score and seaven quarters, soe being in arrear, and the distress taken, to detain and keep until the said yearly rent as aforesaid be fully and wholly satisfied and paid. Provided always that if it fortune any part of the quarters subject to this composition to be so *wast, as that it beareth neither horne nor corne*, that the same be not laid upon the rest that is inhabited, till the lands so wast be inhabited as aforesaid.

And further, the persons above named, for them, their heirs, successors, and assigns, doe covenant, promise, and grant to, and with the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy, and his heirs for and in the behalf of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, her heirs and successors, *not only to answer and beare yearly for ever to all hostings, rades, and journys* within the said Province of Conaught *and Thomond, whereas* and ( ) at what time they shall be thereunto commanded by the Lord Deputy, or other governor or governors of this realme, or by the chiefe officer of the said province, *forty good able horsemen and two hundred footmen, well armed, upon their owne proper costs and charges, over and besides the rent aforesaid* (the lands assigned by this indenture as domains to the mannors and houses of the late Earl of Thomond, the Barron of Inchiquine, and the Bisshopps of Killalow and Killfynnoragh, always excepted); but *also to answer and beare all general hostings* proclaimed in this realme, fifteen good and able horsemen and fiftie footmen, well armed and furnished with carriage and victualls upon their own proper costs and charges, during the time of the said hostings, if the Lord Deputy or other governor of this realm, for the time being, doe require the same, *securing* and *reserving always*, this priviledge and favour of Her Majesties grace to the said Earl of Thomond, the Lord Barron of Inchiquine, and the Bishops of Killalow and Kilfynnoragh, that they shall in no other sort or manner answer or beare to this general hosting then as their peers of English—earles, barrons, and bishops doth or ought to doe. And *further, it is condescended (sic), concluded, and agreed* as well by the said Right Honble. the Lord Deputy for and in the behalf of the Queene's Most Excellent Majestie, and also by the said Donough Earl of Thomond, Murrough Baron of Inchiquin, Sir Tyrrolagh O'Brien, Knight, John Macnemarra, Daniel Roough McNemarra, Teige McMahoune, Tyrlagh McMahoune, Bryan (or Owen) Laughline, Rosse O'Laughline, Mahoune O'Dae, Dermott O'Dae, and Conor McGillreowgh, *and others of the Irishry above named*, in manner and forme following, (viz.) that *the names, stiles, and titles of captaines ships, Tanish ships, and all other Irish authorities and jurisdictions heretofore used by the said chieftaines and gentlemen, together with all ellection and customary division of lands, occasioning*

great strife and contention amongst them, shall from henceforth be utterly *abolished, extinct, renounced,* put back within the said county of Thomond *for ever.* In consideration whereof, and for that Her Majestie doth graciously mind the benefit and advancement of every good subject according to his degree, *by reduceing of their uncertain and unlawful manner of takeing from others to a certain and more beneficial state of liveing for them and their heirs than their said pretended titles and claimes did or could hitherto afford them.* The said Right Honble. Lord Deputy for and in behalfe of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, and also the aforesaid lords, chieftains, gents, and freeholders, on the behalfe of themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of the said countrey, doth covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Donogh, Earle of Thomond, That where the Barrony of Ibrickane consisteth of three-quarters of land fully exonerated and discharged, the said Donogh, Earl of Thomond, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy to him and to the heirs males of the body of his grandfather Donough O'Brien, late Lord Barron of Ibrickane, the said three score and three-quarters of *land freely exonerated and discharged from the said composition of five hundred and forty-three pounds ten shillings sterling, as a domain to his castles of Ibraccane, Cahirnishe, and Downorgan, with all the goods and chattels of persons* attainted of felony that shall happen or chance to dwell or inhabit within the aforesaid three score and of land, *all other casualties* and amerciaments that shall grow from time to time within the same; and whereas the Barrony of *Clonrande* consisteth of one hundred and seaventeen quarters of land, whereof thare is of abbey land eighteen quarters, and belonging to the Bisshoprick of Killalow seaven quarters, and soe remaineth three score and twelve quarters. It is likewise agreed that the said earle shall have, hold, possess, enjoy to him and his heirs for ever as aforesaid, *twelve quarters* of the said remainder as a *domayne* to his mannor of CLONRANDE, and one quarter to his *Castle of Clare,* freely exonerated and discharged of and from the said composition, and alsoe out of every quarter of the residue of the said quarters, being three score and nineteen five shillings sterling, amounting by the year to *nyneteen pounds* 15*s.* ½*d. sterling, in full recompense of all duties, exactions, and spendings by him claymed* upon the ffreeholders of the same note, charging the portion of the wast land upon the inhabitted; and that they and every of them according to his estate, their heirs and assigns, shall hold the said three score and nineteen quarters of the said earle and the heirs males of his grandfather as aforesaid *by knight's service; that is to say, by the fortieth part of a knight fee* (?) *and the rent aforesaid as of his* mannor of Clonronde, and *shall doe suite to his Courte Barron and Courte Leete of the said mannor,* together with all the goods and chattles of persons attained of felonie that shall happen or chance to dwell and inhabitt within the aforesaid quarters of land assigned to him as well in *domayne as in services,* and all other casual ammercements that shall grow from time to time within the said townlands.

And whereas the Barrony of Dongynnyviggoon consisteth of 274

quarters, di., whereof belongeth to the Bisshoppricke of Rallatnoe (sic, quere *Killaloe*), nine quarters, and allowed to McNemarras, and ssone by way of freedome six quarters, and nine quarters in controversie betwixt the Barron of Inchiquine and Sir Tirlagh O'Briene, and soe remaineth two hundred and fiftie quarters di. It is farther covenanted, promised, granted, and agreed by the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputie for and in the behalfe of the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie and the aforesaid Lord Chieftains, gents, and freeholders on the behalfe of themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of the County of Thomond, that for the better support or care of the state and dignitie of the said Earle, he shall have to him and his heirs as aforesaid *six quarters* of the aforesaid 250 quarters di. as a domain *to his Castle of Bunratty, freely exonerated and discharged of the said composition.* And one yearly rent charge of 5*s.* sterling goeing out of the residue of the said quarters, being 244 quarters di. to him and his heirs as aforesaid, amounting by the yeare to 62*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, not charging the portion of the wast land upon the inhabitted. *In full recompense of all duties, exactions, and spendings by him claymed upon the freeholders of the same,* and that they and every of them, their heirs, and assigns, according to his rate, shall hold the same of the said Earle, and the heirs males of his grandfather, *by Knight's service,* that is to say, by the 40th part of a Knight's fee, and the rent aforesaid, as of his Castle of Bunratty, and shall alsoe doe suite to his Court Barron and Courtleete of his said Castle, together with all the goods and chattles of persons attainted of felony that shall happen or chance to dwell and inhabit within the aforesaid quarter of land assigned to him, as well in domayne as in services, and all other casualties and amerciaments that shall grow from time to time within the same.

And whereas the Barrony of Tullaghynaspyll consisteth of 228 quarters, whereof belongeth to the spiritual living of Tomgeny, Tullagh, and Moynooe, thirty-four quarters, to the Bishoprick of Killalow, five quarters, to ye Barron of Inchiquine, eighteen quarters, and to *McNemarra Rough,* as a freedome allowed him by this indenture, six quarters, to *Sir Edward Waterhouse,* Knight, nine quarters, whereof allowed to him as a free domaine to his Castle of Downasse, eight quarters, soe remaineth 156 quarters. It is upon like consideration, granted, covenanted, and agreed, as well by the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy as the said Lords Chieftains, gents, freeholders, and the rest above-named, that the said Earle shall have to him and his heirs, masles as aforesaid, one yearly rent charge *of 5s. sterling, goeing out of every quarter of the said remaine of one hundred fifty-six quarters,* amounting by the yeare to 39*l.* sterling (not charging the portion of the wast land upon the inhabitted) *in full recompense of all his duties, exactions, and spending by him, claymed upon the freeholders and inhabitants* of the said Barrony, and that they and every of them (according to his rate), their heirs and assigns shall hold the same of the Queen's Majestie, his heirs and successors by Knight service, that is to say, by the 40th part of a Knight's fee as of Her Majestie, or mannour of

Innyshe, in the County Clare, with the *moyety* or *half fondeale* (sic) of all the goods and chattles of persons attainted of felonie that shall happen or chance to dwell and inhabitt within the aforesaid, 156 quarters of land, and all other casualties (&c., vide supra).

And whereas the Barronie of Clonderrealae consisteth of sixty-five quarters, whereof belongeth to the Bishop of Killalow 14 quarters, and to McMahowne, as a freedom allowed to his house of Clonedarralea and Dongen, 6 quarters, and so remaineth 45 quarters. It is upon like consideration granted, &c., that the Earle shall have to him and his heirs as aforesaid one yearly rent-charge of 5*s.* sterling, gooing out of every quarter of said 45, amounting by year to 11*l.* 5*s.*, &c., by 40 parts of a Knight's fee as of her house or mannor of Innyshe, in the County of Clare, with the moyetie or halfendall of all the goods and chattles, of possessions, &c. (as above).

Moyartie, 67 quarters.

Bishoprick Killaloe, 37.

Turlough McMahonne, as a free domain to his house of Moyartie and Dounehoissie.

Quarters 6

43

And so remaineth..... —24 quarters.

It is upon like consideration, &c., 5*s.* a quarter, or 6*l.*

The Baronie of Gragganes consisteth of quarters 127

	Qrs.
Bishoprick of Kyllfennoragh..... in chiefery.	10⅔
In domaine to his house in Kyllfyn noragh and Killas hykll mannor.	A
Bishop Killalow in chiefry	2⅔
To O'Laughline as a free domain to his houses of the Gragranes and Glancollowkylly.....	6
	23⅓

And soe remaineth 104

To said Earle 5*s.* a year, or 26*l.*, and the rest as above.

Barrony of Tullaghada, quarters..... 177

Bishoprick Killalow 19

156 (8)

The *Lord Barron of Inchiquine,* for ye better supportacon of his name and dignity, shall hold, possess, and enjoy to him and his heirs male of the body of his great grandfather Morrough O'Brien 6 quarters,

as a domain to his Manor of Inchiquine, freely exonerated, &c., and discharged of and from this composition and all other rents and demands of the Earle of Thomond; and the said Lord Barron shall *have* also to him and his heirs males as aforesaid one yearly rent-charge of 5*s.* sterling, gooening out of every quarter of the residue, or 38*l.* sterling per annum (conditions of duty and obligation mutually as above, but to Lord Barron of Inchiquine); alsoe said Lord Barron shall have, hold seven quarters of his own land in Barony of Tullaghynaspyll freely discharged of this composition.

And further, Lord Bisshop of Killalow and his successors shall have 5 quarters of land as a domain to his house or manor of Killalow freely exonerated and discharged of this composition, with all the goods and chattles of persons attainted of felonie and all other casualties and amerciaments growing of the inhabitants dwelling within the said 5 quarters from time to time; and that allsoe the Lord Bishop of Kilfynnoragh and his successors *like freedom* in 4 quarters as a domain adjoining to his houses of Killfynnoragh and Killaspicklomann, in Barony of Corcomroe.

And further, with *the said Tirlogh O'Briene*, Knight, that where the Barronie of Corcamroe consisteth of 147 quarters, whereof belongeth to the Queen 6 quarters, to Bishop Killfynoragh 17, *to Dean* 1 *quarter*, 3 *quarters di. allowed to Boetius Clanchye as a free domain to his house or castle of Knockfine and soe* remaineth 114 quarters, that the said Turlogh O'Briene, for the better maintenance of said degree, whereunto it hath pleased the Queen's Majestie to call him, shall possess and enjoy to him and his heirs 14 quarters *of the aforesaid as a domain to his house of Douoghyconuogher, Innyshtyman*, and *Ballynelackney*, within the said Barronie, freely exonerated and discharged of and from this composition, and of and from all other rents and *demands of the Earle of Thomond* and his heirs. And that the said Sir Tirlough shall have to him and his heirs one yearly rent-charge of 5*s.* sterling, gooing out of every quarter of the aforesaid 100 quarters, amounting by year to 25*l.*, not charging the portion of the wast land upon the inhabitants *in full recompense of all duties, exactions, and spending claymed*, as well by him as by the Earle of Thomond, upon the freeholders of the said Barrony, and that they and every of them according to his rate, their heirs and assigns shall hold the same of the same (said Sir Tirlough and his heirs) for ever as of his castle or mannor of Doughyconougher, in the Barrony aforesaid, by Knight's service, viz., by the 40th part of a Knight's fee and the rent aforesaid, and shall alsoe doe suit to the Court Barron and Leete of the said castle or manor of *Doughyconnougher*, with all the goods, &c., &c., *within said* 14 *quarters assigned as* domain, with the moyetie or *half-endall of like royaltie* growing from time to time within the said 100 quarters of land assigned to him in service. And it is likewise covenanted, granted, &c., &c., with *Shane McNemarra*, otherwise called *McNemarra Sinne*, that for his better maintenance of living he shall hold, &c. . . . . for his heirs and assigns for ever for the castle (?) of *Cnappocke*, in the Barrony of Dongynnyviggoon, with four quarters of

land with their appurtenances belonging to the same, and two quarters of land with their appurtenances in the *town of Dangen* freely exonerated and discharged of and from this composition of and from all other rents or demands of the Earle of Thomond and his heirs, together with all the goods and chattles of persons attained, &c., &c. . . . . and shall also hold and possess 19 quarters of land, with their appurtenances belonging to the same, whereof he is now to be seized as his inheritance, the same to be holden of Her Majestic, &c., by Knight's service, viz., by the twentieth (sic) part of a Knight's fee as of her house or mannor of Innysh. And that after the decease of the said Shane McNemarra all such rents, duties, and customs as are challenged to be belonging to the name of McNemarra Sissine shall (in consideration that the same is nott extorted and—) be henceforth utterly determined and extinct for ever.

And it is likewise covenanted, granted, promised, and agreed as aforesaid to and with *Daniell Roogh McNemarra*, otherwise McNemarra Roogh, that for his better maintenance of living he shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and for ever the castle of *Garruaroghe, in the Barony of Tullaghnaspyll*, with four quarters of land with their appurtenances belonging to the same. And two quarters of land with their appurtenances, belonging to the town of Dongen, wholly exonerated and from composition, &c., to Earle of Thomond, &c., and shall alsoe have 11 quarters of land, whereof he is said to be now seized, as his inheritance in the Barrony of Tullaghynaspyll, the same to be holden of Her Majestie by Knight's service, viz., one-twentieth part of a Knight's fee, as of her Majestie's house or manor of Innyshe. And that after the decease of the said Danl. Roogh McNemarra all such rents, duties, and customs as are claymed to be belonging to the name of McNemarra Roogh in consideration that the same is but extorted shall be henceforth extinguished and determined for ever.

And it is likewise covenanted to and with *Tiege McMahowne*, otherwise called McMahowne, that for his better maintenance of living, his heirs, &c., shall have, hold, &c., for ever the *Castle of Clonderlaw*, in the Barony of Clonedderlaw, with three quarters of land, with their appurtenances freely belonging to the same, and to his Castle of Dongen, three quarters, &c., each one rated, &c., and shall also enjoy eleven quarters on Knight's service; and that after decease of said Teige McMahone all such rents, duties, and *customs as are challenged to be belonging to the name of McMahowne*, shall in consideration that the same is butt extorted, be extinguished, &c., &c.

And it is likewise, &c., that the *said Tirlagh McMahowne* shall hold the towne of *Moyartie* with two quarters, and the Castle of *Downobegg* with four quarters, also four quarters.

And it is likewise covenanted, &c., with Owen O'Laughline, otherwise called O'Laughline, that for his better maintenance, &c., and shall hold, &c., the *Castle of the Graganes* and the Castle of Glancollidkylle, with two quarters of land discharged from demands of Earl of Thomond or Tirlagh O'Briene, their heirs, &c., to be holden by Knight's fee, and that after decease of, &c , as above.

Also it is likewise, &c., with *Mahowne O'Briene of Clonduane* (?) . . . . . said Castle of Clonduane, ... with six quarters freely exonerated from composition, rents, claims, demands of Earl of Thomond and the Lord Barron of Inchiquine, on Knight's service, &c. . . . . (N.B.—No reservation of life use, as supra.)

And it is condiscended, granted, &c., for better inhabiting of *Sir Edward Waterhouse, Knight, to inhabit the lands which he has purchased in the said County of Thomond, bordering upon ill neighbours*, that he shall have, hold, possess, &c., to him, and heirs, and assigns, the Castle of *Downassye, otherwise called Annaghmore in the Barrony of Tullaghnaspyll*, which and with eight quarters of land, with their appurtenances, &c. The same to be holden in soccage, according to the tenure and purport of Her Majesties' letters, bearing date xxviii.th Augusti, in the xxviii.th yeare of Her Majesty's reign, discharged from all manner of services, other than are mentioned in the letters patents.

And that *Doctor James Neylaine, in respect of his assistance and good inclynation towards the State*, whereof he hath good testimony, under the hands of many governours of this realme, shall have, hold, &c., to him, his heirs, and assigns, the Castles of *Ballaly*, *Ballyvickahill, and Ballycowrie* with 240 acres of land to them belonging freely *acquitted, exonerated, &c., from composition*, rents, demands, &c., of the Earl of Thomond, McNemarra, or any other, for him and heirs for ever, to be holden by knight's service,—viz., one-fortieth part of a knight's ffee, as of her said house and manor of Innigshe.

And that *Boetius Clancy, of Knocfynne, gent., in regard of his birth, learning, and good bringing upp*, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy, to him, his heirs, and assigns, the said Castle of Knockfynne, with three-quarters and a half of land, with their appurtenances freely acquitted, exonerated, and discharged of and from this composition, and from all rents and demands of Sir Torlagh O'Briene, or any other, their heirs and assigns, together with all the goods, &c. . . . . Alsoe *Edward White*, Clarke of the Councill, in the said Province of Conaght, shall, in consideration of his service, have, hold, possess, and enjoy to him and his heirs, *the Castle of Crattalagh*, with three quarters of land lying in the said *Crattagh Kuyrenboy, Portreyne, and Clansynshon*, freely exonerated, &c., also of all duties, &c., from McNemarra, or other, to be holden of the Queen's Majesty, by Knight's service—viz., 40 part, &c.

And that alsoe George Cusacke of *Dromolyne*, in the Barrony of Danginnyviggoon, gent., shall for his better encouragement to inhabit the west land by him purchased in the said county, have, hold, possess, enjoy to him and his heirs the said Dromolyne with four quarters of land belonging to the same, freely exonerated and discharged, &c., by Knight's service.

And the said Lords and Temporal and chieftains, gents, freeholders, farmers and inhabitants, for them and either of them, their heirs, successors and assigns, have and by these presents doe give full power,

consent and assent that the present deed indented in Court of Chancery there to of record for ever.

In Witness whereof each of the aforesaid parties have hereunto putt there seales and subscribed the seaventeenth day of August, Anno Domini, 1585, in the seaventeenth year of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

Do. Thomond.
Mauriti Laoon.
Donaldi Syne (Brien) ?
Dame Marie M. G. Garrett Inchiquine for the young Barron her Sonne.
Therlagh O'Briene.

1. Meriortagh O'Briene (mark, M. B.).
2. McNemarra Roogh (mark, D.).
3. Teige McMahowne (T. M.).
   Tirlagh McMahowne.
4. Mahowne O'Dia (is marke D).
5. Mahowne O'Briens (M. V.).
6. Owen O'Loghlins (marke D.).
7. Rosse O'Loghlins (marke T. S.).
   Edward White.
   Geo. Cusacke.
   James Nelleyne.
   Boetius Clanchy.
8. Connor McGilreaghs (marke D.).
9. Donogh Glanckoigh (is marke W.).
10. Conor O'Brienes (marke, G. O.).
    George Ffeminge.

Whereas humble suite is made unto us by the three daughters and co-heirs of Thady McMurrough O'Brien, of Ballingown, Tirlagh McTeige O'Brien, of *Boolacorige*, Murrough Mc Connor O'Brien, of *Cahirmonan*, and Moriatagh McConor O'Brien of Drumleyne, to grant unto them certaine quarters of land free of her Majesty's composition in respect of their birth and dignitie, viz., the Castle of Ballycarre and two quarters of land thereunto belonging to Onora Ny Brien; the Castle of Tullamore and four quarters of land with their appurtenances, to Slany ny Brien and Ony ny Brien; the Castell of Bealytige (?) with three quarters . . . . . (lacuna) Inyshelane adjoining to . . . . . (lacuna) . . . . . the first part at Inyshoviccony . . . . . to Conor O'Brien, Caharnonane with three quarters of land and appurtenances, viz., the quarters of Cahernonanmore, the quarter of Carroowgane, Curragh-fflaherty, the quarter of Ballypadine to Morortagh O'Conor O'Brien of Dromlyne, the quarter of the Castle of Dromlyne, the quarter of Clensoghine, adjoining to the same, and the quarter of *Manish Begg*, belonging to the house of Manisbegg, although we can-

not grant the same, without breaking the Order of Her Majesties composition, yet we think reasonable that the same be granted unto them by Letters Pattents from Her Majestie iff soe itt shall stand with the pleasure of the Right Honble.

2603.

II°. Grant unto our well-beloved Tireleigh O'Brien, Esq., son of Sir D. O'B., Knight, the office of seneschall of the two Baronies of Corkamrowe and Burren, in Co. Clare, province of Munster, to enjoy the said office, with profits, &c., during so long time as he shall, will, and uprightly behave himself in the exercise of the said office. And further, we give full power and authority to the said Sir T. O'B. to call together and assemble all freeholders, farmers, and all other the inhabitants being abiding and dwelling within the said baronies of what profession, nation, degree, or condition . . . to charge and command to do what shall be for the defence of the two baronies, the public wealth of the inhabitants of the same, or punishments of malefactors.

Sir T. is to prosecute, invade, chase away, banish, withstand, punish, correct by all manner of ways and means, all malefactors, their servants, followers, adherents, which are or shall be malefactors, rebels, vaccabounds, (sic) *rimnors, Irish harpers, idell men and women*, and all such unprofitable members whatsoever, &c. All to assist.

Letters to be made patents, &c. 13 March, 1575.

III°. King James' letter to Daniel O'Brien, son of Sir Turlough O'Brien.

Whereas, at the humble suit of the inhabitants of the province of Connaught and county of Clare, we signified our pleasure to be to accept a surrender of them of all such lands as they respectively should be found to be seized and possessed of, and by one or more grants under the great seal of that of our realm to grant the same unto them, their heirs and assignes, or such person or persons, his or their heirs and assignes, as they shall nominate and appoint as of our Castle of Athlone by . . . services.

We are informed by the humble suit of our faithful subject Daniel O'Brien, of Dowagh Iconogher, in our said county of Clare, Esqre., son and heir-apparent unto Sir Turlough O'Brien, Knight, that by the indentures of composition made in the seven and twentieth year of our late sister Queen Elizabeth it was, amongst other things, agreed that all the lands in the Barony of Corkamrowe, in our said county of Clare (except the lands of the Bishop of Kilfenora and some other few parcels in the said indentures mentioned), should be hould of the said Sir Turlough, his heirs, by certain services and yearly rents, with services and rents . . . surrenders unto us by force of our foresaid warrant and letters patents thereupon to be made, our said subject Daniel O'Brien, unto whom his said father conveyed the premises, is in danger to lose if we out of our princely bounty prevent not the same.

And therefore hath humbly besought us to be graciously pleased to grant that in all grants from us to be made by force of our said warrant

of and lands, tenements, or hereditaments within the said Barony of Corkamrowe, the immediate tenure be reserved to be holden of the said Daniel, his heirs and assignes by the services and yearly rents mentioned by the said indentures unto his said father, to whose humble suit we have condescended. Wherefore we will and authorize you to provide and take order that in all grants to be passed from us of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, within the said barony, by force of our said warrant, to any person or persons other than the said D. O'Brien, the immediate tenure be reserved unto the said Daniel, &c., by the services and yearly rents mentioned for his father by the said indentures.

And that the immediate (right) be reserved unto us, our heirs and successors, in such manner as in our former warrant is expressed.

And we are further pleased, and so do will and authorize to cause to be passed by grant from us under the great seal of that realm unto the said Daniel, &c., all such courts, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions within the said barony, as in and by the said indentures we mentioned for his said father with such other liberties, prvileges, and immunities as to you shall be thought fit. And these our letters shall be as well to your own deputy and chancellor there now being as to any other, &c., hereafter given under our signet at our palace at Westminster, the four and twentieth day of December, in the 19th year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the five and fiftieth, &c., &c.

To the Lord Viscount Grandison,
our Deputy, &c., &c. 30 Nov., 1621.

IV°. Copy of an Irish writing which the slucht or descendants of Muilleaghin O'Loughlin past to Conor O'Brien, the original remaining with Boetius MacClancy, of Knockfyn. 9th June, 1590.

Be it known to all men who read or hear writing that we are now in existance of the descendents of Malleikey O'Loughlin, of Ballyvaughan, i.e., Trial, the son of Ross, and Donogh the son of Brien, and Lucius the son of Mahon, of Ballyayvola, in the agrement that passed between Connor the son of Turlough O'Brien, the great grandfather of the present Earl and our progenitors, to be from ourselves unto you Donogh O'Brien, and in concordance with that here we sign these in presence of those people who will be as witness to this instrument, and this is the agreement.

All those the descendents of Mallakey and of Ballyvaughan and of Binnrow, and all their hereditary estates to be made over all conferred by us and our heirs on Connor O'Brien and his heirs after him, and that we and they are bound not to sell or mortgage any castle or estate but by and with the consent of Connor or his heirs after him, and that said Connor or his heirs are the true heirs of Mallakey. And we further bind ourselves to be at his will, and our dependants also to be at the will, of Connor O'Brien and his heirs after him.

Furthermore, I, the Earl of Thomond, acknowledge on my honour that I promised whatever part of the estates or castles belonging to these

people that came to perfection that I will leave it to the arbitration of Boetious MacClanchey, John Tirney, and Eugene O'Daly to be from the Earl unto them, and we will not put any of the lands that Boetious MacClanchey holds in this agreement, anno x.p. 1590. This 9th day of June, at Knockfinn, we gave our consent to this writing and signed it in concordance with the old agreement, and the heirs of those people to be bound for ever one to the other.

I, Gilbert Dovoren, wrote this copy.

Donogh Thomond.

Donogh O'Loughlin copia vera ex lbs.

Bat Clancy Nial O'Loughlin, written deade, was written, read, and published.

John Tierney.
Eugene O'Daly.

O'Conor's Deed.

V°. Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos per præsens scriptum pervenerit. Salutem. Sciatis, nos Teige McPhelim O'Conor, de Killeylagh, gent.; Cahil McMahown O'Conor, de Cahirmenaubeg.

Donell Mc—— O'Conor, de Fantii, gent.; Conor McOwen O'Conor, de Ballyhea, gent.; Conor MacConor O'Conor, de Innisdyman, gent.; Bryen Mohoone O'Conor, de Liskannor, gent.; Brian McCahil O'Conor, de Down-na-goarr, gent.; Donell McTeige O'Conor, de Glan, gent.; Edmund Altie McRory O'Conor, de Ballygrical, gent.; et Brian McConor O'Conor, de Innishdyman, gent.

Remisisse, relaxasse, et oño de nobis et hereditibus nris. imppetund Terrentio al Therrallay O'Briean, de Innishdyman, in Co. Clare. Armigero totum jus nostrum, titulum et clameum quod habemus, vel aliqus nostrum habet, vel habere in futuro poterimus, de et in omnibus terris et tenementis et heriditamentis.

Dough alias Dough I. Conor, Innisdyman, LisCannor, Dunebal Jehearie Dunnagoar. Tulla, Innishovehause et Ballagh in Corckomoroe, alias Barronia de Dough in al. Terralagh, heredibus et assignatis suis imppetum. ad proprium usum dic Ter. also Tarralagh et hered. su. aliquid jus, Titulum vel Clameum in premissis habere poterimus. In cujus rei testimonium nostra signa, et nostra manualia apposuimus.

Datum apud. Ballyvehane vicessimo secundo die men Januar, 1582, ad reg. dnœ. nos Elizabethæ Ang. Fran. et Hib. Reginæ fidei defensoris. Anno vicessimo quinto.

(The signs are in Irish character.)

Witnesses.

Boetius Clancy.
Dionys. Hellanus.

James Coyne.

APPENDIX V.

THE EFFECTS WHICH THE SEVERAL GREAT CHANGES IN THE OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY HAVE PRODUCED UPON RELIGIOUS PROFESSION IN THE DIOCESES OF KILLALOE AND KILFENORA.

THE Changes to which reference is here made are thus indicated:—1st appear the names of those in possession in 1641, and their qualifications as found in the Book of Survey and Distribution, parish by parish, and town land by town land. The town lands, acreage, and quality of land, &c., are omitted as unnecessary to the present design. 2nd. Appear the lists of Tituladoes in 1659. These were tenants under the Commonwealth, concerning whom the inquirer will find further information in the researches of Mr. Hardinge. And their claims and status were to a considerable extent allowed under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. In the 3rd place appear those to whom the lands were disposed, with their title to same, whether by dower, certificate of patent, &c., under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. In the 4th place appear those who came into enjoyment of lands under the Williamite forfeitures, of which particulars are found in p. 348, &c., Record Commissioners' Report, Appendix No. 3, 15th Annual Report, also in lists of Chichester House sales, in the Royal Irish Academy.

The parishes are taken in the order of the Book of Survey, &c., and the spelling is observed; the original page is also given in the fourth column.

PARISH OF INNISCALTO, TULLŒ BARONY, COUNTY CLARE, &c.

1641 (1)	Tituladoes 1659 (2) Names Engl.Irish.	1662 (3)	1688, &c. (4)
Redmond Burke.	The Poore Lord of Kilmallock.	Q. C.† Land.	
Earle of Cork, reputed proprietor.	George Thornton, Esq. 2	E. of Cork, Protestant.	
Do.	George Purdon, Esq.	Do. (Prot.)	
R. McNemarra.		Do.	
		E. of Ossery.	"2"

1641 (1)	Tituladoes 1659 (2) Names Engl. Irish.	1662 (3)	1688, &c. (4)
Loghlen McNemarra Sheedas McBroddy wants a proprietor.			"3"
A parcel in commons for the whole parish of Inniskalto, rough pasturable, 3,080.			
Mountain in Controversy with Clonrush Parish.			"3"
Do. do.			"4"

PARISH OF MOYNOE, TULLOE BARONY.

		E.	I.		
Bishop of Killaloe, Mynerosse.		Edwd. Fitz-Edmond, gent.		Do.	"5"
Do.	Carramore.	John Leo, gent.		Do.	
Do.	Drumaril.	Oliver Keating, gent.		Do.	
Do.	Coolecosan.	Thomas Hennessy, gent.		Do.	
Common Mountain, Bishop of Killaloe, proprietor, solely of this parish, being 4 qrs.		Rich. Strange, Esq. ... Paul and Jas. Strange, his sons, gents.	6		
		Ri. Butler, gent.			

We had prepared a full statement as in the 116 parishes, extending over the whole Diocese of Killaloe, and this was done with considerable labour and expense. But as this volume has extended far beyond the limits originally proposed, and so great a delay has unavoidably taken place in the publication of it, we most reluctantly omit the rest of this tabular statement, which would run at least to fifty pages of close printing. However, we give the very interesting Baronial Summaries of the numbers of the English inhabitants, and of the names of the principal Irish families, at close of the Usurpation, so far as we find them set forth, which may suffice without the addition of the parochial

details, Possibly on some other occasion this synoptical statement may be published, with further elucidations. "But sufficient unto the day," &c.

BARONY OF TULLA. Principal Irish names, and their number by families; also English, from lists of Tituladoes.

Arthur ...	7	Hart & O'H. ...	6
O'Bryen ...	37	Hogane ...	25
*Bruody ...	10	Hennessy ...	6
Butler ...	25	Hickey ...	27
Bourke ...	24	Heffernane ...	8
Barry ...	18	Hally & O'H. ...	15
Carmody ...	8	Kelly ...	10
Mc & O'Connors ...	24	Keough ...	12
Comane ...	11	McLoughlan ...	12
McCusacke ...	21	Linchy ...	7
Connel and O'C ...	7	O'Mullouney ...	80
McCarthy ...	16	Murphy ...	15
O'Cunigane ...	8	McMahon ...	12
O'Callaghan ...	19	McNemara ...	38
Callinaine ...	8	Mahony ...	12
Creaghe ...	6	Magrath ...	9
Cullen and Calene ...	9	Minghane ...	10
Clanchy ...	8	Meagher ...	7
O'Carroll ...	11	O'Nealane ...	8
Cooney ...	9	O'Neal ...	6
McDonagh ...	22	Nash ...	8
McDermot ...	7	Oge ...	9
McDwyer ...	36	Prendergast ...	17
McDanil ...	26	Power ...	11
Dally ...	9	Stacpoole ...	7
Doogen ...	9	O'Sullevane ...	21
Fox ...	6	O'Shida ...	11
Feolane ...	8	Swyny ...	11
Fitzgerald ...	10	McShane ...	30
O'Glossane ...	10	McTeige ...	32
O'Grady ...	11	McWilliam ...	14
Hallurane ...	30	White ...	7
O'Hea ...	20	Walsh ...	5
O'Hehir ...	7	Wall ...	7
Harrold ...	7		

Total in Tullagh Barony—

English ...	106
Irish ...	3903
	4009

* Brodinus, an ecclesiastical writer of note, is of this old stock.

The Principal Irish names in the Barony of Bunratty, by families, and their number, &c.

Arthur	11	Hogan	22
Bryen & Mc and O	26	O'Hashea	11
Butler	13	Hickie	25
Bourke	23	O'Hartigan	9
Barry	6	O'Hanneen	9
McConnor	23	McInerney	29
Creaghe	14	Fitzjames	11
Cunigein	9	Kenedy...	14
Consadin	9	Kelly	9
Connellane	11	McLoughlin	19
Connell	12	McMurrogh	13
Casey or Cassy	8	O'Mighane	9
Cusacke	11	O'Mullowney and Mulloney...	47
Coney or Cuney	13	Mahony	7
Cuneen	8	Mullone	12
Clanchy	16	McMortah	17
Culane	8	McNemara	52
Culinane	5—13	O'Nealane	8
Cahil and O'Cahill	8	O'Neale...	9
Carmody	7	O'Nihill	12
McCarthy	8	Power	12
McDaniel	31	O'Quelly	9
Dermody	8	Roch	7
McDonagh	32	McRory	21
O'Dwyre	12	Rudane	9
Dally & O'Dally	8	O'Roughane	12
Donohue	7	Ryane or O'R.	10
Ferila, Ferily, & Ferilry ...	11	McShane	34
Flanigane	15	Slattery	10
Grady and O'Grady	19	Sextin	11
Gerane and Girane	12	Strich	7
Fitzgerald	10	McTeige	17
O'Gripha	14	McThomas	10
Glissane	10	McWilham	8
O'Hehur	10	Walsh	8
O'Hallurane	36	White	16

Total in Bunratty Barony—

English	144
Irish	4204
Total ...	4348

CORCOMROE BARONY. Principal Irish names, and their numbers.

O'Bryen	11	Fitzgerald	5
Boy	7	Hogane	9
Cahill	8	O'Hanrahane	6
Cusocke	7	McIncarigie	6
O'Connor	24	Lyedie	6
Carthy	8	Mahony	9
Clanchy	5	Murphy	5
McDonagh	9	Sulevane	12
McDermott	5	McTeige	13

Number of people in ye Barony—

English	5
Irish	1034
The total	1039

Principal Irish names in Islands Barony. Their number.

Beolane	7	O'Hally	12
Bourke	9	O'Hogan	6
Connell	7	McIncargy	9
Corbane	5	McMahon	15
Conor, Mac and O	17	McMahony	4
Considin, Mac and O.	12	O'Meolane	7
Clanchy	6	O'Mullenney	8
McDainell	16	O'Meighane	7
O'Dally	14	Nealane	9
Gorman	9	Sextin	6
O'Grypha	7	O'Slattery	11
Fitzgerald	8	Sulevane	6
Hea and O	7	McTeige	15
Hallarane	7	Welch	10
O'Hehir	14		

English	58
Irish	1593
	1651

Principal Irish names. Their numbers in Clonderla Barony.

Bryen	7	Fitzgerald	16
Burke	7	Grypha	5
Cullegane	8	Kelly	6
Callaghane	7	McMahon	17
Carthy	8	McMurrogh	8
McDaniel	10	Oge	6
McDermott	6	McShane	12
McEdmund	6	McSwyny	5

The number of people in ye Barony—

English	62
Irish	1144
Total	1176

Principal Irish names in Barony of Moyfearta and their numbers :—

Cahane	14	Mahoney	12
Conor	14	McMahon	9
McDaniel	6	Fitzmorris	10
McDae O'Dea	7	Madigane	5
Fitzgerald	8	Quelly	12
Gorman	6	Sulevane	7
Hurley	8	Scanlane	11
Lenchy	5	McShane	6
Lyne	7	McTeige	6
Mullonney	6		

English	31
Irish	993
	1024

Principal Irish names in Burren Barony :—

Byren	7	McFineene	6
Conor	5	O'Hea	6
McCarthy	5	Hayne and O'	5
McDonogh	16	Mc and O'Loghlin	13
Dally and O'Dally	10	Oge	9
O'Donovan	13	McShane	6
McDermot	6	McTeige	8

Total in Burren Barony—

English	7
Irish	816
	823

o o

INCHIQUINE.

Principal English and Irish names in Barony, their number :—

Bryen and O'B.	23	O'Hehir	12
Bourke	11	O'Huer	7
O'Culenane	13	Hickie	7
Mc and O'Conor	13	Fitzmorrish	9
Connelane and O'C.	14	Nealane	15
O'Donoghew	5	McOwen	10
McDonogh	9	Quine and O'	10
McDaniell	11	Ryane	10
O'Dea	11	Roch	6
*McEncroe	9	Rowe	7
Gripha and O'Grypha	21	McShane	7
Fitzgerrold	11	O'Sheghane	8
Henessy and O'H.	8	McTeigh	13
O'Heyne	7	White	7
Hogane and O'H.	13		

The number of people in the Barony of Inchiquine :—

English	34
Irish	1961
Total	1995

BURROUGH OF INISH.

	En.	Ir.
Jas. McNemara, gent.	13	245
Laur. Creaghe, gent.		

Principal names of Irish in Ibrickane :—

Creagh	6	Lyne	7
Clancy	10	Mahon and MacMahon	8
Carthy	9	Moriarto	8
Conor	11	Mullowney	7
Cassy	5	McNemara	11
Clovane	5	Shea	5
Hiernane	8	Sullevane	4
Hickes	5	McTeige	5

BARONY OF IBRICKANE AND BURROUGH OF INISH.

English—		
In Ibrickane	10	
In Ennis	13	
		23
Irish—		
In Ibrickane	276	
In Inish	550	
		826
		849

Grand total in Clare—

English	440
Irish	16474
	16914

* This family has dropped the two first syllables and added "w" in the final one.

Principal Irish names in Lr. Ormond, and their number:—

Bryen and MacB.	11	Ingowen	6
Bane and Banan	13	Kenedy	81
Butler	9	Kelly	22
Burke	10	Kilfoyle	12
Conner and Mac	7	Meagher	12
Cahasey	8	Mara, &c.	55
Cleary and Clery	38	McMarroe	7
Carroll	19	McMurrough	8
Drane	18	Maddin	7
Doogan	8	Murphy	6
O'Dwyre	10	Morane	9
Daniel and Mac	13	Martin	6
McDonogh	12	Mynoge	6
Donohew	7	Morrish	7
Egane and Mac	22	Nollane	15
Glisane	19	Quirke	6
Gydagh	11	Ryan	24
Galte	9	Roe	7
Hanny	8	Slattery	10
Hogan	83	Scully	9
Heaveine	6	McTeige	8

The number of persons in the Barony of Lr. Ormond:—

The total—	
Of English	341
Of Irish	2731
Total	3072

Total English in Tipperary portion of Killaloe:—

In Lr. Ormond	341
In Upr. Ormond	63
In Ikerrin	
In Owney and Arra (less Templekelly, omitted)	86
Total English in King's Co. portion of Killaloe	117
Total English in Clare, brought over	440
	1047
Add Ikerrin (say)	153
Total English and Protestants in 1659 in Dio. of Killaloe	1200

APPENDIX VI.

THE NUNCIO—BUNRATTY—COLONEL MONCK—CAPTAIN MACADAM—ALSO THE LETTER OF BISHOP J. O'MALONEY.

I°. As to the manner in which the *Nuncio* carried himself at the Siege of Bunratty; the following is Wadding's excited description (as given in Mr. Meehan's translation, Francisan Ed. 5, p. 235.)—

"What! the most illustrious Rinuccini in the camp! In a clay hut! The Nuncio transformed into a General, who would have thought of such a fact? Could he himself have foreseen it? But God's cause demanded this. Verily the finger of God is here. Led by a General so sanctified, God will give strength and power to His people."

II°. Of *Bunratty* the Nuncio writes:—"I have no hesitation in asserting that it is the most beautiful spot I have ever seen. In Italy there is nothing like the palace and grounds of the Lord of Thomond. Nothing like its ponds and park, with its 3,000 head of deer." Massari in a letter to the same nobleman speaks of the castle and site as the most delightful place he had seen in Ireland. Nothing could be more beautiful, and the palace is fit for an emperor. (So too Beling in Frag. Hist. p. 333.)

III°. Of *MacAdam*, it is to be noted that he came from England in a fleet of adventurers, sailed round from Cork and anchored in the Shannon. Landing on the Clare side he routed easily Lord Thomond's forces and occupied his castle of Bunratty.* He was however struck during the

* This routing we find described in a rare pamphlet, "A True and Exact Relation of Two Great Victories, &c., by John Browne, 1647." That most valiant and renowned gentleman, Colonel MacAdams, having a commission from the Parliament of England to prosecute the design against the Irish rebels and to further and advance the cause of the Protestants, jointly resolved with his whole regiment of 700 foot to try strange adventures abroad and to change their winter garrisons. . . . Fired the garrison of Dingle and the Castle, and then betook themselves to their shipping and so sailed up the stately river of Limbricke, and being within two or three leagues of Bunrattie, the souldiers began to prepare themselves for shore, and at the last arrived there in safety. The aforesaid Colonel having landed his regiment, drew them up in battalion and there made a gallant speech unto them concerning their present design against the Earl of Thomond and hie (sic) party being in number about 1,500. The Colonel had no sooner ended his oration, but the souldiers set up such a *Holli-loe*, that caused all the Irish thereabouts, to leave their own houses and betake themselves to their boggs and woods.

siege by a random shot as he stood at an upper window of the castle, and his knee-bone being splintered, lost his life. (Original Papers, p. 338.)

IV°. *Colonel Monk.*—Of this clever manager of affairs a curious account is given in "The History of Independency," part 2, p. 226, of the way in which he attempted to patch up a peace or come to an understanding with O'Neal and the rebels in the north. "Who can believe (observes the writer at p. 228) that any subordinate officer commissioned to prosecute a war against Owen Roe and the rest in arms in that kingdom should dare to, and conclude an agreement and conjunction with that very man he had a commission to fight against, without the knowledge or directions, public or private, of those from under whom he hath his authority, and should be so bold, when he is done, to come over and justify his said doings, notwithstanding they proved unprosperous." At p. 236, the conclusion drawn is this, "You see the counterfeit Alchemy Saints are content to join covertly with the massacreing Irish papists to carry on their anti-monarchical designs and to make a false religion and corrupt worship the wages of righteousness." But "Foxes and Firebrands" sets forth this at large as the line taken by the unscrupulous fanatics, whose main object was to enrich themselves with the spoils of Church and State, religion being only a cloke so far as convenient to their main design.

V°. The copy of a letter sent the King, August 14th, 1686. Found in Bishop Tyrrel's papers, but imperfect:—

May it please your Majesty,

I humbly beg of you, for God's sake and your own, to read what I here presume to bewrite; not but that I know it may well be thought an inexcusable piece of presumption in any subject to say or write anything that may look like prescribing to a King, especially a King that from his own knowledge, and the best mother of it—long experience, must, with universal consent, be allowed the most competent judge in his dominions of what ought or ought not to be done.

Yet inasmuch as your present counsellors are for the most part divided from you by the unhappy difference in religion, I hope your Majesty will pardon a loyal plain-dealer for presuming to offer his well-meaning opinion of the present posture of affairs. Sir, as I am one that make it my business to study your interest, I took the liberty of telling you in former letters that in order to replant religion in your dominions you ought to begin with Ireland, where the work is more than half done at your hand, and where your prerogative allows you to do with that kingdom as you please, for it was not to be expected that England and Scotland, so irreconcileable to Popery, would consent to take off the penal laws by a Parliament, if not awed by a more faithful army than you have at present.

And now that a needful alteration is begun in Ireland, it should be carried on speedily for your own and Catholick subjects security, for all the sectaries in your dominions are so galled at some of the phanaticks

being discarded in Ireland, that they joyne heads, concert councils, swear and contrive vengeance against all Papists, who must expect no quarters but during your Majesty's reign. But all good men have reason to hope that that God who delivered you from the manifold dangers of your life, and made your enemies your footstool, will spare your precious life till you accomplish the glorious work reserved for you by that Providence that is your best lifeguard.

And 'tis the comfort of all good subjects, that besides your being of all sides descended from healthy parents, you have (I thank God) at present all the symptoms of a vigorous, long-lived man; nay, that your having been suckled by a very healthy, long-lived woman, must, in reason, contribute much to the length of your life; therefore put your trust in that God that never faileth any good man his hopes with confidence in Him, and consider the proverb, "That he that will has in a manner done his work;" which cannot be more aptly than to the auspicious beginning of your reign: For God has so dashed the enterprizes and hopes of your enemies, that the terror of your name, and their experience of your good fortune is with the help of the army they gave you may to raise sufficient if not to change their hearts, at least to curb their insolence: Therefore listen not to trimming counsellors, whose aversion to your religion and cunning design of spinning out your life with their pian piano, may put them upon urging to you that great alterations are dangerous when carried on otherwise than by slow and imperceptible degrees; which is true where matters are so ordered, in point of power, as not to need fear a perturbation in the State; but otherwise, celerity and resolution adds life and vigour to all actions, especially such as relate to change, which is often prevented by tedious deliberations; for the party fearing an alteration is always (as having more reason) more jealous and vigilant than he from whom it is feared, and therefore leaves no stone unturned to hinder the accomplishment of designs that might take effect, if not marred, for not being vigorously pushed on as soon as resolved upon. And as precipitation is an error, so is irresolution, which is never to be practised by any, especially by a resolute prince; but when the issue of enterprizes depends more upon chance than a prudent management of causes and rational foresight of events. But nothing causes irresolution more than a medly of counsellors of a different religion, which their prince, who will be on all occasions as industrious to prevent, as he can be to carry on any design for re-establishing religion; and that all three meet to the highest pitch in your Majesty, no Protestant councellor will advise you to any alteration in the Government that may directly or indirectly tend to a change in religion. Nay they lie under such jealousy and prejudice as may induce them to magnify danger where there is none at all, and take no notice where it really is, a device much practised in England of late years; hence in the late King's time no danger threatened his Majesty but from the Catholick quarters, whilst the greatest of dangers hovered over his and your sacred heads, wrap'd up in the dark cloud of fanatick treachery and dissimulation.

Sir, it is plain that the reality of the danger lies in your delay of

making your Catholick subjects considerable. For God's sake, consider that yours and their sworn enemies threaten above board that Popery or Protestantism must and shall be for ever extirpated in these kingdoms; and that all Papists must inevitably split upon a rock in that haven where they had reason to hope for safety, if not secured against the threatening storm during your Majesty's life, whereof the days and hours are precious, considering the important game you have to play, and the indispensible obligation you lie under (before that God,

* * * * * * *

and contribute as much from the helm to the conversion of souls as the best of preachers from pulpits; for words do but move, but examples, and especially those of great men, have more resistless charms and a more than ordinary ascendent over the minds of the common people: which consideration should prevail with your Majesty to prefer without delay courageous, wise, and zealous Catholics to the most eminent and profitable stations, especially in your household, where you are King by a two-fold title, by which means you would in a short time be stock'd with faithfull councellors all of a piece, that would join heads, hearts, and hands, and would contribute unanimously to the effectual carrying on so good a design.

* * * * * * *

distinction twixt his politick and natural capacity fighting against the one in defence of the other, it is to be feared the Protestants of your English army.

APPENDIX VII.

THE CASTLES OF THE COUNTY OF CLARE.

Copy of a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Being a return of the Castles in the County of Clare in the year 1584.

Barony of Tallaghnanaspull.

Containing McNamara's County, alias Mortimer's County, by east the Baron of Inchiquin and Donald Reagh McNamara, chiefs in same.

Gentlemen.	*Castles.*	
Donald Reagh McNamara... ...	Tullagh	1
Edmond O'Grady	Toymegrane	2
Ditto	Maynoe	3
Donough and Rory McNamara ...	Ffortingaroingnagh	4
Donald Reagh McNamara ...	Flychlenearly	5
Rory McNamara's son's	Island Caher	6
Donough McNamara	Killalowe	7
Moriertagh Custos	O'Brien's Bridge	8
Baron of Inchiquin	Castlelough	9
Shane na Gettagh	Dunasse	10
Donnell Roe	Cuttislough	11
Teige oge McCommea	Neadenmorry	12
Turlough MacDonnellroe	Glanomra	13
Donnell Reagh MacNamara ...	Scartcashel	14
Sivda, MacRory	Moynogeanagh	15
Turlogh O'Brien	Gleanmadow	16
Flan McNamara's son	Moynetallown	17
Donnell Reagh MacNamara ...	Tyrowannin	18
Shane MacMahon	Enagh O'Floyn...	19
Shane MacDonnell	Beallacuttin	20
Brian MacDonnell	Beallacarilly	21
Comea McMahon	Beallamhullin	22
Earl of Thomond	Castelcattagh	23
Donough McConoher	Abereynagh	24
Fynin McLoughlin...	Rosroe	25
Teige Oultagh	Ballymogashill	26
Corney McShane, reagh	Quaromoyre	27
Same	Callane	28
Rory McMahowne	Kilkishen	29
Same	Lisoffin	30
Same	Lismeehan	31

Gentlemen.	*Castles.*
Turlough O'Brien	Fomerla 32
Same	Tyreadagh 33
Shane McNamara	Cappagh 34
Edmd. O'Grady	Skariff 35
Same	Truagh 36
Rory Meal Macffynin	Beallagh 37

Dangan West.

MacNamara's County. Shane McNamara chief in same.

Shane McNamara	Dangan 38
Turlogh O'Brien	Cnoppogue 39
Shane McNamara	Dangenbrack 40
Donogh McMorough	Quinchy 41
Donogh MacMahowe	Dromollyn (Dromline) 42
William Nellaw	Ballyhanneen 43
Brune O'Brien	Castleton nemanagh 44
James Nellan	Ballycasheen 45
Same	Ballyally 46
Donoghue MacClanchy	Ballycashell 47
Donogh O'Brien	Mughane 48
	49
	50
	51
	52
Earl of Thomond	Rossmanaher 53
Fineen MacLoughlin	Seywarro 54
Donel MacTeige	Crattelaghmore 55
Shane McNamara	Crattalaghmall 56
Earl of Thomond	Bunratty 57
Same	Cloynemonegh 58
Donel MacNamara	Crattalagh Keal 59
Moriartagh O'Brien	Drumline 60
Donogh MacClanchy	Clonloghan 61
Teige MacClanchy	Ballynaclogh (Stone Hall) ... 62
Moriartagh MacClanchy	Nurlin 63
Brian na Fforiry	Flynish 64
Mac Enery Trony	Ballincraige 65
Donogh O'Brien	Rachavollayne 66
Teige MacMorrough	Ballyconilly 67
Donogh O'Grady	Cloyne 68
Shane MacMahowne	Corbally 69
Donogh MacClanchy	Bodevoher 70

Cloynderlaw.

Containing East Corkevaskin. Teige McMahowne chief in same.

Teige MacMahowne	Dangan Moyburke 71
Same	Clonytheralaw 72
Same	Caheracon 73
Same	Bally MacColman 74
Same	Derrycrossan 75
Teige MacConor O'Brien	Carroobrighane 76
Teige MacMoriertagh Cam ...	Donogrogue 77

Moyarta.

Containing West Corkevaskin. Turlogh MacMahowne chief in same.

Gentlemen.	*Castles.*	
Charles Cahane (by inheritance called a Corboe), Inish Catha		... 78
James Cahane	Ballykette	... 79
Turlough MacMahowne	Carrigahowly	... 80
Same	Moyarta	... 81
Same	Dunlecky	... 82
Sir Donnell O'Brien, Knt... ...	Dunmore	... 83
Same	Dunbeg	... 84

Tuagh more y Conor.

Containing Corkemroe. Sir Donel O'Brien, Knt., chief in same.

Sir Donel O'Brien	Inisdyman	... 85
Same	Glan	... 86
Same	Ballhanire	... 87
Teige MacMorroh	Tullowmore	... 88
Same	Ffante	... 89
Same	Ballingowne	... 90
Teige MacMorrogh...	Inchonea...	... 91
Same	Ballyshanny	... 92
Same	Raveen	... 93
Sir Donell O'Brien...	Beancorroe	... 94
Teige MacMorrough	Cahirnimane	... 95
Sir Donell O'Brien...	Tullagh	... 96
Teige MacMorrough	Legmeneagh	... 97
Sir Donnell O'Brien	Dinnegoir	... 98
Teige MacMorrogh	Sunny c Phelim ...	... 99
Conor MacClanchy...	Tuomullen	...100
Teige MacMorrogh...	Ballanclacken	...101
Same	Beallagh...	...102
Same	Lockbulligan	...103
Same	Kylemna...	...104
Sir Donel O'Brien	Duagh	...105
Sir Donel O'Brien	Lis Cannor	...106

Gregans (Burren Barony).

O'Loughlen	Caherclogan	...107
Same	Lysegleeson	...108
Same	Cahirenally	...109
Same	Ballymonoghan... ...	...110
Same	Meghanos	...111
Same	Glensteed	...112
Same	Gregans	...113
Same	Glaninagh	...114
Same	Ballyvaughan	...115
Same	Shanmokeas	...116
Same	Nacknasse	...117
Same	Kynvarra	...118
Same	Turlough	...119
Same	Glancollymkilly ...	...120
Same	Neassalee	...121

Gentlemen.	*Castles.*
O'Loughlen	Castleton 122
Same	Creaghwell 123
Same	Rughaine 124

Tullagh O'Dea.

Sir Donel O'Brien, Knt., chief in same.

Baron of Inchiquin...	Inchiquin 125
Mahon MacBrien O'Brien ...	Tiremacbryne 126
Same	Ballycottry 127
Same	Carrowduff 128
Teige MacMorrogh...	Bohinim 129
Moriertagh Gorr	Cahercorcraine 130
Moriertagh, Garr	Rath 131
Sir Donel O'Brien	Killinbuoy 132
Teige Mac MacMorrogh	Drominglass 133
Mahowne O'Dea	Bealnalicke; Magowna ... 134
O'Griffie	Ballygriffll 135
Donogh Duff MacConsadine ...	Ballyharahan (Port) 136
Earl of Thomond	Mœthrie 137
Baron of Inchiquin	Derryowen 138
Mahon O'Brien	Clonowyne 139
Dermot O'Brien	Cloynshelhearne 140
Same	Owarronnaguille 141
Owen MacSwyne	Doonmulvihill 142
Same	Carriganooher... 143
Same	Bealnafireamadronayn ... 144
Donel Meal O'Dea	Desert 145
Mahon (the Baron's Son)	Kilkeedy 146

Clonrawde.

Earl of Thomond chief in same.

Earl of Thomond	Clonrawde 147
Same	Clare 148
Same	Inish 149
Baron of Inchiquin	Killone 150
Same	Ballymacooda 151
Conogher MacClanchy	Enerishy 152
Brian Duff	Shalen 153
Teige MacMorrough	Maghowny 154
Teige MacConor O'Brien	Inishacivahny 155
Same	Inishdagrome 156
Same	Inishnawar 157
MacGillereagh	Crag Brien 158
Same	Tyrmiclane 159
MacCraith	Island Magrath 160
Teige MacConor	Belacorick 161
Baron of Ibrickan (eldest son of the Earl of Thomond).	Moyobreacain 162
Earl of Thomond	Caherrush 163
Teige MacConoher	Tromra... 164
Teige MacMorrogh	Donogan 165

ABBIES.

	Possessed by.	
Clare...	Sir Donel and Teige MacConnor his Son ...	1
Inish...	James Nellan	2
St. John's Nunnery (Killone) ...	Baron of Inchiquin	3
Corcomroe	Same...	4
Island Chanons	Earl of Thomond	5
Kiltena	Same...	6
Quinchy	Friers	7
Inchcronan	Same...	8

ROUND TOWERS IN KILLALOE DIOCESE.

Cloigtheach Round Tower, par of Kilnaboy, Bar of Inchiquin.

„	„	par of Dysert „	No. 24.
„	„	par of Drumcliffe, Bar Islands,	No. 33.
„	„	par of Inniscattery.	
„	„	par of Inniscaltra.	
„	„	par of Roscrea.	

ANCIENT CROSSES IN CLARE.

St. Flannan's, Killaloe, Barony of Tulla, Lower.
St. Tola's Cross, Dysert, Barony of Inchiquin.
Knockannacrusha Cross, Dysert, Barony of Inchiquin.
Inneenboy Cross, Kilnaboy „
Kilfenora Cross, in Corcomroe.
Noughaval Cross, in Burren.
Termon Cross, in Burren, Parish of Carran.

Copied by John C. Dwyer.

N.B.—The three last lists on this page are taken from other sources of information than the Castles were found in.

APPENDIX VIII.

FURTHER ELUCIDATIONS AND SOME CORRECTIONS WHILE THE WORK WAS AT PRESS.

Page 2. *Number of structures on Clare mainland.*—This has been noticed by few writers, and is a remarkable fact, deserving attention on the part of the ecclesiastical and antiquarian student.

Page 4. *Well preserved.*—Hardly so. This is an error.

Page 8. *Diocesan boundaries.*—Clanwilliam Barony is not in the diocese, nor does the diocese extend into Limerick so far, as Thomond once ran on the south. Also the diocese projects into Queen's County the parish of Kyle or Clonfert Mollua. See more at page 11.

Page 16. *The Roman Pontiff supreme in England.*—The religious or polemical aspects of this high pretension are well put in.

Usher's Speech at censuring of Recusants.

The foreiner that challengeth this ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction over us, is the Bishop of Rome. And the title, whereby he claimeth this power over us, is the same whereby he claimeth it over the whole world —because he is Peter's successor, forsooth! And indeed, if Peter himself had been now alive, I should freely confesse that hee ought to have spiritual authority and supremacie within this kingdom. But so would I say *also*, if St. Andrew, St. Bartholmew, St. Thomas, or any of the other Apostles, had been alive. For I know that their commission was very large—"to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" so that, in what part of the world soever they lived, they could not be out of their charge: their apostleship being a kind of universal bishoprick. If, therefore, the Bishop of Rome can prove himself to be of this rank, the oath must be amended, and we must acknowledge that he hath ecclesiastical authority within this realm.—1631, page 10.

Page 17. *The King's Title to Ireland,* is set forth in seven points in Carew MSS., vol. i., 178; some points strong, some rather fine-drawn.

Page 19. "Young Godes."—One is struck with the statements in Mill's India, "On the Brahmins," as illustrative of extreme ecclesiastical pretensions in rude states of social existence.

Page 22. *The list of Captains of Ireland.*—In Carew MSS., Book of Howth; where, at page 255, the same list is found under the head of "*What Ireland is, and how much?*"

Page 35.—The last will and testament of this gentleman is to be found in Appendix, under parish of Youghallara, page 511.

O'Brien, the Bishop's son, page 41; the same is given in Carew MSS., vol. 1575 to 1588.

Also at page 198 Mahonne M'Enaspike O'Bryne is reported "*to have made faithful promise to join* with the rebels," and that "U. Burke has promised to procure for them the aid of 1,000 Scots, and when Desmond prayed Dr. Saunders to embark himself for Spain to haste hither the forces, he made answer that his letter was sufficient to bring that to pass without his own travel, offering that he would remain pledge to be massacred (for that was his manner of speech) unless those forces did arrive shortly."

Page 48. *Malachias Analone.*—In a joint letter, August, 1584, Perrott and the Privy Council wrote—

"Lastly the suspected Bishop Malachias Analone, and a friar, brother to McWilliam-Enghter, did openly renounce the Pope, swear to the Supremacy, and the friar gave over his habit presently, and both made public profession of their faith and recantation."

Page 52. *The region where it fell*, read *whence.*

Page 52. *Saunders letter.*—A letter of his to U. Burke is given in Carew MSS. 1575–8—

"We fight against the Heretics by the authority of the Head of the Church. If it please you to join in this holy quarrel, you shall be under the protection of that prince, whom God hath set up in place of this usurper, and of God's vicar who will see every man rewarded for his service to the Church," &c., &c.

Page 62. *Desmond's pedigree* is also given in Carew B. of Howth, page 118.

Page 64. *Exactions.*—In a discourse on the reformation of Ireland it is stated that "the rebellion being suppressed, it will be necessary to call a Parliament to enact new Statutes for establishing for certain matters among the rest—cesse, cuttings, and all Irish exactions to be abolished, and in lieu thereof an annual rent to be rated on every ploughland." (C. S. P. Carew, 1575, &c.)

Page 64. *D. O'Brien's Fiant.*—In the discourse noted above, at Nos. 7 and 13 the following appear—

"All brehons, carraghes, bards, rhymers, friars, monks, Jesuits, pardoners, nuns, and such like be executed by martial law.

"13. Irish habits for men and women be abolished, and the English tongue to be extended."

Page 68. *Education.*—Trinity College. The number of clergy who were graduates of this to Bishop Rider's time are given, *supra*, page 148.

Page 72. *Thomond, Donat E. of.*—In C. S. P. Carew, 1600, page 450, this nobleman is thus lauded—

"If the rest of the Irish nobility had followed the example of my noble friend the Earl of Thomond her majesty's expenses and losses had never been as they are and will be. His service hath proceeded out of a true nobleness of mind and from no great encouragement received from hence."

Page 74. *Lewis Jones, Dean.*—How he allowed Miler Magrath's son to get his Church lands for a nominal rate is stated in the Liber Regalis Visitationis, 1615, in very severe terms of censure—"Improvide dimisit."

Page 81. "*Hated*" Spenser denounces the use of "terrors and sharp penalties as resulting in making the religion hated before it is understood and the professors despised and rejected." See View, &c.

Page 81. *The Christianity of St. Patrick and of the Reformation substantially identical in their positive and negative aspects.*—As this is a subject of considerable importance and one fully entered into by many writers of high character, from Archbishop Usher and Sir Jas. Ware down to the writers of modern times, we do not propose to repeat what they have written, at the same time anyone who will go to the trouble of comparing St. Patrick's genuine remains with the definitions given in the 39 Articles of Religion on the one hand and with those given in the Creed and Oath of Pope Pius IV. on the other hand, must come to the conclusion that if the latter ecclesiastical instrument is the Catholic faith, St. Patrick accepted nothing like it, and professed much antagonistic to it, whereas his own doctrinal statements harmonise both positively and negatively with the standard of doctrine accepted by the Church of Ireland. We now only add the bold and faithful utterances of the official head of the true old reformed faith in Ireland, as Dr. Beresford delivered them at his ordinary visitation in 1877. "Their Church had a great history—well worthy of their consideration. He held her to be the true representative of primitive Christianity in this country. Were St. Patrick or St. Columba again to visit this scene of their apostolic labours they would find, subject to such change as time, the growth of knowledge, and the progress of civilization had necessarily effected, the same religion in all vital and essential particulars, as they professed and propagated during their earthly ministry. They would find the same Gospel that they preached still proclaimed in its grand simplicity to perishing sinners. They would find the same threefold orders of apostolic descent as they established, existing unbroken in the land, and on the very hill in that city they would find, where the apostle of Ireland erected his humble cathedral, that the voice of prayer and the voice of thanksgiving, and the voice of melody, and the sound of the everlasting Gospel, still rose daily to heaven. As Israel went down to Egypt, and the house of Jacob sojourned among a strange people, so had the Church its days of bondage and its days of darkness. The light of the Reformation broke upon the land. The light shone in upon the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. It was not his business to inquire into the cause of this. He need only remind them that the Church that came forth, purified by her fiery ordeal across the waters of the Channel, and baptized with the blood of martyrs, became the Church of their fathers, who had left it as a precious heritage to them their children."

Omitting other evidences of the existence of a Prereformation Church, strikingly identical with the present Church in its main essential features, we give some extracts, from Dr. Theiner's *Monumenta*, page

269, suitable to demonstrate the fact, this being a work dedicated to Cardinal Cullen, and having his sanction.

In a letter written by Pope Benedict XII. from Avignon, on the Ides of Nov., 1335, and addressed to Edward the King of England, he first alludes to "hereticos quidem pestiferos usque ad hæc tempora latitantes." He then goes on to state how Richard the (Roman) Bishop of Ossory found them out, "Dum venerabilis frater noster Ricardus Epus Ossoriensis suam diocesim jure ordinario visitaret, *apparuerunt in medio Catholici populi homines et eorum fautores heretici ceno pravitatis* heretice labefacti, quorum quidam asserebant *Jhesum Christum fuisse hominem peccatorem, et juste Crucifixum pro suis extitisse peccatis*, alii vero factis per eos homagiis demonibus, etiam eis sacrificiis impensis ad dictorum informationes demonum *de sacramento corporis Christi aliter sentiebant, quam de illo Catholica et Romana ecclesia sentit, dicentes non esse colendam, nec adorandum ullo modo sacramentum prefatum; et etiam asserentes quod decretibus et decretabilibus, ac etiam mandatis Apostolicis credere vel obedire minime tenebantur*, nec non ad consulendum demones in agendis juxta ritus et sectas Gentium et paganorum, *spretis ecclesie Catholice sacramentis, Christi-fideles suis superstitionibus attraxerunt. Hœc labes heretica intermixta fidelium cetibus fœdat illos*, hic morbus sui pudore contagii proximos fideles interficit adherentes, et hoc pestiferum aconitum serpens interimit animas illius pestilentia infectorum. Unde cum sicut accepimus in eadem Hybernia et Regno aliaque terra tui dominii Anglie non sunt Inquisitores hereseos, nec ex offitio inquisitionis sue pravitatis hereses ibidem inveniri et puniri soleant, propter quod jura et privilegia inquisitionis ejusdem pravitatis incognita et inusitata inibi existere dinoscuntur, ad tui favoris clipeum, fili carissime, in quo splendor longe lateque irridiat fidei orthodoxe veluti ad strenuissimum Christi et ejusdem fidei pugilem *pro hujusmodi pravitate, ac ejus cultoribus confundendis et extirpandis recurrit Sancta Mater Ecclesia confidenter. Quapropter* Serenitatem Regiam attente requirimus, attentius exhortamur in Domino, et obnixius deprecamur, cum in fulcimentum ecclesiastice potestatis temporalis fortitudinis sit gladius institutus, quatenus pro divina reverentia, honore ipsius fidei et populari salute tam. . . . . Justiciario tuo Hybernie prelibate quam cæteris ministris tuis per ipsam Hiberniam constitutis dare cures pervigil, ferventer et efficaciter per tuas literas in mandatis, ut dicto Episcopo, cæterisque Antistitibus Hybernie supradicte, quotiens et quando ab iis fuerint requisiti, *viriliter et potenter assistant auxilio brachii secularis ad capiendum, puniendum et extirpandum præfatos homines et alias hereses in illis partibus noviter pululantes*, ac etiam cæteros credentes, fautores, receptatores et defensores eorundum hæreticorum juxta canonica instituta, &c.

Omitting particulars of what would appear the object of the preceding letter of the Pope, in which those faithful old Irish Churchmen are charged (1) with robbing the goods of the Diocese of Ossory—whereas, if we had their evidence before us, they would doubtless depose that these goods were their own, and that the Pope's intrusive bishop was the actual assailant and robber,—we come at once to the fact, in

the letter quoted above, (2) that these members of the original Irish Church were called "*Heretics*—up to the present time lying hidden," &c. (3) We find that these Irish Christians thus called Heretics (see Acts xxiv. 14) held certain religious opinions in particular prominence, which are represented accordingly as being opposed to Roman teaching. (4) They believed that the Lord Jesus Christ was a sinful man, and deservedly punished for His own misdoings. But this after all can only mean, when justly interpreted, that these old Irish Churchmen boldly and loudly proclaimed the doctrine of the Apostles, "that He was made sin for us who knew no sin." All this was just only what Martin Luther stated over and over again, or what Dr Barrow held in his sermon on the Passion as to "our Lord's sufferings being criminal, or as, *in semblance*, being an execution of justice upon Him." (5) These also taught concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Body differently from what the Church of Rome of that day had begun to teach. And in particular they held, concerning this Sacrament, that the consecrated elements in the Sacrament were by no means to be made the object of a religious cultus or adoration contrary to the old Catholic and Apostolic faith. (6) These faithful old Churchmen of Ireland refused to accept as Sacraments the five novel impositions so called, and openly protested accordingly; and attracted many to accept this unadulterated version of sacramental purity along with themselves. (7) They also faithfully and boldly protested against the novel pretension that they, as Irish Churchmen, were obliged to believe or to receive, or must submit to and be bound by, any Roman decrees or decretals, or even the so-called Apostolic mandates of this ambitious and innovating Church. (8) And accordingly the Sovereign Pontiff uses his best persuasions with the King of England that he would hand them over to the secular arm to arrest, punish, extirpate, and plunder them, and in fact to disestablish and disendow them, so as to get them clean out of the way of the novel Church which meant to reign supreme over both the bodies and the souls of English and Irish alike. Now when ignorant people ask where was your Church before Luther, this additional link in the chain of evidence as to its early existence and faithful protests may prove not unworthy of their attention, while they always must thank Dr. Cullen for its publication.

Page 84. *The Church of Rome did not put it down.*—However some writers may angrily deny it, there is no doubt that if (1st) we take the period of the Brehon laws, we find evident proofs of a great laxity concerning the marriage tie; then (2nd), if we take the period of the English Conquest and setting up of the Roman Church, the same fact stares us in the face. Giraldus Cambrensis, after all, has not been overthrown in his plain assertions. To the same effect is the testimony in the Book of Howth (Carew MSS., p. 71, &c.): "The King bade to bring him the letters that were made in the Council of Cassell of the unclean life and the horrible sins that the people of Ireland lived in, otherwise that (than ?) Christian men ought to live, &c. When the Pope Adrian it (sic) heard openly the sinful and evil life that the people of Ireland led—*worse than wild beasts, and out of constitutions of Holy Church and*

right belief—he required the King that he would go into Ireland for to redress and spread the terms of Holy Church for to withstand and to let the men of sinful lives, to amend the lewder lives, and set them to receive the religion of Christendom, so that it were worship to God and health to their souls." And if we take (3rdly) the Reformation period, the evidence in the text ought to satisfy any reasonable mind. To this we now add the following curious item of corroborative evidence from the surrender of Ely O'Carroll, as given by Mr. Cooke in his Birr, p. 380 :—

The Deputy undertook a grant to Sir Wm. Kerroll "an theires males of his bodi, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, *and for lack of such* to John O'Kerroll, his eldest base son, &c., and for lack of males heirs by him lawfully begotten to Teige O'Kerroll, another base son of Sir William, and for lack of lawfully begotten issue here again to Calloghe O'Kerroll, a third base son of Sir Wm., and for lack of lawfully begotten issue on still to Donoghe, a further base son of Sir Wm., and finally to Sir Wm.'s brother."

Can Sir Wm. be considered altogether out of the fashion or in the fashion in all this, or was laxity allowed to Bishops alone ?

Page 188. *Legal chicanery.*—"Half of this realm was found to belong unto his Majesty, as his ancient demesne and inheritance, upon old feigned titles of 300 years past, by juries, against law, their evidence, and conscience, who were corrupted to find the said titles upon promise of part of those lands so found for the King, or other reward, or else were drawn thereto by threats of the judges in the circuits, or by heavy fines, mulcts, and censures of pillory, stigmatizings, and other like cruel and unusual punishments." (Desiderata Curiosa Hib., p. 82.)

To the same effect is the charge in *Captain Audley Mervyn's speech* :—

"What is it to violate the grants of money of this Majesties progenitors, kings and queens of England, confirmed under the Broad Seal, being the publique faith of this kingdom, by an extra judicial breach grounded upon no record ?"

Page 188. *The neglect to enrol surrenders.*—See full particulars of this affair in "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," p. 255. "This project of King James I. was interrupted by the demise of the Crown and the accession of Charles—not abandoned, however, it was only postponed."

Page 191. *The terrible trajedy of* 1641.—The particulars summarized in Dr. Jones's "Remonstrance" are very interesting. They relate rather to affairs in the North.

Page 201. *Weapons of Irish Rebels.*—The following curious remarks from Rutherford's "Fenians," Vol. I., page 187, &c., will interest, also throw additional light on Bishop Dease's advice against rebellion without artillery :—

"At the funeral of McManus, the Archbishop (R. C.) of New York delivered an address in which he explained the three conditions which justify rebellion in the eyes of the Church. These conditions are based upon the consent of the divines of the Roman Church, and in particular

of Thomas Aquinas. The first is a real grievance; the second, a general rising; the third condition is the possession of the *means and ability wherewith to accomplish*, with a reasonable hope of success, what they undertake."

At page 152, Vol. II., it is stated that—

"Some years after Kelly had disappeared from the scene, and all danger of insurrection in Ireland was at an end, there was dug up on a farm near Cork, once occupied by a Centre, a wooden canon (sic) carefully bound round with iron hoops, and evidently intended for service in the field. At Blackhall Road Factory were manufactured hand grenades and Orsini shells by the score, fulminating bullets, and Greek fire, &c., &c., which often scorched the coats of those who carried it about, so that the wearers had occasionally to throw them away in the streets, and run for their lives." Page 158, supra. The engineer was thus one day, in the streets of Cork, "hoist by his own petard."

Page 203. "*The Pretended Commission of the King.*"—It was too bad that such frauds were all laid at the poor King's door. *But the Queen was his ruin.*

From "*A Declaration of the Commons concerning the Rise and Progress of the Great Rebellion in Ireland,*" page 22 :—

"So that, to imagine the nobility, gentry, and in a manner the whole Kingdom of Ireland, who at that time enjoyed more freedom of religion than they had done for many years before, should thus desperately engage their lives and estates in so wicked, so rash an enterprize, *without* being encouraged, incited, nay, commanded, from England, with an assurance both of connivance and assistance too, were to deny them to be reasonable creatures."

This unheard-of and monstrous rebellion of Ireland was projected, incited, and assisted by those counsels now only prevalent with His Majesty. That *the Queen, with her Romish priests, the Papists of all His Majestys three Kingdoms, have been principal actors and sticklers therein.* That now those bloody rebels have in a manner rooted out the Protestant religion in Ireland, there is a design to pardon them, and to bring them into England to do the like. That no earthly power is likely, in human reason, to withstand this damnable plot, but only the Parliament now declared by a late Proclamation null and of none effect.

It is a curious coincidence that among the heads of the causes which moved the Catholics of Ireland to take arms, one (No. 15) is alleged to be—

The gross injuries and scandal given by said House of Commons to *the Queen's Majesty* and her *chaplains and servants*, in breach of the Articles made upon her marriage." (See Desiderata Curiosa.)

Page 214. *Stranee Island.*—It is a mistake in the text to call Stranee Island Straw Island, and identify it with Mutton Island. It is really one of the Aran Islands. (See Sir W. Petty's Map.)

Page 215. *King James' Letter.*—See in Appendix IV.

Page 249. *The Massacre of* 1641.—The question about the Irish Massacre of 1641 is not (1) whether such an event ever occurred, and was only a dream and a delusion, an after-thought and an exaggeration. This attempt at explanation is equally successful in the eyes of sensible people who judge from evidence, with the attempt of Moses to bury in the sand the Egyptian he had slain. The only other question to ask is, (2) assuming this wholesale slaughter (whether by the sword or by the slower method of exposure in nakedness to the cold) to have occurred, how can it be judged of? Was it a case of *justifiable homicide*, or was it *wilful murder?* The verdict of contemporaries and of posterity pronounces it to have been the latter. Those who prefer to contend against this are free to hold the former, with the monstrous absurdities which its maintenance involves.

Page 250. *Hugh Peters, the Puritan maniac.*—The following may serve to give a slight idea of the contempt in which this raving maniac was held :—

"*Nineteen cases of Conscience.*
(A Squib of the 17th Century.)

"No. 3. Whether it would not much advance our long-desired Reformation, if those places of Scripture out of which the Common Prayer Book is collected were diligently sought after and blotted out of our Bibles, that no mark of the superstitious Liturgy may remain among us to make our children idolaters.

"No. 4. Whether *lying, crying* at pleasure, swearing by the living God, murdering men at a High Court of Justice, perjury three or four times over, eating the bread of orphans, grinding the faces of the poor, trampling on abilities, *starving a learned and orthodox ministry*, and exercising a worse tyranny for five years past over England than Pharaoh did over Egypt, were sins or not—and if sins, whether any whit more venial in *a saint than a sinner?*"

There is evidence that Cromwell looked on him with suspicion and contempt. In History of Independency it is also stated that "The King's library at St. James' was given to that ignorant stage player, Hugh Peters."

Page 251. *The state of Ireland in* 1643.—The question why Ireland was kept in a starving state in 1643 is thus answered in History of Independency, p. 65 :—

"That kingdom (which is purposely kept in a starving condition to break the Lord Inchiquin's Army, that Ireland may be a receptacle for the *Saints* against England spews them forth) hath nothing but the envy of it, the sole benefit going to this army. This 20,000*l.* a month being a *secret*, unknown to the common soldiers, the grandees of the army put it in their own purses."

To the same effect—

A declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, 30th Sept., 1643.

This recites (p. 3.) "That now the famine amongst many of them hath

made them (the Irish rebels) unnatural and canniball-like, eate and feede one upon another—therefore that they may have time to expect from their friends abroad new supplies of victuals and ammunition, and may without molestation reap the fruit of this harvest, they have laboured a treaty for a cessation." Then a cessation is denounced.

Page 253. The hostility *to the Liturgy* was manifested alike by the Independents as by the Presbyterians, although these parties contended furiously against each other (see History of Independency), but to clutch the spoils of the Church was the grand object of them all. (See Bishop Parry on Atheism.)

Page 256. *Bishop Parry.*—The following is due to the Rev. Messrs. Carroll and McCready's kindness :—

"In St. Bride's Register of Baptisms" are these four entries of the Parry family :—

1st. 1638. Edward Parry Sonne of Mr. Doctor Parry, baptized the first of Jany. 1638.

2nd. Benjamin Parry, Son of Mr. Edwd. Parry, baptized 12 March, 1634. (Mr. Monck Mason has made a mistake in Histy. Patrick's, note p. 199, as he cites "Regist. of St. Mich. of Pole.")

1636. Parry, daughter of Mr. Edward Parry, baptized 24th May, 1636.

1639. Robert Parry, Son of Mr. Doctor Parry, baptized 21st Jany., 1639.

The daughter must be "Mrs. Ellinor Hawkshaw," buried in St. Audoen's, 22nd August, 1690.

Page 264. *Protestants driven from central parts.*—In Beling's Fragmentum Historicum, in the Desiderata Curiosa Hib., p. 157, we read, "Moreover they (the Kilkenny Conference)granted all the privileges of a native and exemption of a third part of all the public charges and levies to any of the English, Welsh, and Scotish Nation, *being a Roman Catholic*, that would live among them."

Page 265. *Rinuccini.*—This by a misprint is spelled with *n* before cc. Beling gives the following account in his Fragmentum Historicum, of his interference :—

"But when the Archbishop of Firmo began to entertain thoughts of shaking the Government and of limiting it to those principles, which his own zeal, that wanted experience, framed to himself," &c., &c.

Page 268. *Peace.*—"The Nuncio told the *Bishop of Killaloe*, when the treaty for peace was progressing, that if the Council and Committee did conclude it he would take the Bishops with him and leave the kingdom." *Ubi supra*, p. 317.

Page 268. *Bunratty.*—Beling, in his *Fragmentum Historicum*, states that—

"The Earl of Thomond, who before lived peaceably, without offending the country, *admitted into* it at this very time a garrison of 800 foot and

fourscore horse—most of them reformed officers—and left it under command of Captain McAdam, a stout officer, who began to raise works, &c."

John Brown's letter, quoted elsewhere, states this somewhat differently, thus :—

"The army of Thomond were so amazed to see such a gallant fleet at sea and so brave a body on land, that immediately he (Thomond) retired to Six Mile Bridge (sic), where he drew up in a body with a resolution to give our forces battle. But seeing them come on with such a magnanimous courage, and our yellow colours in the van, they immediately threw down their arms and betook themselves to the mountains, leaving all their provision, bagg and baggage, behind them."

This is in answer to a letter of enquiry for news, dated 16th March, 1646, and the letter is printed 1647 "for the general satisfaction of the Kingdom of England."

Page 270. *O'Neill and Monk the Artful.*—In *History of Independency, Part* II., *page* 226, a full account is given of the association between O'Neill and Col. Monk, with the sham vote of disapproval passed by the House. "Who can believe," observes the writer at page 228, "that any subordinate officer commissioned to prosecute a war against Owen Roe and the rest in arms in that Kingdom (see Desiderata Curiosa, page 481) should dare to treat and conclude an agreement and conjunction with that very enemy he had commission to fight against without the knowledge or directions (public or private) of those from or under whom he hath his authority, and should be so bold, when he is done, to come over and justify his said doings, notwithstanding they proved unprosperous." *In page* 236 the conclusion is, "You see the counterfeit Alchemy Saints are content to join covertly with the massacreing Irish Papists to carry on their anti-monarchical designs, and to make a false religion and corrupt worship the wages of righteousness."

Page 283. *Confront the Turk at Belgrade.*—From Revolution Politics (Sept. 6, page 47, Part VI.) we extract the following curious confirmation :—

"'Twas this day given out that Belgrade was taken by storm by the Ottoman forces. That we deny with both our hands. It was by the *Irish* forces in pay of the Emperor, under the command of one O'Dyre (O'Dwyer), an Irish General, and they did wonders : for they crept under the belly of the enemy's horses and destroyed them with their bayonets; for which great service O'Dyer was made by the Emperor Duke of Belgrade as a reward of his merit."

Page 283. *General Reynolds.*

"*Robert Reynolds* had £2,000 given to him, besides Abington Hall and the lands, worth £400 a year; hath bought a good pennyworth of Bishop's lands; hath £20,000 beyond sea, as he made appear upon his marriage." (History of Independency, page 168, &c.)

Page 285. *Untrodden Paths.*—Besides these and little pickings on the way before them, it must not be forgotten that the History of Inde-

pendency, page 168, contains *a list of the Members of the House of Commons*, observing which are affairs of the army, contrary to the *self-denying ordinance*, together with such sums of money, offices, and lands as they have given to themselves for service due, and to be due, against the King and Kingdom.

Page 286. *Retribution.*—Mr. Hardinge's reflections on this are just and well put.

Page 287. *Mr. White in the House.*—We give an extract from the curious speech of this gentleman as we find it in an old square quarto pamphlet of the day, now before us :—

"Again (if I be not much deceived), the Episcopacy, in whatsoever it exceeds the Presbyter's office (in which case only I speak of it), is a branch of the Hierarchie of Rome and of the Antichrist, and of that consider what is prophesied, Rev. xiv. 11 : "They shall not have any rest day or night that receive any print of the name of the Beast." And examine the former and present times, whether the same hath not been verified among us and in all such places where the Hierarchie hath been entertained, whether the most troubles and miseries of the Churches, and in great part also of the commonwealth, have not sprung from the said Episcopacy, and the fruits thereof.

"Therefore let us proceed to the *perfecting of the Reformation of our Church*, and to the gathering out of it every stone that offends, even whatsoever is not according to God, and reduce everything in the Government to the rule, and walk in it, in God's way, which is the sure way to have His presence with us and blessing upon us and ours for ever."

"*Perfecting the Reformation of our Church*," and what it meant may be judged of by the following petition from "the distressed inhabitants of South Wales" :—

The Commissioners, by themselves and their agents, had the managing and disposing of the tithes and ecclesiastic revenue there for three years by that Act, which were privately let to many of their relations at under values, for they posted none of their bargains, nor used any means to improve the same for public benefit. And for one other year, namely, 1653, they continued the receiving and disposing thereof by virtue of his late Highness's letter ; and it was observed that many employed in this work did suddenly and highly improve their estates ; and one man before the wars not worth £500 hath since acquired above £5,000 per annum. The 10th March, 1651, complaint of the premesis was made to the men of Parliament by petition, attested by many hands of those seven counties, who prayed—

1. A supply of their churches with such godly, able ministers as the Parliament should approve of.

2. That an exact accompt might be made of that revenue, which was moderately estimated by the petitioners at £20,000 per annum, and so much offered the Parliament for the same, and good security for the payment thereof.

Page 287. *The fanaticism and intolerance of the Independents* under the Commonwealth.

In Cromwelliana,

1650, July 12—19, we read that—

"The ministers are now active in the military discipline, as formerly they were in the Gospel profession. Parson Ennis, Parson Brown, and about 30 other ministers having received commissions to be majors and captains, who now hold forth."

In Historical Sketches of the Native Irish, by Christopher Anderson, at 97 page note, we find that S. Mather was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Preacher at Nicholas, and that "when a commission was drawn out by the Lord Deputy for *removing the Episcopal ministers of Munster*, it was Mather who declined, saying that he was called into the country to preach the Gospel, *and not to hinder others from doing so.*" This was a very manly sentiment, a very *rare* one too from such a quarter.

Page 289. *Corruptness of Manners.*—The state of literature at the very acme of the Saint's reign in England may interest:—

In "A Beacon set on fire,"

1652. Published by the London Stationers, the following appears:—

"The just fear we have, *lest Popish and Blasphemous Books* should grow so numerous, as to become a considerable, if not the greatest part of our trade, and so we be tempted to be venders of such loathsome ware, or else leave our calling to keep our consciences pure."

Nineteen works of the former class are then detailed. Then come "The names and blasphemies of some books not Popish." Hobs (sic) his Leviathan is then quoted at pp. 205, 219, 220–232, 241–244, 245, 271–273, 284, with a great deal more of such blasphemous stuff. "A testimony of approaching Glory, by Sprigge," is then quoted, then the Racovian Catechism, and Biddle's Book.

Page 296.—SOGGARTH AROON.

BY JOHN BANIN.

AIR—"*Aileen Aroon.*"

Am I the slave they say,
Soggarth aroon,
Since you did show the way,
Soggarth aroon,
Their slave no more to be
While they would work with me
Ould Ireland's slavery,
Soggarth aroon?

Why not her poorest man,
Soggarth aroon,
Try and do all he can,
Soggarth aroon,

Her commands to fulfil,
Of his own heart and will,
Side by side with you still,
Soggarth aroon?

Loyal and brave to you,
Soggarth aroon,
Yet be no slave to you,
Soggarth aroon—
Nor, out of fear to you,
Stand up so near to you—
Och! out of fear to you!
Soggarth aroon.

Who, in the winter's night,
Soggarth aroon,
When the could blast did bite,
Soggarth aroon,
Came to my cabin-door,
And, on my earthen-flure,
Knelt by me sick and poor,
Soggarth aroon?

Who, on the marriage-day,
Soggarth aroon,
Made the poor cabin gay,
Soggarth aroon—
And did both laugh and sing,
Making our hearts to ring,
At the poor christening,
Soggarth aroon?

Who, as friend only met,
Soggarth aroon,
Never did flout me yet,
Soggarth aroon?
And when my heart was dim
Gave, while his eye did brim,
What I should give to him,
Soggarth aroon?

Och! you, and only you,
Soggarth aroon!
And for this I was true to you,
Soggarth aroon;
In love they'll never shake,
When for ould Ireland's sake,
We a true part did take,
Soggarth aroon!

Page 299. *Fire and candle light.*—How this system of free quartering was relished in England, we may see by the following from The Junto, p. 65:—

Free quarters.—Here it may not be amiss to say a word or two of this villanous oppression. *Free quarter*, whereby we are reduced to the condition of conquered slaves. No man being master of his own family, but living like bond-slaves in their own houses under these Egyptian taskmasters, who are spies and intelligencers upon our words and deeds, so that every man's table is become a snare to him.

Page 317. *Sanctimonious intolerance and grasping ambition.*—The following, from a tract of these times, seems to put the true state of the case fairly and clearly:—

Relations and Observations, page 17.

Shall we complain of God? God hath a controversy with us. Of whom shall we complain? Of ourselves? We must first reform ourselves, we that take upon us to reform Church and Commonwealth. Shall we complain of our sins? Ask the grace of repentance first, and so ask that we may obtain. Shall we complain of our punishments? Let us first repent, and amend our sins that caused them. Let us first pluck off the mask of hypocrisy. God will see through such a fantastical garment of fig leaves. Let us no longer make religion a stalking horse. God, who is all wisdom and truth, will not be deceived. If we talk like Christians, and walk like Turks, Christ will not own us. To fast for a day, and hang our heads like bullrushes, will not reconcile us. We must fast from public spoils, rapines, and oppression, and not drink the tears of the poor and needy. Shall we complain with the Prophet, that our princes are become thieves, now *we* must cry that *our* thieves are become princes.

Page 316. *The usurpation terminates with Oliver Cromwell.*—One of the last Acts of Parliament under the usurpation is *An Act for Protection of His Highness, and forbids, under penalty,* "to hold any intelligence or correspondence with Charles Stuart, James, or Henry do.," &c. *The Irish Commissioners, for carrying out the objects of this Act, are*:—

The Lord Chancellor, Chief Justices of either Bench, and the Barons of the Exchequer, Rob. Goodwin, Matt. Thomlinson, Wm. Bury, Sir Jas. Barry, Ar. Hill, Vincent Gookin, Wm. Jephson, H. Markham, Jno. Hewson, Ri. Lawrence, Thos. Cooper, Thos. Sadler, Jer. Zankey, Henry Pritty, Sir J. Reynolds, Rob. Phaire, John Fowke, Sir Theop. Jones, Sir R. Meredith, Sir Jno. Temple, Sir Rob. King, Sir Hardress Waller, Sol. Richards, jun., Sir Wm. Fenton, Henry Ingoldsby, Geo. Do., Jno. King, Ri. Tigh, Aldmn. Dublin, Jno. Bret, Hy. Owen, Fra. Bolton, Tristram Berrisford, Morris Fenton, Rob. Southwell, Sir Chas. Coot, Rob. Ormsby, Jno. Percival, Thos. Southwell, Wm. Warden, Dan. Redman, Nich. Purdon, Fra. Fowlkes, Walter Waller, Thos. Herbert, Jno, Brie, Recorder, Dublin, Anthy. Morgan, Ri. Blaney, Wm. Aston, Ed. Roberts, Jos Standish, Jno. Vernor, Wm. Duckenfield, Peter Wallis, Dan. Abbott, Rob. Saunders, Peter Stubber, Wm. Halsey, Ralph King, Wm. Arnop,

Jno. Nelson, Jno. Bridges, Hy. Jones, Jno. Cook, Jas. Trail, or any thirteen of them.

Page 339. *Mitigate the terrible consequences.*—The following is worth notice:—

"FAIR WARNING;

or,

Twenty-five reasons against Toleration or Indulgence of Popery. 1663."

1. The Archbishop of Canterbury to the King.

"Your Majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion. I beseech you take into consideration what the Act is next; what the consequence may be. You labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, whore of Babylon, &c."

The Irish Bench of Bishops, headed by Jas. Ardmacanus, pronounce toleration "a grievous sin, as making ourselves accessories to all the abominations of Popery, also a matter of most dangerous consequence."

Then come twenty-five reasons against toleration.

Page 340. *St. Thomas's Cathedral.*—This is really St. Flannan's Cathedral.

Page 371. *Constitution subvert itself.*—How the Revolution was strictly constitutional is set forth by a Mr. S. Johnson, in the following argument, as given in his pamphlet:—

"The Revolution Strictly Legal."—*Samuel Johnson's.*

Argument that the abrogation of King James and the promotion of the Prince of Orange, were a matter of fact and of right.

As a matter of fact King James *forfeited* his Crown and abdicated the Government, so that the throne thereby became vacant. And the people of England finding the vacancy thus made, had a perfect right to act according to the declaration of the Lords and Commons in the 10th Richd. 2nd.

Our Lord the King.

"But there is moreover one part of our message, still left to acquaint you withal *in the name of your people.* They have it by antient statute and by a late doleful instance, that in case the king shall alienate himself from his people, by any bad advice whatsoever, or foolish contumacy, or contempt, or self-will, or any other irregular way; and will not be governed and ruled by the laws, statutes, and laudable ordinances of the realm, with the wholesome advice of the Lords and Peers of the realm, but in a headstrong way will exercise his own self-will: From thenceforward it is lawful for them, with the common assent and consent of the people of the realm, to depose the King from the regal throne, and to promote some kinsman of his of the royal family to the throne of the kingdom in his stead."

If any person will vouchsafe to give an answer to anything I have here said, I desire him to do it, fairly, by setting his name to it, and I have done. For I hate to have my books answered as they lately were in a midnight-visor-masque.

Page 396. *The Bishops.*—The way in which the Church was to be made the instrument for establishing a tyranny and for drawing down God's blessing upon intolerance and invasion will appear in the following extract from—

A Form of Prayer and Humiliation, Edn. Ann. 1690, *and an Abhorrence.*

"Comfort him, Oh, Lord! in the sadness of his spirit.

"Guide him in the perplexity of his mind, and support him in the streights and necessities of his fortunes. *Raise him friends abroad.* Convert or confound the hearts of his *enemies* at *home.*"

By these, his *friends abroad, the French Dragoons* and *Irish Cutthroats,* they would have this nation converted to advance the Church and Monarchy. Thus they may have the means of reformation left them and may be rewarded for constancy to mother Church, and the mischief of a Commonwealth may be prevented in all the three kingdoms by making them provinces to the French Monarchy. P. 29.

Page 411. *A noble deliverance*

From,
"The Prince of Orange
His
Declaration, Showing the Reasons why he Invades Ireland."

"The dismal effects of this subversion of the Established Religion, Laws, and liberties of England appear more evidently unto us, by what we see done in Ireland, where the whole government is put in the hands of the Papists, and where all the Protestant inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended from the arbitrary power which is set up there, which has made great numbers of them leave that kingdom and abandon their estates in it, remembering well that cruel and bloody massacre which fell out in that island in 1641. We will also study to bring the Kingdom of Ireland to such a state that the settlement there may be religiously observed, and that the Protestant and British interest there may be secured.

"The Hague, 1688, Oct. 10th."

Page 414. *France.*—The same idea appears in

The Late King James' Manifesto, 1697.

(274.)

But the chief reason which engages the confederate Princes to maintain the Prince of Orange, is, as they say, because he is irreconcilable with France, and therefore they will be always sure of him, and consequently he must be maintained at any rate. Must then hatred against France prevail against most essential duties of Justice and Religion, and must the innocent be sacrificed, and the crime countenanced *to be revenged of an enemy?*

Doubtless 'tis the advantage of Europe that the Throne of England be possessed by His Majesty, not that he is irreconcilable with France,

as it is asserted, but because he knows the true interest of Christendom, and how necessary it is to reduce the power of that ambitious Crown into its just bounds. 'Tis near thirty years ago that politicians foresaw that Europe would be a slave to France unless England broke its fetters; the rapid conquests of Louis the 14th made those fears very probable, yet England lay asleep all that while, and when King James came to the throne and had refused to join with the allies, 'tis certain that things were come to that extremity, that the late happy revolution alone could deliver Great Britain and stop the progress of the French, who, in conjunction with the Turks, flattered themselves with the easy conquest of Europe.

Page 414. *Regions plundered.*—The following from the *London Gazette* will justify the correctness of this description:—

"On the 20th Feby., 1690-1, Lieutenant-Colonel Lillington, Governor of Roscrea, having intelligence that a party of rebels were at Moneygall, within four or five miles of that place, went out with a party of horse and foot of that garrison, and at break of day fell upon that, whom they found to be a part of Col. Oxburgh's regiment, with a party of rapparees, killed thirty-five, took twelve prisoners, and one Captain O'Connor, who commanded them." March 24. "Lieutenant-Colonel Lillington, with a party from Roscrea, joined by another from Birr, marched to Nenagh, beat the enemy into the Castle, took two or three strong posts, *burnt the town*, where they had laid up a good store of provisions, and brought away three hundred head of cattle, having lost but two soldiers and one horse in the action."

Page 415. *A System of Oppression, in a Series of Laws, during the Reigns of William and Anne.*—"*An Appeal to all Protestant Kings, Princes, and States*" (1700, p. 37) will exemplify this awful fact. "And is it now possible (since the state of the Protestant religion and interest is such at this day as is briefly represented in the entrance to this appeal) that any Protestant Prince or State should want a very vigorous sense of what infinite importance it is to *prevent the farther growth of Popery* in their respective dominions? Can they find it difficult to persuade themselves, to provide to the utmost of their power, for their security from again falling under a bondage, in comparison of which *that* was a very light one which *the antient Israelites felt under the cruel Pharaoh?* Can they think it worth their while to be heartily concerned about *any* public affair and neglect this, which is so apparently of the highest importance imaginable, both to their own and their people's *eternal* welfare and temporal too, nay, is (as these leaves have shewn us) of absolute necessity to their but *tolerable* condition in this world? GOD FORBID." How well had it been if the measures "to prevent the further growth of Popery" had not the exact opposite effect, and with a vengeance. What did the antient Israelites feel under cruel Pharaoh like what the modern Papists felt under William and Anne?

The same is illustrated in *A Tractate* on "the present danger of Popery in England," showing—

1. The strength of the English Papists at home.
2. An account of their religious houses.
3. An abstract of the laws in force against Papists.
4. Reasons for putting these laws in execution.
5. A proposal for the same, dedicated to the civil magistrates of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

The same writer concludes with a suggestion that "a society should be formed to put in execution the laws against Papists."

Page 442. "*Political Severity made it hated before it was known.*"—The fact that the majority of the Irish people have rejected the religion of their *country*, and cling to that of their *conquerors*, presents an extraordinary anomaly not generally accounted for. The effect of persistent *misrepresentation* in perpetuating this state of things has been obvious to many. But the degree in which *mispresentation* originated the evil is not at all so generally understood; and one must account for it on Bishop Butler's theory of self-deceit, through "a general ignorance of themselves, and wrong way of thinking and judging in everything relating to themselves."

GENERAL INDEX.

PAGE

Abbey and Monastery 4
Dr. Todd on 5
Dr. Reeves on 5
Usher, Archbishop, on... 6
Absentee, law to confiscate Protestants 393
Abjuring realm, form of 416
Account, full and impartial, quoted 387
Administration, civil and military, under the usurpation 299
Adventurers' Act a great error 187
Lord Forbes in Galway Bay 249
Act, good bargains under 280
Aghnis, Bishop, lands in 331
Andrewe, Geo. Dean 159
Aran, islands of, missionary head-quarters 2
Do. Endeus apud Colgan 15
Archbishop of Armagh fears abduction 38
Arms of Protestants seized 387
Army, Parliamentary, in Ireland, list of 277
King James II. 374
Artillery and Irish Rebels 196
Do. do. 201

Ballyalla, siege of 194
preliminary actions 195
plot thickens 199
sows and leathern guns ... ... 200, &c.
evidence corroborating 202
pretended commission... 203
evidence of E. Reade 303
B. Hopditch 204
Rev. A. Chaplin 205
Baker, &c. ... ... 206, &c.
Ballymackey, tythes and dues in 348

PAGE

Barclay, Rev. Mr., his security ... ... 400, &c.
Bedell, Bishop, quoted 190
Beehive Houses 1
Benefices, impropriate 6
Bishop's Island... 1
Bishops, Irish reformed, misrepresented 68
and clergy in great poverty 157
unreformed, their sons rob and slay... 40
suborned by Sidney 42
unreformed, of Killaloe 402
Blood, Neptune, Very Rev. ... ... 221, &c.
Blood, Mrs., inventory 359
Book money 354
Bramhall, Bishop, his zeal 188
his fears 189
indicted for high treason 189
arrested 189
Commons Journals quoted, of 190
and use of P. Book 289
on Dr. Worth, and exceptions against him... 321
Brehons and Bards 76
law in Thomond 79
Ed. Curry, on 83
Burton, Samuel, Esq. 410
Butler, Sir Toby, his letter 377

Camden, on clerical morality 42
Carlyle, Mr. T., on 1641 249
Cashel, clergy, their fitness 74
Castles in Clare in 1641 197
Castle Bank, siege of 226
Castle Haven, Lord, at Birr 230
Chaplin, Rev. Mr., a good shot 200
Charles I., his Irish Ecclesiastical legislation 183
fines on cursing 184
his Irish secular policy, bad 187
his Connaught settlement scheme 188
quoted in Eikon Basilike 264
his readiness to save Irish Protestants 272
his controversies with Parliament 273
Chieftains, Irish, Henry VIII. 23
Church with roof... 4
with chancel arch 4
temporalities and Henry VIII. 27
land in England security for war 273
Irish, how often robbed, and for what 273
Churches and monuments rifled by Cromwell 289
Churchmen persecuted by Puritans and Papists 271

PAGE
Churchmen persecuted by Cromwellians 288
Clancy, Boetius, Dean of Kilfenora 31
High Sheriff of Clare 62
Clancys, the 70
Clanrickarde correspondence 251
his eminent loyalty 263
Clapham, Rev. Mr., important evidence of 239
sets forth fury of Irish 241
Clare, gentry of, join rebellion of 1641 196
south of, and central, in 1641 223
made a penal settlement 282
Commissioners for, in D'Alton's lists 384
horses pressed in 385
chief gentlemen and ablest persons in 386
Lord, his letter to arrest the chief Protestants of the country 387
clergy, compulsory conversion to escape death 222
Clergy, the distressed, how treated 252
petition of 254
refused bread, ordered to enlist 254
their answer to Commissioners 255
reasons of petition stated 255
in Killaloe, under James II. 396
how their tythes went from them 399
Clonlisk Barony 281
Clonmacnoise Manifesto 270
Commissioners' order against Prayer Book 253
Composition Deed, Perrott's 64
Compurgations, cases of 352
Confiscations provoked 339
Congregationalist teachers in Killaloe... 298
Conquering Parliamentarians, march of 274
Convention Aphorisms 371
Cooke, Mr., quoted 228
Coote, Chidley's evidence 230
Cork taken 396
Covenant absurdly lauded 287
Cromwellian settlement quoted 193
Cromwell, O., his letter on Thomond, E. 268
estimated 275
his letter after Dunkirk 276
his letter on operations in Munster 278
attacks Clonmacnoise Manifesto 290
his revenge declared 295
Crump, Rev. Mr., runs away 399
Curwen's Case, the Queen on 33
Cursing, laws against 184
Cusake on preaching the Gospel 29

PAGE

Darby, Mr. J., condemned to death 382
Davis, Sir John, on Irish law 69
and the Jesuits 73
Davies, Dean, on war 378
Dease, Bishop, Titular 403
Defectu natalium 43
Desmond's rebellion 50
Countess, letter to 50
once loyal 51
swayed to his ruin 52
asks the Pope for lands 56
of English origin 62
Dispute on baptism at Cork 318
Drogheda, slaughter in 274
the Spirit of God promotes 275
Dromore Castle, built by whom... 198

Education by Elizabeth 68
under William III. 417
Elizabeth Queen, and Church work 68
English-speaking clergy preferred 67
English and Dutch offer to save Clare ... ... 164 & 208
help delayed, why 209
number of reduced 315
Ennis Corporation minutes 373
apothecary 420
Exactions of clergy 185
Excommunication, cases of 350

Flannan, St., his oratory... 2
Cathedral 3
Fenianism or Desmondism 57
Fermor the Crown 8
Finnoe, churchwardens of 347
France and William III.... 414
French fleet at Brest 390

Gauden Doctor, quoted 271
Graces, account of 394
Gray, Lord L., in Limerick 26
God's Word 30
Gore, F., his inventory 350

Hallam, Mr., quoted 415
H—l or Conaught... 284
Henn's inventory 356
Henry VIII. and conciliation 23
Hickman, Gregory, in 1641 225

PAGE

Inchecronane, siege of 210
Inchiquin's, Lord, presentations 349
Inniscattery diocese 10
Intolerance of Cromwellians 287
Inventories 355
Ireland and Pope Gregory 52
present state of, quoted 191
parties in, after 1641 263
Irish language not to be used 65
Dr. Stephens, ad rem 65
Sidney remonstrates 67
dress, language, and habits 76
names changed 77
Maine quoted on 78
Dr. S. Ferguson quoted on 78
their absurd demands 83
are dissatisfied and irritated ... ... 190, &c.
Expedition, the... 274
are cowed by Cromwell 277
Papists in Cromwell's hands... 287

James I.'s commission to enquire 75
II., third persecution under 371
why he lived 409
Jones, Dean, his bargain... 74
Bishop of Killaloe 180
his age debated... 180
his will 187
how he spells his name 182
Justice, Lord Chief, his letter 164, 208
the administration of, under James II. 378

Kilfenora Diocese, Dr. Todd on 11
Cathedral 11
Fachnan's slab 11
Ware's lament 15
J. O'Hinalan, Bishop 63
examined closely 63
Bishoprick beggarly 188
Kileneboy Church-lands 330
Killaloe Diocese, form and size 3
follows civil boundaries ... ...3, &c.
Cathedral central 12
in King's books on 12
Bishops of, and supremacy 22
Morin quoted 22
sixty captains, which of in 22
Bishoprick void... 36

PAGE

Killaloe, Bishop H. Rider's sermon quoted 192
Bishop Jones stripped and fugitive 196
Bishop Parry, ditto 252
his action in commissioners' affair 252
Bishop Parry, death 256
monument in Audoen's Church 257
character of 258
his "David Restored" quoted 259
on dangers of atheism... 262
his son's remarks on atheism 262
Bishop Parry, his portrait 262
Bishop Dr. E. Worth 316
a lease he made... 336
with the Independents in Cork 317
Murcot on the matter 318
Dr. Worth, how far implicated with Independents ... 321
Bishop Wytter, his will ... ... 365—6
Bishop Roan 367
Lord Essex's letters in favour of Dr. Roan... 367
under James II.... 397
his death and burial 397
his will 398
Bishop H. Rider 421
diocese of, in sad state after 1641 271
diocese, military occupation in East... 279
Consistorial Court, remnant of papers 345
summary, in 1713 346
King of Ireland proclaimed 17
and rejoicings 18
King, Archbishop, quoted 372

Ladies Irish, at Silvermines 247
other heroic 228
Latin preferred to Irish 66
prayers in Tralee 67
abuse in English pale 67
Law, feudal and tanist 32
English and Irish in conflict 75
in Tipperary 382
Lay preachers in buff coats 287
Leases by Bishops 329
Lenihan, Mr. M., his courtesy 345
Limerick, siege prepared for 277
and Clare, officers' petition 285
precinct of, order-books quoted 299
Liturgy legalized... 322
Livings held in *commendam* 7
Macariæ excidium quoted 378

PAGE
Macariæ excidium quoted 412
Macaulay, Lord, quoted 374
on King William 414
Mac O'Brien arra ... ... 35—44
MacNamara on conspiracies and horse-stealings 378
Magrath Miler, his servant beneficed 74
Matrimonial cause, curious 363
Marriage laws, pre-reformation... 84
Mary Queen, her policy 34
Massacre of 1641 192
why exposed again 192
Canon of Verity used on 192
sources of information on 193
nature of evidence 194
affairs in Tipperary 242
Mass-priests 97
McSheedy, Dean 32
English liberty to 32
Mensal tythes 334
Miller, Dr., quoted 415
Mollua, his oratory 2
Molony, Jno., Titular Bishop of Killaloe 267
signs declaration at Clanmacnois 270
signs declaration at Waterford 404
Moore, Mr. T. 34
Moral depravity 43
Moy and Inchiveaghe Castles 214
Simpson's, &c., letters from 215
Norton's evidence on 216
Mrs., letters 217
Murcot quoted 318
on prayer, like a bladder 321

O'Brien 25
his visit to the King, &c. 25
T., Bishop of Killaloe, and his sons ... ... 33, &c.
Sir T., son of, convicted at Clonmel... 73
of Dough 194
Daniel, loyalty and reward 219
land ravaged 249
Sir T., of Dromoland 284
D., Sheriff of Clare 385
arms seized 418
O'Daye, Bishop of Killaloe 31
O'Dwyre, Dr. E. 403
O'Hinalan, Bishop 31
O'Melrian, Dr., Titular 50
described by Sent Leger 53

PAGE

O'Melrian, described in State Papers 53
captured by pirates 54
praised by Desmond 54
a Quartermaster-General 54
his letters 57
why to be made Bishop of Cork 58
asks for lands in Ireland 59
deplores Desmond 59
describes his campaigning life 60
his last visit to Ireland 61
Wingfield's letter on 61
a military agent 62
O'Molona Malachias 45
guest of Grindall 45
in prison... 17
deceives M. O'Brien 45
Sir M. Maltbie writes of 46
Perrott on his conversion 47
Roughan's account of him 48
his final exit 49
why noticed 50
O'Molony, Jno., 2nd Bishop Titular 404
derivation of name 405
"a busy meddling priest" 405
his letter... 406
King James 2nd's envoy 406
founds bursaries 406
his ring 406
his letters to Tyrrell 407
calls Irish cow-hearted 407
would overthrow Act of Settlement... 407
quotes Scripture strangely 408
contrasted with Lesly 408
Oratory 1
Ormond, men of, wolves annually 41
Earl of, surrenders Dublin 252
stipulations of 253
submits to hard terms 266
consequences of his defeat 270
impeached for refusing Covenant 287
Oxburg, Colonel 374
his regiment 375
robs his employer 383
fall of his family 338

Pandar, the, quoted 28
Parish cess, lists of non-payers of 357
Parsons, Sir L. 376

PAGE
Parsons, Sir L., his trial 378
saves his life, how 381
Parsonstown, siege of, 1641 227
famine prices ... ... 229, &c.
bravery of defenders 234
terrible sufferings 235
surrender, terms of 335
evidence of Messrs. Hopley, Mitchell, Walker, and Maltham 236
evidence of Coote and Parsons, with reflections on same 238
Patrick, Saint, and Senchus Mor 80
Judicious evangelist 82
Patrick's Cathedral, great consecration in 316
Popish-pretensed Primate 37
Popery laws, King William III. 415
no foreign education 416
not to live near Shannon 416
not to teach school 417
their arms seized 418
their horses, what sort 418
must declare against transubstantiation 420
in Ennis... 420
Presbyterians and Cromwell 287
and Venables 288
Presentments for non-payment of Church rates 363
Preys and frays 37
Priests, Irish, banished 295
effects of this severity... 296
state of, by deed of 1652 297
Proprietary rights 190
Protestants, their possessions robbed... 392
their persons seized 389
their actual arrest 389
their petition from Ennis Jail 392
their flight to England 393
lists of proscribed 393
lists of the relieved 395
Provincial of Augustine hissed... 7

Qualey, V.G. Killaloe 403
Quo warrantos 373

Reaction, anti-Church 323
Rebellion Feuds 52
Reeves, Dean ... ... 160 & 421
Reformation, Lawrence, on 81
mismanaged 83
Refugee, his petition 361
Retribution 286

PAGE

Revolution the, estimated 411
Rider John, Bishop of Killaloe 85
his literary works 85
searches after 86
in Mason's Patrick 86
wronged by Lascelles 86
King James' letter to ... ... 87 & 88
his merits 156
recommends Dean Andrew 158
his death and memorial 159
Ryder, Bishop Henry, his will 327
Rinuccini fights with Confederates 265
plans conquest of England 265
his intolerance 266
his rage 267
figures at Bunratty siege 268

Sankey and Petty, their row 285
Sarsfield's letter 337
Sebastian, Don, is slain 52
Settlers in Tipperary 281
Lord Clare on 281
become good churchmen 282
Settlement, and Act of 336
Silvermines in 1641 241
Six-mile Bridge in 1641 224
Spaight, Thomas 410
Spirituality resists reformation 19
daring trick of 19
how esteemed 19
Spoliation 7
Bramhall on 8
Stamer, Mr. 390
Staples, Bishop, on Supremacy 20
"State of Ireland" quoted 29
State Prayers, temp. Charles II. 368
Stephens, Dr., quoted 322
Stukeley's invasion 52
Submission of O'Brien produces commotion... 32
Subsidies and forcible seizures 384
Supremacy, Sir J. Davis on 16
Laws resisted 18
contentions 20
enforced at Clonmel 21

Taffe Lord, his letter from Clare 269
Teige, Father, his prayers 391
Thomond and Inchiquin submit 23

PAGE
Thomond and Inchiquin get rich Church grants 26
Conor, Earl of, renounces name of O'Brien... 33
life in 39
D., Earl of, praised 72
C., Earl of, Queen's letter to 79
Earl of, induced to join Conaught plantation scheme ... 188
Barnaby, Earl of, how acting 196
evidence on 206
Earl of, his letter to O'Brien 220
Mr. Carlyle comments on 267
Henry, Earl of 283
Tituladoes 281
Trade and commerce reg. Charles II. 339
Trade Council ordered 339
Travers on ignorance of Gospel 29
Tru meroe siege 211
O'Flaherty's action and arrest 211
O'Flaherty's examination 212
Ward's evidence 213
locality described 214
Tuam, Titular Archbishop, and Clanrickarde 264
and Clonfert, Bishop's letter 38
Twenbroke, Rev. Mr. 198
Tyrconnell, King of Ireland 198
Tythes restored by Charles II. 324
Tythe case 349

Undertakers and English 71
Usurpation, reflections on 315
and see Property 326

Valor beneficiorum 13
Vandeleur, Rev. Mr. ... ... 401, &c.
Vicar-General of Killaloe 402
Mahoon McMahon 402
Queley, Dr. 403
his elevation to Tuam 403
Vicarius or substitute Priest 6
Vindiciæ Catholicæ quoted 264
Virago, a devilish 237
Visitation, regal, in 1615 89
of Kilfenora 98
of Killaloe in 1622 100
how transcribed 101
articles of 101
grievances set forth 139
names of ye Masse Priests 143
name of Vicar-General 144

PAGE

Visitation, humble motions of Clergy 146
Ecclesiastical Courts 147
catalogue of admissions 148
notes on Articles 148
of 1633 166
Roll of Clergy 167
Kilfenora 177
ditto, Roll of Clergy 178
Primary, of Archbishop of Cashel in 1667 340
remarks upon 342
regal, in 1693 422
letter from Bishop H. Rider 422

Waller, Sir H., in Burren 280
Whettenhall, Bishop of Cork, sub. James II. 396
William III., King, intolerance under 411
injurious policy for Church 412

Yellow dragoons 376

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