

BALLYCULHANE CASTLE.

LIMERICK DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

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WHEN Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the English rule in Ireland was at its lowest ebb. Its power was non-existent, except in the contracted English Pale. Patrick Finglass, Baron of the Irish Exchequer, writing in A.D. 1515, says "Since the time of Henry VI., the Desmonds and Butlers allied themselves with the Irish, and fell into Irish customs, and all freeholders and English inhabitants expelled, and Irishmen in their stead. There is at this day obedient to the King's laws only the little English Pale, which passeth not 30 miles compass."

The suppression of the rebellion of "Silken Thomas" broke the power of the Butlers and Geraldines. James Earl of Desmond then submitted, and swore fealty to the King, praying in return for a grant of the late Earl of Kildare's manors and castles in the County of Limerick, which were forfeited to the Crown in 1537. Desmond thus acquired the manors of Adare, Kilgobbin, Castle Roberts, Croom, and Rathcannon. In 1541 Henry was declared by the Irish Parliament King of Ireland. All the Irish Chiefs having then submitted, the principal ones accepted English titles and conformed to English customs. O'Brien became Earl of Thomond, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, McWilliam Bourke, Earl of Clanrickard, Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory.

Sir Thomas Cusack, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, bears witness to the improvement in the state of Ireland when Mary succeeded to the throne. He says—"In Munster beyond the Pale, the whole country was in such good quiet that the judges kept their circuits, not only in Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, but in the most distant shires in the west, without fear or molestation. The Great Lords accepted the Queen's Commission and acted jointly with the law officers, to compel the people to do likewise."

Authorities consulted—Calendars of State Papers (Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth)
The Carew MSS., etc.

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Although, on the accession of Elizabeth, Ireland was "conformable to the laws," yet it was far from being at peace. There was an internicine warfare between "rival factions." (1). The great clans were constantly at war with one another; the smaller "factions" kept things lively among themselves. We learn that at this time, "The factions in Munster, some private, some particular, others more open and universal; between two sects of Gallowglasses—the McSheehys (of Limerick) and the McSwineys; between the Butlers and the Geraldines; between Earl of Desmond and McCarthy-More; between Desmond and the House of Decies, for Chiefry; between Desmond and Barrymore, for Buttevant; between Desmond and McCarthy-Roe, for Chiefry, that Desmond claimeth over him; between Desmond and McMorrice, for Chiefry." James Earl of Desmond was the most powerful nobleman in the King's dominions. He was supreme in the south, having crushed all the lesser chiefs and nobles; and yet, we learn that he lived in a semi-barbarous way among his people. "This Earl was very rude, both in gesture and apparel, having for want of nurture, as much good manners as his kerns and followers could teach him."

(2). Earl James's grandfather was the first who put 'coyne and livery' on the King's subjects. "The King at that time had in the four shires of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, about 2,000 marks a year of lands, rents, and customs, and the Earl had but one part of said shires; but before he died he put the aforesaid four shires under him and his heirs, so that now where the said Earl had not the yearly rent then past £500 a year, now his heirs, as they receive it, everything accounted may dispend £10,000 yearly." "Coign and livery" was a customary charge made by the Irish chiefs for "man's-meat and horse-meat."

An Indenture made in 1524, between Henry VIII. and the Earl of Kildare, recites, that whenever the Earl passed through the English Pale he was entitled, in lieu of 'coign and livery,' for each horseman, captain of kerne and gallowglass, on flesh days, meat, bread, and ale, and on fish days, fish, bread, and butter, and for his horse boys, the same food as used by "the husbandman," or else he could demand for a meal for every horseman, two pence, every foot soldier, one penny

1. Carew MSS., p. 453.

2. Carew MSS., A.D. 1515, p. 7.

halfpenny, and for his horse boys, one penny. For every horse, twelve sheaves of corn for a night and a day, or the sum of two pence. This gives an idea of the value of this customary due, which was afterwards made illegal.

The policy adopted by Elizabeth in forcing conformity to doctrines which were repugnant to the Irish, soon changed the aspect of affairs. Shane O'Neill in the north raised the standard of rebellion, and Gerald Earl of Desmond, who had succeeded on the death of James at Askeaton in 1558, was seized while in Dublin as an accomplice of O'Neill's, deported to England, and with his Countess and his brother John of Desmond, kept a prisoner in the tower of London for five years. His uncle, Sir James Fitzmaurice, in the meantime carried on a war against the English rule in the south; but in 1573 made his peace with the Queen—presumably on the condition that the Earl should be released, as we find Desmond in this year was restored to his honors and his people. The following year Desmond made a "Feoffment" of all his "Baronies and Manors" (3) in the County Limerick, to Lords Dunboyne and Curraghmore, in trust for himself, his wife, and the survivor. After his death, £1,000 was to be paid out of the manors of Glenogra, Any, Fedamore, etc., in the County Limerick to each of his daughters "which at time of my death shall not be preferred." He then entails all his estates on his son James, in 'tail male' in remainder to the use of the heirs of his late father, and in default to the heirs male of his grandfather. He appoints Maurice Sheehan, of Rathmore, and Robert Liston, as his attorneys and agents. The Earl's Manors in the County Limerick are described as—Askeaton, Newcastle, Shannet, Thé Island of Foynes, Corgrigg, Tarbert, 'The fort of the three enemies,' i.e., Portdrinarde, near Abbeyfeale; Loughgur, Glenogra, Rathmore, and Aney (Hospital.) "The Black Friary (Dominicans) within Limerick is parcel of the Earl's inheritance by grant from King Henry VIII., together with the village of Courtbrack beside Limerick, with the appurtenances; the Bishop of Limerick's refection once a year; the lands of Roure beside Adare; the castle and lands of Corbally."

"The Earl's accustomed duties (4) in Kilmallock is four pence for every *colpe* by the quarter, and a horse load of wood of those who bring

3. Carew MSS., 1574, p. 481.

4. Carew MSS., 1572.

sale wood into the town; also he is wont to have his lodging with the sovereign of the town for the time being; and to be served there with bread, ale, *aqua vitæ*, candle light, household stuff, and bedding, upon account of the said colpe money; and likewise, if his horses, or horse grooms do take any horse meat, or man's meat, the same also to be allowed out of the said colpe money for the first night. He is to have carriage there on his journeys on the same account. The Earl is to have refecton in the Hospital beside Any from time to time, and if he wants flesh for his kitchen he has beeves from the country at 6s. 8d. each."

Desmond was also in receipt of a chief rent amounting to £3 11s. 8d. from O'Brien, for the castle and town of Carrigogunnell, and the Earl's portion of Pubblebrien, contained twenty-three ploughlands, paying him forty shillings each.

The City of Limerick (5) is thus described:—"A wondrous proper city and a strong; and it standeth environed with the river of Shenan, and it may be called little London for the situation and the plenty, but the castle hath need of reparation. I saw in a grammar school in Limerick one hundred and three score scholars, most of them speaking good and perfect English, for that they have used to conster the latin into English." A few years later Richard White, a citizen of Limerick, in a letter to Burghley, states that many of the local gentry had withdrawn their sons from school fearing that in case of the landing of a foreign force, which was then anticipated, that their sons might be detained as pledges for their fathers. Among those who are named are—Brian Duff O'Brien, of Carrigogunnell; Conor O'Mulrian, chief of Owney, and Shane, his brother; Richard Bourke, of Caherconlish, "a justice of the peace who pretends to the lordship of Clanwilliam."

A complaint was made that a portion of the city wall at the river side had fallen down, and that the citizens had commenced a "notable work," namely, to cut a channel for the water of the Shannon to go round the north franchises, to protect them at the Thomond side from "bad neighbours." This channel may be traced at Wightfield. Its outlet would be, most probably, close to the north strand barracks. It was never completed.

In the year 1566 a scheme was drawn up for the creation of a President and Council for Munster. Sir Warham Sentleger was appointed Lord President, and the following were nominated to the Council :—The Archbishop of Cashel, the Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Garrett, Earl of Desmond, Connor, Earl of Thomond, Donald, Earl of Clancare, the Bishops of Limerick, Waterford, and Cork, and Robert Cusack, and Nicholas White, Esquires. The Lord President was to be allowed 13s. 4d. per day for “wages and entertainment.” His retinue was to consist of 30 horsemen, at 9d. per day; 20 footmen, at 8d; a “petty captain,” at 2s.; a trumpeter, at 12d.; a standard bearer, at 12d., and 12d. per day for a surgeon.

Sir John Perrot became President of Munster in 1570. An attempt was made to get possession of some of the more important places about Limerick as suitable residences for the Lord President. (6) In the City of Limerick St. Dominick's Abbey was fixed on as his town house, with “the County of Pubblebrien to be allotted unto him for his provisions.” Donogh O'Brien was at this time an old man without children, and little difficulty was anticipated in getting possession of his patrimony. In the County Limerick, the Lord President was to have the house of the grey friars (Franciscans) at Adare, with the lands of the white friars (Trinitarians), and black friars (Augustinians). The castle of Askeaton, with “the County of Kenry joined to it for the better provision thereof,” and as much land in the White Knight's country adjoining Kilmallock as “may serve him for the finding of 100 horsemen.” This scheme did not make the Queen's Government more popular in Munster, nor did it tend to conciliate Desmond and his friends in Limerick. Among the Ordinances promulgated by Perrot when in Limerick are the following :—The sons (7) of husbandmen and ploughmen shall for the future follow the occupation of their fathers. All bards, rhymers, and idle men and women gossiping, bringing messages, and spending time playing cards, “shall be spoiled of their goods and chattels, and put into the common stocks, there to remain until they find sufficient surety to leave that wicked ‘thrade’ of life.” The citizens were not to wear mantels or Irish coats, but to wear some ‘civil garment,’ “and, no maid, or single

6. Carew MSS., p. 391.

7. Carew MSS., 1571.

woman, shall wear or put on any great roll or kerchief of linen cloth upon their heads, neither any great smock with great sleeves, but to put on hats, caps, French hoods, tippets, or some other civil attire upon their heads" A penalty of £100 was recoverable from the Mayor should he allow default in obeying this ordinance.

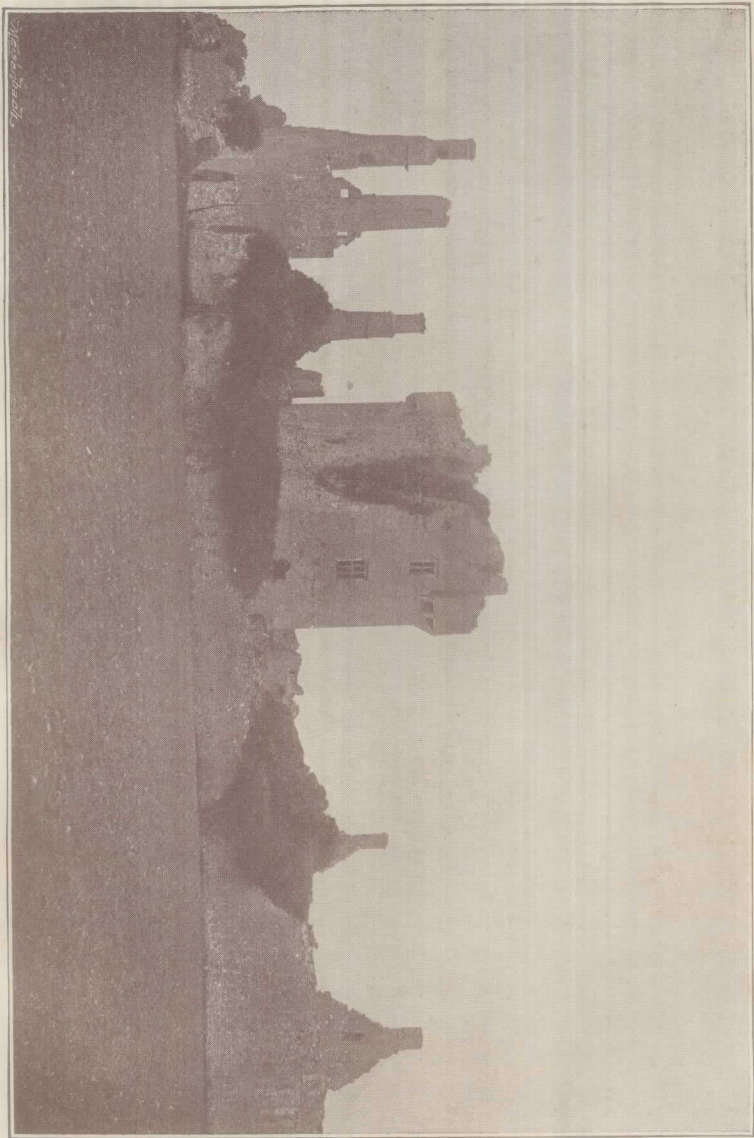
The drink question was not overlooked. "For as much as *aqua vitæ* is no common drink profitable to be drunk or used, and thereby much corn consumed, spent, and wasted, no *aqua vitæ* shall be made within this Province upon pain of £4 sterling, except the same be made in their houses that can dispense £10 sterling by the year, of inheritance or freeholds ; or, in the houses of good burgesses of Parliament for their own expenses."

A few years later Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, in his progress through Munster, describes Kilmallock :—It was "lamentably spoiled and burned by that vile traitor, James Fitzmaurice, but so speedily again re-edified as surely it is not almost to be credited, but by constant report of them that knew it, and saw it then, and now have perused and and seen it again ; for where there was not a roof left unburned, few or no houses within the walls are now uncovered."

After the massacre of the Italians and Spanish brought over by James Fitzmaurice, at Smerwick in 1579, and his own death near the present Barrington's-Bridge, in a petty skirmish (8) with his kinsmen, the Bourkes of Castleconnell, the Lord Deputy's power was considerably strengthened in Munster. Desmond was driven into rebellion, and, after a desultory war of three years, met his death at the hands of his own people, in the mountain district lying between Limerick and Kerry in the 40th year of his age, A.D. 1583. This was Elizabeth's opportunity, and she availed of it to crush for ever the Southern Geraldines by parcelling out among English "Undertakers," as they were called, the forfeited Desmond estates. Queen Mary had, some years previously, broken the power of the O'Mores and O'Farrells by planting the Queen's and King's Counties with Englishmen. Elizabeth now resolved to follow her sister's example.

The object of this paper is to point out how this remarkable "plantation" scheme was accomplished in this County, and with what results.

8. See "Bourkes of Clanwilliam." By J. G. Barry. Journal of Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland for 1889, p. 192.



BALLYGRENAN CASTLE, BRUFF, CO. LIMERICK.

The present Baronies represent, pretty accurately, the territorial divisions of our County at that period. The great tract of country (9) in the west of the County Limerick, lying between the Counties of Cork and Kerry and the river Shannon, comprising the present Baronies of Upper and Lower Connelloe, Glenquin, and Shanid, was then known as Connelloe, and was a portion of the great Desmond territory. The Earl of Desmond's chief manors and castles in Connelloe were—Newcastle, Askeaton, Shanid, Portrinarde near Abbeyfeale, known as "The castle of the three enemies." This extensive district was dotted with the castles of the clansmen of the Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, Purcells, McSheehys, Supples, Nashs, and other freeholders, who threw in their lot with their chief whenever called on.

The present barony of *Small County* represents the Desmond territory in the east of this county, including his manors of Loughgur, Glenogra, Any, and Rathmore. The principal resident gentry in this barony were—William Lacy, of Ballygrenan Castle, Bruff; David Lacy, of Athlacca; Edward Lacy, of Bruree; James Fitzmaurice Lacy, of Tullerboy; Browne, of Any; Sheehan, of Rathmore; O'Grady, of Knockaney; O'Grady, of Fedamore; Fanning, of Fannynstown; the Roches, and others.

Coshlea was the Clangibbon country, the property of the White Knight.

Coonagh belonged to a branch of the O'Briens, known as Mac-i-brians O'Goonagh. Their chief residence was at Castletown, near Doon.

Owneybeg was the country of the O'Ryan or Mulrians.

Clanwilliam was the ancient patrimony of the Bourkes. The captain of Clanwilliam was Sir William Bourke, who resided at Castleconnell, and was created Baron Castleconnell, A.D. 1580. The following were the principal resident gentry in this barony—Richard Bourke Fitzdavid, of Caherconlish; John Bourke FitzRichard, of Brittas; Theobald and William Bourke, of Carrig-o-reilly; Richard Oge Bourke, of Dromkeen; Richard Bourke, of Lismolane; Oliver Bourke, of Kilpeacon; Edmond Fitzwalter Bourke, of Ballynagarde; Richard Fitzwilliam Bourke, of Killonan; John FitzEdmond Bourke; Rory O'Hein, of Caherelly; Jordan Roche, of Newcastle, near Limerick; Teige O'Hea, Conor Clanchy, of Ballybricken; Donal Barry, of Ballyguy, etc.

Pubblebrien was the O'Brien country. Carrigogunnell was their chief castle.

Coshmagh was the patrimony of the Earls of Kildare. Their chief manors being Adare and Croom.

Kenry was the Knight of Glin's country. His chief manors being Castletown, Beagh and Cappagh. He held the castle of Glin with thirteen adjoining ploughlands from the Earl of Desmond, paying him certain tribute of "meat and drink, and the finding and sessing of men." Richard McThomas Fitzgerald lived at Pallas (*Kenry*) ; David Oge Purcell at Ballyculhane. There was also Purcell of Curragh, Purcell of Ballinacarriga, and Fitzgerald of Bolane, besides many other resident freeholders.

By an Inquisition taken in 1586, the total value of the escheated lands was estimated at £10,490 17s. per annum ; of this amount the value of the Desmond estates in Limerick came to £2,413 17s. 2d., exclusive of the lands of 'other rebels' in the county, estimated at the annual value of £1,128 2s. 5d. The area of the escheated lands of the Earl of Desmond in Limerick and Kerry was 232,379 acres, out of a total of 800,000 acres confiscated. When it is remembered that one pound in the reign of Elizabeth was equal, in purchasing value, to at least twelve pounds at the present time, one can realise the princely estate in this county which had become the property of the Crown.

Spenser in his "View of the state of Ireland," gives a harrowing description of the country at this time :—"Although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldier, yet thus been kept from cultivation and their cattle running abroad, by this hard restraint, they would quickly consume themselves, and devour one another, the proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late wars in Munster ; for, notwithstanding, that the same was most rich and plenty country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought that they would have been able to stand long yet, ere one year and a-half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them ; they looked like anatomies of death ; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. . . In a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast."

This was the country which the Queen undertook to plant with Englishmen after the following fashion :—"Gentlemen undertaking divisions for the peopling of Munster," were to get *seignories* according to their ability, of 12,000 acres, 8,000 acres, 6,000 acres, and 4,000 acres, on the following conditions :—The "Undertaker" (10) of 12,000 acres was to enclose a Demesne of 2,100 acres, on which he was to reside. He was to settle on the seignory six farmers, holding each 400 acres ; six freeholders, holding each 300 acres ; forty-two copyholders, holding 100 acres each. The rest to be apportioned out in "mean tenure" in 50, 25, and 10 acre holdings, among at least thirty-six families, so that there should be settled on a seignory of the first class ninety-one families. A seignory of 8,000 acres was to have a Demesne of 1,400 acres, and in proportion, freeholders, copy-holders, etc., in all sixty-one families. A seignory of 6,000 acres was to have 1,050 acres in Demesne, and tenants on the same tenures as before, to the number of forty-six families. A seignory of 4,000 acres to have in Demesne 700 acres, and a like proportion of tenants, to number at least thirty-one families. All bogs, heath, and wastes, on the several seignories, passed to the undertaker "as common ground," and not to be reckoned part of the rented land. None of the seignories were to be divided, nor was there any power of alienation to the "mere Irish." Every undertaker was empowered to enclose a deerpark. The heads of all families settled on the seignories were to be born of English parents, and no female heir was to marry except among the descendants of the original settlers. Each undertaker according to his Patent, had power to make estates in *fee simple* or *fee tail* to the freeholders on his seignory, "at such rents as the undertaker may think good to reserve for the same." Every undertaker was bound within a prescribed time to build "a strong-house or castle," and to keep a certain number of horsemen, who would be liable to serve the Queen in Munster when called on. The rents reserved to the Queen were calculated at the rate of three pence per acre in Connelloe, and two-pence-halfpenny per acre in the rest of the County Limerick. Connelloe and Kenry are described as (11) "the gardens of the lande for the variety and plenty of all graine and fruites ; also there is more plenty of venison, fish, and foule, than elsewhere in

10. C.S.P., Vol. cxxiv.

11. Payne's Description of Ireland, 1589.

Irelande." Although surveyors were appointed to measure and applot the seignories, their task proved a difficult one, and in 1586 it was found necessary to estimate the unmeasured lands by ploughlands, calculating a full seignory of 12,000 acres to contain twenty-eight ploughlands. However, this rough and ready measurement caused complaints, not only from the undertakers to whom the seignories were allotted, but also from the adjoining proprietors whose lands had not been forfeited. Some of those complaints are worth recording.

Donogh O'Grady (12) of Kill Feadamore, complains that "Edmund Mainwaring hath entered into one acre parcel of complainant's land, whereas Kilfeadamore is no parcel of Feadamore, or Fanninstown, the property of the late Earl of Desmond, as James Earl of Desmond had, by a deed dated in 1557, enfeofed John, father of the said Donogh, of the said town and lands of Kilfeadamore, and that Gerald the late Earl was never in possession of Kilfeadamore." Clement Fanning, of Fanningstown, complains that Edmund Mainwaring claims 40s. "half face money," (13) out of his lands in Fanningstown, "whereas only 2s. 1d. is lawfully due." Pierce Creagh and Nicholas Fox, of Limerick, complain that their hands in Feadamore are charged 40s. "half face money," although they and their ancestors were freeholders holding from Thomas Fitzsymon, "whose ancestor came to Ireland upon the Conquest." John McIneiry, of Castletown in Connelloe, complains he has been wrongfully dispossessed by Henry Ughtred, an undertaker. Donogh O'Brien, of Carrigogunnell, claims the lands of Cloghkeating, near Mungret, "wrongfully taken." Maurice Sheehan, of Rathmore, complains that a lessee of Sir George Bouchier had wrongfully entered on a portion of his lands. The freeholders of the Small County of Limerick complain "that Sir Edward Fytton demands forty-six pounds half face money, for lands held by them of the manor of Any, although the Earl of Desmond was only entitled to current money." Nearly all the complaints were disallowed on the ground that "Her Majesty was seized in demesne, as in fee, in right of the Crown of Ireland, of all the lands and tenements" mentioned.

When the seignories in the County Limerick came to be allotted in 1586, a preference was given to the gentlemen of Cheshire and

12. Cal. S.P., in 1588.

13. 20/- "half-face," equal to 26/8 sterling.

Lancashire. There was keen competition for the more eligible divisions. Jaques Wingfield, of Stone, formed a syndicate and applied for an allotment of the manors of Shanet, Corgrigg, Cappa, Dumoylan and New-castle, containing some 40,000 acres, but was unsuccessful. The names of the following Lancashire and Cheshire men appear in the original allotments made in 1586:—Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Richard Mollineux, Sir Edward Phytton, Alexander and Edward Phytton, Thomas Fleetwood, Richard Bowlde, Edmond Manwaring, William Candish; but, by a return furnished to the Queen in 1592, the following were the undertakers then in occupation of seignories in the County Limerick: (14)

(1) Sir George Bouchier, in the Small County, Loughgur, Glenogra and Crean, containing 12,880 acres, at the rent of £137 13s. There were eight Englishmen settled on this seignory, the rest was occupied by Irishmen "most in controversy."

(2) Sir Edward Phytton. Any *cum membris* 11,515 acres. Twenty Englishmen dwelling and "divers Irish tenants." Rent, £140 17s. 6d. The following are the freeholders and tenants on this seignory:—Ralph Hollenshed, one ploughland, rent, £20; H. Manley, ditto, £20; Ralph Oldham, ditto, £20; Thomas Story, three ploughlands paying £60; Robert Gravenor, one ploughland, £20; Jeffrey Story, ditto, £20; David Wolfe, three ploughlands, £60; Thomas Golde, two ploughlands, £40; Sir Henry Wallop, three oxen ploughs, and William Brome, four ploughlands, £80; James Fox paying £6; Richard Dundon, £4; Philip Supple, £1; James Rawley, £4 10s.; Edward Baggot, £4; Mahon McTeigue, 20s.; William Rochford, 24s.; William Nugent, 20s.; William Marshall, 10s.; Ballymore Coonans, 16s.; The Mollands, 5s.; The Burgage, 5s. He has, with Richard Bowlde and Thomas Preston, a seignory of 12,000 acres with 81 families. "Sir Edward Phytton meaneth himself to inhabit Kilmanchin (Mungret), Cloghkeating and Tervoe. He has let the following lands on lease":—To Hugh and Ralph Hollinshead and Ulick Browne, Kilcullane and Camas, Ballynamoneymore and Beg, Knockmoreshy and Elton, viz., six ploughlands. To Ralph Oldhame, Cromwell, one ploughland; Harry Manley, Carrigkettle and Kilteely, one ploughland; Geoffrey Storey, Rathmore, half a ploughland. At Mungret Sir Edward has

Walter Ievers and nine other serving men; he has on his land 1,000 sheep, 500 milch cows, 19 ploughs, 160 garrans (work horses), and 600 swine and hogs.

(3) Richard and Alexander Phytton, Ballygibbon, 3,026 acres (most part in controversy). In possession of Irishmen. No Englishmen residing. Rent, £31 10s. 5d.

(4) Edmund Mainwaring, Fedamore and Fanningstown, 3,747 acres. Rent, £83 os. 9½d. Inhabited himself with sixteen Englishmen, but the most inhabited by Irishmen.

(5) William Candish, the castle of Cloghtacka, and 2,000 acres in Pubblebrien.

(6) Captain George Thornton, 1,500 acres in Small County. Rent, £15 12s. 6d. Four English tenants. He has certain rents out of Carowe, 6s. 8d.; Uregare, 4s. 3d.; Ballystonmore and Beg, £1 9s. 1d.; Carrowcreagh, 2s. 5d.; Scraghe rent—Ballintraslanie, £2 13s. 4d.; Ballynahowe, 12s., and Ballynacurry, 16s.—found to be the inheritance of the Earls of Kildare.

(7) William Trencharde, Shanid, Corgrigg, Cappa (Mount Trenchard), 12,000 acres. Rent, £150. Englishmen 14, and divers Irish tenants.

(8) Henry Billingsly, in Connelloe, 12,000 acres. Rent, £147 10s. Forty households of six persons each of English birth. "He has on his own demesne 5 ploughs of horses and oxen, nine score kine, 600 sheep, besides young cattle. He has 100 acres wheat, and as much summer corn. No dangerous Irishmen near his seignory."

(9) Sir William Courtenay, Newcastle, in Connelloe, 12,000 acres. Rent £131 5s.

(10) Henry Ughtreed, Maine, Mahoonagh in Connelloe, 12,000 acres.

(11) Anthony Hungerford, Killydie, Glenquin, and Portrinarde, 8,000 acres.

(12) Captain Francis Barkley, Askeaton, 8,000 acres. Rent—£87 10s. Afterwards confirmed to Sir Edward Barkley on the death of Francis.

(13) Robert Anseloe, 2,600 acres. Rent £27 1s. 5½d.

(14) John Stroude, Croagh, Cappagh, Ballyloghlan, late Knight of the Vallys, 8,000 acres.

(15) William Carter, part of the seignory of Castletown in Kenry, Beagh, etc., 2,800 acres. Seignory of 12,000 acres granted to George Beston and Launcelot Boscocke.

(16) Robert Cullam, in parishes of Kilcolman, Newcastle, Rathronan, Ballingarry, Rathkeale, Croagh, Kilcornan, etc., 12,000 acres. Rent £150.

Sir Henry Wallop, (15) Receiver-General of the Revenue in Ireland, got a grant of the Abbey and lands of Monasternenay and Kilnacilleach, near Loughgur; also the three Friaries at Adare. In a letter to Lord Burghley he solicits his influence with the Queen to get him a fee-farm of these Friaries and other parcels of attainted lands. "I offer myself with a sincere intention, as much of the service as of my own commodity, for I know right well that by re-edifying of the houses, the peopling and stocking of the lands will be a matter of greater charge than the commodity will countervale in many years." The undertakers held their seignories at reduced rents up to Michaelmas, 1594. The rental of 1592 shows the actual rents received in that year.

Festum Paschæ (16)—County of Limerick.

Geo. Thornton	...	...	...	£5	4	2
Sir Wm. Courtenay	...	...	...	43	15	0
Henry Billingsly	...	...	...	49	10	0
Wm. Trenchard	...	...	...	50	0	0
Ed. Mainwaring	...	...	...	13	0	2½
Francis Barkley	...	...	...	29	3	4
Richard and Alexander Phytton	...	...	...	10	10	2½

Festum Michaelis.

Geo. Thornton	..	...	...	£5	4	2
Sir Ed. Phytton	...	...	...	65	19	6
Alexander and Richard Phytton	...	...	...	1	10	2½

It would seem from the above that the undertakers fell into arrear at an early date, and, from the number of complaints which were made to the Queen, neglected from the first all their obligations.

Living in the midst of a hostile people these English settlers found their positions far from pleasant. The Lord President complains bitterly

15. C.S.P., 1586.

16. C.S.P., 1592, p. 52.

of their failure to carry out the obligations in their Patents ; that many were non-resident and had parcelled out their lands among the "mere Irish"—"so that there was little room for Englishmen, for the Irish tenants will take farms with harder conditions than the English can." 'Boycotting' was not unknown in our county at this period. (17) Edmund Spenser, who had got a seignory of 4,000 acres at Kilcoleman, in the County Cork, close to the borders of Limerick, complains that Lord Roche had put some of his men in prison, "in utter contempt of the laws which he says are unjust." He killed a fat beef of Teigue Olivers, because he (Spenser) lay in his house one night on his way from the sessions at Limerick ; he killed a beef of his smith's for mending Mr. Piers' plough iron. He has forbidden his people from having any trade or conference with Mr. Spenser, Mr. Piers, or their tenants." Edmund Spenser held the Clerkship of Munster under the Lord President and Council, and was, according to the clergy list of 1586, Prebendary of Effin, in the County of Limerick. There was nothing unusual in a layman holding an Ecclesiastical benefice at this time. From a letter (18) of Sir John Davis to Cecil describing the state of religion in Munster we learn that Myler McGrath, Archbishop of Cashel, had, in addition to his own See, four bishopricks and *seventy-seven* spiritual livings in his own hands. "The churchmen, for the most part cannot read, many of them serving men, and some horse-boys, and are not without two or three benefices a piece, for the Court of Faculties doth qualify all manner of persons, Jesuits and priests have the greater benefit of our benefices." John Thornburgh, Bishop of Limerick, complains to the Privy Council, that the citizens of Limerick will not attend the service in his church, and request that the Mayor and Aldermen will be directed "to bring their wives and families to hear his sermons, which he hath painfully preached every Sabbath day," without a congregation. Sir Thomas Norreys, Lord President, when in Limerick reports that the poor citizens are impoverished by the rich merchants there through usury, and that none of his gentlemen except Mr. Chicester, deputy for Mr. Spenser, in his office of clerkship of Munster, came with him to the "Lord's Table."

17. C.S.P., 1589, p. 243.

18. Carew MSS., p. 143.

It may not come amiss to describe the dress of the Queen's soldiers in Ireland. Sir Nicholas Malby after the battle of Manister, complained that "The sending over of new soldiers in liveries of red coats and blue coats as a thing most dangerous, being marks indeed whereby they are picked out from the old soldiers." He "thinks it most necessary that the soldiers should be clothed with frieze and mantles, both to bed them at night and for warmeth." A contract (19) was entered into by the Mayor and five other inhabitants of Dublin to cloth the Queen's troops:—"Apparel of an officer, in winter, a cassock lined with bays and trimmed with silk lace at 18s. 6d. ; a doublet of canvas with silk buttons and lined with white linen at 12s. ; two shirts and two bands to the same, 7s. 9d. ; three pairs of neat leather shoes, 5s. 3d. ; three pairs of kersey stockings at 2s. 2d. the pair ; a pair of venitions of cloth with silk lace, 12s. 6d. ; a felt hat coloured with a band, 4s. 6d.—total, £3 7s. For summer, two shirts and two bands at 7s. 9d. ; two pairs of shoes at 1s. 9d. the pair ; one pair of stockings at 2s. 2d. the pair ; a felt hat and band, 4s. 6d.—total, 17s. 11d. Common soldiers for winter, a cassock of Kentish broad cloth lined with satin and trimmed, with buttons and loops, 15s. ; a doublet of canvas with white linen lining, 10s. ; a coloured hat-cap, 2s. 6d. ; two shirts of linen cloth, 6s. 8d. ; three pair leather broughes, 5s. ; three pair good white frieze stockings, 5s. 6d. ; a pair of venitions with buttons and loops lined with linen, 12s.—total, £2 13s. 8d. For summer, two shirts and two fallen bands of holland, 6s. 8d. ; two pairs of neat leather shoes, 3s. 11d. ; one pair of kersey stockings, 1s. 10d. ; a hat-cap coloured, 2s. 6d.—total, 14s. 4d. Discipline was not very strict or very exacting. Ormond complains that the people were spoiled by the soldiers and the officers robbed their men to "save and spare money to buy rich apparel, to maintain their pride and drunkenness, quaffing carouses, their tobacco and tobacco pipes."

James Fitzthomas broke out into rebellion and was proclaimed Earl of Desmond at a gathering of his kinsmen and the gentry of the County Limerick, at Ballingarry, on the 6th October, 1598. The leader among the County gentry was Piers Lacy of Bruff, "A gentleman of good sorte before this rebellion, a Justice of the Peace, Captain of 60 kern, and had been High Sheriff. He grew malcontented, went into open action, and after him, in manner, the whole county."

The first to suffer were, naturally, the new English settlers. It was "war to the knife" with them. The old proprietors, or their descendants, hastened to repossess themselves of their old estates, and with fire and sword drove out the intruders, and established themselves again in the homes of their fathers. "The misery (20) of the Englishry was great, the wealthier sort leaving their castles and their victual and furniture, made haste into walled towns. The meaner sort were slain—man, woman, and child, and such as escaped came all naked into the town. In the County of Limerick the castles forsaken were—Pallas, Ballywilly, of Sir Henry Ughtred, Knt., who with his lady fled into Limerick. Edward Fitton, Sheriff of the County, fled into England, and left Glenogra in the hands of the rebels. Sir George Bouchier, having Richard Rawley for his tenant in Loughgur, put in Ulick Browne, who by treachery gave all to the rebels. Newcastle, Glenquin, Portrinarde, of Sir William Courtenay, who neglected his seignory, and put servants in trust that were careless of the defence. Corrigg, Foynes, and Shanid, of Mr. Trenchard—his executors after his decease left all open to the enemy. Mr. Aylmer left Kilfinnan without men or victual. Mr. Colvin left his house and fled to Askeaton. The Abbey of Adare of Mr. George Thornton, where he had thirty men, munition, and victual, yet was forsaken, for they all ran away." Bruff was surrendered to Piers Lacy, and Fanningstown, the residence of William Mainwaring was deserted. Croom, Rathmore, and several other important castles were surrendered to the "Sugan" Earl. The only castle in the county which held out was Askeaton, under Captain Francis Barkley, who was afterwards Knighted and made Constable of the Castle of Limerick. His pay was three shillings a day, with a cannonier at sixteen pence, twenty-eight foot soldiers at eight pence each, and a porter at nine pence a day.

This final effort of the Desmonds to regain their old possessions by the 'strong hand' failed. Sir George Carew, in a letter (21) to the Queen dated 3rd June, 1601, "from your sacred Majesty's loyal vassal and servant," notified that he had succeeded, with the help of the White Knight, in getting into his hands "the body of James Fitzthomas, that arch-traitor and usurping Earl, whom for the present with the best

20. Carew MSS., 1598.

21. Carew MSS.

convenience and safety I may find, I will by some trusty gentleman send unto your Majesty. . . . Pardon in troubling you with these lines unworthy your divine eyes, do kiss the shadows of your royal feet." In reply Carew is informed that Her Majesty had taken notice of the White Knight's son who was at Court with the Earl of Thomond, and "hath let him kiss her hands, with very gracious usage. For the £400 you have paid the White Knight there shall be so much sent over to you." One thousand pounds has been generally accepted as the bribe paid to the White Knight for the betrayal of his kinsman, but, according to this letter, the sum was but £400.

On the death of Elizabeth many of the undertakers deserted their seignories and went to reside in England. Among them were Sir Wm. Courtenay, Henry Billingley, Sir William Trenchard, Edmund Mainwaring, Robert Anslie, Sir Edward Fitton. Chief Justice Saxey complains to Cecil: "The undertakers have failed to carry out the covenants in their grants of seignories. They take Irish tenants instead of introducing English. If the covenants were carried out there would be now 600 foot and 800 horse Englishmen for service, whereas now there is not to be found throughout all the seignories ten persons English fit for service." Early in the reign of James I., Sir John Davis made a tour in Munster. "He says:—We passed Kilmallock, a good corporate town, over a sweet fertile country into the Citie of Limerick, which is indeed a town of castles, compassed with the fairest wall that ever I saw, under which runs the goodly river of the Shannon, which makes it a haven for shipes of good burden, yet such is the sloth of the inhabitants, that all these fair structures have nothing but sluttishness and poverty within." The undertakers had not improved their position as we learn that they move pity "in regard they are English and poor, yet in other respects deserve no favour. They (22) are most backward in paying the King's rent, although they had their arrearages, they suffer almost half their land to lie waste. . . . Instead of Englishmen they have for the most part planted Irish tenants on their lands, among others even the sons and kinsmen of the ancient proprietors and owners thereof."

The following is a summary of an "Abstract (23) of the present state of the lands of the Undertakers," made out for the King in A.D.

22. Carew MSS., p. 217, 1604.

23. Cal. S.P., 1611.

1611, which gives in detail the extent of lands in demesne, in fee farm leases for years, with the rents reserved, etc. :—

Limericke.—Seignory of Rock-Barkley, now Sir Francis Barkley. Divers Irish husbandmen dwell upon part of the land ; mustered 7 horse, 21 foot.

Seignory of Poly-Castro (Newcastle), George Courtenay, Esq.

Seignory of Maine, granted to Sir Henry Ughtred, now George Courtenay, Esq.

Seignory of Beaully, granted to Robert Stroude, now George Courtenay, Esq. The grants and leases are made to English, but every one of them have Irish undertenants ; mustered for the three seignories, 24 horse, 21 foot.

Seignory of Knock-billingley, granted to Henry Billingley, Esq., now Sir John Dowdall ; mustered 11 horse, 45 foot.

Seignory of Mount Trenchard, granted to William Trenchard, Esq. Some Irish are dwelling in this seignory who have no estate from Mr. Trenchard ; mustered 7 horse, 23 foot.

Seignory of Cullam's Valley, granted to Robert Cullam, Esq. The undertenants are for the most part Irish.

Part of the barony of Fedamore, granted to Captain Edward Mainwaring ; mustered 1 horse, 4 foot.

The castle and lands of Rathurde, granted to Robert Annesley, Esq. The grantees have Irish tenants ; mustered 2 horse, no foot.

The town and lands of Ballyruston, granted to Sir George Thornton. There are Irish dwellings on these lands, but have no estate from the patentee ; 2 horse, 5 foot.

A part of the seignory of Castletown, granted to William Carter, now Sir An. Ager. The articles of the plantation for the granting of estates are not observed. Most of the dwellers on the land are Irish ; 6 horse, 10 foot.

Lands granted to Alexander and Francis Fitton ; present tenants the heirs of Edmond Fitzgibbon and Maurice FitzDavid. Most of the tenants mere Irish ; 3 horse, 4 foot.

The castle and lands of Loughgur, granted to Sir George Bouchier, now Sir John Bouchier. In demesne 14 acres, in fee farm 1,000 acres, leasehold 3,700 acres, small tenants 23. Evicted and delivered land, 2,588 acres. The abated rent is £111 14s. He has 9 horse and 15 foot.

In a subsequent paper I may follow these undertakers through the vicissitudes of the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations, and see how they fared. It is, however, interesting to know that at least six of these Elizabethan undertakers have representatives at the present day among the landed gentry of this County. The Earl of Devon is the representative of three undertakers—George Courtenay, who got the seignory of Newcastle; Henry Ughtred, who got the seignory of Maine, and Robert Stroude, who got the seignory of Bewley. Ughtred and Stroude were brothers-in-law of George Courtenay, and dying without issue, left their seignories to one of their nephews, whose son died unmarried, and the three seignories then were united in the head of the Courtenay family. Although Lord Courtenay sold over 11,000 acres of his Limerick estate in 1817, the Devon estate at present represents an area of over 33,000 acres in the west of this County.

The seignory of Loughgur, Glenogra, and Creans, granted to Sir George Bouchier, is still in the possession of his descendants in the female line, Count de Salis and the Earl of Sandwich.

The Wallers of Castletown represent in the female line, through Sir John Dowdall, the seignories of Kilfenny, Cappagh, Castletown, and Beagh.

The seignory of Mount Trenchard, Shanid, Corgrigg, etc., was purchased early in the 18th century by an ancestor of Lord Monteagle.

