

THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK.

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FIRST PART.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary to lead up to my subject, and to explain how the Cromwellian settlement came about.

In a previous paper I showed the results of the Desmond confiscations, and the consequent settlement of this county under Queen Elizabeth. After the Flight of the Earls in 1607, English and Scotch "Undertakers," as they were called, got grants to the extent of three million acres in the six escheated Ulster counties (1). In these grants, however, only the arable land is mentioned or measured, amounting to 511,467 acres. The mountains, bogs, and uncultivated lands were treated as "waste land"; but, in course of time, we find this "waste land" was taken possession of by the grantees. The native Irish were "restored," as it is called, to about 75,000 acres of arable land, and, we may assume, also acquired a due proportion of "waste land."

It must be remembered that this Ulster Settlement under James I. was unlike the Munster Settlement of his predecessors, as there had been no general rising or overt act of treason committed by the old proprietors.

After the defeat of the Irish at the battle of Kinsale, in 1603, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had made his submission and was graciously received into favour by King James in London. Hugh O'Donnell was, on his submission, created Earl of Tyrconnell.

(1) The six counties were Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine (now Derry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan.

The King took this opportunity to abolish Tanistry and other old Irish customs, and substituted instead the feudal system of land tenure. The Earls had their vast territories made into shires. Sheriffs were, for the first time, appointed, and judges went circuit.

The Earls, without consulting their Clans, agreed to hold their lands, for the future, direct from the Crown, and their vassals and clansmen were turned into tenants at fixed rents and tenures, instead of holding under the old customary dues. Under the Irish system, the Chief was elected from the reigning family by the Clan, and was merely tenant for life of the lands of the Clan, except certain demesne lands, which went with the chieffy. However, this attempt, which I believe was honestly made, to get rid of what was considered barbarous customs, was marred, unfortunately, by the enactment, in 1605, of certain Penal laws against the religion of the Irish people. Up to this time the doctrines of the Reformation had made no way in Ireland. The late Dr. Richey, Professor of Feudal and English Law in T.C.D., says, in one of his well-known lectures on Irish History :—(2) “The entire population of Ireland was hitherto Catholic ; the Catholics were divided into two parties—the Irish Catholics and the Catholics of the English connexion. The former, clinging to native usages and laws, were in their traditions and ideas utterly opposed to the English rule, and they, as irreconcilables, were destined, if they could not triumph, hopelessly to succumb. The latter, except in the question of religion, were thoroughly English ; they formed the mass of the English partisans, lent to the Government the physical force necessary to its maintenance, and swelled the official party in the Irish Parliament. It was this Catholic party which passed the acts relative to the affairs of the Church and the dissolution of the Monasteries.”

We see the Irish of that period differed on every subject except religion. After the plantation of Ulster, and the enactment and strict enforcement of penal laws, the whole aspect changed. The ritual and formularies of the Church were altered, and an active campaign commenced against the old religion. Endowed schools were established in each county, and a provision was made for a resident Protestant clergy in every parish ; so that under this plantation,

(2) “A Short History of the Irish People.” Ed. 1887, p. 613.

Professor Richey says that the Protestant clergy "got for the first time a social status in the country which they had never enjoyed before."

The new Planters formed a loyal body, whose interests was to support the Government in enforcing religious conformity. They naturally looked forward to futher confiscations. The Catholics of the Pale were, at last, forced to side with their co-religionists, and thus came about for the first time an united Irish party. We, therefore, find two elements of discontent: 1—the confiscation of the tribe lands in Ulster, owing to the outlawry of the Chiefs; 2—religious persecution, which extended to the whole of Ireland.

Partial risings were from time to time put down with the strong hand, and considerable portions of the Counties of Leitrim, Longford, King's County and Wexford, were escheated and planted. When the Government of Ireland came into the hands of "Black Tom" Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the country was, to all appearances, enjoying a period of peace and contentment. In order to find funds for his royal master to fight his Scotch subjects, Strafford made a progress through the greater part of Ireland, and appointed "Discoverers," to investigate and pick holes in the titles to lands granted during the previous reign. By taking advantage of technical errors in these patents from the Crown, he succeeded in raising a large sum for the King, without giving him the trouble to appeal to Parliament. Thus we have a new source of discontent.

The old Connaught proprietors, who in Queen Elizabeth's time paid large sums to save their estates from a claim three hundred years old, and had got new patents from the Crown, had now these same estates confiscated. Strafford at first offered them half their old estates under fresh patents, the other half to revert to the Crown for a new Plantation; but Charles was now in trouble with his Parliament, and preferred money. Consequently, they were graciously allowed to compound for the retention of their estates by the payment of large fines.

Such was the condition of affairs in Ireland when the outbreak or national rising of 1641 took place. It is not my intention to take sides in the controversy as to the alleged wholesale massacres and atrocities connected with this event, except to state that it has

been conceded by all unprejudiced historians that the exaggerated details of massacres given by Sir John Temple, in his narrative published in 1645, may be discounted and discredited.

I have so far given, as concisely as possible, the three active elements which led up to the civil war of 1641, which lasted for over nine years, and ended so disastrously for the Irish nation by the confiscations and settlement of the country under Cromwell.

The Irish were at first successful in capturing the principal walled towns. (3) "When Limerick revolted, Captain George Courtenay, a younger son of Sir William Courtenay, was in the castle with sixty of his own company, twenty-eight warders and others, to the number of two hundred men, but they were scanty of provisions and could get none from the town except by stealth. They had arms of one sort or other for all the men, but not above sixty muskets or calivers that were serviceable: the rest were petronels, pistols, carabines, brown-bills and fowling pieces. There were three demi-canon, two sakers, and one minion; but not above five or six firkins of powder in the place. The first work the Irish set about in order to take the fort was the making of a boom across the river, over against a place called *Mock Beggar Mear* (?) within musket shot of the castle. It was made of long ash trees fastened with iron links on the Thomond side to two mill stones, and at the other end to the tower of the key. The Irish plied the garrison with their shot from St. Mary's church, so that none could stir in the castle-yard. On June 21st Captain Courtenay capitulated when part of the wall fell down." Limerick was taken by the Confederate Catholics, under Lords Ikerrin and Muskerry and General Barry, on June 21st, 1642. King Charles now offered to come over and lead his army to subdue "those wicked and detestable rebels," but the Parliament refused either to allow him to leave England or to vote funds for the army. They substituted a scheme for raising funds by private subscription to pay an army for conquering Ireland.

By the Adventurers' Act, passed on February 26th, 1642, "every one who 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." There

(3) "Life of the Duke of Ormond." Vol. II., p. 304.

were 1,360 subscribers under this scheme, and the sum subscribed amounted to £43,406 5s. od.

Prendergast, in his "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," gives the names, occupations, and amounts subscribed by these adventurers. We find all classes mixed up in this adventure—Peers, Parliament-men, army men, gentlemen, professional men, merchants, traders, farmers, and artisans. 2,500,000 acres were to be parcelled out among these men, in proportion to the money subscribed. Subscribers of £200 were to be allotted 1,000 acres in Ulster; of £300, 1,000 acres in Connaught; of £400, 1,000 acres in Munster; and of £600, 1,000 acres in Leinster. In this way an army of 5,000 foot and 400 horse was raised and equipped for service in Ireland; but before they reached that country the Civil War broke out in England, and they were ordered to join the Parliamentary forces at Edgehill, where they were cut to pieces by the Royal forces.

The next scheme adopted by the English Parliament for the re-conquest of Ireland was the pledging of the chief sea-ports to the public, on the following terms:—Limerick City, with 12,000 acres of land adjoining, was offered for £30,000, and a rent to the State of £625 a year; Waterford, with 15,000 acres adjoining, at the same rate; Galway, with 10,000 acres adjoining, for £7,500, and a rent of £520 a year; and Wexford, with 6,000 acres adjoining, for £5,000, and a rent of £156 4s. 4d. a year. But the English public refused to swallow this rich bait, having in mind the fate of the Adventurers.

In 1643 the Marquis of Ormond had been made, by the King, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. He, however, made terms with the Parliament in 1647, and surrendered to them Dublin and the other fortified towns; whereupon a reinforcement of 1,400 foot and 600 horse were sent to Ireland, under Generals Kipper and Massy.

On the death of the King, in 1649, the Parliament were free to give their undivided attention to the conquest of Ireland. The General they selected was Oliver Cromwell.

To understand the situation at this date in Ireland, it will be necessary for us to enter the Irish camp, and see how matters have developed there since 1641. In the Parliament which met in 1639 the Catholic party had a majority both in the Houses of Peers and

Commons. The Members of Parliament for the County of Limerick were Sir Edward Fitzharris and Browne Miles ; for the City of Limerick, Alderman Nicholas Arthur and Dominick White ; for Kilmallock, Messrs. Kearney and St. Leger ; for Askeaton, Roger Rice and Maurice Williams.

Roger, or Rory, O'Moore was the most prominent Member of the Catholic party in this Parliament. Having failed in his efforts to redress the grievances of his co-religionists, he formulated a plan to seize Dublin Castle, which failed. He was in correspondence with Owen Roe O'Neill, a nephew of the Earl of Tyrone, who had lost his ancestral territory as we have seen. O'Neill was an able and experienced General, who had graduated as a soldier in the Netherlands. He took command of the old Irish of Ulster against the Scotch army of Montrose and Leslie, 12,000 strong ; and his victory against the former General, at Benburb, proved his prowess as a capable leader and skilful General.

The country at this time was governed by the Kilkenny Confederation, consisting of the Bishops, Clergy, Peers, and principal Catholic gentry. The Papal Legate, or Nuncio, Rinuccini, arrived on the scene in 1645, and soon afterwards a split took place between the Lords of the Pale and the Church Party led by Rinuccini. The former made peace with Ormonde in 1646, purchasing their own safety at the expense of the clergy and of the old Irish of Ulster. The Nuncio, from Limerick, issued a decree condemning the peace and calling on all military and civil officers to "withdraw their allegiance from the late Supreme Council."

Owen Roe O'Neill marched his Ulster men into Leinster, and soon had possession of Kilkenny ; the Supreme Council flying to Dublin. O'Neill formed a provisional Council in their stead, with the Nuncio as President. But the other section of the Confederates were the strongest ; they entered into a treaty with Lord Inchiquin (*Morogh-an-totane*), who commanded the Parliamentary forces in Munster—he had changed sides in 1644, and now changed over to the King's party. The combined forces were turned against Owen Roe and his Ulster army. A proclamation was issued from Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council had re-established itself, declaring Owen Roe O'Neill, Rory O'More, and the other Catholic leaders "to be

common enemies and disturbers of the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King," and ordering the Nuncio to forthwith quit the Kingdom of Ireland.

Of course there was a counter-blast from Rinuccini and the Bishops, denouncing the peace of 1648. Ormond, who had once again changed sides, now entered Kilkenny in state, and was received with acclamation and great rejoicing. His first act, however, was to dissolve the Supreme Council.

Such was the state of parties in Ireland on the death of Charles I. Ormond at once proclaimed Charles II., and called on all the Irish parties to unite under the Royal banner against the rebel Parliament of England. On the 12th of October, 1649, he signed a treaty with Owen Roe O'Neill, but, unfortunately for the Royal cause, Owen Roe died on the 6th of the following November, and his veteran Ulster army of 6,000 foot and 500 horse were left without a leader.

Ormonde was not successful in his efforts to unite the Irish parties under his leadership. (4) "Ormond had used all imaginable pains and descended to all the arts of persuasion to engage the magistrates and citizens of Limerick to a step which was necessary for the security of their persons, estates and religion. But he was so far from prevailing that they did not treat him with those outward forms of civility and respect which had been in no other place denied. The officers that commanded the City guards neither came to him for orders nor imparted them to him. . . . To show the contempt they had of the King's authority they committed to prison the Viscount Kilmallock, a Roman Catholic peer and an officer of the army (the Lord Lieutenant himself being upon the place), for no other reason, but for quartering for one night some horsemen under his command by the Marquis of Ormond's own orders, within the liberties of the City. . . . There was a Dutch ship in the river, on board which he put two trunks of papers he was desirous of sending abroad. Dominick Fanning gathering a parcel of young men about him in a riotous manner entered the ship, broke open and rifled the trunks. When they found instead of money papers they desisted. The Mayor had opposed them in the attempt but in vain. The Marquis, to encourage the good inclinations

(4) "Life of the Duke of Ormond." Vol. II., pp. 546—59.

professed, removed to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him (1700 foot and 350 horse) in the neighbourhood. . . . Fanning and his party called in Colonel Mortagh O'Brien, a man entirely devoted to their faction, with his regiment increased by 200 recruits, and though the Mayor opposed his entrance at the gates, they made their way into the City by force, seized the magazine of corn laid up there for the supply of the army, and a quantity of corn belonging to his Excellency himself. . . . Soon after Ireton advancing with his troops they appeared inclined to accept a garrison, but would have it composed of their own choosing, among which they insisted particularly on O'Brien's regiment. This obstinacy and disobedience of Limerick made it impossible for the Marquis of Ormond either to gather or keep the body of an army together." Limerick refused to receive or treat with him. He finally made Loughreagh his headquarters, and appointed Lords Clanricarde and Castlehaven and General Preston to the commands of the Leinster and Munster forces, and made Bishop Heber McMahan, of Clogher, General of Owen Roe's veteran Ulster men, with the result that the Bishop and his army were totally defeated by Sir Charles Coote in a pitched battle near Letterkenny. The Bishop and many notable Ulster men were taken prisoners, and were in due course hanged and quartered in the town of Enniskillen.

Oliver Cromwell now appears on the scene, having been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief by the Parliament. He arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649, with a force of 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and the sum of £200,000 in cash. The Munster garrisons, under Lords Inchiquin and Broghill, revolted, and joined the Parliamentary forces in the October and November following; and when Cromwell sailed from Youghal on the 29th May, 1650, the conquest of Ireland had been practically completed, Limerick and Galway being the only towns of any importance which still held out for the King.

General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, succeeded as Lord Deputy and Commander of the Parliamentary Forces. Limerick surrendered to him in October, 1651, after a gallant defence, lasting six months. Ireton died there on the 15th of the following November, and was succeeded by General Fleetwood as Lord

Deputy. On the 12th May, 1652, the Leinster army surrendered, and terms were agreed on, known as the "Kilkenny Articles." The Ulster and Munster forces accepted these terms soon after, and laid down their arms.

They were, according to these "Articles," to receive protection for themselves and their families, and the Parliamentary Commissioners undertook to mediate between them and the English Parliament, that they might enjoy in peace what remained of their lands; and those not satisfied with the action of Parliament were to be free to leave the country, and to take service with any foreign State they might select.

The country was now, at the end of the war, in a deplorable state—depleted of men and money, stricken with fire and sword, without cattle or growing crops, and with a plague-stricken and starving population. The population of Ireland in 1641 was 1,500,000; in 1652 it was only 850,000,—a reduction of 650,000 in a decade. The population of Dublin in 1641 was estimated at 20,000. It is recorded that in Dublin alone 17,000 died of the plague between 1650 and 1652. The total revenue of Ireland was only £198,000 a year, but the cost of the army of occupation, estimated at 30,000 men, came to £500,000 a year.

The remedy found by the English Parliament for this lamentable state of affairs was a plan for the speedy planting of the country with the "Adventurers" and disbanded soldiers. It was proposed that all the confiscated lands should be at once surveyed, and that "all soldiers should bring in their demand of arrears, so to give every man by lot so many acres as should answer the value of his demand." The private soldiers and non-commissioned officers were to have their lots at the same rate as the "Adventurers"; lieutenants, cornets, ensigns, and quartermasters at two-thirds of the same rates; and all officers above those degrees at one-half those rates; and should any private soldier wish to compound his arrears in gross, he was to get ten acres of land for every year of his service.

Half the Province of Connaught, west of the Shannon (including portion of the County Clare), was set apart for the Irish proprietors, who were ordered to transplant before the first day of May, 1654, under the penalty of death. A band along the River

Shannon, four miles wide, was reserved for the soldiers, in order to secure the imprisonment of the transplanted Irish. This band was subsequently reduced a mile from the river, and a circuit round Limerick City of three miles.

When this proclamation for transplanting was issued, the gentry and farmers were busy in harvesting their scanty crops. Each person had to get a certificate, describing his or her personal appearance, position, age, and that of each member of their families and households; also the quantity of cattle, horses, crops, etc., proposed to be removed. These documents are known as "Transplanters' Certificates," and had to be presented to the Commissioners for the allotment of lands in Connaught before the first day of February, 1654. The following names appear in these lists connected with the County and City of Limerick:—

Arthur, Barry, Bourke, Brown, Casey, Clanchy, Creagh, Cantillon, Comyn, Gould, Fitzgerald, Fitzgibbon, Kennedy, Fitzharris, Harold, Hartigan, Hurley, Hogan, Lacy, Lee or Leo, Mulqueen, Mulcahy, McMahon, McSheehy, Liston, Naish, Power, Purcell, O'Brien, O'Shaughnessy, O'Molloney, O'Hea, O'Mahony, O'Madigan, O'Heffernan, O'Halloran, O'Dwyer, O'Connor, Ryan, Roche, Rochford, Ronan, Russell, Rawley, Stacpoole, Stritch, Sarsfield, Scanlan, Sullivan, Sheehan, Walsh, White, Wolfe.

Sir Nicholas Comyn was a notable citizen of Limerick, who had to transplant with many of his neighbours. His certificate describes him as "Sir Nicholas Comyn, of the Liberties of Limerick, numb at the side of his body of a dead palsy; his Lady Katherine Comyn, aged thirty-four years, flaxen hair, middle stature; and one maid servant, Honor McNamara, aged 20 years, browne hair, middle stature, etc." Ignatius Stacpoole, of Limerick, is described as an "Orphan, aged 11 years, flaxen hair, full face, low stature. Katherine, sister of the said Ignatius, 8 years, flaxen hair, full face, having no substance to relieve them."

The following is the certificate of a County Limerick gentleman of position, whose property was confiscated:—"We, the Commissioners, do hereby certify that Sir David Bourke, of Kilpeacon in the Barony of Small County and County of Limerick, hath, upon the 19th of November, 1653, delivered unto us, in writing, the names of himself

and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stock and tillage, the contents whereof are as follows, viz. : the said Sir David Bourke, adged 64 years, middle stature, brown hair ; the Lady Catherine Bourke, adged 58 years, white hoary hair ; Oliver Bourke, son of the said Sir David, adged 38 years, middle stature, full face, black hair ; Edmund Bourke, another son, adged 37 years, middle stature, sick of the body, red hair ; Patrick Bourke, another son of the said Sir David's, adged 35 years, tall stature, flaxen hair ; David Bourke, another son, adged 28 years, middle stature, flaxen hair." Then comes a list of their followers and servants, "their substance one plough of garans, tenn cows, six acres of barley sowed, the substance whereof we believe to be true." (5)

The old Anglo-Irish families of the Pale—Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Barnwalls, Cheevers, Dillons, Cusacks, Lutterells, Plunkets, Talbots, Nettervills, &c, whose ancestors, from the time of King John, held the Pale for the English against the mere Irish, were now, in the depth of winter, forced to transplant into Connaught, with their families. They sent petitions and remonstrances to the Government without avail, their lands were required for the motley crew of Adventurers and soldiers, and they had to go.

The old native inhabitants of Limerick, and the colony of fishermen, claimed exemption from transplanting, on the ground that they had always assisted the English garrison and that it was their interest which induced the City to surrender during Ireton's seige. These were the descendants of Danish and English traders who inhabited the English-town, and who considered themselves the aristocracy of Limerick, and who looked down on the mere Irish who dwelt in the Irish-town. But the Cromwellians treated all alike, and many of their names may be found in the list of the transplanted from the "prescint of Limerick."

Here is a characteristic petition from the children of a Limerick Alderman, in 1654 :—"The humble petition of Christina Roche, Austace Kate and John Roche, the children of Alderman Jordan Roche, decd. : sheweth that Alderman Jordan Roche dyed seized of a vast real estate to the value of £2000 a year, and likewise of a considerable personal estate, all which devolved and came to the publique. That

(5) Book of Transplanters' Certificates, County Limerick.

your poor petitioners are in a sad and deplorable condition for want of sustenance, or mayntenance, and have nothing to live on, but what they can earne by their needles and by washing and wringing, and they pray to be allowed something out of their father's estate." Alderman Roche lived at Newcastle, that ivy-clad ruin Limerick people know so well, and was owner of the surrounding lands.

It was on the Catholic nobility and gentry that the blow chiefly fell, as most of the peasantry who survived the civil war had left the country. Forty thousand Irishmen went into the services of the Kings of Spain, France, and Poland, and served with distinction in the low countries and elsewhere on the continent of Europe. The Bristol sugar merchants had entered into an agreement with the Government for the transportation of men, women and children, to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. In a few years 6,400 natives of Ireland were shipped to the sugar plantations under the warrant of the Puritan Parliament. It is on record that in the month of October, 1655, 1000 young men and 1000 girls were shipped from the port of Galway, consigned to merchants in Jamaica.

The remnant of natives who still survived all this were not sent to "h— or Connaught," for the following reasons, (6) given by Colonel Ingoldsby, Governor of Limerick :—

- (1) "They were useful as earth-tillers and herdsmen.
- (2) "Deprived of their clergy, and living among the English settlers, they would become, eventually, Protestants, and loyal subjects to the Parliament.
- (3) "The gentry in Connaught, deprived of their followers, must either starve, or, in time, become peasants themselves."

On the 26th September, 1653, an Act was passed for the settlement of Ireland. The towns, church lands and tithes, were reserved by the Puritan Parliament for their own purposes. They abolished all Church dignitaries—Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, &c. They reserved, also, the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Cork, and Carlow. The rest of Ireland was to be divided between Adventurers and soldiers. It was found that the amount due to the Adventurers was £360,000, and the arrears of pay due to the soldiers £1,550,000. Lots were to be drawn by a

(6) *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, &c., p. 25.

committee representing both classes. In the county Limerick £30,000 worth of land was set out for Adventurers at the rate of 8/- per acre.

Dr. William Petty, physician to the forces, entered into an Agreement, dated December 11th, 1654, for the surveying and mapping of the escheated lands in Ireland. He was to receive for every thousand plantation acres of profitable land surveyed £7 3s. 4d. For every thousand acres of bog and mountain, called unprofitable land, £3, and the same price for church lands. In addition, he was to receive a sum of £1000 for the maps. The work was contracted to be completed in thirteen months from February 1st, 1655.

This is the history of the well-known "Down survey," which was completed in the county Limerick in 1657. The survey and maps are to be seen in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

Dr. Petty employed over one thousand assistants in this great work, chiefly disbanded soldiers, who were placed under skilled surveyors. Petty's chief assistant in this survey was Thomas Taylor, ancestor of the Marquis of Headfort, who got extensive grants of land in the neighbourhood of Kells, county Meath.

A great part of the county Limerick was surveyed and mapped under the supervision of Mr. Thomas Jackson. According to his survey the total escheated lands in this county amounted to 230,000 acres, or one half of the whole county.

In the Books of Survey and Distribution the names of the old proprietors and grantees are given, the townlands with the area, the parishes and baronies. (The maps are, when compared with the Ordnance Survey maps, found to be wonderfully accurate.)

According to this survey there were about 10,000 acres of church lands in this county, and the unprofitable land amounting to about one-tenth of the whole. The commons attached to the adjacent townlands and hamlets were not assessed against the grantees in their patents.

In July, 1656, the first allotment of lands in this county was made to the soldiers. The first regiments disbanded were the horse regiments of Generals Ludlow, Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Ingoldsby and Colonel Pretty. Colonel Chidley Coote's regiment got assignments of land in the barony of Coshlea, at the rate of 12/- an acre, equal to £600 for 1000 acres. Colonel Richard Coote got an assignment in Small county, at 16/- an acre, and Major Ormsby and Major King, in Coshma, at 14/-

an acre. General Jones and the officers of the Life Guards got grant in Clanwilliam, at the rate of 22/- the acre.

The country was in a deserted and wasted condition at this time—a complete wilderness. Most of the soldiers became discontented and refused to settle in their lots, and were glad to sell their debentures to their officers for the price of their passage back to England. One of the grievances of the soldiers was that they were forbidden to marry the Irish girls, under severe penalties. Another cause of discontent was the great increase of wolves and Tories.

Wolves had become so numerous that the Governors of each district were directed to fix certain days for wolf-hunting, and a reward of £5 was offered for the head of every wolf brought to the local authority. Wolves had become so troublesome about Dublin that the Government, in 1653, gave Captain Edward Piers a lease of the lands of Dunboyne, valued at £543 8s. 8d. a year, on the condition of maintaining a pack of hounds for wolf-hunting, with “a knowing huntsman, two men, and one boy.” He was bound to bring in a certain number of wolf-heads, as stipulated in his lease, for the next five years, under a penalty of £5 for every wolf’s head short of the number. This, I think, is the first mention of a regular public pack of hounds in Ireland.

In the first United Parliament, which met at Westminster in 1657, Captain Morgan, M.P. for the County Wicklow, complained of the heavy assessment the counties had to bear owing to the cost of hunting and paying for the capture of the three burdensome beasts, “the Tory, the Wolf, and the Priest,” and prayed relief. (7) The Tories were the natives who refused to transplant and were outlawed. As a rule, they were led by some gentleman who had been despoiled of his estate. They kept up a constant guerrilla war against the new settlers. Large sums were given by the Government for the capture of the leaders, and £5 for the head of every Tory brought in to the local authorities.

No doubt, the following nursery rhyme is familiar to many :—

“ Johnny Dory, what is your story ?
 I went to the wood and shot a Tory.
 I went to the wood and shot another :
 Was it the same, or was it his brother ?
 “ I hunted him in, I hunted him out,
 Three times through the wood, and about and about,
 ’Till out of a bush I spied his head,
 So I levelled my gun and shot him dead.”

(7) Parliamentary Diary, 10th June, 1657.

Although large sums were spent in Tory-hunting, the race did not become extinct until the middle of the eighteenth century. The baronies were heavily fined by a blood tax in this warfare. For every Cromwellian officer killed by the Tories, a fine of £100 was levied on the barony, and for every soldier or settler the sum of £20.

The priests who had escaped hanging, or transportation to the West Indies, were interned in the Isles of Aran and Inishboffin, which were made penal settlements for the occasion. Each priest was allowed sixpence per day for his maintenance.

A small body of Quakers settled in the city of Limerick in 1654. They were looked on by the Cromwellians as a "particularly dangerous people." Colonel Ingoldsby, the Governor, was directed by the Government to "secure divers persons commonly called Quakers, who were disturbing the congregations of sober Christians, and discouraging divers godly ministers of the Gospel, and thereby bringing into contempt the ordinances of God."

After the restoration of Charles II. the old proprietors entertained great hopes of getting back, at least, a portion of their ancient estates, which most of them had lost by joining the King's side against the Parliament. However, from the first they were doomed to disappointment. The Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May, 1661. It was composed of 260 members, principally representatives of the new Cromwellian burgesses, who now inhabited the towns. The counties had only 64 representatives in the House of Commons. Limerick County was represented by Sir William King, of Kilpeacon, and Robert Oliver of Clonodfoy; Limerick City by Standish Hartstonge and Gerald Fitzgerald; Kilmallock by John Bridges and Brooke Bridges; Askeaton by Richard Southwell and Peter Pett.

The House of Lords was composed of 72 Protestant Peers, many of them of recent creation, and 24 Bishops, with only 21 Catholic Peers.

The first act of this Parliament was to decree that no member would be qualified to sit and vote unless he had first taken the oaths of supremacy and conformity. This act got rid of the Catholic minority, and it is not surprising, therefore, that there was no redress for the ancient forfeiting proprietors. It was decreed that all Adventurers and soldiers in occupation of confiscated lands on the first day of January, 1660, were not to be disturbed.

In 1662 a Court of Claims was established to hear and decide the cases of certain "Innocent Papists." This Court had authority to sit for twelve months, but, as a matter of fact, they only sat from the month of February to the following August; and out of 4,000 claims listed for hearing they only gave decisions, mostly favourable, in 680 cases. The rest got no redress.

The Acts of "Settlement and Restoration," which passed between 1661 and 1665, settled finally the land question of that period. Among those whose claims had not been settled up to this were the "'49 officers," *i.e.*, those officers who had served the King in Ireland previous to the 5th June, 1649. They were now brought in under the Acts of Settlement, and got grants of lands and houses in the towns, which had not previously been disposed of. This assignment was made through trustees specially appointed for the purpose. Captain John Croker, of Skule Castle, was one of the trustees appointed. The sum of £3,000 was due to him for arrears of pay. He bought Ballynagarde for this sum from Colonel Randal Clayton, who had got a grant of it for an arrear of £478. It was the property of Theobald Bourke. Among the Restorees of Charles II., under the Acts of Settlement, were the following "Innocent Papists" from the County Limerick:—Lord Castleconnell, Lord Brittas, Piers Lacy, of Bruff; Sir Edmund Fitzharris, of Clonodfoy, and Major Oliver Fitzharris; John Fox, of Bulgaden; Terence O'Bryan, of Pallasgrean; Dermot O'Sheahan, of Rathmore; Colonel Pierce Walsh, of Abington; John White, of Loughill; Robert Southwell, of Rathkeale; and Thady Quin. Lord Castleconnell and Piers Lacy had shared the King's exile.

Having made an accurate copy of the Book of Survey and Distribution for the County Limerick, I shall give in detail, at the end of this paper, the portion dealing with the South Liberties of Limerick, and can, from time to time, should circumstances permit, publish the survey and distribution of the escheated lands in this county, barony by barony.

The North Liberties of Limerick are omitted from the Down Survey books, as Sir William Petty was determined this valuable tract should fall to his own lot. He very candidly tells the story (8) himself. Sir Jerome Sankey having brought the complaint of Captain Winkworth to

(8) Larcom's "Down Survey."

whom 1453 acres in the North Liberties of Limerick were allotted, before Parliament: "Why then, Mr. Speaker (said Sir Jerome), there's Captain Winkworth. Captain Winkworth came with an order for the Liberties of Limerick, but the Doctor said, 'Captain, will you sell? 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 Limerick are meat for your master,' meaning the Lord Deputy."

Petty had got the following order made in Dublin, 25th February, 1657, which assigns him the coveted lands. "We assign to the aforesaid Dr. Wm. Petty and his heirs and assigns, the several lands hereafter mentioned, which lands contain in all 1453 acres one rood, lying in the North Liberties of the City of Limerick, and are in satisfaction of £653 19s. 3d., for certain service done since the 5th day of June, 1649."

Sir William Petty married, in 1667, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, of Castletown. He left two sons and one daughter. Both sons succeeded to the peerage of Shelbourne, conferred on Petty's widow, but, both dying without issue, his vast estates came, in due course, to the descendants of his only daughter, who had married the first Earl of Kerry, from whom the present Marquis of Lansdowne descends, and who now owns the North Liberties of Limerick, which his ancestor acquired in the manner stated above.

This completes a very cursory sketch of the great revolution in the ownership of land in this county, 250 years ago. About two-thirds of the county of Limerick changed hands in the two great revolutions I have sketched—the Desmond and the Cromwellian settlements. Before the "rising" of 1641 the Catholic gentry were owners of nearly nine-tenths of the land in this country; after the Cromwellian settlement they only retained about one-third of their ancient patrimony.

It is, however, a mistake to assume that the farmers and peasantry suffered in like manner. The Cromwellian settlers, like their English predecessors, the "Undertakers," found it impossible to work their lands profitably without the assistance of the natives, consequently they very soon commenced to let their lands "farm-ways" to the Irish, and very often accepted as tenants the old proprietors or their descendants. The Irish Government did their best to prevent the acquisition of land

by the old Irish, but without much success. On the accession of James II. the land of the country was practically in the occupation of the native Irish, but only as tillers of the soil. Lord Clarendon, who was Lord Lieutenant in 1686, says that few of the Adventurers and soldiers then remained in the country.

Many contemporary writers lament that the children of the settlers could only speak Gaelic, and bitterly complain that owing to daily association with the natives and intermarriage with Irish girls, "Old Noll's Ironsides" had degenerated into mere Irishmen, and here I part company with the Cromwellian settlers, undergoing the old process of becoming "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

[CONCLUSION]
